UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

https://helda.helsinki.fi

Branded Solidarity in Fair Trade Communication on Facebook

Polynczuk-Alenius, Kinga Natalia; Pantti, Mervi Katriina

2017-01
Taylor and Francis Ltd.
http://hdl.handle.net/10138/308411
Polynczuk-Alenius, K N & Pantti, M K 2017, 'Branded Solidarity in Fair Trade Communication on Facebook', Globalizations, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 66-80. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2016.1175099

Downloaded from Helda, University of Helsinki institutional repository. https://helda.helsinki.fi
This is an electronic reprint of the original article.
This reprint may differ from the original in pagination and typographic detail.
Please cite the original version.

Authors

Kinga Polynczuk-Alenius

Department of Social Research, Media and Communication Studies, University of Helsinki,
P.O. Box 54 (Unioninkatu 37), FIN-00014, Finland
Tel. +358 4585 26337
Email: kinga.polynczuk@helsinki.fi

Kinga Polynczuk-Alenius is a doctoral student in media and communication at the Department of Social Research, University of Helsinki. She is currently working on her dissertation about social media in moral education of ethical consumers. In particular, the research investigates how different actors dealing with ethical consumption in Finland and Poland construct through their communication the feelings of solidarity with as well as care and responsibility for Southern producers and workers as the distant others.

Mervi Pantti

Department of Social Research, Media and Communication Studies, University of Helsinki,
P.O. Box 54 (Unioninkatu 37), FIN-00014, Finland
Tel. +358 2941 24780
Email: mervi.pantti@helsinki.fi

Dr Mervi Pantti is currently Head of Media and Communication Studies and University Lecturer at the Department of Social Research. She is also Director of the International Master's Degree Programme Media and Global Communication (MGC). Her research addresses two main subjects. The first concerns the way in which recent technological, economic and social change is reconfiguring the media, especially journalism. In particular, she is interested in citizen witnessing and visual user-generated content. The second subject of her research interests relates to the role the media play in the shaping of the dynamics of the public sphere and public life, and it has a particular emphasis on crisis, war and humanitarianism. Within this area, her current research focus is on digital volunteerism and notions of responsibility in the contexts of charity and humanitarian communication.

Branded Solidarity in Fair Trade Communication on Facebook

ABSTRACT

The objective of fair trade to achieve economic justice through markets depends on establishing, via moral education, bonds of solidarity between Northern consumers and impoverished Southern producers. Moral education is increasingly realised by commercial brands who take advantage of the opportunities offered by social media. This article analyses the discursive construction of solidarity in the brand communication of Pukka (UK) and Pizca del Mundo (Poland) on Facebook. It identifies three discourses of solidarity: 'solidarity through legitimation', which presents the rationale for solidarity with Southern producers; 'solidarity through affinity', which constructs a moral economy between Southern producers and Northern consumers; and 'solidarity through lifestyle', which proposes everyday actions that can be undertaken by consumers to support Southern producers. These discourses are employed by the brands to different extents, with Pizca del Mundo attempting to establish a fair trade market in Poland and Pukka aiming to increase sales of their fair trade products. The article concludes that primarily the discourses of 'solidarity through legitimation' and 'solidarity through affinity' serve moral education whose objective is to generate sustained commitment towards Southern producers as distant others.

Keywords fair trade, solidarity, moral education, brand communication, Facebook

Fair trade assumes that the moral and political goal of global economic justice can be achieved through the everyday acts of choosing what to buy. Conceived as an alternative business model, it aims at creating more direct and equitable linkages between Northern consumers and producers in the Global South (Moberg and Lyon, 2010; Raynolds, 2008). The fair trade's ideal of a more just North-South redistribution is grounded in cosmopolitan solidarity, which Kurasawa (2004) characterises as an effort to construct bonds of mutuality and a sense of responsibility through public discourse, dialogue, and socio-political action. Being a practice of solidarity, fair trade is promoted as a more equitable and transparent alternative to both global capitalist trade and charity-based development aid (Dolan, 2008; Nicholls and Opal, 2005; Raynolds, 2008). Even though the increasing mainstreaming of fair trade products has sharpened the tensions between the commercial pursuits and social objectives of fair trade (Doherty, Davies and Tranchell, 2012; Tallontire, 2000), the movement continues to assume solidarity as a prerequisite for fair purchasing decisions (Pirotte, 2007).

As often noted, the significance of fair trade is constructed around the moral narratives and imaginaries which draw attention to the injustices of conventional North-South trade, and propose concrete actions to help relieve poverty in the developing world (see Dolan, 2008; Goodman, 2004). This collective moral education is intended to create solidarity, understood as some level of recognition and a disposition to act towards distant others. If moral education is to be successful, it must lead to knowledge about distant others, for instance, about the complex factors underlying underdevelopment and poverty (Johnston, 2001; cf. Chouliaraki, 2013). Today, fair trade brands play a key role in the moral education of consumers (Raynolds, Murray and Wilkinson, 2007) as they increasingly mediate the ethics of solidarity and offer concrete opportunities for moral agency.

Adopting the view of solidarity as a communication problem – an attitude that needs to be produced through thoughtful communication efforts undertaken by various institutional actors (Chouliaraki, 2013, p. 2) – this article attempts to empirically examine how solidarity is constructed in fair trade brand communication. In particular, we investigate the content of the official Facebook pages of two fair trade brands, namely Pukka Herbs (UK) and Pizca del Mundo (Poland). Moreover, the article considers the discursive constructions of solidarity in fair trade communication when set against the background of the specific national consumption contexts. Crucially, the UK boasts one of the key fair trade markets in Europe, while in Poland the movement is in its initial stages. The analysis is framed by a set of questions: How are the tensions between commercial and social principles managed in different fair trade markets? What rationale is presented for solidarity with Southern producers? What actions and feelings are suggested to Northern consumers in order to support Southern producers? Whilst some previous analyses

focused on the discursive constructions of fair trade perpetuated through marketing campaigns circulating in Northern consumer markets, the existing scholarship pays less attention to brand communication as an important avenue of moral education, and to how it plays out in different national cultures with their various consumption habits and moral economies (see Varul, 2009, p. 187; Wheeler, 2012b).

In this study, we first review the theoretical insights into the solidarity of fair trade and the role of commercial brands in moral education. Subsequently, the article presents an overview of fair trade markets in the UK and Poland, and introduces the materials and methods used in the study. The following section discusses three discourses of solidarity that emerged from the analysis, and leads to a discussion presenting these discourses in the context of national fair trade markets.

