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NEW RESEARCH DIRECTIONS IN  
THE INSTITUTION-BASED VIEW

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**ABSTRACT**

*This paper points out new directions for the deepening and broadening of the institution-based view, by drawing on three streams of research with which I have been involved recently: (1) outward foreign direct investment from emerging economies, (2) bankruptcy laws and entrepreneurship development, and (3) institution-based research focusing on Africa. Such deepening has been accomplished by enhancing our institution-based understanding of foreign direct investment with a focus on emerging multinationals, while broadening has been done both substantively by probing into the impact of bankruptcy laws on entrepreneurship development around the world and geographically by calling for enhanced research attention on Africa via an institution-based lens.*

**Keywords:** Institution-based view; outward foreign direct investment; emerging economies; emerging multinationals; bankruptcy laws; Africa

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1 *There can be little doubt that institution-related issues have become more important*  
 3 *(p. 19) ... I would hope that the fraternity of IB scholars will place these issues at the*  
 5 *top of their research agenda over the next decade or so. If we do not do so, I believe*  
 7 *that we will be failing both our students and the international community that we seek to*  
 9 *serve (p. 24).*

*John Dunning (2004)*

9 The institution-based view is a theoretical perspective in international busi-  
 11 ness (IB) that suggests that the success and failure of firms around the  
 13 world are enabled and constrained – at least in part – by institutions  
 15 (Peng, 2014, p. 35). The “institution-based view of strategy” label was first  
 17 advocated by me in the *Asia Pacific Journal of Management* in 2002. While  
 19 I can claim credit for coining this expression, institution-based research in  
 21 strategy, organization and IB is a broad scholarly movement with numer-  
 23 ous participants (Ahn & York, 2011; Ahuja & Yayavaram, 2011; Carney,  
 25 Gedajlovic, & Yang, 2009; Chari & David, 2012; Dau, 2012; Hoskisson,  
 27 Wright, Filatotchev, & Peng, 2013; Khoury & Peng, 2011; Kim, Kim, &  
 29 Hoskisson, 2010; Liu, Yang, & Zhang, 2012; Lu, Tsang, & Peng, 2008;  
 31 Mahlich, 2010; Meyer, Estrin, Bhaumik, & Peng, 2009; Meyer & Peng,  
 2005; Peng, 2003, 2012, 2013; Pinkse & Kolk, 2012; Ritchie & Melnyk,  
 2011; Shinkle & Kriauciunas, 2012).

23 While institutionally oriented scholars are naturally interested in advan-  
 25 cing this view, it is interesting to note that a leading IB scholar John  
 27 Dunning, who was *not* known to be an “institutionalist” and whose career  
 29 spanned five decades, strongly promoted the institution-based view toward  
 31 the end of his career (Dunning, 2004; Dunning & Lundan, 2008). If the  
 institution-based research was a relatively peripheral research stream two  
 decades ago, it has gained tremendous legitimacy and experienced enor-  
 mous growth lately as a result of collective efforts undertaken by like-  
 minded scholars.<sup>1</sup>

33 The origins and emergence of the institution-based view have been dis-  
 35 cussed in a series of earlier review papers by Peng (2005), Peng, Wang, and  
 37 Jiang (2008), Peng and Khoury (2009), and Peng, Sun, Pinkham, and Chen  
 39 (2009). Peng (2005) was more personal, outlining my own journey as an  
 emerging scholar whose research interest grew from an initial focus on  
 China strategy to a more global strategy. Peng et al. (2008) dealt with an  
 institution-based view of IB strategy, with a particular emphasis on emer-  
 ging economies. Peng and Khoury (2009) articulated the two propositions  
 underpinning the institution-based view. Finally, Peng et al. (2009)

1 proposed that the institution-based view had emerged as a third leg for a  
2 strategy tripod – the other two legs being the industry-based and resource-  
3 based views.<sup>2</sup>

4 While these earlier review papers described the origins and emergence of  
5 the institution-based view up to the mid-2000s, what are the *new* develop-  
6 ments of this view in the last decade – especially since these review papers  
7 were written? This paper highlights new directions in the deepening and  
8 broadening of the institution-based view, drawing on three streams of  
9 research with which I have been *personally* involved in the last 10 years or  
10 so. They are: (1) outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) from emerging  
11 economies, (2) bankruptcy laws and entrepreneurship development,  
12 and (3) institution-based research focusing on Africa. Deepening has been  
13 accomplished by enhancing our institution-based understanding of OFDI  
14 with a focus on emerging multinationals while broadening has been done  
15 both substantively by probing into the impact of bankruptcy laws on entre-  
16 preneurship development around the world and geographically by calling  
17 for enhanced research attention on Africa via an institution-based lens.

