Global Cultural Identity Among Young People in Slovakia

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It is becoming increasingly obvious that young people are facing the globalisation of personal identity. It is the result of ongoing interaction between individuals and their globalised socio-cultural environment that leads to changes in self-identification. Cultural openness and the "de-territorialisation" of identity are the key aspects of this process. The paper explores the globalisation of identities among secondary school students, using the concept of global self-identification. The analysis employs quantitative data from the *Survey of Young People's Cultural Literacy*. The globalisation of identity is captured by the Global Identity Scale (Türken, Rudmin, 2013), which consists of two dimensions – "Non-nationalism" and "Cultural Openness". The aim of the study is to examine to what extent young people in Slovakia can be characterised in terms of global self-identification and to identify what affects the propensity for global self-identification. Furthermore, it tests the relationship between global self-identification and other phenomena that are supposedly related to global identity. The results show that the global identity is present among young people in Slovakia. By applying multilevel modelling, we identified a variety of culture-related phenomena that affect cultural openness and non-nationalism, including multicultural interaction and cultural participation. In addition, the study confirms that type of school has a significant effect.

Key words: adolescents, youth, identity, global identity, cultural openness, non-nationalism, multilevel modelling

INTRODUCTION

The construction of social identity in the late-modern global world and the links between globalisation and social identity are increasingly attracting attention in the social science literature (Ariely, 2017; Arnett, 2002; Bauman, 2004; Berry, 2008; Kiliánová, 2009; Ozer, 2019; Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, 2013; Türken, Rudmin, 2013). Most studies explore psychological or socio-psychological aspects of the relationship. Our paper adds a sociological perspective to the existing literature by focusing on the globalisation of adolescents' and young people's identities. To do this we rely on the concept of global identity, measured by a global identity scale. We use the 10-item Global Identity Scale (GIS-10) developed by Türken and Rudmin (2013). They identified two sub-scales: Cultural Openness and Non-nationalism. Our study represents the first attempt to apply the two-dimensional global identity scale in Slovakia. The analysis is based on quantitative data from the *Survey of Young People's Cultural Literacy*, carried out as part of the Horizon 2020 research project *Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future* (CHIEF) between October 2019 and March 2020.

The main aim of the study is to identify whether and to what extent young people in Slovakia can be characterised in terms of global identity. Further, it focuses on the determinants of global identity, using multilevel modelling. Finally, it examines the relationship between dimensions of global identity and related phenomena, including social acceptance of diversity and attitudes towards immigrants' rights. The aim is to examine the validity of the concept of global identity in Slovakia.

The paper is structured as follows. The first part provides a review of the main theoretical arguments and empirical findings on globalisation and identity and how these interrelate. The research questions are then presented, along with a data description and the strategy behind the empirical analysis. In the third part, the results of the analysis are described and discussed. The final part summarises the findings and gives the conclusions.

GLOBALISATION AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S IDENTITY

Globalisation represents a multidimensional phenomenon that takes various forms (e.g. Bauman, 1998; Beck, 2006; Berger, Huntington, 2002; Eriksen, 2007; Guillén, 2001; Friedman, 2000; Robertson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999, 2007; Urry, 2003). Cultural globalisation connects distinct cultural areas and cultural streams that lead to homogenisation and heterogenisation (Eriksen, 2007). It makes different cultural elements broadly accessible in different parts of the world. This process of "de-territorialisation", which detaches culture from its geographical location (Tomlinson, 2007), is considered one of the most important effects of cultural globalisation. Globalisation makes social environments more culturally diverse, enabling multicultural interactions that create the conditions for multiple cultural orientations and identities (Berry, 2008).

The influence of globalisation on cultural identity formation may be particularly salient in adolescence and emerging adulthood. Many studies suggest that adolescents and youths play a pivotal role in and are at the forefront of the globalisation process (e.g. Arnett, 2002; Goossens, 2006; Jensen, 2003; Jensen, Arnett, 2012; Jensen, Arnett, McKenzie, 2011). They are most directly affected by globalisation and experience

globalisation on an everyday basis, for example through wider cultural influences on their lifestyles. This is down to the fact that young people are more sensitive to the ongoing modifications of the social structure, globalisation tendencies, and technological changes, in addition to other new conditions that overwrite the coordinates of their everyday lives (Hofreiter, Džambazovič, *Eds.*, 2020: 7). When responding to social changes, they test and cross the established boundaries and generate new models of action that can affect more stable parts of the social structure. Therefore, focusing the research on young people enables us to empirically test the emerging social theories and theoretical concepts that capture ongoing social changes.

In adolescence and emerging adulthood, individuals play an active role in socialisation, which is accompanied by identity formation, which is the most important task facing them (Arnett, 2000, 2015; Erikson, 1950, 1968). The adolescent tendency to experiment in various spheres of life affects both identity formation as well as identity itself. As Bauman (1995, 2013) puts it, identity becomes liquid and lacks precise boundaries, which prevents it from becoming fixed and embedded. In late-modern societies, the social context makes it more difficult to attain a stable and long-term identity (Gergen, 1991; Giddens, 1991; Côte, 1996, 1997). Identities are viewed as fluid, transient and simultaneously universally available (Bauman, Haugaard, 2008: 127).