Consumption as a Practice of Solidarity

Fair trade is a social movement that strives to introduce economic justice to the global marketplace by offering Southern producers access to Northern markets under beneficial, rather than exploitative, conditions (Moberg and Lyon, 2010; Nicholls and Opal, 2005). In attempting to empower underprivileged farmers to manage their own production within a framework of entrepreneurial governmentality, fair trade distances itself from charity (Sylla, 2014). According to its proponents, fair trade does not emanate from paternalistic benevolence, but from a 'real relationship of solidarity' incorporated into commercial transactions between Southern producers and economic actors from the North (Gendron, Bisaillon and Otero Rance, 2009, p. 67; Dolan, 2008).

Global solidarity is a manifestation of moral commitment to distant others predicated on the individuals' ability to sympathise with one another, and the willingness to make a difference in the lives of the less privileged (Chouliaraki, 2011; Fenton, 2008). Although purchasing fair trade is viewed as an expression of solidarity with the underprivileged in that it constitutes a form of financial support (Pirotte, 2007), this model of solidarity is somewhat problematic as it might work to reinforce obligations inherent in the conventional donor-beneficiary relationship (Varul, 2008). In fact, the importance of solidarity in the modern fair trade movement is often debated. On the one hand, Goodman (2004) argues that 'solidarity in difference' is at the heart of fair trade's attempts to extend care and responsibility to distant others via the mundane practices of eating and drinking. On the other hand, scholars claim that in contemporary fair trade the imperative of solidarity is subordinate to the discourse of fair price or premium quality (Goodman, 2010, p. 111; Low and Davenport, 2005). Furthermore, by promoting consumption as a pathway to development, Northern

consumers are positioned as saviours of the underprivileged, whose livelihoods are inextricably linked to and determined by the lifestyle choices of consumers (Goodman, 2010, p. 105; also Berlan, 2008). Arce (2009, p. 1031) describes this model as 'commercial solidarity' which both augments the importance of market economics, and alters the meaning of trade through presenting it as a tool of development in the globalised world. In addition, as a result of the mainstreaming of fair trade, consumers in the most advanced fair trade markets are said to be moving to a point at which buying fair trade is a habitual activity in supermarkets, rather than an active practice of solidarity based on a sense of moral obligation towards distant others (Wheeler, 2012b).

Branded solidarity, as we call it, imbues organisational fair trade actors with the symbolic values of solidarity and care for disempowered producers (see Richey and Ponte, 2011). It invests fair trade brands with the role of mediators between consumers and producers as well as, more figuratively, between consumers and the cause of economic justice. In other words, organisations act as agents of social change that are bestowed with the trust and purchasing power of consumers (Holzer, 2006). Such an approach is congruent with Goodman's (2004) assertion about fair trade being a consumer-dependent movement led by activists and organisations.

Representation is one of the most powerful means of constructing global solidarity, because it nourishes the 'global imagination' which guides people's practices and supports their ability to sympathise with one another (Orgad, 2012). Conceived to challenge the traditional construction of the Global South as a class of people and spaces that can be either exploited through international trade or rescued through foreign aid (Lekakis, 2013), fair trade promotes a representation of the South that can be rescued through trade (Dolan, 2008). In so doing, fair trade utilises narratives that portray Southern farmers as 'deserving' poor (Adams and Raisborough, 2008), that is entrepreneurial people working hard to provide livelihoods via the marketplace (Luetchford, 2008). Such representations lend producers the capacity for entrepreneurial governmentality, liberating them from the subordination of the donor-beneficiary relationship of conventional charity (Dolan, 2008). As literature on humanitarian communication suggests, portraying vulnerable others as active agents, rather than passive victims, should offer Northern audiences greater possibility for sympathy and identification (Orgad and Seu, 2014). The representation of fair trade producers as active subjects is, however, somewhat ambiguous as their agency is still dependent on the ethical conduct of Northern consumers (Goodman, 2010; Hall, 1997).

The repertoire of representations used by fair trade draws on established consumer knowledge and romanticised, even stereotypical, images of the distant other (Berlan, 2008; Goodman, 2004; Ramamurthy, 2012; Varul, 2008; Wright, 2004). This tendency is particularly manifest in the personal stories of individual farmers and communities, usually structured around before/after

narratives concerning the positive changes triggered by fair trade (Lekakis, 2013; Wheeler, 2012a). The promise of such testimonies is to create recognition of Southern producers among Northern consumers and, consequently, foster global solidarity. Yet, many scholars remark that when attached to purchasable goods, these life stories might acquire an exchange value and lead to commodification of farmers (Dolan, 2008; Goodman, 2004; Scrase, 2011; Varul, 2008).

While non-profit fair trade organisations receive relatively much scholarly attention, Wheeler (2012a) argues that the movement is composed of a range of actors, whose actions jointly form the market for consumption-oriented economic justice. The division of labour in moral education between commercial and non-profit entities is nowadays increasingly hazier (Vestergaard, 2008). This tendency is manifest in, for example, the popularity of cause-related marketing in which businesses align with non-profit organisations (see Aronczyk, 2013; Lekakis, 2013). A growing preoccupation of companies with ethical conduct stems from the acknowledgement of their prominent role in determining the values of society (Lury, 2011). Barnett, Cloke, Clarke and Malpass (2005) state that ethical brands both educate consumers about the context of consumption, and provide tangible means – products – to realise this ethical conduct. Similarly, Linton, Liou and Shaw (2004, pp. 231-232) describe the educational mission of fair trade as two-fold: 'to teach consumers that they possess the power to make a positive difference in the developing world through their purchasing behaviour and to encourage them to *act* on this knowledge' (emphasis in original). In addition, commercial fair trade actors appear worth studying because their brand communication necessarily couples representations of producers with information about very particular products, therefore running a risk of paradoxically commodifying farmers in an effort to establish the bonds of solidarity (Fisher, 2007; Goodman, 2004).

