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In this paper, we explore the psychological experience of university-educated local workers from emerging economies striving to enter the global job market for managerial positions. Building on qualitative data from sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab Gulf, we conducted two experimental studies in the Arab Gulf to test whether local job candidates feel inhibited to self-advocate for higher compensation in global employment contexts and whether they believe that such negotiating behavior is less appropriate in global than in local work contexts. We theorize that shifting from local to global employment contexts, university-educated locals experience a decline in their status as workers because of a perceived lack of fit with the cosmopolitan "ideal worker." We find that the contrasting global and local labor-market experiences of local job candidates are moderated by gender because local men experience a greater shift in status between local and global employment contexts than do women. This research contributes to the study of status and gender effects on negotiation by illuminating differential constraints of status and gender on negotiating behavior. This research also has important practical implications for the integration and advancement of workers from emerging economies into global institutions and for our broader understanding of how intersecting status-linked social identities influence career negotiations.

Keywords: globalization; gender; intersectionality; negotiation; status; stereotypes; emerging markets

When I go for an interview, the first impression they have is that I am a local. I am lazy . . . . This is the stereotype.
—Local university graduate applying for work with multinational corporations

I guess it falls under work ethic; it's different from what we expect . . . . It is really difficult for us to find locals fitting our expectations.
—Hiring manager in a multinational corporation

In the global labor market, there is a differential valuation of the potential contributions of "locals," whose skills, knowledge, and experience set is associated with the national context, and "cosmopolitans," who have accumulated international skills, knowledge, and experience Haas (2006).[1] "Cosmopolitans" enjoy a higher status, as Kanter (1995, p. 22) explains:

Cosmopolitans are card-carrying members of the world class—often literally . . . , with passports or air tickets serving to admit them . . . . Comfortable in many places and able to understand and bridge the differences among them, cosmopolitans possess portable skills and a broad outlook.

While some local expertise is valuable in international work, locals defy the prototype of the ideal global worker (Haas 2006, Connell 1998).

This contrast becomes acute when locals are nationals of non-Western emerging economies, such as the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America (Gillespie et al. 2010). "Global" business culture is associated with Western capitalist values and logics (e.g., being competitive, performance driven) that reject predominate associations with traditional non-Western business cultures (e.g., relationship oriented) (Erez and Shokef 2008, Fu and Chiu 2007). There is a perceived "lack of fit" (Heilman 1983) between the local and the ideal global candidate.

Once hired, local employees tend to be compensated systematically less than their cosmopolitan (e.g., expatriate or "international") colleagues in multinational organizations. Even in economic development, where local knowledge has distinctive value (Haas 2006), professionals from wealthy economies are paid at "international rates," while professionals from emerging economies are paid at lower "local rates." It is rational for compensation to be informed by cost-of-living differences, but some

argue documented pay gaps ranging from 4:1 to 9:1 controlling for in-country purchasing power are too extreme (Carr 2010, Carr et al. 1998). Carr (2010, p. 16) explains,

> When dual salaries were first introduced...they had at least a modicum of rationale. They were based on an assumption that local capacity was relatively low, lending a premium to expatriate skills. Today however, the landscape is considerably changed, and the policy much less defensible.

Evidence of pay disparities between expatriate and local employees in international joint ventures creates perceptions of unfair compensation systems and contributes to demoralization of local employees (Leung et al. 2009). Pay inequities between cosmopolitans (e.g., expatriates or "internationals") and locals reinforce locals' lower status (Ridgeway and Erickson 2000).

Nonmaterial inequalities between cosmopolitan and local workers have been documented worldwide. Studying professional interactions in multinational employment settings, researchers have observed how cosmopolitans are afforded greater deference than their local peers. For example, Metiu (2006) conducted an ethnographic study of a U.S.–Indian software development team. She documented how the Americans distanced themselves from "local" Indian colleagues by making claim to higher-status creative (versus lower-status technical) work and by segregating both online communications and face-to-face interactions. Neeley (2013) examined the transition to English as the lingua franca in a multinational corporation. She illuminated how increasing deference to more fluent English speakers led to a decline in the professional status of less fluent English speakers. Leonardi and Rodriguez-Lluesma (2013, p. 489) studied engineering teams in a global corporation and documented how the perceived cross-national "pecking order...of engineering centers" negatively influenced the quality of international collaboration. A Mexican engineer lamented that his Western colleagues "think we're not as good engineers [and that] they're higher status" (Leonardi and Rodriguez-Lluesma 2013, p. 492). Deferential treatment of cosmopolitan employees reflects and reinforces the status hierarchy between "global" and "local" workers (Ridgeway and Erickson 2000).

In this research, we study the psychological experience of university-educated local workers from emerging economies striving to enter the global job market for managerial positions. We present data from qualitative interviews and pretest surveys to illuminate the job market context for locals pursuing global corporate employment, including evidence from sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab Gulf. In two experimental studies conducted in the Arab Gulf, we test whether local job candidates feel inhibited to self-advocate for higher compensation in global employment contexts and whether they believe that such negotiating behavior is less appropriate in global

than local employment contexts because it defies the normative expectations of low-status behavior. In conclusion, we discuss practical implications of behavioral norms that inhibit the agency of local employees in global institutions.

Status, Gender, and Self-Advocacy in Global Employment

We focus on negotiation because it is one of the fundamental social processes in organizational life. It is also a mechanism of career advancement that is not equally accessible to all employees (Bowles and McGinn 2008). Organizational researchers have long documented that status-linked social identities influence the outcomes of implicit negotiation processes that affect career advancement, such that employees belonging to higher-status social groups (e.g., men versus women, whites versus blacks) more readily attain organizational resources and opportunities (Dreher and Cox 2000).

Recent research on gender in negotiation has provided perspective into this phenomenon. U.S.-based field and laboratory studies have shown that women feel more reticent than men to negotiate for career rewards, such as higher compensation (Babcock and Laschever 2003), because self-advocating for higher pay violates feminine prescriptions of communality (i.e., warmth and concern for others; Amanatullah and Morris 2010, Bowles et al. 2007). There is debate, however, about whether these effects are better explained by status differences between men and women or by gender per se (e.g., Amanatullah and Tinsley 2013, Magee et al. 2007).

While communality is a central prescription of the feminine gender role (Eagly 1987), it also a broader prescriptive expectation of low-status actors. For instance, Conway et al. (1996, p. 29) demonstrated experimentally that even interpreting fictional accounts (i.e., of the "Bwisi and Mwangai...living in the Caroline Islands in the western Pacific ocean"), low-status groups were ascribed communal traits and high-status groups agentic ones. In their extensive review and categorization of stereotypes in the stereotype content model, Fiske et al. (2002, p. 880) explain that "paternalistic stereotypes" assign high communal warmth and low competence to a wide range of low-status groups, including disadvantaged blacks, elderly people, nonstandard speakers, and traditional women. In experiments designed to establish status hierarchies, Ridgeway et al. (1998) and Ridgeway and Erickson (2000) documented a propensity for disadvantaged groups (e.g., the lower paid or those treated with disregard) to be viewed, and to also view themselves, as more communal (i.e., socially considerate) to compensate for a perceived lack of competence. Expectations of communal behavior make members of low-status groups more socially attractive and less threatening (Brown and Levinson 1987, Jackman 1994), and low-status group

members can enhance the perceived value of their contributions through expressions of concern for group welfare (Ridgeway 1987).

Following the arguments that communality is not only a prescriptive stereotype for women but for low-status people more generally and that self-advocating for greater resources or rewards at work violates expectations of communal behavior (Amanatullah and Morris 2010, Bowles et al. 2007), we propose that low-status men will also feel more inhibited than high-status men from negotiating for higher pay. However, in U.S. studies testing for power or status as a moderator of gender effects in negotiation, manipulations have only affected the behavior of women and not men. For instance, priming study participants with the psychological experience of high power enhanced women's but not men's propensity to negotiate (Magee et al. 2007, Small et al. 2007). Amanatullah and Tinsley (2013) found that participants evaluated assertive female negotiators less negatively when they held higher-status organizational positions (i.e., "executive" versus "newly hired junior officer"), but title had no significant effect on the evaluation of assertive male negotiators. This pattern of results suggests that women's negotiating behavior is constrained by their social status relative to men, but it does not shed light on the question of whether men's negotiating behavior might also be constrained by diminished social standing.

We aim to build upon and extend this research by expanding the aperture of our investigative lens to encompass broader populations of men than are typically found in the privileged Western samples generally employed by negotiation researchers (see Ayres and Siegelman 1995). Focusing on employment markets for local university-educated job candidates offers a rich opportunity to examine effects of status and gender on career self-advocacy. Shifting from local to global employment contexts, university-educated locals experience a decline in status as workers. In the local employment context, they are among the most talented workers their national universities produce. In the global employment context, they suffer a perceived lack of fit with the cosmopolitan "ideal worker" (Acker 1990, Connell 1998).

