In recent years, scholars have called for a reconceptualisation of place branding. This is a consequence of criticism from several fields, where place branding is accused of being a monologic, political tool that imposes the views of urban elites. Due to the complex nature of places, the involvement of multiple stakeholders, not least residents, is critical: they should be co-owners and co-creators, since place branding initiatives majorly affect them. Another reason for criticism is the lack of knowledge integration between disciplines: it is needed in order to understand place branding more holistically and to achieve a more responsible development of the field. Further, the process needs reconsideration: a pre-decided linear strategy ought to be replaced by a more dynamic and relational model.

These criticisms are addressed in this thesis through the notion of inclusiveness. The purpose is to define and conceptualise inclusive place branding, to explore and demonstrate how inclusiveness in place branding can be enhanced, and to reflect upon what an inclusive approach implies for the development of place branding theory and practice.

Five characteristics of inclusive place branding are outlined: an evolutionary process, transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy. Inclusiveness in place branding is then explored through the experiences of a tourism and community development project in the fishing village of Dunga by Lake Victoria in Kenya.

Eva Maria Jernsand

INCLUSIVE PLACE BRANDING

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What it is and how to progress towards it

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Business Administration

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This dissertation is based on the following papers:

Paper I
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Abstract

In recent years, scholars have called for a reconceptualisation of place branding. Due to the complex nature of places, the involvement of multiple stakeholders, not least residents, is critical. There is a need for several disciplines, researchers and practitioners to collaborate in order to achieve a more responsible development of the field. A more holistic and integrated perspective is required, lest place branding be used as a political tool that imposes the views of urban elites.

The purpose of this thesis is to define and conceptualise inclusive place branding, to explore and demonstrate how inclusiveness in place branding can be enhanced, and to reflect upon what an inclusive approach implies for the development of place branding theory and practice. Five characteristics of inclusive place branding are outlined: an evolutionary process, transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy. Inclusiveness in place branding is then explored through experiences of a tourism and community development project in the fishing village of Dunga by Lake Victoria in Kenya. A qualitative, reflexive and action-oriented methodology is used and the empirical material consists mainly of observations and interviews. The practical results of the field study are, among other things, waste collection and signage systems, improved guided tours and the formation of a county-wide tour guide association with male and female representation.

The thesis opens up the potential for learning and critical reflection between research fields which are subject to participation in the public sphere. In addition to marketing, these fields include design, architecture, public administration, development studies and education science. The findings of this thesis show that place branding builds social, cultural and symbolic capital, and that it positions the place in relation to internal and external stakeholders and audiences. Inclusive place branding is thus part of the broader discourse of place development and management, where it contributes social and cultural glue. However, to be inclusive, place branding research and development practice need to combine critical and pragmatic perspectives, and to allow for bottom-up, small-scale and long-term processes. Learning across borders is dependent on individual and collective engagement and requires multiple levels of participation, both of which can be enhanced by context-based and visual methods and tools. Having an inclusive approach also means that conventional modes of evaluation may not be relevant or must be combined with other approaches.

Keywords: Inclusive place branding definition, evolutionary place branding, participation, multiplicity, democracy, transformation, destination development, community development, transdisciplinary research

Sammanfattning

Den här avhandlingen handlar om att arbeta med platsvarumärken på ett inkluderande sätt. Forskare har på senare år uttryckt att fler aktörer, inte minst invånare, måste delta aktivt i platsvarumärkesprocessen. Ett mer holistiskt och integrerat perspektiv efterfrågas, där flera discipliner samt forskare och praktiker samverkar för en mer ansvarsfull utveckling där den sociala hållbarheten ställs i centrum. Det finns annars en risk att varumärket används som ett politiskt verktyg för att förverkliga enskilda personers och gruppers intressen.

Syftet är att definiera och konceptualisera begreppet *inclusive place branding*, att utforska och visa på hur inkludering i platsvarumärkesprocessen kan främjas, och att reflektera över vad ett inkluderande synsätt innebär för utvecklingen av platsvarumärkesteori och praktik. Fem karaktärsdrag för en inkluderande platsvarumärkesprocess beskrivs: en evolutionär process, transformation, deltagande, mångfald och demokrati. En inkluderande process görs åskådlig genom deltagande i och beskrivning av ett transdisciplinärt projekt för turismutveckling i fiskesamhället Dunga vid Viktoriasjön i Kenya. En kvalitativ, reflekterande och aktionsorienterad metod används och det empiriska materialet består i huvudsak av observationer och intervjuer. Några konkreta resultat av fältarbetet är förbättrade guidade turer, sopsorterings- och skyltningssystem samt uppstarten av en regional guideförening med manliga och kvinnliga guider.

Avhandlingen bjuder in till lärande och kritisk reflektion mellan forskningsområden som är föremål för delaktighet i den offentliga sfären. Förutom marknadsföring innefattas design, arkitektur, offentlig förvaltning, utvecklingsstudier och utbildningsvetenskap. Resultaten visar att platsvarumärkesarbete bygger socialt, kulturellt och symboliskt kapital samt positionerar platsen i relation till interna och externa intressenter och målgrupper. Inkluderande platsvarumärkesarbete är därmed en del av den bredare platsutvecklings- och managementdiskursen, där platsvarumärket bidrar med socialt och kulturellt bindemedel. Forskning och praktik om platsvarumärken och utvecklingsfrågor bör kombinera kritiska och pragmatiska perspektiv samt tillåta underifrån kommande, småskaliga och långsiktiga processer. Lärande över gränserna kräver individuellt och kollektivt engagemang samt flera nivåer av deltagande, vilket kan främjas genom kontextbaserade visuella metoder och verktyg. Ett inkluderande synsätt innebär också att konventionella metoder för utvärdering av platsvarumärkesprocessen bör bytas ut eller kombineras med andra metoder.

Nyckelord: Inkluderande platsvarumärkesprocess, evolutionär platsvarumärkesprocess, deltagande, mångfald, demokrati, transformation, destinationsutveckling, samhällsutveckling, transdisciplinär forskning

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This thesis is built on teamwork. The interaction between people is in fact the main theme of the thesis: it concerns theory, case and research practice. So for me, the PhD journey has not been a lonely endeavor. I have a great number of people to thank, some of whom will be acknowledged here.

First and foremost, the thesis rests on the collaboration between me and Helena Kraff. We have been colleagues and friends for seven years, and I could never have dreamed of finding such a good partner. Three of the four articles that the thesis is based on were co-written with her, and all the empirical material was generated through our joint work. Apart from that and much more writing, we have worked practically with the project and presented it together numerous times. A lot of people have envied us over the years. I have always had someone to share and discuss issues both big and small with, who has insight into my work like no one else. Thank you, Helena!

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1. Introduction

This thesis is about inclusive place branding. Actually, at the beginning of my PhD studies in 2012 it was about participatory place branding. At that stage, scholars were starting to emphasise the importance of multiple stakeholder participation in place branding (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Baker, 2007; Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012; Lucarelli, 2012; Warnaby, 2009). In particular, resident involvement was being highlighted (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Colomb & Kalandides, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012). For instance, Colomb and Kalandides (2010, p 17) described participatory place branding as being formed 'by its inhabitants for its inhabitants'. Traditionally, place branding has been a top-down, managerial practice, and it was now being criticised for excluding the people who are one of the most important owners of the brand – the residents (Kavaratzis, 2012).

My studies rested on this community-based perspective for a long time; however, as my project advanced, and through writing the articles, I started to think more deeply and critically about participation. It is not only about the fact that people should take part but about engagement and learning, about ethics, about how to perform research in place branding, and about the emergence of the process. It was not until recently, though, that my thoughts fell into place, particularly with reference to three independent situations:

In July 2015, I presented a conference paper together with my colleague Helena Kraff, a PhD student in design from the Academy of Design and Crafts at the University of Gothenburg. The forum was the Critical Management Studies (CMS) conference in Leicester and the name of the track was *Critical perspectives on place marketing and branding: beyond elitism – where to?* Our paper was about democracy in participatory place branding, and we questioned the correspondence between consensus and the inclusion of multiple stakeholders in place branding. After the conference, we were invited by the organisers of the track to contribute a chapter to a book with the same theme. At the end of the year, we were informed that they had changed the title of the book to *Inclusive Place Branding: Critical Perspectives in Theory and Practice.* I did not reflect much on the term 'inclusive' at that time.

In April 2016, I attended a symposium in Gothenburg titled *Tourism and inclusive development: challenges for practitioners and researchers*. At the symposium, Professor Regina Scheywens gave a proposal for a definition of inclusive tourism. It should not only include accessibility to tourism products and services, but be politically ambitious and encourage "the involvement of marginalized or less powerful groups in the production and consumption of tourism and the sharing of its benefits". I was intrigued by this definition and compared it with my own conceptualization of participatory place branding. How does inclusive place branding compare to participatory place branding? How is place branding different from tourism with regard to inclusiveness? Is participatory place branding politically ambitious? If inclusiveness means the involvement of marginalised groups, where are all the other stakeholders? And is there more to it than exchange, i.e. production and consumption?

A week later, I had my internal final seminar for my doctorate. The opponent asked me what is special about participation in place branding. Participation is all over our society, not least in branding. Volkswagen let their end-users try different steering-wheels at their factories and there are online communities for an endless number of brands. Is that not participation? What can you say about participation that marketers do not already know? I realised that my conceptualisation of participation was different and broader, but I could not put my finger on why. I remembered the title of the book and Regina Scheywens' definition of inclusive tourism. I searched for 'inclusive place branding' on Google Scholar and found only three results, none of which defined the notion or gave it specific consideration. Two questions were formed, which have guided the final part of the thesis:

What is inclusive place branding?
How can place branding progress towards inclusiveness?

In this chapter, I will first give a brief history of the place branding field and how it is now being reconsidered with regard to inclusiveness. After that, I state the purpose of the thesis, I outline the individual papers' relation to the purpose, and I explain how the following chapters are structured.

From disparity to interdisciplinary convergence

Although place branding as a notion has its origins in mainstream branding, the domain was formed through several disciplines beyond its apparent connection to marketing (Hankinson, 2015). Over the last couple of decades, convergence between disciplines has started to emerge.

Destination image, place promotion and place marketing
A branch of early academic interest focused primarily on place images and how they can be influenced, changed or reinforced (e.g. Burgess, 1982; Hunt, 1975). For instance, in 1975, the landscape historian John D Hunt explored the phenomenon of image in relation to tourism and concluded that "[a]ll places have images – good, bad, and indifferent – that must be identified and either changed or exploited" (Hunt, 1975, p. 7). Hunt and his colleagues Edward Mayo and Clare Gunn were some of the pioneers in the academic work on destination image in the 1970s (Pike, 2002). Due to its implications for human behaviour, Gallarza, Gil and Calderón (2002) describe the destination image research line with reference to anthropology (Selwyn, 1996), sociology (Meethan, 1996), geography (Gould & White, 1992; Draper & Minca, 1997), semiotics (Sternberg, 1997) and tourism consumer behavior studies in marketing (Gunn, 1972). Gallarza et al (2002) found that the investigations on destination image over the last three decades of the 20th century were mainly based on either effective destination positioning or on the destination selection process.

Regarding places as locations for investments, the geographer Jacquelin Burgess (1982) noted the emergence of local authorities' advertising to attract new enterprises, and thereby employment opportunities, to areas where the traditional industry was in decline. Further, within public administration and policy, the privatisation era of the 1980s and 90s gave rise to the packaging of urban lifestyles, the production of 'city myths' (Goodwin, 1993, p. 147), or, with a critical lens, the 'speculative construction of place' (Harvey, 1989, p. 8). The *selling* of places, to make customers buy what you have, turned into *marketing* of places, as a way to meet the needs and desires of the customer (Fretter, 1993).

The entrepreneurialism or business orientation of public organisations is referred to as new public management (NPM), and includes place marketing as a natural consequence (Kavaratzis, 2005). In a seminal article from 1969, marketing professors Philip Kotler and Sidney Levy highlighted the opportunities for traditional principles of product marketing to be transferred to the marketing of organisations, persons and ideas (Kotler & Levy, 1969). According to Ashworth and Voogd (1994), three developments paved the way for the liberation of the marketing discipline to include not only goods and services but also places: marketing in non-profit organisations, social marketing and image marketing, all with non-economic or longer-term goals. Ashworth and Voogd (1994, p. 40) saw marketing in the sphere of places as a "set of instrumental techniques", but also as "a philosophy of place management". Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) defined four strategies for improving places and gaining competitive advantage over other places: design, infrastructure, basic services and attractions.

Place commodification

The focus on the demand side (Govers, 2011) ties place image, promotion and marketing to economic development, business and concepts, which received criticism for the commodification of places. This criticism derived mainly from the disciplines of sociology (e.g. MacCannell, 1973; Urry, 1990), anthropology (e.g. Greenwood, 1977) and geography (e.g. Harvey, 1989), and was concerned with tourism altering local culture and destroying the authenticity of local products and human relations, and place marketing creating a sameness across urban landscapes. Harvey (1989, p. 16) claimed that the "[c]oncentration on spectacle and image rather than on the substance of economic and social problems can […] prove deleterious in the long-run". In his view, the "goals of meeting local needs or maximizing social welfare" should be at the forefront. In the same vein, Burgess (1982) pointed to that "[h]umorous slogans and gimmicks may catch the eye but they trivialize the message" (p. 15). She proposed that closer personal contacts, sponsoring of local events, and collaborative projects with and support for local firms would contribute more directly to the local economy and "encourage a sense of confidence among all members of the community" (Burgess, 1982, p. 16). Over the years this tension, between commercial imperatives on the one side and social interests on the other, has continued.

