Antecedents of Multicultural Identity:

The Role of Stereotypes and Need for Cognitive Closure

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ABSTRACT

A noticeable rise in global mobility has led to an increase in people identifying with more than one culture. This has been described as 'effects of globalisation' on the microlevel by some authors (Arnette, 2003; Fitzsimmons et al., 2017). The reasons for this are manifold and include: increase in migration for both economic and political reasons, increase in binational relationships and marriages, easier access to education abroad with international recognition of degrees, increased travel for both leisure and work, and not least, the increase in digitalisation. These developments facilitate private and professional interactions and relations with people across the globe. Building on previous work on multiculturalism, this paper aims to make a theoretical contribution to understand how daily behaviour is impacted by antecedents of multiculturality, ranging from monocultural to multicultural individuals. Specifically, we hypothesise multiculturality as relevant for behavioural outcomes, only to the extent of antecedent a) situational cues of in- vs outgroup cultural identity, b) degrees of stereotype activation and moderated by c) the individual need for cognitive closure. We postulate a theoretical model that explains the impact of various degrees of individual multiculturality on behaviours. With this, the paper contributes to understanding the psychological antecedents and underlying processes of people within an increasingly multicultural environment.

Keywords: Behaviour, Cultural Identity, Multiculturality, Need for Cognitive Closure, Situational Cues, Stereotype Activation

1. **INTRODUCTION**

A noticeable rise in global mobility has led to an increase in people identifying with more than one culture. Some authors described this as the 'effects of globalisation' on the micro level (Arnette, 2003; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Fitzsimmons, Liao, & Thomas17; Triantafillou, 2020; Vora et al., 2019). The reasons for this are manifold, including an increase in migration for both economic and political reasons, an increase in binational relationships and marriages, easier access to education abroad with international recognition of degrees, increased travel for both leisure and work. Additionally, an increase in digitalisation facilitates private and professional interactions and relations with people across the globe. It supports the global distribution of goods and cultural exports such as films, series and similar (Maddux, Lu, Affinito, & Galinsky, 2020).

The rising need for collectively addressing global and/or regional crises (e.g., pandemics, global warming) have also paved the way for heightened collaboration and intercultural work platforms between and among nations, organisations and individuals, for instance, with the global rise of Zoom and climate initiative such as Fridays for Future. These occurrences have increased daily interactions among people from different cultural backgrounds (see Healey, 2005; Okoro and Washington, 2012; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Pekerti & Thomas, 2016). These interactions between individuals and groups lead some people to develop different cultural identities along the cultural continuum (Vora et al., 2019; Maddux et al., 2020). The degree of multiculturality (ranging from monocultural, bicultural and multicultural) may depend on the volume and range of interaction and exposure to other cultures.

Individuals with monocultural identities, for instance, include people "who belong to and are influenced by a single societal culture" (Vora et al., 2019). People with bicultural

identities are those who actively maintain and integrate links with two cultures, usually, home and host cultures (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Tadmor et al., 2012). Fitzsimmons et al. (2017) defined the category of people holding multiple cultural identities as *multiculturals*, indicating people internalising multiple cultures. In essence, individuals vary along these dimensions of the continuum, depending on their access to salient situational cues to culture(s) that influence behaviour.

Studies have investigated various aspects of multiculturalism, ranging from how people switch between cultures (e.g., Cheng et al., 2006) to being compatible with (vs opposed to) several cultures (Schwartz & Unger, 2010) and to straddling between multiple cultures (e.g., Fitzsimmons et al., 2017). Others point to the management multiculturality (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Kipnis, Demangeot, Pullig & Broderick, 2019; Peace, 2001).

While Benet-Martínez and colleagues (2002) highlighted that individuals can prioritise one or more cultural identities over others along a continuum, Vora et al., (2019) advocate for categorising cultural identity along a continuum (comprising monocultural, bicultural and multicultural identities). In addition, more recent studies (e.g., Karjalainen, 2020: p.249) advocate for "recontextualising cultural identity in contemporary organisations" concerning cultural differences among individuals within the macro society, as this is a prerequisite for understanding the differences among people along the cultural continuum, especially concerning how they respond to situational differences. In sum, research for understanding differences in the salience of cultural identities on behavioural outcomes among people within the cultural continuum has increasingly gained interest (e.g., Fitzsimmons, Liao & Thomas, 2017; Lee, Masuda, Fu & Reiche, 2018; Vora et al., 2019), but with minor or no emphasis on how differences in people within the continuum impact on behavioural outcomes when confronted with different cultural situations. Fitzsimmons et al.

