Placing an ethical brand: The Fairtrade Towns movement

Ken Peattie and Anthony Samuel

Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University, Cardiff, UK

Author Details:

Ken Peattie (Corresponding Author – Orcid ID 0000-0003-3969-0531):
Cardiff Business School,
Aberconway Building,
Colum Drive,
Cardiff, CF10 3EU
Tel: 02920 879691 Email: Peattie@cf.ac.uk

Anthony Samuel,
Cardiff Business School,
Aberconway Building,
Colum Drive,
Cardiff, CF10 3EU
Tel: 02920 874410 Email: SamuelA3@cf.ac.uk

Placing an ethical brand: The Fairtrade Towns movement

Abstract

This study explores the relatively new potential of places to ethically enhance their branding through accreditation under the Fairtrade Towns (FTT) scheme. It presents insights from a qualitative study of marketing practices across eleven UK FTTs, focussing on the activists who establish these initiatives to facilitate and promote FT consumption within their communities. FTT accreditation is revealed as a grassroots local branding initiative that can work symbiotically with the place brand through connections to other fundamental aspects of a place's identity and character, or even by playing a "redemptive" role. FTT status encourages a less introspective approach to place branding by connecting with distant producer communities and encouraging tourists and residents to reconsider their consumption in the context of the socio-environmental realities of global supply chains.

Statement of Contribution.

By exploring the implications of Fairtrade Town (FTT) status in eleven UK towns and cities this study reveals its potential to ethically augment how places are branded and promoted to visitors and residents. Several novel or underappreciated roles for FTT are revealed including its symbiotic relationship to the place brand, acting as a community-wide integrator of ethical initiatives, crystalising global ethics through local consumption, and providing a "redemptive" narrative for places with a troubled history.

Keywords: Fairtrade; ethical marketing; branding; tourism; grassroots.

Introduction

The branding of places as somewhere to visit, live or even invest in has become an increasing focus for marketing practice and scholarship over the past two decades. In their quest to create distinctive place brands, marketers will seek to identify and capitalise on any local characteristics or qualities that are likely to contribute to making the place brand attractive. This is widely recognised as having an ethical dimension, but with attention more usually given to the ethics of place branding processes, rather than to the creation of explicitly ethical place brands (Insch, 2011). This paper considers a different and comparatively new element of place branding that can enhance the identity of a place as somewhere to live, and as a visitor destination, through an additional ethical component: membership of the Fairtrade Towns (FTT) movement. Places gain FTT status through local self-organising groups of volunteers working to promote the local availability of Fairtrade (FT) produce, and its consumption by residents and visitors. This allows for formal accreditation as a FTT and for FT support to be recognised as part of the life and identity of participating places (Samuel et al., 2018). Studying FTTs in relation to place branding has the potential to contribute to, and extend, our understanding of several elements of literature and theory where authors have highlighted the need for further work and insight, including: place brand co-creation (Braun et al., 2013; Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015; Zenker et al., 2017); grassroots-driven place branding initiatives (Vallaster et al., 2018); the potential for "spillover" effects in place branding (Aarstad et al., 2015; Rowley & Hanna, 2020); and the role and components of place identity as the basis for place branding (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013; Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015).

The paper uses insights gained from a qualitative and exploratory study of marketing practices within FTTs to understand the potential implications of FTT accreditation for place branding. It contributes to our understanding of place branding and of FT by revealing new insights into how FTT status acts as a grassroots, ethically-focused brand that feeds into the wider place brand, not as a subsidiary brand, but through a symbiotic pairing within a "brand ecosystem". FTT status provides demonstrable, community-wide ethical credentials to enhance the place brand, whilst associations with local identity helps to translate FT from an abstract global trading arrangement to something with local relevance and resonance. The paper reveals a range of roles played by FTT status. These include: acting as a positive focal point of local identity and pride that both residents and visitors can contribute to; integrating previously existing, but more fragmented, ethical initiatives within communities into something more community-wide and capable of enhancing the place brand; acting as a "redemptive narrative" in places whose history has negative connotations, for example a connection to trade injustice; and providing a mechanism to connect communities as places of consumption with very distant and different producer communities at opposite ends of global commodity supply chains.

The paper begins by exploring the literature relating to the marketing and branding of places, before considering the development of the FT brand and how its extension to specific places of consumption through the FTT scheme creates potential opportunities to enhance the branding of a place as somewhere to live in and visit. The primary research is then introduced, and the key findings from our analysis of local perceptions of FTT initiatives are then presented. The paper concludes with a discussion of the relevance of FTT schemes to place branding and the distinctive contribution that they can make.

Literature review

The relationship between places and brands is multifaceted, of interest to researchers from a range of disciplines, and encompasses both the consideration of places as brands, and the connections that particular places can have to other products and brands. This latter dimension is perhaps most associated with place or country of origin effects (Al-Sulaiti & Baker, 1998) which focus on places of production as an element of perceived quality that differentiates products such as wine, coffee or cheese, and also durable products such as cars and watches (Thode & Maskulka, 1998). Marketers can use associations with either the physical or cultural resources of a place of origin to build an authentic brand identity that adds perceived value (Tellstrom et al., 2006).

Consideration of places as brands began with destination marketing, promoting particular places (including countries, regions, cities, towns, neighbourhoods, geographical features or National Parks) as destinations, usually for tourism, but also for investment, study or the hosting of conferences, sporting events, concerts or festivals (Kavaratzis, 2004). It has since evolved into a broader concept of place branding that includes "insider" as well as external audiences, and considers a variety of types of place that can be branded at different geographical scales (from countries to neighbourhoods), encompassing the physical, the fictional and the virtual. As a field, place branding has been labelled as both confused and confusing (Boisen, et al., 2018; Skinner, 2008) partly because of the use of overlapping concepts and terminology relating to place brand, identity, image, essence, reputation, character, personality and positioning (Hanna & Rowley, 2008; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1998). A range of definitions of a place brand exist, but for our purposes the most useful comes from Zenker et al., (2017, p.17): "*a network of associations in the place consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design*".

These two research streams can also converge when place of origin associations, such as food heritage, are used in a place marketing strategy (Sims, 2009; Tellstrom et al., 2006). For example, Melton Mowbray in the UK promotes itself as: "*The home of the pork pie*", hosting the annual UK Pie Awards and appointing a formal Pork Pie Ambassador for the town. Therefore, as Anholt (2005) notes, place of origin effects may not be limited to the consumption of a place's exports, they can also extend to the consumption of the brand image of the place itself.

Our understanding of the relationship between places and brands has developed in several ways that reflect three key interconnected themes linked to focus, stakeholders and branding processes:

Place branding focus

The evolution from destination to place branding has involved both a narrowing and a broadening of focus. It has narrowed through the development of a more specific sub-set of studies considering city branding, emphasising how cities compete amongst each other as destinations for tourism, events and investment (Kavaratzis, 2004). Otherwise place branding has widened its focus beyond the branding of destinations for a tourist audience, to consider and brand places as locations where people also live (Hanna & Rowley, 2011; 2013). So, although destination branding is typically viewed as distinct from place branding, because of its tourist and tourism emphasis (Hankinson, 2009), in practice the two fields intertwine (Boisen et al., 2018) and therefore this paper draws from both literatures, reflecting the "blurred" boundary between them (Zenker et al., 2017).

