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ATTITUDES TOWARD GLOBALIZATION
AND IDENTITY STYLES

The main aim of the article is to show the possible relations between attitudes toward globalization as described by Senejko and Łoś and the specificity of identity styles as described by Berzonsky. The participants were 601 people aged 16-26 – school students, university students, and working people from the Dolnośląskie Voivodeship, Poland. We used the following instruments: The World–I Questionnaire (measuring attitudes toward globalization) and the Identity Style Inventory (ISI-5). The results obtained in correlational analyses and cluster analyses show that people with a strongly manifested accepting attitude toward globalization are characterized mainly by the informational style and the least strongly by the normative and diffuse-avoidant styles. As the results showed, the critical attitude toward globalization occurs in the form of two clusters: (1) with strong critical and accepting attitudes (people with this configuration of attitudes exhibit a strongly expressed informational identity style and commitment and a weakly expressed normative style); (2) with strong critical and fearful attitudes (individuals with this configuration of attitudes mainly exhibit the normative identity style and commitment). People with a strongly expressed fearful attitude toward globalization typically use the diffuse-avoidant or normative styles, while the least strongly expressed identity style in this group is the informational style and commitment. Cluster analysis made it also possible to distinguish people with a distanced attitude toward globalization, characterized by fairly strong identity commitment.

Keywords: identity styles; attitudes toward globalization; private conceptions of the globalized world.

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INTRODUCTION

Analyzing identity from a functional perspective, it can be said (following Erik H. Erikson's line of thought) that the main function of identity is to root a person in themselves and in the surrounding world, an elusive result of which is a sense of one's own existence, a sense that one is and has the right to be where one is (cf. Erikson, 2002, p. 9). The course of the identity formation process is a way of performing this function. It should be supposed that the main mechanism through which the identity formation process takes place is being in relations: with oneself, with others, and with the social reality. This proposition does not go against the way of thinking adopted by Erikson himself (2002, p. 93), who assumes that, above all, personal identity has a psychosocial dimension. What is characteristic is that all the mechanisms mentioned by Erikson (identification, sublimation, ritualizations, etc.) relate the person to specific aspects of reality, making it possible either to become part of them or to reject them. However, the identity formation mechanism has not been described based on relations with reality (mainly social) experienced globally, as a whole (cf. Marcia, 1980; Berzonsky & Kuk, 2005; Crocetti, Berzonsky, & Meeus, 2012; Luyckx, Klimstra, Duriez, Schwartz, & Vanhalst, 2012; Kröger & Marcia, 2012; Seiffge-Krenke & Haid, 2012). We regard this as the basic problem, which can be expressed by means of the following question: are the person's relations with the current social reality experienced as a whole and as a historically specific phenomenon linked with the person's identity, and if so, what links are there?

Attitudes toward globalization
and lay concepts of the global world

To answer the above research question, we make use of the *model of attitudes toward globalization* (Senejko & Łoś, 2011; Senejko & Łoś, 2014). The model is based on several assumptions. The first one is connected with the person's way of experiencing globalization. Attitude toward globalization – that is, the person's response to the contemporary globalized reality treated as a comprehensive phenomenon – is (1) a result of direct experience of globalization and (2) the basis for a mediated experience of it. In the course of direct experience of globalization and its specific aspects, the person performs a categorization of globalization, building its picture in the mind.

The categorization of globalization is a cognitive structure consisting of those dimensions of the globalized world that the person regards as the most impor-

tant (category labels), together with attributes concretizing them (cf. Cantor & Mischel, 1993). In accordance with the line of thinking pursued by Susan Fiske and Mark Pavelchak (1993), it is supposed that each attribute that is used to describe the globalized reality has an affective tag, indicating its evaluative value. Also each of the category labels (here: the categories of what the person regards as the main dimensions of globalization) has an affective tag, which substitutes for the evaluations of all the attributes associated with a given label. Therefore, we assume that the categorization of globalization develops based on giving **personal meaning** – expressed by an affective tag – **to experience** connected with the person's relations with the globalized reality (cf. Molden & Dweck, 2006; Lachowicz-Tabaczek, 2004). What influences giving personal meaning to direct human experience of various aspects of globalization? We suppose it is everything that underlies human functioning: internal determinants, including temperamental and personality factors (especially the already formed identity), previous experience, beliefs (e.g., outlook), values, attachment style, etc.

