Title: Investigating the link between stakeholder type and strategic responses to institutional pressures: Combining the Mitchell et al. (1997) and the Oliver (1991) models: Public sector context

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Abstract
The management of increased numbers of stakeholder groups with increased and conflicting demands requires refined information on who and what really counts to management in terms of these demands from multiple stakeholders. These requirements challenge stakeholder and institutional theory to effectively support the decision making practice. The purpose of this paper is to examine links between stakeholder theory and institutional theory in a way not previously seen in the literature and present new propositions as a potential extension of these theories. The study makes use of the Mitchell et al. (1997) stakeholder typology model and combines it with the Oliver (1991) model which offers a typology of strategic responses to institutional pressures. This is a conceptual paper which employs a literature based analysis and from this generates six new propositions. These propositions can be tested in future research. The main implication is that the paper has the potential to assist managers in dealing with multiple stakeholders’ interests. Several insights are provided for further research and for improvement in current practice.

Key words: Decision making, public sector, stakeholder theory, institutional theory, strategic responses, stakeholder type
1. Introduction

In recent years, managers of organisations have had to respond to more stakeholder groups than ever before, and have had to respond to more demands from these stakeholders. Stakeholder groups may include shareholders, government regulators, government funders, industry lobby groups, environmental and other social interest groups, community groups, professional organisations, trade unions – the list goes on. Stakeholder groups may (and often do) have conflicting demands and priorities. There are several different theoretical models which may be used to explain how and why managers respond as they do to diverse stakeholders. Some of these models may have conflicting perspectives; others have similar and seemingly consistent perspectives. Bringing together insights from congruent models may have a synergistic effect in enhancing our understanding of stakeholder management.

There has been a vast amount of research conducted using Mitchell et al’s (1997) stakeholder typology model and more so Oliver’s (1991) institutional theory model. This paper seeks to merge the Oliver and Mitchell et al models, to offer an enhanced theoretical perspective on organisational responses to various stakeholder demands. The paper, in presenting six new propositions from this combination, offers new insights into the relationship between managers, organisational responses, and diverse groups of stakeholders.

We seek to develop a merged model in the particular context of the public sector. In a post New Public Management world, an enhanced explanatory model may offer new insights into why the public sector, which has been extensively researched over the last two decades, continues to struggle with decisions on balancing economic and social objectives and thus meeting the demands of stakeholders with conflicting objectives.

It is important to understand how organizations perceive their obligations to their stakeholders and just what they perceive they need to achieve. Organizational performance is related to organizational objectives, and these objectives will be partly determined by the organizational response to conflicting stakeholder demands. This is particularly the case in corporatised public sector entities which have at times conflicting objectives of community service in addition to profit objectives.

Stakeholders can influence and exert pressure on an organisation’s management. The attributes these stakeholders possess is said to influence the way management respond to demands from these stakeholders (Mitchell et al 1997). The model predicts that if a stakeholder has all three attributes and is thus considered definitive, this stakeholder’s demands will be prioritised above stakeholders with only one or two attributes. However, the model does not offer a prioritisation option if for example an organisation has identified more than one definitive stakeholder. The strategic response model of Oliver (1991) predicts the strategic response of management to stakeholders’ demands. This paper combines these two models to predict the strategic response taken by management to the different types of stakeholders. This has not been done previously. We develop six new propositions from the combination of these two well-known models.

The aim of this paper is to expand scholarly and management understanding beyond the three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency of the Mitchell et al model to include further elements such as the notion of strategic responses of the Oliver model. The addition of these proposed vital dimensions could have the potential to result in more effective management.
The next section of this paper examines some of the notions of stakeholder theory and institutional theory. This is followed by the development of theoretical propositions.

2. Stakeholder theory

Whether public or private the environment in which an organisation sits comprises stakeholders or actors. Freeman (1984) recounted the origins of the stakeholder concept, which was used for the first time at the Stanford Research Institute in 1963; stakeholders were first defined as: ‘Those groups without whose support the organisation would cease to exist.’ Freeman (1984:31) extended this definition. He defines a stakeholder as ‘Any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievements of an organisation’s objectives’. Since 1984, much research has centred on stakeholder theory. Between 1984 and 2007, 179 articles directly addressed Freeman’s work on stakeholder theory (Laplume, Sonpar and Litz 2008:1152).