A key challenge for those seeking to brand and market particular places, is to decide what elements to focus on in order to develop a distinctive and attractive place identity. Place identity is central to place branding efforts (Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013) and is typically expressed as those physical and social elements associated with a place and constituting its "essence" (Sarabia-Sanchez & Cerda-Bertomeu, 2017). Kavaratzis and

Kalandides (2015) provide a detailed critique of the complexities of place identity and its relation to place branding, and conclude by identifying four broad elements that are fundamental to constructing and communicating a place brand:

1. Materiality: the material–physical context for social relations, encompassing topography, place-bounded artefacts (like landmarks) and the "crystallization" of history and collective memory;
2. Practices: structures of social interaction including the economic and social;
3. Institutions: including organisations, property, regulations, planning policies, and social and aesthetic norms;
4. Representations: consisting of signs, symbols, maps, names and narratives that communicate the essence of a place.

These elements form the basis of the associations that people make with a place, and that constitute the brand as perceived by a place marketer's audience. Many of the key place brand elements cannot be controlled or influenced by marketers. Those with greatest scope for marketers' interventions are a place's representations, and particularly the narratives constructed and communicated to represent it (Kalandides, 2011). Those narratives developed by marketers to promote a place will exist alongside those that visitors bring home and communicate to others, and those that local residents share about "their" place (Kalandides, 2011; Lichrou et al., 2014).

Although the values associated with a place are an element of our definition of place branding (Zenker et al., 2017), and the importance of surfacing shared stakeholder values within a place is recognised (Saraniemi & Ahonen, 2008), there is little discussion about the role that ethical values might play as place brand components. Jensen (2007) uses the experience of Aalborg to demonstrate the role of values and norms in forming "community narratives" for place branding, but the underlying values applied there, such as "drive" and "teamwork", communicate more economic dynamism than ethics. People will likely be attracted by place brands they perceive to be virtuous and ethical (Zerrillo & Thomas, 2007), and local consumption can play a part in this process. Chatzidakis et al. (2012) for example describe how for the Athenian neighbourhood of Exarcheia, ethically orientated consumption practices form an important part of its identity. Although that study does not focus explicitly on place branding, it implies that the potential exists for local ethical consumption to contribute to a place's branding.

Another element in the evolution of place branding, is a move beyond focussing only on a single place brand that seeks (often through particular slogans or images) to encapsulate and articulate a unique identity for a place. As Rowley and Hanna (2020) note, our perceptions of a place may be connected to other places within the same region, or to a museum, sports team or business operating within it. Two or more places may become connected, and their branding intertwined, in several ways. Adjoining places can be considered as "twin" (or "sister") towns or cities, sometimes separated by state or national borders (Madichie & Madichie, 2013). There is also a tradition of towns and cities being twinned when they share some commonalities, either within the same country (e.g. in Germany where there is an internal twinning tradition), or internationally, as became popular within Europe during the 20th century to promote international understanding in the aftermath of war. Despite its popularity in practice, the role of twinning arrangements rarely features in place branding research (Madichie & Madichie, 2013).

Several approaches have evolved to explain how multiple brands may contribute to, or influence, the over-arching brand associated with a specific place including concepts of "brand architecture" (Hankinson, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2009), "brand webs" (Hanna & Rowley, 2015) or "network brands" (Aurelli & Forlani, 2016). One aspect of this has been the emergence of studies on co-branding, although these tend to focus on linkages between individual tourism businesses, or between a particular firm's brand and the place brand (Aarstadt et al., 2015). Consideration of co-branding also creates opportunities to investigate potential synergies or "spillover" effects between brands within a place branding context, but as yet such effects remain underexplored (Aarstadt et al., 2015; Rowley & Hanna, 2020).

Place branding stakeholders

Destination marketing mainly focusses on tourism organisations and on potential and actual visitors as stakeholders (García et al., 2012). The emergence of place branding from destination branding involved the widening of the relevant stakeholders to include entrepreneurs (García et al., 2012), business leaders (Jacobsen, 2012) and, most importantly, local residents and a concern for their quality of life (Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Boisen, et al., 2018; Braun et al., 2013; Palmer et al., 2013). The existence of residents as an important stakeholder group, who may oppose the very idea of "their" place being branded and marketed (Morgan et al., 2011), represents a challenge not faced by marketing managers working with more conventional brand types. It also makes understanding residents' role in place branding strategies important (Braun et al, 2013), as their support for the place image embedded within a brand can have significant implications for their willingness to promote local tourism through word of mouth (Stylidis, 2018) or social media (Palmer et al., 2013). The importance of residents as stakeholders has been reinforced by an additional strand of research that has emerged recently, considering "grassroots" place branding and the potential for residents to collectively co-construct (or even co-destruct) the brands of places such as cities (Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015; Vallaster, et al., 2018). Gradually an appreciation is building of the potential impact that residents can have in being able to "*make or break the whole branding effort*" of a place (Braun et al., 2013, p. 23).

In place branding the importance of involving community residents is recognised as important for generating greater authenticity and a shared commitment from stakeholders (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). Braun et al. (2013) identify three key place branding roles for residents:

1. Their interaction forms the natural social milieu of a place;
2. They can add authenticity to a place's brand by granting credibility to communicated messages; and
3. As citizens, they can participate in the formal governance of a place, and therefore wield political power in place-making decisions.

Place branding processes

The evolution from destination branding to a broader concept of place branding, and the consideration of a more diverse set of stakeholders, has been accompanied by a shift in emphasis from studies considering the place brand as an output, towards more consideration of the underlying branding processes involved. Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) for example, in reviewing the complex relationship between place identity and place branding, argue that both should not be considered as static outputs, but as dynamic processes of dialogue between stakeholders. They view the identity of a place underpinning its brand as reflecting and expressing the local culture as understood (and generated) by residents, whilst also informing the image a place seeks to project externally to make a positive impression on potential visitors

As well as moving beyond external audiences as the sole recipients of place branding efforts, the research agenda has also moved beyond the notion of a clear "brand manager" in the shape of a Destination Management Organisation (DMO) as the brand originator. Aitken and Campelo (2011) criticise conventional “top-down” destination branding approaches aiming to increase visitors and commerce as failing to capture the “authentic” elements of destinations. They argue for the importance of authenticity that is built from the “*genuine and foundational relationships*” (Aitken and Campelo, 2011, p. 917) linking people, communities, places and experiences. Hanna and Rowley (2015) similarly argue for the need to move away from the perspective of a DMO managing place branding, to consider them as part of a “brand web” of public and private individuals and organisations concerned with local regeneration, marketing, communication, culture and economic development.

Successful place branding is therefore seen as dependent on the unique relationships or “ecosystems” within a given place (Bergvall, 2006) and, in order to be understood fully, the role of residents as both consumers and co-creators (or perhaps co-architects) of a place brand needs to be appreciated, as well as considering the conventional “outsider” target audience (Braun et al., 2013). However, the understanding of the impact of residents' narratives, collective actions and grassroots co-creation on place branding processes remains embryonic and somewhat lacking (Vallaster et al., 2018). FTTs, represent an interesting phenomenon to study because they involve a community-based, grassroots movement that seeks to construct and communicate an identity for their community based around ethical (fairtrade) consumption.

The Fairtrade (FT) brand and Fairtrade Towns

FT is one of the most successful marketing and branding initiatives of recent decades (Nicholls, 2010), whose history is captured in detail by Doherty et al. (2013) and more specifically in relation to branding by Reed (2009). This has been underpinned by the effectiveness of the FT label as an ethical brand (Doherty et al., 2013) with 93% of the UK population recognising the FT trademark and logo, and perhaps more pertinently 83% displaying an understanding of the concepts behind it (Fairtrade Mark, 2019). As a brand, FT initially aimed to instil trust amongst consumers in the Global North through its longstanding contribution to the development of producer communities in the Global South, and more recently to signal high product quality (Golding, 2009; Low and Davenport, 2006).

