

The bean to bar journey: How chocolate companies educate their online audience about their CSR practices.

A critical discourse analysis of the Instagram usage of chocolate brands.

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ABSTRACT

In the chocolate industry, companies have been implementing Corporate Social Responsibilities (CSR) practices as a communication strategy due to the public's critique of the industry's impact on their surroundings. Being criticized for deforestation, the usage of pesticides, as well as involvement with child labour and modern slavery has led to more pressure on chocolate companies to discuss their CSR practices with their customers, to show the change in the industry. This thesis has explored this topic by looking further into how different chocolate companies address their Corporate Social Responsibilities practices through their online presence on their websites and Instagram profiles. The companies chosen for this research are Tony's Chocolonely and Divine Chocolate, whom both could be considered frontrunners when it comes to their involvement with CSR due to the reasons for their founding. Tony's Chocolonely was founded to specifically bring a chocolate brand on the market that will lead by example when it comes to CSR, and Divine Chocolate was founded by Ghanaian farmers who aspired equal payment. The online corporate social reporting of these companies was analyzed through a qualitative content analysis, in which the data were categorized and then further analyzed acritical discourse analysis to give more contextual results and help explain the communication employed by chocolate companies. These results were put into perspective with a cross-national comparison between the UK and US Instagram profiles of both companies. This research showed how the companies mainly address their involvement in the voluntariness, social and environmental dimensions of CSR. The environmental dimension was mainly addressed by the companies through the categories of being organic and offering plant-based products. These categories correspond with main challenges for the chocolate industry; deforestation, pollution and the production of animal-based ingredients. The social dimension mainly addressed equal pay, modern slavery and child labour, which are also the main challenges of the industry being critiqued in the media. From this could be concluded that the companies try to educate their audience

on how their CSR practices contribute to solving industry problems. Impressive cross-national results were that the UK profiles tended to focus more on the environmental dimension, while the US profiles tended to focus on the social dimension. The US profiles also made the posts more personal, by portraying employees from all across their supply chain and introducing them by their names. From this, it could be concluded that the CSR values for countries may differ since the UK profiles showed more interest in the environmental dimension of CSR while the US profiles focused more on the social dimension. In terms of future research, the findings triggered the discussion of topics that have not been addressed online; it could be interesting to gain the perspective of the company on why they have chosen to address the social and environmental dimension of CSR most extensively. Last, scholars could delve into the rhetorical strategies that chocolate manufacturers could apply in their online presence and test what would be the most effective way to use CSR as a selling point.

KEYWORDS: *Corporate Social Responsibility, Chocolate industry, Critical Discourse Analysis, Online Marketing, Consumer Awareness*

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1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose and Research Question

The food industry is amid a switchover that encourages operating companies to decrease their negative environmental and social impact in their supply chain. This change has led to the start-up of multiple sustainable chocolate companies, as well as more recognition for the existing brands that actively participate in CSR to fill the gap. These companies have widely used CSR communication to be transparent about their practices through online media as well as through packaging, resulting in an increase in consumer acceptance and engagement (Kim & Hall, 2015). It is further only logical that the concept of CSR has gained more attention over the past decade since a rapidly increasing number of companies is engaging and implementing CSR initiatives in most countries (Moravcikova, Stefanikova, & Rypakova, 2015). The concept has thus become more frequent and grown into an obligatory aspect for companies in the food industry rather than an optional one.

The interest in more socially responsible brands has especially demanded companies in the food industry to be more invested in this matter since the “worldwide sales of Fairtrade products continue to grow by around 40% each year and grew by 56% between 2003 and 2004 alone” (Wright & McCrea, 2008). Many industries have been critiqued on their CSR practices, however, there are a few that appear to be more problematic than others. This research will focus on companies that are in a food industry that is pressured on multiple dimensions of CSR: the cacao business. Similar to the coffee industry, their production is not always fair-trade and often harmful for the environment (Cranfield, Henson, Northey & Masakure, 2010), due to deforestation and excessive spraying of pesticides. Next to environmental issues, this industry has also been critiqued in the media for the production circumstances in the manufacturing countries, especially regarding child labour and child trafficking (Hütz- Adams 2010).

However, while the topic of communicating the CSR involvement of companies operating in the coffee industry has been heavily researched (Cranfield, Henson, Northey & Masakure, 2010; De Pelsmacker, Driesen & Rayp, 2005; Zerbini, Vergura & Luceri, 2019), the CSR involvement of the chocolate industry has not. This research gap is remarkable, since chocolate, like coffee, could be seen as an ‘affordable luxury product’ (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016) and most likely has a similar supply chain, which makes the two relatable when it comes to consumption. Research on CSR within the coffee industry includes examining the willingness to pay and the effect on consumptive decision making that CSR

has for coffee, where companies ought to be responsive to the environment in which they operate to maintain legitimacy and increase consumer awareness of the company's involvement in CSR (Bradley & Botchway, 2018). In the case of chocolate, it has been discussed how consumer's propensity to buy fair chocolate is influenced by fair trade claims (Zerbini, Vergura & Luceri, 2019). However, the literature on the matter of how companies should address their CSR practices appears to be lacking in the scientific debate. Therefore, it could be interesting to see if the same communication techniques are used for chocolate since they seem to have worked for coffee. This research will thus focus on how CSR practices are addressed by chocolate companies and will look at how the discourse around CSR is formed through different categories.

This research aims to shed light on how CSR can be communicated as a selling point by sustainable food brands on online platforms. This research, therefore, focusses on two chocolate brands that are known for focusing on sustainability as their selling point. The first company chosen is Tony's Chocolonely, the second Divine chocolate. They were picked because of their similarities; both brands operate in the UK and the US, with separate profiles per country. The most important reason, however, is that both companies lay a strong focus on sustainability practices in their online presence. They highlight how they were founded to make a change in the industry and to lead by example. Next to the industry-specific choice, it was opted to research their online presence instead of print or the actual packaging of their products, since the digital revolution has turned online platforms into a hotspot for modern-day activism (Sivitanides & Shah, 2011). This means that more and more people are using social media to create a discourse on controversial topics, making it a relevant platform for companies also to address their contribution or involvement with these industry changes. Online media could further be the better option to communicate their CSR practices to their consumers, since communicating CSR efforts through traditional forms of marketing, such as print advertising television, can be perceived by consumers as being self-promotion rather than a voluntary act of kindness (Kesavan & Bernacchi, 2013).

The research gap of how chocolate companies could best address their CSR practices online has led to the research question: *How do Tony's Chocolonely and Divine chocolate address their involvement in CSR through their Instagram presence in the United Kingdom and the United States?* This research question will be answered through the sub-questions *How does the message differ between their USA and UK/IRE profiles for both companies?*, *How do the companies address their contribution to the social dimension of CSR?* and *How do the companies address their contribution to the environmental dimension of CSR?*.

Hopefully, the cross-national analysis will show how cultural factors may play a decisive role in why companies address different categories of CSR, since they may correspond better with the country-specific audience. Since the first glance at the data showed a large amount of discourse around both the social as well as the environmental

An assumption for this research is that both companies will be somewhat similar when it comes to communicating sustainability. This is because both profiles and the type of reporting appear to be akin. This can be seen in the descriptions of both Instagram profiles and the layouts of their websites. Based on this, a hypothesis is that both will focus on fair-trade and the working conditions of the cacao farmers. However, an expectation is that both brands will have some 'signature' keywords, in which they differ from each other and create a distinctive brand identity.

1.2 Relevance

The social relevance of this research is linked to the increasing importance of sustainability in one's day to day life. Sustainability has been assessed more thoroughly over the past few years due to environmental problems like global warming and carbon emissions (Shi, Dong, Zhang & Zhang, 2019; Shen, Choi & Chan, 2017). This thesis could be of social relevance to the audience since it will provide insights on how chocolate companies now practice CSR in their supply chain. It will thus show which aspects of CSR they focus but hopefully will also give some insights on which aspects are purposely left out of the conversation. In short, this thesis will thus hopefully provide individuals the handles to become more aware of the environmental and social impact of the chocolate industry, and how brands are taking initiatives to reverse possible negative effects.

This thesis is further also of social relevance for operating chocolate companies since it provides insights on how the companies could handle the increasing demand to recognize the need for change for the chocolate industry with regards to their corporate social responsibility in becoming a more sustainable and socially aware, showing companies how a more transparent culture could be created. This transparency could help them gain more consumer acceptance (Kim & Hall, 2015) and possibly a higher sales rate.

Next to its social relevance, this research has scientific relevance, due to the increasing importance of sustainability for companies. Companies are struggling with how to communicate CSR to their customers according to Diez-Martin, Blanco-Gonzalez and Prado-Roman (2019). There is a large knowledge gap about how this could be done best for this

specific industry, as well as how they could to this address the matter online instead of in traditional print media, showing the importance of further research on this matter. When looking at previous research, the consumer decision making of sustainable products has been researched (Zerbini, Vergura & Luceri, 2019) however, no research has been found that specifically focusses on how CSR is currently communicated as a selling point for companies actively practising CSR. This research will be of scientific relevance since it will provide insights on how chocolate companies are integrating CSR as part of their online communication strategy. It will thus provide an understanding of how chocolate companies' brand reputation is communicated on social media platforms such as Instagram, and whether consumers will engage in their discourse around CSR. This will hopefully provide insights that could help fill the research gap of how the chocolate industry could engage in CSR and which dimensions of CSR are addressed (Dahlsrud, 2008). This information could later be used to look further into how effective these are or whether they could be turned into a specific communication strategy.

2. Literature review

2.1 The consumption economy

In order to perform this research, one must first have gained some insight into the economy in which the companies operate. Therefore, the first concept that was looked at, is the mature economy (Barnes & McTavish, 1983) and especially the emerging economy for ‘affordable luxury products’ since chocolate is historically seen as one (Khan, Bose & Johns, 2019). Whilst the level of luxury for chocolate may have changed a bit over the years, Squicciarini and Swinnen (2016) still confirm that even regular chocolate still has a well-established spot as an affordable luxury.

The focus was further laid on the mature economy, which refers to markets that have established a certain economic equilibrium and are characterized by modest growth, which is the case of both the United Kingdom and the United States (Pino, Amatulli, Peluso, Natarajan & Guido, 2019).

2.1.1 Consumption marketing for retail luxury

When it comes to the marketing of luxury retail products, it is characterized by two very opposite motivations according to Amatulli and Guido (2012), namely the ‘interpersonal’ and ‘personal’ motives (Vigneron and Johnson 1999, 2004). This is supported by both Truong (2010) and Amatulli and Guido (2011), who discuss the extrinsic’ and ‘intrinsic’ aspirations as well as ‘externalised luxury’ and ‘internalised luxury’. With the worldwide luxury goods market growing at an unprecedented pace over the past twenty years (Fionda and Moore 2009; Truong, Simmons, McColl & Kitchen, 2008), retailing has become a more and more crucial strategic element for luxury brands to make their mark on the market. The externalized motivation to buy luxury products refers to the desire for social approval; it is based on ‘social factors’ (McKinney, Legette-Traylor, Kincade & Holloman, 2004), which means that people buy certain luxury products to gain a particular reaction from outsiders. The internal motivation of purchasing luxury products is more closely related to the customers’ emotions, states of mind and sensations (Vigneron and Johnson 2004). Many others (Bearden & Etzel, 1982; Kapferer & Bastien, 2009) have already made the distinction between ‘public’ and ‘personal’ luxury items. In order to define where the chocolate bars fit in in this, we will look at the different dimensions for both externalized and internalized luxury offered by Amatulli and Guido (2012).

