Engaging employees in CSR: A managerial masterplot for the good employee

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ABSTRACT
We investigate how employees in an international conglomerate are persuaded to engage in pro-social practices as a means of implementing a strategy of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Because the aspects of power and pedagogy in employee engagement are little understood, we combine Bourdieu's (1990) practice theory and his concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital* and *pedagogy* with a focus on the function of narratives in managerial persuasion and employee responses, to understand how participation in CSR activities is modelled by management and responded to by employees. As we show, employees' responses to the CEO's 'masterplot' (Abbott 2003) of 'doing good' range from resisting it to ventriloquizing (Cooren 2012) it.

KEYWORDS
CSR, pro-social practice, power, pedagogy, employee engagement

1. Introduction

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a multidimensional concept which has been in the limelight for more than a decade, not only as a way of conducting business in socially responsible ways, but also as a means for companies to develop relations with external stakeholders and improve their position in the market with respect to innovation, distinctiveness and competitiveness (Gao & He 2017, Johansen & Nielsen 2012). Moreover, CSR is also used by organizations to establish relations with internal stakeholders, as they recruit employees and nurture employee behaviours that benefit the organization (Bauman and Skitka 2012). This may also involve encouraging employees to engage in pro-social practices, i.e. employee acts that support the broader social and psychological environment, such as helping others and taking on additional responsibilities (van Aaken, Splitter, & Seidl 2013, Crane 2008). In this paper, we define CSR as 'the activities of corporate actors that address social and ethical values beyond legal requirements' (van Aaken, Splitter, & Seidl 2013: 351), where CSR activities include sets of pro-social practices that may provide organizations and organizational members with advantages in the

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fields in which they operate (van Aaken, Splitter & Seidl 2013). In this, we understand Corporate Social Responsibility as an umbrella term for a variety of different approaches including, for instance, employee volunteering (Rodell et al. 2016), corporate volunteering and corporate citizenship (Lee & Higgins 2001, Bolino et al. 2013).

In our analysis, we combine Bourdieu's practice theory and his concepts of field, habitus, capital and pedagogy (Bourdieu 1990, Jenkins 2002), with a focus on narratives (Boje 2001, Abbott 2003) and their use in managerial persuasion and employee engagement. We examine aspects of power and persuasion in relation to employee engagement in pro-social practices in connection with the implementation of a CSR strategy. In this theoretical perspective, employees' pro-social participation in the CSR strategy results from a dialectic relation between the organization's interested position in the field and the cultivation of a desired employee habitus.

The overall aim of our study is to investigate the use of pro-social practice as a way of engaging employees in the implementation of a CSR strategy; our focus is on the Danish subsidiaries of an international conglomerate. The selected case concerns a CSR strategy entitled 'Play it Forward', devised and created by the CEO with the aim of encouraging employees to engage in pro-social practices both on and off the job and to post their stories about these practices on a digital employee platform. The platform enables colleagues to nominate and rank each other's stories; the winning project is selected each year by a jury appointed by management.

Because the link between CSR and employee engagement in pro-social practices is poorly understood, little is known about if, when, and why employees participate in this effort (Gao & He 2017). Moreover, the social and ideological nature of CSR as pro-social employee participation has been under-emphasized, resulting in a lack of attention to the aspects of power and persuasion involved in implementing a CSR strategy (van Aaken, Splitter & Seidl 2013).

We therefore investigate these social and ideological dimensions of CSR through an analysis of the masterplot of 'doing good' that emerges from the CEO's persuasive efforts, and the responses of employees as they are encouraged to adopt this plot and incorporate it into their professional and private day-to-day activities. More specifically, we focus on the consequences of an internal competition among employees, which is a part of the CEO's persuasive efforts. We refer to the CEO's overt and subtle attempts of encouragement, including the construction of a masterplot, as 'pedagogic activity' (Everett & Jamal 2004, Jenkins 2002).

Our study proceeds in two parts by first investigating how the CEO of the conglomerate attempts to persuade employees to engage in the CSR strategy through pro-social practices, and second, how employees respond to attempts to engage them in pro-social practices, by either rejecting or adopting the CEO's masterplot.

2. Data and methods

Our data derives from a longitudinal qualitative case study in which we have followed the implementation of the 'Play it Forward' strategy over a period of four years. The data collection was based on the method of passing organizational ethnography (Cooren, Brummans & Charrieras 2008: 1347), and the dataset includes observation of 12 steering group meetings in the

Danish part of the organization and 20 interviews with Danish employees. In addition, we draw on several documents, such as emails, newspaper reports, CSR reports, a book about the CEO's business philosophy, and online employee stories. Recorded meetings and interviews were transcribed, resulting in more than 800 pages of data. This richness of data material is one of the strengths of a case study approach, but it places demands on the researchers, who have to keep track of extensive empirical material. To organize and document the source data, the software program NVivo was used to create a case study database. The use of a database increases the reliability of the case study, as it ensures transparency of the analysis process (Flick 2014). NVivo was used to code the data, using an inductive, open coding based on emic categories (i.e. categories identified in participants' words and accounts; ibid.)