This article attempts to capture the role of commercial fair trade brands in constructing solidarity with Southern producers. In doing so, it concentrates on Facebook business pages as sites of moral education which offer rationale and actions for relieving poverty in the Global South. Facebook, spanning 1.5 billion users worldwide, has the potential to accommodate a multiplicity of voices, raise awareness, and increase the visibility of social and humanitarian causes (Madianou, 2013; Orgad and Seu, 2014). As a result, the platform can foster the direct and vocal participation of previously marginalised voices, who can now reach others by producing social media content (Madianou, 2013, p. 250). This potential, however, might not be fully realised as the 'decentralisation of voice' usually pertains to the inclusion of more of the ordinary Northern voices speaking on behalf of the vulnerable, rather than the voices of distant others themselves (Chouliaraki, 2011, p. 367). Arguably, even if social media offers a space for individual expression, it is unable to provide any true agency for marginalised groups (Fenton, 2012).

Materials and Methods

This article analyses the Facebook communication of Pukka Herbs and Pizca del Mundo, two mission-driven brands which share an analogical ideal of economic justice and the same fair trade business model (Raynolds, 2008). The brands operate within the conditions of diametrically different national fair trade markets, Pukka in the UK and Pizca del Mundo in Poland.[1] Although the data on the actual size of the fair trade market is not equally exhaustive for the two countries, the comparison is striking: while the retail sales of Fairtrade-labelled products in the UK exceeded 2 billion euros in 2013 (Fairtrade International, 2014), the latest available estimates for Poland indicate sales of 2.1 million euros in 2010 (Polakom nie zależy..., 2012) – a mere millesimal of the UK sales.[2] Such an enormous gap in the sales of the fair trade products between the UK and Poland is suggested to primarily result from a limited level of recognition of fair trade among Polish consumers. The proportion of Poles aware of fair trade and its principles has been estimated at 10% (Stowarzyszenie Konsumentów Polskich, 2010) to 37% (Śmiechowska and Dmowski, 2008). Moreover, only 35% of Polish consumers declare any interest in fair trade (Radziukiewicz, 2013), and less than 25% recognise the Fairtrade label (Prandota and Rejman, 2013). Familiarity with fair trade in general and Fairtrade in particular is much higher among the UK consumers with 81% of them able to identify the Fairtrade logo (European Commission, 2012).

Pukka is a UK-based company providing herbal teas and supplements. It was established in 2002 to 'create circles of benevolence so that everyone Pukka touched benefited: grower, supplier, manufacturer, staff and our customers' (Pukka Herbs, 2012, p.16). The cosmopolitan ideal that emanates from this mission statement, coupled with a high ethical rating (Ethical Consumer, 2013), position Pukka as a potential champion of branded solidarity. Furthermore, the brand is an excellent example of the mainstreaming of fair trade, currently selling its products in over 40 countries (Official Pukka Herbs, 2015), also in supermarkets (Ethical Consumer, 2013). The popularity of Pukka is illustrated by the amount of Facebook fans it has, totalling approximately 28,000 at the time of writing. Besides the Facebook page, Pukka also runs Instagram, Twitter and Pinterest accounts; all except the last one have several thousand followers.

Pizca del Mundo was established in 2012 as the first Polish commercial brand offering fair trade products. Unlike the dispersed fair trade associations operating in the country, Pizca del Mundo actually imports fair trade ingredients directly from Southern producers. On the Facebook page, the brand spells out its mission in terms of 'providing Polish consumers with the opportunity to purchase high-quality ethical products… striv[ing] to contact the primary producers and shorten the supply chain, while maintaining the fair partnership standards which are the best guarantee of

stable and sustainable development' (Pizca del Mundo, 2015). The brand has not yet achieved considerable commercial success and this is reflected in the smaller number of fans, slightly exceeding 1,200.

The article presents a discourse analysis of the content of the official Facebook pages of these brands. Discourse analysis is especially suitable for investigating solidarity as a social practice realised in relation to the structures of global trade (Fairclough, 1992). The corpus spanned all available content posted by each brand until 3 March 2015: approximately 750 posts by Pukka since 18 May 2010, and nearly 400 by Pizca del Mundo's since 9 July 2012. Firstly, we read all the posts by the brands, the posts and comments added by the fans of the brands, and we followed the links included in the posts. We also investigated the information input by the brands into the default fields provided by Facebook, namely 'Overview', 'Short Description', 'Long Description' and 'Mission' statements. This preliminary inspection of the corpus provided an overview of the content and allowed for the careful selection of posts to undergo discourse analysis. As a result, we chose content that related directly to fair trade, its principles, e.g. fair price, or aspects, such as products and production processes. The final material encompassed the visual and textual content of 42 posts retrieved from Pukka's Facebook page and 91 posts extracted from Pizca del Mundo's. Each post was briefly described regarding the topics it covered, and posts tackling similar issues were subsequently grouped together (Fairclough, 1992). Based on the pertinent literature, the attempts to construct solidarity were conceptualised as educating consumers about the Global South; representing fair trade and Southern producers; advocating for fair trade; describing the influence that the brands and their products have on the livelihoods of underprivileged farmers; and demonstrating possible connections between the consumers' lifestyle and the situation of producers in the South. Through the continuous process of 'progression from interpretation to description and back to interpretation' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 231) we were able to identify overlaps and contact points between the content of the different thematic clusters, splice and link them and, in effect, arrive at three discourses of solidarity.

Discursive Constructions of Solidarity in Fair Trade Brand Communication

The analysis unveiled three major discourses of solidarity present on the Facebook pages of Pukka and Pizca del Mundo: (1) 'solidarity through legitimation', (2) 'solidarity through affinity', and (3) 'solidarity through lifestyle'. In short, 'solidarity through legitimation' educates consumers about the Global South as a site of production, and portrays both fair trade and the brands as efficient agents of economic justice (see Vestergaard, 2014). 'Solidarity through affinity', in turn, constructs

the moral economy of fair trade, and establishes the affective links between Northern consumers and Southern producers, mainly through representations of farmers. Finally, 'solidarity through lifestyle' proposes actions to be undertaken by consumers in the marketplace.

