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Multilatinas and the internationalization of Latin American firms[★]



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ABSTRACT

Latin America is an under-researched region that has the potential to yield new and important insights on the internationalization of firms from emerging markets, particularly as compared with the experience of firms from other regions. At the same time, some of the unique features of Latin America are generating new ideas that contribute to a better understanding of how the home country influences the behavior of firms in general and their foreign expansion in particular. In this article, we discuss such contributions and present some suggestions for future research.

1. Introduction

Latin American companies appear with limited frequency in management research and the international media. Few Latin American firms are recognized, and most remain under-represented in the practitioners' and academic management literature Ciravegna, & Woodside, 2016; Casanova, 2009; Pérez-Batres, Pisani, & Doh, 2010). This is partly due to the fact that there are relatively few firms from Latin America ranking amongst the largest or most valuable firms in the world. For example, in the Forbes (2016) ranking of the world's 2000 largest companies, only 62 are from the region (19 from Brazil, 15 from Mexico, 8 from Chile, 7 from Bermuda, 5 from Colombia, 4 from Venezuela, 2 from Argentina, and 2 from Peru) (Forbes, 2016). Even in rankings focusing on the largest firms from emerging economies, Latin American firms have a rather low presence (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2016; Vassolo, Castro, & Gomez-Mejia, 2011).

Although there are many Latin American firms with a long and distinguished corporate life (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2007; Brenes, Ciravegna, & Montoya, 2015), they only seem to rise to preeminence when they internationalize. This is partly the result of analyses of

markets firms gaining recognition Kundu, & Lopez, 2016; Cuervo-Cazurra & Ramamurti, 2014; Gonzalez-Perez, Manotas, & Ciravegna, 2016; Ramamurti & Singh, 2009; Williamson, Ramamurti, Fleury, & Fleury, 2013). For example, Bimbo, the Mexican producer of baked goods, has become famous as the largest baked goods firm in the world after it entered the US market, although it had already been a very large and highly successful firm in Mexico and Central America for several decades. Bimbo continues to make the lion's share of its sales and profits in Mexico, but its presence in the US and China changed its profile from a local, or at most regional, firm from Latin America to a much more visible multinational firm. A similar process occurred among other Multilatinas, i.e., Latin American multinationals, which unlike their advanced economies counterparts, did not attract much attention from business scholars despite decades of growth in their home and neighboring countries' markets.

In this article, we aim to clarify and dispel some myths about multinationals from Latin America, or Multilatinas, by reviewing what we know about them and offering new insights into their nature and behavior. To do so, we first provide some historical background on Latin America for those who are not familiar with the circumstances under which the firms operated, and that have affected their domestic

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and international expansion. We then review some statistics to explain the recent transformation and importance of these firms' foreign investments. After this, we review the literature that has analyzed these firms, paying particular attention to recent years, to identify some of the contextual drivers of their behavior. We conclude with a summary of the articles in the special issue of this journal, and outline some ideas for future research.

2. Multinatinas: a brief historical background

2.1. Latin America: one, many, or none?

An initial challenge with examining Multilatinas is defining Latin America. Latin America is technically not a self-standing geographic area; it is part of the continent of America. The term "Latin" America was coined during the reign of Napoleon III to distinguish the part of the Americas that he hoped to have influence on, and highlighting its cultural and linguistic similarities with France, such as speaking Latin-derived languages and sharing a high influence of the Catholic church. Although Napoleon III failed to extend Frances's influence in Latin America, the term continues to be broadly used and the region continues to maintain its specific idiosyncrasies that make it different from the United States and Canada (Rojas-Mix, 1991).

Given that Latin America is not a strict geographic definition, doubts and confusions are common, and self-perceptions differ (Quijada, 1998). Mexicans point out that geographically their country is part of North America, and clearly separated from the isthmus linking the two parts of the Americas. In Europe, the term "South America" is commonly used to refer to any country of the Americas that is not Canada or the US, though for a Latin American it refers only to the most southern part of the region. Caribbean countries share several features, including their climate, geographic position, and the fact that they were used as hubs for the trade of slaves, but include several English-speaking countries such as Jamaica, as well as French-speaking countries like Haiti (Rojas-Mix, 1991).

2.2. Journey in time

Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) point out that the different colonial history of Latin America contributes to explaining why it is poorer, and often more dangerous, than North America. However, as one might expect, there are wide differences among countries within Latin America: Argentina, which reached European levels of development in the 19th century before going through a reversal of fortunes and a long decline; Haiti, which has moved from being an outpost of liberal ideas to one of the poorest in the region; and Brazil, which, in spite of dramatic boom and bust cycles, in the long run continues to develop. Latin America is thus one and many — it is a region with some clearly shared features, such as having been colonies, mostly of Spain and Portugal, and being rich in natural resources; but also one with a high heterogeneity in terms of wealth, economic diversification, and political structures (Bethell, 1995).

To find commonalities in Latin America, beyond language and religion, it is useful to turn to economic history. Most Latin American economies first developed as hubs for the production and export of natural resource-based goods that were scarce or unavailable elsewhere, and, with some exceptions, they continue to have economies heavily biased towards natural resources. During the colonial period, Latin America exported large amounts of gold and silver. Between the 1700s and the late 1800s, it became a hub for plantations – European colonizers and settlers imported slaves from Africa to compensate for labor scarcity and expanded the production of goods aimed at European markets, such as coffee, indigo, sugar cane, cotton, and cocoa. Later came bananas, rubber, and oil and gas (Bulmer-Thomas et al., 2006Bulmer-Thomas, Coatsworth, & Cortes-Conde, 2006). Minerals and export crops provided highly profitable opportunities for investors, but

their capital- and technology-intensive nature entailed that such opportunities were accessible only to the richest local capitalists and foreigners (Topik et al., 2006Topik, Marichal, & Frank, 2006). Natural resource products, especially those concentrated in specific geographic locations, such as mines, were also easier targets for rent-seeking and corrupt governments. Regions that focused on the export of natural resources, especially mining and plantations, often suffered from the continuing negative effects of having had a slave-based economy, such as high inequality, low levels of trust, and crime (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). Latin America remains today one of the most inequitable regions in the world, in spite of much progress during the last decades. It is interesting to note that Argentina and Uruguay, which started growing only when technological innovations such as railways and steam boats allowed them to export foodstuff to Europe, went through a much more progressive development during the export-led period than countries where mining and plantations prevailed (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003).

The high attractiveness of natural resource-based sectors distorted resource allocation, reducing incentives to invest in different activities, and provided funds to import consumption goods from abroad. Given that export-led sectors relied mostly on external demand, Latin America became highly susceptible to the boom and bust cycles of commodities elsewhere. These typically occurred as demand for a product, such as coffee or cocoa, increased in Europe; Latin American landlords expanded production and made fantastic profits, but also borrowed against future earnings. When supply caught back up with demand, prices collapsed, generating havoc, and the cycle repeated itself for different commodities at different points in time.

The cyclicality of commodity exporting economies generated several nefarious effects, which continue to be noticeable in Latin America. The most dramatic effect was on political stability – during commodity booms governments received higher revenues and could "buy" their popularity, and pursue developmental projects (Skidmore et al., 1992Skidmore, Smith, & Green, 1992). Firms invested aggressively, often borrowing from abroad, expecting high foreign-currency-denominated earnings from exports. Domestic sectors, such as construction and housing, grew fueled by revenues from exports. During commodity bursts, both public sector and private sector debts became hard to service, whilst speculative growth ceased in real estate and other activities (Brenes, Camacho et al., 2016Brenes, Camacho, Ciravegna, & Pichardo, 2016). Governments in Latin America continued to act highly pro-cyclically, so that when the economy grew they also invested, and when it contracted, they cut spending, emphasizing rather than alleviating recessions. This helps to explain the highly tumultuous political history of the region - it is often during recessions that new political leaders and forces emerge, and during boom periods that tendencies to concentrate power manifest themselves most evidently (Thorp, 1998).

