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A Review and Conceptualization of MNCs as Gendered Social Spaces

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ABSTRACT

The paper reviews 105 contributions published in journals pertinent to the field of International Business (IB) between 1991 and 2014 and details four main conceptualizations of gender: how women are compared against men, how gender is treated as a control variable and a cultural macro variable, and how gender is 'done' in international organizations. The review reveals that positivist epistemological assumptions dominate the IB field and that the current understanding of gender is limited. To advance the research, the paper develops the notion of MNCs as gendered social spaces and explains why the IB field would benefit from a more nuanced understanding and incorporation of gender relations into its analyses and discussions. The paper outlines theoretical and methodological advances associated with the reconceptualization of MNCs as gendered social spaces.

Keywords: gender, international business, theory, multinational corporations, review, gendered social space

INTRODUCTION

Several authors have recently argued that gender is marginalized and silenced in International

Business (IB) research (e.g., Bullough, Moore & Kalafatoglu, 2017; Eden & Gupta, 2017; Frenkel, 2017;

Michailova & Hutchings, 2016; Roberts & Dörrenbächer, 2014). This is in sharp contrast to, for example,

anthropology where tacit interest in gender has been present since the founding of the discipline, and

different approaches to critique gendered aspects of power in international organizations continue to

flourish (Bullough et al, 2017). Similarly, in organization and management studies gendered assumptions

in ostensibly gender-neutral scholarship have been uncovered (Acker and van Houten, 1974; Martin,

2000). One take away from these studies is that while much work presents itself as gender-neutral, it is

based on implicit gendered assumptions of men and women, which tend to privilege the male and the

masculine.

For IB, marginalizing and silencing gender is problematic, because gender is a powerful source of

identification for individuals, organizations, and institutions alike. The impact of gender on the

management of multinational corporations (MNC), location decisions for foreign market entry, and global

competition for employees in different parts of the world is pervasive. MNCs are powerful vehicles for

diffusing assumptions about gender practices and gendered social norms globally. They may introduce

new market opportunities for low-income segments in developing countries (Olsen & Boxenbaum, 2009)

and empower women to express their opinions and make decisions in their local communities (Chelekis

and Mudambi, 2010). These organizations may also (re)produce gender differences and inequalities

between people, countries, and regions. By doing so MNCs play an important role in sustaining and/or

transforming gender relations and shaping how the process of globalization unfolds.

More broadly, taking gender seriously invites IB scholars to engage in critical self-reflection. A closer

scrutiny of IB research reveals the dominance of economic and rational assumptions (Piekkari & Welch,

2010), but also of US-centric (Jack, Calás, Nkomo & Peltonen, 2008) and masculine norms. However,

unlike biological sex differences, which refer to demographics, gender differences are an outcome of

social construction (Acker, 2006; Ely & Padavic, 2007). For example, the image of the 'ideal worker' in

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contemporary MNCs privileges specific masculine qualities such as competitiveness and assertiveness and, thus, particular types of men (Acker, 1990; Meriläinen, Tienari & Valtonen, 2015). Similarly, success in international business is often defined in terms of aggressive risk-taking and exploitation of growth opportunities overseas, which mirrors masculine characteristics and values dominant in the Global North, particularly in the USA (Welch, Welch & Hewerdine, 2008). We argue that embracing gender relations more actively in research provides IB scholars with an avenue to renew the field and to render the IB community more pluralistic and multivocal.

Hence, the purpose of this paper is three-fold. First, we examine how IB scholars have treated and incorporated gender in their work by conducting a systematic review of 105 articles published in seven core IB journals between 1991 and 2014. We acknowledge that IB scholars read and occasionally publish in journals in other fields such as management, strategy, economics, and psychology. Yet, we believe that by focusing specifically on the contents of core IB journals our understanding of how this scholarly community views the notion of gender is enhanced. Based on a gender subtext analysis (Bendl, 2008), we identify four conceptualizations of gender: how women are contrasted and compared against men, how gender is treated as a cultural macro variable and a control variable, and how gender is 'done' in international organizations. To the best of our knowledge, no previous study has systematically reviewed the treatment of gender in IB journals over time.

Second, considering the centrality of the MNC in IB research (e.g. Buckley, 2002; Delios, 2016; Shenkar, 2004) we examine how gender has been treated specifically in articles focusing on MNCs and their operations. Since MNCs are powerful vehicles for diffusing gender norms and assumptions across borders, we believe that understanding the role that IB scholars assign to gender in this organizational context is important. We find that there is considerable potential to embrace the gendered and social nature of the MNC and treat gender as a social construct fundamental to the functioning of the MNC.

Finally, based on our review findings that reveal considerable potential to incorporate a broader, more sociological, conceptualization of gender in IB scholarship in general and in MNC-related studies in particular, we advance the IB field by reconceptualizing MNCs as gendered social spaces. To date, IB

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scholars have largely approached gender as a question of demographics and headcount, e.g. what are the female/male ratios on corporate boards or top management teams in international organizations (e.g. Santacreu-Vasut, Shenkar & Shoham, 2014; Tatli, Vassilopoulou & Oezbilgin, 2013). In contrast, we advocate a broader, sociologically and anthropologically oriented, understanding of gender that permeates international management practices and the efforts of MNCs to further internationalize their activities. Such understanding goes beyond the anatomical binary distinction "men/women" and instead embraces gender as a system of social practices that construes men and women as different and thus organizes gender relations based on these assumed differences (Frenkel, 2017). We invite IB scholars to revisit and reflect on the key theoretical and methodological assumptions of the field by elaborating on the theoretical and methodological advances offered by the reconceptualization, thus assisting scholars in revitalizing the IB discipline.

Since we advocate critical self-reflection, it is appropriate that we commence by being open about our own position. In detailing four conceptualizations of gender and developing the notion of MNCs as gendered social spaces, we are not neutral but subscribe to the 'doing' gender perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987). We are a team of three co-authors: two of us are IB scholars and insiders to the field, while one specializes in gender studies and is an outsider to the IB community. This gave us an opportunity to discuss various interpretations and perspectives for analyzing the materials. However, we realize that our reading of the articles cannot be exclusive and exhaustive. We have attempted to be systematic and transparent in our research as well as in reporting our research process and findings, thereby allowing readers to follow our line of argumentation and draw their own conclusions.

REVIEW PROCEDURES

To review gender conceptualizations in IB research, we conducted a qualitative content analysis of articles published in IB journals from 1991 to 2014. Qualitative content analysis offers the possibility for conceptual development and a holistic interpretation of texts such as academic articles (Duriau, Reger & Pfarrer, 2007; Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, 2011). We followed an open-

ended interpretive approach divided into several steps covering the selection of journals, timeframe and sample as well as article analysis (Duriau et al., 2007).

Journal selection

To select journals, we followed the principle of purposive sampling (Krippendorff, 2004) and took into account the focus of the study. To be selected, journals had to: (a) be widely read by the IB research community and thus presumably have an impact on how different IB topics, including gender, are conceptualized and treated in the field at large, and (b) cover as great a diversity of (potential) topics and themes, including gender, as possible. To comply with our first criterion, we examined review articles published in the field of IB (e.g., Griffith, Cavusgil & Xu, 2008; Jormanainen & Koveshnikov, 2012; Lahiri, 2011; Quer, Claver & Rienda, 2007; Trevino, Mixin, Funk & Inkpen, 2010; Tüselmann, Sinkovics & Pishchulov, 2016). Based on these, we selected what are known as core IB journals, namely the *International Business Review* (IBR), *Journal of International Business Studies* (JIBS), *Journal of International Management* (JIM), *Journal of World Business* (JWB) and *Management International Review* (MIR). These are top IB journals as evidenced by their high international rankings and impact on the field (Tüselmann et al., 2016). At the same time, we excluded several relatively highly-ranked journals such as the *International Marketing Review* (IMR), *Journal of International Marketing* (JoIM), *International Journal of Human Resource Management* (IJHRM), *Global Strategy Journal* (GSJ), *Management and Organization Review* (MOR), and *Asia Pacific Journal of Management* (APJM) from our journal sample. This is due to either their functional (i.e. IMR, JoIM, IJHRM and GSJ) or geographic focus (i.e. MOR and APJM).

To comply with our second criterion, we also searched for more critically oriented IB journals that are likely to offer alternative views on IB phenomena to complement the top IB journals identified above. Our first choice was *Critical Perspectives on International Business* (CPIB), which claims to be "*the only journal that exclusively supports critically reflexive discussion of the nature and impact of international business activity around the globe from inter-, trans-, and multi-disciplinary perspectives*" (CPIB's

editorial statement). We also selected the *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* (IJCCM), which claims to be *"the first choice for scholarship that develops critical advances in knowledge, which challenges orthodoxy in international and cross-cultural research"* (IJCCM's editorial statement). Thus, our final selection consisted of seven IB journals: CPIB, IBR, IJCCM, JIBS, JIM, JWB and MIR.

Selection of timeframe

We decided to focus on articles published in the selected journals from 1991 onwards. That year, Boyacigiller and Adler (1991) published their groundbreaking work on the different forms of parochialism haunting organization and management scholarship, thus increasing awareness of its problems. Consequently, our review spans over 20 years, which is comparable to other reviews conducted in IB. However, not all the selected journals date back to 1991. For instance, IJCCM was established in 2001 and CPIB in 2005. These journals were included from the date of their first issue.

Sample selection

We decided to include only full-length empirical and conceptual research articles (excluding commentaries, book reviews and editorials). We used advanced online search engines available through the websites of the journals' publishers. In the case of MIR, only issues from 2006 onwards were available online, but we searched the earlier issues manually.

We looked for '*gender*,' '*sex*,' '*male*,' '*female*,' '*masculinity*,' '*femininity*,' '*masculine*,' '*feminine*,' '*woman/women*,' '*man/men*,' '*maleness*,' and '*femaleness*' in abstracts, titles, and lists of key words (when provided) because we assumed that if any of these words appeared, they would be at least to some extent important for the article's argumentation. All doubts concerning whether to include a particular article in the dataset were resolved jointly by the three authors of this paper.

Our final data set consisted of 105 articles (see Appendix). We entered each article into an Excel database under a unique identification number (for instance, JIBS5 stands for the outlet name and the numerical reference to a particular article in this journal) and documented the following: title, authors,

bibliographic reference, and abstract. Figures 1-3 illustrate the division of the articles across the journals, publication years as well as a comparison of the selected articles with the available data for the total number of articles published by the journals in question.

*** Insert Figures 1, 2 & 3 about here ***

Analyses

We conducted a multi-step qualitative content analysis of the 105 articles. First, we documented the basic facts of each article in terms of whether it was empirical or conceptual, quantitative or qualitative, and identified its empirical content. We then focused on the manifested content and the gender-related aspects of each article. We did a close reading of each article, identified the following themes that the articles dealt with, and classified them accordingly: (1) women as expatriates and their development, (2) leadership styles, (3) gendering organizations, (4) work-life values, (5) gender as a control or demographic variable, and (6) gender as part of culture.