Individualisation plays a key role in young people's identity formation. It affects the extent to which people have to rely on their own resources and decisions. According to Beck (2002), individualisation is a function of culture destroying processes, as young people are left alone to take key decisions, including choosing the communities they wish to establish relationships with. Wallace (1997) argues that individualisation can be defined as the tendency to develop an increasingly flexible self-awareness as the individual has to make decisions and choose identities from an increasingly complex range of options. This is accompanied by increased risk and uncertainty, as life courses are fluid and changing (Wallace, 1997: 13). Thus, individualisation offers not only a broad range of opportunities for finding one's own self-definition and self-identification (Côte, Schwartz, 2002), but also some challenges. These pitfalls stem from the fact that freedom requires a great deal from people, placing pressures on them that they may not be personally equipped to handle adequately (ibid.: 573–574).

Experimentation, which is characteristic of adolescence and emerging adulthood, leads to a greater openness to accept various influences. In combination with globalisation, it creates new conditions for young people's identity formation and leads to changes in self-identification (Arnett, 2002; Beck, 2002; Luyckx, Soenens, Goossens, 2006; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Meca, Ritchie, 2012). Cultural globalisation significantly strengthens young people's curiosity, which is a precondition for obtaining information about other cultures as well as participating in other cultures. Technological development supports these processes, as teenagers become accultured to the global culture through more indirect interactions in virtual reality (Jensen, 2003; Schlegel, 2001). Stronger self-identification with the global community and a stronger sense of belonging represent the key manifestations of cultural globalisation. They are accompanied by shifts in value orientations that subsequently affect the ways in which young people perceive the world and behave towards other individuals and social groups.

Exposure to different cultures or participation in activities rooted in different cultures can lead to identity confusion (Arnett, 2002). Young people face the challenge

of adapting not only to their own local culture, but the global one as well. As globalisation challenges and changes local cultures, young people may no longer feel at home locally and globally (Hermans, Dimaggio, 2007). In this case, one can talk about "deterritorialised" (Tomlinson, 1999), "delocalised" (Thompson, 1995), and "unrooted" (Friedman, 2000) identities which have no relationship to any culture.

There are various adaptive mechanisms concerning identities and cultural diffusion that have emerged as a result of globalisation. According to Arnett (2002), bicultural identity develops during emerging adulthood: one part of young people's identity is rooted in their local culture and another part is attuned to the global situation. A hybrid identity is a mix of elements of global and local situations (see also Hermans, 2015; Hermans, Kempen, 1998; Schwartz, Birman, Benet-Martínez, Unger, 2017). On the one hand, a certain degree of alternation allows a flexibility that young people often want. On the other hand, it may exacerbate the confusion and instability that is characteristic of this part of the life cycle (Arnett, 2015). Nonetheless, a dual identity (or multiple, contextually dependent identities) (Türken, Rudmin, 2013) enables young people to have a global identity in addition to their local identity. This is an important psychological effect of globalisation (Diaz, Zirkel, 2012; Ozer, 2019; Sampson, 1989). Arnett (2002) even argues that globalisation has a primary influence on issues of identity in that it changes people's reference points vis-à-vis their social world.

Incorporating global cultures into one's identity is referred to as globalisation-based acculturation (Berry, 2008; Chen, Benet-Martínez, Bond, 2008; Ferguson, Bornstein, 2012). As Ozer argues (2019: 166), globalisation-based acculturation is not triggered by international relocation as suggested in traditional acculturation theory. Instead these acculturation processes pertain to direct or mediated intercultural contact leading to bicultural orientations that combine local and global traditions and norms and values through a more selective incorporation of various cultural elements (Chen et al., 2008: 806). Cultural globalisation is emerging as a field of research that examines local reactions to global cultural interaction (Ozer, 2017).

Global orientation is a focal point of research into globalisation-based acculturation (Chen, Lam, Hui, Ng, Mak, Guan, Buchtel, Tang, Lau, 2016). Global orientation responds to globalisation-based acculturation through a proactive (multicultural acquisition) approach and a defensive approach (ethnic protection). Both approaches consist of affective, behavioural and cognitive components, which differ in several ways. The proactive component of global orientation involves learning and using new languages (other than one's mother tongue), obtaining new cultural knowledge and multicultural experiences, learning new customs, cultural norms and traditions, appreciating cultural diversity, recognising cultural differences, and making social contact with cultural others. Nonetheless, globalisation often goes hand in hand with retention of the local culture. Global orientations thus also contain a defensive component – the affirmation of one's heritage culture vis-à-vis outside influences, such as sticking to one's cultural norms and practices regardless of the cultural context, holding fixed beliefs about cultural groups, believing in the superiority of one's own culture, and feeling uneasy about cultural interactions. There are also other differences between the two components. Multicultural acquisition involves the selection of useful cultural elements and correlates positively with openness to experience, extraversion, restraint, intellect, self-esteem and cross-cultural efficacy, among other things. By contrast, ethnic protection

is negatively correlated with many of these outcomes and is associated with conservatism, ethnocentrism and resisting intercultural interaction (Chen et al., 2016; Ozer, 2017). Both types of response are based on different strategies: while multicultural acquisition is about maximizing gains from intercultural contacts, ethnic protection is about minimising potential losses by avoiding cultural diversity. Although proactive and defensive responses seem to be contradictory, they can occur simultaneously.

