ARTICLE

the british
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No borders on a fragile planet: Introducing four lay models of social psychological precarity to support global human identification and citizenship

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Abstract
Measures such as Identification with all humanity (IWAH)
and global identification and citizenship (GHIC) are positivity
correlated with measures of humanitarianism, cosmopolitan-
ism and environmental concern. Research using these meas-
ures suggests that most citizens have low-global identification
scores. This article sheds light on this finding by investigating
how global identification relates to precarity and migration
(neither of which are measured in the IWAH/GHIC). The
study conducted in England, Scotland and Sweden introduces
a qualitative dialogical approach to GHIC. This involves
measuring migration-mobility in dialogical interviews and
controlling and removing borders on world maps—using an
interactive world mapping task ($N = 23$). Participants artic-
ulate four social representations relating to a fragile earth,
enduring colonial settler/native conflict, ingroup/outgroup
conflict or, in contrast, a cooperative plentiful planet where
borders are unnecessary. Such social representations demon-
strate the importance of planetary consciousness and relate
to four lay models of social psychological precarity related to
intergroup competition, global conflict, economic rational-
ity and human-made borders. In conclusion, all participants
employ lay models of social psychological precarity when
discussing sovereignty, migration and belonging. We recom-
mend psychologists investigating GHIC include measures of
social psychological precarity and migration-mobility.

KEYWORDS
dialogical analysis, dialogical self, global citizenship, global identification,
precarity, refugee, social representations, sovereignty

INTRODUCTION

Measures such as Identification with all humanity (IWAH) and global identification and citizenship (GHIC) are positively correlated with measures of humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism and environmental concern. Despite this promise, most citizens, as these studies readily admit, have low global identification scores. The present study, conducted in England, Scotland and Sweden, argues that understanding both migration-mobility and social psychological dimensions of precarity has the potential to increase global identification, citizenship and cross-border cooperation more generally. We propose the cross-border nature of the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change and refugee-related forced migration has exposed the world's precarity and point to the importance of studies into the relationship between bordering and social psychological precarity. As this Special Issue explores, social psychology has the potential to open up and deepen conceptualizations of the way that precarity is understood beyond individualizing 'blame' discourses (Coultas et al., 2022). The field of empirical psychological study into precarity is too nascent to offer definitions, however, as an initial point of departure, social psychological precarity can be understood as locating uncertainty and unpredictability within self-other and self-world relations. Understanding people's sense of social psychological precarity in relation to controlling borders helps to understand decisions to impose borders on the world to restrict and control migration and other resources, as well as the desire to remove borders to increase cooperation and collaboration. The COVID-19 pandemic has simultaneously resulted in high levels of cross-border cooperation, for example gene sequencing and vaccine development, as well as high levels of protectionism in the form of vaccine hoarding, the relative failure of vaccine sharing and re-bordering to restrict migration and travel. The study presented here is located within these oppositional tensions between open-border cooperation, nation-bordered and regional cooperation and closed-border protection.

The study is dialogical in design, analysing citizens' decisions to control or remove borders when given the opportunity to *rule the world* during an interactive worldview mapping task. Exploring citizen decision making when in this hyperagentic position begins to examine how migration-mobility (degree of migration on a continuum from generational non-mobility to serial migration; Mahendran, 2013), and social psychological precarity can support studies into GHIC. The current study builds a dialogue between two distinct lines of research preoccupied with border crossing. First, the social and political psychology of global human identification and citizenship (GHIC; Loy et al., 2022; McFarland, 2011; McFarland et al., 2012) which is preoccupied with symbolic identity-related boundaries. Second, transdisciplinary critical-reflexive approaches to migration studies concerned with cross-national-border movement (Dahinden, 2016; Favell, 2019; Paret & Gleeson, 2016; Schiller et al., 2006; Schinkel, 2018).

The study asks two questions:

Does migration-mobility impact on how individuals enact global human identification when controlling/removing global borders?

What is the relationship between how individuals' control/remove borders and social psychological precarity?

Three theoretical steps are taken to locate these two questions. First, we make the case for global identification to consider planetary consciousness. In the second step, this is related to reflexive migration research. In the third step, existing studies into precarity are reviewed to support our articulation of some potential dimensions of social psychological precarity.

From global human identification to planetary consciousness

Psychology has had a long-standing interest in global consciousness. Psychologists such as Sampson and Smith gauged the extent of people's agreement with the statement 'it would be better to be a citizen of the world than of any particular country' within their Worldmindedness Scale (McFarland et al., 2019; Sampson & Smith, 1957). Contemporary investigations into GHIC originate with Sam McFarland's inquiry into the move from traditional hierarchies to agreed universal human rights in his landmark keynote 'The slow creation of Humanity' (McFarland, 2011). Global identification is an abstracted egalitarian global consciousness

associated with universalism, openness and empathy; reflecting a deep concern for humanity. It is 'more than an absence of ethnocentrism and its correlates, such as authoritarianism and social dominance' (McFarland, 2011, p. 14). Different scholars favour different terms, for example IWAH (McFarland, 2011; McFarland et al., 2012), global citizenship identification (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013), global social identity scale (Reese et al., 2014) and psychological sense of global community (Hackett et al., 2015). Within a comprehensive review these are now termed GHIC (McFarland et al., 2019).

NASA's *Earthrise* image (1968) is an iconic starting point to our modern sense of planetary consciousness. Citizens across the globe, through *Earthrise*, began to perceive the world in concrete terms as a marble-like blue planet. White found astronauts in interviews showed a new sense of humanity and identification with the whole of the earth, which he termed *the overview effect* (Shapiro et al., 2019; White, 1998). Our dynamic sense of a planetary consciousness, however, does not necessarily confine itself to global human identification. Rather, we propose it relates to diverse models of a precarious world. For example, the Apollo era, after a period of international space co-operation is now replaced by the Artemis era. NASA's Artemis programme involves the Lunar Surface Innovation Initiative (LSII) which is examining water and construction materials on the surface of the moon to build there without using materials from Earth (Withee, 2022) raising questions about the model of the world's precarity being used.