In the model in question, the categorizations of globalization performed by a person are referred to as *private (lay, naive) conceptions of globalization*. We assume that they are the cognitive and emotional component of *attitude toward globalization*. The behavioral component of this attitude is programs of action and their implementation, stemming from the content characteristics of private conceptions of the globalized world. We emphasize that attitudes toward globalization relate to the existing and currently experienced states of the world, not to desired states. This implies the changeability of attitudes toward globalization, reflecting the dynamics of changes taking place in the person as well as in the social reality experienced by the person.

In the model of attitudes toward globalization, three types of attitudes are distinguished:

1. *Accepting attitude* is an expression of openness to the global reality, confidence in the changes taking place, as well as exploration and active use of various aspects of that reality.

2. *Critical attitude* means opposition and lack of consent to various forms of abuse connected with the global reality, as well as stigmatizing and moralizing.

3. *Fearful attitude* is an expression of sensitivity to the possible threats connected with globalization and uncertainty about whether one will manage to cope with the challenges of globalization, accompanied by a lack of confidence in the changes of the contemporary world.

We suppose that the already formed attitudes toward globalization may feed back into all the factors (including identity) that determined the process of cate-

gorizing the globalized reality (cf. Łoś & Senejko, 2013). Attitudes toward globalization as emotionally colored categorizations developed in the course of personal experience in the contemporary world, together with the resulting action plans and actions themselves, allow the person to find his or her bearings in the complex reality and co-determine the way he or she functions in it (e.g., the specificity of goals and the ways of securing their achievement). The main functions of attitudes toward globalization can therefore be called orienting and guiding.

Attitudes toward globalization and personal identity

We assume that, like the formation of attitudes toward globalization, also identity formation can be linked with the process of categorizing and creating private, lay conceptions – in this case, *private self-concepts*. A fundamental question arises: what, in terms of structure and content, are private self-concepts as the basis of personal identity?

If we assume that a private self-concept is developed similarly to social categorizations, we can also say that it is a kind of cognitive structure containing generalized category labels – that is, what the individual regards as the most important personal and social dimensions constituting a person, together with their concretizing attributes.

We believe a private self-concept, as the most important aspect of personal identity, contains specific contents, the person's unique answers to the following questions: Who am I as a person living here and now, with this particular past behind me? What do I want to do with my life? What is the meaning of my life? How do my characteristics relate to the possibility of functioning in the world as I currently perceive it? Thus, the basic function of the private self-concept is self--definition. The above analysis shows that private conceptions of globalization – being cognitive-emotional components of attitude toward globalization – may play a role in the process of identity formation by concretizing the answers to the question of possible ways of self-expression and self-realization in the contemporary world. It is therefore reasonable to predict that both identity processes and their structural outcomes will be associated with particular types of formed attitudes toward globalization, which is the central problem of our research.

The theory that is the closest to how we propose to understand personal identity is Michael Berzonsky's (1994, 2012) model of identity styles. Before we proceed to the empirical part of our article, let us briefly recapitulate the theory of identity styles itself.

Berzonsky's model of identity styles

Berzonsky assumes that the essence of identity (and the outcome of its formation) is a self-theory. In his opinion, a *self-theory* – being a structure composed of a loosely organized system of personal constructs – encompasses everything a person thinks he or she is and everything a person thinks he or she wants (Berzonsky, 2012, p. 57).[1] The author also distinguishes three identity styles (*identity processing orientations*): informational, normative, and diffuse-avoidant, which constitute relatively stable differences in the sociocognitive strategies an individual prefers when coping with the task of personal identity formation (Berzonsky et al., 2013).

People with an *informational processing orientation* are self-reflective; they actively assess and verify information relating to the self as well as explore and wish to get to know themselves. The author himself categorizes them as *scientific self-theorists*.