Our data collection took place in Danish subsidiaries of Globalco, a diversified, family-owned conglomerate comprising a global net of over 120 subsidiaries operating within diverse industries, ranging from technology to sport and fashion, shipping, food and more. Each of the industries comprises numerous companies, each of which has subsidiaries globally. The name of the conglomerate, the subsidiary, and the names, stories and any other specific identifying information about organizational members have been changed for the sake of anonymity.

According to newspaper articles and researcher observations, the CEO of the conglomerate is a business celebrity best known for her successful reconstruction of a well-known Danish brand. The CEO is a member of the wealthy family that owns Globalco and was introduced to the world of business by a close relative who occupies a leading position in the conglomerate, and who also served as her teacher and mentor. In a newspaper interview, the CEO explains how from her early childhood, she learned to fight for what she found important in life. Commenting on the world of business, she states: "I have always been fascinated by the tough macho world", yet while competition is good, she explains, "competition in business should always be followed by a willingness to reach out to others" (from the newspaper interview).

The theoretical framework for our analysis combines Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus and pedagogy (Bourdieu 1990, Everett & Jamal 2004, Jenkins 2002), which grant attention to aspects of power and persuasion, with an attention to narrative in two senses. The first is that of 'masterplot' suggested by Abbott (2003), which becomes a conceptual tool for our characterization of the CEO's construction of a plot that provides an overall design for how the CSR strategy is to be implemented. The second entails attention to the content of employee stories (Riessman 2008) and their function in ventriloquizing (Cooren 2012) the masterplot. Ventriloquism can reveal the way that organizational values and ideologies may be internalized: "Positioning oneself or being positioned as speaking, for instance, in the name of say, an organization's interests, a specific idea or even a principle thus amounts to claiming that we are attached to them and that [other things being equal], it is also they that *animate* us and our position, that is, lead us to say or do something" (Cooren 2012: 5). In this way, ventriloquism is related to the concept of habitus, as will be explained in the next section.

3. Inquiry I: The CEO's persuasive efforts and the masterplot of engagement

To address the first part of our inquiry, we investigate how the CEO encourages employees' pro-social practices through a strategic masterplot of 'doing good'.

3.1 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for our analysis combines Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus and pedagogy (Bourdieu 1990, Everett & Jamal 2004, Jenkins 2002), with a focus on narratives (Boje 2001; Abbott 2003) and their use in managerial persuasion.

3.1.1 BOURDIEU

We employ Bourdieu's practice theory and his concepts of field, habitus, capital and pedagogy (Bourdieu 1990, Everett & Jamal 2004, Jenkins 2002) in order to understand how participation in CSR activities as pro-social practices is encouraged through organizational socialization and various mechanisms of persuasion. For Bourdieu, individuals' practices are generated by their habitus, which is an embodied system of dispositions resulting from primary (childhood) and secondary (e.g. on the job) socialization that shape and structure people's perceptions and actions, (and this shaping capacity is related to the concept of ventriloquism). Socialization is learning what Bourdieu (1990) often terms 'the games' of the field, implying that navigating a field amounts to knowing its spoken and unspoken rules and handling them competently. The field is a construct Bourdieu (1990) uses to describe the social arena where (professional and organizational) life takes place and where organizations compete for economic, social and cultural assets, which he refers to as "capital" (van Aaken, Splitter & Seidl 2013). Capital/s is/are thus the strived-for resources of a field, material or symbolic, that structure the field and determine the relative positions of its agents (Bourdieu 1986).

Engagement in CSR activities is a form of cultural capital that allows organizations to demonstrate concern for societal problems by letting their concerns stand out as unique through their particular approach to CSR (Johansen & Nielsen 2012). CSR activities may be used to accumulate capital and improve the position of the organization in relation to other organizations in the field (van Aaken, Splitter & Seidl 2013, Martins, Prevot & Barros 2013). CSR capital may be convertible to economic capital and thereby enable the organization to enhance its economic situation through a more favourable perception of the organization in the market in which it operates.

For Globalco, CSR activities constitute a form of capital in the global field of business and in its various subfields, which are defined by the particular activities taking place in them. CSR capital is claimed by Globalco through the creation of the CEO's unique 'Play it Forward' version of CSR. This, in turn, is translated into a form of capital that may be claimed by employees engaging in pro-social practices, realized as projects to be uploaded as stories on a digital employee portal. Employees' claiming of CSR capital bolsters the organization's capital (Opoku-Dakwa, Chen & Rupp 2018), and since it is thus in the organization's interest, it will be encouraged by the CEO.

