CHEVRON'S *POWER OF HUMAN ENERGY*: A CASE FOR

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS IDENTIFICATION INDUCEMENT

A Thesis
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Michelle Marie Roers

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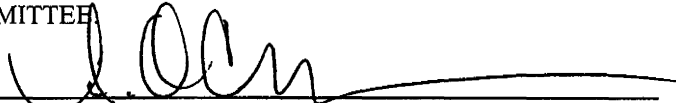A Case for Corporate Social Responsibility as Identification Inducement
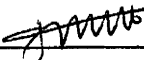
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ABSTRACT

Roers, Michelle Marie, M.A., Department of Communication, College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences, North Dakota State University, May 2010. Chevron's *Power of Human Energy*: A Case for Corporate Social Responsibility as Identification Inducement. Major Professor: Dr. Amy O'Connor.
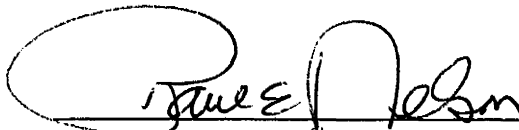
With corporate social responsibility (CSR) emerging as an inescapable business priority around the world, organizations are developing elaborate CSR campaigns to highlight their good deeds and influence important stakeholders. Despite its potentially powerful persuasive influence, however, we know surprisingly little about the actual messaging used in contemporary CSR campaigns. Accordingly, this study investigates a major multinational—and controversial—company's CSR campaign to examine CSR messages' propensity for inducing positive organizational identification.

A case study applying Cheney's (1983b) organizational identification inducements reveals that Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* CSR campaign extensively and strategically uses CSR messaging to induce identification. This study thus suggests that organizations are using complex, versatile, and wide-ranging identification inducements in contemporary CSR campaigns—including eliciting identification via employee and outsider voices. Results are discussed in terms of practical and ethical implications for researchers, communication practitioners, and society.

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My fellow graduate students—my commiserators, my co-conspirators, my friends—you've helped me not only survive this process, but also emerge as a better teacher, a better student, and a better friend. I will not forget you.

My family and loved ones—you may know the least about CSR and identification theories, my lesson plans, and my thesis frustrations, but you know the most about me. I have bored you with school-talk and neglected you with "sorry, I have a paper due" excuses. But as I set about tackling difficult classes, testing my endurance, and embracing new perspectives, you made sure that I did not lose myself. Thank you for your incredible love and support.

M.M.R.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Veritable Voices: Two Sides of a Tale

The dark screen flickers in a ghostly blue glow. A camera pans beautiful crystal glaciers, fades to the emerald nightscape of a large city, and drifts to an image of a single drop of oil on rock. As the advertisement continues, a deep, strong voice begins:

And outside, the debate rages. Oil, energy, the environment. It is the story of our time and it is definitive and all-encompassing. And it leaves no one untouched. Because make no mistake, this isn't just about oil companies. This is about you, and me, and the undeniable truth that at this moment there are 6.5 billion people on this planet, and by year's end there will be another 73 million. And every one of us will need energy to live. Where will it come from?

This is Chevron's challenge each day. Because for today and tomorrow and the foreseeable future, our lives demand oil. But what's also true is that we can provide it more intelligently, more efficiently, more respectfully. That we'll never stop looking for alternatives. That an oil company can practice and espouse conservation. Yes we are an oil company, but right now we're also providing natural gas, solar, hydrogen, geothermal—because we live on this planet too.

This is who we are. In 180 countries. Not corporate titans, but men and women of vision. 58,000 citizens of the world. Liberals and conservatives, engineers and scientists, pipeline welders and geologists, husbands and wives, part-time poets and coaches. People who daily try to find newer ways, cleaner ways, to power the world. Humans have always reached for what seemed impossible. Because it is then that we find a way. Tell us it can't be done and watch as we tap

the greatest source of energy in the world: ourselves. This is the power of human

energy. (Chevron, 2007b)

This *Power of Human Energy* advertisement, part of a $15 million global campaign

(Mufson, 2007), carries the voice of Chevron to audiences around the world. Full of

emotion, reassurance, team work, and inspiration, the powerful and promising statement

professes Chevron values and initiatives that will help people around the planet. But

smaller voices whisper another tale.

Ravaged Residents

Humberto Piaguaje, a native of the Secoya Nation, cherishes his home in the

Amazon rainforest of Ecuador. Like many corporations, governments, and energy giants

around the world, he treasures oil—but for a very different reason. His voice resonates:

Petroleum is considered the blood of our grandparents—our ancestors. When they

die, they take their wisdom and enrich the earth below. This is what has given us

our wisdom up until now. Not only do we believe that this wisdom exists in the

earth…but also in the sky, the soil, the trees, in the river. All of this we cherish,

because it enlightens us so that we may live off of the land. (ChevronToxico, 2008)

The environment that Humberto loves, however, is now poisoning and killing its people;

many blame an oil giant's quest for "black gold" for the death and destruction (San

Sebastian & Hurtig, 2004; United Press International, 2009). No longer the lifeblood of its

people, oil has instead become their demise.

Texaco (now owned by Chevron) entered Ecuador in 1964, and for 23 years not

only pumped 1.5 billion barrels of oil from the Amazon rainforest (Mihailovich, 2009)—

but also dumped 18 billion gallons of toxic wastewater back into the environment (United

Press International, 2009). Humberto and the region's 30,000 residents have been "drinking, bathing, and fishing in this contaminated water for over 40 years" (ChevronToxico, 2008). As a result, inhabitants are plagued with dermatitis, diarrhea, and malnutrition and face elevated rates of spontaneous abortion, cancer (including stomach, rectum, skin melanoma, soft tissue, kidney, cervix, lymph nodes, and childhood cancers), and morbidity and mortality (see San Sebastian & Hurtig, 2004 for an overview of health studies). Today Chevron faces up to $27.3 billion in financial liability as the people of Ecuador and supporters around the world wage a fight that could become the largest environmental lawsuit in history (Mihailovich, 2009; United Press International, 2009).

Examining Voices: The Present Study

Chevron is simultaneously embroiled in an epic environmental lawsuit and communicating its corporate social responsibility (CSR)—its contributions to societal good, whether working to improve local communities or contributing to positive changes in society (Pfau, Haigh, Sims, & Wigley, 2008). Many influential institutions overlook the darker side of Chevron's story and instead laud the company for its CSR efforts. In 2006, *Fortune* rated the world's largest companies according to their CSR performance; Chevron ranked thirtieth. In 2007, Chevron's rating jumped to ninth (*Fortune*, 2007). The Dow Jones Sustainability Index; The Human Rights Campaign; The Global Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria; and the Women's Business Enterprise International Council have also recognized Chevron for its CSR achievements (Chevron, 2007a). Worldwide recognition, however, only adds to the confusion. The dichotomy between accusations of environmental destruction and recognition for socially responsible behavior raises contentious concerns about who to blame, who is liable, whose voice

speaks the truth, and whether companies' actions match their rhetoric. Chevron's good versus evil dichotomy and the resulting uncertainty preface the question ultimately guiding this study: How do organizations use contemporary CSR campaigns to induce positive organizational identification?

U.S. organizations spend over $1 billion per year on CSR initiatives (Pfau, et al., 2008). A company's socially responsible actions and CSR communication directly impact competitive advantage, stakeholder loyalty, organizational success, and even people's livelihoods, homes, environments, and lives. Ironically, CSR supposedly designed to serve society can also benefit corporations at the public's expense by masking controversy or manipulating stakeholders (Banerjee, 2008). Therefore, it is important that stakeholders—anyone who can affect or be affected by the organization (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997)—better understand the messages and identification inducements used in contemporary CSR campaigns. Such research may help a variety of stakeholders, including shareholders, employees, customers, policymakers, NGOs, social activism groups, and the general public, better understand and evaluate the legitimacy of contemporary CSR claims, thereby equipping them to make more informed decisions about the organizations with which they associate. The research may also guide organizations in communicating CSR more fairly and effectively. To gain this insight, however, I must first briefly acknowledge the oil industry's CSR roots and establish a framework for exploring identification within Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign. Thus the remainder of this chapter first situates Chevron within the appropriate context of energy and CSR, then provides a general introduction to contemporary CSR, and finally previews the link between CSR communication and organizational identification.

Crisis, Conflict, and Context: The Oily Roots of CSR

The oil industry provides a pertinent exemplar for exploring CSR messages and identification because its powerful control over "black gold" makes the industry both beloved and despised. Countries, governments, businesses, and individuals worldwide delight in oil. The world devours 1,000 barrels per second (Tertzakian, 2007) for heat, energy, manufacturing, transportation, and everyday conveniences like plastics (Rutledge, 2006). Thus oil is not only the planet's most valuable resource, but is also becoming a "strategic commodity necessary for every highly industrialized society's survival" (Rutledge, 2006, p. 1).

Americans are especially reliant on oil. We burn 10.1 million barrels per day just to power our cars (Rutledge, 2006). Beyond providing fuel for cars and other modern conveniences, however, the oil industry is a major economic force. In 2007 the oil industry sustained 9.2 million full and part-time jobs (5.2% of total U.S. employment) and pumped nearly $1 trillion of value into the U.S. economy (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2009). Clearly, Americans—and the world—need oil. For better or worse, no other raw material has been so critical in shaping our societies and our lives (Maugeri, 2006).

Still, not everyone is enamored. Despite its conveniences and contributions, oil has a dark underbelly. Since the beginning of the 20th century, oil has been inextricably linked to war. In World War I, World War II, the Cold war, and many argue, in the recent war in Iraq, oil was considered a critical commodity that could be secured only through military force (Kaldor, Karl, & Said, 2007). "Whatever the motivations of fighters, and whatever religious, ethnic, or other differences also drive conflict, where oil is present these wars

tend to involve struggles for control over the exceptional gains generated by this valuable resource" (Kaldor et al., 2007, p. 3).

The oil industry is widely known for creating its own turmoil by conducting insidious business in developing countries, including exploiting local governments, human rights, and the environment (Shankleman, 2006). The industry bears a host of other negative associations, from price gouging, pollution, destruction, and worldwide tension to "ruthless and open imperial violence, repeated warfare...and a sort of lawlessness characteristic of the corporate frontier" (Watts, 2005, p. 380). These atrocities form the backdrop for CSR's emergence in the oil industry.

CSR Emerges

A series of crises in the early and mid-1990s dragged the oil industry's dark dealings and environmental and social sins into sharp focus in the public eye. Three multinational oil companies, Exxon, Shell, and BP, found themselves in the midst of intense controversy. In 1989 the *Exxon Valdez* oil tanker ran aground in Prince William Sound off the Alaskan cost, spilling 11 million gallons of crude oil (Shankleman, 2006). Nearly 1,300 miles of ocean—as well as thousands of seabirds, eagles, otters, seals, and orcas—glistened in a devastating oil slick. Worldwide media coverage ensued, with journalists and the public deploring Exxon for its slow response to the crisis. Notoriously suspicious of the media, Exxon's leadership refused to communicate openly (Baker, 2003).

Shell and BP soon faced crises of their own. In 1995, Greenpeace attacked Shell for its plan to sink the Brent Spar oil platform in the North Sea. Twelve environmentalists stormed the platform and alerted the media of their occupation of Brent Spar. Anger and anti-oil protests erupted worldwide, and the story received prominent media attention for

over two months before Greenpeace claimed victory and Shell announced that it would not sink the platform (Frynas, 2009). In Brent Spar's wake, criticism about Shell's earlier environmental destruction reignited when the Nigerian government executed prominent leader and Nobel Prize winner Ken Sarao-Wiwa for hostility toward the oil industry (Shankleman, 2006). Once again, protestors held "Boycott Shell" campaigns around the world (Frynas, 2009).

BP's crisis arose in 1996 when the public learned of the company's human rights violations and ominous connection to the Columbian army. BP provided the army with millions of dollars as well as photos and information about anti-oil protestors, which allegedly led to intimidation, beatings, and disappearances in Columbia (Frynas, 2009; Shankleman, 2006). Residents lived in constant, permanent fear (Kaldor et al., 2007).

This series of crises and the subsequent worldwide uproar was the catalyst that forced oil companies to seriously consider CSR for the first time (Frynas, 2009; Shankleman, 2006). The companies' reactions to crises and their acceptance of CSR, however, varied greatly. Exxon eventually invested $2.2 billion in cleanup costs and paid an additional $1.3 billion for legal settlements. Rather than embracing the *Exxon Valdez* spill as an opportunity to engage with its stakeholders and establish CSR, Exxon took a defensive stance, vehemently challenging many environmental groups' critical scientific findings (Frynas, 2009). BP responded to its Columbian crisis by gradually beginning to rethink its social, environmental, and stakeholder-relations strategies (Frynas, 2009). Years later, Senior BP manager David Rice admitted, "We've learned from our mistakes...In Columbia we were accused of getting too close to the army and police in order to protect

our operations. We listened, approached Human Rights Watch for advice, and then organized new security arrangements" (Rice, 2002, p. 135).

Shell, on the other hand, embraced CSR. Following its crises, Shell began a transformational, world-wide review of its policies with the intention of "1) analyzing society's expectations of it and 2) attempting to become the world's most admired company via a process of transparency" (Hanlon, 2008, p. 157). In 1997, Shell pursued these goals by publishing a "General Statement of Business Principles," producing annual "people and the environment" reports, organizing stakeholder meetings, expanding community development programs, and revising their environmental monitoring (Kaldor et al., 2007). Moody-Stuart, Chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors, explained, "Shell is undergoing fundamental change…We have learned the hard way that we must listen, engage and respond to our stakeholder groups…our business touches too many lives for us to evade our wider role in society" (Jeurissen, 2007, p. 268).