‘Much of the argument behind stakeholder theory is that economic pressures to satisfy only shareholders is short-term thinking and organisations need to ensure their survival and success in the long term by satisfying other stakeholders as well.’ Collier (2008:935). This is especially important where the focus of the organisation is not that of maximising of shareholder wealth but providing a service or product to the community on behalf of government. The survival and success of these organisations is based not only on satisfying short-term economic performance but also on satisfying multiple stakeholders over the long-term.

For any organisation its stakeholders must be identified. It can be a complex matter to define stakeholders. For example, Kloot and Martin (2000: 237) attempt to define stakeholders in the context of local government:

‘The concept of ‘stakeholders’ is problematic when applied to Australian local government as there is a diversity of groups often with different interests, for example the state government, which provides funding and the legislative framework under which local government operates. Obvious stakeholders include the federal government (which provides some funding), ratepayers, the wider local community, consumers and clients of local government services, while employees, councillors and suppliers have significant interests in issues affecting local government.’

The competing interests of stakeholders make it difficult for management to balance their accountability responsibilities. Management therefore needs to identify and prioritise the demands or requirements of their most influential stakeholders. Mitchell et al (1997) developed a typology of stakeholder salience and stakeholder identification to capture management’s perceived view of prioritisation of stakeholder relationships.

Fundamentally, the stakeholder argument is that organisations should have an interest in all stakeholders and not just shareholders. Laplume et al (2008:1153) suggest stakeholder theory is ‘timely yet adolescent, controversial yet important’ due to the emergence of formal organisations, the lack of empirical validity on key propositions (Jones 1995), the questioning of the conventional assumption that the pursuit of profit is management’s main concern (Jensen 2002) and the importance of how organisations affect society (Hinings and Greenwood 2002; Stern and Barley 1996).
The current dominant theory of the firm is the economic model, with a focus on shareholders. Over the last two decades scholars have called for a new theory, which would more accurately describe firm behaviour by focusing on stakeholder relationships (Edgley et al, 2010; René Orij, 2010; Mäkelä and Näsi, 2010; Darnell et al, 2009; Brenner and Cochran, cited in Mitchell et al 1997; Donaldson and Preston 1995; Hosseini and Brenner 1992; Jones 1995; Wood 1991). This theory would explain firm behaviour by integrating observed social behaviour with observed economic performance (Key 1999). Brenner and Cochran (cited in Mitchell et al 1997) suggested that the stakeholder model might be an alternative to the current economic model. More recently Bucholtz and Rosenthal (2004:144) suggest ‘stakeholder theory is considered to be something of an alternative to government regulation.’ The global financial crisis (GFC) suggests a focus wider than shareholder and economic performance is not only important to society, but also necessary for long-term survival of the firm. Some of the world’s largest and wealthiest institutions collapsed under the strain of adhering to the economic model of the firm, maximising shareholder wealth. Government organisations have a wider focus as they balance economic and social motives. The government is ‘the only entity that has the legitimacy to speak for society as a whole and can thus change the way corporations are governed and managed’ (Buchholz and Rosenthal 2004:149). Given this government owned organisations have the potential to lead change and lead to a new theory of the firm.

2.1 The Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) model
Mitchell et al (1997) developed a typology model to predict stakeholder salience and identification to capture management’s views of their stakeholders. While there have been competing typologies for example (Elijido-Ten et al 2010; Friedman and Miles 2002; Clarkson 1995; Frooman 1999) the Mitchell et al (1997) model is widely recognised as one of the most influential contributions to stakeholder theory. The model is based on stakeholder attributes. Mitchell et al (1997) concluded that the three attributes which force managers to pay attention to stakeholders are power, legitimacy and urgency. These attributes have reasonable empirical support (Agle, Mitchell and Sonnenfield 1999; Boesso and Kumar 2007; Currie, Seaton and Wesley 2009; Eesley and Lennox 2006; Knox and Gruar 2007; Parent and Deephouse 2007; Winn 2001). One attribute can be more influential than another; O’Higgins and Morgan (2006:73) found ‘The presence of the legitimacy attribute is more likely than power or urgency to encourage a party to assign salience to a stakeholder’. Parent and Deephouse (2007) found the attribute power to have the most effect on salience, followed by urgency and then legitimacy. O’Higgins and Morgan (2006) suggest further attributes could be considered and could broaden or extend the Mitchell et al (1997) model. They suggest including attributes of ideology and values and believe the ideological dimension appears to be something beyond legitimacy. Overall Currie, Seaton and Wesley (2008) find the Mitchell et al (1997) model provides a pragmatic typology with a justifiable measure of stakeholder salience. The three attributes are defined by Mitchell et al (1997:865-866):