The first proposition for externalized luxury in the article of Amatulli and Guido (2012) is “Luxury goods may be purchased to show off wealth; in this case, retail managers should emphasize the high price of the branded products and their value as status symbols.” (p. 191). This could apply to chocolate to a certain extent since the bars of Tony’s Chocolonely, and Divine tend to be higher in price than home-brand chocolate bars and could be used to show that one can afford higher-priced products. However, retailers do not clearly emphasize this price difference or project the product as a status symbol. An interpretation is thus that this proposition does not necessarily apply to this specific case. The second proposition “Luxury goods may be purchased with the belief that possession of many material objects is essential; in this case, luxury retailers should emphasise the importance of the quantity of luxury goods purchased and owned” (p. 195). This does not seem to apply to either brand either; however, Tony’s Chocolonely does offer a ‘Mini Mix Collection’, but this is branded more as a ‘tasting’ than an opportunity to get the whole ‘collection’. The third and last proposition for externalized luxury is ‘Luxury goods may be purchased with the belief that they have symbolic value because they are superfluous and not necessary; in this case, luxury retailers should emphasize the benefits of the branded products that are over and above mere functionality’ (p. 196) This only partly applies to the products of the two brands, since this proposition is explained as a product not being necessary for survival as well as not displaying functional characteristics but rather additional benefits of a different nature. It thus only partly fits this proposition, because while both products are not necessarily needed for survival, they are also not above mere functionality. From these three propositions, one could thus conclude that the chocolate bars are a luxury that is not necessarily purchased for externalized motivations.

As for the internalized motivations, the first proposition for this is ‘Customers may buy luxury products only when they truly match their lifestyle; in this case, retail managers have the opportunity to focus on the representation of the brand lifestyle throughout the store.’ (Amatulli & Guido, 2012, p.197). This proposition already appears to be more fitting to both brands, since their practice of CSR might be the reason why their customers buy their products. Previous studies have already linked these personal values as one of the core motivations for people to opt for a more CSR friendly product over another less CSR friendly product (e.g. Mohr & Webb, 2005; Pearson et al., 2011; Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001; Young, Hwang McDonald & Oates , 2010). This could thus be one of the main motivations for consumers to consume from both companies, so it will be interesting to see how they turn this proposition into a marketing strategy when it comes to their online communication to their

customers. The next proposition 'Luxury goods may be bought because they convey emotions and pleasure to the customer; in this case, retail managers should especially improve the in-store customer experience.' (p.198) appears to be applicable to both brands, since Amatulli and Guido (2012) support this proposition by stating that the purchase and consumption of products could be used more for 'subjective emotional benefits and intrinsically pleasing properties' (p. 198), rather than functional benefits. This thus seems applicable for this case, since buying a chocolate bar could be more of an indulgence and small pleasure rather than for nutrition purposes. Lastly, the proposition 'Cultural capital increases the taste for appreciating luxury items so that the relationship between luxury and culture is usually substantial. Therefore, retail managers could emphasize culture as one of the main brand values.' (p. 199), refers to the culture of a brand in terms of heritage, arts, craftsmanship, research and managerial knowledge. Amatulli and Guido (2012) explain how this could be done by, for instance, hosting co-branding events or by explicitly explaining the history of the brand. This is something that Tony's Choclonely, for instance, does by hosting the Tony's FAIR, a festival at which they also present their annual FAIR report and discuss their report and future plans. Tony's further also discusses their history on the inside of the packaging of each chocolate bar, and it could be interesting to see if they also discuss these cultural dimensions of the brand in their online communication.

2.2 CSR

"I want you to act as if the house is on fire because it is" said Greta Thunberg at the World Economic Forum on January 24th, 2019. With the rise of environmental problems like global warming, sustainability has become increasingly important in our day to day lives. We are more aware of our carbon footprint, global warming and other terms. Our interest in this has specifically peaked for our consumptions (Pearson et al., 2011). This makes sustainability also more important for companies that are producing these consumptions.

Next to sustainability, there is also an increasing interest in human rights in the production process. This has resulted in more pressure on a company's corporate social responsibility (CSR). CSR refers to a company's commitment to practice environmental and social sustainability and take care of the environment and the social landscapes in which they operate (Baumann-Pauly, Wickert, Spence & Scherer, 2013). The goal of corporate social responsibility within a company is to "take responsibility for all the company's actions and to

have a positive impact on its environment, communities, employees, consumers and all other stakeholders” (Freeman et al., 2010).

CSR has evolved into an integral part when it comes to selling points and the business strategy of a company (Lee, 2008). It is not only beneficial for a company anymore, and it might even be a necessity for them. Many of the consumer concerns around CSR are focused on the food market (Ursin, Myskja & Carson, 2016). These concerns, from both consumers and stakeholders, have especially increased regarding environmental and social issues in the food supply chain (Grimm, Hofstetter & Sarkis, 2014).

2.2.1 The Evolution of the CSR Concept

When looking further into where the concept of CSR originates from, and how it has become increasingly important to companies, the research of Carroll (1999) was taken into account. Carroll takes the factual standpoint, which means that business executives were questioned about their social responsibilities since the 1940s. Drawing further on the work of Bowen (1953), one could argue that among the many questions raised at the initial stages, the essential question discusses to what extent one could expect a business executive to be a role model when it comes to social responsibility. Drucker (1954), was one of the first who complemented this by mentioning the need to consider public opinion in companies’ decision-making process regarding social responsibilities. To Carroll (1999), Bowen’s study still addresses the current discussion around the topic of CSR.

The article of Dahlsrud (2008) further discusses over 37 definitions of CSR from 1980 until 2008, from both academic articles as well as from institutions. These definitions were analyzed and showed how CSR tends to have five different dimensions: the environmental dimension, social dimension, economic dimension, stakeholder dimension and the voluntariness dimension. For both Divine Chocolate and Tony’s Chocolonely the environmental, which focusses on environmental stewardship, would focus on the ingredients used and the packaging. Both companies have, for example, claimed that their products are palm oil-free, and Tony’s Chocolonely even claims to have their CO2 footprint completely compensated (@tonyscholonely_us, 5 March 2020). The social dimension relates to the relationship between business and society, which refers to the consideration of the full scope of their impact the business can have on communities. The economic dimension is defined by socio-economic or financial aspects and could relate to contributing to economic development, which both companies do by being fair-trade. The stakeholder dimension

focuses on how a company communicates with their stakeholders, which thus focuses on the interaction with employees, suppliers, customers and communities. For this research, the focus would thus lie on how the companies communicate their CSR practices towards their audience since this research looks into how companies could use CSR to educate their consumers about their practices and how it could improve brand identity. The voluntariness dimension relates to whether or not a company chooses to be involved in CSR and to ensure that their engagement is not prescribed by law. This is applicable to both companies since they were founded with the idea to produce fair trade and environmentally friendly chocolate ("our mission - Tony's Choclonely", n.d.; ("Our Story"- Divine Chocolate, n.d.).

A lot has changed since the article of Carroll (1999), as is explained by Dahlsrud; the changes of the meaning of CSR since Carroll's analysis could be explained due to the fact that the environmental dimension was not included in the early definitions (Dahlsrud, 2008). Dahlsrud concludes his analysis by saying that "CSR definitions are describing a phenomenon, but fail to present any guidance on how to manage the challenges within this phenomenon. Therefore, the challenge for business is not so much to define CSR, as it is to understand how CSR is socially constructed in a specific context and how to take this into account when business strategies are developed." (2008, p. 6) it could, therefore, be interesting to see how both companies have developed a business and communication strategy around it.

For this thesis, the definition of CSR by the Commission of the European Communities (2001) was chosen "A concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and their interaction with their stakeholders voluntarily". This, since it was one of the definitions that related to all five dimensions and has a specific focus on the social, environmental and voluntariness dimensions, which appear to be the focus of the communication strategies of both companies as well.

2.2.2 Communicating sustainability

It could be beneficial for brands to explain and clearly communicate their goals and production processes, since multiple studies have shown that consumers tend to have a higher willingness to pay for products with fair-trade or organic labels on the packaging (Berger, Müller & Seiler, 2019; Zerbini, Vergura & Luceri, 2019). Using labels on the packaging is also the technique that is the most common way to communicate CSR practices for chocolate

brands, meaning this is how most companies address their CSR practices offline to educate their consumers. Howard and Allen (2008) specifically mention how this communication works as a selling point, stating that customers in the United States are willing to pay substantially more for products that were produced fair-trade and under correct working conditions. If companies could thus manage to lift the confusion consumers have regarding the food labels, this could be very beneficial.

Companies with a clear relation to a cause could best translate this through their campaigns and marketing presence. Nan and Heo (2007) found that corporate social reporting with a “high fit between the brand and the cause leads to positive attitudes towards the advertisement and towards the brand”. Furthermore, studies on CSR marketing have shown that a high fit can lead to positive consumer evaluations (Gupta & Pirsch, 2006; Polonsky & Speed, 2001; Pracejus & Olsen, 2004). This would thus also positively affect a company’s reputation. If this reputation is paired with the right message, it could once again increase a consumers’ evaluation (Bartels, Reinders, Broersen & Hendriks, 2019), which is how this could eventually be used by the company as one of their selling points. The study of Choudhary, Nayak, Kumari and Choudhury (2019) contributes to this by discussing how offering a platform for information diffusion, such as social media could actually attract new consumers and make them more aware of and more inclined to make sustainable choices.

This is also the reason why this thesis focuses on communicating CSR as a selling point through online media since this field is still relatively unresearched. Most of the knowledge is about how packaging, and especially labels, can be used to communicate CSR, whilst there is a clear knowledge gap about how social media could be used to communicate CSR from businesses to consumers. All whilst Instagram could be the tool for a company to “present a more personal picture of their brand, and by doing so, the company conveys a more honest picture of itself”(Bergström & Bäckman, 2013, p. 21). This would mean that Instagram could help a company as an evolved marketing channel, in which they can display their products and present further information about their company and educate their consumers about their company values. Instagram has evolved the information discourse between the brand and consumer due to its capacity to elevate the users’ feelings of involvement. This could be done through backstage sharing (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013), which refers to the ‘behind the scenes’ of a company, which would refer to how the bar is actually produced, shipped and sold for the chocolate industry. This is something that packaging or labels on their own are only able to achieve to a certain level since they only have a limited amount of what they could discuss, at the same time social media gives a

company endless possibilities to share. Next to being able to gain access to content that would normally be kept backstage, users are now also able to directly react to it, which can serve to extend their sense of belongingness in being a part of a brand community.

2.2.3 CSR practices in the food industry

To answer the sub-questions ‘How do the companies address their contribution on the social aspects of CSR?’ and ‘How do the companies address their contribution on the environmental aspects of CSR?’, we will look back at the definitions of these aspects as described by Dahlsrud (2008). In his article, he describes how there was no exact coding scheme that could be used to code these aspects, which is why this research will take his lead and use the same samples and guidelines to determine what to code and in what to leave out. Dahlsrud (2008) for instance provides these example phrases for the environmental aspects: ‘a cleaner environment’, ‘environmental stewardship’, ‘environmental concerns in business operations’ (p.4), which all specifically contain, a version of, the word ‘environment’, for this research, however, we will also look at case-specific terms as is described previously.

For the social aspects of CSR Dahlsrud offers the sample phrases ‘contribute to a better society’, ‘integrate social concerns in their business operations’, ‘consider the full scope of their impact on communities’ (p.4), this research will also include related terms and the specific case to this theme like fair-trade, child labour and modern slavery since these seem to be some of the problematic impacts of the cacao industry on local communities.

Each industry appears to focus on different aspects of CSR based on the consumer interests, Roberts (2003), for instance, discuss how the fashion industry tends to focus on the social dimension CSR, specifically through focusing on a better work environment for all the employees involved in their supply chain. Local food production is a sustainability movement that is highly noticeable in the food industry (Maloni & Brown, 2006). Since most products are produced overseas and need to be shipped over a considerable distance to get to their retail point, this is a polluting matter and thus one of the more unsustainable parts of the food industry. To put this in perspective; each calorie of produced food consumes around ten calories of fossil fuel (Frey & Barrett, 2007). Next to the sustainability advantages that producing local brings, it also brings economic advantages to the local community.

Next to local, organic is a big trend in the food industry, especially since it is considered more sustainable than most other agricultural practices and conventional productions (Pretty,

1998). “The main specifications concerning environmentally friendly production in organic livestock farming have to do with the renunciation of pesticides and mineral nitrogen, with the need to reduce the number of farm animals per area unit and the handicap to minimize the amount of bought-in foodstuffs” (Sundrum, 2001, p. 208). In the case of the chocolate, industry organic could be of influence on the main ingredients of a chocolate bar; the cacao beans and cacao butter, and cowmilk, since many improvements can be made for these ingredients in terms of organic producing. In the case of the cacao beans and butter, the amount of pesticides could be reduced, leading to a reduction in the environmental pollution in comparison to conventional agriculture (Sundrum, 2001). As for the cow milk, Sundrum (2001) and Pretty (1994) support the statement of Haas and Köpke (1994) that “the study showed that organic agriculture has clear benefits in reducing environmental pollution in comparison to conventional agriculture” (p. 209). These are thus some of the benefits from organic agriculture, for the development of organic livestock farming, however, it would be necessary for producers to get more security about the actual consumption preferences and not just purchase intention of consumers since the changes would also require some financial investments. These insights could be obtained in multiple ways, and social media could be one of them, since the media has shifted from a one-to-many to a many-to-many broadcasting culture with the rise of social media, meaning that everybody with the right means can now share their feedback about a specific brand or product as well as an affirmation of buying products. This is supported by Seyfang (2006), who discusses how an initiative for both local and organic production could overcome some of the structural limitations of the mainstream consumption since it promotes ecological awareness to the citizens of the community.

