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Of Small Steps and Big Leaps: Collaborators Impact on Confronters' Ability to Influence Corporate Responsibility

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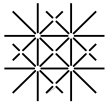
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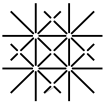
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Abstract

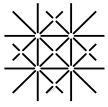
In their efforts to influence corporate responsibility, nonprofit organizations (NPOs) are increasingly focusing directly on companies – either by entering into collaborative relationships with, or by exerting public pressure on them. While both approaches can be instrumental for NPOs with respect to influencing corporate responsibility, the way in which these two approaches interact has not been extensively researched. Drawing on institutional change and social movement theory as well as nonprofit-business collaboration literature, this qualitative study sheds further light on how more confrontational NPOs experience the value and disvalue of collaborative approaches by more collaborative NPOs with respect to their own ability to influence corporate responsibility – i.e. how they experience ‘collaborator effects’. The results indicate that collaborative approaches can support confrontational ones in re-institutionalization efforts surrounding corporate responsibility, but have a negative bearing on their efforts at de-institutionalization. The type of NPO involved in collaborative efforts with companies exerts an important influence on perceived collaborator effects.

Keywords: corporate responsibility; nonprofit-business collaboration; nonprofit-business confrontation; institutional change; radical flank effects; collaborator effects



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1 Introduction

As nonprofit organizations (NPOs) increasingly focus directly on companies in trying to influence corporate responsibility (Bendell, 2004; De Bakker, 2012; Soule, 2009), interactions between these two actors are increasingly attracting academic attention (Den Hond et al., 2015).

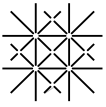
Regarding the nature of NPOs' approaches towards companies, two main strands of literature can be juxtaposed: nonprofit-business collaboration literature and scholarship drawing on social movement theory. Authors within the first strand observe that the nonprofit sector is increasingly entering into more collaborative forms of interaction with companies, arguing that this gives NPOs significant opportunities to positively influence corporate responsibility (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; Selsky & Parker, 2005; 2010). Scholars within the second strand assert that more antagonistic approaches by NPOs towards companies remain both common and important, as many NPOs see confrontation as an indispensable instrument for influencing corporate responsibility (Den Hond et al., 2015; Soule, 2009; Utting, 2005).

Positive outcomes with respect to influencing corporate responsibility have been reported both for collaborative (e.g. Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; Hoffman, 2009) and confrontational (e.g. King & Pearce, 2010; Soule, 2009) approaches towards companies on the part of NPOs. However, the way in which these two approaches interact to successfully influence corporate responsibility, has received limited scholarly attention. Consequently, additional investigation in this area has been identified as an important topic for further research (Burchell & Cook, 2013; Den Hond et al., 2015; Van Huijstee & Glasbergen, 2010), not least since NPOs with different approaches often target the same companies or industries in attempting to affect corporate responsibility (Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007; Odziemkowska & McDonnell, 2019). Most apparent is a need to further investigate how the presence of collaborative NPOs affects confrontational NPOs' ability to influence corporate responsibility (Odzienkowska & McDonnell, 2019) – what we refer to here as 'collaborator effects'. This article addresses this research gap by posing the following research question:

How do activities of collaborative NPOs support or hinder confrontational NPOs' ability to influence corporate responsibility?

To answer the research question, we apply a qualitative research design based on semi-structured interviews with NPO managers. The results show that collaborative approaches can support confrontational ones in re-institutionalization efforts surrounding corporate responsibility, but have a negative bearing on their efforts aimed at de-institutionalization – and by extension further-reaching re-institutionalization. Confrontational NPOs experience negative effects most strongly when formerly more confrontational NPOs start adopting more collaborative approaches towards companies.

This paper is structured as follows: We first draw on institutional change literature to discuss how NPOs attempt to influence corporate responsibility. We then refer to social movement and nonprofit-business collaboration literature to discuss the opportunities and limits of confrontational approaches with respect to influencing corporate responsibility, and how collaborative approaches might support or hinder confrontational endeavors. After describing the methodology applied in this study, we move on to present the results. Finally, we discuss our findings and develop propositions regarding positive and negative collaborator effects.



2 Literature review

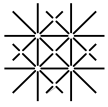
2.1 NPOs influencing corporate responsibility: De- and re-institutionalization

A major aim behind the increased attention devoted to companies by NPOs is influencing corporate responsibility (Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007; Soule, 2009; Valor & Merino de Diego, 2009), i.e. ensuring that companies take into account the 'greater social implications' (Argenti, 2016, p. 4) of their activities regarding their social and environmental impact. In effect, NPOs are seen as important actors within corporate responsibility, working towards changing norms and practices of corporate responsibility (Arenas et al, 2009; Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; Avetisyan & Ferrary, 2012; Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007).

In doing so, NPOs adopt varying approaches. These approaches are generally conceptualized as being either confrontational or collaborative in nature, or located somewhere on the spectrum between these two poles (Burchell & Cook, 2011; Covey & Brown, 2001; Hoffman, 2009; Simsa, 2003; Valor & Merino de Diego, 2009). NPOs adopting a confrontational approach focus on putting pressure on and creating threats for companies in order to influence corporate responsibility practices. NPOs adopting more collaborative approaches, in turn, attempt to affect corporate responsibility practices by 'working from the inside' (Van Wijk et al., 2013, 359), i.e. by collaborating with companies. The way, in which NPOs are involved in influencing corporate responsibility is productively conceptualized in a framework presented by Den Hond and De Bakker (2007). Taking institutional change theory as a starting point and complementing it with insights from social movement theory, they describe how confrontational and collaborative groups aim at achieving institutional change to corporate behavior. According to the authors, NPOs do this by either focusing on de-institutionalization or by emphasizing re-institutionalization processes. De-institutionalization is about opposing existing institutional norms and practices. Re-institutionalization, in turn, is about working towards preferred alternative norms and practices. Den Hond and De Bakker (2007) argue that affecting corporate behavior via de-institutionalization is the preferred path chosen by more confrontational NPOs. They do so by relying on tactics that have the potential to exert material or symbolic damage upon companies, such as staging protests, engaging in critical campaigns, or calling for boycotts. In contrast, more collaborative NPOs focus more strongly on re-institutionalization to achieve changes in corporate behavior. They are more inclined to use tactics that equip companies with symbolic and material gain, such as entering into partnerships with companies, taking part in multi-stakeholder dialogue processes, or offering endorsements via labelling schemes. In other words, while NPOs attempting to influence corporate responsibility in general share the aim of achieving institutional change, collaborative NPOs will more strongly strive to work with companies to find solutions to aspects of corporate behavior they judge problematic. In contrast, confrontational NPOs are critical of collaboration as an adequate mechanism for instigating the more fundamental structural changes to corporate behavior they envision (Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007). In a case study set in the Netherlands, Van Huijstee and Glasbergen (2010) confirm Den Hond and De Bakker's (2007) framework. They observe that collaborative approaches, via the granting of symbolic gain, are primarily – and successfully – directed at re-institutionalization efforts with respect to corporate responsibility. In contrast, confrontational approaches manage to successfully instigate processes of de-institutionalization of given corporate responsibility practices via symbolic damage strategies. Moreover, they find that confrontational approaches may also be directed at re-institutionalization efforts, albeit such re-institutionalization attempts remain unsuccessful in their case study.