As regards people with a *normative processing orientation*, Berzonsky's view is that they take over expectations and recipes from significant others (parents, national authorities); they are strongly committed to the realization of the lifestyles and values taken over without their prior exploration. The author categorizes them as *dogmatic self-theorists.*

The third style – the *diffuse-avoidant processing orientation* – is characterized by procrastination and postponement of the handling of problems until later. Individuals with this style have weakened self-control, make chaotic and situation-based choices, and exhibit hedonistic and egocentric attitudes. The author refers to such people as *ad hoc self-theorists* (Berzonsky, 2012).

Commenting on the above descriptions of identity styles from the perspective of our proposal of analysing identity issues, one should ask what function each self-theory performs in the context of self-definition. Moreover, in the same (Berzonsky's) model of identity styles the relations between identity structure (self-theories) and the process of its formation (identity processing styles) are not strictly defined, especially when it comes to their content characteristics, relevant to our analysis of identity issues in the context of attitudes toward globalization. The names of self-theories proposed by Berzonsky convey the main characteristics of the authors of these self-theories but are not particularly successful in illuminating the basic functions of identity and, consequently, the content dimen-

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[1] It must be stressed that, in his sociocognitive model of identity, Berzonsky puts the main emphasis on the cognitive characteristics of the person's self-theory, not the cognitive-emotional ones.

sions of identity. Attempting to sketch them, one may suppose that for "self--theorists" using the informational identity processing style the main function of self-definition comes down to the following answer to the question of who they are and who they want to be in the world in which they live: an autonomous, modern, rational person. If this is so, then the basic values associated with this style would be rationality, matter-of-factness, and self-determination.

The correctness of this way of thinking is indirectly confirmed, for example, by the results of research assessing the relations of identity style with the system of values (cf. Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011), which reveal that the informational style is positively associated with values such as openness, independence, and self-orientation. "Self-theorists" using the normative style probably define themselves as trustworthy, self-disciplined people. It can therefore be expected that individuals with this style will show a preference for and try to live by values such as tradition, conventionalism, or duty, which is also confirmed by the research results cited above (Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011). Finally, self-theorists with the diffuse-avoidant style will build their self-definition in terms of liking and popularity in relatively small social circles. Consequently, people with this style will probably prefer and strive to live by values such as adjustment to the situation or popularity. Also in this case, the existing research results are not contradictory with our line of thinking (Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011; Krettenauer, 2005; Berzonsky & Kuk, 2005). Thus, we believe that what differentiates between the "self--theorists" mentioned in Berzonsky's model is the answers they give to the most general identity-related questions: who they are and who they want to be in life, in the current globalized reality, which they perceive in a particular way (adopting a particular attitude toward it). In our research project, we treat identity styles as indirect evidence of what identity structure (self-theory) a person has.

Hypotheses

Because our theoretical and methodological proposals are still in the phase of exploration, the working hypotheses are tentative suppositions concerning the main associations.

H 1: The accepting attitude toward globalization is positively associated with the informational identity style.

H 2: The critical attitude toward globalization is positively associated with the normative identity style.

H 3: The fearful attitude toward globalization is positively associated with the normative and diffuse-avoidant identity styles and negatively with the informational style and commitment.

The above hypotheses are supported by the already described association of attitudes toward globalization with identity styles as underlain by processes of building private conceptions of the global world and oneself as well as the related sphere of values.

METHOD

Participants

In this article, we use the results of a study conducted in the years 2013-2014. The participants' age placed them in the periods of adolescence and emerging adulthood (16-26 years, $M = 18.9$). They were school students, university students, and working people from the Dolnośląskie Voivodeship, Poland. The sample consisted of 601 people (56.4% were women). The study was conducted using "paper-and-pencil" methods.

Measures

The World–I Questionnaire (W–IQ). The W–IQ is a questionnaire for assessing attitudes toward globalization, developed by Alicja Senejko and Zbigniew Łoś (Senejko & Łoś, 2011; Łoś & Senejko, 2013). The word "globalization" does not appear in the name, instruction, and items of the questionnaire in order for the participants to refer to their own evaluations of the phenomena rather than activate second-hand stereotypes. The response format offers four options (*strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree*). The current (shortened) version of the W–IQ has 35 items making up three scales.[2] The three scales are: (1) the Fearful Attitude scale (example item: *"13. I fear I am not resourceful enough to be successful in the contemporary world"*); (2) the Critical Attitude scale (example item: *"15. I am indignant when a company or country usurps the right to natural resources or culture, which should be common property of all mankind"*); (3) the Accepting Attitude scale (example item: *"8. I consider choos-*

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[2] We adopted the three-scale (three-factor) structure as more consistent with empirical data than the original two-scale structure (see Łoś & Senejko, 2013).

ing quite a different place in the world to live in"). The reliability of the scales (*n* = 647, age 16-79 years) is .68 for Fearful Attitude, .73 for Critical Attitude, and .70 for Accepting Attitude (Senejko & Łoś, 2014).