Global identity is often understood as a superordinate identity or a cosmopolitan identity that is conceptualised as global citizenship or identification with humanity as a whole (Reese, Proch, Finn, 2015; Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, 2013). As Ariely (2017: 88) states, global identity thus constitutes a higher-order category that includes other social categories such as local or national identities. A globally oriented person is assumed to have a strong attachment to a global community and perceive all human beings as members of a single superordinate group. It is argued that a superordinate identity can affect social relationships (for example by increasing willingness to protect the environment or increasing global awareness), relations between social groups, attitudes, as well as forms of action (Ariely, 2017, Rosenmann, Reese, Cameron, 2016).

Research on identity has become a dynamic area of social science inquiry that sheds light on other aspects of social life (Bauman, 2004). The definition of identity is based on Erikson's (1950) understanding that identity is a multidimensional and contextual self-definition. Identity develops through dynamic and continuous interaction between individuals and socio-cultural environments and their context, which comprises personal, social and cultural aspects of identity (Ozer, 2019). While the marked fragmentation and weak integration of the research on identities is attracting growing attention among social scientists, globalisation and multicultural contact provide arguments for the interconnection of all concepts of identity (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, 2008). Personal identity refers to the individual self-organisation of personal goals, values and beliefs that relate to a person's self-conception. Social identity describes the individual's sense of solidarity with the ideals of specific social groups. Cultural identity depicts both the self-organisation of specific beliefs, values and ideals relating to certain cultural groups and one's feelings about belonging to one or more of these groups (Ozer, 2019: 171–175). In a multicultural society, defining oneself culturally may represent one way in which personal identity can be facilitated (Schwartz et al., 2008). Specifically, it is possible that the adoption of a specific set of cultural values and practices helps one to consolidate a sense of personal identity. Personal identity is developed through a cultural or social community. Cultural and social identity is an important part of personal identity that represents collective identities and refers to belonging to socially defined categories. Cultural identity and its formation involves the selection of cultures and making decisions about cultural communities with which the person can establish a relationship and sense of belonging.

European, cosmopolitan and global identity represent identities formed against the backdrop of globalisation-based acculturation. They provide a feeling of belonging to a wider European and global culture, as well as an awareness of their various aspects. They become new accepted identities. Socially accepted (consensual) identities provide certainty in social life as well as order and predictability (Kusá, 1997: 259). For adolescents and young people, they represent an important crutch for self-identification in the late-modern societies.

THE CHALLENGE OF RESEARCHING GLOBAL IDENTITY
AND GLOBAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION IN SLOVAKIA

After a long period of "isolation", a "new era of identities" began in the early 1990s in Slovakia: both in terms of identity formation and identity research. During the radical social changes, personal and collective identities underwent transformation, and this has increasingly attracted the attention of social scientists[1] (Bačová, *Ed.*, 1996; Bačová, Kusá, *Eds.*, 1997; Csáky, Mannová, *Eds.*, 1999; Kiliánová, Kowalská, Krekovičová, *Eds.*, 2009; Lášticová, Bianchi, 2003; Marušiak, Ferencová, *Eds.*, 2005). However, the Velvet Revolution in 1989 and the related democratisation were not the only new impulses for identity formation and transformation. Nation-state building and "Europeanisation", completed by joining the EU, also played role. Consequently Slovakia was an ideal social laboratory for studying local, ethnic and national identities, self-identification processes and feelings of belonging to macro-social entities (Bolfíková, Frankovský, 1997; Frankovský, 1997) and to larger social units (Bačová, 1996).

It was argued that identity formation (and transformation) should be examined in relation to specific social, cultural, political and historical contexts (Bačová, 1994; Tajfel, 1981), as it is determined by the continuous interaction between individuals and their socio-cultural environment. The interaction ensures the dynamism of identities (Reicher, 2004) because identity changes as the interaction changes. This argument was also heard in the growing calls for contextual variables to be considered in the research on identities (Výrost, Bačová, 1996: 141). The re/construction of young people's identities in the age of (cultural) globalisation is another important contextual element that extended the research scope in Slovakia.

Research on collective identities in Slovakia has shown that the young generation (the under 25s), women and university graduates have a stronger identification with macro-social entities (Europe, Central Europe). By contrast, older generations and non-graduates tend to identify with their municipality or region (Bačová, 1996; Bolfíková, Frankovský, 1997; Frankovský, 1997; Lášticová, Bianchi, 2003; Výrost, Bačová, 1996). Research in other countries has obtained similar results.[2] In addition, it identified other differentiating factors, higher geographical mobility, cosmopolitan behaviours (e.g., reading international news), linguistic proficiency, the ethnic heterogeneity of family and positive intergroup contacts (Christ, Loliot, Swart, Schmid et al., 2014; Boehnke, Fuss, 2004; Türken, Rudmin, 2013).

