Monsanto's and Chevron's home pages in the US and the UK: Corporate discourse as a reflection of social trends?

Fanny Domenec

Université Sorbonne-Paris IV (France) fanny.domenec@u-paris2.fr

Abstract

This paper is based on the premise that the analysis of company discourse from the perspective of English for Specific Purposes contributes to the discovery of a specialized culture and bears witness to the values of a given period. Previous studies have shown that the media and the public react differently to environmental and technological controversies in the United States and in the United Kingdom. It is thus relevant to assess how the specialized community formed by technological risk companies is impacted by the cultural context. This paper focuses on the specialized discourse produced by two American companies involved in agricultural biotechnology and oil production -Monsanto and Chevron, respectively – in specific sociocultural contexts. More precisely, their British and American websites are analyzed so as to determine how their form and content are influenced by public concerns. Differences in form and content between the American and British websites can be said to reflect specific corporate responses to the controversy in different contexts. Company discourse should thus be considered as a reflection of social trends, as the rhetorical strategies implemented by Monsanto and Chevron vary depending on the local audience. It is assumed that this particular aspect of company discourse reflects the specificity of the discourse community formed by technological risk companies within the corporate world.

Keywords: discourse analysis, company discourse, web genres, specialized languages, technological risk companies.

Resumen

Los sitios web de Monsanto y Chevron en los Estados Unidos y en el Reino Unido: zel discurso empresarial como testigo de las preocupaciones del público?

Este estudio parte de la premisa de que el análisis del discurso empresarial desde la perspectiva que ofrece el IFE contribuye al descubrimiento de una cultura especializada al tiempo que da fe de los valores de una época determinada. Diversos estudios anteriores han demostrado que los medios de información y el público reaccionan de manera diferente en los Estados Unidos y en el Reino Unido ante los conflictos de naturaleza tecnológica. Por tanto, resulta pertinente estudiar el impacto del contexto cultural sobre la comunidad especializada constituida por las denominadas empresas de riesgo tecnológico. Este trabajo se centra en el discurso especializado que se produce en el seno de dos empresas americanas dedicadas al negocio del petróleo y de la biotecnología (Chevron y Monsanto) en contextos culturales específicos. En concreto, trata de analizar los sitios web británicos y americanos de estas dos polémicas empresas con el fin de establecer los efectos de las preocupaciones del público sobre la estructura y el contenido de los sitios. Las diferencias en la forma y el contenido identificadas en los sitios americanos y británicos permiten caracterizar el comportamiento de una comunidad profesional directamente concernida por la controversia. Así pues, habría que considerar el discurso de empresas como el reflejo de fenómenos de sociedad. Las estrategias retóricas utilizadas por Monsanto y Chevron muestran una variación que obedece a los usuarios locales al tiempo que atestiguan la evolución de las preocupaciones relativas a la controversia tecnológica y medioambiental. Nuestra hipótesis es que esta especificidad del discurso corporativo refleja la particularidad de la comunidad discursiva formada por la industria del sector de riesgo tecnológico, en el seno del mundo de la empresa.

Palabras clave: análisis del discurso, discurso corporativo, géneros web, lenguas especializadas, empresa de riesgo tecnológico.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the American and British home pages of two American multinationals involved in agricultural biotechnology and oil production - Monsanto and Chevron, respectively. Providing virtually universal access, corporate home pages (CHPs) represent a capital showcase for a company's identity. They are also flexible tools that can be tailored to particular communication needs. Following Swales (1990), we assume that a single discourse community can display various communicative purposes within a single genre, by adapting it to public expectations. Indeed, it seems that adaptation to the local context is a major challenge for oil and agricultural biotechnology firms whose activities are perceived differently in Europe and in the United States. Consequently, this study aims to compare the form, content and rhetorical strategies of the British and American home pages of Monsanto and Chevron to assess the impact of the local context on corporate discourse.1 Monsanto's homepages are presented in Appendices 1 and 2, respectively. The homepages for Chevron's websites are presented in Appendices 3 and 4.

This paper is organised as follows: the first section defines the category of "technological risk companies" within the corporate world. A review of the literature on web pages and their function in corporate communication is then presented. Next, the methodology used for this study is explained. Results regarding the specific form and content of Monsanto's and Chevron's American and British websites are included and a discussion of the findings concludes the paper.

