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Coca-Cola vs. Obesity
Visual Communication in CSR Advertising and Legitimacy Management

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Objective of the study

This study aimed to analyze how the Coca-Cola Company, the leading beverage brand in the United States, used multimodality to legitimize its position in an anti-obesity advertisement named Coming Together, and how Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), a public health advocate group, used a parody version of the same advertisement to illegitimate the company. The more specific focus was given on how the advertisement and the parody perceive legitimacy and in which ways they are building or questioning it.

Methodology and the Analytical Framework

The study utilized a theoretical framework combining legitimacy and CSR advertising theories. The framework considers legitimacy to be the ultimate goal of CSR, and indicates how legitimacy has an influence on what kind of responsibilities the companies should address. In addition, it focuses on advertising of corporate social initiatives, such as the Coming Together campaign, and discusses the different factors influencing on consumer scepticism. The data of the study, two videos, was analysed with the qualitative methods of systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis, since it enabled to reveal the socio-political connections of the videos instead of focusing only on their content.

Findings and Conclusions

The main findings of the study revealed that the Coca-Cola Company aimed to build procedural legitimacy in its Coming Together advertisement by embracing concrete actions, which they believed to be in line with the general perception of accurate methods to support healthy habits. By focusing on these actions, it shifted the attention from the obesity issue as such, and aimed to diminish the linkage between obesity and its beverages altogether by framing the beverages to be part of a healthy and active everyday life. The parody version's perspective on legitimacy was fundamentally different in comparison to the original version. Instead of criticising the represented actions as such, CSPI focused on questioning the structural legitimacy of the company by pointing out issues that can decrease the moral support of the public. With this perspective, it framed the Coca-Cola Company to be a hypocritical organization that only aims to increase its own sales with the advertisement.

Keywords multimodality, visual, communication, CSR, advertising, parody, obesity, skepticism

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Tutkimuksen tavoitteet

Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli selvittää, kuinka Coca-Cola-yhtiö, Yhdysvaltojen johtava virvoitusjuomabrändi, käytti multimodaalisuutta legitimoidakseen asemaansa liikalihavuuden vastaisessa Coming Together –yritysvastuumainoksessa, ja kuinka Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), terveyttä edistävä non-profit organisaatio, käytti parodiaverstiota samasta mainoksesta illegitimoidakseen yhtiötä. Tutkimus keskittyi erityisesti siihen, miten mainos ja sen parodiaversio näkivät legitimation ja millä tavoin ne rakensivat tai kyseenalaistivat sitä.

Tutkimusmenetelmät ja analyyttinen viitekehys

Tutkimus hyödynsi teoreettista viitekehystä, jonka mukaan legitimation saavuttaminen on yritysvastuun ensisijainen tavoite ja näin ollen legitimaatio vaikuttaa siihen, minkälaista vastuuta yrityksen tulisi ottaa. Tämän lisäksi viitekehys käsittelee yritysvastuukampanjoita, kuten Coming Together, ja esittelee kuluttajien skeptisyyteen vaikuttavia seikkoja. Tutkimuksen aineisto, kaksi videota, on analysoitu laadullisella diskurssianalyysimenetelmällä, joka mahdollisti myös laajempien sosio-poliittisten yhteyksien havainnoinnin sisällön lisäksi.

Tutkimuksen tulokset ja johtopäätökset

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että Coca-Coca -yhtiö on pyrkinyt Coming Together-mainoksellaan rakentamaan proseduraalista legitimaatiota, sillä mainoksessa esitellään yrityksen konkreettisia toimenpiteitä terveellisen elämäntavan edistämiseksi. Näihin toimenpiteisiin keskittymällä Coca-Cola pyrkii siirtämään huomion pois itsestään liikalihavuuskeskustelussa ja osoittamaan, että virvoitusjuomat ovat osa terveellistä ja aktiivista elämää.

Parodiaversion näkemys legitimaatiosta perustavanlaatuisesti erilainen alkuperäismainokseen verrattuna. Parodiaversio ei sinänsä kritisoi Coca-Cola -yhtiön toimenpiteitä, vaan keskittyy kyseenalaistamaan yrityksen rakenteellisen legitimaation kertomalla seikkoja, jotka voivat heikentää yleisön moraalista tukea. Tämän näkökulman avulla non-profit organisaatio pyrkii kuvaamaan Coca-Cola -yhtiötä tekopyhänä organisaationa, joka pyrkii mainoksellaan vain lisäämään omaa myyntiään.

Avainsanat multimodaalisuus, visuaalinen, viestintä, yritysvastuu, mainonta, parodia

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1   Introduction

In today's world, people are becoming more and more concerned about the different risks concerning health, safety, security, and environment. For example, poor eating habits and obesity have been issues of public concern already for several years worldwide. Although tobacco-related diseases remain the top public health threat (Dorfman, Cheyne, Friedman, Wadud & Gottlieb, 2012), overweight and obesity are the leading risks for global deaths (World Health Organization, 2014).

The discussion about how obesity could be tackled, and who is responsible for it, is on-going especially in the United States, where sugar-sweetened beverages (SSBs) are the single greatest source of added sugar in the American diet (Time Ideas, 2011), and soft drink consumption is significantly associated with obesity (Basu, McKee, Galea & Stuckler, 2013). Even though there are also other factors that cause obesity, the beverage companies are held increasingly responsible for playing a part in the obesity issue because of their connection to it (Schrempf, 2014, p. 302).

This discussion has expanded the social visibility of beverage industry and consequently increased the pressure on beverage companies to act in socially desirable manner, and to provide more information in certain areas of social responsibility (Branco & Rodrigues, 2006). One reason for this is that especially in the United States corporations are expected to demonstrate higher social responsibility than, for example, in Europe (Maignan & Ralston, 2002). In addition, the general level of what companies must do to be considered socially responsible is higher than a few years ago (Arvidsson, 2010).

As a response to these expectations, also beverage companies have increased the communication about their corporate social responsibility (CSR), for example with massive marketing campaigns, in order to strengthen their legitimacy in the eyes of the consumers (Arvidsson, 2010). This choice is supported by the previous research, which claims that CSR can be an excellent tool to enhance the legitimacy of the company among its stakeholders (Maignan & Ralston, 2002), and to improve the social responsibility images (Sen & Bhattachraya, 2001).

Still, this route to legitimacy is not as straightforward as the management in beverage companies would hope. The increasing, and partly conflicting, information about social issues, such as obesity, increase consumers' suspicions towards the demonstrated CSR actions, and may trigger skepticism towards the company's CSR engagement (Skarmeas & Leonidou, 2013). This skepticism may lead to mistrust towards the company (Ingenhoff & Sommer, 2011), and therefore even weaken the legitimacy. Hence, overcoming this skepticism is one of the key issues in CSR communication.

1.1 Research problem and questions

Relatively many studies in the recent years have focused on discussing legitimacy, CSR communication and skepticism (see for example Skarmeas & Leonidou, 2013; Colleoni, 2012; Forehand & Grier, 2003; Dawkins, 2004; Pomering & Johnson, 2009; Arvidsson, 2010). Still, hardly any of them have focused on how visual communication can support legitimation and possibly decrease skepticism, even though it is as important as words to create meaning and make claims about companies' non-financial activities (Breitbarth, Harris & Insch, 2010). In general, visual messages are mostly neglected in the previous studies of CSR communication (Garcia & Greenwood, 2013; Rämö, 2011; Breitbarth et al, 2010), and the few studies conducted have been focused on the use of pictures in CSR reports (see for example Garcia & Greenwood, 2013; Norton, 2012; Rämö, 2011; Breitbarth et al, 2010).

Also the obesity discussion is an uncommon context for CSR communication research, since health professionals have conducted most of the studies concerning anti-obesity campaigns. For example, Dorfman et al. (2012) compared the soda and tobacco industry corporate social responsibility campaigns, and Puhl, Luedicke and Peterson (2013) studied the public reactions to obesity-preventing health campaigns made by the government officials.

However, few studies concerning health-related CSR campaigns have been made from communication and marketing perspective. For example, Raudenbush (2011) studied in her thesis how young adults defined corporate social responsibility in the context of the Pepsi Refresh campaign, and Norton and Avery (2011) made a case study on the Pepsi Refresh Project, where they among other objectives explored the risks and rewards of

engaging in cause-marketing programs. Also Iivonen and Moisander (2014) from Aalto University have studied how the American Beverages Association (ABA), the trade organization for the American non-alcoholic beverage industry, seeks to manage the dialog and relationship between beverage companies and their key stakeholders in the obesity discussion. Still, none of these studies have focused on the visual communication of the CSR campaigns.

This gap is partly filled with this study, which aims to analyze how Coca-Cola Company, the leading beverage brand in the United States, is using multimodality to legitimize its position in an anti-obesity advertisement video named Coming Together, and how Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), public health advocate group, is using a parody version of the same advertisement to illegitimate the company. While there are several perspectives that could be used to meet this aim, it was decided to focus on how the advertisement and the parody perceive legitimacy, and in which ways they are building or questioning it. On the basis of this purpose, the following research questions have been formed:

1. *How does the Coming Together advertisement, and in the parody made of it, perceive legitimacy?*
2. *What kind of responsibilities the videos address?*
3. *In which ways the videos aim to increase or decrease consumer skepticism?*

In order to answer these questions, a theoretical framework combining legitimacy and CSR advertising theories is used. The framework considers corporate legitimacy to be the ultimate goal of CSR, and it indicates how the perceived legitimacy therefore influences on what kind of responsibilities the companies are expected to address. In addition, it focuses on advertising of corporate social initiatives, such as the Coming Together, and discusses the different factors influencing consumer skepticism. The data of the study was analysed with the methods of systemic-functional multimodal discourse analysis, since it enabled to reveal the socio-political connections in the videos instead of focusing only on their content. In addition, this research method has mostly been ignored in the earlier studies concerning visual communication of CSR.

All in all, the previous studies have so far mostly neglected to study visual communication in the context of CSR communication, and in anti-obesity campaigns in general, and that gap is partly filled with this study. Because the theoretical background of this study is a combination of CSR communication and legitimacy management theories, it will provide both new insights for CSR communication and legitimacy management research, as well as for corporate communication professionals, who are planning similar kinds of social responsibility campaigns.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

In this first chapter the need for beverage industry's legitimation in the obesity issue have been discussed, and it has been concluded that corporate social responsibility communication is considered to be a sufficient tool to meet this need. The introductory chapter has also indicated that there is need for further research on visual communication of CSR and stated the main objectives of this study.

The second chapter will present more widely the earlier literature and theories related to the topic. In the first section the concept and importance of corporate legitimacy as well as different legitimacy types are introduced. In the second section it is explained how corporate legitimacy affects corporate citizenship. In the third section it is discussed, how engaging into corporate social initiatives is a common tool for a company to demonstrate its corporate citizenship, and how there are several ways to communicate about these initiatives. After that in the fourth section it is explored how especially CSR advertising often has to face consumer skepticism, and which factors the corporate communicators should take into consideration in order to overcome this skepticism and achieve their final goal, corporate legitimacy. In the fifth and final section it is then explained, how these previous sections form the theoretical framework of this study.

The third chapter will introduce the wider context of the obesity discussion from four different perspectives: government and municipalities, non-governmental organizations, media and consumers, and the beverage industry. After this the case organizations, the Coca-Cola Company and Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), as well as the advertisements acting as a data are introduced.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the research methods of this study. At first the chapter introduces the two theoretical perspectives, discourse analysis and semiotics, which in combination form the basis for the methodological approach used in this study. Then the chapter discusses this approach, systemic-functional multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA), and introduces individually three semiotic metafunctions that are used to analyze the semiotic resources of the data. After that the different ways of information linking, as well as the levels of analysis, are introduced. In the end of the chapter the trustworthiness of the study is discussed.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the analysis conducted in this study. The two videos are discussed separately in order to highlight the similarities and differences between them. The results are discussed through the three metafunctions, ideational, interpersonal and textual, with illustrative examples from the data, and at the end of each subsection there is a paragraph summarizing the results of the analysis. In addition, in the end of this chapter there is a section summarizing the results from both videos in order to improve their comparability.

The sixth chapter discusses how the results relate to the theoretical framework and earlier literature, and what kind of answers they provide to the research questions. The chapter is divided into three parts that follow the structure of the theoretical framework. The first one discusses the videos in the light of corporate citizenship (research question two (2)), whereas the second focuses on how the results can be seen in relation to the factors influencing consumer skepticism (research question three (3)). The third and final part draws conclusions about how the results are influencing on the perceived legitimacy and hence answers to the research question one (1).

The final chapter summarizes the study and discusses its limitations and practical implications. In addition, it gives suggestions for the future research.

2 Literature review

This chapter will introduce the existing literature regarding corporate responsibility from the perspective of corporate legitimacy. It is divided into two main parts. The first part focuses on the concept of organizational legitimacy, and especially on moral legitimacy, and discusses how it can be achieved through corporate citizenship. The second part concentrates on how corporate responsibility can be communicated with marketing initiatives, such as Corporate Social Marketing, and discusses the different factors influencing on consumer skepticism towards CSR advertizing. Finally, the chapter introduces the theoretical framework used in this study.

2.1 Corporate legitimacy as a goal

Legitimacy has been an important theme in several organization studies related to corporate responsibility issues (e.g. Colleoni, 2013; Long & Driscoll, 2008; Thomas & Lamm, 2012), since it is generally considered to be the desired outcome of CSR activities (Colleoni, 2013). The theory as such is based on the idea that there is a "social contract" between business and society (Branco & Rodriques, 2006). Majority of existing literature uses Suchman's (1995, p. 574) definition of legitimacy as "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions." In other words, legitimacy is considered to be a social judgment of acceptance, appropriateness, and/or desirability (Zimmerman & Zeist, 2002, p. 416) that can be achieved by meeting the stakeholder needs and values for example through CSR (Holder-Webb, Cohen, Nath & Wood, 2009). The actions related to increasing, maintaining or defending legitimacy are often referred with the term of *legitimation,* which can be defined as "a speech act of defending oneself by providing good reasons, grounds or acceptable motivations for past or present actions that has been or could be criticized by others " (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 255). Hence, the term of legitimation is also used in the research questions.

2.1.1 Forms of corporate legitimacy

The previous research has identified three broad forms of legitimacy: pragmatic, cognitive and moral (Suchman, 1995). The first form, pragmatic (also referred as strategic) legitimacy, is defined by the self-interested calculations of the organization's

most immediate audiences (Suchman, 1995; Long & Driscoll, 2008). In the context of corporate responsibility it can be characterized as the extent to which the organization believes that corporate responsibility offers practical benefits, such as reduced costs or risks (Thomas & Lamm, 2012, p. 193).

The second form, cognitive legitimacy, is based on cognition rather than on interest or evaluation (Suchman, 1995), and legitimacy is achieved through cultural alignment and imitation of what is already considered legitimate, without active engagement of the organization (Scott, 2001; Long & Driscoll, 2008). This kind of legitimacy relies on subconscious, taken-for-granted assumptions that the organization and its actions are inevitable and necessary (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006).

The third form, moral (also referred as sociopolitical and normative) legitimacy, reflects a positive normative evaluation of the organization and its activities, given the existing laws and norms (Suchman, 1995; Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Scott, 2001). Koppell (2008, p. 182) describes it from the point of view of authority and defines it as a "function of beliefs about what entitles an institution to wield power." Moral legitimacy rests on judgments about whether the activity is "the right thing to do", so it is achieved by giving and considering reasons to justify certain actions, practices, or institutions (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006, p. 73). These judgments usually reflect beliefs about whether the activity promotes societal welfare (Suchman, 1995). This welfare is defined by the audience's socially constructed value system, and norms and values regarding various practices of specific industries can further specify those of the larger society (Suchman, 1995; Zimmerman & Zeist, 2002).

From these three forms, the description of moral legitimacy is the most suitable for this study, because moral legitimacy is seen as the core source of societal acceptance (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006) and it is therefore most related to the CSR activities. The evaluation of moral legitimacy can take four different forms: *consequential, procedural, structural* and *personal* (Suchman, 1995; Palazzo & Scherer, 2006). The first three forms are briefly described below, but the fourth one is left without further notice, because it mostly related to personal charisma of individual organizational leaders. Leaders or representatives are

not introduced in the data of this study, so therefore the personal legitimacy is irrelevant for this study.

In the first form, consequential legitimacy, the evaluation is focused on specific outputs and consequences of the organization's operations (Suchman, 1995). In other words, in this perspective the legitimacy of an organization depends upon its achievement of stated or assigned objectives (Koppell, 2008); in this case, the results of its actions to decrease obesity.

This might be more difficult to measure, and in that case it is might be more profitable for the organization to aim for the second form, procedural legitimacy, through embracing socially accepted techniques and procedures (Suchman, 1995). In the case for Coca-Cola Company, this refers to the various programs and concrete actions that they are taking to decrease obesity, and how they are in line with the general perception about the accurate methods. It is good to notice that even when the outcomes are easily measured, it is still quite common that more positive moral value is given to the proper means and procedures, such as the programs (Suchman, 1995).