Chevron's adoption of CSR practices lagged behind Exxon, BP, and Shell as the company did not face a defining crisis in the 1990s. Feeling shareholder pressure at its 1999 annual meeting, however, Chevron began its CSR efforts by agreeing to document greenhouse gas emissions; the company's CSR commitments began to develop and increase over time alongside its counterparts' efforts (Frynas, 2009). Levy and Kolk (2002) explain that while the oil industry's commitment to CSR was initially spurred by individual crises and stakeholder unrest, before long CSR strategies and approaches became ingrained in the industry. As time passed, major oil companies began to more uniformly accept and enact CSR. For this reason—despite their varying forays into CSR—BP, Shell, Exxon, and Chevron are surprisingly similar in their CSR efforts today (Frynas, 2009).

CSR in the Oil Industry Today

Two decades after crises first forced it to seriously consider its environmental and societal impact, the oil industry is a leading champion of CSR. Frynas (2009) notes that, motives and intentions aside, "Oil companies pay greater lip service to CSR and they engage more with local communities than companies in many other sectors" (p. 7). BP, Shell, Exxon, and Chevron each participate in carbon emission reduction and government revenue transparency, and support broad initiatives like the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (Frynas, 2009). In 2006 alone, the companies invested a combined $500 million in community development projects including hospitals, schools, and micro-credit programs (Frynas, 2009). All four companies also actively engage in CSR communication and campaigns and are recognized worldwide for their CSR efforts.

In particular, Shell and BP are considered pioneers and world leaders in the CSR movement (Shankleman, 2006). Even Exxon, with its historic "lack of social and environmental engagement" (Frynas, 2009, p. 8), made *Fortune's* "100 Most Accountable Companies" list in 2006 and 2007 (ranked 36 and 48, respectively). Chevron has also made significant progress since its early experiences with CSR. The company now professes to balance its role as an energy provider with its responsibility to society.

Chevron Specifics

Today Chevron is one of the world's most prominent energy companies. With over $2.63 billion in revenue, it is ranked number three on *Fortune's* 2009 list of the 500 largest companies in America. Chevron conducts business in over 100 countries and employs approximately 60,000 employees and about 4,000 service station employees (Chevron,

2010). Yet more than just a successful energy enterprise, Chevron strives to be "the global energy company most admired for its people, partnership, and performance" (Chevron, 2007a, p. 1).

Chevron attempts to live this goal by conducting CSR projects and initiatives ranging from reducing its own energy use, limiting environmental impact, and pioneering renewable energy research to fighting HIV/AIDS world-wide and establishing learning centers in under-resourced schools in Africa (Chevron, 2007b). Chevron is not only devoting extensive time, effort, and resources to its CSR initiatives, but it is also proactively and extensively communicating about CSR. From corporate responsibility reports; CEO presentations; and socioeconomic and environmental performance studies to video clips; print and TV ads; and a complex, interactive web site, Chevron's communicative efforts run the gamut of elaborate CSR communication. In fact, when *Fortune* rated Chevron number nine on its "100 Most Accountable Companies" list in 2007, editors specifically noted that among its notable CSR accomplishments, Chevron "scores highly on stakeholder engagement with its *Power of Human Energy* advertising campaign asking consumers to start dialogues with the company about the world's energy future" (*Fortune*, 2007). It is precisely this professed commitment to CSR—shadowed by the oil industry's dark past—that will provide insight into CSR as identification in this study.

Rhetoric and Reality

This brief history has revealed the crises and conflicts that shaped the oil industry's approach to CSR. While the industry claims to have made great strides in advancing CSR, its dark past and ongoing destruction continue to loom in the shadows. The oil industry is

by no means cleared of controversy, as Chevron's Ecuadorian lawsuit shows. In addition, controversy persists over the industry's political influence, from domestic drilling in Alaska's ANWR wildlife refuge to energy security and soaring gas prices (Hulse, 2008), social unrest, and environmental destruction (United Press International, 2009). The public's love-hate perception and a barrage of negative publicity, serious accusations, and blatant misconduct thus make the oil industry "one of the most important test cases for the credibility of meaningful CSR" (Watts, 2005, p. 377). To better understand CSR rhetoric verses reality and to explore how it can induce identification, we must first carefully consider CSR itself.

Making a Difference: Corporate Social Responsibility

From its roots in Bowen's groundbreaking *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* (1953), research in CSR has burgeoned. Scholars have explored a multitude of CSR facets in disciplines ranging from business and management to public relations. Yet there is little consensus on a definition and even the fundamental question of whether a business owes any extra responsibility to society remains contested. Most scholars and business leaders, however, consider CSR to be "the future of business. It's what companies have to do to survive and prosper in a world where more and more of their behavior is under a microscope" (Hollender as cited in Vogel, 2005, p. 2). In other words, contemporary organizations are being publicly judged and held accountable for much more than their bottom lines.

In contemporary society, crisis is not the only catalyst for CSR. Governments, activists, and the media use elaborate rating systems, media coverage, and public relations campaigns to expertly draw stakeholders' attention to the social contributions and

consequences of CSR (Porter & Kramer, 2006). As a result, consumers, investors, and employees increasingly scrutinize organizations' actions and impact on their lives and world (Snider, Hill, & Martin, 2003). The public now expects and even demands that organizations behave ethically and responsibly. From this increased attention, "CSR has emerged as an inescapable priority for business leaders in every country" (Porter & Kramer, 2006, p. 78). CSR, it seems, is no longer optional (Collier & Esteban, 2007).

Companies that actively and effectively position themselves around CSR initiatives are often rewarded (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2007). For example, CSR fosters positive beliefs, attitudes, identification, and loyalty in consumers (Du et al., 2007; Sen, 2006) and can even play a powerful role in recruiting quality employees. "Potential employees' job searches, propensity to interview, and likelihood of accepting a job offer are positively associated with an organization's CSR" (Greening and Turban, 2000, p. 271). Corporations are therefore responding to the growing demand for CSR by becoming "advocates for social causes such as environmental sustainability, education, health, and economic conditions that generate employment opportunities, pay fair wages, and reduce poverty" (London, 2008, p. 313).

To leverage CSR, however, organizations cannot simply enact socially responsible practices—they must also communicate their endeavors, their stories, and their values with stakeholders. This idea dates back to ancient Greece. As Plato taught, "Grand ideas, deeply felt beliefs, and unsullied ideologies are sources of [social power] but…none of these factors can be influential without a delivery system" (Hart & Daughton, 2005, p. 18). In contemporary terms, CSR communication becomes the delivery system, allowing "corporations to enter the public dialogue, present legitimacy claims, and create positive

relationships with publics that can influence their economic and institutional operating environments" (O'Connor & Shumate, in press).

In essence, "CSR communication allows corporations to demonstrate their fit in society and appeal to stakeholders for support" (O'Connor, Shumate, & Meister, 2008, p. 344). One way organizations attempt to leverage and share their socially responsible commitments, goals, and achievements is through a CSR campaign: an organization's systematic effort to influence stakeholders by communicating its good deeds (Pfau et al., 2008). Organizations persuasively use contemporary CSR campaigns to enhance their images, reputations, and credibility (Pfau et al., 2008). Thus, by strategically communicating their CSR efforts via contemporary campaigns, organizations attempt to induce trust and loyalty from the public, consumers, investors, and prospective and current employees (Abdeen, 1991).

Despite organizations' growing communication efforts, the public's rising interest in organizational claims about CSR (Snider et al., 2003), and the potential persuasive influence of CSR messages, researchers have only marginally addressed the actual messaging used in contemporary CSR campaigns (for exceptions, see O'Connor, 2004; O'Connor, 2006a; O'Connor & Shumate, in press; Snider et al., 2003). Because CSR messages are some of the "current most powerful communication strategies available to improve…identification" (Morsing, 2006, p. 171), they should not be overlooked. In turning a careful eye to CSR messaging, this study specifically aims to understand how corporations use contemporary CSR campaigns to induce identification. Cheney (1983b) recognized that organizations induce identification by persuading individuals to embrace and espouse the organization's interests and values as their own. Cheney's theory of

organizational identification therefore provides a useful lens for exploring CSR messages as a means of identification inducement.

Persuasive Messages: Using CSR to Induce Identification

Individuals experience identification by actively linking themselves to elements in the social scene (Cheney, 1983a). The process of identification allows them to anchor themselves, understand their experiences, organize their thoughts, make decisions, and—most importantly—to "persuade and be persuaded" (Cheney, 1983a, p. 342). While individuals often assume they hold the ultimate authority in shaping their identities, corporate influence should not be underestimated. Individuals create identities and assess their self-worth via the organizations with which they affiliate (Tyler, 1999). Thus, organizations can explicitly influence individuals' identification processes. Cheney's theory of organizational identification explains that organizations initiate identification by "communicating [their] values, goals, and information in the form of guidelines for individual and collective action" (1983b, p. 147). Then, as individuals begin to embrace and adopt the organization's interests and values as their own, they form a significant identification with the organization and are likely to make decisions based on what is best for the organization (Cheney, 1983b).

Cheney (1983b) identifies four specific communication strategies for inducing identification: common ground, identification through antithesis, transcendent "we," and unifying symbols. In the common ground technique, organizations link themselves to individuals by explicitly claiming shared values, goals, and identity. For example, lines from Chevron's (2007b) *Untapped Energy* advertisement (presented at the beginning of this chapter) espouse common ground: "It leaves no one untouched" and "Every one of us

will need energy to live." When engaging in identification through antithesis, organizations seek to unite with individuals against a shared enemy, thereby building "insider" identification. The *Untapped Energy* advertisement does not contain identification by antithesis, but imagine for a moment that Chevron expanded its "outside, the debate rages" messaging to criticize the U.S. government for restricting domestic drilling. In this case, the government would become a shared enemy for limiting Americans' access to energy. Through the transcendent "we," organizations appeal to individuals by using often unnoticed forms of "we" terminology to promote identification. A single *Untapped Energy* advertisement line, "Tell us it can't be done and watch as we tap the greatest source of energy in the world: ourselves," contains three instances of transcendent "we." Finally, unifying symbols depict or discuss a revered symbol. Chevron's advertisement ends with two widely recognized symbols—the simple, red and blue Chevron logo and the *Human Energy* tagline. As evidenced here, and as will be extensively discussed in upcoming pages, Cheney's identification inducement strategies can be compelling tools when used within a CSR campaign.

Conclusion

CSR campaigns are among the most influential contemporary communication tools for improving identification (Morsing, 2006). By leveraging CSR efforts through strategic identification inducement, organizations may be able to clinch the powerful opportunity to induce strong, lasting, extremely beneficial identification, even in contradictory or problematic situations—like the dichotomy Chevron faces. The following chapters explore these ideas by drawing on Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign. Chapter two reviews and connects the relevant CSR and organizational identification literature. Next,

chapter three provides a detailed explanation of the process and procedures I used to conduct this study. Next I present the study's results in chapter four. Finally, chapter five discusses implications, limitations, and future research opportunities. Throughout this process, I examine actual CSR messages as identification inducement to offer valuable, practical insight into contemporary CSR campaigns.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study seeks to expand our understanding of corporate social responsibility

(CSR) messages as a means of organizational identification inducement. In this chapter I

present a review of relevant literature. First, I discuss the CSR literature to provide an

overview of the concept and present its impact and implications for modern organizations. I

then link CSR to organizational identification in order to establish a framework for

studying identification inducement strategies in contemporary CSR campaigns.

Corporate Social Responsibility

CSR is commonly understood as a corporation's ability to do well by doing good.

As "one of the earliest and key conceptions in the academic study of business and society

relations" (Windsor, 2001, p. 225), CSR boasts a long and diverse history. Precursors to

CSR began to emerge over 100 years ago (Vogel, 2005), but it was not until 1953 that

Bowen's *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* described CSR as "the obligations of

businessmen [sic] to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines

of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society" (p. 6).

This definitive work ushered in the modern era of CSR (Carroll, 1979), generating

extensive scholarly interest, discussion, and debate.

Foundational Conceptualizations

CSR has been conceptualized—and contested—from many perspectives. Friedman

(1970) ignited controversy by equating CSR to socialism. He ultimately argued that "there

is one and only one social responsibility of business—to use its resources and engage in

activities designed to increase its profit so long as it...engages in open and free competition

without deception or fraud" (p. 33). Supporting a charity, creating a public education

program, or any other socially-situated expenditure thus would only harm an organization by increasing product prices or decreasing profitably (Pinkston & Carroll, 1996). The early 1970s advent of the Environmental Protection Agency, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission, however, placed social considerations front and center in national public policy (Carroll, 1991). This shift in legislation for the first time awarded legal and ethical rights to employees, consumers, and the environment. It also moved CSR into mainstream business concerns, challenging business to embrace not only fiscal but social responsibility.

Echoing Friedman's economic concerns while embracing social issues, today "virtually all contemporary writing on CSR emphasizes its links to corporate profitability" (Vogel, 2005, p. 19). In essence, doing well (economic success) and doing good (social contributions) are no longer mutually exclusive pursuits (Kotler & Lee, 2005). Carroll (1991, 1979) embraces this perspective and argues that to be accepted as legitimate, CSR must attend to a business' entire spectrum of social duties, including economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic/discretionary responsibilities. CSR is thus conceptualized as a pyramid in which the most fundamental business function, economic responsibility for profit and growth, undergirds all others. In order to be successful, a business must first be profitable and obey the law, then be ethical, and finally, be a good corporate citizen (Carroll, 1991). Corporations that reach the pyramid's peak by enacting philanthropic/discretionary responsibilities, or CSR, can be richly rewarded.