The Identity Style Inventory (ISI-5). In accordance with the theory, the Identity Style Inventory developed by Berzonsky et al. (2013) consists of three scales corresponding to identity styles and the Commitment scale. The four scales of ISI-5 consist of nine items each. The response format is a five-point one. An example item of the Informational Style scale is: *"10. When facing a life decision, I take into account different points of view before making a choice."* An example item of the Normative Style scale: *"31. I prefer to deal with situations in which I can rely on social norms and standards."* An example item of the Diffuse–Avoidant Style scale: *"8. It doesn't pay to worry about values in advance; I decide things as they happen."* An example item of the Commitment scale: *"5. I have clear and definite life goals."* The properties of the Polish version of ISI-5 have been presented by Senejko and Łoś (2015). The reliability of the scales computed on a large sample (*n* = 1,242, age 16-26 years) is .77 for the Informational Style scale, .71 for Diffuse-Avoidant Style scale, .68 for Normative Style scale, and .80 for the Commitment scale.

RESULTS

The results concerning the relations between attitudes toward globalization and identity styles as defined by Berzonsky are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

*Correlations Between Attitudes Toward Globalization and Identity Styles (*n *= 601;* M *= 18.9 years)*

Attitudes toward globalization	Identity styles			
	informational	diffuse--avoidant	normative	commitment
Fearful attitude	-.12*	.34*	.25*	-.25*
Critical attitude	.15*	.01	.16*	.03
Accepting attitude	.13*	.06	-.15*	-.11*

Note. Variables standardized for the two genders separately; * *p* < .05.

Table 1 shows positive associations of the fearful attitude toward globalization with the diffuse-avoidant and normative styles and its negative associations with the informational style and commitment. The critical attitude is positively related to the informational and normative styles. As regards the accepting attitude toward globalization, we found a positive association with the informational style as well as negative associations with the normative style and commitment. All of these associations are relatively weak.