Guided by the premise that animals should not endure unnecessary suffering, the current implementation of factory farming for animal-based ingredients/products has resulted in many critiques from the public (Maloni & Brown, 2006). This is supported by Zuzworsky (2001), who noted that while this form of farming has helped the industry reduce costs, this approach has led to many questionable animal welfare practices. Which in its own is proven once again by Fox (1997), who added that this form of farming does not only increase problems with animal living space, access to fresh air and sunlight, and interaction with other animals, but he also noted the cruelty of slaughtering animals before the end of their natural life. All of this feedback has resulted in many people deciding to start a plant-based diet. Verbeke and Viaene (2000) looked further into the consumer attitudes towards animal-based products and found that although food safety was the primary consumer concern for meat consumption, animal welfare is increasing insignificance. This is supported in the article of

Maloni and Brown (2006) who discuss how consumers associate the higher levels of animal welfare as an indicator of higher food safety and quality.

2.2.4 CSR activities of chocolate manufacturers

This research focuses on companies that are in a food market that is under evident pressure when it comes to social responsibility: the cacao business. Like coffee, their production is not always fair-trade and often harmful for the environment (Cranfield, Henson, Northey & Masakure, 2010), due to deforestation and excessive spraying of pesticides. Next to environmental issues, there are also concerns about the production circumstances in producing countries, especially regarding child labour and child trafficking (Hütz- Adams 2010).

The financial practices relative to CSR of the food industry have gained significant attention in the last five years with the advent of corporate financial scandals (Maloni & Brown, 2006). In addition to meeting higher financial reporting standards, the food industry's supply chain also faces challenges due to the growing public popularity of fair trade concerns (ibid). The premise of fair trade is that food retailers must support supplier prices so that these suppliers can prevent not only poverty but also ensure the existence of their business, which is linked to the social conditions of the chocolate supply chain.

The social conditions of chocolate manufacturing became part of the public discussion for the first time in 2000, with a TV report in the UK that provided insights concerning child labour and child trafficking (Hütz- Adams 2010, p. 43). In response to this discussion and to prevent a planned US law which would make the chocolate companies responsible for the production circumstances in the producing countries, the companies initiated a voluntary protocol: the Harkin-Engel-Protocol, better known as the cocoa protocol (Hütz-Adams, 2010, p. 44). The companies who signed this protocol commit themselves to not engage in the worst forms of child labour. However, the signees do not actually commit to improving the labour conditions within cacao production (Hütz-Adams, 2010, p. 44), making it so that cacao producers do not actually have to be socially invested. The companies who signed it still have no obligation to improve, for instance, the other working conditions of the employees, or to be fair-trade, thus making it a very easy 'buy-out'.

Social aspects, particularly child labour, do seem to play an increasingly important role in product choice, especially in developed countries like the Netherlands (e.g. Auger et al. 2010). It can be suspected that corporate social reporting is a crucial issue for chocolate

companies to demonstrate their involvement with CSR. This could make for one of the reasons why both companies who are researched in this paper have used it as one of their selling points. The community aspect of CSR for the food supply chain could thus be described as a broad set of activities that provide support for the local community, like educational support, economic development, job training, employee volunteering, health care, literacy, arts and culture, childcare, and housing (Maloni & Brown, 2006). It could be beneficial for a company to invest in the communities involved in its supply chain since this could eventually pay out in efficiency.

When it comes to the environmental aspects of CSR, chocolate companies can take into account their production process, logistics and packaging. For the production process, they could focus on the origin and choice of ingredients. They could, for instance, opt to go for organic produce to reduce the amount of pesticides used in the production or opt for more sustainable ingredients like choosing to stay free of palm oil. For their logistics, they could look at the shipping of their products and ingredients, and for the packaging they could, for instance, opt to go for more recyclable materials or try to reduce their amount of plastic. Looking into the conversation around the ingredients of the chocolate bars could be interesting since the sustainability level of the production of two of the main ingredients of chocolate is highly disputable. Recanati, Marveggio and Dotelli (2018) already discuss how chocolate manufacturing produces much waste especially through direct emissions into air and water, in addition to this the pesticides that are used on the plants (Cranfield, Henson, Northey & Masakure, 2010). Include the extensive amount of deforestation, and it is clear that chocolate manufacturing is relatively polluting. Next to chocolate beans, dairy is one of the main ingredients of most chocolate bars, which appears to be a rather polluting industry as well. Tamminga (1992) already stated that “Dairy production causes unavoidable losses in respiration, faeces, and urine, which may become an environmental burden as contributors to the “greenhouse” effect” (p.1), making it clear that there has been an issue around the environmental responsibility of dairy production for over three decades.

2.2.5 Cross-national differences regarding CSR

To answer the sub-question ‘How does the message differ between their USA and UK/IRE profiles for both companies?’ the differences in the understanding and approach to CSR of both companies need to be taken into account. The United Kingdom appears to be one of the leading countries when it comes to the social aspects of CSR, since “the UK is the world’s single largest Fairtrade market, with 40% of British households buying at least one Fairtrade

product in 2005” (Wright & McCrea, 2008). This shows that the United Kingdom is thus very immersed in the social aspects of CSR, which could be important to keep in mind when regarding the online communication of the brands on their UK profiles. Next to this, the United Kingdom is one of the countries who use a more ‘standardized’ strategy when it comes to fair trade according to Wright and McCrea (2008, p. 79) stating that ‘strategies are almost identical: the focus on the producers’ personal stories, on quality, working with celebrities, for example, are common themes.’

The United States, on the other hand, started their interest in CSR a little later, only in 2006 the US market began to respond to the messages of both organic and fair trade (Wright & McCrea, 2008, p. 127). However, both the social and environmental aspects of CSR are a rising topic in the US food market, with a growing interest in organic, local and fair-trade produce. This rise in interest could mean that both the authenticating trends may continue to develop with great momentum and make it more interesting for companies to pay interest in CSR. Wright and McCrea (2008, p. 240) even state that ‘mainstream organic brands could become a baseline for healthy and environmentally safe eating, while awareness of attributes that fall outside USDA organic standards grows among those consumers who are most conscious of values’. This is supported by Maloni and Brown (2006), who discuss how both individual US food companies, as well as industry institutes, have taken some steps to improve animal welfare practices in the supply chain. Some examples of these individual companies are McDonald’s, Burger King, and Kentucky Fried Chicken (Ordonez, 2000; Zuber, 2001; Garber, 2005), who have improved their animal welfare standards. This combined with the fact that the Food Marketing Institute of the United States has been collaborating with the National Council of Chain Restaurants to create higher overall animal welfare practices could result in increasing awareness of animal welfare, and higher standards throughout the supply chain of the food industry (Maloni & Brown, 2006) Wright and McCrea further mainly highlight the projected growth of the organic market, which plays into the environmental aspect of CSR and could thus also be relevant to this research and the second sub-question ‘How do the companies address their contribution on the environmental aspects of CSR?’.

2.3 Consumptive decision making regarding CSR

The increased attention placed on CSR and the reporting of it has also been proven to affect consumers’ purchase intentions, as is discussed in previous research (e.g. Mohr & Webb,

2005; Pearson et al., 2011; Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001; Young, Hwang McDonald & Oates 2010). The strength of the influence, however, is still very debatable, since many argue that a company's involvement with CSR only slightly affects a consumer's purchase intention (Mohr, Webb & Harris. 2001). Several other studies have contributed to this by discussing that whilst consumers do want to consider CSR initiatives when it comes to their consumptions; only a few seem to actually act based on these motivations. When being asked, consumers declare their willingness and motivation to consider CSR, but when it comes to real consumption, only very few take account of CSR (Auger & Devinney, 2007; Devinney, Auger, & Eckhardt, 2010). Other articles have shown that the positive CSR information does not nearly have the same effect as negative CSR information does (Biehal & Sheinin, 2007; Brown & Dacin, 1997; Marin & Ruiz, 2007; Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001), meaning that bad press is thus much more impactful than good press. This difference mainly comes from a lack of understanding of CSR from consumers. One of the most common problems of articles looking into consumptive decision making regarding CSR according to Öberseder, Schlegelmilch and Gruber (2011) is that the link between CSR and consumer behaviour is 'an assumed or artificially-induced awareness of CSR' (p. 5). This is because consumers generally have a low level of awareness about what CSR is, or how it is executed or communicated (Pomeroy & Dolnicar, 2009; Sen, Bhattacharya, & Korschun, 2006). This is in line with the idea that due to the extensive amount of food labels out there, many consumers are not familiar with their meaning and the underlying criteria for each one (Grunert, Hieke & Wills, 2014; Rousseau, 2015; Van Amstel & Driessen, 2008). This even goes as far as only half of the world's consumers mentioning that they only 'partly' understand the labels (Goyal & Deshmukh, 2018). This is confirmed by Wright and McCrea (2008, p. 70), who discuss that fair-trade supporters appear to be 'hungry' for more information about the certification system since much of it seems to be unclear or vague. This lack of understanding can be explained by brisk growth in the interest of consumers in fair-trade and sustainability labels, according to Maaya, Meulders, Surmont and Vandebroek (2018). This growth in interest is paired with an increase of labels due to the 'demand' for them. The improper use of descriptors such as green, environmentally sustainable and eco-friendly friendly (Bhaskaran, Polonsky, Cary & Fernandez, 2006) further contributes to this confusion that exists around sustainable food.

It could be beneficial for brands to explain and clearly communicate their goals and production processes, since multiple studies have shown that consumers tend to have a higher

willingness to pay for products with fair-trade and organic labels on the packaging (Berger, Müller & Seiler, 2019; Zerbini, Vergura & Luceri, 2019)

Furthermore, the influence of CSR on consumers' purchase intention can either be direct or indirect. The effect is indirect when 'a corporate context for purchase intention is created' (Öberseder, Schlegelmilch & Gruber, 2011 p. 6), this happens when consumers globally know the company and its CSR efforts. However, a company's CSR actions can also have a direct influence on a consumer's purchase intention of their products. In this case, a company's CSR involvement has a direct influence on one's purchase intention, as the CSR initiative corresponds to the consumer's personal beliefs and their support for the CSR involvement (Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001).

3 Methodology

To answer the research question ‘How do Tony’s Chocolonely and Divine chocolate address their involvement in CSR in their Instagram presence in the United Kingdom and the United States?’ a qualitative content analysis was performed on their Instagram profiles as well as their websites. Since the ‘how’ question requires more insight rather than numbers, a qualitative research style was chosen. Specifically, a critical discourse analysis with the broad techniques of qualitative content analysis was used, meaning that there was a series of codes that were organized through categories for the critical discourse analysis (CDA). A critical discourse analysis was opted for specifically since the purpose of this research is to make meaning of repeated patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86), but also give more in-depth insights. The main question was then divided into multiple sub-questions, like ‘how does the message differ between their USA and UK/IRE profiles for both companies?’ and ‘How do the companies address their contribution on the social aspects of CSR?’ ‘How do the companies address their contribution on the environmental aspects of CSR?’. The CDA further gave an insight on whether or not the companies had left some important parts of the story out of the conversation to perhaps create a more positive brand identity.

3.1 Data selection and collection

To gain insight on how both the different dimensions of CSR, as well as the possible cross-national differences of them, are discussed online by both Divine and Tony’s Chocolonely, this research looked at both the UK/IRE and the USA Instagram profiles. From each of the four Instagram profiles, 25 posts were included in the research. These were the 25 most recent posts as of May 1st 2020, in order to give a clear image of how they use CSR as a selling point currently. The data gathering process had thus started on May 1st 2020, and the oldest data was from November 2019. The time frames did differ for each profile since they all differ in their posting schedule as well as overall activeness on the social media platform. This also resulted in a difference in the number of posts that were excepted from the dataset.