Despite the progress made by the FT brand, its continued development faces significant challenges, partly due to the expansion achieved through FT’s comparatively recent “mainstreaming”. The entry into the FT market of major global brands such as Dole, Nestle & Starbucks, although valuable in terms of the extension of FT as a set of market practices, potentially endangers the FT brand’s existing sense of being “alternative” and values driven (Doherty et al., 2013; Reed, 2009). Doherty, et al. (2013) argue that to thrive, the FT brand must maintain and communicate the value of its transformative, developmental trading system with people and environmental quality at its core.

In relation to place, FT operates as place of origin branding with an emphasis on the benefits that purchasing FT has for producer communities (Geiger-Oneto & Arnould, 2011), and with the nature of FT producers and their communities frequently highlighted through on-pack and other communication media (Golding, 2009). As Leissle (2013) notes in relation to Divine’s FT chocolate brand:

> “*Divine’s website, advertising, and marketing strategies (including contests, public lectures by farmers, and celebrity endorsements) are exceptional in their promotion of Ghana. Bar wrappers are stylishly decorated with Ashanti symbols, reflecting Kuapa Kokoo’s strong farmer base among that ethnic group and the common use of Ashanti cultural materials (such as Kente cloth) to represent Ghana as a whole.*”

Such marketing allows FT products to gain perceived attributes linked to the place of production, albeit from the prevailing socio-economic conditions rather than the terroir. This has in turn led to the integration of tourism and FT production systems, in areas such as East Africa (see Goodwin & Boekhold, 2010). FT can also be integrated into core tourism products (Cleverdon & Kalisch, 2000) particularly since the emergence of FT Tourism accreditation (Boluk, 2011), although such developments are not under consideration here.

FT’s place of origin branding has been complemented by the newer "place of consumption" branding effort represented by the FTT initiative, which began in 2001 when the Fairtrade Foundation accredited Garstang (UK) as the world’s first FTT following a grassroots campaign by local activists. The label has since extended to include cities and villages as well. Accreditation as a FTT depends on demonstrating achievement against five criteria including the involvement of local government in supporting FT, a certain proportion of both local retailers selling FT products and local places of work providing FT refreshments (with targets set in relation to population), and the establishment of a local steering group to ensure continued commitment to FT status (Fairtrade Towns, 2013). Since 2001 FTTs have grown rapidly, with 635 FTTs established in the UK, and a global expansion into a further 26 countries totalling 2,196 FTTs (Fairtrade Towns, 2019).

Despite their growth and prevalence, FTTs represent an under-researched phenomenon, particularly from a marketing perspective (Samuel & Peattie, 2016). However, the pioneering work of Malpass et al. (2007), in exploring the development of Bristol (UK) as a FTT from a social geography perspective, provided the first clue that the activism, consumer citizenship and ethical marketing elements of FTT also had the potential to contribute to place branding. They describe how the FTT campaign emphasized how FT consumption was integral to concepts of good local citizenship and place belonging, and sought to re-imagine and even "redeem" the specific place histories of Bristol, with particular emphasis on its slave trading past and associations with trade injustice. This perspective was underlined by a blog published in 2015 on the Visit Bristol website commenting that:

> "*Fairtrade also offers a perfect antidote to Bristol's slave trade history. Being one of the leading Fairtrade cities in the world shows that Bristol is now looking to lead the way in fair pay and conditions and ending child labour and modern-day slavery. And this year we're hosting the International Fair Trade Towns Conference, welcoming 400 delegates from across the world … It's a major event on the Bristol Green Capital 2015 programme and establishes Fairtrade as a key component of a Sustainable City*."

This potential value of the role of FTT status in helping to redeem the history of Bristol was given further emphasis during 2020 when protests linked to the "Black Lives Matter" movement drew attention to the city's commemoration of slave trader Edward Colston. This culminated in the toppling of a city centre statue by protestors, and the removal of a stained-glass window from St Mary Redcliffe, the city's largest church, both commemorating Colston.

Bristol's experience highlights the potential of FTT status to contribute to place branding, both for an internal resident audience, and as part of efforts to attract tourists. This paper seeks to better understand the role that such grassroots collective action can have in the creation of a more ethically-orientated brand for a place (as a tourist destination and a place to live) through a study of FTTs. Exploring FTTs can potentially reveal their place branding relevant characteristics and highlight the opportunities they present to root normally abstract concepts of ethical branding within specific places. The paper seeks to address the following research questions:

1. How can FTT status interact with, and influence the development and use of, a place brand?
2. Through what marketing processes and roles are the place brand and FTT brand connected?
3. What benefits can FTT status bring in terms of place branding opportunities?

The work of Chatzidakis et al. (2012) demonstrates the potential for local consumption to contribute to an ethical identity for a given place, and they conclude with a call for research that contributes new insights into both ethical consumption *within* space and place, and the ethical consumption *of* space and place. FTT represents a confluence of both those streams of research, particularly when considered from the perspective of place branding.

Methodology

This study applied the qualitative and interpretive methodology of Grounded Theory pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967), that is commonly used across social science, although less so in marketing studies (Goulding, 1998). It is recognised as particularly suitable for researching situations like FTT, involving emerging phenomena where pre-existing theory or rich data is lacking (and the methodology and its benefits are discussed in much greater detail in (Samuel & Peattie, 2016). Grounded Theory relies upon the exploration of a social world from the perspective of key insiders, in this case the FT activists involved in the development of the FTT initiatives within particular towns. Qualitative data were captured regarding these insiders' social situations, views, motives, interactions, interpretations and everyday actions (Blaikie, 2000). The activist respondents ranged from students to retirees and included the self-employed, people from local businesses, local government and from a range of organisations including churches, schools and NGOs. The study focussed on these activists because it sought to understand the development and operation of FTT schemes as a marketing phenomenon, and this paper presents those findings most relevant to place branding and the marketing of the participating towns as destinations.

There were three core elements of qualitative enquiry. Firstly, ethnographic involvement, with one of the researchers immersed in a FTT as a member of its Steering Group over a three-year period, with official minutes and researcher journals of meetings and general observations acting as data sources (with appropriate ethical permission to record and research). Secondly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 FTT activists drawn from the steering groups of eleven UK towns and cities whose details are set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Interview Participants' Profiles

Fairtrade Town	Research Participants (Semi-structured interviews)	Age
Cardiff	Shop Owner Social Enterprise Worker Student Union Representative	Mid 40s Early 50s Early 20s
Carmarthen	Chaplin Student at Trinity College NGO Worker	Late 40s Early 20s Late 50s
Garstang	Councillor Vet Teacher Soroptimist Retired Citizen	Late 50s Late 40s Early 30s Late 60s Early 60s
Keswick	NGO Worker	Early 40s
Oundle	Church Representative	Late 50s
Millom	Retired Teacher	Early 60s
Merthyr Tydfil	Sustainability Officer College Lecturer	Early 40s Early 50s
Bridgnorth	NGO Volunteer	Early 50s
Hereford	Vicar	Late 30s
Worcester	Councillor Cooperative Store Manager Teacher Traidcraft Representative NGO Volunteer Retired Citizen Self-employed Gardener NGO Worker	Late 40s Late 40s Early 40s Late 50s Late 50s Late 60s Late 30s Late 40s
Swansea	Sustainability Centre Manager Teacher Traidcraft Representative	Late 40s Early 30s Early 50s