Solidarity through Legitimation

The discourse of legitimation is particularly prominent in the communication of Pizca del Mundo, where it is articulated through posts that educate consumers about the Global South as a site of fair trade production on the one hand (Lyon, 2006), and about fair trade as a measure to empower local producers on the other hand (Wheeler, 2012a). Typically, the content informing readers about the Global South as a site of production revolves around crops sourced by the brands as well as the conditions of their cultivation. For example, Pizca del Mundo writes that 'Yirgacheffe coffee is one the most valued varieties in the world… originating from Ethiopia, the homeland of coffee. Yirgacheffe is cultivated high in the mountains, at the altitude of 1,770 m and 2,200 m above the sea level'. Similarly, Pukka describes the process of collecting cocoa beans which are 'harvested by hand using poles and machetes before being laid out to dry'. Significantly, even when the hardships of manual labour performed at high altitude and the tediousness of hand harvesting of cocoa beans are named, the hands at work remain disembodied (Ramamurthy, 2012; Wright, 2004). Hence, plants, positioned as the grammatical subjects of these sentences, subsume producers who grow and process them (Wright, 2004).

While there is no significant difference between how the two brands portray the Global South as a site of fair trade production, we identified some discrepancies in the way they present fair trade to consumers. Pukka hardly ever explains the ethical underpinnings, principles or history of fair trade, and when it does, it tends to describe fair trade in terms of the generically formulated benefits it accords (see Low and Davenport, 2005; Scrase, 2011), e.g. 'Our Green Tea … is certified Fairtrade to ensure that the growers can reinvest in their future'. The possible reason for such scarcity is that Pukka primarily addresses its communication to UK-based consumers who are already well aware of fair trade (European Commission, 2012; Wright, 2004). The representation of fair trade by Pizca del Mundo is, in contrast, more nuanced and features more prominently on the Facebook page. The brand posts not only content pre-prepared by various fair trade associations, but also own commonsensical 'exegeses' of the presented information, such as the following translation of the formal definition of fair trade into everyday language:

> It is often said that FT is a social movement, something that each of us does (or does not) contribute to. [According to] another mental shortcut, FT is an obligation, our obligation to

> treat fairly those who, in some way, work for us. In our opinion it can be expressed even more simply: FAIR TRADE IS TRADE, EXCEPT FAIR.

Moreover, Pizca del Mundo often praises the achievements of the movement. One post especially stands out from the collection of the standardised images showing the benefits of fair trade: the photo of an industrial hall filled with huge coffee processing machines which belong to the Peruvian co-operative. The caption explains that '[t]hanks to the purchase of new machines (partly financed by the Fairtrade premium), the productivity of the processing plant has grown by 500%'. In such posts the impact of fair trade appears more tangible, thereby laying the foundations of trust in the movement (see Vestergaard, 2014; Wheeler, 2012a).

All in all, Pizca del Mundo attempts to equip consumers with sufficient knowledge to understand fair trade, its aims and principles. This role is particularly vital in Polish society, which is not yet familiar with fair trade (Radziukiewicz, 2013). Pizca del Mundo assumes the part of an active promoter of fair trade, which is a thread absent from Pukka's Facebook page. Through its Facebook page, Pizca del Mundo advertises various initiatives aiming at popularising the movement such as fair trade friendly schools, meetings with representatives of the Peruvian co-operative, and movie screenings. By presenting fair trade as the concerted effort of many agents, the brand highlights the collective character of the movement. In contrast, Pukka tends to depict fair trade as an atomised endeavour of the brand on the one hand, and an individualised consumer on the other hand. The sole post which addresses the role of Pukka as a fair trade advocate, entitled 'Spreading the [F]airtrade message', links to an article which states that 'by pushing the Fairtrade message during this fortnight, [Pukka] hopes to attract new consumers who not only look for taste but also brand morals' (Pukka Herbs pushes…, 2011).

Solidarity through Affinity

The affinity discourse aims to build solidarity by creating mediated familiarity between producers and consumers. It is articulated in the content that represents Southern farmers, both visually and verbally. This discourse 'shortens the distance' between producers and consumers in order to establish moral economy through the – necessarily unidirectional and symbolic – affective links of sympathy (Goodman, 2004; Lyon, 2006; Wright, 2004).

Firstly, Southern producers are implicated – represented by 'omission' (van Dijk, 1993) – in posts that describe the production processes of the crops sourced by the brands. Even though Pizca del Mundo explicitly reminds consumers that 'behind every chocolate bar there is a person', in such content producers remain invisible. The omissions are particularly commonplace in Pukka's Facebook communication, e.g. 'Each vanilla flower is hand pollinated with great care', sometimes

to the point of the brand taking a rhetorical ownership of the production processes: ‘Our cultivated trees are protected from the intense sunlight by being planted beneath the canopy of older, larger trees’. Generally, while emphasising crops, the omissions conceal the dimension of physical exploitation in the figure of a producer, allowing for a less alienating representation of contented and smiling people ‘like us’ (see Ramamurthy, 2012; Wheeler, 2012a; Wright, 2004).

Secondly, Southern producers are represented visually in the photos pre-prepared by various fair trade organisations. Pizca del Mundo often uses pictures that deploy conventional fair trade imagery of producers as humble and grateful peasants to illustrate the personal testimonies of farmers (Berlan, 2008; Lekakis, 2013; Varul, 2008; Wheeler, 2012a; Wright, 2004). Such imagery is encapsulated in the photo of a Colombian coffee farm worker, wearing a pink shirt, a cap, and a badge with the Fair Trade Certified[3] logo, whose contentment is conveyed through laughter lines and the dynamics of his gestures. The testimony written into the photo reads ‘I want people who drink our coffee to know that hard working, but grateful farm workers were behind the cup of coffee they are enjoying’. In the case of Pukka, visual representations are rare, only three in the sample, even though the brand describes Southern producers as ‘the great people that help make beautiful Pukka products and keep our roots in nature’. Hence, irrespective of their vital role in the production of tea, Southern farmers and herb collectors serve mainly as a background against which the brand and its products are presented. Consequently, a handful of farmers stand for the faces and lives of a significantly bigger group. Collapsing producers into a homogenous mass invites consumers to contemplate their own advantage in terms of social, economic and geographical status (Wright, 2004, p. 672; Hall, 1997). It also ushers in the romantic commodification which could, through the sentimental idea of aiding vulnerable others in faraway places, potentially incentivise consumers to take action towards economic justice; albeit for reasons more self-centred than solidarity (Varul, 2008).

