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Political Psychology

Beyond WEIRD societies: Global social identifications across 45 countries and their socio-cultural and economic predictors

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Abstract

In an increasingly globalized world challenged by multiple social problems, global social identifications (GSIs, e.g., with all humanity) are concepts of growing interest. Although such identifications can be affected by the cultural contexts in which they are manifested, research on them remains largely confined to Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic (WEIRD) societies. Using data collected in 45 countries ($N = 9807$, preregistered), we compared the strength of three types of GSIs between countries and cultural clusters, and explored the possible role of five cultural dimensions. The results revealed relatively small cross-national differences in GSIs overall, but African and South-East Asian cultural clusters reported significantly stronger identifications than those from other regions, with India, South Africa, and Ghana scoring the highest. Contrary to our hypotheses, GSIs were positively associated with in-group collectivism, survival values, and traditional values, while institutional collectivism was unrelated. As expected, humane orientation was positively related to most GSIs. Additional exploratory analyses showed higher GSIs in countries with a lower quality of life (broadly understood). GSIs were also more pronounced in less globalized, younger societies, with a higher proportion of men, fewer immigrants, and stronger diversity. Our study highlights the need to broaden research on GSIs beyond WEIRD contexts.

KEYWORDS

all humanity, cultural clusters, global social identifications, globalization, quality of life

INTRODUCTION

Global social identifications (GSIs), which involve a sense of identifying with, belonging to, and caring for a group encompassing all people, are concepts of growing interest to researchers, practitioners, and the general population (for a review, see Hackett & Hamer, 2023; McFarland et al., 2019; UNESCO, n.d.). A simple search in Google Scholar shows 17,900 results on this topic in 2010 and 715,000 results in 2024, an amount that is nearly 40 times larger. This growing interest likely reflects increasing concern with the psychological foundations of global cooperation due to pressing global challenges— such as climate change, forced migration, global health crises, and human rights violations— that transcend national boundaries and require collective action beyond the nation-state. Exploring the prevalence and foundations of identification with humanity and other GSIs is therefore central to political psychology, as such

identifications may shape support for international cooperation, solidarity, willingness to take action, and global policy responses.

However, the existing psychological research, including studies focusing on global social identifications, is almost exclusively limited to Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) societies (Henrich et al., 2010; Krys et al., 2025; Thalmayer et al., 2021; Wooliscroft & Ko, 2023). Arnett (2008) revealed that only 5% of research samples in the top six psychology journals came from outside the Western world—regions that at the time represented just 12% of the global population. Although recent analyses (e.g., by Thalmayer et al., 2021) found a slight increase in cultural diversity, the representation of the Global South remains marginal: still excluding roughly 89% of the world's population, compared with the previous 96%. Moreover, there is a lack of large-scale, comparative research examining the presence of various GSIs in diverse cultural and socio-economic contexts, including the Global South.

To address this gap, we conducted a study with almost 15,000 participants from 45 countries. It is, to our knowledge, the first one to assess three distinct types of global social identifications using full scales that were cross-culturally validated. Thanks to the geographical distribution of the sample, we are able to examine how GSIs vary across different countries and cultural clusters.[1] To explain this variability, we investigate the role of cultural dimensions (defined as frameworks that measure and compare the values, behaviors, and norms across different societies to understand how cultures vary in their approaches to similar challenges; Hofstede, 2011). Specifically, we focus on five primary cultural dimensions that seem relevant in the context of GSIs: survival and traditional values from the World Values Survey (WVS, Haerpfer et al., 2022; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), and humane orientation, institutional collectivism, and in-group collectivism from the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness project[2] (GLOBE; House et al., 2001). In exploratory analyses, we also focus on additional socio-economic indices, including globalization indices (KOF globalization index), broadly understood quality of life in a country (human development index [HDI[3]], democracy and civil liberties, corruption, Gini index of inequality,[4] safety, life expectancy, access to healthcare, literacy, and air pollution), including economic indices (GDP per capita, poverty) and social structure characteristics (ethnic, language, and religious fractionalization, age and gender of population, and immigration percentage).

Global social identifications

Scholars have outlined multiple conceptual definitions of global social identifications (see, e.g., McFarland et al., 2019) often studied under various labels (e.g., human identity, global identity, global citizen identity, cosmopolitan identity, identification with all humanity, identification with the world community, oneness with humanity). Research by Carmona et al. (2020) on a Portuguese sample showed that these terms can be categorized into two

[1]We follow the recommendation to analyze not only separate countries but also groups of countries, as they are geographically (and historically) clustered (see, e.g., Kuppens & Pollet, 2014).

[2]The Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Project is an international research program that examines the interrelationships between culture, leadership, and organizational behavior across countries all over the world. The GLOBE Project identifies nine cultural dimensions—Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Humane Orientation, Institutional Collectivism, In-group Collectivism, Assertiveness, Gender Egalitarianism, Future Orientation, and Performance Orientation—measured at both the levels of cultural practices ("as is") and cultural values ("should be").

[3]HDI is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and having a decent standard of living (Human Development Reports, n.d.).

[4]The Gini index measures statistical dispersion intended to represent the income inequality, wealth inequality, or consumption inequality; the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution; the higher the index, the bigger inequality (Glossary Databank, n.d.).

overarching types: humanness-oriented or global citizenship-oriented ones. While both refer to identification with broad human groups, their definitions slightly differ. Those who identify with all humanity tend to feel close to people all over the world, care for them, and see them as an in-group (Hamer et al., 2021; McFarland et al., 2012, 2019). Global citizenship refers to perceiving oneself as belonging to a global community (Kuehl, 2014) while maintaining a sense of national belonging (Günel & Pehlivan, 2016). It has also been conceptualized as encompassing awareness, caring, embracing diversity, promoting social justice and sustainability, and a sense of responsibility to act (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2012). The label "citizen of the world" is commonly used by scholars in many fields, including the largest cross-national surveys (e.g., World Values Survey, International Social Survey Programme, Eurobarometer). However, there is no clear-cut and consensual scholarly definition of the term (Carmona et al., 2022). As Carmona et al. (2022, p. 2) summarize, "It has been conceptualized as a characteristic of people who endorse cosmopolitanism," e.g., someone influenced by a range of cultures who feels responsibility toward, and identifies as a member of, the global community of humans. Another interpretation defines a global citizen as someone capable of navigating the complexities of modern globalized societies (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Pichler, 2009; as cited in Carmona et al., 2022). According to Zhou (2016), self-identification as a global citizen is a type of cosmopolitan orientation, involving a sense of belonging or attachment to the world as a whole that transcends nation-states (see also Pichler, 2012).

Building on Carmona et al.'s (2022) distinction between humanness-oriented and global citizenship-oriented identifications, across 45 countries, we test two categories of global social identifications: *identification with all humanity* and *identification with citizens of the world*. However, the word "humanity" was primarily used to refer to positive human qualities such as kindness or compassion (McFarland, 2011). Also, the concept of all humanity may seem a bit abstract for some people. Thus, we additionally included *identification with people all over the world* (another commonly used label; see, e.g., McFarland et al., 2012) as belonging to the humanness-oriented category that may be intuitively more understandable for respondents.

Global social identifications around the world and through time

The central question is whether the concept of global social identifications exists in different cultures. Evidence from the literature on the topic suggests that it does. Although it is expressed with the use of different reference groups (e.g., citizens of the world, mankind, humanity, the human race, all people), the concept of the oneness of humanity appeared in different religions, philosophical traditions, and cultural contexts, and at different times. It goes from Socrates (470–399 BC) and other Greek philosophers (see, e.g., Beroš, 2016; Bosman, 2007) to Thomas Paine (1796) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, n.d.); from the Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, to the Bahá'í Faith, Buddhism, and Sikhism (Hamer et al., in preparation-a). Equality and interconnectedness of all living beings are also recognized by Hinduism, Shinto, Taoism, Native American Spirituality, and other religions or philosophical traditions. They all emphasize recognizing people as equals and having the same inalienable fundamental rights stemming from belonging to humanity (Hamer et al., in preparation-a).

In modern psychology, the concept of the oneness of humanity as a higher level of social development is reflected in the works of Adler (1927/1954), Maslow (1954), Allport (1958), Erikson (1968), and Turner (1987). Adler's (1927/1954) concept of *Gemeinschaftsgefühl*, which in its most mature meaning captures a sense of oneness with all humanity, suggests that people's concern for others may expand to encompass the global community and future generations. Similarly, the notion of "human kinship," characterized by sympathy, affection, identification with all humanity, and a desire to contribute to the betterment of humanity, is among

Maslow's (1954) qualities attributed to self-actualized individuals. Allport (1958) argued that without human kinship, human conflicts are endless and inevitable. Erikson (1968) believed that the desired process of identity formation entails increasing differentiation and inclusivity, culminating in a sense of belonging to the broader human community. Also, seeing oneself as part of all humanity is the highest, superordinate level in Turner's self-categorization theory (Reicher et al., 2010; Turner, 1987).

In contemporary research, global social identifications were empirically examined and found in different countries. For instance, the construct of identification with all humanity was explored and found not only in the USA (Ferqueron et al., 2023; McFarland et al., 2012, 2019; Sparkman et al., 2022) and other Western, English-speaking countries such as Canada, New Zealand, the UK (Colledge & Ingram, 2023; Dedman & Lee, 2023; Mahendran et al., 2022; Shanaah et al., 2023), and Australia (Angelis & Pensini, 2023; Chen & Pensini, 2024; Faulkner, 2018), but also in Germany (Eder et al., 2021; Loy, Clemens, & Reese, 2022a; Loy, Reese, & Spence, 2022b; Reese et al., 2015), the Netherlands (Karakulak, 2022), France (Hamer et al., 2021), Poland (Eder et al., 2021; Hamer et al., 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021; Marchlewska et al., 2022; Urbańska et al., 2022), Portugal (Carmona et al., 2022), Italy (Albarello & Rubini, 2022), Slovakia (Sedlár, 2024), Czechia, and Austria (Eder et al., 2021), Spain and Chile (Wlodarczyk et al., 2022), Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan (Gulevich & Osin, 2023; Murashcenkova et al., 2022), and China (Feng et al., 2023; Wang & Peng, 2023; Wu et al., 2022). Similar constructs, such as "the global social identity" or "global identity," were also tested elsewhere in the world (the former in the USA, Italy, Russia, Argentina, South Africa, and Iran; Buchan et al., 2011; and the latter in Norway, Turkey, and the USA; Türken & Rudmin, 2013; or Nigeria; Edwin et al., 2016).