(2017) aligned with this research gap, arguing that aggregating cultural identities along the continuum require people to internalise certain cultural schemas, but how, when and why this occurs is yet to be documented in the literature. The need for researching this area is further captured in the study of Kipnis et al. (2019), pointing future researchers to explore how people within the cultural continuum navigate cultural frames. Cues from the studies of Wnuk, Oleksy and Toruńczyk-Ruiz (2019) and Kossowska, Dragon and Bukowski (2015) highlight the need to examine the roles of need for cognitive closure (NFC) and stereotype activation, respectively, on behavioural differences among people within the multicultural continuum. They argue that understanding the interplay of need for cognitive closure and stereotypes activation could provide justifiable antecedents towards explaining the differences in the multiculturalism of individuals vis-à-vis their differences in behavioural outcomes across different situations.

Hence, the current paper assesses the situational basis of how individuals along the cultural continuum emphasise (or de-emphasise) certain aspects of cultural identities. Following directions from previous studies (e.g., Kossowska, Dragon & Bukowski, 2015; Wnuk, Oleksy & Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2019), this paper considers the role(s) of individual stereotypes and cognition in the salience of one or more culture(s) within the cultural continuum. Ultimately, we evaluate whether cultural identification at the individual level changes with variation in situational ambiguities, and the extent to which the salience of cultural identities influences the individual behaviour. Indeed, this paper aims to understand this interaction by developing a theoretical model that explains how differences in people's multiculturality, stereotypes and cognition influence the salience of one or more cultural identities, and by extension, behavioural outcomes.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

To facilitate the understanding of how differences in individual multiculturalism impact behavioural outcomes, we develop a model and draw from the social identity theory to explain the antecedents that inform differences in the salience of cultural identities among people. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people categorise themselves and others into social groups to reduce uncertainties when making decisions s. These categorisations can prompt people to develop ingroup preferences for their group compared with outgroups (see Otten & Bar-Tal, 2002). This suggests that cultural identities represent a significant aspect of social identities to the extent that people socialise with a cultural group(s). People can develop identity preferences and experience certain cultural aspects becoming more important than others. In other words, the application of social identities can aid the categorisation, salience and comparison of cultural identities along social situations – and these interactions often reflect in people's cognitive and behavioural outcomes (Li, 2020).

Through social interaction and observation, people tend to acquire and develop identities - social and cultural. This occurs because "cultural knowledge at a collective level is correlated with social groupings" (Halloran & Kashima, 2006). People with shared social identities share common cultural knowledge as part of their collective life through shared values, beliefs, social norms, and even stereotypes. Consequently, people identify with and are identified by social and cultural groups via social categorisation (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Turner & Reynolds, 2011) to make sense of their cultural identity with social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For instance, aspects of cultural identity like language, collective history, customs, cultural norms, belief systems, and ethnicity constitute aspects of a shared cultural

identity. While 'culture' reflects the social categories of people sharing the same identity, cultural identity represents the uniqueness or specificity of a given community or group of people, embracing specific attributes common to the people (Karjalainen, 2020: p.249).

With culture, people give meaning to activities and practices in specific situations (Kashima, 2001; Halloran & Kashima, 2006). Certain activities in certain situations often activate specific cognitive and behavioural responses from people regarding their cultural underpinnings. Culture, here, refers to "what constitutes appropriate values and goals for individuals and the group" (Wang, et al., 2006: 157). It includes a set of shared assumptions, beliefs, or worldviews held by a group of people (Triandis, 1994, 1998). Geertz (1973: 89) defines it as a "model of meanings incorporated into symbols handed down to posterity, a system of inherited conceptions, expressed in symbolical forms with the help of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop knowledge and attitudes about life". That is, culture can be passed on to individuals from the macro-level society, with current research also pointing to culture being created at the individual level and gradually passed on to people in groups and societies at macro levels (Haslam et al., 2021). Erez and Gati (2004) categorised these definitions of culture along a *'top-down'* or *'bottom-up'* process, whereby culture is passed down to individuals from the macro-level or culture is initiated at the individual level and aggregated at the macro level, respectively.