2.2 Interactions for institutional change – What about 'Collaborator Effects'?

The notion that interaction effects between collaboratively and confrontationally oriented groups exist, emanates from social movement theory's concept of 'radical flank effects', elaborated by Haines (1984).



'Positive radical flank effects' exist when the presence and actions of confrontational groups positively impact collaborative groups' access to resources and their mission attainment. 'Negative radical flank effects' are present when the activities of confrontational groups negatively influence collaborative groups' ability to work towards their objectives (Haines, 1984; Haines, 2013). The important notion is that the presence of confrontational groups can affect outcomes for collaborative groups by influencing how third parties judge the legitimacy of their approach (Haines, 2013).

As the term radical flank effects suggests, where such effects have been investigated, scholars have focused on how confrontation affects collaboration. Effects running the opposite way – what we term 'collaborator effects' – remain under-examined, that is there is a lack of scholarly investigation concerning the question of how the presence of collaborative NPOs influences the ability of confrontational NPOs to impact corporate responsibility – both positively (positive collaborator effects) and negatively (negative collaborator effects). Specifically, academic scholarship has so far not provided closer insights into how different types of collaborative engagements, as well as the type of NPOs involved in such endeavors, exert effects on the resource and mission attainment of confrontational NPOs. Moreover, scholarship has been largely silent to navigation strategies that confrontational NPOs apply to harness the value and minimize the disvalue of collaborative approaches.

How then might collaborative NPOs affect the ability of confrontational NPOs to influence corporate responsibility in the manner they envision? In the next two sections, we consider the opportunities and limits inherent in confrontational approaches and build on these insights to discuss potential positive and negative collaborator effects.

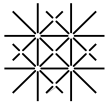
2.3 Opportunities and limits of confrontational approaches

A review of scholarship on confrontational approaches by NPOs towards companies suggests that, in accordance with Van Huijstee & Glasbergen (2010), confrontational approaches can instigate de-institutionalization – and to some extent re-institutionalization.

On the one hand, speaking out about problematic corporate practices is viewed as an important task of NPOs and as indispensable for achieving more fundamental changes in corporate behavior. By negatively affecting companies' reputation with core stakeholders – and by extension threatening their financial bottom-line – confrontational approaches can hand companies the incentive to abandon criticized business practices (Arenas et al., 2013; King & Pearce, 2010; Ozdiemkowska & McDonnell, 2019; Simsa, 2003; Soule 2009; Winston, 2002). On the other hand, criticism can also lead to processes of re-institutionalization. For example, NPO pressure has given companies an impetus to improve their social practices e.g. via the creation of CSR divisions (Balsiger, 2014), and has been instrumental for the implementation of private regulation initiatives (King & Pearce, 2010).

The main disadvantages of confrontational approaches identified in the literature relate to the limited direct access to companies' decision-making processes they offer NPOs, as well as a general guardedness on the part of companies towards more confrontational NPOs. This hampers their chances of accessing companies when directing their efforts at re-institutionalization, i.e. when they attempt to get into dialogue with companies and finding solutions to corporate practices they criticize (Hoffman, 2009; Simsa, 2003; Turcotte, 1995; Van Huijstee & Glasbergen, 2010).

Confrontational endeavors are also argued to entail opportunities and challenges concerning resource attainment. On the one hand, such activities can help NPOs gain resources because they are expected by external constituencies and guarantee ample visibility in the public sphere (Covey & Brown, 2011; Den Hond



et al., 2015; Soule, 2009). More confrontational NPOs may also be perceived as more credible due to their remaining independence from companies (Baur & Schmitz, 2012; Conner & Epstein, 2007; Hoffman, 2009). On the other hand, where approaches are perceived as too antagonistic, external constituencies might reduce their support (Hendry, 2006). Furthermore, disillusionment among supporters might appear when long-lasting pressure activities fail to achieve changes in corporate behavior (Beloe & Elkington, 2003).

2.4 Collaborative approaches: opportunity or threat for confrontational approaches?

One main argument in favor of collaborative approaches by NPOs towards companies is the fact that such an approach ensures direct access to companies (Austin & Seitanidi, 2012b; Hoffman, 2009), which is argued to increase NPOs' capacity for assisting companies in improving corporate practices (Arenas et al., 2009; Austin & Seitanidi, 2012a; 2012b; Burchell & Cook, 2013; Herlin, 2015; Hoffman, 2009; Valor & Merino de Diego, 2009). Within their theoretical framework, Den Hond and De Bakker (2007) argue that while more confrontational NPOs often will not or cannot engage in such collaborative relationships with companies, they could indirectly take part in such efforts by having more collaborative groups perform this task.

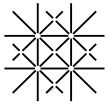
However, the existence of collaborative approaches can also have a negative bearing on more confrontational NPOs, by decreasing their legitimacy in the eyes of the public (Poncelet, 2001). Furthermore, this might negatively influence the leverage of more confrontational NPOs, as companies pay less attention to their demands (Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007). Taken together, this might lead to a marginalization of the agendas of more confrontational NPOs (Bendell, 2004; Poncelet, 2001; Van Huijstee et al. 2011), which might narrow their strategic space of operation (Burchell & Cook, 2011; Utting, 2005; Van Huijstee et al., 2011). Furthermore, a number of scholars voice concern that maintaining ties with companies will have a demobilizing effect on NPOs, keeping them from fundamentally challenging institutional arrangements and their corporate partners (Baur & Schmitz, 2012; Herlin, 2015; Odziemkowska & McDonnell, 2019; Utting, 2005; Van Wijk et al., 2013), thus leading to rather modest reform, which in turn forestalls more fundamental changes that especially more confrontational NPOs work towards (Bartley, 2007; Bendell, 2004; Burchell & Cook, 2013; Hamann & Acutt, 2001; Simsa, 2003).

With respect to resource attainment, in his pioneering study on 'radical flank effects', Haines (1984) finds that the existence of more radical groups positively affects the resource base of more moderate civil rights organizations. In turn, one might assume that the presence of collaborative NPOs negatively impacts confrontational NPOs' resource attainment (King & Busa, 2017).

Based on the literature review, it would thus appear that collaborative NPOs can support the mission attainment of confrontational ones primarily by supporting re-institutionalization efforts of corporate responsibility, where confrontational NPOs cannot. However, collaborative NPOs appear to act as an obstacle to de-institutionalization efforts by confrontational ones. Furthermore, the presence of collaborative NPOs might have a negative effect on the ability of more confrontational ones to attract resources.

3 Methods and sample

Since positive and negative collaborator effects represent an under-investigated area, we chose a qualitative research approach centered around expert interviews, allowing for the expansion of the limited existing theory and empirical findings in this area in an exploratory manner (Bryman, 2016; King & Horrocks, 2010). We complemented interview data by more closely investigating specific cases that emerged both in



the preparation of and while conducting our interviews.

The study-setting is Switzerland, which we chose for two main reasons. First, Switzerland is our main research-setting, and our knowledge of the local NPO sector aided us both with our sample selection as well as data gathering and analysis. Second, Switzerland commands over a diverse NPO-sector, including important advocacy, development-aid and certification organizations active in the corporate responsibility field, some of which are branches of large, internationally active NPOs.