From branding to place branding

A parallel (Hankinson, 2015) or continuation (Kavaratzis, 2005) of the place promotion, destination image and place marketing branches has evolved, namely the advancement of branding theory. The main idea was that a brand is not only a tangible product identifier but an intangible symbolic image (Gardner & Levy, 1955; Levy, 1959). In the 1990s, increased understanding and expansion of the branding concept, including, for example, brand positioning (Ries & Trout, 1972) and brand extension (e.g. Park, Jaworski & MacInnis, 1986), made branding applicable beyond consumer products (Hankinson, 2015). Brands were considered strategic organisational assets (Urde, 1994), and responsibility for a corporate brand should be taken by everyone in the organisation, not only the marketing department (Hatch & Schultz, 2003; Ind, 2001). A focus on internal branding included, for example, the employment of new staff, who should reflect the organisational culture and the values of the brand (Hatch & Schultz, 2003). This broadened perspective of branding developed into, for instance, service branding (e.g. Dall'Olmo Riley & de Chernatony, 2000) non-profit branding (e.g. Ritchie, Swami & Weinberg, 1999) and place branding (e.g. Hankinson, 2001). A wide range of stakeholders were considered to be involved (Hatch & Schultz, 2002), who were all essentially required to collaborate (Hankinson, 2015).

1. Introduction

Domain convergence

Perhaps as a natural consequence, place branding was adopted by the parallel research streams focusing on destination image, place marketing, place commodification and similar. For instance, destination image extended to destination branding (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 1998), place marketing became part of place branding, and urban study scholars interested in urban image, place products and place promotion eventually embraced (or condemned) place branding (Hankinson, 2015). Since the turn of the millennium, place branding research has started to move towards interdisciplinary convergence, and a joint conceptual development of the research domain is emerging (Ashworth, Kavaratzis & Warnaby, 2015; Hankinson, 2015). This can be noted in the publishing of books (e.g. Anholt, 2007; Govers & Go, 2009; Kavaratzis, Warnaby & Asworth, 2015), the launching of new journals (e.g. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* in 2004; *Journal of Place Management and Development* in 2008), articles on place branding in a multitude of academic journals across disciplines such as geography, public administration and urban and cultural studies, and the variety and number of academic commentaries (Ashworth et al, 2015). Still small but increasing is the interest from fields such as design, design management and related disciplines such as architecture (cf. *Swedish Design Research Journal*).

Further, the domination of global north perspectives and case studies in place branding is slowly being interspersed with examples from low-income countries, although still with place image and marketing as focal topics (cf. Avraham & Ketter, 2016). The broadening of contexts connects place branding to development studies, including relations between the global north and south. Development studies, together with urban planning, architecture, design and urban policy literature, further contribute with critical perspectives which are central as place branding enters the public sphere, with multiple actors and disciplines. An example of a publication that can be considered a parallel to the emergence of an inclusive view of place branding is *Rethinking sustainable cities: accessible, green and fair* (Simon, 2016), where four authors address issues of urban development, proposing that the complexity of urbanisation should be analysed through cities' capacity to provide access and opportunities to residents and societies, and to foster environmental sustainability.

In sum, the convergence of the domain has broadened perspectives of what place branding is about, which makes it interesting to explore how this affects the future of place branding thinking and practice.

Reconsidering place branding

Following the logics of mainstream branding, place branding is a systematic tool, a strategy or a process to attract visitors, residents, industries/business and investors to a region, city or nation. It is the effort of developing, communicating, maintaining and adapting a brand position (Ries & Trout, 1972), and it has the objective of gaining competitive advantage and of building and achieving brand equity (Keller, 1993). A favourable representation of place identity is based on coherency, and it leads to brand satisfaction and loyalty, name awareness, and other associations linked to the image of the brand (Govers & Go, 2009). Effective place branding results in economic benefits with regards to business and real estate investments, tax income and increased consumption of place-related products and services. Place branding initiatives are usually led by a destination marketing (or management) organisation (DMO), which is owned by public authorities, in collaboration, partnership or co-ownership with other organisations with interests in place development (Heeley, 2015).

In recent years, however, several scholars have called for a reconceptualisation of place branding regarding several features connected to the convergence of the domain. These concern the limited number of stakeholders and disciplines involved and approaches used today, as well as the authorities' need to justify decisions and the responsibility they must take.

Involvement of multiple stakeholders

There is a growing stream of research that acknowledges the importance of multiple stakeholder participation in place branding (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Baker, 2007; Braun, Kavaratzis & Zenker, 2013; Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis 2012; Lucarelli, 2012; Warnaby, 2009). The involvement of multiple actors requires an examination of their roles and how they can be involved throughout the process (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Ashworth et al, 2015; Braun et al, 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012). If stakeholders are seen as partners they will support, sustain and take responsibility for the brand instead of resisting initiatives which they view as artificial or not trustworthy (Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Braun et al, 2013; Hanna & Rowley, 2011). Several scholars even propose that it is through the debates and disagreements between different groups that branding becomes a vital concept (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Baker, 2007; Houghton & Stevens, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). Moreover, residents have come up as central stakeholders who should be co-owners and co-creators in place branding, since they are affected by initiatives (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Braun et al, 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013; Zenker & Beckmann, 2013; Zenker & Erfgren, 2014). One of the

reasons is that place branding has moved from a business context to the public sphere, where it is criticised for being used as a political tool that tends to impose the opinions of urban elites (Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015). Residents are seldom prioritised as participants in the place branding process (Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Bennett & Savani, 2003; Kavaratzis, 2012), and if they are, it is merely a few people who are involved in designated parts of the process (Bennett & Savani, 2003; Eshuis, Klijn & Braun, 2014; Zenker & Erfgen, 2014).

Knowledge integration between disciplines
Knowledge integration between disciplines in place branding is important in order to understand the place branding domain more holistically (Ashworth et al, 2015; Hankinson, 2015; Lucarelli & Berg, 2011). The integration includes alternative and critical perspectives with a focus on political, aesthetical and ethical implications of branding (Lucarelli & Berg, 2011). Several scholars point out that although improved in recent years, there is a lack of scientific rigour and theory development in place branding literature, which calls for translation and integration of current knowledge from other disciplines (e.g. Ashworth et al, 2015; Lucarelli & Berg, 2011; Zenker & Govers, 2016). The theoretical development of the domain is slow and needs further development (Ashworth et al, 2015; Hankinson, 2015), not only for the benefit of the academic field but in order to structure and guide practical applications (Ashworth et al, 2015). Multidisciplinarity, meaning academic fields researching within the place branding domain side by side, is thus more recognised than interdisciplinarity, the integration of academic fields (Zenker & Govers, 2016). As Zenker and Govers point out (2016, p. 3), the relatively new academic domain of place branding has the opportunity to combine theories from all disciplines in helping "places become more meaningful and satisfying to the people who use them". However, the aim is not only about meaningfulness and satisfaction for stakeholders, but to achieve a more responsible development of the field (Ashworth et al, 2015). A more holistic approach to place branding, being an important and integrated part of related discourses such as place development and place management, is therefore crucial.

Other approaches to place branding
Several scholars propose that the place branding process needs reconsideration. A pre-determined linear strategy ought to be replaced by a more generic and holistic model (Hanna & Rowley, 2011). Lucarelli and Brorström (2013, p. 75) suggest future studies should adopt an 'appropriation' perspective, which considers branding as "highly dynamic and relational but most of all as an ongoing process", and approaches the studies "from a bottom-up approach in which the

actors are the main focus of analysis". If the process is considered continuous and independent, it may well go on without any intervention from place brand managers (Hanna & Rowley, 2011). As Hanna and Rowley (2011, p. 472) put it, stakeholders "can either explicitly seek to manage these processes or leave the processes to run their own course".

Hatch and Schultz (2002) introduced a model of the dynamics of organisational identity, which was further developed in relation to place branding by Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013). In the model, culture, identity and image are linked to each other in a social process. The authors propose that due to its complexity and indefiniteness, place identity is hard to articulate and communicate for branding purposes, which limits the role and potential of place branding. The processes of identity and branding should rather be seen as interwoven; they leave impressions on present and future residents, investors, workers and trade, but they also mirror their impressions and expectations (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). Being the facilitators of this process (Kalandides, 2011a), place brand managers should be seen as one among many stakeholder groups in a system of ongoing, interwoven processes of interaction.

This take on the process gives place branding a broader range of approaches. For instance, innovations are often cultivated in environments or situations over which DMOs have no control, such as in online communities or small tourism destinations and firms. These capacities for innovation are seldom integrated into place branding models (Daspit & Zavattaro, 2014), although the development of new and refined products and services or the reduction of production costs create value for visitors and other stakeholders (Zach, 2016). Ashworth et al (2015) further propose the integration of recent developments in marketing thought and practice to the place branding domain, for example, service-dominant logic (SD logic), experiential marketing and the co-creation of experiences. Lucarelli and Berg (2011) want to see more studies which are not geographically limited to the western world and which give implications "in a concise and practical manner". This is also emphasised by McCann (2009, p. 123), who finds it "reasonable to assume that analyses conducted in a variety of different historical, cultural, and political-economic contexts would benefit from and lead to theorizations of postcoloniality and international development". Thus, approaching place branding from other perspectives would make it more inclusive.

Democracy
The above suggestions for rethinking place branding are examples of a characteristic of the emerging concept of inclusive place branding which I define as multiplicity. It includes multiple actors, disciplines and approaches in a social

and relational process. However, inclusiveness also leads to questions about ownership, power relations and hierarchies, and who benefits from and engages in place branding efforts. The issues are related to democracy, which is a feature that has also emerged in recent place branding literature. From a community perspective, the people affected by place branding initiatives have the right to be part of the process (cf. Kavaratzis, 2012; Zenker & Beckmann, 2013; Zenker & Erfgren, 2014) and from a public management perspective, place branding has become a political tool, which needs to gain democratic legitimacy (Kalandides, 2011b). A participatory approach to governance "honors the importance of citizen and stakeholder voice in policy decisions" and builds on "collaboration rather than command and control" (Bingham, 2006, p. 816). In 1969, Sherry Arnstein introduced a 'ladder of participation' to visualise the extent to which citizen power determines a plan or programme (see figure 1).

8	Citizen control	
7	Delegated power	Degrees of citizen power
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	
4	Consultation	Degrees of tokenism
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	
1	Manipulation	Non-participation
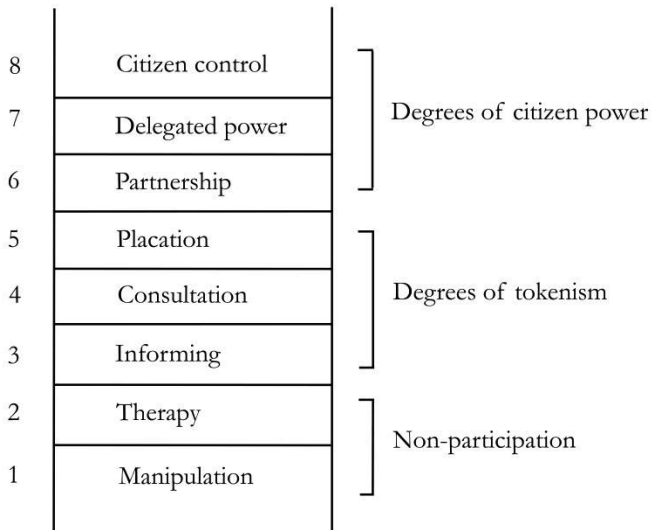
Figure 1. A ladder of citizen participation (based on Arnstein, 1969, p. 217)

The bottom of the ladder illustrates non-participation, where powerholders 'educate' or 'cure' participants through manipulation and therapy (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). In the middle of the ladder, the citizens influence decisions in some aspects since the power holders "allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). This is mainly a symbolic representation through information, consultation or placation, which Arnstein describes as different degrees of 'tokenism'. At the top of the ladder we find partnership, delegated

power and citizen control, which are degrees of citizen power. With the ladder, Arnstein wanted to demonstrate the hypocrisy involved in participation. Vulnerable groups in our society should have more influence on how cities are planned, built and managed. Although the ladder has quite a radical agenda, it is still a source of inspiration for many scholars and practitioners today (Castell, 2013). It highlights the importance of involving citizens not only as informants but in decision-making. Levels of participation in place branding are thus central for explaining and progressing inclusiveness in place branding.

Towards inclusive place branding

As was stated earlier, place branding rests on the principles of branding; it aims to change or reinforce associations connected to the place image (Govers & Go, 2009). However, the movement from product and organisational branding to applying a business model to places has received harsh criticism. One reason is that places are not exclusively owned by firms or governments; they also belong to the people who live there. The use of places for commercial interests has been criticised extensively for the altering of cultures, for destroying authenticity and for creating the same types of milieus all over the world. This criticism has existed at least since the 1970s, however it seems that it is only in recent years that it has been adopted by a larger community, as a result of a convergence of the place branding domain.