The posts that were removed from the data set are for instance the 23 posts regarding a ‘Christmas countdown’ on the UK profile of Divine or the ‘Egghunt’ of Tony’s Chocolonely, as well as all Instagram TV (IGTV) posts. IGTV posts are videos that are over 30 seconds, analyzing these, however helpful they may be, was too time-consuming and simply not feasible for this Masters’ thesis. The codes from these videos would further have probably overruled the results from the other posts, making the results less representational.

The Christmas countdown posts, on the other hand, are very focused on the holidays only and not really representative for the rest of the page or the overall communication strategy of the company. These posts are mostly 'giveaways', meaning people had to comment on the post to win something. These mainly also involved collaborations with other companies, so they were often not really representative of the brand identity or corporate social reporting. This research primarily focussed on the visual communication of pictures in combination with textual captions and comments. Except for the previously mentioned, no other posts from the companies were excepted from the data. From each of the posts included in the research sample, the visuals, captions and comments were coded. The coding process was mainly done via Atlas.ti.

Next to posts, comments from potential consumers were also incorporated in the research if they were seen as relevant. The relevance of the comments was decided by looking at whether or not it discusses any aspect of CSR. F.e. comments like 'Yum!! Just tried it for the first time from Whole Foods and I'm never going back! Only thing.. is the paper recyclable?' were included in the data, while comments like 'Dark chocolate pretzel is my favourite flavour!! ❤️' were excluded from the dataset. This was opted for since they do not discuss the consumers' interest in CSR or the discourse around this specific topic. These comments were incorporated in the document that was uploaded to Atlas.ti and thus also coded in this program. In this program, each profile has a separate document, in which the open codes were written down, who were then turned assigned to different categories to represent the main discourse topics. Over and across these themes and profiles, a critical discourse analysis was performed.

Along with the Instagram posts, the websites of both companies were analyzed. This was done by looking at specific pages of the US websites of both companies. The decision to only focus on US websites is because both the UK and US websites contain the same information on the pages that this research focuses on. This made it unnecessary to have analyzed both the UK and US websites since the outcomes would have been the same for both countries. For the Divine website, the pages linked to the 'about us' tab were analyzed. For the Tony's Chocolonely page, the pages linked to the 'our story' tab will be analyzed. These tabs were chosen since they specifically talk about the company and their strategy and Corporate Social Responsibility. It would have been interesting to analyze every page on each website; however, that would simply be too much for a master thesis. It was also debated whether the annual reports might be interesting for this research. However, Divine's

latest annual report on their website was from 2017-2018, thus being ruled out since it is rather outdated for this research.

The data for this research was collected online. It was chosen to collect data from their Instagram profiles since other high-ranked firms have been actively generating some version of a CSR report through social media for many years (Reilly & Larya, 2018). This was opted for in order to ensure that the topic of CSR will be discussed on their social media and website as well. The chance of finding an active CSR discourse happening on the profiles of other chocolate companies was further relatively small, since the chocolate industry is rather problematic, as discussed earlier, and a majority of the other companies will most likely stay clear of this subject.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Textual analysis

The coding of the data was done inductively, as shown in the “Spiral of analysis integrated into the qualitative research method” by Boeije (2010, p. 90). The process thus began with recognizing and noting down open codes. After assigning open codes to the dataset, the outcomes were further examined and categorized (Strauss & Corbin, 2007) to prepare the data for critical discourse analysis. The categories emerged naturally while analyzing the posts and website pages, which was done by focusing on terms that are repetitive, or related to consumptive marketing and CSR. Since both companies appear to have a strategy that revolves around two main aspects of CSR and these relate to the sub-questions of this research as well, there was a particular focus on the social and environmental dimensions of CSR. The social aspect is based on the focus of both companies on the fair trade production of their chocolate bars. Fairtrade shows the involvement of the companies to the wellbeing of the people involved in the production. The environmental aspect is based on the fact that both companies appear to be working on making their packaging as sustainable as possible and trying to avoid using palm oil. By doing this, they try to minimize their global footprint and try to lessen their contribution to the environmental issues the world is currently facing, like global warming.

After the coding, the open codes were looked at in Atlas.ti and categorized based on their consistency and validity, as is described by Schreier (2012). These categories are thus data-driven since the data is already coded with the literature in mind, meaning that everything regarding CSR has probably already been included in the coding process. These

categories should be able to provide answers on how and through which categories these companies address their CSR practices.

These categories were then analyzed through a critical discourse analysis. To analyze the CSR practices of the companies, a critical discourse analysis was necessary since this thesis needed to read between the lines to gain more in-depth insights (Van Dijk, 1993). A critical discourse analysis further gave insights on particular linguistic, semiotic and interdiscursive features of the which are a part of processes of social change (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), which could be used as a selling point to gain new customers. This analysis differed from a thematic analysis because it required interdiscursive analysis of the data, the categories are just used as a broad conceptualization to get a core idea of what is written and visualized in the post and on the website. In order to have performed this critical discourse analysis, it was thus necessary to already be emerged in the concepts of this research, to ensure that they could be defined and put into context. Next to this, it was necessary to gain in-depth knowledge about CSR and the products used by the companies, to check if anything was purposely left out of the conversation to remain or create a positive brand identity. This critical discourse analysis thus also showed if anything is left out of the conversation, which is why it is important to code more than just the words, but also certain semiotics, tone words or attitudes. This was analyzed through Fairclough's three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse (1995) since this thesis is ultimately looking for patterns that could be used to establish hypotheses about discourses at work online when it comes to CSR. The dimensions formulated by Fairclough (1995) are; the object of analysis, the process of which the object is produced and perceived and lastly the socio-historical conditions which govern the production and perception of the object. These dimensions are analyzed by looking at the description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 1995). The Fairclough model was implemented as described by Janks (1997), meaning there will thus be a text analysis first, looking for Fairclough's key questions for text analysis (1989, p. 110-111). Followed by a discourse analysis and lastly a social analysis as can be seen below in figure 3.1.

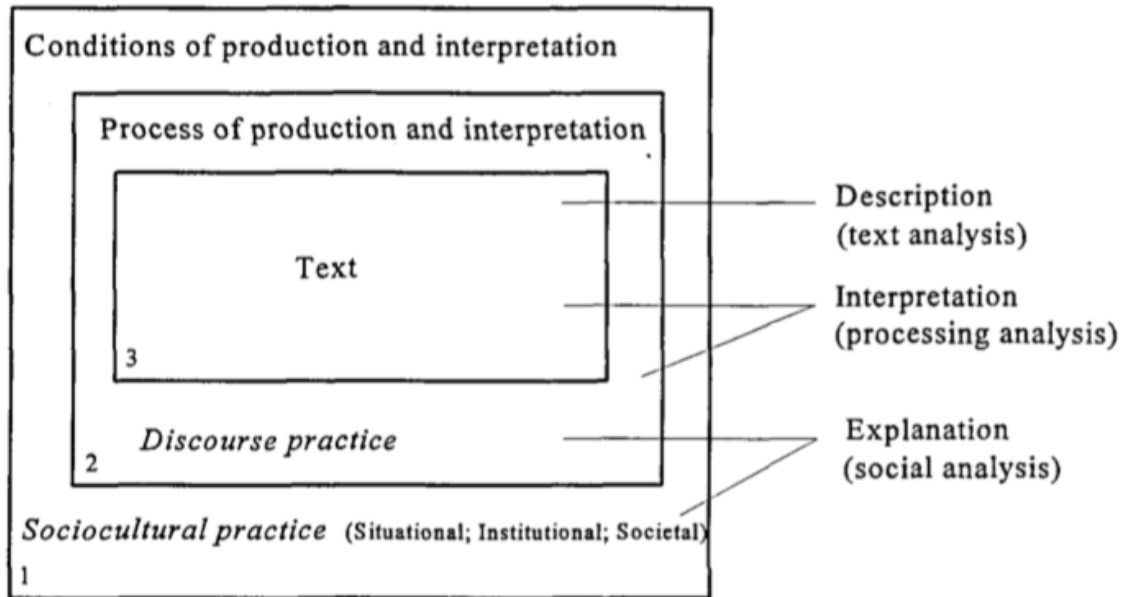


Figure 3.1: Fairclough's dimension of discourse and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995, as portrayed in Janks, 1997)

This was thus a three-step analysis; firstly, the text analysis tried to focus only on what is written, without trying to put a meaning behind the text and thus only focus on the description. In this step, this thesis also kept Fairclough's key questions for text analysis (1989, pp. 110—111) in mind, which makes the researcher focus on the following points:

1. lexicalisation;
2. patterns of transitivity;
3. the use of active and passive voice;
4. the use of nominalisation;
5. choices of mood;
6. choices of modality or polarity;
7. the thematic structure of the text;
8. the information focus;
9. cohesion devices.

Janks (1997) contributed to this by saying that “What one is looking for are patterns that emerge across these linguistic functions which confirm or contradict one another” (p.335)

For the second step, this thesis focused on the possible interpretation of the text, which Fairclough (1995) refers to as the processing analysis. In this step, Fairclough refers to taking into account the importance of situational context and the intertextual context in the process of interpretation. To gain insight into the situational context, this research questioned

whether or not this text would have been the same if it were made in a different time and place than the current situation. The intertextual context refers to the shaping of a text's meaning by another text; this could, for instance, be done through allusion, quotation, calque, plagiarism, translation, pastiche and parody (Janks, 1997). In this step, this thesis has mainly focussed on the description, (re)production and also the consumption of the text. For this research, it was thus interesting to see if certain captions were repeated on the same profile, with, for instance, other visuals. It was especially interesting to see if this was done for the UK/IRE and the US profiles, where they, for instance, had used the same text but different visuals, since this gave more information about the differences in the cross-national strategies.

The third step is referred to as the social analysis. In this step, the thesis went into depth about the socio-cultural, environmental, economic and political circumstances under which these posts were created. For this step, it was thus essential to keep the CSR practices and the history of CSR and the chocolate production in mind.

3.2.2 Visual analysis

The visuals of the Instagram posts were analyzed in a critical analysis, as was introduced by Wang (2014). For this analysis, the visuals were first identified and noted down in Atlas.ti, after which they were sorted through groups for each Instagram profile to order them and ensure a certain structure that helped answer the sub-questions of this research more easily. They were then further analyzed through a critical visual analysis, for which the approach described by Wang (2012) was chosen. This analysis seemed to fit very well for the Instagram posts since this approach should mainly be used for “discourses with their content being presented primarily through photographs with supplementary written” (p. 281). Each image was thus assessed, and the elements of each picture were then classified and analyzed as can be seen below in figure 4.1. The classification has divided the data into three different groups: visual narrative, visual (-verbal) intertextuality, and visual metaphoric presentations. This thus meant that in Atlas.ti there will be four groups, one for each Instagram profile, and underneath each of them there will be a category linked to one of the analyses. It should be noted that the trichotomy of presentations sometimes overlaps within certain news pictures. This analysis helped create a more in-depth story of how CSR is communicated through visuals on social media by both brands.