- **power**. to the extent it has or can gain access to coercive, utilitarian, or normative means, to impose its will in the relationship.
- **Legitimacy** refers to the degree to which a stakeholder relationship with an organisation is seen as appropriate, proper, and desirable in the social context.
- **Urgency** exists only when two conditions are met 1) when a relationship or claim is of a time sensitive nature and 2) when that relationship or claim is important or critical to the stakeholder.

The interaction of the three attributes result in three classes of stakeholders: latent, expectant and definitive (Mitchell et al 1997). The **latent** group comprises dormant stakeholders,
possessing the attribute power; discretionary stakeholders possessing legitimacy; and demanding stakeholders, possessing the attribute urgency. The expectant group comprises dominant stakeholders, possessing power and legitimacy; dependent, possessing legitimacy and urgency; and dangerous, possessing power and urgency. The definitive group comprises stakeholders possessing all three attributes. Any expectant stakeholder can become a definitive stakeholder by acquiring the missing attribute. Parent and Deephouse (2007) suggest that most stakeholders were definitive, dominant or dormant. This would indicate that power and legitimacy are the most likely attributes present. The Mitchell et al (1997) model has been applied many times as mentioned above and proves the usefulness of the model in studying stakeholder relationships in this study. Table 1.1 presents a summary of some studies applying the model.

**TABLE: 1.1 APPLICATION OF THE MITCHELL ET AL (1997) MODEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elijido-Ten et al</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baskerville-Morley</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neville and Mengue</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Theoretical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Higgins and Morgan</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cummings and Guthrie</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent and Deephouse</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currie, Seaton and Wesley</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magness</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boesso and Kumar</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once management is aware of its stakeholders, the company strategy is then aligned with these stakeholders’ needs (Wolfe and Putler 2002). The relationship between strategy and stakeholders was discussed in some of Freeman’s (1984:74) research: ‘To be an effective strategist you must deal with those groups that can affect you, while to be responsive (and effective in the long run) you must deal with those groups that you can affect.’ Following on from this, analysing the strategic actions an organisation takes in response to stakeholders may help us better understand the organisation’s relationship with its stakeholders. Oliver’s (1991) institutional response model suggests ways of responding to stakeholders. Therefore this study involves integrating stakeholder and institutional theory and more specifically, Mitchell et al (1997) with Oliver (1991).

**3. Institutional theory**

Institutional theory provides another useful starting point in explaining factors that influence the adoption of systems in organisations (Ansari & Euske 1987; Abernethy and Stoelwinder 1995; Abernethy & Chua 1996; Abernethy & Brownwell 1997; Brignall & Modell 2000; Lapsley & Pallott 2000; Modell 2001; Touron 2005). As Oakes, Townley and Cooper (1998:259) note: ‘organisations are constructed through institutionalized practices and historical experiences that construct normative models of organizational legitimacy.’ Traditionally, institutional theorists focused on a two party framework of stakeholders for public sector organisations, namely funding bodies and professional service providers. This traditional two party framework was broadened by Brignall and Modell (2000) to include a third party, the purchasers of public services. There are four factors in institutional theory which are considered important for the survival of an organisation: legitimacy, dependency, consistency and control.
3.1 Legitimacy
An organisation’s ability to survive depends on conforming to social norms and attaining legitimacy from stakeholders (Yang and Modell, 2013; Monfardini, P., et al. 2013; Irvine, 2011; Makela and Nasi 2010; Nasi (cited in Mitchell et al 1997); Zucker 1988; Zucker 1987; DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Stakeholders, such as professional associations, outside interest groups, the state and public opinion create pressures that can cause organisations to change their control systems and structure, without any evidence that this will increase efficiency and effectiveness (Dacin, Goodstein and Scott 2002; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Scott 1987; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Scott and Christensen 1995). In stakeholder theory the concept of pressure exerted from external constituents has been much discussed but the literature has not addressed the typology of constituents or stakeholders exerting the pressure, and whether the stakeholder typology is an influencing factor.