Because a limitation of correlational analyses is the fact that they are based on coefficients representing the strength of associations between pairs of variables, which makes it difficult to detect more complex relations, and because we believe it is too early for structural modeling at the current stage of model testing, we decided to perform a cluster analysis of the participants with regard to attitude toward globalization. We performed clustering using the *k*-means method. We selected the method of identifying cluster centers after testing the efficiency of such methods. The method of first *N* observations, in which individuals with a theoretically significant profile of attitudes can be identified as cluster centers, turned out not to be particularly efficient – some of the clusters "ignored" theoretically justified profiles (with strong fearful attitude, with strong critical attitude, with strong accepting attitude, with strong distanced attitude, and with three moderate attitudes). A cluster with strong critical attitude or a cluster with moderate attitudes (!) were formed neither in the five-cluster solution nor in solutions assuming four or six clusters. In view of the above, we used a method maximizing the distances between clusters, which showed that the optimal solution (diversified enough but still not yielding clusters redundant in terms of content or small in size) will be five clusters of people with different configurations of attitudes toward globalization. In order of extraction, these are: the cluster of people distanced toward globalization (with low scores on all three attitudes), the cluster of fearful people (with the fearful attitude toward globalization clearly prevailing over the others), the cluster of critical-accepting people (with high scores on both of these attitudes toward globalization), the cluster of accepting people (with the accepting attitude toward globalization clearly prevailing over the others), and the cluster of critical-fearful people (with high scores on the critical and fearful attitudes toward globalization). The characteristics of these clusters are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Clusters of Attitudes Toward Globalization (Cluster Sizes and Means of Standardized Variables)
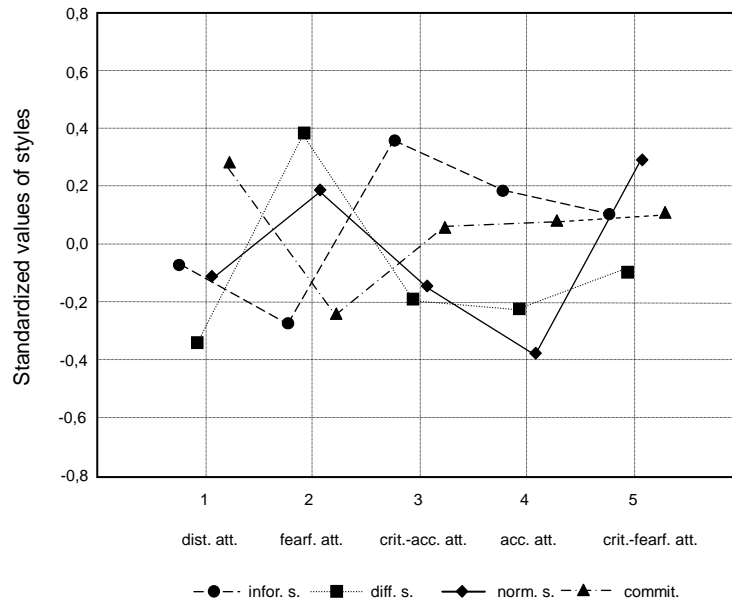
Attitude toward globalization	**Cluster 1** Distanced ($n = 87$)	**Cluster 2** Fearful ($n = 153$)	**Cluster 3** Critical--accepting ($n = 147$)	**Cluster 4** Accepting ($n = 110$)	**Cluster 5** Critical--fearful ($n = 104$)
Fearful att.	**-1.03**	**0.87**	-0.29	-0.78	**0.65**
Critical att.	**-0.88**	-0.04	**0.79**	-1.07	**0.84**
Accepting att.	**-1.01**	0.16	**0.70**	**0.88**	-1.14

Note. The means in boldface were the basis for cluster identification; clusters were distinguished using the *k*-means method with distance maximization.

A comparison of clusters in terms of the intensity of identity styles yields results consistent with but clearer than those of correlational analysis. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

It must be stressed that there are no important differences between the clusters in terms of the participants' age and gender or, what is more, in terms of variance in the four analyzed identity variables.[3] As can be expected due to the applied method of maximizing distances between clusters, the differentiation of the four variables depicted in the graph is highly significant: $F(4, 596) = 9.03$, $p < .0001$; diffuse-avoidant style, $F(4, 596) = 12.23$, $p < .0001$; normative style, $F(4, 596) = 8.91$, $p < .0001$; commitment, $F(4, 596) = 4.69$, $p < .001$. Comparisons of the means between the clusters were performed using Tukey's *HSD* test for unequal sample sizes (with a significance threshold of $p < .05$).

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[3] We used Levene's test – this information is important in view of the further use of *F* and *HSD* tests.

Note. Abbreviations: dist. att., fearf. att., crit.-acc. att., acc. att.., and crit.-fearf. att. signify the following attitudes toward globalization, respectively: distanced, fearful, critical-accepting, accepting, and critical-fearful. Abbreviations: infor. s., diff. s., norm. s., and commit. signify the following, respectively: informative style, diffuse-avoidant style, normative style, and commitment.

Figure 1. Five clusters of attitudes toward globalization as related to identity styles and commitment.

It turned out that participants from Cluster 2 (with a strong fearful attitude toward globalization) activate the informative identity processing style to a weaker degree compared to those from Clusters 3, 4, and 5. What is interesting, the informational style was the most strongly used by participants from Clusters 3 (with a critical-accepting attitude toward globalization) and 4 (with the strongest accepting attitude toward globalization). The next identity information processing style, diffuse-avoidant, is the strongest in individuals from Cluster 2 (with the strongest fearful attitude toward globalization) – stronger than in participants from all the remaining clusters. The weakest representation of the diffuse--avoidant style is found in the group of participants making up Cluster 1 (distanced toward globalization) and Cluster 4 (with a strong accepting attitude toward globalization). The normative style is the most strongly represented in the group of participants from Cluster 5 (with strong critical and fearful attitudes) – significantly more strongly compared to individuals from Cluster 1 (distanced toward globalization), Cluster 3 (with strong critical and accepting atttiudes), and