Global identity involves a "cultural openness", which represents clusters of attitudes or redispositions (Roudometof, 2005) that evoke attachment to specific places, institutions,

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1 The research in Slovakia has also focused on the theoretical conceptualisation of identities and their construction. We do not intend to present a critical review of the Slovak and international discussions on these topics. Moreover, these are still very much ongoing, including discussions on static/dynamic concepts of identity, strong/weak concepts of identity, the individual/social approach to identity, and essentialism/social constructivism (Brubaker, Cooper, 2000). What is important to note is that the concept of identity collapsed in a number of approaches and that this heterogeneity exists not only across the social sciences, but also within them (Holubová, 2016: 47).

2 McFarland, Hackett, Hamer, Katzarska-Miler, Malsch, Reese, Reysen (2019) offer an excellent review of the research on global human identification and citizenship, including the Global Identity Scale used in this study.

locales or traditions. When distinguishing local, ethnic, national, cosmopolitan and global levels, one can identify people with more (or less) "open" attitudes towards the world; that is, who are less (or more) "bound" by territorial, ethnical and national cultural attachments. Previous research has also shown that people with a global identity tend to display lower levels of xenophobia, ethnocentrism and social distance, lower prejudice, lower dehumanisation toward many groups and tend to express more positive attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers and show a greater willingness to accept members of outgroups. Global identity strongly predicts greater concern for human rights, global injustices and poverty, and the global environment (Ariely, 2017; Chen et al., 2016; McFarland et al., 2019; Reysen, Hackett, 2017).

The school environment represents an important factor behind the global identification of adolescents and young people. Educational institutions play an active role in creating a normative environment that promotes cultural openness and this could be enhanced by schools making global citizenship part of their mission and vision statements, offering service learning and study abroad opportunities, promoting interactions between domestic and international students, encouraging the study of foreign languages, holding extracurricular activities that promote global learning and generally highlighting connections between the school and the world (McFarland et al., 2019: 160). Research in Slovakia has shown that an open and stimulating school environment, the type of (secondary) school, regional affiliation, the inclusion of books among sources of information on politics and history are among the most important educational factors influencing students' intergroup attitudes and leading to more tolerant attitudes towards minorities (Kalmárová, Lášticová, Findor, Hruška, 2017). Learning about cultural diversity, migration, foreigners or minorities are other key factors (Gallová Kriglerová, Kadlečíková, 2009).

Cultural globalisation opens up a wide range of options for geographically dispersed groups to form close relationships. Identifying with various groups and value frameworks can create the conditions for constructing collective identities. These identities may be nested and bounded (Lášticová, 2009). Some self-categorisations of multiple identity may be more accessible and more permanent than those used infrequently or that are constructed. Global identity, captured in the expressions "global community", "global citizenship", "common global humanity" and "citizen of the world" are some of these new social representations. Global identity is something "extra", something that is additional to the locally nested identity, or that can serve as an alternative to it. It is a new response to the questions "Who are we?" and "Where do we belong?".

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES, DATA AND METHODS

By drawing on theoretical arguments and previous research, and pursuing the objectives set out in the introduction, we will answer the following research questions. Are there young people who tend towards a global self-identification? Do multicultural interaction and cultural participation patterns affect level of global self-identification? Does having diverse close friends play a role? And what can be said about the role of schools? Does global self-identification relate to positive attitudes towards members of other groups?

We use quantitative data from the *Survey of Young People's Cultural Literacy*, carried out from October 2019 to March 2020 as part of the Horizon 2020 research project *Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future* (CHIEF). The survey sample consists of 27 public secondary schools and 1,679 students aged between 16 and 19. The schools were selected based on two categories of criteria: location characteristics and school characteristics. In the first step, three locations (districts/micro-regions) were selected based on level of urbanisation, socio-economic development and ethnic/national diversity. In each location, 10 public schools were selected with an equal representation of the different types of school. Three schools were not included in the sample because of the coronavirus pandemic restrictions. Three questionnaires were used: a student questionnaire, a school questionnaire and a location questionnaire used by the researchers to collect additional information about the schools and their location.

Global identity was measured using the 10-item Global Identity Scale (GIS-10), which was developed by Türken and Rudmin (2013). The authors identified two sub-scales, so the first step of the empirical analysis is to verify the dimensionality of GIS-10. Then, we estimate global identification levels in young people in Slovakia and their correlates. The next step is to apply multilevel modelling in order to identify the key determinants. We opted for multilevel regression models instead of the standard multiple regression approach because we are interested in the effects of the higher-level units – the schools within which the students are nested.