Drawing on Bourdieu, we understand the CEO's attempts to engage her employees in 'Play it Forward' as modes of pedagogy and mechanisms of control (Everett & Jamal 2004, Jenkins 2002), which refers to the ways in which she attempts to show what is expected of the 'good' employee. For Bourdieu, pedagogy is a process of socialization and cultivation. It ranges from the implicit to the explicit with the purpose of creating durable dispositions (habitus) in the 'apprentice' (Jenkins 2002) for perceiving the world and acting in it in a certain way. Successful pedagogy is not overtly coercive, but rests on the authority of the educator (Everett & Jamal 2004, Jenkins 2002). Thus, pedagogy is a source of more or less subtle control.

3.1.2 NARRATIVE

In order to understand how the mechanisms described above are realized, we draw on analytical concepts related to the notion of narrative. Narratives can provide meaningful, coherent structures for events over time and are thus a way for their users (narrators as well as 'narratees') to organize and make sense of temporal experiences (Boje 2001). They are a key resource for organizational members in their day-to-day work tasks, in the creation of identity, memory and culture (Linde 2008, Ernst & Jensen Schleiter 2019), in understanding and communicating change (Søderberg 2003) and the meanings of abstract policies (Boje, Haley & and Saylors 2015, Maagaard, Jensen & Lundholt 2019). Narratives in managerial pedagogic activity can unfold the meanings of strategy as intended by management through stories about how it can be put into practice.

Some organizational narratives exhibit canonical features of temporality and event (Boje 2008, Bruner 1990) and constitute the more 'full-blown' narrative that is intentionally constructed and satisfies the criteria of a minimal plot, including a problem, expected resolution, difficulty or surprise, and actual resolution (Ritchie 2010). Other more fragmented forms qualify as what Boje (2001) terms the 'ante-narrative', a brief utterance which is not itself a narrative, but constitutes a 'pre-narrative speculation', a 'bet' (2001: 1) that has larger narrative potential. According to Boje, these ante-narrative forms can feed into, and together shape, a larger, more full-blown organizational narrative of events over time.

Our focus is how the CEO's communication in different forms models the CSR strategy in that it encourages employees' pro-social practices; also, it demonstrates her approach to management and thus her managerial habitus, understood as the dispositions that steer her choices and actions as a manager and, accordingly, her feel for the uncodified 'rules of the game' (Robinson & Kerr 2009, Bourdieu 1990). We investigate how the CEO's pronouncements in spoken and written form constitute ante-narratives that feed into a larger 'masterplot', defined as "recurrent skeletal stories, belonging to cultures and individuals that play a powerful role in questions of identity, values, and the understanding of life" (Abbott 2003: 192). We adopt this term to convey, as Abbott suggests: 1) the 'skeletal' quality of a plot, or storyline that provides a blueprint for the fleshing out of individual narratives, 2) the aspect of power conveyed by 'master', which reflects its use in persuasion and pedagogy, and 3) the elements of time and causality that characterize 'plots'. As we will discuss, while the current masterplot (see below) is reproduced in some individual narratives, both by the CEO and by employees, it is predominantly rejected by the employees.

3.2 Analysis I: The CEO's persuasive efforts

In our analysis, we demonstrate how the various ways in which the CEO's communicates her CSR strategy functions as a masterplot for pro-social practices, which on the one hand guides her activities and, on the other, works as a model for employees' pro-social practices.

3.2.1 DEVELOPING THE 'PLAY IT FORWARD' CONCEPT

'Play it Forward' is, as mentioned, the CSR concept developed by the CEO to encompass the corporate philosophy of "doing good while doing business" (Corporate website); it is a means to create more value for society as well as for the company itself, leading to, in the words of the CEO, a "4 x win for all involved" – that is, advantages for the group, its customers, its partners and the beneficiaries of philanthropic projects (Corporate website). What emerges through the CEO's numerous and varied articulations of the strategy and its implementation through potential employee engagement is a masterplot outlining how the organization's CSR-related pro-social practices are to be carried out. The masterplot provides a blueprint for strategy as well as a model for ideal practices and behaviours that employees can emulate and be rewarded for. The concept has given rise to a number of 'Play it Forward' projects conceived by the CEO and implemented in subsidiaries throughout the organization. Brief descriptions, as in example 1 below, form ante-narratives that feed into the masterplot:

(1) *'Play it Forward' is a pioneering CSR approach connecting branding with projects that have primarily had to differentiate individual companies and Globalco through projects, whether in Brazil or green walls in Stockholm.* (Manager of Play it Forward implementation, Steering group meeting 1).

These branding efforts consist mainly in philanthropic projects of 'doing good', including ones in which football is used as a means to reconcile Brazilian communities torn apart in conflicts, and others in which industry knowledge is used to support farming projects in Africa, by reaching out to areas of hunger, orphans, poverty and education (Corporate website). The projects have been shared on the corporate website as success stories and contribute to the organizational rhetoric of 'looking good'.