A challenge to global identification accounts is provided by the historian Dipesh Chakrabarty who argues the planet does not address itself to humans. 'To encounter the planet is to encounter something that is the condition of human existence and yet profoundly indifferent to that existence' (Chakrabarty, 2019, p. 4). His essay argues that the planet needs to be understood as a category of humanist thought. No longer the globe of globalization, we need to view the planet *as a planet* in relation to 'sustainability and habitability' (ibid. p. 18). This raises an analytical question of whether cross-border planetary consciousness required by climate change, pandemic viruses, and refugee-related co-ordination, is sufficiently investigated within identity studies centred on GHIC.

IWAH, the most used global identification scale, contains nine items. For example—How close to you feel to each of the following groups: People in my community/Americans/All humans everywhere. How much do you want to be: A responsible citizen of my community/a responsible American citizen/a responsible citizen of the world. Items within this scale invite participants to draw symbolic boundaries around the extent of their identification. Do studies seeking to increase global identification among citizens need to consider social psychological precarity to understand the parameters of global identification? This current study does not use IWAH or related scales but instead investigates this relationship using a qualitative dialogical design. This design enables citizens to draw boundaries on the world and articulate accounts both of the planet's material precarity (in terms of its ecosystems, habitats and finite resources) and their own sense of social psychological precarity (in terms of the uncertainty and unpredictability within self-other and self-world relations).

GHIC/IWAH, referred to in this article as GHIC/IWAH, has certainly been shown to relate to concern about climate change, *global self-definition* measured as 'being part of the inclusive ingroup of all humanity and identifying with people all over the world' and *global self-investment* as 'caring and concern for the well-being of humans all over the world' (Loy et al., 2022, p. 3) and correlate with self-reported climate protecting behaviours, for example not eating meat, car-sharing and energy use (Loy et al., 2022; Reese, 2016). Using videos of global connectedness, Loy and Spence foreground the importance of reducing socio-spatial psychological distance. They found making global identity salient reduced a sense of distance and increases motivation towards climate change (Loy & Spence, 2020). Yet scholars admit GHIC/IWAH across all measures is to be found in only a minority of people irrespective of country (McFarland et al., 2019). Low global identification, we propose, is partly an artefact of using closed-response scaling (outlined above). Crucially, GHIC/IWAH scales do not sufficiently encompass questions on migration-mobility or precarity.

Using a reflexive migration studies lens

Psychologists within cultural psychology are exploring the connection between migration and precarity (Cangià, 2018; Doerr, 2010; Paret & Gleeson, 2016). Social psychological studies of migration tend to
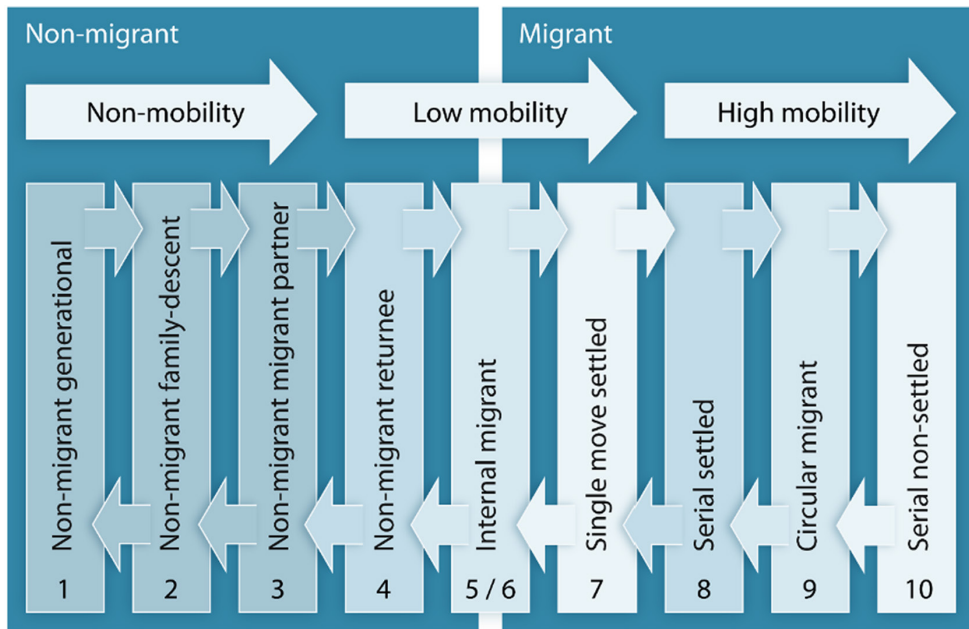
FIGURE 1 10-point migration–mobility continuum (Mahendran, 2013; Mahendran et al., 2015)

understand precarity in terms of micro-level acculturative stress. Such studies implicitly accept concepts such as *host society* and *receiving society*. A difficulty with such concepts is that they view society (understood as nation-state) not as precarious but as a site of control and stable governance (Rose, 1998). Critical and reflexive migration studies have critiqued host/guest or receiver/sender models of migration accusing such scholarship of methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003), over-reliance on a cultural lens (Schiller et al., 2006) and neo-colonial assumptions within the integration concept (Favell, 2019; Schinkel, 2018). These critically reflexive studies call for de-migrantization (Dahinden, 2016) and a fuller appreciation that degrees of migration occur across whole populations in what we understand as a migration-mobility continuum (MMC). The MMC(see Figure 1) is currently articulated into ten positions from generational non-mobility (position one) to serial migration (position ten), where people have moved several times and state an intention to move again (Mahendran, 2013; Mahendran et al., 2015).

The present study used a reflexive migration studies lens not to examine inequality to better understand the migrant experience, but to 'examine the migrant experience to better understand precarity' (Paret & Gleeson, 2016, p. 278). Using the MMC (detailed further below) diffracts degrees of migration-mobility in important ways. This diffraction into ten positions creates continuities between two key oppositional binaries which increase a sense of precarity—migrant/non-migrant and public/migrant (Mahendran, 2017).

Towards understanding lay models of social psychological precarity

The term precarity became popularized in the 2000s, centred on Euro May Day mobilizations around labour/economic insecurity (Doerr, 2010, Berlant in Puar, 2012; Mahmud, 2014; Paret & Gleeson, 2016). Critics point out that precarity is much older and more enduring. Mahmud argues it is a necessary feature of capitalism itself rather than neo-liberal forms. In today's capitalist contexts, this manifests as an emphasis on individualism and can create stark differences in precarity among social classes both between and within countries (Neilson, 2015). Contemporary investigations into precarity relate to two fields— social movements and dehumanization. Together they can be encapsulated in the image of precarious female workers standing together with a migrant both holding a placard stating 'no borders, no precarity' (see Doerr, 2010 for placard).