"Technological risk companies" and legitimacy issues

The phrase "technological risk companies" does not refer to a standard category. Though the very concept of risk has become mainstream in corporate management literature, it seems that agricultural biotechnology and oil companies combine different types of risks, which makes them specific within the corporate world: beyond the financial risks induced by investment in state-of-the-art research and development projects, these industries are involved in activities that raise concerns regarding their impact on human health or the environment: Monsanto's implication in genetically modified organisms (GMOs) feeds into the controversy over non-genetically modified crop contamination and subsequent impacts on biodiversity and human health. Among others, Chevron has recently made the headlines for environmental damage in Ecuador or the development of "hydraulic fracturing".2

One could argue that other sectors, namely the pharmaceutical industry, are also involved in potentially polemical technological innovations. However, Chevassus-au-Louis (2007) and Hommel and Godard (2002) have

underlined a different risk/benefit ratio for the pharmaceutical and the seed industry: indeed, the activities of the former are primarily conceived as curing diseases and hence meant to bring "tangible" progress, which is not obvious for the latter. Similarly, several environmental organizations present unconventional resources and fossil fuels as unnecessary and replaceable, calling for the development of alternative energies. One should also distinguish between "risk" companies and "sin" companies (Isani, 2010: 108). It is now publicly acknowledged that the effects of the tobacco, alcohol or gambling industry are harmful, which explains that "responsible gaming", "responsible smoking" and "responsible drinking" are now included in the companies' discourse. In contrast to this public acknowledgement, oil and agricultural biotechnology companies strive to prove critics wrong and regain public confidence by presenting their activities as harmless and even beneficial to mankind.

The efforts to counter negative perceptions account for the inclusion of legitimacy strategies in Monsanto's and Chevron's communication. In the last decades, the "legitimacy theory" has become a major tool to analyze corporate disclosures (Campbell, Craven & Shrives, 2003; Patten & Crampton, 2004; Branco & Rodrigues, 2006). Based on a "social contract", the legitimacy theory implies that:

(...) an institution must constantly meet the twin tests of legitimacy and relevance by demonstrating that society requires its services and that the groups benefiting from its rewards have society's approval. (Shocker & Sethi, 1973: 97)

Following O'Donovan (2002) and Tilling (2004), former analyses (Domenec 2009 & 2010) have underscored a "chronic" use of legitimating tools that could be specific to technological risk industries: though particular events have occasionally put Monsanto and Chevron under the spotlight, the polemic surrounding their activities primarily suggests a lingering trust deficit. For agricultural biotechnology and oil multinationals, regaining legitimacy consists in constantly reminding the public of the final purpose of their activities, that is to say, help to solve major problems for the world's population - hunger or need for energy. Potential environmental and sanitary risks are hence expected to be mitigated through the continuous reference to sustainable agriculture or sustainable energy production in corporate discourse, more specifically on the companies' websites.

Corporate websites and corporate communication: background literature

Several studies have focused on the characteristics of webgenres that have considerably renewed traditional genres of discourse. Indeed, beyond typical formal and structural features, websites are also shaped by "functionality", described by Shepherd and Watters (2004: 239) as "the capabilities afforded by this new medium [the World Wide Web]". The "navigation tools or links that branch off the website as a whole" (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005: 128) are the most obvious examples of website functionality that can be used to serve specific communicative purposes.

Other studies have focused on the henceforth fundamental role of corporate websites in corporate communication strategy. Some authors have underscored the advertising and marketing content of these communication tools (Salam, Rao & Pegels, 1998; Perry & Bodkin, 2000). However,

[c]ompanies have employed website technology for an increasing number of purposes. These have included marketing, selling (Lymer 1999), reporting (Xiao et al. 2002; Marston 2003) and, in a recent study (Adams & Frost 2003), reputation management was cited as a possible function. (Campbell & Beck, 2004: 100)

In the conclusion to their paper devoted to "restorative websites", Campbell and Beck (2004: 100) suggested addressing "disclosure strategies for reputation management where (...) gaining or maintaining reputational or social legitimacy might be a prominent motive". In fact, it seems that unlike the one-shot "responses to public allegations of specific ethical malpractice or faux pas" (Campbell & Beck, 2004: 100) analyzed in former studies, the legitimizing stance is constitutive of technological risk companies' everyday communication on the Web.