18 Why are these topics important to IB researchers? In short, they help  
19 advanced the institution-based view beyond the widely accepted claim that  
20 “institutions matter,” by demonstrating *how* institutions matter in a variety  
21 of contexts. Specifically, research on OFDI from emerging economies has  
22 become one of the leading topics in IB research. Until recently, existing  
23 research on OFDI had focused on established multinationals and not on  
24 emerging multinationals so that the new thrust on emerging multinationals  
25 thus deepens our knowledge of FDI. Research on Africa is gaining impor-  
26 tance because of the dearth of such research and the inclusion of South  
27 Africa as one of the BRICS countries. Research on bankruptcy laws and  
28 entrepreneurship development is not as popular as the other two streams,  
29 but it presents a great opportunity to broaden institution-based research.

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33

## OFDI FROM EMERGING ECONOMIES

**AU:1**

35 A casual scan of the recent tables of contents in IB journals leads to the  
36 observation that OFDI from emerging economies has become a major  
37 research topic because of its novelty in the global economy since the last  
38 decade (Hoskisson et al., 2013). However, *none* of the papers in the two  
39 influential special issues on strategy in emerging economies in the *Academy  
of Management Journal* (edited by Hoskisson, Eden, Lau, & Wright, 2000)

1 and in the *Journal of Management Studies* (edited by Wright, Filatotchev,  
2 Hoskisson, & Peng, 2005) dealt with this topic. Yet, as multinational enter-  
3 prises (MNEs) from emerging economies now generate approximately 20  
4 percent of OFDI globally (Peng, 2014, p. 6), IB scholars have naturally  
5 endeavored to shed light on this new phenomenon.

6 Two fundamental research questions have emerged: (1) can existing theo-  
7 ries on MNEs and FDI account for this new breed of multinationals and  
8 (2) do we need to develop new theories to better capture this new phenom-  
9 enon (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2012; Dunning, 2006; Hoskisson et al., 2013;  
10 Luo & Tung, 2007; Mathews, 2006; Peng, 2012; Ramamurti, 2012)? While  
11 sizable components of the strategy and behavior of multinationals from  
12 emerging economies are consistent with what we observe of MNEs from  
13 developed economies, the arrival of emerging multinationals on the global  
14 scene has revealed a series of relatively unique aspects (Peng, 2012). Chief  
15 among these relatively unique aspects are institution-based differences in  
16 OFDI motivation and behavior.

17 Given the liability of foreignness,<sup>3</sup> why do firms go through the trouble  
18 of undertaking FDI and then become MNEs? Guided by Dunning's  
19 ownership–location–internalization (OLI) paradigm, existing IB text-  
20 books typically categorize firms' motivations as: (1) natural resource seek-  
21 ing, (2) market seeking, (3) efficiency seeking, and/or (4) innovation seeking  
22 (Peng, 2014, p. 315). Can these categories help us make sense of the follow-  
23 ing empirical anomalies? The number one destination countries of OFDI  
24 from Brazil, Russia, and India (the BRI from BRIC) are neither the  
25 United States nor the leading countries in Western Europe. Yet, these  
26 countries are typically nominated by my own students in different IB  
27 classes ranging from undergraduate to EMBA levels when I asked them in  
28 class. These students have evidently been strongly influenced by traditional  
29 theories such as OLI, thinking that emerging multinationals must be  
30 seeking natural resources, markets, efficiency, and/or innovation in their  
31 OFDI destination countries. Of course, to some extent such motivations  
32 do exist among some emerging MNEs (Yamakawa, Khavul, Peng, &  
33 Deeds, 2013).

34 However, the *largest* recipient countries of OFDI from emerging econo-  
35 mies are not my students' "usual suspects." Instead, the number one recipi-  
36 ent countries of OFDI from Brazil, Russia, and India are the British Virgin  
37 Islands (BVI), Cyprus, and Mauritius, respectively. The number one and  
38 two recipient economies of OFDI from China are Hong Kong and the  
39 BVI. If we consider Hong Kong to be "Chinese," then the number one real  
40 foreign country receiving China's OFDI is the BVI (Peng, Sun, & Blevins,

1 2011). Likewise, for inward FDI (IFDI) into BRI, the number one originat-  
2 ing countries are the BVI, Cyprus, and Mauritius, respectively. For IFDI  
3 into China, the top two sources are Hong Kong and the BVI – the number  
4 one real foreign source being the BVI (Peng et al., 2011).

5 Is such OFDI natural resource seeking, market seeking, efficiency seek-  
6 ing, or innovation seeking? The answer is most likely *no*. Since these OFDI  
7 recipient countries and IFDI originating countries are widely known as tax  
8 havens, a plausible hypothesis is that a significant amount of *capital round-*  
9 *tripping* comes out of – and then goes back into – emerging economies  
10 (Peng, 2012, p. 98).<sup>4</sup> Why do firms from emerging economies engage in  
11 such arduous capital round-tripping? In my view, this must be due to the  
12 institution-based *weaknesses* of their domestic economies that do not offer  
13 sufficient protection and incentive for indigenous firms (Peng & Parente,  
14 2012).