There are signs of a development of a new approach to place branding, which is more holistic and includes aspects such as participation, multiplicity and democracy. The change of perspectives makes it relevant to position place branding closer to the broader discourse of place development. It involves multiple stakeholders and actors and encourages them to participate in a process of knowledge integration and co-creation. There is a risk, however, that a continuous economic and global north perspective leaves the critical aspects of participation unsolved, and that the transformational, societal perspective is not fully emphasised. Issues of legitimacy, responsibility, ownership and empowerment become vital in order to enhance inclusiveness. It is a matter of having power *to*, rather than having power *over* something (Abrahamsson, 2015). Therefore, the inclusion of other disciplines than marketing, such as urban planning, public administration, development studies and design, makes it possible to include more perspectives from those who have worked with participation for decades. Further, different angles, which are traditionally not included in the concept of place branding, must be allowed to come forth, such as experiences, innovation, new contexts and cultures, and other approaches to knowledge integration and co-creation.

If inclusive place branding is to be non-discriminatory and disadvantage-reducing, this means that there are also methodological concerns, such as how to engage people, whether and how it is possible to unify the multiple voices, and what types of processes, methods and tools can be used. By conceptualising and exploring inclusive place branding in this thesis, I aim to address some of the concerns around place branding moving from a business context to a public sphere. I argue that an understanding of the concept of inclusive place branding and of ways of being inclusive through participation is the future direction of place branding.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to define and conceptualise inclusive place branding, to explore and demonstrate how inclusiveness in place branding can be enhanced, and to reflect upon what an inclusive approach implies for the development of place branding theory and practice.

Dissertation outline

The relationship of each individual paper to the overall purpose of the thesis is illustrated in figure 2. My aim is to place the papers on which the thesis is based into a context, and to deepen, broaden and synthesise the aspects of the theme that are not given enough space in the individual papers. First, a conceptualisation based on an inclusive view of place branding is discussed and presented. This highlights the need for a broadening of scope, meaning multiplicity regarding disciplines, approaches, stakeholders and actors. It also highlights the democratic legitimacy that is crucial for undertaking place-related decisions, and people's democratic right to take part in issues that affect them. The thesis aims to illustrate and encourage participation from all stakeholders, including the researcher, and particularly communities in the forms of local organisations and residents. The thesis includes four papers (I-IV), which all address the overall purpose. The papers refer to theoretical, methodological and empirical features of inclusive place branding. Moving towards inclusiveness, the thesis considers multiple disciplinary and theoretical approaches, as well as the democratic and participatory aspects that need to be involved. It considers transformation, not only as the change of attitudes towards a brand, but as the ability of place branding to change peoples' behaviour and even worldviews towards a more sustainable future.

	Paper I	Paper II	Paper III	Paper IV
Purpose	To define and conceptualise inclusive place branding To explore and demonstrate how inclusiveness in place branding can be enhanced To reflect upon what an inclusive approach implies for the development of the domain			
Paper in thesis	**Paper I** Participatory place branding through design: The case of Dunga beach in Kisumu, Kenya	**Paper II** Tourism experience innovation through design	**Paper III** Engagement as transformation: Learnings from a tourism development project in Dunga by Lake Victoria, Kenya	**Paper IV** Democracy and participation in place branding: a critical approach
Disciplinary approach	Marketing, design		Education science	Marketing, design, development studies, architecture, public administration
Theoretical/ conceptual approach	Resident involvement	Experience innovation	Learning, transformation, engagement	Democracy
Methodological approach	Participatory, transdisciplinary and reflexive research approach			Conceptual paper
Context	Case study: Ecotourism in Dunga Beach, Kenya			Public sphere
Exploration	Processes, methods and tools for participation		Aspects of engagement	Disciplinary knowledge integration

Figure 2: The relation of the individual papers to the purpose of the thesis

In chapter 2, inclusive place branding is defined and conceptualised in relation to five characteristics: the evolutionary process, transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy. Chapter 3 explores how inclusiveness in place branding can be facilitated and enhanced through the case of Dunga Beach. Chapter 4 contains summaries of the four papers that the thesis is based on. In the concluding chapter 5, the study's contribution, its implications for the future, its limitations and suggestions for further studies are given. The full papers are found as the last part of the thesis, after the references. The appendix lists the activities conducted during field studies.

The first two papers in this thesis appear in the author's licentiate thesis (Jernsand, 2014), as do other parts of the text, mainly in chapter 3.

2. Conceptualizing inclusive place branding

In this chapter, I define and conceptualise inclusive place branding in accordance with the historical development of the field and the signs of a need to reconceptualise place branding towards inclusiveness, as outlined in the introduction.

Defining inclusive place branding

A frequently quoted definition of a place brand is Zenker and Braun's (2010, p. 3), who propose that it is "a network of associations in the consumers' mind, based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design". The value of the brand, or the stakeholders' response to it, it often referred to as brand equity (Florek & Kavaratzis, 2014). Thus, place brand*ing* is commonly considered the tool, strategy or process which has the aim of achieving brand equity (Govers & Go, 2009; Keller, 1993; Ries & Trout, 1972). However, since the notion of 'place' is disputed and hard to define due to its multifaceted nature (Cresswell & Hoskins, 2008; Warnaby & Medway, 2013), this also means that place brand equity is difficult to delineate (Florek & Kavaratzis, 2014). If place brand equity itself is not conceptualised, or is conceptualised as always being marketable, there is a risk that the effect of place branding is evaluated on limited (Florek & Kavaratzis, 2014; Gartner, 2014) or even wrong premises. There are values of place branding related to the process and its outcomes that cannot easily be measured in economic terms. For instance, the value of interaction, as in networks of stakeholders, is seldom considered or measured (Donner, Fort & Vellema, 2014), nor is place brand equity assessed in relation to sustainability (Gartner, 2014). Florek and Kavaratzis (2014, p. 105) claim that the place brand "might serve as guidance for sustainable place development". This implies that the aim

of the process (place branding) is not merely to change or reinforce associations. Building place brand equity should be considered in relation to more and/or different types of values, not only the economic and the symbolic, but also the cultural, social, human or environmental. The long-term health of the place must be considered and should therefore include all aspects of sustainability (Gartner, 2014). Without going into details as to what sustainable place brand equity may consist of, since this is not the focus of the thesis, I want to highlight the relevance of place branding as a process that builds sustainable place brand equity. I suggest a perspective where interaction and social inclusion come to the fore. I propose five characteristics of inclusive place branding: an evolutionary process, transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy.

My definition of inclusive place branding is as follows:

> *Inclusive place branding is an evolutionary process characterised by transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy. Inclusive place branding guides sustainable place development through the facilitation of a social process of interaction between place stakeholders, with the aim of building sustainable place brand equity.*

In figure 3 and the following paragraphs, the characteristics of inclusive place branding are further outlined and discussed, as a conceptualisation of the holistic approach to place branding that the thesis aims to develop.

Figure 3: The characteristics of inclusive place branding

An evolutionary process

As stated above, there are aspects that need consideration when a concept that originates from products and organisations is transferred to places, since a place is much more complex and indefinite. Lucarelli and Berg (2011) propose that place (or in their case: city) branding "gives us a unique opportunity to question the very concept of branding, and the theories behind it". Various initiatives, actions and events come about that significantly affect the place brand, although they may have other aims than gaining brand equity (Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2004; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). Place identity is therefore hard to articulate and communicate, which limits the role of place branding as well as its potential (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). If we rather consider branding a continuous, dynamic and independent process (Hanna & Rowley, 2011: Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013; Lucarelli & Brorström, 2013), place brand managers are only one of many stakeholder groups in a system of ongoing, interwoven processes of conversation and interaction (Kalandides, 2011a; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). In this system, place brand managers can be considered the facilitators (Kalandides, 2011a) of a process where they may be one of only a few stakeholder groups with the articulated aim of building brand equity. The fuzzy place branding process is thus far from linear, and a more generic, evolutionary model would suit the process of place branding better (Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013).

The conceptualisation of inclusive place branding in this thesis takes inspiration from the design process, which is considered non-linear, iterative and open to changes (Schön, 1983). It is characterised by 'uncertainty, disorder and indeterminacy' (Schön, 1983, p. 16) and its actions are 'highly influenced by the specificity of the situation' (Sangiorgi, 2009, p. 417). The problem setting is constantly reframed through loops of planning, action and critical reflection (Schön, 1983). A dynamic and evolutionary place branding process can thus be illustrated as circular or spiral (e.g. Braun et al., 2013; Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012), with no indefinite end, rather than linear and specified. In the design discourse, such a process develops through the posing of open questions regarding what might be (Lawson, 1997), and it is often described in combination with a "design-by-doing" approach (Ehn, 1993, p. 58) or a "designerly way of knowing and thinking" (Cross, 2007, p. 41). More specifically, the prototyping phase of the design process enables the creation of ideas and stories, which give life to new insights (Segelström & Blomkvist, 2013). In this thesis (see paper II), this perspective on the place branding process is further conceptualised as a spiral model of experience innovation and design (see figure 4).

2. Conceptualizing inclusive place branding

Experiencescape

Prototype 1

Test 1

Evaluation 1

Prototype 2

Test 2

Evaluation 2

Prototype 3

Test 3

Evaluation 3

Prototype 4
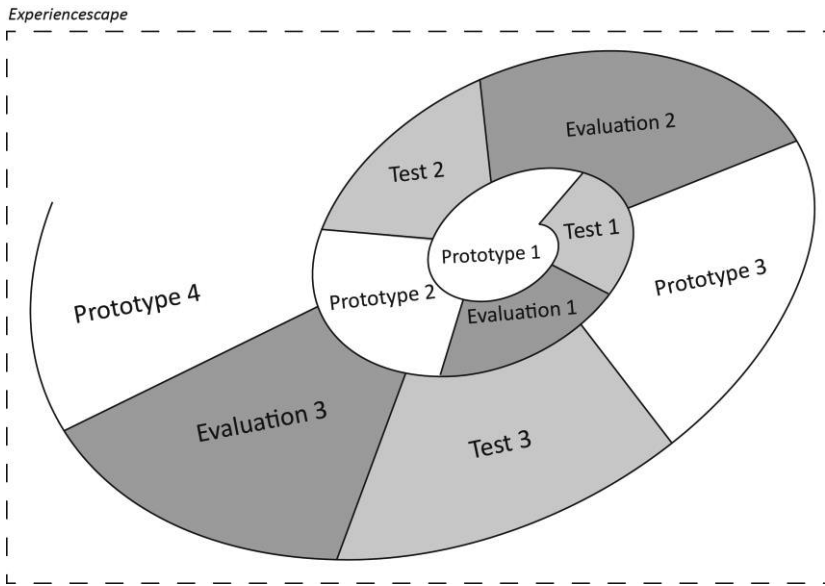
Figure 4: The experience innovation process taking place in the experiencescape (the figure is reproduced from paper II: Jernsand, Kraff & Mossberg, 2015)

The spiral illustrates how experience innovation can be understood as an iterative process that continuously takes care of new ideas and develops them into innovations through prototyping, testing and evaluation. It also shows how the interactions with the physical and social environment are part of the process. Moreover, by recognising innovation as an aspect of place branding, there is an ability for place branding to be something other than what Warnaby (2009) calls a dyadic exchange between buyers and sellers, and something other than finding a fixed, preferred identity which is then communicated to a set of predetermined audiences (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2009; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). As Kapferer (2012) appropriately points out, when the product is left out, the brand contains only added perceptions, and brand management will only be about communication. This leads to 'sameness' of places across urban landscapes (Harvey, 1989; Kavaratzis, 2012), with almost identical physical forms and the same types of communication initiatives (Kavaratzis, 2012). Giovanardi, Lucarelli and Pasquinelli (2013, p 368) claim that place branding should be 'understood as a relationship-builder', an 'active interface' between the place and its actors. Innovation is one approach where it is possible to meet across borders.

Spiral-shaped processes are common in theories of learning and transformation and in participatory research, as will be considered further in the following sections.

Transformation

In some senses, branding is always transformational since it is considered a means of changing people's associations about the brand. The building of brand equity can also be linked to what Bourdieu (1986) refers to as social, cultural and symbolic capital, which in place branding can take the forms of, for example, relationships, knowledge and recognition. It can also be considered from a sustainable development perspective (Gartner, 2014), as outlined at the beginning of this chapter. However, branding is not commonly referred to as a transformative learning process. Transformational learning concerns how people understand and interpret their experiences, how they critically examine their assumptions and beliefs in relation to their experiences, and how they eventually change thoughts, behaviour and even worldviews as a result of their interpretations (Mezirow, 2009; Reisinger, 2015a). This learning requires a conversational process to take place (Argyris, Putnam & McLain-Smith, 1985; Romme & van Witteloostujin, 1999), in which the learner progressively earns improved feedback, which results in frequent and immediate changes (Chandler & Torbert, 2003). Such a learning process is crucial for inclusive place branding, since it takes not only an individual or group perspective, but a societal perspective, where social (and in some senses also environmental) sustainability is at the core. For instance, the goal of ecotourism and similar concepts, such as nature tourism and community-based tourism, is to educate people, to develop human capital, and to change tourists' and communities' world perspectives (Cape Town Declaration, 2002). Gaining knowledge and experience helps people to understand their own identity and role in society (Reisinger, 2015), and development and transformative social change are not possible without such learning. For initiatives in low-income countries or other exposed areas, the transformative aspect can be argued to be especially important. The United Nations' sustainability goals (SDGs) are, for example: no poverty or hunger, climate action, decent work and economic growth, good health and well-being, and reduced inequality. These should all call for a transformational learning process that in the long run changes people's behaviour, assumptions and worldviews, not only at the level of local communities but also in governments and the private business sector. However, the SDGs and planned development efforts do not take into account the conditions for transformation to take place and the engagement it requires. Thus, the wider transformational learning opportunity, which changes people and societies in sustainable ways, must be considered. It is about the value of the transformational learning process, which connects to the evolutionary and participatory process of inclusive place branding.