We theorize that the contrasting global and local labor-market experiences of local job candidates are moderated by gender because local men experience a greater shift in status between local and global employment contexts than do women. In the local employment context, men tend to hold higher status than women. In the global employment context, gender status hierarchies persist, but there is also the hierarchy between cosmopolitan and local employees. Testing effects of gender as well as employment context on the evaluation of locals' negotiating behavior enables us to explore whether women's propensity to self-advocate is perceived differently than that of low-status men and specifically whether gender stereotypes as well as social status constrain women's negotiating ability.

This research contributes to the literature on global work a deeper understanding of the experience of university-educated local workers approaching global employment markets. This research also contributes to the study of status and gender effects on negotiation by illuminating differential constraints of status and gender on negotiating behavior. This research has important implications for the integration and advancement of workers from emerging economies into global institutions and for our broader understanding of how status-linked social identities influence career negotiations.

Hypotheses

Research Context

We conducted our two main studies in the Arab Gulf, a rapidly globalizing emerging market known as the "beating heart of globalization in the Arab world" (Hudson 2006, p. 148). The Arab Gulf is widely known to have a distinctive economic history stemming from the oil boom, but it shares much in common with other regions of the world experiencing rapid economic globalization. There are many parts of the world—from Brazil to South Africa to Thailand—where locals are striving to build their national economies and career prospects by joining the global job market.

To gain insight into the psychological experience of locals striving for global employment, we recruited our main study participants from "reform universities" in the Arab Gulf, specifically in Saudi Arabia (Study 1) and the United Arab Emirates (UAE; Study 2). To prepare young nationals for the global employment market, Saudi Arabia and the UAE created reform universities with English-mandated instruction. The mission of reform universities is to prepare students for global employment (e.g., committed to preparing highly qualified students to become leaders who are globally competitive). Many faculty are European or North American. The aim is for students to graduate as global-local biculturals (Arnett 2002)—immersed through their university experience in the language (English) and "workways" (i.e., "beliefs, mental models, and practices that embody . . . what is true, good, and efficient within the domain of work" (Sanchez-Burks and Lee 2007, p. 346)) of "global" business.

These reform university students are the most competitive local university graduates for global employment. They have invested in an education designed to enhance their cosmopolitan status. This is important to highlight because it makes our tests both more conservative and realistic because they are the most viable candidates for global employment among local university graduates. We would expect our predicted status effects to be stronger if tested among university students who had not benefitted from years of English immersion and Western business training.

Hypothesized Effects of Status and Gender on Local's Self-Advocacy

Building upon our discussion above about gender, status, and self-advocacy in global employment, we now explain our predictions within the research context. Our leading prediction is that local university graduates will be more inclined to self-advocate for higher pay in a local than in a global employment context because local university graduates have higher status in local than in global employment contexts. We based this prediction on research already discussed, indicating that self-advocating for greater resources or rewards at work (e.g., higher compensation) violates the normative expectations of low-status behavior.

HYPOTHESIS 1 (H1). *Local job candidates will be more inclined to self-advocate for higher compensation in a local than in a global employment context.*

However, we predict that gender will moderate this main effect of employment context on the propensity to negotiate for higher pay because employment context has a greater effect on local men's social status at work than on local women's.

In the countries in which we conducted our research (Saudi Arabia and the UAE), local men retain overwhelming control of economic resources and authority positions in government and the domestic private sector (Schwab et al. 2015). Even though university graduation rates for women surpass men's, women occupy only a fraction of the paid workforce (Greig et al. 2015). Men are the presumed breadwinners for the family, and women are expected to assume family care-giving roles (Al Munajjed 1997, World Bank 2013). Local women who are employed tend to congregate in the public sector or in lower-level positions in the private sector (World Bank 2013). In sum, because men tend to have higher status than women in the local employment context, we hypothesize men will feel at greater liberty than women to negotiate for higher pay.

HYPOTHESIS 2 (H2). *In the local employment context, local men will be more inclined than local women to self-advocate for higher compensation.*

In the global employment context, local men no longer belong to the ruling class and, as discussed above, suffer a lack of fit with the cosmopolitan ideal worker (Connell 1998, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). While local men experience a decline in status shifting from the local to the global employment context, local women tend to be ascribed lower status than the dominant class of men in *both* the local employment context and in the Western industrialized employment contexts of global corporations (Ridgeway 2011). There is some evidence of liberal Western values bolstering the workplace status of Arab women in the global as compared to the local work context (Metcalfe 2006, 2007), and of global employers

expressing hiring preferences for local women over local men in emerging economies (Ahmed 2004, Ng and Mitter 2005). These dynamics put local women in a more competitive position relative to local men in the global compared to the local employment context, but local women never escape the global gender status hierarchy (Ridgeway 2011). In sum, we predict that gender will moderate the main effect of employment context on the propensity to negotiate for higher pay (H2) such that the effect of employment context will be greater for local men than local women.

HYPOTHESIS 3 (H3). *Local male job candidates will be more inclined to self-advocate for higher compensation in the local than in the global employment context.*

HYPOTHESIS 4 (H4). *Gender will moderate the effect of global (versus local) employment context on local job candidates' propensity to self-advocate for higher compensation, such that the effect of employment context (H1) will be greater for local men than for local women.*

Drawing on research on gender and status in self-advocacy, we theorized that low-status actors feel inhibited from negotiating for higher pay because it violates the normative expectations of low-status behavior, specifically, communality. Therefore, we wanted to test how locals would perceive a male or female local who self-advocated for higher pay. Would they perceive a local negotiating for higher pay as insufficiently communal and, therefore, as a less desirable employee? If so, that could help to explain their reticence to negotiate in contexts in which they hold lower status.

One method of assessing how negotiating for higher pay is perceived is to compare how evaluators rate an employee who negotiates to the same employee letting an opportunity to negotiate pass (e.g., Bowles et al. 2007). One measure of the perceived desirability of an employee is evaluators' expressed willingness to work with them. As an indicator of the perceived inappropriateness of low-status actors self-advocating for higher compensation, we predicted that local evaluators would express less willingness to work with local employees who negotiated for higher pay in a global employment context.

HYPOTHESIS 5 (H5). *In the global employment context, local evaluators will express less willingness to work with locals who negotiate for higher pay compared to locals who let the opportunity to negotiate pass.*

While it might be inappropriate for both male and female locals to negotiate for higher pay in a global employment context, we predicted that gender would moderate evaluations of local employees who negotiated for higher pay in a local employment context. In the local employment context where local men have higher status than local women, we predicted that local evaluators would perceive local men negotiating for higher pay as more socially appropriate than local women doing the same.

HYPOTHESIS 6 (H6). *In the local employment context, gender will moderate the effect of self-advocating for higher compensation on willingness to work with a local employee, such that the negative effect of negotiating will be greater if the negotiator is a man.*

Building from H5 and H6, we predict that employment context will moderate locals' evaluations of male locals who negotiate for higher pay. Because men have lower status in the global than in the local employment context, we predict a stronger negative effect of negotiating on locals' willingness to work with a male local in the global than in the local employment context.

HYPOTHESIS 7 (H7). *Employment context will moderate locals' willingness to work with a local male employee who self-advocates for higher compensation (compared to letting the opportunity to negotiate pass), such that the negative effect of negotiating for higher pay on the willingness to work with a male local will be greater in the global than in the local employment context.*

We theorized that local evaluators would perceive a local who negotiated for higher pay as a less desirable employee because self-advocating for higher compensation would violate normative expectations that low-status actors behave communally. Communal behavior focuses on relationships with others ahead of the self. Therefore, we predicted that the effects proposed in H5–H7 would be explained by a perceived lack of communality on the part of local employees who negotiate for higher pay (compared to those who let the opportunity to negotiate pass). Male locals have relatively lower status in the global compared to the local employment context and are, therefore, likely to face stronger expectations that they behave in a communal manner in the global than in the local employment context. We predicted that employment context would moderate the effect of negotiating for higher pay on how communal local men appeared, such that the effect of negotiating (as opposed to not negotiating) would have a stronger negative effect on the perceived communality of local men in the global employment context (where they have low status) than in the local employment context (where they have high status). As depicted in Figure 1, we hypothesized that these heightened expectations of communal behavior on the part of local men in the global (as compared to local) employment context would explain the moderating effect of employment context on locals' willingness to work with a local male employee negotiating for higher pay (compared to one letting the negotiation opportunity pass).