Table 2. Fairtrade Town Sample

Town (or City)	**Region**	**Population (at last census)**	**FTT Status From**
Bridgnorth	**West Midlands**	**12079**	**2003**
Cardiff	**South Wales**	**335145**	**2004**
Carmarthen	**West Wales**	**14185**	**2007**
Garstang	**North West**	**4268**	**2001**
Hereford	**West Midlands**	**55955**	**2005**
Keswick	**North West**	**5243**	**2005**
Merthyr Tydfil	**South Wales**	**43820**	**2007**
Millom	**North West**	**7829**	**2004**
Oundle	**East Midlands**	**5735**	**2007**
Swansea	**South Wales**	**246466**	**2004**
Worcester	**West Midlands**	**101328**	**2006**

Target towns and activists were chosen by using a snowball process in which respondents helped the researcher to locate and recruit other suitable respondents (Warren, 2002). The final sample of towns is summarised in Table 2, and included a variety of types of place including a capital city (Cardiff), smaller regional cities (Hereford, Worcester), coastal locations (Cardiff, Swansea, Carmarthen, Millom), rural market towns (Bridgnorth, Garstang), historic industrial towns/cities (Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil, Swansea) and towns within, or adjacent to, national park boundaries (Keswick, Millom). It therefore includes the type of smaller places usually overlooked in place branding studies in favour of larger cities (Rowley & Hanna, 2020). The extent to which the local economy of each place depends on tourism varied widely, but tourism was considered significant for all. Interviews were typically around 60 minutes in duration and used open questions to explore activists' views, actions and experienced events (Charmaz, 2006) concerning the development and operation of their FTT. The interview process continued until theoretical saturation occurred and no new issues were emerging. Finally, three days were spent in the company of a founder of the FTT movement, learning more about the development of the movement and its application in their home-town including a narrated tour.

The three stages provided different insights and advantages, with the ethnographic element and three-day extended encounter providing depth, the ethnographic element providing a longitudinal perspective, and the range of qualitative interviews providing diversity in the range of place types studied. Each stage helped to secure rich qualitative data (totalling 110,432 words), with interview transcripts, researcher journals and other documents being subject to immediate line-by-line coding (by hand), followed by later analysis to identify significant themes. Coding was complemented by the creation of memos to capture thoughts, facilitate contrasts and identify connections across the data. Analysis of the codes and memos led to the creation of three core categories, one of which was ‘‘Plurality of Place’’ focussing on the many place-based elements of FTT marketing. These included the relationship between the FTT and place brands, the narratives developed by FTT activists about “their” place, the promotion of FTTs to visitors, and the part played by Kavaratzis and Kalandides’ (2015) four elements of place. It is from this core category that the findings for this paper are drawn.

Findings

Analysis of the empirical data revealed the many and diverse ways in which local FTT activists sought to improve local FT product availability and marketing infrastructure by working through a range (or plurality) of local places. Some of these places were the domain of residents, including homes as private places of consumption, and local places of education and employment. Others were primarily tourist-focused including hotels, B&Bs, and places and events (such as festivals) designed to attract visitors. There were others catering more to a blend of residents and visitors including farmers’ markets, churches, transport infrastructure, local government offices, retailers, and those restaurants and bars that were not primarily “tourist traps”. Activists’ market building activities included setting up consumer sampling opportunities, auditing local supply arrangements, negotiating access for FT products, creating local FT directories and pushing for organisational buyers to support FT. These activities were complemented by brand building activity in which activists developed and promoted narratives about their FTTs that were often woven into existing representations of their place in ways that could help to shape the place brand and influence local practices and institutions in favour of FT. Their ultimate aim was to build a FTT brand that promoted the benefits of FT consumption in a way that would resonate with local people whilst also helping to attract and involve visitors.

The importance of narrative development in activists’ efforts to develop and promote a local FTT brand was indicated by the recurring emphasis that respondents placed on the importance of conversations with all types of local stakeholder in order to tell the FT story:

> *I use every opportunity I can to talk about it to other people … I think people are aware that I'm very keen on the whole idea behind Fairtrade and so I talk about it whenever I can. I make a point of buying Fairtrade things in the shops and asking for them if they're not available and if I go into cafes or bars* (Community Representative, Oundle)

This emphasis on articulating the FT story within their town, and the FTT story of their town, was a shared enthusiasm amongst many respondents and reflects what Malpass et al. (2007, p.637) noted in describing Bristol's experience that FTT campaigns relied on '*particular devices and discursive strategies through which actors can 'speak for the city'*.

The FTT/Place brand relationship.

The perceived strength and nature of the relationship between FTT status and a place's identity and brand varied amongst the sample towns and cities, but respondents from all of them viewed FTT status as significant in terms of external perceptions and having the potential to attract more visitors:

> *Fairtrade Town puts us on the map … it shows what a good community we have* (FTT Steering Group Chair, Garstang).

> *I think it benefits the town because I think it does bring a few tourists this way* (NGO Volunteer, Bridgnorth).

This was manifested in the integration of a town's FTT status into externally focussed events and communications initiatives ranging from visitor websites and town guides to town signage:

> *I think that it brings a little sense of pride to some people, we have been lucky enough to persuade our town council to put a big sign at every entrance to every road into the town, I think that is 6 roads into the town, and we got a massive sign saying first Fairtrade Town in Shropshire. Which is quite an accolade really* (NGO Volunteer, Bridgnorth).

The extent to which the process of FTT accreditation was seen by respondents as integrated with the concept and practice of branding their place as a visitor destination varied, mostly in line with the extent to which the places viewed themselves as tourism destinations.

The most orientated towards tourists and tourism within the sample was Keswick, reflecting its identity as a major tourist hub in the English Lake District. It was established as a FTT in 2005 and rapidly signed up around one hundred B&Bs and guesthouses through the FTT campaign to provide FT products including tea, coffee and fruit juice to their guests (Allen, 2010):

> *Well because this is a tourist town, we certainly wanted to work with the tourism sector, and we have worked with the tourism sector, my hope would be … that every guest house and hotel in Keswick, offered Fairtrade tea and coffee, and every café and restaurant and coffee shop and tea shop all offered it. So that is an aspiration because it does open opportunities to switch Keswick and our tourists onto Fairtrade* (NGO Worker, Keswick).

Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2006) stress the importance of branding giving a place a specific, unique and distinctive identity. FTT's contribution to this was evident in those places that promoted their pioneering role as an FTT regionally (as was the case for Bridgnorth), or nationally/internationally as was the case for Garstang and Cardiff:

> *As the first town, it has had great benefit, as people come and they see it's the first Fairtrade Town so …it draws people in, so it has been a great benefit to the town* (Soroptimist, Garstang).

> *I think for Cardiff it was special as it was the world's first FT Capital City, which is a great coup for the city itself* (Student Union Representative, Cardiff).

For other places that weren't a "first", joining a scheme that includes 2,196 towns and cities worldwide might not appear to offer much opportunity for distinctiveness. However, they often sought to connect their FTT status to other aspects of local culture and identity to appeal to residents, or to the brand image projected to attract visitors. Rural places including Hereford and Millom connected their identities as strongly farming orientated communities to generate support for FTT through solidarity with farmers in poorer countries:

> *The same year we started, the Cumbria foot and mouth crisis, which was absolutely horrendous, started. It was spring and the countryside was silent and even locally we heard of tragedies in families and farms, everything was slaughter and it was totally heart-rending. So, when we came to appealing for Fairtrade and understanding the poverty and suffering of third world*

> *nations ... we used this angle. Immediately they would understand the suffering because we were going through it very much here in Cumbria* (Retired Teacher, Millom).

Swansea, a city that promotes its maritime heritage, had worked closely with its National Waterfront Museum to ensure a FT presence:

> *We have also worked quite closely with the Waterfront Museum, we have held quite a few events, for the past two years we have held Fairtrade fashion shows there and we had one this year that was run by a student* (Sustainability Centre Manager, Swansea).