Another commonality among Latin American countries is their political economy and their push to become self-sufficient and at times independent from the economic powers of the time. Thus, the economic history of Latin America changed after the Second World War - by the 1950s most countries had moved from the export-led growth model that dominated most of the 19th century to import substitution industrialization (ISI), leveraging export revenues to finance inward oriented manufacturing production (Haar and Ortiz-Buonafina, 1995Haar & Ortiz-Buonafina, 1995). The ISI model generated high economic growth and allowed Latin American economies to become more diversified. However, its reliance on the domestic market entailed that it was more successful in the larger economies, particularly Brazil, than in smaller economies such as Chile or Ecuador. The ISI model suffered from a major weakness - it depended on external financing because Latin American countries failed to generate sufficient tax revenues to finance their own industrialization. Thus, when US interest increased in 1979, the debt incurred by Latin American countries became mostly unpayable, starting a decade of structural economic reforms, which, together with a slump in commodity prices, produced the "lost decade" — a decade characterized by hyperinflation, repeated currency and banking crises, a decline in economic and social indicators, social turmoil, civil wars, and uprisings (Ffrench-Davis, 2000; Thorp, 1998).

By the 1990s, things changed. Most Latin American countries adopted pro-market reforms and managed to stabilize their economies (Kuczynski and Williamson, 2003Kuczynski & Williamson, 2003), and, with the exception of Cuba, all authoritarian regimes transformed into electoral democracies in a peaceful way (Panizza, 2009). The civil wars of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua ended. Economic growth resumed and a new period of stability and prosperity came, bringing Latin America to be part of the "emerging economies" and their rise to fame, although to a lesser extent than China or India (Ciravegna, 2012; Lansberg-Rodriguez, 2014). Yet, a high diversity of experiences also still characterizes the region (Ocampo, 2004).

2.3. Recent transformation with pro-market reforms and the commodities boom

Like other parts of the emerging and developing world, Latin America benefitted from a period of relative political stability and economic growth between the 2000s and mid-2010s, reaping the benefits of the reforms implemented during the 1990s and also the rising prices in the commodities it exports (Brenes, Haar, & Requena, 2009; Ciravegna, Fitzgerald, & Kundu, 2014). In a very short period of time, Latin America moved from being a region characterized by highly unstable, closed economies ruled by mostly non-democratic regimes, to being mostly stable, more open to investment and trade, and, last but not least, democratic (Santiso, 2007, 2013). With some exceptions, such as Venezuela, most economies managed to grow whilst remaining stable macro-economically, with low debt levels and low inflation. They also signed an array of new regional trade agreements such as the Pacific Alliance in 2011 (between Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Colombia), and multiple bilateral trade and investment agreements.

This period of prosperity and stability ended when the so-called "commodity supercycle", a period of continuous growth in commodity prices lasting almost two decades, ended abruptly in the 2010s. By 2015, the Chinese economy, which absorbed a large share of the world's demand for oil, gas, food, iron, and other metals, had slowed down from record growth peaks of above 10% during the 2000s to a predicted average of 6% (WEF, 2016). Due the decline in commodity prices, from 2014 to 2016, emerging economies' contributions to world economic growth declined sharply, making emerging markets — especially Latin America, with its comparative advantage in natural resource-based products — less fashionable than in the previous decade (Brenes, Camacho et al., 2016).

During the commodity boom, most Latin American economies were driven by the revenues generated from exporting natural resourcebased products. This caused a rebalancing whereby the manufacturing of products not related to commodities, such as mechanical parts, textiles, and even agricultural goods, declined as a share of Latin America's output. Mining boomed, driving the economic growth of countries rich in minerals and mineral-exporting firms, such as Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, and Ecuador. Construction boomed, fueled by projects financed by the public sector with commodity-related revenues, especially in countries such as Ecuador, Bolivia, Venezuela, and Brazil, which were characterized by a large state. The oil and gas industry grew fast, too, supporting the growth of a broad array of related sectors, such as firms producing oil exploration and extraction machinery, or software to map underwater reserves. Agroindustry expanded, driven by a booming demand for soy, grain, fruit, and other foodstuffs from emerging economies such as China. In particular, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, and Uruguay expanded the scale and sophistication of their agro production, investing in R & D for new seeds, machinery, and biotechnology (Brenes, Ciravegna et al.,

2016 Niosi & Bas, 2014).

Latin American economies became more focused on their natural competitive advantage, and Latin American governments became accustomed to high revenues, which they spent mostly pro-cyclically. The commodity boom helped the rise of political leaders by increasing government revenues that they could use to buy their popularity by expanding public sector investment and employment; they then concentrated their power by curbing the media and reshuffling the judiciary, and in some cases, such as Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador, by changing the constitution to extend their terms in power.

The conjuncture changed dramatically with the fall in commodity prices. The price of oil dropped from its peak levels of around US\$150 per barrel in 2008, to its lowest price since the early 1990s in 2015. Predictably, oil and gas exporters such as Venezuela and Ecuador suffered from a sudden drop in the resources available to the public sector, which, in these two countries, accounts for a large share of the economic activities. The Brazilian economy, considered the powerhouse of Latin America and a member of the BRICS countries, contracted by 3.8% in 2015 and by 3.3% in 2016, receiving 12% less FDI. Brazil entered one of its worst recessions in history, which, together with corruption scandals, helped to generate a political crisis (Rapoza, 2015). However, some economies, such as Chile, Colombia, and Peru, seemed to avoid both a recession and a dramatic political crisis. Argentina saw the end of the Kirchner dynasty with Mauricio Macri winning the elections and promising to open the economy and cancel the regulations put in place by the Kirchners, such as taxes on exports, which hindered foreign investment, exports, and competitiveness. In Colombia, the government reached a historic truce with the FARC guerrilla group in 2016 that ended five decades of hostilities, an event recognized with the granting of the Nobel Peace Prize to its President. Venezuela, by far the most oil-dependent economy of the region, reached a critical economic recession and political impasse, which, hopefully, will result in democratic and economic improvements (Hausmann & Rodríguez, 2006; Mander, 2010). Mexico continued to be a manufacturing powerhouse, but its progress was slowed by a powerful set of criminal gangs that generated violence and infected the public sector with corruption.

3. Multilatinas: the phenomenon

The nature of Multilatinas, like that of multinationals from other regions, has been shaped by the context in which they emerged, outlined in the previous section. Before we discuss the research that has analyzed Multilatinas, we need to establish some understanding of the phenomenon. To do this we use a variety of data sources to get a more accurate picture of some of the key characteristics of these companies. Thus, in the following paragraphs, we move progressively from a highlevel overview of the topic describing data on outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) from Latin America, to a more fine-grained understanding of these companies by analyzing alternative lists of Latin American firms.

We start with an analysis of outward foreign direct investment flows and stocks using data from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2016a, 2016b). Fig. 1 illustrates the evolution of OFDI flows from Latin America and the Caribbean in US dollars and as a percentage of the world total. It presents an evolution of OFDI from Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as OFDI flows for Latin American countries (those that were former colonies of Spain, Portugal, and France) and OFDI flows for non-Latin American countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. This distinction is important not so much in terms of the colonial origin of some of these countries, but because some of the non-Latin American countries are considered offshore financial centers, such as the Cayman Islands or the British Virgin Islands. In these countries, the level of OFDI is far above the level of economic activity, reflecting their use as a base for companies from other countries to invest abroad.

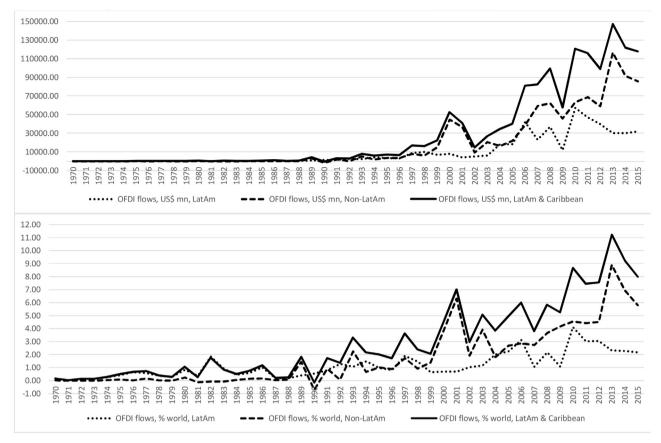


Fig. 1. OFDI flows from Latin America and the Caribbean in US\$ million and percentage of world total. Source: Data from UNCTAD (2016a, 2016b).

It is worth noting that the OFDI flows from the region are low in the 1970s and 1980s, and then increase rapidly in the late 1990s. The distinction between OFDI from Latin American and non-Latin American countries in the region is important. Non-Latin American OFDI from the region shows a much higher variation across time, with large increases followed by rapid drops, capturing fluctuations in the financial flows that pass through offshore financial centers, driven by large mergers and acquisitions or deep contractions in capital market activity. OFDI flows from Latin America seem to have a relatively smoother variation, although their overall level is below that of OFDI from non-Latin American countries.