HYPOTHESIS 8 (H8). *Perceived communality will explain the moderating effect of employment context on the willingness to work with a local male employee who self-advocates for higher pay.*

Figure 1 **Exploratory Study Pretest Survey of Local Perceptions of Stereotypic Views of Global Employers: Mean Ratings of the Perceived Competence of Local University Graduates by Local and Global Employers as Reported by College-Educated Emiratis with Work Experience (± 1 SE)**
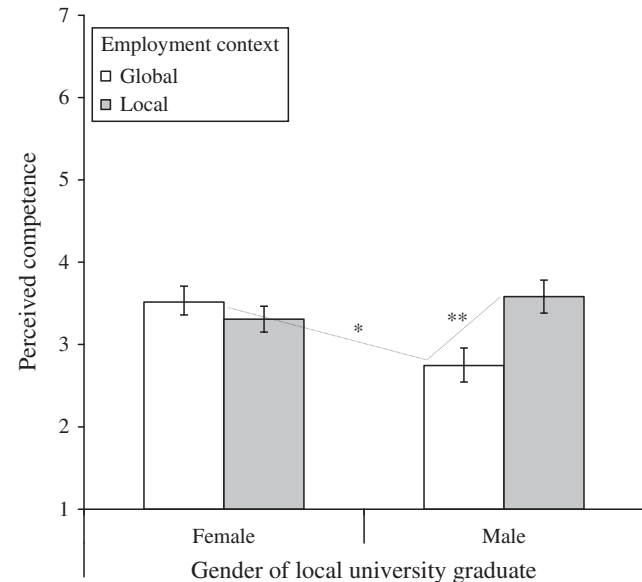
$^*p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$.

As has been documented in U.S. studies, we predicted that local evaluators would express less willingness to work with local women who negotiate for higher pay (compared to letting the opportunity to negotiate pass) because negotiating would make local women appear less communal. To differentiate effects of gender from status effects more broadly, we tested whether self-advocating for higher pay would also make local women appear to have violated other behavior expectations at work specific to women in the Arab Gulf related to "modesty" and the rejection of "materialism." Modesty has been identified as the primary prescriptive stereotype for Arab women (Abu-Lughod 1998, Haddad and Esposito 1998), and it carries over into professional work settings—particularly in gender-mixed work environments (Metcalfe 2006). In Arab cultures, materialism is associated with excessive or overzealous pursuit of monetary rewards and is generally perceived as a negative trait in both men and women. We theorized that a local woman negotiating for higher pay would trigger perceptions of materialism because the deeply institutionalized male breadwinner model associates women's earnings with personal consumption (Al Munajjed 1997, Metcalfe 2007). In sum, we predict that declines in the willingness to work with a local woman because she negotiated would be explained by perceptions that she is insufficiently modest and excessively materialistic as well as insufficiently communal.

HYPOTHESIS 9 (H9). *Locals will express less willingness to work with a local female employee who self-advocates for higher pay because negotiating will make the woman appear insufficiently communal and modest and excessively materialistic.*

We conducted three preliminary studies to illuminate the experience of being a local university graduate striving for global employment. Subsequently, in our two main studies, we tested our hypotheses on the effects of gender and global/local employment context on locals' propensity to self-advocate for higher compensation (Study 1) and on evaluations of locals who negotiate for higher pay (Study 2).

Exploratory Studies of Research Context

Interview Study

We first report on interviews with 15 hiring managers from multinational enterprises in two emerging markets: the Arab Gulf and sub-Saharan Africa. Our interviewees were based in the United Arab Emirates or South Africa, the spear tip of sub-Saharan Africa's entry into the global economy. As in the Arab Gulf, English is the lingua franca of international business in sub-Saharan Africa, amid a plethora of other local languages.

Methods. We used a semistructured interview protocol to investigate perceptions of "ideal" and "local" workers. We explained that we were interested in their experiences hiring talent for global organizations in emerging markets. All interviews were conducted in person at the interviewee's workplace and lasted 40–70 minutes with the exception of two conducted via videoconference on Skype. We opened by asking interviewees to describe the "ideal employee" (e.g., qualifications, attributes) and followed up with questions about recruitment practices and leadership development. The only reference interviewers made to "locals" was in a closing question about "local leadership development."

Contrasting Descriptions of Ideal and Local Workers. Table 1 displays representative quotes about the compe-

Table 1 Representative Descriptions of "Ideal" and "Local" Workers in by Hiring Managers in the Global Job Markets of the United Arab Emirates and the Republic of South Africa

Descriptions of "ideal" workers	Low-status local worker descriptors
English Language Competence • "English is important and business English is a given. Having another language shouldn't over look your ability to speak English. Language competency is correlated with skill sets like financial knowledge." (UAE, Multinational Bank) • "Interacting with clients is very important because we can't have someone that we put, even at a junior level, in front of a client that isn't able to converse very easily [in English]." (South Africa, Multinational Consulting)	*Lack of Competence and Work Ethic* • [After describing the ideal global worker] "The pool we get for local hires is different. The candidates are, well, not really at that level." (UAE, Multinational Tech) • "I guess it falls under work ethic…. It is really difficult for us to find locals fitting our expectations. It is not intellectual ability; it is around work ethic expectations. Getting those bad habits out of them is a lot of work. I need someone to hit the ground running, but I need to spend time getting bad habits out of them, it is that much more stressful for me." (South Africa, Multinational Financial Services)
International Experience, Particularly in Western Markets • "There are people who thrive when they get here straightaway, and that tends to be people who have studied abroad…. Sometimes, we can get people who have done their undergrad at AUB and then gone on and done their master's in the UK." (UAE, Multinational Consulting) • "When we…bring employees in from, say, the UK, they come with a different perspective…. I guess it's a bit trite to say it, but they have more of a global feel. They've been in tougher…consumer environments…. You might get away with it in an emerging market; if you do that in the middle of the UK, you're going to kill yourself in the market quickly…. Back to the question…these global people bring…best practices." (South Africa, Multinational Consumer Goods) • "So, what's the ideal?…He's best-in-class in terms of what the function is, be it finance, manufacturing, marketing, whatever, HR, and has practiced that craft in more than one market or region…. If they've worked both in an emerging and a developed market, they have a different perspective…. If someone's African but…they've spent four…or three years in the UK business and then a year in Asia, and then come back, they have a completely different perspective." (South Africa, Multinational Executive Search)	*Lack of Native English Competence* • "We find that, obviously, English wasn't their first language, and so communication is the first barrier that they have coming into a workforce that's mostly English speaking…. And if you struggle to communicate just with us or your client, it's difficult to sell." (South Africa, Multinational Consulting) *Lack of International Experience* • "The challenges we face [recruiting in the region] are sometimes just to do with it not being a very developed market or a developed student, you know, in terms of them having the savvy to book a flight and their hotel to come for an interview. Like, even down to basic logistic things that we find we have to do a lot more assisting here than we would…. They do seem to be less mature and less kind of savvy, I guess, streetwise, I mean, than perhaps counterparts who are studying elsewhere." (UAE, Multinational Consulting) • "If you're interacting with a client who has lived on three continents and you have only lived in Nigeria, it's harder to relate." (South Africa, Multinational Consulting Firm)

tences of ideal global workers and the lack of fit of local workers with these ideals. The most consistent theme in response to questions about the ideal candidate was a desire for cosmopolitan workers with international, particularly Western, work experience (e.g., "This global perspective is very important"). There were also repeated references to speaking English as a global competence and to international work experience in English-speaking markets. One hiring manager in the UAE posited that, "[English] language competency is correlated with skill sets like financial knowledge." Without our introducing the term, 12 of the 15 the interviewees referred to "locals" or "local candidates" as lacking not only in international business skills, knowledge, and experience, but also in work ethic. There were numerous blanket references to local candidates as inadequate (e.g., "Recruiting locally is a struggle").

Male Embodiment of the Local Stereotype. Consistent with recent research showing that men tend to be the carriers of national stereotypes (Cuddy et al. 2015), our interviewees tended to depict the archetype of the "local worker" as a man (e.g., "local men" or "local guys"). For instance, one interviewee reported that expatriates were "prepared to work much harder than your local guy." Interviewees recounted examples of local men who were unqualified, not working hard enough, promoted too quickly, or too quick to take a new position. Only once was a woman described as not fitting the organizational culture. Describing relative perceptions of local women as compared to local men, one interviewee commented,

> It's not only a belief that all people are equal, it's that, "Geez, these women are good workers!" You know, like they're genuinely good managers. They're good organizers. They understand our brand sensibility.

Nonetheless, anytime interviewees described actual or hypothetical executive positions, they referred to a man or used male pronouns.