In the development of 'Play it Forward', the CEO was helped by an esteemed university researcher whose position in the academic field and influence on the concept helped position this particular approach to CSR as something unique, noteworthy and quasi-scientific in the global field of business and thus with a potential for functioning as capital in it. The concept combines philanthropic and commercial objectives; accordingly, the CEO aims to communicate that there is nothing contradictory about joining symbolic and emotional elements with more quantitative business elements in one concept. In example (2), she emphasizes the uniqueness of this particular combination of elements in the 'Play it Forward' concept:

(2) *We mustn't forget the uniqueness we have in Globalco as well as in the subsidiaries that lies in this, as mentioned, very unique approach to CSR [...] where we combine the more brand-*

ing-based and more emotional with something that makes a difference. (Steering group meeting 1).

As some subsidiaries are reluctant to accept the new concept, the CEO finds it necessary to clarify her expectations regarding how each company should involve itself in 'Play it Forward'; she also emphasizes that the concept is mandatory. Accordingly, sets of Key Performance Indicators (KPI's) were implemented, referred to as the 'hard-core' side of the CSR strategy and designed to monitor managerial objectives and measure CSR practices within the subsidiaries' different fields of operation – and thus enhance their possibilities of engaging in 'doing good' projects. As expressed by the CEO, this 'hard-core' side is "included in the managers' contracts, so some of the KPI's measured there [are] to make it 'top of mind" (Steering group meeting 1). KPI's thus serve as a constant reminder of the performance and measurement of pro-social practices.

One of the ways employees are encouraged to engage in CSR activities and thus claim the potential associated capital is through pro-social employee practices or private 'Play it Forward' projects of their own, incorporated into their day-to-day activities. 'Doing good while doing business' extends, in other words, into employees' private spheres and projects, which employees are encouraged to share by posting their stories on a special employee digital platform. Thus, the masterplot of pro-social practice involves doing good projects in one's private life, while sharing these on a public digital platform in competition with other projects.

If employees adopt the concept, its potential as capital increases because pro-social initiatives that appear to be driven by employee engagement, and not by management dictate, have greater legitimacy in the field (Opoku-Dakwa, Chen & Rupp 2018). Therefore, a core focus of the series of meetings we observed was to establish that employee engagement was important, as seen in (3):

(3) *We would like to involve the individual employee, but more from such a Play-it-Forward... from such a Play-it-Forward [perspective].* (CEO, Steering group meeting 1).

One recurring issue, however, was how such employee engagement could be achieved. The ideas and values of 'Play it Forward' were seen as something that should be internalized by the employees and thus become part of their habitus. The employees would then take over the core ideas of 'Play it Forward' as an 'attitude' and join the fun of competing with colleagues to promote the best projects in the company. This is illustrated by example (4), which is a continuation of (3), but here specifically trying to engage employees through the digital employee platform 'My Kind2Mind' developed for the purpose of sharing stories about pro-social practices:

(4) *[...] So, we launch this new platform, at least beta launch, the 4th of March, where individual employees' own 'Play it Forward' projects are presented. And then maybe we should elect a winner every half year, or however it turns out. This is kind of more to get this My Kind2Mind attitude under the employees´ skin.* (CEO, Steering group meeting 1).

A pedagogic move was to encourage employee participation by offering a specific community, i.e. a Globalco community, in which employees get the feeling of being part of something larger. In this way it is emphasized that participation in 'Play it Forward' should not be a private experience, but should be exhibited and 'liked' on the My Kind2Mind portal, which is described as enabling employees

> (5) *to anchor a common feeling of interconnectedness between all employees in Globalco, [… and] to share stories about their personal take on CSR […] through 'Play it Forward' projects that can be uploaded on the site, where colleagues can like each other's projects.* (Corporate website).

> (6) *We'd like to have as many [projects] as possible, you know. We are part of the subsite called 'Play it Forward', where we have a kind of Facebook for Globalco employees.* (Steering group meeting 1).

Reference was also made to creating a 'specific Globalco culture' (interview). The employee may internalise the normative remedies of pro-social practice as a natural part of life, which belongs neither in the spheres of private life or working life but is something one 'is' and does (Bourdieu 1990). In a Bourdieuian perspective, then, if employees accept the core ideas of the concept, they will engage in preferred 'doing good' practices, without experiencing this as part of work, as 'being a good citizen' has become part of their habitus.

Thus, expecting employees to engage in pro-social practices in their free time adds a 'private life' dimension to the corporate philosophy of 'doing good while doing business'; the same goes for the pro-social practice of sharing their stories about it.