The pattern of the evolution of OFDI differs markedly when we analyze stocks. Fig. 2 illustrates the evolution of OFDI stocks from Latin America and the Caribbean in US dollars and as a percentage of the world total. We note that there is a progressive increase in the figures over time, as is usually the case with stocks. The level of OFDI stocks relative to the rest of the world is interesting. There is an apparent surprise in that OFDI stocks used to be much higher and they show a progressive reduction in the 1980s to a level of around 2% of world total in the 1990s to 2010s. This indicates that the significant increase in OFDI from Latin America is part of a much broader trend of increases in OFDI around the world and thus needs to be placed in the broader context of a general increase in investments around the world.

In terms of the specific figures, Table 1 shows OFDI flows and stocks for selected years. The noticeable figures are the very large increases in OFDI flows from Latin America, reaching US\$32 bn in 2015, while OFDI stocks reach US\$545 bn. Although impressive, these figures pale in comparison to OFDI stocks and flows from non-Latin American countries in the region, which reached US\$85 bn and US\$890 bn, respectively.

The regional figures mask some of the notable differences among countries. To get a better understanding of such differences, Table 2

provides OFDI flows and stocks by country for selected years. As one would expect, given the size of their economies, Brazil and Mexico represent the largest sources of OFDI in Latin America. Surprisingly, Chile is the third-largest source of Latin American OFDI, ahead of much larger countries in terms of population and economic size such as Argentina or Colombia. After these five countries, the level of OFDI from the other countries is relatively smaller, suggesting a high concentration of OFDI among a few countries.

We now move to an analysis of companies, and identify Multilatinas. This is challenging because there are no datasets that provide a list of all Multilatinas. However, we can start getting a sense of who these companies are by analyzing several datasets. An initial understanding of firms in Latin America is the list of the 500 largest companies in Latin America that is collected annually by the Chilean periodical AmericaEconomía (AmericaEconomia, 2016; AmericaEconomia, 2017). Table 3 provides a summary of the distribution of these companies by country for the last decade (2005–2015). As with the distribution of OFDI, the distribution of the largest companies in Latin America is highly concentrated. Brazil and Mexico account for most of them, followed by Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Peru.

However, this distribution of companies is of limited use for our understanding of Multilatinas given that some of them are foreign-owned and many of them do not have international activities, so they cannot be categorized as Multilatinas. To address this, we identified domestic exporters from the list — that is, companies that are private or state-owned and that have indicated that some of their sales emanate from exports sales. This method might still be undercounting the companies with international activities, however, given that the periodical does not provide a consistent account of exporting activity throughout the years; therefore, we identified exporting status from alternative sources as well. Additionally, the periodical changed its

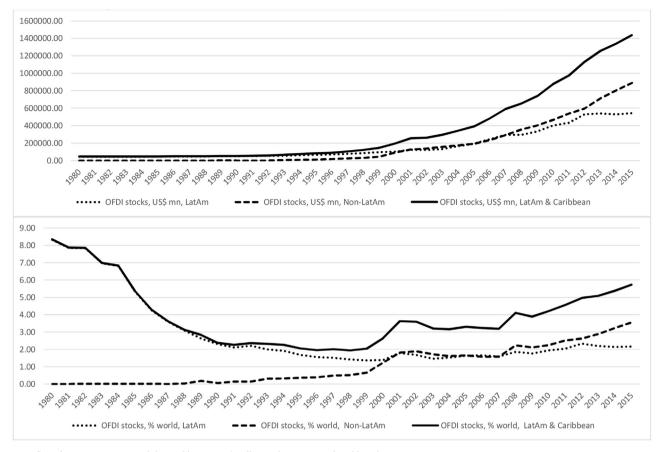


Fig. 2. OFDI flows from Latin America and the Caribbean in US\$ million and percentage of world total. Source: Data from UNCTAD (2016a, 2016b).

methodology in 2015 when it stopped identifying exports and instead identified companies as multinationals. Table 4 provides the distribution by country of the domestic firms among the 500 largest in Latin America that have internationalized. Again, this table corroborates the relative concentration of firms with international activities among the two largest economies, Brazil and Mexico, followed by Chile. This partially confirms the idea that not only the size of the domestic market but also the openness of the economy to global markets leads to both relative growth of firms as well as relatively higher levels of internationalization.

We now move to the identification of specific companies. We start with the list of the largest publicly traded companies that is available from Forbes Global 2000 (Forbes, 2016). These companies are included

in the list by a combination of sales, profits, assets, and market value. Table 5 provides a list of such companies from Latin America. Though the list does not explicitly include companies in terms of their international expansion, many of the companies in the list are international. The list is headed by Brazilian and Mexican companies, although there is a noticeable presence of not only Chilean but also Colombian and Venezuelan companies as well. Different from other lists that tend to concentrate on industrial companies, this list includes many financial companies. However, some important companies are excluded because they are not publicly traded, such as the Venezuelan oil company PDVSA.

To address the limitations of excluding non-publicly traded firms, we now turn our attention to the list of the largest companies by sales

Table 1
OFDI from Latin America and the Caribbean, selected year.
Source: Data from UNCTAD (2016a, 2016b).

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
OFDI flows, US\$ mn, LatAm & Caribbean	21	144	553	465	-380	7133	52671	40295	120540	117735
OFDI flows, US\$ mn, LatAm	20	116	432	377	1328	3497	7987	18369	57195	32033
OFDI flows, US\$ mn, Non-LatAm	1	27	121	88	-1708	3637	44684	21926	63346	85702
OFDI flows, % world, LatAm & Caribbean	0.15	0.50	1.06	0.75	-0.16	2.00	4.53	4.92	8.66	7.99
OFDI flows, % world, LatAm	0.14	0.41	0.83	0.61	0.54	0.98	0.69	2.24	4.11	2.17
OFDI flows, % world, Non-LatAm	0.01	0.09	0.23	0.14	-0.70	1.02	3.84	2.68	4.55	5.81
OFDI stocks, US\$ mn, LatAm & Caribbean	n.a.	n.a.	46647	48421	53634	82360	196933	390970	873550	1435593
OFDI stocks, US\$ mn, LatAm	n.a.	n.a.	46554	48216	51984	67702	104497	194698	405176	545018
OFDI stocks, US\$ mn, Non-LatAm	n.a.	n.a.	93	206	1650	14658	92435	196271	468374	890575
OFDI stocks, % world, LatAm & Caribbean	n.a.	n.a.	8.35	5.37	2.38	2.06	2.65	3.30	4.20	5.73
OFDI stocks, % world, LatAm	n.a.	n.a.	8.33	5.35	2.31	1.70	1.41	1.64	1.95	2.18
OFDI stocks, % world, Non-LatAm	n.a.	n.a.	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.37	1.24	1.66	2.25	3.56

Table 2OFDI from Latin American countries, selected year. Source: Data from UNCTAD (2016a, 2016b).