The more a company embraces and positions itself around CSR initiatives, the more benefits it garners (Du et al., 2007). CSR may induce positive beliefs, attitudes,

identification, and loyalty (Du et al., 2007; Sen, 2006) in stakeholders who want to know "what the company behind the product or service stands for in today's society, and to make certain that they are not contributing to any corporations that are harming society, its resources, or its people" (Walker as quoted in Vogel, 2005, p. 48). CSR can also play a powerful role in recruiting and retaining quality employees. Organizations with high levels of CSR are perceived as more attractive employers as "potential employees' job searches, propensity to interview, and likelihood of accepting a job offer are positively associated with an organization's CSR" (Greening and Turban, 2000, p. 271). A 2001 survey found that 50% of graduates from top business schools place so much value on socially responsible actions that they would accept lower pay to work for a responsible firm (Barbian, 2001). In light of these benefits, CSR seems to pay for itself by creating enduring stakeholder value: "It is a long-term strategy, uniquely relevant to the twenty-first century, in which responsible social change can become a source of innovation and profits rather than added cost" (Laszlo as cited in Vogel, 2005, p. 20). Each potential benefit, however, is contingent upon stakeholders' awareness of an organization's CSR efforts.

Communicating CSR

Despite careful planning, substantial investments, and enthusiastic commitments to integrate CSR into ongoing business practices, many organizations are not receiving full credit or reaping full benefits of their CSR initiatives because stakeholders are unaware of their efforts (Dawkins, 2004; Mohr, Webb, & Harris, 2001; Sen, Bhattacharya, & Korschun, 2006). "There is little point in having CSR policies if people don't know about them" (Townsend, 2005, p. 9). Thus, to gain recognition for and reap the benefits of CSR,

organizations must clearly communicate their efforts to key stakeholders (Sen et al., 2006; Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004).

Communication, however, is often the "missing link in the practice of corporate social responsibility" (Dawkins, 2004, p. 108). Organizations improperly apply, underutilize, or ignore CSR communication. Mistakes range from failing to properly tailor messages for key stakeholders and underutilizing internal communication to choosing initiatives inconsistent with the corporate brand (Dawkins, 2004). By neglecting or misusing CSR communication, organizations miss important opportunities to enter the public dialogue, build positive relationships, appeal to stakeholders for support, and legitimize their fit within society (O'Connor & Shumate, in press) as well as encourage trust and loyalty (Abdeen, 1991; Arthur D. Little, Inc., 2002). Thus to leverage their CSR efforts, organizations need to "work harder" to increase awareness (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004) via CSR communication that is transparent and proactive (Chaudhri & Wang, 2007), involves more sophisticated strategies (Morsing & Schultz, 2006), and takes a creative approach by presenting messages that are "striking, relevant, and understandable" (Dawkins, 2004, p. 112).

One way organizations address low awareness and attempt proactive, sophisticated, creative CSR communication is via CSR campaigns: strategic, systematic attempts to share organizations' good deeds in order to influence important stakeholders (Pfau et al., 2008). For maximum effectiveness, the campaign should be a coordinated effort, with messages embedded in mainstream communication (Dawkins, 2004). Thus contemporary CSR campaigns—by presenting messages of good deeds and shared values through a variety of media including television and prints ads, internal newsletters, CSR reports, and interactive

websites—are uniquely situated to influence stakeholders. Pfau et. al's 2008 study examined CSR campaigns' influence on public opinion. Using Johnson & Johnson and McDonalds as exemplars, the researchers demonstrated that by first enacting CSR behaviors and then systematically communicating their activities via CSR campaigns, organizations can improve their images, reputations, and credibility with stakeholders. This study alludes to the important realization that CSR campaigns' ultimate success or failure relies heavily on stakeholder's reactions to messages.

CSR messages often evoke powerful, positive reactions among stakeholders (Morsing and Schultz, 2006), including favorable beliefs, attitudes, identification, and consumer loyalty (Du et al., 2007; Sen, 2006). A 2004 study by APCO Worldwide, a leading global public affairs and strategic communications firm, provides an illustrative example. APCO surveyed 419 opinion elites across 10 countries in North America, Europe, and Asia-Pacific. The respondents represented the top 10% of each society interested in media consumption, public policy, and civic participation. After receiving positive information about a company's CSR, 72% of respondents reported purchasing products or services; 61% recommended the company to others; and 14% purchased company stock (APCO, 2004). CSR communication may indeed draw positive organizational outcomes, but as Dawkins (2004) notes, the public is aware of its consumer power and is eager to not only reward 'good' companies, but also to punish 'bad' ones.

As some organizations unveil their CSR messages, they become more susceptible to stakeholder suspicion and criticism (Morsing & Schultz, 2006). Pendelton (2004) argues that the risk of stakeholder rejection is especially salient for controversial industries like oil, mining, and tobacco because they often fail to deliver on social and cultural

expectations. In such cases, CSR communication can serve as a "mask" designed to detract public attention from a corporation's damaging or unscrupulous actions. Coca-Cola, for example, publicly extols its socially responsible use of natural resources, yet stands accused of "depleting village wells in an area where water is notoriously scarce" (Pendleton, 2004, p. 2). Through a series of case studies examining Shell's, British American Tobacco's, and Coca-Cola's CSR claims and actions, Pendelton demonstrates that the organizations' CSR actions fail to live up to their lofty rhetoric. Banerjee (2008) further argues that communication can become a dangerous form of "greenwashing" in which organizations hide grim reality behind glitzy, feel-good messages. In other words, socially and environmentally destructive corporations can use CSR communication to attempt "to preserve and expand their markets by posing as friends of the environment and leaders in the struggle to eradicate poverty" (CorpWatch, 2001, p. 1).

Organizations accused of misleading or inaccurate CSR communication pay a price with their stakeholders. The APCO (2004) survey reveals the potential pitfalls of CSR communication. The study of opinion elites found that negative perceptions of CSR information led 60% of respondents to boycott a company and 12% to sell stock (APCO, 2004). Environics International's (1999) *Millennium Poll on Corporate Social Responsibility* presents similar, albeit more conservative estimates: 40% of citizens worldwide at least considered punishing a company for socially irresponsible behavior in the previous year, while over 1 in 5 respondents indicated actually boycotting a company or speaking ill of the company to others. Together, APCO's and Environics's findings reinforce "what a number of companies have already found out the hard way—that both

corporate reputation and sales are at risk when customers have negative perceptions of a company's behavior" (Environics, 1999, p. 3).

The above examples demonstrate that CSR messages can clearly help or hinder an organization—the power lies with the stakeholder's response to messages. Despite organizations' growing communication efforts, the public's interest "now more than ever on what firms are saying about their corporate social responsibility" (Snider et al., 2003, p. 175), and the potential benefits and pitfalls of CSR communication, researchers know little about the actual messages being used in contemporary CSR campaigns (for exceptions, see O'Connor, 2003; O'Connor, 2006a; O'Connor & Shumate, in press; Snider et al., 2003). In particular, researchers are just beginning to examine CSR messages through the lens of organizational identification. By carefully crafting their CSR messages using identification inducement strategies, organizations can guide stakeholders toward positive perceptions and beneficial associations with their company. CSR campaigns thus have the potential to be "one of the current most powerful communication strategies available to improve...identification" (Morsing, 2006, p. 171).

CSR as Identification Inducement

"I don't want to like [Philip Morris], but I can't help it. And that makes me sick and grateful at the same time" (O'Connor, 2004, p. 153). This stakeholder's response to CSR messages from a Philip Morris campaign illustrates the persuasive power of organizational identification. Though she hates Philip Morris for its promotion of dangerous, addictive smoking, the woman cannot help but admire the organization for its CSR efforts such as aiding disaster victims, fighting hunger, and supporting victims of domestic abuse. Philip Morris' CSR messages essentially convinced the woman to embrace the organization's

values and interests as her own (Cheney, 1983b), and thereby identify with a corporation she otherwise despises.

Using the *Working to Make a Difference: The People of Philip Morris* campaign, O'Connor (2004) conducted an extended case study and focus groups to explore how CSR messages create opportunities for organizational identification. In this study and in a later publication (2006), O'Connor links CSR to identification theory. She explicitly argues that "taken together, the two constructs explain how corporate social responsibility can induce identification among target publics" (2006, p. 80). O'Connor explains that through CSR campaigns, organizations espouse certain causes, values, or beliefs. The stakeholder first identifies with these and "subsequently identifies with the corporation since they (the public and corporation) share a common connection" (O'Connor, 2006a, p. 80). In other words, by revealing their "character" via CSR messages, organizations induce stakeholder identification by leveraging the overlap between their own identities and those of stakeholders (Marin, Ruiz, & Rubio, 2009; Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001; Sen et al., 2006). Thus, when organizations are perceived to be socially responsible "their images will foster identification since the ideals and values of [stakeholders] will be highly engaged" (Carmeli, Gilat, & Waldman, 2007, p. 976). Further, as stakeholders learn more about and develop relationships with the CSR-espousing organization, they may identify with the organization even in the absence of formal membership (Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001). This, for example, is how stakeholders can both identify with organizations like Philip Morris or Chevron—via shared values like protecting battered women (O'Connor, 2004) and supporting education initiatives in third world countries (Chevron, 2009)—and at the same

time loathe the organizations. As evidenced in the above examples, corporate social responsibility communication can be used a means of identification inducement.

O'Connor's (2004) study demonstrates the utility of CSR as identification inducement. Forty to 50% of focus group participants indicated that the *Working to Make a Difference: The People of Philip Morris* CSR messages led them to more strongly identify with Philip Morris. Further, when imagining themselves as jury members, 30-40% of participants claimed that they would reduce punitive damages based on messages from the campaign. One participant noted, "I think [the ads] go right to your emotions...and then you don't think so much about [Philip Morris'] tobacco mistakes" (p. 128). Thus while participants were critical of Philip Morris' products, lies, and past behavior, CSR messages led them to make decisions and act in the organization's best interest—one of the basic tenants of organizational identification.

To reinforce and build upon her preliminary insight into CSR as identification inducement, O'Connor (2004, 2006) calls for more research examining CSR and identification inducement within contemporary campaigns. Thus this study examines specific identification inducement strategies within a contemporary CSR campaign. To establish a framework for studying identification inducement, I turn to Cheney's 1983 theory of organizational identification. The following paragraphs provide an overview of organizational identification and then explain the identification inducement strategies I adopted for this study.

Evolution of Identification

Organizational messages pervade "almost all aspects of human life" (Cheney, 1983b, p. 240). Individuals spend untold time communicating "with, within, and for

organizations" and are inundated with messages at work and via external influences like marketing, public relations, lobbying, testimony, image making, and issue advocacy (Cheney, 1983b, p. 144). Facing an overwhelming sea of messages, individuals can lose sense of what they want or, even more significantly, who they are (Baudrillard, 1998). Some organizational messages, however, actually help individuals interpret their experiences, organize their thoughts, make decisions, and anchor themselves via the process of identification (Cheney, 1983a).

Kenneth Burke's early research paved the way for contemporary conceptualizations of identification. Drawing on the work of Aristotle, Marx, Freud, James, Mead, and Lasswell, Burke (1937) argued that an individual naturally responds to societal divisions by identifying with people or groups such as his or her family, profession, social class, nation, or a combination. Identification essentially becomes "the function of sociality" (p. 144). In other words, humans express their individuality by identifying with other individuals or groups, as "one's participation in a collective, social role cannot be obtained in any other way" (p. 144).

Organizational Identification

Expanding Burke's ideas, George Cheney charted new ground by redefining identification as an "active process by which individuals link themselves to elements in the social scene" (1983a, p. 343). Using this definition, Cheney's (1983b) *The Rhetoric of Identification and the Study of Organizational Communication* explicitly linked identification to the organizational setting and demonstrated its communicative and persuasive nature (Ferraris, Carveth, & Parrish-Sprowl, 1993; Scott, 2007). Cheney argued that organizations use communication to influence individuals' identification processes. An

organization first initiates the identification process by "communicating its values, goals, and information...in the form of guidelines for individual and collective action" (p. 147). Then, as the organization convinces individuals to embrace and adopt the organization's interests and values as their own, the individuals form a significant organizational identification and may even make decisions based on what is best for the company (Cheney, 1983a; Meyers & Kassing, 1998).

In addition to explaining the process of organizational identification, Cheney's (1983b) research also examined specific identification inducement strategies. Cheney derived three concepts from Burke, operationalizing them for organizational communication research: the common ground technique, identification through antithesis, and the transcendent "we" (see descriptions below). Cheney labeled these concepts "identification strategies," or an organization's attempts to induce employee identification. He then examined 10 house organs (employee newsletters) published by 10 different corporations in a variety of industries, searching for identification inducement strategies.

Cheney's house organ study produced more detailed, refined descriptions of the identification inducement strategies (including six subunits he called "tactics" within the common ground strategy) and added an additional strategy: unifying symbols. The research also ultimately revealed that organizations "take the task of persuasion and the goal of employee identification very seriously" (p.156). Finally, Cheney argued that identification strategies are tremendously important in modern organizations because they allow the organization to present its interests and priorities "not as the products of real decisions, but as the way things are and the way individuals want them to be" (p. 156).

A similar, more recent study confirmed and extended Cheney's findings. Using Cheney's refined strategies, DiSanza and Bullis (1999) systematically studied identification inducement strategies in a U.S. Forest Service employee newsletter. Their analysis revealed that organizations continue to use Cheney's (1983b) identification inducement strategies, but that four additional tactics within the common ground strategy are also used. Thus the following strategies, including each of Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' points, provided my framework for studying organizational identification inducement within a contemporary CSR campaign (see Table 1 for descriptions of the complete typology).