3.1 Sample Selection

In order to ensure good data quality, we employed a purposive sampling procedure (Bryman, 2016). Most importantly, the NPOs included had to exhibit sufficient diversity with respect to their approach adopted towards companies. We borrowed Covey and Brown's (2001) classification of NPOs as 'confronters', 'critical collaborators' and 'collaborators' for classifying the NPOs included in our sample. Experiences of confronters and of critical collaborators were most central to the analysis. The inclusion of collaborators was important, as this allowed for closer verification of confronters' and critical collaborators' experiences. NPOs were classified as belonging to one of the three types by means of an extensive review of annual reports and further information available on their websites and in their newsletters. We later verified our initial classification against interview data, resulting in one change, the classification of NPO 7 as confronter rather than critical collaborator (see Appendix).

NPOs included had to also be clearly involved in the issue of corporate responsibility, and exhibit diversity with respect to their type of activity to allow potential differences in interpretation across these different types of NPOs to emerge. Three types of NPOs are particularly involved in corporate responsibility: environmental and human rights advocacy organizations; development-aid organizations and nonprofit organizations offering certifications (Arenas et al., 2009; Bartley, 2007; Jensen, 2018; Utting, 2008). Considering these prerequisites, we took the NPOs involved in the Corporate Responsibility Initiative¹ as the starting point for sample selection, as the organizations involved are concerned with corporate responsibility, can be classified into the three types of NPOs aforementioned and adopt a diversity of approaches towards companies. At the time of sampling, 117 NPOs were part of this alliance.

To allow for in-depth preparation for an analysis of interview data, we needed to ensure that sufficient secondary data on the organizations involved was available. We therefore decided to include only NPOs certified by Zewo, the Swiss standard setting organization for NPOs. In order to receive this certification, NPOs must offer true and fair financial reporting and provide transparent information (e.g. annual reports). Including this requirement reduced the sample to 23 potential NPOs, all of which were contacted. Fourteen organizations agreed to take part in an interview. While these organizations exhibited rather satisfactory diversity with respect to aforementioned requirements, the sample included only two collaborators and no certification organization. We therefore contacted two of the best known and most long-standing certification organizations in Switzerland, and two further development-aid organizations, which are well-known for collaboratively engaging with companies on the issue of corporate responsibility. All four NPOs agreed to an interview, resulting in a final sample of eighteen organizations with satisfactory diversity (see table 1 and Appendix).

¹ This initiative demands that Swiss companies be required to carry out mandatory environmental and human rights due diligence regarding their and their subsidiaries' global activities, i.e. within their supply chains.

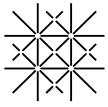


Table 1: NPO types included in the sample and their approaches toward companies

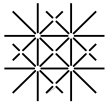
	Confronters (CON)	Critical Collaborators (CRIT)	Collaborators (COL)
Count	8	4	6
NPO Type (Count)	development aid (2) advocacy (6) - focus environment (2) - focus human rights (4)	development aid (2) advocacy (2) - focus environment (1) - focus human rights (1)	development aid (3) advocacy (1) - focus human rights (1) certification (2)
Interaction with Companies	Mainly campaigning and publication of critical reports; instances of informal dialogue with companies; financing (e.g. donations) by companies absent	Instances of campaigning activities and publication of critical reports; participation in institutionalized dialogue processes; some instances of project partnerships, open to financing by companies (rather strict guidelines)	Substantial collaboration with companies (e.g. project and strategic partnerships; financing by companies, only in very rare occasions critical reports)

3.2 Data collection and analysis

Data was gathered by means of semi-structured expert interviews with management-level individuals, a well-suited approach for studying an under-investigated area of research (Bryman, 2016). We employed an interview guide comprising three main themes: 1) nature of own organization's approach; 2) opinions on organizational and societal benefits and costs of collaborative and confrontational approaches towards companies; and 3) experiences of positive and/or negative collaborator effects. During our interviews, we both made reference to specific cases we came across during interview preparation, as well as letting new cases emerge.

The first round of interviews took place between April and July 2019, with interviews lasting between 65 and 85 minutes. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded with MAXQDA. For the analysis, we combined a 'Structural Coding' with a 'Theming the Data' approach (Saldaña, 2012). We started by coding material gathered from confronters and critical collaborators, and first analyzed the transcripts for experiences of positive and negative collaborator effects. We then moved on to identify a broad set of themes within the pertinent interview sections, focusing on a) how respondents experience these effects – including references to re-institutionalization and de-institutionalization processes; b) why and/or under what circumstances exactly they experience these effects; and c) in what way they react to the presence of such effects. In a third step, we combined the broad set of themes developed into a smaller number of overarching themes as the basis for presenting our results in a condensed form.

Subsequently, we analyzed the transcripts of the interviews performed with collaborators to uncover whether and how the aforementioned themes are perceived by more collaborative organizations. Latter data was used in the sense of triangulation (Bryman, 2016) to verify perceptions concerning collaborator effects gleaned from confronters and critical collaborators. In order to allow for further data triangulation, during the entire coding process, we also noted down specific cases mentioned. Pertinent cases were analyzed following the first round of interviews using secondary material, which included organizations' websites, annual reports, newsletters, media-reports, and further documents mentioned during the interviews.



As respondents made extensive reference to other organizations included in the sample during the first interview round, and as important questions concerning collaborator effects emerged both from the interviews and secondary data, we performed a second run of interviews with confronters and critical collaborators. This procedure also handed us the chance to 'confront' more confrontational organizations with more collaborative organizations' perceptions of collaborator effects. The second round of interviews took place between July and September 2020 with interviews lasting between 30 and 40 minutes. The same procedure as described above was applied for analysis.

4 Results

The results concerning collaborator effects are presented in three sections, the first dealing with a non-effect, the second elaborating on positive collaborator effects, and the third offering insights into negative collaborator effects. In light of the research question posed, experiences of confronters (CON) and of critical collaborators (CRIT) to the extent that they choose a less collaborative approach than collaborators (COL) are at the center of the analysis.

4.1 A non-effect: Resource attainment

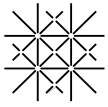
Existing literature led us to assume that the presence of collaborative approaches has a negative bearing on confrontational NPOs' capacity to attain resources. However, the latter do not experience the presence of collaborative NPOs as negatively affecting their resource attainment – neither financially nor in their ability to find and retain members, employees and volunteers. As one respondent from a confrontational NPO points out:

"With respect to our acquisition of financial resources and members, I can clearly state that this [the presence of collaborative NPOs] is no problem [...] our members and resource providers value that we embark on this 'David vs. Goliath' fight, and this keeps them mobilized." (NPO 3, CON)

As our data neither indicates the presence of positive effects in this respect, we coin this a non-effect. In effect, as illustrated in the quote above, with respect to resources, most confronters – as well as two critical collaborators – explicitly point out that 'campaigning means attention and money', i.e. that confrontational approaches, not least due to generation of media attention, positively affect the magnitude of support they receive. Moreover, they are convinced that changing their type of approach would involve risks concerning resource attainment, as not only their current supporters – but a fair share of the general population – favor confrontational approaches over collaborative ones, and especially value more confrontational NPOs' independence from companies. Various confronters explicitly state that they are on a growth path as far as donations and memberships are concerned and have set themselves rather ambitious growth targets. In the words of a respondent from one confrontational NPO:

"Despite the market for donations being somewhat saturated, we have been able to follow a growth path with respect to financial resources and members [...] in this sense, our approach based on confrontation towards and independence from companies is a unique selling point [...] in fact, the presence of collaborative NPOs all but cements this." (NPO 5, CON)