In essence, the cultural identities of individuals within the continuum change to the extent of contact, attraction, and strength of association with other cultures (Berry, 1980; Erez & Gati, 2004); and this informs the extent of individual multiculturality.

**Multiculturality and Salience of Cultural identities**

The theory of social identity buttresses that individuals' social identity often becomes salient in certain situations/contexts, which influences people's cognition and behaviours. The

salience of cultural identities occurs when certain situations make certain cultures obvious to influence behaviour (De Cremer & Van Vugt, 1999; De Cremer, Van Knippenberg, Van Dijk & Van Leeuwen, 2008; Hogg, 2001). Relating this to the multiculturality of people, the visible aspects of one or more cultural identities in certain social situations can make certain aspects of cultural identities salient than others. However, the strength of salience informs how people express culturally salient behaviours with varying degrees of cognitive, emotional, and situational processes (Bruch & Feinberg, 2017).

The salience of cultural identities among people within the cultural continuum occurs when social (e.g., situational) conditions emphasise or require the relevance of identity (e.g., Li 2020). Hence, the extent to which an identity gains salience over other identities reflects its relevance and strength and application within a given situation. In such situations, one or more aspects of people's identities (say cultural) may become "more relevant" or "more important" than others in the given situations (Li, 2020; Stryker, 1980). Relating this to the multiculturalism of people, for instance, differences in people along the cultural continuum influence differences in identity salience, and by extension, differences in behavioural outcomes. Depending on the situation, people within the cultural continuum can exhibit different identities by socially categorising themselves with one or more identities in order to reduce uncertainties. They do this by categorising themselves with others who share similar identities in specific situations. The degree of multiculturalism involves the extent to which people are multicultural (or monocultural) along the cultural continuum. This cultural continuum ranges from degrees of exposure to the knowledge of, identification with, and internalisation of one cultural identity (i.e., monocultural); to two cultural identities (i.e., bicultural); or more than two cultural identities (i.e., multicultural) (see Vora, et al., 2019).

Model Linking Differences in Multiculturalism to Behavioural Outcomes
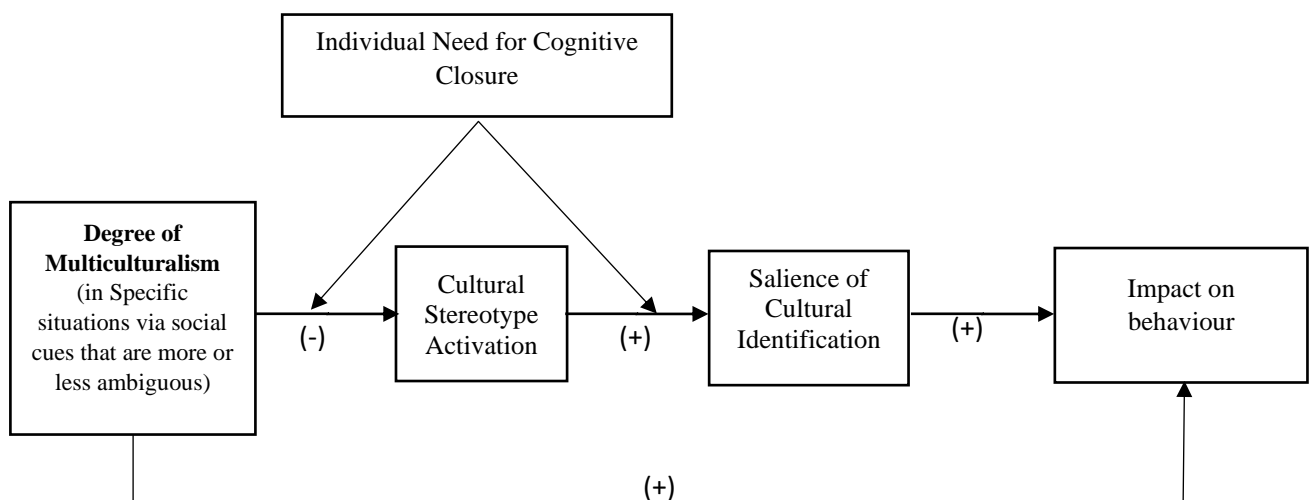
Situational Ambiguities, Situational Cues and Individual Multiculturalism