3.2 Dependency
Dependency on stakeholders is thought to influence the actions managers take in dealing with them. (Myer, Scott and Strang 1987; Gupta, Dirsmith and Fogarty 1994) has investigated the types of pressure constituents exert on organisations. The research was premised on the assumption that to secure legitimacy, practices employed by an organisation were only ever symbolic and always decoupled from internal operating systems. This assumption has been questioned (Carruthers 1995, Chua 1995 and Mouritsen 1994). Oliver (1991) suggests that in response to institutional pressures an organisation’s management enacts a specific strategic response. Dependency on stakeholders is thought to influence the action managers take in dealing with stakeholders. Dependency on external constituents will influence the way management and the organisation react to these constituents (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Oliver 1991; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Dependency can have different forms: an organisation can be dependent on a stakeholder for financial or other scarce resources. It can also be that an organisation is dependent on a stakeholder for survival. Co-dependency is another form: a stakeholder is dependent on the organisation and the organisation is dependent on the stakeholder. When an organisation is heavily dependent on another DiMaggio and Powell (1983:154) hypothesise ‘The greater the dependence of an organisation on another organisation, the more similar it will become to that organisation in structure, climate, and behavioural focus.’ The dependency on stakeholders of the case units under study for this research is investigated. Government owned organisations could be dependent on other organisations, for example private sector companies, to meet organisational objectives. This could be a potential problem if the two organisations have very different philosophies. Therefore, the consistency between these organisations is another factor which could impact on management’s strategic response in dealing with the external stakeholder or organisation (Oliver 1991).

3.3 Consistency
Consistency and inconsistency has been widely discussed (Clemens and Douglas 2005; Covaleski and Dirsmith 1988; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Oliver 1991; Whetten 1978). ‘Inconsistency reflects organisational interests at cross purposes with institutional objectives and provokes organisational doubts about the validity or legitimacy of institutional expectations’ (Oliver 1991:165). This could be a problem for government owned entities with social and economic objectives and was raised by Martin (1996) when questioning if corporatisation and community service obligations were indeed compatible. Inconsistency between organisational goals is potentially a complex and difficult situation for managers. This is indeed one of the motives for conducting this study. The manner in which these demands are placed on the organisation, in other words through what form of control the
demands are exercised is also expected to influence the way in which managers will react to these pressures.

3.4 Control

‘Institutional control describes the means by which pressures are imposed on organisations’ (Oliver 1991:168). Control has been widely researched (Clemens and Douglas 2004; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Dacin et al 2002; Oliver 1991; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Scott 1987). The way in which control is exercised is considered by Oliver (1991) to be a predictor of strategic response. Pressures or isomorphic forces from an organisation’s institutional environment cause the adoption of certain practices (Abernethy and Chua 1996; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Scott 1987). Three types of isomorphic forces have been identified: coercive, mimetic and normative (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

Coercive isomorphism can be attributed to a common regulatory environment at all government levels, requiring adoption of controls to meet legal obligations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Coercive force is exceptionally strong where deviations from institutional norms have legal, moral or economic implications, such as incurring fines or loss of reputation (Kondra and Hinings 1998). Mimetic force is a powerful factor encouraging imitation and causes managers to adopt practices where others perceived as successful have adopted them (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Oliver 1991). The adoption of some forms of Management Control Systems (MCS) in public sector organisations may be the result of mimetic force (Brignall and Modell 2000; Chua 1995; Covaleski and Dirsmith, Deephouse 1996; Lapsley and Pallot 2000). This is demonstrated in the public sector environment by organisations adopting NPM techniques previously thought appropriate in private sector environments (Brignall and Modell 2000; Hood 1991; Lapsley and Pallot 2000). Normative force arises when norms are shared among members of a recognised profession to establish acceptable practice (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Scott 1987). Therefore it tends to be associated with the adoption of systems due to professionalisation. Associations and professional bodies can influence the adoption of MCS (Abernethy and Stoelwinder 1995; Abernethy and Chua 1996; Brignall and Modell 2000; Chua 1995; Touron 2005). Peer groups and professional associations typically support the adoption of practices that improve effectiveness (Modell 2001).