Participation

In a few years, stakeholder participation in place branding has become a well-acknowledged field of research (e.g. Aitken & Campelo, 2011; Baker, 2007; Braun, Kavaratzis & Zenker, 2013; Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis 2012; Lucarelli, 2012; Warnaby, 2009). The stakeholders involved include government and municipality officials, politicians, citizens, visitors and many types of organisations (Fan, 2010; Moilanen & Rainisto 2009). In particular, residents and communities have come to be considered important (e.g. Kavaratzis, 2012, Zenker & Beckmann, 2013; Zenker & Erfgen, 2014). This development is a result of place branding moving from a business context to the public sphere (Kalandides, 2011b), where the voices of residents and other stakeholders must be respected (Bingham, 2006). Place branding has become a 'political apparatus' (Lucarelli, 2015, p. 20), and is therefore different from general management, where it is possible to work only with those who are interested and have power (Kavaratzis, 2012).

Although the involvement of stakeholders is considered important in planning documents, academic publications and in rhetoric, it is hard to accomplish in practice (Marzuki, Hay & James, 2012; Tosun, 2000). A deeper sense of participation is therefore needed, which is based on engagement that leads to knowledge integration and co-creation. Engagement means an emotional involvement or commitment; knowledge integration concerns learning across disciplines and perspectives; and co-creation is the forward-looking, jointly produced and mutually valued process and its outcome.

Through engagement in embodied (Wolkowitz, 2009) and situated (Lave & Wenger, 1991) learning processes, higher individual and collective energy levels can be achieved (Mackewn, 2008), which enhance the potential for transformational learning. Another feature of engagement is the building of relationships. Participants should be prepared to take an active part by investing time and resources in participatory activities (Svensson, Ellström & Brulin, 2007), but it is also important to capture moments in which people can build more open relationships (Reason, 1994). Through these conversational processes, higher loops of learning are developed, which in turn increases awareness and consciousness and eventually results in transformation (Argyris et al, 1985; Romme & van Witteloostuijn, 1999). Strongly engaging participatory initiatives can also reduce power inequalities in relationships. Acknowledging and sharing of power is therefore a premise for processes of social change, but it should be noted that this requires the revealing of conflicts and difficult issues (Argyris et al, 1985).

Multiplicity

The multifaceted nature of places and the participatory view of place branding involve several stakeholders and actors. They also mean that several disciplines need to be involved in order to get a holistic perspective on the field (Warnaby & Medway, 2013) and for practice to develop in sustainable ways. Traditionally, marketing has had a strong focus on the marketer, the consumer and their relationships. However, the emergence of service marketing in the 1970s continued into the 2000s to what is sometimes called the service paradigm, in which goods and services are seen as integrated and interdependent (Gummesson & Grönroos, 2012). A relational approach to marketing emerged almost simultaneously (Cova & Cova, 2012), and the concept of relationship marketing developed. For example, Gummesson found that interaction in networks of relationships within the firm and in the market is at the core of service marketing (Gummesson & Grönroos, 2012). Hagberg and Kjellberg (2010, p. 1036) suggest "an increased sensitivity to diversity among agents involved in [market practice] performance" and a widening of the understanding of practitioners, which is not restricted to the actions of professional marketers. Similarly, Ind and Bjerke (2007) argue that participatory marketing and branding require a breakdown of boundaries between the inside and outside, and between organisational silos. They also recognise that "everybody is part of an interconnected whole rather than a series of distinct fragments", and that "everything is always becoming and eternally changing" (ibid., p. 82). This resonates with a broader view of marketing that emphasises (and problematises) the interaction between the multiple and heterogeneous actors that are involved in practice. It also resonates with a view of place branding as an evolutionary process, meaning that it is open-ended and open to new influences and ideas. Thus, although marketing knowledge is important, the disciplines that place branding covers are much broader. Warnaby (2009) includes urban planning, geography, urban studies, public administration and sociology in place branding, and Hankinson (2004) adds domains such as tourism, retailing, cultural activities and sports. The plethora of disciplines and applications that can be linked to inclusive place branding seems endless.

Moreover, there are approaches to place branding that hitherto have not been sufficiently emphasised. In the paragraph on the evolutionary process, innovation was discussed in relation to place branding. Another interesting and relevant approach is the emotion-based concept of experience, which, rather than functionality and perceptions, emphasises feelings (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982), social belonging (Poulsson, 2014) and co-creation (Prahalad & Ramaswami, 2004), which are also aspects that are at the heart of contemporary branding theory. However, the literature on experience and experience innovation is seldom related to place branding.

Multiplicity also refers to more and different approaches to research. An interest has started to emerge in studies in other contexts, such as the global south (e.g. Lucarelli & Berg, 2011; McCann, 2009), and with other objectives, such as an action-oriented, practice-based methodology (Greenwood & Levin, 2007), not least regarding tourism (e.g. Dredge, Hales & Jamal, 2013; Ren, Pritchard & Morgan, 2010). This can be seen as a reaction against the dominance of research and examples from the global north, and against the accusation that scholars have become detached from 'real' practical issues.

Finally, multiplicity concerns the multiple identities of a place. Plurality and complexity is what makes places alive, unique and interesting. Allowing multiple identities to flourish contributes to a more authentic picture of the place, since fragmentation and non-coherency are what our society consists of (Kalandides, 2006). Moreover, if plurality is not sufficiently represented (Hamdi, 2009), conflicts are more likely to arise between groups of people (Mouffe, 2013).

Thus, multiplicity in inclusive place branding takes a wider approach to stakeholders, actors and representations, as well as a wider perspective on methodologies, concepts and contexts.

Democracy

A democratic dimension of inclusive place branding includes ethical considerations, power, empowerment and ownership. Place brand authorities need legitimacy for their initiatives, and they need to take societal responsibility in their role as representatives of the people. This is an inevitable political stance that goes together with place branding being part of the broader discourse of place development. The ownership of a place lies with its residents, together with other stakeholders (Kavaratzis, 2012). Place brand authorities must therefore step down and see their roles as facilitators of a constantly ongoing identity process (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). This means that local communities should be empowered to take part in the process of place development and branding. For instance, Kemming and Humborg (2010, p. 194) found a significant relationship between democracy and successful nation branding and proposed that "[b]rands that allow for connection, participation, interaction and invitation" were more successful than other brands.

In Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969, see page 9 in this thesis), she proposes that it is necessary to climb the ladder of participation and preferably achieve citizen control. However, having an inclusive approach to place branding means that participation involves several of the steps in the ladder; it depends on context, people and activity. Some people are satisfied with being informed about what is going on if it is a matter that they are not interested in

or affected by. Others want to give their opinions, however they do not want to participate or are not able to take part in activities due to, for instance, time, knowledge of the field or personal preferences. I therefore argue that inclusive place branding does not necessarily mean being on the top of the ladder (citizen control); rather, the level of participation depends on the circumstances, and it is possible and even necessary to be on different levels at the same time.

With this said, inclusive place branding does not mean that controversial issues should be inhibited (Mouffe, 2013) or that powerful groups should marginalise others (Eshuis & Edwards, 2013). Marginalisation risks leading to apathy and alienation, which does not correspond with democracy, plurality or dialogue (Mouffe, 2013). Decision-making needs to be better distributed or the complexity and heterogeneity of the place is lost (Kalandides, 2006). An active search for under-represented groups must therefore be conducted throughout the process for inclusive place branding to be genuinely democratic. Moreover, participatory events should not be seen merely as fun or consultative. They need to be suited to a process where the stakeholders are involved on a long term and regular basis. These types of critical, methodological and challenging issues of participation and democracy have been dealt with for decades in development studies, design, architecture and public administration. From a marketing and branding perspective, they are something novel but of particular and increasing interest if we are to deal with inclusiveness, which is why there is a need to integrate knowledge from related disciplines.

Summary

The five characteristics of inclusive place branding outlined in this section are an evolutionary process, transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy. Together, they position the place branding domain closer to the broader discourse of place development and management, where politics is inevitable and where place brand authorities are only one of many stakeholder groups. However, this does not mean that place branding no longer has a role to play. Being an interface between the place and its actors (Giovanardi et al, 2013), it builds social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), which can also be termed sustainable place brand equity. Thus, on a societal level, inclusive place branding can contribute to sustainable place development practice.

3. Enhancing inclusiveness in place branding

In this chapter, inclusive place branding is explored and exemplified through a small-scale tourism development project in Kisumu, Kenya. It is based on field studies conducted in a fishing village by Lake Victoria named Dunga. The approach is transdisciplinary, action oriented, qualitative and reflexive.

Point of departure

During my second year of the master's programme in Business & Design in 2009, I was involved in a place branding project with Bollebygd municipality in West Sweden. My colleague Helena Kraff and I took on a participatory way of working together, coming from two different fields of knowledge (business administration and design). Our joint academic work resulted in a master's thesis based on theories of place branding and participation, and a combination of participatory methods and tools from marketing and design. We practised participation in the project by involving the municipality's officials and politicians, private organisations, individual residents and village communities in the development of the place for existing and future residents, visitors and business. A central part of the collaborative work was the project space in central Bollebygd, where people could come in and take part in the development of the project, discuss things with each other and with us, as well as give and vote for ideas and concepts. We also organised workshops and presentations between actors, facilitating but also influencing and taking part in the discussions ourselves. These dual roles as practitioners and scholars suited both of us, and we found ourselves working very well together. We decided to start a company based on participation and place development. Simultaneously we looked for funding to continue our academic work, since that was where we had found time and space to reflect on participation on a deeper level.

An opportunity came up during spring 2012 when Mistra Urban Futures (MUF) set up a local interaction platform in Kisumu, Kenya (KLIP). Since MUF works with a transdisciplinary research approach, based on co-production of knowledge between practice and different fields of research, and the project concerned the development of ecotourism in Kisumu, it suited us very well. The context also intrigued us. How would we be able to use a participatory approach in a completely different context? It was the beginning of an amazing journey over four years during which I have gradually explored participatory research and development practice.

Participatory research

In traditional forms of social science research, the researcher stands outside the situation doing research on practitioners (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011). Participatory research combines research and practice for their mutual benefit by involving and interacting with practitioners and other stakeholders (Johansson & Lindhult, 2008), and it requires the involvement of the researcher on a deeper level (Coghlan & Brannick, 2014). Participatory research is commonly seen as performing research *with* rather than *on* or *for* practice.

The examples of methodologies referred to in this thesis, which I argue may contribute to a better understanding and development of inclusive place branding, originate from participatory research approaches where scholars and practitioners strive to "generate actionable knowledge" together (Coghlan & Brannick, 2014, p. 8). They are based on democratic values and combine theoretical and experience-based knowledge (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). Initiated from what Lewin (1946) termed action research, a variety of practices and ideological positions on participatory research have emerged. They are inspired, to a greater or lesser extent, by Dewey's pragmatism, Freire's critical pedagogy, Habermas's communicative rationality and Foucault's work on the relationship between power and knowledge. Its proponents promote participatory research for ensuring better academic results, for improving relationships with communities, for contributing to capacity building and for its ability to enable sustainable community change (Hacker, 2012). This type of research is closely related to design research and the design process; the designer is often embedded in the research context (Sangiorgi, 2009), and the prototyping phase of the design process is often illustrated as a spiral (Schön, 1983), similarly to how the action research process is conceptualised.

The *pragmatic* orientations of participatory research focus on real problems and issues, aiming to improve situations rather than to explore issues created for research purposes only (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). Sometimes seen as oppo-

site to pragmatic is the *critical* orientation (Johansson & Lindhult, 2008), which places less responsibility for action on the researcher's side but sees conflicts and power relations as important to attend to (e.g. Chambers, 1983; Freire, 1970). The critical orientation "focuses on reflective activity in order to articulate, develop and validate knowledge, and support the emancipation of minds" (Johansson & Lindhult, 2008, p. 112). Participatory action research (PAR, e.g. Grant, Nelson & Mitchell, 2008) and participatory rural appraisal (PRA, e.g. Chambers, 1994) are examples of this orientation. Other approaches, which more or less fall into either the pragmatic or the critical categories above, are human inquiry (e.g. Reason, 1994), cooperative inquiry (e.g. Heron, 1996) action inquiry (e.g. Torbert, 1991) and action science (e.g. Argyris & Schön, 1996, p. 50). Participatory design (e.g. Cross, 1972; Ehn, 1993) is also a participatory approach which often involves researchers.