Discussion. In sum, data from interviews with hiring managers in two emerging markets were consonant with our theorization of locals as low-status job candidates in the global market. As illustrated in Table 1, there was remarkable consistency across the two regions in hiring managers' accounts of the attributes of ideal global workers and in their commentary on the "lack of fit" (Heilman 1983) of local candidates with that ideal. English language competence was a prime signifier of global competence. Local workers, generally characterized as men, were consistently described as lacking in the desired cosmopolitan competences and self-presentation, particularly language skills.

Pretest Survey
Building on these qualitative data, we conducted a pretest survey to test for awareness of negative stereotypes

of local job candidates among university-educated citizens of the Arab Gulf and to test whether the gender of the local candidate moderated perceptions of the degree of stereotyping (i.e., harsher evaluations of local men than women). We had read studies of negative perceptions of local employees by Arab Gulf employers (e.g., Al Waqfi and Forstenlechner 2010) and press coverage on the negative stereotyping of local job candidates (e.g., "Stereotypes Can Stymie the UAE's Development" (Abdulla 2010)). There were also reports that private-sector employers perceive local women to have better English language competence and higher educational attainment than local men and to be more willing to accept junior positions for low pay (Rutledge et al. 2011).

Method. A market-research company recruited 105 university-educated Emiratis with work experience to complete an online survey on perceptions of Emirati university graduates on the job market (38 men, 67 women; mean work experience $= 7$ years). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (local graduate gender is male/female) $\times$ 2 (global/local employer) between-subjects design. We manipulated employment context by referring to prospective employers as local or global and by adding corresponding national or international flags in the survey header. We manipulated the gender of the local university graduate with gendered nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. The survey asked participants' opinions "about the views that employers in [global/local] companies typically hold about [male/female] Emirati university graduates seeking work in [global/local] companies." Participants rated perceptions on seven criteria: ambitious, capable, competent, knowledgeable, reliable, respected, and skillful. We averaged responses to these items to create a perceived competence scale ($\alpha = 0.94$).

Findings. The results supported our prediction that locals would perceive global employers to have a dimmer view of their male university graduates than local employers would. Analysis of variance revealed an interaction of *gender* $\times$ *global/local* ($F(1, 101) = 6.90$, $p = 0.01$, $\eta^2 = 0.06$). No other effects were significant (F values < 2.08, p values > 0.15). As illustrated in Figure 1, participants rated male graduates' perceived competence as lower with global than local employers (global mean $= 2.88$, SD $= 1.04$; local mean $= 3.67$, SD $= 1.07$; $t(49) = 2.67$, $p = 0.01$, $d = 0.76$), but not female graduates' (global mean $= 3.60$, SD $= 0.90$; local mean $= 3.37$, SD $= 0.91$; $t(52) = 0.91$, $p = 0.37$, $d = 0.25$). Perceived evaluations of male graduates were lower than those of female graduates in the global employment condition ($t(43) = 2.47$, $p = 0.02$, $d = 0.75$), but not in the local employment condition ($t(58) = 1.17$, $p = 0.25$, $d = 0.31$).

Discussion. The results of this pretest survey affirmed that educated citizens of the Arab Gulf are aware that

local university graduates, and male graduates in particular, are more negatively stereotyped as job candidates in the global than in the local employment market. To further enrich our understanding of the psychological experience of the global employment market for local university graduates, we conducted focus groups with reform university students about their job market experiences.

Focus Groups Study

Method. We conducted four 1- to 2-hour focus groups in reform universities in Saudi Arabia and the UAE. A Western-educated, bilingual female Gulf national facilitated each of the conversations. Each focus group included 8–12 English–Arabic bilingual undergraduate students with job interview experience. Students ranged in age from 19 to 21 (mean = 20 years). We recorded, transcribed, and content analyzed that transcripts, each of which was 40–60 pages and included narratives in English and Arabic.

Recognition of the Competitive Demands of the Global Employment Market. It was clear from the focus group conversations that the students were conscious of the competitive demands of the global employment market in the Gulf. For instance, one student explained the following:

> Every person . . . has to have certain qualifications . . . certain language certificates . . . . The [globalizing economic] development is very intense . . . . Everyone wants to be the best . . . and every company wants to be [the best].

Another student added, "You are in the business of marketing yourself."

Identification of English with Global Employment. Consonant with the views of global hiring managers (described above), the students explained their preparations for the global employment market as inextricably linked to speaking English. For instance, one participant explained

> Actually all the terminology . . . here as business students [is] in English. We were speaking once . . . and I forgot what competition means in Arabic. It's منافسة [*munafasa*]. I know now, but I completely forgot it. I never said منافسة [*munafasa* for competition] here at the university.

As reform university students, they felt comfortable and competent speaking English and Arabic. One explained, "University life forces the student to be expressive in English. . . . I feel that it is easy for me to express myself in English. Because the university made me used to it." A number described self-presentation in English as a status marker in global employment. For instance, one student explained, "If a client approaches me . . . [and] I speak to him in English in a nice manner and impress him, he will keep coming back to me . . . . That will surely . . . give me status at my work."

Stereotypes of Local Job Candidates. The students expressed awareness of negative stereotyping of local university graduates. The opening quote in this paper about the "lazy local" stereotype came from the focus group conversations. One student raised the issue of differential perceptions of male and female graduates, sharing a story about a human resources (HR) manager who told her that he preferred to "employ females because they are punctual and the work they do is better than the males."

Discussion. As in our interviews with global hiring managers (see Table 1), the reform university students made repeated references to English as the language of global business. They explained further how they have learned to self-present in business English to signal their global competence. Nonetheless, they were acutely aware of ways in which they are negatively stereotyped. While female students felt stereotyped as locals, there was discussion of global employers preferring to hire female to male locals.

Study 1

In Study 1, male and female reform university students wrote about how they would handle an opportunity to negotiate in either a local or global employment context. We employed a 2 (participant gender is male/female) × 2 (employment context is local/global) study design. We tested our hypotheses that local job candidates would be more inclined to self-advocate for higher pay in a local than global employment context (H1), that local men would be more inclined to self-advocate for higher compensation than women in a local employment context (H2), and that gender would moderate the main effect of employment context on the propensity to negotiate for higher pay such that the effect of employment context would be greater for men than for women (H3).

Participants

Participants were 157 Saudi nationals who were full-time students from two Saudi Arabian reform universities (79 men, 78 women; mean age = 21.79 years). There were no statistically significant effects for university, so we pooled the data. We gained the permission of university administrators and faculty to recruit students to complete an "interview situation survey" during class.

Materials

For Studies 1 and 2, we adapted materials from studies run in the United States (Bowles and Babcock 2013, Bowles et al. 2007) to fit the global and local employment contexts of the Arab Gulf. Participants read a two-part scenario. Part 1 involved imagining they were interviewing for a desirable position at a company in Saudi Arabia. Part 2 was about receiving an offer from the company and entering an interview about a management placement. The job placement interview created an opportunity to negotiate

for higher compensation to match a competing offer. The English-language description of the negotiation opportunity was as follows:

> The position the Company is offering is one that you would like to take, but the compensation offer is lower than your next best offer from a less prestigious firm. You would like to accept the offer from the Company, but you are hoping that they will match the salary and bonus offer you received from the less prestigious firm. You have decided to ask the head of the department into which you are being hired—this is the same person with whom you interviewed—if the Company would consider raising your compensation to match your other offer.

One adaptation of the original material was to include information about an outside offer, which we believed would enhance ecological validity and make our tests for behavioral constraints on negotiation more conservative. Interviews with individuals knowledgeable about the job markets for local university graduates and surveys of recent university graduates indicated that negotiating for higher pay would be perceived as more appropriate if the local candidate had an outside offer. Research has shown that outside offers increase negotiators' sense of power and propensity to initiate negotiations (Magee et al. 2007) and the perceived legitimacy of negotiating for higher compensation (Bowles and Babcock 2013).

Manipulation of Employment Context
Because our participants were bilingual in Arabic and English and our exploratory studies clearly identified English as the language of global employment in the region, we chose to manipulate employment context using language primes: Arabic materials for the local employment context and English materials for the global. This choice has practical as well as theoretical merits. From a practical perspective, it was appropriate for interview scripts and scenarios to be presented in the language of the employment context. As illustrated by the quote above in which the student recalled forgetting the word for "competition" in Arabic, thinking and reading dialogue in Arabic would be incongruent with a global employment context. Similarly, it would be inauthentic to carry on a local business dialogue in English.

From a theoretical perspective, there is a broad body of studies employing language primes to evoke mental representations that contain culture-congruent content, procedures, and goals (e.g., Morris et al. 2011). Language has also been used to activate contrasting identity-linked self-concepts in bilingual biculturals. For instance, in multiple studies, researchers activated a more individualistic self-concept in Chinese biculturals when they had them complete materials in English compared to when they had them write in Chinese (e.g., Lee et al. 2010). Our aim through the language primes was to activate participants' sense of identity as a local job candidate in global and local employment contexts.