Common ground. An organization uses the common ground strategy to explicitly link itself to others by espousing shared values and goals and offering an "identity" based on recognition and belonging (Cheney, 1983b). Essentially, the organization tells stakeholders, "This organization's goals and values match yours." Common ground is not only the most frequently used strategy in both Cheney and DiSanza and Bullis' studies, but it is also especially pertinent to CSR communication. When stakeholders identify with the organization based on shared interests, they may later support the organization in other issues (Boyd, 2004). Chevron (2007b), for example, notes "This isn't just about oil companies. This is about you, and me, and the undeniable truth that at this moment there are 6.5 billion people on this planet, and by year's end there will be another 73 million. And every one of us will need energy to live." By establishing the apparently undeniable worldwide common need for oil, Chevron explicitly links itself to each of the 6.5 billion people on earth. Chevron thus attempts to induce identification that may later help stakeholders overlook indiscretions such as the environmental and human indiscretion presented in chapter one.

Table 1

Cheney and DiSanza and Bullis' Identification Inducement Typology

Strategies & Tactics	Description
Common Ground Comprised of 10 tactics below:	Speaker overtly links him/herself with others
Expression of concern for the individual	Expresses concern for the individual as an integral part of the organization
Global recognition of individuals*	Praises a class or group of people
Recognition of individuals' contributions	Recognizes individuals by name for contributions to the organization
Recognition of individuals' contributions outside the organization*	Recognizes individuals by name for donation of time, money, or effort outside the organization
Espousal of shared values	Explicit espousal of values presumably shared throughout the organization/across society
Advocacy of benefits and activities	Describes services or activities the organization offers to members or society
Praise by outsiders	Positive comments from non-members
Testimonials by employees	Quotations or paraphrases from employees that express positive things about the organization
Invitation*	Requests that a person join, remain involved with, or contact the organization or its members
Bragging*	Boasts about the amount of time, money, or effort a unit applies to a task
Identification by Antithesis	Urges individuals to unite against a common enemy
Transcendent "We"	Uses pronouns such as "we" or "us" that refer to all members of the organization or society
Unifying Symbols	Portrays or discussing a revered symbol

Adapted from: Cheney, G. (1983b). The rhetoric of identification and the study of organizational communication. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 69*, 143-158. DiSanza, J. R. & Bullis, C. (1999). Everybody identifies with Smokey the Bear: Employee responses to newsletter identification inducements at the U.S. Forest Service. *Management Communication Quarterly, 12*, 347-399. *Indicates DiSanza and Bullis' tactics.

Organizations use a variety of tactics within the common ground strategy. Cheney (1983b) originally identified six identification inducement tactics: expression of concern for the individual, recognition of individual contributions, espousal of shared values, advocacy of benefits and activities, praise by outsiders, and testimonials by employees. DiSanza and Bullis (1999) later added four additional common ground tactics: global recognition of individuals, recognition of individuals' contributions outside the organization, invitation, and bragging (see Table 1 for specific descriptions of the 10 common ground tactics). Each tactic contributes to the overall objective of presenting shared goals, values, and identity.

Identification by antithesis. Organizations enact another strategy, identification by antithesis, by urging individuals to "unite against a common enemy" (Cheney, 1983b, p. 153). The organization essentially tells stakeholders, "This organization opposes the same enemies you do." By depicting outsiders as threats, organizations guide stakeholders in disassociating with the "enemy." Stakeholders then naturally become a unified group of "insiders" who are more likely to associate with the organization (Cheney, 1983b).

Organizations often use the identification by antithesis strategy in CSR efforts such as promoting or rejecting health care reform, combating pollution and environmental damage, and fighting unfair labor practices. In each instance, the organization clearly establishes an external enemy. One R. J. Reynolds campaign refuting governmental restrictions on tobacco advertising asserts, "Americans have had enough of rampant government regulations that restrict the rights of adults to make decisions for themselves" (Boyd, 2004, p. 54). R. J. Reynolds establishes the government as a common enemy,

thereby encouraging stakeholders to indentify with the organization through their shared contempt for government over-regulation.

The transcendent "we." The transcendent "we" is the most powerful and effective identification inducement strategy because it often goes unnoticed (Burke, 1972; Cheney, 1983b). Organizations use "we" pronouns to subtly assume commonality between the organization and target (Cheney, 1983b). An organization may say, "We solve our problems and achieve our goals together," wherein "we" extends beyond the bounds of the organization to include a wide variety of stakeholders. The R. J. Reynolds campaign used transcendent "we" statements such as "We all agree we must do something" and "We can work it out" (Boyd, 2004, p. 60). The statements not only encompass R. J. Reynolds employees, but every individual reading the advertisement. Thus without even realizing it, citizens and employees—smokers and non-smokers alike—are drawn in to R. J. Reynolds' proposed solution—that the government should butt out of individual's decisions about smoking.

The transcendent "we" strategy can be especially useful in CSR campaigns where the target stakeholders have little in common with the organization (Cheney, 1983b). For example, one of Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* advertisements claims "Humans have always reached for what seemed impossible. Because it is then that we find a way" (Chevron, 2007b). In this statement "we" represents much more than the Chevron organization and its employees; "we" includes anyone who is human. Regardless of his or her similarities to Chevron or feelings about the company, each individual is subtly tied to Chevron and thus susceptible to identification.

Unifying symbols. Organizations also use what Cheney calls "unifying symbols" to induce identification. This identification strategy considers "form" rather than content. Much like the American flag elicits strong associations and reactions, a revered symbol encourages identification (Cheney, 1983b). DiSanza and Bullis (1999), for example, cite Smokey the Bear as a revered symbol within the U.S. Forest Service that ultimately helped employees identify with the organization.

A corporation's name, logo, trademark, and corporate identity can also become recognized, revered symbols. For instance, each advertisement and *Human Energy* story contains the Chevron logo and *Human Energy* slogan. The simple, recognizable blue and red logo and well-known Chevron name, combined with a powerful tagline that encapsulates Chevron's CSR messaging, can evoke visceral reactions and thus provides a unique opportunity for identification inducement.

New Approaches

While Cheney (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis (1999) provide a useful, detailed framework for analyzing identification inducement strategies, they consider only an internal, employee audience and a single communication vehicle: house organs. Cheney's later work (with Christensen, 2001) asserts that the boundaries between internal and external communication have blurred, making them increasingly and often inextricably intertwined. Especially in the case of CSR, organizations cannot convince an external audience of their good deeds if the internal audience is skeptical, and vice versa (Cheney & Christensen, 2001). Thus, researchers must move beyond solely examining internal audiences when considering CSR as identification inducement. In addition, researchers should circumvent the house organ which, although important, is only "one element in a

matrix of persuasive messages" (Cheney, 1983b, p. 156). My research addresses these gaps.

<center>Research Question</center>

To examine CSR messages as identification inducement, my study embraced Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) typology, yet expanded their approach by considering a wide external audience and researching a more complex, modern communication vehicle: a contemporary CSR campaign centered around video, interactive graphics, and web elements. Each of these factors contributed to my overall goal of understanding identification inducement within contemporary CSR campaigns. Thus, this study positioned CSR communication as a tool organizations can use to induce identification among stakeholders. To examine this claim, I asked:

RQ: What identification inducement strategies and tactics are present in Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* corporate social responsibility campaign?

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

To explore the use of identification inducements (Cheney, 1983b) in contemporary

corporate social responsibility (CSR) campaigns, this study examined Chevron's *Power of*

Human Energy CSR campaign. Using a case study and deductive analysis, I addressed the

following research question:

RQ: What identification inducement strategies and tactics are present in Chevron's

Power of Human Energy corporate social responsibility campaign?

Case Study

Creswell (1998) defines a case study as an in-depth "exploration of a 'bounded

system' or a case" (p. 61) in which the researcher not only draws on multiple sources of

information, but also acknowledges context by situating the case within its physical, social,

historical, or economic settings. The researcher then examines themes and utilizes

description, interpretations, and assertions to analyze the case (Stake, 1995). This approach

allows for "more valid portrayals, better bases for personal understanding of what is going

on, and solid grounds for considering action" (Stake, 1981, p. 32). Situating my case within

its appropriate energy and CSR contexts provided a clearer, more detailed understanding of

Chevron's CSR campaign.

Chevron exemplifies an emblematic organization; it faces many of the same CSR

struggles and opportunities as its counterparts in the oil industry and other large

contemporary organizations. This typification makes Chevron an appealing case study, as

organizations' approaches and perspectives can be interesting and useful "not because they

are unique but because of how familiar they are" (Zorn, Page, & Cheney, 2000, p. 555).

Yin explains that a single, representative case study attempts to "capture the circumstances

and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation" (2009, p. 48). Lessons learned from the single case study reveal insight into the experiences of a typical, familiar institution. Thus, my Chevron case study provides a framework for understanding a contemporary CSR campaign. Specifically, I adopted a holistic case design to examine the nature of a single program (Yin, 2009): Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* CSR campaign.

Chevron launched the integrated, world-wide *Power of Human Energy* campaign September, 30, 2007 by premiering *Untapped Energy* during CBS' *60 Minutes*. The compelling 2.5-minute advertisement—and a series of accompanying 30-second and 60-second ads—were designed to showcase "how energy affects all our lives as well as the level of commitment, ingenuity, and responsibility Chevron employees practice every day to bring energy supplies to global markets" (Chevron, 2007a, p. 1). The advertisements began airing September 30 in the U.S., Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East on channels including CNNI, BBC, and Discovery (Chevron, 2007a). The campaign currently has limited presence on BBC and CNN and in the Washington, D.C. and California markets. In addition to advertisements, the 2007 campaign launch included a series of *Human Energy* stories on the corporate website, chevron.com. Today Chevron extends the life and utility of the *Power of Human Energy* campaign by continuing to feature each of the original advertisements and *Human Energy* stories as well as adding additional advertisements and stories to chevron.com. While a variety of print advertisements, special events, and other promotions likely supported the initial *Power of Human Energy* campaign launch, the elements continuing the campaign's longevity on chevron.com today served as the case for this study.

Sample

The Internet allows an organization to communicate and even interact with a wide range of stakeholders in a convenient, timely fashion (Capriotti & Moreno, 2007). Chevron is thus free to craft its own positive self-presentation; connect with a larger, more active, information-seeking public than can be reached through traditional media; and bypass the traditional media "gatekeepers" that restrict, revise, or otherwise encumber message sharing (Esrock & Leichty, 1998). Chevron seizes these opportunities by featuring elements of the *Power of Human Energy* campaign on chevron.com—an affordable, effective, on-demand, and long-term way to continue to tout its CSR. Given the prevalence, influence, and impact of the Internet on today's organizations, and the advantages it offers Chevron, I turned to chevron.com to draw the sample for this study.

To answer RQ1, I drew a purposive, researcher-selected sample (Keyton, 2006) from Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign. The entire sample was publicly available on Chevron's corporate website, chevron.com, and was retrieved January 4-8, 2010. The complete sample included eight advertisements (four 30-second spots, three 1-minute spots, and one 2.5-mintue spot) and 23 *Human Energy* stories consisting of text, video, and interactive graphics (see Appendix A for descriptions). Chevron.com also features six print advertisements, but because they are part of a separate *Will You Join Us* campaign, I excluded them from the sample.

Data Analysis

Communication researchers focus on a variety of contexts and phenomena, but studying messages is central to the discipline (Keyton, 2006). To facilitate an in-depth, thorough examination of the *Power of Human Energy* campaign, I analyzed the *Power of*

Human Energy campaign using Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) identification inducement typology as the guiding framework. I first gathered existing text and transcribed the videos verbatim. Consistent with contemporary research applying Cheney's framework (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999), the unit of analysis in this study was a theme, meaning that units were distinguished from each other not by physical means, but on conceptual grounds (Krippendorf, 1980). In other words, I considered individual identification inducements as they appeared in the text, whether in word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph form. I isolated units to ensure mutual exclusivity—that is, no unit of text could be coded into more than one category (Keyton, 2006). I then conducted a deductive, color-coded, line-by-line analysis using Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' typology. First, I performed a general read-through to become familiar with the data. Next, I read the transcript 13 times: once for each of Cheney's broad categories: the common ground technique (including 10 read-throughs to identify tactics), identification by antithesis, transcendent "we," and unifying symbols. I also carefully considered data that did not fit the coding scheme to determine whether additional strategies or tactics should be added to the existing framework.

After conducting this analysis, I realized that the testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders tactics with in the common ground strategy were more multifaceted than the original typology indicated. Therefore, to capture the detail and complexity of the *Power of Human Energy* campaign while maintaining mutual exclusivity within the codes, I conducted two additional phases of analysis to examine identification inducements within employee and outsider comments. In the second phase of analysis, I isolated instances of testimonials by employees and then coded the data using Cheney's and DiSanza and

Bullis' typology. I then used the same procedure to conduct a third phase of coding to examine praise by outsiders.

Conclusion

Chapters one and two of this study framed my research question, presented the Chevron exemplar and situated it within the context of energy and CSR, and reviewed the appropriate literature including CSR, identification, and the links between the two constructs. Chapter three thoroughly defined my methodological approach. In the following chapters, I present the results and implications of this study.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

In the preceding chapters I presented the Chevron exemplar, reviewed relevant CSR and identification literature, linked the two constructs, and established a methodological rationale. I then systematically examined the identification inducement strategies and tactics in Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* CSR campaign using Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) typology in three separate, interrelated levels of analysis: the original typology, testimonials by employees, and praise by outsiders. This chapter identifies the strategies and tactics present in each level of analysis and summarizes the study's results.

Initial Analysis: Original Typology

In the first level of analysis, I deductively applied Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' typology as originally indicated. I examined the *Power of Human Energy* campaign's 14,400 words for four identification inducement strategies: common ground technique (including 10 tactics); identification by antithesis; transcendent "we"; and unifying symbols. Chevron did not utilize the identification by antithesis strategy. Thus three of four strategies and 9 of 10 tactics were present in this level of analysis (N=500; see Table 2 for breakdown of frequencies). I coded 97% of the Chevron *Power of Human Energy* sample as identification inducement. Three percent of the sample could not be coded; this data included introductory sentences and simple statements of fact, i.e., "The Tombua-Landana deepwater project is 50 miles off the shore of Angola" and "Power plants and industry use most of the natural gas worldwide." In the following section, I discuss each of the strategies and tactics present within the initial analysis of the Chevron sample.