For cities like Bristol (Malpass et al., 2007) and Liverpool, FTT status could also be connected to the darker aspects of their place history as a redemptive antidote:

> *The Chief Executive of Liverpool Council said because of Liverpool's slave trade past, it's more of a reason why we should strive to be the best Fairtrade city in the country* (FTT Steering Group Chair, Garstang).

FTT: Local people, local pride.

Although FT is very much a global movement focussed on trade justice as a global issue, a key narrative theme that emerged was the importance of FTTs as a local, grassroots initiative (albeit as part of a global network) that sought to bring together local people and institutions for a common ethical cause:

> *It's about grassroots to people, it's about communities, it's about the whole community, it's not about any one part, it's not about churches, it's not about schools, it's not about councils, it's about them all coming together, empowering people* (Retired Teacher, Millom).

The creation of an FTT tended to be founded upon activists' existing roles and networks, something noted by Malpass et al. (2007), which encompassed campaigns to improve the environment (Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Transition Towns), alleviate developing country debt (Make Poverty History), use more local and organic produce (Slow Food Movement) and human rights (Amnesty International). However, whilst these campaigns were often seen as engaging a specific, enthusiastic element of the local community, the FTT campaign was seen as one that was more genuinely community-wide (partly because the adoption of FT refreshments as a default in many local consumption contexts engaged locals and visitors in FTT consumption whatever their level of interest):

> *What amazed me an awful lot over the years, is how Fairtrade Towns have been praised by the Prime Minister for example, as somewhere that actually helps the community, builds up city vibes, brings the community together and engages the community* (FTT Steering Group Chair, Garstang).

This meant that FTT campaigns were better able to develop an ethical narrative for the entire community than those more specific pre-existing causes and campaigns, and therefore they became more closely related to the local sense of place identity and place branding:

> *Fairtrade Towns has made it easier you might say, to be part of a local campaign, you can actually feed into it, there's an identity there, you know, and that's the strengths of it … I'm quite sure, that's what's made it popular* (Sustainability Centre Manager, Swansea).

Another recurring narrative was FTT as a source of local pride. In addition to towns like Bridgnorth proudly proclaiming their FTT status through the signage on all routes into the town, others also emphasised the sense of local pride generated:

> *I know people on the group are very proud of the fact that we have Fairtrade Town status and are keen to have Fairtrade, we have had a number of banners coming into town, stating that we are a Fairtrade Town and I do get a lot of people commenting on that and are pleased that we are a Fairtrade Town* (Sustainability Officer, Merthyr Tydfil).

However, one potential area for concern is that in branding a town as supporting FT, there was a perceived risk that this might be interpreted as insufficiently supporting local producers, retailers or interests. This is an area of friction that has impacted some US FTTs quite badly (Lyon, 2014) and which some of the UK FTTs were conscious of as a risk, and keen to avoid:

> *We are a rural community, we had a debate called "farming that's fair for all", which was a very big event in our calendar, because it brought in all of the local farmers as well, because Fairtrade is something that we think about in terms of international development, but of course our local farmers are not getting fair prices*

> *from the supermarkets. So the feelings are running high, and we wanted to try to promote fairness with our local farmers as well, by showing that one does not exclude the other, that all farmers deserve a fair deal* (NGO Volunteer, Bridgnorth).

FTT: Showing you care.

A recurring theme within the FT movement is the concept of showing care for "distant others" (Barnett et al., 2011) and it is therefore unsurprising that another common narrative concerned FTT status as an expression of the ethical and caring nature of a community:

> *I think it also shows that the people of Cardiff care about FT and the producers that they buy from. I think it also displays a caring side to the city that you might not notice* (Student Union Representative, Cardiff).

The notion that FTT status should involve displays or demonstrations of a place's caring side also recurred. The process of achieving accreditation is prescribed through the Fairtrade Foundation and the wider FTT movement, but translating this into a brand that can reach and influence local residents and potential visitors incorporates all four of Kavaratzis & Kalandides's (2015) underpinnings of place branding: materiality; practices; institutions and representations. In FTTs, the activists frequently developed strategies using combinations of these elements to create and demonstrate positive associations with the place and its brand for residents and visitors. That might mean harnessing local landmarks to assist with FTT representations, or shifting the practices of local institutions to reinforce FT consumption as a local norm:

> *The council have planted a Fairtrade flower bed outside the castle so it's in the shape of the Fairtrade logo…… it's very nice and it's there slam outside Cardiff Castle which is probably over the Millennium Stadium [as] the biggest icon in the City as far as tourism goes* (Student Union Officer, Cardiff).

> *Fairtrade in Keswick, when you walk down a street with tea shops and coffee shops and there are [FT] signs in the window, there is one particular street, where it isn't just one or two, you seem to come across the sign all the way down the street. You can't miss it* (NGO Worker, Keswick).

FTT: Connecting people and places.

Another key narrative associated with FTTs was one of connectivity, including the ability to connect different elements of the local community behind the promotion of FT (including citizens, local government, retailers and local organisations) and the global connections that FT's ethos of caring at a distance involves.

Pursuing FTT status encourages residents and visitors to consider a place, not simply as somewhere to live or a destination to visit, but as connected to other places at the opposite ends of global supply chains:

> *Pointing out to people questions about where our food comes from or where our clothes are made and [how] the conditions they are produced in affect the livelihood of many people whose names you don't know and lives we are ignorant of. It's the first step towards a wider understanding of the need for justice in trade relationships. Try to raise peoples' awareness and try to realise that their choices can affect the lives and livelihoods of lots of other people* (Community Representative, Oundle).

In many FTTs this sense of being at one end of an otherwise abstract global commodity chain became more concrete once they started interacting with specific producer communities from poorer countries. A widespread approach to promoting FTTs was the use of producer visits or even farming community exchanges (Malpass et al., 2007), particularly during Fairtrade Fortnight:

> *We had a cotton producer from India who was visiting during FT Fortnight he was able to speak about the beneficial effects on the ground for poor communities in developing nations. So I thought it was a good meeting of different people who probably otherwise wouldn't meet, and I personally found it very inspiring, and I hope it has had some sort of tangible effect* (Vicar, Hereford).

Once such producer-consumer community links were established, they frequently extended and strengthened, for example through the pairing up of local schools for projects and mutual learning. The result was a form of ethically-based "twinning" of an informal and grassroots-inspired nature.

Shared support for FT also has the potential to create a commonality and connection between FTTs nationally and regionally. This is evidenced within the UK by the establishment of the "Fairtrade Way" (http://www.fairtradeway.org.uk) as a long-distance heritage trail based on FT, the British Atlantic Slave Trade and The Religious Society of Friends, and by events that seek to connect up FTTs:

> *What comes to mind is the most recent ones, for example, being in Bolton football stadium, having 2,000 children all eating bananas at the same time, things like that. When we did the cycle ride, we had people cycling to and from Fairtrade Towns all around the country* (FTT Steering Group Chair, Garstang).

With the mainstreaming of FT, its marketing has become increasingly effective in terms of delivering the ethical consumption message to consumers about the benefits of FT consumption for “distant others” as a relatively abstract concept. FTT marketing has introduced a more place-based perspective, helping to crystalize the links between producer and consumer communities and creating bridges of understanding and caring between them.

Discussion.

The marketing activities and experiences of the activists behind FTTs reflected some well-understood challenges or controversies relating to place and destination branding, whilst also suggesting new complexities and possibilities in the ways that places can be branded and marketed. To discuss them we can return to our earlier identified three over-arching themes in the evolution of the destination/place brand literature of focus, stakeholders and branding processes.