Second, all articles were analyzed in more detail to uncover their epistemological positioning and assumptions. For example, when the articles discussed gender as a variable and included terms such as 'hypotheses testing' (Peng, Ngo, Shi & Wong, 2009), 'measuring instruments' (Puffer, McCarthy & Naumov, 1997), 'operationalizing an important … construct' (Ibeh & Debrah, 2011), or examining 'factors affecting … performance' (Caligiuri & Cascio, 1998), we classified them as positivist. On the other hand, when the articles included terms such as 'impact of tacit discourses' (Moore, 2012), 'narratives' and 'creating gender order' (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001), or 'producing identities' (Janssens, Cappellen & Zanoni, 2006), we classified them as non-positivist (most but not all of these articles were interpretivist). Because IB scholars are rarely explicit about their epistemological assumptions (Piekkari, Welch & Paavilainen, 2009), the positioning of each article had to be determined from the authors' use of concepts and language.

The third stage focused on how authors conceptualized gender. This was carried out in the form of a gender subtext analysis (Bendl, 2008; Smith, 1987), which has a long tradition in the study of language, discourse, symbols, and meaning in the gender studies literature (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a,

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1998b). Gender subtexts work in tandem with subtexts on race and ethnicity and, for example, social class. As such, gender subtext analysis aims to bring implicit gender distinctions and understandings of men and women to the fore, and to render them problematic. In conducting the gender subtext analysis, we focused on what is said (and what is not) in the text of each article, in what context it is said, and how something is said, e.g. what concepts, terms, or rhetorical strategies were used. First, we noticed that only a relatively small number of the analyzed articles (13 out of 105) were non-positivist. Since all of these dealt with different aspects of 'doing' gender in international organizations, we marked them as representing a distinct gender conceptualization. This group of articles coincided with the articles classified above as covering the theme of "gendering organizations" (see Frenkel, 2017). Second, the remaining 92 articles were all positivist. Examining the role and use of gender in these articles it became clear that it was used as a cultural attribute, a control variable, or a divider allowing comparison of males and females. The first two groups included the articles, which we in the first step of our analysis classified in terms of their themes as "gender as part of culture" and "gender as a control or demographic variable" respectively. The remaining articles dealing with the themes of "women as expatriates and their development", "leadership styles," and "work-life values" were classified as conceptualizing gender as a comparison between men and women.

On the basis of our subtext analysis, we arrived at the following four conceptualizations of gender: (1) comparison of women and men (n=38), (2) gender as a cultural macro-variable (n=32), (3) gender as a control variable (n=22), and (4) 'doing gender' in international organizations (n=13). Each conceptualization is based on implicit assumptions, gender distinctions, and understandings of men and women that we reflect on below. Focusing on the four conceptualizations allows us to go beyond specific research themes and uncover overt and covert gender assumptions in the analyzed articles. This analysis then serves as a basis for a more general discussion of theoretical, methodological and epistemological issues in relation to gender in IB that follows in the Discussion section below[1].

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[1] Acknowledging that IB scholars also read and publish in other than IB journals, we conducted an exploratory search for articles on gender in the context of the MNC in key management and strategy journals (altogether 13

It is noteworthy that the vast majority of the articles in our sample construct gender as a binary involving men and women, as is the case in business studies more generally. This is arguably a simplification of how MNCs are shaped by gender relations (Frenkel, 2017), because it shadows lesbian, gay and bisexual experience (Moeller & Maley, 2018) and silences the possibility of third gender and transgender employees playing a role in international organizations. At this stage, we also analyzed the distribution of the articles in our sample over the years and - besides a slight increase in numbers since the 1990s - noticed no major changes or developments in either volume or content over time. This indicates that the treatment of gender in IB journals has remained more or less the same in terms of volume and content since 1991 up to now.

Fourth, and finally, we focused on articles that examined IB phenomena in the context of MNCs. We included those articles in our analysis where the respondents worked for MNCs (and this was explicitly stated in the methodology section) or when a certain practice by MNCs in a particular location was discussed. To delve more deeply into the treatment of gender specifically in MNCs, we analyzed the selected articles (n=24) along several dimensions. Here, we considered the four gender conceptualizations identified, and then built on recent work by Frenkel (2017). She suggests to analyze MNCs along the following dimensions: (1) the main object of investigation and its relation to gender; (2) how sex and gender are defined; (3) how the MNC is conceptualized in relation to gender; (4) how relations between MNCs and their home and host environments are conceived and what role gender plays in these relations; and (5) what role gender plays in the internationalization of MNCs (see also Calás, Smircich and Holvino, 2014). We present the findings of this analysis below after specifying the four main conceptualizations of gender in IB journals.

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journals). We used the same timeframe and the same search criteria as in our main search of IB journals. Altogether, we found only nine articles, most of which were positivist (n=7). The distribution of gender conceptualizations was as follows: 'comparing men and women' (n=5), 'gender as a control variable' (n=1), 'gender as a cultural variable' (n=1), and 'doing gender' (n=2). These findings indicate that also in these journals gender is treated in similar, mostly positivistic, ways in IB related publications.

The first author undertook the bulk of the analyses, constantly cross-checking the findings with the other authors. As our author team represents both IB scholarship and gender studies, we were able to combine an insider's insights on IB texts with an outsider's perspective. Hence, we critically challenged the initial classification of the articles and reached an agreement through discussion. However, the classification process was challenging because some of the authors of the reviewed articles are not explicit about their treatment or conceptualization of 'gender.' We refined the four conceptualizations and their characteristics through an iterative analysis process that went back and forth between the data (i.e. the articles) and our interpretations (i.e. the four conceptualizations) detailed below. The four conceptualizations of gender in our data set are summarized in Table 1 below.

*** Insert Table 1 about here ***

GENDER IN IB: FOUR CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

Contrasting and Comparing Women against Men

The largest category (n=38) in our data set contains studies where *women are contrasted and compared against men*. These studies assign organizational actors to one of the two sex categories, i.e. men or women, and compare them in relation to a particular phenomenon of interest. The assumption is that men and women are different partly because of the existing anatomical sex differences and partly due to socialization of gender roles and experiences. The articles examine these differences in the context of international organizations and assume that essential 'natural' differences determine how (differently) men and women behave, act, and feel. For instance, Egri et al. (2012: 270) suggest that "females are warmer, more open to feelings, anxious, and aesthetic; whereas males are more assertive, excitement-seeking, and open to ideas." Gentry, Booysen, Hannum and Weber (2010: 289) concur by asserting that "female leaders are more inclusive and collaborative than men… and female leaders, more than males, encourage participation and interaction with others for decisions, strategy, or goal setting."

In this category, gender differences in organizations are presumed to mirror the wider society. Organizations themselves are assumed to be gender-neutral whereas gender differences are attributed to

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societal structures and processes which are exogenous to organizations (cf., Ely & Padavic, 2007).

Through these societal structures and processes individuals are socialized in their early years into specific

gender roles so that by the time they join organizations they have been 'made' into "static, fully

socialized, autonomous human beings… [who have] internalized patterns of behavior associated with

gender" (ibid. 1124). For instance, because women are socialized into a female gender role, giving

priority to child bearing and family orientation rather than career advancement and job orientation, they

tend to underestimate their capabilities, be less confident and less keen on international careers, expatriate

assignments, and leadership positions (Fischlmayr, 2002). However, some of the studies underscore the

importance of sending females on international assignments precisely because of their gender

characteristics (e.g., Caligiuri & Cascio, 1998; Napier & Taylor, 2002). Female expatriates may succeed

better than males during expatriation because they are said to be more attentive to building interpersonal

relationships in a foreign country or because they may be more sensitive and less aggressive in their

behavior (e.g., Haslberger, 2010).

All the articles in this category are positivist, i.e. they aim at explicating 'objective' gender differences

as well as factors and variables that explain these differences between men and women in relation to

different organizational tasks, features, and activities. Hence, it is assumed that gender-based differences

essentially exist and need to be examined and explained. The articles examine gender differences in

various work-related situations and tasks such as international assignments (Caligiuri & Cascio, 1998;

Haslberger, 2010; Koveshnikov, Wechtler & Dejoux, 2014; Selmer, 2001; Selmer & Leung, 2003; Stroh,

Varma & Valy-Durbin, 2000), leader-member relationships (Qi, 2005; Varma, Stroh & Schmitt, 2001),

upward mobility and talent development (Ibeh & Debrah, 2011; Manwa & Black, 2002; Tatli et al.,

2013), leadership styles (Fullagar, Sumer, Sverke & Slick, 2003; Gentry et al., 2010; Gibson, 1995; Paris,

Howell, Dorfman & Hanges, 2009; Smith et al., 2005; Van Emmerik, Euwema, & Wendt, 2008; Zander

& Romani, 2004), and work commitment (Dolan, Diez-Pinol, Fernandez-Alles, Martin-Prius & Martinez-

Fierro, 2004; Peng et al., 2009).

To explain differences between men and women in relation to different organizational phenomena and processes, the articles in this category use several arguments. One article posits that individual exploration, identity development, and career development are influenced by a range of gendered factors such as early childhood socialization and societal norms (Myers & Pringle, 2005). Another article claims that poor supervisor-subordinate relationships may explain why so few women end up on international assignments (Varma et al., 2001). Caligiuri and Cascio (1998) argue that individual characteristics, organizational policies, family situation and host national attitudes affect the success of female expatriates overseas. Selmer (2001), in turn, explains that being a female decreases the chances of occupying high hierarchical positions on international assignments. Newburry, Belkin and Ansari (2008: 819) suggest that "the fear of women in power positions" in organizations can be attributed "to a failure to adjust traditional values about sex roles developed during childhood, along with experiences working with women." Also, "women [as leaders] … are more likely [than men] to 'tend and befriend' in response to threats" because they have been "shaped by different kinds of needs, such as defending offspring and creating supportive social networks" (Toh & Leonardelli, 2012: 606).

The specific focus in the articles tends to be on women, thus underscoring their deviance from men. Based on our gender subtext analysis, the articles in this category illustrate what Bendl (2008) calls a subtext of "attributed masculinity and males as the norm." "Maleness" emerges as the unstated and unquestioned norm against which "femaleness" is compared and judged. Hence, the articles reproduce asymmetry between the values connected to males and females. Moreover, the articles in this category decontextualize gender by examining it separately from its socio-cultural, temporal, and situational setting. They assume that the effect of gender on for example leadership style can be assessed and examined independently of contextual effects, an assumption considered problematic by many outside the field of IB (e.g. Ely & Padavic, 2007). The question remains whether gender is the factor underlying the observed differences between men and women or whether some other individual, social, or situational factors are evaluated as having a gender effect.

Gender as a cultural macro variable

The second set of articles views gender as part of "national culture" and treats *gender as a macro variable* supposedly influencing behavioral patterns of individuals who have a particular national cultural background (n=32). Here, gender is seen not as an individual characteristic or attribute but rather as an attribute of a collective or a cultural group. All members of this culture or collective are assumed to have static and homogenous gender roles that are determined by "national culture" and its norms, values, and expectations.