GLOBAL IDENTIFICATION AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE IN SLOVAKIA: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The GIS-10 scale was proposed as a single measure consisting of ten Likert-type items related to identification with different cultures and global entities, as well as perception of culture and nation. Responses range from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Using data from Norway, Türken and Rudmin (2013) showed that the scale contains two subscales: "Cultural Openness" and "Non-nationalism". The explanatory factor analysis of the data from the *Survey of Young People's Cultural Literacy* in Slovakia confirms this, as Table 1 shows.[3] The first five items in Table 1 represent the Cultural Openness scale and the remaining five items the Non-nationalism scale. A stronger global identification is indicated by a higher score on the first scale and a lower score on the second scale. Both scales have high internal consistency: the Cronbach's alpha value for the Cultural Openness scale is 0.734 and the Cronbach's alpha value for the Non-nationalism scale is 0.809.

There is a weak (negative) relationship between the two scales. Pearson's coefficient *r* value is -0.23 and Spearman's coefficient rho value is -0.25 (both values are significant at 0.01). In order to examine the strength of the relationship we ran a confirmatory factor analysis in AMOS software. It confirmed that the link between the two scales is weak.[4] There is therefore no empirical support for using the Global Identity Scale as single scale. We analyse the two distinct dimensions of global identification separately.

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3   We present the results of the orthogonal rotation (used by the authors of the scale). Oblique rotation generates the same solution (with slightly different values for the factor loadings).

Table 1: Sub-scales of the Global Identity Scale: factor loadings and average scores

	Explanatory factor analysis: factor loadings		Average score of item (st. deviation)
	Factor 1 (Cultural Openness	Factor 2 (Non-nationalism)	
I identify with a global community/common global humanity.	**0.773**	-0.063	2.9 (0.9)
I enjoy learning about different cultures.	**0.755**	0.082	3.5 (1.1)
I could easily live in other cultures/countries than my own.	**0.693**	-0.300	3.1 (1.1)
I like listening to music from different cultures.	**0.657**	0.047	4.0 (1.0)
I consider myself more as a citizen of the world than a citizen of some nation.	**0.553**	-0.306	2.7 (1.1)
My own culture is the best in the whole world.	-0.117	**0.763**	2.5 (1.1)
One should first care for his or her nation, then others.	0.08	**0.593**	3.4 (1.2)
I feel intense pride when I think about my country.	-0.036	**0.825**	2.8 (1.1)
I feel most connected to members of my own country.	-0.106	**0.766**	3.1 (1.1)
My country is one of the best in the world.	-0.132	**0.787**	2.3 (1.1)

The average score for the Cultural Openness scale was 3.26 (the confidence interval was 3.22–3.29). That means that on average young people have a global self-identification, but not a strong one. The average score for the Non-nationalism scale was 2.80 (the confidence interval was 2.75–2.83), indicating that the same applies to the second dimension. In order to identify young people with a stronger position on both dimensions, we recoded the two scores into two new variables, by transforming them

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4   Results of the confirmatory factor analysis are not included due to the limited space. They are available from the authors upon request.

into z-scores. Each new variable represents a categorical variable with four categories: one standard deviation above and below the sample mean, more than one standard deviation above and below the sample mean. Using the new variables based on the z-scores, we can calculate:

a) the proportion of students who score very high on the Cultural Openness dimension (z-score is above 1) and very low on the Non-nationalism dimension (z-score is below -1);

b) the proportion of students who score high on the Cultural Openness dimension (z-score is above the sample mean) and low on the Non-nationalism dimension (z-score is below the sample mean).

Very strong proponents of cultural openness (z-score above 1) and non-nationalism (z-score below 1) account for 5% of the sample. Regarding the broader definition of global identification, 27% of students had a combination of an above-average score on cultural openness and a low below-average score on non-nationalism. Figure 1 shows the composition of this category.

Figure 1: Composition of the category of young people with a strong global identification (%)
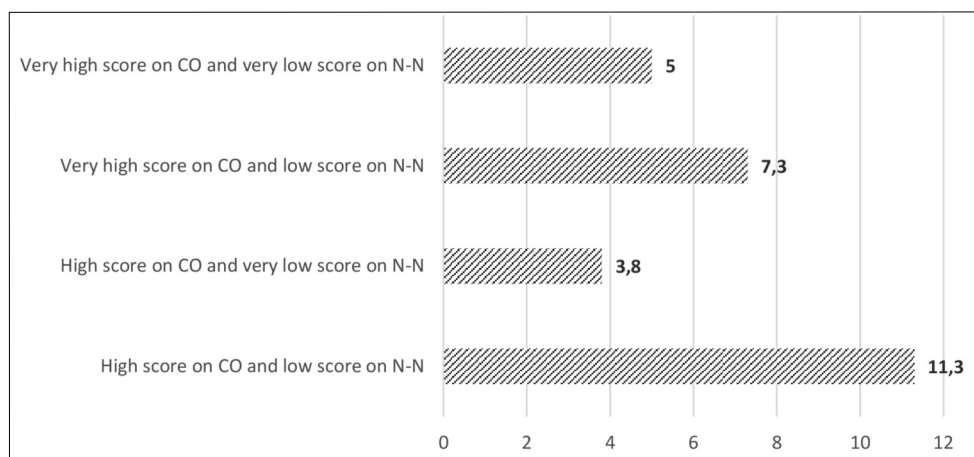
Note: CO stands for the Cultural Openness scale, N-N for the Non-nationalism scale.