Participatory research is used in many different contexts and with different approaches, methods and traditions (Johansson & Lindhult 2008). The aims range from the development of inquiry groups for specific situations or issues, to the improvement of individual or organisational practice, to the equalisation of power imbalances or influence on policy (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). The epistemological assumption is the "I/we" as the object of enquiry, and that knowledge is created in a collaborative process (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011). It means working with others at all stages in the process, and it means that knowledge is uncertain and indefinite; one question may generate multiple answers. Knowledge is created, not only discovered, in a process of trial and error (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011).

Thus, participatory research is different from conventional academic research in that it has other purposes, other relationships and other ways of conceiving the relationship between knowledge and practice (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). This is the reason for the suspicion that many academics have about participatory approaches to research (Ballantyne, 2004; Coghlan & Brannick, 2011; Perry & Gummesson, 2004). They blur the distinctions between the researcher and those researched (Checkland & Holwell, 1998). Another reason is that the emphasis on democratic social change demands expertise on the part of the researcher to deal with conflicts and interests from different groups (Svensson et al, 2007), which takes time, knowledge and effort.

Furthermore, Johansson and Lindhult (2008) propose that there is a conflict between the pragmatic orientation of participatory research, which emphasises workability, action and learning by doing, and the critical orientation, which acknowledges conflicts and promotes consciousness and reflection. They claim that the pragmatic and critical orientations cannot be equally attended to, at least not by the same researchers. However, the project on which this thesis is based includes both orientations. It started with more of a pragmatic approach and

continued with critical discussions of power relations, gender issues, reflections on the researchers' impact on the process, and how these issues can be acknowledged. In the case study, the researchers' active involvement in the process was seen as crucial for their understanding, but also for the process to proceed.

Transdisciplinary research

A specific type of participatory research that has been the basis for the Mistra Urban Futures project is transdisciplinary research. The idea is that science does not hold a monopoly over knowledge production (Pohl, Rist, Zimmerman et al., 2010). A new kind of research evolves out of interaction, between different disciplines within academia but also with a wide set of practitioners, all collaborating on a problem which is defined in a specific and localised context (Gibbons, Limoges, Nowotny et al., 1994; Nowotny, 2004). The disciplinary boundaries of knowledge production are replaced by problem-oriented, non-technological research outside the disciplinary structure (Guggenheim, 2006). This framework acknowledges the importance not only of practitioners' and researchers' collaboration, but also the involvement of the general society, including governments and policy makers, as well as the interdisciplinary aspect. The triple helix model, joining academy, practice/industry and society (including residents and public authorities), is a key construct in transdisciplinary research. I propose that it is also a key to the conceptualisation of inclusive place branding; to come away from organisational silos (Ind & Bjerke, 2007) and to co-create knowledge between actors that work with place development issues. The triple helix model contributes to an understanding of inclusive place branding as holistic, although it needs to be broken down into smaller parts. It is a matter of having both an overall perspective and being able to see small-scale development as a resource that contributes to the larger whole.

All empirical material in the thesis rests on a transdisciplinary approach, and in this case, it means that researchers, practitioners and residents are involved in place branding throughout. My role and Helena's changed during the research process, as we moved from being facilitators towards being partners in a team. This goes in line with the notion that participatory research is meant to include the researcher as one of many stakeholders. Objectivity is not the goal; rather, the aim is the co-creation of knowledge as well as outcomes that are valuable for both researchers and practitioners. Engagement is considered important for a process to be transformative, and learning must go through levels of feedback and conversation, which is possible in transdisciplinary research if it is considered action-oriented.

Being both a practitioner and a researcher at the same time allows me to gain a special and important insight into the cooperation process. Through deeper understanding I am able to find the critical aspects of inclusiveness. Further, through the implementation of results throughout, we actually developed the site together with the other stakeholders. In low-income countries, such as Kenya, this is of great importance since community involvement rarely goes further than paragraphs in planning documents (Tosun, 2000) or the "tokenism" stage in Arnstein's ladder (Arnstein, 1969; Marzuki et al, 2012).

Reflexive methodology

The interference or interplay between empirical and theoretical material is something that symbolises a reflexive approach (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Reflexivity does not mean that the research needs to be action-oriented, but there is an emphasis on the researcher and the researcher's community always being involved in the research construction process. The reflexive view of empirical material is that it is constructed, interpreted and written by someone. Subjectivity is inescapable, cannot be reduced or eliminated and is better understood as a resource. In this thesis, a lot of the material was constructed in collaboration with others. The work was influenced by what was known from before, what the assumptions were, what theory was adapted on the way, and what happened in the moments of interaction. This way of doing research gives a lot of subjectivity to the material. However, reflexivity does not make it possible to write anything you like. Referring to Corley and Gioia (2011), the work has to have the dimensions of originality and utility, or no one will read your texts. Originality means that the researcher contributes to a current conversation (incremental insight) or starts a new conversation (revelatory insight). The new conversation has a surprising, transformative thinking as a key factor; something that deviates from what you expect or assume to be true. Utility means that the insights also need to be useful for science and practice. Scientific utility improves the current research practice of scholars while practical utility improves current managerial practice. In this thesis, I aim to contribute to the emerging conversation about integration between several disciplines in place branding, of which one important discipline is design. I also want to emphasise what Corley and Gioia (2011, p. 12) describe as "scope", meaning that the research serves the interests of both academics and practitioners. The work could be considered as going even further in terms of practical utility by having an action-oriented approach.

Foucault (1980) claims that knowledge does not reveal truth; it *creates* truth, which means being reflective is also about transparency. By revealing how you

have done things and why, you expose the weak spots and thereby open your-self up to critical judgement of what difference your contribution makes. This reflexivity is something that has followed the project along the way and which I see as an aspect that it is important to work further with, especially when work-ing in an unfamiliar context in a low-income country.

The term "data collection" gives the impression that empirical rep-resentations are solid facts which can be easily picked up (Alvesson & Ashcraft, 2009). Since the empirical material in this thesis includes a lot of subjectivity and derives from a process of which I have been part, I prefer not to call it data collection but the generating of empirical material. Moreover, there is body work (Wolkowitz, 2009) involved, a "corporeal dimension", as Hockey and Allen-Collinson (2009, p. 217) put it, where the tactile and sensory abilities of the body are pronounced, with touches, smells, pain and desires. In a workshop, for example, a large part is about body movements. The workshop facilitator and the participants show things, move things around, do sketches and write. Another example is walking workshops, where bodies are moved about in the physical environment, trying out and reflecting on things. How does it feel to stand in the sun, listening to a guide talking? I get tired; I need a bench, a hat or something to drink. In design, this is called *experience prototyping* (Buchenau & Suri, 2000) or *being your user* (British Design Council, 2012), where you use your mind and body to experience in action what happens in real situations.

There is also an embodied quality of learning, or situated learning, which is relevant to discuss in relation to research methodology and empirical material. Lave and Wenger (1991) pronounce situated learning as "legitimate peripheral participation". They see learning as "an evolving form of membership" (p. 53), and in the best examples the membership goes from peripheral to full participa-tion over a longer period of time. Lave and Wenger take the example of learning in a working situation. The most natural way of learning a job is to participate in the community, becoming part of it. The apprentice is legitimately involved in work, but also in the social and physical context that surrounds the actual work, and is influencing this context. Opportunities for engaging in practice will come up after a while, and then the newcomers' "tasks are short and simple, the costs of errors are small" (p. 110). This is connected to reflexive research: that you need time to get into the context. Being in the context for a longer period, peo-ple get used to having you there, and that is when you are able to make the most interesting observations without interfering. However, it is not possible to reach a state where you are just an observer. As Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) point out, to observe is not to be a fly on the wall, as if things would have happened even if you were not there. People may engage in behaviours triggered by the presence of the researcher, or even try to satisfy what they think the researcher wants to see. In Kunda's work (1992) he describes how you have to interview,

discuss and come into peoples' lives to be able to understand what is really going on. Coming close to people means that it is impossible to put yourself in parentheses. I see this interference with the empirical material as a resource in this thesis and there are clear parallels to participatory research, where you also interfere with the circumstances. Further, the long-term project in Dunga made it possible to grasp possibilities when they came up. It is a bottom-up, small-scale perspective where residents and local business become actively involved, which is here considered a prerequisite for research and development practice, and inclusive place branding. It can be argued as being especially important for tourism projects in low-income countries. Tourism is a core industry in Kenya and finding sustainable processes for community involvement is a key challenge (Kibicho, 2004).

Case study

Case studies involve depth, and they give more detail, richness, completeness and variance than cross-unity analyses (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Case studies can be analysed from within, and throughout the process but since they evolve in time, the whole process cannot be recognised until after being finished, or at least partially finished (Flyvbjerg, 2011). In this case, an in-depth understanding was seen as crucial in order to come close to the study phenomenon, which is not static (the process), to get close to the people involved, and to unravel the complexity of the multiple coinciding processes of interaction that are involved in place branding (e.g. Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013).

Using a case study is not so much about methodology as it is about what is to be studied (Flyvbjerg, 2011). The case study is a way of illustrating how a conceptual argument can be applied, to demonstrate the importance of a phenomenon, and to inspire the creation of ideas for the readers and the author (Siggelkow, 2007). In this thesis, the argumentation is based around inclusive place branding: that it is needed but also that there are complications with it. Inclusive place branding is applied to an ecotourism site in Kenya. The case study is seen as a context in which to work with participatory research and a context for the reflexive (abductive) methodology used, where theory and empirical material are reflected upon in relation to each other during and after the process. This interrelation between the case study and the methodology give dimensions that would not be possible using several units, only theoretical material, or non-action oriented methodology.

Field context

The project was partly funded by Mistra Urban Futures (MUF) and its local interaction platform in Kisumu (KLIP). MUF is a centre for sustainable urban development, where practitioners and researchers work in close collaboration with the purpose of creating knowledge and real difference in the environment and in people's lives. The local interaction platforms (LIPs) are located in Gothenburg, Malmö, Kisumu, Manchester and Cape Town. MUF is financed by the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research (Mistra) and a consortium of organisations including Chalmers University of Technology, the University of Gothenburg, the City of Gothenburg, the Gothenburg Region Association of Local Authorities (GR), the Region of Västra Götaland, the County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland (Länsstyrelsen) and the Swedish Environmental Research Institute (IVL). For the projects in Africa, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) is the co-financier. MUF also collaborates with a number of partners internationally and nationally, which are also joint financers for the local platforms (Mistra Urban Futures, 2015).

When I was asked to join the project in Kisumu, I was attracted to it because it tapped into my interest in joint knowledge production and had the goals of both academic and practical results (transdisciplinary research). KLIP had two main areas of collaboration between practice and research: marketplaces and ecotourism. Tourism is closely connected to place development and branding, and the social dimension of sustainability is one of the main goals of ecotourism, so the project suited my interests in place branding and participation very well. I became part of the ecotourism group in the collaboration between KLIP and the local platform in Gothenburg (GOLIP).
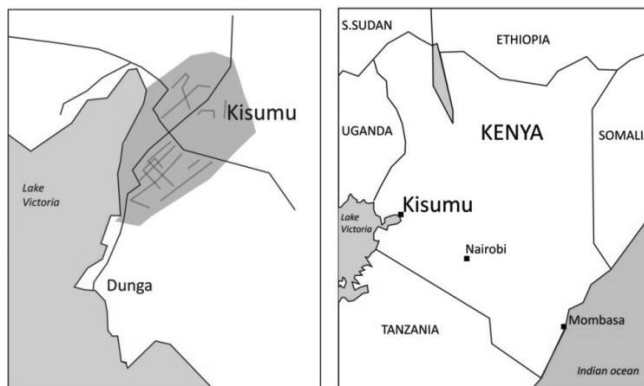

Figure 5: The case study region. The figure is reproduced in paper III (Jernsand, forthcoming).

Dunga Beach
EXPERIENCE THE
FISHING VILLAGE
$.LAKE

TOUR GUIDE

Welcome to
CASABLANCA
RESORT CLUB
DUNGA BEACH
FRESH FISH
GRILLED FISH
FRIED FISH

Tourism in Kisumu

Kisumu is the third largest city in Kenya, located on the shores of Lake Victoria, Africa's largest and the world's second largest freshwater lake (see figure 5). The city is the commercial centre of Western Kenya, however it registers one of the countries' highest poverty levels and it suffers from environmental degradation. Rapid urbanisation is a challenge for the county authorities, who are not able to match the population growth with infrastructure and service development. Water, food supply and waste management are key issues to be resolved (Mistra Urban Futures, 2015). Lake Victoria is a major concern since pollution, over-fishing and the infestation of water hyacinths affects wildlife, public health and the possibility for people to make an income from fishing.

Tourism is seen as an alternative source of livelihood for people in Kisumu and as a means of community empowerment. Since tourism interlinks with several other sectors in the economy, the development of ecotourism can promote the development of agriculture, wildlife, entertainment, handicrafts and environmental conservation (Hayombe, Agong, Nyström et al, 2012). Using an innovative approach and demonstrating the benefits of ecotourism, people can be empowered and engaged to be part of upscaling ecotourism in the region (Hayombe et al, 2012).