We translated the materials using a combination of the committee approach and translation/back-translation (van de Vijver 2001). Three bilingual committee members with expertise in psychology, linguistics, and Arab Gulf culture translated materials from English into Arabic. A fourth independent translator converted the Arabic draft back into English as a final consistency check. The committee resolved minor discrepancies between the original English draft and the back-translated version.

Procedure. The experimenter asked participants to complete a pen-and-paper survey about an employment scenario and randomly assigned participants to the global or local employment condition. All experimenters administering the surveys were Saudi nationals. For male colleges, experimenters were male; for the female colleges, the experimenters were female. In the global (local) employment condition, the survey materials were in English (Arabic) and described the employer as a prominent multinational (national) corporation. Participants responded to the survey in the language in which it was written. After reading each part of the scenario (described in the materials section), participants recorded how they would feel, what they would think, and what they imagined they would say. At the end, participants responded to two language proficiency questions about comfort speaking in Arabic and English (five-point scales).

Manipulation Checks. After the reading the first part of the employment scenario, participants responded to three sets of measures to test whether the language manipulation activated the anticipated contextual and identity-linked associations with the global and local employment contexts. As a test of activation of contextual work norms, we created a "wasta" scale averaging four items related to the local practice of relying on social connections ("wasta") to attain resources and opportunities (seven-point scale; for example, "I would need the recommendation of a *wasta* in this situation"; $\alpha = 0.88$). (See the online appendix (available as supplemental material at https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2016.1099) for *wasta* items.) The Arabic term *wasta* is similar to the term *guanxi* in Chinese. We expected the students to associate *wasta* more strongly with the local (Arabic) than global (English) employment context.

To test for activation of identity-linked associations with local and global employment markets, we employed two measures. We used a single-item measure of self-identification as "*globalized*" (five-point scale; "I consider myself a globalized Saudi..."), which we expected to be lower in the local than the global employment context. We also created two four-item scales of *independent self-construal* (seven-point scale; example, "I am unique, separate from others"; $\alpha = 0.75$) and *interdependent self-construal* (seven-point scale; example, "I think of myself as connected to the students in my university"; $\alpha = 0.82$; adapted from Harb and Smith 2008, a measure validated

in the Arab world). We anticipated that priming a local employment context would activate a more characteristically Middle Eastern self-construal, which tends to be less independent and more interdependent than a typical Western self-construal (Harb and Smith 2008).

Dependent Measure. To discern the participants' propensity to negotiate, two bilingual research assistants who were blind to the hypotheses coded the participants' responses to part 2 of the survey scenario. As described above, part 2 of the survey presented an opportunity to negotiate in a job placement interview. We asked participants to "Describe your feelings and thoughts as you take your seat and are about to ask for higher compensation." This open-ended format enabled the participants to express their thoughts and emotions in their own words. Writing as well as reading also has been found to reinforce the strength of language primes (Kemmelmeier and Cheng 2004). Blinded to the hypotheses, research assistants coded participants' responses in terms of their propensity to negotiate on a three-point scale: 0 = weak (e.g., "I will not ask for higher compensation" or "I would be extremely nervous and worried"), 1 = moderate (e.g., "I would feel a little bit hesitant, but put on a strong and confident face" or "I would try to reinforce my confidence in myself and remind myself . . . it's the professional thing to do"), or 2 = strong (e.g., "I will feel excited because I already got the job and . . . I've got nothing to lose" or "I feel confident about my ability and that I deserve it"). There was high agreement between coders on what language indicated a weak, moderate, or strong propensity to negotiate (interrater reliability = 0.89).

Results and Discussion

Language Proficiency. There were no gender differences in self-reported language proficiency ($t(155) < 1.36$, p values > 0.17; Arabic mean = 4.39, SD = 0.83; English mean = 3.97, SD = 0.89).

Activation of Global/Local Employment Context. The results of our manipulation checks were consistent with the successful activation of contextual and identity-linked associations with the local and global employment markets in the respective conditions. Participants in the local (as compared to global) condition agreed more strongly with the need for *wasta* (local mean = 3.90, SD = 1.73; global mean = 3.32, SD = 1.86; $t(155) = 2.00$, $p < 0.05$, $d = 0.32$), self-identified as significantly less globalized (local mean = 3.70, SD = 1.23; global mean = 4.33, SD = 0.84; $t(154) = 3.56$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.57$), and construed themselves as less independent (local mean = 5.53, SD = 1.51; global mean = 6.11, SD = 0.97; $t(155) = 2.67$, $p < 0.008$, $d = 0.43$) and more interdependent (local mean = 4.44, SD = 1.29; global mean = 3.94, SD = 1.22; $t(155) = 2.44$, $p = 0.02$, $d = 0.39$). Gender did not moderate these effects ($F < 1.32$, $p > 0.25$).

Table 2 **Study 1: Ordered Logistic Regression of the Propensity to Negotiate for Higher Compensation, Testing Effects of Local (vs. Global) and Male (vs. Female) Job Candidate** ($N = 157$)

	Model 1[a]		Model 2[b]	
	b	Exp(b)	b	Exp(b)
Local	1.59***	4.89***	0.88[†]	2.42[†]
Male			−0.46	0.63
Local × Male			1.49*	4.43*

Notes. b = log odds; Exp(b) = Odds Ratio.
[a]Likelihood ratio $\chi^{(1, n=157)} = 24.32$; $p < 0.001$.
[b]Likelihood ratio $\chi^{(3, n=157)} = 31.10$; $p < 0.001$.
[†]$p = 0.07$; *$p = 0.03$; ***$p < 0.001$.

Dependent Measure: *Propensity to Negotiate.* The three-level coding scale of the propensity to negotiate was not normally distributed (Shapiro-Wilk $W = 0.78$, $p < 0.001$), so we used ordered logistic regression to test effects of employment context and gender on the propensity to self-advocate for higher compensation. We created a variable for employment context that was equal to 1 if local and 0 if global. We created a variable for participant gender that was equal 1 if the participant was male and equal to 0 if the participant was female. Table 2 displays the results of ordered logistic regression analyses testing the effect of employment context and participant gender on the propensity to self-advocate for higher pay.

As predicted in H1, the simple effect of local (as compared to global) employment context on the propensity to self-advocate for higher compensation was positive and statistically significant (log odds $b = 1.59$, $p < 0.001$). The odds of a one-step increase in the propensity to negotiate (e.g., from weak to moderate or moderate to strong) were 4.9 times greater in the local than global employment context. However, as predicted, the effect of employment context was moderated by participant gender (*Local × Male*, $b = 1.49$, $p = 0.03$). Figure 2 presents a graphic illustration of this interaction in terms of log odds with female in global employment as the base case.

To test H2 that local men would be more inclined than local women to self-advocate for higher pay in the local employment context, we conducted Wilcoxon–Mann–Whitney tests of the effects of gender on the propensity to negotiate separately in the local and global employment contexts. As predicted, local men were significantly more inclined than local women to self-advocate for higher pay in the local employment condition ($z = -2.50$, $p = 0.01$). There was no significant effect of gender on the propensity to negotiate in the global employment condition ($z = 0.80$, $p = 0.42$).

To test H3 that local men would be more inclined to self-advocate for higher pay in the local than in the global employment context, we conducted Wilcoxon–Mann–Whitney tests of the effects of employment context on the propensity to negotiate separately for male and

Figure 2 Study 1: Graphic Illustration of the Propensity to Self-Advocate for Higher Compensation by Employment Context and Participant Gender from the Ordered Logistic Regression Reported in Table 2, Showing the Differential Log Odds with a Female Participant in a Global Employment Condition as the Base Case
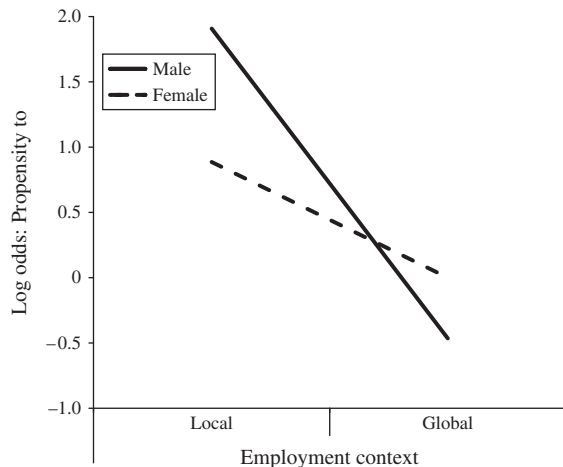
female participants. As predicted, local men were significantly more inclined to self-advocate for higher pay in the local than global employment condition ($z = -5.30$, $p < 0.001$). The effect of employment context on female participants' propensity to negotiate for higher pay was not significant ($z = -1.56$, $p = 0.12$).

