Multiculturalism within individuals: A review, critique, and agenda for future research

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ABSTRACT

In a globally connected world, it is increasingly common for individuals to belong to and be influenced by more than one culture. Based on a critique of conceptualizations from psychology, management, marketing, anthropology, and sociology, we bring clarity and consistency to conceptualizing and measuring multiculturalism at the individual level. We propose that individual-level multiculturalism is the degree to which someone has knowledge of, identification with, and internalization of more than one societal culture, and recommend methods to measure each dimension. Finally, we suggest how individual-level multiculturalism influences and is influenced by social networks and power dynamics in international organizations.

Keywords: multiculturalism, biculturalism, review, culture, interdisciplinary

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In a world where international migration has increased by 49% between 2000 and 2017 (United Nations, 2017), culture's influence on individuals is becoming increasingly complex. It no longer makes sense to view employees as being primarily monocultural (individuals who belong to and are influenced by a single societal culture). International business research that compares people across countries has historically assumed most people are representative of their home countries (e.g., Gelfand, Erez, & Aycan, 2007; Tsui, 2007), implying that culture influences individuals in a uniform, predictable, and generalizable way, and allowing for relatively straightforward cross-country comparisons. While this approach has helped develop the field of cross-cultural management, the simplifying assumption of monoculturalism does not represent today's culturally diverse employees (Lücke, Kostova, & Roth, 2014), and IB researchers are calling for culture to be reconceptualized at the individual level (Caprar, Devinney, Kirkman, & Caligiuri, 2015; Leung & Morris, 2015). It is now common for organizations to employ individuals who belong to more than one societal culture, such as Chinese-Canadians, British-Arabs, and Indian-Australians. Multiculturalism is common among migrants and their descendants, although it can also be developed through other long-term immersive experiences (Berry, 1997; Martin & Shao, 2016; Padilla, 2006). This shift means that international business (IB) research and practice needs to understand how individual-level multiculturalism influences employees, leaders, and customers and what impact this has on organizations in the IB context.

Research on multiculturalism within individuals has sharply accelerated within the past two decades, first in cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) and more recently in IB (e.g., Fitzsimmons, Liao, & Thomas, 2017; Lakshman, 2013). The growing body of work on multicultural individuals suggests that multiculturalism has the potential to contribute to IB-relevant outcomes ranging from cross-cultural leadership effectiveness, to expatriate adjustment, to creativity and innovation at work (e.g., Lakshman, 2013; Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012). Yet research on this

subject remains fragmented, offering little guidance for IB researchers attempting to conceptualize and operationalize multiculturalism at the individual level. As research in other disciplines (e.g., cross-cultural psychology) responds to the increased prevalence of multicultural individuals by shifting from a culturalist paradigm, which views cultures as largely static and well-defined, to a polyculturalist paradigm, which views cultures as dynamic and interacting (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015), IB scholars can benefit by drawing on developments from other fields to address the most pressing concerns of international businesses.

As depicted in the cyclical model of multiculturalism (Figure 1), our cross-disciplinary review summarizes and critiques current scholarship on multiculturalism within individuals, aiming to unite and advance the field in three key areas: conceptualization, measurement, and a future research agenda. 1) Conceptualization: Drawing upon an interdisciplinary review, we advocate a conceptual shift from thinking about *multicultural individuals* as a category, to thinking about *individual-level multiculturalism* as a tridimensional spectrum of the degree to which someone has knowledge of, identification with, and internalization of more than one societal culture. 2) Measurement: We offer guidelines for measuring multiculturalism as a tridimensional spectrum. 3) Future research agenda: Finally, we identify a set of cross-level, bidirectional research questions for the field of IB that attempt to resolve some historical drawbacks identified in the first section of our paper.

------ Insert Figure 1 about here -----

CONCEPTUALIZING MULTICULTURALISM

Over the past 30 years, the fields of management, psychology, marketing, sociology and anthropology have answered the foundational question: "what makes someone multicultural?" in a variety of ways, which we have categorized into five themes: the context; the acculturation process; skills and abilities; cognitions; and identification. We critique each theme as a basis to converge on our recommended conceptualization of individual-level multiculturalism.

What Defines Multiculturalism? A Review across Disciplines

We took an interdisciplinary approach to examining the conceptualization of individual-level multiculturalism. We started with the Business Source Complete and PsycINFO databases to access research in international business, management, marketing, and psychology, using the key terms "multicultural" and "bicultural" to identify relevant peer-reviewed research. We narrowed our search using exclusionary terms such as "multicultural policy," "multicultural counselling," "multicultural society," "multicultural education," and "therapy," resulting in 1,933 articles published between 1977 and March 2018. We supplemented our primary search with research from the fields of sociology and anthropology, accessing the SocINDEX and Anthropology Plus databases using our key search terms, along with discipline-specific terms identified through consultations with scholars in both fields. These additional search terms included: "dual identity," "multiple identities," and "incorporation" in the field of sociology; and "biracial," "multiracial," and "multiethnic" in the field of anthropology. After narrowing results using the same exclusionary terms, this yielded 146 articles in sociology and 176 articles from anthropology.

We then examined the titles and abstracts of each article in the combined interdisciplinary pool to identify those that discussed individual-level multiculturalism. We excluded articles that were primarily concerned with group-level constructs (such as multicultural teams), organizational-level constructs (such as multicultural organizations), or societal-level constructs (such as multicultural communities). The process of manually examining this pool of articles captured articles about individual-level multiculturalism that referred to constructs such as marginals (Fitzsimmons, Lee, & Brannen, 2013), hyphenated selves (Hammack, 2010), n-culturals (Pekerti & Thomas, 2016) and double-consciousness (Brannon, Markus, & Taylor, 2015). This resulted in a final set of 183 articles published between 1977 and March 2018: 105 articles from psychology, 29 from management, 25 from marketing, 15 from sociology, and 9 from anthropology. Our review focuses on this smaller set of 183 articles on individual-level multiculturalism, but is informed from our examination of the wider pool of articles.

We took a two-stage approach to our analysis. The first stage relates to broad themes we gleaned from the literature, and is discussed here. The second stage assesses articles with respect to our proposed conceptualization, which is described at the beginning of our proposed conceptualization section. Our first stage of analysis elicited five main answers to the question "What makes someone multicultural?", which we order from least to most prominent themes in the literature. Note that only themes that appeared in at least two disciplines are included, ensuring some cross-disciplinary generalizability. We found that individual-level multiculturalism is commonly defined by: the context; the acculturation process; skills and abilities; cognitions; and identification. Our analysis and critique of these definitional themes serve as the basis for developing our conceptualization of multiculturalism and for proposing a future research agenda at the end of this paper.

Multiculturalism Defined by Context. A small but consistent theme across disciplines and over time is defining individual-level multiculturalism by contextual factors, such as history, geography, cultural heritage, interpersonal relations, and national policies. For example, some researchers in psychology and marketing have argued that residents of Hong Kong or Singapore are multicultural by virtue of those countries' colonial histories or multiculturalism policies (e.g., Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2005; Chen, Ng, & Rao, 2005; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Ng, 2010). Similarly, it is often assumed that all individuals whose ancestry is from more than one cultural group, or from a cultural group that differs from the mainstream society, are multicultural (e.g., Netto, 2008; Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2013). Other researchers focus on the social context of interpersonal relationships that can impose, support, or dissuade individuals from cultural affiliations. For example, sociology and anthropology research examines how social relationships and networks can pressure multicultural individuals towards or away from their own cultural groups (e.g., James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Ngo, 2008; Windzio, 2015), especially for those with lower power or status, or whose ethnic ancestry is visibly different from the mainstream in a society (e.g., Gowricharn & Çankaya, 2017; Siebers, 2015). A combination of socio-political factors, including societal attitudes about minorities, country-level policies related to immigrants, and level of cultural diversity in an area, have been shown to influence individual-

level multiculturalism (e.g., Barwick, 2017; Bean, Brown, Bachmeier, Fokkema, & Lessard-Phillips, 2012; Berry, 1997; Korac, 2003).

These context-based conceptualizations are beneficial in that they explicitly recognize how largely external-based factors such as geography, cultural heritage, politics, history, and interpersonal relations steer and constrain individuals' multiculturalism. These contextual influences are largely overlooked by all other conceptualizations. While living in a multicultural society, having more than one ethnic ancestry, or being embedded within multicultural networks may provide greater opportunities to become multicultural, there are several issues with this approach.

First, the contextual influence on individuals varies considerably by individual – ranging from superficial to deep. For instance, marketing research has explored changes that can occur in an individual through contact with consumer products from other cultures (Grier, Brumbaugh, & Thornton, 2006), which constitutes a relatively superficial form of intercultural contact. Another limitation is that context-based approaches discount individuals' agency to choose how to interact with one's cultural environment. Insights from sociology and anthropology suggest an alternate view by emphasizing agency over context. For example, South Asian women in Britain actively construct their multiculturalism (Bagguley & Hussain, 2014) and individuals can develop "affiliate identities" where they actively engage with a cultural group to the extent that they eventually become accepted as group members (Jiménez, 2010). These examples indicate the possibility that individuals can demonstrate agency in cultural acquisition by purposefully deepening their knowledge, consumption, and enactment of another culture over time (Yodanis, Lauer, & Ota, 2012). In other words, while context plays a role, individuals also exercise agency over their cultural identity (Cederberg, 2014).