Dunga beach

Dunga beach is situated about six kilometres from Kisumu city centre. The gravel road to the village is full of potholes, which makes the ride bumpy and slow. Nevertheless, school buses from all over Kenya come to Dunga to see the fish being handled on the beach by fishermen and fishmongers, enjoy the breeze from the lake, take a boat ride and hopefully to see hippos and some rare species of birds. Other visitors are mainly from Kisumu and the surrounding region, or from other parts of Kenya, and they come to see the great Lake Victoria. The international tourists that come to Dunga are often volunteers or project workers on a break from their ordinary work in other parts of Kenya, or backpackers.

Dunga beach was chosen as the empirical context for the field studies since the local organisations had ongoing ecotourism activities that they were interested in developing further in a sustainable manner. The small scale of the businesses and the geographical boundaries also made it possible to get close to people and the context. The tour guide organisation Dectta provides visitors with guided boat tours, wetland tours, bird watching and similar. There is also a non-governmental organisation (NGO), Ecofinder Kenya, that undertakes interventions on environmental issues, entrepreneurship and pro-poor communication. Further, there is a beach management unit (Dunga BMU), which is a

community-based organisation that brings together people involved in the fisheries at the beach with other stakeholders in order to manage resources and improve the livelihoods of the residents. In addition to these three, there are lots of small businesses and organisations, and they are often grouped together in cooperatives, such as a papyrus weaving group, a group of female fishmongers, a handicraft group and a boat builders' group. In total, we found around 40 different groups when mapping stakeholders at the beginning of the project.

The collaborative work

Three of the papers that this thesis is based on (I, II and III) include empirical material from the collaborative work with stakeholders within and beyond Dunga beach. The collaborative project is based on the common aim of developing ecotourism in Kisumu in participatory ways. It involves scholars and practitioners on different levels in Sweden and Kenya, in accordance with the triple helix model and the principles of transdisciplinary research. Within academia, the deepest collaboration was with my Swedish PhD student colleague in design, Helena Kraff. We collaborated mainly with PhD students from Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Universtity of Science and Technology (Jooust) and Maseno University, both situated in Kisumu County. Senior researchers at these universities were also involved, mainly as supervisors of the Kenyan students but also as part of the executive team of KLIP. Other major participants and stakeholders included the Dunga BMU and the NGO Ecofinder Kenya. However, the deepest collaboration was with the Dectta tour guide group in Dunga, consisting of around 20 members from the community. This collaboration developed to include other tour guides in Kisumu County, and a tour guide association was formed as part of the project. Later during the project, the collaboration with women's groups strengthened. A female guide group in Dunga was established and women became part of the steering committee of the county-wide tour guide group.

The fieldwork was carried out throughout the scope of my doctoral studies. It included seven trips of two to three weeks to Kisumu, spread over three years (20 weeks in total). However, since the collaboration was continuous between trips and after the last trip, the empirical material was generated throughout the process. The practical work started at a very early stage, so there was not much time to make plans or schedules for the activities. However, that was part of the transdisciplinary process: that the questions should arise in the conversation between stakeholders. Moreover, it gave us the possibility to reflect on actions taken while they were happening as well as in retrospect.

	2012		2013		2014	2015	
	Sep	Nov	Apr-May	Nov-Dec	Oct-Nov	Mar	Oct
Theme		Identity and image	Ideas and concepts	Infra-structure, crafts, tours	Cultural museum/ day and waste	Tour guide association	Guiding and gender
			Opening meetings and discussions on themes				
Participants (number) **•Activity**	Dunga NGO, university colleagues (20) •Choice of case and partners	Dunga residents (200) •Stakeholder mapping •Identity workshop •Resident question-naire; Dunga tourists (40) •Tourist image interviews	Local/national tourism stake-holders (4) •Interviews; Dunga residents and visitors (200) •Hopes and fears workshop; Dunga tour guides (20) •Good example workshop •Walking workshop •Packaging workshop	Dunga tour guides (20) •Theme workshop •Graphic design lecture •Theme work-shops (3); Dunga tourists (16), tour guides (20) and residents (20) •Test tours (2) •Participant interviews	KLIP days participants and public (500) •Sustainable future/ calendar workshop •Mapping workshop; Tour guides (20) •Theme workshops (3); Dunga residents and visitors (500) •Cultural day	Dunga tour guides (10) •Core value workshop •Mobilisation tour to other sites; Kisumu county tour guides (25) •Core value workshop •Tourguiding workshop	Dunga tour guides (10) •Mobilisation tour •Meeting female/male tour guides; Kisumu cnty female/male guides (30) •Exchange visit to Kakamega •Officials meeting; Kisumu cnty female tour guides (25) •Tourguiding workshop
			Open presentations and discussions				
			Written reports (6)				
			Internet based communication				

Table 1: Timeline, themes, participants and activities (this table is reproduced in paper III: Jernsand, forthcoming).

The work included workshops, presentations, trainings, meetings and informal discussions with specific groups as well as meetings open to public (see table 1). The themes for each trip were not set beforehand but developed over time in an evolutionary way, which meant that the outcomes were uncertain. After each period of work, common presentations and discussions with stakeholders were held. They were followed by written reports after each trip and continuous communication through Skype, email and social media platforms. The next physical meeting started with summaries of what had happened since last time and the coming weeks were planned together. The residents in Dunga were involved in several ways and throughout the process. Public and private tourist organisations in Kisumu, and tourists from Kenya and Sweden, were also involved to a lesser extent.

Reflections and discussions led to changes in actions, however it also resulted in increased awareness and consciousness. The whole process took new turns depending on what came out from the previous activities. The conceptual framework was continuously tested in the specific context and situation; the place, the people, the timing and the local circumstances indicated what actions should be taken. Workshops were modified to accommodate larger or smaller number of participants and to make them accessible for people with different prerequisites and abilities. For instance, it was hard to reach some groups of residents for workshops, and not everyone was comfortable in group discussions. An open workshop was therefore held on the beach, which allowed people to be anonymous and to stop by for a few minutes when they had the time. The active inclusion of women in tour guiding did not come up until the last phases, as a result of awareness from researchers and guides, and because the women found themselves capable of guiding. The process resulted in innovations regarding products, processes, marketing, the organisation (the tour guide group) and its relationship to other stakeholders (networking). In sum, the case study is an example of the evolutionary process of inclusive place branding, which is open-ended and open to reformulations along the way.

There are several reasons for the ease with which we could accomplish an inclusive process in this milieu. One is the relationship between time and participation. In Sweden, people's calendars are fully booked months in advance, but in Dunga, we were able to start small projects at short notice and finish them while we were there. These types of dynamics were unfamiliar but positive for us, and we realised that it was often a strong point for the progress of the whole project. After ten days of collaborative work in October 2014, a cultural day was a reality, with a tug of war, dancing, singing, food, drama and a spot on a local TV channel. We also had time to arrange a clean-up day and constructed some waste collection bins in these few days.

The example can also be seen as an illustration of how people can take part on different steps of Arnstein's ladder. Some residents took part by cooking food or acting in the drama or the tug of war, hopefully feeling involved in the development of their place. Others were contributing through leaving ideas for a future cultural museum (consultation), while others were organising the whole event. Helena and I became merely visitors at the cultural day, enjoying and helping the tour guides to evaluate it.

Thus, I argue that in order to be inclusive, several of the levels in Arnstein's ladder of participation (see page 9) should be taken in account simultaneously. We held open presentations and arranged an available project space as a way of informing people and letting them have their say. We held trainings and workshops, for example to educate female tour guides and encourage them to become guides. We consulted tourists and other stakeholders to be able to evaluate tours and ecotourism. On the top of the ladder, we became close partners with the tour guide group. They felt they were in charge of the process, which may be seen as them being on the top stages of the ladder.

As PhD students, we were free to develop our own research questions, however Helena and I planned and conducted all fieldwork together. We shared notes, reflected on our work and wrote most of our academic papers in collaboration. There are two Kenyan PhD students, Frankline Otiende and Joshua Wanga from Jooust, who also worked with ecotourism in Dunga. We planned and conducted some of our activities in Dunga with them, as well as sharing and commenting on each other's work. They were responsible for the budget when we were not in Kisumu, and handled a lot of other practical issues. Two PhD students from Maseno University, Jennifher Adhiambo Otieno and Franklin Mwango, were involved with marketplace development in Dunga. They were involved in several of our workshops and meetings, particularly Jennifher with the female groups, since she focuses on women in her PhD project. Another important person is Naomi Mogoria, who does research on gender in ecotourism. Other people involved in the project included Helena Hansson (PhD student in design from University of Gothenburg), my supervisor Lena Mossberg and Helena's supervisor Maria Nyström. They have all been involved in different parts of the process, in Kisumu and in Gothenburg. All these colleagues, and several others, have been part of the process and important discussants, and since reflections make up a large part of this thesis, they have been crucial for the development of the work. That is why they are acknowledged here as part of the transdisciplinary research that this thesis builds on. In this project, the other PhD students come from or have a background in the disciplines of design, urban planning, ecology, architecture and geography (Geographical Information Systems, GIS). The nature of the project has also made it necessary for me to include political science, development studies and learning theories. This diversi-

ty of disciplines enables a particular as well as a holistic approach to sustainable urban development. In addition to the contribution that the different perspectives give to the project, the PhD students' diverse contacts in Dunga, Kisumu and outside enrich the project and increase the chances that the project will survive when the PhD students leave.

There was an ongoing ecotourism business in Dunga when we started the project, but at what pace the development would have gone without our involvement is impossible to say. Also important to consider is the mutual benefit that participatory research aims for. By being there as partners, the organisations, the village and the researchers could benefit from each other's knowledge, co-producing it while working with a common goal of developing the site. In this project, this aligns with the view that systems and institutions must be developed that enable a sustainable human development process where local-global partnerships, the impact of consuming nature and culture in developing countries, and an understanding of an integrated, multidisciplinary approach are addressed (Burns, 2004). This also resonates with the inclusive place branding concept.

The participatory researcher influences not only what is said, for instance in an interview, but what is done. In many cases we (usually Helena and I, in some cases also the other PhD students) were even the ones deciding what should be done. Our intentions were not to come to Dunga as experts but as partners; however, it can be discussed to what extent this was accomplished at the beginning. We came with suggestions as to what a workshop should include, and the organisations in Dunga commented on that or sometimes merely agreed with us. Then we discussed how many people should be invited, where the workshop should be held, and so on. The actions taken were initiated by us, facilitated by us and the results were interpreted by us, at least at the beginning of the process. Since we were managing the process, it might not be "real" participatory research that we conducted. Our good intentions may even have turned into the opposite and reinforced power inequalities. Von Heland (2014, p. 32) notes that this makes power "a double-edged sword" in that it enables transformation but it may also shape the direction to something that not everyone agrees upon. On the other hand, during the time we worked there we found partners to work with in more intimate ways. It was the guides themselves who later proposed that we could help them in the work of establishing a county-wide tour guide association.

There is a risk that transdisciplinary projects become scattered and thereby hard to handle since there are so many actors involved. Things may happen beyond the control of single actors as a consequence of this complex environment. For instance, the roles of the researchers can be different in different situations and contexts. We have not only been researchers from diverse disci-

plines trying to work together, but have also taken on roles as administrative personnel, managers, partners, project leaders, students, colleagues and many others. Since there are so many contrasting roles and situations within the project, it is easy to get scattered views on what is most important. Is it to get the tourists to come to Dunga and thereby help the people to get an income? Is it for women to get a better life? Is it to get our theses ready? Is it to serve the needs of the Kenyan universities we are working with? Is it for the sake of our funders? Is it to write the most interesting article for a top-ranked journal?

Participatory methods and tools

The workshop format is often used in place branding to engage stakeholders in formatting a vision (e.g. Stubbs & Warnaby, 2015). Such collaborative workshops and other creative and non-verbal approaches create strong ideation, co-learning (Westerlund, 2009) and high energy levels since they engage both sides of the brain (Mackewn, 2008) and evoke tacit knowledge (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). However, studies have found that residents are often treated as informants (Arnstein, 1969), with little room for closer engagement (Paganoni, 2012). It is hard to go beyond safe topics and deal with complexity or conflict (Pottier & Orone, 1995). There is a risk that opinions and ideas are formed or even forced into one common voice, which is not in line with the plural point of inclusiveness. The danger is that the formulation of visions and core values comes up as a result of too strong a leadership, and that the multiple identities of a place are not sufficiently represented. This type of difficulty has been recognised in public governance literature. In the public sector, panels, opinion pools, public meetings, surveys and focus groups are used for participation (Martin, 2009), often in combination with interactive technologies (Martin, 2009; Paganoni, 2012). It is argued that the notion of participation is used to control citizens and becomes a tool for realising policies rather than giving citizens power (Eshuis & Edwards, 2013). Manipulation (Arnstein, 1969) manifests itself in, for example, options that are too narrowly defined, or through the representation of groups that are 'over-consulted', while others' views are not heard (Martin, 2009).