Thirdly, Southern producers are represented verbally, usually in a non-alienating manner through the assimilation into the Western framework of agency and entrepreneurial governmentality (Chouliaraki, 2013; Dolan, 2008). This assimilation is particularly evident in Pizca del Mundo’s post which emphasises that ‘fair trade is not charity’, and it rejects ‘the vision of a benevolent white helping poor, hungry children in Africa’. The brand proposes that the view of beneficiaries as ‘weepers’ be corrected by the ‘understanding that they are exactly the same as we are’ and share our desires to ‘live, work, love, study’. Thereby, Pizca del Mundo shifts the portrayal of the Southern poor from helpless victims dependent on charitable aid to the image of the ‘deserving’ poor (Adams and Raisborough, 2008), that is active agents who ‘do not care about our mercy or gesture of goodwill’, but ‘want to make a living through their work not alms’.

Fourthly, although Pizca del Mundo retains control over the representation of Southern producers through content curation, it nevertheless affords them some narrative agency; a possibility altogether absent from Pukka's page. This agency is manifest in the content that a Peruvian co-operative supplier posts on its own Facebook page, and which Pizca del Mundo regularly shares. Those are mainly photos of the coffee plants and fields, occasionally accompanied by information on the unfortunate spread of 'coffee rust', a fungus destroying the plants. Through posting about 'coffee rust', the brand reveals some of the hardships facing the coffee farmers on a daily basis. Importantly, by discussing the adversities of nature, Pizca del Mundo makes the case for solidarity without alienating consumers. The brand also shares updates about the technological development of the co-operative, which allow consumers to revisit their possible preconceptions about Southern farming being crude and inefficient. Finally, by posting personal content about the producers, such as the photos of Christmas celebrations, Pizca del Mundo represents farmers as they see themselves. Consequently, the foundation is laid for the emergence of solidarity based on recognisable similarities and the agency of the producers (Adams and Raisborough, 2008; Goodman, 2004; Orgad and Seu, 2014).

Solidarity through Lifestyle

The lifestyle discourse suggests actions that consumers can undertake to aid the fair trade cause. Embodying the notion of commercial solidarity, it portrays economic justice as achievable through individual lifestyles and consumption practices (Arce, 2009). Moreover, in the case of Pukka, the brand's own commitment to fair trade is presented in lifestyle categories.

The vision of consumption as a viable way to support Southern producers is manifest in the image pre-prepared by the Polish Fairtrade Coalition and posted by Pizca del Mundo. The photo of a smiling woman serves as the background for the slogan urging consumers to 'Be fair, buy fair, because your money shapes the world… and makes people smile more often!'. Thus, besides calling for 'voting with one's pocket' (Wheeler, 2012a), this post offers an immediate gratification for doing so: the (grateful) smile of a beneficiary (see Lekakis, 2013; Wheeler, 2012a). In a different post, Pizca del Mundo outlines the significance of every purchasing decision as a step towards permanently changing one's lifestyle and, ultimately, the world: 'It's simple. Our every choice is meaningful. None of them will save the world, each of them changes the world. Every day we make tens of consumer choices. How about deciding differently once a day, once a week?' In addition to encouraging consumers to adopt fair trade as a part of their lifestyle, Pizca del Mundo itself assumes, as discussed before, the role of a committed actor in the movement.

The lifestyle discourse is more all-encompassing in Pukka's communication, with a fairly clear focus on the brand rather than consumers. In only a few posts does the brand address its consumers as potential participants in the fair trade movement, e.g. 'A simple step to take for Fairtrade Fortnight! Try our fantastic Chai's; Three for £5'. Similarly to 'pushing the Fairtrade message' discussed earlier, involvement in the promotion of fair trade ultimately serves more to enlarge Pukka's consumer base than to educate consumers about fair trade or to shape the movement (Robbins, 2013; Wheeler, 2012a). Nonetheless, as we discuss in more detail in the following section, this expansion might not serve only commercial ends (Linton et al., 2004). Unlike Pizca del Mundo, Pukka describes its commitment to fair trade in casual and lifestyle terms, and not as a business model, which it inevitably is (see Raynolds, 2008). This approach is apparent in the posts concerning the brand's participation in Fairtrade Fortnights[4], such as organising lunches and raffles, and in the explanation of how the commitment to fair trade is channelled into Pukka's work ethos: 'Although we might not always agree (we are human after all!), we try to treat each other fairly and with respect for our individual opinions' (Pukka Herbs, 2015). Finally, even the mission statement of the brand reflects its lifestyle values: 'We set up Pukka Herbs to make the wonders of this [Ayurvedic] wisdom easily accessible to everyone' (Official Pukka Herbs, 2015).

Branded Solidarity and Fair Trade Market-Making in the UK and in Poland

Fair trade brands mediate between consumers and moral causes through the provision of ethical products and via the articulation of 'the contexts of consumer choice' (Barnett et al., 2005, p. 34). Therefore, the importance of their brand communication resides in the capacity to create a sense of solidarity among Northern consumers with the disempowered producers from the Global South. The 'solidarity through legitimation' discourse, employed primarily by Pizca del Mundo, provides the rationale for solidarity. It makes the case on the basis of the seemingly impartial accounts of the Global South as the site of production that has already been, and can continue to be, positively affected by fair trade (Wheeler, 2012a). Knowledge about the Global South is a critical resource for establishing commitment to distant others (Pirotte, 2007). Hence, through the legitimation discourse, fair trade brands educate consumers about the problems facing local farmers, and legitimise fair trade as a viable measure to mitigate these issues. They also present themselves as trustworthy and effective actors in the movement. This discourse shares some characteristics with the legitimation strategies of humanitarian organisations: in concentrating on rational justifications and striving for impartial accounts it corresponds to the 'legitimation by accountancy', whereas by

representing Pizca del Mundo as an active actor in the fair trade movement it parallels ‘legitimation by institutionalisation’ (Vestergaard, 2014).

‘Solidarity through affinity’, another discourse prominent in the communication of Pizca del Mundo, constructs a moral economy between Southern producers and Northern consumers. It attempts to establish affective bonds primarily by deploying representations of Southern producers. At the same time, Pizca del Mundo offers narrative agency to producers through sharing of the social media content generated by the Peruvian coffee co-operative. In this way, the commodification of producers, their poverty and hard work (Scrase, 2011), which is the typical shortcoming of fair trade marketing, is at least partly reversed (Goodman, 2004). The discourse resonates with the embodiment of fair trade as the ‘political ecological imaginary’ that provides a ‘thick description’ of the producers’ lives and realities (Goodman, 2010, p. 111). Furthermore, through the introduction of affect combined with the personalisation of farmers and the emphasis on their agency as ‘deserving poor’, this discourse matches the style of positive humanitarian appeals described by Chouliaraki (2013).