A look at the financial data of the NPOs included in our sample for the period between 2015 and 2019 – for which good data is available – does not indicate an alternative development to the one described by our respondents. The aggregate donations by private individuals to confronters (+1%) and critical collaborators



(+2%) have developed similarly to the donations to collaborators (each +2%). With respect to public sector support – an important source of income for the seven development-aid NPOs in our sample – a similar picture emerges (2 CON: +5%; 2 CRIT: +3%; 3 COL: +4%). Moreover, a comparison of membership development for the eight organizations that offer membership and publish data on the amount of members² does not indicate a relative loss in support for more confrontationally active NPOs either (5 CON: + 1%; 2 CRIT: + 1%; 1 COL: + 2%). Of course, the development of donations, public sector support, and memberships are influenced by factors other than the approach chosen towards companies. Nevertheless, the described development in terms of resource attainment appears to substantiate more confrontational NPOs' view that they do not experience negative – nor positive – effects with respect to resources as a result of the presence of more collaborative NPOs. Rather, such effects appear much more strongly with respect to confronters' – and critical collaborators' – ability to actually put these resources to use effectively when attempting to affect corporate behavior.

4.2 Positive collaboration effects – Support for (limited) re-institutionalization

Concerning positive collaborator effects, existing literature points to the fact that collaborative NPOs support the mission attainment of more confrontational NPOs in that former can work towards re-institutionalization, where the latter cannot. While we find evidence for this, the results show that important factors influence more confrontational NPOs' experiences of the specific value of such re-institutionalization efforts. We briefly address these factors within this section and further discuss them in the subsequent sections.

Positive Collaborator Effect – Taking the Next Step

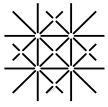
From confrontational NPOs' perspective, one theme stands out, namely that joint endeavors with companies undertaken by collaborators and critical collaborators can be of value when it comes to 'taking the next step'. As critical collaborators can generally 'take this next step' themselves, it is especially confronters that refer to this fact.

First, confrontational NPOs recognize that their approach, such as anti-corporate campaigns, can be difficult to keep up, not least because public attention to confrontational work might diminish over time or be subject to fluctuations. In this sense, as long as they perceive more collaborative NPOs to share their own objectives with respect to improving corporate behavior, they benefit from the fact that these continue working on these objectives jointly with companies at times when maintaining pressure becomes more difficult. As one respondent from a confrontational NPO puts it:

"The risk inherent in leading campaigns is that they are costly, and often have a long time-frame. At the same time, the outcome is open [...] we can end up in situations where we've spent a significant amount of resources on a campaign, without reaching our aim [...] so it can be good that a company can react to our criticism by partnering with a collaborative NPO [...] there might be at least some improvement." (NPO 18, CON)

The above quote hints at a second point that more confrontational NPOs repeatedly mention. They are aware that the more fundamental changes in terms of corporate responsibility they strive for cannot emerge from one day to another. At the same time, they realize that the causes they work on and beneficiaries they support, both of which are affected by companies' activities, require concrete – at times immediate –

² In total, nine organizations in our sample offer memberships. However, one confrontational NPO did not provide numbers on the size and development of its membership numbers, and could therefore not be included in the analysis.



solutions. They acknowledge that, to a certain extent, this makes some sort of dialogue or joint problem-solving mechanisms involving NPOs and companies necessary. Collaborators and critical collaborators taking part in such endeavors are perceived as important for working towards such solutions, as long as these endeavors are sufficiently ambitious. As one respondent from a confrontational NPO states:

“At times, campaigns are unsuccessful in bringing companies to make concessions [...] or it just takes a very long time until these concessions are made. At the same time, we have beneficiaries that need immediate solutions, and if [names collaborative organization] is able to lead negotiations with a company in a way that we couldn’t [...] and this leads to an improvement for our beneficiaries [...] then we basically welcome this, even though the solution is less far-reaching than what we want.”
(NPO 4, CON)

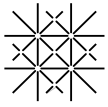
Third, confronters point to the fact that, even when they are interested in working somewhat collaboratively with companies, they are often not in a position to do so, as this could endanger their independence and displease their stakeholders, and thus negatively affect their resource attainment and by extension their ability to continue their confrontational work. In addition, they note that their approach is becoming increasingly resource-intensive. For example, they experience that criticized companies increasingly make use of legal instruments as a reaction to critical reports and campaigns. This in turn forces confronters to devote additional resources to make sure that their arguments are watertight. As a consequence, they command over less resources to enter into more collaborative interactions with companies, even if such activities – for example, the participation in ambitious multi-stakeholder initiatives – would appear sensible to them to achieve necessary concrete solutions. In this respect, more collaborative organizations partaking in collaborative endeavors can support confronters’ objectives with respect to moving companies towards more responsible behavior.

More confrontational NPOs thus, in general, accept that companies need external knowledge to implement corporate responsibility in a more encompassing manner, and that more collaborative NPOs – by working ‘from the inside’ – play an important role in handing companies this knowledge. In the words of one respondent from a confrontational NPO:

“Companies need NPOs as helpers [...] while they are experts with respect to many processes, in some areas they simply don’t have the necessary in-depth expertise, and collaborative NPOs can give them the concrete instruments for gradually improving their business practices [...] in this sense, it would not be productive if only our [confrontational] approach existed [...] civil society would be less effective.” (NPO 13, CON)

Furthermore, in the view of confrontational NPOs, collaborative NPOs are important for ensuring that issues of corporate responsibility maintain sufficient salience within companies, especially in instances, when external pressure lacks the capacity to do so. One specific way, in which more confrontational NPOs experience this happening, is that collaborators help internal divisions specifically designed to address issues of corporate responsibility, such as CSR departments or sustainability divisions, in their work – and by extension support them in gaining internal clout within companies. The establishment of strong collaborative endeavors – such as ambitious multi-stakeholder and standard-setting initiatives – can also be instrumental in the eyes of more confrontational NPOs, when they enjoy sufficient clout to be able to replace less encompassing endeavors, which can lead to positive industry-level effects by putting pressure on laggard companies to improve their practices.

However, while confronters acknowledge the value of others engaging in more collaborative approaches, they are adamant about the fact that this can only result in real value if companies exhibit a genuine willingness to improve their behavior and if these efforts are sufficiently ambitious and far-reaching.



Furthermore, they underscore that collaborative endeavors should remain limited to specific projects, where concrete betterment for causes or beneficiaries can be achieved – and should remain the function of particular types of NPOs. These factors represent important ‘tipping points’ between positive and negative collaborator effects, and we discuss them in the subsequent sections.

4.3 Negative Collaborator Effects – Obstacle to De- and (Better) Re-Institutionalization

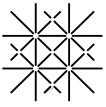
Scholarship suggests that collaborative NPOs might act as an obstacle to de-institutionalization efforts by more confrontational organizations. Our results substantiate this, and indicate that by extension collaborative endeavors also represent an obstacle to further-reaching re-institutionalization in the eyes of confronters and in instances also in the experience of critical collaborators. Two main themes emerge: 1) the legitimization of a problematic ‘paradigm of voluntariness’; and 2) the danger of providing a shield for companies.