Broadly, the concept of cueing refers to conscious or unconscious signals that stimulate individuals to express certain behaviours in certain situations (Cash, 2012). Cues surface in forms of languages spoken and their type of accent; clothing style and acceptable mode of dressing among another group of people; or names peculiar to specific groups of people; or bodily colour with which people from certain societies are identified others.

Hence, people make choices and decisions within situations that influence their preferences/decisions. However, changes in social situations can modify the choices and decisions of people, including those relating to their social categories. Situational ambiguities represent initiating conditions that are antecedent to the salience of certain identity choices, preferences and behaviours of people within certain contexts (McLain, Kefallonitis & Armani, 2015). For example, the salience of identifying as a male among other males may be salient in situations where gender cues subsist. However, it may not necessarily be salient within other situations (e.g., professionals), even if they all identify as males. From the foregoing, professional ethics and values may serve as obvious situational cues (e.g., dressing

in a particular order and style, as among medical practitioners in a theatre) irrespective of the gender identities of the practitioners. Here, members of a profession are expected to follow laid-down rules, regulations, and procedures in administering tasks, duties and responsibilities as the relevant cue in such a situation.

Drawing on social identity theory, social cues often influence the set(s) of groups (and/or norms) that people identify with in a given situation (Turner et al., 1987). People interpret social cues based on their cultural knowledge and identification (of those cues) within social situations. The social cues further help people observe, develop, and evaluate decisions (Akturk & Sahin, 2011). In other words, social cues are processed and interpreted and help us make sense of social situations. Therefore, for certain aspects of culture to be salient in the light of social situations, certain cues informing the culture become visible to the individual. In turn, individuals within the cultural continuum may attend to those cues by applying specific cultural interpretations that consciously or unconsciously lead to behavioural outcomes. Whether these cues are relevant to influence behavioural outcomes depends on how individuals interpret the cues in relation to their cultural values, situational goals, and time of interpretation, among other factors (Aydinli & Bender, 2015).

However, ambiguous situations occur where numerous cues are predominantly accepted in a given situation. For instance, in a multicultural work environment where varieties of languages, food, and dressing attire, among others, are accommodated – this may arouse ambiguities at one time or the other among individuals, as to which situational cues make certain cultural identities salient. In sum, people differ significantly in handling ambiguities, and studies (e.g., Kruglanski 1989; Webster & Kruglanski, 1994) argue for the need for cognitive closure as a means through which people do this. Also, people may experience instances where stereotypes are consciously or unconsciously activated in certain situations when dealing with ambiguous situations (e.g., Kunda & Spencer, 2003).

Stereotype Activation

Stereotypes are "sets of fixed ideas and beliefs held by people" about individuals, human groups and categories (Tajfel & Tajfel, 1963: 4). Although people may be aware (or unaware) of certain stereotypes, they can be activated with or without the conscious intention of the individual (Devine, 1989), and are usually automatically activated by stereotypic cues (Bargh et al., 1996; Devine, 1989). Stereotype activation refers to "the extent to which a stereotype is accessible in one's mind" (Kunda & Spencer, 2003: 522). It occurs within a set of social and cognitive situations (Abrams & Houston, 2006; Abrams and Christian, 2007), and represents instances that reduce someone or something to a preconceived identity because their perceived membership of a social group is different from the previously held cognition (Abrams, 2010).

Among people within the cultural continuum, the extent of stereotype activation negatively correlates with the degree of individual multiculturalism. The more the individual identifies with the multicultural extreme within the cultural continuum (e.g., moving towards many cultures), the less the activation of cultural stereotypes is experienced when confronted with situational ambiguities. In contrast, the more the individual identifies with monocultural extreme within the continuum (i.e., moving away from many cultures towards one culture), the more the tendency to activate cultural stereotypes when confronted with situational ambiguities. By extension, these interactions directly affect the salience of cultural identities, with the monocultural likely to experience the salience of a single cultural identity, as against the multicultural that can experience myriads of cultural identities, depending on the cues drawn from the situation.