3.2.2 COMPETITION AND WINNING

As suggested by the CEO's move sketched above, employees can add 'likes' to each other's projects, which envelopes the practice of uploading one's project in an atmosphere of competition. From observations, newspaper interviews and a book co-authored by the CEO, we already know that the CEO was socialized from an early age into the principles of commerce, and took over the leadership of her first business in her late 20's. Among other things, she describes herself as creative and passionate: "I am good at hype, innovation, marketing and sales" (newspaper interview). The socialization she has received in her Globalco owning family as well as during her business trajectory has formed her habitus and thereby influenced her approach to management and business as well as her development of the 'Play it Forward' concept – a core aspect of which is competition, just as it is of the CEO's managerial habitus. In excerpt (7), she demonstrates an awareness of the position of Globalco in the global field of business in relation to other organizations, when she talks about 'being the best':

> (7) *And there we are probably the best in the world – now we can brag a little here around the table – and it is especially Sport that has been spearhead, Brazil and all those things – you know the projects.* (CEO, Steering group meeting 1).

For Bourdieu (1986), agents are positioned in the field by means of the kinds and amounts of capital they possess; this capital is in turn actively used by the agents to create differences in relation to others that allow them to position themselves favourably. A position in a field is thus achieved through past and present capital accumulation (Bourdieu 1990). The advantageous position of an organization is defined in relational terms by the forms and amounts of capital held, compared to the forms and amounts of capital of other organizations; in addition, this comparison generates successful competition for further capital. In example (8), the CEO explains how the organization has succeeded in winning unique capital in the form of the Golden Prize, which is a trade prize for outstanding commitment to corporate and social responsibility. Thus, the specific attributes of the 'Play it Forward' concept are effective as capital in the field by allowing the company to gain a competitive advantage and an attractive position in the field, compared to other companies:

(8) *So, we received the biggest prize ever in the entire branch. I have never won that prize before. The Golden Prize, that goes across all the subsidiaries. And that's only because we came up with these different, differentiating and more sexy projects. Really, Brazil, Africa. We have never won that prize before in the 50-year history of the company.* (CEO, Steering group meeting 1).

A similar notion of competition is evident in the strategy for employee engagement, in which the winning project is awarded 10,000 DKK. The CEO's emphasis on the equal value of all projects, small as well as large, can be analysed as a pedagogic move by which she seeks to encourage employee pro-social activity by fostering an atmosphere of confidence:

(9) *We also want to honour and show those who do it by actually saying, uhm 'Ulla, Kirsten, uhm John, we want to honour your projects, and therefore you get 10,000 DKK for your project and it doesn't really make a difference whether it is a big project or a little project, but it is great that you do it', and then we have these prizes.* (CEO, Steering group meeting 1).

Similar reassurances are voiced in several other steering group meetings. As the CEO has it, "Everything goes" (Steering group meeting 3); and as one of the managers says, "we just need to communicate that nothing is too big, nothing is too small. It's all taken into consideration" (Steering group meeting 5). This is also reiterated on the corporate website: "No matter how big or small, your actions count".

Employees are persuaded not merely to donate money, but to actively contribute to a higher purpose by engaging in philanthropic projects of 'doing good' and sharing that feeling on the My Kind2Mind platform:

(10) *We want people to feel like they are a part of something, and that they are making a difference, not just making a bank transaction.* (Corporate website).

3.3.3 THE MASTERPLOT OF PRO-SOCIAL PRACTICE IN GLOBALCO

The CEO's articulations of the CSR strategy and its implementation through employee engagement function as ante-narratives, contributing to the larger masterplot for pro-social practices that guides her own activities and, in turn, provides an ideal model for employees' pro-social practices.

For the CEO, the 'Play it Forward' concept is realized through positive actions, fleshed out in unique, pioneering 'doing good' projects benefiting the environment and people. Shared on the corporate website and other media as stories of success, practices of 'doing good' are also part of the 'looking good' strategy which serves to differentiate the organization's brand. Since employees are encouraged to share their stories by posting them on the special employee digital platform, My Kind2Mind, their stories, just like the CEO's own, contribute to this 'looking good'. At the same time, they carry the additional aspect of competing with other projects.

In sum, the masterplot provides a template for employee practice that has, in Bordieuian terms, a pedagogic function: here, modelling employees' understanding of the 'Play it Forward' concept and its pro-social practices. Accordingly, 'Play it Forward' is offered by the CEO as a form of capital, both for the organization in the global field of business, and for the employees, who can use this capital to gain an advantageous position both in the organization ('the good employee') and outside it (given that the 'capital' is effective).

4. Inquiry II: Employee responses to the CEO's masterplot

To address the second part of our inquiry, we investigate how employees respond to the CEO's masterplot, by examining the stories that employees share on the My Kind2Mind platform as well as responses voiced in interviews and meetings.

4.1 Theoretical framework

In order to understand the ways in which employees do (or do not) engage with the masterplot, we combine brief analyses of the content and functions of employees' stories with the Bourdieuian theoretical framework previously outlined. As we will discuss, the data shows that employees position themselves as either resisting the masterplot or acting in compliance with it through their pro-social practices and telling stories about them.