A considerable number of IB publications deal with cross-cultural issues by drawing on established frameworks to measure cultural distance following Hofstede (1980, 1991) or the GLOBE project (House, Javidan, Hanges & Dorfman, 2002). Hofstede conceptualizes gender through the 'masculinity-femininity' dimension and the GLOBE project through 'gender inequality' or 'egalitarianism.' When IB scholars compare national cultures along certain dimensions, one of them is typically either masculinity-femininity (Chui & Kwok, 2008; Claus & Hand, 2009; Harpaz, Honig & Coetsier, 2002; Husted 1999, 2005; Ollo-López, Bayo-Moriones & Larraza-Kintana, 2011; Shenkar & Zeira, 1992; Wu & Minor, 1997; Yan & Hunt, 2005) or gender egalitarianism (Ashkanasy, Trevor-Roberts & Earnshaw, 2002; House et al., 2002; Roy & Goll, 2014; Steel & Taras, 2010). Park, Borde and Choi (2002: 85) suggest that "the masculine-feminine dimension of national culture, aggregate income, sociopolitical stability, and government regulation have statistically significant effects" on varying degrees of insurance pervasiveness across countries. In turn, Parboteeah, Hoegl and Cullen (2008) establish a link between traditional gender role attitudes of managers and uncertainty avoidance and power distance on the nation-level. Tang and Koveos (2008: 1045) note that "uncertainty avoidance and masculinity mainly reflect some rather stable institutional traditions, such as language, religion, climate, ethnic homogeneity, and legal origin, and are less likely to change over time."

Hence, the authors in this category tend to regard measures of masculinity and femininity as stable and fixed, presumably informed (or even determined) by national cultures. The articles in this category reveal what Bendl (2008) calls a subtext of "unconscious exclusion and neglect." Gender aspects are not actively

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taken into consideration in these articles and gender is introduced in the analyses only as a part or a dimension of a national culture. Gender is seen as a national cultural trait rather than a characteristic of individuals. The articles seem to assume that being socialized into a particular national culture predetermines the gender-related cultural meanings and behavioral patterns of the individual.

In general, Hofstede's work has been criticized for over-simplifying cultural differences, reproducing essentialist categories about "national cultures" and "gender," and lacking predictive power (e.g. McSweeney, Brown & Iliopoulou, 2016; Moulettes, 2007). Despite strong criticism, the measures of masculinity and femininity are typically presented in these articles as universal and applicable to all contexts irrespective of time and place, although e.g. Hofstede's seminal measures date back to the 1960s and 70s. Hence, the traits that were conceived as either masculine or feminine back then are still assumed to be constant and adequate today (e.g., Ailon, 2008; Ailon-Souday & Kunda, 2003; McSweeney, 2002). The GLOBE project, in turn, defines "gender egalitarianism" as "societies' beliefs about whether members' biological sex should determine the roles that they play in their homes, business organizations, and communities" (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004: 347). This definition does not consider the socially constructed nature of gender, nor the gendered nature of organizations, thus ultimately contributing to the essentialization of gender and national cultures.

Gender as a control variable

In the third category, we included articles in which gender differences are not explicitly discussed or included in the theory development but *treated as a control variable* (n=22). The categories of male-female or man-woman are used to describe the data or the 'gender' variable is checked for any moderating or mediating effects on dependent variables. Articles in this category draw on positivist reasoning by conceptualizing gender as a personal attribute embodied within individuals. Hence, gender is regarded as a matter of biological sex and treated as a demographic factor. This is symptomatic of how, due to dominance of the positivist paradigm, IB scholars treat gender more generally.

Here, gender is typically a marginal variable, one among other demographic variables, such as age and education, or descriptive controls, such as managerial or hierarchical level (e.g., Banai, 2002; Branzei, 2002; Budhwar, Woldu & Ogbonna, 2008; Chatterjee & Pearson, 2002; De Ruyter, Birgelen & Wetzels, 1998; Dolan et al., 2004; Samiee, Shimp & Sharma, 2005; Smith et al., 2005). De Ruyter et al. (1998: 185), studying consumer ethnocentrism in international services marketing, write that together with "four social-psychological antecedents of […] ethnocentric tendencies […] four demographic factors [were found to be significant]: 'age', 'gender', 'education' and 'income'." Similarly, Samiee et al. (2005: 379) hypothesize that "American consumers' proficiency at recognizing foreign brand origins is predicted by variables such as socioeconomic status, past international travel, foreign language skills, and gender." Banai (2002) includes gender as a variable alongside job characteristics, age, and education to control for possible effects on personal and social alienation. In brief, gender acts as a control variable that can potentially moderate the hypothesized relationships under study.

In other articles, gender is included as a control variable because according to previous research, it may have some impact on the studied phenomenon (e.g., Feldman & Bolino, 2000; Karande, Shankarmahesh, Rao, & Rashid, 2000; Reithel, Baltes, & Buddhavarapu, 2007; Shi, 2001; Yan & Sorenson, 2004). Hence, gender is included either as a variable that can explain some of the variance or as a variable to eliminate some of the 'noise' in the analysis. In examining the use of overseas interns, Feldman and Bolino (2000: 33) state the following: "Because an intern's gender could potentially confound the findings in this study, gender is used as a control variable as well." Karande et al. (2000: 38), in turn, tell us that "on the basis of literature linking personal characteristics to ethical decision-making […], gender and age of the respondent are used as control variables" and that "the focus of this study is on cross-national differences and not on the influence of personal characteristics (gender and age) on perceived moral intensity, ethical perception and ethical intentions" (p. 44). In a study of Hong Kong employees, Reithel et al. (2007: 66), contend that "[s]ince gender appears to be an important variable in samples of United States participants, gender was included in the current study to determine whether it accounts for any variance in job satisfaction, intent to stay, and evaluation of supervisor."

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Adapting Bendl's (2008) gender subtext analysis, we describe this category of articles as "exclusion and neglect." Whereas gender is part of the research design, the articles in this category nevertheless underscore its limited role theoretically. Paradoxically, we argue, by controlling for gender the authors simultaneously marginalize it. By placing gender in this marginal role in their texts, the authors unintentionally "(re)produce a hegemonic form of maleness… which limits organizational theorizations to a special form of hegemonic masculinity" (Bendl, 2008: S54). This pattern of practice allows for particular forms of male dominance.

To summarize, the three conceptualizations of gender discussed above adopt a positivist perspective and represent a clear majority of the articles in our dataset (92 out of 105). They have advanced our understanding of gender in important ways by legitimizing and popularizing it in both IB research and management education. The authors in these categories dissect the phenomenon under study into variables and treat gender as another variable with its specific effects (or lack thereof). The dominance of the positivist approaches to gender in our dataset reflects the field of IB more generally (Brannen & Doz, 2010; Jack et al., 2008). At the same time, the positivist hegemony invites alternative conceptualizations of gender.

"Doing" gender in international organizations

The fourth and final category in our data set conceptualizes gender in terms of how it is "done" in social interaction in organizations. Following West and Zimmerman (1987: 137), to 'do' gender means to engage in creating and enacting the gender binary: the differences between men and women "that are not natural, essential, or biological." The authors of articles in this category (n=13) view gender and gender relations as a discursive and social (re)construction in the organizations studied. They explore how gender differences are construed and enacted as well as how specific beliefs and assumptions of gender relations are used not only to include men in positions of authority and influence but to exclude women from them (Tienari, Meriläinen, Holgersson & Bendl, 2013). For instance, Gherardi and Poggio (2001: 245) use

what they call "a symbolic-interpretative approach [to] analyze the rules and the rituals by which gender is created and recreated in organizations."

The articles in this category do not view the phenomena under study as gender neutral but instead attempt to explicate implications that gender relations may have for them. The authors subscribing to a non-positivist stance (primarily interpretivism or social constructionism) portray gender as socially constructed and thus as an important part of the identity construction processes of organizational actors (e.g., Hutchings, Michailova & Harisson, 2013; Moore, 2012; Thein, Austen, Currie & Lewin, 2010). They tend to avoid dichotomous distinctions between man-woman, female-male, or masculine-feminine, and interpret organizations such as MNCs as products of culture as well as institutional producers of meaning where terms like 'worker,' 'work' and 'manager' are (re)produced through cultural and symbolic practices (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001; Halsema & Halsema, 2006). The authors strive to make gendered practices and their implications explicit through an analysis of discourses and narratives, which — as the authors contend — have performative functions, i.e. the statements do not merely describe a reality, but also constitute it (Halsema & Halsema, 2006). Gherardi & Poggio (2001: 246), for instance, explicate how "a dichotomous order of gender where maleness and femaleness are perceived as opposites and attributed different forms of behavior, different roles, and different places" is brought into being. Moreover, maleness occupies the hegemonic position in the processes of discursive construction of gender.

In Bendl's (2008) terms, the articles in this category capture the gender subtext, which focuses on the discursive reproduction of "women as the other," also attempting to show the other side of the dichotomy, "males as the norm." The authors acknowledge that gender does not constitute a stable and essentialist property acquired by each individual either as anatomical sex or through childhood socialization into specific gender roles. Instead, gender is socially constructed within organizations and continuously shaped by different organizational features and processes. However, one aspect where the authors in this category differ from each other is in their take on the stability of gender constructions, which ranges from dynamic fluidity to relative stability. While Gherardi & Poggio (2001: 246) insist that gender is not a

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fixed group category but "something we create and recreate in our everyday work interactions and discourses," Dalton and Chrobot-Mason (2007) assume that even though gender is important in identity work and to some extent recreated in that process, it is still about relatively stable group memberships that are difficult to challenge. Overall, this category of articles stands in sharp contrast to the first three conceptualizations of gender, all of which view gender as a stable (and culture determined) trait. A closer look at the articles in this category also shows that their authors are typically not IB scholars, but represent different streams of gender studies in organization and management and tend to be better known outside of the IB field.

To summarize, the final category of articles in our dataset comprises those articles that depart from the positivist conceptualization and view gender as *socially constructed*. This is the smallest category in our analysis and miniscule in the light of the total number of articles published in the journals studied as Figure 3 shows. It reflects the general condition of the field of IB to seek functionalist, decontextual, and essentialist explanations of actors' behaviors and organizational activities in international arena (Brannen & Doz, 2010; Jack et al., 2008; Michailova, 2011). It also indicates considerable potential to study how the socio-cultural context in which international actors are embedded shapes gender relations, norms, and practices.

GENDER IN THE MNC CONTEXT

In line with our second objective in the paper, we analyzed in detail 24 articles out of 105 papers (23%) in our data set that dealt specifically with gender in the MNC context. According to the extant literature, most key research questions in IB mainly revolve around the MNC and its operations (Buckley, 2002; Delios, 2016; Shenkar, 2004).

Our analysis shows that the majority of studies featuring gender in the MNC context focuses either on expatriation, or HR and talent management. Almost half of the articles (n=11) dealt with international mobility of expatriates, especially female expatriates. The articles discussed factors that prevent women from being selected for international assignments (Stroh et al., 2000; Varma et al., 2001, 2006) and that

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affect the performance of female expatriates (Caligiuri & Cascio, 1998). They discussed the personal characteristics of female expatriates (Selmer & Leung, 2003) and the role of spouses in the expatriation process (Punnett, 1997). Gender was examined as a factor affecting cross-cultural adjustment of expatriates (Koveshnikov et al., 2014) and how female expatriates construct their professional identities when interacting with their male colleagues (Janssens et al., 2006). The role of perceived gender and cultural stereotyping among female expatriates was also discussed (Hutchings et al., 2013).