Chevron and Monsanto have a distinct website for their British audience, hence the importance of the concept of localization for this paper. Previous studies devoted to website localization mainly focused on translation issues: Sandrini (2005: 131) defines the concept of localization as "adapting a product to a particular locale", the latter being characterized as "a group of people who share a language, a writing system and other properties which may require a separate version of the product". Similarly, Perrault and Gregory (2000: 229) contend that "[b]y far, the most prevalent topic in website globalization is that of language and translation", while Adams and

Frost (2004: 37) associate websites with "a unique set of communication problems with respect to language barriers". However, it seems that these conceptions of localization omit potential differences among communities speaking the same language, especially English, as

[t]he strength of English lies in the fact that it does not represent just one culture or one way of life alone, at least not in its present form; it is being used as a vehicle for communicating several cultures, several ways of conducting the way of science and technology, discussing issues and negotiating realities in trade, management, commerce, economics and politics. (Bhatia, 1997: 315)

Indeed, in the United Kingdom and in the United States, technological risk companies are confronted to various public reactions to their activities. Levy and Kolk (2002: 280) accounted for "divergent pressures on [oil] companies headquartered in different countries":

One possible explanation for the differences among the oil companies is thus that climate strategies are formulated in the context of cognitive frames and regulatory systems reflecting home country environments. It is widely believed, for example, that European consumers and regulators are more concerned than their American counterparts about the natural environment, and are more likely to make economic sacrifices for environmental benefits.

Biotechnology companies have also had to face different public reactions in Europe and in the United States: in 2008, Patrick Geffray³, former chief executive of Monsanto France, acknowledged "two different perceptions", which he attributed to "prejudice against American food" and "doubts concerning regulatory authorities". Botelho and Kurtz (2008: 22) underlined the impact of news coverage of biotechnology in the USA and in the UK on public acceptance or rejection of the issue.

In this paper, we would like to extend the concept of localization to cultural, and not exclusively linguistic, criteria. Monsanto's and Chevron's ".com" websites are "the most likely URL used by an interested stakeholder" (Campbell & Beck, 2004: 104) and hence represent both American and global reputational websites. By contrast, ".co.uk" websites are specifically targeted to British stakeholders. We have chosen to focus more specifically on the CHPs of the websites: defined as "personal or organizational information plus links to other pages reflecting the subject's interests that are intended to introduce the person or organization to the world and to

facilitate further contact" (Crowston & Williams 2000: 208), the CHPs constitute the very first presentation of companies. As such, they are fundamental for the global corporate reputation. CHPs have been characterized by Shepherd and Watters (2004: 237) as "web pages describing the interests and ambitions of companies whose purpose for existing is to make profit through selling some product or services". Santini (2006: 35-37) mentioned an "easy" or "stable" web genre that can be "unambiguously perceived" by users. Indeed, Luzón (2002: 52) identified the most frequent elements found on CHPs:

(...) copyright information, legal notices/ terms of use/ online privacy statement, positive announcements and news headings related to the company, links to corporate news and information and economic information about the company, showcase, adverts of new products, "choose a country" feature, e-mail contact, additional information about the company (training, events, seminars, jobs), offer of free of charge products and services.

Askehave and Nielsen (2005: 124) also underscored a highly specific hybrid purpose of CHPs, characterized by promotional and informational features:

(...) the homepage (...) displays an interesting mixture of promotional features intertwined with content information where for example pictures, sound, music and animation are combined with enticing summaries of web site contents to make the user stay and explore the site (...) we often see the following characteristics of newspaper discourse on the homepage as well: small summaries, key words, catchy headlines, tables, frames, attentionseeking photos and information value attached to the placement of elements (e.g. the inverted pyramid format and given information on the left and new information on the right).

Admittedly, Monsanto's and Chevron's corporate home pages include stable features. Yet, they do not seem to serve a uniquely informational or promotional purpose as they may also represent major legitimization tools for risk companies.

The questions raised in this paper are thus the following ones: To what extent do Chevron's and Monsanto's home pages display long-term reputation management, aimed to legitimize the company's activities? Do the strategies implemented on the CHPs vary depending on the target audience of the website?

Method

To answer these questions, this paper relies on the field of English for Specific Purposes and builds on the work undertaken by Askehave and Nielsen (2005: 120), who suggested "an extension of the Swalesian genre model that takes the digital characteristics into account".

The case study first focuses on website access using the Google search engine which is the most commonly used search engine (Pan et al., 2007). We assume that the analysis of the quick links and short descriptions that appear in the search engine can provide useful insight into the companies' presentation on the Internet. So, we entered the names of Monsanto and Chevron, first on <www.google.com>4, the international version of the search engine, then on <www.google.co.uk>, the British version, to see whether the user had access to the same website, and to compare the information available before accessing the website. For this analysis, the short description and quick links to Monsanto's and Chevron's websites were compared with a sample of six other companies: Microsoft, Apple, Johnson and Johnson, Wells Fargo and Company, AT&T, Pfizer. These firms were chosen because they frequently appear in the top ten companies of the FTSE4Good Index. As such, we assume that they do not suffer from the same image deficit as technological risk companies. Differences in corporate communication could thus provide an insight into the specific handling of environmental and technological controversies by the biotechnology and oil industry.