The construct of global citizenship was investigated in the USA, Bulgaria, India, Philippines (Baring et al., 2021; Katzarska-Miller et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2017), Germany (Ariely, 2017), Japan (Ariely, 2017; Moriizumi, 2022; Sherman, 2017), Turkey (Ariely, 2017; Karatas & Arpaci, 2022), China (Gao et al., 2017, 2020; Zhang & Khare, 2009), and other countries (see, e.g., Cox, 2017). Analyses of the World Value Survey single-item data ("I see myself as a world citizen") showed that most people in almost all 58 tested countries see themselves as world citizens (with the exceptions of Morocco, Russia, and Egypt; Hamer et al., 2021).

However, no study to date has simultaneously compared the strength of different types of global identifications across countries and cultural contexts. Earlier studies comparing GSIs were primarily conducted on small samples from Western countries (i.e., Portugal, see Carmona et al., 2022; and the USA, see Jenkins et al., 2012; Reysen et al., 2013, Reysen et al., 2017) and often without checking measurement invariance. Expanding beyond WEIRD cultures, we aim to address this gap and explore the strength of three global social identifications (with citizens of the world, all humanity, and people all over the world) using samples from 45 countries across the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Australia, and Asia. After testing the measurement invariance of the GSI scales (see, e.g., Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2005), we compare the strength of global social identifications between countries and cultural clusters[5] to see if we can find any differences (preregistered exploratory analyses[6]). To explain such potential differences across 45 countries, we explore the possible role of various cultural dimensions.

[5]Cultural clusters group countries based on ethnic and racial distribution within a country, religious distribution, geographical proximity with other countries, major language distribution, and colonial past identified by the GLOBE project (House et al., 2001, in the extension by Mensah & Chen, 2013).

[6]For exploratory analyses and preregistered hypotheses, see the Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/h8tgf/?view_only=780604bdd9764453b82b073cc72e2a43.

Potential cultural differences in the strength of global social identifications

We analyze the role of five cultural dimensions, understood as frameworks for measuring and comparing the values, behaviors, and norms across societies, to examine how cultures differ in responding to similar challenges (Hofstede, 2011). The first cultural dimension that may be relevant in this context is individualism–collectivism—one of the most researched dimensions in cross-cultural psychology (Fatehi et al., 2020). It plays an important role in how individuals perceive themselves and the groups around them, and thus may impact global social identifications. People from collectivistic cultures tend to have more interdependent self-construal (i.e., more connected and merged with significant groups) than those from individualistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 2010). The distinction between in-group and out-group members is more pronounced and important to people with interdependent selves than those with independent ones (Kitayama et al., 2007). It has more considerable consequences, as groups are perceived as more cohesive (Xu et al., 2023). Changing group membership is more difficult in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic ones (Restubog & Gallois, 2010). On the other hand, individuals with an independent self-construal have weaker ties with their groups and higher relational mobility (Krys et al., 2022; Markus & Kitayama, 1991a). As a result, the sense of self may be less tied to specific in-groups, fostering openness to include out-group members into broader, more inclusive categories.

Individualism–collectivism is multifaceted; an individual may feel connected to some groups while being disconnected from others (Hui, 1988; Hui & Triandis, 1986). Realo et al. (1997) theorized that collectivist relationships can be classified into three concentric categories based on social distance between their members: the closest relations are between family members and loved ones, the intermediate category refers to neighbors, schoolmates, and peers, while the most distant relations occur between an individual and larger social groups and institutions, including one's nation. In-group collectivism, one of the dimensions of the GLOBE project[7] (House et al., 2004), is defined as "the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations or families" (House & Javidan, 2004, p. 12) and, as such, can be considered related to the groups within the smallest radius.

Stronger ingroup bias, including nepotism and favoritism to one's kin, is an inherent element of collectivism (e.g., Pelham et al., 2022; see also Fischer & Derham, 2016). Earley (1993) showed that while Americans (a more individualistic culture) exhibit social loafing (the tendency to exert less effort when working in a group compared with working alone) regardless of their and their counterparts' group membership, Chinese (a more collectivistic culture) do so only with out-group members, while they work harder than individually with their in-group members. Triandis et al. (1990) demonstrated that Chinese, compared with Americans, tend to avoid out-group members more and, when interacting with them, are more likely to give orders and criticize. This stronger differentiation in collectivist cultures could translate into a lower willingness to assume a common social identity with people who are beyond their immediate in-group.

Moreover, McCrae et al. (2008) showed that practices of in-group collectivism correlate negatively with the personality trait of openness to experience. People low on this trait tend to be more closed, conservative, and traditional, preferring familiarity to novelty and diversity (Realo et al., 1997). This predisposes them to form close relationships with people sharing their

[7]In the project GLOBE, each dimension includes two separate constructs: practices (the current situation) and values (preferred state). However, values may have a low utility in explaining people's behaviors; their source is not certain, as they may stem from marginal preferences that originate from a critique of one's own culture, measurement error, or a variety of other factors. Thus, it is not certain what these scores mean, and therefore, it may be difficult to interpret them and their correlates (Maseland & Van Hoorn, 2009). Thus, we focus on practices.

opinions and beliefs. However, it may make them more reluctant to forge ties and identify with wider, supranational groups. Indeed, Hamer et al. (2019) demonstrated that lower openness to experience is related to lower identification with all humanity. Therefore, we hypothesize that in-group collectivism will be negatively related to identification with citizens of the world (ICW; H1a), identification with all humanity (IWAH; H1b), and identification with people all over the world (IPOW; H1c).

Institutional collectivism, a second dimension of collectivism from the GLOBE project, describes "the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action" (House & Javidan, 2004, p. 12). It assesses the extent to which group loyalty takes precedence over individual goals and economic collective interests over individual ones, the importance of acceptance by other group members, and whether group cohesion or individualism is regarded as higher within the society (Gelfand et al., 2004). These components correspond with Realo et al.'s (1997) claim that different types of collectivism may encompass different in-groups. In contrast to in-group collectivism, institutional collectivism refers to broader groups, including the whole society. As such, people from cultures high on this dimension may differentiate between "us" and "them" to a lower extent and show lower favoritism toward smaller in-groups (Im & Chen, 2020). Rising above ties with small in-groups to benefit institutions and wider collectives may foster broader social identifications. Thus, we hypothesize that institutional collectivism will be positively related to identification with citizens of the world (H2a), all humanity (H2b), and people all over the world (H2c).

The last GLOBE dimension relevant in this context, humane orientation, is the degree to which a society encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others (House & Javidan, 2004). It positively correlates with the personality trait of agreeableness (Schlösser et al., 2013), which is, in turn, a positive predictor of identification with all humanity, similar to empathy (Hamer et al., 2019; McFarland et al., 2012, 2019). Therefore, we expect humane orientation to be positively related to identification with citizens of the world (H3a), all humanity (H3b), and people all over the world (H3c).

To explain potential differences in the strength of three global social identifications across 45 countries, we also explore the role of values described by Inglehart and Welzel (2005) and measured by the World Values Survey (WVS) in the form of two dimensions of values: survival vs. self-expression and traditional vs. secular-rational. Since cultural values are widely shared in society, they impact the attitudes and behaviors of all its members (Rokeach, 1973; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2022; Vauclair & Fischer, 2011) and may affect identifications with broader communities.

Survival values refer to physical and economic security, connect to distrust toward others (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), and promote the perception of the world as a zero-sum game (Różycka-Tran et al., 2015). Self-expression values emphasize such issues as tolerance of minorities, participation in political decision-making, and environmental protection (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). They are positively related to openness to others, tolerance toward immigrants, and support for international aid (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Zhou (2016) claims, quoting Inglehart's works, that self-expression values help transcend the boundaries of one's nationality and therefore adopt global identities. In an analysis of the WVS data from 55 countries around the globe, Norris (2000) found a correlation between post-materialistic values (often equated to self-expression values, see Inglehart & Oyserman, 2004) and a higher ranking of the identification with the whole world (as opposed to local identifications). Thus, we hypothesize that survival values will be negatively related to identification with citizens of the world (H4a), all humanity (H4b), and people all over the world (H4c).

The second pair of opposing values in the WVS is traditional and secular-rational values. Traditional values emphasize the importance of God and religion, traditional families,

ties between parents and children, obedience toward authority, as well as condemnation of homosexuality and divorce (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Secular-rational values emphasize individual autonomy, rational decision-making, and a diminished influence of traditional norms, religiosity, and authority in shaping societal and personal priorities (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Societies that score high on traditional values have higher levels of national pride and nationalism (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), while secular-rational values are related to seeing oneself as a world citizen (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010). At the same time, values associated with global identities align with Western values, where secular-rational values are more prevalent (Rosenmann et al., 2016). Thus, we expect traditional values to be negatively related to identification with citizens of the world (H5a), all humanity (H5b), and people all over the world (H5c).

Hypotheses

To sum up our predictions, we formulated the following hypotheses[8]:

H1. In-group collectivism will be negatively related to identification with citizens of the world (H1a), all humanity (H1b), and people all over the world (H1c).

H2. Institutional collectivism will be positively related to identification with citizens of the world (H2a), all humanity (H2b), and people all over the world (H2c).

H3. Humane orientation will be positively related to identification with citizens of the world (H3a), all humanity (H3b), and people all over the world (H3c).

H4. Survival values will be negatively related to identification with citizens of the world (H4a), all humanity (H4b), and people all over the world (H4c).

H5. Traditional values will be negatively related to identification with citizens of the world (H5a), all humanity (H5b), and people all over the world (H5c).

METHOD

Design and procedure

The study was conducted online on the Qualtrics platform in 45 countries (or Special Administrative Regions, such as Hong Kong; see Figure 1) from 10 cultural clusters (grouping countries based on ethnic and racial distribution within a country, religious distribution, geographical proximity with other countries, major language distribution, and colonial past, identified by the GLOBE project, in an extension by Mensah & Chen, 2013) listed in Table 1. Although the choice of particular countries was to some extent based on our ability to find collaborators, we aimed to conduct our study in at least two countries in each of the cultural clusters described by the extension to the GLOBE project (Mensah & Chen, 2013). It was

[8]This research and hypotheses 1–5 (H8, H10, H12, H14, H16 in the preregistration, respectively) are part of a bigger project preregistered on the Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/h8tgf/?view_only=780604bdd9764453b82b073cc72e2a43 and conducted in 2022–2023. Due to the fact that in the GLOBE project, high results mean high collectivism, it was more convenient to reformulate the preregistered hypotheses in this way, but it did not change their content.