15 Interestingly (or oddly), the home country governments of emerging mul-  
16 tinationals often offer strong protection and more preferential treatments  
17 for foreign firms (Huang, 2003).<sup>5</sup> Given such somewhat distorted or “weird”  
18 rules of the game, numerous domestic firms in emerging economies have  
19 converted themselves to “foreign-owned MNEs” (often registered in the  
20 BVI, Cyprus, Hong Kong, and Mauritius) and then managed to come  
21 back via capital round-tripping (Fung, Yau, & Zhang, 2011). In other  
22 words, after investing and registering in places such as the BVI, Cyprus,  
23 Hong Kong, and Mauritius, a lot of firms that have originated from BRIC  
24 now transform their operations in BRIC (their original home countries) as  
25 subsidiaries of foreign-owned firms that are registered and headquartered  
26 elsewhere.

27 By definition, tax havens help reduce taxes. Of course, the label “tax  
28 havens” had been coined a long time ago before emerging multinationals  
29 became a force to be reckoned with globally. Since numerous multina-  
30 tionals from *developed* economies have used tax havens, a fair question is:  
31 If governments in emerging economies are creating distortion that leads to  
32 capital flight to tax havens such as the BVI, how different is it from the  
33 loopholes in the U.S. tax laws that lead to so many special-purpose entities  
34 created by U.S. multinationals?<sup>6</sup> The answer “boils down to the magnitude  
35 of degree” (Peng, 2012, p. 103). Despite the numerous U.S. special-purpose  
36 entities in the BVI (presumably for tax purposes), the BVI appears neither  
37 among the top five recipient countries of OFDI from the United States nor  
38 among the top five countries making IFDI in the United States.<sup>7</sup> In con-  
39 trast, the BVI is routinely among the top three for both OFDI from China  
40 and IFDI into China (Peng, 2012, p. 103). Likewise, the BVI is routinely

1 the number one country for both OFDI from Brazil and IFDI into Brazil  
2 (Peng & Parente, 2012, p. 362). Clearly, something not captured by tradi-  
3 tional FDI theories is going on.

4 Despite the differences in the use of tax havens between developed-  
5 economy and emerging-economy multinationals, I argue that, beyond sim-  
6 ple tax administration, emerging multinationals also engage in *institutional*  
7 *arbitrage* when undertaking OFDI in tax havens (Hoskisson et al., 2013;  
8 Peng & Su, 2014). These firms may use these offshore locations' corporate  
9 laws, which are generally influenced by higher quality English common  
10 law, to improve their own corporate governance and initiate restructuring  
11 at home (Vlcek, 2013, p. 13). Specifically, such BRIC-originated firms may  
12 introduce Western corporate governance mechanisms, appoint Western  
13 talent to the board and top management team, and initiate sometimes  
14 tough restructuring at home, citing the necessity to follow "international"  
15 norms. Their room for such maneuvers would probably have been limited  
16 had they stayed purely domestic within the BRIC group and other emerg-  
17 ing economies.

18 Commenting on how to make theoretical progress dealing with OFDI  
19 from emerging economies, I have suggested that "at this point, it is neither  
20 clear whether existing theories can adequately account for this new phe-  
21 nomenon, nor evident that we need entirely new theories" (Peng, 2012,  
22 p. 105). However, to supplement OLI-based existing FDI theories, I do  
23 believe that, in the future, there is scope to develop an *institution-based*  
24 theory of FDI that can go above and beyond the insights provided by tra-  
25 ditional theories. Since FDI is one of the most enduring topics in IB, the  
26 new research on OFDI from emerging economies serves to *deepen* the long-  
27 established stream in IB research. Now that we have shown how the  
28 institution-based view can deepen IB research, we turn to the separate  
29 issues of how this view can *broaden* IB research by venturing to previously  
30 underexplored areas.

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## 33 **BANKRUPTCY LAWS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP** 34 **DEVELOPMENT**

35

36 Tracing its roots to Schumpeter (1942), an institution-based view of entre-  
37 preneurship seeks to understand how institutions matter for it (Bruton,  
38 Ahlstrom, & Li, 2010; Zhu, Wittmann, & Peng, 2012). My recent research  
39 has focused on three cumulative articles progressing from theory building

1 (Lee, Peng, & Barney, 2007) to qualitative investigation (Peng, Yamakawa, &  
2 Lee, 2010), and finally to quantitative hypothesis testing (Lee, Yamakawa,  
3 Peng, & Barney, 2011). Inspired by the challenge to demonstrate *how* institu-  
4 tions matter, these efforts have been dedicated to answering a  
5 specific question: if bankruptcy laws can be viewed as a case of formal institu-  
6 tions governing entrepreneurship, how do bankruptcy laws affect entrepre-  
7 neurship development around the world?