The way in which control is exercised on public sector organisations is often through Government mandate or coercion through legislation, regulation, reforms and calls for transparency and accountability. The consequences of non-compliance with government mandates would likely result in severe penalties. These pressures may also occur through voluntary diffusion (Oliver 1991); meaning that if they have already been taken up by other organisations in the field they will likely result in conformity, but that will depend on the number of organisations who have adopted the requirement or practice. Following on from the literature on institutional theory, the Oliver (1991) model of strategic responses is discussed next.

3.5. Oliver’s (1991) model

Oliver’s (1991) model predicts conditions under which organisations will resist pressures to conform and those under which organisations may adhere to institutional pressures. Managers respond to demands across a continuum, from passive conformity to active resistance. Oliver (1991) suggests responses depend on several factors, some of which were discussed above: legitimacy, dependency, consistency and control. The strategic responses to institutional pressure are acquiescence, compromise, avoid, defy or manipulate. A strategic response of acquiescence represents compliance with institutional pressures and is found at the passive
conformity end of the strategic response continuum. Manipulation is found at the active resistance end of the continuum, and according to Oliver (1991:157) can be defined as ‘the purposeful and opportunistic attempt to co-opt, influence, or control institutional pressures and evaluations.’ However, Clemens and Douglas (2004:1211) find ‘…from the firm’s perspective, this strategy may represent an attempt to participate in the institutional process in a productive manner’. In between these ends are compromise and defiance. Oliver (1991) suggests there are three tactics employed in the spirit of conforming and accommodating institutional rules, norms, or values. These three compromise tactics are balancing, pacifying and bargaining. She suggests ‘in contrast to acquiescence, institutional compliance is only partial and organisations are more active in promoting their own interests (Oliver 1991:154). A defiant strategy…represents unequivocal rejection of institutional norms and expectations, and it is more likely to occur … when organisations believe they have little to lose by displaying their antagonism toward the constituents that judge or oppose them (Oliver 1991:157).

The Oliver (1991) model offers a typology of strategic responses to institutional pressures that vary in active organisational resistance from passive conformity to proactive manipulation. Oliver (1991) also hypothesised five predictive factors influence management decision making and result in this continuum of strategic responses from passive conformity (acquiescence) to active resistance (defy or manipulate).

### 3.6. Predictive factors of strategic response

Oliver’s (1991) model suggests five: cause (legitimacy and efficiency); constituents (multiplicity and dependence); content (consistency and discretionary constraints); control (legal coercion and voluntary diffusion of norms) and context (environmental uncertainty and interconnectedness). A summary of the predictive factors and strategic responses is presented in Table 1.2 and discussed, below.

#### TABLE 1.2 INSTITUTIONAL ANTECEDENTS AND PREDICTED STRATEGIC RESPONSES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictive factor</th>
<th>Strategic responses</th>
<th>Acquiesce</th>
<th>Compromise</th>
<th>Avoid</th>
<th>Defy</th>
<th>Manipulate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cause</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficiency</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constituents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplicity</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependence</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consistency</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constraint</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Control</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Context</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interconnectedness</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Oliver (1991:160)
3.6.1 Cause
The cause of institutional pressures refers to why the organisation is being pressured to conform. Oliver (1991) predicts that when an organisation expects conformity to increase social (legitimacy) or economic (efficiency) fitness, acquiescence will be the most likely strategic response to pressure from external constituents. When an organisation expects conformity will result in no or little increase or improvement in social or economic fitness, any of the other strategic responses may be employed by the organisation.

From the discussion on the Oliver (1991) and Mitchell et al (1997) models above, some synergies between the models emerge. Both Oliver (1991) and Mitchell et al (1997) use the notion of legitimacy in their models, albeit in slightly different contexts. Oliver (1991) refers to cause in the form of legitimacy or social fitness and in the form of efficiency or economic fitness as predictive factors in an organisation’s strategic response to pressure from external stakeholders. Mitchell et al (1997) claim that an organisation will take more notice of a stakeholder where it is perceived that the stakeholder relationship is a legitimate one that is that it is appropriate, proper and desirable in the social context. Both these models imply that legitimacy is concerned with fitness in the social context.