The third type of moral legitimacy, structural legitimacy, refers to how morally favored the structural characteristics of the organization are. This determines if the audiences see the organization as valuable and worthy of support (Suchman, 1995). In this context it means the norms and policies that Coca-Cola Company might have created in order to decrease obesity. If Coca-Cola is seen as structurally legitimate organization, it can become the representative of public confidence, because it is "the right organization for the job", even though that sense of rightness can have more to do with corporate image rather than with demonstrations of its organizational competence (Suchman, 1995).

2.1.2 Imperative for legitimacy

The increased knowledge about different risks, such as obesity, has also increased the importance of reaching moral legitimacy (Colleoni, 2012). Legitimate organization is seen more worthy, meaningful, predictable and trustworthy (Suchman, 1995), so aligning the corporate behavior with the current stakeholder expectations is necessary to guarantee the corporation's continued existence (Colleoni, 2012). Without agreement among those

who would evaluate the organization, moral legitimacy is effectively impossible to achieve (Koppell, 2008).

The success of this agreement relies heavily on communication between the organization and its stakeholders, but this relationship can be problematic, because it requires satisfying or even recognizing the mix of constituent demands (Suchman, 1995). These demands are based on underlying values that can be highly temporal, and therefore the operational environment is far from static (Holder-Webb et al, 2008; Cambell, 2007). Hence, it is crucial that the organization is perceived positively in the public mind for a long time (Lamin & Zaheer, 2012), and that it is engaged in the public discussion, even though the demands of different stakeholders might seem over-exaggerated. The failure to anticipate in the evolving stakeholder values can lead to serious consequences (Werther & Chadler, 2005) and those organizations who lose legitimacy, find it difficult to enter into the process of social exchange as their partners do not rely on their compliance with social rules (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006).

Nowadays, the expectations and demands from stakeholders are closely based on the assumption that all organizations are embedded in a wider environment, which affects both performance of the firm and expectations towards it (Werther & Chadler 2005). Hence, citizens are increasingly demanding that corporations justify and legitimate not only their economic actions, but also their social and environmental actions in the general public sphere (Colleoni, 2012). One way for a company to address these social demands is to engage itself in corporate citizenship, which is introduced more in detail in the following section.

2.2 Towards legitimacy through Corporate Citizenship

As briefly discussed earlier, corporate citizenship is considered as economic imperative in today's business world, and stakeholders already take for granted that companies engage in it (Ingenhoff & Sommer, 2011). In addition, corporate citizenship can be used to improve corporate image (Yoon, Gürhan-Canli & Schwarz, 2006), and through that influence the public policy, as in the case of Coca-Cola Company. Earlier research also shows that it has a positive effect on the firm value (see for example Cai, Jo & Pan, 2012). Still, the actual definition of corporate citizenship varies throughout organizations,

industries and market areas. In this study, corporate citizenship is used as a synonym for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), which can be defined as "a commitment to improve community well-being through discretionary business practices and contributions of corporate resources." (Kotler, Hessekiel & Lee, 2012, p. 5).

How can a company then be considered as a good corporate citizen? One answer is provided by Carroll (1998, p. 1), who states that good corporate citizenship has four faces: an economic face, a legal face, an ethical face, and a philanthropic face. Based on this model, good corporate citizens are expected to be profitable, obey the law, engage in ethical behavior, and give back through philanthropy (Carroll, 1998). The ethical face of corporate citizenship is now introduced more in detail, since this study elaborates on the ethical side of Coca-Cola Company's activities.

In order to achieve the ethical face of good corporate citizen, companies need to operate in an ethical fashion instead of just only carrying their own weight by being economically successful and obeying the law (Carroll, 1998). This also entails that the organization demonstrates both authentic commitment to the community and transformation as a consequence of that civic participation instead of merely supporting socially desirable causes (Saiia & Cyphert, 2003). In other words, an ethical corporate citizen is more interested in what should be done than what is being done and is engaged in strong ethical values and practices (Carroll, 1998). If the authentic commitment is compromised, and consumers become suspicious about the true motive for the CSR activity, it can actually backfire and leave the company with more negative image than would be the case without the CSR activity (Yoon et al, 2006).

How could the Coca-Cola Company then demonstrate its ethical face in the context of obesity discussion? Schrempf (2014, p. 321-322) provides an alternative for this through a model that identifies four types of responsibilities that companies in fast-food industry should address:

1. *Action responsibility:* Any concrete behavior that supports environmental changes and leads to favorable conditions to fight obesity. In practice this could mean adapting product ingredients (such as replacing sugar with sweeteners) in

global scale; enlarging product scale and including healthier options; and adapting marketing strategies with the goal to use less seducing tools to attract children.

2. *Information responsibility:* Balanced communication provided about the corporations' products and their effects. Even though also beverage companies are already providing information about the nutritional value of their products, the consumers are still more focused on labels such as "light" due to the fact that the nutrition tables overwhelm them. Therefore, companies should be cautious when adding labels on their products.

3. *Damage Control Responsibility:* Activities that help to minimize and decrease the consequences of obesity. One example of these could be to support the research and development in the pharmaceutical industry regarding overweight and obesity-related medicaments.

4. *Participation responsibility:* Cooperation with other stakeholders in the network. These cooperative actions can also be referred as multi-stakeholder initiatives (MSIs), in which "actors from business, civil society and governmental or supranational institutions come together in order to find a common approach to an issue that affects them all and that is too complex to be addressed effectively without collaboration" (Roloff, 2007, p. 234). In this context, these MSIs could aim to develop for example child marketing standards.

One common and effective way for the company to communicate about its commitment in addressing these responsibilities is to integrate CSR into its marketing efforts and focus on specific social issues, such as health, safety, education, employment and environment (Dawkins, 2004; Sheikh & Beize-Zee, 2011). These marketing efforts, usually referred as corporate social initiatives (CSI), are introduced more in detail in the following section.

2.3   Corporate Social Initiatives as a tool of CSR communication

There are three categories of drivers that explain the focus on the CSI initiatives: the competitive advantage factor, the new moral marketplace factor and the comparative advantage factor (Hess, Rogovsky & Dunfee, 2002, p. 112). The first one, competitive advantage factor, refers to the benefit to corporate reputation assets that can protect the company both in the time of crisis and when entering to new, unfamiliar markets. The second one, new moral marketplace factor, includes the increased pressure to provide information on the social impact of all the corporate activities, for example in the form of social reporting, and to keep up with the actions of competitors. The third and final one, comparative advantage factor, refers to the advantage that firms have over governments in being able to respond to certain problems through their unique competencies. (Hess et al., 2002.) In the case of this study, it seems that the second factor has been the main driver for Coca-Cola Company's actions since the on-going discussion about the linkage between beverage consumption and obesity has encouraged the company to report about the social impact of its products.

These CSI initiatives can also be categorized based on their type of support. Kotler et al. (2012) have identified six marketing and corporate social initiatives with which the corporations can support social causes and communicate their commitments to corporate social responsibility: cause promotion; cause-related marketing; corporate social marketing; corporate philanthropy; workforce volunteering; and socially responsible business practices. The first three of them are considered to be Marketing-Driven Initiatives, which are developed and managed by the corporation's marketing function, whereas as the latter three, Corporate-Driven Initiatives, are developed and managed by other corporate functions (Kotler et al., 2012, p. 21).

This study elaborates on the initiative of corporate social marketing (CSM), in which the corporation supports the development and/or implementation of a behavior change campaign intended to improve public health, safety, the environment, or community well-being (Kotler et al., 2012). This definition describes the Coming Together campaign in a suitable way, because the aim of the program is to encourage consumers to implement a healthier lifestyle and to address a specific issue, obesity. It also seems that the selection

of this issue has been influenced by the connection to the Coca-Cola Company's core business, soft drinks, and growing, alarming trend – obesity. However, it is good to note that in practice, also the Coming Together campaign is a hybrid combination of several streams of initiatives.

In addition to addressing the expectations of the stakeholders, the Coca-Cola Company can achieve other benefits by engaging in CSM campaign such as Coming Together. It can strengthen its brand positioning, create brand reference, build traffic, and increase sales (Kotler et al., 2012). And if the credibility of the campaign is perceived as high, it can also positively affect consumers' decisions to engage in the intended prosocial behavior and increase customer loyalty to the company (Inoue and Kent, 2013).

There are several channels for companies to communicate about the CSM campaign. For example reports, social media, internet, product labels, sponsorships, events, advertising are all commonly used. This study uses video advertisement as a data, so the next section will concentrate on advertising as a CSR communication channel.

2.4   Communication challenge of CSR advertising

CSR advertising aims to support positive CSR identity, so it is based around cues that claim the company is committed to address its responsibilities as expected by the stakeholders (Pomering & Johnson, 2009). It is considered to be an effective communication tool especially when the company wants to engage with the consumers, since consumer evaluations of the company's CSR performance are contingent upon the information received (Pomering & Johnson, 2009).

The earlier literature has distinguished two forms of CSR advertising: persuasive and informational advertising. Persuasive advertising aims to influence consumer opinions by introducing products with CSR attributes, such as organic produce or Fair Trade, whereas informational CSR advertising mostly provides information about the CSR characteristics or CSR managerial practices (Ludescher, McWilliams & Siegel, 2008). The persuasive advertising usually aims to promote corporate citizenship in general, so it might benefit other companies as well. Informational advertising, on the other hand, provides company-specific information, usually in the form of CSR reporting, and aims to increase the sales

of the company (Ludescher et al., 2008.) Ideally, companies can achieve the highest value of their activities by engaging to both forms of advertising, because persuasive advertising is needed to convince the stakeholders of the importance of CSR, and informational advertising to connect the activities explicitly to the company (Ludescher et al., 2008). In this study, the focus will be on informational CSR advertising, because it is more suitable to describe the data.

Although CSR advertising is an effective way to communicate about the company's CSR efforts, it also tends to raise skepticism in consumers (see for example Obermiller & Spangenberg, 1998; Forehand & Grier, 2003; Pomering & Johnson, 2009; Kotler et al., 2012), since they have a natural tendency to be more skeptical towards advertising than other information sources (Obermiller & Spangenberg, 1998; Pomering & Dolnicar, 2009). Therefore, it is one of the key challenges for the communicators to overcome or even prevent skepticism. This skepticism derives from the suspicion that CSR is something that the organization just talks about, but not act upon (Arvidsson, 2009; Ingehoff & Summer, 2011), and it is more likely to occur if the represented actions are not in line with the stakeholder expectations and values (Ingenhoff & Summer, 2011).

In this study, skepticism is defined broadly as consumer distrust or disbelief of marketer actions, which may include the motives of the marketer, specific advertising claims, and other public relations efforts (Forehand & Grier, 2003; Obermiller & Spangenberg, 1998). Consumer skepticism is considered to have two distinct forms: situational skepticism, which is a "momentary state of distrust of an actor's motivations" and dispositional skepticism, which is an "individual's on-going tendency to be suspicious of other people's motives" (Forehand & Grier, 2003, p. 350).

Earlier studies have identified four main factors that have an effect on the tendency of consumer skepticism:

1. Fit of the cause

2. Earlier awareness and knowledge about the cause
3. CSR impact specificity and long-term CSR commitment
4. Timing and communication channel choices

First of them, *fit (also referred as match) of the cause*, can be defined as "a perceived link between a cause and the firm's product line, brand image, position, and/or target market" (Kotler et al., 2012, p. 125; Becker-Olsen, Cudmore & Hill, 2006, p. 47). It influences on how much thought people give to the relationship between the cause and brand, and what specific types these thoughts present (Becker-Olsen et al., 2006). The perception of this fit is based on the assumptions of the firm's motives to engage with the cause, since skepticism is more likely to be developed when the company's stated motives to engage with the issue are conflicting with the company's actions (Forehand & Grier, 2003). Hence, companies should pay special attention on the motives they communicate.

Previous studies (see for example Ellen, Webb & Mohr, 2006; Skarmeas & Leonidou, 2013) have shown that consumer's response is more positive to firm's actions when the motives are perceived to be value-driven and/or strategic. In other words, high-fit matches between the company and the cause gave the consumers the impression that the company truly desires to help as a normal part of its business, rather than just exploit the cause for its own egoistic purposes (Ellen et al, 2006). Accordingly, a lower fit is more likely to generate beliefs that the company is less credible, and that its motives are egoistic and/or stakeholder-driven, which contributes to the development of consumer skepticism (Ellen et al, 2006; Skarmeas & Leonidou, 2013; Kotler et al., 2012).

The second factor, *earlier awareness and knowledge about the cause*, refers to the amount of information that the consumers have before they are informed about the company's CSR actions. Since the social issues can be quite complex, consumers can lack familiarity with the social issues associated with the company's CSR efforts (Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001). This can hinder or even negate the expected positive outcomes of the social initiatives (Pomering, Johnson & Noble, 2013). Hence, it has been suggested that the companies should include social topic information in the CSR advertisement in order to make it more understandable (Pomering & Johnson, 2009). The need of specificity of this

information will depend on the level of audience expertise with the social topic(s) (Pomering et al, 2013).

The third factor, *CSR impact specificity and long-term CSR commitment*, affects how the consumers perceive the company's commitment to CSR. Therefore, companies should provide specific information detailing the long-term impacts of the company's CSR initiatives instead of abstract, non-specific information (Pomering & Johnson, 2009; Webb & Mohr, 1998), especially because most consumers do not proactively seek information on the company's ethical behavior even though they would consider the issue to be important (Dawkins, 2004). This specific information can increase the credibility of the message and give the impression that the company is engaged to strategic, institutionalized CSR (Pomering & Johnson, 2009). In addition, more specific information about the company's long-term CSR commitment has a statistically significant influence on overall skepticism toward the company's CSR advertising claims (Pomering et al, 2013), since consumers expect longer time commitments to lead to more value-driven attributions (Ellen et al, 2006). If the commitment is considered to be only for a short period of time, which can often be the case in campaigns such as Coming Together, consumers are more likely to think that the company is only meeting it's stakeholders expectations instead of acting on the values of the organization (Ellen et al, 2006).

While these three factors are more focused on the cause and its suitability to the company's CSR agenda, the fourth and final factor, *timing and communication channel choices*, is focused on when and how the message about the social initiative is delivered. Although companies mostly engage in social initiatives as a reaction to natural disasters, NGO pressures or other corporate crises (van Staden & Hooks, 2007), consumers would prefer proactive initiatives. It has been concluded that reactive social initiatives increase the number of negative thoughts focused on the company's motives and beliefs about the company's unreliability as well as decrease the likelihood of purchase intentions (Becker-Olsen et al., 2006). The communication about the initiatives should also be active, since "ongoing examples of action-oriented CSR commitments reinforce the belief that the firm means what it says" (Werther & Chadler, 2005, p. 323).

However, it is not enough that the communication about the initiatives is proactive, it also has to be conducted in the "right" channels. Even though consumers want to be informed what companies are doing and will support those that pursue CSR initiatives (Pomering & Dolnicar, 2009), they do not appreciate that companies are too "loud" about this engagement (Morsing, Schultz & Nielsen, 2008). For example, a study conducted in 2003 showed that the majority of the respondents considered that companies should make an effort to tell about their CSR activities to the consumers, but should not spend significant amounts on it (Dawkins, 2004, p. 114). Especially traditional advertising (such as television advertising) about CSR is very challenging, because many consumers perceive it as over-accentuating the good intentions of the company (Pomering & Dolnicar, 2009). Since consumers prefer minimal releases, such as annual reports and websites, in CSR communication, companies should consider carefully whether to engage in high-cost CSR advertising (Morsing & Schultz, 2006).

While communicators need to take these four factors into consideration, they should not forget the influence of other stakeholders. Critical consumers and advocacy groups can aim to increase the skepticism towards the company's CSR advertising for example by creating parody or spoof advertisements that can be defined as "an artistic work that broadly mimics an author's characteristic style" and makes fun of it (Zinkhan & Johnson, 1994, p. III). The aim of this kind of advertisement (such as the *Coming Together: Translated)* is to try to change the target audience's mind about the company or brand and the focus is on the message that is communicated often with sharp humor or parody (Berthon, Pitt & Cambell, 2008). As a phenomenon spoof advertising is as old as advertising itself, but especially the rise of video-hosting sites such as YouTube has truly liberated brand advertising from the exclusive control of the companies (Berthon et al., 2008).

All in all, advertising is a challenging communication channel for CSR, since it has a tendency to attract consumer skepticism more than other means of communication. That is why it is important for communicators to recognize the different factors influencing on the skepticism and keep them in mind while planning CSR advertising campaigns. However, it is good to note that everything cannot be controlled and other stakeholder,

such as activist groups and consumers, may aim to influence on the advertisement's target group. Therefore, CSR advertising, like the other forms of CSR communication, is a balancing act between the different needs and expectations of stakeholders. The next section will now describe how the previously mentioned factors, along with the legitimacy and corporate citizenship theories, form the theoretical framework for this study.