Since the individual employees' stories are iterations of the masterplot, we introduce the concept of 'ventriloquism' mentioned above to theorize the employees' adoption of the masterplot and thus their acceptance of 'Play it Forward' as capital. Ventriloquism refers to the act of a speaker giving voice to another's utterances. Recalling the image of the ventriloquist and his 'doll', it is, according to Cooren (2012) a key element of communication: "our capacity to make other beings say or do things through our own speech or writing or the way we conduct ourselves" (Cooren 2012: 4-5). Because one can ventriloquize *through* another person (use that person to speak for one), or *for* another person (voice that person's utterances), ventriloquist and ventriloquizer's positions vacillate (Cooren 2012).

4.2 Analysis of different employee responses

In the following, we briefly present employees' statements and summarize their stories posted on My Kind2Mind to illustrate how they interpret the 'Play it Forward' concept. Then we discuss how these responses constitute the employees' positioning toward the masterplot and thus provide evidence of the employee's acceptance or rejection of 'Play it Forward' as capital.

4.2.1 THE SCEPTICAL: MY PRIVATE TIME IS NOT MY COMPANY'S

Because the pro-social practices performed in all subsidiaries are an important part of the overall CSR strategy, the masterplot of 'Play it Forward' works as a managerial imperative through subtle and overt mechanisms of pedagogy; through various techniques it aims at encouraging the staff to engage in pro-social practices and upload their stories on My Kind2Mind. Such techniques include competition, as discussed above, but also other forms of (implicit or overt) persuasion. The data reveals managers' wording of practices that include 'helping', 'calling to action' and 'leading the way as super users' – in reality, efforts to control how employees respond. This is illustrated in (11), (12) and (13) below, representing data from a meeting of the steering group in which middle managers and the CEO articulate their perception that participating in 'Play it Forward' is not something staff do of their own accord, and that there thus is a need to encourage such participation. Connotations of force and control are expressed through the use of the bodily metaphors of 'pulling', 'pushing' and 'taking hold', as a way of forcing the concept down the individual staff's throats and overcoming possible obstacles to participation.

From steering group meeting 5 (relevant portions underlined):

(11) *And we hope that even more will upload their 'doing good' projects, which they probably will need some help doing, here in the beginning.* (Manager of Play it Forward implementation).

(12) *There are some who just aren't so used to using social media. Some are not on Facebook. Some people do not bother. So, how do we pull someone like that? So yesterday we had our event, where I spoke in favour of, 'remember to go to My Kind2Mind, you can actually win 10,000 DKK. Isn't it worth it just going in and looking at it again?' But it is like ... yes, it has to be born ... it must be pushed ... it must be pushed.* (Manager, member of steering group).

(13) *It requires some help at first. It would be great if you went out as super users and just helped it along. Because I told you that I was sitting there at GoDeliver yesterday, right. I think if I had gone through GoDeliver and had talked with each and every one, then I think we could find 5-10 projects, right. There is always someone who works with ...*

... so that's the story that has to go out, right ... so it's super if there's a call to action from here... Now you go out into your respective companies, right ... and as super users ... and you take hold of those you know and who do something good and more actively seek them and help them a little on the way. (CEO, speaking to managers).

Despite offers of assistance and the use of various pedagogic techniques, such as helping with the editing of stories, many employees reject the masterplot entirely as they cannot readily accept the idea that 'doing good', as defined in the organizational context, should be part of their private sphere. Participation in 'Play it Forward' thus becomes an uncomfortable theme, as can be seen in the following dialogue between the interviewer (I) and an employee (Em); see (14):

(14) I   *Do you have a project*
     Em   *No, I haven't*
     I   *Have you ever felt tempted to...*
     Em   *To be honest, no I actually haven't*
     Em   *My project is my family*

In the words of another employee interviewed (see (15)),

(15) *for some, this [the idea of projects] is very fine and others are not capable ...they say that 'what I do in my spare time is my own business'.*

As can be seen from the above interviews, some employees clearly draw a boundary between work life and private life, thus rejecting the masterplot's pro-social practices.

4.2.2 THE SCEPTICAL: WARY OF COMPETITION AND SELF-PROMOTION

Other employees reject specific aspects of the masterplot. For example, while the idea of 'Play it Forward' appeals to some, the competitive element seems to discourage engagement, since the capital at stake seems unobtainable:

(16) *I think it was a SUPER idea and I really think there were some great projects, and then I was a little upset because the project that won, it was so HUGE...* (Interview with employee).

Another employee described his own project as 'dying' when comparing it to that of 'Eric', a previous winner:

(17) *It dies completely, ... when I compare with what Eric does, for example. Or what I could put up, so I don't really want to put my project up anymore.* (Interview with employee).