OFDI flows US\$ mn	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Argentina	2	4	-110	42	35	1497	901	1311	965	113
Bolivia	_	_	1	0	1	2	3	3	-29	
Brazil	14	108	367	81	625	1096	2282	2517	22060	307
Chile	-	-	44	2	8	752	3987	2135	10534	1551
Colombia	4	4	106	7	16	256	325	4796	5483	421
Costa Rica	_	_	5	5	2	6	8	-43	25	14
Cuba	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	
Dominican Republic	_	_	0	-2	0	1	-109	49	-204	2
Ecuador	_	_	1	5	3	70	17	23	131	6
El Salvador	_	_	_	_	_	_	-5	-113	-5	
Grenada	_	_	_	_	_	_	2	3	3	
Guatemala	_	_	2	_	_	-19	40	38	24	9
Haiti	_	_	_	_	-8	1	-	_		
Honduras	_	_	1	_	-1	-2	7	1	-1	g
Mexico	_	_	3	222	223	-263	, _	6474	15050	807
Nicaragua	_	_	-			203	_	-	16	507
Panama	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	317	52
Paraguay	_	_	1	-5	0	2	10	-28	128	_
Peru	_	_	_	0	50	8	-	-26	266	12
	_	_	_		0	0	-1		-60	3
Uruguay	_	_		8				36		
Venezuela	-		12	11	375	91	521	1167	2492	-111
OFDI stock US\$ mn	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Argentina	n.a.	n.a.	5970	5921	6057	10696	21141	23340	30328	3728
Bolivia	n.a.	n.a.	0	1	7	17	29	87	8	5
Brazil	n.a.	n.a.	38545	39439	41044	44474	51946	75830	149337	18144
Chile	n.a.	n.a.	63	116	154	2774	11154	22589	51161	8741
Colombia	n.a.	n.a.	136	301	402	1027	2989	9098	23717	4730
Costa Rica	n.a.	n.a.	7	27	44	66	86	154	650	209
Cuba	n.a.	n.a.	-	_	-	_	_	_	_	
Dominican Republic	n.a.	n.a.	0				68	35	743	75
Ecuador	n.a.	n.a.	1	18	18	187	252	275	561	86
El Salvador	n.a.	n.a.	_	_	56	53	104	310	1	
Grenada	n.a.	n.a.	_	_	_	_	2	13	45	5
Guatemala	n.a.	n.a.	_	_	0	24	93	250	382	67
Haiti	n.a.	n.a.	_	_	_	1	2	2	2	
Honduras	n.a.	n.a.	_	_	_	_	_	28	49	62
Mexico	n.a.	n.a.	1632	2005	2672	4181	8273	51782	121557	15192
Nicaragua	n.a.	n.a.	-	_		-	-	164	181	49
Panama	n.a.	n.a.	_	_	_	_	_	-	3374	478
Paraguay	n.a.	n.a.	1	_	_	22	38	107	244	10
Peru	n.a.	n.a.	3	38	122	567	505	1047	3319	28
			171	184	186	186	138	159	345	10
Uruguay	n.a.	n.a.		165	1221			9429		2622
Venezuela	n.a.	n.a.	23	105	1221	3427	7676	9429	19171	262

Table 3
Number of the largest 500 firms in Latin America by country.
Source: Data from AmericaEconomia (various issues).

Number of firms	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Brazil	204	207	211	212	226	223	215	210	201	203	195
Mexico	138	111	134	126	119	117	110	120	118	119	131
Chile	54	63	55	60	55	65	73	71	66	65	64
Argentina	36	41	36	35	33	32	30	23	43	44	40
Venezuela	11	12	7	7	6	3	3	3	3	3	2
Colombia	30	35	31	28	30	26	28	30	26	24	28
Peru	12	18	15	21	19	22	30	32	31	30	28
Ecuador	5	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
Chile/Brazil	-	_	-	_	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Bolivia	_	_	_	_	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Costa Rica	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	2	2
Uruguay	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Panama	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Brazil/Paraguay	-	_	-	_	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
El Salvador	1	1	1	1	1	_	_	-	_	_	_
Guatemala	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4Number of domestic exporters or Multilatinas among the top 500 firms in Latin America. Source: Data from AmericaEconomia (various issues).

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Mexico	83	60	53	51	50	39	37	44	38	43	45
Brazil	53	48	59	58	53	59	54	76	57	41	31
Chile	23	25	23	28	26	24	31	31	27	11	24
Colombia	8	6	9	8	8	8	7	9	7	5	9
Argentina	10	8	7	7	6	6	6	6	14	11	6
Peru	6	8	6	6	3	4	9	16	8	6	5
Venezuela	4	4	4	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Panama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Uruguay	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0
Ecuador	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Bolivia	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Costa Rica	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

collected by *AmericaEconomía*. This list is based on an annual survey of companies and ranks firms by their sales. The list includes companies that are classified as Multilatinas by the periodical. Table 6 presents the largest 50 as an illustration. Of the 122 companies that are classified as Multilatinas, 45 of them are Mexican, 31 are Brazilian, 24 are Chilean (one of them is Chilean/Colombian), nine are Colombian, six are Argentinian, five are Peruvian, one is Venezuelan, and one is Panamanian. In terms of industries, the list is dominated by food companies (15 firms), followed by diversified conglomerates (11), retail (11), oil and gas (10), pulp and paper (7), metallurgy (7), cement (6), beverages (6), air transport (6), manufacturing (5), electric energy (5), and a few in construction, media, mining, petrochemicals, entertainment, car components, chemicals, telecom, health care, IT, logistics, aerospace, bioenergy, and naval transport.

An alternative classification of Multilatinas by the same periodical is a list of the top Multilatinas by the level of internationalization. In this annual list, *AmericaEconomía* identifies the 100 Multilatinas that are most internationalized by a combination of several indicators of foreign economic activity. Table 7 provides the top 50. What is notable in this list is the high level of firm internationalization, with many of them deriving the majority of their sales from outside their home country and having a strong presence in multiple countries. In 2015, these Multilatinas had average sales of US\$7610 million, with about 42.2% foreign sales; an average of 33 thousand employees, of which 32.8% were abroad; and operations in an average of eleven countries.

We conclude the identification of Multilatinas with a list of companies from Latin America that the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) identified as emerging-market champions (Azevedo et al., 2016). Since 2006, BCG has created a list of companies from emerging markets that are likely to challenge advanced economy multinationals for global leadership. Table 8 lists the Global Champion companies that are hosted in Latin America. In the latest list of emerging-market champions, we find 11 companies in Brazil, five in Mexico, three in Chile, two in Peru, one in Argentina, and one in Colombia. The list also includes five companies that BCG considers Graduates, because they have achieved a certain level of global leadership and dominance in their industries.

In conclusion, there is a wide diversity of Multilatinas in terms of their countries of origin, industry of operation, and level of internationalization. The numbers and variety have increased over time and have changed the population of companies that can be classified as Multilatinas. This evolution in the phenomenon also requires more novel and complex analysis of these companies. Some of the assumptions of previous studies, which tended to see Multilatinas as very large companies that dominated their home economies and expanded mostly in their home region before venturing globally, is questioned by the recent wave of foreign expansion of companies from Latin America.

4. Multilatinas: what do we know?

4.1. Multilatinas as emerging market multinationals

Business scholars examine emerging markets not only as investment targets, but also as the origin of firms that may be similar to those of advanced economies, but in another institutional context, or that might operate completely differently (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2012; Fleury & Fleury, 2012; Madhok, & Keyhani, 2012). Drawing from new institutional economics, several scholars point out the differences between advanced and emerging economies with regards to the quality of regulation, the rule of law, and broadly market-supporting institutions, arguing for the need to examine how these institutions influence firm strategy and performance (Gammeltoft, Barnard, & Madhok, 2010; Khanna & Palepu, 2010: Peng, Wang & Jiang, 2008: Wright, Filatotchev, Hoskisson, & Peng, 2005). Khanna and Palepu (2010) and Ciravegna and Brenes (2016), among others, illustrate that the strategic challenges of operating a business, such as a food retail chain, are completely different in a country with intermittent electrical supply, no reliable cold chain, and check points requiring bribes every ten kilometers - the simple ability to maintain the products at the right temperature throughout the supply chain becomes a highly complex and costly endeavor in an emerging economy, whereas it typically presents no particular challenges in advanced economies.

The firms that manage to grow and prosper in such contexts develop specific capabilities, linked to the strategies they adopted to manage business barriers, such as vertical integration to compensate for the lack of suitable suppliers, or in-house electrical power plants to overcome the insufficient and unreliable offer of state-owned utilities (Brenes, Ciravegna et al., 2016). Some of these firms then leverage their capabilities to enter other emerging markets with similar institutional features (Cuervo-Cazurra & Genc, 2008). In other cases, the idiosyncrasies of domestic markets, such as suboptimal regulation or protectionism in the form of tariffs and subsidies, allow for fast growth and the quick accumulation of resources which can then be invested in internationalization (Luo & Tung, 2007; Bonaglia, Goldestein & Matthews, 2007; Martin & Javalgi, 2016).

The rationale for studying Multilatinas – as well as the rationale for studying EMNEs more generally – is the argument, based on new institutional economics, that local context matters not only for the firms operating in a given market, but also as a set of factors shaping the sort of local firms that become multinationals. In spite of globalization, the world remains highly fragmented into different local and regional socio-economic realities – the websites available to consumers, and, within those available, the websites most visited, change dramatically between Brazil, China, the US, and Germany, for example (Ghemawat, 2013). All countries in the world have laws prohibiting murder, yet murder rates vary greatly, with some Latin American countries like El

Table 5List of the largest publicly traded firms from Latin America. Source: Data from Forbes (2016).