In sum, the results of Study 1 support H4 that gender moderates the effect of employment context on locals' propensity to self-advocate for higher compensation, such that the effect of employment context is greater for men than women, supporting the idea that local men experience a greater shift in status than do local women moving from the local to the global employment context and that lower social status inhibits men's self-advocacy as well as women's. An alternative explanation for these results is that men felt less confident negotiating in English than in Arabic. However, there were no gender differences in self-reported comfort speaking in English and Arabic. Language competence might explain the main effect of employment context on the propensity to negotiate (H1), but it could not explain the interaction effect of employment context and gender. In Study 2, we investigate how local university graduates perceive local men and women who negotiate for higher pay in local and global employment contexts.

Study 2

We reversed the perspective on the negotiation scenario employed in Study 1 so that reform university students were now evaluating the behavior of a male or female local university graduate who negotiated or not for higher pay in the context of a job placement interview.

Study 2 was a 2 (local employee gender is male/female) × 2 (employment context is global/local) × 2 (negotiate is yes/no) between-subjects design. We designed the experiment so that we could test whether global/local employment context and employee gender moderated differences in evaluations of a local employee when they negotiated compared to when they did not negotiate. If we only tested for main effects in perceptions of employees who negotiated, we would not be able to tell what effect the act of negotiating had on evaluations of the employee. For example, negative evaluations of negotiators in the global as compared to local employment context could simply be a main effect for employment context (e.g., harsher evaluations of locals in multinational than in national companies) and have nothing to do with the act of negotiating. We aimed to test the impression created by self-advocating for higher pay.

This difference-in-difference analytic strategy (viz., testing differences between evaluations in the negotiation and no-negotiation conditions across the employee gender and employment context conditions) is also important to avoid the problem of "shifting standards" in gender research (Biernat 2003, Biernat et al. 1991). Biernat (2003) and Biernat et al. (1991) showed that when evaluators make subjective assessments, they are likely to mentally compare male targets to other men and female targets to other women. Even if evaluators think "men make better managers," they might score a female candidate more highly than a male candidate because the female candidate is exceptional "for a woman." This effect of shifting standards could be especially strong in the Arab Gulf because it is more exceptional for women than men to be candidates for management positions in the private sector. Therefore, main-effect gender differences are less meaningful than differences in difference across conditions.

Method

Participants. Participants were 393 Emirati nationals who were full-time students from three different national reform universities (125 male, 268 female; mean age = 21.05). There were no statistically significant effects for university, so we pooled the data. With the permission of university administrators and classroom faculty, we recruited students to complete a "job interview survey" during class time.

Procedure. Participants completed a pen-and-paper survey in which they read an interview transcript, answered questions about their impression of the interviewee, and completed an exit survey with manipulation checks. As in Study 1, the entire survey was written either in Arabic or English. The experimenters randomly assigned participants to complete one of the eight versions of the survey. The experimenters administering the surveys were female nationals of the Arab Gulf.

Materials. The interview situation and evaluation survey were written to be a mirror image of materials used in Study 1. Participants were asked to adopt the perspective of a senior manager evaluating an employee in a placement interview for a first management position in the company. The manipulation of employment context was the same as in Study 1 with students reading and completing the survey in English in the global condition and in Arabic in the local condition. The employee they evaluated was a national university graduate with a traditional Emirati name. We manipulated employee gender using stereotypically masculine or feminine Emirati names (Hamad/Hamda) and gendered language (e.g., "he," "she") to describe the employee. We chose names not affiliated with an emirate, tribe, or social class.

In the negotiation script, the employee responded to two questions about work experience and management training. The interviewer then asked, "Do you have any questions about your compensation and benefits package?" In the no-negotiate condition, the employee let this opportunity to negotiate pass. In the negotiate condition, the employee responded by negotiating for higher pay; for example,

> I was approached by another company . . . they made me an offer . . . . They are willing to pay me a higher salary offer than I would make here, plus a bonus . . . . I understand that there's a range in terms of how much managers are paid in their first placement. I would like to be paid toward the top of that range. I would also like to be eligible for an end-of-year bonus.

Measures. Participants rated their agreement on seven-point scales with randomly ordered statements about the impression created by the employee in the interview transcript. (See the online appendix for all items included in these impression measures.) These items comprised our mediator variables. Five items related to how *communal* the employee seemed (e.g., "puts people first"; $\alpha = 0.71$; adapted from Bowles and Babcock 2013). For ecological validity, we framed the communal items in terms of concern for organizational relationships. While communality is a broader construct, concern for relationships is central to the communal stereotype (Eagly 1987). Five items related to how *immodest* the employee seemed (e.g., "acted in an immodest manner"; $\alpha = 0.73$). Five items related to how *materialistic* the employee seemed (e.g., "is materialistic"; $\alpha = 0.70$). Our dependent measure was the *willingness to work with the employee* (adapted from Bowles et al. 2007), including three items about how willing they would be to hire and how much they would enjoy and benefit from working with the employee ($\alpha = 0.82$).

The experimental materials concluded with manipulation checks on the employee's gender, whether he or she negotiated, and language proficiency and demographic items. Language proficiency items included whether participants were more comfortable speaking in Arabic or English (seven-point scale; 7 = much more in English)

and whether they attended private school before university. University interviewees had noted private education as a distinguishing factor in English-language proficiency.

Results and Discussion

Participant Gender. We observed no significant effects of participant gender, and inclusion of participant gender had no effect on the pattern of results, so we removed that variable from the analysis.

Language Proficiency. Participants reported more comfort speaking Arabic than English (mean difference from midpoint $= -1.04$, $t(392) = 12.33$, $p < 0.001$), but women less than men (mean difference $= 0.55$, $t(391) = 3.04$, $p = 0.003$). More men reported attending private preparatory school than women (male, $p = 0.23$; female, $p = 0.13$, $\chi^2(1, N = 393) = 7.00$, $p = 0.008$). These variables became controls in our analyses.

Manipulation Checks. Participants were significantly likely to correctly identify the employee's gender ($\chi^2(1, N = 391) = 309.61$, $p < 0.001$, two nonresponses) and whether the employee negotiated ($\chi^2(1, N = 392) = 160.66$, $p < 0.001$, one nonresponse).

Dependent Measure. We used analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) to test our hypotheses about the moderating effects of local employee gender and global/local employment context on willingness to work with local employees who self-advocate for higher compensation (as compared to those who do not), controlling for evaluators' Arabic/English language proficiency. Tables 3 and 4 display the ANCOVA results. Table 5 reports the estimated marginal means by condition produced by the ANCOVA reported in Table 3. Figure 3 provides a graphical illustration of the effect of negotiating on the willingness to work

Table 3 Study 2: ANCOVA of Willingness to Work with Employee, Testing Effects of Global/Local Employment Context, Employee Gender, and Negotiate (Yes/No) Conditions and Controlling for Participants' Arabic/English Language Proficiency ($N = 393$)

Source	df	MS	F	η^2
Gender of employee	1	0.002	0.001	<0.001
Global/Local context	1	20.01	14.90***	0.04
Negotiate (yes/no)	1	36.08	26.86***	0.07
Gender × *Global/Local*	1	0.43	0.32	0.001
Gender × *Negotiate*	1	0.80	0.59	0.002
Global/Local × *Negotiate*	1	0.21	0.16	<0.001
Gender × *Global/Local* × *Negotiate*	1	7.42	5.53*	0.01
Controls:				
Comfort in Arabic/English	1	10.60	7.89**	0.02
Private high school	1	7.22	5.37*	0.01
Error	383	1.34		

Note. Controls are for language proficiency.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; df = degrees of freedom; MS = mean square.