especially Cluster 4 (accepting globalization). The results show that people from Clusters 3 and 4 are the least often characterized by a normative style. By contrast, differences in the use of the normative style between participants from Cluster 5 (with strong critical and fearful attitudes) and Cluster 2 (with a fearful attitude) are not significant. This configuration of results shows that the normative style is associated both with strong fearful attitude and with strong critical-fearful attitude toward globalization. For the record, it should be mentioned that scores on the Commitment scale significantly distinguish participants from only two clusters: individuals from Cluster 2 (with a strong fearful attitude) exhibit the lowest level of commitment, significantly lower than those from Cluster 1 (distanced toward globalization).

DISCUSSION

The model of attitudes toward globalization and the research method integrally connected with it constitute a new proposal for research on human relations with the world. The presented results made it possible to verify the basic assumptions of the model and to expand it to include aspects that can be derived from empirical analyses concerning the possible relations between attitudes toward globalization and identity styles. Based on the presented results, processed both in a correlational model and using a person-focused approach (cluster analysis), it can be concluded that all of the hypotheses have been at least partly confirmed.

The fearful attitude is positively associated with the diffuse-avoidant and normative styles and negatively with the informational style and commitment. Cluster analysis confirmed these associations, thereby confirming hypothesis H 3. People characterized by a fearful attitude toward globalization have a high need of simple and concrete solutions that give, above all, a sense of security in the existing world, but such solutions are not easy to come by in the times of globalization. Also in the characteristics of the normative and diffuse-avoidant styles it is possible to discern analogous contents, based on which problems with adaptation to the globalized reality can be predicted. For instance, individuals with a normative identity style may have difficulties with the realization of life goals in the dynamic times of globalization due to small cognitive openness and insufficient flexibility, which appear to be indispensable for adjusting the ways of putting plans into practice to the constantly changing social context (cf. Kruglansky & Webster, 1996; Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992). Likewise, individuals

with a diffuse-avoidant style, lacking self-confidence and not interested in reflec-ting on their problems or the globalized reality, may have difficulties both with understanding and accepting that reality and with functioning in it (cf. Berzonsky & Kinney, 2008).

The negative associations of fearful attitude toward globalization with the in-formational style and commitment can be explained by the characteristics of those dimensions that are contradictory to this attitude. Commitment means the clarity, specificity, and motivational strength of personally chosen life goals – a characteristic absent from the fearful attitude toward globalization, based on uncertainty about which direction to pursue. Similarly, people with an informa-tional identity style are characterized by a tendency to boldly explore and test both themselves, their preferences and predispositions, as well as elements of social reality (Berzonsky & Luyckx, 2008; Crocetti, Berzonsky, & Meeus, 2012), which people with a fearful attitude toward globalization are not capable of doing.

Further correlational analyses and cluster analyses revealed that accepting at-titude toward globalization shows a positive relationship with the informational style and a negative one with the normative style, which partly confirms hypo-thesis H 1. People with an accepting attitude are open to experience, exploration-minded, and oriented toward contact. This corresponds with the characteristics of individuals with an informational identity style (cf. Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992; Duriez & Soenens 2006). In the categorizations of people with a positive attitu-de, the globalized world probably emerges as a huge fair of sundries. Positive evaluation concerns its modernity and technicization.

Cluster analysis enabled us to find additional associations and test others, concerning the accepting attitude toward globalization as well as identity styles and commitment: in correlational analyses we obtained a weak but significantly negative correlation between commitment and the accepting attitude toward globalization, while cluster analysis yielded a moderate result in the case of commitment for participants with high scores on the Accepting Attitude scale (from Cluster 4). Such a configuration of results is not at variance with the previously presented description of people with an accepting attitude toward globalization, only suggesting that the accepting attitude may involve different degrees of understanding and adopting the view that the world's changeability is not conducive to making conclusive commitments. Also in cluster analysis, this cluster (4) had one of the lowest scores in the diffuse-avoidant style, significantly distinguishing this group from the participants with the strongest fearful attitude toward globalization (Cluster 2).