Just as research in anthropology and sociology commonly highlight how social network patterns and power dynamics interact with individual agency to shape an individual's multiculturalism (Cederberg, 2014; Netto, 2008; Windzio, 2015), IB research has started to shed light on this with respect to organizational contexts (Blazejewski, 2012; Caprar, 2011; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). We see unexplored value in examining cross-level contextual influences on multiculturalism within IB research,

so we return to the themes of social networks and power dynamics in our future research agenda at the end of this paper.

Multiculturalism Defined by the Acculturation Process. Psychological acculturation refers to cultural changes in an individual arising from sustained, first-hand intercultural contact (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). It has the longest history in academic research, with publications starting from the 1920s (Park, 1928; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovitz, 1936), although it began to be more commonly used to define multicultural individuals since the 1990s (Der-Karabetian & Ruiz, 1997), and is now prominent in cross-cultural psychology (Berry, 1997), management (Pekerti, Vuong, & Napier, 2017), marketing (Alvarez, Dickson, & Hunter, 2014), and sociology research (Gowricharn & Çankaya, 2017). Conceptualizations in this tradition emphasize the sequential process through which someone adapts to a new cultural context, often after migration, and usually specify a home or heritage culture and a host, adopted, or mainstream culture (Berry, 1997). For example, "biculturalism represents comfort and proficiency with both one's heritage culture and the culture of the country or region in which one has settled" (Schwartz & Unger, 2010, p. 26).

Strengths of this perspective include recognizing that individuals may vary in their affiliation with each of their cultures independent of the others, and that individuals have some choice in how they engage with and adapt to new cultures. This can be useful for studying how migrant or global workers adjust to new cultures. Indeed, this perspective has been used to understand how individuals adjust and become effective when working in new cultural environments such as during overseas assignments or self-initiated expatriation. International human resource management (IHRM) scholars, for instance, have adopted an acculturation perspective by suggesting that expatriates go through a process of cultural adjustment whereby international experience and exposure provide opportunities to psychologically adjust to a new culture and renegotiate their identities (Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991; Kraimer, Shaffer, Harrison, & Ren, 2012). Overall, the acculturation perspective has shed light on the process of second-culture acquisition.

However, there are several weaknesses to the acculturation perspective. These include: the assumption of tension between home and host cultures, an overly constrained sequential process for acquiring a culture, a tendency toward context-free theorizing that ignores power differentials, and the conflation of process and state. We discuss each of these in turn. First, acculturation-based research often considers only two cultures – majority and minority cultures – and assumes that tension exists between these cultures. This is evident in research that has explored acculturation stress (Piña-Watson, Llamas, & Stevens 2015), relationships between biculturalism and marginality (Park 1928; Bell 1990), and the need to negotiate between conflicting identities (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Wei, Liao, Chao, Mallinckrodt, Tsai, & Botello-Zamarron, 2010). This historical focus on tension between two cultures is limiting; it steers attention towards the negative aspects of multiculturalism and thereby neglects the positive contributions that multicultural individuals can make to organizations (Fitzsimmons, 2013).

Next, defining multiculturalism as a psychological process of sequentially adopting an additional culture hinders research on individuals who become multicultural in other ways. For instance, people commonly become multicultural through *simultaneous* immersion in more than one culture (Martin & Shao, 2016). In a sense, they become multicultural through the process of *enculturation* (learning one's heritage culture), rather than the process of acculturation (adopting a new culture) (Kim, 2007). Simultaneous immersion can occur among the children of immigrants, referred to as second-generation immigrants (Anderson, 1999); multiracial children who grow up in a multicultural household (Lou & Lalonde, 2015); third culture individuals who spend their formative years outside their passport country (Moore & Barker, 2012); and individuals living within polycultural societies (Morris et al., 2015), meaning the mainstream culture is not defined by a single majority group (Caprar et al., 2015). Simultaneous immersion can result in *emergent hybrid cultures* that transcend the cultural categories from which they are derived (Martin & Shao, 2016; Wiley, 2013). For example, Métis are a distinct indigenous group who have mixed Indigenous and Canadian European ancestry; their unique identity lies at the intersection of the two other cultures. Even within households of first- and second-generation immigrants, anthropological research suggests that children and parents are co-participants in an interactive process of

identity construction (Anderson, 1999; James et al., 1998), rather than through a sequential process of exposure to different cultures. Scholars across disciplines are recognizing that hybridity – combining existing cultures into new forms – cannot be ignored in multiculturalism research (West, Zhang, Yampolsky, & Sasaki, 2017). Thus, we argue that the traditional notion of acculturation is not flexible enough to accommodate alternative paths to multiculturalism and their resultant forms of multiculturalism.

Third, research in sociology in particular has criticized research on acculturation for largely overlooking the context of power differentials and directionality. Acculturation research often assumes that immigrants will adapt to their host countries without exploring the inverse (Gowricharn & Çankaya, 2017; Ngo, 2008). Regardless of adaptation direction, research rarely explores how contextual power dynamics influence acculturation, such as through discrimination and human resource policies. In recognition of the notions of power and mutual adaptation, Cox's (1991) framework within the management literature parallels Berry's (1997) acculturation framework: Cox explains that the acculturation patterns found within organizations can influence whether minority groups adopt the norms and values of the dominant group in an organization (*assimilation*), minorities do not adapt to the dominant group (*separation*), both groups learn from and value the norms of each other (*pluralism*), or neither group is highly valued (*deculturation*). This research highlights how power dynamics can influence acculturation and the adoption of cultures by individuals, a relationship that is usually overlooked within IB.

Finally, IB scholars have argued that "the use of acculturation as a basis for studying biculturalism confuses the processes of becoming bicultural with the way in which people experience or manage their bicultural identities" (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; p. 7). In particular, the assumption that the integration acculturation strategy is synonymous with multiculturalism does a disservice to both constructs by reducing the dynamic concept of an acculturation process to a state. Researchers generally equate biculturalism (the state of being bicultural) with the *integration* acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), whereby individuals actively maintain links with both their home and host cultures (LaFromboise,

Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Tadmor et al., 2012). Individuals who adopt any of the other three strategies – that is, maintaining links with only one culture (*separation* or *assimilation* strategies), or with neither culture (*marginalization* strategy) – are generally not considered multicultural (Alvarez et al., 2014; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Considering the potential to conflate the process of becoming multicultural with multiculturalism itself, ignore contextual influences such as power differentials, limit ways in which new cultures are adopted, and assume that tension exists between home and host cultures, it is not ideal to frame multiculturalism solely in terms of the acculturation process.

Multiculturalism Defined by Skills and Abilities. Another approach to conceptualizing multiculturalism identifies skills and abilities in multiple cultures, such as bilingual skills, as a key component of being multicultural (Chao, Chen, Roisman, & Hong, 2007; Ringberg, Luna, Reihlen, & Peracchio, 2010). This conceptualization stems from the acculturation literature that views the ability to function in two cultures as being the essence of biculturalism. For instance, Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez (1980) framed multiculturalism in terms of one's language, communication, and negotiation skills in two cultures. In addition, LaFromboise et al.'s (1993) model of bicultural competence, which also focuses on skills, has been influential in the literature. Conceptualizations included in this tradition are those where multiculturalism is defined at least in part through behavior (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009), behavioral repertoires (Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011), bicultural competence (Carrera & Wei 2014), bilingualism (Ringberg et al., 2010), or bridging behaviors (Sekiguchi, 2016).

An advantage of this approach is that it is very practical. When multiculturalism is defined by skills and abilities, it is easy to see how global organizations or teams would benefit from multicultural individuals. For instance, in marketing, there is discussion of how firms need to respond to multicultural consumers by adapting to cultural characteristics, behaviors, and needs of ethnic minorities such as Asian-Americans and Hispanic-Americans (Demangeot, Broderick, & Craig, 2015; Korzenny, 2008) – a role for which multicultural individuals are well suited. In the IHRM literature, bicultural competence is often considered critical to expatriate adjustment and effectiveness (Bell & Harrison, 1996), and multicultural

individuals are viewed in the area of talent management as valuable cultural and informational bridgers in culturally diverse and cross-border contexts (Furusawa & Brewster, 2015; Sekiguchi, 2016), as well as in global virtual teams (Eisenberg & Mattarelli, 2017). It is understandable that IB researchers who are interested in these bridging behavioral outcomes may be tempted to frame individual-level multiculturalism as multicultural skills and abilities.

Despite its utility, conceptualizing multiculturalism as skills and abilities in multiple cultures has at least two limitations. One is that it overlooks the foundation of skills and abilities: knowledge. Although cultural knowledge is needed to develop skills and abilities, knowledge is often not explicitly considered as a distinct component of multiculturalism, but rather assumed to be part of skills and abilities. Another limitation is that researchers may fail to distinguish between skills and abilities on the one hand, and their behavioral enactment on the other. This can lead to multiculturalism being defined by one of its outcomes: behavior (Wei et al., 2010). Yet culturally-consistent behaviors may not necessarily signal a deep connection with a culture (Molinsky, 2007; Molinsky, Grant, Maitlis, & Quinn, 2013). Individuals are able to mimic appropriate behaviors after training or gaining superficial knowledge about expected behaviors. For instance, Indian employees working in business process outsourcing are often trained to speak and act in a way that conveys American culture to their overseas customers (Poster, 2007). Nonetheless, these employees generally exercise agency in choosing when to exhibit this behavior outside of work – the fictitious culture does not become part of who they are (Poster, 2007). Thus, the ability to enact culturally appropriate behaviors, alone, does not indicate multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism Defined by Cognition. The cognitive perspective defines multiculturalism by internalized cultural schemas, referring to a set of cultural knowledge structures or meaning systems (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000), mental representations of culture (Lücke et al., 2014), or cultural self-concepts, such as independent and interdependent self-construals (Yamada & Singelis, 1999). Since the introduction of the *situated cognition* view of multiculturalism in cross-cultural psychology (Hong et al., 2000), this conceptualization of multiculturalism has quickly risen to become one of the dominant approaches. A key insight is that possessing multiple mental representations of

culture, each of which may be activated by contextual cues, stimulates deeper information processing and complex thinking (Crisp & Turner 2011). As a result, this conceptualization facilitates theorizing about cognitive outcomes of multiculturalism, such as increased levels of cognitive complexity (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Haritatos, & Benet-Martínez, 2002), integrative complexity (Tadmor et al., 2012; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009), and attributional complexity (Lakshman, 2013), as well as self-efficacy, well-being, and mental health (David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009). Psychological work on *cultural frame switching* demonstrates that contextual primes influence the accessibility of cultural schemas, making this a powerful conceptualization for theorizing about multiculturalism within context, without reducing multiculturalism to context alone (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Cheng et al., 2006). For example, employees in offshore firms are found to add value to outsourced client relationships by bridging across their own cultural frames (Su, 2015).