Rank 2016	Company	Country	Sales, US\$ bn	Profits, US\$ bn	Assets, US\$ bn	Market value, US\$ bn
63	Itaú Unibanco Holding	Brazil	50.90	7.70	324.10	50.50
78	Banco Bradesco	Brazil	65.90	5.10	257.50	41.50
142	América Móvil	Mexico	56.30	2.20	75.10	51.90
153	Banco do Brasil	Brazil	65.60	4.30	354.20	17.00
390	Femsa	Mexico	19.40	1.10	23.70	33.60
411	Petrobras	Brazil	96.30	-10.40	227.50	42.1
519	JBS	Brazil	48.80	1.40	31.30	7.00
531	GFNorte	Mexico	6.90	1.10	69.70	15.2
559	Vale	Brazil	25.60	-13.20	87.30	26.0
612	Grupo Mexico	Mexico	8.20	1.20	22.20	18.5
614	Falabella	Chile	12.80	0.79	17.80	18.4
656	Grupo Aval	Colombia	7.50	0.78	68.80	9.0
698	Ecopetrol	Colombia	18.90	-1.50	38.70	20.0
733	Bancolombia	Colombia	5.60	0.92	60.80	9.00
738	Credicorp	Peru	4.90	0.97	45.60	11.30
749	YPF	Argentina	16.90	0.50	28.10	7.90
793	Mercantil Servicios	Venezuela	9.40	1.10	47.00	1.70
882	Itaúsa	Brazil	1.50	2.70	13.90	15.6
884	Grupo Televisa	Mexico	5.50	0.69	16.30	15.6
891	BRF	Brazil	9.60	0.88	10.60	10.9
908	Cemex	Mexico	14.40	0.08	31.40	10.2
937	Grupo Inbursa	Mexico	3.20	0.74	25.80	13.3
944	Ultrapar Participacoes	Brazil	22.60	0.45	5.30	11.5
948	Banco De Venezuela	Venezuela	3.50	2.50	67.00	1.2
951	Braskem	Brazil	14.20	0.94	15.20	5.2
986	Grupo Bimbo	Mexico	13.80	0.33	11.60	13.5
999	Cencosud	Chile	16.90	0.35	14.30	8.0
1061	ALFA	Mexico	16.30	0.24	15.40	9.4
1091	Cielo	Brazil	3.30	1.10	7.60	20.6
1103 1151	El Puerto de Liverpool AntarChile	Mexico Chile	5.70 18.10	0.58	6.70 20.50	15.9
1248	Eletrobrás	Brazil	9.80	-4.30	37.80	3.3
1306	BCI-Banco Credito	Chile	2.80	0.51	40.50	5.2
1400	Arca Continental	Mexico	4.80	0.46	7.60	11.3
1401	Metalurgica Gerdau	Brazil	13.00	-0.70	17.70	0.7
1420	Sociedades Bolivar	Colombia	4.20	0.43	31.00	1.5
1430	Grupo Carso	Mexico	5.60	0.39	5.40	10.5
1434	Cemig	Brazil	6.40	0.75	10.30	2.6
1464	Oi	Brazil	8.20	-1.50	24.50	0.1
1469	Companhia Brasileira de Distribuicao	Brazil	20.70	0.08	12.00	3.4
1506	Latam Airlines	Chile	9.70	-0.22	18.10	3.9
1514	Banco	Colombia	4.00	0.45	26.40	4.1
	Davivienda					
1539	BM & F Bovespa	Brazil	0.66	0.66	6.80	8.4
1541	Banco Occidental	Venezuela	3.10	0.53	20.20	0.4
1585	Banco Continental	Peru	1.80	0.43	23.80	3.9
1707	Quinenco	Chile	3.30	0.15	50.80	3.2
1719	Corporacion Geo	Mexico	0.04	1.30	0.88	0.2
1735	Banco del Caribe, C.A. Banco Universal	Venezuela	2.00	0.50	14.70	0.08
1741	Desarrolladora Homex	Mexico	0.02	1.20	0.84	0.1
1757	Banco de Chile	Chile	3.90	0.15	44.20	3.7
1840	Grupo Galicia	Argentina	4.20	0.47	12.50	3.9
1927	CSN	Brazil	4.60	0.38	12.30	5.2
1933	Fibra Uno	Mexico	0.70	0.36	9.90	7.4
1943	Empresas CMPC	Chile	4.80	0.29	14.80	5.4
1991	Rede Empresas	Brazil	2.10	0.72	3.10	0.6

Salvador or Honduras always featuring in the top ten positions. Similarly, there are laws regulating bankruptcy and courts judging broken contracts in all sorts of legislations, but the time needed to solve a contractual issue varies greatly, with Chile having relatively effective and efficient courts in comparison to, for example, Venezuela. Although there is evidence that Multilatinas focused their internationalization in their own region (Gonzalez-Gonzalez-Perez & Velez-Ocampo, 2014), there are remarkably successful cases of internationalization outside Latin America. Marco Polo, the Brazilian bus manufacturer, which has expanded not only throughout the region but also entered aggressively into the Chinese market, is an example of a Latin American multinational enterprise which, in spite of its global presence, continues to be relatively unknown (da Rocha, Arkader, & de G & es. 2015). Marco Polo buses are not sold to individual consumers, and in some foreign markets they are co-branded with partner firms, such as Tata in India. Other examples include firms operating in the extraction of natural resources, such as the Chilean Coldelco, the Brazilian Vale, and the Venezuelan PDVSA, which, though well-known within their respective industries, tend to become visible to the public only when they get in trouble. Petrolao, for example, was one of the largest corruption scandals in history; it linked the PT, the party that ruled Brazil since President Lula was elected, with Petrobras, the Brazilian state-owned oil and gas company, and one of the largest MNEs from Latin America (Economist, 2014). Industrial products manufacturers, such as the Argentinean Techint, a conglomerate specializing in steel products, and the Chilean Sigdo Coppers, specializing in engineering and construction, are well-known in their home countries and proximate region but, being business to business (B2B), they attract little attention from international media and academics.

The academic literature on emerging market firms began to develop in the 2000s, as a result of the structural change that saw emerging economies capture an apparently ever-growing share of the world economy, reaching more than half of global GDP by 2012. The financial crisis of 2008, and the prolonged recession it caused in North America and Europe, suddenly made emerging markets more interesting to investors and scholars, who could not ignore that between 2009 and 2013 these economies contributed to the majority of the world's economic growth for the first time since the industrial revolution took off in Europe.

Many countries in the region followed Brazil's example and implemented progressive social policies, dramatically reducing their average levels of poverty. These efforts quickly made Latin America a much more attractive foreign location choice, both economically and geopolitically. Brazil took a leadership role in the BRIC. Colombia was included in the CIVETS, and Mexico in the MIKTA, which are other groups of emerging economies with high growth potential (Moore, 2012). The OECD, an organization of economically developed countries, officially accepted Brazil, Chile, and Mexico as members; Colombia is expected to become a member in 2017.

4.2. The internationalization of multilatinas: the role of context

Throughout history, Latin American firms had to adapt to highly inefficient structures, such as having multiple supply routes and operations duplication, in order to be more resilient to possible shocks, such as attacks by guerrillas or armed gangs (Brenes et al., 2014Brenes, Ciravegna, & Montoya, 2014). They survived because of their strategies, and often also because of protectionism in the form of tariff and nontariff regulation. When market reforms reduced the extent to which Latin American countries protected their industries, largely between the 1980s and 1990s, several firms were wiped out by more efficient foreign competitors. However, the firms that had best adapted to their domestic conditions not only survived but also managed to grow and increase profitability and exports (Cuervo-Cazurra & Dau, 2009a, 2009b), exploiting the new political and economic climate, which combined economic growth with the possibility to invest abroad (del

Table 6
List of largest firms by sales that are Multilatinas.
Source: AmericaEconomia (2016).