Various HR and talent management issues were the second most popular topic in this category (n=7). The articles dealt with the differences between the job and organizational commitment of male and female workers (Peng et al., 2009); whether the marginalized groups of employees are more attracted to work in MNCs (Newburry, Gardberg & Sanchez, 2014); the impact of gender quotas on talent management (Tatli et al., 2013); the role of interpersonal similarity for knowledge transfer (Mäkelä, Andersson & Seppälä, 2012); the role of gender in standardizing or localizing performance management systems (Claus & Hand, 2009); and the cultural effects on employment gender and age discrimination (Wu, Lawler & Yi, 2008). The remaining articles examined the various effects of gender at the top echelons of MNCs (Santacreu-Vasut et al., 2014; Shenkar & Zeira, 1992; Spence, Orser & Riding, 2011; Welch, Marschan-Piekkari, Penttinen & Tahvanainen, 2002), the role of gender and ethnic identities for cross-cultural management (Moore, 2012), and micro-entrepreneurship among females in the Brazilian Amazon (Chelekis & Mudambi, 2010).

Next, applying the aforementioned four gender conceptualizations to the articles, we found the following distribution (comparison between men and women – 12; gender as culture – 5; gender as a control – 2; doing gender – 5). This means that the majority of the articles in this subsample – 19 out of 24 – are positivist and treat gender as "coterminous with anatomical sex" (Ely & Padavic, 2007: 1122). The authors conceptualize gender as a stable human property of individuals in MNCs, something that one has or is as an individual. Only in five articles gender is treated differently, as something that people 'do' in social relations and ongoing interactions with others (Janssens et al., 2006) or as a 'native category' (Moore, 2012).

Further, with rare exceptions, the majority of the articles conceptualize the MNC as a neutral site where men (often as supervisors or superiors) and women (often as subordinates) interact and negotiate around various processes and outcomes. As such, MNCs remain in the background, as a context in which these negotiations take place. In some cases, they are granted agency, for example when acting as a disseminator of the norms of gender equality and inclusion at work (Tatli et al., 2013), of Western gender roles (Chelekis & Mudambi, 2010), or of their home country's laws on gender discrimination (Wu et al., 2008) in 'less developed' parts of the world. In two cases, MNCs were conceptualized as an amalgamation of gender inequality regimes, i.e., systems of social norms and practices that construe men and women as different and that organize gender relations on the basis of these assumed differences (Frenkel, 2017), pertinent to their home and host countries, across which power-laden discourses of gender and culture operate and jockey for dominance (Janssens et al., 2006; Moore, 2012).

In the articles, the dominant view of relationships between MNCs and their environment is that MNCs are influenced and shaped by the national and gender cultures of the home and host countries. To be successful, MNCs have to comply with the requirements imposed by the environment. Only in a few articles do the authors conceptualize these relationships as mutually constitutive, i.e. the MNC is able to influence and change its environment by altering the established gender roles (Chelekis & Mudambi, 2010) or gender culture (Tatli et al., 2013).

Finally, it is evident that the articles reviewed did not take into account or discuss the role of gender in further internationalization of the MNC. The possibility that internationalization decisions and decision-making can be viewed as "embedded in and organized around the global gendered and racial division of labor and the local gender regimes and power relations at the potential host country" (Frenkel, 2017: 16) remains beyond current discussion. By silencing gendered understandings of MNC internationalization, the literature stays oblivious to the ways in which MNCs (re)produce gender (and racial) distinctions and local and transnational hierarchies that may further marginalize women and sustain and recreate gender inequality regimes in different parts of the world.

To summarize, our analysis shows the immense potential that the gendered nature of the MNC has within the field. To date, gender is mainly seen as a property of individuals that needs to be taken into account by HR departments to ensure the most effective employment of both men and women. The possible implications of the gendered nature of the MNC for employees and their everyday relations and interaction as well as for the global reproduction of gender inequality regimes and divisions of labor resulting from the internationalization efforts of MNCs remain unexplored (see also Frenkel, 2017; Michailova & Hutchings, 2016; Roberts & Dörrenbächer, 2014; Tienari, 2014). We argue that the notion of MNCs as gendered social spaces has the potential to take the field forward.

CONCEPTUALIZING MNCS AS GENDERED SOCIAL SPACES

To advance IB scholarship in general and MNC-related studies in particular, we propose to reconceptualize MNCs as *gendered social spaces*. This analytical perspective suggests that cross-border activities within MNCs reproduce and transform gender relations, practices, and norms, but are also transformed by them. Gender is a powerful source of identification for individuals and shapes how individuals, organizations, and institutions operate. MNCs are carriers of their home countries' gender regimes, i.e. systems of social norms and practices that construe men and women as different and that organize gender relations on the basis of these assumed differences (Frenkel, 2017).

The gender perspective can be situated under the broad umbrella of sociological perspectives on MNCs together with the critical (e.g. Kristensen & Zeitlin, 2005; Morgan, 2001), micropolitical (Dörrenbächer & Geppert, 2011) and language (e.g., Piekkari & Welch, 2010) perspectives. Compared with established perspectives such as the business network (e.g. Forsgren, Holm & Johanson, 2005) or the institutional (e.g. Kostova, Roth & Dacin, 2008), the sociological take on MNCs is relatively recent in origin. It emphasizes the social nature of daily interaction and brings individuals and groups back into the analysis (Barner-Rasmussen, Piekkari, Scott-Kennel & Welch, 2010; Piekkari & Welch, 2010; Zander, Zander, Gaffney & Olsson, 2010). Sociological perspectives view MNCs as a "social community" (Kogut & Zander, 1993) characterized by contextual heterogeneity, intra-organizational complexity, and

individual variability (Zander et al., 2010). MNCs are also characterized by intersectionality, which refers to an amalgamation of interrelated social categories (e.g. gender, class, race, language, and nationality) that individuals constituting the MNC are evaluated against (Zander et al., 2010). It is worth noticing that traditional IB research did not study *interaction* among MNC subsidiaries but *connections* across them, which were reduced to a set of nodes and pipelines that passed resources from one location to another (Piekkari & Westney, 2017).

What then does the concept "MNCs as gendered social space" mean? The term *gendered* means that in MNCs "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1990: 146). In other words, "human activities, practices, and social structures" are organized in the MNC based on "differentiations between women and men" (Ely & Padavic, 2007; Ridgeway & Correll, 2000; West & Fenstermaker, 1995: 567).

For us, *social* means that MNCs employ both men *and* women and, in this regard, are naturally gendered organizations. Complex patterns of social interaction shape how men and women in and around the MNC perceive their own interests (e.g., Seo & Creed, 2002) and identities (e.g., Child & Rodrigues, 1996; Dörrenbächer & Geppert, 2011) as well as the conflicts that different interests and identities give rise to (e.g., Dörrenbächer & Geppert, 2011, 2013; Geppert & Dörrenbächer, 2014). However, MNCs tend to employ women in different jobs and positions than men. There are proportionately fewer women on corporate boards, in top management teams, and in middle management (Meriläinen et al., 2015). However, the question is not about mere proportions or numbers. Global capitalism is pervaded by a fundamental issue of gender inequality (Acker, 2006). As a result, women are consistently more likely to occupy less privileged and lower paid jobs at lower hierarchical levels and represent the majority factories in the Global South where their "nimble fingers" are especially appreciated (e.g. Fuentes & Ehrenreich, 1983). These women continue to be exploited by MNCs and local gender orders alike (Alamgir & Banerjee, 2018; Berry & Bell, 2012).

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Finally, *social space* means that MNCs are a contested transnational terrain (Morgan, 2001; Morgan & Kristensen, 2006) in which both men and women engage in negotiations and conflict over a multiplicity of possible future forms, decisions, and directions for the company. In these negotiations, men and women draw on gendered discourses and meanings as resources, albeit from different positions (e.g. Tienari, Søderberg, Holgersson & Vaara, 2005). We invite IB scholars to embrace the gendered and social nature of the MNC and treat gender as a social construct fundamental to the functioning of the MNC. Recognizing the gendered nature of the MNC may provide an alternative way forward for IB research and a move away from the largely economic and rationalistic assumptions of human behavior and decision-making in IB scholarship (e.g. Barner-Rasmussen et al., 2010; Geppert & Dörrenbächer, 2014; Piekkari & Welch, 2010; Shenkar, 2004). Below, we outline how this reconceptualization of the MNC may advance the field both theoretically and methodologically.

IMPLICATIONS OF VIEWING MNCS AS GENDERED SOCIAL SPACES

Theoretical Advances

Our argument for viewing MNCs as gendered social spaces is based on the conviction that as socio-economic actors MNCs systematically (re)produce gender relations, practices, and norms. On this basis, we specify three areas of inquiry that are pertinent for advancing theoretical discussions in the IB field: (*i*) the gendered nature of the dispersal of value-adding activities; (*ii*) the 'ideal manager' and hegemonic masculinity, and (*iii*) the novel approach to ethnocentrism.

Gendered nature of the dispersal of value-adding activities

The first theoretical implication of viewing MNCs as gendered social spaces is the opportunity for IB scholars to reflect in novel ways on the underlying decisions and factors behind MNC internationalization and the transfer of value-added activities abroad. Researchers in other fields have shown that gender is a resource as MNCs seek out new sources of low-wage labor for manufacturing and services in the Global South (Acker, 2004, 2006) and decide where to locate their units in order to remain competitive (Calás &

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Smircich, 2011). Taking these insights seriously is important as IB researchers witness the demise of the full-fledged national subsidiary as an organizational subunit in the MNC (Birkinshaw, 2001) and disaggregation of the value chain (Mudambi et al., 2018). However, location choices have thus far been portrayed as rational (and gender-neutral) decisions driven by MNCs' need to be well connected with the world's growth markets and 'business hotspots' and to have access to resources, knowledge, and innovations in these locations (Buckley, Devinney & Louviere, 2007; Cantwell & Mudambi, 2011; Flores & Aguilera, 2007).

Yet, the often unspoken factor in location decisions is the availability of cheap, mostly female, labor and services in these locations (cf. Frenkel, 2017). In making relocation and offshoring decisions, MNCs routinely exploit the labor of women in the Global South by contracting them in factories, export-processing zones, and at home (Berry & Bell, 2012). It is in times of accidents such as the collapse of the Rana Plaza garment factory building in Bangladesh, killing over 1,100 mainly female workers, when their lack of labor rights and often appalling working conditions come to our attention (Alamgir & Banerjee, 2018). This means that to better understand different factors explaining the location decisions of MNCs it does not suffice to analyze these decisions exclusively from the point of view of managers and their presumably rational decision-making processes. The various others who by doing the 'unspoken' work enable and sustain the local activities of MNCs need to be included in the analyses.