The ‘solidarity through lifestyle’ discourse – the essence of Pukka’s Facebook communication – proposes concrete actions to be undertaken by Northern consumers to demonstrate solidarity with Southern producers. It also presents economic justice as achievable through everyday purchasing decisions and the related corrections in the lifestyles of individual consumers (Goodman, 2010). In this way, solidarity through lifestyle can be seen as a kind of post-cause solidarity, ingrained in the fabric of everyday life. Such a framing belongs to the genre of ‘lifestyle politics’, which builds social and political significance around individual lifestyle values in line with Bennett’s (2004, p. 102) claim that with the growing diversification of lifestyles, a ‘lifestyle vocabulary’ revolving around consumer choice and responsibility needs to be embraced to effectively articulate messages about global justice. In its veiled moral character, this discourse might resonate with modern consumers, suspicious of openly moral appeals to solidarity (Chouliaraki, 2013).

The discrepancies in the use of branded solidarity discourses between the brands are profound: while Pizca del Mundo deploys primarily the discourses of legitimation and affinity, Pukka evidently downplays them in favour of lifestyle discourse. These differences can be attributed to two distinctive means of market-making: (1) awareness raising and (2) marketing strategies. While it is clear that fair trade brands as proponents of market-based economic justice must create a market to achieve their goal and provide the maximum benefit for Southern producers (Linton et al., 2004), the meaning of market-making differs for Pizca del Mundo and for Pukka. In the context of a nascent Polish fair trade market, Pizca del Mundo has to first raise awareness of the

injustices embedded in global trade and present consumers with products designed to address the issue (Linton et al., 2004). Pukka, in turn, operates in an established market with the main goal of an incremental increase in the sales of its fair products (Doherty et al., 2012). Thus, it needs to concentrate on marketing as 'a means of communication in which exchange takes place' (Linton et al., 2004, p. 230). The strong focus on the brand's self-promotion is linked to the commercialisation of the British fair trade market, where commercial success is considered a crowning achievement, supporting the moral imperative to serve the cause (Varul, 2009).

These differing strategies of market-making can be convincingly attributed to the contexts of national fair trade markets in which the brands operate (Table 1). Having only a limited market at their disposal, Pizca del Mundo works within the 'social economy value chain' (Doherty et al., 2012), distributing products through alternative channels mainly to activist consumers with the aim of building and sustaining strong relationships with empowered Southern producers. Pukka, on the other hand, has to compete in the highly mainstreamed fair trade market in the UK with other fair trade brands as well as with corporate retail actors who supply cheaper own-label fair trade products, potentially of lower ethical standard (Barrientos and Smith, 2007). This pressure has consequences for the value chain, because in attempt to expand their consumer base, Pukka has to enter into cooperation with supermarkets as a mainstream route of distribution in order to make their products easier to obtain (Doherty et al., 2012). Under these circumstances, Pukka presents itself as a lifestyle choice appealing primarily to non-activist consumers who might or might not wish to enact solidarity with Southern producers as a by-product of pleasurable consumption. Even though such an approach is undoubtedly beneficial in terms of increasing the sales of fair trade products and providing a greater financial benefit for farmers in the Global South, it carries a certain risk for the reputation of fair trade as well as for the ethics of solidarity and care underpinning the movement as they may be forced into the background. We argue that the Facebook communication of the fair trade brands both reflects and is strongly affected by the circumstances of the national fair trade market, thus the discourses of solidarity and the patterns of their use identified in this article are very likely to be present on the Facebook pages of similar commercial organisations operating in similar contexts.

[Insert Table 1]

Conclusions

Mainstreaming is often suspected of hollowing out the commitment to solidarity which traditionally motivated fair trade movement (Huybrechts and Reed, 2010). This article approached solidarity as a

communication problem, i.e. a moral attitude constructed through the communication practices of far trade organisations (Chouliaraki, 2013). In attempt to ascertain how solidarity is discursively constructed in fair trade communication, we analysed the official Facebook pages of two fair trade brands, Pukka and Pizca del Mundo, and identified three discourses of branded solidarity. In a nutshell, 'solidarity through legitimation' presents the rationale for solidarity with Southern producers; 'solidarity through affinity' constructs a moral economy between Southern producers and Northern consumers; and 'solidarity through lifestyle' proposes everyday actions in the marketplace that consumers can take to support Southern producers. Even though all three discourses were present on the Facebook pages of both brands, the extent to which they were employed varied significantly. Our main argument is that those discrepancies can be attributed to the specific contexts of the national fair trade markets in which the companies operate. By primarily employing the discourses of 'solidarity through legitimation' and 'solidarity through affinity', and simultaneously downplaying the 'solidarity through lifestyle' discourse, Pizca del Mundo positions itself as an educator and actor active in introducing fair trade to Poland where the mainstream fair trade market is non-existent. In contrast, in the conditions of the highly mainstreamed market in the UK, Pukka concentrates on the 'solidarity through lifestyle' discourse that aids the goal of incremental increase in the sales of their fair trade products.

These differences are significant, because the manner in which solidarity is constructed has consequences for the nature of this commitment. While the discourses of legitimation and affinity provide rational and sentimental resources for the deep understanding of the need for economic justice, the lifestyle discourse mobilises instant and short-term activities oriented towards the pleasures of consumption (see Chouliaraki, 2013). In other words, the lifestyle discourse establishes consumption as a new form of agency which challenges the traditional vision of solidarity that calls for the sustained commitment to the cause, and instead proposes 'the pleasures of the self as a more effective way of making a difference to distant others' (Chouliaraki, 2013, p. 75). Thus, in fact only the discourses of 'solidarity through legitimation' and 'solidarity through affinity' serve moral education whose objective is to generate sustained commitment towards underprivileged Southern producers as distant others.

---

[1] The 'Fairtrade market' refers to the market for products licensed by Fairtrade International, while the 'fair trade' market encompasses all fair trade products available on the market.
[2] The population estimates in 2014 equalled 64.1 million for the UK and 38.5 million for Poland.
[3] Fair Trade Certified is a label managed by Fair Trade USA, a non-profit organisation independent from Fairtrade International.

[4] Fairtrade Fortnight is an annual promotional campaign organised in the UK by the Fairtrade Foundation in order to spread awareness of Fairtrade products. Fairtrade Fortnight is lifestyle-based, involving leisure events such as tastings, fashion shows and fairs.