FTT: Bi-focal place branding.

To understand the role that FTT status can play in place branding, particularly when marketing a place as a destination, an obvious question concerns how the place brand and FTT brand might inter-relate. Existing inter-brand research considering twin (or sister) towns/cities (Madichie & Madichie, 2013), spillover effects between brands (Rowley & Hanna, 2020), or the contribution of local institutions to a place brand (Hanna & Rowley, 2015) generally involve either the linking of two similar and therefore synergistic brands, or a place/institution link founded on considerable pre-existing shared history, materiality and representations (as between a city and its university). Hanna and Rowley (2015) suggest that “other” brands relate to place brands either as a managed sub-brand of a place in line with the notion of “brand architecture” (Hankinson, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2009) or as a strategic co-branding partner (or as some mixture of the two) within their “Brand Web”. However, an

FTT group doesn't fit comfortably into the types of local organisational and institutional partner or sub-brands that Hanna and Rowley (2015) describe. Instead, it represents a localised expression of a global ethical movement (and brand) whose associations and meaning operate beyond, as well as within, the place concerned. A further complication is that an FTT brand can also be considered as a sub-brand of the generic FTT brand, which is in turn also a sub-brand of the more global FT brand. So, to return to the metaphor of brand architecture, FTT branding perhaps acts more as a bridge between existing FT and place branding structures than as a facet of (or compartment within) one.

The relationship between FTT status and the place brand (particularly when acting as a destination brand), can be viewed in multiple ways. From a conventional branding viewpoint, it can be seen as simply an ethical augmentation adding socio-environmental credentials to a place beyond the usual issues of local environmental quality (Li et al., 2014), or local workforce welfare (Baum, 2018). An alternative perspective is to apply Bergvall's (2006) metaphor of a brand ecosystem within which FTT branding exists in symbiosis with the destination brand. Each differs in aims and the locus of decision-making power for brand development amongst stakeholders, but with the two brands having the potential to complement and reinforce one another to generate positive spillover effects (Rowley & Hanna, 2020). The redemptive role played by FTT narratives in Bristol and Liverpool, however, is subtly different to the type of positive spillover effects between similar place-connected brands sharing strengths and creating synergies suggested by Rowley and Hanna (2020). Instead, it involves the positive ethical attributes of the FTT brand providing benefits believed to compensate for potential negative associations attached to the existing place history and brand.

FTT: Grassroots stakeholder-led ethical branding.

The importance of involving community residents in place branding is recognised as important for generating greater authenticity and a shared commitment from stakeholders (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). Although the idea of "grassroots" branding has begun to be explored in place marketing (e.g. Vallaster, et al., 2018), in practice the role of community stakeholders is typically restricted to feeding into a process whose "ownership" and management (if not outright control) is viewed as vested in local authorities and enacted through DMOs (Hanna & Rowley, 2013). This contrasts with FTTs, whose steering groups comprise local activists who pursue FTT accreditation and branding as self-organising volunteers separate from their local authority (although they depend on gaining its support for accreditation). The FTT brand is therefore the more genuinely grassroots brand, and to an even greater degree than the place brand, is developed and governed by local residents, and communicated via a complex network of stakeholders (Samuel et al., 2018).

A distinctive facet of destination marketing is the potential for friction between tourists and residents that risks pitting the local citizen against the visitor, particularly in places like Venice, Barcelona or Santorini that are suffering from over-tourism (Lichrou et al., 2014). Klein (2000) for example argues that the aggressive pursuit of efforts to create brand identities for cities or city neighbourhoods has tended to create a "lose-lose" situation in which residents suffer a sense of alienation from areas and events they once felt they belonged to. Malpass et al. (2007) suggest that, by contrast, FTT status can help to connect the image of a place to a sense of "worthiness" capable of uniting disparate groups of stakeholders. Jensen (2007) views place branding as a process of framing a narrative about a place that is consistent with, and guided by, the values and norms of the local community. The FTT narrative offers a (mostly) uncontroversial common ground for branding in which support for ethical consumption can make local residents proud of their place, whilst making potential visitors more attracted to it (or actual visitors more positive in their remembrances). It also represents a locally generated and governed source of local pride that tourists, and local tourism stakeholders, can make a contribution to through visits or catering to visitors, creating a positive tourism narrative to set against the potential for tourism-resident antagonism.

Place branding literature has evolved from a focus on destination image (more designed for external audiences) to identity (one more determined by internal stakeholders), towards an interest in brand "personality" (Pereira et al., 2012). The personality of a destination represents a multidimensional construct and is defined as the: "*set of human characteristics associated with a tourism destination*" (Hosany et al., 2006, p. 639). Although some branding authors use the terms personality and character interchangeably, Ritchie and Ritchie (1999, p. 4) see destination brand character more in line with Upshaw's (1995) "Lexicon of Branding" in: "*Having to do with the internal constitution of the brand, how it is seen in terms of its integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness*". FTT branding perhaps better fits this notion of contributing to brand character through the trustworthiness that comes from external accreditation and its demonstrable concern for other people and places. The grassroots-led and independent nature of FTT steering groups and the legitimacy provided by the formal processes and auditing needed to achieve FTT accreditation both help it to act as a credible ethical augmentation of the place brand.

FTT: A place brand co-creation process.

Samuel et al., (2018) explore FTTs as "brand communities" led by volunteer activists who combine a commitment to the global ethics of FT with a sense of belonging to the place in which they live to co-create the FTT brand: "*In localizing consumer understanding of, and engagement with, the FT brand, they are effectively co-creating the FTT as an authentic "community brand" not owned, governed or even actively promoted by a manufacturer, but by the geographical community itself*" (p. 771). Through this process, activists work with a wide range of stakeholders, consider both resident and visitor audiences, and connect to local place branding efforts, both explicitly and implicitly. Their efforts also encompass two of the five key types of co-creation identified by Benapurdi and Leonne (2003). Firstly, by generating "emotional engagement" between consumers and brand, which was demonstrated through the sense of civic pride that FTT status generated, and by inspiring empathy for the plight of producer communities in poorer countries. Secondly, through engaging consumers in brand related experiences which included sampling opportunities at local stores, churches, libraries, and FTT events, particularly during FT Fortnight.

Blain et al., (2005) found that in practice, destination marketers often thought about branding rather narrowly and in representational terms, and were preoccupied with the creation of logos and taglines (see also Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015). This may reflect a wider perception that place branding does not represent branding in the classic marketing sense because the brand itself cannot be created and the elements and stakeholders that contribute to it (including residents) cannot be controlled (Hankinson, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2013 & 2015). FTT branding however is something that is created from scratch within a place (albeit by building on existing stakeholder networks and interests, and utilising support from the FT Foundation). The strong ethical orientation of the FT movement means it also contributes to the development of a more responsible place brand, the search for which Kavaratzis & Kalandides (2015) identify as a core theme in the place branding literature. As Boisen et al. (2011; p. 136) note: "*the identity of a place is sought, identified, extracted and orchestrated to further load the place brand with positive associations. Ultimately, the goal of such practices is to improve the image of the place*."

FTT: Counteracting place brand introspection

Despite the importance of distant external audiences when thinking of a place as a destination, the place branding process, in focussing on local materiality, practices, institutions and place representations, can understandably tend to become relatively inward-looking. The tourism audience represents an external focus, but there can be opportunities to make place branding processes more outwardly focused. Jensen (2007, p. 218) notes that the creation of local place branding narratives can be connected to wider values and global discourses so that: "*Narratives are then embedded in localized stories that may link to larger discourses*". This is something that the development and operation of a FTT scheme clearly embodies, and one respondent expressed it as FTT status "expanding the horizons" of an otherwise small town.