In this regard, dispersed value-added activities may sustain or even increase gender-based inequalities in the host context. McArdle and Thomas (2012) studied whether involvement in Fair Trade benefits and empowers women in the Global South. They conclude that Fair Trade is in some cases beneficial through increased employment and rising income due to payment of a "fair price." However, "Fair Trade practices themselves can be considered gendered as they largely fail to challenge the prevailing power relations in communities" (ibid.: 290). The impact of Fair Trade remains dependent on "existing local arrangements such as the sexual division of labour, patriarchal attitudes and the ability of women to own and control the means of production" (ibid.: 290). Engaging in Fair Trade, then, MNCs can contribute to gendered

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hierarchies and practices and to the reinforcement of a particular gender order on a global scale (Acker, 2006; Mohanty, 2006). This demonstrates the interconnectedness of gender, capitalism, and globalization.

However, as foreign investors and employers, MNCs may also introduce changes to gender relations and norms in local communities. Chelekis and Mudambi (2010) examined how by nurturing direct marketing in rural areas of the Brazilian Amazon, MNCs provided local women with employment and a source of income. This empowered women to express their opinions and make decisions at home and in their community. As a result, the women appeared to become more self-confident and independent of their husbands. Hence, MNCs acting in enlightened self-interest can engage with 'bottom-of-the-pyramid' strategies aimed at creating new profit-seeking market opportunities for low-income segments in developing countries and contribute to addressing significant societal problems in these regions such as poverty and gender inequality (e.g. Olsen & Boxenbaum, 2009).

These examples show how viewing MNCs and their internationalization from the gender perspective may allow IB scholars to shed new light on familiar topics such as MNC location choices and global expansion. As such, the choice in an MNC's strategic orientation in particular host countries, e.g. the choice between ethnocentric or polycentric orientations (cf. Perlmutter, 1969), can be seen as the choice between gender regimes of the home and host countries. MNCs may be motivated to relocate their operations abroad at least in part because the gender regimes in their home countries may appear too restrictive (and the pressure for gender-equal opportunities too high) to allow lowering costs by creating low-paid jobs and filling them with working-class women. In this case, a more polycentric orientation might allow exploitation of the benefits offered by adopting the local, institutionalized ways of doing things in the host country, including the associated gender roles and norms.

Addressing these questions brings us closer to Dunning's (2003) call to examine the moral behavior of MNCs. However, research has thus far disregarded gender regimes as an important attribute of any institutional environment in studying MNC location choices. To remedy this, IB scholars from the Global North could team up with researchers from the South who have intimate knowledge of gender relations, norms and practices in the locations studied. This would enable an 'insider-outsider approach' and

opportunities for discussing different interpretations of the empirical materials generated on the MNC and the gendered nature of its internationalization (Bartunek & Louis, 1996). Below, we list possible questions for future research in this area:

- How do gender regimes (relations, norms and practices) condition MNC operations in the home market and how do MNCs exploit differences in local gender regimes for institutional arbitrage in host markets?

- How can differences in local gender regimes explain the geographic disaggregation of the MNC value chain activities?

- How do gendered characteristics of the local labor force (e.g. wages, labor conditions and the availability of workers) feature in decisions by MNCs to relocate and/or internationalize?

- How do gender regimes influence local strategic orientation choices of MNCs (i.e. ethnocentric vs. polycentric vs. global)?

- What are the influences of MNCs on the evolution of gender regimes in their host countries?

The 'ideal manager' and hegemonic masculinity

The second implication of taking gender in MNCs seriously concerns the possibility to rethink how IB conceptualizes human actors and their interaction in MNCs. In many ways, the established understanding among IB scholars of human actors in MNCs is epitomized in the image of the 'ideal manager.' This image, which embraces attributes such as 24/7 availability, readiness for constant mobility, and intense work orientation, corresponds to the assumed characteristics and life situations of men rather than women (Acker, 1990; Calás & Smircich, 1993; Tienari, Vaara & Meriläinen, 2010). This ideal is sustained by the gender connotations of care responsibilities where women are assumed to manage the private sphere and men the public (Benschop & Doorewaard, 2012; Calás & Smircich, 1993). Masculine qualities such as competitiveness and assertiveness that privilege men over women are perceived to be the crucial qualities that determine appointment to key positions in MNCs (Meriläinen et al., 2015). However, those women

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who demonstrate masculine qualities and do not comply with expectations of traditional feminine traits have to face another challenge – their status as women becomes questioned (Gherardi, 1994; Kanter, 1977).

The qualities of the 'ideal manager' are not gender-neutral; instead, they draw on a particular form of hegemonic masculinity, i.e. a particular set of masculine values and ideals. This is referred to as transnational business masculinity (Connell, 2001; Tienari & Koveshnikov, 2014) or hypermasculinity (Acker, 2006). This form of masculinity is characterized by prioritization of one's own career and its goals and objectives as well as a single-minded focus on short-term profits, growth, and competition (Connell & Wood, 2005). The image of the 'ideal manager' grounded in hegemonic masculinity creates a vicious circle of not recognizing long-term development and care work in MNCs, while promoting and handsomely rewarding excessive risk taking and exploitation of others (Knights & Tullberg, 2012). Members of transnational elites in MNCs, and those aspiring to reach these elites, use hegemonic masculinity as a resource in their relations and interaction with others (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001; Janssens et al., 2006). Despite the stressfulness and insecurity of their work, MNC elites often hold on to their positions because, besides money, fulfilling the ideal gives them a sense of achievement and status (Connell & Wood, 2005).

However, there is another dimension to the 'ideal manager' in MNCs. Support and care services in global cities such as New York, London and others (Sassen, 1991) are offered by immigrant women from the Global South who support the transnational elites employed by MNCs (Acker, 2006). The "provisioning, cleaning the offices, child tending, caring for bodies and homes must be done so that global managers and other members of the global elite can go easily about their business" (ibid.: 34). In this context, women from the Global South are portrayed as docile, cheap to employ, and able to do monotonous and repetitive work. Such images produce gender inequalities far beyond MNC boundaries and reflect the societal dimension of MNC power and patterns of gendered domination and subordination (Geppert & Dörrenbächer, 2014). The way some men and women seek to live up to the image of the 'ideal manager' perpetuates gendered norms and hierarchies in society and on a global scale. Care work

offered by women from the Global South leaving their families to serve the family needs of others elsewhere demonstrates this.

To summarize, the notion of MNCs as gendered social spaces allows IB scholars to illuminate sensitive but important issues such as social hierarchy and power relations, which have ramifications far beyond the boundaries of the firm. The complex gendered social dynamics of the MNC and the agency of its key actors can complement the current rationalistic perspective in IB research. Our attention is drawn to how organizational processes serve to perpetuate stereotypical assumptions about men and women. As such, the 'ideal manager' is a value-laden notion rather than an objective set of criteria. The dominance of particular masculine values that underpin the ideal makes it difficult for most men to qualify for top positions in MNCs. It also explains why even if some women may rise to prominent positions, the gendered hierarchy in these organizations remains intact. Further, this may result in a deeper understanding of how strategizing happens in the MNC, what are the gendered micro-foundations of MNC strategies, competences, capabilities, and why key decision makers are who they are and behave the way they do. To study these questions, IB scholars could team up with researchers working in other disciplines such as gender studies, in particular, with researchers who have experience in discourse or narrative analyses. In particular, we hope that some of the following questions and/or themes may be of interest to IB scholars:

- Who gets to be labeled as "talent" in MNCs, by whom and why? What are the gendered assumptions behind established notions of "talent"?

- How are work-life balance issues in MNC management addressed and how does this relate to dominant masculine values and ideals? What are the implications of these values and ideals for leadership approaches and HR practices in the MNC more generally?

- How and why do some actors get to the top and become members of transnational elites that move within, and between, MNCs?

- How can dominant masculine values and ideals be resisted in the MNC and with what implications?

- More broadly, how do different constellations of gender regimes and the masculinities they sustain explain the emergence and development of global cities, the agglomeration of industries, and the formation of innovation hubs and financial centers where MNCs operate?

Approaching ethnocentrism in new ways

Finally, viewing MNCs as gendered social spaces might also sensitize IB scholars to the dynamics of power, influence, and social interaction in other ways (cf. Zander et al., 2010). The gender perspective has implications for social categories other than gender and allows us to approach with fresh eyes fundamental IB questions such as ethnocentrism (Perlmutter, 1969). The vantage point is homosociality, which refers to people's preference for the company of others who are considered similar in some significant way (Lipman-Blumen, 1976) and, by extension, to practices that reproduce homogeneity and the dominance of a particular type of man in MNC top management. Such homosociality underlies and conditions many practices in the MNC, such as recruitment, promotion, investment decisions, responsibility allocation, and so on.

Furthermore, other power relations such as those related to ethnicity and social class also condition these practices (Knocke, Drejhammar, Gonäs & Isaksson, 2003). This is evident in Holgersson, Tienari, Meriläinen and Bendl's (2016) study of the way in which ethnic homogeneity is reproduced at the top echelons of organizations in the Global North. The authors apply the notion of ethnosociality to make sense of ethnic inclusion and exclusion in executive recruitment. They illuminate how ethnicity together with gender determines the outcomes of recruitment processes in the social spaces that are MNCs. This echoes Acker's (2006) argument about gender, ethnicity, and class as crucial determinants of contemporary global capitalism and elite formation.

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We suggest that this reasoning offers a new perspective for approaching ethnocentrism as a mindset where executives regard themselves as "superior to, more trustworthy and more reliable than any foreigners" (Perlmutter, 1969: 11) and whereby MNCs continue to be run by groups (of men) with the same ethnic and social background (Storgaard, Tienari & Piekkari, 2014). Ethnocentrism among privileged men remains a crucial question for IB research. On the one hand, ethnocentric tendencies may lead to collective myopia and groupthink among top echelons of MNCs as well as to standardized approaches to management and strategy that pay limited attention to specificities of local markets (Mees-Buss, 2014). On the other hand, gendered ethnocentrism leads to homogeneous transnational elites and to failure to recognize and make use of different kinds of talent.

Overall, viewing MNCs as gendered social spaces enables us to address how assumptions of gender and ethnicity intertwine in organizational processes and lead to potentially problematic outcomes. It demonstrates how exclusion of women and ethnic minorities is not necessarily a result of negative perceptions of these social groups per se (cf. Michailova, Piekkari, Storgaard & Tienari, 2017), but of active preference for and inclusion of specific groups within circuits of homo- and ethno-social relations behind the façade of meritocracy (Holgersson et al., 2016).

This would enable new perspectives on fundamental IB topics such as the relationship between MNC headquarters and subsidiaries as well as expatriation and repatriation. For instance, it could help IB scholars to shed light on how headquarters-subsidiary relationships are shaped by relationships between key decision makers based on their homo- and ethno-social ties, i.e. the preference to deal with others who are considered similar in social, racial and ethnic ways, thus determining resource allocation decisions and autonomy delegation within MNCs. Further, illuminating how in-group / out-group gender and ethnicity-based memberships are formed between actors at different positions and locations in MNCs might help IB scholars to better understand the (re)adjustment experiences of expatriates and repatriates and the challenges posed by them and thus go beyond conventional explanations of cross-cultural learning and adjustment processes. In addressing these questions, IB scholars could team up with cultural studies scholars and anthropologists with experience in researching the intersections of gender, race and ethnicity

in multicultural and transnational settings. More concretely, we suggest a list of research questions that IB scholars may consider:

- What are the influences of homosociality and ethnosociality, i.e. the preference for the company of others perceived to be similar in social and ethnic ways, among top managers on recruitment practices, promotion decisions, and distribution of authority and responsibility within MNCs?