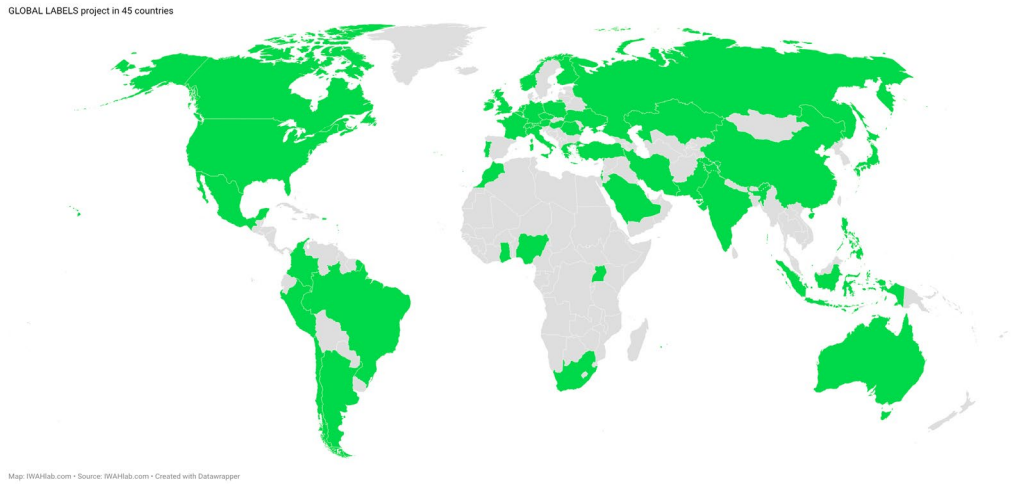

FIGURE 1 The countries covered by the study.

TABLE 1 The cultural clusters with corresponding countries covered by the study.

Cultural cluster	Countries
Latin American	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru
Anglo-Saxon	Australia, Canada, UK, USA, Ireland
Germanic	Austria, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland
Latin European	France, Israel, Italy, Portugal
Confucian	China, Hong Kong, Japan
African	Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda
Eastern European	Czechia, Greece, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Poland, Romania, Russia, Ukraine
Nordic	Finland, Norway
South-East Asian	India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines
Middle Eastern	Iran, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Turkey

crucial to have a culturally diverse pool of countries, especially since those from the Global South are rarely studied.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups. Three groups were asked about one type of identification each: with all humanity, citizens of the world, or people all over the world, while the fourth group did not receive the respective questions. Thus, since this paper focuses only on GSIs, the last group is not a part of the analyses described below.

This research was approved by the Ethical Committee of the Institute of Psychology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PI's institution) as well as from specific universities where additional local approval was needed (China, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Norway, Philippines, RSA, UK, and the USA).

Participants

We aimed to recruit at least $N = 200$ participants in each country, a sample size based on resource constraints (Lakens, 2022). For greater convenience, we recruited student samples to

test for differences between countries. As student samples are considered similar in characteristics, such as education level, there are upsides to comparing them between countries versus comparing any other adult sample (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010). Recruiting fully representative populations from each country would be very costly. Moreover, analyses show that student samples can be viewed as a good indicator of national sample rankings in cross-national comparisons (Flere & Lavrič, 2008).

Recruitment in each location was conducted by each country's team through university networks and announcements on campuses. The initial sample consisted of $N = 14{,}866$ student participants from 45 countries. After removing participants who failed attention checks ($n = 1547$; see Supporting Information, Section 1) or did not complete measures of global social identifications ($n = 3512$), the final sample consisted of $N = 9807$ (citizens of the world condition: $n = 3214$; all humanity condition: $n = 3275$; people all over the world condition: $n = 3318$). Age ranged from 17 to 86 years old ($M = 24.06$, $SD = 6.88$), with 69.27% women. Details on each sample are presented in the Supporting Information (Section 2).

Measures

Individual-level variables

Global social identifications were measured with three 8-item scales inferred from the Identification With All Humanity scale (McFarland et al., 2019; country adaptations by Eder et al., 2021; Feng et al., 2023; Hamer et al., 2021) modified to use only one reference group, depending on the experimental condition: "citizens of the world" ($\alpha = .87$), "all humanity" ($\alpha = .83$), or "people all over the world" ($\alpha = .83$; for the Cronbach's alpha for all the countries see Supporting Information, Section 3). Example items are: "How close do you feel to…?"; "How much would you say you care (feel upset, want to help) when bad things happen to…?" (for all the items, see Tables S3.1, S3.4, and S3.7 in the Supporting Information[9]). All items used a 5-point response scale, but the anchors differed based on question wording, such as from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very close*) or from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). The items were in English or the country's native language, translated and back-translated (Brislin & Freimanis, 2001) by each country's team or the PI, and each final version was checked by the Principal Investigator (the first author). Discrepancies were resolved by discussions. Measurement invariance analyses were conducted for all three scales (see Supporting Information, Section 3). Results indicate that scalar invariance was achieved for all national samples, which allows us to compare the strength of GSIs (see, e.g., Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2005).

Country-level variables

Measures of country-level indicators were retrieved from open sources on the internet. They are summarized along with their definitions and references in the Supporting Information in Table S6. In the main analysis, we used five cultural dimensions: survival and traditional values (Haerpfer et al., 2022), in-group collectivism, institutional collectivism, and human orientation (GLOBE; House et al., 2001, House et al., 2004).

In additional exploratory analyses, we also used other country-level variables: globalization indices (KOF globalization index; Gygli et al., 2019), broadly understood quality of life in a country (human development index [HDI, n.d.], democracy and civil liberties [Wormley et al., 2022], corruption [Corruption Perceptions Index, Transparency International, n.d.], Gini index of inequality [World Bank Open Data, n.d.], safety [Legatum Prosperity, n.d.],

[9]All the items are also available on osf: https://osf.io/jfym4/overview?view_only=c981cc8344fc4730aaf25a5e970e8ce0.

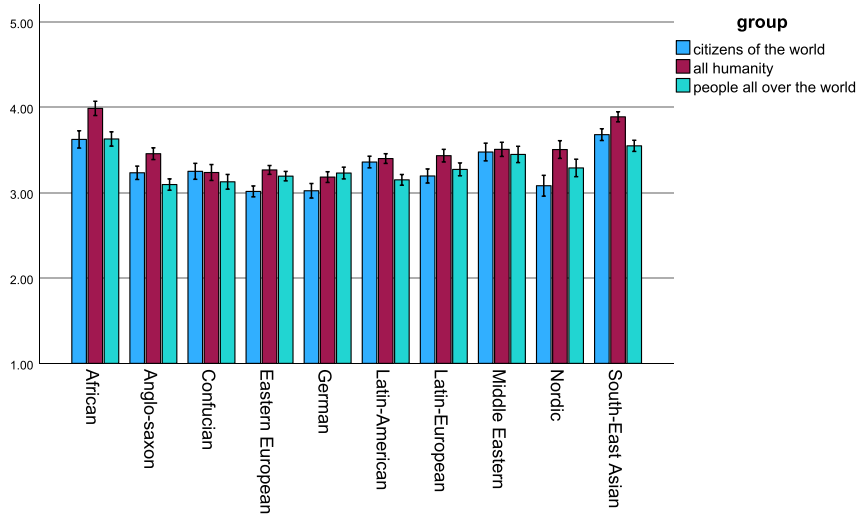

FIGURE 2 Mean global identifications and standard errors in cultural clusters. $N = 9807$.

life expectancy [Mathieu et al., 2020], access to healthcare, and literacy indices [Hasell et al., 2022], air pollution [Ritchie & Roser, 2021]), economic indices (GDP per capita [International Monetary Fund, n.d.], poverty [Hasell et al., 2022]) and social structure characteristics (ethnic, language, and religious fractionalization [Wormley et al., 2022], age and gender of the population [Ritchie & Roser, 2019], and immigration percentage [Spooner et al., 2022]). The date of each used dataset collection corresponds as closely as possible with our data collection (years 2022–2023).

Demographics included gender (coded as 1 – male, 2 – female, 3 – other, but the last category was omitted in the analyses), age, size of place of residence while growing up (coded as 1 – *up to 19,999 residents*; to 7 – *more than 3,000,000 residents*), and subjective income ("Which of the following descriptions comes closest to how you feel about your household's present income?" coded as 1—*I find it very difficult to live on the present income* to 4—*I'm living comfortably on the present income*)—all asked with 1 item. The detailed statistics for all demographic variables by country are presented in the Supporting Information (Section 2).

Results

Due to the size differences between national samples (see Supporting Information, Section 1), data in the analyses included in the current paper were weighted to correct for these differences[10]

Global social identifications in cultural clusters

The strengths of three types of GSIs (with all humanity, people all over the world, or citizens of the world) were compared across 10 cultural clusters using ANOVA (see Figure 2 and Supporting Information, Section 4, Table S4.1). There were statistically significant differences

[10]Pronounced differences in sample sizes can disproportionately impact estimates and inference in group-based comparisons. To conduct these analyses, we have decided to even out sample sizes by weighing them. Thus, larger samples, such as from South Africa, were assigned lower weights, while smaller samples, such as from Iran, were assigned higher weights.

between cultural clusters for all three types of GSIs: identification with citizens of the world: $F(9; 3248) = 33.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$; identification with all humanity: $F(9; 3248) = 56.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .13$; identification with people all over the world: $F(9; 3336) = 23.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$.

Post hoc (Tukey B) tests for identification with citizens of the world (see Supporting Information, Section 4, Table S4.2) revealed that African and South-East Asian clusters had the highest scores, followed by Middle Eastern and Latin-American clusters, and Eastern-European, Germanic, Nordic, and Latin-European clusters having the lowest scores.

Post hoc tests for identification with all humanity (see Supporting Information Section 4, Table S4.3) again revealed that African and South-East Asian clusters had the highest scores, followed by Middle Eastern, Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin-European, and Latin-American clusters in the middle, with Confucian, Germanic, and Eastern-European clusters having the lowest scores.

Post hoc tests for identification with people all over the world (see Supporting Information Section 4, Table S4.4) again revealed that African and South-East Asian clusters had the highest scores, followed by the Middle Eastern cluster, and with Anglo-Saxon, Confucian, Latin-American, Eastern-European, and Germanic clusters having the lowest scores.

Thus, there are differences between cultural clusters in all three global social identifications.

Global social identifications between countries

Since separate analyses for individual countries showed substantial differences between countries gathered in the same clusters (e.g., Ukraine, Poland, and Kazakhstan, all from the Eastern-European cluster; see Figure 3, and Supporting Information, Section 5, Tables S5.1–S5.3), we additionally conducted ANOVA comparing GSIs between all countries.