Equally precarity emerged as a key theoretical frame in the shadow of 9/11 and declarations of a 'war on terror', most notably Judith Butler's questioning of whose lives can be grieved. Butler foregrounds vulnerability and our capacity to accept an other's vulnerability rather than killing them because of it. Butler explores dehumanization explaining 'there is a certain violence in being addressed, given a name, subject to a set of impositions, compelled to respond to an exacting alterity' (Butler, 2020/2004, p. 139).

Psychological studies into precarity have extended the parameters of precarity from the idea of *precarious work*, through the idea of the *precarious worker* (Allan et al., 2021; Blustein et al., 2022) to an increasing recognition that precarity can be experienced by any citizen whose lifeworld is threatened by insecurity, uncertainty and instability (Campbell & Price, 2016) or by all citizens (Fine, 2015). Precarity is no longer limited to the workplace and labour market but can be felt within all social contexts (Parfitt & Barnes, 2020) and is often provoked by governmental policies of 'precaritization' underpinned by neoliberal processes that oblige citizens to 'maximize (their) own market value as the ultimate aim in life' (Butler, 2015, p. 15). As the parameters of precarity grow, those who would ordinarily be shielded from precaritization by virtue of class, wealth, power and position begin to experience an increasing sense of a precarious world as the planet comes under threat from anthropogenic climate change. The category *refugee* is imbricated with such precarious alterity. In designing the study presented below, we challenge psychology's capacity for complicity by including individuals categorized 'refugee' alongside those with varying degrees of migration-mobility. This de-reifies the refugee category and challenge political and media discourses on refugees (Goodman et al., 2017; Lukate, 2022, on the category 'white'; Mahendran, 2017; Mahendran et al., 2019). This sampling decision enables the study to show how lay models of social psychological precarity are developed by all citizens rather than being the preserve of insecure workers and refugees.

By proposing the term *lay models* of social psychological precarity, we do not propose these as universal or deterministic models or that they relate to individual cognition, rather these models create working worldviews closely related to social representations (Marková, 2003; Moscovici, 1984; Staerklé & Green, 2018) which crucially act as a heuristic when making decisions, for example decisions about borders or to vote for political parties. Such models are dynamic and dialogical interpolated by our social positions and imbricated within contexts and conditions.

Studies of dehumanization support understanding of lay models of social psychological precarity. However, they do not explicitly examine the processes of bordering. Coultas explains borders are a central concept in decolonial thinking (Coultas, 2022) and Mohanty (2003) emphasizes the 'emancipatory potential of crossing through, with, and over these borders in our everyday lives'. For Mohanty, a feminism without borders does not imply border-less feminism but rather acknowledges demarcation and division and 'fault lines, conflicts, differences and fears' that borders represent (Mohanty, 2003, p. 2).

In the absence of studies specifically on controlling and removing borders, on the planet, we remain open as to the relationship between controlling/removing borders, lay models of social psychological precarity and related social representations. Bordering the world can be understood as a material process. Our theoretical framing, which occurred iteratively with the dialogical analysis below, suggests an *agentic realist posthuman approach*. This proposes self-world relations, as intra-actions within one planetary system (Barad, 2003, 2007; Braidotti, 2006). This feminist new materialism and post-humanism is beginning to find traction within psychology. Partly because it draws attention to how matter itself has agency (McAlister & Ewalt, 2018), that this agency is open-ended and not discursively driven. Post-humanism and new materialism recognize the risks of an anthropocentric overplaying of human agency. This seems to contradict our decision to place citizens into the hyperagentic position of ruling the world. The study's design, we propose, begins to consider planetary consciousness, by understanding precarity at two levels. First the material precarity of ecosystems, habitats and limited resources that can be understood as we show below as a fragile earth social representation. Here, the design requires participants to work with a map of the planet and thus reflect on their physical engagement with the world, whether understood as world, globe or planet. Second, the present study is designed to reveal the social psychological precarity people experience in terms of uncertainties relating to self-other and self-world relations. We propose that a material sense of the planet's precarity is related to social psychological precarity. When participants articulate their social psychological precarity they will therefore anchor this within their worldviews of

how self-other relations or self-world relations are organized. Participants use these worldviews to explain why borders are needed or should be removed.

Designing the present study using the MMC

Three considerations informed our design, first, that planetary consciousness is distinct from global identification requiring a design that brings participants (as dialogical selves) in direct relationship with their common-sense understanding of the world (social representations). Second, that existing binaries within migration studies require an analytical lens which understands degree of migration-mobility. As noted, the study measures degree of migration using the Migration-Mobility Continuum (MMC). This challenges the assumption of stasis within the concept of stable *host societies* by understanding citizens, all of the public, as having their own migration-mobility stories. Such stories influence the decision to control or remove borders on the world. Linda Tuhiwai Smith proposes that decolonized methodology is a *tricky ground* which recognizes sovereign indigenous claims (Smith, 2005). The third consideration is how to traverse this ground using a decolonial lens focused on how colonial settler/native narratives are anchored into social representations of Europe's imperial history.

The MMC diffracts migration-mobility into ten positions (Figure 1). In position MMC1, the citizen, alongside their parents/grandparents are from the city and have not moved—generational non-mobility. In position 2, the citizen is born in the city, and their parents or grandparents are migrants. The higher mobility positions (MMC7 to MMC10) relate to the question *are you settled, or do you think you will move again* (see Mahendran, 2013, 2017 for a fuller account).

The present study

The present study creates a dialogue with GHIC/IWAH studies by using an interactive worldview mapping tool (IWMT) which approaches global identification through the decision to control or remove borders. Participants physically draw boundaries with the cursor on their screens, on the world. The study was conducted within three countries that have distinct positions on migration, integration and citizenship within the European Union—England, Scotland and Sweden where Sweden is within Schengen and the UK outside. Scotland and England are developing divergent narratives on European Citizenship since the 2016 UK-EU Referendum. Within England the narrative of controlling borders is related to the decision to leave the European Union, whereas in Scotland controlling borders relates to an emerging independent nation within the European Union.