2.5   Theoretical framework

The theories introduced in the previous sections form the theoretical framework of this study, which is illustrated in the Figure 1. As was concluded in the first and second section of this chapter, corporate legitimacy (presented as a star in Figure 1) is the ultimate goal of corporate citizenship, since it is considered to be the social judgment defining the appropriateness of organization's actions. Therefore, it also has an influence on what is considered to be good corporate citizenship, and this influence is described with a dashed arrow in the upper part of Figure 1.

As it was concluded in Section 2.2, the CSR actions are often integrated with the firm's marketing efforts by focusing on certain issues through corporate social initiatives (CSIs). The callout in Figure 1 presents these initiatives and lists the different communication channels used in them. Since advertising describes the form of the data in this study, it is located in a separate callout.

Although advertising is considered to be an effective way to communicate about the CSR efforts to the society, the previous research has shown that especially CSR advertising often has to face consumer skepticism. This skepticism is influenced by four main factors: Fit to the cause; audience's earlier awareness and knowledge; impact specificity and long-term commitment; and timing and channel choices; which are illustrated with arrows in Figure 1. In addition, also other stakeholders can aim to influence in the consumer skepticism for example by creating parody advertisement, like in the case of this study.

Theoretically, if these factors are taken into consideration in the communication planning, and the advertising succeeds to overcome the obstacles increasing skepticism, greater corporate legitimacy can be achieved, as the bigger arrow in Figure 1 illustrates. The

following chapter will now introduce the case of Coming Together campaign and its context.
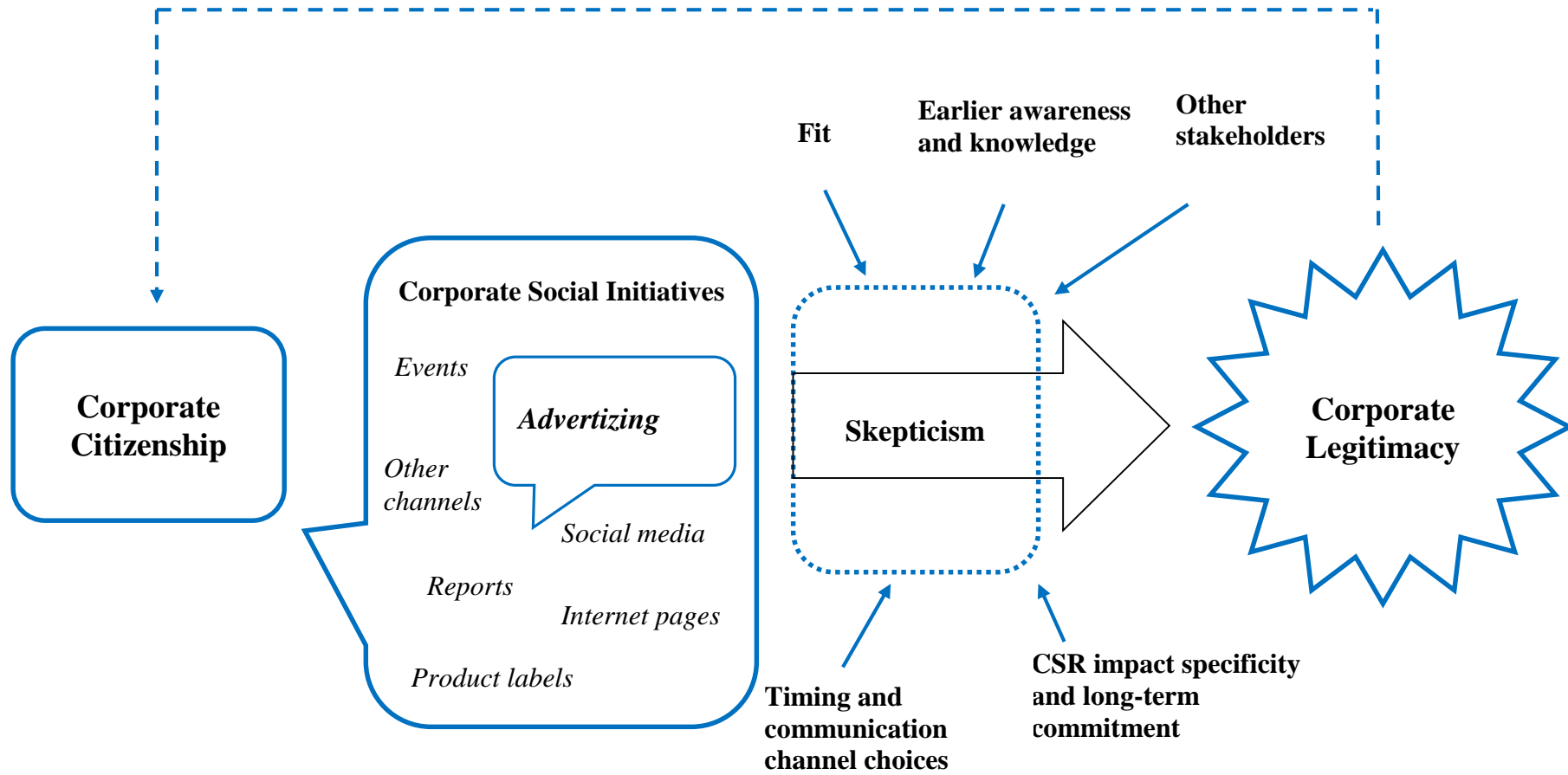
Figure 1. Theoretical framework of the study

3 Context and case organizations

In this chapter, the wider context of the obesity discussion is first introduced from four different perspectives: government and municipalities, non-governmental organizations, media and consumers, and the beverage industry. The aim of this description is provide the reader a comprehensive view about the discussion, and to demonstrate that the researcher has understood the wider discourse of this case. After this, the case organizations, the Coca-Cola Company and Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), as well as the advertisements acting as a data are introduced.

3.1 Context

In today's world obesity is a serious health problem that concerns nearly every society, and it is defined as "abnormal or excessive fat accumulation that may impair health". Obesity is usually classified by Body mass index (BMI), in which person's weight in kilograms is divided by the square of his/hers height in meters (kg/m^2). When the BMI is greater than or equal to 30, it is referred as obesity. (World Health Organization, 2014.) Worldwide obesity has nearly doubled since 1980, and today 65% of the world's population lives in countries where overweight and obesity kills more people than underweight. Around 3.4 million adults die each year as a result of being overweight or obese and in addition to these, overweight and obesity are heavily linked to deaths caused by diabetes, heart diseases and various cancers. (World Health Organization, 2014.) However, obesity is not just an issue that the adults have to tackle. Also childhood obesity represents serious health risks, while in 2012 over 40 million under age of 5 were overweight or obese, and the amount is sharply increasing (World Health Organization, 2014).

Therefore, it is no wonder that obesity is a serious health risk also in the United States, where almost 35 % of adults and about 17 % of children aged 2 - 19 years are obese (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014) and estimated annual cost of obesity-related illness is nearly 21 % of annual medical spending (Institute of Medicine, 2012).

Increased consumption of sugar-sweetened beverages is considered to be one of the major trends contributing to the rapid growth of obesity (Institute of Medicine, 2012), while sugar-sweetened beverages (SSBs) are the single greatest source of added sugar in the American diet (Time Ideas, 2011).

The Coca-Cola Company and the beverage industry in general have been reluctant to admit that beverage products would be a cause for obesity. For example in June 2012, Katie Bayne, President of Coca-Cola North America, stated that there is no scientific evidence that connects sugary beverages to obesity (USA Today, 2012). However, in 14th January 2013, the Coca-Cola Company addressed its role and commitment to the fight against obesity for the first time by launching *Coming Together* campaign (Advertizing Age, 2013). This campaign is introduced more in detail in Section 3.2 Coca-Cola Company: Coming Together.

All in all, the obesity "epidemic" and the scientific results about the health effects of the consumption of SSBs has led to a huge debate in the United States, which goes hand-in-hand with the wider discussion about the substantial amount of fast-food in the American diet. Therefore, it is no wonder that the *Coming Together* campaign provoked several reactions from different parties. Both the reactions to the debate and the campaign are presented more in detail in the following subsections.

3.1.1   Government and municipalities

The rising obesity rates and increased pressure from public health advocates have made candy and soda taxes a hot political topic. Already in 2009 a national excise soda tax was proposed in the United States, but it was met with strong opposition at the federal level. At the state level, four states collected excise tax on soda and 14 states had proposed new soda taxes in 2011, while the tax rates and definitions of soda vary by each state. (Tax Foundation, 2011.)

Taxation is not the only way to regulate soda consumption; few municipalities have also proposed direct bans. One the most recent ones was Mayor Michael Bloomberg's proposal to ban restaurants, movie theaters, food carts and other businesses regulated by the city's health department from selling sodas and other sugary beverages larger than 16

ounces (473 ml) in the New York City (Reuters, 2013). The beverage industry and many restaurant owners filed a law suit against the proposal, and although it was approved by the New York's Board of Health in 2012, the proposal was later on struck down in the state's highest court in June 2014 (The New York Times, 2014). Earlier on the Mayor of Boston, Thomas Menino, had banned the sale and advertising of sugary drinks from city-owned buildings and city-sponsored events. Also cities, such as San Francisco and Los Angeles County, have curtailed sugary drink sales on municipal properties (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, 2014).

In addition, many cities have created promotional campaigns to educate consumers about the risks of soda consumption and help them to choose healthier beverages. These campaigns have included for example provocative videos and posters, such as the two examples presented in Figures 2 and 3 below.

Figure 2. A poster from Pouring on Pounds campaign

Figure 3. A poster from Rethink Your Drink campaign

The poster in Figure 2 was part of the Pouring On Pounds campaign by The New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (2014) and the poster in Figure 3 was a part of Rethink Your Drink campaign by The Hawaii State Department of Health (2014).

3.1.2 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

During the last few years, increasing amount of advocacy groups have taken a stand against beverage industry and they have become one the most targeted industries overall (Forbes, 2012). For example, the Coca-Cola Company was the 4th most targeted company on a global scale measured by activist actions in 2014 (Sigwatch, 2014).

In the United States probably the most visible non-governmental organization (NGO) advocating against beverage industry and soda consumption is the Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), so CSPI's representatives are often interviewed for articles concerning beverage industry and health effects of soda consumption. The organisation is further introduced in Section 3.3.

However, there are also NGOs that are on the beverage industry's side. Dozens of Hispanic and African-American civil rights groups, health advocacy organizations, and business associations have opposed soda regulation around the country in recent years, arguing that such measures are discriminatory, paternalistic or ineffective. One reason for this could be the fact that beverage companies have been funding non-profit groups already for decades. (The New York Times, 2013.) Therefore, the relationship between the beverage industry and NGOs is not as straightforward as one might think.

3.1.3 Consumers and media

Soda consumption's link to obesity has been a popular topic in different media channels in the United States during the past five years. The articles published have been covering different study results linking obesity and SSB's as well as the development of sugar tax laws in different states. Especially the earlier mentioned Bloomberg's proposal about the soda ban was covered widely in the biggest national newspapers throughout the process.

Therefore, it is no wonder that when the Coca-Cola Company announced its launch of *Coming Together* campaign, it was extensively well covered in different media channels,

and the reactions to the campaign and to its advertisement were mostly neutral or critical. For example article published in Adweek (2013) stated how the Coca-Cola Company is by publishing the advertisement now "patting itself in the back for helping to solve the problem while simultaneously trying to shift blame to other, unnamed foods, and perhaps most oddly, to consumer themselves". PR professionals on the other hand seemed to be on the Coca-Cola Company's side by stating that publishing the advertisements was a "smart strategy" and "the right move" (PR Week, 2013).

The ongoing debate about the correlation between soft drinks and obesity has influenced on the buying behavior of the consumers. The sales of regular soft drinks declined by 1.9 % from 2009 to 2011 and the annual soda consumption has fallen 16%, to 44 gallons per person from 2001 to 2011. At the same time the water and sports drinks has become one of the fastest-growing segments in the industry and 45% of soft drinks sold in 2013 contained zero calories. (MarketWatch, 2013.) An illustration of this change in consumption is provided in Figure 4 that was published in Bloomberg Business' (2014) article about the topic.
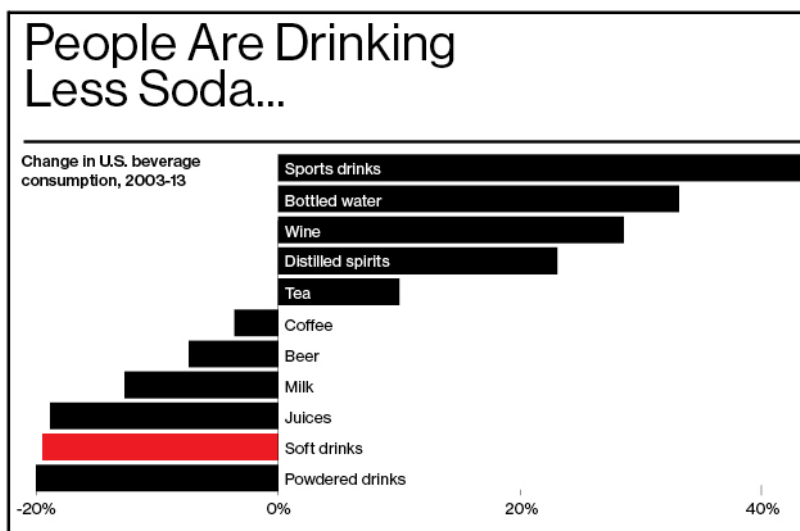
GRAPHIC BY BLOOMBERG BUSINESSWEEK; DATA: BEVERAGE DIGEST

Figure 4. An illustration of the decline in soda consumption.

Consumers have also been very active in discussing the beverage companies' role in the obesity issue in different online communities. For example CNN's article "Coca-Cola

weighs in on obesity fight" (2013) alone gathered 773 comments. Conrad Layson, an advertising professional, analyzed in his blog post (2013) what kind of reactions the consumers had on the Coming Together advertisement. He stated that consumers have been divided into three groups. The first group was the defenders, who considered that the consumers needed to take responsibility of their own actions, and that government regulation is not needed. The consumers in the second group, on the other hand, have been more concentrated on the use of High-Fructose Corn Syrup and its health effects for example in the Coca-Cola Company's products. The third group was more concentrated on the act of advertising the matter itself and saw the advertisements as a pure damage control instead of an effort at dialog.

As a reaction to the wide discussion about the *Coming Together* campaign, the Coca-Cola Company created its own consumer poll asking whether the company had "hit the mark" with its Anti-Obesity ads. The results were positive: 703 out of 978 respondents considered that company had done the right thing (The Coca-Cola Company, 2013a). However, it is likely that majority of the respondents in the consumer poll were firm supporters of the brand, and therefore more likely to support its actions. The next subsection will now discuss how the beverage industry in general has reacted to the obesity discussion.

3.1.4 Beverage industry

This pressure from the government, NGO's, media and the consumers has forced organizations operating in the beverage industry to advocate and legitimize their own positions to the public. Hence, it has been heavily lobbying against taxes and bans concerning their products. For example in 2009, when the discussion about national soda tax was the most heated, the industry spent 40.3 million dollars on lobbying. The amount is over 30 times more than in 2005. While most of the proposed soda taxes were rebuffed, also the lobbying costs have declined and in 2011 the industry spent "only" 10 million dollars on lobbying. (MarketWatch, 2013.)

From the consumer's point-of-view the reactions of the beverage companies are in line with the reactions of fast-food industry in general. Earlier research has divided these reactions into two groups: product-related and communication-related. The product-

related reactions have included altering package-size and portions, decreasing energy density, and providing nutrition information through product labels (Wansink & Huckabee, 2005). The communication-related reactions have been teaming up with respected partners, including physical activities in marketing, claiming that only the totality of the diet counts, and that everyone has a personal responsibility of his or hers own health (Koplan & Brownell, 2010). With these reactions beverage companies wish to prove that their products do no harm, or if they do, it is the responsibility of the consumer, not the company (McIntosh et al., 2003, p. 29).

One example of these communication-related reactions is also the massive responsibility marketing campaigns launched by beverage brands such as Coca-Cola and Pepsi that explicitly aim to increase sales especially among young people (Dorfman et al, 2012). For example the Coca-Cola Company launched its *Live Positively* campaign in 2009, communicating its commitment to give back to the communities they work in (Sustainable Brands, 2012). And in 2010, for the first time in 23 years, PepsiCo did not invest in the Super Bowl advertising for its brand, but launched instead a *Pepsi Refresh Project* that awarded over 20 million dollars to fund different ideas voted by the consumers (PepsiCo, 2010). The latest of these campaigns, Coming Together, is now introduced more in depth in the following section.