Table 2

Identification Inducement Frequencies Across Three Levels of Analysis

Strategies & Tactics	Initial Analysis: Original Framework		2nd Analysis: Testimonials by Employees		3rd Analysis: Praise by Outsiders	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Common Ground (Sum of 10 tactics)	**388**	**78%**	**177**	**35%**	**262**	**63%**
Expression of concern for the individual	1	0.2%	3	0.6%	0	0%
Global recognition of individuals	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.2%
Recognition of individuals' contributions	3	0.6%	0	0%	0	0%
Recognition of individuals' contributions outside the organization	1	0.2%	0	0%	0	0%
Espousal of shared values	182	36%	143	28%	254	61%
Advocacy of benefits and activities	4	0.8%	11	2%	6	1%
Praise by outsiders	103	21%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Testimonials by employees	57	11%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Invitation	8	2%	0	0%	0	0%
Bragging	29	6%	19	4%	2	0.5%
Identification by Antithesis	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**
Transcendent "We"	**77**	**15%**	**239**	**47%**	**113**	**27%**
Unifying Symbols	**35**	**7%**	**89**	**8%**	**42**	**10%**

Note: total percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Common Ground

Common ground was the most frequently-used strategy in the initial analysis (n=388), accounting for 78% of all identification inducements. Each of the common ground strategy's 10 tactics helps Chevron overtly link itself with stakeholders (Cheney, 1983b). Below I discuss each tactic, including: espousal of shared values; advocacy of benefits and activities; praise by outsiders; testimonials by employees; bragging; tactics involving individual recognition (expression of concern for the individual, recognition of individuals' contributions, recognition of individuals' contributions outside the organization, global recognition of individuals); and invitation.

Espousal of shared values. Chevron employs this tactic by touting values presumably shared throughout the organization and across society (Cheney, 1983b). Espousal of shared values appeared 182 times, accounting for 47% of the common ground strategy and 36% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis. Five values emerged from my analysis of the *Power of Human Energy* campaign: solutions, energy, environment, citizenship behaviors, and people.

When referencing the solutions value (n=63; 16% of common ground strategy), Chevron presents technology, innovation, research, safety, employment, economic improvement, gender equality, diversity, partnership, and a focus on human potential as "solutions" to its stakeholders' problems. For instance, Chevron's *The Impossible* advertisement proclaims:

Can you see it? It's here. One hundred seventy-five miles off the coast of Louisiana. It's your commute, your flight to Phoenix, your way of life. Here, more than 28,000 feet below the surface, in a place experts thought impossible to reach, setting half a

dozen world records for technological innovation without a single safety or

environmental incident. Every day the world demands more energy. And every day

it gets harder to find. So every day we push technology. We seek alternatives. But

we also attempt the extraordinary—to power the world right now. This is the power

of human energy.

This excerpt proclaims Chevron's solutions value. While confronting issues like an energy

shortage, physical drilling limitations, and environmental/employee danger, the

advertisement highlights the innovation, technology, safety, and human prowess that will

help Chevron "power the world" now and in the future.

Chevron also extols the value of energy (n=55; 14% of the common ground

strategy). This value focuses on the efficiency, conservation, and alternative/renewable

energy practices Chevron will use to power the future of energy. For example, Chevron

touts its energy value in its *Renewable Energy* advertisement: "Right now, we're the largest

producer of geothermal energy in the world. It's the earth's heat. It's clean, renewable, and

we've been producing it for 40 years. Today we generate enough geothermal energy to

power 7 million homes."

In addition, Chevron claims to value the environment (n=34; 9% of the common

ground strategy). When espousing this shared value, Chevron explains its efforts to reduce

climate change and greenhouse gas emissions while protecting biodiversity, ecosystems,

plants, animals, and wildlife and promoting conservation/sustainability. For example,

Chevron shares its environmental value: "Conserving biodiversity means protecting the

planet's species and the ecosystems that support them. It goes beyond good corporate

citizenship. We're an energy company, but we live here too."

Chevron cited citizenship behavior—additional activities not directly tied to the company's core business—22 times, accounting for 6% of the common ground strategy. This value encompasses HIV/AIDS awareness, education, community, volunteerism, and preserving or improving stakeholders' way of life and culture. For instance, in the Dunoon community—an area of South Africa where over half of residents have HIV/AIDS—Chevron partnered with the Department of Social Development and a local NGO, Heavenly Promise, to establish the Dunoon Home Community Based Care Center to care for home-bound AIDS patients. Chevron explains, "The care center provides meals and assistance to over 150 AIDS patients each week. The partnership offers project management training to all who work there, enabling this to be a project run by the community for the community." These comments reveal Chevron's citizenship values of health, education, and community.

Chevron also explains that it values people (n=8; 2% of the common ground strategy), including children, family, and employees. For example, one of the reasons Chevron joined the "green" construction movement by building a LEED-certified office complex in Louisiana was not only to reduce environmental impact, but also to "offer a comfortable workplace for employees." In the *Our Business* advertisement, Chevron also expresses its concern for people: "We're in the energy business, but we're also in the showing kids new worlds business…because we don't just work here, we live here. These are our families, and our neighbors."

Praise by outsiders. Praise by outsiders is the second most frequently-cited common ground tactic (n=103; 27% of the common ground strategy). "Outsiders," or non-Chevron members, do the talking for Chevron by making positive comments about the

company or its actions (Cheney, 1983b). The "outsiders" telling Chevron's story come from all walks of life, ranging from farmers and young students in poor countries to an MIT professor and the Prime Minister of Australia. Each praises Chevron in his or her own voice.

A school principal in South Africa thanks Chevron for bringing the wonders of television to his school: "Our way of learning has greatly improved. [The students] can see that the world does not end here. It goes far beyond only our little rural village. It makes them children of the world." Lopes, a young student in Angola, also appreciates the program: "I love going to school every day, and tomorrow I can have a future." Commending another Chevron program, Asep Suhendar, a farmer in Kalapamunggal, Java, says, "I learn a lot from the program partnership with Chevron. They give us training to manage duck farming…we receive more income from our basic agriculture than we used to do." Larry Sly, executive director of the Food Bank of Contra Costa and Solano also has wonderful words for Chevron's food bank work: Chevron "really understands their role in the community and what they can do to help us execute our role in the community as well."

Testimonials by employees. Chevron also allows employees, those with an insider's perspective, to share their experiences. Through testimonials, Chevron employees from across the company (from entry-level to executives) share positive comments about their organization and its contributions to society (Cheney, 1983b). Chevron used this tactic 57 times in my sample, which represents 15% of the common ground strategy. In the *Power of Human Energy* campaign, employees praise Chevron's science mentoring program for girls, venture capital arm, technology and innovative practices, commitment to alternative

energy, Agbami and Barrow Island projects, and more, creating a positive image and encouraging stakeholders to identify with the company.

Trond Unneland, an employee in Chevron's Technology Ventures Investments, is enthusiastic: "I think I possibly have the best job in the company. Can you imagine—being able to be looking for new and emerging technology, creating partnership, and basically helping provide energy for the future." Employee Gulzira Utetileova notes:

> The majority of the employees in Tengiz are from Kazakhstan, and as a Kazakh,
> I'm very proud that the people are very talented. Chevron really nurtures and grows
> that talent. Wherever Chevron works, we strive to help the people and the
> communities, and through our training center in Atyrau, we've helped thousands of
> people learn skills such as pipeline fitting, welding—and this helps them find jobs
> and support their families. Chevron was the first large foreign investor in
> Kazakhstan. I think the successful completion of this project is a result of the strong
> partnership between Kazakhstan and Chevron, and it keeps growing.

In addition, Chevron features an employee's thoughts on CSR. Usman Slamet explains, "Chevron Geothermal's Indonesia philosophy on corporate responsibility is basically simple: we want to be part of the family. Because we work with the community, we live in the community, so we want to be a good neighbor. We are not different from them."

Bragging. When bragging, Chevron boasts about the time, money, or effort applied to a project or celebrates favorable results (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999). Though less frequent than the preceding tactics, bragging appears 29 times, accounting for 7% of the common ground strategy. For example, one *Human Energy* story states:

For decades, the oil and gas industry has been one of the world's largest users of high-performance computing, second only to the U.S. government. Seismic imaging and reservoir-flow simulation are two of the most numerically intensive computer calculations ever undertaken by mankind. They're routine for us. We use massively parallel Linux clusters, one of the most powerful computer clusters in the world, to crunch vast data sets and produce animated 3-D models of the Earth's subsurface.

In this excerpt, Chevron enacts bragging by first complimenting the oil industry as a whole and then boasting about its own accomplishments.

Invitation. The invitation tactic, which requests that a stakeholder join, remain involved in, or contact Chevron (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999), appeared 8 times (2% of the common ground strategy). In two advertisements, Chevron implores stakeholders to join its conservation efforts: "And now we ask you to join us in one of the most important efforts of our time—using less" and "Will you be part of the solution?" Another invitation is repeated in five separate *Human Energy* story videos: "Chevron and Discovery Channel Global Education Partnership bring the power of educational television to schools and communities in Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, and Venezuela. For more information visit chevron.com/learningcenters." The final invitation is similar: "To learn more about our community engagement programs, visit chevron.com/community."

Advocacy of benefits and activities. Chevron uses this tactic 4 times (1% of the common ground strategy) to describe the services or activities it offers to stakeholders (Cheney, 1983b). Chevron's services range from a mentoring program designed to nurture young girls in the fields of science and engineering to constructing "green" office buildings

and organizing employee vanpools. In one example of advocacy of benefits and activities,

Chevron notes that during the United Way's Week of Caring, "2,500 Chevron employees

in the San Francisco Bay Area donated their time and talents to nearly 90 nonprofits."

Tactics involving individual recognition. Four of Cheney's (198b) and DiSanza and

Bullis' (1999) tactics involve individual recognition. I have grouped them here for

convenience. Together, these tactics represent 1% of the common ground strategy. The

expression of concern for an individual tactic (n=1) presents an individual as an integral

member of the organization (Cheney, 1983b). For example, Chevron's *Untapped Energy*

advertisement presents its expansive workforce as unique, diverse individuals working

toward a shared goal:

> This is who we are. In 180 countries. Not corporate titans, but men and women of
>
> vision. 58,000 citizens of the world. Liberals and conservatives, engineers and
>
> scientists, pipeline welders and geologists, husbands and wives, part time poets and
>
> coaches. People who daily try to find newer ways, cleaner ways, to power the
>
> world.

Another tactic, recognition of individuals' contributions to the organization (n=3), honors

specific individuals by name for their contributions to Chevron (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999).

Chevron uses this tactic by recognizing a specific employee for his work on Chevron's

Barrow Island project: "Chevron ecologist Dorian Moro, Ph.D., and his colleagues help

manage biodiversity projects, such as tracking the movement of flatback turtles to maintain

the integrity of the environment." The third tactic, recognition of individuals' contributions

outside the organization (n=1), involves honoring an individual by name for his efforts

outside Chevron (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999): "Thousands of Chevron employees fanned out

to nonprofits during Chevron Volunteer Week in September, including Dan Descalzo, a business analyst from Concord." Finally, the global recognition of individuals tactic, which praises the contributions of specific groups and teams (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999), does not appear.

As demonstrated above, Chevron draws on an extensive, complex mix of common ground tactics to elicit stakeholder identification. The company also employs two additional strategies for identification inducement: transcendent we and unifying symbols. A fourth strategy, Cheney's (1983b) identification by antithesis strategy, in which companies explicitly urge stakeholders to unite against a common enemy, does not appear in the *Power of Human Energy* campaign.

Transcendent "We"

Transcendent we, the use of pronouns like "we" and "us" to "we" to subtly assume commonality between the organization and stakeholders (Cheney, 1983b), appears 77 times (15% of all identification inducements). For instance, Chevron's *Tomorrow* advertisement proclaims:

> The world is changing, and how we use energy today cannot be how we use it tomorrow. There is no one solution. It's not simply more oil, more renewables, or being more efficient. It's all of it. Our way of life depends on developing all forms of energy, and to use less of it. It's time to put our differences aside.

This ad contains 4 instances of transcendent we (including "we" and "our"), with each pronoun referring not to Chevron, but to all human beings.

Unifying Symbols

The unifying symbols strategy is similar to transcendent we in that it subtly attempts to unite Chevron and stakeholders. However, unifying symbols focuses on "form" rather than content by using a revered symbol such as a logo, trademark, or recognized icon to induce identification (Cheney, 1983b). Chevron used this strategy 35 times, accounting for 7% of total identification inducements.

The red and blue Chevron logo (n=17) and the *Human Energy* tagline (n=11) appear as all eight advertisements come to a close, as well as at the beginning or end of many *Human Energy* stories. Chevron also subtly incorporates other companies' logos to induce identification. By presenting others' logos as unifying symbols, Chevron showcases its positive partnerships and draws on the credibility and respect of established, less-controversial, beloved brands including Discovery Channel (n=5), Coca-Cola (n=1), and *The New York Times* (n=1).

Second Analysis: Testimonials by Employees

To conduct the second level of analysis, I isolated testimonials from employees, producing a 5,972-word dataset. I then coded this data by deductively applying Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' typology. Chevron employees did not utilize the identification by antithesis strategy. Thus, three of four strategies and 5 of 10 tactics were present in this level of analysis (N=504; see Table 2 for a breakdown of frequencies). The remaining 10% of the sample included introductory sentences and simple statements of fact, i.e., "Blind Faith is located 160 miles southeast of New Orleans in the Gulf of Mexico" and "This is a wild place. You're isolated 90 kilometers from the mainland." Much of the uncoded data was also employees' descriptions of themselves or their tasks: "My name is Usman Slamet.