Rank 2016	Company	Industry	Country	Sales US\$ mn	Assets US\$ mn	EBITDA US\$ mn	Owner	Stock Marke
1	Petrobras	Oil and gas	Brazil	90239	252542	7122	State	Yes
2	PDVSA	Oil and gas	Venezuela	88554	227674	16046	State	No
4	América Móvil	Telecom	Mexico	51695	74950	15446	Private	Yes
5	JBS	Food	Brazil	45707	34159	3611	Private	Yes
7	Petrobras Distribuidora	Oil and gas	Brazil	27293	8765	-331	State	No
8	Vale	Mining	Brazil	23988	96947	-4166	Private	Yes
9	Ultrapar	Oil and gas	Brazil	21226	5882	1109	Private	Yes
14	Empresas Copec	Diversified	Chile	18110	19881	1827	Private	Yes
15	Femsa	Beverages	Mexico	18013	23664	2521	Private	Yes
19	Cencosud	Retail	Chile	15496	14254	1225	Private	Yes
21	Grupo Alfa	Diversified	Mexico	14932	15418	2079	Private	Yes
23	Braskem	Petrochemicals	Brazil	13266	16823	2572	Private	Yes
25	Cemex	Cement	Mexico	13050	31348	2260	Private	Yes
26	Grupo Bimbo	Food	Mexico	12671	11541	1224	Private	Yes
27	Gerdau	Metallurgy	Brazil	12227	19666	-170	Private	Yes
28	YPF	Oil and gas	Argentina	12015	27968	3379	Private	Yes
32	Falabella Chile	Retail	Chile	10938	17774	1422	Private	Yes
38			Chile/Col.	9713	18051	1379	Private	Yes
	Latam Airlines Group	Air transport						
12	Eletrobrás	Electric energy	Brazil	9143	41985	-3003	State	Yes
13	Brf Foods	Food	Brazil	9033	11331	1556	Private	Yes
16	Grupo Votorantim	Diversified	Brazil	8844	23090	1962	Private	No
17	Coca – Cola Femsa	Beverages	Mexico	8808	12154	1694	Private	Yes
52	Grupo México	Mining	Mexico	8199	22302	3534	Private	Yes
54	Oxxo (Femsa Comercio)	Retail	Mexico	7682	n.a.	n.a.	Private	No
54	Grupo Coppel	Retail	Mexico	6193	2223	n.a.	Private	Yes
55	Grupo Camargo Correa	Diversified	Brazil	6026	n.a.	1126	Private	No
58	Copersucar	Bio Energía	Brazil	5888	2685	168	Private	No
70	Teléfonos de México	Telecom	Mexico	5822	7649	1375	Private	Yes
71	Mexichem	Petrochemicals	Mexico	5722	8691	907	Private	Yes
72	Embraer	Aerospace	Brazil	5696	12784	611	Private	Yes
75	Americas Mining Corporation	Mining	Mexico	5454	14081	n.a.	Private	No
77	Sigma	Food	Mexico	5409	4809	794	Private	Yes
31	Marfrig	Food	Brazil	5300	5868	480	Private	Yes
33	Grupo Salinas	Diversified	Mexico	5203	13811	n.a.	Private	No
34	Arauco	Pulp and paper	Chile	5147	13807	745	Private	No
36	Grupo Carso	Diversified	Mexico	5100	5445	704	Private	Yes
37	Grupo Televisa	Media	Mexico	5090	16272	1931	Private	Yes
91	Alpek	Petrochemicals	Mexico	4832	4330	569	Private	Yes
92	Emp. CMPC	Pulp and paper	Chile	4828	14728	970	Private	Yes
97	Globo Comunicações e Participações	Media	Brazil	4502	6253	1063	Private	No
98	Organización Terpel	Oil and gas	Colombia	4430	1211	n.a.	Private	No
99	Arca Continental	Beverages	Mexico	4420	7570	942	Private	Yes
100	Grupo Elektra	Diversified	Mexico	4388	11483	448	Private	Yes
100	Avianca – Taca	Air transport	Colombia	4361	6362	767	Private	No
101	Grupo EMP	Diversified	Colombia	4333	13057	592	State	No
103	CSN-Cia Siderurgica Nacional	Metallurgy	Brazil	4302	13649	1783	Private	Yes
	· ·							
13	Nemak	Car components	Mexico	4098	4163	759	Private	No
17	Votorantim Cimentos	Cement	Brazil	3941	9355	906	Private	No
121	Grupo Argos	Cement	Colombia	3822	12999	815	Private	No
22	Industrias Peñoles	Mining	Mexico	3752	6409	710	Private	Yes

Sol and Kogan, 2007del Sol & Kogan, 2007).

The case of the Salvadoran retail chain Super Selectos is illustrative. It started as a family business in the 1960s, expanded locally in a gradual fashion, and survived the turmoil of civil war precisely because of its highly flexible and resilient structure, which would have been deemed very inefficient in an advanced economy. Given the idiosyncrasies of the local market, namely one of the highest incidences of violent crime in the world as well as a vulnerability to hurricanes, the decentralized, multiple-hubs, multiple-supply-routes organization of Super Selectos allowed it to outcompete the largest firm in the world, not only maintaining but even increasing its home market share (The World Bank, 2011). After being successful in its home market, Super Selectos formed an alliance with other regional retailers to expand internationally (Brenes et al., 2015Brenes, Ciravegna, & Montoya, 2015), following the path of other Latin American consumer products firms that internationalized, such as the fast food chain Pollo Campero, the Chilean DIY retailer Sodimac, the Brazilian steakhouse (churrasqueria) Fogo de Chão, the Peruvian gastronomy restaurant Astrid & Gastón, the Colombian lingerie retailer Leonisa, and the Brazilian cosmetics firm Natura.

The market deregulation reforms, together with the growth of domestic markets, fueled the profits of the Latin American firms that survived through the turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s, and the new firms that emerging during the 1990s-2000s (Carneiro et al., 2011Carneiro, Da Rocha & Silva, 2011). The largest firms from Brazil, Mexico, Chile, and Colombia began looking for mechanisms for growth other than their domestic market, searching for partners, allies, and markets to enter (Aulakh, Kotabe, & Teegen, 2000; Cuervo-Cazurra, 2016; Sanglard, Carneiro, Baiocchi, Freitas, & Schiavo, 2014).

4.3. Multilatinas: drivers of internationalization

There are several mechanisms that characterize the growth of Latin American multinationals from a domestic to a multi-country base. First, there are firms that started as state-owned monopolies, then later were privatized but still linked to the state, and that benefitted from their

Table 7List of the top 50 Multilatinas by internationalization. Source: AmericaEconomia (2016).