3.2   Coca-Cola Company: Coming Together

The Coca-Cola Company is a multinational corporation that was invented in 1886, when a physician and chemist Dr. John S. Pemberton created the formula of the Coca-Cola beverage as a reaction to local temperance movement, and started to serve it in a pharmacy (The Coca-Cola Company, 2011; Bloomberg, 2014). What started from single beverage served nine times per day has now grown into billion-dollar worldwide business. The Coca-Cola Company is the world's largest beverage company and quarter of all carbonated beverages consumed worldwide is produced by Coca-Cola (Bloomberg, 2014) For example in 2013, the beverages of Coca-Cola Company were served 1.9 billion times each day in over 200 different countries and 21 % of its unit case volume comes from North America (The Coca-Cola Company, 2014).

The Coca-Cola Company has wanted to promote its role as a part of healthy lifestyle already for decades. In 1938, they produced and distributed a board game named "Steps to Health" in Canada in order to stress the importance of daily exercise and a balanced diet. Later on this was followed by other campaigns such as "Get fit…Keep fit" in 1970 and "Get Movin," in 1974, which both emphasized the importance of good physical fit. In addition to promoting physical exercise, the company has altered its packaging (for the first time in 1955) by providing different portion sizes and introduced diet low- or no-calorie beverages such as TaB in 1963 and Diet Coke in 1982. (The Coca-Cola Company, 2013b.)

The latest of these campaigns is the *Coming Together* from 2013, which aimed to "educate people about the importance of making informed choices" and balancing their diet. The Coca-Cola Company also wanted to "tell people about all that they were doing to help them lead active, healthy lives" in order to reinforce that they "take seriously their commitment to help fight obesity". (The Coca-Cola Company, 2013c.)

The campaign was supported with a campaign page (http://www.coca-colacompany.com/coming-together/) that still exists but is not actively updated. The page (see Figure 5, p. 30) includes healthy living tips, reader poll, news and videos about the partnership programs, as well as information about their initiatives and alternatives (such as Stevia) provided in different countries. The page also "invites its users to share their ideas for fighting obesity and having a healthy lifestyle" (The Coca-Cola Company, 2013c). In order to give a better understanding about the style and visual content of the page, a snapshot of the site is included in the following page.
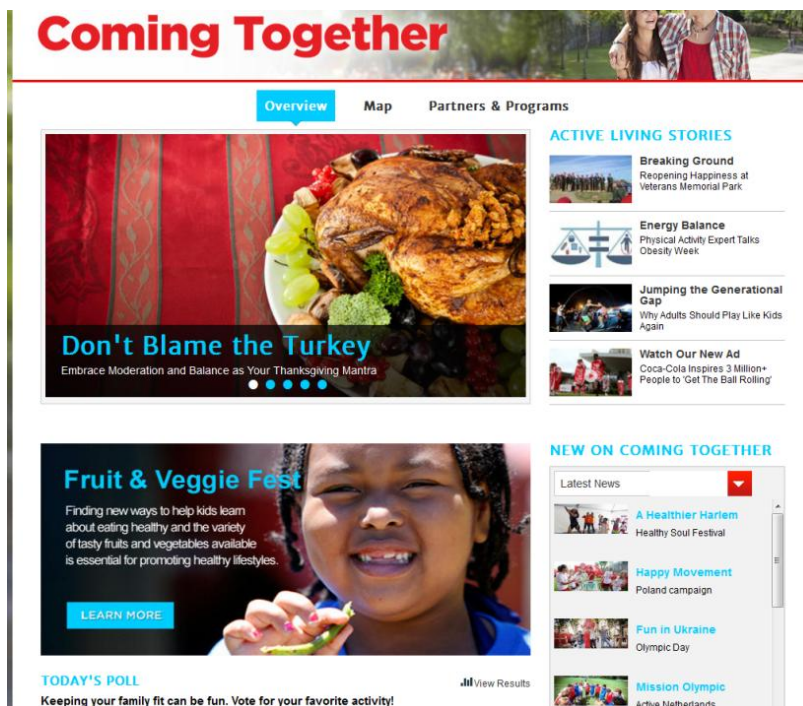
Figure 5. A screenshot from the Coming Together campaign site

The campaign was also accompanied with two television advertisements, *Coming Together* and *Be OK.* The two-minute *Coming Together* was aired in CNN, Fox News and MSNBC during the highest-rated shows and the 30-second spot *Be Ok* debuted on American Idol in January 16th 2013 (The Coca-Cola Company, 2013c). Later on both of these commercials have also been aired in other countries such as Canada, UK, France, Netherlands and Brazil. The first one of these advertisements, *Coming Together*, will serve as data for this study.

In the Coming Together advertisement, the Coca-Cola Company briefly described its five main contributions to the fight against obesity: low- and no-calorie choices; smaller portion sizes; calorie content on the front; offerings in schools; and support on health-enhancing campaigns. The more specific content of the advertisement is introduced in Appendix 1. The advertisement provoked a lot of criticism especially from researchers and non-profit organizations, and some of them even made their own parodies of it such as *The Honest Coca-Cola Obesity Commercial* and *Coming Together: Translated*. The

latter of these parodies serves as a data for this study and is introduced in detail in the following section.

3.3 Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI): Advocating against the liquid candy

The Center for Science in the Public Interest (later on referred as CSPI) is a non-profit health-advocacy organization that was founded by Dr. Michael Jacobson and two other scientists in 1971 during the boom of consumer and environmental protection awareness. CSPI is especially concentrated on nutrition and food safety, and states that its twin missions are "to conduct innovative research and advocacy programs in health and nutrition, and to provide consumers with current, useful information about their health and well-being." (Center for Science in the Public Interest, 2014a.)

As mentioned earlier, the beverage industry has been the number one enemy for CSPI for years. Already in 1998 they published *Liquid Candy* report that informed about the impact sugary drinks were having on health. Since then, the reduction of soda consumption has been a major public health priority for CSPI. One form of this advocacy has been social media campaigns such as *the Real Bears* in 2012, which was an animated film illustrating what kind of consequences the consumption of soda is causing to polar bears (that are also commonly used in Coca-Cola's advertising). (Center for Science in the Public Interest, 2014b.)

CSPI has been heavily lobbying against the beverage industry for example by organizing a National Soda Summit since 2012, which aims bring together nutrition authorities, educators, and public health officials to discuss about ways to reduce the consumption of soda and other SSB's (Center for Science in the Public Interest, 2014b). In addition, CSPI has been active in the courtroom. In 2009 it filed a lawsuit on behalf of Vitaminwater drinkers in New York and California, and claimed that Coca-Cola had deceptively marketed the drink as healthy even though it had almost as much sugar as the regular can of Coke. The suit is still ongoing. (Bloomberg, 2014.)

Therefore, it is no wonder that CSPI decided to make its own version of the Coca-Cola's *Coming Together* advertisement. The two-minute *Coming Together: Translated* was

published on YouTube on 25th January 2013, only 10 days after Coca-Cola's original advertisement, and it introduces a different perspective to the advertisement. The content of the video is partly the same as in the original advertisement (narrator, music, shots), but some of the shots have also been replaced with new, less admirable ones. Part of content in the original advertisement has also been left out. The more specific content of the parody is introduced in Appendix 2. The next chapter will focus more on how the advertisement, and the parody made of it, can be analyzed with the methods of social semiotics.

4   Research methods

This chapter introduces the research methods of this study. At first, the chapter introduces the two theoretical perspectives, discourse analysis and semiotics, which in combination form the basis for the theoretical approach used in this study. Then, the chapter discusses this theoretical approach, systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA) and introduces individually three semiotic metafunctions that are used to analyze the semiotic resources (words, images, sounds and so on) of the data of this study. After that the different ways of information linking as well as levels of analysis are introduced. In the end, the trustworthiness of the study is discussed.

4.1   Systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis

The analytical tools utilized in this study stream from theoretical perspective, which synchronizes two qualitative academic approaches: discourse analysis and semiotics. The first of them, discourse analysis, is a linguistic analysis method focusing on features and patterns that go beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence, in other words discourses. Discourse as such can be defined as "an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 3). These texts can take various forms. For example in the data of this study, those forms are written texts and spoken words, as well as music and visual images. Discourses can also be seen as typical ways of using language in particular situations, so they also have characteristic linguistic features associated with them (Paltridge, 2006, p. 2). Discourse analysis considers the relationship between the language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used (Paltridge, 2006, p. 2). So in other words, it explores how meanings are realized through language in texts and also how texts contribute to the constitution of social reality by *making* meaning (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 4).

Also the second approach*, Semiotics,* confronts the question of how the whole communications phenomena realize meanings. The most important semiological analyzing tool is the "sign", as semiotics can be defined as "the science of the life of signs in society" (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 1). The term was first time introduced in the *Course in General Linguistics* from 1916 by Ferdinand de Saussure, who argued that sign was the basic unit of language, and that it consists of two parts (signifier and signified) that

are only distinguishable at the analytical level, although in practice they are always integrated (Rose, 2001; Chandler, 2014). Later on semiotics, also referred to as semiology, has provided a theoretical perspective for several researchers, and in the late 1960's it became one of the major theoretical approaches to cultural studies (Chandler, 2014).

One of these scientific streams is *Social semiotics*, introduced by linguist Michael Halliday in 1978, which integrated semiotics with the social analysis of power and ideology, space and time, and gender and class (Hodge & Kress, 1988). Social semiotics focuses on the process of sign-making, in which the signifier (the form) and the signified (the meaning) are relatively independent of each other until they are brought together by the sign-maker (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 8). In other words, it does not focus on "signs", such as the traditional semiotics, but centers on how the viewer is positioned for example by the advertisement and how certain social allegiances and values are being promoted over others (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Iedema, 2004, p. 187). Now the basic principles of social semiotics will be introduced.

Instead of being one, coherent theory, both discourse analysis and social semiotics can be seen as a set of different approaches that share an interest in the constructive effects of language (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). The approach combining these two theories is *systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis* (henceforth SF-MDA), which concentrates on considering how semiotic resources (also referred as modes), such as images, music and sound, integrate to create meaning in multimodal texts, discourses and events, collectively referred as multimodal phenomena (O'Halloran, 2011). As in discourse analysis, the meaning is seen to be context-dependent (O'Halloran, 2008).

The reason for this theoretical choice is that the analysis methods of SF-MDA aim to link the socio-political intertextualities to the ways in which the videos are structured, instead of concentrating only on their content (Iedema, 2004). Therefore, these methods are most suitable for analyzing relatively complex discourses, such as the videos used in this study are, and they help to identify the ways in which legitimation is created in a deeper level. In addition, the analysis methods of previous studies concerning the visual communication of CSR have included mostly content analysis, framing analysis and

typology, so the discursive perspective of this study will provide new insights also to CSR research. Breitbarth et al. (2010, p. 255) support this choice, since they argue in their article "future research embracing discourse analysis could reach further and deeper than this study in order to deconstruct meaning of both text and images." The methods of SF-MDA are described more in detail in the following section.

4.2 Semiotic metafunctions

All semiotic resources have to serve several representational and communicational requirements, and each of these offer a variety of choices that can be studied through three metafunctions introduced by Michael Halliday: ideational, interpersonal and textual (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). A summary of these metafunctions and the functions and choices related to them is presented in the Table 1 below.

Table 1. A summary of three semiotic metafunctions (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Meta-function	Ideational (Representation)	Interpersonal (Interaction)	Textual (Composition)
Function	Represent objects and their relations in the world outside the representational system.	Represent a particular social relation between the producer, the viewer and the object presented.	Form texts, which cohere both internally with each other and externally with the context in and for they are produced.
Choices	Interaction/ narrative structures - Processes - Circumstances Classification/ conceptual structures - Classificatory - Analytical - Symbolical	Contact - Demand - OfferSocial distance - Intimate/personal - Social - Impersonal Perspective - Subjectivity - Objectivity	Information value - Centered - Polarized Salience (maximum/minimum) Connection (maximum/minimum)

In the analysis of this study, the data is analyzed through each of these metafunctions in order to reveal the representational connections that are used to legitimize/illegitimate the

Coca-Cola Company and to increase/decrease consumer skepticism. The following subsections will describe in detail the analytical elements of each metafuncion.

4.2.1   Ideational metafunction

Ideational metafunction is focused on how the objects and their relations for example in a video are represented to the viewer. These relations between the objects can be viewed either as an interaction or as a classification and can therefore include either narrative or conceptual structures. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006.)

Narrative representations

In narrative representations the objects are interacting at least through one link, a vector. Therefore, the objects can be viewed as participants either in a particular process, where the role of the participants can vary, or in circumstances, where they do not have any distinctive roles. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006.) In this study the focus is on processes, since the data did not include any shots that could have been described as circumstances.

The roles in processes identified for this study were actor, goal, and a reactor. First of these, *actor*, can be defined as the participant who either forms or "sends" the vector. In pictures actors are usually the most salient participants through size, composition, contrast, sharpness and/or color saturation. The second role, *goal*, is the participant at whom or which the vector is directed and can the therefore seen as the target of the action. The third role, *reactor*, is a usually human participant, who is looking at an action, also referred as phenomena. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006.)

On the basis of these roles, the narrative processes can be described as transactional, non-transactional, reactional or event. A process is transactional, when it involves two participants, of whom one is the actor and the other is the goal. If the process involves only the actor without a goal, it is described as non-transactional, whereas the processes involving only the goal are described as events. If the process involves all the three roles (actor, goal and reactor), it is referred as reactional. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006.)

Conceptual representations

Conceptual representations view participants in more general terms such as class, structure or meaning, and they can be categorized into three types of processes: classificational, analytical and symbolical. *Classificational* processes relate participants to each other in terms of taxonomy, where at least one set of participants play the role of *Subordinates* with respect to at least one other participant, the *Superordinate*. These taxonomies are described to have two types of structures: *covert* and *overt*. In covert taxonomy the subordinates are displayed symmetrically across the picture space, whereas in overt taxonomy the superordinate is connected to two or more subordinates through a tree structure with two or more levels. Especially covert taxonomies are often used in advertisements that show arrangements of products marketed under a brand name. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79-80.)

Analytical processes relate participants through a part-whole structure, where the whole is described as a *Carrier* and the parts as *Possessive Attributes (*Kress & van Leuuwen, 2006, p. 87). The processes can be either structured or unstructured. In unstructured processes the unordered Possessive Attributes are displayed as parts of whole which itself is not represented, whereas the structured processes describe the Carrier and Possessive Attributes either in spatial or temporal (time line) order. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006.) Since the data does not include any temporal structures, only the choices of spatial structures are now introduced.

Spatial structures are categorized on the basis of their type of process, accuracy and abstraction (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). From these, the categories of accuracy and abstraction are more suitable for analyzing data that includes charts, diagrams and maps, so in the analysis of this study the focus will be on the choices in the category of process type. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 95-96), spatial processes can be either exhaustive or inclusive. In exhaustive processes the Possessive Attributes are either conjoined or compounded together to make a complex shape, whereas inclusive processes show only some of the Possessive Attributes of the Carrier.

Symbolical processes are about what the participant is considered to mean or be. These processes can either have only one participant, the Carrier, or two participants, the Carrier and the Symbolic Attributive. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 105.) In the first case, the image aims to describe the mood or general atmosphere via for example lighting or color shading and does not focus on the specific details of the Carrier. In the latter case the meaning or identity is established through a symbolic attribute, which can be either an object or a human. An object can be considered to be a symbolic attribute if it is for example made salient in the representation or conventionally associated with symbolic values. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 105-106.) Especially advertisements use often products as symbolic attributes in order to associate them with qualities, such as happiness (Rose, 2001). The human participants in Symbolic attributive processes usually pose for the viewer instead of being shown as involved in some action. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 106) The next subsection will now introduce more in detail how the relationship between the participants and the viewer is build.

4.2.2 Interpersonal metafunction

Whereas the ideational metafunction focuses on the representation of the objects and/or people in the images, the interpersonal metafunction is concentrated on how producers create interactive meanings to the viewers through images. These meanings can be created through eye contact, social distance and perspective, which are all presented more in detail below. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006.)

Contact through gaze

In images contact to the viewer is established through gaze, which can either be pointed out directly to the viewer or not. In the first case, the gaze creates a visual form of direct address, which demands that the viewer engages into some kind of imaginary relation with the participant in the picture. This relationship can be determined by the facial expressions and/or gestures of the participant(s) in the picture and can take a form of a welcome, a challenge, a question, or a demand for some sort of action. If the person in the picture for example smiles, which is the case many times in the Coming Together advertisement, the viewer is asked to enter into a social affinity with him or her. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117-118; Kenney, 2009.)

In the latter case, the viewer is addressed indirectly and no contact is made. These kind of images offer the represented participants to the viewer as impersonal items of information and create an illusion that the represented participant do not know that they are being looked at, or that he/she has chosen not to acknowledge the camera. (Kress & van Leeuwen, p. 117-118, 2006; Kenney, 2009.)