3.6.2 Constituents
Where multiple constituents exist in the institutional environment of an organisation Oliver (1991) predicts the acquiescence response to be low, and the compromise, avoid, defy or manipulate responses to be high. Oliver (1991) also argues that the level of dependency of the organisation on these constituents will impact on the strategic response of the organisation. Organisations will tend to manipulate or defy where dependency on the external constituent is low. When dependency on the external constituent is high, the organisational response will tend to be acquiescence or compromise. In the Mitchell et al (1997) framework, the focus on stakeholders is that of the attributes of the identified stakeholders. Oliver’s focus is on the number (multiplicity) of stakeholders in the institutional environment and the dependency of the organisation on these stakeholders.

3.6.3 Content
Content refers to the norms or requirements the organisation is being pressured to conform to (Oliver 1991). Organisations will be more willing to acquiesce to external pressures when these pressures or expectations are compatible with internal goals (Oliver 1991:165). Whetten (cited in Oliver 1991) predicts non-profit organisations may be more resistant to pressures for economic rationality because compliance with these pressures may be perceived as inconsistent with the goal of high quality social service delivery. However, in light of NPM, this prediction may need to be modified as corporatised government entities are expected to provide social services as well as perform in an economically rational way. Compromise and avoidance strategies are predicted to be most common when there is only moderate consistency between organisational goals and institutional pressures; defiance and manipulation strategies are predicted to occur most frequently when consistency is low (Oliver 1991:165). Pfeffer and Salancik (cited in Oliver 1991) suggest ‘compliance is a loss of discretion, a constraint, and an admission of limited autonomy.’ Organisations are expected to acquiesce more readily to pressures that do not constrain substantive organisational decisions, such as resource allocation, product or service selection, resource acquisition, or organisational administration (Oliver 1991:166).
3.6.4 Control
Institutional control describes the means by which pressures are imposed on organisations. Two distinct processes by which pressures are exerted include legal coercion and voluntary diffusion (Oliver 1991). When legal coercion is high, a strategic response of acquiescence best serves the interests of the organisations. ‘Active defiance and manipulation are most likely to occur when the degree of legal coercion is low’ (Oliver 1991:168). When sanctions for non-compliance are minimal, consequences of nonconforming behaviour may not constitute a sufficient deterrent to organisational resistance. Oliver (1991) also notes that ‘the extent to which an institutional expectation or practice has already diffused or spread voluntarily through an organisational field will tend to predict the likelihood of conformity to institutional expectations.’

While Mitchell et al (1997) refer’s to power as a determinant of organisational management response or taking note of the organisation, Oliver (1991) refers to control as a determinant of organisational strategic response. Mitchell et al (1997) predict that an organisation’s management will take note of a stakeholder they perceive to be powerful which includes legal power. In other words the organisation’s management will tend to yield to pressure from a powerful stakeholder. Under the Oliver (1991) model, control refers to how control is exercised, for example through legal coercion or voluntary diffusion. This combination of power and legal coercion and or voluntary diffusion allows the opportunity to look at power in its different categories as suggested by Etzioni (cited in Mitchell et al 1997).

3.6.5 Context
Oliver (1991) lists the environmental context within which institutional pressures are exerted as another likely determinant of organisations’ responses to institutional influence. She predicts that environmental uncertainty and environmental interconnectedness are significant dimensions of context that affect organisations’ conformity or resistance to institutional demands and expectations. Environmental uncertainty is defined by Pfeffer and Salancik (cited in Oliver 1991:67) as ‘the degree to which future states of the world cannot be anticipated and accurately predicted.’ Interconnectedness refers to the density of interorganisational relations among occupants of an organisational field (Aldrich and Whetten cited in Oliver 1991; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Oliver (1991) predicts that acquiescence and compromise strategies will be most likely to occur when environmental uncertainty is high. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) hypothesise that environmental uncertainty causes organisations to mimic one another. Oliver (1991) predicts that organisations are more likely to accede to the values or requirements of the institutional environment when this environment is highly interconnected. ‘Interconnectedness refers to the density of interorganisational relations among occupants of an organisational field.’ (Aldrich and Whetten 1984; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978).

To capture the dynamics of the stakeholder-manager interactions Mitchell et al (1997) propose that adding the attribute of urgency helps move the model from static to dynamic. The attribute urgency is based on time sensitivity and criticality (Mitchell 1997). The Oliver (1991) model also draws on time sensitivity in the context predictor. She refers to environmental uncertainty with a focus on the anticipated future state of the world and the impact of this on the strategic response of the organisations management.