Table 4 **Study 2: Decomposition of Three-Way Interaction of** *Gender* × *Global/Local* ×
Negotiate **(in Table 2), Presenting ANCOVA Tests of** *Global/Local* × *Negotiate* **for**
Male and Female Employees and *Gender* × *Negotiate* **in Global and Local**
Employment Contexts

| Source	df	MS	F	η^2
Global employment context				
Gender of employee	1	0.24	0.18	0.001
Negotiate (yes/no)	1	19.89	15.30***	0.09
Gender × *Negotiate*	1	1.35	1.04	0.01
Controls:				
Comfort in Arabic/English	1	3.85	2.97	0.02
Private high school	1	9.95	7.66**	0.05
Error	157	1.30		
Local employment context				
Gender of employee	1	0.27	0.19	0.001
Negotiate (yes/no)	1	17.80	13.00***	0.06
Gender × *Negotiate*	1	7.70	5.62*	0.02
Controls:				
Comfort in Arabic/English	1	6.06	4.43*	0.02
Private high school	1	0.76	0.56	0.002
Error	224	1.37		
Male employee				
Global/Local context	1	7.77	5.81*	0.03
Negotiate (yes/no)	1	14.24	10.65**	0.05
Global/Local × *Negotiate*	1	5.47	4.09*	0.02
Controls:				
Comfort in Arabic/English	1	8.04	6.02*	0.03
Private high school	1	8.92	6.67*	0.04
Error	186	1.34		
Female employee				
Global/Local context	1	12.67	9.39**	0.05
Negotiate (yes/no)	1	21.61	16.03***	0.08
Global/Local × *Negotiate*	1	2.78	2.06	0.01
Controls:				
Comfort in Arabic/English	1	3.39	2.51	0.01
Private high school	1	0.86	0.64	0.003
Error	195	1.35		

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

Table 5 **Study 2, Local Male Employees: Regression Analyses Illustrating Moderated**
Mediation Effect Following Baron and Kenney's (1986) Logical Deduction of
Mediation Effects

	Direct effects communal		Direct effects willingness to work with employee		Mediation model willingness to work with employee	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Predictors						
Constant	5.54***	0.19	5.41***	0.22	1.87***	0.43
Negotiate (yes vs. no)	−0.11	0.20	−0.21	0.22	−0.14	0.19
Global (vs. *Local*) context	−0.11	0.21	−0.07	0.24	0.01	0.20
Negotiate × *Global*	−0.68*	0.30	−0.69*	0.34	−0.25	0.29
Communal					0.64***	0.07
Controls						
Comfort in Arabic/English	0.07	0.04	0.12*	0.05	0.08	0.04
Private high school	−0.04	0.21	0.61*	0.24	0.63**	0.20
R^2	0.11		0.13		0.40	

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

Figure 3 Study 2: Estimated Marginal Mean Willingness to Work with Local Employee, Generated by ANCOVA in Table 2 Testing the Effects of Negotiating on the Willingness to Work with Male and Female Local Employees in Global and Local Employment Contexts (±1 SE)
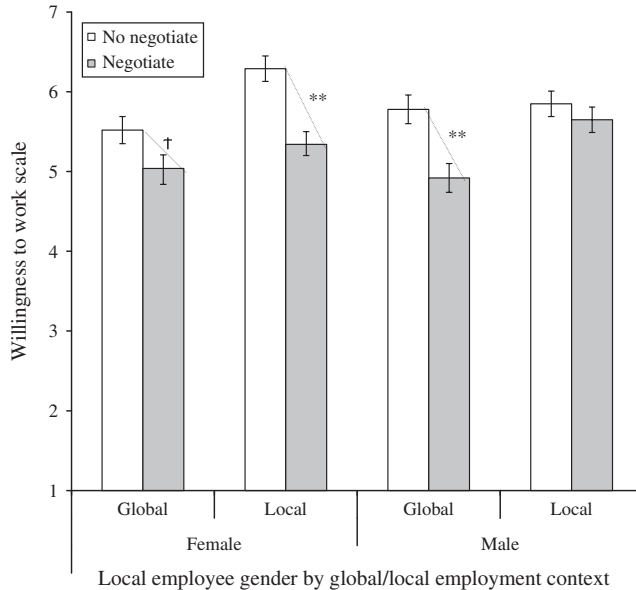
$^\dagger p = 0.06$; $^{**}p < 0.01$.

with the employee by employee gender and employment context.

Table 3 presents the results of ANCOVA of the full 2 (local employee gender: male/female) $\times$ 2 (employment context: global/local) $\times$ 2 (negotiate: yes/no) design. We observed a main effect for global/local context ($F(1, 383) = 14.90$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$), indicating participants expressed greater willingness to work with local employees in the local than in the global context. We do not have a clear explanation for this effect. It could reflect the higher regard with which local university graduates are held in local compared to global employment contexts or a special respect for competitive university graduates who choose national over multinational employers. We also observed a main effect for negotiate ($F(1, 383) = 26.86$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.07$), indicating that participants expressed less willingness to work with local employees who negotiated for higher compensation compared to those who did not. We discuss explanations for the effects of negotiating on the willingness to work with a local employee below with the presentation of our mediation analyses. Importantly, both of these effects were qualified by a three-way *Gender* $\times$ *Global/Local* $\times$ *Negotiate* interaction effect ($F(1, 383) = 5.53$, $p = 0.02$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$).

Table 4 displays the decomposition of this three-way interaction, testing effects of *Gender* $\times$ *Negotiate* in global and local employment contexts and effects of *Global/Local* $\times$ *Negotiate* for male and female local employees. As predicted in H5, reform university students expressed

less willingness to work with a local employee who self-advocated for higher pay in the global employment condition ($F(1, 157) = 15.30$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.09$; see top panel of Table 3, Figure 3; negotiate estimated marginal mean = 4.99, SE = 0.13; no-negotiate estimated marginal mean = 5.70, SE = 0.12). As predicted in H6, the effect of negotiating in the local employment condition was moderated by significant interaction of *Gender* $\times$ *Negotiate* ($F(1, 224) = 5.62$, $p = 0.02$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$). As illustrated in Figure 3 and reported in the upper rows of Table 5, the reform university students expressed significantly less willingness to work with a local female employee if she negotiated for higher pay (as compared to letting the opportunity to negotiate pass) in the local employment condition ($F(1, 117) = 18.64$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.14$). In contrast, negotiating for higher pay had no effect on the willingness to work with a local male employee in the local employment context ($F(1, 105) = 0.86$, $p = 0.36$, $\eta^2 < 0.01$).

As predicted in H7, employment context moderated the effect of negotiating on participants' willingness to work with male locals ($F(1, 186) = 4.09$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$; see third panel of Table 4). As illustrated in Figure 3, participants were significantly less willing to work with a male local employee who negotiated for higher pay in the global employment context ($F(1, 79) = 13.38$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.15$; negotiate estimated marginal mean = 4.99, SE = 0.18; no-negotiate estimated marginal mean = 5.84, SE = .17). In the local employment context, there was no significant effect of negotiating on the willingness to work with male employees ($F(1, 105) = 0.86$, $p = 0.36$, $\eta^2 < 0.01$). As reported in the bottom panel of Table 4, employment context did not significantly moderate the negative effect of negotiating for higher pay on the willingness to work with a local female employee ($F(1, 195) = 2.06$, $p = 0.15$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$).

In sum, this pattern of results in the decomposition of the three-way interaction effect supports our theory that low status inhibits local men's as well as local women's self-advocacy, but we still do not have a full explanation for these effects. If negotiating for higher compensation were simply a feminine norm violation, then we would expect to observe a two-way interaction effect of *Gender* $\times$ *Negotiate*, and we did not (see Table 3). Another possibility is that negotiating is a gender violation for women but men asking for higher pay in a global employment context appears greedy because of the relative career benefits of multinational compared to national company employment. Our mediation analyses help answer these questions by exploring why participants were less inclined to work with a local man who negotiated (as compared to did not negotiate) in the global employment condition and why participants were less inclined to work with a local woman who negotiated in both employment conditions.

Mediation Analyses. To test our hypothesized mediation effects, we followed Hayes' (2013) bootstrapping procedures. Bootstrapping is appropriate because our independent variables are dichotomous and we do not have a very large sample size. Therefore, it is unlikely that the product of the coefficients along the path of the indirect effect is normally distributed (Sobel 1982).

We predicted in H8 that perceived communality would explain the moderating effect of employment context on the willingness to work with a local male employee who self-advocates for higher pay (H7). We tested this moderated mediation prediction using Hayes' (2013, Model 8, p. 448) SPSS PROCESS commands. The results affirmed H8: employing 1,000 bootstrap samples, the 95% confidence interval (CI) did not transgress zero in the global employment context (global bias-corrected CI $= [-0.87, -0.21]$), but it did in the local employment context (local bias-corrected CI $= [-0.32, 0.16]$). Table 5 illustrates this moderated mediation effect following Baron and Kenney's (1986) logical deduction of mediation effects.

These mediation results support our theory that locals would be less willing to work with a local male employee who negotiated for higher pay (as compared to one who did not) in the global employment context because he would appear insufficiently communal and thereby violate normative expectations of low-status behavior. In contrast, in the local employment context, where local men have high status, the same negotiating behavior by a local man had no significant effect on locals' willingness to work with him or on his perceived communality. Our measures of modesty and materialism (i.e., an indicator of greed) could not explain the interaction of *Global/Local × Negotiate* on the willingness to work with male candidates because there were no significant interaction effects of *Global/Local × Negotiate* on the perceived modesty or materialism of male employees (p values < 0.22).