Rank 2016	Compay	Country	Industry	Sales 2015, US\$ mn	Sales abroad, %	Employees 2015, number	Employees abroad, %	Number of countries
1	Mexichem	Mexico	Petrochemicals	5708	87.5	18803	81.3	37
2	Cemex	Mexico	Cement	13050.1	79.9	43117	78	34
3	Latam	Chile/Brazil	Airline	9713	83.8	50413	75	18
4	Grupo JBS	Brazil	Food	45707.3	78	227168	44.1	17
5	Gruma	Mexico	Food	3369.1	73.1	19117	62.1	18
6	Avianca-Taca	Colombia/El Salvador	Airline	4361.3	74	21245	60	22
7	Sigma	Mexico	Food	5409.1	57.3	40000	67.6	17
8	Arcos Dorados	Argentina	Entertainment	2930.4	87	83348	82	10
9	AJE Group	Peru	Beverages	1550	83	15000	81.5	20
10	América Móvil	Mexico	Telecom	51694.7	68.9	195475	54.8	18
11	Tenaris	Argentina	Met	7100.8	73	21700	65	14
12	Grupo Alfa	Mexico	Diversified	14932.3	57	72529	36	26
13	Grupo Bimbo	Mexico	Food	12671.2	65	127152	37	23
14	Ternium	Argentina	Metallurgy	7877.4	70	16700	65	14
15	Nemak	Mexico	Car parts	4098.2	58.4	21000	60	12
16	Embotelladora Andina	Chile	Beverages	2646.8	72.6	16525	77.1	4
17	Masisa	Chile	Pulp and paper	1052.6	80.1	5164	63	11
18	ISA	Colombia	Electricity	1640	68.1	3756	63.7	7
19	Gerdau	Brazil	Metallurgy	12227.1	71	45000	45	15
20	Sonda	Chile	IT	1256.3	60.4	19652	82	6
21	Copa Airlines	Panama	Airline	2250.1	80	9302	30	30
22	Marfrig	Brazil	Food	5300.3	59	30276	60.1	8
23	Sigdo Koppers	Chile	Construction	2414.5	40.4	11215	52.2	15
24	Ambev	Brazil	Beverages	13107.8	43.7	52738	34.3	19
25	Cencosud	Chile	Retail	15495.9	62.4	140474	60.3	5
26	Globant	Argentina	IT	253.8	89.6	5041	43.4	11
27	Tech Pack	Chile	Manufacturing	376.1	70	2343	69.7	5
28	Coca-Cola Femsa	Mexico	Beverages	8807.9	48.1	83712	51.8	10
29	Grupo Sura	Colombia	Finance	4430	43.7	30141	64	8
30	Viña Concha y Toro	Chile	Beverages	896.9	81.2	3450	25.2	11
31	Votorantim Cimentos	Brazil	Cement	3940.8	44	15288	41.1	13
32	Embraer	Brazil	Aerospace	5695.9	87.7	19373	12.2	10
33	WEG	Brazil	Manufacturing	2738.3	57	30973	27	12
34	Aeroméxico	Mexico	Airline	2714	48.4	13392	17	22
35	Grupo Argos	Colombia	Cement	3821.7	43.2	9247	46.2	7
36	Arauco	Chile	Pulp and paper	5146.7	34	14748	37.6	14
37	Falabella	Chile	Retail	10938.2	42	105583	51.5	6
38	Softtek	Mexico	IT	538.6	70	10700	40	9
39	Vale	Brazil	Mining	23987.7	22.8	74100	22	26
40	CMPC	Chile	Pulp and paper	4841	39.5	17562	45	8
41	Alicorp	Peru	Food	1935.4	39.9	4596	56.5	7
42	Empresas Copec	Chile	Diversified	18109.8	39.3	26694	30.1	12
43	Grupo Belcorp	Peru	Chemicals	1185	20	8656	65	15
44	Metalfrio	Brazil	Manufacturing	260.6	53.5	2791	40	6
44	Grupo Nutresa	Colombia	Food	2895.8	33.5 37.9	45084	40 27.9	14
				2895.8 2120.2	37.9		27.9 38.1	
46	Arcor	Argentina	Food			21000		14
47	Fibria	Brazil	Pulp and paper	2828.2	77	16738	7	4
48	Femsa	Mexico	Beverages	18013	28	246158	23.8	13 9
49	BRF Foods	Brazil	Food	9033.1	50.2	105733	5	
50	Arca Continental	Mexico	Beverages	4419.8	34.1	49561	33.8	5

Table 8List of Multilatinas among BCG's emerging market champions.
Source: Azevedo et al. (2016).

Country	Global Challengers	Graduates
Argentina Brazil	Tenaris (steel) BRF Brasil (food), Braskem (chemicals), Embraer (aerospace), Gerdau (steel), Iochpe-Maxion (steel products), Marcopolo (bus manufacture), Natura (cosmetics), Petrobras (oil and gas), Tigre (pipes), Votorantim (Diversified), WEG (motors)	JBS (food), Vale (mining)
Chile Colombia Mexico	Concha y Toro (beverages), Fallabella (retail), LATAM (airline) Grupo Empresarial Antioqueno (diversified) Alfa (Diversified), Femsa (Beverages), Gruma (food), Grupo Mexico (mining), Mexichem (chemicals)	America Movil (telecom), Cemex (cement),
Peru	Alicorp (food), Grupo Gloria (food)	Grupo Bimbo (food)

government connections. These include energy firms such as Petrobras and ISAGEN, airlines such as Copa, and even banks such as Banco Itaú and Bancolombia. Brazil, given the sheer size of its public sector and its involvement in industrial policy, generated several Multilatinas through this mechanism. Much like their European counterparts, these firms, while being multinationals, are very anchored in their domestic markets in terms of investments, employment, and sales precisely because of their state-linked legacy. Embraer, the Brazilian aircraft manufacturer, is an exception — given the nature of its product, in spite of being a former state-owned company, it targets the global market and operates in a highly globalized organizational structure (Bonaglia et al., 2007).

Second, there are firms that benefitted from the favorable regulatory conditions in their domestic market, which allowed for highly profitable operations. Such firms include América Móvil (ex Telmex), a Mexican telecom firm acquired by investor Carlos Slim from the Mexican state, which has maintained an almost monopolistic hold on its domestic telephony market for more than a decade (Casanova, 2009). Internationalization provided these firms with a way to invest their profits and reduce their vulnerability to regulatory changes in their domestic market.

The third mechanism is related simply to domestic market growth and early deregulation and stabilization, which generated opportunities for entrepreneurial firms (Felzensztein et al., 2015Felzensztein, Ciravegna, Robson, & Amoros, 2015). Chile, while being only a midsized economy within Latin America, is home to a large number of Multilatinas not linked to the state, notably Falabella in retail and Concha y Toro in wine (Bianchi, 2009; Deshpandé, Herrero & Reficco, 2008). Chile's successful gestation of multinational firms can be explained by looking at its recent economic history - it was the first country to deregulate and open its economy in the 1970s, and it has since maintained stable macroeconomic policies and a clear commitment to open markets, signing free trade agreements with a large number of countries, and improving its ranking on the Doing Business index of the World Bank as well as on the World Governance Indicators. Chilean firms benefitted earlier than other Latin American firms from operating in a competitive economy, so when other markets in the region implemented similar reforms, they were well-placed to enter them and outcompete some of the local or global incumbents (del Sol and Kogan, 2007 del Sol & Kogan, 2007).

Finally, some firms formed alliances with multinationals from advanced economies to acquire credibility and to search for industrial synergies. Others acquired or merged with regional competitors to acquire scale and a facilitated market entry. In the aviation industry, we find examples of both. Tam, the largest airline in Latin America in the early 2000s, merged with Lan Chile in 2012 to become Latam, thus covering a much broader range of destinations in 16 countries. In 2009, Avianca, the largest airline from Colombia, purchased Taca, an airline based in El Salvador with operations in 22 different countries. Copa, an airline based in Panama, expanded by leveraging its strategic alliance with Continental (later United Airlines) in 1998, and since 2012 has been a member of Star Alliance (Copa Airlines, 2016).

As a result of these mechanisms, some Multilatinas have become truly global multinational corporations, typically through merges and acquisitions with groups based outside of the region. The Brazilian brewery Ambev, for example, emerged from the merge of two domestic firms — Brahma and Antarctica — and became the largest in Latin America, with investments in most countries in the region. In 2004 it merged with the Belgian Interbrew, and in 2008 merged with the American Anheuser-Busch, becoming Anheuser-Busch InBev, the largest brewery in the world (Gonzalez-Perez et al., 2015Gonzalez-Perez, Rios-Molina, & Vasquez-Melo, 2015). It then acquired SAB Miller (another group with a strong EMNE link, the South African SAB merged with the American Miller) in 2016.

Most Multilatinas remain highly regional in nature, which helps explain why they are not more recognized worldwide. During the 1990s–2000s, these firms initiated or accelerated their internationalization process, but mainly targeted markets that were geographically close (Anand, Brenes, Karnani, & Rodriguez, 2006; Lopez, Kundu, & Ciravegna, 2009; Ciravegna, Lopez, & Kundu, 2014). This is consistent with the arguments of, among others, Rugman and Verbeke (2004), who assert that most multinationals tend to grow internationally mainly within their own home region, with only a few firms truly achieving global status. It is also consistent with the idea of semiglobalization, showing that firms tend to exploit the similarities in consumer taste, market structure, and managerial understanding of specific areas (Ghemawat, 2013).

The regional expansion of Latin American firms was not just regional in terms of targeting Latin America, but also shows some microregion patterns, whereby firms from countries in the Southern Cone, such as Chile, Brazil, and Argentina, tend to expand in those same markets, avoiding Mexico and Central America. For example, the Chilean retail chain Falabella entered Argentina, then Colombia, then Peru. Firms from Mexico invest in Central America and, leveraging the effects of NAFTA, in the United States - thus being regional while not only focusing on Latin America (Felzensztein et al., 2015). Some Mexican firms acquire scale through their presence in their US and use it as a platform for entering other markets. Bimbo, the largest baked goods producer in the world, expanded in the US and Central America during the 1990s, and then during the 2000s entered other markets in Latin America and began investing in China. Clearly, other explanations for such regionality are familiarity with the business language, personal networks, and similar consumer taste (Ciravegna, Lopez et al., 2014 Gonzalez-Perez & Velez-Ocampo, 2014).