METHOD

Methodology

The study combined two methods; face-to-face interviews and an online IWMT which was developed by the first author and interactive media developer Ryan Hayle. Both these methods were dialogical in design. In the sense that rather than explore autobiographical sense-making, participants are brought into direct dialogue with stimulus materials such as factual questions and political speeches on international relations. We work with Bakhtin's concept of the dialogical self and social representations (Mahendran et al., 2021a, 2021b) to understand participants as co-authors in key political processes, in this case border controls. Participants take up an *I-citizen* position, this *I-citizen* position (Mahendran et al., 2015), arises out an Arendtian notion of 'enlarged mentality' (Arendt, 1961) combined with Dewey's theorizing on public capacity. Dewey's starting point was 'a scattered, mobile, and manifold' public, which becomes less inchoate when it can 'define and express its interests' (Dewey, 1954, p. 146).

Sampling, participant and interviewer characteristics

Fieldwork was conducted in December 2019 in Edinburgh ($N = 10$), Stockholm ($N = 10$) and Manchester ($N = 3$). The Manchester component was halted in February 2020 because of the COVID-19 pandemic. The participants were quota sampled across the MMC (see above) this involved an initial discussion via email/phone to check broadly their degree of personal migration-mobility. Sampling involved adverts on online neighbourhood sites, a notice at Stockholm University and chain sampling. Participants came from a variety of semi-skilled, skilled and professional occupations, there were two academics, three students and no unemployed people in the sample. The interviewers are both British, the first author (MMC2) has parents who were migrants from Sri Lanka. She conducted a set of interviews in all three locations. The second interviewer (MMC4), a research assistant on the project worked only in Scotland. The second interviewer, had moved from England to Scotland having spent a year working elsewhere outside the UK. Extracts below are presented as dialogues, to support further reflexive reading of the analysis presented.

The IWMT requires an initial log-in and password clearance which meant the IWMT could not be used independently by participants online and the COVID-19 pandemic stopped fieldwork. Though it would be more elegant to remove the three participants from Manchester, their valuable contribution is included in the analysis. The study involved 11 males, 12 females. Age range 19–69 ($M = 41.18$). The mean age alters slightly between cities as follows Edinburgh $M = 46.33$, Manchester also $M = 46.33$ and Stockholm, $M = 35$.

Procedure

Interview

Participants spent 35 min on average in the interview. This opened with the sentence-completion questions 'the world is…', 'I am a part of…' and 'I vote/do not vote because…' participants then answered questions on citizenship including the question 'Do you consider yourself a citizen of the European Union'. Participants then answered six questions which enabled them to be positioned on the MMC (Mahendran, 2013, 2017; Mahendran et al., 2021a).

Interactive worldview mapping tool

The mapping took 60 min on average including a break between the interview and completing the IWMT. The total session was 90 min mean average (Range 78–108 min). The IWMT consisted of four sections. In Section 1 of the IWMT, participants responded to the three open questions and the same six MMC questions. These were presented as closed drop-down options to enable quantification in future studies. In Section 2 two map options were provided (Figure 2). Participants were invited to choose which they

FIGURE 2 Two options: Border free earth map and nation-state border world map

preferred and were told that they now had the power to rule the world. Both maps are based on the widely used but contested Google Earth's Spherical Normal (equatorial) variant of the Mercator projection. Participants then saw the statement:

> Draw lines around the parts of the world that you feel require state lines. Each time you draw a line on the map—this represents a boundary where people travelling across the boundary would need to show their passport to enter/or be attempting to claim asylum.

Participants were given as much time as they required to complete, equally they could switch maps. In Section 3 of the IWMT, participants answered ten international relations questions. Eight were closed response factual questions, for example click on the countries which began the European Economic Community in 1951, click on the list which accurately shows the ten wealthiest countries (nominal GDP); click on the countries which were part of the Swedish/British Empire at its height in 1648/1922. Participants then saw the correct answer. The final two questions were attitudinal questions which asked how do you agree with two statements. Statement 1 Jean Claude Juncker (President, European Commission) State of the Union which began 'I want Europe to get off the side-lines of world affairs'. Statement 2 about multilateralism under fire by António Guterres (Secretary General United Nations) which began 'The world is more connected, yet societies are becoming more fragmented'. These statements further explore the parameters of supranational and or global identification. Finally, Section 4 of the IWMT, provided participants with a second opportunity to re-draw their worldview map after being confronted with the extent of their knowledge of international relations.

Analytical steps

Both components were conducted in English, transcribed and built into a database using NVivo 12. The analysis moved iteratively between five steps, with the first three authors analysing alone then meeting to engage in co-analysis (Mahendran et al., 2021a, 2021b; Nieland et al., 2022). The fourth author then reviewed this analysis in the drafting phase. Initially, we established whether MMC position was related to decision to control/remove borders. Analysing the maps, the recorded interviews with the MMC position, it became evident that *all* participants were working with lay models of social psychological precarity which related to their border decision making and the potential role of borders.

In Step 2, using NVivo 12 all references to world, earth, planet, universe and globe/global were brought together to establish social representations and I-positions in an interpretative and iterative process. This revealed, in step three, underlying social representations (Staerklé et al., 2011) about how the world is organized as conflict-based, competitive or collaborative/cooperative. In the fourth step key I-positions were identified within the dialogical self within the transcribed dialogue. In the final step, a set of six full interviews recordings relating to three key performative functions of bordering—to protect, to bridge to divide—were analysed.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Four core bordering positions were established (see Table 1): no borders, nation-state borders, supra-national borders and eco-borders. Eco-borders refer to the decision to border for ecological reasons rather than geopolitical ones. The analysis presents percentages, to assist with the descriptive representation of this initial coding. However, given purposive sampling was used, it is important to note that half the sample have some degree of migration-mobility, and it is likely that the high use of a no-border position is a reflection of this. That said, this one world/no border core position is higher than occurred in a previous study using the same purposive sampling along the MMC (Mahendran, 2017). The remaining 13 participants (57%) controlled borders. Given the extent to which national sovereignty is a

TABLE 1 Initial border decisions

Core bordering position	Number of participants	%	Coding criteria
No Borders	10	44	Did not alter the border-free earth
Nation-State Borders	2	8	Did not alter the state bordered map
Supra-National Borders	10	44	Created borders beyond state borders
Eco-borders	1	4	Created ecological borders beyond state lines
Total	23	100	