The second part of the analysis focuses on the form and content of the British and international home pages. We focused on the general layout of the CHPs and the distribution of visual and textual elements, for example pictures, titles, short summaries and texts to characterize the global structure of the CHPs. "Functionality" was also taken into account to examine the organization of information through tabs and hyperlinks. Regarding the content of CHPs, this study relies on the elements identified by Luzón (2002) and Askehave and Nielsen (2005). More specifically, the rhetorical values attached to visual (logo, colors, layout, pictures, photos and main tabs) and textual elements (catchy headlines, small summaries, and all the words to be found on the homepage) were studied. The visual elements were classified according to their symbolic value in the context of the environmental and technological controversy. The textual elements were classified according to their main communicative purpose. Four main categories were identified:

information, which is typical of home page content; addresses to the reader, which echo the interactivity provided by Web tools; storytelling, when text features the stories of "real people"; and controversy, when referring to polemics involving the company. The same operation was conducted for the six reference websites. Finally, the AntConc software was used in order to determine potential differences in the terminology used on the British and American websites: the "Word List" and "Keyword List" functions allowed us to check whether some terms were preferred in specific geographical contexts.

Results

Specific access to Monsanto's and Chevron's global and local websites

The search for "Monsanto" and "Chevron" on <www.google.com> provided direct access to the global websites of the companies. Below the link to the website, a short description of the companies and a selection of hyperlinks were included:

<www.monsanto.com>

If there were one word to explain what Monsanto is about, it would have to be farmers. It is our purpose to help them meet the needs of a growing population ...

Show stock quote for MON

Careers - Investors - Products - Contact us

<www.chevron.com>

Chevron works to meet the world's growing demand for energy by exploring for oil and natural gas; refining and marketing gasoline; producing chemicals and ...

Show stock quote for CVX

Careers Contact

Gifts & Credit Cards Fuels & Stations Find a Chevron Station Our Businesses

Chevron Worldwide Investors

Though there are more hyperlinks to Chevron's website, the main entries are similar and target specific audiences: future employees ("Careers"), investors, customers ("Our Products" for Monsanto and "Fuels and Stations" for Chevron), various stakeholders ("Contact"). The main entries correspond to what was found for the six reference websites (see Appendix 5), yet, differences in the short description were highlighted by the comparative analysis: for the six reference companies, the short descriptions are purely informational, while Chevron's and Monsanto's focus on the argument of global demand to justify the need for the companies' activities. In addition, the use of a specific corporate website for the UK seems marginal in the reference corpus, as only Pfizer has a distinct website. The template for <www.pfizer.com> and <www.pfizer.co.uk> is actually similar, which seems to underscore a strategy of globalization, rather than localization. By contrast, access to Monsanto's and Chevron's websites differs when using <www.google.co.uk>: the British version of Monsanto's CHP is completely independent from the global website and there is only one "entry gate" – the link to the homepage⁶. The general description of the company differs from that provided on <www.google.com> through the focus on innovation. However, the motive of the farmer and the argument of global demand echo the short description of the global website:

Monsanto is an agricultural company. Farmers around the world use our innovative products to address on-farm challenges and reduce agriculture's overall ...

Access to Chevron's British website evolved significantly over the period of this study: in August 2011, the URL for Chevron's British website was <www.texaco.co.uk>. The use of the name Texaco is specific to the UK: Chevron and Texaco merged in 2001, forming the Chevron Texaco Company. However, since 2006, the company has been known as Chevron Corporation, Texaco representing only a brand of the company⁷. There is only one direct link to the website, and a specific short description, totally different from the one found on <www.google.com>:

Texaco in the UK. Among the top ten North Sea producers, the company is the fourth largest petrol retailer in Britain (...) Welcome to Chevron in the UK ...

The focus on the companies' activities corresponds to the traditional template of short descriptions, also found in the reference corpus. However, the choice of "Texaco" for the British website raises the issue of brand perception, brand being defined as "what the consumer thinks and feels and visualizes when he or she sees the brand's symbol or name" (Batra, Myers & Aaker, 2009: 333). For a British audience, the company's website logically refers to the "everyday brand", regardless of financial mergers. The localization strategy is all the more visible in the reference to the company's rank on the European market. Interestingly however, the short description of <www.texaco.co.uk> specifies "Welcome to Chevron in the UK", suggesting a hybrid strategy of globalization and localization.

Layout and structure: the importance of symbolic images on the global CHPs

Analysis of the textual and visual content of the CHPs also reveals local differences in terms of structure, through dissimilar uses of words, sentences and images (see Table 1).