Negative Collaborator Effect I – Problematic Legitimization

As the last section showed, confronters acknowledge that voluntary endeavors, such as multi-stakeholder and standard-setting initiatives are not necessarily per se bad, an opinion naturally shared by critical collaborators. At the same time, respondents from both types of NPOs note that there exist significant differences across collaborative endeavors, leading to a shared experience that many fall short of – even hinder – producing necessary changes towards more socially and environmentally progressive ways of doing business.

All more confrontational NPOs – including critical collaborators – repeatedly criticize that many voluntary endeavors miss the ambitiousness necessary to effectively confront existing intricate societal challenge. For example, with respect to multi-stakeholder initiatives and standards, problems are identified with respect to set-up and procedures, especially concerning the lack of or deficit in necessary control and sanction mechanisms to ensure that progress actually occurs. Furthermore, problems are spotted with respect to power questions, i.e. that many voluntary endeavors are business-driven and therefore involve too strong a focus on ‘business-case’ arguments, thus generally focusing on rather limited technical issues rather than more systemic questions, and offering more benefits to companies than to the actual issues at hand or envisioned beneficiaries. Furthermore, especially confronters, but to some extent also critical collaborators, note that such endeavors are generally limited in scope, allowing companies to demonstrate their positive efforts in one specific area – thereby gaining a positive reputation – while at the same time being able to continue business as usual in other areas. In addition, they strongly refer to the fact that voluntary endeavors are problematic because of their inherent lack of enforceability. They experience them as a ‘pick and choose’ option for companies, allowing them to go just as far as they need to in order to protect their reputation, but which they can – and do – easily cast aside, especially when they might put strain on their financial bottom-line. Especially problematic in the experience of more confrontational NPOs is the fact that the presence of voluntary endeavors with limited ambitiousness enables a race to the bottom, allowing companies to opt for joining less encompassing ones to the detriment of further-reaching endeavors.

All these experiences combine to a general experience that collaborative endeavors hinder substantial change with respect to corporate behavior, because companies are neither forced nor handed sufficient incentives to change, i.e. to work towards more responsible business conduct. It is especially the existing ‘paradigm of voluntariness’ that is problematic from more confrontational NPOs’ perspective. How then do more collaborative NPOs play into this? The major negative experience that more confrontational NPOs



have is the fact that these NPOs act as endorsers of such problematic voluntary endeavors. In the words of a respondent from one critical collaborator:

“From our point of view, it is rather damaging that [names organization] is so strongly committed to [names standard]. The contents of [names standard] are obsolete from our point of view, and the standard has not really brought improvements.” (NPO 10, CRIT)

Two main reasons underlie this negative experience from more confrontational NPOs' point of view. First, they experience collaborative NPOs as becoming too careful in criticizing problematic aspects of such endeavors, and second, they experience these NPOs as becoming more reluctant to pointing towards the fundamental problems underlying the paradigm of voluntariness per se. In this way, they hand such endeavors – and the existing institutional arrangement based on voluntariness – legitimacy. Thus, more collaborative NPOs are seen as stabilizing an unsatisfactory status quo with respect to corporate responsibility by supporting a notion of gradual, small-step and technical improvement to the detriment of more fundamental changes. As one of our respondents from a confrontational NPO states:

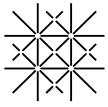
“In the area of standards and labels, there is just always the problem that weaker ones harm the stronger ones that could really bring significant change [...] and when other NPOs support such things that are not far-reaching enough, they stabilize the existing system to a certain extent [...] often they act as kind of quota organizations and legitimize these weaker things.” (NPO 13, CON)

This is experienced as harming more confrontational NPOs' efforts to work towards more innovative solutions and bring about more substantial change, not least the introduction of further-reaching regulation of corporate responsibility. Some confronters take this line of reasoning a step further, by pointing out that collaborative NPOs at times even contribute to a worsening of the status quo, when they engage in or support problematic collaborative endeavors. For example, by legitimizing problematic standards and companies in the public eye (e.g. consumers), they are experienced as providing a value enhancing mechanism for company products, which is seen as running counter to issues of sustainability – and is experienced as particularly problematic, when companies with a questionable track record with respect to their corporate responsibility practices benefit from this. The following statement by a respondent from a confrontational NPO aptly represents this experience:

“We don't criticize standards and labels per se [...] but the massive problem with many standards and labels is in fact [...] they lead to a normalization, they give many products that are not beyond doubt an okay-seal [...] I mean that does something with the public, such things lead to more legitimacy and public acceptance of partaking companies and their products, but when their set-up, their scope, is questionable [...] that's just more like a step back instead of a step forward.” (NPO 8, CON)

Negative Collaborator Effect II – Shield Provision

An important extension of the previous theme is more confrontational NPOs' experience that companies can in many instances hide behind collaboration. That is, collaborative endeavors can act as legitimization instrument for companies and are strategically used by them as a tool for public reputation enhancement, as an active defense strategy against criticism, and a method to circumvent more holistic approaches and prevent regulation. Especially confronters repeatedly talk of the fact that companies are seeking out collaborative arrangements with civil society actors for highly strategic purposes, in order to 'take the wind out of civil society's sails', or deliberately pit different actors within civil society against each other. They refer to ample instances, in which companies have used more collaborative NPOs to point out that NPOs



are ‘on their side’, and criticism directed at companies can thus be dismissed as coming from the ‘radical corner’, as the following statement indicates:

“Let’s not be naïve [...] companies have a very strategic way of trying to bring some NPOs on board, thereby splitting the NPO landscape into different factions [...] such divide-and-rule strategies are an increasing trend [...] and often these collaborative endeavors give companies an undeservedly positive reputation in the public [...] at the same time this decreases the ability or willingness of these NPOs to criticize companies.” (NPO 5, CON)

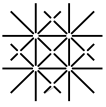
Confronters – and some critical collaborators – are particularly concerned about the fact that (other) more collaborative NPOs interact with companies in a manner that is not sufficiently critical, thus providing a shield for companies against criticism directed at them. By being too strongly focused on compromise, by becoming bogged down in joint initiatives and individual projects with companies – potentially even becoming resource dependent on companies – more collaborative NPOs are experienced as failing to publicly speak out in a sufficiently critical manner against companies they collaborate with, thus failing to bring forward systemic criticism as well as working towards further-reaching alternatives or regulation of companies. That is, more confrontational NPOs experience organizations working in collaborative endeavors with companies as actively or inadvertently demonstrating a decreased ability and willingness to criticize these companies, at times even performing rather aggressive prevention against criticism by confronters directed at companies that collaborators are connected to. As one respondent from a critical collaborator puts it:

“[Names NPOs] are known to be very collaborative, and we acknowledge that they do quite a lot of good basic work in this way [...] the problem is that they have become much too careful in criticizing companies at all [...] behind the scenes they actually acknowledge that it is important that we confront companies as this improves their bargaining position [...] but, I mean, they have a good standing in the public eye and influence public opinion, so for us it is a problem that they generally refrain from criticizing companies publicly.” (NPO 11, CRIT)

This restricts the maneuver space of more confrontational NPOs in that they find their propositions for influencing corporate behavior pushed into a more radical corner. In their experience this negatively affects the effectiveness of their work in the sense that alternative propositions they bring forward are taken less into account, i.e. their ability to work towards de-institutionalization and further-reaching re-institutionalization are hampered.