Throughout the project in Kenya, a number of participatory methods and tools were used. They originate mainly from design practice, particularly participatory design, where the involvement of stakeholders has been a central topic since the early 1970s (Ehn, 1993). Users are highly valued and actively involved in the design process since they are the ones who are considered to have the knowledge and experience of how products and services are actually handled in practice (Krippendorff & Butter, 2007; Westerlund, 2009). Visualisation is used

as a communication and idea-generating tool to reach the intangible tacit knowledge that is difficult to express in words (Schön, 1983). Visualisation makes one person's thoughts visible to the other participants, helping them to communicate and build on each other's ideas. The participants in the Kenya project built on each other's ideas through sketching and prototyping. For example, the visual representation of a guided tour on a paper with cardboard figures helped the participants imagine a future interactive tour. The sharing of photos and visualisations in public presentations and at an available project space also made ideas and concepts more realistic, as did the six written reports with illustrative images. It should however be noted that participatory methods and tools do not work alone. Every exercise needs objectives so that the right people are involved and the right tools are used (Martin, 2009). Further, the participants should know in advance what type and level of influence their involvement will result in (Martin, 2009). In the Dunga case, the direct implementation of results was a way of showing the participants that their ideas were being taken onward, as well as of inspiring them to continue taking part.

Another important aspect is engagement (see paper III). Higher learning loops can be enhanced by creating higher individual and collective energy levels through embodiment and by taking part in activities in a specific context over a longer period of time (Kottler, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991, Mackewn, 2008; Wolkowitz, 2009). It is also important to capture moments in which participants can build more open relationships (Reason, 1994). The negotiation of problematic concerns in Dunga did not always take place during organised events. Rather, discussions emerged during informal encounters, and in the spaces in between, where tensions between groups also came to the surface. These encounters gave input for decisions about the activities that followed. Coming closer to people may reduce inequalities in relationships, since social change processes require the revealing of conflicts and difficult issues (Argyris et al, 1985). By acknowledging and sharing power, higher learning loops and inclusiveness can be enhanced. The small-scale development process in Dunga also contributed to an informal and partnership-focused way of collaborating. As an example, a female fishmonger who became a close partner in the project did not have any access to tour guiding in 2012. In 2015, she announced that she did not want merely to be part of the guiding based on her knowledge of handling fish on the beach: she wanted to drive the tour boat herself. We also heard through people at the county government office in Kisumu lately that the women now want to get access to the whole value chain; they want to become fishermen themselves to be able to control the influx of fish to the beach. As Urry and Larsen appropriately point out in the third edition of their famous book, *The tourist gaze,* (2011, p. 3), "tourism is significant in its ability to reveal aspects of normal practices which might otherwise remain opaque". It is a matter of returning to small

scale tourism and community development in order to reveal aspects of inclusiveness at a basic level. From there, we find the larger perspectives and the transformational opportunities.

Generating empirical material

The empirical material includes diaries and notes from workshops, presentations, discussions and observations. There are also photos, films and artefacts from the process. I have my own material as well as that of the other PhD students, of which Helena's is used the most. It should be noted that in many senses the practical and academic material is the same; for example, the text from diaries is used in the academic work but can also be used in presentations and non-academic reports. This is also true of photos, films and artefacts. For example, the making of prototypes was part of the innovation process described in article II, as well as a practical contribution to Dunga's development as an eco-tourism site.

The days when I and Helena had workshops, we both took notes as much as possible. If one of us knew or saw that the other was occupied with something and was not able to take notes or photos, we took it upon ourselves to see to it that as much as possible got documented. Arriving at the guesthouse where we stayed, a couple of hours at the end of the day were used for writing our diaries. The notes from the workshops turned into readable text, but other things that had happened during the day were also written down in the diaries. For example, since the transdisciplinary aspect was central to the project, meetings and talks with the people involved were also documented. Since we were almost always at least two people observing the same things, we were able to discuss and interpret things together that wouldn't have been possible for a single researcher. A lot of reflections and analyses came up along the way that both contributed to the continuation of the process and made the empirical material thicker.

In the following, the material is described by categorising and explaining the methods used: participatory observations, interviews and other field material. The numbers referred to have equivalents in the appendix, where each activity is described briefly with participants, contents, purpose and documentation.

Participatory observations
There were several levels of participatory observations in the process. These levels are described below, from low to high involvement, from the perspective

of me and Helena. Other stakeholders' involvement is discussed in relation to our involvement.

- *Observing test tours (4.6 and 4.8).* The guides and the tourists were observed during the test tours in order to find out where possible innovations emerged.

- *Facilitating workshops (2.1, 2.2, 3.2, 3.5, 5.1, 5.2, 5.6, partly also 3.3 6.4, 6.5 and 7.3).* Helena and I, in some cases together with other PhD students, acted as facilitators on the stakeholder mapping workshop (2.1), the identity workshop (2.2), the beach workshop (3.2), the packaging workshop (3.5), the KLIP days workshops (5.1 and 5.2) and the women's workshop (5.6). This means we were there mainly to help the participants perform the activities in the workshop, not to participate in the ideation ourselves. The third day of the 3-day workshop with the tour guides could also fit into this category (3.3), as well as the full day tour guide association workshop (6.4), the Dunga women's workshop on tour guiding (6.5), and the county-wide female tour guide workshop (7.3); however, these also included lectures/presentations and discussions by us. When acting as facilitators the observations of what happened 'in the making' was crucial, although sometimes it was hard to write and take photos while working. The fact that there were two of us helped this documentation.

- *Partners in workshop (3.4, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 6.1, 6.3).* There is no clear line between being facilitators and partners, however in some workshops we were more part of the development of the process and the ideation than in others. Those workshops that could fit into a more collaborative way of working were the walking workshop (day 2 of 3-day workshop, 3.4), the infrastructure workshop (4.3), the "a day in Dunga" workshop (4.4), the crafts workshop (4.5), the cultural museum workshop (5.3), the cultural day workshop (5.4), the waste workshop (5.5) and the tour guide association workshops (6.1 and 6.3). In these workshops we came with more suggestions ourselves and we participated in building on each other's ideas within the group. Here, too, there was a problem with taking notes and photos, however, it was through our own participation that crucial aspects of the process could be revealed.

- *Experience prototyping (8.1 and 8.2).* Helena and I acted as tourists in Dunga for a day and we performed comparative studies ourselves, with friends and with other PhD students from other sites. I consider this as the highest level of involvement in the sense that we were the main ac-

tors. However, this activity could also be seen as something completely different, as a sort of contextual analysis, gripping something that is already there, almost as secondary data.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with tourism stakeholders in Kisumu, and with people in Dunga who had been part of the process (2.4, 3.1, 4.11 and 6.6). The PhD students from the ecotourism group held open interviews with tourism stakeholders in Kisumu (3.1), for example with the Lake Victoria Tourism Association (LVTA, today known as Western Circuit Tourism Association Kenya), the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and the Ministry of Tourism. The purpose was to get their views on a participatory process and their interest in being part of it. The interviews lasted for at least one hour each.

An important part for the research is the interviews that Helena and I conducted on the last days of our fourth trip (4.11, November-December 2013) with the purpose of getting an understanding of how people in Dunga had perceived the process, the methods used and the involvement of stakeholders. The interviewees were selected to get a picture of what different groups of people perceived, however the main interviewee group were the tour guides since they had been involved the most. We chose the interviewees in collaboration with one of the tour guides. The interviews were held by me and Helena together in the pedagogical centre in Dunga, where Dectta and Ecofinder work and where there is a small shop. Every interview started with us telling the interviewee about the purpose of the interview. Then we asked them to say in their own words how they had perceived the process from September 2012 up until the time of the interview. Some of them talked without us interrupting them for 5-10 minutes before we asked the next question, while others were asked follow-up questions quite soon, depending on what came out from their answer. We tried to fit in questions about involvement, methods and the process to cover our purpose of the project. 19 interviews were completed and they lasted from 15 minutes to one hour each. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interviewees represented the following groups:

- *Dectta (nine persons).* Nine of the (by then) sixteen tour guides in Dectta were interviewed; they were the ones that had been most present on workshops and other activities. All tour guides who had been part of the test tours were interviewed.
- *Dunga crafts group (three persons, also one counted as tour guide).* Four of the members of the Dunga crafts group were interviewed: one was the man in charge of it (who is also a tour guide). They had been attending

courses held by the marketplace PhD student group and were responsible for the crafts activity during the test tours.

- *Ecofinder (one person, also several of the tourguides are members).* The founder of the NGO Ecofinder Kenya was interviewed since he was one of the people who were there when Dunga was chosen as the site for the KLIP PhD student core group. Also, some of the interviewed tour guides work with Ecofinder as well as Dectta.
- *BMU (one person, plus two also counted as tour guides).* The BMU was represented by the vice chairman, the secretary (who is also a member of Dectta) and a third board member (who is also part of Dectta).
- *Volunteer (one person).* One volunteer at Ecofinder was interviewed since she had attended some of the workshops and also had insight into the place and the process from an outside perspective.
- *Fishmongers (two persons).* Two fishmongers were interviewed. Fishmongers buy fish from the fishermen and sell it on the beach, sometimes after scaling, drying and/or frying it. The fishmongers represent an important part of the attractiveness of the beach and were part of the test tours. Later, some of them became members of the female tour guide group.
- *Boatbuilder (one person).* One boatbuilder who works on the beach was interviewed. He had attended the stakeholder workshop and from his working place had seen a lot of what had been going on and talked to people about it.
- *Fisherman (one person).* One fisherman was interviewed. He had attended the open presentations and a workshop.

A longer interview (1.25h) was conducted on the 6th trip (March 2015) with the tour guide association chairman, who was also the Dectta secretary. The purpose was to get his perceptions on the process we had been through together, focusing on critical aspects such as time inequalities, democracy, the project model and collaborative projects in general.

Other material

There is a lot of other material that has been generated within the project and which is part of the process. However, not all activities have always been relevant to analyse for this thesis. For example, there are results from workshops in the forms of stakeholder maps, collected hopes and fears about tourism, ideas for packages, tours and a cultural museum, paper models of tours, prototypes of waste collection points and signage systems, proposals on Dunga's identity,

lectures about tour guiding or graphic design, questionnaires about how people in Dunga perceive their living and working situation, and interviews with tourists on the beach about their perceptions of the place. All this information has been collected and presented in forms including, for example, community hall presentations, reports and an available project space. A lot of the material has more of a practical purpose, and the process could not have been conducted without it. This close relationship between practice and research could be considered as a problem in participatory research; however, it is also a resource since the researcher has access to all of this information.

Six non-academic reports summarise the practical work and give ideas for the future for stakeholders in Dunga and Kisumu, and they were important for summing up and driving the process forward. The reports are: *Dunga identity and image – a pre-study*, *Dunga ecotourism development – emerging ideas and possible continuation*, *A day in Dunga – reflections and ideas from test tours, Ecotourism development in Dunga – with a focus on culture and waste, Forming a tour guide association – reflections on the startup process* and *A tour guide association in Kisumu county – gender equality in ecotourism*. The reports are not part of the academic work in the sense that the material in them is used in this thesis. Rather, they are seen as part of the process that the academic work stems from. Another reason for not including them is that they are extensive. The reports can however be downloaded from the MUF website.[1]

Analysis

When starting to analyse the material for the first articles, the whole process was written down chronologically by me and Helena in cooperation, with our diaries as a basis. Our writings complemented each other so that this resulted in a thick description of the process. We had read literature on participation, particularly participatory design, as well as on place branding, experience and experience innovation, and this reading certainly shaped our interpretations, although we tried to have open minds. Since participation was our lead word coming into the project, we tried to find the moments where the interaction functioned well, and where the process took a turn that was not expected, which led to a change of direction. We also looked for moments when visualisation came forth as tool for communication and idea generation between participants. For papers I and II, we selected the most important activities and moments that related to each of the articles. The chronological analysis can thereby be considered intertwined with a thematic analysis. The two articles cover different timelines: paper I co-

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[1] http://www.mistraurbanfutures.org/en/project/ecotourism

vers the process as far as it had come by the time of writing the article, whilst paper II digs deeper into the period in which the guided tours were prototyped.

The transcribed interviews were analysed with a focus on getting a better understanding of the residents' and guides' thoughts and perceptions about the process and the methods and tools used. Since we used photos in the reports, as well as in several presentations, they became very familiar and it was therefore easy to come back to them when analysing the material, to see for example who participated where and when, how the participants used the workshop material, and the participants' facial expressions.

Paper III also derives from the empirical material generated in Dunga. I had been taking a PhD course in action research, and as a final assignment we were asked to write an article for *Action Research Journal*. The journal was asking for contributions to a special issue on 'Development, Aid and Social Transformation'. I started to analyse my material again and read the course literature with such an article in mind, since the journal and the purpose of the special issue suited the project very well. An action-oriented approach means that the researcher needs to engage more with the other actors than in conventional research, and reading the literature convinced me that the type of engagement that an action-oriented approach can offer is needed in order to achieve transformation. I started to analyse the material with action research and transformation as the central themes. Quite soon, I found three aspects of engagement that were important for the development of the case and which were frequently acknowledged in the literature. I also found that engagement on the part of researcher is emerging as an important feature of tourism studies, and that learning theories are closely related to action research theories. These aspects formed the start of the writing process, which continued having a strong interplay between empirical and theoretical material.

Paper IV is a conceptual, theory-based article. Helena and I had read literature on critical aspects of participation, and in particular we had found that the concept of consensus was discussed with a critical lens in several disciplines, but was not particularly examined in place branding literature, although it is central in the forming of visions and core values. We found this interesting and started to analyse consensus with a critical perspective, with literature from fields that we were well acquainted with but also from other fields that have been working with participatory processes for much longer.