TABLE 2 Performative function of border and lay models of social psychological Precarity

Core bordering position	Performative function of border	Dialogical *I*-position	Social representations of the world	Self-world relations	Model of social psychological Precarity
No Borders	Borders as Divisive	I-Human I-Free-Mover I-Earthling	Cooperative Plentiful Earth One World	Critical Humanism Self-Other Intra-Action	Precarity is constructed by human-made borders
Nation-State Borders	Borders as Protecting	I-National-Citizen	Conflict-Driven Settler/Native Sovereignty	Self-Other as economic threat	Precarity is created by intergroup competition
Supra-National Borders	Borders as Protecting & Bridging	I-European I-White-settler	Conflict Out-group/ Cooperative in-group	Self-Other as culturally different	Precarity is created by global conflict
Eco-borders	Borders as protecting	I-Guardian I-Leader	Conflict Human/Earth Fragile Earth Collaborative	Post-Human Self-Other Intra-Action within same eco-system	Precarity is created by current human economic rationality

feature of migration-related control of borders, political rhetoric and technically a straightforward option within the study (see Figure 2), it is interesting that only two participants maintained state borders.

Of analytical interest is the extent to which participants who controlled borders created continental/regional lines. Participants, particularly in Sweden, made direct references to Russia, discussed below. Within a qualitative study our preoccupation is to move beyond these initial categorical codes into an interpretative dialogical analysis. The decision to control/remove borders relate, within our interpretation, to three normative social representations of the world—conflict-driven, competitive or collaborative/cooperative. This is set out in Table 2 which provides a summary of how conflict or cooperation-based social representations of the world are related to models of social psychological precarity. Table 2 is a schematic of these connections. It is potentially possible in a differently designed study for a participant to hold several models of social psychological precarity in relation to a specific social representation, for example the social representation of a fragile earth. At the same time, the design requires participants to decide whether and how to border. Participants who articulated a one-world narrative (Mahendran, 2017), did not place borders on the world. For such participants social psychological precarity is related to the uncertainties and inequities created by divisive human-made constructions (see Table 2 and also Extract 5 & 6).

Dialogical analysis identified three performative functions of borders. *Borders as protective*, *borders as divisive* and *borders as bridging*. Each of these functions relate to social representations of the world (see Table 2) as a fragile earth, a clash of civilizations or the result of enduring colonial native/settler dynamics. Precarity, our analysis suggests, is not the preserve of insecure workers or migrants/refugees, rather *all* citizens are working with models of social psychological precarity relating to threat, future orientation and insecurity.

Borders as protecting

The view that borders have a protective function relates to a psychological sense of precarity resulting from the realistic or symbolic threat of economic competition. As Table 2 sets out, this interacts with two distinct social representations of the world (both conflict-based). In the first social representation, intergroup tensions and the idea of potential inward movement requires protective state borders. In the second social representation, ecological bordering aims to manage conflictual tension between humans and the earth. The earth is represented as a fragile earth.

Fragile earth

Borders are placed on the earth to protect vulnerable areas from human development. SP, arrived in Europe as a refugee (with Leave to Remain status), having lived in several countries and she fully intends to move again (MMC10). SP draws a border around vulnerable areas, for example the Amazonian rain forest (See Figure 3) and articulates an *I-guardian* protective position (see Extract Dialogue 1).

Extract Dialogue 1

SP: Well,[1] the only thing that is different that comes to my mind is to put on the protection certain very important areas like the Amazon like you know the rainforest and you know the tundra here in Russia maybe, the forest in Canada, you know. Because these are places that are very important for the survival of the civilization so.

First Author: So, these are borders as protected territories?

SP: I think we need to protect them (SP, MMC10, Interview, Manchester).

FIGURE 3 SP eco-bordered core position

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[1]Extracts used an adapted Jefferson transcription. (.) denotes short pause, (…) denotes text removed * denotes laughing. Participants are given anonymized initials, which are followed by position on Migration-Mobility Continuum, Interview or IWMT Component, City of Interview.

In her closing statement within the mapping tool (IWMT), SP elaborates further her model of psychological precarity. She details potential circular economies if the world had protective eco-borders. She articulates a protective *I-guardian* position. The *I-guardian* position can be interpreted as a promethean position, which proposes humans as responsible supreme protectors of a fragile earth. SP takes up an *I-leader* position to organize potential economies. SP proposes a staged developmental, suggesting that we are not ready yet. The future world she imagines is collaborative. Humans have the capacity to move beyond destructive competitiveness, but we are not there yet.

> **SP**: I still think there should be small communities with circular economies collaborating with each other. However, at that stage, there are regions with natural resources that are important for the survival of the life on Earth, for example Amazons, tundra, Indonesian rainforests, green belt in Africa, Canadian forests (SP, MMC10, Statement, IWMT, Manchester).

Fragile international relations

YD is a solider aged 20, who has never moved from Sweden describing himself as 'fully settled' (MMC1). YD moves in Extract Dialogue 2, between a series of *I*-positions which relate to different social representations. Initially he takes an *I-idealist no-border position*. YD explains this by figuratively articulating a figure 'united states of earth', an imaginative cooperative social representation which creatively moves into idealistic international relations. He then evokes a realist account of international relations*, killing each other* which begins to reveal his lay model of psychological precarity of global conflict YD then introduces an *I-worker position*, to imagine economic migrants moving across the world. This creates a new social representation of the world. This representation divides the world along developmental lines (Figure 4/Extract Dialogue 2) the expression *moves up* evokes a representation of a global north/south divide. Finally, having introduced the idea of conflictual cultures, YD takes the decision to include Russia to create cooperative diplomatic international relations. YD spent around 10 min creating his borders, and Figure 4 shows the care taken around where to place lines in his final map.
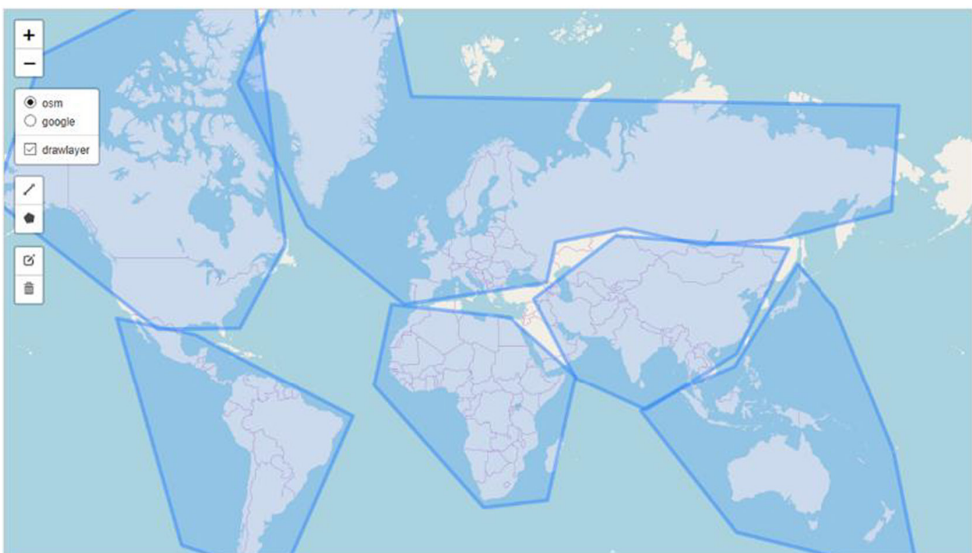