Website	Words	Sentences	Pictures
www.texaco.co.uk	228	10	1
www.chevron.com	143	4	7
www.monsanto.co.uk	833	27	2
www.monsanto.com	342	5	7

Table 1. Numbers of words, sentences and images on the four websites studied.

The most obvious difference between the British and global websites lies in their layout: the former feature a "vertical" layout - with hyperlinks included alongside long chunks of text – while the latter exhibit a horizontal layout – with series of images and illustrations of various sizes which convey an impression of dynamism. Another striking feature of global websites is the limited number of sentences and the preference for one-word tabs, triggering non-linear reading:

(...) the hypertext system places certain constraints on the reading pattern, which results in a new kind of reading referred to as "hyper-reading" (...) hypertext reading [is] regarded as non-linear (where the reader filters, skims and scans the text), and traditional text reading [is] regarded as linear. (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005: 126)

The amount and choice of pictures also differ between global and British CHPs. Apart from two relatively small pictures of a frog and a leaf on <www.monsanto.co.uk> to illustrate the issue of biodiversity, there are very few pictures on British websites. The symbolic motive of the green leaf is also featured at the bottom of Chevron's British home page and the hyperlink leads to a page entitled "Save more than fuel", where users from various countries can find advice regarding fuel consumption. Not only pictures are more numerous on global websites, but they also highlight different aspects: global websites exhibit pictures focusing on individuals – three on <www.monsanto.com>, five on <www.chevron.com>. In the latter case, these pictures are a direct echo to Chevron's motto "The Human Element". Global websites also celebrate innovative products emphasizing technological innovation. For example, on <www.monsanto.com>, four pictures out of eight represent seeds, symbolizing the technological innovation at the core of the company's activities. Similarly, Chevron's global CHP includes two pictures centred on modern techniques for energy production and exploration. Interestingly, as opposed to the green leaf hyperlink found on its British website, Chevron's global website offers the image of a car as a hyperlink to the page "Save more than fuel". The choice of pictures representing people who benefit from their products and innovations seems to exemplify the legitimacy stance adopted by the two companies on their global websites.

Textual content: specific communicative purposes depending on the context

Beyond a dissimilar visual content, the analysis of the catchy headlines and small summaries also reveals different communicative purposes on the global and local websites (see Table 2). Out of the four categories presented in the method section - information, addresses to the reader, storytelling, controversy - "controversy" appears as specific to technological risk companies in specific contexts: frequent references to "opinions" and "concerns" were found on <www.monsanto.co.uk>, while the home page of <www.monsanto.com> features a tab "News and Views", which includes a section "Issues and Answers". As regards Chevron, controversy is restricted to the American home page: the bottom right of <www.chevron.com> is devoted to the Ecuador trial in which Chevron has been involved for more than a decade but this issue is not mentioned on <www.texaco.co.uk>.

Website	Information	Storytelling	Reader address	Controversy
www.texaco.co.uk	Х	Χ	Χ	Х
www.chevron.com	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ
www.monsanto.co.uk	Χ	Χ	Χ	Χ
www.monsanto.com	Χ		Χ	

Table 2. Textual elements in Monsanto's and Chevron's American and British CHPs.

Hence, we may suggest that risk companies do not have a global communication strategy regarding polemical issues, but adapt their discourse depending on the target audience and the impact of the controversy. Indeed, though dissimilar, the communication strategies identified on the CHPs could reflect the overwhelming importance of the environmental and technological controversies in Monsanto's and Chevron's specialized discourse. The neutral tone and the choice of the Texaco brand for Chevron's British website may illustrate a strategy of distancing from the company's upstream operations (for example, exploration and production of oil and gas). By contrast, the explicit acknowledgement of the controversy on <www.monsanto.co.uk> underscores that the company takes into account public concerns and builds its communication strategy in response to these fears. The two American websites feature a more direct response to concerns related to their activities, through a specific hyperlink leading to a page where the company's view on polemical issues is presented.

Lexical choices: specific terminology to refer to the companies' activities in different contexts

Finally, the lexical analysis of the textual content of the CHPs also reveals important differences between the global and local websites. The keywords for <www.monsanto.co.uk> and for <www.texaco.co.uk> are presented in Table 3 and Table 4, respectively. To keep only the most relevant results, we focused on keywords with a minimum keyness of 4. Personal pronouns and possessive adjectives were included as they pertain to the interactivity specific to web tools.