There were statistically significant differences between countries for all three types of GSIs: identification with citizens of the world: $F(44; 3257) = 12.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .15$; identification with all humanity: $F(44; 3294) = 16.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$; identification with people all over the world: $F(44; 3345) = 9.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$.

Post hoc (Tukey B) tests for identification with citizens of the world revealed that India, South Africa, and Ghana had the highest, whereas the Netherlands, Czech Republic, Israel, Ukraine, France, Hungary, Finland, Russia, Austria, Germany, Australia, and Switzerland had the lowest scores (see Figure 3 and Table S5.1).

Post hoc test for identification with all humanity revealed that South Africa, India, Ghana, Nigeria, and Indonesia had the highest, whereas Ukraine, Japan, Austria, Switzerland, Israel, Germany, Mexico, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, the UK, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Finland, Argentina, and Kazakhstan had the lowest scores (see Figure 3 and Table S5.2).

Post hoc test for identification with people all over the world revealed that India, South Africa, Ghana, Morocco, Italy, Turkey, Indonesia, and Iran had the highest, whereas Argentina, Israel, the UK, the USA, Hong Kong, Russia, and Saudi Arabia had the lowest scores (see Figure 3 and Table S5.3).

It is worth noting that Ghana, South Africa, and India consistently had the highest GSI scores across all 45 countries.

Global social identifications and cultural dimensions—Country-level analysis

We conducted further analyses on the whole sample to test hypotheses 1–5 on how cultural dimensions can contribute to understanding these differences. In these analyses, data are nested. Global social identifications are measured for individuals who are grouped in countries that can be characterized using cultural, social, and economic indices. This data structure requires

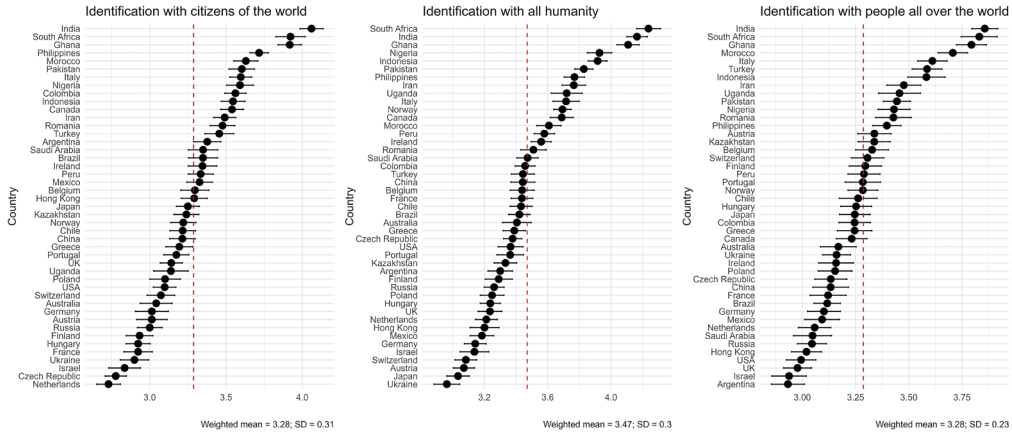

FIGURE 3 Mean global social identifications in 45 countries. Here we present countries in decreasing order, from the highest to the lowest identification for each type, for convenience. Dots represent means for each country, whereas bars represent standard errors. The red line represents the weighted overall mean. Identification with citizens of the world group: $n = 3214$; Identification with all humanity group: $n = 3275$; Identification with people all over the world group: $n = 3318$; for details for all countries, see Supporting Information. To allow quick between-country and within-country comparisons, see Supporting Information (Figure S1), where we present all three identifications for each country on one graph in alphabetical order.

a multilevel approach to avoid confounding the two levels of measurement (Nezlek, 2011; Smith & Bond, 2019). Sampling errors of cultures and individuals are both simultaneously considered in multilevel analysis, and it is efficient in correcting for irregularities such as differences in sample sizes between countries (Nezlek, 2011). All data were grand mean-centered and standardized, as recommended in guidelines for analyzing the effects of higher-level variables on lower-level variables (Enders & Tofighi, 2007). With this centering approach, the resulting regression coefficients are standardized beta coefficients.

Since we aim to predict individual levels of global social identifications with country-level variables, using simple correlations could create false results (Smith & Bond, 2019). For this reason, we take a different analytic approach from our preregistration (see Analysis Plan, Part 4) using multilevel modeling (MLM) with random slopes.

Also, due to differences in demographic compositions of countries, demographic variables were added as controls into the models. The relationships between the cultural dimensions and global social identifications described in hypotheses 1–5 are summarized in Tables 2a–2c.

Results of the multilevel analyses indicated that in-group collectivism (practices) was positively related to all three global social identifications (see Tables 2a–2c). These results do not support H1a– H1c and are opposite to what was expected.

Institutional collectivism (practices) was not related to any of the global social identifications (see Tables 2a–2c), which means that H2a-c were not supported.

Humane orientation was positively related to identification with citizens of the world, and to identification with all humanity only on the level of trend, but not to identification with people all over the world (see Tables 2a–2c). This means that H3a was confirmed, but not H3b or H3c.

Multilevel analyses revealed that all global social identifications were positively predicted by survival values and traditional values (see Tables 2a–2c). These results do not support hypotheses H4a-c and H5a-c and are opposite to expected.

TABLE 2A Beta coefficients, standard errors, and intraclass correlation coefficients from multilevel models examining the effects of single country-level predictors on identification with citizens of the world, with demographic variables included as controls.

	Gender			Age			Place of residence while growing up			Subjective income			Country-level variable			
	β	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	ICC
Ingroup collectivism	.09	.02	<.001	.02	.02	.420	.02	.02	.323	−.05	.02	.039	.24	.04	<.001	6.07
Institutional collectivism	.09	.02	<.001	.02	.02	.393	.03	.02	.183	−.05	.02	.056	−.04	.09	.651	2.65
Humane orientation	.09	.02	<.001	.02	.02	.390	.02	.02	.312	−.05	.02	.053	.15	.05	.006	9.26
Survival values	.04	.02	.010	.05	.02	.008	.01	.02	.579	−.02	.02	.207	.17	.04	<.001	10.62
Traditional values	.04	.02	.010	.05	.02	.008	.02	.02	.527	−.02	.02	.201	.24	.05	<.001	8.62

Note: Each line in the table describes a separate model. Gender was coded as 1 – male, 2 – female. The ICC was converted from a decimal fraction to a percentage to reflect its role in the unexplained variance between countries.

TABLE 2B Beta coefficients, standard errors, and intraclass correlation coefficients from multilevel models examining the effects of single country-level predictors on identification with all humanity, with demographic variables included as controls.

	Gender			Age			Place of residence while growing up			Subjective income			Country-level variable			
	β	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	ICC
Ingroup collectivism	.02	.02	.297	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.094	−.04	.02	.023	.17	.05	.002	11.51
Institutional collectivism	.02	.02	.338	.13	.02	<.001	−.03	.02	.136	−.05	.02	.025	.03	.06	.603	14.90
Humane orientation	.02	.02	.277	.13	.02	<.001	−.03	.02	.127	−.05	.02	.034	.16	.09	.083	1.91
Survival values	.02	.02	.192	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.015	−.04	.02	.018	.18	.06	.001	13.85
Traditional values	.02	.02	.199	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.021	−.04	.02	.018	.25	.06	<.001	13.76

Note: Each line in the table describes a separate model. Gender was coded as 1 – male, 2 – female. The ICC was converted from a decimal fraction to a percentage to reflect its role in the unexplained variance between countries.

TABLE 2C Beta coefficients, standard errors, and intraclass correlation coefficients from multilevel models examining the effects of single country-level predictors on identification with people all over the world, with demographic variables included as controls.

	Gender			Age			Place of residence while growing up			Subjective income			Country-level variable			
	β	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	ICC
Ingroup collectivism	.10	.02	<.001	.09	.02	<.001	.01	.02	.726	−.04	.02	.101	.12	.04	.003	6.18
Institutional collectivism	.10	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	.01	.02	.597	−.04	.02	.094	.001	.05	.996	8.99
Humane orientation	.10	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	.01	.02	.567	−.04	.02	.094	.05	.05	.276	8.21
Survival values	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.647	−.03	.02	.054	.11	.04	.003	8.11
Traditional values	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.004	.02	.793	−.03	.02	.052	.12	.05	.007	9.26

Note: Each line in the table describes a separate model. Gender was coded as 1 – male, 2 – female. The ICC was converted from a decimal fraction to a percentage to reflect its role in the unexplained variance between countries.

Additional exploratory analyses with other country-level variables

Additional exploratory analyses (not preregistered) were conducted to identify other potential explanations for the cross-country differences in three types of global social identifications and their opposite-to-expected connection to in-group collectivism, survival, and traditional values. We used other country-level variables that may be perceived as more objective but still related to the cultural dimensions: globalization indices, broadly understood quality of life in a country (HDI, democracy, civil liberties, corruption, Gini index of inequality, safety, life expectancy, access to healthcare, literacy, and air pollution), including economic indices (GDP per capita, poverty) and countries' social structure characteristics (ethnic, language, and religious fractionalization, age and gender of population, and immigration percentage).

Globalization of a country may be a positive or negative predictor of global social identifications due to a potential two-way reaction to this process. The possibility of globalization being a positive predictor of GSIs comes from its characteristics as the growing interconnectedness of societies worldwide (Mackay, 2004), a technologically imposed and fostered unity of humankind (Der-Karabetian, 2020; Katzarska-Miller & Reysen, 2022), and "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). The proliferation of international, transnational, and supranational institutions (Robertson, 1992) may strengthen this process. Globalization is sometimes considered the driving force behind cosmopolitanism (Pichler, 2012; Zhou, 2016), partially because it may strengthen "cosmopolitan attitudes by weakening the relevance of ethnicity, locality, or nationhood as sources of identification" (Buchan et al., 2009, p. 4138).

However, the world has also seen a rising backlash against globalization (Walter, 2021). It takes the form of growing protectionism, and protests against international financial institutions (examples of a backlash against economic globalization), critique of the constraints that international institutions place on national sovereignty (a backlash against political globalization), anti-immigrant rhetoric, anti-tourism protests, and a general concern about the loss of local cultures (a backlash against social and cultural globalization; Walter, 2021). A positive effect of globalization on GSIs might thus be suppressed by resentment stemming from the feeling of threat to national sovereignty or culture (see also Zhou, 2016). Thus, we explore the role of globalization for GSIs in a cross-cultural context of our tested 45 countries.