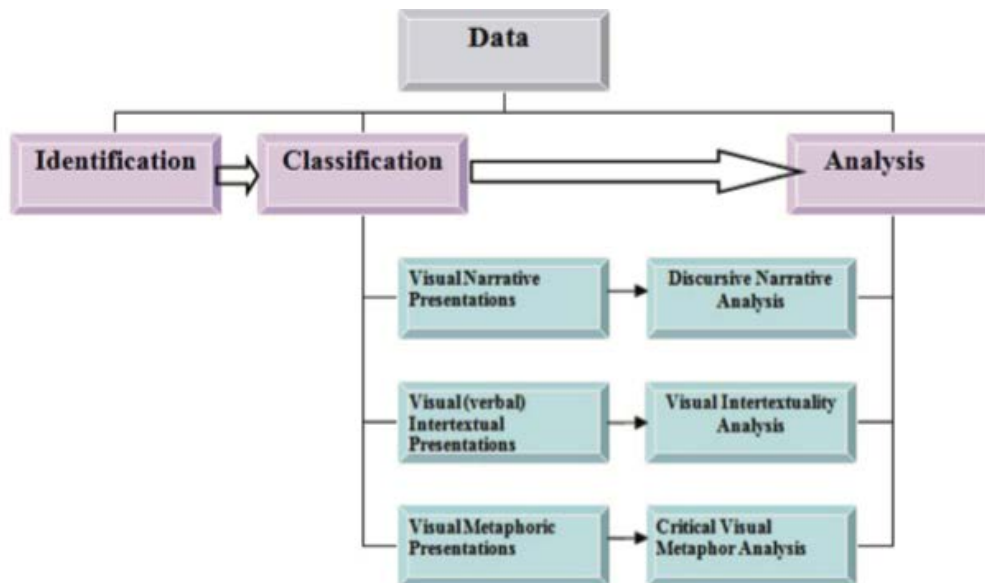


Figure 3.2: The critical visual analysis approach by Wang (2014)

The first classification of the visual/narrative presentation exists out of a discursive interpretation of the Instagram visuals, in order to probe the discursive processes of the production (i.e., how posts are presented by the company), the distribution (i.e., how visuals prepare the readers/viewers to accept the ideologies encoded by the companies), and the consumption (i.e., the viewers' unconscious interpretation and sense-making of the posts). This group of codes thus exists out of a visual description and interpretation of the visuals, as well as a social practice explanation.

The visual intertextual classification focussed on the “visual impact of the mixed genres and the discourse conventions related to building a relationship with viewers, as well as the covert ways of encoding ideology” (Wang, 2014, p.281). For this step, a distinction was made between manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity (or “constitutive intertextuality”) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 104). Manifest intertextuality refers to the intertextual relationship, which is manifested or indicated by, for instance, a quotation mark (Xin, 2005, p. 127, as references in Wang, 2014). The latter, which is “the configuration of discourse conventions that go into (a text's) production” is explained by Xin (2005) as “the complex relationship of different genres and discourse conventions in discourse”(p.127). In layman's terms, this would mean that a discourse has a relation to another discourse. These two terms are thus highly similar, but the difference between these two concepts is that “intertextuality refers to actual surface forms in a text, „borrowed“ from other texts; whereas interdiscursivity involves the whole language system referred to in a text” (Wu, 2011, p. 1). The second step

of the visual analysis of this research was thus also similar to the second step of the textual analysis since they both had a strong focus on intertextuality.

The third and last step of this research looked further into the visual metaphoric aspects of the images and will focus further on what the posts are telling us with their composition and colour tones. The first part of this step of the analysis thus looked further into the colour arrangements in the visuals and their critical potential. In this step, the focus thus laid on the specific colours and what kind of reaction they could be trying to conceive. This step gave very insightful information since Wang (2014) highlights how “in the visual semiosis, the potential of ideological encoding can be strengthened through the arrangement colours and visual elements” (p. 279). This thesis thus also looked at the use of different filters that could have been used on photo’s, and the chosen background colour of posts if applicable. Whilst scanning over the potential data it was for instance very noticeable that Tony’s Chocolonely uses a lot of text and visual combinations for their posts, and most of the textual posts tend to have a bright background. When it comes to the metaphorical meaning of colours Simons & Ruijters (2003) discusses how red could be a participation metaphor in the professional learning environment, which could be the case for Tony’s Chocolonely, since they could be trying to educate and activate their customers through their social media profiles. Kumar (2015), however, tries to relate red to the concept of blood and revolution. This portrays how many studies and cultures have a different association or reaction to different colours, in order to still try to gain insightful information out of this the “The cross-cultural spectrum of meanings and associations of colour in marketing” by Aslam (2006) was used for the interpretation of the used colours, as is portrayed in Appendix A. Next to the colours used, this step in the analysis also looked at the linear and size arrangement of visual elements and critical potential in the posts. Wang (2014) explains this step is necessary by noting how “the linear, spatial and size arrangement of visual elements in new pictures is often suggestive of the ideology encoded by the producer” (p. 280). The placement of visuals in a post where there is also text present, or in the case of multiple pictures or visuals it thus gave more insight in what message the companies were trying to give to their consumers. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) for instance argue that given information is often placed on the left side of an image, while new information is often placed on the right side of an image. This is also the case for the information value of top, and bottom visuals, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) discuss how in the Anglo-Western world “the top often represents the Ideal, and what has been placed at the bottom is put forward as the Real” (p. 186). Lastly, that discuss how what is put in the middle of a post will be seen as the central element, and

will most likely contain nucleus information. This theory makes noting down the arrangement of information important since the linear arrangement of visual elements can add to “the communicative potential of the succeeding verbal text through its immediate effect on viewers’ emotions” and a necessary step for the last part of the critical visual analysis according to Wang (2014, p. 280).

3.3 Operationalization

Like described both visual and textual data was collected from the UK and US Instagram profiles of Tony’s Choccolonely and Divine Chocolate. This section will show how the results and codes were formed during this data collection, and how this led to forming the different categories that will be discussed in the results. To show how each post was coded, the coding of one of the posts will be shown below, to demonstrate how terms were formed.

For each post, the visuals were assigned open codes first, these codes always started with

The image shows a screenshot of an Instagram post from Tony's Choccolonely. The post features a green graphic with the text "GPS MAPPING" and "beep beep!" and a photo of two people in a cocoa field. Below the post is a list of visual codes and a network diagram of text codes.

Visual Codes:

- 1:107 visual community
- visual farmers
- Visual green
- visual human
- visual text left
- visual trees

Text Codes:

- 1:2 Deforestation is a m...
 - community awareness
 - farming problems
- 1:8 GPS mapping...
 - #bcorp
 - #ethical
 - #fairtrade
 - #impact
 - #slavefree
 - #slavefreechocolate
- 1:15 Deforestation is a...
 - active voice
 - positive tone
 - serious matter
- 1:5 WA...
 - consumer education
- 1:3 def...
 - social problem solving
- 1:1...
 - child labour
 - deforestation
 - inequality
 - modern slavery
 - supply chain
- 1:1...
 - cooperation
 - local problem awareness
 - openness
 - social problem awareness

‘visual’ and were then combined with important features, which in this case are the colour and the graphics. This approach thus resulted in codes like ‘visual green’ and ‘visual farmers’. When it came to the text, each sentence was analyzed and checked for any of the nine points of Fairclough's key questions for text analysis (1989, pp. 110—111). Next to this, they were coded inductively, and the main message was coded. As can be seen above, the hashtags were coded as well with a # at the beginning of each of the codes, which made it more clear for the analysis when a topic was discussed or just mentioned by a hashtag. After all the codes, different code groups were formed on the most prominent ones; these formed the categories that will help answer the sub-questions.

To make results of the textual analysis of the websites of both companies clearer and more easily understandable, the table below was created. This table portrays categories that

were formed based on the most prominent themes in from the results of the websites. This table thus only portrays the most frequent and relevant categories and codes to give a representation of the textual results of this thesis.

CATEGORY	CODE	QUOTE
PROBLEM DEFINITION	Exploitation	“When profit is the result of exploitation at the beginning of the supply chain, where people live in extreme poverty” (Tony’s Chocolonley)
	Modern Slavery	“Right now there is slavery on cocoa farms in West Africa. This is a result of the unequally divided cocoa chain.” (Tony’s Chocolonley)
	Child Labour	“In most cases, children are forced to work away from their family and do not have the option of stopping. They are also abducted by traffickers, taken far from their homes and forced to work on strangers’ cocoa farms.” (Tony’s Chocolonley)
EQUAL PAY	Tony’s premium prices	“Tony’s premium bridges the gap between farmgate price and the living income. ” (Tony’s Chocolonely)
	Fairtrade	“a new co-operative of cocoa farmers called Kuapa Kokoo is established on Fairtrade principles.” (Divine Chocolate)
COMMUNITY INVESTMENT	Investment in industry improvement	“We show them how to operate more professionally as an organization, help them achieve economies of scale and create commitment and trust amongst the farmers.” (Tony’s Chokolonely)
	Social investment	“fair trade premiums could be invested in social programs” (Divine Chocolate)

VOLUNTARINESS	Lead by example	“Nana Frimpong Adebrese to begin creating a farmer-owned company to help farmers sell their own cocoa.” (Divine Chocolate)
	Taking responsibility	“Cooperatives have to do their part in taking responsibility to combat child labour.” (Tony’s Chokolonly)
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	Employee happiness	“We aim for everybody in our supply chain to be happy with our chocolate, from the farmer and his children to the consumer who buys the chocolate” (Tony’s Chokolonly)
	Voice of employees	“The farmers vote at their annual general meeting (AGM) to set up a chocolate company of their own in the UK.” (Divine Chocolate)
DIGNIFIED TRADING RELATIONS	Vertical empowerment of the supply chain	“We bring people together to create dignified trading relations, empowering both producers and consumers” (Divine chocolate)
	Horizontal empowerment of the supply chain	“Divine Chocolate and Kuapa Kokoo, both led by women, are pioneering progress toward Sustainable Development Goal 5 — this goal aims to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment.” (Divine Chocolate)
GENDER EQUALITY	Women empowerment	“For more than two decades, Divine Chocolate and our farmer co-op partners have shared a commitment to empowering women.” (Divine Chocolate)

Table 3.3. A portrayal of the textual results of the websites of Tony’s Chokolonly and Divine Chocolate

4. Results and analysis

4.1 Textual analysis results

The textual data of this research was all put into separate documents, sorted by source. Each of these documents was first analyzed by a thematic analysis, to create more order and structure, and was then analyzed through Fairclough's dimension of discourse and discourse analysis. The creation of the codes, as well as certain patterns that could be interpreted from this, are all described in this section, the outcome of the critical discourse analysis can be found in the analysis part of this chapter.

4.1.1 Textual results of the Websites

For the 'Our Mission' page of the website of Tony's Choclonely, it became apparent from the coding that they mainly discuss the social dimension of their involvement with CSR, as well as the voluntariness dimension, which thus resulted in multiple categories revolving around these two themes. Their involvement in the social dimension of CSR was discussed through an elaborate set of categories from 'problem definition' and 'social problem solving' to 'fairtrade' and 'child labour', portraying how Tony's Choclonely really goes into depth about their mission and their outlook on how to overcome the industry problems.

The first category 'problem definition' discussed the issues in the supply chain and how most western consumers are actually the root of the problem. This since they are the main consumers, and are only willing to pay a price that is too low to suffice the supply chain. They show through quotes like "when profit is the result of exploitation at the beginning of the supply chain, where people live in extreme poverty."

(<https://tonyschoclonely.com/us/en/our-mission>, 2020) is a bit more general than one specifically about, for instance, modern slavery which is expressed through quotes like "Right now there is slavery on cocoa farms in West Africa. This is a result of the unequally divided cocoa chain." (<https://tonyschoclonely.com/us/en/our-mission>, 2020).

The category 'equal pay' seems self-explainable, and the category 'community investment' refers to actions of the company that help the farming communities of their supply chain, these are linked to sentences like "That gives them the opportunity to make long-term investments in their farms. For example, they can buy new cocoa plants for a better harvest, for example, or invest in farming equipment or training."

(<https://tonyschoclonely.com/us/en/our-mission>, 2020) .

The category 'voluntariness' is based on the data that shows the initiative of the company to be more involved in Corporate Social Responsibility. Open codes that show this are 'lead by example' and 'taking responsibility'. The first of these codes contain sentences similar to "With incredibly tasty chocolate, we lead by example to show the world that chocolate can be made differently. By following Tony's rules of the game for slave-free cocoa, it is possible to make slave-free chocolate and be commercially successful." (<https://tonyschocolonely.com/us/en/our-mission>, 2020). The code 'taking responsibility' is assigned to quotes like the following; "The way we see it, chocolate makers are responsible for their chocolate and their supply chain – not the certification inspector." (<https://tonyschocolonely.com/us/en/our-mission>, 2020). This category further also refers to the founding of Divine Chocolate, which was done by Ghanaian female farmers, this is mentioned for five times on their 'Our story page with sentences like "This is the amazing story of a group of cocoa farmers in Ghana who voted to set up their own chocolate company and launched the first farmer-owned Fairtrade chocolate product aimed at the mass market in the UK" (<https://www.divinechocolate.com/divine-story>, 2020)." This second quote seems to fit the definition Dahlsrud (2008) gives to the voluntariness dimension perfectly.