A benefit of the cognitive approach is its relatively strong theoretical foundation and empirical evidence, in part due to the research stream on frame shifting among multiculturals, which has recently extended into using neuroscience techniques to reveal brain activation during frame switching (see Hong & Khei, 2014, for a review of that literature). Unlike other conceptualizations of multiculturalism, the cognitive approach emphasizes what happens subconsciously as a basis for theorizing. The power of cultural schemas lies in the degree to which each cultural meaning system is accessible to individuals, such as when individuals possess both individual-oriented and social-oriented self-concepts (Chiao et. al., 2010; Lu, 2008).

A weakness of this approach is that most of these studies are primarily concerned with how cultural schemas guide perceptions and interpretations (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Cheng et al., 2006; Hong et al., 2000; Ringberg et. al., 2010), with less regard for which cultural meaning systems are present (Hong et. al., 2000; Leung & Morris, 2015). For example, researchers might examine when individuals access their Japanese and Brazilian schemas, rather than how the meaning systems of Japanese-Brazilian individuals differ from others such as Zambian-British individuals. Yet both structure and content influence outcomes of multiculturalism (Lücke et al., 2014). In addition, this approach generally assumes

individuals possess distinct cultural schemas. As such, it does not take into account the possibility of hybrid schemas (Lücke et al., 2014; Martin & Shao, 2016).

Multiculturalism Defined by Identification. Over time and across disciplines, identification has become the most common component used to conceptualize multiculturalism (e.g., in anthropology, Feldman-Bianco, 1999; in sociology, Netto, 2008; in psychology, Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; and in IB, Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). Definitions often include the criterion that individuals must identify with more than one culture to be considered multicultural (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Fitzsimmons, 2013; Lakshman, 2013). Research in this tradition especially increased following the introduction of the bicultural identity integration (BII) construct from cross-cultural psychology, which refers to the degree to which multicultural individuals mentally integrate or separate their cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). This conceptual approach is somewhat related to acculturation in that both are concerned with the degree to which individuals are affiliated with each of their cultures.

An advantage of conceptualizing multiculturalism in terms of identification is that, relative to an acculturation-based conceptualization, it allows for more flexibility in conceptualizing hybrid or mixed forms of multiculturalism. For example, individuals can identify with cultures not associated with a geographical place, such as religious identities (e.g., *superdiversity*; van de Vijver, Blommaert, Gkoumasi, & Stogianni, 2015; Schwartz & Unger, 2010). Moreover, an identification lens enables us to explore interpersonal research questions relevant to working in IB, and taps into the insights from a deep body of work on social identity theory and self-categorization theory from psychology (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For instance, IHRM scholars have shown how shared ethnic identity between expatriates and local employees affects knowledge acquisition (Fan, Cregan, Harzing, & Köhler, 2018).

However, when multiculturalism is conceptualized in terms of identification, it is sometimes overly inclusive, as people can identify themselves as members of a group without having access to cultural content normally associated with that culture, such as knowledge, values, and norms. For example, the grandchildren of immigrants may identify with their grandparents' heritage culture, even if it has minimal influence over their lives. Thus, there is the possibility that claimed cultural identities may

not be supported by cultural content. Related to this point is the concern that theorizing from this conceptualization is almost exclusively based on identity patterns (e.g., identity plurality, Fitzsimmons, 2013), rather than the content of cultural identities (e.g. differences in knowledge, values, and norms stemming from an individual's cultures such as Mexican-American versus Turkish-German).

In sum, this review of how researchers across disciplines have answered the question "what makes someone multicultural?" has found a proliferation of conceptualizations. The lack of consistency among, and limitations of, existing approaches means that IB scholars do not have a strong base upon which to build a body of generalizable knowledge on individual-level multiculturalism. In addition, some interdisciplinary themes, such as individual agency within the context of social networks and power dynamics, did not fit as part of a definition of multiculturalism. Yet such themes may be particularly relevant for IB research, where multicultural individuals are embedded in organizations that have cross-border social networks and differential power dynamics. We explore these cross-level issues of multiculturalism in IB in more detail in our research agenda at the end of this paper.

The field needs a new, unifying conceptualization of multiculturalism that builds upon previous theorizing by seizing on points of consensus among multiculturalism researchers across disciplines, infuses the latest thinking that addresses emergent phenomena relevant to multiculturalism, and filters outdated or misguided concepts that distract from a core definition of multiculturalism. As explained in the following section and summarized in Table 1, our proposed answer to that question builds on the strengths of previous conceptualizations and resolves some of the weaknesses.

------ Insert Table 1 about here -----

A Proposed Conceptualization: Multiculturalism as a Tridimensional Spectrum

We recommend conceptualizing multiculturalism as a tridimensional spectrum. Specifically, we define individual-level multiculturalism as the degree to which someone has knowledge of, identification with, and internalization of more than one societal culture. As depicted in Figure 1, our conceptualization distinguishes what constitutes multiculturalism (the tridimensional spectrum) from factors influencing its development (e.g., context, acculturation process) and outcomes.

In the second stage of our analysis, we assessed how well current research aligns with our tridimensional conceptualization of multiculturalism by coding each of the management and psychology articles found during the search process already described. These two disciplines are closely related to organizational and IB management issues and are thus most relevant for IB. The coding assessed each article against various items, including whether individual-level multiculturalism was either conceptualized or measured by knowledge, identification, or internalization, and whether the article's own conceptualization matched its operationalization. We first coded articles individually, then reconciled our coding within three dyads among the authors. Agreements within the dyads were scored as 1 and disagreements as 0; the sum of scores were then divided by the number of items coded, yielding an inter-rater agreement score between 0 and 1 for each article coded. The average inter-rater reliability across all three dyads was 0.85. We resolved any dyad disputes by consulting a third team member, resulting in consensus in the final coding (i.e. 100% agreement). Figure 2 depicts the proportion of articles that included knowledge, identification, or internalization in their conceptualization. We now describe each of these dimensions in more depth, along with results from the second stage of our analysis.

------ Insert Figure 2 about here -----

Knowledge dimension. Knowledge refers to individuals' level of understanding about cultural values, norms, beliefs, and appropriate behaviors, including linguistic knowledge (Lücke et al., 2014; Oyserman & Lee, 2007; Pekerti & Thomas, 2016). Multiculturalism entails both explicit and tacit knowledge of values, attitudes, beliefs, and norms of more than one culture. Explicit knowledge, or "information" is easily expressed and codifiable; in contrast, tacit knowledge, or "know-how" is deeply rooted in action and involvement in a specific context, and difficult to codify and teach (Kogut & Zander, 1993; Nonaka, 1994). Although knowledge has not historically been a common component of conceptualizations, with fewer than half of the articles we coded explicitly mentioning it as part of their definitions (see Figure 2), we argue it is foundational to many of the definitional themes outlined in our interdisciplinary review: knowledge is acquired as part of the acculturation process, often through multicultural contexts; it is a necessary foundation for performing culturally-appropriate behaviors; and

recent works suggest that a cognitive link to culture cannot occur without cultural knowledge (Lakshman, 2013; Lücke et al., 2014). Further, the inclusion of knowledge as a separate dimension resolves the field's emphasis on mental structures over content by asserting that content (i.e. knowledge of the culture itself) is also relevant for understanding multiculturalism. Finally, this component facilitates multiculturalism research on explicit, consciously held knowledge, such as language proficiency.

Identification dimension. Identification refers to the degree to which individuals see themselves as cultural group members, and attach value and emotional significance to group membership (Tajfel, 1978). When individuals identify with a culture, they categorize themselves into the corresponding cultural group (Turner, 1982), meaning they have a sense of connection with it, share in its successes and failures, and attach value and importance to their membership in the group (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy & Eidelson, 2008; Tajfel, 1978). Identification is one of the most prevalent components of current conceptualizations, as shown in Figure 2 and also described in our thematic analysis of the literature. We see value in retaining identification as a dimension of multiculturalism because it allows individuals to display agency in identifying with one's cultures, in contrast to conceptualizations that automatically qualify one as multicultural, such as context or demographic or racial categories, without asking about identification with these cultural groups.

Internalization dimension. Cultural internalization corresponds to the cognitive theme described earlier, which is one of the most frequent components from management and psychology (Figure 2). Consistent with how it is used, we define internalization as the degree to which societal cultural values, assumptions, beliefs, and practices are reflected in an individual's own values, assumptions, beliefs, and practices (often called a cultural schema; Fitzsimmons et al., 2017). Internalization drives thoughts, feelings, and behavior (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), such that many of the purported cognitive advantages of multiculturalism are thought to stem from internalization of multiple cultural schemas (e.g., creativity and cognitive flexibility, Crisp & Turner, 2011; cognitive complexity, Benet-Martínez et al., 2006). Further, frame switching – a widely studied phenomenon in the psychology literature on multiculturalism – is predicated on internalization of multiple cultural schemas (Hong et al., 2000; Leung & Morris, 2015).