8 My motivation stemmed from my dissatisfaction with the “anti-failure”  
9 bias in much of the scholarly literature and popular press about entrepre-  
10 neurship (Lee et al., 2007). This bias can be found by the overwhelming  
11 interest in entrepreneurial success and the very limited interest in entrepre-  
12 neurial failure (Yamakawa, Peng, & Deeds, 2014). Although a majority of  
13 entrepreneurs fail, the scholarly and popular literature tends to lionize the  
14 few shining examples of success and essentially urge a new generation to  
15 learn from the successful entrepreneurs’ highly idiosyncratic and lucky!  
16 experiences. Given that most self-respecting governments encourage more  
17 individuals to launch entrepreneurial start-ups and that most such start-ups  
18 fail, how can government policies as “rules of the game” facilitate more  
19 entrepreneurship development?

20 From an institution-based view, we argue that societies that are friend-  
21 lier and more forgiving to failed entrepreneurs are likely to attract more  
22 individuals to start up new ventures and to benefit from the strong eco-  
23 nomic development that comes with vibrant entrepreneurial activities (Lee  
24 et al., 2007, 2011). Conversely, “societies that are harsher to failed entrepre-  
25 neurs whose start-ups end up in bankruptcy will discourage entrepreneur-  
26 ship development” (Peng et al., 2010, p. 518). For example, in Germany,  
27 until the recent bankruptcy law reforms, the debtor would remain liable for  
28 unpaid debt for up to *30 years* (Peng et al., 2010, p. 523). In South Korea,  
29 bankrupt entrepreneurs and managers are almost always fired and replaced  
30 (Peng et al., 2010, pp. 524–525). In part, due to such harsh treatment  
31 of bankrupt individuals, entrepreneurship development in Germany and  
32 South Korea (as measured by new firm entries) is often less than ideal.

33 Historically, entrepreneur friendliness and bankruptcy laws seem to be  
34 an “oxymoron” because bankruptcy laws are usually harsh and even cruel.  
35 The very term “bankruptcy” is derived from a harsh practice in medieval  
36 Italy where, if bankrupt entrepreneurs did not pay their debt, debtors  
37 would destroy the trading booth of the bankrupt person. The Italian word  
38 for broken booth, “banca rotta,” did evolve to become the English  
39 word “bankruptcy.” The pound of flesh demanded by the creditor in  
Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* is only a slight exaggeration. The

1 world's first bankruptcy law, passed in England in 1542, considered a bank-  
rupt individual a criminal, and punishments ranged from incarceration in  
3 prison to the death sentence (Peng et al., 2010, p. 518).

4 Around the world, being entrepreneur friendly is a relatively new con-  
5 cept in radical contrast with traditional bankruptcy laws that generally  
6 favored the creditor and were harsh toward the bankrupt debtor (Halliday  
7 & Carruthers, 2007). Recently, many governments around the world have  
8 increasingly realized that entrepreneur-friendly bankruptcy laws can not  
9 only lower exit barriers but also lower entry barriers for entrepreneurs  
(Peng et al., 2010, p. 522).

11 Bankruptcy laws traditionally focus on liquidation by dismembering the  
12 firm and selling its assets to repay creditors—in the same spirit of breaking  
13 bankrupt merchants' trading booth in medieval Italy. More entrepreneur-  
14 friendly bankruptcy laws in some countries allow for a second option:  
15 namely, reorganization that gives a firm certain legal protection while it  
16 sheds some debt and reorganizes in order to compete more effectively.  
17 Known as Chapter 11 in the United States, such reorganization enables  
18 some firms, which are in temporary financial distress, to eventually become  
19 successful. However, not all countries have reorganization as a bankruptcy  
20 option. For instance, bankruptcy laws in Finland do not include this  
21 option, and bankrupt Finnish entrepreneurial firms are thus forced to liqui-  
22 date immediately. Clearly, providing an opportunity for bankrupt firms to  
23 reorganize is more entrepreneur friendly than forcing them to liquidate.

24 In the United States, the Bankruptcy Act of 1898 was the first to give  
25 firms in distress some protection from creditors. The widely used  
26 Chapter 11 reorganization was enacted by the Bankruptcy Reform Act of  
27 1978 that took effect in 1979. The post-1979 entrepreneurship development  
28 in the United States has been enviable. That is why there is a recent global  
29 trend to add the U.S. Chapter 11-type reorganization bankruptcy as one  
30 of the choices for bankrupt firms in countries such as Argentina, Australia,  
31 Britain, China, Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand (Halliday &  
32 Carruthers, 2007).