For the website of Divine Chocolate, the first categories that emerged were once again revolving around the social dimension of CSR, Divine chocolate discusses their social involvement on several levels. One noteworthy category is 'community involvement', which refers to the interest the company shows in the operating community.

The social dimension is further addressed through the categories 'gender equality' and 'dignified trading relations'. The topic of female empowerment and gender equality could be related to the founding of the company since the founders were Ghanaian female farmers. Their own maltreatment could have inspired them to find the company and incorporate gender equality as one of its missions next to equal trading relations. This category could further indicate that the company perceives gender inequality as one of the main social challenges of the industry.

Similar to the Tony's Chokolonely website the second category revolved around the voluntariness dimension of CSR, in this case however it was more about necessity since the founders of the company started it due to a need for a fair trading price to support their families. This is why this code group is named 'CSR initiative' since the company mission started more out of a need for change than out of a desire to help others. This is expressed through the codes 'Farmers first' 'community investment' and 'need for change' which are assigned to texts like "The co-op's mission has the welfare of its farmer members at its heart

and aims to empower them in their efforts to gain a dignified livelihood”, “This socially and economically sustainable business model supports the needs of farmers first, providing opportunities for growth and success in local communities” and “In the early 1990s, structural changes in the cocoa market in Ghana prompted Nana Frimpong Abebrese to begin creating a farmer-owned company to help farmers sell their own cocoa.” (<https://www.divinechocolate.com/divine-story>, 2020).

4.1.2 Textual results of the Instagram profiles

This section will address the communication on Instagram around the CSR contribution of Tony’s Chocolonely and Divine chocolate for both their UK and USA profiles. As expected, the discussion mainly revolved around the social and environmental dimensions of CSR as described by Dahlsrud (2008).

4.1.2.1 Results addressing the social dimension

The social dimension is mainly discussed through categories like ‘equal payment’, which is mainly discussed through the topics of fair trade, modern slavery and equality. The topic of fair trade is the most prominent across all of the profiles. It is used in multiple posts where the companies create a more personal profile of their employees at the bottom of the supply chain. In these cases, they personally name or at least discuss the economical working circumstances of their farmers. This was done most extensively on the USA profiles of both companies, which even led to discussing one employee for multiple times in the case of Tony’s Chocolonely. This may create a more personal bond between the audience and the farmers, possibly making the communication of the message more meaningful. This could help get the message across in a more impactful manner and may increase the involvement of the audience on the topic. This could then result in more support and a higher interest in the company and their message. This higher personal involvement could thus be an example of how CSR involvement could then have a direct effect on the consumers' purchase intention (Öberseder, Schlegelmilch & Gruber, 2011; Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001). Showing that these personal posts could be used to show the audience that the incomes of the company are translated through to their employees, making it perhaps more worthwhile for some consumers to pay a higher price for the products. Next to personal posts, the Tony’s Chocolonely profiles also go more in-depth on their payments by discussing the amount of ‘premium payments’ they have made towards their employees, combining the emotional aspect with facts, to make a more cohesive and believable story. Furthermore, fair trade is

discussed in all the posts of Tony's Chocolonely USA, with the #fairtrade, which they post underneath close to every post. This shows that fair trade is one of the company's main values and an important part of their mission, and also appears to be one of the main values they want to communicate across to their audience. Next to the fair trade, modern slavery is also one of the more prominent discussion points for the category of equal pay. This topic was only merely discussed by Divine chocolate but was put in the foreground on the pages of Tony's Chocolonely. This was only put into context in one of the posts, but was written underneath close to every post with three different hashtags; #slavefree, #slavefreechocolate and #slaveryfreechocolate, showing that whilst this is not discussed thoroughly, it is one of the core values of the mission of the company and is a concept that the company wants to get across to their audience beyond doubt. Lastly, bean to bar is also a chocolate industry-specific term linked to equal pay that has a prominent spot in the conversation. This refers to a trade model where the company controls every stage of the supply chain; literally from a cacao bean to a sold bar. This sounds very impressive; however, the label does not have any industry-wide standards for it yet, meaning that this label is not a guarantee for a fair trade model. The label does have a certain level of credibility, however, since it is mostly used by companies who place great value on quality, sustainability, and transparency, making it come across as a verified label to consumers.

Equality was an eye-catching category, as well. This topic was regarded differently by both companies, with Tony's Chocolonely mainly focusing on the equality of payment rates, and thus overlapping with the previous category. Divine USA, on the other hand, had a very strong focus on gender equality within the company. From discussing their female CEO to their female farmers, the company fixates on the different roles that females occupy within their company. They, for instance, regard the female founders of the company from Ghana, the CEO, the VP marketing, board members and the co-op members in their production communities. By doing this, they show that females can grow within the company, and how the glass ceiling can be broken in a company. This could help empower their female audience and make the company more likeable due to linking to one's personal values. They try to ensure that this message comes across by frequently using the hashtags of #equality, #womensempowerment and #womensupportingwomen.

Another category that is linked to the social contribution of the companies was child labour, which was mainly applicable for Tony's Chocolonely, who extensively discuss the matter and their involvement with the Child Labor Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS). It is interesting how one Tony's Chocolonely goes into depth about this topic and

regards this as one of the main industry problems, whilst Divine does not address the topic in any of their posts. This clearly shows how both companies focus on different aspects of CSR, and it also gives an impression of how many industry problems there actually are if these companies can 'pick' what to focus on. It is especially interesting that Divine does not address this matter since it is one of the main causes for many critiques of the chocolate industry.

This leads to the last category, which is local involvement. This category refers to all the involvement the companies show to their farming communities, whether it is investing and educating the community on the matter of farming, or on personal hygiene. This is a matter that both companies engage in, and it shows they are not just trying to support their farmers with equal pay, but also with helping them improve their living and working conditions. Tony's, for instance, discusses how they help their farmers by improving their farming techniques, to help them regarding efficiency and create a more successful harvest. This could help the communities get a larger income and become more and more self-sufficient on the UK profiles.

4.1.2.2 Results addressing the environmental dimension

Next to these categories, there were also an extensive group of categories which helps explain how the companies address the environmental aspects of CSR. The most prominent category for this was 'plant-based', which occurred across all the profiles. It was apparent, however, that this topic was discussed most excessively on the Divine pages and on the UK profile of Tony's Chokolonly. On the profiles of Divine, they expressed their interest in plant-based diets by going further than just sharing that their products are vegan, but also frequently posting vegan recipes that could be made with their products. By doing this, they could reach an audience that most chocolate companies can not, since most chocolate contains dairy. By going further than just posting their vegan products, they show that they try to gain more consumer engagement than just consumption, especially when one takes into account that most baking recipes do include animal-based products. Something that is rather interesting is that none of the accounts actually address the animal produce part of the supply chain, which could be interesting since they share so much about the production of the cacao beans. They most likely are thus trying to keep this topic out of the conversation, perhaps to try and avoid the controversy that often arises around the topic of factory farming for animal-based products.

Furthermore, the environmental dimension is addressed through the category of supply chain pollution. This is addressed through a discussion around plastic-free packaging as well as through the carbon emissions. Both companies address this matter, although, in the case of Tony's Chocolonely, it is done more extensively on the USA profile. This is an interesting result since the UK profile had more focus on the category of plant-based, which could thus mean that the company put a different focus on separate categories of the environmental dimension of CSR because the values could differentiate for each country.

Next to this, the category of 'environmental protection' was derived from the data, which was referred to not only by deforestation, but also by the term of being palm oil-free. This topic has raised quite some controversy as well since palm oil harvesting was responsible for an average of 270,000 ha of forest conversion annually from 2000–2011 in the major palm oil-exporting countries (Koh & Wilcove, 2008). The main critique on this was that many of the palm trees that are harvested are built on what used to be rainforest. This rainforest is burned down to create a plantation, which limits the habitat of inter alia orangutans, rhinos, elephants and tigers ("What is palm oil and why is it thought to be bad? - CBBC Newsround", 2018).

Lastly, the category of 'positive influence' was found, which is a rather broad category and has a bit of overlap with most of the previous categories. This category was still created, however, since both companies had a tendency to use the words 'ethical' and 'impact' extensively. By only mentioning the terms and not providing any context around them, this created some confusion when it came to interpreting them. This, since the terms, are very broad and could be linked to most of the previous categories. They were put into a separate category, however, since they are this broad and open to personal interpretation, which also makes it feel like these terms were often added in the form of hashtags simply to help the audience, and consumers feel better about themselves if they opt to consume any of their products. This phenomenon is linked to internalized motivation (Amatulli & Guido, 2012) one has when it comes to purchasing luxury goods.

4.2 Textual Analysis

4.2.1 Definition

Like defined earlier, the textual analysis will consist of a descriptive, interpretive and explanatory paragraph. The first dimension of Fairclough's discourse analysis focusses on the following points:

1. lexicalisation;
2. patterns of transitivity;
3. the use of active and passive voice;
4. the use of nominalisation;
5. choices of mood;
6. choices of modality or polarity;
7. the thematic structure of the text;
8. the information focus;
9. cohesion devices.

Lexicalization may have occurred in the dataset, but there was nothing that seemed to stand out from the collected data. When looking for patterns of transitivity, the Tony's Choclonely profiles do seem to stand out. Both the UK and USA profiles of this brand often start their captions with an interactive question, for example; "Did you know.." or "Have you seen..", if this is not the case they often start with either a statement, like "Tony likes it green!" (@tonyschoclonely_uk_ire, 13th December 2020) as well as "Serious Friends = Serious Impact." (@tonyschoclonely_uk_ire , 27th December 2020). For the Divine pages, it is important to note that the posts from both pages tended to differentiate a lot, the only similarity both pages had was that they shared some recipes with that could be made with their products, and even these were divergent. However, their pages did seem to also either start with an announcement or statement, or a question to their audience, which could simply be a strategy to gain (inter)action on Instagram. For this research, this was not excessively researched, since there was no outstanding pattern. A clear pattern did emerge when it came to looking at the tone of speech, which was active in a vast majority of the captions, even after carefully re-assessing the data, no passive caption could be found. One could conclude from this that the captions are thought out and are made to interest and activate the audience. Nominalization was also one of the points of analysis that did not point to a clear strategy, and this could be due to the fact that all captions and textual parts of the website are rather short, which makes it hard to find a use of nominalization since this often occurs in larger

texts to avoid repetition. When it comes to the choice of mood, the texts tend to be serious, but with a positive perspective. An example of this could be this section of text from the Tony's Chocolonely website "Our vision: 100% slave-free chocolate. Not just our chocolate, but all chocolate worldwide. How we are going to achieve that? It won't be easy. And it's pretty complex. But we will accomplish it with the help of Tony's roadmap." (2020). When it comes to choices of modality or polarity and cohesion devices, there were also no clear patterns or outstanding cases, the information focus of the text, however, is probably the most important point for this research. The focus of information is different for each post and website. The open codes and code groups have already shown some clear commonalities and differences. Overall one could say that both the websites go more in-depth on the involvement of CSR, which is easily understandable, since these pages are also more information-driven, whilst Instagram posts are mainly visual. The information of the websites mainly focused on company history, the voluntariness dimension of CSR and the social dimension of CSR, whilst the Instagram accounts of Tony's Chocolonely also had a clear focus on the environmental dimension. This shows that perhaps Tony's Chocolonely tries to make a distinction what kind of media they use for what message. It was also apparent that both Instagram accounts for Tony's Chocolonely often shared some of the same content, whilst Divine Chocolate does have very distinctive posts for each of their profiles.

4.2.2 Interpretation

The second step of Fairclough's (1995) approach to a critical discourse analysis focusses on the situational context and the intertextual context. The situational context refers to where the information is posted, and the intertextuality refers to whether a text has been 're-used', this could have been done through allusion, quotation, calque, plagiarism, translation, pastiche and parody. For this research, it could mainly be of importance to see if intertextuality occurs for the companies cross-nationally, or if they quote people on their profiles since this could give an indication of whom they would like to be associated with as a company.