I am the manager for policy, government and public affairs for Chevron Geothermal Indonesia" and "When we get there, we get there. I like to drive. I'll drive anything. I'm Angela Spinelli. I'm a corporate recruiter at Chevron, and I'm a volunteer vanpool driver." Below I summarize the strategies and tactics present within the testimonials by employees sample.

Transcendent "We"

In the initial analysis, common ground was the most frequently-used strategy. Within testimonials by employees, however, transcendent we was most frequent (n=239), accounting for 47% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis. Alan Preston, Vice President of Chevron Corporate Human Resources, shares: "My hope is that in the near future we'll no longer talk about HIV/AIDS as a life-and-death situation. We'll be in a world where we understand how to prevent it. We'll have effective treatment and ultimately be able to cure it." Preston's 4 instances of transcendent we indicate that the fight against HIV/AIDS will involve everyone.

Common Ground

Common ground was the second most frequently-used strategy in the testimonials by employees sample (n=177; 35% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis). Of course, the testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders tactics were not applicable in this analysis. Five tactics were present: espousal of shared values, bragging, advocacy of benefits and activities, global recognition of individuals, and expression of concern for the individual.

Espousal of shared values was the most frequently-used common ground tactic (n=143). Employees focused most on solution (n=41), citizenship behavior (n=31), and

environment values (n=28), but also showed some support for energy (n=23) and people (n=20) values. Employee David McMurry shares Chevron's citizenship value of HIV awareness by explaining, "Chevron developed a global AIDS policy around HIV/AIDS...we felt like we needed to develop a global policy and to treat everybody all over the world the same." While explaining a Chevron/Discovery Channel program that provides educational television to schools in Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, and Venezuela, an employee showcases Chevron's citizenship value of education and solution value of technology: "The videos...are teaching aids so the teachers will integrate this into various components of their lessons. It will make their teaching much more interactive, much more student-oriented and much more activity-driven than the original chalk and board method."

In addition, Chevron employees use bragging (n=19), advocacy of benefits and activities (n=11), expression of concern for the individual (n=3), and global recognition of individuals (n=1) as identification inducements. In a *Human Energy* story, Chevron employee Gulzira Utetileova brags about a specific oil field, highlighting the size, scope, challenges, and results of the project as well as the time, money, and effort exerted:

> We completed a major expansion project, almost doubling production in our Tengiz
> Field in Kazakhstan. Tengiz is one of the largest oil fields in the world, and it's
> located in western Kazakhstan. It took more than five years and over $7 billion to
> complete the project. The weather conditions in Tengiz are extreme; it gets really
> hot in the summer and really cold in the winter. So this makes executing large-scale
> projects like the Tengiz expansion very challenging.

Chevron employees also advocate benefits and services ranging from worldwide endeavors like HIV/AIDS prevention training, education for impoverished global communities, and renewable energy initiatives to more localized action such as employee vanpools, community education about the Gunung Halimun Salak National Park, and economic development in Nigeria. Carlton Dallas, regional marketing director in Africa and Pakistan, advocates Chevron's HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention project: "We believe by early testing and knowing your status that we can help along the lines—we can improve the economic growth, the social fabric in those countries—and we believe that's a very good reason to be involved in HIV and AIDS testing and counseling." Chevron employees also express concern for individuals. Angela Spinelli demonstrates her concern for the colleagues she transports as a vanpool driver: "I've got to make sure the van's ready to drive tomorrow morning to get these people to work. I enjoy it because I have people I have to care about." Finally, employee Trond Unneland gives global recognition to specific work groups: "Our geologists and engineers are scouting the globe to find oil and gas, and in order to do so, they're using very complicated, huge models with seismic data."

Unifying Symbols

Unifying symbols appeared 89 times in the testimonials by employees data, accounting for 18% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis. The Chevron logo (n=54) and *Human Energy* tagline (n=13) were again present and Coco-Cola's logo appeared once. New instances and uses of unifying symbols appeared as well. In addition to its obvious placement at the beginning or end of advertisements and stories (n=19), the Chevron logo is also more subtly integrated within employee testimonials (n=35). For example, logos appear on the shirts of Chevron employees who are mentoring young girls

in science, on oil rig workers' hard hats as they perform their tasks (also reiterating Chevron's commitment to safety), and are even stitched in to an AIDS quilt. The American flag also subtly appears 4 times and the red HIV/AIDS awareness ribbon is visible 19 times on posters, packages, and lapel pins.

<div align="center">Third Analysis: Praise by Outsiders</div>

In the third level of analysis, I isolated comments from outsiders to produce to a 4,449-word dataset. I then coded the data by deductively applying Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' typology. Chevron did not utilize the identification by antithesis strategy. Thus, three of four strategies and 3 of 10 tactics were present in this level of analysis (N=418; see Table 2 for a breakdown of frequencies). Ninety-two percent of the sample was identification inducement. The remaining 8% of the sample included introductory sentences and simple statements of fact, i.e., "It takes a village to create an engineer or a computer programmer or a scientist" and "There are 314 kampong (villages) located in or near the forest." Some of the uncoded data was also outsiders' descriptions of themselves: "My name is Daniella. I'm nine years old, and I live in Caracas, Venezuela" and "I am Lindelwa Mdovu. I am a home-based caregiver at the Dunoon HCBC Center." Below I summarize the strategies and tactics present within the praise by outsiders sample.

Common Ground

As in the initial analysis, common ground was the most prominent strategy in the praise by outsiders sample (n=262), accounting for 63% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis. Again, the testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders tactics were not applicable. Only three tactics were present: espousal of shared values, advocacy of benefits and activities, and bragging.

Espousal of shared values was the most frequently-used common ground tactic (n=254) in this level of analysis. Outsiders minimally mentioned the values of energy (n=4) and environment (n=6) and instead emphasized solution (n=86), citizenship behavior (n=80), and people (n=78) values. For example, one of the most extensive instances of praise by outsiders is a five-video series featuring representatives, teachers, principles, students, and their families talking about Chevron/Discovery Channel's educational television project. A young student named Rosemary exclaims, "What I like most about the television is that it takes the things that are far away from us, the things that we as a school can't reach, and it brings it to us." The school principal also sees the benefits of video learning:

> The attendance level of students has greatly improved since we started using the television at school. The television program has brought a lot of life to the school, from the way it approaches lessons to the way it approaches the learners—everybody is so excited about having it.

A teacher also praises the program, "I believe that the students will be able to compete with students all around the world." The videos' impact extends beyond the classroom, too. A father notes, "The videos are something very important. They help to emphasize values such as love, caring, friendship. This is something that we should be more aware of. These positive elements are very important for being a father." Each of these comments from outsiders emphasizes the shared values of children and family (people), technology and partnership (solutions), and education (citizenship behaviors).

Outsiders also use advocacy of benefits and activities (n=6) and bragging (n=2) to induce identification. Outsiders compliment and promote Chevron's science mentoring,

HIV/AIDS, volunteerism, and diversity programs. For example, Sandra Floyd, owner of OUTSOURCE, praises Chevron's Supplier Diversity Program: "The program at Chevron allows women and minority business to create jobs while giving back to their communities." Larry Sly of the Food Bank of Contra Costa and Salono engages in bragging on Chevron's behalf: "Chevron has been one of our best partners in the world, no question about it."

Transcendent "We"

Transcendent we was the second most frequently-used strategy (n=113), accounting for 27% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis. Farmer Asep Suhenar states, "Since the beginning, I ask my children to love nature, because what we're doing now will impact our children in the future." With this simple statement and two instances of transcendent we, Suhenar moves beyond his small corner of the world to remind us all that our collective action will affect children worldwide.

Unifying Symbols

Unifying symbols appeared 42 times in the praise by outsiders data, accounting for 10% of all identification inducements in this level of analysis. The *Human Energy* tagline appeared 6 times. The Chevron logo was once again obvious at the beginning or end of advertisements and stories (n=15), but as in the second analysis, the logo was also subtly integrated within outsiders' comments (n=15). For example, logos frequently appeared in the background of classroom settings, on posters and supplies. The Discovery Channel's (n=3) and Sony's (n=2) logos appear as well and the red HIV/AIDS ribbon occurred once.

Summary

This study drew on three separate, interrelated analyses: Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) original typology, testimonials by employees, and praise by outsiders. I first conducted an analysis using Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' framework as originally intended. Results indicate that 97% of the sample was identification inducement (N=500), with three of four strategies and 9 of 10 tactics present. Common ground was the most frequently-cited strategy (78%), followed by transcendent we (15%) and unifying symbols (7%). Chevron did not use identification by antithesis. Within the common ground strategy, the espousal of shared values tactic (with emphasis on solution, energy, and environment values) appeared most often, followed by praise by outsiders and testimonials by employees.

To conduct the second level of analysis, I isolated testimonials by employees and coded the data using Cheney's and DiSanza and Bullis' typology. Results indicate that 90% of the testimonials by employees data was identification inducement. Three of four strategies and 5 of 10 tactics were present (N=504). Within this level of analysis, transcendent we was most frequently-cited (47%), followed by common ground (35%) and unifying symbols (8%). Once again, identification by antithesis was not present. Within the common ground strategy, espousal of shared values was dominant, with employees focusing on solution, citizenship behavior, and environment values.

In the third level of analysis I isolated and coded praise by outsiders data. Results indicate that 92% was identification inducement, with three of four strategies and 3 of 10 tactics present (N=418). In the praise by outsiders analysis, common ground was the most frequently-cited strategy (58%), followed by transcendent we (30%), and unifying symbols

(12%). The espousal of shared values tactic comprised most of the common ground strategy. Outsiders focused almost exclusively on solution, citizenship behavior, and people values.

Each of the three levels of analysis allows unique, detailed insight into Chevron's CSR messages. Within these results lie important implications for contemporary CSR communication. In the following chapter I discuss these implications, present limitations, and identify opportunities for future research.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Overview of Results

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into corporations' use of contemporary CSR communication to induce positive organizational identification. My research question asked: What identification inducement strategies and tactics are present in Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* corporate social responsibility campaign? To conduct this inquiry, I applied Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) organizational identification inducement typology across three levels of analysis: the original typology, testimonials by employees, and praise by outsiders. Results indicate that all three levels of Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign extensively use identification inducements. In this chapter I discuss my findings, present ethical and practical implications, identify limitations and opportunities for future research, and offer concluding comments.

The *Power of Human Energy* campaign demonstrates that contemporary organizations continue to use the identification inducement strategies and tactics first recognized by Cheney in 1983 and expanded by DiSanza and Bullis in 1999. Though frequencies varied among the three levels of analysis (see Table 2), three of four strategies and all 10 tactics were present in the Chevron CSR campaign. An overwhelming majority of the initial analysis (97%) was identification inducement. Thus, this study not only indicates that Chevron is using CSR to induce identification in its *Power of Human Energy* campaign, but also that 27 years after inception, Cheney's (1983b) strategies remain relevant.

One of the significant findings of this study, however, reveals that much has changed since scholars' early work in organizational identification inducement. Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) research focused exclusively on traditional, printed employee newsletters, and thus considered only an internal audience. While Cheney called for research beyond employee newsletters (1983b) and later acknowledged that internal and external audiences are increasingly intertwined (Cheney & Christensen, 2001), little research has applied his inducements to more complex, contemporary CSR campaigns (see O'Connor, 2004; O'Connor, 2006a; O'Connor & Shumate, in press). This study suggests that today's organizations have expanded their use of identification inducement. The Chevron exemplar indicates that identification inducements are now deeply embedded in communication disseminated to wide internal and external audiences and through more advanced, technical mediums such as video, interactive graphics, and the web. My study suggests that identification inducement has become a more versatile and wide-reaching tool for contemporary organizations. Accordingly, each of my three levels of analysis provides insight into the use of identification inducement in contemporary CSR campaigns.

Initial Analysis: Original Typology

When applied to contemporary CSR communication's more complex target audiences, technical mediums, and content, Cheney's original typology produced interesting results. Consistent with Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) research, common ground was the most frequently-used identification strategy, accounting for 78% of all identification inducements. At first glance, this seems to suggest that organizations use the same strategies to induce identification from straightforward internal

audiences and the more complex, multifaceted audiences of CSR campaigns. The discrepancies, however, lie within the details.

Cheney's and especially DiSanza and Bullis' samples frequently drew on the common ground strategy's individual recognition tactics, including expression of concern for the individual, global recognition of individuals, and recognition of individuals' contributions within and outside of the organization. This approach is preferable for internal audiences because employees want to know that they are crucial to and appreciated within the company. In addition, employees may personally know or even work closely with the individuals being recognized, further strengthening their propensity for identification. In Chevron's case, however, the four individual-focused tactics account for only 1% of total identification inducements. To induce identification, Chevron's communication must establish commonality among a wide, disparate audience of internal *and* external stakeholders. Employees are innately tied to the company, as it provides their livelihood. A diverse group of stakeholders, on the other hand, lacks this inherent connection and therefore is naturally more distant from and possibly more skeptical of Chevron. As such, the wider audience cares less about the good deeds of one or two individuals and more about Chevron's larger actions and impact.

To draw internal and external stakeholders together and guide them toward organizational identification, Chevron relies heavily on the strategies and tactics that are most inherently inclusive and non-controversial. By favoring approaches that evoke widespread agreement, Chevron induces identification, enhances its image, and distances itself from disagreement (Bostdorff & Vibbert, 1994) that may deter identification. Thus it is no surprise that Chevron completely rejects identification by antithesis, a strategy that

innately draws on controversy and acknowledges enemies. Instead, the Chevron CSR campaign emphasizes shared values (36% of all identification inducements) that elicit identification via causes that are difficult to contest (see "Strategic Approach to Shared Values" section below). Chevron's desire to appeal to a wide, diverse, and potentially critical audience also leads it to subtly draws stakeholders in with the transcendent we strategy (15%). This strategy is powerful and well-suited to Chevron's purposes precisely because stakeholders are unlikely to notice it.