Frequency	Keyness	Keyword	Frequency
13	14.949	Biotechnology	5
10	11.499	Biotech	5
9	10.349	Click	3
9	10.349	Crops	6
8	9.199	Gm	2
7	8.049	Here	2
7	8.049	Uk	2
13	6.478	About	2
4	4.600	Site	2
4	4.600	You	2

Table 3. Keywords on <www.monsanto.co.uk> (Reference corpus: <www.monsanto.com>)

Frequency	Keyness	Keyword
5	11.810	Is
5	11.810	UK
3	7.086	Registered
6	4.914	Texaco
2	4.724	England
2	4.724	Its
2	4.724	Lubricant
2	4.724	Move
2	4.724	Name
2	4.724	Petroleum

Table 4. Keywords on <www.texaco.co.uk> (Reference corpus: <www.chevron.com>)

On Monsanto's CHPs, the main differences lie in the terminology used to describe the company's activities: on <www.monsanto.com>, no clear reference to biotechnology was found and the multinational is presented as an "agricultural company", which leaves the polemical nature of biotechnology in the shadows. The words "agriculture" and "food" are used to refer to the company's activities, but they are not associated with the adjectives "genetically modified" ("gm"), "genetically engineered" or "biotech". On <www.monsanto.co.uk> however, the words "biotechnology", "biotech" and "gm" were found 13, 10 and 8 times, respectively, which underscores a very different perspective on the company's products.

Similarly, keywords for <www.texaco.co.uk> include "lubricants" and petroleum", while <www.chevron.com> favours vaguer references to "energy". Such terminological choices suggest a more precise focus on the company's project in the British context. Another feature on Chevron's British CHP is the recourse to impersonal references to the company through the frequent use of "its" or "be" in the third person. These choices stand in sharp contrast with the first-person adjective "our" found on <www.chevron.com>. It thus seems that the European context triggers a more neutral communication strategy, focused on information, rather than on interaction.

Discussion: the influence of the controversy on the generic features of CHPs

Industry-specific communicative needs: the hegemony of the market argument

Monsanto's and Chevron's websites obviously represent "symbolic behaviours (...) to improve how the company is perceived" (Hargis & Watt, 2010: 77), which is not the case for the six FTSE companies. On all four websites, the argument of global demand and community involvement echoes the "hegemony of the market" argument identified by Kleinman and Kloppenburg (1991: 432): the latter is described as a specific discursive element put forward by Monsanto to promote its activities by presenting agricultural biotechnology as beneficial not only to the firm, but also to the community. Indeed, frequent references to farmers, portrayed as needing the company's technology, were found on <www.monsanto.com> (7 references) and on <www.monsanto.co.uk> (7 references). The reference to farmers underscores "alliances or affiliations with other businesses that have a

positive reputation" (Hargis & Watt, 2010: 79) and contributes to the "creat[ion] [of a] unique reputation". Similarly, the use of the name Texaco in a British context suggests a positive local reputation linked to a specific corporate identity. The focus on the company's involvement in "UK society" and "community" echoes the hegemony-of-the-market argument. On <www.chevron.com>, references to the adjective "human" and the verb "agree" were found five and four times, respectively, suggesting that the human motive is also a key communication tool for Chevron through the slogan "Human Energy".

Beyond the argument of global demand, other instances of a legitimization strategy were found on the four websites. The link to the "Drive Smarter" page is common to Chevron's American and British home pages, presenting the company as a responsible actor that shares public concerns regarding the environment. In addition, by focusing on consumers' behaviour, these links may aim to distract attention from the company's potential responsibility for pollution. The four homepages also insist on the companies' community involvement, whether at a local or global level, justifying their presence worldwide. As such, they also aim to "consolidate the image of the sender" (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005: 130).

Country-specific strategies: the influence of website localization on **CHPs**

The analysis also highlights specific local strategies, common to Monsanto and Chevron. The inclusion of social networks (Facebook, Twitter or YouTube) is restricted to Monsanto's and Chevron's American home pages. This may indicate a deliberate effort to create a more personal relationship with the user, while the absence of social networks and of a search engine tool on the British websites causes them to be left with a more synoptic function. Moreover, the use of pictures and references to people on <www.chevron.com> and, to a lesser extent on <www.monsanto.com>, adds an emotional dimension: these "real people" personalize the need for technological progress or explicitly state their satisfaction with the companies' activities. The specific use of human figures contrasts with Perry and Bodkin's (2000: 94) conclusions, who found that "[t]he component utilized most often was non-person, indicating that inanimate objects were pictured most often on the Fortune 100 Web sites". The "Human Element" thus appears as a major visual perception tool on the American home pages -even if it is also highlighted in the textual content of Monsanto's British CHP.