As reported above and in the bottom panel Table 4, employment context did not significantly moderate the effect of negotiating for higher pay on the willingness to work with local female employees. We predicted in H9 that the main effect of negotiating for higher pay on the willingness to work with local female employees would be explained by a perceived lack of communality (i.e., a perceived violation of normative expectations for low-status actors), but also by a perceived lack of modesty and excessive materialism (i.e., perceived violation of local feminine-specific behavioral expectations). Figure 5 (Online Appendix D) illustrates our multiple mediation model for explaining the effect of self-advocating for higher pay on the willingness to work with a female local employee (adapted from Preacher and Hayes 2008, p. 881). Compared to testing each mediator individually, multiple mediation has the advantages of testing for an overall mediation effect and clarifying whether each mediator contributes to the overall effect.

We tested for multiple mediation using Hayes' (Hayes 2013, Model 4, p. 445) SPSS PROCESS commands. Employing 1,000 bootstrap samples, the 95% confidence intervals for the indirect paths through the three mediators were all above zero. As predicted, participants reported lower willingness to work with a female local employee who negotiated because she appeared lacking in communality (bias-corrected CI $= [-0.37, -0.05]$) and modesty (bias-corrected 95% CI $= [-0.32, -0.04]$) and because she appeared excessively materialistic (bias-corrected 95% CI $= [-0.57, -0.05]$). Figure 5 (Online Appendix D) illustrates the multiple mediation effects following Baron and Kenney's (1986) logical deduction of mediation effects.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 mirrored the results of Study 1 and supported our hypotheses about how local men and women would be viewed if they negotiated in the global or local employment context. The results supported our theory that for low-status men as well as women, self-advocating for higher compensation is a status violation. In the local employment condition, where local men have high status, negotiating for higher pay had no significant effect on evaluators' willingness to work with a local male employee. In the global employment context, in which local men are negatively stereotyped as falling short of the cosmopolitan ideal worker, negotiating for higher pay made local men appear like even less desirable employees because it made them appear insufficiently communal. Communality is a behavioral prescription of low-status actors (Conway et al. 1996, Fiske et al. 2002, Ridgeway 1987). Mediation analyses did not support the potential alternative analysis that negotiating for higher pay in a multinational company makes local men appear more greedy than doing so in a national company (viz., see null results above for materialism as a mediator of the effect of *Global/Local × Negotiate* for male local employees). Indeed, cross-cultural research in negotiation suggests that Western industrialized cultures tend to promote more individualistic and competitive negotiating behavior compared to collectivist cultures (e.g., Lee et al. 2010) including those in the Arab Gulf.

As has been shown in U.S. studies, communality also explained why self-advocating for higher compensation made local evaluators less inclined to work with female local employees (Amanatullah and Morris 2010, Bowles et al. 2007). Extending existing research on gender in negotiation, we showed that a woman negotiating for higher pay also violated feminine-specific behavior norms. Local evaluators were less inclined to work with a woman who negotiated for higher compensation because it made her appear immodest and materialistic, as well as insufficiently communal. Perceived modesty and materialism did not explain the effects of negotiating on the willingness to work with a local male employee. The findings

that negotiating for higher pay violates both status-based and feminine-specific behavioral norms make important contributions to the literature on gender in negotiation and help to clarify debates about whether gender effects in negotiation are at their essence about status differences between the sexes (Amanatullah and Tinsley 2013, Magee et al. 2007).

Our results support the contention that low status socially constrains male and female negotiators' potential to self-advocate, but they do not support a theoretical equation of gender with status. We find that women's self-advocacy violates not only normative expectations of low-status behavior, but also gendered behavioral norms. Our findings fit with sociological arguments that gender is an intractable and pervasive status-linked social identity (Jackman 1994, Ridgeway 2011). We gain these new insights by reaching beyond the conventional "WEIRD" samples (i.e., western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic) (Heinrich et al. 2010) in negotiation research. Investigating shifts in social status at the boundaries of globalization enables novel insights into how gender and status intersect.

General Discussion

In this research, we present qualitative and experimental data on the psychological experience of university-educated local workers from emerging economies striving to enter the global job market for managerial positions. Our findings shed light on how status and gender influence the potential for aspiring global workers to self-advocate for their career advancement. We extend findings of U.S.-based research on gender in negotiation, showing that local women are inhibited from self-advocating for higher pay by status- and gender-linked behavioral norms. We present evidence that local men are also inhibited by their low social status in the global employment context from self-advocating for higher pay.

These findings are important because they suggest that negative stereotyping of local workers in global employment diminishes their sense of agency in career advancement. If global workers believe they must self-present in ways that hew to the constraints of their low status, they risk contributing to a self-fulfilling prophecy that reinforces their place in the status hierarchy below cosmopolitan employees. As has been illuminated in extensive research on the "double bind" for women (Phelan et al. 2008), the answer is unlikely to be that locals should simply defy prescriptive stereotypes for low-status workers by behaving in more self-promoting ways. More research is needed to understand how low-status men in general and locals in global corporations more specifically can navigate career advancement in ways that overcome negative stereotyping and subordinating social constraints.

Employing experimental methods focused on the psychological experience of the global employment market for

locals, this research contributes a novel perspective to the body of archival and ethnographic studies documenting the international hierarchy of workers in the global employment market. Much of the organizational research on status dynamics between local and cosmopolitan workers stems from investigations of individual multinational enterprises (e.g., Metiu 2006, Neeley 2013). Our research suggests that the psychological experience of local status extends beyond direct intraorganizational experiences (e.g., differential treatment) to shape the pursuit of employment in global enterprise by local job candidates—even job candidates trained in university environments focused on preparation for global business employment. Our work also adds experimental evidence to qualitative investigations of how globalization is shaping the construction of multiple masculinities and challenging the status of non-Western men (Connell 1998, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Our findings that classic gender effects in negotiation are moderated by men's status in context underline the importance of studying intersecting gender identities (Acker 2012). Gender effects on social behavior are fundamentally contextual, reflective of the "distal" influences of the social structure of gender relations but also of "proximal" cues embedded in the specific situation of interaction (Deaux and LaFrance 1998). By applying an intersectional lens to gender identities, we demonstrate how the gender status hierarchy is not fixed across contexts but can be shaped by other status-linked social identities.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research
Our experimental methods have weaknesses. In contrast to archival or field-based observational methods, we have no direct observations of behavior in actual workplace interactions. We are capturing psychological reactions to social situations. We cannot say with certainty how these psychological reactions would be acted upon in actual negotiation situations, nor how hiring managers would respond.

This research has the strength of stretching beyond "WEIRD" psychological samples (Heinrich et al. 2010) and beyond the most commonly studied spaces of global work (e.g., Europe, China, India). But more research is needed to understand the ladder of status hierarchy in global employment. For instance, the patterns we observe in our research might not apply to the job markets of the "Asian Tigers" (e.g., Singapore, South Korea), where nationals claim credit for homegrown global economic ascendance. A deeper understanding of socioeconomic factors that moderate the psychological experience and challenges of global–local biculturalism would advance both theory and practice.

Motivated by the current findings, more research could be done to understand locals' barriers to entry, integration, and career advancement in multinational corporations.

Insights and inspiration could be gained from the expansive literature on women's career corporate advancement (e.g., Ely et al. 2011) and from research on organizational nudges for more equitable organizations (e.g., Bohnet 2016). We would also welcome future research on negotiations beyond salary. We wonder, for example, if locals might have a higher propensity than their cosmopolitan counterparts to negotiate for development opportunities, given the pervasive stereotype that they are less qualified and competent.

Conclusion

Our research provides a window into the psychological experience of job applicants in emerging economies striving for cosmopolitan status in a globalized world. Illuminating the experience of locals highlights one of the many ways in which globalization may reinforce inequalities and institutionalize certain kinds of privilege. More experimental and organizationally grounded research is needed to refine our theoretical understanding of the status hierarchies in global employment and their distributional and performance implications. As organizations become increasingly global, we hope scholars will continue to illuminate mechanisms of inequality, thus illustrating how individuals and organizations can extend more equal opportunities through work around the world.

Supplemental Material

Supplemental material to this paper is available at https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2016.1099.

Endnotes

[1]Our use of the terms "cosmopolitan" and "local" differs from Haas (2006) in one respect. Haas (2006) defines the terms, "Cosmopolitans are identified as individuals who have lived and worked in multiple countries and *who speak several languages*, whereas locals are identified as individuals who have lived and worked in the project country and *who speak the local language*" (p. 369, italics added). However, we found in our research that "cosmopolitan" or "local" status was defined less by the number of languages one spoke than by one's command of English as the language of international business. For instance, an African job candidate might speak numerous languages of his home region, but lack command of English and therefore appear "local." Whereas a British or American candidate might only speak English fluently, but appear still "cosmopolitan" if he had extensive international work experience.

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