Chevron not only attempts to foster inclusion and identification with its corporate voice, but also allows others—internal and external members—to share their perceptions of the company. The *Power of Human Energy* campaign thus goes beyond the corporate voice to include comments from employees and outsiders. While the tactics appeared intermittently in Cheney and DiSanza and Bullis' samples, testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders accounted for nearly one third of Chevron's identification inducements. These tactics allow Chevron to strengthen its appeal to a wide, potentially critical audience by injecting legitimacy into their campaign. Testimony from people involved in or benefiting from Chevron's CSR work is more natural and believable than the corporate voice, and thus presumably a more potent identification inducement. Interestingly, in the *Power of Human Energy* campaign, employees and outsiders were not simply making positive comments about the organization as Cheney (1983b) originally suggested. Further examination of Chevron's testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders revealed a noteworthy finding: the seemingly simple statements are themselves laden with identification inducements.

Second and Third Analyses: Testimonials by Employees and Praise by Outsiders

By isolating and separately coding the testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders tactics, I was able to capture the detail and complexity of identification inducement within the *Power of Human Energy* campaign that would otherwise have been overlooked. This would have been a considerable omission, as together the identification inducements present within testimonials by employees (N=504) and praise by outsiders (N=418) nearly doubled the inducements within Chevron's corporate voice (the initial analysis; N=500). This finding suggests that the testimonials by employees and praise by outsiders tactics warrant additional consideration within contemporary campaigns. The second and third analyses' specific findings allow further insight to CSR messages as identification inducement.

While the second and third analyses examine distinct voices, they draw on the same identification inducements found within the initial analysis of Chevron's corporate voice. Employees and outsiders alike seem to follow Chevron's lead in focusing on inclusion and avoiding controversy. As in the initial analysis, the four individual recognition tactics are used sparingly by both employees (0.6%) and outsiders (0.2%); neither group uses identification by antithesis. Also complimenting the initial analysis, espousal of shared values and transcendent we are the most significant inducements (by a wide margin; see Table 2 for details). Together, shared values and transcendent we represent 75% of testimonials by employee inducements and 88% of praise by outsiders inducements.

While consistency within a campaign is typically preferable and beneficial, the strikingly similar inducements among the corporate, employee, and outsider voices raise an important ethical concern. My findings suggest that statements from employees and

outsiders are carefully coached or artfully edited to reflect only what Chevron wants its stakeholders to hear. Of course, this practice is common in corporate communication. However, in the context of CSR as identification inducement, coaching and editing become even more powerful tools because of their subtle persuasiveness. One of the basic tenants of Cheney's theory of organizational identification is that identification allows stakeholders to "persuade and be persuaded" (Cheney, 1983a, p. 342). Chevron purposefully leverages this tenant by allowing one stakeholder to persuade another. When employees or outsiders extol the virtues of Chevron, stakeholders believe they are hearing from one of their own— someone similar to them, rather than a cold or calculating corporate voice. While stakeholders may be more cognizant or even suspicious of the corporate voice, few would suspect the elaborate identification inducements present in employees' and outsiders' voices. Thus, while employees' and outsiders' messages appear to come from separate, legitimate sources, Chevron is actually the sole message source and is strategically leveraging the comments to improve identification. Chevron continues this strategic approach when espousing shared values, one of the most prominent tactics in the *Power of Human Energy* campaign.

A Strategic Approach to Shared Values

A main goal of this study was to understand how organizations use CSR to induce identification. The above discussion offers important insight and demonstrates that Chevron employs a wide variety of strategies and tactics to induce identification. Espousal of shared values, however, is especially prominent across all three levels of analysis, and is arguably the most important and most telling identification inducement in Chevron's CSR campaign.

Chevron uses values presumably shared within the organization and across society to induce identification (Cheney, 1983b). This allows the company to downplay controversy and criticism by seeking identification based on positive values with wide appeal—values Chevron assumes that stakeholders will share. The corporate voice prominently espouses shared values (n=182), as do employees (n=143), and outsiders (n=254). However, as Deetz (2007) warns, we should not only consider *whether* values are present, but also *what* values and *whose* values are represented.

The corporate, employee, and outsider voices profess similar values. Each voice gives primacy to solutions, but then takes a slightly different approach, discussing the values it relates to most. The corporate voice extols energy and environment (the core of Chevron's business, and one of its greatest opportunities for improvement); employees discuss citizenship and environment (the primary areas where they are enacting CSR); and outsiders focus on citizenship and people (the values that have directly touched their lives). Chevron's *Saving by Going Solar Human Energy* story provides a useful example. The Chevron corporate voice begins by highlighting its connection to energy and the environment: "Chevron Energy Solutions is helping the Contra Costa Community College District in Northern California to save energy and cut greenhouse gas emissions. The 3.2-megawatt solar system and other improvements make the college's three campuses and district office more energy efficient." Chevron employee Jim Davis explains how he and other employees enact these CSR values: "Our technical experts go into [community] facilities and find ways first to reduce their demand for energy with energy efficiency and conservation measures. Then once we've maximized that, we then look at onsite generation opportunities, such as solar." Finally, the college district's Tom Leong explains how

Chevron's CSR work has impacted many lives: "We expect the solar panels to supply up to half of the district's electrical needs...we are really helping not only the environment, but the future for our children." Essentially, the corporate voice presents CSR values, employees talk about living the values, and outsiders speak about how the values have touched their communities and lives.

Chevron uses multiple voices to transform a series of individual comments and testimony into a larger, complete, and more legitimate story about its CSR and its company. Stakeholders listening to this story realize that all three voices (corporate, employee, and outsider) cherish the same values and work together for the best outcome—the values, and by proxy, Chevron, are legitimized. The stakeholders are drawn to the value, too, and in doing so are called to identify with Chevron. With this subtle approach, stakeholders do not realize that their connection to certain values has been strategically planned. The values professed via advertisements and stories seem natural and legitimate—the employees' and outsiders' voices are varied and diverse and the stories are interesting and moving. The values, however, are actually strategically set by Chevron.

CSR appears to cater to society's needs, but in reality organizations typically focus on "interests and concerns associated with their own survival and identity" (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 259). In other words, Chevron likely selected its solutions, energy, environment, citizenship behaviors, and people values because these particular values have the greatest potential for enhancing its image, deflecting criticism, and establishing premises for future dialogue and decision-making (Bostdorff & Vibbert, 1994). Thus Chevron is not only trying to induce identification, but is also engaging in framing and agenda-setting. Chevron uses framing to highlight positive attributes while hiding negative

aspects (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The company directs and holds stakeholders' attention on extremely positive, non-controversial, and future-focused values like developing cleaner, alternative energy to help power the world's growing energy needs and equipping young girls for future careers in engineering and science—values few can dispute. These values are ripe for identification because of their inclusive, non-controversial nature. By focusing on these specific values, however, Chevron is also setting an agenda. Freed from traditional media gatekeepers by the Internet and backed by immense resources, Chevron tells stakeholders not only what values to think about, but also how and what to think about them, and even what to do about them (McCombs, 1997). This approach raises an ethical concern as Chevron's preference for specific values and voices also quietly silences alternative voices and their vital concerns.

In the *Power of Human Energy* campaign, we hear about Chevron's work to conserve and protect nature on Barrow Island, but not about cleaning or repairing environmental damage in Ecuador. We learn of Chevron's efforts to eradicate HIV/AIDS in developing countries, but there is no mention of care or support for those suffering from oil pollution-inflicted illness and disease. We listen to Angolan students, Indonesian farmers, and African AIDS victims whose lives have been bettered by Chevron, yet Humberto's and his fellow Ecuadorians' voices do not reach our ears. This approach is certainly strategic, as sharing these alternative voices would widely discredit Chevron's CSR work. Cheney and Christensen explain, "The cumulative effect of a series of organizational messages perceived by some of the public to be untruthful or inauthentic can be a wide and deep breach of trust" (2001, p. 260). Thus, to prevent disassociation and encourage identification, Chevron drowns alternative voices with extremely positive, non-

controversial values. Chevron seems to "wrap itself in the flag of societal virtue and thus to discourage criticism—for anyone who attacks the organization may also appear to be attacking the values the organization claims to represent" (Bostdorff & Vibbert, 1994, p. 149). This argument presents a dismal perspective on the rhetoric verses reality debate, but nonetheless further reveals the potential power of identification. The more supporters that Chevron can draw into its fold via influential, lasting identification, the better the company will fare against future criticism and the more easily it can overcome adversaries and controversies.

<div align="center">Practical and Ethical Implications</div>

This research was designed to provide practical insight into identification inducements within contemporary CSR campaigns. Redding (1996) laments that organizational communication scholars privilege questions of effectiveness and efficiency over ethical concerns. Thus, while I highlighted some ethical concerns above, this topic warrants further attention within the context of implications. The following section therefore not only discusses this study's practical implications for researchers, practitioners, and society, but also touches on ethical implications.

Researchers

Researchers should explore CSR and identification deeply. CSR is a billion-dollar-a-year enterprise in the U.S. alone (Pfau, et. al, 2008) that impacts competitive advantage, stakeholder loyalty, organizational success, and even people's livelihoods, homes, and environments. Yet we know surprisingly little about CSR messages and their impact on stakeholders. Researchers are poised to fill this gap by assessing corporations' CSR communication, motives, agenda, and effectiveness.

This study provides a catalyst and an initial step for further research by equipping scholars to thoroughly examine CSR communication as identification inducement. Researchers should renew interest in Cheney's (1983b) identification inducement strategies and tactics to examine how this typology applies within more complex, modern campaigns that draw on wide internal and external audiences and utilize technology such as video, interactive graphics, websites, and even blogs and other social media tools (which could be the CSR communication channels of the future). As the Chevron exemplar demonstrates, employees' and outsiders' comments should receive more attention as identification inducements. In particular, researchers should examine which voices (employee, outsider, or corporate) are most persuasive and effective at inducing identification by assessing actual stakeholder reactions to CSR messaging. Additional insight into the corporate practice of coaching or editing comments would also broaden our understanding of the persuasive, strategic nature of CSR campaigns.

While scholars examine the utility and effectiveness of identification inducements within CSR campaigns, they should also turn a critical eye to ethical considerations, including the company's integrity and the messages' defensibility and legitimacy (Cheney & Christensen, 2001), because these are the areas where cover-ups, deceit, and potentially dangerous framing and agenda-setting can occur. Thus, researchers should explore whether the company's actions match its rhetoric, whether communication is representative of wider public interests, and what alternative voices are being silenced.

Practitioners

To gain optimal return from their large investments in CSR messaging—over $15 million for a single campaign, in Chevron's case (Mufson, 2007)—practitioners should use

CSR communication and identification inducements judiciously. To do so, practitioners

should not only consider how their corporations can best benefit from CSR

communication, but also how their messages will impact stakeholders. This study provides

insight that can help corporate communication practitioners maximize the benefits of CSR

messaging while limiting risk of stakeholder backlash or disassociation.

Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign demonstrates that identification

inducements can be an extremely powerful and beneficial strategic tool when used with

CSR messages. Practitioners who want to enhance their company's image, reputation, and

credibility (Pfau et al., 2008), and maximize competitive advantage and organizational

success by increasing stakeholder identification, trust, and loyalty and attracting quality

employees (Du et al., 2007; Greening & Turban, 2000; Sen, 2006) should utilize

identification inducements in their CSR communication. As Cheney (1983b), DiSanza and

Bullis (1999), and Chevron's exemplars demonstrate, practitioners should specifically

focus on the strategies and tactics that best appeal to their particular audience, whether

highlighting individual accomplishments for an internal audience or stressing non-

controversial inclusiveness for wider, more complex audiences. Employees' and outsiders'

promising identification-inducing potential should not be overlooked.

As practitioners plan and create their CSR messages, they can also reduce the risk

of stakeholder backlash or disassociation by using identification inducement ethically.

Practitioners, for instance, should carefully select inclusive, non-controversial values with

wide appeal to communicate, as these values will likely induce strong identification rather

than be a detriment to the organization by causing disassociation. Practitioners must also be

aware, however, that touting certain values may set an agenda that diverts the public's

attention from other critical concerns. Thus practitioners should strive to see beyond the "limited interests and concerns associated with their own survival and identity" (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 259) when creating CSR messages designed to induce identification.

Society

Society must learn to more wisely consider and critique CSR communication, as ignorance gives corporations free reign to shape our values and influence our beliefs. While stakeholders increasingly demand responsible, ethical corporate behavior (Snider, Hill, & Martin, 2003), the public is not as savvy as it should be about CSR messages and corporate intent. As O'Connor's (2004) research revealed, a CSR campaign can profoundly impact stakeholders to the point of influencing their decisions as jury members. Thus stakeholders' inability to carefully critique CSR messages not only leaves them vulnerable to identification inducements, but also urges them to blindly embrace the causes and values that a company finds most worthy, rather than what society actually needs. Negrón (2003) explains, "The road ahead is a long one and the task [of creating critical consumers] has barely begun: it is necessary to continue educating society" (p. 43).

My study advances this goal by helping shareholders, employees, customers, policymakers, NGOs, social activism groups, and the general public better understand the persuasive appeals used in contemporary CSR campaigns. By recognizing CSR and identification's propensity to "persuade without seeming to do so" (Bostdorff & Vibbert, 1994, p. 154) and understanding specific strategies and tactics corporations use to induce identification, society can turn a more discerning eye to CSR communication. We must learn to consider not only what a company is saying about its CSR, but also how it is truly enacting CSR, and what voices or concerns are being silenced. Yes, corporations should be

responsible, but we too share responsibility. Because we decide which products to buy, where to work, and which companies to support, we must be equipped to critically question corporations' communication and actions and should be prepared to make wise decisions accordingly. Understanding the persuasive nature of CSR and identification is an important first step.