Another set of potentially relevant predictors may consist of broadly understood quality-of-life indices. If the quality of life (economic, structural, political) in a certain country is low, we can expect that some part of the society will plan emigration to countries with a higher quality of life. Indeed, as research shows, the most popular directions, especially for labor-seeking migrants, are high-income countries – the USA and European states (Czaika et al., 2021). The general trend is to migrate from low HDI-level countries to higher HDI-level ones (Docter, 2020; Kozlovskyi et al., 2024). Given the economic, political, and structural challenges in their home countries, people may consider migration a pathway to improve their quality of life, including financial stability, access to healthcare, personal freedom, etc. Moreover, individuals willing to emigrate may exhibit stronger global social identifications due to self-serving motivations. Identifying with the global community could serve to legitimize their aspirations for emigration and feeling "at home" in any country. This type of identification may support their pursuit of equal treatment, rights, and privileges—including access to social welfare—available to the nationals or residents of these host countries.

Moreover, research shows that country-level socio-economic indices predict citizens' values (e.g., Inglehart & Welzel, 2010). Survival values, which we found to be positively connected

to higher global social identifications, stem from feeling a lack of both economic and physical safety (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010), and are therefore negatively related to GDP per capita and HDI (Welzel et al., 2003), democracy, and civil liberties (Welzel & Inglehart, 2009), but positively to such indices as homicide rate in a country (Lin & Mancik, 2020) and perceived corruption (Welzel & Inglehart, 2009). Gouveia and Ros (2000) showed that HDI is positively related to individualism, as well as life expectancy and literacy rate. Therefore, we can suspect that global social identifications might be lower in countries with higher HDI, GDP per capita, and such quality of life indices as safety, life expectancy, literacy rate, democracy, civil liberties, and lower perceived corruption.

Can the social structure of countries help explain differences in global social identifications? Ethnolinguistic fractionalization (a measure of ethnic fragmentation based on a broader classification of a group that does not take into account only language but also other cleavages, proposed by Alesina et al., 2003) is negatively related to general economic success in terms of output (GDP per capita growth; Alesina et al., 2003; Easterly & Levine, 1997), the quality of policies (such as the literacy rate, infant mortality, schooling, etc.), and the quality of institutions (measured by the extent of corruption, political freedom, etc.; Alesina et al., 2003; Casey & Owen, 2014). Religious fractionalization (a measure of religious fragmentation proposed by Alesina et al., 2003), on the other hand, has a positive association with measures of good governance (opposite to ethnic and linguistic fractionalization) and tends to be higher in more tolerant and free societies (Alesina et al., 2003). Thus, following the justification regarding economic indices, we expect societies with higher ethnolinguistic fractionalization to have higher GSIs, and those with higher religious fractionalization to have lower GSIs.

The number of immigrants in the country can be another important societal predictor of global social identifications. Bessen et al. (2024) analyzed this issue in Latin American countries and found that cosmopolitanism (a concept similar to GSIs) was positively associated with pro-immigration attitudes, but only in countries with low-to-moderate refugee numbers. Thus, we expect that countries with higher immigration rates (measured as the percentage of a population born abroad), so usually Western countries (Czaika et al., 2021; Dennison, 2024), may have lower GSIs.

As a lower quality of life in a country is potentially pushing people to migrate, the sociodemographic profile of migration indicates that being male, young, single, and educated increases the chance of migration (skilled workers, Migali & Scipioni, 2018). Thus, we will also check the gender and age of the population as parts of countries' social structure, potentially relevant in the context of global social identifications.

Results of additional exploratory analyses

The country-level variables that we considered for these additional analyses were: various globalization indices, quality of life in a country (HDI, democracy index, civil liberties index, Corruption Perceptions Index, Gini index of inequality, safety, life expectancy, access to healthcare, literacy, and air pollution), including economic indices (GDP per capita, poverty), and social structure characteristics (ethnic, language, and religious fractionalization, age and gender of population, and immigration percentage). Their relationships with the global social identifications are summarized in Tables 3a–3c. As previously, demographics were controlled for.

In order to check for outliers, we created scatter plots of the mean level of all three global identifications in the countries grouped on the dimensions of country-level variables. There were no clear outliers in most cases (apart from gender structure, which is discussed further). The detailed scatter plots are presented in Supporting Information 2.[11]

[11] https://osf.io/jfym4/files/osfstorage?view_only=c981cc8344fc4730aaf25a5e970e8ce0.

TABLE 3A Beta coefficients, standard errors, and intraclass correlation coefficients from multilevel models examining the effects of single country-level predictors on identification with citizens of the world, with demographic variables included as controls.

	Gender			Age			Place of residence while growing up			Subjective income			Country-level variable			
	β	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	ICC
Globalization	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.010	.003	.02	.855	−.02	.02	.164	−.23	.05	<.001	9.37
Trade globalization	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.010	.01	.02	.790	−.02	.02	.185	−.20	.05	<.001	10.54
Financial globalization	.05	.02	.005	.05	.02	.018	.01	.02	.655	−.02	.02	.176	−.23	.05	<.001	6.86
Interpersonal globalization	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.010	.01	.02	.702	−.02	.02	.172	−.23	.05	<.001	9.33
Informational globalization	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.012	.01	.02	.626	−.02	.02	.168	−.20	.06	.001	10.87
Cultural globalization	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.012	.01	.02	.687	−.02	.02	.164	−.23	.05	<.001	9.81
Political globalization	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.010	.004	.02	.831	−.02	.02	.186	−.01	.03	.827	14.06
HDI	.05	.02	.003	.05	.02	.011	.01	.02	.598	−.03	.02	.137	−.26	.05	<.001	5.43
Democracy	.05	.02	.006	.04	.02	.022	.01	.02	.681	−.02	.02	.164	−.14	.06	.017	13.49
Civil liberties	.05	.02	.006	.04	.02	.023	.01	.02	.674	−.02	.02	.168	−.14	.06	.015	13.01
CPI	.05	.02	.003	.04	.02	.018	.01	.02	.614	−.02	.02	.142	−.19	.04	<.001	10.31
Gini index	.06	.02	.001	.05	.02	.009	.01	.02	.634	−.02	.02	.174	.26	.07	<.001	10.52
Poverty	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.006	.004	.02	.821	−.02	.02	.183	.35	.05	<.001	0.24
Safety	.05	.02	.003	.04	.02	.014	.01	.02	.694	−.02	.02	.148	−.18	.05	<.001	10.65
Life expectancy	.05	.02	.004	.05	.02	.012	.01	.02	.568	−.03	.02	.135	−.27	.07	<.001	5.79
Healthcare	.07	.02	<.001	.03	.02	.123	−.004	.02	.823	−.03	.02	.186	−.17	.05	.002	12.13
Literacy	.05	.02	.006	.04	.02	.026	.01	.02	.612	−.02	.02	.167	−.22	.06	.001	10.97
Air pollution	.05	.02	.005	.05	.02	.013	.01	.02	.647	−.03	.02	.131	.20	.06	.001	11.02
GDP per capita	.05	.02	.002	.04	.02	.014	.01	.02	.652	−.02	.02	.148	−.22	.05	<.001	7.01
Ethnic fractionalization	.05	.02	.005	.04	.02	.022	.01	.02	.601	−.02	.02	.158	.17	.06	.004	12.48
Language fractionalization	.05	.02	.007	.04	.02	.027	.01	.02	.547	−.02	.02	.182	.10	.07	.128	12.69
Religious fractionalization	.05	.02	.007	.04	.02	.023	.01	.02	.668	−.02	.02	.183	−.09	.07	.150	14.79
Median age	.05	.02	.003	.04	.02	.017	.01	.02	.696	−.02	.02	.140	−.28	.06	<.001	0.24
Gender structure	.05	.02	.004	.04	.02	.017	.01	.02	.582	−.02	.02	.174	−.13	.05	.008	12.20
Share of immigrants	.05	.02	.003	.05	.02	.011	.01	.02	.629	−.02	.02	.158	−.19	.05	<.001	9.82

Note: Each line in the table describes a separate model. CPI = Corruption Perceptions Index scoring on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean); Gender structure = the percentage of females in a population; Share of immigrants = the percentage of a population born outside of the country; HDI = human development index; Poverty = the percentage of the population living on less than $6.85 a day. Gender was coded as 1 – male, 2 – female. The ICC was converted from a decimal fraction to a percentage to reflect its role in the unexplained variance between countries.

TABLE 3B Beta coefficients, standard errors, and intraclass correlation coefficients from multilevel models examining the effects of single country-level predictors on identification with all humanity, with demographic variables included as controls.

	Gender			Age			Place of residence while growing up			Subjective income			Country-level variable			
	β	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	ICC
Globalization	.02	.02	.352	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.024	−.04	.02	.024	−.23	.06	<.001	15.37
Trade globalization	.02	.02	.360	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.027	−.04	.02	.025	−.20	.06	<.001	16.31
Financial globalization	.01	.02	.380	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.031	−.04	.02	.025	−.23	.06	<.001	15.04
Interpersonal globalization	.02	.02	.365	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.028	−.04	.02	.024	−.24	.06	<.001	14.59
Informational globalization	.02	.02	.363	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.034	−.04	.02	.021	−.27	.06	<.001	14.12
Cultural globalization	.02	.02	.352	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.030	−.04	.02	.022	−.24	.06	<.001	14.92
Political globalization	.01	.02	.379	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.027	−.04	.02	.030	.04	.03	.096	21.19
HDI	.02	.02	.133	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.007	−.04	.02	.015	−.23	.07	.001	3.55
Democracy	.02	.02	.256	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.012	−.04	.02	.016	−.11	.06	.079	19.64
Civil liberties	.02	.02	.253	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.012	−.04	.02	.016	−.14	.06	.025	18.83
CPI	.03	.02	.106	.13	.02	<.001	−.05	.02	.005	−.04	.02	.016	−.18	.05	.001	15.35
Gini index	.03	.02	.104	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.012	−.04	.02	.018	.24	.09	.008	17.91
Poverty	.02	.02	.238	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.018	−.04	.02	.015	.38	.05	<.001	7.19
Safety	.03	.02	.113	.13	.02	<.001	−.05	.02	.005	−.04	.02	.017	−.20	.06	.002	12.87
Life expectancy	.02	.02	.150	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.008	−.04	.02	.017	−.26	.08	.002	5.97
Healthcare	.03	.02	.139	.13	.02	<.001	−.05	.02	.004	−.03	.02	.063	−.18	.06	.003	17.82
Literacy	.02	.02	.244	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.014	−.04	.02	.014	−.24	.06	<.001	15.09
Air pollution	.02	.02	.347	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.016	−.04	.02	.023	.23	.06	<.001	15.56
GDP per capita	.03	.02	.110	.13	.02	<.001	−.05	.02	.006	−.04	.02	.018	−.21	.07	.002	10.14
Ethnic fractionalization	.02	.02	.247	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.014	−.04	.02	.015	.21	.07	.001	16.62
Language fractionalization	.02	.02	.280	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.014	−.04	.02	.016	.21	.07	.002	15.60
Religious fractionalization	.02	.02	.259	.14	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.013	−.04	.02	.019	−.01	.08	.867	21.92
Median age	.03	.02	.112	.13	.02	<.001	−.05	.02	.006	−.04	.02	.016	−.27	.06	<.001	7.93
Gender structure	.03	.02	.118	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.007	−.04	.02	.020	−.18	.05	.001	17.00
Share of immigrants	.03	.02	.109	.13	.02	<.001	−.04	.02	.008	−.04	.02	.018	−.16	.06	.004	16.78

Note: Each line in the table describes a separate model. CPI = Corruption Perceptions Index scoring on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean); Gender structure = the percentage of females in a population; Share of immigrants = the percentage of a population born outside of the country; HDI = human development index; Poverty = the percentage of the population living on less than $6.85 a day. Gender was coded as 1 – male, 2 – female. The ICC was converted from a decimal fraction to a percentage to reflect its role in the unexplained variance between countries.