For Tony's Chocolonely this meant they had three posts that were exactly the same, which would probably be more if the dataset would include all posts of both companies. This can be assumed since the US profile is a lot more active, which could be seen from the date of the 25th collected post. They further only quote employees on their social media, which could represent a high level of involvement with the people involved in their supply chain. On their website, they do not quote anyone, and there also does not seem to be a case of

allusion or any of the other ways listed above to find intertextuality. Intertextuality further occurred heavily on the USA Instagram profile of Tony's Chokolonly, where the same hashtags were posted underneath almost every post from the data set. These hashtags, “#tonyschocolonly #slavefree #chocolate #slavefreechocolate #ethical #fairtrade #cocoa #impact #bcorp #slaveryfreechocolate”, could be a way to gain a larger audience, since the audience can search for certain type of posts on Instagram via hashtags. Next to enlarging a possible audience, these hashtags could also be used to get the message across through short keywords.

As for Divine chocolate, there were no clear cases of intertextuality when it comes to repetition of content across both profiles. Intertextuality does happen in the form of a quotation. The company quotes their CEO as well as other employees for a number of times on their USA Instagram profile, which could show their involvement with their employees. It is important to note how all three of these cases are discussing a female employee, which is in line with the earlier findings that women empowerment is a strong theme for their USA Instagram profile.

4.2.3 Explanation

For the social analysis, the textual data will be put into perspective whilst regarding the socio-cultural, environmental, economic and political circumstances under which the content was posted.

Like mentioned previously by Hütz-Adams (2010), the social dimension of the supply chain of the chocolate industry has been heavily critiqued due to the occurrence of child labour and child trafficking, as well as modern slavery. The first problem of child labour and child trafficking could explain why the UK Instagram profile of Tony's Chokolonly addresses their cooperation with the Child Labor Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS) in multiple separate posts. This cooperation is addressed even more intensely on USA profile of this company, which shows the importance of it. This could thus mean that Tony's Chokolonly focusses on child labour and trafficking as one of the main challenges that the chocolate industry faces. It also shows how the company is highly involved not only with their employees but also with their possible household. This since they claim to not only not hire children, but thus also actively try to keep this from happening at other companies or even other industries.

The social pressure on the industry could further also explain why both companies have a heavy focus on fair trade since this could help them gain support, and possibly one up companies that do not express their involvement on trying to solve this industry problem. This industry problem is also an effect of the economic circumstances of the chocolate industry, like Tony's Chocolonely described: "Modern slavery, illegal child labour and extreme poverty seem to be the symptoms of an underlying complex issue: the economic model of the cocoa industry is driven by maximum profit. The relationship between producer, purchaser and end user is anything but equal.". The child labour and modern slavery are thus an effect of low retail prices of the final product. The social circumstances further show that the companies are most likely operating in a country where the state religion is Catholic since the code group 'Holidays' consisted out of either Catholic holidays, or national holidays. The open code 'Easter' was also used at least twice for each profile, whilst no mention of other religious holidays was found showing that all of them acknowledge Christianity, and it could be important to the national country they are advertising to.

The political circumstances are quite a touchy subject for this matter since we established earlier that while chocolate producers did need to sign certain certificates to show that they do not engage in the most extreme cases of child labour and modern slavery, companies often do not have to commit to investing in their farming communities, or pay their fair trade prices. Tony's Chocolonely does appear to have an opinion about this, by stating on their website that they would like to create the following policies in the cacao consuming countries:

1. *"Develop an action plan to address labour and human rights violations, include implementation of relevant international laws and regulations: conventions exist, but they are not enforced."*
2. *"Companies must be legally obligated to be transparent about their supply chain (due diligence) and explain what they are doing to prevent slavery and child labour in their supply chain."*

Next to the consuming countries, Tony's Chocolonely also pushes the cacao producing countries to develop a vision and action plan and to be more strict on enforcing the already existing laws. These changes, however, could be hard to implement, since there are many cacao-consuming and – producing countries, and implementing policies or laws is a lengthy process. This lack of political guidelines could also be one of the reasons why the companies feel the need to express themselves on the matter and show initiative on the matter.

The current environmental circumstances of the food industry also appear to be in a critical state, especially for the food supply chain of chocolate, which is an industry known for environmental issues regarding pesticides, deforestation, high emissions and animal produce, like defined earlier by Maloni and Brown (2006). Each of these contributes to a high level of environmental pollution, which is why it could be important for the companies to discuss how they are regarding these issues. To see how the companies are communicating this, we will reflect on the sustainability trends for the food industry, as defined in chapter 2.2.2. The term ‘local produce’ only came forward in the dataset of the USA profile of Tony’s Chocolonely, regarding the pecans that were used in a special chocolate bar. It could be explained why this trend is not very applicable to the chocolate industry since cacao beans do need a certain climate to grow, which is why it could be seen as unrealistic to ask a company to start producing chocolate in, for instance, the United Kingdom. The term ‘organic’ was already used more for both companies and both countries as well, where especially Divine Chocolate put an emphasis on ‘natural ingredients’ and being ‘palm oil-free’. These terms fall under the organic category since they both indicate that the ingredients are produced without the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, or other artificial chemicals and in a matter that is not harmful to the environment. Plant-based was a theme that mainly surfaced on the UK Instagram profiles of both companies, with an extensive report of vegan products, recipes and posts dedicated to ‘Veganuary’. When it comes to emissions, Tony’s Chocolonely reported to being carbon neutral, or net-zero, in 2019 on both their UK and USA Instagram profile, which shows that they do regard their shipping and overall carbon footprint when it comes to business decisions. Another interesting finding was that both companies talked about how their packaging is recyclable and plastic-free on all their social media accounts, which once again contributes to showing their involvement with the environmental aspect of CSR.

4.3 Visual results

In order to create an impression of the visual description and a possible interpretation of the visuals, all the Instagram profiles were assessed and coded inductively, as shown in the example above. The pages of Tony’s Chocolonely were analyzed first, and it was noticeable how both profiles have the same ‘style’, with creating a content that partly exists out of photographs, and half of the visuals with text and a bright-coloured background, as can be seen in Appendix B. These textual posts half of the data set for both the UK profile and US

profile, and were combined with either a visual of the product, or a drawn visual that could be associated with community, for example, a drawing of one white and one dark blue hand forming a heart together, or a drawing of two people with their arms over each other's shoulder. There was one exception of this case, with a drawing of a stack of money, which was posted on the USA profile, this was still somehow related to community, however, since the post discussed the amount of money they paid their farmers on top of the standard price for cacao. As for the layout, all of these textual posts were constructed in a way the text was at the top/middle centre, and the product or contributory visual was either at the bottom left or the bottom right corner. For the colour results of the Tony's Chocology, the results of both pages appear to be rather similar with open codes that express bright colours, where especially the colour red was used extensively, next to this, the colour green appeared as well as the colour blue appeared significantly, these open codes could be of relevance for the visual metaphoric analysis. Next to the open codes for colours, it was interesting that the open code for 'showcasing product' occurred for over half of the posts for the UK profile and significantly less for the USA profile. A noticeable difference for both companies was the visualization of their involvement with CSR, the USA profile showed their involvement with the farming communities and employees of eight different posts, whilst the UK account only showed their farming community once and other employees once as well. The UK did have a post that was specifically focused on their British audience, portraying a giant version of one of their chocolate bars in a typical London red phone booth. Next to this, they also had a couple of posts which were coded as 'food supply chain', since they portrayed an ingredient (cacao beans), or the end-staged stage of the supply chain where their product is sold in a supermarket.

The visual results of the Instagram profiles of Divine chocolate, however, appeared to be very diverse, since both profiles had a completely different dataset. There was not one posts that was used for both profiles, the only reappearing theme between the two profiles was the posting of recipes, and even these were distinctive, showing that the profiles are probably ruled by different people for both countries. Something that was noticeable was that all except one recipe were photographed from above, with a very light or white background. The coded colours were also distinctive for each profile, which is once again an indicator that the profiles are probably run separately for each country, without an overarching director who decides the content. Another theme that came forward from the data of the US profile was the portrayal of women, who were portrayed on most posts from the dataset of their profile; with a stark contrast to men; who were only portrayed once in the background of a

picture. These women were often portrayed at work, combined with happy facial expressions showing. This portrayal thus shows a strong focus on female empowerment in the work environment, which is in line with the textual results discussed earlier. For the UK profile, the open code 'product showcasing' was something that occurred for 19 times in their dataset, which could mean that they mainly use the social media channel to display their products and use it as an online selling tool.

4.4 Visual analysis

The first step of the visual analysis is the discursive narrative analysis (Wang, 2012), which regards how the company chooses to present its visuals and how they distribute it to their consumers. In this case, the chosen distribution media is already determined, namely Instagram. The fact that the companies are using this platform could mean that they want to encourage the engagement of a brand community (Miah & Burd, 2013), which Instagram does through providing brands with the "unique opportunity to solicit user-generated content" (p. 2). The presentation of the visuals that are represented is the most relevant for this research since they tell us what the companies value and what they find of importance to communicate to their stakeholders.

The results of this research have already shown how the post of Tony's Chocolonely is overlapping for both countries, meaning that they most likely want to stick to one strategy of communicating the same values to their consumers all over the world. Divine, however, provided two completely different datasets. For the USA profile, their main focus lay on the social dimension of CSR, with a specific interest in female empowerment. This could be culture-related since the US has been critiqued on the human rights violations and impediments to "intimate justice" (McClelland, 2010, p. 663) that have occurred over the past decades (Fine and McClelland, 2006; Gavey, 2012). Like mentioned earlier, the women are portrayed in a work setting with happy facial expressions, one case of this a post of two black women with broad smiles, whilst busy sorting the cacao beans. This represents how the working conditions of these women should make them happy, once again expressing Divine's involvement in the social dimension of CSR. The female empowerment is not only focused on the employees at the bottom of the supply chain; however, there is also a post of a white woman posing happily with a cup of coffee. This could show the audience how female employees are active in all aspects of their supply chain, and apparently happy to be

there as well. This focus on female empowerment could be their strategy to address the problems in both their producing community, as well as their selling community.

The second step of the analysis was a visual intertextual analysis, thus looking for the intertextual, as well as the interdiscursive relation between posts. This mainly occurs for the profiles of Tony's Chocolonely, where there was a significant overlap between both of the profiles, resulting in multiple cases of intertextuality. The interdiscursive matter was harder to find in most of the data, but some occurrences were found in the end. These cases mainly referred to the already defined problems of the chocolate supply chain, for example, a post of Tony's Chocolonely UK showing a sign with #myfreedomday, which refers to the existence of modern slavery at the chocolate farms as shown in Appendix C. Next to this case, Tony's Chocolonely USA posted a visual stating that "Our nuts are local", referring to the discussion around supporting local farmers, and the motivation to keep the pollution of shipping in the supply chain to a minimum (Frey & Barrett, 2007). It could be that they choose to address this issue due to the fact that cacao would be impossible to farm on local soil due to environmental restrictions, it could help their image to show that they still do try to be aware of this and try to opt for local produce for other ingredients as much as possible. Divine chocolate, on the other hand, did not show a lot of interdiscursivity, which main be due to the fact that the majority of their content consisted out of product showcasing. The UK profile did have one case of interdiscursivity, which was a post that contained the text "#stayhome with Divine", this hashtags refers to the period of the outbreak of the pandemic of COVID-19, in which the British citizens were in a social lockdown and asked to stay home in order to prevent further infection of the virus.