Funding

This work was supported by the Finnish Cultural Foundation.

References

Adams, M. & Raisborough, J. (2008). What can sociology say about Fair Trade? Class, reflexivity and ethical consumption. *Sociology*, 42, 1165-1182. doi: 10.1177/0038038508096939.

Arce, A. (2009). Living in Times of Solidarity: Fair Trade and the Fractured Life Worlds of Guatemalan Coffee Farmers. *Journal of International Development*, 21, 1031-1041. doi: 10.1002/jid.1634.

Aronczyk, M. (2013). Market(ing) Activism: Lush Cosmetics, Ethical Oil, and the Self-Mediation of Protest. *JOMEC Journal*, 4. Retrieved from http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/jomec/jomecjournal/4-november2013/Aronczyk_Activism.pdf.

Barnett, C., Cloke, P., Clarke, N. & Malpass, A. (2005). Consuming Ethics: Articulating the Subjects and Spaces of Ethical Consumption. *Antipode*, 37, 23-45. doi: 10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00472.x.

Barrientos, S. & Smith, S. (2007). Mainstreaming Fair Trade in global production networks. In L. T. Raynolds, D. L. Murray & J. Wilkinson (Eds.). *Fair Trade: The Challenges of Transforming Globalization* (pp. 103-122). London: Routledge.

Bennett, W. L. (2004). Branded Political Communication: Lifestyle Politics, Logo Campaigns, and the Rise of Global Citizenship. In M. Micheletti, A. Follesdal & D. Stolle (Eds.) *Politics, Products, and Markets* (pp. 101- 125). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Berlan, A. (2008). Marketing of Fair Trade Cocoa from Ghana. In G. De Neve, P. Luetchford, J. Pratt & D. C. Wood (Eds.). *Hidden Hands in the Market: Ethnographies of Fair Trade, Ethical Consumption, and Corporate Social Responsibility* (pp. 171-194). Research in Economic Anthropology (28). Bingley: JAI Press.

Chouliaraki, L. (2011). 'Improper distance': Towards a critical account of solidarity as irony. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14, 363-381. doi: 10.1177/1367877911403247.

Chouliaraki, L. (2013). *The Ironic Spectator*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Clarke, N., Barnett, C., Cloke, P. & Malpass, A. (2007). The political rationalities of fair-trade consumption in the United Kingdom. *Politics and Society*, 35, 583-607. doi: 10.1177/0032329207308178.

Doherty, B., Davies, I. A. & Tranchell, S. (2012). Where now for fair trade? *Business History*, 55, 1-29. doi: 10.1080/00076791.2012.692083.

Dolan, C. S. (2008). In the Mists of Development: Fairtrade in Kenyan Tea Fields. *Globalizations*, 5, 305-318. doi: 10.1080/14747730802057787.

Ethical Consumer (2013). *Report on the Tea Industry - December 2013*. Retrieved from http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/ethicalreports/tea-industry-report.aspx.

European Commission (2012). *Europeans' Attitudes towards Food Security, Food Quality and the Countryside* (Special Eurobarometer No. 389). Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_389_en.pdf.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fairtrade International (2014). *Strong Producers, Strong Future. Annual Report 2013-2014*. Bonn: Fairtrade International.

Fenton, N. (2008). Mediating solidarity. *Global Media and Communication*, 4, 37-57. doi: 10.1177/1742766507086852.

Fenton, N. (2012). The internet and social networking. In J. Curran, N. Fenton & D. Freedman, *Misunderstanding the Internet* (pp. 123-148). New York, NY: Routledge.

Fisher, C. (2007). Selling Coffee, or Selling Out? *Culture & Agriculture*, 29, 78-88. doi: 10.1525/cag.2007.29.2.78.

Gendron, C., Bisaillon, V. & Otero Rance, A. I. (2009). The Institutionalization of Fair Trade: More than Just a Degraded Form of Social Action. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 86, 63-79. doi: 10.1007/s10551-008-9758-4.

Goodman, M. K. (2004). Reading fair trade: political ecological imaginary and the moral economy of fair trade goods. *Political Geography*, 23, 891-915. doi: doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2004.05.013.

Goodman, M. K. (2010). The mirror of consumption. *Geoforum*, 41, 104-116. doi: doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.08.003.

Hall, S. (1997). The Spectacle of the 'Other'. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp. 223-279). London: SAGE.

Holzer, B. (2006). Political consumerism between individual choice and collective action: social movements, role mobilization and signalling. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 30, 405-415. doi: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2006.00538.x.

Huybrechts, B. & Reed, D. (2010). 'Fair Trade in Different National Contexts'. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 92, 147–50. doi: 10.1007/s10551-010-0574-2.

Johnston, J. (2001). Consuming Social Justice. *Arena Magazine*. Retrieved from http://arena.org.au/consuming-social-justice.

Kurasawa, F. (2004). A Cosmopolitanism from Below. *European Journal of Sociology*, 45, 233-255. doi: 10.1017/S0003975604001444.

Lekakis. E. (2013). *Coffee Activism and the Politics of Fair Trade and Ethical Consumption in the Global North*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Linton, A., Liou, C. Ch. & Shaw, K. A. (2004). A Taste of Trade Justice. *Globalizations*, 1, 223-246. doi: 10.1080/1474773042000308587.

Low, W. & Davenport, E. (2005a). Has the medium (roast) become the message? The ethics of marketing fair trade in the mainstream. *International Marketing Review*, 22, 494-511. doi: 10.1108/02651330510624354.

Low, W. & Davenport, E. (2005b). Postcards from the Edge: Maintaining the 'Alternative' Character of Fair Trade. *Sustainable Development*, 13, 143-153. doi: 10.1002/sd.275.

Luetchford, P. (2008). The hands that pick fair trade coffee. In G. De Neve, P. Luetchford, J. Pratt, & D. C. Wood (Eds.). *Hidden Hands in the Market: Ethnographies of Fair Trade, Ethical Consumption, and Corporate Social Responsibility* (pp. 143-169). Research in Economic Anthropology (28). Bingley: JAI Press.

Lury, C. (2011). *Consumer Culture* (2nd ed.). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lyon, S. (2006). Evaluating fair trade consumption: politics, defetishization and producer participation. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 30, 452-464. doi: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2006.00530.x.