33 Beyond such qualitative evidence, our detailed quantitative work with a  
34 cross-country database from 29 countries spanning 19 years (1990–2008)  
35 endeavored to link the specific provisions of bankruptcy laws with the rates  
36 of new firm formation – the ratio of the number of new firms to the total  
37 number of firms in a country (Lee et al., 2011, p. 511). For example, the  
38 time spent on bankruptcy procedures can make a difference because, in a  
39 liquidation bankruptcy, a fast procedure allows the quick reallocation of  
assets of failed firms to better uses. At the same time, a fast procedure can



1 provide entrepreneurs some opportunities to start up new businesses. Lee  
2 et al. (2011, p. 515) showed that 0.03 years (approximately 10 days)  
3 spent on bankruptcy procedures compared to 2.36 years is associated with  
4 a 10 percent increase in the likelihood of a new firm entry. The difference  
5 between 1.04 and 12.93 percent of an estate spent on closing costs trans-  
6 lates into more than an 11 percent higher likelihood of new firm entry.

7 Overall, making bankruptcy laws more friendly, helpful, and forgiving  
8 to entrepreneurs whose firms are bankrupt will positively affect entrepre-  
9 neurship development by lowering both exit barriers and entry barriers.<sup>8</sup>  
10 Similar to the saying “No pain, no gain,” an economy unwilling to  
11 shoulder the costs of certain entrepreneurial failures is not likely to reap  
12 the benefits of a strong entrepreneurial sector and the economic growth it  
13 may bring (Yamakawa et al., 2013). From an institution-based view, we  
14 advocate more entrepreneur-friendly bankruptcy laws designed to make the  
15 “pain” less painful for failed entrepreneurs and their firms, and to “gain”  
16 from more vibrant entrepreneurship development.

## 19 **INSTITUTION-BASED RESEARCH** 20 **FOCUSING ON AFRICA**

23 Given the paucity of research interest and output, Africa remains the “final  
24 frontier” in our research (Zoogah, Peng, & Woldu, 2013).<sup>9</sup> One of the core  
25 propositions of the institution-based view is that managers and firms  
26 rationally pursue their interests and make choices within a given institu-  
27 tional framework (Peng & Houry, 2009, p. 260; Peng et al., 2009, p. 67).<sup>10</sup>  
28 Developed primarily in Western economies, most theories model firms and  
29 markets independently of institutional contexts. Such theories typically  
30 assume the existence of a market-based framework while such important  
31 institutional factors as the existence of formal legal and regulatory frame-  
32 works have often been taken for granted and assumed away as “back-  
33 ground.” In contrast, researchers working on emerging economies in Asia  
34 and Central and Eastern Europe have noted the importance of institutions  
35 in shaping management behavior and the hazard of failing to appreciate  
36 institutional forces (Boddewyn & Doh, 2011; Khanna & Yafeh, 2007;  
37 Meyer & Peng, 2005; Peng et al., 2008). Given the more radical contrast  
38 between the institutional frameworks in Africa and those in developed  
39 economies (Fafchamps, 2004; Kamoche & Harvey, 2006), I believe that the  
institution-based view will be especially insightful for Africa research and

1 will also gain significant new theoretical mileage there. Chief among  
the institution-based differences between African and the rest of the world  
3 are: (1) manufacturing versus agricultural rules of the game, (2) formal  
versus informal land rights, and (3) formal versus informal contract  
5 enforcement.

Most modern (Western) theories of management and organization  
7 emerged out of a manufacturing setting with its own “rules of the game.”  
These “taken-for-granted” rules include individuals’ interest in wage work,  
9 familiarity with formal organizational rules, and propensity to use formal  
contracts. However, manufacturing is a relatively young sector in Africa  
11 where it is “largely a creation of the past 50 years” (Collier & Gunning,  
1999, p. 76). Much of the African workforce (approximately 80 percent) is  
13 in agriculture (World Bank, 2007). How formal institutions and informal  
norms govern agriculture has significant ramifications not only for agricul-  
15 ture but also for the manufacturing and service industries that typically  
absorb labor forces which have had experience in agriculture.

17 In many African countries, a traditional system of land rights (which  
emphasizes informal, customary, and communal ownership rights that do  
19 not grant exclusive use) is being transformed into a more modern system  
that focuses on formal and individual rights (which often grant exclusive  
21 use). Only approximately one percent of land in Africa is formally regis-  
tered with governments (Easterly, 2008, p. 97). Thus, the institutional tran-  
23 sitions are essentially a movement from informal property rights to formal  
property rights that are supported by government authorities with third-  
25 party enforcement powers (Decker, 2010; Peng, 2003). While research on  
Asia has often noted that the Asian propensity to use informal interperso-  
27 nal relationships to get things done is largely due to a lack of an effective  
formal property rights system (Peng & Luo, 2000; Puffer, McCarthy, &  
29 Peng, 2013), it is plausible to suggest that, relative to Asians, Africans may  
have a *higher* propensity to rely on informal interpersonal relationships  
31 because of their agricultural environment featuring informal land titles and  
property rights, in which most of them have some experience (Acquaah,  
33 2007).