4. Types of strategic responses
Oliver (1991) suggests five strategic responses and relevant tactics.
4.1 Acquiesce
A strategic response of acquiescence represents compliance with institutional pressures and is found at the passive conformity end of the strategic response continuum (Oliver 1991). This response can take alternative forms, habit ‘following invisible taken for granted norms’, imitate ‘mimicking institutional models’ and comply ‘obeying rules and accepting norms’ (Oliver 1991:152).

4.2 Compromise
Where an organisation considers unqualified conformity unpalatable or unworkable and where conflicting demands are required, compromise may be the strategic response enacted. The tactics employed include balance ‘balancing the expectations of multiple constituents’, pacify ‘placating and accommodating institutional elements’ and bargain ‘negotiating with institutional stakeholders’ (Oliver 1991).

4.3 Avoid
Avoidance as a response to demands can also be enacted and many involve an organisational attempt to conceal their non-conformity or buffer themselves from pressures. The tactics include, conceal ‘disguising nonconformity’, buffer ‘loosening institutional attachments’ and escape ‘changing goals, activities, or domains’ (Oliver 1991:153).

4.4 Defy
Defiance represents unequivocal rejection of institutional pressures and this is likely to occur when management consider the cost of defiance to be low. The tactics employed include, dismiss ‘ignoring explicit norms and values’, challenge ‘contesting rules and requirements’ and attack ‘assaulting the sources of institutional pressure’ (Oliver 1991:156).

4.5 Manipulate
Manipulation is found at the active resistance end of the strategic response continuum, and according to Oliver (1991:157) can be defined as ‘the purposeful and opportunistic attempt to co-opt, influence, or control institutional pressures and evaluations. Co-opting involves ‘importing influential constituents’, influence ‘shaping values and norms’ and control dominating institutional constituents and processes’ (Oliver 1991:157).

The discussion of Mitchell et al’s stakeholder model and Oliver’s strategic response model and combining the dimensions and constructs of the two models leads to six new propositions.

Stakeholder theory predicts organisations take most notice of stakeholders who possess the three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency (Mitchell et al 1997). Institutional theory predict organisations acquiesce, compromise, avoid, defy or manipulate stakeholders in response to institutional demands on the basis of several determinants that affect their willingness and ability to comply (Oliver 1991). Combining these two theoretical positions links stakeholder type with an explicit strategic response for a more powerful theoretical framework.

A strategic response of acquiescence represents compliance at the passive conformity end of the strategic response continuum (Oliver 1991). An organisation is more likely to take notice i.e. acquiesce with the demands of a definitive or more salient stakeholder (Mitchell et al 1997). It is less likely to take notice of or acquiesce with the demands of less salient and single attribute dormant, discretionary or demanding stakeholders, with a response towards the active resistance end of the response continuum. Dominant, dependent and dangerous stakeholders, each possessing two attributes, have some salience and the organisation will tend to show both some resistance and some acquiescence to institutional pressures. Dormant stakeholders possess only the power attribute, but neither legitimacy nor urgency. However, not all dormant stakeholders are the same. Some, such as government through legislation or
funding, may have coercive power, others such as professional organisations may have symbolic or normative power

I propose the following new propositions:

**Proposition P1a**: The higher the number of attributes the stakeholder possesses the greater the likelihood of a strategic response towards the passive conformity end of the strategic response continuum.

**Proposition P1b**: The lower the number of attributes the stakeholder possesses the greater the likelihood of a strategic response towards the active resistance end of the strategic response continuum.

**Proposition P2a**: When a stakeholder possesses the attribute power, if the power is perceived to be coercive, the greater the likelihood of a strategic response more towards the passive conformity end of the strategic response continuum.

**Proposition P2b**: When a stakeholder possesses the attribute power, if the power is perceived to be symbolic, the greater the likelihood of a strategic response more towards the active resistance end of the strategic response continuum.

**Proposition P3a**: When management has high dependency on a stakeholder and legitimacy is perceived to be gained, the greater the likelihood of a strategic response more towards the passive conformity end of the strategic response continuum.

**Proposition P3b**: When management has low dependency on a stakeholder and legitimacy is perceived to be gained, consistency is high and control is enforced through legal coercion the likelihood remains of a strategic response more towards the passive conformity end of the strategic response continuum.

These propositions suggest another way to predict and examine how institutional pressure influences how organisations respond to various stakeholders.

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