Madianou, M. (2013). Humanitarian campaigns in social media. *Journalism Studies*, 14, 249-266. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2012.718558.

Moberg, M. & Lyon, S. (2010). What's Fair? The Paradox of Seeking Justice through Markets. In S. Lyon & M. Moberg (Eds.) *Fair Trade and Social Justice* (pp. 1-23). New York: New York University Press.

Nicholls, A. & Opal, Ch. (2005). *Fair Trade: Market-driven Ethical Consumption*. London: SAGE.

Official Pukka Herbs (2015). About Pukka Herbs. Facebook fan page. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/#!/?tab=page_info#!/?tab=overview#!/Pukkaherbs/info.

Orgad, S. (2012). *Media Representation and the Global Imagination*. Cambridge: Polity.

Orgad, S. & Seu, I. B. (2014). The Mediation of Humanitarianism: Toward a Research Framework. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 7, 6-36. doi: 10.1111/cccr.12036.

Pirotte, G. (2007). Consumption as a solidarity-based commitment. In E. Zaccai (Ed.) *Sustainable Consumption, Ecology and Fair Trade* (pp. 127-143). London: Routledge.

Pizca del Mundo (2015). About Pizca del Mundo. Facebook fan page. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/#!/?tab=page_info#!/PizcaDelMundo/info.

Polakom nie zależy na Trzecim Świecie, wolimy kupować taniej [Poles do not care about the Third World, we would rather pay less] (2012, 24 February). *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Retrieved from http://pieniadze.gazeta.pl/Gospodarka/1,125292,11230688,Polakom_nie_zalezy_na_Trzecim_Swiecie__wolimy_kupowac.html.

Pukka Herbs pushes Fairtrade message this Fortnight (2011, 28 February). *The Food & Drink Innovation Network*. Retrieved from http://www.fdin.org.uk/2011/02/pukka-herbs-pushes-fairtrade-message-this-fortnight/.

Prandota A. & Rejman, K. (2013). Consumer knowledge of food quality certification marks and their role as a food choice determinant among traditional and regional food oriented consumers. Retrieved from http://www.marketingirynek.pl/files/1276809751/file/mir6_naplytecd.pdf.

Pukka Herbs (2012). *Pukka. Celebrating ten Pukka years*. Bristol: Pukka Herbs.

Pukka Herbs (2015). Why Fairtrade is so important to Pukka. Retrieved from http://www.pukkaherbs.com/pukka-planet/stories/pukka/fairtrade/.

Radziukiewicz, M. (2013). Postrzeganie idei Sprawiedliwego Handlu – zachowania i postawy polskich konsumentów [Perception of Fair Trade – behaviours and attitudes of Polish consumers]. Retrieved from http://ibrkk.pl/f/?Radziukiewicz-Raport-handel-wewnetrzny-2013.pdf.

Ramamurthy, A. (2012). Absences and Silences: The Representation of the Tea Picker in Colonial and Fair Trade Advertising. *Visual Culture in Britain*, 13, 367-381. doi: 10.1080/14714787.2012.717457.

Raynolds, L. T. (2008). Mainstreaming Fair Trade Coffee: From Partnership to Traceability. *World Development*, 37, 1083-1093. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2008.10.001.

Raynolds, L. T., Murray, D. L. & Wilkinson, J. (Eds.) (2007). *Fair Trade: The Challenges of Transforming Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Richey, L. A. & Ponte, S. (2011). *Brand Aid: Shopping Well to Save the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Robbins, R. H. (2013). Coffee, Fair Trade, and the Commodification of Morality. *Reviews in Anthropology*, 42, 243-263. doi: 10.1080/00938157.2013.844035.

Scrase, T. J. (2011). Fair Trade in cyberspace. In T. Lewis & E. Potter (Eds.) *Ethical consumption. A critical introduction* (pp. 54-70). London: Routledge.

Stowarzyszenie Konsumentów Polskich. (2010). *Sprawiedliwy Handel w Polsce. Stan obecny i perspektywy rozwoju [Fair Trade in Poland. Present State and perspectives for development]*. Retrieved from http://konsumenci.org/sh/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/Raport_SH1.pdf.

Sylla, N. S. (2014). *The Fair Trade Scandal.* London: Pluto Press.

Śmiechowska, M. & Dmowski, P. (2008). Knowledge of Organic Production and *Fair Trade* Rules among Coffee Consumers in Poland. Retrieved from http://yadda.icm.edu.pl/baztech/element/bwmeta1.element.baztech-article-BAR9-0004-0081/c/httpwww_pimr_poznan_plbiul20084sd.pdf.

Tallontire, A. (2000). Partnerships in fair trade: reflections from a case study of Cafédirect. *Development in Practice*, 10, 166-177. doi: 10.1080/09614520050010205.

van Dijk, T. (1993). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Varul, M. Z. (2008). Consuming the Campesino. *Cultural Studies*, 22, 654-679. doi: 10.1080/09502380802245910.

Varul, M. Z. (2009) Ethical selving in cultural contexts: fairtrade consumption as an everyday ethical practice in the UK and Germany. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 33,183–189. doi: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2009.00762.x.

Vestergaard, A. (2008). Humanitarian branding and the media: The case of Amnesty International. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 7, 471-493. doi: 10.1075/jlp.7.3.07ves.

Vestergaard, A. (2014). Mediatized Humanitarianism: Trust and Legitimacy in the Age of Suspicion. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 120, 509-525. doi: 10.1007/s10551-013-2002-x.

Wheeler, K. (2012a). 'Change today, choose Fairtrade': Fairtrade Fortnight and the citizen-consumer. *Cultural Studies*, 26, 492-515. doi: 10.1080/09502386.2011.622780.

Wheeler, K. (2012b). *Fair Trade and the Citizen-Consumer: Shopping for Justice?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wright, C. (2004). Consuming Lives, Consuming Landscapes. *Journal of International Development*, 16, 665-680. doi: 10.1002/jid.1119.

	primary discourse(s) of solidarity	market-making strategy	fair trade market
Pizca del Mundo	'solidarity through legitimation'; 'solidarity through affinity'	awareness raising	social economy value chain
Pukka	'solidarity through lifestyle'	marketing	mainstreamed with the participation of both corporate retailers and supermarkets

Table 1. Relationships between the discourses of solidarity used by the brands, their market-making strategies and national fair trade markets.