A further issue is the self-promotion implied in the 'looking good' aspect of sharing one's project on My Kind2Mind. This is reflected in the following excerpt from Steering group meeting 6, in which a manager (Manager 1) describes (to the Play it Forward Implementation Manager) an employee of whom she has knowledge (see (18)):

(18) Manager 1:   *I encounter this [resistance]... so for example. We have one [employee] who does a lot for a centre where people can come, that is, people who are homeless, refugees*

and something, where they can come. I have urged him and said, post it now. He didn't want to put it up

Manager of Play it Forward Implementation: *Yes.*

CEO: *And what is the concern?*

Manager 1: *Well, I think [...] he doesn't want it to be self-promoting on such a Facebook-like page, where I was just like, but so... now they are actually in one of those places, he helps and they need ... they go out and look for money and such, so ... what if you win the 10,000 DKK for them? That would be cool. 'Yeeahh', but then he would have to consider it again. But I have pushed him a couple of times now, without him moving.*

In summary, it is apparent that some critical employees reject the masterplot's pro-social practices, either in full, or in part. This rejection relates to different aspects of the masterplot: the blurring of work life and private life, its competitive aspect, or its principle of sharing the projects on the employee platform. Consequently, these employees also reject the CEO's persuasive efforts of motivating through competition, assistance, indirect forms of 'pulling' or 'pushing', as well as the capital that could be claimed by the individual employee, when engaging in CSR practices of 'doing good'.

4.2.3 THE ACCEPTING: PRO-SOCIAL PRACTICES AND STORIES
In addition to complete or partial rejections of the masterplot, a proportionately small group of employees do engage in the pro-social practices of the masterplot and share them on the digital platform. At the time of data collection, 22 individual stories out of employees across the 120 subsidiaries in the global organization were posted on the My Kind2Mind employee platform.

Despite managerial assurances that all projects, regardless of size, are equal, some indeed appear to be more equal than others, as winners are selected each year by a jury set up by management. The content of the winning employees' narratives, as well as the judges' reasons for selecting the winning projects provide additional insight into employees' responses to managerial pedagogy and persuasion, and how these responses are valued by the company (and why).

The projects and stories shared on the My Kind2Mind platform all involved the active engagement of the employee-protagonist helping the less fortunate, especially children. In one story, the employee uses most of her spare time to make teddy bears to help reduce children's anxiety in emergency rooms; in another story, the protagonist organizes football matches to raise money to rebuild schools destroyed by an earthquake in Nepal; in a third winning story, the employee travels the world playing in football matches to raise awareness and money for improving the living conditions of thousands of children and their families. Each of the stories expresses the proud philanthropic, moral and personal, 'feeling good' aspects of the 'doing good' projects. For instance, one narrator writes, "I am so proud to say that I am a part of this group, and that I am able to help children get through a tough time"; another writes, "it is important for us that a whole generation of children can go to school and get an education, even though the

country is still suffering from the earthquake"; yet another narrator writes, "we are immensely proud, and it gives me an enormous energy boost in my working life to have this project in my private life".

When employees thus share the stories of their projects on the employee platform, they not only participate in pro-social practices as modelled by the masterplot, but tacitly assent to the principles of sharing and competition, as well as to the blurring of boundaries between home and work, all of which are part of the managerial plan to engage employees in the CSR strategy. Individual stories reproducing the basic skeletal structure of the masterplot are fleshed out with different specifics, depending upon the teller, the protagonist, the actions and the beneficiaries. Adding new details like those summarized above, the employees' stories ventriloquize, by animating, or breathing new life into it, the CEO's masterplot for CSR of doing good while doing business. Conversely, the employees' stories are animated by the organization's interests, which may reflect an internalization of the organizational principles that "lead employees to say or do something" (Cooren 2012).

Employee stories that ventriloquize the masterplot are valuable for the company as a means of differentiating it from other companies and by functioning as capital in the global field of business where organizations compete for brands and business. Moreover, since the My Kind2Mind platform is publicly available on the corporate website, the moral stories serve as a means of 'looking good', by branding the company in relation to external stakeholders and by internally branding the employer, in both cases through CSR practices. At the same time, the jury's choices of winning projects and the published statements about why they won provide an opportunity to convey what characterizes the 'good' employee in an organization. In the following extract (19), for example, one of the winners is hailed as an inspiring colleague, as one who makes a difference by living out company values outside working hours:

(19) *We are proud to have colleagues that go out and make a difference. Taking action wherever they are in the world. Our motto: doing good while doing business, reflects our 'Play it Forward' philosophy. Having colleagues that take our philosophy to heart and continues [sic] the work in their private life is inspiring.* (Winning project 2018, Corporate website).