Finally, by including internalization as a dimension of multiculturalism, we avoid conflating cultural identification and cultural internalization (Chiao et al., 2010; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009), which is problematic because identities are not internalized; instead, one internalizes cultural schemas (Hong et al., 2000).

More than one societal culture. Societal culture refers to the values, norms, and other characteristics shared to some extent by members of a community (Caprar et al., 2015). By referring to "more than one" societal culture instead of "two or more" (van de Vijver et al., 2015), our conceptualization takes research beyond the ethnic-versus-mainstream view underlying some conceptualizations of individual-level multiculturalism (particularly research on acculturation), which is limiting in that it leads primarily to research concerning bicultural individuals with two distinct cultures, not individual-level multiculturalism more broadly. Instead, our proposed conceptualization is flexible enough to accommodate a range of different types and levels of societal cultures. By referring to "societal cultures" instead of ethnicities or national cultures, this concept spans a range of levels: pan-national cultures, such as religions or cultures that span nations (e.g., Arab culture); national cultures (e.g., Japanese culture); sub-national cultures, such as within-country regional or state cultures (e.g., Bengali and Punjabi cultures – two states with different cultures within India); as well as hybrid or emergent cultures (e.g., Métis culture). While most scholars do not explicitly define multiculturalism in terms of societal culture, our review found an implicit assumption that culture was related to society. For example, some authors explored pan-national cultures such as "Asian" or "Hispanic" (Mok, Cheng, & Morris, 2010; Szapocznik et al, 1980), while others focused on national cultures such as "Chinese" and "American" (Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003).

Construct clarifications. Two issues must be clarified: the relationships between dimensions, and whether it is reasonable to categorize along our proposed continuum, creating groups of monocultural and multicultural individuals. First, the three dimensions of knowledge, identification, and internalization are expected to be independent, defining characteristics of individual-level multiculturalism. This is a fundamental, complex issue that should be investigated further through empirical work. The nature of the

relationships between dimensions is complicated because variability exists both within each dimension and across contexts. Within dimensions, there are many aspects of culture, and each aspect may be known, identified with, and internalized to varying degrees (Devinney & Hohberger, 2017; Morris et al., 2015). For example, individuals may have deep knowledge of their heritage culture's history, but minimal knowledge of contemporary music, whereas the opposite may be true of their second culture. Across contexts, individuals may know, identify with, and internalize aspects of culture in a non-uniform way. We illustrate this with the example of self-construals, referring to cultural differences in views about how the self relates to others (Yamada & Singelis, 1999). In many Asian cultures, people typically internalize an interdependent self-construal, whereas in Western cultures, people typically internalize an independent self-construal (Leung & Morris, 2015; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Yet a multicultural Vietnamese-American individual who studied and worked in the United States and then recently returned to Vietnam may have a more interdependent self-construal when interacting with family and friends in Vietnam, but a more independent self-construal when interacting with colleagues from the United States (Devinney & Hohberger, 2017). Thus, we propose that individuals possess a profile of the three dimensions that vary depending on context and agency, which will have a situated influence on how an individual thinks, feels, and behaves.

This complex spectrum of dimensions then begs the question of whether it is reasonable to create categories to represent monocultural or multicultural individuals. In our view, the best approach is to treat multiculturalism as a tridimensional continuum, both in theory and measurement. Individuals vary both in the extent to which they possess each of the necessary elements and in the number of cultures influencing them, suggesting a continuum along each dimension. This stance also avoids the unnecessary restrictiveness of some acculturation-based conceptualizations that require individuals to achieve high degrees of engagement with each culture in order to be classified as "bicultural;" instead, a continuum embraces the notion of different configurations of multiculturalism, such as imbalanced cultural identities whereby individuals identify more strongly with one of their cultures than the others (Lee, Masuda, Fu, & Reiche, 2017). Nonetheless, at times researchers may wish to distinguish between monocultural and

multicultural individuals based on the three dimensions of knowledge, identification, and internalization. We encourage researchers to increase the possibility of capturing variability among multiculturals by using an inclusive definition: Multiculturals are individuals who have at least minimal presence of all three dimensions (knowledge, identification, and internalization). Minimal presence refers to cultural knowledge beyond aspects commonly known in a culture-general population, identification beyond the degree to which individuals generally feel connected to other cultures, and internalization of cultural values, norms, beliefs, and assumptions beyond the degree to which these are generally shared among all people foreign to that culture. Thus, someone who identifies with and has knowledge of a second culture, but who has not internalized that culture beyond what is found in a culture-general population, would not be a multicultural individual because minimal presence does not exist along all three dimensions. This position about minimal presence is based on the argument that individuals are often influenced by some of their cultures to a greater degree than others (e.g., see patterns depicted in Fitzsimmons, 2013), but that all three aspects are necessary to be multicultural. On the other hand, conceptualizations requiring high levels of knowledge, identification, and internalization of each culture to qualify as multicultural exclude individuals who are influenced by one culture to a lesser degree than another. Whenever possible, researchers are encouraged to think of multiculturalism as a continuum and to avoid categorizing individuals as "multicultural" or "monocultural." When this is not possible, researchers could create categories such that multiculturals are above minimal presence on all three dimensions, and monoculturals are not. We discuss how to establish reasonable cutoffs for minimal presence in the following section.

In summary, we suggest three necessary conditions for individual-level multiculturalism, which together are sufficient: a degree of knowledge of, identification with, and internalization of more than one societal culture. This combination of dimensions builds on the benefits of previous conceptualizations while also addressing their drawbacks. The next challenge is to measure multiculturalism consistently with this tridimensional conceptualization.

MEASURING MULTICULTURALISM

In light of the new conceptualization, we take stock of current ways to operationalize individual-level multiculturalism and suggest improvements. We discovered through our second-stage analysis that empirical papers often exhibit a mismatch between the way individual-level multiculturalism is defined and measured. Only 57% of empirical articles in management and 73% of empirical articles in psychology measured multiculturalism consistent with their definitions. Illustrating this mismatch, Figure 3 shows that the biggest mismatch occurs for internalization, where 46% of empirical management papers defined multiculturalism with internalization, but only 8% measured it.

----- Insert Figure 3 about here ----

Some of this mismatch may be due to the complexity of measuring knowledge, identification, and internalization across multiple aspects of culture, such as history, politics, values, and norms. Other mismatches between measures and definitions occurred because multiculturalism was measured using proxies such as demographic characteristics or extent of intercultural experience. These measures typically assume that individuals are multicultural if they have had a certain level of experience with different cultures, such as treating all those who live in a multicultural location as bicultural (Hong et al., 2003; Benet-Martínez et al., 2006). However, this is inconsistent with research suggesting that people with similar levels of experience maintain cultural links to differing degrees (Berry, 1997). As such, demographic and experience measures are best used in combination with other measures that more directly tap into knowledge, identification, and internalization.

To improve the measurement of multiculturalism in the future, we now review the strengths and weaknesses of existing measures of knowledge, identification, and internalization, as found in the articles we reviewed in the second stage of our analysis. We highlight the measures that most closely fit our recommended conceptualization, and identify some less common measures that show promise for further development. For more information on the measures described in this section, please consult our three supplemental tables that include references, sample items, reliability and validity information, and advantages and disadvantages of each type of measure. Consistent with our conceptualization as well as

the expectation that the three dimensions will vary independently, we recommend capturing multiculturalism with measures of all three dimensions.

Measurement Guidelines for Researchers

When selecting multiculturalism measures, the most important step is to determine which theoretical mechanisms drive hypotheses, and therefore which dimensions of multiculturalism are most critical (Aguinis, Cascio, & Ramani, 2017; Richard, Devinney, Yip, & Johnson, 2009). We venture that, in general, research questions involving multicultural competencies, such as the ability to behave appropriately in a cultural context, should emphasize knowledge of more than one culture, while those involving social groups should emphasize identification, and those regarding the development of cognitive skills, should emphasize internalization of more than one culture. Among the three dimensions of multiculturalism, different dimensions may be prioritized differently depending on the research focus, yet all three ought to be present. Researchers should ensure that their measures are consistent with mechanisms explaining hypotheses.

Knowledge measures. The inclusion of knowledge in our conceptualization of multiculturalism facilitates research on explicit, consciously held knowledge such as language abilities, as well as tacit knowledge of cultural practices. However, our second-stage analysis found that cultural knowledge is rarely measured, with 31% of management and 36% of psychology articles we reviewed attempting to measure participants' cultural knowledge (see Figure 3). Of those articles, scholars generally took a narrow approach to measuring knowledge, with the most common measures being self-rated language proficiency (see Supplementary Table 1 for examples).