Social distance and size of frame

In addition to gaze, the viewer can also be addressed with the social distance determined by the size of frame, since the choice between close shot, medium shot and long shot suggests different relations between the represented participants and the viewers. In films, the size of frame is defined in relation to the human body – how closely is the person represented in the shot. Because the social relations between people determine usually determine also their physical distance, the choice of the size of the frame also defines the social distance between the viewer and represented participant. The closer the shot is, the closer is the social distance. The same criteria also applies to shots representing objects, although the frame size scale for objects is not as fine-grained as for humans. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124; 127.) The Table 2 on the next page will now introduce how the sizes of frame are defined both for objects and humans and what kind of social distance they are considered to generate.

Table 2. The relation between sizes of frame and social distance (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Size of frame / objects	Size of frame / humans	Social distance
Close shot: usually shown only in part, as if the viewer is engaged with using it.	Very close shot: Shows details of the person	Intimate
	Close shot: Shows head and shoulders	Close personal distance
	Medium close shot: cuts off the subject approximately at the waist.	Far personal distance

Middle shot: Shown in full but without much space around it. It is in the viewer's reach, but not actually used.	Medium shot: cuts off the subject approximately at the knees.	Close social distance
	Medium long shot: shows full figure.	Close social distance
Long shot: There is an invisible barrier between the object and the viewer. The object is only on display.	Long shot: The figure occupies about half the height of the frame.	Far social distance
	Very long shot: anything wider than the previous	Public distance

Perspective – the choice of subjectivity and objectivity

In addition to gaze and certain size of frame, perspective realizes the relations and attitudes between the represented participants and the viewer. Images can either have a central, built-in perspective or no perspective at all. In the first case, image is considered to be subjective and in the latter case objective. In subjective images the viewer can see the subjects only from a particular point of view, whereas the objective images, such as maps and diagrams, reveal everything there is to know about the represented participants. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 129.) Since none of the shots in the data fit to the criteria of an objective image, the analysis focused only on the dimensions of subjective images.

In subjective images perspective is analyzed from two different angles, vertical and horizontal, since they represent different dimensions. Vertical angle is linked to the power position of the represented subject, whereas horizontal angle demonstrates the involvement of the participants in the image. In vertical angle, the power position is defined by whether the represented participant is viewed from high or low angle. If the participant is viewed from high angle, it can be considered that the viewer has power over the participant, because high angle makes the subject look smaller and more insignificant. Low angle represents the opposite: the subject is seen as imposing and superior and thus

having power over the viewer. If both the viewer and the participant are on the eye level, they are considered to be equal and there is no power difference involved. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 140.)

In horizontal angle the involvement is measured by the alignment between the represented participant and the viewer. The image can either have a frontal angle so that the viewer and the participant are aligned with one other, or an oblique angle so that they are diverged from one another. The difference between these two angles is also considered to be the difference between detachment and involvement. In the frontal angle the represented participant is involved with the viewer, whereas in the oblique angle the setting is the opposite. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 135-136.)

4.2.3   Textual metafunction

The earlier subsections introduced how images represent the relations between the participants and how they interact with the viewer. Textual metafunction is focused on composition, which relates these two meanings to each other through three interrelated systems: information value, salience and framing. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177.) These three principles are introduced more in detail below.

Information value

Information value is concentrated on how the placement of elements communicates specific value to the viewer. This value is attached to the various parts of the image: left and right, top and bottom, center and margin. The first two, left and right, represent the Given-New relation in the image. Elements placed on the left are represented as *Given,* as something the viewer already knows, whereas elements placed on the right are represented as *New*. For something to be New means that the element is presented as something which is not yet known, and to which the viewer must pay special attention. However, it is good to note that this horizontal structure is ideological in the sense that it may not correspond to what is the case either for the producer or the viewer. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 181.)

The two vertical parts of the image, top and bottom, provide the informational value about what is considered *Ideal* and *Real* in the image. If some of the elements are placed on the upper part of the image, they are represented as idealized or generalized essence of the information and as the most salient part. The elements placed on the lower part are considered as real, and they usually provide more specific or practical information. It is important to note that in practice many visuals combine the horizontal and vertical structuring. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 186-187.)

It is also possible that the visual composition does not structure itself around the horizontal or vertical elements at all, but instead makes use of the dimensions of center and margin. An element placed in the center of the image is presented as the core of the information, to which the elements around in the margins are somehow related. Many times these elements in the margins are identical, so there is not any clear division between the Given-New and/or Ideal-Real relations among them. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 194-196.)

Salience

The composition of a picture also involves different degrees of salience to its elements, which can create a hierarchy of importance among the elements. This kind of hierarchy is not dependent on the positioning of the elements, but rather on which elements draw more attention to themselves than others. Salience is not objectively measurable; it relates to a number of factors such as size, sharpness of focus, tonal contrast, color contrasts, placement in the visual field, perspective and specific cultural factors. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 201-202.)

In elements such as speech and music, salience can also be realized through the composition in time: rhythm. Like a layout of a poster, rhythm provides cohesion in texts that unfold over time, like television advertisements, and it plays an important part in getting the desired message across. Rhythm always involves cycles, which consist of an alternation between two opposite states, such as a loud and a soft or an up and a down, and these cycles repeat themselves with the time intervals that are perceived as equal even when they are not. The perception of salience results from an interplay between a number

of auditory factors: the duration and the pitch of strong and weak elements, their loudness, and in speech also the vowel color. Hence, anything that can create auditory contrast between the sounds can also realize salience. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 201; van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 181.)

Framing

Framing is the third key principle in composition and it defines how strongly the elements are either connected or disconnected from each other. A stronger framing of an element presents it as a separate unit of information; whereas the absence of framing stresses that the elements belong together as a single unit of information. This connectedness can be emphasized also in other ways such as vectors, depicted elements or abstract graphic elements that lead the eye from one element to another. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 203-204.)

Like salience, also framing can be realized though alternation of rhythm. The equal-timed cycles can be interrupted for example by a pause, a change of tempo or loudness, or by the change of the entire music track. These kinds of changes disconnect units of speech or music from each other. If these changes are absent, the elements are connected as in a continuous flow. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 203; van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 181.) The next section will focus on how information can be linked between the different frames.

4.3 Information linking

The previous section introduced how the viewer receives information from individual shots through representation, interaction and composition. In this section, the focus is on how the pieces of information produced by each shot are meaningfully linked to each other. The first subsection will focus on verbal linking and the second one on visual linking. The third and final subsection then concentrates on links between the verbal and visual information.

4.3.1 Verbal linking

Verbal linking can be made explicit by means of conjunctions, although the links can be often understood from the context even without them. The category of verbal linking is

defined on the basis of the relationship between the items of information. Each item can either *elaborate* the information presented by repeating or restating it for purposes of clarification, or *extend* it by adding new information and linking it to the existing information. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 222.) An overview of all these forms of verbal linking is provided in Appedix 3.

Elaboration can be communicated in several ways, and it is mostly used in argumentation and persuasion. An item of information can be explained by reformulating it ("that is", "in other words") or by clarifying it with means of an example ("for example", "to illustrate" etc). The information can also be specified, summarized or even corrected. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 222.)

Extension relates the two items of information with temporal, logical, additive or spatial links. In the first category, *temporal* linking, the second of the two items tells us something that has happened after, before or at the same time as what the first item described. Examples of conjunctions used in temporal linking are "then", "next", "meanwhile", "finally" and "in the end". Hence, this kind of linking is important especially in stories and procedural texts. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 222-223.)

In the second category, *logical* links are formed, when the second item of information gives a reason for, a condition of or a comparison with the information in the first item. Therefore, logical linking is most often used as a tool in argumentation and persuasion, and it can be categorized into three different groups: Causal, conditional and comparative links. In the first group c*ausal* links may include a result or a purpose, whereas in the second group the *conditional* links can be created by positive ("if", "in case", etc.) or negative ("otherwise", "if not", etc.) conjunctions. The third group, *comparative* links, includes conjunctions presenting similarity or contrast, such as "likewise" or "conversely". (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 223.)

In the third category *additional* links exist, when an item of information introduces new information without linking it either temporally or logically to already available information. The new information can be either additional ("and", "as well as"), alternative ("or") or adversative ("but", "however"), and it in some way takes into

consideration the information in preceding information items. This kind of linking is typical in contexts, where people move from topic to topic on the basis of ad hoc associations, and in information media that isolates fact into separate sections. Similar to this category is the fourth and final category, where *spatial* links can indicate either spatial proximity ("behind", "in front of") or co-presence ("in the same place", "there") in order to describe the information item. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 224-225.)

4.3.2   Visual linking

Like verbal linking, also visual linking can be categorized into two main types of connection: elaboration and extension. An overview of both of these categories of visual linking is provided in Appedix 3. In the first category, *elaborative* linking, the shot can provide either an overview or details of the same subject in the previous shot by cutting, or otherwise transiting, from close shot to long shot or other way around. This kind of linking is used, when the aim is to mainly describe the subject. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 226-229.)

In the second category shots are linked through *extensive* links that can be either temporal, spatial or logical. *Temporal* links are formed by showing next, previous or simultaneous events with cuts or other transitions in order to indicate narration or procedure, whereas *spatial* links are used describe proximity or co-presence by showing relative location indicated by matching angle, or series of two or more details. Logical links are often used in persuasive context, since they indicate either contrast or similarity by viewing contrasting or similar subjects without clear narrative connection. (van Leeuwen, 2005, 226-229.)

4.3.3   Visual-verbal linking

In multimodal data, such as the video advertisements in this study, there are also links between the images and text, which can either *elaborate* or *extend* the information. An overview of these forms of visual-verbal linking is provided in Appendix 3. In elaboration the links between the image and text can make the information either more specific or explanatory. For example, the image can make the text more specific through illustration or the text can paraphrase the image, and other way around. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 230.)

In extension the relations between the image and text can be based on similarity, contrast or complement. In similarity, the relation of the content of the text is similar to that of the image, whereas in contrast relationship they are contrasting with each other. In complementary relationship, the content of the image adds further information to that one of the text and other way around. (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 230.)

All in all, these linking analysis methods introduced in the previous subsections support well the three metafunctions, because the links as such carry information value and can therefore provide more information about the data (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 219). The next section will now introduce, how both the semiotic metafunctions and information linking methods are used in practice in the analysis phase.

4.4   Phases of the analysis

The analysis part in this study was concluded in three distinctive phases. In the first phase the six different analysis levels introduced by Iedema (2004) were identified from the data: frame, shot, scene, sequence, stage and work as a whole. The first of these levels is frame, which is the salient aspect of a shot. In the next level of the analysis is to identify the shots, defined as uncut camera actions. On the third level are the scenes, which comprise more than one shot, which are characterized by the continuity of time and place. At the fourth level sequences are identified from the data. Sequences comprise a range of scenes, which are linked on the basis of thematic or logical continuity instead of the spatial and temporal continuity. On the fifth level sequences are combined into generic stages and the boundaries between different stages are marked with significant shifts in the narrative that are often highlighted by one or more editing features. In the final level these stages also define the work as whole. For the

sake of clarity, an overview of these levels is provided in Figure 6 below.
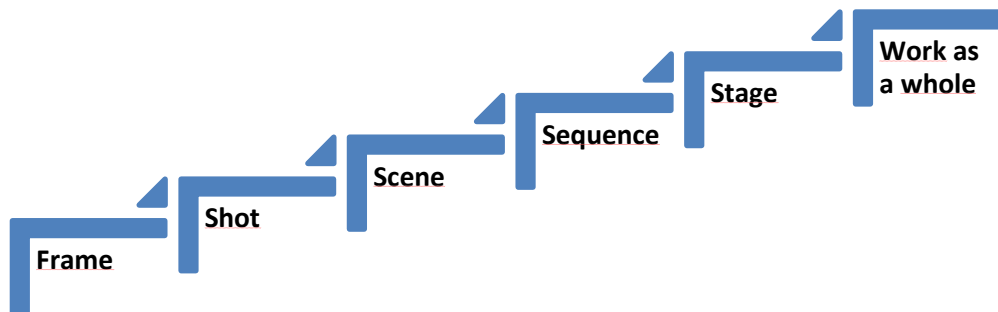
Figure 6. An overview of the levels of analysis (Iedema, 2004).

In the second phase of the analysis, the different levels were analyzed through the semiotic metafunctions and information linking, and an Excel-sheets were utilized to organize the data. An example of the analysis can be found from Appendices 1 and 2. and in the third and final phase the results were viewed in the light of the theoretical framework. The trustworthiness of this study method is discussed in the following section.

4.5 Trustworthiness of the study

Both discourse analysis and semiotics, which form the ground for the theoretical perspective used in this study, are generally considered to be qualitative research methods. Hence, criteria discussed by Bryman and Bell (2003) is used in this study, since it is particularly suitable for measuring the trustworthiness of a qualitative research. According to these criteria, the trustworthiness of a study is made up of four factors; *credibility, transferability, dependability* and *conformability*; and each of these factors are equivalent to the descriptions of both external and internal reliability and validity used by other authors (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Each of these factors are now introduced and discussed in detail.

Credibility (also referred as internal validity) of findings is generally referring to the extent in which the results are seen to be credible and believable in the eyes of the participants of the study (Trochim, 2006). However, since this study did not involve any

participants other than the researcher, the credibility must be achieved in the eyes on the readers. In this study, the credibility is achieved with detailed description both of the context of the study and of the analysis that provides the readers clear linkages between the achieved results and conclusions based on them.

Transferability (also referred as external validity) of a study focuses on the extent in which the results can be generalized to a broader context (Paltridge, 2006). Since this study is focused on specific context, it is relatively unlikely that the results could be transferred directly to a different context. Still, the methodology used in this research is generally accepted and used, so it is possible for another researcher to achieve similar findings with similar data. Therefore, the findings of the study can be considered transferable.

Dependability (also referred as external reliability) referrers to the way in which the research process is recorded, so that other researchers could reproduce it if needed (Bryman & Bell, 2003; Paltridge, 2006). In this study this dependability is achieved by offering detailed examples of the analysis for example in Appendices 1 and 2 and by providing several examples to illustrate the findings.

Finally, confirmability (also referred as objectivity) focuses on the notion that the researcher has not overly allowed personal values or theoretical perceptions to influence on the conduct of research and findings deriving from it (Bryman & Bell, 2003). In this case, the researcher did not have any personal connections to either Coca-Cola Company or CSPI. She also does not have any strong opinions about the issue itself and the fact that researcher is living outside United States increases neutrality towards the topic. Also the wide variety of earlier literature used in this study shows that particular theoretical perspectives are not influencing the results. Therefore, the study fills the criteria of confirmability.

All in all, it can be concluded that all four factors are taken into consideration in the conduction of the study. Therefore, the study meets the criteria of trustworthiness and its findings presented in the following chapters can be considered to represent good academic quality.

5 Results

This chapter will introduce the results of the qualitative analysis conducted in this study. The two videos are discussed separately in order to highlight the similarities and differences between the videos. The results are discussed through the three metafunctions, ideational, interpersonal and textual, with illustrative examples from the data, and at the end of each subsection there is a paragraph summarizing the results of the analysis. The more specific results in numbers can be found in Appendix 4. In addition, at the end of this chapter there is a section summarizing the results from both videos in order to improve their comparability. Since the levels of the analysis are relatively similar, the results achieved in each of the levels are discussed as a whole.

5.1 Coming Together

The two-minute Coming Together advertisement is consisting of all together 88 individual shots that provide information both individually and together with other shots and engage the viewer in several ways. The following three subsections will now discuss how this information and engagement is generated in practice. An example of the analysis is provided in Appendix 1.

5.1.1 Ideational metafunction

As it was mentioned in Subsection 4.2.1, ideational metafunction is focused on how the objects and their relations for example in a video are represented to the viewer. These representations can be either narrative or conceptual, and in this case the division between the two is mostly half and half. The majority of shots are representing either people or Coca-Cola's products (see Appendix 3), so those groups of shots are now discussed separately.

The shots that involve Coca-Cola's products are mostly narrative or alternatively classificational shots (see Appendix 3), where the products are represented in a neat line (see Figure 7, p. 49).

Figure 7. An example of a classificational shot about Coca-Cola's products.

Products from other categories than soft drinks are represented in only two sequences, even though the Coca-Cola products are represented in overall 10 sequences. At the same time, one of the main arguments in the advertisement is the variety of different low and no-calorie products, and this is highlighted with a shot showcasing different products. This gives the impression that even though the company is promoting its healthier options, such as waters and juices, soft drinks are still the most important product category for the company.