Returning briefly to Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital and pedagogy (Bourdieu 1990, Everett and Jamal 2004), we find that employee responses to persuasive efforts and managerial control range from, on the one hand, resistance to, and sceptical evaluation of, the masterplot, to, on the other hand, emulating and ventriloquizing it in those cases where it has become part of the employee's habitus. Here, the CEO's offer of capital is never fully claimed by employees, despite the use of pedagogical approaches that include competition, role models, or various forms of 'pushing' and 'pulling', helping, and making contact with, individual employees. Moreover, the choice of a winning employee, along with an accompanying motivation of the selection, is yet another, more or less subtle means of creating the 'good' employee by rewarding the pro-social practices that constitute capital for the organization and the potential to create a 'win' – both for the stakeholder groups and for the beneficiaries of philanthropic projects; this in turn becomes an advantage in the global field of business and in its various subfields.

5. Discussion and conclusion

As we have seen, there is no unified employee response to, or acceptance of, the persuasive efforts of management to engage employees in CSR practices and subsequent storytelling. Our approach, combining Bourdieu's concepts with attention to narratives and their uses, helps us to identify both the methods of managerial pedagogy and employees' responses, and to understand why they occur and what they imply.

The theoretical framework we have used emphasizes the multiple agendas of a CSR strategy and the power dynamics that are at play. CSR, realized as pro-social practices, constitutes a type of capital that organizations, including Globalco, strive for, as it enables their differentiation and provides a competitive advantage. In Globalco, this is thought to be achieved by engaging employees in the 'Play it Forward' concept, by carrying out pro-social practices and sharing their stories about them. 'Play it Forward' can be conceived as a masterplot of 'doing good while doing business' – a skeletal narrative, or a blueprint – that originates in the CEO's habitus; it functions as a narrative guide for the CEO's actions and a model for the employees. Influenced as it is by this habitus, the masterplot includes both the blurring of the boundaries between home and the workplace, between private life and company ethos, as worthy objectives of emulation and competition – both of which are resisted by some employees, but internalized and ventriloquized by others, thereby exhibiting individually different responses to the different forms of managerial pedagogy as overt and subtle means of control.

In order to be able to claim corporate 'Play it Forward' capital, accepting the connection between 'doing good' for society and earning economic capital for the company seems to be a minimal condition. Claiming this capital thus requires that the employee is always at work (even at home); or, the other way around, feels 'at home' when at work; thus, no distinction is made between work time and free time, and the feeling of being at work and that of being 'off'. More generally this reflects an increasing trend not only to blur the boundaries between the work sphere and the private life, but also to encourage employees to volunteer in their free time (Rodell et al. 2016), having their work space stretched out into their free time where they perform pro-social practices. The 'Play it Forward' concept that the CEO puts on the table is for the entire employee persona to become absorbed in the 'Play it Forward 'spirit'. As we see from the data, however, some employees resist this trend.

With respect to the pedagogy of 'doing good while doing business', three paradoxes emerge from our analysis of employee responses. First, in spite of efforts to persuade employees that all stories are equally worthy, there are in fact preferred stories and preferred employees; second, there is a financial reward for doing good, which contradicts the higher purpose claimed for pro-social practices, and invalidates the winning stories of the pride and joy that arise from engaging in acts of helping others, rather than merely donating money; and third, the harnessing of competition in order to have employees acquire a sense of 'ownership' of the CSR strategy. In actual fact, however, when met with employee resistance, the managerial pedagogical tool involves control, both of the managers and through them, of the managed employees: we have seen how managers are told to step in and assist employees pedagogically, for example by being exemplary users of the CSR model, and by 'pushing' and 'pulling' employees to post their stories, for example by offering to help with the editing.

When employees do comply with the masterplot, their stories, as we discuss in the analysis above, ventriloquize it: they reproduce the basic structure of 'doing good', and 'feeling good' about 'doing good', through pro-social practices. Accordingly, they also comply with the portrait of the 'good' employee who ultimately contributes to a higher purpose and wins the yearly 'Play it Forward' competition, thereby claiming the capital offered by the opportunity not only to 'do good', but also to be rewarded as a 'good employee'. Compliance ultimately also strengthens the organization's capital, as employees' stories contribute to branding the company as one whose employees indeed live out the CSR vision. Compliance may be the result of an effective pedagogy (in the sense of Jenkins 2002), resulting in activities which appear natural, but originate in other people's (first of all the managers') power. Thus, employees may indeed ventriloquize because they have internalized the values of 'Play it Forward'; that is, the habitus of the employee and the field within which it operates cohabit in an 'ontological complicity' like a fish in the water (Bourdieu 1990), the employees' critical reflection having all the while been suspended.

In conclusion, the varied responses of employees, as analysed here in a Bourdieuian perspective and by using the concepts of masterplot and ventriloquism, point up the dilemmas and potential paradoxes that may arise in any managerial effort to engage employees, particularly in CSR strategies that go beyond the tasks and duties of the workplace. As we have shown, even activities that appear to represent true employee engagement are likely to have resulted from overt as well as more subtle mechanisms of managerial power and persuasion.

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