Need for Cognitive Closure

Need for cognitive closure (NFC) refers to how people approach ambiguities and their desires to reduce uncertainties when confronted with issues pertaining to expressing behaviour via decision-making (Kruglanski, 1989). It refers to marked differences in how individuals desire for firm answers and aversion toward ambiguities (Dhont, Roets & Van Hiel, 2013; Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). That is, it explains why some individuals may be high in their need for cognitive closure (high NFC), while others are low in their need for cognitive closure (low NFC). People high on NFC often prefer clarity, orderliness and yearning for stability and certainty when making decisions. On the other hand, people low on NFC are often disposed to uncertainties (Kruglanski, 2004). People with high NFC often experience the desire to freeze existing cognition on issues, which makes them ostracise cues that do not align with their pre-set structure (see Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). Alternatively, people with a low need for closure (LNFC) may be comfortable applying significant cognitive efforts and time when dealing with ambiguities or uncertainties without significantly favouring specific information about their environment.

As a means of moderating the effects of multiculturalism on stereotypes activation, and by extension, cultural identification, the need for cognitive closure (NFC) represents people's motivational preferences for maintaining certainty and clarity to attain epistemic security (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). NFC informs the rationale for people's preferences for one or more identities over others, especially in the face of complex and dynamic situations (Wnuk, Oleksy & Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2019). It demonstrates the degree of comfort that people often express amid ambiguities and uncertainties, which varies across situations.

For instance, in ambiguous situations, research (e.g., Kruglanski, Peri, & Zakai, 1991; Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2002) shows that people may resort to engaging more cognitive

efforts in processing happenings in relation to decision-making and eventual behavioural outcomes despite the activation of stereotypes. People with a high need for closure (HNFC), for instance, may aim to significantly reduce ambiguities or uncertainties by favouring specific information about situational cue(s) (see Webster & Kruglanski 1994). NFC may be responsible for influencing the multiculturality of people by moderating (high or low) their stereotypes in different situations.

Hence, the moderating role of the need for cognitive closure among people within the cultural continuum can make one or more cultural identities salient (see model above), and this influences behavioural outcomes. Depending on the situation, these interactions may happen in varying situations and with varying implications/outcomes, depending on the individual interpretation through situational cues.

Multiculturalism and Cultural Identity

Multiculturalism as a concept at an individual level has been broadly delineated along static to dynamic definitions of identities (Aydinli & Bender, 2015). Benet-Martínez, Lee and Cheng (2021: 247) conceive it as a "complex and multidimensional notion", comprising the various ways people can combine one or two or multiple cultural identities. In essence, being multicultural, bicultural or monocultural are components of multiculturalism at the individual level. It involves the identification with one or more cultures within a continuum (Vora et al., 2019). The continuum emphasises the degree of interactions required for internalising multiple cultures as basis for identity categorisation into monocultural or multicultural identities. These interactions, however, may be situation-specific, with some people within the continuum emphasising one or more identities than others in different situations. For instance, people may differ in their perception of one or more cultural identities on an issue or in a given situation but identify more broadly with the same identity in another situation.

However, having experienced interaction with people from various environments and situations, people gradually acquire cultural practices and identities that inform their cultural identity - through enculturation (Berry, 1980). The enculturation process may take the form of interactions online via exposure to people and contents of other cultures on the internet, physical contact via reading, listening to and watching people of different cultures. Maddux, Lu, Affinito and Galinsky (2020:2) conceived the notion of being *multicultural* as constituting the degree of "exposure to or interactions with elements or members of a different culture(s)". It means that the degree (e.g., frequency or recency) of interaction with a combination of cultural contacts, learnings, and experiences informs people's multiculturality, depending on the strength and depth of mix with cultures. As a result of differences in interactions, different levels of cultural identities are formed as part of an individual's overall identity, which also reflects in behaviour.