The focus on the "Human element" on Monsanto's and Chevron's websites can be associated with the importance of storytelling in risk companies' communication strategies: the testimonies of real people are used as emotional vectors to convince the user of the need for the company's products. One notable exception, however, is the Texaco website which does not refer to the "Human Energy" slogan or to specific individuals.

The lexical analysis underscores specific communication strategies depending on the target audience. The more frequent use of "biotech[nology]" on the British website could be explained by the negative perception associated with the phrase "genetically modified": in a document entitled "Understanding Consumer Perceptions of Food Technology and Sustainability" available on the IFIC (International Food Information Council) website, terminology is described as a key factor affecting consumer attitudes toward food technology. "Genetically modified", "genetically engineered" or "genetically altered" are labelled as "negative phrases", while "food biotechnology" or "genetically improved" are labelled as "better phrases". The frequent occurrences of "biotech[nology]" on <www.monsanto.co.uk> seem to have a euphemistic function, enhanced by the absence of reference to technology on the global website.

Results also seem to indicate a different approach to the environmental and technological controversies: frequent references to "opinions" and "concerns" were found on <www.monsanto.co.uk>, featuring a reactive strategy. It seems that, confronted with widespread defiance regarding biotechnology in Great Britain, the company has used the local website as an "advocacy tool". Hence, it is presented as a pedagogical response to public concerns, as showed in the subtitle: "Food Biotechnology is a matter of opinions. Monsanto believes you should hear them all". Though this acknowledgement does not seem necessary in the United States, where "consumers usually do not question the presence of GMOs"8, the "News and Views" hyperlink on <www.monsanto.com> actually gives access to a section "Issues and Answers" where Monsanto "answer[s] questions that critics have levied against [the company]"9. Similarly, it seems that Chevron has decided to take a clear stance on the Ecuador issue through the section "Ecuador Lawsuit" accessible from the global CHP. The absence of reference to the trial on <www.texaco.co.uk> might be explained by the difference in branding, as the use of the Texaco brand in the UK may distance the local branch from its parent company. These findings contrast

with the conclusions of Campbell and Beck (2004: 110) who identified not only "case-by-case", but also "concealed" responses:

Companies did not make their responses (or presumably the fact that they had been accused of 'sin') immediately obvious to casual visitors to their websites. Interested visitors usually had to 'click around' to find the company's discussion of the subjects in question. (...) This finding, although perhaps not surprising, indicates that unless a visitor wishes to know specifically about the 'sin', he or she may visit and leave the website without knowing anything about it.

Indeed, results suggest that technological risk companies have openly integrated the controversy in their operational communication, despite a specific handling of the environmental and technological controversies depending on the target audience.

The distribution of hyperlinks on the CHPs illustrates different purposes. Containing fewer hyperlinks, <www.texaco.co.uk> is designed as an informational document to be used in a "reading mode". As such, it provides "a condensation of the most important information on the site and serves as a swift, brief, and scannable site introduction" (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005: 130). Conversely, the global home pages and that of Monsanto UK feature various hyperlinks and are meant to be used in the navigating mode:

The purpose of all web documents in the navigating mode is to provide access to relevant web pages and web sites, i.e. to act as a means of transportation allowing the reader to travel the World Wide Web moving from one web page or web site to another. (Askehave & Nielsen, 2005: 131)

Finally, different uses of Web functionalities illustrate various communicative purposes for the CHPs under study, ranking from traditionally informational and promotional purposes to legitimizing and/or defensive strategies (see Figure 1). British CHPs feature highly dissimilar responses to the environmental and technological controversies. <www.texaco.co.uk> corresponds to traditional models of CHPs with informational and promotional content, while <www.monsanto.co.uk> appears as a restorative website, meant to rehabilitate the biotech industry as a whole. By contrast, the communicative strategy displayed on the American websites is more consistent, even though <www.chevron.com> adopts a clearly defensive stance regarding the Ecuador trial.

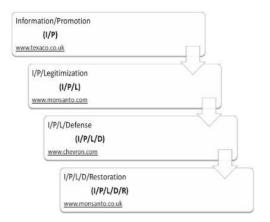


Figure 1. Communicative purposes of Monsanto's and Chevron's CHPs.

Conclusion

Results show that CHPs are highly flexible tools and confirm that genre analysis cannot be dissociated from a cultural perspective. Indeed, this analysis supports Levy and Kolk's (2002: 281) statement that "[w]ithin the [multinational company] itself, strategies and practices developed in the home country are not necessarily transmitted evenly to all subsidiaries."