TABLE 3C Beta coefficients, standard errors, and intraclass correlation coefficients from multilevel models examining the effects of single country-level predictors on identification with people all over the world, with demographic variables included as controls.

	Gender			Age			Place of residence while growing up			Subjective income			Country-level variable			
	β	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	*β*	*SE*	*p*	ICC
Globalization	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.739	−.04	.02	.037	−.12	.05	.013	8.70
Trade globalization	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.705	−.04	.02	.034	−.09	.04	.033	9.23
Financial globalization	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.713	−.04	.02	.037	−.15	.05	.001	7.35
Interpersonal globalization	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.658	−.04	.02	.032	−.14	.05	.003	8.00
Informational globalization	.06	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.003	.02	.832	−.04	.02	.030	−.20	.05	<.001	7.41
Cultural globalization	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.745	−.04	.02	.032	−.17	.05	.001	8.08
Political globalization	.06	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.705	−.04	.02	.042	.05	.02	.049	11.03
HDI	.08	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.747	−.03	.02	.045	−.20	.05	<.001	6.25
Democracy	.08	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.719	−.03	.02	.057	−.11	.06	.039	10.78
Civil liberties	.08	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.692	−.03	.02	.061	−.11	.06	.073	10.03
CPI	.08	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.671	−.03	.02	.051	−.12	.04	.002	8.31
Gini index	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	.0	.02	.961	−.03	.02	.127	.14	.07	.061	11.38
Poverty	.08	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.736	−.03	.02	.110	.25	.05	<.001	5.17
Safety	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.674	−.03	.02	.057	−.11	.05	.028	9.45
Life expectancy	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.793	−.03	.02	.048	−.20	.05	<.001	7.35
Healthcare	.09	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.580	−.03	.02	.127	−.10	.05	.039	8.74
Literacy	.08	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.613	−.03	.02	.051	−.20	.06	.001	7.46
Air pollution	.08	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.674	−.03	.02	.069	.18	.06	.004	7.34
GDP per capita	.08	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.640	−.03	.02	.052	−.13	.04	.001	6.74
Ethnic fractionalization	.08	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.666	−.03	.02	.051	.14	.05	.005	8.44
Language fractionalization	.07	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.674	−.03	.02	.054	.19	.05	<.001	7.03
Religious fractionalization	.07	.02	<.001	.07	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.793	−.03	.02	.067	−.06	.07	.380	0.20
Median age	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.755	−.03	.02	.052	−.10	.06	.095	5.36
Gender structure	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.662	−.03	.02	.060	−.11	.04	.003	9.72
Share of immigrants	.07	.02	<.001	.08	.02	<.001	−.01	.02	.770	−.03	.02	.065	−.15	.04	<.001	8.10

Note: Each line in the table describes a separate model. CPI = Corruption Perceptions Index scoring on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean); Gender structure = the percentage of females in a population; Share of immigrants = the percentage of a population born outside of the country; HDI = human development index; Poverty = the percentage of the population living on less than $6.85 a day. Gender was coded as 1 – male, 2 – female. The ICC was converted from a decimal fraction to a percentage to reflect its role in the unexplained variance between countries.

Indices of globalization

The analysis included the KOF Globalization Index, which measures the economic, social, and political dimensions of globalization. Multilevel regression analyses revealed that global social identifications were negatively related to almost all measures of globalization: general, financial, interpersonal, informational, and cultural (for all three GSIs). Trade globalization was negatively connected to identification with citizens of the world and identification with all humanity (and identification with people all over the world at the level of statistical trend). Results for political globalization were insignificant for identification with citizens of the world and for identification with all humanity, while significant but very low for identification with people all over the world (see Tables 3a–3c).

Quality of life

Multilevel regression analysis revealed that all GSIs were negatively predicted by the HDI, safety, life expectancy, access to healthcare, and literacy indices (see Tables 3a–3c). Moreover, they were positively connected to indices of air pollution. This means that people are more identified with global communities in societies with lower quality of life: less safety, lower life expectancy, less access to healthcare, lower literacy, lower HDI, and higher air pollution.

Economic indices

Multilevel regression analyses revealed that identification with citizens of the world and identification with all humanity (and identification with people all over the world on the level of statistical trend) were positively associated with the Gini index, and all three were positively predicted by the poverty index (percentage of people living for $6.85 per day). They were also negatively related to GDP per capita (see Tables 3a–3c). This generally means that people are more identified with global communities in societies with more inequalities, poverty, and lower GDP per capita.

Democracy, civic liberties, and corruption

Multilevel analyses, presented in Tables 3a–3c, revealed that identification with citizens of the world and identification with people all over the world (while identification with all humanity on the level of statistical trend) were negatively related to the democracy index. Identification with citizens of the world and identification with all humanity (while identification with people all over the world on the level of statistical trend) were also negatively related to civil liberties. All three GSIs were negatively related to the corruption perceptions index (the higher the score, the lower the perceived corruption). This means that people are more identified with global communities in societies with higher perceived corruption, lower levels of democracy, and fewer civil liberties.

Countries' social structure

Our analyses revealed that all three global social identifications were positively predicted by ethnic fractionalization, but not by religious fractionalization (see Tables 3a–3c). Language

fractionalization predicted identification with all humanity and identification with people all over the world, but not identification with citizens of the world.

The median age of the population negatively predicted identification with citizens of the world and identification with all humanity, but not identification with people all over the world. Also, GSIs were higher in countries with higher percentages of males than females. During the exploration of associations between identifications and the societal gender structure in all the countries, we found that Saudi Arabia could be seen as an outlier. However, removing this country from the general sample hardly changed the results: the gender structure remained a statistically significant predictor of GSIs, and the direction of the association remained unchanged (for details, see Supporting Information 2).

Regarding immigration percentages, multilevel analyses revealed that people in countries with higher percentages of foreign-born inhabitants had lower GSIs. Based on the results of Bessen et al. (2024), a curvilinear relationship was also tested on country-level data using curve estimation analysis. Its results showed that for identification with people all over the world, the relationship was not statistically significant, while for identification with citizens of the world and identification with all humanity, it was too low to be considered meaningful ($\beta < .01$).

Thus, these analyses showed that global social identifications were higher in countries with more ethnic and language groups, younger populations, higher percentages of males than females, and lower percentages of immigrants.

Demography

Multilevel analyses were conducted controlling for demographics, since they may be associated with GSIs (although very weakly; see Table S6 in the Supporting Information). To sum up, the largest association was observed for IWAH and age: older participants reported stronger identification with all humanity. The same identification was also stronger among less affluent individuals and those from smaller cities, although these associations were very weak.

For identification with citizens of the world and identification with people all over the world, the direction of the association with age was the same, but again, very weak. Gender differences were also marginal in magnitude—women reported slightly stronger identification with citizens of the world and with people all over the world than men. The latter identification was also stronger among less affluent individuals, but again, the associations were very weak.

DISCUSSION

Since research on global social identifications has been limited mainly to WEIRD countries and no studies have analyzed various GSIs simultaneously, this 45-country study aimed to assess the strength of three GSIs (with all humanity, with citizens of the world, and with people all over the world) across culturally diverse contexts. Unlike most previous multiple-country studies, which measured only one identification and with only one item (such as perceiving oneself as a world citizen, WVS; see, e.g., Brieger, 2018; Manokara et al., 2025; Pichler, 2012), we applied 8-item scales (based on the IWAH scale by McFarland et al., 2019; see also Hamer et al., 2021) measuring each of three GSIs (between subjects). By testing and confirming scalar measurement invariance of these scales across 45 countries, we ensured valid cross-national comparisons of the strength of three global social identifications between countries and cultural clusters and provided robust, reliable measurement tools for future studies.

Global social identifications through clusters and countries

Our analyses revealed that all three global social identifications were moderately endorsed across countries. The relatively small variation in their strength, together with the obtained scalar measurement invariance, suggests that GSIs may reflect a broadly shared psychological construct. While structural and cultural factors undoubtedly shape identification processes, the overall consistency of GSIs may point to underlying human capacities for broader social belonging.

Despite this general consistency, we observed small but meaningful variations between cultural clusters. Participants from African and Southeast Asian countries reported stronger GSIs than those from other regions, with India, South Africa, and Ghana consistently ranking the highest. These results contribute to addressing the overrepresentation of WEIRD populations and underrepresentation of Global South populations in psychological science (Arnett, 2008; Henrich et al., 2010; Thalmayer et al., 2021) and underscore the value of examining identity processes using large-scale, cross-cultural datasets. Below, we discuss potential explanations of these differences.

The role of culture

In our preregistered hypotheses, we expected variation in the level of global social identifications between countries to be predicted by selected cultural dimensions of the GLOBE project (House et al., 2001, 2004) and the World Values Survey (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). We hypothesized that in-group collectivism would be negatively (H1) and institutional collectivism positively (H2) related to all three GSIs. Results of the multilevel analyses contradicted these expectations: in-group collectivism was positively related to all three GSIs, whereas institutional collectivism was unrelated to any of them. As expected, humane orientation was positively related to most of the examined global social identifications (H3). Furthermore, we hypothesized that both survival (H4) and traditional (H5) values would be negatively related to all three GSIs. Contrary to our predictions, people from countries with stronger survival (rather than self-enhancement) values and those from countries with stronger traditional (rather than secular-rational) values had stronger GSIs.