While not in itself problematic, measuring language proficiency is an issue if researchers rely on language proficiency as the only measure of knowledge, because it is not always indicative of broader cultural knowledge. Supplementary Table 1 describes 11 different measures of knowledge, including scales assessing knowledge of values and beliefs (e.g., Bicultural Self-Efficacy Scale, David et al. 2009, used by Wei et al., 2010), and knowledge of popular culture, history and current affairs (e.g., Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale [AMAS-ZABB], Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003, used by

Carrera & Wei, 2014). In contrast to the other measures we reviewed, which assess either language or cultural knowledge excluding language, the AMAS-ZABB assesses both language and cultural knowledge, and has demonstrated sound reliability and validity properties. It is thus better than other existing measures for explicit knowledge, despite its imperfect self-report format. Self-reported knowledge can be a subjective and inaccurate measure of cultural knowledge, because the informal way in which most people gain cultural knowledge (Morris, Savani, Mor, & Cho, 2014) may lead them to misjudge their level of and type of knowledge (Kanwar, Grund, & Olsen, 1990). In keeping with the idea that multicultural knowledge is context-specific, in the future, it may be useful for researchers who are interested in the role of individual-level multiculturalism in IB contexts to develop objective measures of explicit knowledge that can ascertain an individual's level of work-relevant cultural knowledge. For instance, knowledge of business practices, local market preferences, or societal values may be relevant in the context of multicultural employees in MNEs. While the creation of such a measure would be novel and useful, an even more ambitious undertaking would be to devise a way to assess both explicit and tacit knowledge – this would represent the most rigorous approach to measuring cultural knowledge. Of the papers we coded, only a few tried to evaluate tacit knowledge, and these have used qualitative methods (e.g., Kanno, 2000; Peñaloza & Gilly, 1999). Tacit knowledge is difficult to articulate, which may explain why researchers have used qualitative methods with special techniques for drawing out tacit knowledge from participants.

We see value in using and further developing implicit techniques to measure tacit cultural knowledge. Such techniques have not yet been used to assess individual-level multiculturalism and are therefore excluded from our supplementary tables. Concurrent and retrospective protocols are two implicit techniques that involve participants explicitly reporting their thoughts, whereby cultural knowledge would be assessed while participants try to solve a culture-related problem (Ericsson & Simon, 1993; Kuusela, & Paul, 2000; Thomas et al., 2012) or while offering rationales for why an incident occurred (Cushner & Brislin, 1996). Similarly, cultural assimilator exercises refer to closed-ended responses to cultural scenarios, where there is a "right" answer that demonstrates cultural

knowledge (Fiedler, Mitchell, & Triandis, 1971). Another technique to measure implicit knowledge is the free elicitation procedure. This method involves asking participants to think aloud or write down their thoughts to a cultural prompt (e.g., "Japan" or "experience with Japanese culture"). Similar to concurrent and retrospective protocols, raters would code the number of unique culture-specific concepts elicited from several rounds (for an example of this procedure in a study on nutrition, see Kanwar et al., 1990). All of these implicit techniques are theoretically appropriate for measuring tacit knowledge.

Implicit approaches to assessing tacit knowledge warrant more attention in the multicultural literature, despite the challenges of development, administration, and coding (Thomas et al., 2016). Their further development would require the creation of culture-specific critical incidents, problems or scenarios that would elicit levels of cultural knowledge common among people of that culture, beyond the level found among a general population. In sum, since a single, broad measure of cultural knowledge is not available in the literature and as both explicit and tacit knowledge are important for multiculturalism, we recommend using a combination of tools – measures such as the AMAS-ZABB plus implicit techniques – to assess explicit and tacit cultural knowledge. In addition, we urge researchers to adopt some of the ideas we have presented to create new measures and further develop existing ones.

Identification Measures. Identification is the most frequently measured dimension of multiculturalism, assessed in 62% of management papers and 96% of psychology papers we reviewed in our second-stage analysis (see Figure 3). As detailed in Supplementary Table 2, the most common identification measures were: a) dichotomous single-item measures (e.g., Fitzsimmons et al., 2017; yes/no to identification as bicultural); b) continuous single-item scales (e.g., Benet-Martínez et. al., 2006; level of identification with Chinese and American cultures); and c) continuous multi-item scales (e.g., Cameron, 2004; Roccas et. al., 2008; level of identification along multiple dimensions, such as importance and esteem). However, a dominant measure has yet to emerge. There are various shortcomings in most existing measures of cultural identification as evaluated against our conceptualization. For instance, dichotomous measures force a binary categorization (i.e. someone is either multicultural or

monocultural), which is inconsistent with our conceptualization of multiculturalism as a continuous construct, while single-item measures tend not to capture the multidimensionality of identification.

A good measure of identification should allow for strength of identification, capture various dimensions of identification, and allow participants to self-identify with groups of their own choosing rather than impose cultural labels on them. All three criteria are met by multi-item continuous scales measuring one or more theoretically justified dimensions of identification with each culture, so long as the scales do not pre-specify cultural labels. Comparing the multi-item scales used in the papers we reviewed, we see the most merit in the social identity scales developed by Cameron (2004) and Roccas and colleagues (2008) as used in IB scholarship (see Stroink & Lalonde, 2009 and Fitzsimmons et al., 2017, respectively) and hence recommend these scales. These two identity scales have demonstrated sound reliability and validity properties, and conceptualize different dimensions of identity, so researchers can choose the scale that best fits their theory.

Internalization Measures. As depicted in Figure 3, the biggest gap between conceptualization and measurement occurs for the internalization dimension. Around half of empirical management and psychology papers conceptualize multiculturalism in terms of internalization, but only 8% and 26% operationalize it, respectively. One reason for this gap may be the challenge of assessing the presence of latent constructs that may not be available for individuals to report directly (Lakshman, 2013; Lücke et al., 2014; Pekerti & Thomas, 2016). For this reason, we devote more attention to discussing options for measuring internalization than the other two dimensions (see Supplementary Table 3 for details about measures of internalization).

Explicit measures are limited to constructs that can be reported directly, so they are generally not suitable for assessing internalization. One category of explicit measures identified in Supplementary Table 3 is acculturation scales that ask individuals to report their level of internalization of beliefs, values, and behaviors of specific cultures (e.g., Vancouver Index of Acculturation, Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Acculturation Index, Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Another category is scales that measure whether someone has internalized a culture according to how they respond to self-construal scales (Gudykunst,

Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, Nishida, Kim, & Heyman, 1996, used by Chen et al., 2016), cultural values scales (e.g., Family Relationship Values scale, Berry et al., 2006, used by Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2017), or behavioral scales (e.g., Individuating Behavior scale, Maslach, 1974, used by Chen et al., 2016). Only the behavioral scales avoid relying on participants' evaluation of their own internalization. While these explicit measures are not ideal, Gudykunst and colleagues' (1996) scale of self-construal shows promise in reliably and validly assessing how individualism and collectivism are internalized in individuals (Chen et al., 2016; Gudykunst et al., 1996).

Nevertheless, these scales only measure one aspect of cultural internalization (e.g., independent versus interdependent self-construals), limiting their ability to capture the full spectrum of schemas (Devinney & Hohberger, 2017; Morris et al., 2015). They also depend on introspective access, meaning individuals must be capable of accurately reporting the content of their internalized schemas. Devinney and Hohberger (2017) argue that profiles of cultural internalization cannot be captured by mean scores on a Likert-type scale. This calls into question the validity of using explicit measures of internalization.

The alternative is adopting implicit measures, which do not require individuals to report on a latent characteristic, and may be modified to measure more than one aspect of internalization. Only a handful of studies in management and psychology have used implicit measures of internalization. One of the most precise and potentially useful operationalizations among the papers we reviewed, and one that we recommend, is the spontaneous inference experimental design of Fu, Chiu, Morris, and Young (2007), where increased reaction times after cultural priming measure the presence of cultural schemas. If participants possessed a cultural schema, they would take longer to react in a certain task, because the cultural schema would interfere with their mental processing on this task. We suggest that this approach can be adapted to assess the presence of a hybrid cultural schema, in line with our conceptualization of multiculturalism as encompassing *more than one culture*, but not necessarily multiple, distinct cultures (Martin & Shao, 2016). It also can measure cultural frame switching multiple times in a session, addressing the variability of one's activation of cultural values across different cultural contexts through the use of cultural priming. The spontaneous inference technique has been reported to be robust at

capturing spontaneous inferences and interference linked to cultural schemas (Fu et al., 2007). However, its administration requires a laboratory setting to measure reaction times automatically, and development of culture-specific stimuli for every culture of interest, which requires expert knowledge of the cultures under investigation.

Another promising implicit measure we recommend is the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Brunel, Tietje, & Greenwald 2004; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz 1998). It has been used to examine the internalization of norms (Eriksson, Strimling, & Coultas, 2015), to implicitly measure independent versus interdependent self-construals (Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, Uskul, 2009; Park, Uchida, & Kitayama, 2016), and to obtain implicit measures of internalized attitudes (Rudman & McLean, 2016) and patterns of values between language conditions (Luna, Ringberg, & Peraccio, 2008). These and other findings described in Supplementary Table 3 suggest that the IAT is suitable to measure the existence of cultural schemas as well as frame switching within the same subject, and also has adequate divergent and convergent validity.

However, a readily available measure that is generalizable to a variety of study contexts and cultures is not yet available. The IAT is inherently complex and requires specialized software that is currently not available for use in online surveys. Additionally, it needs to be modified for use with each set of cultural beliefs, values, and norms. We encourage researchers to follow our guidelines to help them develop contextually-grounded implicit measures that capture internalization and allow the possibility of internalizing a hybrid culture.

Combining Measures to Capture Multiculturalism

The operationalization of multiculturalism should be consistent with its conceptualization, meaning it should be measured with all three dimensions, each ranging from highly monocultural to highly multicultural. When that is not possible, researchers should select the best possible measures for the core dimensions related to their research questions and should strive to have strong measures for the other dimensions. Further, given that culture has a context-specific influence on individuals (Devinney &

Hohberger, 2017) and that the dimensions of multiculturalism, therefore, vary across contexts, researchers must clearly specify the context in which they are assessing multiculturalism.