For the third step, this analysis looks into the visual metaphoric aspects of the images (Wang, 2012). Like mentioned earlier, the compositions of the visuals will be analyzed, as well as the chosen colour schemes. For the composition, it was clear that in the case of Tony's Chocolonely, they tended to opt for two different types of pictures; a graphic one with text, or a photograph, as can be seen in both Appendix B and Appendix C. For the graphic posts, the composition was made, so the textual part of a post was put in the centre top of the picture, or completely in the centre, and the product placement was either at the bottom left or right corner. Whilst Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) discussed how images tend to present given information on the left, and new information on the right, this did not appear to be the case for this dataset. Next to new information to the audience, the portrayal of new products was even taken into account for this, but there were still no relevant outcomes for this. As for the colours, Tony's Chocolonely mainly posted in bright colours, namely red,

green and blue. According to Aslam (2006), the colour red could represent fear, masculine, love, lust, and anger in Anglo-Saxon communities. In this case, the focus will most likely be on love, anger or fear. This since they use the colour as a background for both posts in which the text is a quote from a consumer, in which they express their love for the company's products. Red is, however, also used as a background colour when the company discusses the industry-specific problems and how they contribute to overcoming them, which could be associated both with the love and passion they have for the cause as well as the anger and fear they have towards the existence of these problems as well. This could be the intention if they have taken the marketing approach to use colour, however, if they have taken a more educational approach, the colour red could also be used as a participation metaphor in the professional learning environment according to Simons & Ruijters (2003). The blue background could represent masculinity, high quality, or a cooperate according to the cross-cultural spectrum of meanings and associations of colour in marketing by Aslam (2006). Combining the colour of the post with the textual information of the selected post, it shows that they most likely aim to represent high quality or cooperate. This since they are combined with either praises over the quality of the product, an announcement of a new product, or with a post regarding the company's accomplishment of being carbon neutral. The green color is associated with envy or good taste for Anglo-Saxon communities, and in the case of Tony's they were used for the posts regarding the annual report, the payment of employees and the announcement of the cooperation with the Child Labor Monitoring and Remediation System. The association of good taste with the color green made by Aslam (2006) could fit these cases, but it seems like the color green is mainly associated with their CSR involvement, whether on the social or the environmental aspect. This since these posts address the main issues in the chocolate supply chain and how the company tries to contribute to solving them. This link could be made since one of the terms often linked to sustainability is also 'green' (Doug Sereno, 2014). The combination of using the colours for all these different types of information, however, raises the question of whether the meaning of the colours was even thoroughly assessed when creating the posts, or whether they may have based their choices on different literature. Divine chocolate has only used very light pink or blue backgrounds for their UK account, which were always combined with the showcasing of a product. Pink is not included in Aslam's (2006) the cross-cultural spectrum of meanings and associations of colour in marketing which is a limitation for this analysis, the blue colour most likely refers to the corporate and high-quality association, since the posts showcase, mostly limited, products.

When looking at the whole account of Divine chocolate UK, it is noticeable how they use one colour for a certain amount of time, and then switch over to another one, which could mean that the use of this colour was not thought out or unintentional. One constant in their profile is that they keep to pastel colours, instead of bright colours, which shows a clear contrast to the accounts of Tony's Choclonely, meaning that both companies have both probably chosen one set of colours they used for their social media to create a coherent brand identity.

In short, one could say that the visuals and captions posted on Instagram are most likely chosen based on their interactive nation, which refers to asking the audience about their experiences or opinion. This clearly helps improve consumer engagement for most companies, especially Tony's Choclonely US, which also has a very high rate of consumer awareness. The textual analysis showed a high level of intertextuality, with quotes from employees and past posts or in the case of Tony's Choclonely posts used for multiple countries. Especially on the topic of equal pay for all employees down the supply chain. The topic of equal pay was one of the categories that was excessively discussed across all different profiles, mostly by discussing the matter of fair trade and modern slavery.

Conclusion & Discussion

This thesis aimed to expand their knowledge about how chocolate companies address their CSR practices to their online audience. As hypothesized, the companies mainly addressed their CSR practices regarding the social and environmental dimension of CSR (Dahlsrud, 2008).

The social dimension of CSR relates to the relationship between business and society, which refers to the consideration of the full scope of their impact the business can have on communities. The most prominent category through which the social dimension is addressed is 'equal pay'. This category discusses the equality and fairness of what the companies pay their farmers. In this category, fair-trade was the most prominent term, showing that this is the topic that is one of the largest challenges in the industry that the companies focus on. Next to this, there was also a focus on being free of modern slavery and child labour by Tony's Choclonely. Divine, on the other hand, thoroughly expressed their involvement creating a working environment with a high level of gender equality, this topic was most prominent on their USA profile, but also appeared on their UK profile. This thus shows where the companies try to address different social aspects of CSR, and probably thus also

see different challenges in the industry. This could be opted for to be more relevant to their audience and appeal better to their interests. A similarity for both companies is their discourse around their 'bean to bar' journey, showing they are concerned and involved in every part of their supply chain. Next to their bean to bar journey, both companies also address their recognition of being a B-corp. This label is used to recognize companies that are highly involved in CSR practices and their created discourse around it could be a strategy to use the label as a selling point. Using labels seems like an expectable way to address CSR involvement, since it has been proven to be the most common way to communicate CSR practices for chocolate brands offline (Howard & Allen, 2008), making it understandable that this strategy is also used online.

The environmental dimension of CSR was discussed through multiple categories; the main focus lay on the deforestation, plant-based foods and their carbon footprint. Of these categories, Divine chocolate mainly addressed the plant-based category of their environmental practices; this may mean that they opted to focus on this because it is one of their strongest environmental practices, with which they could reach the largest potential audience. As discussed, companies could possibly reach a large audience of potential buyers by being one of the few chocolate brands that offer not just vegan products, but also provides vegan baking recipes. Something that stood out by its absence; however, was the discourse around the dairy production in the supply chain for non-vegan products, which still forms the majority of the products offered by both companies.

For both companies, it can be concluded that they put more focus on addressing the social dimension of CSR than any of the other dimensions of CSR as defined by Dahlsrud (2008). One interesting finding from the websites, however, was the high level of voluntariness that it showed, which is most likely linked to the reason behind the founding of both companies. This emerged from the data, through the categories of 'initiative' and 'lead by example', who discussed how the companies were found to bring a change to the industry, namely to the socio-economic circumstances. This is an interesting finding since it is not extensively discussed on their social media platform, creating a question around to what extent the other dimensions are actually used as a selling point. It appears like the companies' CSR practices are actually driven by voluntariness, and not for selling goals, which is important to keep in mind when looking at the results of how the other dimensions are addressed. It could namely be that the extra addition of CSR practices being a selling point is just a positive concomitant, but not the original motivation to report the CSR practices.

These results of this thesis are in line with the findings of Nan and Heo (2007), who stated how it could be beneficial for a brand's identity to engage in CSR practices that fit very well to the industry they are operating in. Both companies are namely focusing on the industry challenges that have been heavily critiqued in the media. This shows how the companies perhaps already have a strategy of how to use CSR practices as a selling point. After all, CSR is socially constructed in an industry-specific context (Dahlsrud, 2008) by what the consumers find the most important. The companies operating in that industry than have to manage adapting to these interests with their CSR practices and the reporting of them. In this case, it appears that the companies have reacted to this by focusing on the social and economic dimensions.

When it comes to how the companies interact with their consumers, it showed that whilst Divine had a lot of consumer support, they did not engage in the mission or CSR practices of the company. Whilst this was clearly the case for Tony's Chocolonely, where the consumers excessively claimed how much they liked the mission of the company and how they were ambassadors in the way that they tell others about the company's CSR practices. This shows that the audience of Tony's Chocolonely is perhaps more invested in the operations and CSR involvement of the company across its supply chain, or that Tony's Chocolonely's approach appeals better to the audience.

The cross-national results showed a particular interest for both countries in a specific dimension of CSR. The UK profiles, for instance, had a much higher focus on the plant-based category than the USA profiles, whilst the USA profiles in their turn dedicated more attention to the social practices of the companies. This could be dedicated to cultural values, which would be interesting for future research.

In short, one could thus conclude that the companies address the social and environmental dimension of their CSR practices the most. Especially the challenges of the industry that have been critiqued by the media are addressed, like fair-trade, child labour and deforestation. This supports the theory that CSR is socially constructed by the consumers of each industry (Dahlsrud, 2008; Roberts, 2003), which could also explain why there were some cross-national differences noted regarding the focus of each brand for their US and UK profiles. The UK profiles namely showed more focus towards the environmental dimension, while the US profiles showed more interest in the social dimension of CSR. This thesis further also supports the statement that in order to use CSR practices as a selling point, the challenges need to correlate to the industry or the brand (Nan & Heo, 2007), however, it also needs to be taken into account that this thesis did not obtain the companies motivation to engage in CSR

in the first place. Making it important to also regard that the companies may not have engaged in CSR practices only for sales, but mainly out of their need to show initiative and change the industry.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

For future research, it could be interesting to get more insights directly from the company, since the underlying reason of why the companies decided to mainly discuss the social and environmental dimensions of CSR in the posted content. The company could perhaps give more insight on how the company values are communicated, or why they opt to focus on certain categories when it comes to their CSR practices.

A limitation of this research was that there was a small dataset, which may have limited the research from forming a complete representation of all the CSR reporting done by the companies on their Instagram. It would, for instance, be interesting also to incorporate the videos of the profile into the or add the Instagram stories and highlights of them into the dataset as well to create a complete representation of their communication strategy. This is also one of the main limitations of this research since the data from all Instagram profiles had a different time span. This made it sometimes hard to draw conclusions from the results since the generalizability of them could be questioned. An example of this is how there was a focus on Christian Holidays for each of the profiles, which is also understandable since the analyzed posts were published around Easter. Having a larger time span may have shown different results when it comes to this since other religious holidays did not really occur in the time frame of most analyzed data. This method further also brought a small technical limitation with it, namely the coding of the results. Due to inexperience with Atlas.ti of the researcher, this thesis missed out on some potential to provide more in-depth insights into the data. This since the operationalization now took away some time that could have been spent on analyzing the data or diving further into the literature.

Furthermore, one limitation of this research is linked to the literature since there is a lack of knowledge about which strategies are already being used to address CSR in the chocolate industry. Like mentioned in previously, extensive research has been done about how consumers react to, for instance, fair trade labels on packaging. However, no research has been found on how CSR practices could be communicated most effectively over online media. This research gap left this thesis to derive a possible strategy only from the data, which may take from the validity of the results since it cannot be completely backed up with

previous research. Hence, without sufficient academic literature and empirical input, the interpretation of results, and the deriving of a possible research method can be a subject of researcher bias. It would thus be interesting for further research to go more in-depth on CSR communication strategies and find one that could also be representative of the CSR addressing of chocolate brands on Instagram.

Furthermore, this thesis did face a certain level of biases due to qualitative research having an interpretative nature. It could, therefore, be interesting to re-test the outcomes of this research with a mixed methods research. An interview could be performed first, to gain insight on the communication strategies and intents of the company, an experiment could then expand the knowledge about whether consumer awareness did actually increase through the reporting of the CSR practices. It could namely have also been the case that the consumers were educated through packaging, or by another way. One of the comments underneath an Instagram post of Tony's Choclonely, for instance, also referred to a documentary on Netflix. It could, therefore, be interesting to see how the audience has been educated and which strategy works best for this.

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Appendix A.

The cross-cultural spectrum of meanings and associations of colour in marketing by Aslam (2006)

Table 1. The cross-cultural spectrum of meanings and associations of colour in marketing

Colour	Country–Culture cluster								
	Anglo-Saxon	Germanic	Latin	Nordic	Slavic	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	ASEAN
White	Purity	–	–	–	–	Death	Death	Death	Death
	Happiness	–	–	–	–	Mourning	Mourning	Mourning	Mourning
Blue	High quality	Warm	–	Cold	–	High quality	High quality	High quality	Cold
	Corporate	Feminine	–	Masculine	–	Trustworthy	Trustworthy	Trustworthy	Evil
	Masculine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(Malaysia)
Green	Envy	–	Envy	–	–	Pure	Love	Pure	Danger
	Good taste	–	–	–	–	Reliable	Happy	Adventure	Disease
	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(Malaysia)
Yellow	Happy	Envy	Envy	–	Envy	Pure	Envy	Happiness	–
	Jealousy	Jealousy	Infidelity	–	–	Good taste	Good taste	Good taste	–
	–	–	–	–	–	Royal	–	–	–
	–	–	–	–	–	Authority	–	–	–
Red	Masculine	Fear	Masculine	Positive	Fear	Love	Love	Love	–
	Love	Anger	–	–	Anger	Happiness	Anger	Adventure	–
	Lust	Jealousy	–	–	Jealousy	Lucky	Jealousy	Good taste	–
	Fear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Anger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Purple	Authority	–	–	–	Anger	Expensive	Expensive	Expensive	–
	Power	–	–	–	Envy	Love	Sin	Love	–
	–	–	–	–	Jealousy	–	Fear	–	–
Black	Expensive	Fear	Fear	–	Fear	Expensive	Expensive	Expensive	–
	Fear	Anger	Anger	–	Anger	Powerful	Powerful	Powerful	–
	Grief	Grief	Grief	–	–	–	–	–	–

Appendix B.

A segment of the analyzed visuals of Tony's Chocolonely UK Instagram profile



Appendix C

A segment of the analysed visuals of Tony's Chocolonely US Instagram profile