F I G U R E   4   YD comprehensive regional Borders

Extract Dialogue 2

First Author: Which is the world that you, you see, you know, the, the one that you would see the world as, you know, being like or how you would like it to be.

YD: How I would like it, want it to be? Uh-huh. Ideally, I'd like, like, um, United States of Earth kind of thing. Instead of, instead of killing each other, we can actually do productive stuff like, I do not know, going to space or something. So, I'd like to see this world map, ah, the borderless world one, but most realistically is another question. (YD, Interview, MMC1, Stockholm)

YD decides to work with the state-bordered map and makes the following statement.

YD: I thought about distribution of wealth and the expected flow of population. I put the EU and Russia in the same box since all of them are wealthy and well-developed countries, and within the EU the ideals are somewhat similar. I included Russia to minimize hostility between the regions. I then boxed Africa and the way I see it EU would be responsible for economic stimulation of Africa. Developing infrastructure in Africa as well as helping establish working democratic governments. After that I made the same argument with USA/Canada and Latin America. Oceania is one region due to the shared island property as well as the economic power and well-developed status of Japan and Australia would allow them to stimulate the other countries in their region. China/Far East region was the most difficult due to China's very particular culture compared to the other countries in the region. But I think the economic power of China and India would allow them to be responsible for development of the other countries in the region. The Oceanian region could support economically as well (YD, Statement IWMT, MMC1, Stockholm).

The worldviews articulated by YD involve exploring colonial/settler dynamics as they are occurring in Europe. YD uses the trope of development and democracy to articulate an imperial outlook. Geopolitical conflict is a key dimension, in this analysis, to YD's model of psychological precarity (see Table 2). Russia is referred to explicitly by 12/23 participants (52%) though it was not mentioned at all by either of the two interviewers. This is particularly the case in Sweden. The next most common country is China 11/23 (48%) in relation to economic competition. In YD's case Russia is brought *into* Europe to reduce hostility, here borders have a protective function.

Borders as bridging

A lay model of psychological precarity which foregrounds geopolitical conflict is key to supranational bordering (see Table 2) despite fieldwork occurring before the Russian invasion of Ukraine or the COVID-19 pandemic. The process of bordering can relate to long standing connections between territories, regions and nation-states. Though we have presented the analysis schematically, participants can put borders around the same geographical territories to perform different functions or the same border can be at once protective and divisive. LO is a student, who has lived on a different continent and returned to Stockholm (MMC4). She initially selects the nation-state-bordered world map and constructs borders according to territories that *belong together*. She starts by drawing lines around Europe explaining, using an *I-European* position, in her statement—'I started where I belong' (Figure 5).

Extract 3

LO: I would guess I'm a little pessimistic. I would want to say that I want no borders and like we can all live happily together and so on, but. Um, I mean, the fact is that these borders exist today and-yeah, it's difficult to change that, I think.
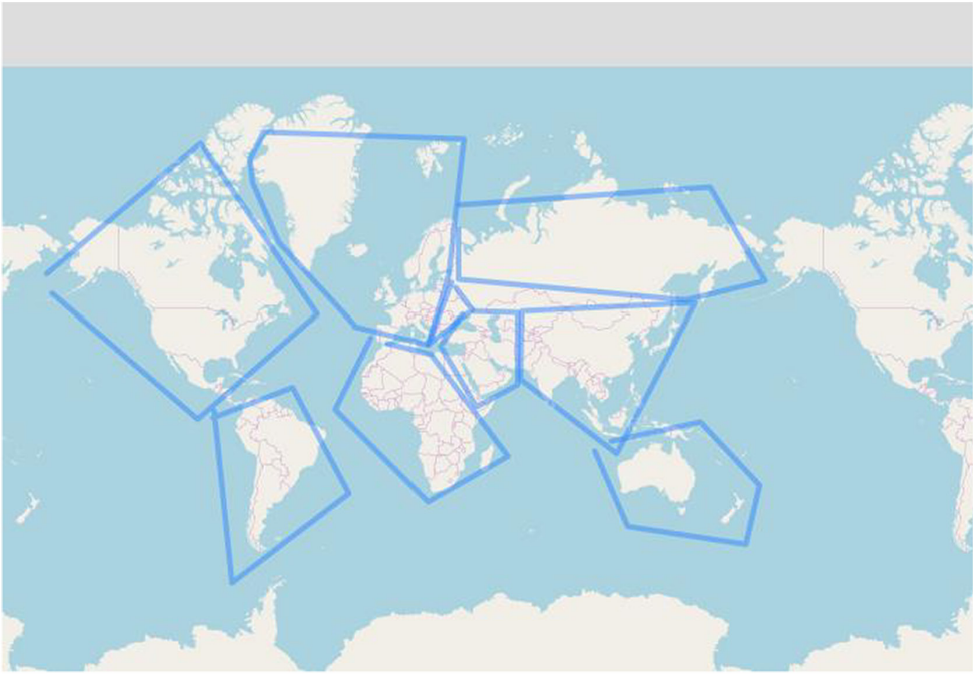
F I G U R E 5 LO's final worldview map—Supranational Borders

In her statement.