What types of informal interpersonal relationships are more helpful  
35 to managers? Acquaah (2007) found that social capital possessed and  
nurtured by managers in their dealings with (1) managers in other firms,  
37 (2) government officials, and (3) community leaders (such as chiefs and  
elders) directly contribute to firm performance. Conducted in Ghana,  
39 Acquaah’s (2007) study replicated and extended Peng and Luo’s (2000)  
research in China – the first study in an emerging economy replicating an

1 earlier work in another emerging economy whereas most replications in  
2 Africa and other emerging economies have benchmarked themselves  
3 against the West. While Acquaah (2007) largely supported the Chinese  
4 findings, he reported an important finding different from that of Peng and  
5 Luo (2000) – namely, that ties with government officials in Ghana  
6 (although statistically significant) were *not* as important as those ties in  
7 China. In an interesting extension, Acquaah (2007) reported that ties  
8 with community leaders such as chiefs and elders – a unique African insti-  
9 tution – have a more significant impact on firm performance.<sup>11</sup> Overall,  
10 Acquaah’s (2007) findings represent a major contribution to the institution-  
11 based view by leveraging the African context.

12 Institution-based research on institutional transitions in Asia and  
13 Central and Eastern Europe has largely focused on the transitions toward  
14 more formal institutions in governing market exchange and in facilitating  
15 economic growth (Ismail, Ford, Wu, & Peng, 2013; Meyer & Peng, 2005;  
16 Peng, 2003; Zhou & Peng, 2010). However, theoretically, formal institu-  
17 tions are not necessarily better or more efficient in governing market  
18 exchange because, in many situations, the demand for formal institutions  
19 may not be evident (Ostrom, 1990, p. 216). In other words, formal institu-  
20 tions may not necessarily be better or more efficient in governing market  
21 exchange in some cases, due to their inconsistency with ingrained informal  
22 institutions and to the inability of governments to make credible commit-  
23 ments (Ostrom, 1990).

24 The struggles associated with formal property rights in Africa represent  
25 an ideal context in which to test this institution-based claim. Although  
26 there is some evidence that formal land titles promote more investment by  
27 farmers, other evidence indicates that formal land titling, which often  
28 overrides traditional rights, is *ineffective* in facilitating more investment  
29 and growth in agriculture (Collier & Gunning, 1999, p. 79). This is  
30 because formal land titling “can increase, rather than decrease, uncer-  
31 tainty about who has what rights to the land” (Easterly, 2008, p. 97). For  
32 example, communal land ownership often results in “swapping plots  
33 between kin and seasonal exchanges of land for labor and livestock”  
34 (Easterly, 2008, p. 97). Each household often has “use rights” but not  
35 necessarily “ownership rights” to many plots, and disputes are often  
36 resolved informally – for example, through community leaders such as  
37 chiefs and elders (Acquaah, 2007; Khavul, Bruton, & Wood, 2009).<sup>12</sup> Not  
38 surprisingly, formally assigning one plot to a single household, thereby  
39 excluding the “use rights” of other households, creates uncertainty, ten-  
sion, and conflicts.

1 A primary role of institutions – both formal and informal, modern and  
2 traditional – is to reduce uncertainty (North, 1990; Peng et al., 2009). In  
3 the absence of formal institutions such as effective legal frameworks  
4 for land titles, the enforcement of commercial contracts becomes very  
5 informal – a tendency that applies to both rural and urban settings in  
6 Africa (Fafchamps, 1996). Hence, cultivating good interpersonal relation-  
7 ships with those representing authorities (such as chiefs and elders in rural  
8 settings and government officials in urban settings) becomes a coping strat-  
9 egy to combat uncertainty. For creditors without such informal but highly  
10 useful connections, “harassment is the main form of debt collection”  
11 (Fafchamps, 1996, p. 427). My point is not that African countries do not  
12 have formal courts and other legal mechanisms because, in fact, they have  
13 such formal institutions. However, these formal institutions are seldom  
14 used because the cost involved often outweigh the value of using them  
15 (Peng, 2003). Hence, informal arbitration often becomes a default option in  
16 alleviating uncertainty and resolving disputes.<sup>13</sup>

17 The strategic implications of such an institutional framework for  
18 African firms are twofold. First, managers and firms need to invest time  
19 and money to cultivate important relationships (Khavul et al., 2009).  
20 Second, firms are forced to informally do business with a small number of  
21 known entities, with whom some level of trust can be built. Given the insti-  
22 tutional conditions, this is a perfectly rational strategy (Peng et al., 2009)  
23 and return on capital in the informal sector can be “quite high” (Udry &  
24 Anagol, 2006, p. 392).<sup>14</sup> The upshot is that most transactions in Africa are  
25 informal and local in nature, and they follow a “flea market” mode of  
26 “cash and carry.” Approximately 72 percent of Africa’s workforce  
27 (Godfrey, 2011, p. 234) and more than 40 percent of Africa’s economy  
28 (*The Economist*, 2005, p. 61) are reportedly “informal,” with the highest  
29 proportions in the world.