- What are the impacts of stereotypes pertaining to gender, race / ethnicity and social class on decision making in MNCs?

- What are the implications of home and host country gender regimes as well as assumptions about races and ethnicities for the socialization, adjustment, and cross-cultural learning of expatriates in MNCs?

- What are the costs of exclusion and underemployment due to gender, race / ethnicity, and class-based discrimination for MNCs in their different locations?

- What strategies can be employed to overcome and resist the potentially gendered and ethnocentric mindset among key decision makers in MNCs?

To conclude this section on theoretical advances, viewing MNCs as gendered social spaces goes beyond the traditional organizational boundaries and invites us to rethink how we conduct research on MNCs.

Methodological and epistemological advances

The gendered conceptualization of the MNC developed in this paper views the research process as a social and political enterprise (Piekkari & Tietze, 2016), in which our own gender identities and assumptions, and those of our research participants and other stakeholders, are inseparable from the process. Social and political aspects of doing fieldwork enter the research process when particular questions are posed, access is negotiated, and relationships with research participants and amongst

research collaborators are built. These gendered aspects also extend to data generation and analysis as well as reporting the research.

In fact, the work environment in which junior researchers are trained and socialized already impregnates assumptions of gender roles and a particular gender order in academia where men prevail and women are oftentimes marginalized (Lund, 2012; Van den Brink & Benschop, 2014). Gender relations are also part of how we represent the MNC in our published research accounts and how we seek to serve the interests of the various stakeholders such as sponsors, gatekeepers and academic peers in authoring, review, and publication processes (Jack & Westwood, 2006). In writing up and reporting our studies, we do not always show reflexivity in making our allegiances and ways of working explicit and transparent (Alvesson, Hardy & Harley, 2008). For example, the use of mixed gender-teams in collaborative research could be an effective means to encourage such reflexivity as a research tactic (Easterby-Smith & Malina, 1999). In this regard, research is not about neutral activities leading to the production of 'objective' knowledge.

Many scholars have attempted to draw our attention to methodological challenges in IB. Brannen and Doz (2010) contend that there is a wide gulf between the methodological toolkits employed by IB researchers and the phenomena they study. Frenkel (2008) maintains that studies drawing on surveys rarely produce the kind of multi-vocal data that is necessary for capturing contradictions, tensions, and paradoxes related to gender (and ethnic) relations in and around the MNC. More recently, Gligor et al. (2016) argued that IB requires new theories and methodological solutions for researchers to make sense of the actual 'lived experience' of people in international contexts. In this way, IB researchers would be able to shed light on the micro-foundations of the complex phenomena they study and to offer richer and contextually sensitive understandings of them (see also Michailova, 2011; Morris, Hammond & Snell, 2014).

We believe that to unravel the gendered nature of MNCs as social spaces IB scholars need to draw on a variety of qualitative methods of inquiry and to collaborate with researchers in other fields. Compared to organization and management studies or anthropology where ethnographies, videographies, action

research, discourse and narrative analysis as well as deconstruction and subtext analyses are common, qualitative IB research is still dominated by interview-based case studies (Piekkari et al., 2009). As such, the IB field not only needs to welcome various kinds of qualitative research, but it must also open up for different epistemological positions. This means going beyond the paradigmatic straightjacket of positivism (Jack et al., 2008) and, by extension, 'qualitative positivism' (Prasad, 2005: 4) to capture the complexities of MNCs as gendered social spaces. Qualitative research subscribing to non-positivist stances such as interpretivism or social constructionism allows the voices of various actors, whether strong or weak, to be more readily heard in research accounts (Moore, 2011; Yagi & Kleinberg, 2011) and draws our attention to the situated nature of knowledge production (Alvesson et al, 2008). Such a fundamental move towards accepting diverse epistemological positions, which tend to be persistent and deeply ingrained in disciplinary conventions and institutionalized practices (Piekkari et al., 2009), would free intellectual resources to explore gender relations, practices, and norms in and around MNCs in the ways envisioned above.

These concerns over epistemological orthodoxy echo Boyacigiller and Adler's (1991: 263) seminal work on organizational science as a parochial dinosaur. The authors suggested that US scholars have developed "theories without being sufficiently aware of non-U.S. contexts, models, research and values." They argued that "the current body of knowledge and processes for creating that knowledge are bounded and limited" (ibid.: 278). Jack et al. (2008) extended this notion to International Management by pointing out that most key authors in the field are based in the US and produce theories and models that reflect US cultural values. Hence, and contrary to what is claimed, their work is neither universal nor necessarily relevant to other contexts. Jack et al. (2008) maintain that such parochialism combined with the positivist paradigm is a major hindrance to a more pluralist future in IB. It restricts the range of topics, research problems, methods, and theorizing in the field (Welch et al., 2011; see also, Redding 1994). Our review of gender research in IB journals and the notion of MNCs as gendered social spaces suggests a way forward in dealing with these crucial questions.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have explored how researchers incorporate gender in their articles published in IB journals. Our review and critique of the extant research has shown that the current understanding of gender in the IB field downplays and oversimplifies gendered social interaction and dynamics in and around MNCs. Given the immense potential, we have reconceptualized the MNC as a gendered social space. We invite IB scholars to pay more attention to its role as the principal agent of gendered power and politics in globalization and as a central site for diffusing and (re)producing masculine values and ideals across the world (Berry & Bell, 2012; Connell & Wood, 2005; Elias, 2008).

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Varma, A., Stroh, L. K., & Schmitt, L. B. 2001. Women and international assignments: The impact of supervisor-subordinate relationships. *Journal of World Business*, 36(4): 380–388.

Varma, A., Toh, S. M., & Budhwar, P. 2006. A new perspective on the female expatriate experience: The role of host country national categorization. *Journal of World Business*, 41(2): 112-120.

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Wu, W., & Minor, M. S. 1997. Role perceptions, personal traits, lifestyles and leadership: An empirical study of American, Japanese, and Taiwanese female managers. *International Business Review*, 6(1): 19–34.

Wu, C., Lawler, J. J., & Yi, X. 2008. Overt employment discrimination in MNC affiliates: Home-country cultural and institutional effects. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(5): 772–794.

Yagi, N. & Kleinberg, J. 2011. Boundary work: An interpretive ethnographic perspective on negotiating and leveraging cross-cultural identity. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 42(5): 629–653.

Yan, J., & Hunt, J. G. J. 2005. A cross-cultural perspective on perceived leadership effectiveness. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 5(1): 49–66.

Yan, J., & Sorenson, R. L. 2004. The influence of Confucian ideology on conflict in Chinese family business. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 4(1): 5–17.

Zander, L., & Romani, L. 2004. When nationality matters: A study of departmental, hierarchical, professional, gender and age-based employee groupings' leadership preferences across 15 countries. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 4(3): 291–315.

Zander, U., Zander, L., Gaffney, S., & Olsson, J. 2010. Intersectionality as a new perspective in international business research. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 26(4): 457-466.
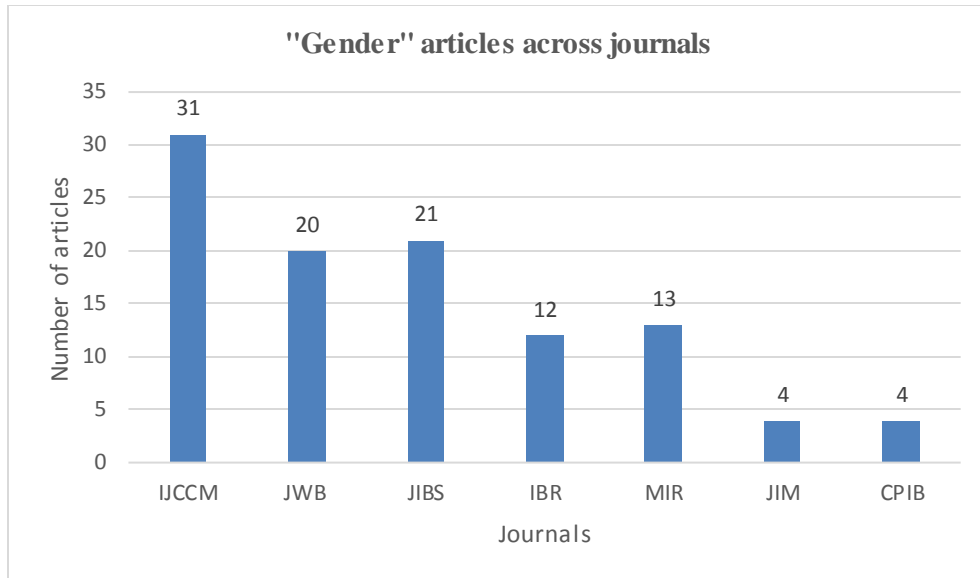
Figure 1: Distribution of the reviewed articles across academic journals
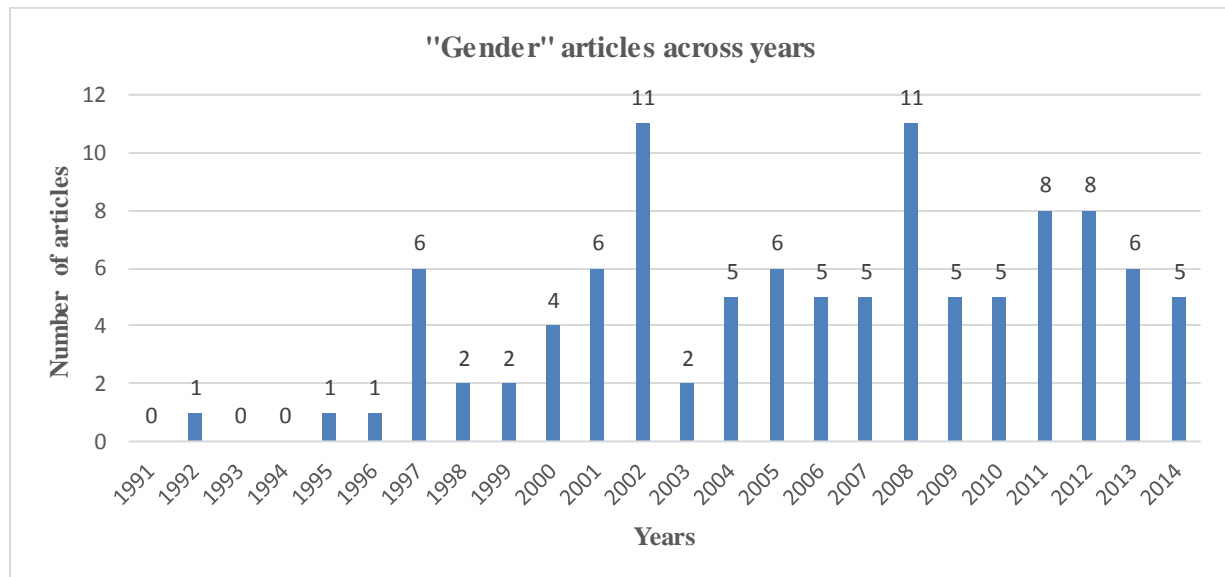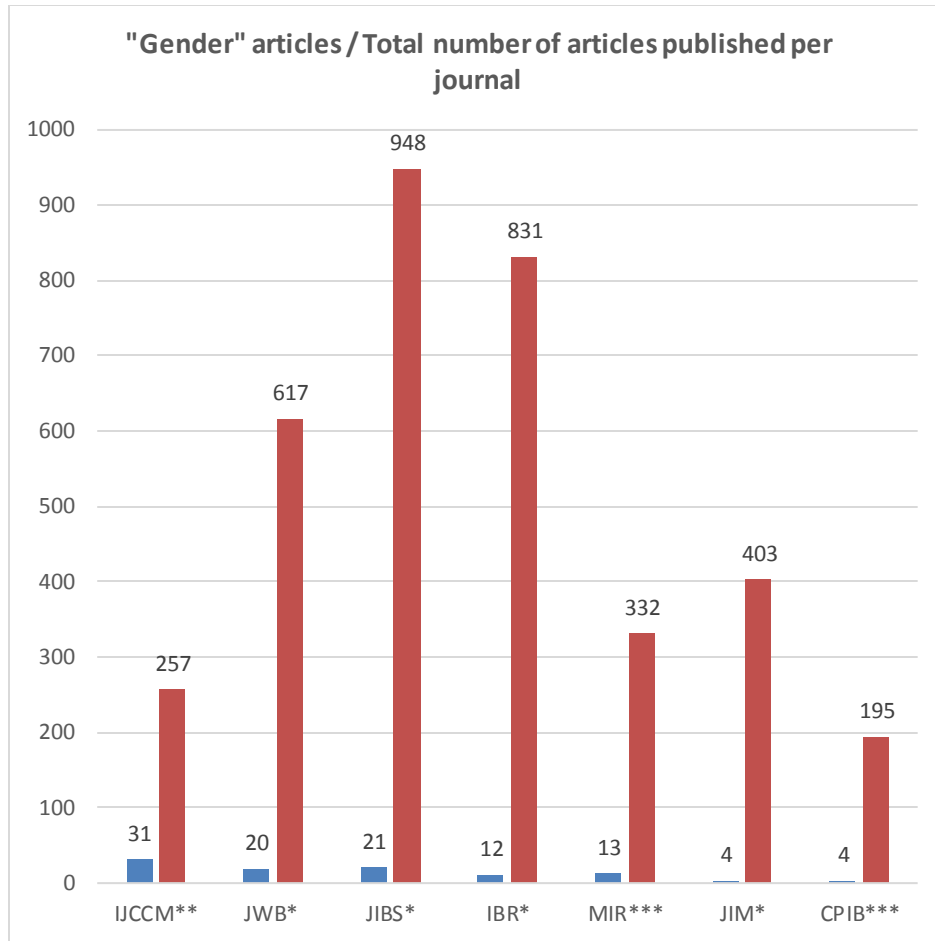