LO: I divided the world according to what parts I somehow feel belong together. For example, I did put Russia all alone because I wasn't sure if it belonged in Europe or Asia. and my first circle was the part of the world where I feel I 'belong' (LO, MMC4, Statement, IWMT, Stockholm).

Initially LO's bordering relates to the same *I-idealist no bordering position*, as YD above. However, when introducing borders they perform a bridging function holding together those territories that *belong* together. LO's use of the word 'we' and 'feel' can be related to GHIC/IWAH identification measures. LT, in Extract 4, takes this bridging function of borders further. The UK is bridged to its colonial past by forming lines to Australia, Canada, the United States and New Zealand. He did not draw lines to any black countries. Foregrounding in his statements an eco-cultural difference between black and white countries.

Extract 4

LT makes the following statement within the IWMT after producing the map.

LT: Ignoring America and Australia, European places—historical connections—but not much inter-actions. Africa to the outside has one set of cultural standards—them not us, each territory has this seen as one thing from the outside. Continental sub-groups. Climate issues are considerations at a different level. Religious thinking goes back to Neanderthals, Capitalism is also natural. (LT, MMC1, IWMT Statement, Manchester).

LT in his second statement at the end of the process, indicates that maps are projections and that borders are constructed, which could suggest a model of social psychological precarity of human-made

bordering (see Table 2), however this lay model of social psychological precarity related to global conflict, rather than a cooperative border-free world.

> **LT:** People love maps, but they do not need to know them—they are only projections—they are centric to different places. I see these as block areas, the white area, the black area, the Russian white, the climate of Siberia, compared to the rain forests. These are different climates, different living people—in different ecological habitats (LT, MMC1, IWMT Second Statement, Manchester).

This model of social psychological precarity relates to a strong sense of essential and enduring difference. LT borders the world into distinct 'black areas' and 'white areas'. LT develops in his second statement a pluralist account where different climates since the time of the Neanderthals have led to different people, in different ecological habitats.

Borders as divisive

An important finding in the four core-bordering positions was the extent to which borders were removed from the world (see Table 1) by ten participants (44%) These participants worked with the border-free earth map (see Figure 2). The following two extracts articulate dimensions of this position. GE is a skilled worker who arrived in Stockholm as a refugee, having acquired Swedish citizenship he has no plans to move again (MMC7).

Extract 5

> **GE:** Humankind does not have the right to decide who is bad and who is good. By creating lines, for example Pakistan and India. See straight lines on the map through people who were living together. Suddenly deciding to be God. You cannot divide the world, into bad or good sides. (GE, MMC7 Statement, IWMT Stockholm).

For GE creating borders is playing God. Despite having lived all his life in Europe he evokes a historical partition—Pakistan/India in 1947, possibly to build shared understanding between himself and the interviewer (first author) who may have been understood as Asian. GE introduces the affective *through people who were living together*. As a counter-narrative to the borders as protective, GE rejects the idea of dividing the world into sides sustaining the *I-human* position throughout within an important oppositional antinomy human/God. Finally, Extract Dialogue 6 illustrates how positioning and counter positioning are one key to unlocking the dimensions of social psychological precarity contained within people's lay models. TN, a Polish European migrant, settled in Edinburgh (MMC7), sustains his no-borders position, despite a length interrogation from the second interviewer.

Extract Dialogue 6

> **TN:** What if I think that there should not be borders? (Int: At all?) Yeah. (Int: So nowhere on this map?) Yep.

> **Int:** Would you want somebody to show their passport to move from one place to another?

> **TN:** Yeah (Int: Nothing?) Nothing (Int: At all?) Nothing (Int: No?)

Int: Okay so you'd just, everybody should just (.) move around as they please, nobody should ever be, you know, coming in to (.) the States or Russia or Japan and have to show their passport from where they are from?

TN: Yeah.

Int: Okay. So we are just completely blank?

TN: Completely blank.

Int: Wow! Okay (.) I mean you could of, we have got some options here, you know like you could (.) draw like a big kind of thing around Europe and say 'okay well everybody in-between that can (.) move freely but they'd need to show a passport if they wanted to go in Africa?'

[….] Dialogue continues for several minutes with interview challenging TN position of no borders.

Int: And so you do not feel like there should be (.) any kind of (.) system of (.) knowing where people are going or how many people are moving into somewhere, it should just be (.)

TN: For example, if you think that, let us say (.) a hundred thousand people move to Edinburgh from somewhere right now. I do not know, there is lots of space. Earth is huge. (Int: It's pretty big, yeah). And there is lots of space for people as long, people as I said contribute and not over-use err, country they go to (.) It's fine (TN, MMC7, Interview, Edinburgh).

TN moves from an initial no borders position, which perplexes the interviewer, to a more qualified social representation around people *contributing* to an economy. However, despite several attempts by the interviewer to persuade him of the need for borders, he remains committed to the no-border position. The interviewer appears disorientated by TN's social representation of the world as one economy and proposes a system of passport control to re-establish a more hegemonic social representation of national sovereign borders. The interviewer employs an extremist rhetorical device using discourses of 'everybody' and 'nobody' and later 'how many people are moving', This leads to a counter move in order to sustain his no-borders position, where TN works with this rhetorical extreme case scenario—*a 100,000 people moving to Edinburgh*. By doing this, he moves to an *I-earthling position* to explain the Earth is huge and there is lots of space. This creates a moment of consensus when the interviewer agrees. Extract Dialogue 6, challenges the belief of the neutrality of the researcher—it makes explicit how we are all positioned within questions of bordering that research is always a social situation. Equally, it illustrates how differing social representations and dialogical I-positions work together when articulating lay models of social psychological precarity. It challenges myths of researcher neutrality (Reddy & Amer, 2022).

DISCUSSION

This exploratory study was designed to examine whether studies which focused on migration-mobility and the decision to control or remove borders within an interactive worldview mapping task, could support GHIC/IWAH studies into global identification (McFarland et al., 2019). The study aims to build a dialogue between global identification studies and critical-reflexive migration studies (Dahinden, 2016; Favell, 2019; Schiller et al., 2006; Schinkel, 2018). It rises to the challenge of increasing global identification as 'an important offsetting ideal' (McFarland et al., 2019, p. 163) to rising protectionism and nationalism. McFarland et al proposed childrearing measures to increase empathy and by extension GHIC/IWAH. Our dialogical analysis suggests three recommendations for studies into GHIC. First,

making the abstracted universalistic dimensions of GHIC/IWAH more concrete by focusing on material issues such as migration and climate change. This could shed light on the relationship between lay models of social psychological precarity and low global identification. Second, all participants in global identification studies need to be understood as having a migration story. Rather than studies continue to reify a binary between migrants and non-migrants, measures such as the MMC could usefully be integrated as a standard descriptive measures within psychological studies. Finally, and perhaps most challenging for psychologists, global identification studies need to move beyond an anthropocentric outlook and needs to embrace the critical humanist and post-human literature (Barad, 2003, 2007; Chakrabarty, 2019) on planetary consciousness.