The positive link between in-group collectivism and global social identifications, although surprising, may be perhaps explained by forms of interdependence that foster broader relational identities. While collectivist cultures are often associated with interdependence and strong in-group boundaries (Kitayama et al., 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991a, 1991b), they may also promote a sense of interconnectedness that stems from the perception of oneself as a node in a wider network of relationships, which can generalize beyond the immediate in-group (Yuki, 2003). People from non-Western cultures tend to be encouraged to think of themselves as part of larger collectives to value this embeddedness, and to strive for harmony with others (Schwartz, 2006; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Perhaps this may lead them to be more open to others and thus identify with larger social groups, including global communities. In contrast, Western individualistic cultures prioritize individual independence and self-expression, focusing on personal objectives and uniqueness, potentially weakening ties to broader collective identities (Oyserman et al., 2002). For instance, Crimston et al. (2016) found that American participants displayed the highest level of moral concern for family and friends, and lower concern for distant out-groups, such as foreigners.

Another related factor may be holistic thinking—focusing on the big picture, context, and relationships, and regarding all people, objects, and events in the universe as inextricably related—characteristic of East Asian cultures as opposed to analytic thinking, typical of Western cultures (Nisbett, 2003; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Moreover, holistic thinkers have a higher tolerance for contradiction, a characteristic found among East Asians (Clobert

et al., 2017; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Although this area is rather unexplored, it is suspected that because of such tolerance, East Asians might expect people to belong to multiple categories (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010), including global social identifications. Thus, both of these cognitive factors may contribute to stronger GSIs.

Further nuance is offered by examining subdimensions of the interdependent self. Research suggests multiple facets of interdependence (Adams et al., 2012; Cross et al., 2000; Kashima & Hardie, 2000; Kitayama et al., 2022; Vignoles et al., 2016), with relational interdependence —defining oneself through relationships and connections to others—being most likely predictive of GSIs (Cross et al., 2000; Vignoles et al., 2016). This subdimension differentiates collectivistic cultures, with Chinese individuals scoring lower than Indians on interconnectedness (Li et al., 2006), and people from Latin America resembling Europeans and North Americans more than those from highly collectivistic regions such as Africa or South-East Asia (Krys et al., 2022; Vignoles et al., 2016). It may explain why African and South-East Asian participants showed higher global social identifications than those from other collectivist regions, such as Latin America or Confucian cultures.

Institutional collectivism, by contrast, was not related to GSIs. While it emphasizes commitment to others and equitable resource distribution, it is often linked to institutional frameworks rather than interpersonal closeness. Recent work shows that individuals can simultaneously exhibit high levels of self-promotion, which signals independent self-construal (a key feature of institutional individualism) and high interconnectedness (typically associated with ingroup collectivism), suggesting that cultural expressions of collectivism are multidimensional (Krys et al., 2022; Osei-Tutu et al., 2025; Uskul et al., 2023). This duality illustrates that self-promotion (a sign of individualism) does not necessarily contradict the perception of interconnectedness or collectivism. Variation within WEIRD countries also illustrates this complexity—Scandinavian countries display high institutional collectivism through social welfare systems, while Anglo-Saxon countries emphasize autonomy and individual rights. These differences may explain why institutional collectivism is not consistently related to GSIs, as it is shaped by a multitude of factors that vary across cultures and regions.

As expected, humane orientation was positively related to most global social identifications. Defined as the extent to which a society values kindness, altruism, and concern for others (House & Javidan, 2004), humane orientation is related to agreeableness (Schlösser et al., 2013) and empathy—traits associated with higher identification with all humanity (Hamer et al., 2019, Hamer & McFarland, 2023; McFarland et al., 2012, McFarland et al., 2019).

We also explored why countries with stronger survival and traditional values have stronger global social identifications, contrary to our hypotheses. The association between such values and higher GSIs may be partly explained by heightened awareness of shared vulnerability in contexts marked by economic hardship and insecurity. Research on altruism born of suffering suggests that collective adversity and the similarity of fate can foster common identity and prosocial concern that extend beyond the narrow in-group (Vollhardt, 2009). Indeed, individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds may display greater helping behavior due to increased attunement to others' needs (Piff et al., 2010). The common history of being a target of colonization is often another element connecting these countries, adding to the similarity of fate. Additionally, religious and traditional moral systems often promote compassion and universal moral concern (Atran & Henrich, 2010; Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008), which may help explain the presence of stronger global social identifications in culturally traditional societies.

The role of socio-economic factors

Further, from previous studies, we know that countries with stronger survival and traditional values tend to have lower GDP per capita, Human Development Index, democracy, civil

liberties, safety, and literacy rates, while having higher levels of corruption, inequalities, air pollution, and poverty (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 2010). Moreover, prior research indicates that GDP per capita is positively associated with individualism, suggesting that wealthier countries tend to have more individualistic cultures, whereas poorer nations are often more collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980, 1997). This aligns with the idea that as societies become more affluent, individuals gain greater financial and social independence, reducing reliance on in-group ties and fostering a more individualistic mindset.

Inferred from the obtained result that survival values were positively related to global social identifications, we suspected that people from countries with lower quality of life (understood in economic, political, and structural ways), younger populations, and ones with more men than women would be more willing to emigrate to countries with higher quality of life, looking for better life perspectives regarding job market or education (see also Dennison, 2024). The analyses on the socio-demographic profile of migration indeed indicate that in terms of skilled workers seeking new job opportunities, being male, young, single, and educated increases the likelihood of migration (Migali & Scipioni, 2018). On the other hand, illegal migration seems to be determined by factors such as low income, low education, and again, being male. Additionally, in both cases, negative perceptions of the economy and politics in the current country of residence play an important role in migration (Docter, 2020). Having stronger global social identifications may have a self-serving effect in this context: when national institutions do not fully meet citizens' aspirations, global identity can provide an alternative sense of belonging—one that feels more inclusive, hopeful, and outward-looking, and makes mobility feel less threatening by extending the perceived in-group into the global community. Migrants may then feel at home everywhere, legitimizing their right to migrate, and hope that people from host countries would perhaps accept them more easily as fellow humans, giving equal treatment, rights, and benefits. Tendencies in the less affluent societies to engage with the rest of the world beyond their own countries—whether through employment opportunities, maintaining ties with family and friends who have already migrated, or educational ambitions to study abroad—may additionally enhance GSIs (see, e.g., Eugenio, 2023).

Thus, we conducted additional analyses with country-level dimensions potentially relevant in this context. We aimed at country-level variables that may be perceived as more objective, yet still related to the cultural dimensions: globalization indices, broadly understood quality of life in a country, including economic indices, and countries' social structure characteristics.

The additional results seem to support this rationale. People were more identified with all three global social identifications in societies with lower quality of life that they might want to migrate from: lower GDP per capita, higher poverty index, bigger inequalities, lower HDI, and higher indices of air pollution, less civil liberties, and higher perceived corruption, less safety, lower life expectancy, less access to medical care, and lower literacy. Indeed, statistics show that India was a top origin of international migrants (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2022) and on top scores of GSIs. Such global identifications were also higher in countries less economically and socially globalized, with more ethnic and language fractionalization, younger populations, and fewer women.

Ethnic and language fractionalization, apart from its connection to lower quality of life (lower GDP per capita, lower quality of policies and institutions, Alesina et al., 2003), provides exposure to social diversity. Additionally, poorer countries receive international help through such programs and foundations as Doctors Without Borders and many others. Being raised in diversity and receiving help from "out-groups" from an early age provide positive interethnic and intercultural interactions. Previous psychological research has shown that these kinds of experiences build a foundation for developing broader social identifications, including identification with all humanity (Hamer & McFarland, 2023).

Other potential factors

Other factors may also contribute to cross-national differences in global social identifications, and clarifying these pathways matters because global identifications can serve as a psychological resource for inclusive responses to global challenges under conditions of fragmentation and inequality (Hackett & Hamer, 2023).

First, identity socialization through education may play a role, particularly in post-colonial contexts where formal schooling has often remained strongly influenced by Western curricula while everyday socialization is embedded in local traditions (Chen et al., 2008; Graham, 2013). In many countries with a colonial past, most educational institutions were created to support the needs of the occupying power (Bjork, 2005), including countries where we found the highest GSIs: Ghana (Graham, 2013; Pinto, 2019), the Republic of South Africa (Van Der Berg & Hofmeyr, 2018), and India (Ellis, 2009). As such, African and South-East Asian youths are educated formally within the Western tradition, whereas informally within the cultures of their own country. This consistent duality throughout the developmental age, together with the aforementioned Easterners' higher tolerance for contradiction (Clobert et al., 2017; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010), may have caused citizens of these countries to develop a more global mindset. Moreover, in some countries, such as India, which we found at the top of all three global social identifications scores list, UNESCO's global citizenship education (GCE) program is being strongly incorporated into youth education (United Nations, 2024; see also Alviar-Martin & Baildon, 2022 for Asia in general, and Waghid, 2018 for South Africa). GCE is even emphasized in some countries in the region as a national economic strategy: it is aimed to prepare young people to be competitive in the global market and thereby enhance the country's economic power and status in the world (Ho, 2018). On the other hand, Western education is rather ethnocentric (Dasen & Akkari, 2008) and perhaps does not provide such a global mindset.

Second, a potential explanation of higher global social identifications may lie in philosophies that emphasize human interconnectedness and shared dignity, such as *Kapwa* (Enriquez, 1986; Mendoza & Perkinson, 2003) or *Ubuntu* (Idoniboye-Obu & Whetho, 2013; Nussbaum, 2003; Udah et al., 2025). *Kapwa*, present in the Philippines, which also scored rather high on GSIs, refers to the concept of "the unity of the self and others" and "a recognition of shared identity" (Enriquez, 1986, p. 11), which may extend to out-groups. *Ubuntu* is considered a fundamental pan-African concept, philosophy, culture, value system, belief, way of life, or mindset that governs the ways of life of people across the African continent (Kamwangamalu, 1999; Mugumbate & Chereni, 2020). It is popularly conceptualized from the saying "I am because we are, and since we are therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1990, p. 106) and an IsiZulu proverb "a person is a person through other people" (Idoniboye-Obu & Whetho, 2013; Nussbaum, 2003). In contrast with Western notions of individualism, it promotes a view of personhood rooted in relational identity and mutual care, "social justice and human values of togetherness, solidarity, equity, compassion, and interdependence" (Udah et al., 2025, p. 3). As Makalela (2018) and Namisango et al. (2021) note, *Ubuntu* promotes humanity, interconnectedness, and collective consciousness. These values, which are considered deeply ingrained in African societies, align closely with the principles underpinning global social identifications, which may partly explain why countries like Ghana and South Africa are at the top of GSIs scores.