DETERMINANTS OF GLOBAL IDENTITIFICATION

To examine what affects the global identity dimensions we employ multilevel linear regression models for two outcome variables: the cultural openness scale and non-nationalism scale. We are interested in individual level effects, including the effects of cultural participation, multicultural interaction, and socio-economic background, and higher level effects, taking into account the role of the school.

Based on arguments mentioned earlier, we assume that stronger cultural participation will result in a higher cultural openness score. Our focus is on "high-brow" culture, represented by four types of cultural activity: visiting museums, galleries and exhibitions;

visiting the theatre or other art performances, visiting historical sites and monuments; and visiting the library. The focus on "high-brow" cultural activities was selected because these are far more widespread among persons of a higher socio-economic status, who also tend to score higher on cultural openness. Cultural participation is indicated by the index "number of frequent cultural activities", which measures the number of cultural activities that respondents do frequently or very frequently. Index values range from 0 (respondent does not participate frequently or very frequently in any of the activities) to 4 (respondent participates frequently or very frequently in all four activities).

Multicultural interaction is captured by several variables at both the individual and school level. Assuming that travel increases opportunities for interaction with other cultures, we employ a dummy variable called "Frequent Travel Abroad", which distinguishes respondents who travelled to European countries more than three times in the last two years with respondents who did so less frequently. Another aspect of multicultural interaction is indicated by communication with people from other cultures. In the survey, data about various forms of communication were collected, including talking, socializing and written communication (emails, text messages and social media posts). We use written communication as a proxy for multicultural interaction because of its accessibility and prevalence. Although this type of communication does not necessarily indicate the nature of the contact based on written communication, the absence of such communication represents a specific condition that tells us something about the degree of cultural openness and nationalism. In addition, written communication, particularly in the form of emails or social media messages, indicates an active effort to communicate with other people. We include a dummy variable "lack of communication" in the models, which has value 1 if the respondent does not communicate with people from different cultures. The variable "learning about human rights and dignity" is a dummy variable that identifies educational content that may influence young people's global identification. In order to identify the conditions enabling multicultural interaction at the school level, opportunities to study abroad provided by the school are taken into account, using a dummy variable.

We assume that having a variety of close ties/close contacts with otherness plays a role in identity formation. In the survey, respondents were asked to report how many of their friends came from different cultural and economic backgrounds.[5] The variable "close friend homogeneity" indicates the number of possible different backgrounds that were not represented among the respondent's close friends. The values range from 5 (all five characteristics are missing) to 0 (none of the characteristics is missing). This allowed us to measure the homogeneity of close friends.

At the individual level, the models include indicators of socio-economic status and controls for gender and degree of urbanization. Socio-economic status is indicated by self-assessed household income (1 = difficulty getting by, 0 = no difficulty getting by) and by parental education level. Here, we took the highest parental education level.

At the school level, a dummy variable "type of school" was used to distinguish between grammar schools (*gymnáziá*) and other schools. Socio-economic status of

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5   Respondents reported how many of their close friends belonged to a different religion, ethnicity, were born in a another country, and were richer or poorer. They could choose from four categories: none of them, a few, most, all of them.

locality indicates whether the school is located in a locality which is below the country average. Table 2 provides the basic descriptive statistics of all variables.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of variables in sample used in multilevel models

	N	Mean	St.dev.	Min.	Max.
Dependent variables					
Cultural openness	1,679	3.26	0.74	1	5
Nationalism	1,679	2.79	0.83	1	5
Individual level variables					
Female (dummy)	1,679	0.49	0.50	0	1
Difficulty managing on income (dummy)	1,679	0.07	0.26	0	1
Parent's education = primary education (dummy)	1,655	0.10	0.29	0	1
Parent's education = secondary education (dummy)	1,655	0.44	0.49	0	1
Frequent travel abroad (dummy)	1,659	0.41	0.49	0	1
Number of frequent cultural activities	1,642	0.51	0.88	0	4
Close friend homogeneity	1,641	1.87	1.44	0	5
Absence of communication with people from another culture (dummy)	1,663	0.38	0.48	0	1
Learning about human rights and human dignity = yes (dummy)	1,665	0.71	0.45	0	1
Degree of urbanization = big city (dummy)	1,665			0	1
Degree of urbanization = town, small town (dummy)	1,665			0	1
School level variables					
School type = grammar school (dummy)	27	0.47	0.49	0	1
SES of school locality = below average (dummy)	27	0.38	0.48	0	1
Opportunity to study abroad = yes (dummy)	24	0.43	0.49	0	1

We ran three multilevel models with a random intercept for each dependent variable. In the first step, we estimated a null model with no independent variables in order to explore interclass correlation (ICC). In the second step, we ran a random intercept model with individual-level variables. Finally, we added school-level variables. Due to the limited space, we report only the results for the models with individual- and school-level variables. Nevertheless, we discuss changes in random effects, variance and model fit statistics.