Figure 2: Annual distribution of the reviewed articles

"Gender" articles / Total number of articles published per journal

	IJCCM**	JWB*	JIBS*	IBR*	MIR***	JIM*	CPIB***
Gender	31	20	21	12	13	4	4
Total	257	617	948	831	332	403	195

Note: *the data is for 1997-2014; **the data is for 2000-2014; ***the data is for 2003-2014.

Figure 3: A juxtaposition of "gender" articles versus the total number of published articles per journal

Table 1: Four categorizations of gender, main characteristics and illustrative examples

Categorization of gender	Main characteristics	Typical examples
Contrasting and comparing women and men (N=38)	• Positivist epistemology • Gender is embedded in societal structures and norms and sustained through socialization into predetermined sex roles • Explicates factors and variables explaining the differences between men and women in relation to different organizational tasks and situations	"Do Chinese male and female workers differ in their work commitment? If so, what factors explain the gender differences?" (Peng et al., 2009: 324) "This study shows that women tend to be better adjusted than men overall. They are ahead especially in important areas such as the building and maintaining of relationships" (Haslberger, 2010: 163). "[D]ifferences in leadership behaviors of men and women originate in socialization processes, whereby individuals learn to conform to societal expectations about their gender role" (van Emmerik et al., 2008: 299).
Gender as a cultural macro variable (N = 32)	• Positivist epistemology • Gender is a macro variable that can potentially influence the behavior of individuals with a particular cultural backgrounds • Gender is included into analysis as one of the dimensions of the widely established cross-cultural frameworks, e.g. Hofstede, GLOBE	"The effect of gender on all four types of cultural values will be stronger in the societies characterized by high gender inequality and will be negligible in the societies characterized by high gender equality" (Steel & Taras, 2010: 218). "Specifically, we find that the masculine–feminine dimension of national culture, aggregate income, sociopolitical stability, and government regulation have statistically significant effects. The higher the degree of masculinity in a country's culture, the higher the degree of insurance pervasiveness in that country" (Park et al., 2002: 79). "The findings show that individualism indeed has a significant, positive effect on life insurance consumption, whereas power distance and masculinity/femininity have significant, negative effects" (Chui & Kwok, 2008: 88).
Gender as a control variable (N = 22)	• Positivist epistemology • Gender is one of demographic control variables used to characterize the sample under examination Gender is indirectly included into analysis as one of the variables that potentially can impact the results	"In addition, on the basis of literature linking personal characteristics to ethical decision-making..., gender and age of the respondent are used as control variables" (Karande et al., 2000: 38). "Four social–psychological antecedents of consumer ethnocentric tendencies were identified: 'openness to foreign cultures', 'patriotism', 'conservatism', and 'collectivism/individualism' together with four demographic factors: 'age', 'gender', 'education' and 'income'" (de Ruyter et al., 1998: 185). "Controlling for important variables such as age, gender, and education, results generally support the posited hypotheses, confirming that religion is positively related to work values" (Parboteeah et al., 2009: 51).
Doing gender in international organizations (N = 13)	• Interpretivist or social constructivist epistemology • Gender is socially constructed in international organizations through cultural and symbolic practices • Explicates the processes through which gender and gender relations are constructed in organizations often (re)producing the hegemony of maleness	"We present gender as a set of social practices which define the relations between men and women and which, in the organizations that we studied, are based on a dichotomous and hierarchical symbolic order" (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001: 245). "In contrast to previous literature on women in international management, this study proposed a new theoretical approach that considers female expatriates as agents rather than exclusively as victims of a penalising structural context" (Janssens et al., 2006: 143). "[A] sex is not simply something we have..., but... is something we assume in the process of reiterating cultural norms of masculinity and femininity" (Halsema & Halsema, 2006: 235).

APPENDIX: List of the reviewed articles (split between the four conceptualizations of gender and listed alphabetically)

Contrasting and comparing men and women

1. Adler, N. J. 1997. Global leadership: Women leaders. *Management International Review*, 171-196.

2. Al Kharouf, A., & Weir, D. 2008. Women and work in a Jordanian context: Beyond neo-patriarchy. *Critical Perspectives on International Business*, 4(2/3): 307–319.

3. Caligiuri, P. M., & Cascio, W. F. 1998. Can we send her there? Maximizing the success of Western women on global assignments. *Journal of World Business*, 33(4): 394–416.

4. Dolan, S. L., Diez-Pinol, M., Fernandez-Alles, M., Martin-Prius, A., & Martinez-Fierro, S. 2004. Exploratory study of within-country differences in work and life values: The case of Spanish business students. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 4(2): 157–180.

5. Domsch, M. E., & Macke, H. 1999. German reunification - Impacts on the situation of female employees. *Management International Review*, 39(1): 71–91.

6. Egri, C. P., Khilji, S. E., Ralston, D. A., Palmer, I., Girson, I., Milton, L., ... & Mockaitis, A. 2012. Do Anglo countries still form a values cluster? Evidence of the complexity of value change. *Journal of World Business*, 47(2): 267-276.

7. Fullagar, C. J., Sumer, H. C., Sverke, M., & Slick, R. 2003. Managerial sex-role stereotyping: A cross-cultural analysis. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 3(1): 93–107.

8. Gentry, W. A., Booysen, L., Hannum, K. M., & Weber, T. J. 2010. Leadership responses to a conflict of gender-based tension: A comparison of responses between men and women in the US and South Africa. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 10(3): 285-301.

9. Gibson, C. B. 1995. An investigation of gender differences in leadership across four countries. *Journal of International Business Studies,* 26(2): 255–279.

10. Harvey, M. 1997. Dual-career expatriates: Expectations, adjustment and satisfaction with international relocation. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 28(3): 627-658.

11. Ibeh, K., & Debrah, Y. A. 2011. Female talent development and African business schools. *Journal of World Business*, 46(1): 42-49.

12. Karataş-Özkan, M., Erdoğan, A., & Nicolopoulou, K. 2011. Women in Turkish family businesses: Drivers, contributions and challenges. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 11(2): 203-219.

13. Koveshnikov, A., Wechtler, H., & Dejoux, C. 2014. Cross-cultural adjustment of expatriates: The role of emotional intelligence and gender. *Journal of World Business*, 49(3): 362-371.

14. Lerner, M., & Malach-Pines, A. 2011. Gender and culture in family business: A ten-nation study. *International Journal of Cross-Cultural Management*, 11(2): 113-131.

15. Ling, Y., & Powell, G. N. 2001. Work-family conflict in contemporary China: Beyond an American-based model. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 1(3): 357–373.

16. Luthar, H. K., & Luthar, V. K. 2008. Likelihood to sexually harass: A comparison among American, Indian, and Chinese students. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 8(1): 59–77.

17. Manwa, H., & Black, N. 2002. Influence of organizational culture on female and male upward mobility into middle and senior managerial positions: Zimbabwean banks and hotels. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 2(3): 357–373.

18. Myers, B., & Pringle, J. K. 2005. Self-initiated foreign experience as accelerated development: Influences of gender. *Journal of World Business*, 40(4): 421–431.

19. Neal, M., Finlay, J. L., Catana, Gh. A., & Catana, D. 2007. Comparison of leadership prototypes of Arab and European females. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 7(3): 291–316.

20. Newburry, W., Belkin, L. Y., & Ansari, P. 2008. Perceived career opportunities from globalization: Globalization capabilities and attitudes towards women in Iran and the US. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(5): 814–832.

21. Newburry, W., Gardberg, N.A., & Sanchez, J.I. 2014. Employer attractiveness in Latin America: Association among foreignness, internationalization and talent recruitment. *Journal of International Management*, 20: 327-344.

22. Paris, L. D., Howell, J. H., Dorfman, P. W., & Hanges, P. J. 2009. Preferred leadership prototypes of male and female leaders in 27 countries. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 40(8): 1396–1405.