In contrast, we find potential reasons for lower global social identifications in the Western world in its turn to the political right (Campos, 2023). It may reflect political and cultural retrenchment under perceived threat, as uncertainty and threat are theorized to increase preferences for rigid group boundaries and more exclusionary in-group definitions (Jost et al., 2003; Kinnval, 2004; Koutsokosta, 2023). Public discourse has increasingly portrayed migrants as threats to sovereignty and culture, leading to a decline in inclusive orientations and in support for global solidarity (Wodak, 2019). We observe a noticeable

return to conservative and even nationalistic values – Western countries turned away from openness and tolerance to the political right (e.g. Italy, Sweden, Finland, France, Hungary, and Poland; Koutsokosta, June 2023; Stewart, 2020; Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2017; and the USA, see, e.g., [Jones, June 2023, July 2024]), suspended asylum rights (e.g., Finland, Poland, and Greece [Cossé, 2025; European Council on Refugees and Exiles, October 2024; Vinocur et al., October 2024]), or tightened border controls (e.g., Germany, Hungary, and Poland [Lindsay, October 2024], and the USA [Center for Migration Studies, 2017; Trump, January 2025]). These developments have coincided with structural crises such as the war in Ukraine, rising inequality, growing distrust in political elites (Bergmann, 2020), and the perception of globalization as a threat (Rupar et al., 2024; Stewart, 2020; Wodak, 2019). Backlash against globalization (notably, in developed countries; Rudra et al., 2021) with anti-immigrant rhetoric (Krzyżanowski, 2020), growing protectionism, protests against international financial institutions, and the constraints placed on national sovereignty by international institutions, anti-tourism, and a general concern about the loss of local cultures (Walter, 2021) may further weaken cosmopolitan and solidarity-based orientations. The positive effect of globalization on global social identifications seems to be suppressed by resentment stemming from the feeling of threat to national sovereignty and culture (see also Zhou, 2016).

Migration levels may additionally exacerbate this shift in attitudes (Pew Research Center, June 2024). As Bessen et al. (2024) demonstrated in their research from Latin America, cosmopolitanism was positively associated with pro-immigration attitudes, but only in countries with low-to-moderate refugee numbers. This finding could be explained by the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000): in countries with lower refugee numbers, the perception of realistic threat may be reduced due to a less significant strain on public services, social benefits, and other resources. Additionally, cultural differences may be less visible in public spaces, lowering the perceived symbolic threat. Indeed, our results showed that countries with higher percentages of migrants, such as those in North America and Europe (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2022), had lower global social identifications than other countries.

LIMITATIONS

One potential limitation of this study is the use of student samples. However, prior evidence suggests that student data can still provide valid insights into cross-cultural research: Inglehart and Welzel (2010) found that cross-cultural differences are robust across various segments of society, including different educational levels. Similarly, an analysis by Flere and Lavrič (2008) comparing national and student samples from 23 countries in the World Values Survey demonstrated that student samples reliably mirror country-level rankings, making them suitable for international comparisons (see also Saucier et al., 2014).

In addition, recent findings from a large-scale 35-country project on global consciousness, of which identification with all humanity is one of the factors, revealed a country-level pattern highly similar to ours. It identified Nigeria and the Philippines at the top, and Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden at the bottom level of global consciousness (Liu et al., 2026). Notably, that project used adult community samples stratified by age, gender, and region, strengthening the argument that our results are not a function of using student populations. Liu and colleagues interpret this pattern as reflecting "the hopes and aspirations of people in the making" (Liu et al., 2026, p.1).

This is in line with our theoretical interpretation of global social identifications as symbolic and aspirational resources in developing countries. Moreover, some previous studies also support the idea that GSI may be more prevalent in countries outside the global economic core. For example, Pichler (2012) showed that while cosmopolitan orientations were more often

found in globalized societies, self-identification as a world citizen was more widespread in developing regions (see also Brieger, 2018).

Finally, we adapted the original Identification With All Humanity scale by McFarland et al. (2019), which does not contain reverse items. Some may see it as a flaw or weakness. However, reverse-worded items are considered not symmetrical; thus, many scales, including those widely used, avoid such practices (e.g., the Dirty Dozen; Żemojtel-Piotrowska et al., 2025). Moreover, previous research demonstrated that the use of reverse-worded items can lead to a culturally patterned method effect, which may distort factor structure and create measurement problems in some contexts (see, e.g., Bulut et al., 2025; Wang et al., 2015; Wong et al., 2003; Venta et al., 2022). Wong et al. (2003) reported that mixed-worded scales, combining positively and negatively worded items, challenge cross-cultural measurement equivalence and construct validity of measures. Related evidence suggests that negatively worded items tend to yield less reliable scores than positively worded items in cross-cultural comparisons (Yang et al., 2012) Along similar lines, Marjanovic and Maidens (2024) note that the Item Wording Effect may lead to systematic differences between responses to positively and negatively worded items even when they are intended to be conceptually aligned after reversal (see also Bulut et al., 2025).

Moreover, the IWAH scale, despite not having reverse items, has been pre-validated in 5 countries for cross-cultural studies, which made it particularly suitable for our 45-country study (Hamer et al., 2021). Also, there is substantial prior evidence showing systematic associations between identification with all humanity and theoretically relevant constructs and outcomes, proving its convergent/criterion validity across numerous studies, such as lower levels of islamophobia, ethnocentrism, and prejudice toward refugees (Sparkman & Hamer, 2020), lower ethnic prejudice (Bobba et al., 2024), lower dehumanization (McFarland, 2017; McFarland et al., 2019), lower support for anti-Muslim policies (Dunwoody & McFarland, 2018) and more negative attitudes toward the Russian invasion of Ukraine and toward the use of nuclear weapons (Gulevich & Osin, 2023), etc. On the other hand, it is positively associated with environmental concern, pro-environmental or climate-protective behaviors (e.g., Chan et al., 2020; Duong & Pensini, 2023; Loy et al., 2022b; see also a review paper by Pong & Tam, 2023), with support for refugees (Bilgen et al., 2024), and with a broader range of individuals perceived as morally relevant and worthy of protection (Crimston et al., 2016). Similar results were demonstrated for other GSIs (e.g., global citizenship; see the work of Reysen and colleagues).

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study carry important political implications, particularly for understanding and shaping inclusive and globally minded policies. Contrary to popular assumptions that global social identifications flourish primarily in affluent, highly globalized societies, the results reveal that individuals in less globalized countries facing greater socioeconomic challenges exhibit stronger global social identifications. This suggests that global mindset and solidarity are not necessarily products of prosperity or exposure to Western liberal norms; instead, they are more likely to emerge in contexts where survival values, collective adversity, the similarity of fate, and philosophical traditions foster a sense of shared human experience. Politicians and policymakers can draw from this insight by recognizing and supporting grassroots and cultural narratives that promote interconnectedness, especially in communities under economic or environmental stress. Instead of viewing GSI as a luxury of the elite, leaders might consider it a resource for building solidarity in times of crisis, especially across borders. For political psychology, these findings challenge WEIRD-centric models of the development of global social identifications and call for a

broader, culturally sensitive understanding of how they are formed. They also suggest that fostering humane values and acknowledging the role of cultural and structural inequalities could be key to designing interventions or educational programs aimed at strengthening global cooperation and addressing transnational challenges, such as climate change, migration, or intergroup conflicts.

CONCLUSIONS

Our 45-country study underscores the importance of moving beyond WEIRD-centric perspectives. It showed that all three global social identifications (with citizens of the world, all humanity, and people all over the world) were moderately endorsed across 45 countries and 10 cultural clusters. However, African and South-East Asian clusters had higher GSIs than other clusters, including those of WEIRD societies. The countries with the strongest global social identifications of all types were India, South Africa, and Ghana. Multilevel analyses with country-level variables demonstrated that GSIs were higher in societies with higher in-group collectivism, humane orientation, survival, and traditional values. Additional analyses confirmed these relationships using more objective indices: GSIs were stronger in countries with lower "quality of life" (broadly understood), lower globalization indices, younger populations, more men, and higher ethnic fractionalization.

These results are also discussed in the context of higher tolerance for contradiction, being raised in social diversity, and educational and philosophical traditions that provide a more global mindset within the African and South-East Asian cultural clusters. Additionally, we refer to the negative association between GSIs and higher immigration rates, as the latter may be perceived as a threat and one of the reasons for the rise of right-wing orientation in Western countries.

Additionally, by confirming scalar measurement invariance of the three separate global social identifications' scales (with citizens of the world, all humanity, and people all over the world), this research provides robust, reliable measurement tools for future studies, for the first time allowing direct comparisons of the strength of these identifications between multiple countries and cultural clusters. However, given that these reference group labels are theoretically adjacent, but in fact not fully interchangeable (see, e.g., Carmona et al., 2022; Reysen et al., 2013; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2017; Hamer et al., in preparation-b), we strongly recommend reporting the exact label used in a study and avoiding treating different labels as synonymous.

The cross-national patterns observed in our study suggest that global social identifications may emerge through multiple, context-sensitive mechanisms. In lower-income countries, GSIs may function as aspirational or legitimizing resources; in others, they may be rooted in cultural or spiritual traditions that emphasize universal belonging. Meanwhile, in Western contexts marked by cultural retrenchment, a turn to the political right and rising authoritarianism, global social identifications may be weakened by perceived threats and exclusionary politics.

At the same time, the presence of global social identifications across diverse societies speaks to a broader human potential for moral expansiveness and transnational solidarity. In an era marked by fragmentation and inequality, recognizing the varied roots of GSIs and factors contributing to their development may be essential for fostering inclusive social identifications in the world facing global challenges (Hackett & Hamer, 2023; Hamer & McFarland, 2023).

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DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in the Open Science Framework (OSF) at https://osf.io/jfym4/?view_only=c981cc8344fc4730aaf25a5e970e8ce0.

TRANSPARENCY STATEMENT

The database, scripts, outputs, and study materials used in the manuscript are available in the Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/jfym4/?view_only=c981cc8344fc4730aaf25a5e970e8ce0. This research (the study design, variables, hypotheses, methods, analyses) was preregistered on the Open Science Framework as a part of a bigger project: https://osf.io/h8tgf/?view_only=780604bdd9764453b82b073cc72e2a43. Deviations from the preregistration are described in the paper and in Supporting Information (Section 9).

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