30 Finally, the implications for multinationals interested in doing business  
31 in Africa are also clear. Integrating the institution-based and resource-  
32 based views (Ahn & York, 2011; Meyer et al., 2009), I would argue that  
33 foreign firms with the best capabilities to navigate the institutional condi-  
34 tions in Africa will end up being the best-performing ones in such an envi-  
35 ronment. Consistent with this argument, Cuervo-Cazurra and Genc (2008),  
36 using data from 36 least-developed countries (LLDCs) in Africa, reported  
37 that the worse the institutions of a particular LLDC host country, the  
38 greater the prevalence of MNEs from emerging economies. While MNEs  
39 from these economies rarely appear among the largest ones in the world,  
they are more likely to be among the largest foreign firms active in African  
less-developed countries.

1 These African LLDCs represent a very challenging environment with  
2 low gross domestic product and high corruption. Yet, some MNEs  
3 from emerging economies are more familiar with such more challenging  
4 institutional conditions and have more appropriate and thus more formid-  
5 able organizational capabilities for succeeding in such environments  
6 (Cuervo-Cazurra & Genc, 2008). In other words, the firm-specific advan-  
7 tages of certain MNEs from emerging economies may enable them to better  
8 leverage their home country-specific advantages in the new institutional  
9 environment of African LLDCs (Rugman, 2005).

10 In summary, while institution-based research with a focus on Africa is  
11 still in its infancy, it has already made important contributions and holds  
12 great promise to further deepening our understanding of the drivers of firm  
13 performance in various challenging institutional environments. Instead of  
14 being deterred by the more radical contrast between the institutional environ-  
15 ment in Africa and that in other parts of the world, I argue that such  
16 contrast represents a golden opportunity to broaden the institution-based  
17 view (Zoogah et al., 2013).

18

19

## 20 CONCLUSION

21 There is hardly any controversy on the claim that “institutions matter.”  
22 A new generation of institution-based research needs to uncover *how* insti-  
23 tutions matter. This paper contributes to the literature by using three  
24 research streams with which I have been personally involved recently to  
25 demonstrate how institutions matter in a variety of contexts. Looking for-  
26 ward, I believe that further research on OFDI from emerging economies  
27 has potential to develop a theory of institution-based *weaknesses* behind  
28 such OFDI (Hoskisson et al., 2013; Peng, 2012; Peng & Parente, 2012).  
29 Additional research on bankruptcy laws can have major public policy  
30 implications in terms of making bankruptcy laws more entrepreneur  
31 friendly in order to facilitate more entrepreneurship development around  
32 the world (Lee et al., 2007, 2011; Peng et al., 2010).<sup>15</sup> Finally, Africa holds  
33 a key to unlocking the potential insights of the institution-based view in a  
34 highly dynamic but largely underexplored context (Zoogah et al., 2013).  
35 While institutions matter, emerging institution-based research focusing on  
36 Africa suggests that “developed institutions” are not necessarily always a  
37 plus. There can be weaknesses associated with certain “developed institu-  
38 tions” such as formal land titles. Overall, while the selection of these three  
39 areas is driven by my own idiosyncratic personal research interests, I hope

1 that they can help readers appreciate the increasing depth and expanding  
breadth of recent research based on the institution-based view.

3 Of course, new developments in the institution-based view can be found  
along many other dimensions not covered in this paper. As a *family* of the-  
5 ories, the institution-based view has now given birth to an institution-based  
view of corporate governance (Globerman, Peng, & Shapiro, 2011; Jiang &  
7 Peng, 2011; Lu, Au, Peng, & Xu, 2013; Peng & Jiang, 2010; Sauerwald &  
Peng, 2013; Van Essen, Huegens, Otten, & van Oosterhout, 2012; Young,  
9 Peng, Ahlstrom, Bruton, & Jiang, 2008), an institution-based view of cor-  
porate diversification (Kim et al., 2010; Lee, Peng, & Lee, 2008; Peng, Lee,  
11 & Wang, 2005), an institution-based view of mergers and acquisitions (Lin,  
Peng, Yang, & Sun, 2009; Yang, Sun, Lin, & Peng, 2011), and an  
13 institution-based view of knowledge management and intellectual property  
rights (Khoury & Peng, 2011; Lu et al., 2008; Mahlich, 2010; Peng, 2013).  
15 Clearly, the institution-based view has been significantly deepened and  
broadened recently.