23. Peng, K. Z., Ngo, H. Y., Shi, J., & Wong, C. S. 2009. Gender differences in the work commitment of Chinese workers: An investigation of two alternative explanations. *Journal of World Business*, 44(3): 323–335.

24. Prime, J., Jonsen, K., Carter, N., & Maznevski, M. L. 2008. Managers' perceptions of women and men leaders: A cross cultural comparison. *International. Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 8(2): 171–210.

25. Punnett, B. J. 1997. Towards effective management of expatriate spouses. *Journal of World Business*, 32(3): 243–257.

26. Qi, H. 2005. Strategy implementation: The impact of demographic characteristics on the level of support received by middle managers. *Management International Review*, 45(1): 45–70.

27. Rahman, M. S. 2012. An exploratory study on female employees' perception toward work environment: Structural equation modelling approach. *International Journal of Business Studies*, 20(1): 69-90.

28. Selmer, J. 2001. Who wants an expatriate business career? In search of the cosmopolitan manager. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 1(2): 173–185.

29. Selmer, J., & Leung, A. S. M. Personal characteristics of female vs male business expatriates. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 3(2): 195–212.

30. Stroh, L. K., Varma, A., & Valy-Durbin, S. J. 2000. Why are women left at home: Are they unwilling to go on international assignments? *Journal of World Business*, 35(3): 241–255.

31. Tatli A., Vassilopoulou J., & Oezbilgin, M. 2013. An unrequited affinity between talent shortages and untapped female potential: The relevance of gender quotas for talent management in high growth potential economies of the Asia Pacific region. *International Business Review,* 22(3): 539–553.

32. Tlaiss, H. A. (2013). Job satisfaction of women managers in Lebanon: The effect of organizational factors in the services industry. International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 13(3): 279-298.

33. Toh, S. M., & Leonardelli, G. J. 2012. Cultural constraints on the emergence of women as leaders. *Journal of World Business,* 47(4): 604–611.

34. Van Emmerik, I. J. H., Euwema, H., & Wendt, M. C. 2008. Leadership behaviors around the world: The relative importance of gender versus cultural background. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 8(3): 297–315.

35. Varma, A., Stroh, L. K., & Schmitt, L. B. 2001. Women and international assignments: The impact of supervisor-subordinate relationships. *Journal of World Business*, 36(4): 380–388.

36. Varma, A., Toh, S. M., & Budhwar, P. 2006. A new perspective on the female expatriate experience: The role of host country national categorization. *Journal of World Business*, 41(2): 112-120.

37. Wan, W. W., Luk, C. L., & Chow, C. W. 2014. Consumer responses to sexual advertising: The intersection of modernization, evolution, and international marketing. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45(6): 751-782.

38. Zander, L., & Romani, L. 2004. When nationality matters: A study of departmental, hierarchical, professional, gender and age-based employee groupings' leadership preferences across 15 countries. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 4(3): 291–315.

Gender as a cultural macro variable

1. Akkermans, D., Harzing, A. W., & Van Witteloostuijn, A. 2010. Cultural accommodation and language priming. *Management International Review*, 50(5): 559-583.

2. Allred, B. B., & Swan, K. S. 2004. Global versus multidomestic: culture's consequences on innovation. *Management International Review*, 81-105.

3. Ashkanasy, N. M., Trevor-Roberts, E., & Earnshaw, L. 2002. The Anglo cluster: Legacy of the British Empire. *Journal of World Business*, 37(1): 28–39.

4. Carraher, S. M., Sullivan, S. E., & Crocitto, M. M. 2008. Mentoring across global boundaries: An empirical examination of home-and host-country mentors on expatriate career outcomes. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(8): 1310-1326.

5. Chui, A. C. W., & Kwok, C. C. Y. 2008. National culture and life insurance consumption. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(1): 88–101.

6. Claus, L., & Hand, M. L. 2009. Customization decisions regarding performance management systems of multinational companies: An empirical view of Eastern European firms. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9(2): 237–258.

7. Hofstede, G. 2006. What did GLOBE really measure? Researchers' minds versus respondents' minds. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37(6): 882–896.

8. House, R., Javidan, M., Hanges, P., & Dorfman, P. 2002. Understanding cultures and implicit leadership theories across the globe: An introduction to project GLOBE. *Journal of World Business*, 37(1): 3–10.

9. Husted, B. W. 1999. Wealth, culture, and corruption. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 30(2): 339–359.

10. Husted, B. W. 2005. Culture and ecology: A cross-national study of the determinants of environmental sustainability. *Management International Review*, 45(3): 349–371.

11. Kabasakal, H., & Bodur, M. 2002. Arabic cluster: a bridge between East and West. *Journal of World Business*, 37(1): 40-54.

12. Kanagaretnam, K., Lim, C. Y., & Lobo, G. J. 2011. Effects of national culture on earnings quality of banks. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 42(6): 853-874.

13. Kwon, J. W., & Shan, C. 2012. Climate and work values. *Management International Review*, 52(4): 541-564.

14. Lim, L. 2001. Work-related values of Malays and Chinese Malaysians. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 1(2): 209-226.

15. Malik, T. H., & Zhao, Y. 2013. Cultural distance and its implication for the duration of the international alliance in a high technology sector. *International Business Review*, 22(4): 699-712.

16. Newburry, W., Gardberg, N. A., & Belkin, L. Y. 2006. Organizational attractiveness is in the eye of the beholder: The interaction of demographic characteristics with foreignness. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37(5): 666-686.

17. Ollo-López, A., Bayo-Moriones, A., & Larraza-Kintana, M. 2011. The impact of country-level factors on the use of new work practices. *Journal of World Business*, 46(3): 394-403.

18. Parboteeah, K. P., Hoegl, M., & Cullen, J. B. 2008. Managers' gender role attitudes: A country institutional profile approach. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(5): 795–813.

19. Park, H. 2011. Man-made disasters: A cross-national analysis. *International Business Review*, 20(4): 466-476.

20. Park, H., Borde, S. F., & Choi Y. 2002. Determinants of insurance pervasiveness: A cross-national analysis. *International Business Review*, 11(1): 79–96.

21. Roy, A., & Goll, I. 2014. Predictors of various facets of sustainability of nations: The role of cultural and economic factors. *International Business Review*, 23(5): 849-861.

22. Salter, S. B., Kang, T., Gotti, G., & Doupnik, T. S. 2013. The role of social values, accounting values and institutions in determining accounting conservatism. *Management International Review*, 53(4): 607-632.

23. Santacreu-Vasut, E., Shenkar, O., & Shoham, A. 2014. Linguistic gender marking and its international business ramifications. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45(9): 1170-1178.

24. Shenkar, O., & Zeira, Y. 1992. Role conflict and role ambiguity of chief executive officers in international joint ventures. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 23(1): 55–75.

25. Steel, P., & Taras, V. 2010. Culture as a consequence: A multi-level multivariate meta-analysis of the effects of individual and country characteristics on work-related cultural values. *Journal of International Management*, 16(3): 211–233.

26. Steensma, H. K., Marino, L., & Weaver, K. M. 2000. Attitudes toward cooperative strategies: A cross-cultural analysis of entrepreneurs. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 31(4): 591-609.

27. Tang, L., & Koveos, P. E. 2008. A framework to update Hofstede's cultural value indices: Economic dynamics and institutional stability. *Journal of International Business Studies,* 39(6): 1045–1063.

28. Wu, C., Lawler, J. J., & Yi, X. 2008. Overt employment discrimination in MNC affiliates: Home-country cultural and institutional effects. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 39(5): 772–794.

29. Wu, W., & Minor, M. S. 1997. Role perceptions, personal traits, lifestyles and leadership: An empirical study of American, Japanese, and Taiwanese female managers. *International Business Review*, 6(1): 19–34.

30. Yan, J., & Hunt, J. G. J. 2005. A cross-cultural perspective on perceived leadership effectiveness. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 5(1): 49–66.

31. Zeira, Y., Newburry, W., & Yeheskel, O. 1997. Factors affecting the effectiveness of equity international joint ventures (EIJVs) in Hungary. *Management International Review*, 37(3): 259–279.

32. Zheng, X., El Ghoul, S., Guedhami, O., & Kwok, C. C. 2013. Collectivism and corruption in bank lending. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 44(4): 363-390.

Gender as a control variable

1. Bahaee, M., & Pisani, M. J. 2009. Iranian consumer animosity and U.S. products: A witch's brew or elixir? *International Business Review,* 18(2): 199–210.

2. Banai, M. 2002. A test of Etzioni's control-compliance model in Israeli kibbutzim. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 2(2): 155–169.

3. Branzei, O. 2002. Cultural explanations of individual preferences for influence tactics in cross cultural encounters. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 2(2): 203–218.

4. Budhwar, P. S., Woldu, H., & Ogbonna, E. 2008. A comparative analysis of cultural value orientations of Indians and migrant Indians in the USA. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 8(1): 79–105.

5. Chatterjee, S. R., & Pearson, C. A. L. 2002. Work goals of Asian managers: Field evidence from Singapore, Malaysia, India, Thailand, Brunei, and Mongolia. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 2(2): 251–268.

6. De Ruyter, K., van Birgelen, M., & Wetzels, M. 1998. Consumer ethnocentrism in international services marketing. *International Business Review* 7(2): 185–202.

7. Feldman, D. C., & Bolino, M. C. 2000. Skill utilization of overseas interns: Antecedents and consequences. *Journal of International Management*, 6(1): 29–47.

8. Glazer, S., & Beehr, T. A. 2002. Similarities and differences in human values between nurses in four countries. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 2(2): 185–202.

9. Harpaz, I., Honig, B., & Coetsier, P. 2002. A cross-cultural longitudinal analysis of the meaning of work and the socialization process of career starters. *Journal of World Business*, 37(4): 230–244.

10. Kalliny, M., Cruthirds, K. W., & Minor, M. S. 2006. Differences between American, Egyptian and Lebanese humor styles: Implications for international management. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 6(1): 121–134.

11. Karande, K., Shankarmahesh, M. N., Rao, C. P., & Rashid, Z. M. 2000. Perceived moral intensity, ethical perception, and ethical intention of American and Malaysian managers: A comparative study. *International Business Review*, 9(1): 37–59.

12. Mäkelä, K., Andersson, U., & Seppälä, T. 2012. Interpersonal similarity and knowledge sharing within multinational organizations. *International Business Review*, 21(3): 439-451.

13. Parboteeah, K. P., Paik, Y., & Cullen, J. B. 2009. Religious groups and work values: A focus on Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9(1): 51–67.

14. Puffer, S. M., McCarthy, D. J., & Naumov, A. I. 1997. Russian managers' beliefs about work: Beyond the stereotypes. *Journal of World Business*, 32(3): 258–276.

15. Reithel, S. M., Baltes, B. B., & Buddhavarapu, S. 2007. Cultural differences in distributive and procedural justice: Does a two-factor model fit for Hong Kong employees? *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 7(1): 61–76.

16. Samiee S., Shimp, T. A., & Sharma, S. 2005. Brand origin recognition accuracy: Its antecedents and consumers' cognitive limitations. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 36(4): 379–397.

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