<div align="center">Limitations and Future Research</div>

While this study provides a number of useful insights, it is limited by at least four factors. First, my sample is restricted to a single campaign from one corporation. Second, the study is temporally bound. Third, visual identification inducements are not included in this study. Finally, the study does not assess stakeholders' perceptions of or reaction to identification inducements. Each of these limitations provides opportunities for future research.

Because the oil industry's contemporary CSR efforts are strikingly similar (Frynas, 2009) and evidence shows that multinational organizations "act similarly in their development and dissemination of CSR messages" (Snider, et al., 2003, p. 185), it is tempting to widely generalize this study's findings. My research, however, explored a single CSR campaign from one company. To verify and extend my findings, future research should compare Chevron's CSR to its oil industry counterparts' campaigns, or to up-and-coming companies with limited resources, less brand recognition, and fewer pressures from stakeholders. Research spanning a variety of industries would also add greater detail and depth to our knowledge of CSR as identification inducement.

This study is further constrained because it is temporally bound. While the *Power of Human Energy* campaign (launched in 2007) has continued longevity via the Internet, the

strategies Chevron uses and the values it embraces are tied to a certain time period, and thus to a particular corporate, political, social, and economic climate. As corporate priorities, stakeholder demands, and social needs change, CSR communication must also evolve. The flexibility and freedom of the Internet allow companies to edit, update, and add to campaigns at record pace; over time, these changes and updates can yield interesting insight into CSR communication. Thus a longitudinal study of a corporations' CSR communication could provide unique insight into how messages change and develop according to stakeholder pressure, legal rulings, crises, and public praise for CSR accomplishments.

Although my study offers detailed analyses of the strategies and tactics organizations use to *attempt* identification inducement, it cannot speak to whether these attempts are successful. To truly understand CSR as identification inducement, we must consider not only the actual corporate messages, but also how stakeholders react and respond to these messages. Thus future research should employ qualitative and quantitative research methods with actual stakeholders to examine which strategies and tactics actually induce identification.

Unfortunately the scope of this project did not allow me to consider visual identification inducement. Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign includes beautiful, striking imagery that may be another powerful way to induce identification. Aside from the unifying symbols strategy that vaguely hints at visuals' potential for inducing identification, Cheney's (1983b) and DiSanza and Bullis' (1999) typology does not evaluate imagery. While research has yet to explicitly link imagery and organizational identification, advertising literature alludes to its potential. Messaris' (1997) work in visual

persuasion explains that images capture stakeholders' interest, engage emotions, and shape

attitudes toward products, people, or even social causes, which are important to CSR.

Images are carefully crafted to elicit a range of responses from curiosity and trust to

inferiority and superiority. Mulvey and Medina (2003) further explain that an

advertisement's persuasiveness is enhanced by visuals that encourage consumers to

identify with a character in the ad. Echoing Cheney's common ground strategy, Mulvey

and Medina argue that similarities between the character and the consumer indicate a

greater chance of identification. The advertising literature thus provides promising clues

that imagery is important to organizational identification. Future research should examine

whether Cheney's (1983b) typology can provide insight into visual identification

inducements.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

Twenty-seven years ago, Cheney (1983b) first posited that organizations induce

identification by persuading individuals to embrace and espouse the organization's interests

and values as their own. Today, corporate communication and CSR campaigns cater to

wider, more complex audiences and use advanced, technical mediums. As such,

identification inducement has become a more versatile and wide-reaching tool for

contemporary organizations, particularly in the realm of CSR communication. By

espousing CSR, however, corporations open themselves not only to extremely beneficial

identification, but also to critique and criticism. With corporate image, reputation, and

competitive advantage at stake, companies strive to avoid criticism, negative publicity,

boycotts, and disassociation. Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign has proven to

be an interesting case study of these issues.

This study's three separate, interrelated levels of analysis provide several important insights into contemporary CSR campaigns. Organizations continue to utilize Cheney's (1983b) identification inducements, but are using more complex, versatile, and wide-ranging applications in contemporary campaigns, including eliciting identification via employee and outsider voices. Overall, this study shows that Chevron's *Power of Human Energy* campaign extensively and strategically uses CSR messaging to induce identification, especially by focusing on inclusion, avoiding controversy, and espousing shared values.

Corporations' use of CSR to induce identification, however, can be a double-edged sword. On one hand, as companies recognize the strategic value and potential profits tied to CSR and identification inducement, the practice will become increasingly popular. Corporations will benefit from improved stakeholder loyalty and support, and society will benefit from ever-growing corporate investments in CSR. On the other hand, CSR communication's use of identification inducements can become damaging or even dangerous to society. CSR messages are easy to embrace—they are positive, non-controversial, and inclusive. Most importantly, the messages do not ask stakeholders to *do* anything (beyond identifying with the company)—at least, not right away. By eliciting identification in the present, an organization simultaneously shapes a strong foundation for the future. As stakeholders identify with an organization, they are likely to make future decisions based on what is best for the company (Cheney, 1983b). In other words, organizations use CSR and identification to "prime the pump of public opinion" (O'Connor, 2006b, p. 280). By focusing on positive, inclusive messages, organizations

escape controversy, but also train stakeholders to embrace the company's interests in future disagreement or debate (Bostdorff & Vibbert, 1994).

CSR as a means of organizational identification inducement is also dangerous because it allows individuals to vicariously enact good deeds. Without personal effort or investment, for example, stakeholders join the effort to educate children in Venezuela or fight AIDS in Africa. Before long, stakeholders can grow complacent; their identification with the company overpowers any questions or criticism. With their own voices effectively silenced, stakeholders cannot raise alternative voices. In time, the corporate agenda—unimpeded by questions and critique—will shape society's agenda as well.

In Chevron's case, voices continue to battle. The *Power of Human Energy* campaign continues to carry Chevron's corporate voice, persistently and eloquently singing the praises of the company's CSR:

> We're in the energy business, but we're also in the showing kids new worlds business. And the start-up capital for barbers business. And the this won't hurt a bit business. Because we don't just work here, we live here. There are our families, and our neighbors. And by changing lives, we're in more than the energy business.
>
> We're in the human energy business.

As the epic environmental lawsuit in Ecuador continues, however, another kind of human energy story is emerging. Native voices cry, "We were once the guardians of all the richness of the Amazon. Today we are the guardians of contamination. We are the guardians of poverty. We are the guardians of sickness" (ChevronToxico, 2003). Now, backed by a petition from 325,000 supporters from more than 150 countries around the world, the natives' voice is growing louder (Chevron in Ecuador, 2010). "The ecological

devastation...is of unimaginable proportions, apocalyptic proportions. What [Chevron] did here is inhumane, criminal and unforgivable" (ChevronToxico, 2003). "Chevron needs to take responsibility and clean up the Amazon" (Chevron in Ecuador, 2010).

Amidst our insatiable demand for oil (Kaldor et al., 2007) and our energy-exhausting lifestyle, we often overlook those who are allegedly forced to sacrifice their waters, forests, homes, health, and even their lives for oil. After all, it's easier to ignore the voices than to hear and help them. "You don't need to alter your lifestyle much to protect baby seals or punish Kathie Lee for supporting sweatshops, but you might need to suffer inconveniences—like higher gas prices, energy-conservation efforts and new taxes for alternative-fuels research—if better energy policies were adopted" (Mass, 2005, p. 2). These are sacrifices that many Americans are not yet willing to make (Rutledge, 2006). Perhaps we want to believe corporations' CSR messages, want to be snuggled comfortably alongside the company in its cloak of virtue, because we—by association and through no personal sacrifice or effort—are virtuous as well. This is the extreme power of CSR as identification inducement. Researchers, practitioners, and society must continue to question, to critique, and to criticize contemporary CSR campaigns, and to keep an ear attuned to alternative voices. As corporations respond to stakeholder demands for CSR by developing elaborate, expensive, identification inducement-laden CSR communication campaigns, we must remember that "response-*ability*...does not necessarily entail responsibility" (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 261; emphasis original).

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APPENDIX A

Table 3

Chevron's Power of Human Energy Campaign Elements

Element	Title	Message Summary
Advertisements		
Video (:30)	Energy Economy	Chevron's energy innovations can "fuel" growth around the world and "get the economy humming again."
Video (:30)	Our Business	Chevron is in more than the energy business. It's in the "human energy business."
Video (:31)	Conservation	Chevron is improving its energy efficiency. "Will you join us?"
Video (:31)	Tomorrow	To find the energy to power the future, we must put our differences aside and consider all options.
Video (1:04)	New Frontiers	Chevron uses "human energy" to power the search for cleaner, smarter ways to use energy.
Video (1:04)	The Impossible	Chevron utilizes innovation and technology to "power the world right now," as well as search for future energy solutions.
Video (1:04)	Renewable Energy	Chevron is committed to renewable energy; it's the largest producer of geothermal energy in the world.
Video (2:30)	Untapped Energy	The world's population is growing fast, and "every one of us will need energy to live." Chevron is leveraging the "power of human energy" to find a way to achieve the impossible: finding newer, cleaner ways to fuel the future.
***Human Energy* Stories**		
Video (1:50)	Introducing Girls to Science	Chevron's program encourages girls to study science and engineering.
Interactive graphic	Liquefied Natural Gas: How it Works	Chevron uses advanced technology to liquefy natural gas and ship it around the world.
Video (2:47)	Producing Oil in the Gulf of Mexico	Chevron is working to tap "vast deepwater energy resources" in the U.S. Gulf of Mexico with its Blind Faith Platform.
Video (2:21)	Putting Innovation to Work	Chevron's venture capital team invests in and partners with 30 start-up companies. Together

they develop innovations and new technology.

Table 3 continued

Element	Title	Message Summary
Video (3:09)	Caring for Nature on Barrow Island	Chevron has been producing oil on Australia's Barrow Island for over 40 years, all-the-while also working to protect and preserve the island's fragile wildlife and ecosystems.
Video 1 (3:12) video 2 (3:14) video 3 (3:11) video 4 (3:20) video 5 (7:36)	Inspiring Students to Learn	The Chevron and Discovery Channel Global Education Partnership bring the "power of educational television" to students and communities. Each of the five videos highlights a program in Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, and Venezuela.
Video (2:21)	Building the Giant Agbami Vessel	Chevron details the immense constructions challenges of developing the giant Agbami Field, one of the largest deepwater offshore fields in Nigeria.
Video (2:45)	Visit Our Green Building	Chevron embraces "green" construction. Its Northpark office building in Louisiana is the first LEED gold-certified building in the state.
Video (1:58)	See Our Expansion in Kazakhstan	Kazakhstan's Tengiz field is one of the world's top 10 crude oil fields, and one of the most difficult to produce. Chevron's innovation, technology, and workforce is up to the challenge.
Interactive graphic	Deep Water Drilling: How it Works	Chevron overcomes great challenges and utilizes complex technology to tap oil beneath the ocean floor. The graphic explains the process.
Video (1:59)	Addressing Climate Change	Chevron's experts on climate change are helping the company reduce greenhouse gas emissions and improve energy efficiency.
Video (2:32)	Saving by Going Solar	Chevron helps the Contra Costa Community College District in Northern California reduce greenhouse gas emissions and improve energy efficiency with an elaborate solar panel system.
Interactive graphic; slideshow (2:03)	Producing Geothermal Energy	Chevron is world's largest producer of geothermal energy. The graphic explains how the process works, while the slideshow explains the impact of geothermal energy on local communities.

Table 3 continued

Element	Title	Message Summary
Interactive graphic; video 1(1:29) video 2 (1:52) video 3 (1:58) video 4 (1:24) video 5 (1:32) video 6 (1:52) video 7 (1:42)	Delivering Energy, Respecting Nature	The series of graphics and videos details Chevron's work in one of Indonesia's largest national parks—the Gunung Halimun Salak National Park, where Chevron not only produces geothermal energy, but also works to protect the park's ecosystems.
Video 1 (1:39) video 2 (2:39) video 3 (1:07) video 4 (1:58) video 5 (1:22) video 6 (1:18)	Fighting HIV/AIDS	Chevron explains its HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention work around the world. Each video is another "chapter" in Chevron's efforts to fight the disease.
Slideshow (2:02)	A Look at Chevron Volunteer Week	Thousands of Chevron employees jumped at the chance to volunteer at nonprofits during Chevron's Volunteer Week. The slideshow details Chevron employees' work at a San Francisco food bank.
Slideshow (1:17)	Promoting Diversity	Chevron partners with OUTSOURCE to recruit diverse, top-quality employees from local communities.
Slideshow (1:43)	Saving Energy with Vanpools	Chevron employees embrace conservation and energy efficiency efforts by carpooling to work via Chevron's vanpool program.
Video (4:28)	Pushing the Limits of Technology	Chevron uses "imaginative and innovative" technology to "produce energy and improve lives."
Video (4:10)	Caring for South Africans with AIDS	Fifty percent of the Dunoon, South Africa community suffers from AIDS. Chevron, along with local partners, established the Dunoon Home Community Based Care Center to care for home-bound AIDS patients.
Video (2:22)	Gorgon: Investing in the Future	Chevron's Gorgon Project on Australia's Barrow Island produces liquefied natural gas, but also leads conservation efforts on the island.

| Video (2:12) | Chevron Uses Energy Efficiently | Chevron has increased its energy efficiency by 28% since 1992. The video explains how they reached this mark. |

Table 3 continued

Element	Title	Message Summary
Video (1:27)	Producing Oil in Angola	Chevron's Tombua-Landa deepwater project off of Angola's coast is one of the world's tallest human-made structures. The video explains the immense efforts used to safely construct and install the 1,554 feet tall tower.

Source: Chevron, 2010. Materials retrieved January 4-8, 2010 from http://www.chevron.com.