Migration and other cross-border global phenomena

GHIC/IWAH ask participants where they place symbolic borders based on identity or sense of community, and, in the case of IWAH, around their community, their nation-state or the whole of humanity. Attempts to introduce more concrete and salient contexts such as climate change (Loy et al., 2022; Reese, 2016) do increase global identification. Our study found when presented with a concrete scenario of controlling or removing borders on the world, 10 of our 23 participants would not draw borders. Citizens explain this decision by articulating worldviews about freedom of mobility and social representations of a cooperative plentiful planet, where the source of the material and social psychological precarity relates to the arbitrary element of human-made borders. The study shows how migration-mobility appears to impact on how individuals enact global human identification when controlling/removing global borders. Participants who had higher MMC (MMC7-MMC10) took a no-border position in relation to a fragile or cooperative earth where borders were human-made and often arbitrary.

This finding suggests the value of measuring migration-mobility along the MMC (Mahendran, 2013, 2017; Mahendran et al., 2021a). Of interest to future studies is the expression of an *ideal* of a no-border position, which occurred when participants chose to control borders, which perhaps indicates an alternative social representation of a cooperative world. It is important in the context of nationalistic protectionist rhetoric around immigration to emphasize how this study demonstrates the contexts and conditions within which citizens in Europe do not wish to see migration borders on the world. In theoretical terms it suggests that studies into GHIC/IWAH incorporating concrete global phenomena such as migration, could understand hesitancy around GHIC.

Using interactive dialogical worldview maps to enable citizens to digitally draw onto world maps develops a more concrete tool. The use of the world as an analytic category (which can be understood as an earth, globe, world or planet) facilitates participants to move from self-other relations to potentially post-human self-world relations (Barad, 2003, 2007; Chakrabarty, 2019). The analysis found that citizens created borders to protect, to bridge and removed them as divisive. These decisions relate to four lay models of social psychological precarity.

Four models of social psychological precarity

In response to the second question, controlling/removing borders did relate to social psychological precarity. We found four lay models of social psychological precarity which related to (i) intergroup competition (ii) global conflict, (iii) economic rationality, which required borders and (iv) the worldview that borders are arbitrary, human-made and not required on a fragile planet. The four lay models are interpreted here as relating to social representations on how the world is organized, in terms of conflict-based, competitive or collaborative/cooperative relations (Staerklé et al., 2011). However, these models and related representations, go further than the intergroup self-other orientation of normative social representations and it worth noting that the last model (see Table 2), proposes a post-human understanding of the

world as a precarious planet which challenges anthropocentric thinking. Social representations of the planet's precarity serve to anchor the difficult task of drawing borders to control human mobility. A sense of social psychological precarity which draws on social representations of a conflict-ridden world, social representations of a fragile earth or enduring colonial settler/native conflict relates to a decision to control borders. Whereas lay models of social psychological precarity which draw upon social representations of a cooperative plentiful planet lead to a decision to create a planet which is border-free.

The study did not ask participants any direct questions on precarity, and the term was not spontaneously evoked within the dialogues, which is potentially a limitation. Yet the study reveals the extent to which precarity is a concern of participants. Questions on migration-mobility enabled participants to engage in the *lively nature* of precarity as outlined by the editors of this Special Issue. This study reveals that the relationship between migration and precarity is not the preserve of insecure workers, refugees and forced migrants. Precarity is not Other (Coultas, Reddy & Lukate, 2022) it occurs across the entire MMC.

Cross-border solidarity and planetary consciousness

Investigating common-sense understandings of the planet requires a move within global identification studies towards understanding human and post-human planetary consciousness. This is particularly important if psychology is to keep pace with advances in space science which seek to colonize other planets—for example the LSII (Withee, 2022). Where global identification studies ask about feeling for all humanity, they could potentially ask questions on feeling for all life on the planet.

Returning to the two research questions that framed the study, the study draws attention the temporal dimension, to the precariousness of global futures, understandings of which are also tied to aspects of our shared pasts. An important finding is that nation-state borders were created by a minority of participants, despite the precarity of the post-Brexit context where, even in Sweden, the narrative of *taking back control* was mentioned. Where participants introduced borders they tended to hold together regions rather than nations. These participants were in the lower MMC positions 1–4. Such participants relate the threat of global conflict or intergroup competition to a need for multilateralism and regional cooperation rather than national isolationism. The context of the war on Ukraine may increase citizen's public understanding of the role of multilateralism. It is salutary to note that within fieldwork in 2019 participants expressed the dilemma about how to include or exclude Russia when making bordering decisions. Future studies could enable participants to articulate more fully the desire for alliances, for example NATO and regional borders, rather than moving—as IWAH does—from nation-state to the global.

In conclusion, understanding lay models of social psychological precarity as they occur across the Migration-Mobility Continuum (MMC) has the potential to support GHIC. A key step for psychologists interested in climate change and global futures is to begin to work with the concept of planetary consciousness. To move from our historical preoccupation with worldviews to a new preoccupation with *planetviews*. Studies into planetviews will support global solidarities and much needed cross-border cooperation— material and psychological. Social and political psychology, more generally, needs to integrate a conceptualization of precarity into the design of its studies. It needs to question the stability inherent to the concepts it uses e.g., host societies. Social and political psychology need to embrace the uncertainties that this study demonstrates that all individuals, irrespective of their material circumstances, face.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS
Kesi Mahendran: Conceptualization; data curation; formal analysis; funding acquisition; investigation; methodology; project administration; resources; software; visualization; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing. **Sue Nieland:** Formal analysis; software; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing. **Anthony English:** Formal analysis; software; visualization; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing. **Simon Goodman:** Formal analysis; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

All authors declare no conflict of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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