Interclass correlation, which expresses the amount of variance in the outcome explained by the grouping structure (Heck, Thomas, Tabata, 2010), was 0.11 for the dependent variable "Cultural Openness" and 0.04 for "Non-nationalism". Although the ICC does not have an exact cut-off point, 0.05 is commonly used (ibid.). A multilevel analysis appears to offer limited advantages in the case of "Non-nationalism". The results of the multilevel analysis, discussed later, confirm this.

The results of the multilevel models are provided in Table 3. Regarding the dependent variable "Cultural openness", several types of factor play an important role. All the factors relating to multicultural interaction show statistically significant effects. Young people who frequently travel abroad and communicate with people from another cultural background score higher on the Cultural Openness scale. There is a negative relationship between cultural openness and close friend homogeneity. In other words, the less diverse a person's friends are, the less culturally open the person is.

Engaging in a range of (frequent) cultural events affects cultural openness: as the number of frequent cultural activity increases, the higher the score on the scale. The third category of factors relate to the school environment and affect both individual experience (individual level) and system characteristics (school level). Curricular content plays a role, with respondents who learn about human rights and human dignity in school more likely to score higher on the cultural openness scale. At the school level, cultural openness levels are higher at grammar schools than at other types of secondary school.

Gender is the only background variable that has a significant effect. Female students have significantly higher scores on cultural openness. The socio-economic status of the household does not appear to affect cultural openness. Neither subjective assessments of household income nor parental education play a role.

Regarding the random parts of the models, adding the individual-level predictors to the null model reduced between-school variability from 0.06 to 0.03. Expansion of the model – by adding the school-level predictors – reduced school-level variance from 0.03 to 0.02. Information criteria show that moving from the null model to the multilevel model with individual-level and school-level variables improves model fit. For each successive model, the value of -2LL decreased (from 3,624 for the null model to 2,920 for the final model shown in Table 3). The histograms and quantile normal plots indicate that the distribution of residuals is close to a normal distribution.

Table 3: Results of the multilevel linear regression, with the dependent variables "Cultural openness" and "Non-nationalism", random intercept models

	Cultural Openness		Non-nationalism	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
(Intercept)	3.089***	0.085	2.700***	0.096
Female	0.217***	0.040	-0.169***	0.048
Difficulty managing income = yes	-0.095	0.069	-0.095	0.084
Parent's education = primary education	0.068	0.072	0.042	0.088
Parent's education = secondary education	0.054	0.043	0.022	0.052
Frequent travel abroad = yes	0.111**	0.039	-0.027	0.048
Number of frequent cultural activities	0.045**	0.012	0.064	0.026
Close friend homogeneity	-0.055***	0.013	0.021	0.016
Lack of communication with people from another culture = yes	-0.237***	0.039	0.103*	0.047
Learning about human rights in school = yes	0.099**	0.041	0.207***	0.050
Degree of urbanization = big city	0.087	0.056	0.003	0.067
Degree of urbanization = town, small town	0.039	0.041	-0.032	0.050
School level variables				
School type = grammar school	0.222***	0.076	-0.072	0.079
SES of school locality = below country average	-0.074	0.075	0.063	0.066
Opportunity to study abroad = yes	-0.032	0.074	-0.034	0.076
Estimates of covariance parameters				
Residual	0.44		0.66	
School-level variance	0.02		0.02	
Information criteria				
AIC	2924.25		3452.11	
-2 restricted log-likelihood	2920.25		3448.10	

Note: ***/**/* indicates a 1%/5% /10% level of significance.

The same set of independent variables was applied when estimating the model for the dependent variable "Non-nationalism". As Table 3 shows, we obtained a different picture, at both the individual and school level. The effects of the two indicators of multicultural interaction – travel abroad and having close friends from the same cultural and economic background – disappear. The third indicator – communicating with people from different cultures – remains a significant determinant: young people who do not communicate with people from different cultures tend to have a higher score on the Non-nationalism scale than those who do. Put another way, this form of multicultural

interaction lowers the level of nationalism. Learning about human rights and human dignity operates in the same direction. Unlike in the "Cultural Openness" model, there were no significant determinants of "Non-nationalism" at the school level. This is because of the overall low variance at school level, as indicated by the ICC mentioned above.

In this case the addition of predictors does not reduce between-school variability (0.02). Model fit improves for each successive model, with -2LL falling from 4,125 for the null model to 3,448 for the final model shown in Table 3. The distribution of the residuals is not a normal distribution, violating the assumptions of the multilevel analysis.

GLOBAL IDENTIFICATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHERNESS

People with a global identity are assumed to have a stronger attachment to the global community and perceive all human beings as members of a single superordinate group. It has been argued that global identification can affect social relationships (for example by increasing willingness to protect the environment or raising global awareness), relations between social groups, attitudes, and forms of action (Ariely, 2017). To test these hypotheses, we analyse the relationships between global identification and attitudes towards members of other groups, indicated by support for immigrants' rights and acceptance of neighbourhood diversity.

First, the single items of scales are considered in order to obtain a clear view of the elements of the scales, which will later be compared based on their average values. Acceptance of neighbourhood diversity was measured by asking respondents whether they would feel comfortable having a neighbour who belongs to a different group (with responses ranging from 1 to 5). As Table 4 shows, students tended to feel less comfortable having neighbours from another religion, with a physical disability or different skin colour. In contrast, they felt more comfortable with neighbours from another region or country. It is important to mention that all average results are above the midpoint, thus on average, students felt more comfortable than not.