The interplay between Stereotype Activation, Need for Cognitive Closure, and Individual Multiculturalism

From the foregoing, people within the cultural continuum can experience situations or occurrences where stereotypes are activated for one or more identities, and this influences their behavioural outcomes. Within this continuum, too, people can refine, process, and express certain identity preferences in behavioural outputs (e.g., via stereotype activation and cognitive closures), which depends on the issues and situations involved. In other words, people within the cultural continuum interpret or exhibit behavioural outputs ranging from separating and integrating one or more streams of cultural identities to aggregating and prioritising them when expressing behavioural outcomes (see Fitzsimmons, 2013; Vora et al., 2019).   Hence, people can exhibit social and behavioural patterns that portray a range of stereotypes and needs for cognitive closure (along high or low dimensions).

The need for cognitive closure moderates the interaction between multiculturalism (in specific situations via social cues that are more or less ambiguous); Stereotype activation of culture(s), and the extent to which cultural identities are salient to people. For instance, Wnuk, et al., 2019 found that people low in NFC tend to be more open to a wide array of cultural ambiguities, thereby activating minimal or no stereotype against cultures. In contrast, people high in NFC tend to be closed from experiencing cultural ambiguities, thereby activating high stereotypes against cultures. These interactions, in turn, impact which cultures are salient and, by extension, behaviour. As a result, the extent of stereotype activation positively informs the salience of cultural identification, and by extension, influence behavioural outcomes.

The foregoing suggests that only cultural identities that are more salient directly impact behaviour (more). For people with two or multiple cultural identities, not all cultural identities directly impact behaviour – as they are not always salient in the light of stereotype activation and NFC. However, people who identify with a single cultural identity (i.e., monocultural) may experience a higher level of stereotype activation; a high need for cognitive closure; leading to the salience of the single culture; and by extension, higher reflection of that single culture on behaviour.

Identity salience and Behavioural Outcomes

Often, people are confronted with conflicting situations requiring cognitive processes to prioritise behavioural expressions as a consequence of certain situational cues. Studies show that situational cues may be responsible for triggering the salience of certain identities that influence the behaviour of people (Chattaraman, Lennon & Rudd, 2010; Wheeler & Berger, 2007). This stems from the justification of people ascribing themselves to situationally motivated categories (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995), with certain identity aspects

becoming salient to their self-concept. For example, when does being English-British matter over identifying as Canadian or Chinese or Romanian matter for a multicultural individual who identities with the combination of British, Canadian, Chinese and Romanian cultures? and how do(es) the salience of one or more of these cultural identities influence individual (and group) behavioural outcomes? More importantly, what role(s) do(es) existing cognition and stereotypes about these cultures play in the salience of one or more of these identities?

Looking from a multicultural lens, we suspect that certain behavioural outcomes among people within the cultural continuum gain salience in certain situations more than others. This informs our view that salient cultural identities of people within the cultural continuum may not always influence behaviour when the opportunity to act is not readily available (Laran, 2019). Hence, individual preferences for one or more cultural identities along the cultural continuum can be situationally explained.

To this end, cultural orientations and behaviours of people can be strengthened (or weakened) by situational variables that "allows for flexible changes between more collective (as against individualist) mind-set, following the surrounding context" (Aydinli & Bender, 2015: 6; Oyserman, 2011). Hence, we suspect that certain identities may gain salience in certain situations to the degree that "an identity will be invoked in a given situation" to exact more influence on behaviour than other identities would in such situation (Chattaraman, Lennon & Rudd, 2010: 265). This follows from social identity theory, suggesting that people express behaviours by sorting themselves and others into categories of social groups to reduce uncertainties (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the process, people negatively delineate the outgroup (i.e., others' culture) and positively differentiate ingroups to improve self-esteem. For instance, people with the least cultural identities within the continuum (i.e., monocultural) are likely to delineate outgroups using cultural divides. Hence, the higher the

salience of one or more cultural identities, the more the likelihood of expressing behavioural choices that suit that cultural identity.

3. DISCUSSION

Differences in multiculturalism among people suggest differences in how they make everyday judgments or decisions and behave. These differences inform how people apply cognitive processes, respond to different situations and make judgements/decisions concerning their social and cultural identities. With the conscious or unconscious application of cognition or intuition, people within the cultural continuum find themselves in social situations where certain cultural identities make more meaning, and by extension, are more likely to influence behaviours. This informs the need for investigating the psychological antecedents that influence differences in the salience of cultural identities among people within the cultural continuum across different situations.