The type of connections developed within FTTs between places of consumption and production are very different from the conventional approaches to twinning arrangements where the commonalities between international partners are used to connect them (Madichie & Madichie, 2013). In the case of FTTs, it is the commitment to FT and its ethical values that becomes the connection and commonality between producing and consuming communities that are otherwise both distant and typically very different.

In demonstrating a place's caring character, FTT status has the potential to underline the image of a place as progressive in its outlook. It can also provide a narrative to counter questions that might linger about the character and heritage of a place, as was observed by Malpass et al. (2007) in relation to Bristol, and by one respondent in relation to Liverpool.

Limitations.

This research, like any other, is subject to a range of limitations. The primary research was limited to supportive activists within FTTs and didn't focus on other stakeholders including the broader resident population, tourists and retailers. It also didn't directly involve any stakeholders from the local DMOs who may have a different perspective on the potential of FTT status to contribute to the branding of a place, including as a visitor destination. Researching these stakeholders will provide logical future research opportunities. This research also accepts rather than critiques the narrative that consumption-based neoliberal initiatives like FT can make a positive ethical contribution to a place and its identity (see for example Miles, 2012). Conceptually, destination/place branding contains a multitude of themes drawn from a range of disciplines (Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015) and there are many others related to issues like identity, power, class, authenticity and critical perspectives on branding that have potential relevance but for which there was not room to explore within a single paper. The paper also reflects respondents' assumption that FTT branding will enhance the branding and attractiveness of a place as a destination, but there is a risk that FTT status will add to place brand complexity and may work against attracting those outsiders who prefer simpler stereotypes (Zenker et al., 2017).

Conclusions

Places naturally want to project themselves positively, including through their branding, to both residents and visitors. One approach is through encouraging, and communicating about, ethical consumption behaviours within a place (Chatzidakis et al., 2012), for example by seeking to positively influence food and drink choices (Higgins-Desbiolles & Wijesinghe, 2019). This paper reveals FTT activists following this logic in promoting ethical consumption for both visitors and locals through local cafes, restaurants and hotels and through a wide range of local organisations and institutions. This creates an additional "place of consumption" dimension to supplement our existing understanding of approaches to branding and marketing places as destinations, cities, regions, nations or places of origin (Hankinson 2010; Tellstrom, et al., 2006). This place of consumption orientation represents a revolutionary contribution of FTTs within the wider FT movement because it extends ethically orientated accreditation and branding processes associated with places of origin (production), to places of consumption. What FTTs also do, is to then connect those places of consumption and production, both within the minds of residents and visitors, and by forging social relations amongst distant places.

FT can appear to be a relatively abstract component of global trading systems, but research into the benefits to producer communities, or initiatives like FT tourism can help to "place" the social justice benefits of FT within specific communities (Boluk, 2011). FTTs add to this through their promotion of FT through specific places of consumption, allowing for a potentially symbiotic relationship between a places' brand (particularly as a destination) and the local FTT brand in which the place brand gains ethical character, and the FTT brand gains local distinctiveness and resonance. This demonstrates the type of positive and self-reinforcing spillover effects between two brands identified by Rowley and Hanna (2020) as potentially significant, yet under-researched, within destination branding.

This research shows that FTT status, and its associated ethical consumption, hospitality and retailing practices, is being actively integrated into the branding of places for both residents and visitor audiences. This is achieved through efforts from those with formal responsibility within DMOs (e.g. local governments promoting FT status through local signage, promotional websites and guides, and the materiality of places) and also from activists whose primary interest is the promotion of FT, enacted through hospitality providers and other local organisations that serve both visitors and residents. How these efforts inter-relate, and the perspective of DMO stakeholders on FTT status and how it can enhance place branding are beyond the scope of this paper, but can be avenues for future research.

The potential contribution that FTT can make to a place's identity, character and brand ecosystem revealed here is also interesting in coming from a strongly grassroots place branding initiative that brings together a range of stakeholders. Vallaster et al., (2018) argue (in the context of cities) that attempts to brand a place with positive value associations will only succeed if supported in practice institutionally (through the local administration and its policies) and at the grassroots (through its residents and their collective actions). FTTs provide this in a way that is visible to visitors and residents, and also involves them through their own consumption practices. It also helps to "reimagine" places to which tourists go, and within which residents live, as interconnected and part of an ethical agenda that brings together the local and the global:

> *I believe, that particularly in the context of emerging awareness, of climate change, sustainability and so on, that we absolutely have to be talking about Fairtrade and local. You know if we're going to talk about sustainable local economies, we're going to talk about sustainable domestic farming, then we as Fairtrade campaigners, within a bigger picture, have to be talking about Fairtrade and local* (NGO Worker, Keswick)

The FTT movement supports and connects ethical production and consumption within communities that are thousands of miles apart, and in doing so it can also provide a novel and effective ethical augmentation for local place brands.

References

Aarstad, J., Ness, H. & Haugland, S.A. (2015). Network position and tourism firms' co-branding practice. *Journal of Business Research,* 68(8), 1667–1677.

Aitken, R. & Campelo, A. (2011). The four Rs of place branding. *Journal of Marketing Management,* 27(9/11), 913-933

Allen, E (2010). Visit to Keswick. *The Guardian*, Saturday October 10th Manchester.

Al-Sulaili, K. & Baker, M. (1998). Country-of-origin effects: A literature review. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 16(3), 150-199.

Aurelli, A. & Forlani, F. (2016). The importance of brand architecture in business networks: The case of tourist network contracts in Italy. *Qualitative Market research: An International Journal*, 19(2), 133–155.

Baum, T. (2018). Sustainable human resource management as a driver in tourism policy and planning: a serious sin of omission? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(6), 873-889.

Barnett, C., Cloke, P., Clarke, N. & Malpass, A. (2011). *Globalizing Responsibility: The Political Rationalities of Ethical Consumption*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester.

Bergvall, S. (2006). Brand ecosystems. In *Brand Culture*, Edited by: Schroeder, J. and Salzer-Morling, M. (pp. 186–197). London: Routledge.

Blaikie, N. (2000). *Designing Social Research.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Boisen, M., Terlouw, K., Groote, P. & Couwenberg, O. (2018). Reframing place promotion, place marketing, and place branding-moving beyond conceptual confusion. *Cities*, 80, 4-11.

Boluk, K. (2011). In consideration of a new approach to tourism: A critical review of fair trade tourism. *The Journal of Tourism and Peace Research*, 2(1), 27-37.

Braun, E., Kavaratzis, M. & Zenker, S. (2013). My city – my brand: The different roles of residents in place branding. *Journal of Place Management and Development,* 6(1), 18–28.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage.

Cleverdon, R. & Kalisch, A. (2000). Fair trade in tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2(3), 171-187.

Doherty, B., Davies, I.A. & Tranchell, S. (2013). Where now for Fairtrade? *Business History,* 55(2), 161-89.

Fairtrade Towns (2019), International Fairtrade Towns List: International Fairtrade Towns. Retrieved [10/09/2019] from http://www.fairtradetowns.org

Fairtrade Mark (2019) The Core Fairtrade Mark. Retrieved [10/09/2019] from https://www.fairtrade.org.uk/What-is-Fairtrade/Using-the-FAIRTRADE-Mark

García, J.A., Gómez, M. & Molina, A. (2012). A destination-branding model: An empirical analysis based on stakeholders. *Tourism Management, 33*(3), 646-661.

Geiger-Oneto, S. & Arnould, E.J. (2011). Alternative trade organization and subjective quality of life: The case of Latin American coffee producers. *Journal of Macromarketing,* 31(3), 276-290.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Chicago: Aldine Transaction.