Researchers interested in exploring the range of multiculturalism will need a broad sample that includes monocultural individuals and those with more than two cultures. As mentioned in the conceptualization section, we recommend that researchers utilize the full spectrum to explore their research question, instead of creating an arbitrary dichotomy of monocultural versus multicultural individuals. However, for researchers who insist on creating a cutoff point along the multiculturalism spectrum, it is important to have a transparent, justifiable, and theory-driven rationale for selecting one cutoff over others (Cascio, Alexander, & Barrett, 1988). For example, the scalar midpoint is often used as a cutoff to show sufficient cultural orientation or identification, particularly in research that views multiculturalism as an integration acculturation strategy (e.g., Ward & Kus, 2012), but there is no theoretical basis for this cutoff point. Following guidelines available in related literatures (Angoff, 1971; Cascio, et al., 1988), we recommend that researchers begin by carefully assessing the minimum score required on each of the three dimensions to categorize individuals as multicultural. Cutoff scores should be set high enough to ensure that minimum standards are met (Angoff, 1971), but low enough to include variability among multicultural individuals. We therefore recommend placing a cutoff at the point of "minimal presence" on each dimension, referring to the baseline that exists among the general population. Those who score above this minimal presence on all three dimensions could be considered multicultural.

Using strong measures of multiculturalism, we can gain valuable insights from considering how an individual's relative balance of knowledge, identification, and internalization of each of their cultures may lead to different outcomes in the context of IB (Lee et al., 2017). We next demonstrate how our tridimensional spectrum concept of multiculturalism reveals new pathways for future IB research.

FORGING A NEW RESEARCH AGENDA FOR IB

Research on individual-level multiculturalism has traditionally been guided by a psychological perspective, and a natural consequence of this perspective has been a preponderance of research questions at the individual level, such as those related to cognitive consequences, even as research momentum

gathers within IB (Fitzsimmons et al., 2017; Lakshman, 2013; Lücke et al., 2014; Pekerti et al., 2017). Similar to work on global talent management (Collings, Mellahi, & Cascio, 2018), we see potential for the field of IB to move research on individual-level multiculturalism beyond this focus, towards a research agenda that attends more to cross-level phenomena. As foreshadowed in the conclusion of our thematic review, we provide an overarching framework for future research on multiculturalism, where theoretical relationships are bounded within the IB context (Figure 1). Our cyclical model of multiculturalism proposes cross-level research questions through the lens of social networks and power dynamics. Both topics lie at the juncture of sociology, anthropology, and IB research (Andersson, Forsgren, & Holm, 2007; Bean et al., 2012; Manev & Stevenson, 2001; Ngo, 2008; Windzio, 2015), and thus present an opportunity for IB scholars to advance research on individual-level multiculturalism from an interdisciplinary perspective. Moreover, we show how these topics allow researchers to reconcile a contextual view of multiculturalism (reflected most strongly when multiculturalism is defined by context) and an agentic view of multiculturalism (reflected most strongly when multiculturalism is defined by identification).

Largely consistent with the anthropology and sociology literatures (Bagguley & Hussain, 2014; Cederberg, 2014; Yodanis et al., 2012), we develop research questions showing how context and agency relate to multiculturalism in two complementary directions: first, we propose research questions about how the organizational context influences individual-level multiculturalism, taking into account contextual influences on individuals (see left-hand side arrow in Figure 1); second, we propose questions about how individual-level multiculturalism also influences the organizational context, taking into account individual agency via our tridimensional spectrum concept (see right-hand side arrow in Figure 1). We begin our discussion of these cross-level, bidirectional relationships with the organizational context of social networks, and then move on to power dynamics.

To provide a clear example of how these relationships may function in an IB environment, each research question is illustrated by situating it within the MNE. Although similar research questions could be posed for other IB contexts, MNEs are particularly relevant to our proposed relationships because they

must coordinate across geographic, economic, institutional, cultural, and linguistic boundaries, leaving many opportunities for employees to interact across these boundaries (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1998; Dellestrand & Kappen, 2012). As such, this well-established IB context could both foster individual-level multiculturalism and provide an environment in which multiculturalism matters for organizational functioning and performance. It is a theoretically rich exemplar (Roth & Kostova, 2003) for exploring how our tridimensional conceptualization of multiculturalism opens up new research questions about the relationship between individual employees and their organizations.

Organizational Social Networks and Individual-level Multiculturalism

How organizational social networks influence individual-level multiculturalism. Social networks have a long history of research in sociology and anthropology (Bott, 1957; Stebbins, 1969). They are fundamentally concerned with the structure of links or ties between nodes (e.g. between groups or individuals; Barwick, 2017). Anthropology and sociology research suggests that ties to people of different cultures can influence individual-level multiculturalism. For example, Feldman-Bianco (1999) found that female cultural brokers between American society and Portuguese enclaves not only taught American values to Portuguese immigrants, but also negotiated their own cultural identities. Similarly, ethnic segregation, which is a closed network structure, may decrease social integration in mainstream society (Korac, 2003; Windzio, 2015). Considering the appropriateness of social network analysis for studying organizations (e.g., Tortoriello, McEvily, & Krackhardt, 2015), we recommend IB researchers investigate how various features of social networks in MNEs – including the diversity of the network, strength of ties that one has within the network, and one's centrality in the network – influence the enactment of individual-level multiculturalism. Applying the tridimensional spectrum, we expect organizational social networks to influence the use of cultural knowledge, the degree to which individuals reveal their identification with cultural groups (Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2017), and the salience of individuals' cultures, ultimately influencing how individuals shift between their internalized cultural frames when making decisions (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; Leung & Morris, 2015). The MNE context provides a practical context for exploring these relationships.

In MNEs, the level of independence, dependence, or interdependence between various subsidiaries and headquarters affects the subsidiary's relative centrality in the organizational network (Birkinshaw & Hood, 1998), and thus the prominence of cultural groups (Farndale, Paauwe, Stahl, Morris, Stiles, & Wright, 2010). The relative prominence of each cultural group within the organizational network could influence how and when multicultural employees enact each of their cultures. For example, MNEs pursuing a multi-domestic strategy (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1998) have fewer ties or limited reciprocity between national units, and may offer fewer opportunities for individuals to enact their multiculturalism. Communication between these units may be limited or primarily unidirectional, which could lead multicultural employees to focus on only one of their cultures. Local employees in subsidiaries embedded within this context are likely to be seen by colleagues primarily as "host-country nationals" even if they are highly multicultural (Caprar, 2011). Building on sociology research about individuals' reactions to the imposition of identities by others (Ngo, 2008; Siebers, 2015) and management research on responses to identity threat (Petriglieri, 2011), employees who feel pressured to enact only one of their identities may respond by either pushing back and emphasizing their multiple cultures, or acquiescing to pressure and suppressing the enactment of their multiple cultures. In MNEs, relative network positions of different subsidiaries vis-a-vis headquarters evolve over time (Bouquet & Birkinshaw, 2008), adding more complexity for multicultural employees, and possibly pushing them to enact different cultures at different points in time.

We see promise in future research that examines how social networks influence the enactment of multiculturalism among employees, including the potential for differential effects on the dimensions of knowledge, identification, and internalization. It would be useful to examine how MNEs develop networks that encourage enactment of multiculturalism through IHRM practices that avoid imposing cultural identities on individuals, instead fostering relationships among employees across cultural boundaries. Relevant IHRM practices could include assigning local mentors for expatriates, developing integrative and socialization mechanisms between MNE units, and establishing inpatriation programs

where host-country nationals from subsidiaries are trained at headquarters (Gupta & Govindarajan, 2000; Harzing, Pudelko & Reiche, 2016).

Research Question 1: How do social networks influence the enactment of individual-level multiculturalism?

How individual-level multiculturalism influences organizational social networks. Sociology researchers have noted that multicultural individuals are skilled cultural navigators who use cognitive reflexivity to challenge the contextual constraints they face, asserting a degree of control, or agency, over their circumstances (Bagguley & Hussain, 2014). As such, individuals may choose to draw upon their cultures to purposefully strengthen ties with members of specific cultural groups within and outside their organizations (Jiménez, 2010; Korac, 2003; Moore, 2016). Although IB research on individual-level multiculturalism often examines individual- or team-level outcomes of multicultural skills (e.g. cultural bridging, Hong, 2010), only recently has IB scholarship has begun to take a more agentic view of how employees can strategically enact their multiculturalism (Blazejewski, 2012; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). IB scholarship can add further value to research on multiculturalism by extending this agentic perspective to cross-level research questions.

Multicultural individuals belong to more than one cultural group, and can therefore use shared in-group affiliations to form network ties across cultural and organizational boundaries. For example, common social identities may lead individuals to engage in boundary spanning between headquarters and subsidiaries (Kane & Levina, 2017; Reiche, Harzing, & Pudelko, 2015; Vora, Kostova, & Roth, 2007), and between culturally diverse employees (Eisenberg & Mattarelli, 2017; Hong, 2010; Jang, 2017). Considering that common culture can influence strength of ties (Manev & Stevenson, 2001), multicultural individuals may have stronger ties and greater network centrality across national boundaries than monocultural individuals. These individual connections could influence MNE social network patterns by building new pathways for cross-border knowledge flows (Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Koveshnikov, & Mäkelä, 2014; Kostova & Roth, 2003).