Latin American multinational firms have been examined in only a handful of articles and some case studies. Thomas (2006), for example, examined the internationalization performance relationship for Mexican firms, finding it to be of a U-shaped form. Conti, Parente, and Vasconscelos (2016) show that Multilatinas take different approaches towards distance, depending on the type of firm, and that links with the state, among other factors, influence their internationalization pattern. Several studies (Aulakh et al., 2000; Brenes, Ciravegna et al., 2016; Brenes, Ciravegna, & Marcotte, 2016; Cuervo-Cazurra, 2007, 2008, 2016) point out that Multilatinas actually adopt a diversity of strategies when entering new markets; this makes it hard to generalize on their overall behavior and calls for further research, which this Special Issue responds to.

5. Multilatinas and the internationalization of Latin American firms: this special issue

Against this backdrop of scarce research on Multilatinas, our call for papers solicited new and exiting research on the internationalization of firms from Latin America, and specifically their behavior as Multilatinas. In this special issue, we include eight articles that are anchored in different theoretical perspectives and answer important questions about Multilatinas. Although all the articles reflect the influence that the conditions of operation of Latin America have on firms, we can order the articles by their level of analysis, from the micro level of the individual manager, to the mezzo level of the companies, to the macro level of the country. This does not reflect an order of importance but only of level of analysis, which is the following:

The first article explores the importance of the style of leadership in internationalized firms from Latin America. Ramsey, Rutti, Lorenz, Barakat and Sant'Anna, in their paper "Developing Global Transformational Leaders", find that transformational leadership in Multilatinas is characterized by high cultural intelligence; global leaders of Multilatinas embrace a more humanistic approach to leadership because of the importance of relationships between leaders and their followers.

The second article, titled "Openness, International Champions, and the Internationalization of Multilatinas", by Hennart, Sheng, and Carrera Junior, specifically discusses the tension between sovereignty and internationalization. The authors find that regardless of their declared liberal economic openness, Latin American countries have protectionism mechanisms (policies) preventing critical domestic firms from being sold to foreigners. This implies that although Latin American governments have pursued internationalization policies, their intervention continues to protect selected firms.

The third article, titled "The ownership acquired by multilatinas in cross-border acquisitions: The moderating role of government support", written by Pinto, Ferreira, Falaster, Fleury and Fleury, analyzes how government support in the form of financing, stock participation and political, changes the relationship between institutional distance and knowledge access on the level of ownership in cross-border relationships. The paper explains how government influence has a different influence on the relationship depending on the type of support, thus providing a more nuanced understanding of the mechanisms under which governments affect firm behavior by beyond the traditional focus on the level of ownership in firms.

The fourth article, titled "Building international business bridges in geographically isolated areas: The role of Foreign Market Focus and Outward Looking Competences in Latin American SMEs", by Vendrell-Herrero, Gomes, Mellahi, and Child, emphasizes that when aiming to understand the specific endowments of internationally successful SMEs, industry matters. The authors identify explicit Foreign Market Focus (FMF) factors as well as Outward Looking Competences (OLC) in SMEs to achieve a sustainable competitive presence abroad.

The fifth article, titled "Revisiting the relationship between product diversification and internationalization process in the context of emerging market MNEs", by Batsakis and Moh, explores the institutional contexts and industry-specific particularities in the retail sector. The authors seek to revisit the classic relationship between product and geographic diversification by looking at Latin American firms. They find that the idiosyncratic situations of Latin American firms are critical for explaining different features of their internationalization (i.e., speed; the role of experience/knowledge; boundary conditions of transaction cost logic).

The sixth article, titled "Political ideologies and the internationalization of family-controlled firms", by Duran, Kostova, and van Essen, studies the effect of government political ideology on the internationalization of family-controlled firms (FCFs). The authors explore the importance of the fit between the ideological objectives of policy-makers and the non-economic objectives of family owners. The main contribution of this study is its analysis of the influence of socio-political context for the internationalization of family-controlled firms in Latin America.

The seventh contribution to this volume, "Looking for a Service Opening: Building Reputation by Leveraging International Activities and Host Country Context", concentrates on finding the influence of a country's economic openness on firm-level signal interpretation when stakeholders assess firm reputation. Borda, Newburry, Teegen, Montero, Najera-Sanchez, Forcadell, Lama, and Quispe uncover that the reputation of Latin American firms is higher in knowledge-intensive firms.

The eighth article, titled "Overcoming the liability of origin by doing no-harm: Emerging country firms' social irresponsibility as they go global", by Giuliani, Fiaschi, and Nieri, dissects how neo-institutions (speech and press freedom) influence corporate social responsibility (CSR) in firms from emerging (and developing) countries. Their study determines that neo-institutions affect the legitimacy of emerging markets firms. This compelling research finds that there is a critical role for the mechanisms of compensation with CSR and good behavior for overcoming the liabilities of emergingness. This article also contributes to the existing literature on corporate social responsibility.

The ninth article, titled "The Effect of the State in the Internationalization of Latin American Firms", by Finchelstein, takes a business history approach to examine the direct and indirect role of the

state in promoting or impeding the internationalization of large firms in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. He shows that the type of state intervention, particularly in the form of lending policies, not only led to the emergence of national champions and their internationalization, but also explains the breadth of their sectorial diversification.

6. Conclusion and future avenues of research

This special issue and its related workshop in Sao Paolo have produced a set of articles that pay unique attention to the economic factors in which Multilatinas are embedded, as well as to the role of the state in developing economic policies that by default will benefit certain sectors and owners at the expense of others. It is encouraging that more and better data is becoming available on firms in Latin America, which can be studied in the context of broader economic and political institutional factors.

To close this special issue, we would like to suggest what might be some promising research topics to advance research on Multilatinas beyond this issue. First, we think it would be fascinating to engage in some of the more ethnographic or fieldwork-type research on how large multinational firms from Latin America make strategic decisions on internationalization. Are they emulating firms from other markets? Do they have their own idiosyncratic model? What is the decision-making process at the managerial level? What are their main constraints and roadblocks? Are they turning liabilities into assets?

Second, Latin America, in general, has traditionally suffered from low levels of entrepreneurship and innovation, in part due to the economic and political uncertainty. This might now be turning around with market digitalization and technological advancements as well as easier access to talent and knowledge. In this regard, it would be interesting to explore how firms from Latin America might be taking advantage of the technological revolution in their efforts to globalize.

Third, most emerging market firms are dominated by family-owned or state-owned firms, and Multilatinas are no exception. Moreover, these firms tend to be organized in business or pyramidal groups with complex control and accountability structures. Future research should study how these firms organize their corporate governance to balance their organic growth with diverse owners and stakeholders as well as their growth derived from geographic diversification. This relates to developing and implementing checks and balances to respond to minority shareholders, comply with governance regulations in foreign markets, retain director and top management team talent, and manage diverse stakeholder demands ranging from external factors such as international media to rating agencies and regulators.

Fourth, there is a scarcity in executive education programs addressing the specific needs of top management leaders of Multilatinas and multinationals operating in Latin America. Executive programs with academically rigorous, inside views and context-specific academic cases that take into account the specificities of Latin America (in contrast to other emerging and developing regions and in comparison to traditionally more advanced economies) are not abundant in the portfolio of well-ranked institutions. Therefore, case studies that provide a deeper understanding of the context-specific complexity can contribute to the design of executive education programs aiming to enhance managerial capabilities and strategic decision-making processes, and to effectively deal with potential scenarios under uncertain environments.

Fifth, Latin America provides a unique laboratory for studying several dimensions of the ways in which the macroeconomic and sociopolitical context shapes the type of enterprises that develop locally, as well as their internationalization path (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2016). For example, understanding whether and how firms based in highly insecure environments manage risk could provide interesting insights for businesses based in other countries and regions affected by violence. Studying from a long-term perspective the strategies that Latin American firms adopted to survive and cope with dramatic changes in politics, regulation, and market conditions, such as the advent of ISI in the

1950s and the market reforms of the 1990s, could generate interesting lessons for multinationals, especially in our present period, as unpredictable and abrupt political events have become a feature of advanced as well as emerging economies.

In spite of these many interesting avenues for study, unfortunately research on Latin America remains scarce. This Special Issue contributes to address this gap, providing new empirical evidence about the mechanisms linking Multilatinas to their context, and shedding more light on their features. We hope that it also inspires scholars to engage in new projects studying firms based in the region, which, we believe, would be beneficial for academics and practitioners alike.

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