4.4 Tipping points and navigation strategies

The previous sections indicate that more confrontational NPOs accept that collaborative efforts are to a certain extent necessary and helpful, as long as they are sufficiently encompassing with respect to their scope, ambition and set-up. In absence of these characteristics, however, such efforts are perceived as an obstacle to more confrontational NPOs’ objectives. While these factors are important, an even more central factor that influences more confrontational NPOs’ experiences of collaborator effects, is the extent to which certain types of NPOs become involved in collaborative endeavors. Confronters experience it as most problematic when critical collaborators become involved in collaborative endeavors that are not sufficiently encompassing. This is exacerbated when this involves NPOs that used to be more critical of and independent from companies. This experience is, in instances, shared by critical collaborators, who perceive other critical collaborators as going too far in their collaborative engagement with companies. In the experience of more confrontational NPOs, this represents a ‘loss of allies’, as the following statement by a respondent from a confrontational NPO indicates:



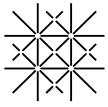
“It is just more positive, if the organization that works together with companies is a real collaborator, like [names two NPOs] [...] if an organization that has been active confrontationally in the past, a comrade in arms so to speak, does this [...] then it becomes much more difficult in the sense that our legitimacy can be questioned more easily by the company.” (NPO 4, CON)

This becomes even more problematic, if such NPOs are part of endeavors lacking ambition and scope, as this hampers more confrontational NPOs’ ability to put pressure on the companies that partake in them – since they are provided with a shield by (critical) collaborators. In this sense, more confrontational NPOs experience it as more positive, when NPOs with a clear collaborative profile, such as certain development-aid organizations and especially certification organizations work collaboratively with companies. If such NPOs are part of sufficiently encompassing collaborative endeavors, they support re-institutionalization efforts just as much as more critical NPOs that are part of such endeavors can. If they are, in turn, part of problematic collaborative arrangements, it is easier for more confrontational NPOs to publicly criticize the arrangements they are part of – and companies they collaborate with – than is the case, when historically more critical NPOs enter into such endeavors and provide an ‘extra strong shield’ for companies by acting as particularly believable endorsers of collaborative endeavors in the public eye. As a respondent from a confrontational NPO told us:

“I remember one campaign of ours well [...] there we actually worked rather closely together with [names collaborative NPO] and that worked very well [...] kind of, they negotiated with the firm in question and we made public demands and published information showing corporate malpractice [...] the central point here is that such strategic approaches are possible, but it is much better, if we can do this with a clearly collaborative NPO [...] if the organization collaborating with the company is a historically more confrontational organization, then the whole situation becomes problematic because it is much easier for the company to then turn around and say ‘ah, look, those radicals, why should one listen to them at all’, and that’s very harmful.” (NPO 3, CON)

Considering these factors, how do more confrontational NPOs attempt to react to the existence of collaborative approaches? We find indications of two main navigation strategies. First, in terms of trying to ensure that collaborators – and other critical collaborators – do not become too uncritical in their approach towards companies, more confrontational NPOs attempt to become involved in their collaborative endeavors to some extent. More specifically, they try to be in contact with collaboratively oriented NPOs in order to be kept in the loop about developments within dialogue activities, multi-stakeholder initiatives, and bilateral partnerships. This allows them to intervene to some extent when they believe that important issues are neglected or such NPOs are becoming too uncritical. Such exchange of information does indeed happen, as amply referred to by most respondents in our sample, and is supported by the fact that many NPOs are jointly part of various alliances and coalitions that enable the exchange of information behind closed curtains. Nevertheless, more confrontational NPOs recognize that an extensive flow of information is often unrealistic, not least because collaborative endeavors frequently entail obligations of secrecy. Furthermore, as NPOs compete on the market for donations – and to a certain extent see each other as rivals for resource attainment – the extensive exchange of information is further complicated.

A second navigation strategy that more confrontational NPOs make use of – especially when the first navigation strategy has failed to bring results – is to increase their own confrontational activity. The use of this strategy is especially applied as a counter-measure to collaborative endeavors lacking ambition and scope. However, this is an approach that more confrontational NPOs do not take lightheartedly as they perceive this as potentially damaging to the NPO sector as such by publicly making visible fault lines between different NPOs. If they do so, they tend to focus on criticizing specific initiatives and standards instead of directly attacking collaborative NPOs, as they do not want to create further division within the sector. Such direct attacks are therefore only very rarely applied.



5 Discussion and Proposition Development

In their efforts to influence corporate responsibility, some NPOs seek more collaborative relationships with companies, while others maintain a more confrontational stance. An analysis of how these approaches influence one another has been largely absent from scholarly literature. Particularly noticeable is a lack of investigation into how the presence of collaborative NPOs impacts the ability of confrontational NPOs to influence corporate responsibility. Accordingly, this study aimed to shed further light on how more confrontationally oriented NPOs perceive the value and disvalue of collaborative approaches with respect to their own ability to influence corporate responsibility.

Before discussing the results, some limitations of this study should be pointed out. First, with 18 respondents our sample was relatively small, as well as remaining limited to Switzerland. Therefore, caution should be advised, when generalizing to the entire population of NPOs both within Switzerland and in other geographical contexts, as generally advisable with respect to qualitative studies and non-probability sampling procedures (Bryman, 2016). However, as our sampling procedure ensured relevant diversity across NPOs and since close to half our organizations represent branches of internationally active organizations, we believe that the effects we find might well be similarly experienced by other NPOs both in Switzerland and in other geographical contexts. Furthermore, our sample included some of the best known more confrontational and more collaborative NPOs active with respect to corporate responsibility issues in Switzerland, thus offering a sound foundation for our insights.

Second, we limited our interviews to one key informant within each NPO, which entails the drawback of potentially drawing a simplified picture of NPOs' experiences concerning collaborator effects. Nevertheless, all our respondents hold managing positions within their respective NPOs – with most of them also being part of the directorate – and have been working for their NPOs for extended periods. Thus, we believe that they were able to convey an accurate picture of their respective organization's experiences with the topic at hand.

Third, as we were interested in uncovering varying experiences of different types of NPOs active in different areas, we refrained from pre-selecting a specific case. Although we let cases emerge from our interviews and analyzed these with help of secondary material, this nevertheless means that we sacrificed a certain level of depth in favor of breadth in our study. Thus, further examination of interaction effects – not least the propositions brought forward within this contribution – within in-depth individual case studies would constitute an important addition to this study – as would testing such effects by means of quantitative approaches.

Despite these limitations, this study offers important insights into the interaction between different NPO approaches towards companies. Figure 1 illustrates the main findings from the qualitative data gleaned with respect to more confrontational NPOs' perceptions of the value and disvalue of collaborative approaches in the context of de-institutionalization and re-institutionalization efforts concerning corporate responsibility.