However, the majority of people represented in the shots do not actually consume the Coca-Cola Company products (see Appendix 4). In those narrative shots, where people are represented consuming Coca-Cola's products, the actors are often outside of their homes. They can be for example sitting in a restaurant, having fun at the beach or in a party, or cheering in a football match (see Figure 8, p. 50). It is also good to notice that all of the people represented consuming the products are adults, and none of them could be considered to be overweight. In those shots, where Coca-Cola's products are not consumed, the people are still generally smiling either to the viewer (see Figure 9, p. 50) or to each other, and living an 'active life': standing outside, jogging or playing football.

Figure 8. An example of a shot where Coca-Cola's products are consumed.

Figure 9. An example of shot where the participant is looking at the viewer

All in all, the analysis conducted by the methods of ideational metafunction indicates that the advertisement mostly represents the different options of Coca-Cola's soft drinks and adults living a healthy, active and enjoyable life. The next subsection will now concentrate on what kind of interactive meanings these representations create.

5.1.2 Interpersonal metafunction

As was mentioned, the interpersonal metafunction focuses on interactive meanings that can be created through eye contact, social distance and perspective. When looking at the eye contact in the shots, the analysis reveals that the majority of the shots (altogether 55) in the advertisement offer the represented participants to the viewer as impersonal items of information and do not make any direct contact with the viewer (see Figure 10, p. 51).

However, when the voice-over addresses the viewer with sentences such as "we'd like people to come together on something that concerns all of us" or "But beating obesity will take action from all of us", the participants in the shots make direct eye contact with the viewer and therefore demand him/her to engage with them (see Figure 11, p. 51). These demanding shots (altogether 33) support Coca-Cola's legitimization, because they emphasize the message about obesity issue as a shared responsibility.

Figure 10. An example of a shot without direct contact to the viewer.

Figure 11. An example of a demanding shot with direct eye contact.

Even though minority of the shots addresses the viewer directly, the perspective of the shots shows that viewers are still engaged in other ways. The analysis of horizontal angle resulted that majority of the shots view participants from a frontal angle. In other words, the viewer and the participant are aligned with one other (see Figure 11), which generates involvement of the viewer. Oblique angle is used mostly in shots that represent Coca-Cola's products (see Figure 7, p. 49), where the involvement of the viewer is perhaps not as important.

The analysis of the vertical angle in the shots reveals that the power relations with the viewer can be considered as equal in majority of the shots, especially if the shots include people. The only exceptions to these are symbols of family (a house) and nation (the White House, see Figure 12, p. 52) that are viewed from lower angle in order to give them more power. Also when the voice-over talks about "the nation's leading beverage company", the Coca-Cola Company's logo is viewed to have more power in relation to the viewer (See Figure 13, p. 52), which emphasizes the importance of the company.

Figure 12. An example of a shot with symbolic figure.

Figure 13. The Coca-Cola Company's logo viewed from a lower angle.

When analyzing the social distance of the shots, it is revealed that the majority of shots are close shots, especially if the shots are involving people (see Figures 10 and 11, p. 51). The Coca-Cola Company's products are also viewed though close and middle shots. Therefore, the represented participants and products have mostly close personal distance with the viewer, which makes it easier for the viewer to engage with them. Long shots are used only in infographics or when talking generally about families and the nation with symbolic figures (see Figure 12). In these shots the social distance is long and there is an invisible barrier between the viewer and represented objects. It seems that the purpose of the objects is only to complement the words of the voice-over by providing familiar symbols.

To summarize, the analysis made by choices in interpersonal metafunction reveals that the advertisement engages the viewer occasionally with direct eye contact and often involves him/her with the use of frontal angle and close personal distance. The analysis also indicates that in general the viewers have equal power relations with the represented participants, and only in shots with symbolical meaning exceptions are made. The next subsection will discuss how these results relate to the composition of the advertisement.

5.1.3   Textual metafunction

As mentioned in the Subsection 4.2.3, textual metafunction focuses on composition, which can be analyzed through three interrelated systems: information value, salience and framing.

When looking at the first of these, information value, the analysis reveals that in the majority of the shots involving Coca-Cola Company's products the actors are placed on the right as new, and the products on the left as given, as something that it is already familiar to the viewer. Especially in infographics this division is extremely clear, since all the products are on the left and the new information about the reduced calories is on the right highlighted with the moving arrow (see Figure 14 below).

Figure 14. An example of an infographic.

Another commonly used composition in the advertisement is centralization, especially in the shots that include people, which indicates that the represented person or object is the most important part of the shot (see Figure 11, p. 51). In many cases the second system, salience, goes hand in hand with these compositional choices and people are the most salient part of the shot. Usually their salience is characterized with bigger size, color contrasts and sharpness. In many shots also the Coca-Cola Company logo is used as an attention getter through its distinguishable red color (see Figure 13, p. 52).

When the salience is viewed through the rhythm of the advertisement, the analysis reveals that the most salient part of the video is a sequence, where the voice-over states "But beating obesity will take actions by all of us based on one simple, common-sense fact", because there the rhythm changes significantly. All the shots before and after this sequence last from 1 to 2 seconds, whereas in this part there are 30 individual shots presented in increasing speed during six seconds. The shots are representing similar close shots of people at different ages looking directly at the viewer, which increases the intensity of the sequence and demands the viewer to engage with the people represented.

Also the music played as background reveals some points from the rhythm. The music starts calmly as piano solo, but speeds up towards the end by becoming more and more cheerful for example by using high tones and whistling sounds. A significant shift is in the sequence in the middle of the advertisement, where the voice-over states "For elementary, middle and high schools", because the higher tones are introduced in the

music for the first time. Hence, it indicates the most salient point in advertisement from the music's perspective.

Through framing, the textual metafunction also discusses how the different sequences and scenes are connected to one another and how they create meaning. The analysis of scenes and sequences revealed several interesting representational connections that are created through repetition of similar elements and wording. Firstly, the advertisement both starts and ends with sequences consisting historical narratives from Coca-Cola's old and famous advertisements (see Figures 15 & 16 below). Perhaps the motive for this is to highlight and remind the viewer of the long history and significance of the Coca-Cola Company, as also the voice-over states how "For over 125 years, we've been bringing people together". The historicity can be interpreted from the changed picture quality and colors as well as from the clothes people are represented wearing.

Figure 15. An example of a shot from Coca-Cola's old advertisement.

Figure 16. A shot from Coca-Cola's old advertisement from 1971 "I'd like to buy the world a Coke".

Secondly, obesity is represented only in two sequences through its own narrative, a scale (see Figure 17 below) and in general there are overweight people only in one sequence, where they are 'getting active' by doing push-ups and playing sports together (see Figure 18 below). In other words, even though obesity is mentioned, it can be interpreted only as number on the scale that can be dealt with active exercising. Hence, it does not matter whether the calories are coming from drinking Coca-Cola in a party or from something else.

Figure 17. A shot representing an American scale.

Figure 18. A shot representing kids playing sports.

Thirdly, also the company itself is represented through narratives. For example, when the voice-over states that "we can play an important role", the video represents a guy wearing a red Coca-Cola Company's shirt kissing his wife and son for a goodbye in the kitchen (see Figure 19, p. 56). In many scenes and sequences the "we" is also associated with the company logo, and only at the end of the advertisement the company name is mentioned by the voice-over. This highlights how well-known the Coca-Cola Company is, and how it wants to associate itself as being part of the society in the form of the "average American dad" (see Figure 20, p. 56).

Figure 19. A shot representing a man saying goodbye to his family.

Figure 20. A shot representing the "American dad" filling the shelves.

All in all, the analysis conducted by the methods of textual metafunction shows that the advertisement often represents the Coca-Cola's products as something familiar to the viewer. Still, especially the shots involving people usually have centralized composition. In general, people are also the most salient part of the advertisement, especially in the

sequence discussing the shared responsibility of tackling obesity. The analysis also revealed three significant representational connections: historical relevance, obesity as number on a scale and Coca-Cola as the "average American dad" that all support the company's legitimization attempts. The next section will introduce the results of the advertisement's parody version.

5.2   Coming Together: Translated

The Coming Together: Translated parody video aims to illegitimate the original advertisement through a dialogue between the original shots and pictures that give less flattering image of Coca-Cola's consumers and actions, while the voice-over is remaining the same. Also in this video, the tools used are mostly the people represented and the representational connections created. Since the parody uses 16 shots that are the same in the original advertisement, the analysis has focused more on the shots used only in the parody. An example of the analysis is provided in Appendix 2.

5.2.1   Ideational metafunction

As in the original advertisement, also in the parody the majority of the shots are representing people and Coca-Cola Company's products, and the division between narrative and conceptual shots is approximately half and half. As in Subsection 5.1.1, the results concerning Coca-Cola's products and people represented are introduced separately.

The shots representing Coca-Cola's products are mostly narrative and unlike in the original advertisement, they are mostly consumed by someone. The parody is mostly showing the flagship product of the company, the original Coca-Cola itself and leaving out all the shots from light or zero-sugar versions, as well as the close shots from the neat product lines. This choice is also highlighted with the shots representing articles about Coca-Cola Company's corporate acquisitions (see Figure 21 below) and statement that Coca-Cola Company is "watering down their product portfolio by buying healthier beverage companies".

Figure 21. A shot representing an article about Coca-Cola's corporate acquisition.

In the narrative, and mostly still, shots selected for the parody video, the people represented consuming, or even posing with, the Coca-Cola products are either children, even babies (see Figure 22, p. 58), and adults that can be considered heavily overweight (see Figure 23, p. 58). They are represented mostly being passive, like standing, sitting or lying down, somewhere inside, and in most cases they are not smiling or looking that happy, which is quite the opposite of the people in the original advertisement. This gives the impression that the consumption of Coca-Cola already from an early age is associated with overweight and passive lifestyle.

Figure 22. A shot representing a baby drinking Coca-Cola.

Figure 23. A shot representing a man posing with Coca-Cola.

All in all, the analysis reveals that the parody version represents only the original Coca-Cola brand, and children as well as adults that seem not to be too happy to consume the

Coca-Cola products. The next subsection will concentrate on what kind of interactive meanings these representations create.

5.2.2 Interpersonal metafunction

The analysis of the eye contact, perspective and social distance of this parody reveals several similarities and differences with the original advertisement. As in the original advertisement, also in this parody the majority of the shots are offering the represented objects or participants to the viewer, in other words they do not make direct eye contact with the viewer. Demanding shots are used mainly in the same occasions as in the Coca-Cola's version, although the shot can have different participants such as child drinking Coca-Cola (see Figure 24, p. 59). In the end of video, there is also a demanding shot representing a woman drinking water and turning her smiling face towards the viewer (see Figure 25, p. 59). This indicates that the viewer is expected to engage with the woman and perhaps alter his or hers drink choices.

Figure 24. A demanding shot representing a child drinking Coca-Cola.

Figure 25. A shot representing a smiling woman drinking water.

The choices of detachment and involvement through perspective are relatively different from original version. The analysis of the horizontal angle of the shots reveals that unlike in the original advertisement, the majority of the shots represent the participants or only parts of them from an oblique angle, which detaches them from the viewer, and therefore creates an invisible barrier between the viewers and the participants associated with the Coca-Cola products (see Figure 26 below). However, the power relations between the viewer and especially human participants are still relatively equal, as the analysis of the

vertical angle reveals. Interestingly, the symbolical references to the White House and the Coca-Cola logo are left out from the parody, perhaps in order to diminish their meaning and power over the viewer.

Figure 26. A shot representing a man's belly from an oblique angle.

Despite of the significant use of oblique angle and its detaching affect, the majority of the shots used in the parody are close shots that create personal distance with the viewer and engage him or her with the video. In some shots, such as those involving small children, the distance to the viewer is even intimate, as if the viewer would be holding the child himself (see Figure 24, p. 59). Longer shots are used only for those shots that involve text (see Figure 27 below), which is a natural considering that the only intention is to get the viewer to read the text on shot, and not to create any particular relationship with the represented text.

Figure 27. A shot representing a 'translation' of the original advertisement.

As a conclusion, the analysis shows that the parody engages the viewer in similar occasions as the original version, while having also its own 'demanding' moment in the end. The choices made in perspective and social distance indicate that the viewer is detached from the represented participants with the use of oblique angle, but has an equal power relation as well as close personal distance with them. The next subsection will now discuss how these results relate to the composition of the parody.

5.2.3 Textual metafunction

When analyzing the information value, salience and framing, it is revealed that Coming Together: Translated uses relatively different ways to create information value than the original advertisement. The parody has relatively few shots apart from the original version that would include Coca-Cola Company's products, and in them there seems to be no clear logic in composition. In some shots the Coca-Cola is placed on the left and in some cases on the right, or then the composition is centralized.

However, in two cases the composition is clearly used to create information value. The first of them is a shot, where pieces of broccoli is placed on left and soft drink reminding of Coca-Cola on the right to illustrate the controversy of a voice-over stating "all calories count, no matter where they come from" (see Figure 28 below). The second case is the second-last sequence, where a glass of water, described as "the competitor" for Coca-Cola, is placed on the left as a given and the woman drinking it on the right as a new (see Figure 25, p. 59). Still, despite of these exceptions, it seems that the parody aims to create information value more through the content than compositional choices.

Figure 28. A shot representing pieces of broccoli and a soft drink as equal.

As in the original advertisement, the people seem to be the most salient part of the shots, since they are often emphasized with close personal, even intimate distance and sharpness. As it was mentioned earlier, the parody is constructed through a dialogue with the original advertisement, and this is also highlighted with the choices in salience. In the shots representing the "translation", the red color and 'bubbling' background are used as an attention getter as well as in order to associate the message with the Coca-Cola Company (see Figure 27, p. 60). In addition to this, the dialogue is supported with the choices of framing in audio. In the translation shots, the audio changes from the original voice-over and peaceful piano-music into synthetically-made circus-type music, which clearly distinguishes these shots from the original version while aiming to emphasize the sarcasm of the text in the shot. Additionally, the shifts between the translation shots are indicated with a sound created by opening a can of soft drink, which further associates the message with beverage industry.

When analyzing the salience and framing of the rhythm, it is revealed that the dialogue significantly intensifies towards the end. At the beginning, the voice-over from the original advertisement is played for over 20 seconds before the first "translation" slide, whereas after that the transition phases between the original and translation shots last less than 10 seconds. However, this intensity is not clearly indicated with music, since it remains relatively similar throughout the parody. Only in the last sequence it slows down to indicate the end of the video.

The analysis of linkage between scenes and sequences reveals that the representational connections created are quite contradicting to the original advertisement. First of those connections is the way that obesity is represented. Instead of a scale, obesity is referred to through shots representing the bellies of overweight people, and in many cases obesity is directly associated with the Coca-Cola brand as in Figures 26 (p. 59) and 23 (p. 58). This connection is further on supported with the claims "Our (Coca-Cola's) products (sugary drinks) are the single largest contributor at calories to the American diet" and "We're (Coca-Cola) part of the solution. You know, like if you get lung cancer, it's smart to ask advice from your cigarette company" that aim to highlight the controversial role of

Coca-Cola in the obesity discussion. Perhaps this is also one reason for CSPI's choice to keep the Coca-Cola's historical references in the beginning and end of the parody video.

The second connection is the previously mentioned dialogue with the original advertisement that is created in two ways. First of these are the previously mentioned red "translation" shots that make sarcastic comments about the content of the advertisement and the second are the shots used to contrast the message of the voice-over. For example in a sequence, where the voice-over states that the Coca-Cola Company is introducing smaller portion-controlled sizes, the parody represents a shot of hand filling a big mug with a soft drink (see Figure 29, p. 63). It can be concluded that both of these ways aim to question the reliability of the content and Coca-Cola's role in the obesity discussion. In addition, the dialogue serves as a guide to the parody since it regularly reminds the viewer of the original content by discussing the topics in the same order as in the original version.

Figure 29. A contrasting shot representing a hand filling a mug.

To summarize, the analysis reveals that the parody uses composition to create information value only in rare occasions. As in the original advertisement, also in the parody people are usually the most salient part, but in this case they are mostly used to create the connection to obesity, and to question Coca-Cola's role as a part of people's diet. The analysis also reveals that the parody has continuous dialogue with the original advertisement through sarcastic "translation" shots and contrasting illustrations. The next

section will summarize the results from both the Coming Together advertisement and the parody made of it.

5.3   Summary of results

As the previous subsections have shown, all three metafunctions revealed several clear similarities and differences between the Coca-Cola's advertisement and CSPI's parody of it. In order to improve the comparability of these results, they are summarized in Table 3 (p. 64).

Table 3. A summary of the results.