17 While it has long been known that the rules of the game that specify the  
relative pay-offs play a key role in determining individual and organiza-  
19 tional behaviors, we have just set out on the long road to achieving a solid  
understanding of how institutions matter along a variety of dimensions in  
21 which IB scholars are interested. In addition to conducting research to  
inform the scholarly community, institution-based scholars need to aspire  
23 to disseminate our learning via textbook writing (Peng, 2014; Stambaugh &  
Trank, 2010) and public policy engagements (Peng & Meyer, 2013; Peng  
25 et al., 2011). In conclusion, if this paper can contain one message, I would  
like it to be a sense of the excitement associated with the future develop-  
27 ment of the institution-based view around the world.

## 31 NOTES

33 1. According to Alan Rugman (2013, p. 3), Chair of the first Buckley and  
Casson AIB Best Dissertation Award Committee, of the 22 dissertations submitted  
for the competition in 2013, 15 used the institution-based view.

35 2. Examples of recent research that has leveraged and extended the strategy tri-  
pod include Gao, Murray, Kotabe, and Lu (2010), Krull, Smith, and Ge (2012), Lu,  
37 Liu, and Wang (2011), Xie, Zhao, Xie, and Arnold (2011), and Yamakawa, Peng,  
and Deeds (2008).

39 3. While IB scholars are generally familiar with the notion of the liability of  
foreignness, there is some research that shows that foreignness can be an asset

1 (Brannen, 2004). This is because sometimes being foreign enhances the prestige  
and thus the marketability of certain products and services in some overseas  
3 markets.

4. Capital round-tripping refers to the phenomenon of firms from country A  
invest in country B, and then reinvest back in country A (Fung et al., 2011).

5 5. This is not to say that foreign firms always enjoy the upper hand in emerging  
economies. They sometimes complain about “unfair” treatment as well (Peng, 2014).

7 6. A special-purpose entity is a legal entity (usually a limited company of some  
type or, sometimes, a limited partnership) created to fulfill narrow, specific, or temporary  
9 objectives.

7. The United States and other industrialized countries have been clamping  
down on some of these tax-evasion strategies of multinationals.

11 8. Of course, bankruptcy laws are not the only factor that affects entrepreneur-  
ship development. Other institution-based factors as well as numerous  
13 noninstitution-based factors play a role in entrepreneurship development. However,  
our institution-based perspective centered on the entrepreneur friendliness of bank-  
15 ruptcy laws is often overlooked in discussions on how to promote entrepreneurship  
development, thus necessitating our attention.

9. Zoogah et al. (2013) investigated all Africa-focused studies in 26 leading  
17 management journals (including all leading IB journals) during the last five decades  
(1960–2011). They found a total of 152 articles – an embarrassing 2.92 articles per  
19 year for the entire field. In IB’s leading outlet the *Journal of International Business  
Studies*, only two Africa-focused articles were published during such a long time.

10. In theoretical terms, “the rationality discussed here is bounded (but not perfect)  
21 rationality” (Peng et al., 2009, p. 67). Specifically, managers and firms are  
assumed to be “*intendedly* rational, but only *limitedly* so” (Simon, 1961, p. xxiv).

11. While the role of elders and chiefs in Africa is important, there is insufficient  
23 research – in IB and management at least – to assess how the role of elders and  
chiefs in tribal societies differs from that of nontribal leaders in other societies. This  
25 remains an interesting direction for future research.

12. Such informal and communal use rights are different from public ownership  
27 under communism, which is more formal with a higher degree of bureaucratization.

13. It is true that in some industrialized countries such as Japan, formal courts  
29 are not used as often either. Therefore, it is questionable whether the African  
tendency to bypass formal courts is unique. I thank a reviewer for raising this thought-  
31 provoking point. While I can speculate about the institution-based rationale behind  
the Japanese hesitation to use formal courts, I think it is more honest to confess my  
33 ignorance, in the absence of any literature comparing African and Japanese conflict-  
resolution styles.

14. Using data from Ghana, Udry and Anagol (2006, p. 389) found that return  
35 on investment in pineapple cultivation in the informal sector is “extremely high,” in  
the 250–300 percent range.

15. In 2008, a conference version of Lee et al. (2011) received a U.S. Small  
37 Business Administration Award for the Best Babson Conference Paper “exploring  
the importance of small businesses to the U.S. economy or a public policy issue of  
39 importance to the entrepreneurial community” (award citation), with a press release  
posted at [www.sba.gov/advo/press/08-14.html](http://www.sba.gov/advo/press/08-14.html).

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I remain grateful to John Dunning's tremendous support. Despite his busy schedule and declining health, he accepted my invitations *twice* to contribute to the *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, when I served as its Editor-in-Chief. Dunning's (2006) piece is a commentary on Mathews (2006), which has gone on to become an influential article in the literature on emerging multinationals. As indicated by the title, Dunning and Lundan (2008) dealt with "institutions and the OLI paradigm of the multinational enterprise." It turned out to be the last article concluding Dunning's illustrious career before his death in 2009.

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