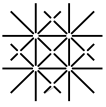
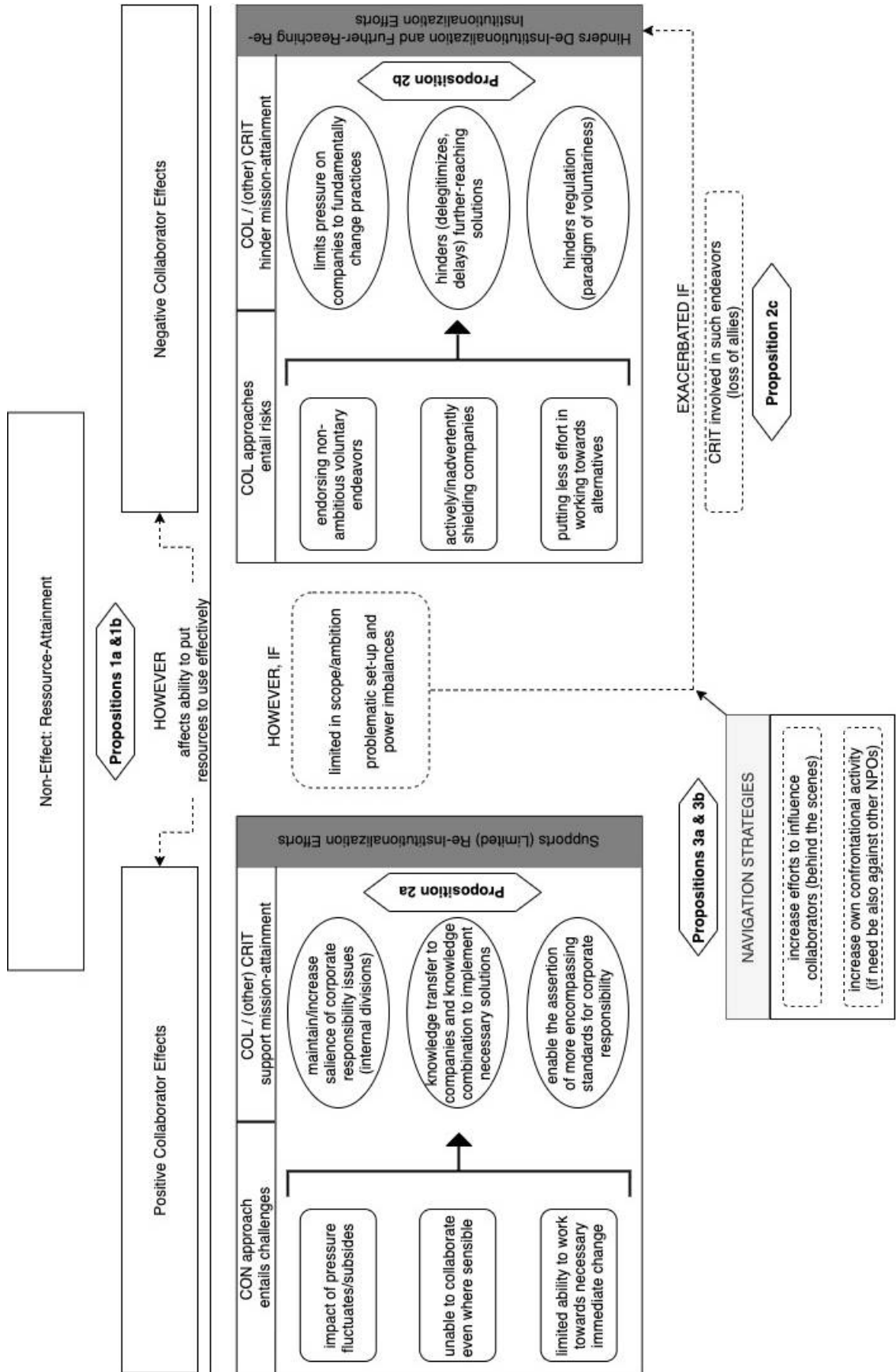
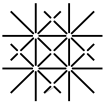


Figure 1: Positive and negative collaborator effects – main findings. CON=confronter; CRIT=critical collaborator; COL=collaborator





First, in contrast to findings with respect to ‘radical flank effects’, our findings indicate the absence of similar collaborator effects – both positive and negative – as far as more confrontational NPOs’ ability to attain resources is concerned. Rather, collaborator effects surface with respect to confronters’ actual capacity to put their resources to use effectively when trying to influence corporate behavior. This leads us to formulate the following propositions:

Proposition 1a: *When more collaborative NPOs engage in collaborative endeavors with companies, the ability of more confrontational NPOs to attain resources is not affected.*

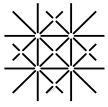
Proposition 1b: *When more collaborative NPOs engage in collaborative endeavors with companies, the ability of more confrontational NPOs to attain their mission with the resources available is affected.*

Our results confirm the observation – most prominently put forward by Van Huijstee & Glasbergen (2010) – that contrasting approaches interplay with respect to influencing corporate responsibility. However, our findings show that for more confrontational NPOs, collaborative approaches by other NPOs – and private regulation per se – present a double-edged sword to achieve changes in corporate responsibility. Regarding positive collaborator effects, our results substantiate Den Hond & De Bakker’s (2007) and Van Huijstee & Glasbergen’s (2010) suggestions that collaborative approaches can support confrontational groups in achieving desired re-institutionalization. By ‘taking the next step’ – i.e. supporting companies in improving corporate responsibility practices – more collaborative NPOs can act as important complements to confronters. They can do so by ensuring continued salience of important issues within companies, even when the impact of confrontational activities diminishes, and might be instrumental in enabling the assertion of more encompassing standards for corporate responsibility. In this way, they assist more confrontational NPOs’ mission attainment with respect to the causes they work towards and beneficiaries they support, while at the same time allowing the latter to maintain their independence from companies and continuing to deploy their resources to pressure activities – both of which is essential for their resource attainment from their external constituencies. However, since collaborative approaches take place within an existing paradigm of voluntariness and are built around compromise – and since companies with respect to their resources are often in a dominant position vis-à-vis NPOs – from the perspective of more confrontational NPOs such approaches generally at best only manage to somewhat tweak corporate responsibility practices, while failing to address more fundamental systemic questions underlying corporate responsibility. At the same time, collaborative approaches by NPOs generally serve as public legitimation function for collaborative endeavors and companies that are part of them. In this sense, the presence of collaborative NPOs hampers more confrontational NPOs’ ability to achieve de-institutionalization of corporate responsibility practices – and by extension further-reaching re-institutionalization efforts. The negative effects on de-institutionalization and further-reaching re-institutionalization efforts are substantially exacerbated, when formerly more critical NPOs venture into collaborative endeavors with companies. Based on these observations, we propose the following:

Proposition 2a: *When more collaborative NPOs engage in collaborative relationships with companies, confrontational NPOs’ efforts to re-institutionalize corporate responsibility practices are supported.*

Proposition 2b: *When more collaborative NPOs engage in collaborative relationships with companies, confrontational NPOs’ efforts to de-institutionalize corporate responsibility practices are hindered.*

Proposition 2c: *Efforts to de-institutionalize corporate responsibility practices are especially hindered when formerly more confrontational NPOs venture into collaborative relationships with companies.*



More confrontational NPOs, however, do not remain passive with respect to these effects. Rather, they try to actively influence more collaborative NPOs – and the collaborative endeavors they are part of – by putting navigation strategies into motion. Our data indicates two ways in which more confrontational NPOs react to the presence of more collaborative approaches by other NPOs. To start with, they actively try to work towards information exchange between them and more collaborative NPOs to make sure that collaborative endeavors ensure re-institutionalization that is in their interest as well as try and persuade more collaborative NPOs to refrain from entering into endeavors that are perceived as problematic. If this approach is unsuccessful, they may react by increasing confrontational activities directed at problematic collaborative endeavors. This result stands somewhat in contrast to findings by Odziemkowska & McDonnell (2019) who indicate a reduction in confrontational activity as a result of other NPOs engaging in more collaborative relationships with companies.³ Based on these findings, we offer the following propositions:

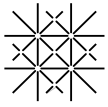
Proposition 3a: *If more confrontational NPOs perceive that the efforts of more collaborative NPOs might yield re-institutionalization inconsistent with their own objectives, they will actively try to a) work towards information-exchange with the collaborative NPOs involved, and b) influence the more collaborative NPOs involved not to engage in such problematic efforts.*

Proposition 3b: *If more confrontational NPOs fail to convince more collaborative NPOs to modify their collaborative efforts, the more confrontational NPOs will increase confrontational activities directed toward the problematic collaborations.*

6 Conclusions

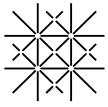
To date few attempts have been made to combine the two literature strands focusing on confrontational nonprofit-company interactions on the one hand, and collaborative nonprofit-company relationships on the other. Although there is undoubtedly value in investigating the outcomes of collaborative and confrontational NPO approaches towards companies separately, going a step further and investigating the effects of the *interaction* between confrontational and collaborative NPO approaches on corporate responsibility would appear to be an important area of research, offering the chance to draw a more accurate picture of the dynamics at work in nonprofit-company interactions. Especially, the examination of ‘collaborator effects’ is an issue that has attracted surprisingly little attention within scholarship. Further examining such effects – not least by testing the propositions brought forward within this contribution by means of in-depth individual case studies or quantitative approaches – would appear to constitute an important topic for future research.

³ Odziemkowska and McDonnell (2019) find a reduction of confrontational activity towards companies on the part of more confrontational organizations that share board members with organizations that entertain collaborative relationships with these same companies. While we do not consider board-interlocks, the organizations in our sample are nevertheless quite closely connected through their joint membership in various alliances and coalitions – and thus in general well-informed about other organizations’ activities. Our data does not indicate a reduction in confrontational activity by more confrontational organizations, when collaborative organizations collaborate with companies.

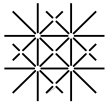


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Appendix: Classification of NPOs (W/R = information from websites/annual reports; Int. = information from interviews)

Org.	Org. Type		Collaborative Activities (including financing by companies)	Confrontational Activities	Classification
NPO 1	development aid	W/R	cause related marketing, corporate volunteering, donations, project financing/partnerships, sponsoring		collaborator
		Int.	partnerships with companies are essential and enjoy high and increasing weight in our organizational strategy except for extreme cases, we generally do not criticize (publicly)		
NPO 2	development aid	W/R	donations, project financing/partnerships, sponsoring		collaborator
		Int.	we absolutely have to work collaboratively, the (potential) positive effects that companies can have, is enormous we check large donations from firms, but we have no specific guidelines, we take most donations		
NPO 3	advocacy (environmental)	W/R		critical reports and campaigns, litigation, petitions, (support of) protest activities	confronter
		Int.	we are a campaigning organization and work mainly in confrontational terms to put pressure on companies we are open to selective dialogue with companies, but our independence is sacred ... we decline any form financing by companies		
NPO 4	advocacy (human rights)	W/R	seek dialogue (non-institutionalized)	critical reports and campaigns, litigation, petitions, (support of) protest activities	confronter
		Int.	we first and foremost use confrontational elements to achieve change we sit together and negotiate with certain companies, but do not allow any kind of monetary transfer as this creates dependencies		
NPO 5	advocacy (human rights)	W/R	seek dialogue (non-institutionalized)	critical reports and campaigns, litigation, petitions, (support of) protest activities	confronter
		Int.	we are a pressure group, a watchdog focusing on corporate accountability ... that's deeply rooted in our DNA we enter only into non-formalized dialogues with companies, and accept no sponsoring or donations ... our independence is key		
NPO 6	advocacy (environmental)	W/R	consulting, corporate volunteering, donations, labelling, MSI/roundtables, project financing/partnerships, sponsoring	petitions	critical collaborator
		Int.	partnerships with companies are strategically very important for us ... the most direct lever for achieving sustainability we are generally very open to any form of collaboration, but keep the freedom to criticize where necessary		
NPO 7	advocacy (human rights)	W/R	seek dialogue (non-institutionalized)	critical reports and campaigns, petitions	confronter
		Int.	our approach can be described as «carrot and stick»... we mainly use critical research, at times even lawsuits we have non-institutionalized dialogue, but we are extremely restrictive as far as donations are concerned ... independence is essential		
NPO 8	development aid	W/R		critical reports and campaigns, petitions	confronter
		Int.	we do not work in partnerships, because it cannot be reconciled with our generally more confrontational approach we are open to critical dialogues ... in ratings we point to differences between and improvements of companies		
NPO 9	development aid	W/R		critical reports and campaigns, petitions	confronter
		Int.	we have always had a critical attitude towards companies ... uncovering problematic company behavior is central to our work very few donations come from SMEs, none from corporations ... we do not have any project partnerships		
NPO 10	development aid	W/R	consulting, corporate volunteering, donations, MSI/roundtables	critical reports, petitions	critical collaborator
		Int.	partnerships are important to us ... we work in many MSI and we cooperate with a number of large companies criticizing problematic corporate behavior is also an important aspect of our work		
NPO 11	advocacy (human rights)	W/R	donations (limited degree), MSI/roundtables	critical reports and campaigns, petitions	critical collaborator
		Int.	we cooperate with the private sector, but we also confront companies ... depending on the specific situation one cannot see the private sector as an enemy and only attack, but one can't be so naive and only cooperate with companies		
NPO 12	development aid	W/R	donations, project financing/partnerships, sponsoring	critical reports and campaigns	critical collaborator
		Int.	collaboration is an interesting approach for us, but so is the confrontational one of denouncing companies in public there are efforts to get sponsoring from larger SMEs, but at the moment this hardly exist		
NPO 13	advocacy (environmental)	W/R	MSI/roundtables (limited degree)	critical reports and campaigns, litigation, petitions, (support of) protest activities	confronter
		Int.	we believe dialogue to be important, but this happens informally ... we do not have any official cooperation total independence is in our DNA ... we don't accept cash flows from companies		
NPO 14	development aid	W/R	consulting, donations, MSI/roundtables, project financing/partnerships		collaborator
		Int.	we are looking towards even more opportunities to work more closely with the private sector we might disagree with certain company behavior, but don't campaign, we don't make a lot of noise		
NPO 15	certification	W/R	consulting, donations, labelling, MSI/roundtables, project financing/partnerships, sponsoring		collaborator
		Int.	we enter into partnerships with everyone, this has always been our approach ... our task is to offer solutions companies have to be a big part of the solution ... the most problematic companies have the greatest potential for improvement		
NPO 16	certification	W/R	consulting, labelling, MSI/roundtables		collaborator
		Int.	it is in our DNA so to speak, to work with the private sector our work focuses on market-approaches, we have never really run negative campaigns against companies		
NPO 17	advocacy (human rights)	W/R	cause related marketing, consulting, donations, MSI/roundtables, project financing/partnerships, sponsoring		collaborator
		Int.	we have always been working with and depended on companies ... we are looking to intensify such cooperation we offer our expertise to companies, and are quite involved in relevant multi-stakeholder initiatives		
NPO 18	advocacy (human rights)	W/R		critical reports and campaigns, litigation, petitions, (support of) protest activities	confronter