	Coca-Cola: Coming Together	CSPI: Coming Together: Translated
Ideational metafunction (Representation)	*Products:* different options of Coca-Cola´s soft drinks	*Products:* Only the signature brand of Coca-Cola
	People: Adults living an active and enjoyable life. People consume Coca-Cola outside their homes.	*People:* Both children and adults, partly overweight. Mostly represented as passive.
Interpersonal metafunction (Interaction)	*Eye contact:* Occasionally direct, especially when talking about "us"	*Eye contact:* Occasionally direct, especially in the end.
	Perspective: Often frontal angle that engages viewer. Equal power relations with few symbolical exceptions.	*Perspective:* Often oblique angle that detaches viewer. Equal power relations.
	Social distance: Mostly close personal distance	*Social distance:* Mostly close personal distance

Textual metafunction (Composition)	*Information value:* Coca-Cola products often represented familiar. Also many centralized shots.	*Information value:* Mixed composition in relation to Coca-Cola products. Also many centralized shots.
	Salience: People most salient, Coca-Cola logo used often as an attention getter. Most salient sequence is when talking about shared responsibility of tackling obesity.	*Salience:* People most salient. Rhythm increasingly intensifies towards the end. Dialogue created through visual and vocal shifts.
	Framing: Historical reference in the beginning and end, obesity as number on the scale, Coca-Cola Company as the "Average American Dad"	*Framing:* Historical reference kept in the beginning and end, obesity as people's health problem caused by sugary drinks, continuous dialogue with the original advertisement through sarcastic "translation" shots and contrasting illustrations.

This summary offers implications from three different perspectives: representation, interaction and composition. From representation perspective, both of the videos used shots of people to create connections with healthy lifestyle and obesity. Also the choice of beverage brands seems to be a part of the legitimating/illegitimating attempts. For example, Coca-Cola focuses on illustrating its low-calorie beverages, whereas CSPI includes only the Coca-Cola's signature brand in its shots and hence highlights Coca-Cola's "true nature".

From interactive perspective, the videos use close personal distance and equal power relations in the shots to create a connection with the viewer, and hence to get him/her to support the message of the video. Also the choice of perspective seems to be dependent on whether the viewer is expected to engage with the represented participants. Finally, direct eye contact is used to "demand" the viewer to commit with particular social behaviour, such as water drinking or admitting a shared responsibility.

From compositional perspective, the findings indicate how rhythm and salience are used to attract the viewer's attention to a certain part of the video, and how framing is used to create a associations, for example about obesity and historical relevance, in the viewer's

mind. The parody version uses framing also to create a dialogue with the original advertisement. These implications are discussed in relation to the earlier literature and theoretical framework in the following chapter.

6   Discussion

In this chapter, it is discussed how the results relate to the theoretical framework and earlier literature and what kind of answers they provide to the research questions. The chapter is divided into three parts that follow the structure of the theoretical framework. The first one discusses the videos in the light of corporate citizenship, whereas the second focuses on how the results can be seen in relation to the factors influencing consumer skepticism. The third, and final, part draws conclusions about how the results are influencing on the perceived legitimacy, and hence answers to the research questions.

6.1   Coming together as an act of ethical corporate citizenship

As it was discussed in Subsection 2.2 of the literature review, a company that is perceived as an ethical corporate citizen is more interested in what should be done than what is being done, and demonstrates authentic commitment to the society. According to Schrempf (2014), this authentic commitment in relation to fighting obesity could be shown by addressing action, information, damage control, and participation responsibilities. When the results are viewed in relation to these responsibilities, it is revealed that the Coca-Cola Company and CSPI have quite different perspectives on the issue.

Firstly, the action responsibility is in the core of Coming Together advertisement's message. Enlarging product scale, replacing sugar with sweeteners, and avoiding marketing to children are all key statements in the advertisement, and they are illustrated with infographics (see Figure 14, p. 53) and representations of healthy adults drinking soda beverages (see Figure 2, p. 50). At the same time, the parody claims that the Coca-Cola Company has been watering down its portfolio with corporate acquisitions, and questions the sincerity of changing the package sizes as well as beverage offering in schools with newspaper articles (see Figure 21, p. 57) and representations of children drinking Coca-Cola (see Figures 22 & 24, p. 58-59) . Hence, action responsibility is used both to legitimize and illegitimate the use of Coca-Cola's beverages.

Secondly, it is debatable whether the information responsibility is addressed sufficiently in the Coming Together advertisement. In the original advertisement the voice-over refers

to 'a common-sense fact' that "all calories count, no matter where they come from, including Coca-Cola and everything else with calories" and this sequence is illustrated with shots of smiling people eating snacks and drinking light Coca-Cola at a party. This gives the impression that the source of the calories is meaningless in relation to calorie control and associates the brand with enjoyable moments in life. However, the parody version considers that this information is misleading by stating that liquid calories are more conductive to weight gain than calories in solid food, and that sugary drinks raise the risk of diabetes and heart disease. This criticism is illustrated with representations of overweight people consuming Coca-Cola (see Figure 26, p. 59) and a shot representing broccoli to be equal to a soft drink (see Figure 28, p. 61) Therefore, also information responsibility is used both for and against the Coca-Cola Company.

Thirdly, the damage control responsibility is left without further notice in both videos. Although the original advertisement mentions that they cooperate with scientist and nutritionists in their product development, it does not imply that that cooperation would be related to obesity. Interestingly, the parody does not react to these statements at all and in any way imply that the Coca-Cola Company should support the research and development in the pharmaceutical industry regarding obesity-related medicaments. Hence, the damage control responsibility is not used to legitimize or illegitimate the consumption of soda beverages.

Fourthly, also the participation responsibility is left without recognition in the two videos. The Coming Together advertisement does not in any way indicate that it would cooperate with other stakeholders in obesity-related issues. Therefore, it seems that Coca-Cola is focusing more on the philanthropic face of corporate citizenship by stating its support for the youth programs that focus on active and healthy living. Again, the parody version does not indicate that the Coca-Cola Company should cooperate with other stakeholders and does not make any comments regarding the philanthropic actions. Therefore, participation responsibility is not used as a legitimizing or illegitimating tool in these videos.

All in all, it can be concluded that the advertisement, and the parody made of it, use the indicators of action and information responsibilities to legitimize and illegitimate the use

of soda beverages. However, neither of them address the damage control or participation responsibilities, which indicates that both the Coca-Cola Company and CSPI consider that cooperation with other stakeholders is not that significant in this context, and that the individual actions of the Coca-Cola Company are more relevant for the perceived corporate citizenship. Hence, they have relatively limited view on the ethical perspective of corporate citizenship, at least on the basis of earlier research. The next section discusses how the results are related to the factors influencing consumer skepticism.

6.2   Results in relation to factors influencing skepticism

As discussed in Subsection 2.4, there are four main factors that are influencing on the consumer skepticism: fit of the cause, earlier awareness and knowledge about the cause, CSR impact specificity and long-term CSR commitment, as well as timing and communication channel choices. The other stakeholders are not particularly discussed here, since the study already focuses on the relationship between the advertisement by the Coca-Cola Company and parody version made by its stakeholder CSPI. Hence, the results relevant for each of the four factors are discussed more in detail.

6.2.1   Fit of the cause

Fit of the cause is communicated in the original advertisement in several sequences. Both in the beginning and at the end, the voice-over declares how "Coca-Cola brings people together", as the campaign's name indicates, to 'fight' against obesity, and how obesity concerns all of us. These shots and sequences are illustrated with demanding representations of people that address the viewer directly (see Figures 9 & 11, 50-51). The voice-over also states how "as the nation's leading beverage company, we can play an important role", which gives the impression that the company is engaging with the issue, because it considers it to be part of its role as active corporate citizen. This impression is emphasized particularly with the representational narrative of the "average American dad". As it was concluded in the analysis, the company is referring to itself several times through a man wearing a Coca-Cola t-shirt (see Figures 19 & 20, p. 56) that leaves for work in the morning and fills the shelves with Coca-Cola's healthier options. With this narrative the company aims to associate itself with the viewer's life and to show

that it is part of the society. Therefore, its motives to engage with the issue should be perceived as value-driven and consumers should not be skeptical towards the campaign.

However, it is good to note that at any point in the advertisement the company does not acknowledge that its products would have any influence or relation to the obesity as such. All the people represented consuming Coca-Cola's products seem to live healthy and active life, and none of them can be considered to be overweight (see Figures 8 & 10, p. 50-51). Therefore, the advertisement does not provide any clear link between obesity and Coca-Cola's brand, which raises questions about the company's motives to engage with the issue.

Unsurprisingly, to CSPI the link between obesity and Coca-Cola's products is relatively obvious and the parody aims to remind the viewers about the link in several occasions for example with the translation shots and contrasting illustrations. At the same time, the parody questions the Coca-Cola Company's role in the obesity discussion. Statements, such as "sugary drinks are the single largest contributor of calories to the American diet" and representations of overweight people and children with Coca-Cola cans (see Figures 24 & 26, p. 59) associate the Coca-Cola Company with obesity and frame it to be the "real" cause for the epidemic. With all this, the parody seems to suggest that the company should not be perceived as a concerned corporate citizen, but rather as an organization that is just trying to save its own face. Therefore, its motives should be perceived as egoistic and viewers should be skeptical towards to campaign.

6.2.2 Earlier awareness and knowledge about the cause

In general, the original Coming Together advertisement expects that the viewers already have plenty of earlier awareness and knowledge about the cause. It does not mention or illustrate any health risks related to obesity, or state any particular causes for it. In other words, it does not include any specific social topic information that was suggested by Pomering and Johnson (2009), and represents obesity only as a number on the scale. However, the advertisement refers to "the common sense fact" that obesity can be tackled by counting calories gained and burned. Therefore, exercising should be considered to be the key to the success, not so much what you eat or drink. This message is emphasized with representations of calorie content labels that "help people to make informed

decisions " (see Figure 30 below) as well as with shots representing people doing sports and playing outside (see Figure 31 below). In addition, the advertisement indicates that you gain calories from added sugar. Therefore, replacing sugar with other sweeteners, as illustrated in the advertisement, should be considered as a responsible move from the company.

Figure 30. A shot representing a calorie content label.

Figure 31. A shot representing a running woman.

Also the parody version assumes that viewers are well aware of the obesity issue. Although the obesity is illustrated with representations of overweight people, the video does not show any health risks associated with it, or state any other causes than sugary drinks for it. The only 'new' information that the parody offers to the viewer is that "liquid calories are more conducive to weight gain than calories from solid food". With this information, it questions the Coca-Cola's message that it does not matter what you eat or drink and this is illustrated a shot comparing broccoli to a soda beverage (see Figure 28, p. 61). Therefore, the parody gives the impression that the Coming Together advertisement is giving misleading information to the viewers.

In general, the parody speaks only about sugary drinks and illustrates only the original Coca-Cola brand, so it can be assumed that at least in this case the alternative sweeteners are better option for the consumers, like it was stated in the original advertisement. Still, at the end the parody also reminds the viewer of the habit of water drinking with a demanding shot of a smiling woman (see Figure 25, p. 59), and represents it as an alternative for consuming soda beverages.

6.2.3 Impact specificity and long-term commitment

The original advertisement aims to increase the credibility of the message by providing relatively exact statements, such as that the company offers over 180 low- and no-calorie choices. The infographics illustrating for example the decline in average calories per serving (see Figure 14, p. 53) also indicate that the company is measuring the results of its actions at least in some issues and is engaged in more strategic CSR. This kind of specific information was recommended by Pomering and Johnson (2009), as was stated in the literature review of this study. Still, some of the statements are relatively vague. For example, the advertisement announces that support the company is supporting youth programs, but does not give any exact examples of how that support is influencing on obesity prevention. Therefore, it is challenging for the viewer to evaluate the impact of Coca-Cola's represented actions in this context.

Vague or not, these statements have apparently convinced CSPI at least partly, since they do not make any comments about the impact specificity in the parody version. All the infographics represented in the original advertisement are left out, and the dialogue does not provide any "translation" for the numerical data the company is presenting. Perhaps surprisingly, it either does not provide any numbers to support its own claims. Statements, such as "drinking sugary drinks raises your risk of diabetes and heart disease" or "sugary drinks are single largest contributor of calories", are just presented as facts without any specific percentages or references. This diminishes their credibility in the eyes of a critical viewer and therefore hinders their effectiveness.

As it was discussed in the literature review, both the impact specificity and long-term involvement have an effect on how the consumers perceive the company's commitment to CSR. The latter of them, long-term commitment of the Coca-Cola Company, is highlighted in the Coming Together advertisement in several occasions. The historical reference, represented both in the beginning and at the end of the advertisement, emphasizes the long history and significance of the company both through the shots from old commercials (see Figures 15 & 16, p. 54) and the voice-over stating "For over 125 years, we've been bringing people together". In addition, the infographics (see Figure 14, p. 53) indicate that the company has been committed to measuring its actions already for

decades. Also the wordings used, such as "we will continue to work" and "we have voluntarily changed", aim to communicate that the company has already done a lot and aims to "keep up the good work".

Unsurprisingly, the parody version criticizes the represented long-term commitment. CSPI for example states in one of the translation shots (see Figure 27, p. 60) of the video that the Coca-Cola Company "has spent millions on fighting portion control and taxes in New York", which contradicts with the Coca-Cola's declared willingness to create smaller portion-controlled sizes. The parody also questions the motives for Coca-Cola's actions at schools by stating that the company altered its offering at schools only after they were pressured to do so by parents, school boards and states. This statement is illustrated with a shot representing newspaper article about the issue. Hence, the volunteerism of the Coca-Cola's actions is debatable. Finally, while the historical references used in the original advertisement can also be seen in the parody version, it seems that they are used more to indicate the beginning and the end of the original version, rather than highlight the Coca-Cola's long-term commitment.

6.2.4 Timing and communication channel choices

Although the original advertisement, or the parody version of it, do not directly discuss about the timing of Coming Together campaign, some implications can be still drawn from the results. The original advertisement aims to give an impression that the represented actions have been proactive in several occasions. For example, it refers to the earlier mentioned change in product offering in schools and continuous cooperation with nutritionists in its product innovation. With these statements, as well as those discussed in relation to the impact specificity, the company aims to decrease the consumer skepticism often caused by reactive social initiatives that was discussed by Becker-Olsen et al. (2006).

The parody version in contrast aims to frame the Coming Together as reactive response to the pressure from different stakeholders. As it was discussed in the previous subsection, the video reminds the viewers of Coca-Cola's previous reluctance to take the measures they are now promoting. Through that it aims to increase the negative thoughts about the

company's true motives to engage in the obesity discussion in 2013, years later after the whole discussion about the issue started.

Unfortunately, the results do not give any implication regarding the communication channel choices of the Coming Together campaign, but on the basis of the literature review it seems quite obvious, why the advertisement provoked for example the parody version from CSPI. As it was discussed in Section 2.4, especially traditional advertising for example in television often gives consumers the impression that the company is over-accentuating its good intensions (Pomering & Dolnicar, 2009) and that in general consumers prefer companies to communicate through minimal releases such as websites (Morsing & Schultz, 2006). Hence, the choice of airing the two-minute advertisement in the best and most expensive viewing time was not necessarily the wisest channel choice from the Coca-Cola Company. Still, it is likely that the campaign would have generated skepticism regardless of the channel choice, but the amount of it would have probably been smaller.

To summarize, it is clear that the Coca-Cola Company and CSPI have very different perceptions of the Coca-Cola's motivation to commit to the obesity cause. Still, both the original advertisement and the parody made of it give relatively limited view on the issue itself, and they assume that the viewer has already a lot of prior knowledge about it. This assumption might make it more difficult for some viewers to evaluate the significance of Coca-Cola's actions and whether the company deserved the criticism it received, partly due to its timing and channel choices. The next section will discuss how these conclusions relate to the perceived legitimacy and provide the answers to the research questions of this thesis.

6.3   Perceived legitimacy

As it was discussed in the beginning of the literature review, legitimacy as such can be defined as a social judgment of acceptance, appropriateness, and/or desirability (Zimmerman & Zeist, 2002, p. 416). Hence, legitimation can be understood as speech act of defending oneself by providing good reasons, grounds or acceptable motivations for past or present actions that has been or could be criticized by others (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 255). So what kinds of reasons or grounds does the Coca-Cola Company provide to ensure

the social acceptance of its beverages? And how does CSPI diminish them? The previous sections have already provided several answers to these questions, but when the results are viewed from the perspective of moral legitimacy, comes the picture even clearer. The first subsection draws now the conclusions from Coca-Cola's perspective, whereas the second one focuses on CSPI's point of view.

6.3.1 Coming Together

The Coming Together advertisement's perspective on legitimacy is very action-oriented, since the main content is focused on the ways in which Coca-Cola has tried to support healthy living. Hence, it can be concluded that it seeks for procedural legitimacy by embracing concrete actions that it believes to be in line with the general perception of accurate methods to support healthy habits. By focusing on these actions, it shifts the attention from the obesity issue as such, and aims to diminish the linkage between obesity and its beverages altogether.

Examples of this can be seen in several occasions. Firstly, people in general are happy and healthy-looking, and they are viewed from close distances so that it is easy for the viewer to feel connected with them (see Figures 9 & 11, p. 50-51). Secondly, the beverage consumption as such is associated with social situations outside of homes, and low- and no-calorie options are represented as a healthy choice for the regular Coca-Cola. Finally, obesity is framed as something that we all have to tackle together through shots of people that demand the viewer to engage with them (see Figure 11, p. 51). With statements, such as "If you eat and drink more than you burn off, you gain weight", and shots representing people doing sports (see Figure 31, p. 70), the advertisement also indicates that it is everyone's own responsibility to regulate the calorie consumption and therefore the number on the scale.