Dissimilar short descriptions and entry gates to Monsanto's and Chevron's websites underscore a localization strategy that was not identified in the reference corpus. Moreover, detailed analysis of the CHPs evidences country-specific features in terms of general structure: the use of pictures, search bars, social networks and non-linear reading appears as characteristic of the global CHPs. In terms of content however, no consistent strategy, whether local or company-specific, was found. As a matter of fact, each company's CHPs feature a specific attitude regarding environmental and technological controversies, depending on the local context. The lack of coherence between the strategies adopted supports the view that "[e]ach company's unique history and culture affects its response to institutional pressures" (Levy & Kolk, 2002: 281). Heterogeneity in corporate discourse hence points out that the concept of localization cannot be restricted to linguistic criteria: despite the status of lingua franca of the English language, lexical and syntactic choices differ depending on the target audience. From

an English for Specific Purposes perspective, findings support Swales' (1990) statement that a single genre can adapt to different communicative purposes.

Further research could focus on the other perception management tactics available on corporate websites, for example, the interactive games found on <www.chevron.com> related to energy saving, or the election of America's Mom of the Year on <www.monsanto.com>. The characterization of the form and content of these documents could provide relevant insight into the evolution of corporate webgenres in a context of controversy. Besides, additional comparisons with other local and global CHPs could provide insight into the issues of translation and representation of national cultures. Finally, an extended comparison with other European websites could illustrate the impact of local public perceptions on technological risk companies' communication.

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Fanny Domenec, a former student of the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan, has recently presented her PhD dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Catherine Resche (CELTA, EA 3553). Her research is focused on the linguistic policies and practices of "technological risk companies" (more specifically oil and biotechnology companies), and on the progressive shift from crisis communication to risk communication. After a Master's degree in English for Specific Purposes, she passed the Agrégation in 2008.

NOTES

- ¹ This research was undertaken during the second quarter of 2011 and due to the flexible nature of web tools, some results may no longer be accurate.
- ² "Hydraulic fracturing", a technique used to extract shale gas is highly polemical, especially in Europe.
- ³ Interview with Yann Fichet, Director of Industry and Governmental affairs for Monsanto France, conducted April 23 2009.
- ⁴ The Google USA websearch tool was also used and the results were similar to <www.google.com>
- ⁵ By comparing the words that appear in the corpus under study to a "reference corpus", the Keyword List tool generates a list of "Keywords" that are unusually frequent (or infrequent) in the target files.
- ⁶ The main link gives access to a general homepage with links to seven websites. I chose to focus on the first suggested link, labelled "Monsanto Imagine / Biotechnology", which appeared most relevant for a comparison with Monsanto's global website.
- ⁷ Though Chevron lubricants are sold in the UK under the brand "Texaco", the Texaco station services can be operated by other energy companies. In August 2011, after this study was conducted, Valero purchased Texaco-branded wholesale sites in the UK. Hence, the site <www.texaco.co.uk> is now related to Valero and no longer to Chevron. Interestingly however, it still appears when one enters "chevron uk" in the Google search engine.
- ⁸ Interview with Patrick Geffray, former General Manager for Monsanto France, conducted March 10 2009.
- 9 http://www.monsanto.com/newsviews/Pages/monsanto-business-practices.aspx

Appendix 1: Homepage for <www.monsanto.com> as of June 11, 2011



Appendix 2: Homepage for <www.monsanto.co.uk> as of June 21, 2011



Appendix 3: Homepage for <www.chevron.com> as of August 2, 2011



Appendix 4: Homepage for <www.texaco.co.uk> as of July 21, 2011



Appendix 5: Access to other corporate websites from <www.google.com>, as of August 2, 2011

Company	Hyperlink "Careers"	Hyperlink "Investors"	Hyperlink "Products"	Hyperlink "Contact"	Description
Microsoft					Get product information, support, and news from Microsoft.
Apple					Apple designs and creates iPod and iTunes, Mac laptop and desktop computers, the OS X operating system, and the revolutionary iPhone and iPad.
Johnson and Johnson	X	X	X	X	New Jersey-based multi-national manufacturers of pharmaceutical, diagnostic, therapeutic, surgical, and biotechnology products, as well as personal hygiene
Wells Fargo	X				Wells Fargo is a provider of banking, mortgage, investing, credit card, insurance, and consumer and commercial financial services.
AT&T				X	AT&T is a leader in telecommunication services, including cell phones, wireless, U- verse, digital TV, high speed internet, DSL, home phone,
Pfizer	X	X		X	Pfizer Inc: The world's largest research-based pharmaceutical company. Pfizer Inc discovers, develops, manufactures, and markets leading prescription