The current paper extends the theory on the individual level of multiculturalism by modelling the differences in people along the multicultural continuum and how their stereotypes and cognition influence behaviour in different situations. This contribution to the theory of multiculturalism is critical because people hold and express distinct cultural identity differences at individual level while functioning in social groups. Specifically, the antecedents informing the behavioural differences among people within the cultural continuum, including stereotype activation and the need for cognitive closure, provide a unique theoretical insight towards better understanding the multiculturality of people in relation to the salience of cultural identities in specific situations. Thus, we argue that differences in how people respond to situational cues within the cultural continuum depend on several variables, including their degree of multiculturality, their extent of stereotype activation, and moderated by their need for cognitive closure.

On one extreme of the cultural continuum are people who identify as multicultural. Among this category of people, cultural identities become salient when the individual stereotypical activation directly influences the salience of certain cultural identities. Whether these dimensions are on a high- to low- dimension remains associated with situational cues drawn by the individual and moderated by the need for cognitive closure. On the other extreme of the multicultural continuum are people who identify as monocultural. Among this category of people, one dominant cultural identity is salient. This identity is further strengthened by the activation of stereotypes, accompanied by a high need for cognitive closure, which influences the salience of firmly held cultural identities. However, the difference between these extremes within the cultural continuum lies in their application of need for cognitive closure – with people on the monocultural extreme likely to be predominated by high NFC as a consequence of high stereotype activation and single-culture exposure. People tending toward the multicultural extreme, on the other hand, are likely to be predominated by a range of low to high stereotype activation. This is also moderated by low-high NFC due to exposure to multiple cultures.

While prior works have highlighted specific models surrounding how social identities are formed (e.g., Tajfel, 1972), the current paper hypothesise how one or more cultural identities along the multicultural continuum attain salience within the cultural continuum. It further explains how the salience of one or more cultural identities transcends into behavioural outcomes among different people and in diverse situations. The model in this paper provides insights into the antecedences leading to the salience of cultural identities that impact individual behaviours. It draws insights for understanding differences in behavioural outcome(s) of people with varying degrees of multiculturalism. To this end, the following theoretical and managerial implications are envisaged:

Theoretically, the current paper models our understanding of how one or more cultural identities gain salience over other identities among people within the multicultural continuum. It sheds light on the need to investigate the multiculturality of people interfacing/operating in culturally diverse groups. Practically, organisations (especially international businesses) can understand how specific individual and corporate culture(s) can become salient among employees. More importantly, it sheds light on the importance of salient cultural identities among work teams, as to whether this makes room for more creativity, more flexibility (as against rigidity), as well as implications on individual and collective motivation.

4. Suggestions for Further Research

To further research in this area, developing and validating a measuring scale that combines stereotype activation and the need for cognitive closure for informing the salience of cultural identities among people within the cultural continuum may be a pointer towards understanding this aspect of research and practice.

Contextualising the salience of cultural identities along the cultural continuum in workgroups. Here, investigation surrounding whether the degree of individual multiculturalism along different situational conditions reflect the salience of one or more cultures that they identify with. For instance, priming cultural conditions using a mix of situational cues that people identify with may serve as valuable pointers to the salience of cultural identities. Priming examples could include various cultural items that reflect the degree of individual multiculturalism in different situations. Examples include clothing decisions that reflect differences in cultures (i.e., suits, kaftan, hijab, native, etc.); food and delicacies; national symbols (i.e., Statue of Liberty, London eye, the Great Wall of China); national currencies; and significant individual personalities that represent these cultures,

among others; can establish basis for cultural identity differences among people within the continuum. Across these conditions, the degree of knowledge, identification with, and internalisation of culture(s) can be examined, with their salience measured under different situational conditions (see Vora et al., 2019). Variables like stereotype activation can be measured along standard and behavioural measures (see Rees, Ma &Sherman, 2019) while the need for cognitive closure can be measured by assessing participants' desire for predictability, close-mindedness, preference for order and structure, among others (Roets & Van Hiel, 2011; Webster & Kruglanski, 1994).

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