To support this procedural legitimacy, Coca-Cola has addressed the action and information responsibility and aimed to decrease the consumer skepticism by highlighting its fit with the cause, impact specificity and long-term commitment. All this is supported with the advertisement's multimodality that frames the beverages to be a part of healthy

and active everyday life, and gives the impression that the company wants to take facilitator's role in a common issue as an act of corporate citizenship.

6.3.2 Coming Together: Translated

The parody version's perspective on legitimacy is fundamentally different in comparison to the original version. Instead of criticising the represented actions as such, CSPI focuses on illegitimating the role of the Coca-Cola Company in the obesity discussion as a whole. In other words, it aims to question the structural legitimacy of the company by pointing out issues that can decrease the moral support of the public. With this it frames the Coca-Cola Company to be a hypocritical organization that only aims to increase its own sales with the advertisement. Therefore, people should stop consuming Coca-Cola's beverages altogether.

This point of view is seen in several sequences of the parody. Firstly, only the signature brand of Coca-Cola is represented in the shots and in general people consuming it are viewed to be overweight adults and children (see Figures 24 & 26, p. 59). Secondly, beverage consumption is clearly associated with obesity (see Figures 23 & 26, p. 58-59) and is considered to be even the main cause of it. Finally, the dialogue with the original advertisement directly questions the reliability of the content and Coca-Cola's role in the obesity discussion by representing sarcastic comments (see Figure 27, p. 60) and contrasting shots (see Figure 29, p. 63).

To support their illegitimating attempts, CSPI states that the action and information responsibility have not been sufficiently addressed by the Coca-Cola Company. In addition, it aims to increase the consumer skepticism by questioning Coca-Cola's fit and long-term commitment to the cause, and represents the advertisement as a reactive response to the ongoing and pressuring discussion. The multimodality of the parody supports this, since it directly associates Coca-Cola with obesity and frames the company to be structurally illegitimate to take part in the health discussion by comparing it to the cigarette companies.

7 Conclusions

This chapter first summarizes the study by restating the aims, research methods, theoretical perspectives and main findings. After that, the chapter discusses the limitations and practical implications of the study. Finally, it gives suggestions for the future research.

7.1 Research summary

As it was concluded in the beginning if this study, the use of visual messages have been mostly neglected both in the previous studies of CSR communication and in the context of anti-obesity campaigns. This gap is partly filled with this study, which aimed to analyze how the Coca-Cola Company, the leading beverage brand in the United States, used multimodality to legitimize its position in an anti-obesity advertisement named Coming Together, and how Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), a public health advocate group, used a parody version of the same advertisement to illegitimate the company. The more specific focus was given on how the advertisement and the parody perceive legitimacy and in which ways they are building or questioning it.

The study utilized a theoretical framework combining legitimacy and CSR advertising theories. The framework considers legitimacy to be the ultimate goal of CSR, and indicates how legitimacy has an influence on what kind of responsibilities the companies should address. In addition, it focuses on advertising of corporate social initiatives, such as the Coming Together campaign, and discusses the different factors influencing on consumer scepticism. The data of the study was analysed with the methods of systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis, since it enabled to reveal the socio-political connections of the videos instead of focusing only on their content.

The main findings of the study revealed that the Coca-Cola Company aimed to build procedural legitimacy in its Coming Together advertisement by embracing concrete actions, which they believed to be in line with the general perception of accurate methods to support healthy habits. By focusing on these actions, it shifted the attention from the obesity issue as such, and aimed to diminish the linkage between obesity and its beverages altogether by framing the beverages to be part of a healthy and active everyday life. To

support these attempts, Coca-Cola addressed the action and information responsibility and aimed to decrease the consumer skepticism by highlighting its fit with the cause, impact specificity, and long-term commitment. All this is supported with the advertisement's multimodal connections.

The main findings also showed that the parody version's perspective on legitimacy was fundamentally different in comparison to the original version. Instead of criticising the represented actions as such, CSPI focused on questioning the structural legitimacy of the company by pointing out issues that can decrease the moral support of the public. With this perspective, it framed the Coca-Cola Company to be a hypocritical organization that only aims to increase its own sales with the advertisement. To support their illegitimating attempts, CSPI stated that the Coca-Cola Company had not sufficiently addressed the action and information responsibility and aimed to increase the consumer skepticism by questioning Coca-Cola's motives and long-term commitment to the cause. In addition, it represented the advertisement to be a reactive response to the ongoing and pressuring discussion. The multimodal analysis of the parody supported this.

Since there are relatively few studies that would have studied the visual communication of CSR altogether, the comparison of present findings with the previous research is challenging. Still, some support can be gained from the findings concerning the images used in non-financial reporting represented by Breitbarth et al. (2010). The writers concluded in their article that the extensive use of people in the photographs aimed to counter negative or sceptical perceptions of companies, which is also the case in this study.

7.2 Practical implications

The findings of this study clearly show that visual communication can be utilized also in the legitimation attempts of CSR communication, since it can support for the intended messages and create powerful connections in the viewers' minds. In addition, the findings offer four practical implications for the management and communication teams that plan to make advertisements to demonstrate their corporate citizenship. Firstly, all three earlier mentioned perspectives (representation, connection and composition) should be considered in the planning phase of video in order to guarantee a coherent and convincing

message. The findings of this study indicate that in the Coming Together advertisement all of these three aspects were considered and they seem to support its main message, whereas in the parody version there was room for improvement. Although the parody managed to convey powerful message through its multimodal aspects, more advanced use of salience and framing tools would have helped the viewer to understand the dialogue's key message more clearly. Hence, it can be concluded that only the utilization of all three aspects can help to unleash the full potential of communication through videos.

Secondly, it is advisable to pay attention on how the expected responsibilities are addressed. In this study, the videos seem to focus purely on addressing responsibilities that were dependent on the organization's individual actions, and therefore seemed to have relatively limited view on corporate citizenship. On the basis of previous research, it is possible that by emphasizing also the joint efforts with other organizations, the Coca-Cola Company could have avoided part of the criticism it received and could have improved its perceived legitimacy.

Thirdly, all the aspects that may increase skepticism should be taken into consideration in the planning phase of these kinds of advertisements. Help with this could be gotten for example from the theoretical framework of this study, since it offers relatively comprehensive view on the factors influencing consumer skepticism. Even though skepticism usually cannot be completely avoided, it seemed that the channel and timing choices of Coca-Cola's advertisement attracted even more skepticism that it would have otherwise received. Hence, only content is not enough to convince the viewers about the authenticity of the company's engagement.

Finally, it is generally good to take into consideration that there are different kind of legitimacy, and hence also different ways to build them. The findings of this study show that the Coca-Cola Company focused mostly on one type of legitimacy, which is probably good for the message coherency, but involves also the risk of one-sightedness. In this case that one-sightedness lead to criticism towards the whole company. Therefore, it would be an ideal option to aim to build all forms of legitimacy in different ways.

7.3   Limitations of the study

The limitations of this study are mostly concerning the research methods and data used in this research. Firstly, the analysis method used in this study is relatively laborious, technical and time-consuming. Therefore, it can be challenging for the reader to evaluate the appropriateness of the method or the correctness of the results. The researcher's lack of earlier experience using this analysis method may also increase the amount of errors.

Secondly, this method includes a strong interpretative component, since the transfers of meaning within an image can be very complex and therefore difficult to analyze. It is considered that meanings are relational not only within the image but also in relation to other images and to broader dominant codes (Rose, 2001). Therefore, the results can have different interpretations depending on the viewers and their cultural backgrounds, and the viewers can have unrecognized attitudes that influence on the analysis. Still, shared knowledge and understanding of the context and analytical tools used reduce the amount of misinterpretations and increase the analysis' transparency.

Thirdly, the topic of this thesis is relatively challenging due to the lack of earlier research in visual messages of CSR communication. For this reason, it was difficult to find specific models and/or theories of legitimization or CSR communication that would take the visual messages into consideration and therefore to form the theoretical framework for this study. This lack of earlier research also makes it difficult to compare the results with earlier studies and hence to evaluate their significance.

Finally, this study focuses only on one campaign advertisement released in the United States, which sets limitations on how the results can be applied in other companies, countries and cultures, for example Finland. As it was discussed in the beginning, the expectations set for the companies differ depending to the cultural context, so also the legitimation attempts need to be adjusted accordingly. Still, similar data and analysis methods can be used also in the future research in order to get more adjustable results.

7.4   Suggestions for future research

Since relatively few earlier studies have been made concerning the visual communication of CSR, there are several possibilities for future research in the area. The present study suggests at least three possible directions for future research.

First, the Coming Together campaign could be analyzed as a whole for example by including the video material also from the campaign's website. In addition, the same advertisement has also been launched in other countries, so it would be interesting to make a comparative study of the realization of the campaign in different countries. One option would be also to focus on the public discussion that the campaign has caused for example on social media and discussion boards.

Second, also the Finnish government has had occasional plans to double the taxation for soft drinks (Helsingin Sanomat, 2013), so it would be interesting to analyze how the beverage industry is legitimizing its position in Finland. Even though the discussion about obesity is relatively different than the one in United States, it is possible that the health effects of beverages generate bigger discussion at a future point and force companies to react.

Finally, the use of videos in CSR communication in general could be explored more for example by analyzing CSR videos on corporate web sites. The use of videos in corporate communication is constantly growing and many international companies are already communicating about their CSR efforts through videos. Therefore, there is constantly increasing amount of data available for future researchers.

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Appendix 1. An example of the analysis: Coming Together

Coca-Cola: Coming Together

Stage	Sequence	Scene	Shot	Narrator/ text relation	Image-text relation	Visuals / image relation	Representation	Gaze	Distance	Involvement	Power	Composition
1	1	1	1	For over 125 years,	Explanation	pharmacist pouring coke	Narrative: The man is the actor, the tap is the goal connected by the vector created by the hands	Offer	Close shot	Involved	Equal	The coke is on the left and new machine on the right, guy is the most salient with white collar
				Explanation		Similarity						
1	1	2	2			Mother with 2 children grabbing a coke pack in a grocery store	Narrative: The woman with the coke pack is a phenomenon and the girl is a reacter	Offer	Close shot	Involved	Equal to the woman, superior to the children	Coke is old and the family is new coming from the right. Woman is the most salient by her size and almost central location. Coke is ideal.
						Similarity						
1	1	3	3			woman drinking coke	Narrative: Woman is the actor and coke glas the goal, connected by the vector of the eyeline	Offer	Close shot	Involved	Slightly superior	Coke is old and the woman is new sitting on the right. Woman is the most salient by her size and central location. Coke is ideal.

							Narrative	Offer	Shot		equal	Notes
3	8	21	23	Over the last 15 years, (specification) this has helped to reduce the average calories per serving across our industries products in the US by about 22 %.	Specification (anchorange)		Narrative: Lines and arrow are the actors, no goal. Non-transactional	Offer	Long shot	Involved	equal	Products are old, the arrow is new. Arrow is the most salient because of colour contrast and size.
				Next event		Next event						
4	9	22	24	We've created smaller portion controlled sizes for our most popular drinks and	Specification (illustration)		Narrative: the can is the goal, hand putting it down. Event.	Offer	Middle shot	Involved	equal	The coke glas is old but the can is new. The can most salient because of colour and position.
				Addition		Similarity						
4	9	23	25	we'll have them in about 90 % of the country by the end of this year.	Specification (anchorange)		Narrative: The cans are the goal, the guy is the actor	Offer	Middle shot	detached	equal	The cans are old and the guy is new, brings new products. The cans most salient because of the sharpness.

Appendix 2. An example of the analysis: Coming Together: Translated.

Stage	Sequence	Scene	Shot	Narrator/*Text*	Image-text relation	Visuals	Representation	Gaze	Distance	Involvement	Power	Composition
2	5	11	12	The long-term health of	Contrast		Narrative: The baby is the actor, can is the goal	offer	Intimate	detached	equal	Coke is given and the baby is new. The can is the most salient.
2	5	12	13	our families	Contrast		Narrative: The guy is the actor and showing finger. Non-transactional	demand	Far personal distance	detached	equal	Coke is given and the guy is new. The can is the most salient.
2	5	13	14	and the countries is at stake,	Contrast		Conceptual: Symbolic attributive	offer	Far personal distance	detached	superior	the stomach is given but coke is new and real.

6	14	30	32	all calories count,	Specification (illustration)		Narrative: The belly is the goal, anonymous actor. Event.	offer	Close personal distance	involved	equal	Centered, the belly most salient.
6	14	31	33	no matter where they come from	Explanation		Conceptual: Analytical: Exhaustive: Conjoined: Connected	offer	Close shot	involved	equal	Broccoli is given, Coke is new. The equation mark as mediator.
6	15	32	34	TRANSLATION: Liquid calories are more conducive to weight gain than calories in solid foods.			Conceptual: Classification: Covert Taxonomy	offer	Close social distance	involved	equal	Centered, text as the most salient

Appendix 3. An overview of information linking

A) Overview of verbal linking (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 225).

Type of connection	Subtypes	Typical explicit conjunctions	Typical environment
Elaboration	Explanation Example Specification Summary Correction	'that is', 'in other words' 'example', 'to illustrate' 'in particular', 'more specifically' 'in short', 'briefly' 'in fact', 'actually'	argumentation persuasion
Extension: addition	Addition Adversative Alternative	'and', 'moreover' 'but', 'however' 'or', 'alternatively'	description argumentation persuasion
Extension: temporal	Next event Simultaneous event Previous event Conclusive event	'then', 'next' 'meanwhile', 'just then' 'previously', 'hitherto' 'finally', 'in the end'	narrative procedure
Extension: spatial	Proximity Co-presence	'behind', 'in front', etc. 'in the same place', 'there'	description
Extension: logical	Similarity Contrast Reason Result Purpose Condition (positive) Condition (negative)	'likewise', 'similarly' 'by contrast', 'conversely' 'therefore', 'for that reason' 'as a result', 'in consequence' 'for that purpose', 'with this in view' 'in that case', 'in that event', 'if' 'otherwise', 'if not'	argumentation persuasion

B) Overview of visual linking (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 229).

Type of connection	Subtypes	Realization	Typical environment
Elaboration	Overview Detail	cut or other transition from CS to LS of *same* subject cut or other transition from LS to CS of *same* subject	description
Extension: temporal	Next event Previous event Simultaneous event	cut or other transition to next action or event cut or other transition to previous event cut or other transition to simultaneous event	narration; procedure
Extension: spatial	Proximity Co-presence	relative location indicated by matching angle series of two or more details	description
Extension: logical	Contrast Similarity	contrasting subject (no narrative connection) similar subject (no narrative connection)	persuasion

C) Overview of visual-verbal linking (van Leuuwen, 2005, p. 230).

Image–text relations		
Elaboration	Specification	The image makes the text more specific (illustration)
		The text makes the image more specific (anchorage)
	Explanation	The text paraphrases the image (or vice versa)
Extension	Similarity	The content of the text is similar to that of the image
	Contrast	The content of the text contrasts with that of the image
	Complement	The content of the image adds further information to that of the text, and vice versa ('relay')

Appendix 4. The results of the analysis in numbers.

	Ideational	Interpersonal	Textual
Coming Together Nr of shots: 88	Shots involving people, or parts of them: 65 Shots involving Coca-Cola products: 27 Narrative shots: 39 Conceptual shots: 49	Gaze: - Offering shots: 55 - Demanding shots: 33 Distance: - Close shots: 65 - Medium shots: 15 - Long shots: 8 Involvement: - Involving shots: 78 - Detaching shots: 10 - Viewer is superior shots: 5 - Viewer is inferior shots: 5 - Equal shots: 78	Information value: Coca-Cola as given shots: 12 Centered shots: 64 Salience: - People as the most salient shots: 52 Framing: - Historical reference shots: 5 - Obesity represented through a scale: 2 - Coca-Cola represented through a 'American dad': 3
Coming Together: Translated Nr of shots: 53 Shots in common with the original version: 16	Shots involving people: 31 Shots involving Coca-Cola products: 14 Narrative shots: 29 Conceptual shots: 24	Gaze: - Offering shots: 47 - Demanding shots: 6 Distance: - Close shots: 32 - Medium shots: 21 - Long shots: 0 Involvement: - Involving shots: 43 - Detaching shots: 10 - Viewer is superior shots: 3 - Viewer is inferior shots: 0 - Equal shots: 50	Information value: Coca-Cola as given shots: 11 Centered shots: 33 Salience: - People as the most salient shots: 20 Framing: - Historical reference shots: 4 - Obesity represented through people: 6 - Translation shots: 12