Examining all three aspects of our tridimensional spectrum may further illuminate how multicultural individuals could influence the development of organizational networks. For example, multicultural knowledge may be used to broker among employees of different cultures by translating language and culture, creating connections where they might not have otherwise existed (Jang, 2017; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011). Multicultural identification provides multiple cultural group affiliations, facilitating interpersonal relationships, potentially helping multicultural individuals bridge structural holes between employees across units in different countries (Barner-Rasmussen et al., 2014). Internalization of multiple cultural schemas mitigates stereotypical thinking and judgmental responses to different cultural groups (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Lücke et al., 2014), which may help avoid conflict and encourage further intercultural interactions. As such, multiculturalism may be ideal for building new connections between MNE units (e.g. headquarters, subsidiary), or across cultures within units.

As social network analysis begins to emerge in the psychology literature on multicultural individuals (Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2017), we see an opportunity for IB researchers to apply such techniques within the IB context, particularly in MNEs. Future researchers could ask how individual-level multiculturalism can shift organizational social network patterns through agentic brokering behaviors (Erel, 2010), how cultural brokerage differs when it is driven primarily by multicultural knowledge, identification, or internalization, or how patterns of the three dimensions may impact networks. These avenues for research are captured by the following research question:

> **Research Question 2:** How does individual-level multiculturalism influence social networks within organizations?

Organizational Power Dynamics and Individual-level Multiculturalism

Again starting from the left-hand side of Figure 1, individuals may be influenced by organizational power structures, such that they are pushed to reveal or suppress their multiple cultural groups within the organizational context; conversely, individuals can use agency to draw on their multiculturalism to shift power dynamics in their organizations.

How organizational power dynamics influences individual-level multiculturalism. Research on multiculturalism within the anthropology and sociology disciplines largely focuses on majority groups having power relative to minority groups in society (Asmin, 2004; Gowricharn & Çankaya, 2017; Pellow, 2011; Siebers, 2015). Structural and social disadvantages arise from racism, discrimination, and class (Archer & Francis, 2006; Koopmans & Statham, 1999), and such power differentials at the societal level influence the enactment of one's cultures at the individual level (Berry, 1997; Gowricharn & Çankaya, 2017; Netto, 2008). When it is beneficial to maintain multiple cultures, individuals may do so; when it is limiting, individuals may only enact one (Berry, 1997; Ngo, 2008). This is expected to be true for all aspects of the tridimensional spectrum: within a context of high power differentials and animosity, individuals often feel pressured to express affiliation with only one cultural group, making it difficult for individuals to simultaneously leverage the identity, knowledge, and internalization of all of their cultures (Fitzsimmons, 2013). Considering that individuals generally prefer to be members of higher-status groups (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1990) including in organizations such as MNEs (Vora & Kostova, 2007), employees may be drawn to only identify with and follow the norms and values of higher status cultural groups, suppressing or hiding lower-status cultural group affiliations.

Despite the wealth of IB research related to headquarters-subsidiary power dynamics, such as how MNE strategies signify different power balances (Andersson et al., 2007; Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1998), how subsidiary initiatives and competence can increase subsidiary power (Ambos, Andersson, & Birkinshaw, 2010; Bouquet & Birkinshaw, 2008), and how the adoption of one official company language as lingua franca can cause power imbalances (Vaara, Tienari, Piekkari, & Säntti, 2005; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, & Welch, 1999), research within IB does not yet explain whether – and if so, how – organizational power dynamics impose constraints, boundaries, or pressure on the freedom with which individuals enact their multiculturalism. We would welcome IB research that explores this new theoretical path, as illustrated here within the context of MNEs.

MNEs with relatively centralized power and home country orientation, such as those with an international strategy and ethnocentric mindset (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1998; Perlmutter, 1969), may foster

prejudice and discrimination against employees from low-power groups, creating an environment that is less accepting of individual-level multiculturalism. Similarly, adoption of a corporate language – particularly that of the home country – can send the message that the home country language and identity are most important (Janssens & Steyaert, 2014; Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2014). Multicultural employees might react to this situation by suppressing one or more of their cultures, or by asserting the threatened identity (Kane & Levina, 2017). Both types of responses may lead to negative individual and organizational consequences, such as emotional distress and non-compliance with company rules (Petriglieri, 2011). In contrast, MNEs with relatively dispersed power, such as those with a transnational strategy and geocentric mindset (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1998; Perlmutter, 1969) and those that encourage a multilingual environment (Janssens & Steyaert, 2014), may create environments that signal they value individual-level multiculturalism. Compared to the former set of organizations, multicultural employees' skills are more likely to be appreciated in this latter set, and therefore individuals may be more likely to enact their multiculturalism.

Thus, there is much to be discovered about how power dynamics within MNEs influence the enactment of multiculturalism among employees. Along this line of reasoning, future research could examine the mechanisms through which organizational power differentials constrain employees' enactment of multiculturalism; whether there are differential effects on multicultural knowledge, identification, and internalization; and what kinds of organizational practices might reverse these effects, enabling multiculturalism instead of constraining it. This leads us to our third broad research question:

Research Question 3: How do organizational power dynamics influence the development of individual-level multiculturalism?

How individual-level multiculturalism influences organizational power dynamics. Sociology research recognizes that resources associated with social and cultural capital are potential sources of power for multicultural individuals (Archer & Francis, 2006; Erel, 2010). Applied to an organizational setting, this individual-level social capital could influence the social capital of MNE units (Kostova &

Roth, 2003). As such, it would be fruitful to explore how multiculturalism influences organizational power dynamics by redistributing power across both employees and organizational units.

Multicultural individuals may boost the power of lower-status individuals in the organization by drawing from their links to multiple cultural groups that may vary in relative power. Given these connections, multicultural individuals are in a unique position to help MNEs recognize the valuable contributions of employees from lower power groups. For example, multicultural individuals who are motivated by their in-group affiliation with lower status groups and have knowledge of cultural norms that limit a group's career success may suggest human resource procedures that find and develop talent of lower status groups within MNEs (Levy & Reiche, 2018). Multicultural individuals might suggest promotion processes that are not biased toward employees based at headquarters, or advocate for mentorship programs that help employees from lower status groups reach leadership positions (Chanland & Murphy, 2018). However, multicultural individuals may not always try to bolster others. Kane and Levina (2017) found that when multicultural employees acted as liaisons between headquarters and contracts in their less-developed countries of origin, some used this privileged role to support and mentor employees, while others used it to emphasize and abuse their own positions of power. Given these findings, it would be interesting to explore how and when multiculturalism fosters the redistribution of power across individuals in MNEs.

Multicultural individuals are also well-suited to recognizing and developing sources of subsidiary influence, such as control of resources, legitimacy, and network centrality (Bouquet & Birkinshaw, 2008). They may draw on multicultural knowledge to highlight the critical resources available to the MNE from subsidiary and host country environments; build network connections between members of the subsidiary and the rest of the firm by drawing on multiple in-group identifications, ultimately increasing subsidiaries' network centrality; and help subsidiaries gain legitimacy by bridging local practices and headquarters' expectations through enactment of multiple sets of cultural norms (Bouquet & Birkinshaw, 2008; Dörrenbächer & Gammelgaard, 2010). For example, Indian-American executives at the U.S. subsidiary of an Indian MNE drew on their insider cultural knowledge and in-group connections in both

countries to build social network connections among dealers, customers, and the community at large, ultimately shifting the power dynamics in the distribution channel towards the subsidiary (Govindarajan & Trimble, 2012). Complex mental models may also help multicultural employees recognize opportunities for reverse innovation (Govindarajan & Trimble, 2012). For example, a French-Irish-Cambodian employee at L'Oréal drew on his multiculturalism to recombine features of Asian cosmetics for the French market (Hong & Doz, 2013). These types of reverse innovations can help subsidiaries gain influence within the MNE. Given these findings, it would be interesting to explore how and when multiculturalism fosters the redistribution of power across units in MNEs.

We therefore see opportunities to explore how individual-level multiculturalism influences organizational power dynamics. Future researchers could examine how multicultural individuals may shift power between low- and high-status individuals or groups, or between MNE units such as to subsidiaries. Finally, it would be fruitful to examine how the degree of each dimension – cultural knowledge, identification, and internalization – drive individuals to either support or suppress low-power groups in the organization. These research avenues are implied by the following research question:

Research Question 4: How does individual-level multiculturalism influence organizational power dynamics?

CONCLUSION

International business is at the cusp of a wave of research on multicultural individuals in organizations. This trend is driven by calls to reconceptualize culture as an individual-level phenomenon (Caprar et al., 2015; Leung & Morris, 2015) and by demographic shifts. Yet implications for international organizations and their employees remain unclear. The present uncertainty is partly caused by the lack of unity in how researchers define and measure multicultural individuals. Our interdisciplinary review suggests a path for understanding and assessing the phenomenon of individual-level multiculturalism and advancing the role of culture in IB.

As revealed in our thematic review, the fields of management, psychology, marketing, sociology, and anthropology each offer different perspectives about what defines multiculturalism among

individuals. We proposed a conceptualization of individual-level multiculturalism that captures the benefits of prior conceptualizations while removing redundancies and clearly delineating multiculturalism from related constructs. The proposed tridimensional spectrum also offers a clear guide for how to measure multiculturalism: researchers should strive to measure the degree to which an individual possesses all three multiculturalism dimensions – knowledge, identification, and internationalization – using our recommended existing measures or new measures developed in line with our suggestions. It is only when researchers have a solid understanding of what constitutes individual-level multiculturalism and how to measure it, that the field of IB can push research boundaries to new directions. The research agenda that we have proposed demonstrates how cross-disciplinary perspectives can illuminate new research paths that address cross-level phenomena most relevant to IB. Armed with greater clarity and a shared understanding of multiculturalism, we encourage IB researchers to shift from a default assumption of monoculturalism to one where cultural complexity is recognized and modeled within individuals.