Support for immigrants' rights was measured by four Likert-type statements, where respondents declared how much they agreed or disagreed with them (with responses ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Students, on average, were neutral regarding the immigrants' rights to have the opportunity to maintain their own language, customs and lifestyle. Stronger agreement was expressed in relation to equality of educational opportunity for immigrant children.

The "Acceptance of Neighbourhood Diversity" scale has high internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.902. The average score for the scale is 3.4, indicating that, on average, young people tend to accept the diversity of their neighbourhood. The Cronbach's alpha for the "Support for Immigrants' Rights" scale has a value of 0.802, showing good internal consistency. The average score (3.2) indicates positive attitudes towards immigrants and their rights.

Table 4: Items on the "Support for Immigrants' Rights" and "Acceptance of Neighbourhood Diversity" scales

	Average score	Std. deviation
Support for immigrants' rights		
Immigrants should have the opportunity to keep their own language (e.g. use it in public)	2.9	1.1
Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have	3.8	1.1
Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections	3.1	1.1
Immigrants should have the opportunity to maintain their own customs and lifestyle	3.0	1.1
"Attitudes towards immigrants" Scale	*3.2*	*0.86*
Acceptance of neighbourhood diversity[1]		
Persons from different regions of country	3.6	1.2
Person from another country	3.5	1.3
Persons with a different skin colour	3.4	1.3
Persons with a physical disability	3.2	1.3
Persons of another religion	3.2	1.2
"Acceptance of Neighbourhood Diversity" Scale	*3.4*	*1.1*

Table 5 provides information about the strength of the relationships between the two dimensions of global self-identification and attitudes to the otherness. In addition to Pearson's correlation coefficient *r*, we use Spearman's coefficient *rho* to control for violation of the assumption of normal distribution. The results support some of the hypotheses stated in the literature. There is a strong positive correlation between cultural openness and support for immigrants' rights among young people in Slovakia: young people who are more open to different cultures tend to show more empathy for people coming from other countries. There is no support for the hypothesis that there is a strong correlation between cultural openness and acceptance of diversity. Regarding non-nationalism, the hypotheses about the relationship with attitudes towards otherness were not confirmed.

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6   The question reads as follows: "How comfortable would you feel having neighbours belonging to the following groups"? (1 = not at all comfortable, 5 = very comfortable)

Table 5: Correlations between dimensions of global self-identification and attitudes to otherness

	Acceptance of neighbourhood		Support for immigrants' rights diversity	
	Pearson's *r*	Spearman's *rho*	Pearson's *r*	Spearman's *rho*
Cultural openness	0.21**	0.24**	0.44**	0.42**
Non-nationalism	-0.07**	-0.07**	0.21**	0.20**

Note: ** = values are statistically significant at level 0.01

Young people with a strong global identification on the "Acceptance of Neighbourhood Diversity" and "Support for Immigrants' Rights" score far above the sample average. When comparing young people with a strong global identification and those without a strong global identification, significant differences were identified. Students with a strong global identification had higher average scores on both the "Acceptance of Neighbourhood Diversity" (3.6 vs. 3.2) and "Support for Immigrants' Rights" (3.6 vs. 3.1) scales.[7] Thus, a strong global identity forms the basis of distinct relationships to otherness.

CONCLUSION

More than half a century ago, Gordon Allport (1958) asked whether humanity could constitute an in-group. The current level of cultural globalisation merely serves to underline the importance of this question. The research on identities, which focuses on the construction of identities among adolescents, shows that socio-cultural contexts have a formative influence. Therefore, it should come as no surprise to find that cultural globalisation and its effects on young people's identities have become an important area of social research. On the one hand, cultural globalisation can lead to "deterritorialised" or "delocalised" identities, as well as opportunities to form multiple cultural orientations and identities. Global self-identification with "macro-structures" is a typical example. On the other hand, globalisation is associated with concerns regarding cultural homogenisation and the loss of locally nested identities.

Our research builds on the 10-item Global Identity Scale (GIS-10), which consists of two sub-scales: "Cultural Openness" and "Non-nationalism". The aim was to identify the presence of global identification among young students and its determinants. We found that it is part of self-identification processes among young people in Slovakia and is affected by various forms of multicultural interaction and cultural participation. We showed that communicating with people from different cultures, travelling abroad, having friends from different backgrounds and participating in "high-brow" cultural activities are important factors in Slovakia. Thus, global identification in Slovakia entails the acquisition of new cultural practices and multicultural experiences and valuing cultural diversity. Cultural openness, which is a key element of young people's global

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7   The differences were statistically significant at level 0.01.

identity, is linked to other value orientations, including the acceptance of social diversity and support for immigrants' rights. The finding that type of school has an effect on Cultural Openness scores, along with the effect of human rights educational content, indicates that we should not focus on individual experiences and dispositions alone. The ability of the education system, through its characteristics and content, to influence globalisation of identities deserves further research.

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