Golding, K.M. (2009). Fair Trade's dual aspect: The communication challenge of fair trade marketing. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 29(2), 160-71.

Goodwin, H. & Boekhold, H. (2010). Beyond Fair Trade: Enhancing the livelihoods of coffee farmers in Tanzania. In A. Jolliffe (Ed.), *Coffee culture, destinations and tourism* (pp. 181-196). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Goulding, C. (1998). Grounded Theory: The missing methodology on the interpretivist agenda. *Qualitative Marketing Research: An International Journal*, 1(1), 50-57.

Hankinson, G. (2009) Managing destination brands: Establishing a theoretical foundation. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 25 (1/2), 97-115.

Hankinson, G. (2010). Place branding research: A cross-disciplinary agenda and the views of practitioners. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 6(4), 300-315.

Hanna, S. & Rowley, J. (2008). An analysis of terminology use in place branding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy,* 4(1), 61–75.

Hanna, S. & Rowley, J. (2011). Towards a strategic place brand-management model. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 27(5-6), 458-476.

Hanna, S. & Rowley, J. (2013) A practitioner-led strategic place brand-management model. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 29, (15/16) 1782–1815.

Hanna, S. & Rowley, J. (2015). Towards a model for the place brand web. *Tourism Management*, 24, 100-112.

Higgins-Desbiolles. F. & Wijesinghe, G. (2019) The critical capacities of restaurants as facilitators for transformations to sustainability. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(7), 1080-1105.

Hosany, S., Ekinci, Y. & Uysal, M. (2006). Destination image and destination personality: An application of branding theories to tourism places. *Journal of Business Research*, 59(5), 638-642.

Insch, A. (2011). Ethics of place making. *Place branding and public diplomacy*, *7*(3), 151-154.

Jacobsen, B.P. (2012). Place brand equity: A model for establishing the effectiveness of place brands. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 5(3), 253-271.

Jensen, O.B. (2007). Culture stories: Understanding cultural urban branding. *Planning Theory*, *6*(3), 211-236.

Kavaratzis, M. (2004). From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands. *Journal of Place Branding*, 1(1), 58–73.

Kavaratzis, M. (2009). Cities and their brands: Lessons from corporate branding. *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 5(1), 26-37.

Kavaratzis, M. & Ashworth, G. (2005). City branding: An effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick? *Journal of Place Branding*, 2(3), 183–194.

Kavaratzis, M. & Ashworth, G. (2008). Place marketing: How did we get here and where are we going? *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 1(2), 150–165.

Kavaratzis, M. & Kalandides, A. (2015). Rethinking the place brand: The interactive formation of place brands and the role of participatory place branding. *Environment and Planning A, 47*(6), 1368-1382.

Klein, N. (2000). *No Logo*. London: Harper Collins.

Leissle, K. (2013). Invisible West Africa: The politics of single origin chocolate. *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, 13(3), 22–31.

Li, G., Yang, X., Liu, Q. & Zheng, F. (2014). Destination island effects: A theoretical framework for the environmental impact assessment of human tourism activities. *Tourism Management Perspectives, 10,* 11-18.

Lichrou, M., O'Malley, L., & Patterson, M. (2014). On the marketing implications of place narratives. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(9-10), 832-856.

Low, W. & Davenport, E. (2006). Mainstreaming Fair Trade: Adoption, assimilation, appropriation. *Journal of Strategic Marketing*, 14, 315-27.

Lyon S. (2014). Fair Trade Towns USA growing the market with a diverse economy. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 21, 145-160.

Madichie, N.O. & Madichie, L. (2013). City brand challenge 101: Sharjah in a globalised UAE context. *International Journal of Business and Globalisation, 11*(1), 63-85.

Malpass, A., Cloke, P., Barnett, C. & Clarke, N. (2007). Fairtrade urbanism? The politics of place beyond place in the Bristol Fairtrade City Campaign. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31(3), 633-45.

Miles, S. (2012). The neoliberal city and the pro-active complicity of the citizen consumer. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 12(2), 216-230.

Morgan, N., Pritchard, A. & Pride, R. (2011). *Destination brands: Managing place reputation*. Routledge: London.

Nicholls, A.J. (2010). Fair Trade: Towards an economics of virtue. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 92(2), 241- 55.

Palmer, A., Koenig-Lewis, N. & Jones, L. E. M. (2013). The effects of residents' social identity and involvement on their advocacy of incoming tourism. *Tourism Management, 38,* 142-151.

Pereira, R. L., Correia, A. L., & Schutz, R. L. (2012). Destination branding: A critical overview. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism*, 13(2), 81-102.

Reed, D. (2009). What do corporations have to do with fair trade? Positive and normative analysis from a value chain perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 86(1), 3-26.

Ritchie, J. B. & Ritchie, R. J. B. (1998). The branding of tourism destinations: Past achievements and future challenges, *Proceedings of the 1998 Annual Congress of the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism, Destination Marketing: Scopes and Limitations*, edited by Peter Keller. Marrakech, Morocco: International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism, 89–116.

Rowley, J. & Hanna, S. (2020). Branding destinations: Symbolic and narrative representations and co-branding. *Journal of Brand Management*, 27, 328–338

Samuel, A. & Peattie, K. (2016). Grounded theory as a macromarketing methodology: Critical insights from researching the marketing dynamics of Fairtrade Towns. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 36(1), 11-26

Samuel, A., Peattie, K. & Doherty, B. (2018). Expanding the boundaries of brand communities: The case of Fairtrade towns. *European Journal of Marketing*, 52(3/4), 758-782.

Sarabia-Sanchez, F. J. & Cerda-Bertomeu, M. J. (2017). Place brand developers' perceptions of brand identity, brand architecture and neutrality in place brand development. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *13*(1), 51-64.

Saraniemi, S. & Ahonen, M. (2008). Destination branding from corporate branding perspective. *Proceedings of the conference on corporate communication,* Wroxton, England, 435-448.

Sims, R. (2009). Food, place and authenticity: Local food and the sustainable tourism experience. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(3), 321-336.

Skinner, H. (2008). The emergence and development of place marketing's confused identity. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 24(9/10), 915-928.

Stylidis, D. (2018). Residents' place image: a cluster analysis and its links to place attachment and support for tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(6), 1007-1026.

Tellstrom, R., Gustafsson, I. & Mossberg, L. (2006), Consuming heritage: The use of local food culture in branding. *Place Branding,* 2(2), 130–143.

Thode, S.F. & Maskulka, J.M. (1998). Place-based marketing strategies, brand equity and vineyard valuation. *Journal of Product and Brand Management, 7*(5), 379-99.

Upshaw, L.B. (1995). *Building Brand Identity: A Strategy for Success in a Hostile Marketplace.* New York: John Wiley.

Vallaster, C., von Wallpach, S. & Zenker, S. (2018). The interplay between urban policies and grassroots city brand co-creation and co-destruction during the refugee crisis: Insights from the city brand Munich (Germany), *Cities*, 80, 53-60.

Warren, C.A.B. (2002). Qualitative interviewing, in J.F. Gubrium & J.A. Holstein (Eds.) *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method* (pp. 83-103), London: Sage.

Zenker, S., Braun, E., & Petersen, S. (2017). Branding the destination versus the place: The effects of brand complexity and identification for residents and visitors. *Tourism Management*, 58(10), 15-27.

Zerrillo, P. C., & Thomas, G. M. (2007). Developing brands and emerging markets: An empirical application. *Place branding and public diplomacy*, *3*(1), 86-99.