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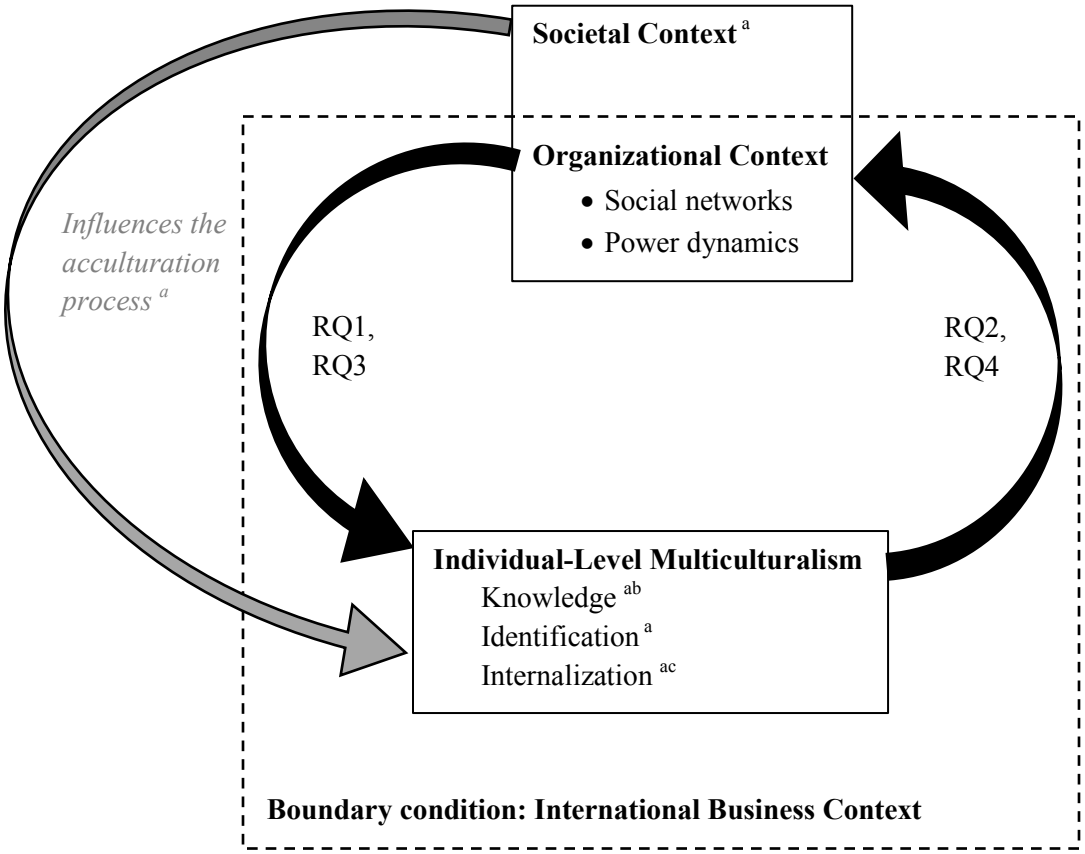
Table 1: How our proposed conceptualization* and cyclical model of individual-level multiculturalism builds on prior approaches

Themes from previous conceptualizations of multiculturalism	**Benefits**	**Drawbacks**	**Links to our conceptualization and cyclical model of multiculturalism**
Context	Explicitly recognizes how geography, politics, history, and interpersonal relations constrain and support individuals' multiculturalism.	Does not offer a means to distinguish among individuals within a context: all individuals in a given context are assumed to be multicultural. Discounts individuals' agency to choose how to interact with one's cultural environment.	Context is viewed as a cross-level antecedent and outcome of multiculturalism (see Figure 1), suggesting that individuals are not only influenced by, but also can influence context. *Identification* dimension rules out conceptualizations that automatically qualify one as multicultural, unless one also identifies with more than one cultural group. This component also recognizes the possible role of individual agency.
Acculturation Process	A process approach acknowledges that multiculturalism can be developed over time. Acknowledges that people exposed to multiple cultures may not relate to each culture to the same extent.	Commonly assumes that tension exists between cultures, highlighting negative outcomes over positive ones. Sequential process for acquiring a culture excludes alternative paths to multiculturalism (e.g. simultaneous immersion) or hybrid cultures. Tendency for context-free theorizing that ignores power differentials. Conflates a process with a state.	We conceptualize the acculturation process as occurring prior to becoming multicultural (see Figure 1). Defining multiculturalism as a *state* rather than a process avoids conflating the two and allows for multiple paths to multiculturalism. By defining multiculturalism with respect to "more than one culture" instead of "two or more cultures," our conceptualization includes hybrid, emergent cultures.

Skills and abilities	Practical benefits of multicultural employees are highlighted.	Conflates multiculturalism with its outcomes, while ignoring the knowledge basis for skills and abilities. Culturally appropriate skills and abilities can be achieved without multiculturalism.	*Knowledge* dimension includes some skills and abilities such as language proficiency and it can influence outcomes at the organizational level (see Figure 1). This approach maintains the practical utility of theorizing about multicultural skills and abilities with the theoretical precision of differentiating multiculturalism from its outcomes.
Cognition	Facilitates theorizing about both cognitive outcomes of multiculturalism and how the context influences cultural schemas.	Focus is on the mental structure of cultural schemas, not their content, even though both are important. Limits the possibility of individuals with blended or hybrid cultures.	*Internalization* dimension maintains the benefits of prior cognitive conceptualizations, while the addition of the *knowledge* component resolves the field's preoccupation with multiculturalism's mental structures over its content.
Identification	Flexible enough to include hybrid or mixed forms of multiculturalism. Recognizes the possibility of agency in choosing to identify with multiple cultures.	Overly inclusive: captures individuals who do not have access to cultural content. Identification alone may reveal little about how, or the degree to which, culture influences one's life. Theorizing is primarily focused on identity patterns, and often conflates identity patterns with mental structure of internalized cultures.	*Identification* dimension maintains the benefits of this approach. *Knowledge* dimension limits inclusiveness and the focus on identity patterns over their content. By simultaneously including *identification* and *internalization,* our proposed conceptualization avoids the tendency to conflate cultural identification and cultural internalization by exploring how cognitive and identity dimensions can influence individuals in distinct and interacting ways.

* Note: We propose that individual-level multiculturalism is the degree to which someone has knowledge of, identification with, and internalization of more than one societal culture.

Figure 1: A Cyclical Model of Multiculturalism



Notes:

[a] Related to themes identified in our literature review

[b] Knowledge is a foundation for skills and abilities (a theme found in our literature review), where skills and abilities also relate to outcomes of multiculturalism.

[c] Internalization is a specific form of cognition (a theme found in our literature review). We use the term internalization instead of cognition because it more precisely describes the adoption of cultural schemas.

Figure 2: Proportion of papers that conceptualize each dimension of multiculturalism

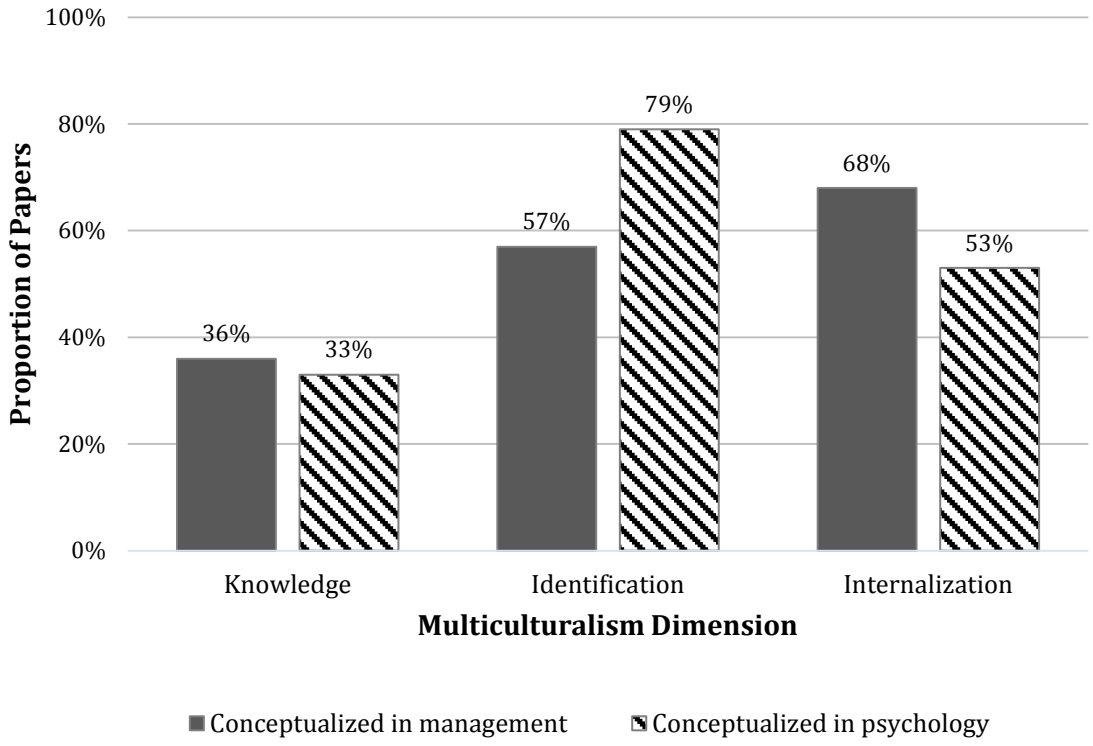


Figure 3. Proportion of empirical papers that conceptualize and measure each dimension of multiculturalism