An unquestionable contribution of cluster analysis to the further specification of the assumptions behind the model of attitudes toward globalization is the obtained results concerning the relations between these attitudes and identity styles. Based on correlational analyses, we found positive associations of the critical attitude with the informational and normative styles, which confirms hypothesis H 2. Cluster analysis, by contrast, showed that the critical attitude toward globalization is "split" into two clusters: Cluster 3, with strong critical and accepting attitudes and weak fearful attitude (critical-accepting), and Cluster 5, with strong critical and fearful attitudes and weak accepting attitude toward globalization (critical-fearful). Critical-accepting individuals have a configuration of relations between attitude and styles and commitment similar to that exhibited by individuals from Cluster 4, with strong accepting attitude toward globalization: Both these groups of participants exhibit a considerable activation of the informational style and a weak activation of the normative style. As regards individuals with strong critical and fearful attitudes (Cluster 5), they are characterized by a high level of normative style just like those with a strong fearful attitude toward globalization (from Cluster 2), but they have a significantly lower level of diffuse-avoidant style. An important task will therefore be to examine further personal factors related to the critical-fearful or critical-accepting type of critical attitude toward globalization, which will add to the profile of its contents.

An interesting addition to the model-based analyses is the cluster representing the distanced attitude toward globalization (with low scores on the Accepting, Critical, and Fearful Attitude scales). It consists of individuals exhibiting a higher level of commitment (!), who differ particularly significantly from the group with a strong fearful attitude. It is possible that the object of their commitment is beyond the affairs of the globalized world, that it is either very universal or very specific. The question of what it is exactly remains for further research explorations to answer.

In conclusion, we believe that the aim of the article – to present the relations between identity processing styles and attitudes toward globalization as a comprehensive phenomenon, has been achieved. The results of the study make it possible to observe a relation of the configuration of attitudes toward globalization with identity styles and commitment, constituting the person's developmental potential. The configuration that is the most conducive to development, being associated with the informational style and commitment, is the one with a strong critical and accepting attitudes toward globalization, or with an accepting attitude. The least developmentally favorable combination is the one with a strong fearful attitude toward globalization, since it is related to the diffuse-avoidant

style and weak commitment, or the one with strong critical and fearful attitudes, related to the normative style and potentially limiting the cognitive and exploratory perspectives of the person's actions.

Limitations and prospects for further research

The objective of our research work has not been addressed before in studies known to us, Polish or foreign, though broader proposals have been considered (lay conceptions of social change as such, e.g., Kashima et al., 2011) as well as narrower ones (attitudes toward globalization, but in a sense closer to individual differences, e.g., Ledzińska, 2012; Jensen et al., 2012). We do not focus on characterizing globalization and what it contributes to each domain of human social functioning (see Bandura, 2002; Katra, 2009), or on thoroughly exploring distinct contemporary social phenomena (as social psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists do; see Kashima et al., 2011; Zimbardo, Breckenridge, & Moghaddam, 2013). It is not our aim, either, to show identity formation with globalization in the backdrop (assumed to be there, but not constituting a comprehensive object of a person's attitude; see e.g., Seiffge-Krenke & Haid, 2012, or Ming-Chang Tsai, 2013). The theoretical and research objective that we set ourselves concerned studies on attitudes toward globalization as a comprehensive phenomenon, and therefore our studies are pursued, of necessity, without extensive references to the psychological literature. This is an undeniable impediment to research work due to the impossibility of referring to existing results of other authors' research on the same issues.

The research discussed was conducted on a sample relatively narrow in terms of age: adolescents and people in so-called emerging adulthood. This age group is the main target of globalization influences (cf. Arnett, 2002; Jensen et al., 2012), which makes our research maneuver justified. On the other hand, we are aware that private conceptions of globalization and, together with them, attitudes toward globalization will be considerably different in other age groups, particularly in elderly people. For this reason, in further studies we plan to recruit participants representing different age groups, especially elderly people, which will enable comparative analysis.

Consistently with the approach adopted, further research should focus on empirically capturing the significant role of the system of values in the development of attitudes toward globalization. This, we trust, will both enrich and contribute to the verification of the analysis presented in this article.

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