In sum, the reflexive approach to research used in this thesis meant that the empirical material was analysed from different perspectives guided interchangeably by studies of the literature and what emerged from the field studies. There was no clear line of thought at the beginning as to what articles should be written; rather, they unfolded along the way, as we identified the stakeholders and their relationships, the processes, methods and tools, and the ethical considera-

tions that need to be taken into account in participatory work. The value of such an approach is that you are able to dig into what is most interesting when you find it, thereby stepping aside from the 'principle of cumulative research'. This principle, according to its antagonists (e.g. Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Grönroos, von Koskull & Gummerus, 2015) means that you try to make a small contribution to mainstream research in a world that is unchangeable. However, since the social world is complex and unpredictable, cumulative research is claimed to be inappropriate in social sciences. Innovation is creative, and it is often the stepping aside that leads to opportunities coming up (Grönroos et al, 2015). I do not claim that the results of this thesis are particularly innovative, but they do underscore a reflexive approach to research.

Ethical considerations

Projects with the intention of making people participate in processes are not only praised but also criticised. Critique has particularly been directed towards development projects that deal with socially and economically marginalised groups (e.g. Cooke & Kothari, 2001). It is argued that participation has become merely an "act of faith" that is seldom questioned (Cleaver, 2001, p. 36), and that power and power relations are looked upon naively by project workers who do not understand their complexity (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). The focus needs to be put on "patterns of inclusion and exclusion", rather than on specific activities in a project (Cleaver, 2001). This reflexivity requires an open mind, and an awareness that participatory development could even become tyrannical (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Our efforts may have prevented harm, however they could also have created harm (Lasky, 2013).

Project facilitators from outside often intentionally or unintentionally shape the direction of the process since they "own the research tools, choose the topics, record the information, and abstract and summarise according to project criteria of relevance" (Mosse, 2001, p. 19). Although participants, for example, draw their own maps during a workshop, the underlying framework where it is decided that a map is suitable for portraying local needs derives from outsiders (Henkel & Roderick, 2001, p. 182). At the same time, when project leaders act only as facilitators, it enables them to hand over the responsibility for the results to the participants (Henkel & Roderick, 2001). Another important point is that the power relations between the project leaders and the participants risk resulting in local communities constructing needs in order to be able to take part in the project (Mosse, 2001). Henkel and Roderick (2001, p. 171) even argue that "there is a sense in which beneficiaries are seen as morally bound to participate".

It is reasonable to question how a process would have looked if we had not been there at all, if we had come without our set agenda of ecotourism and participation, or if the community were the ones who had set the agenda (Kraff & Jernsand, 2014). Or would other actors then have come in? When we asked the participants about critical aspects of our involvement in the process, they were mostly positive, at least at the beginning of the project. It was difficult for them to come up with criticism, and they seemed to feel uncomfortable with the situation. We felt we needed to come very close to people to even be able to ask the question. However, in the last phases of the project we interviewed one of the tour guides with whom we had worked most closely. He was by then able to speak more willingly about some of the more critical aspects, such as time, funding and relationships. A result from this interview was that he and a board member of the tour guide association took part in writing the last two non-academic reports.

The notion of empowerment is also problematic, although it is often treated as if it is not. The question of who should be empowered is rarely discussed or reflected upon: the individual, some categories of people such as women or poor, or the community (Cleaver, 2001)? Mosse (2001, p. 21) states that community empowerment seldom means that everybody is empowered: "some individuals or groups have the skill or authority to present personal interests in more generally valid terms, other do not". This means that dominant people or groups may reassert their control and power over others (Kothari, 2001). The tour guide group in Dunga was a well-established group in the community, and their position was even stronger after the test tours when people had recognised their work more. Looking back, it was easy for us to initiate contact with those who were already strong and who we knew agreed with our pre-set framework (Kraff & Jernsand, 2014). A similar problem is that we worked in Dunga, which is one of the most developed beaches in the region. The risk is that this beach is empowered and not the others, which may strengthen the Dunga community even more and leave the other beaches even further behind. In the later parts of the project, we tried to raise these issues by involving women in tour guiding and by forming a tour guide association for guides across the county.

Participatory projects also often carry symptoms of ethnocentricity. For example, using language with terms such as 'community' or 'local people', with their origins in colonialism and post colonialism, makes in itself a distinction between 'them' and 'us' (Cooke, 2001). There were situations in the project where we felt we needed to 'tread sensitively' (Lasky, 2013, p. 22) in order not to preserve or aggravate ethnocentrism. It was sometimes hard to try not to impose our own customs and practices on other people, and most probably we failed several times. For example, the ideas that were taken forward in the process were from our side seen as the best ones of those that had come up in

workshops, informal discussions and interviews with the local organisations and residents. The information was gathered by us and filtered by us (Kraff & Jernsand, 2014). When we presented the ideas in public presentations or reports, they probably came from our own interpretations, rather than from having discussed them with people involved (Kraff & Jernsand, 2014).

This reasoning is coupled to the insights that Liberman (1999) presents when he describes his fieldwork among aboriginals in Australia and Buddhists in Tibet. His dictum, "first, do no harm", (p. 61) is a guide for all field research, especially in developing countries. It is not possible to know what the fieldwork will require from you beforehand, and you have to tread sensitively, gain trust and never misuse this trust. Working in a project in Kenya as in this project, there is a need to have a critical perspective on what is actually done. A critical orientation means that an interpretive researcher is, as Prasad and Prasad (2002, p. 7) put it, "confronted with ethical and political questions about their own (and others') practice of the interpretive act itself". Liberman (1999) describes how the aboriginal people before he came there had been "violated" (p. 60) by a researcher who had published secret photos on rituals, which had made the people suspicious about research, anthropology and Americans. In this project, having done several workshops together with the organisations in Dunga, the trust between us strengthened. One aspect of this was that the people of Dunga at the beginning were very eager that we should pay for the rental of tables and chairs, as well as drinks and other refreshments for the workshops. For them, this was a way of making sure that we were not just coming there to get the material we needed and then to go back leaving them with nothing. At least this way the community would get something out of it. Through the project, the situation changed. Since we worked very closely with the tour guide organisation, they saw us as a resource for development. The small amount of money we had in our budget for chair rental and refreshments was instead used for the prototyping of signage and waste collection points. Furthermore, some of the guides saw our relationship as training, and asked for a diploma, which we then arranged. By then, they said that they were in charge of the process, seeing us as "animators", as one of the guides said in an interview. A faith between us had taken shape, which implies that the process had evolved from our facilitation through trust to their ownership. This was as a result of having found local stakeholders to collaborate with, and of keeping the process transparent throughout. Thus, inclusiveness can be enhanced by viewing it as evolutionary and spiral-shaped, as in design, with iterations of planning, action and critical reflection.

Another ethical aspect that may come up in participatory work is corruption, the abuse of power for personal gain, which is a phenomenon found all over the world and related to the power issues mentioned in this section. Kenya is ranked

139 of 168 countries regarding corruption, whilst Sweden is number 3. Thus, Sweden is one of the most transparent countries while Kenya is among the most corrupt (Transparency International, 2015). I have come to understand that there are forces that have affected the participatory work within and outside the boundaries of the project. For example, corruption manifests itself in infra-structure projects not being implemented or officials not coming to workshops if they are not given "tokens". Arguably, corruption delays and even destroys participatory work; however, it was not one of the main obstacles of this project, since it did not affect the work to the extent that it became a major cause of complications with participation.

4. Summary of papers

Paper I: Participatory place branding through design: The case of Dunga beach in Kisumu, Kenya

The article 'Participatory place branding through design: The case of Dunga beach in Kisumu, Kenya' was published in the journal *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* in 2015 (see Jernsand & Kraff, 2015). It is co-written with Helena Kraff. I am the corresponding and main author; however, our contributions to the article were equally distributed apart from the final stages.

As a result of the participatory turn in place branding literature, scholars suggest a reconsideration of the often linear and project-based process of place branding, where one step is taken at a time and where the outcomes are essentially set beforehand (Hanna & Rowley, 2011). The process ought to be seen as more evolutionary, maybe circular or spiral (e,g. Braun et al., 2013; Hanna & Rowley, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012), which means that it is continuous and open to new angles and reformulations along the way. Such a process involves new methodologies for involvement and co-creation, based on partnerships and collaboration rather than on consultation or asking for approval of decisions already made (Braun et al, 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012). Since residents are important actors and co-creators of the place, the process requires involvement from local communities throughout (Kavaratzis, 2012).

However, the place branding literature on participation rarely consider practical implementation, methods used, how the process actually evolves and who should be part of it, or the inescapable problematic features involved in interactive processes (for exceptions, see e.g. Kalandides, 2006, 2011b). The low level of knowledge on methods and tools for resident participation is, for example, expressed by Braun et al (2013), who give some examples of possible tools from other fields, but ask for them to be tested and evaluated for place branding purposes.

This background makes it interesting to integrate design with place branding. In design literature, it is common to explore what works or does not and to spread knowledge of methods and tools. Moreover, the types of processes and methodologies asked for in the place branding literature can be found in design

practice (Ehn, 1993; Schön, 1992; Segelström & Blomkvist, 2013). Design has widened its scope over the last couple of decades, from being mainly product-oriented towards designing for services and societal needs (Sanders & Stappers, 2008). The design process is intuitive, open-ended and non-linear (Schön, 1983) and that is a reason for seeing design as a resource for development and innovation in a broader sense (Wetter-Edman, 2014) that may involve complex situations (Thackara, 2005) and strategies (Valtonen, 2007). The outcome can be intangible, ranging from a process, policy or experience to a new business approach (Burns, Cottam, Vanstone et al, 2006). In the sub-discipline of participatory design, it is emphasised that users are entitled to participate in the design process of products and services that will impact on their lives (Cross, 1972, 1981; Sanders & Dandavate, 1999; Westerlund, 2009). Through personal experience and social context, participants get an embodied knowledge and an opportunity to share knowledge, ideas and findings with others. Visual tools are used for communication, which makes thoughts observable for other participants and thereby continues something that does not stop at a discussion level (Westerlund, 2009). Those tools are often denoted as the "language of design" (Cross, 2007, p. 58) or the "what if tools" (Lawson, 1997, p. 242).

Thus, design has great potential to change public governance and take on a more strategic role; however, there are still barriers to be confronted (Staszowski, Sypek & Junginger, 2014). Design needs authorising environments and stronger relationships, which Staszowski et al (2014) propose that designers must see that they get in order to come closer to decision-making. A way to open up to participation between disciplines is found in the knowledge integration between place branding and participatory design.

The purpose of the article is to describe in detail how a place branding process can take place, and to illustrate how an integration of design can act as a means of achieving community participation. To be able reach the upper steps of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, where citizens are owners or co-owners of the process, there is a need not to only discuss participation in abstract terms but to emphasise who takes part, what methods are used and what are the positive and problematic aspects. The article explores design as an approach that matches the requests from place branding literature for new types of processes, methods and tools for participation. The authors were actively involved in the process of developing Dunga beach for ecotourism purposes. Participatory workshops, public presentations and two test tours were organised. These were combined with comparative studies, interviews, observations and questionnaires, as well as methods commonly used in design. The empirical material for the article consists of observations, interviews and diaries from participants. The article points out that the empathic and intuitive process of design allows for an evolutionary view of place branding, which is continuous

and open to changes. It also points to the strength of visual tools for communication and idea generation among participants. In the broader sense of the dissertation, the article takes a transdisciplinary perspective on place branding, in which the academic fields of design and marketing are integrated, and practitioners are co-owners of the collaborative process.

Paper II: Tourism experience innovation through design
Similar to the background to place branding given in paper I, tourism scholars call for the development of new methodologies (Hjalager, 2010) and open processes (Sørensen & Sundbo, 2014) in order to enhance the potential for co-innovation with regard to tourism experiences.

Experiences are characterised by personal feelings, embodiment and strong presence (Jantzen, 2013; Pine & Gilmore, 2013). Social belonging and other consumers' performance are important features (Poulsson, 2014), as well as novelty, surprise (Mossberg, 2007) and challenge (Csíkszentmihályi, 1990). New and improved experiences are driven by knowledge from customers and employees (e.g. Fuglsang, Sundbo & Sørensen, 2011), for example though customers' questions or initiatives from personnel working with service encounters (Toivonen & Tuominen, 2009). Consumers also increasingly expect to be involved in the production of their experience (Alsos, Eide & Madsen, 2014). This means that experience innovation often derives from co-creation (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004) between companies and consumers, and it makes consumers co-innovators (Hall & Williams, 2008) and co-designers (Ek, Larsen, Hornskov & Mansfeldt, 2008). Experience stems from interactions in the physical and social surroundings (Jantzen, 2013), where symbols, products and services are also part of the context in which the experience takes place. This context can be framed as an experiencescape (Mossberg, 2007; O'Dell, 2005), which is constructed to understand the heterogeneity and interactivity between humanity and materiality in experiences.

This knowledge of experience is crucial for the development of experience innovation theory. For example, a challenge is to capture people's tacit knowledge and make it explicit, in order to bring forth new ideas and concepts (Hjalager, 2010; Toivonen, Tuominen & Brax, 2007). This makes it interesting to relate experience innovation to design. Design is increasingly used for innovation (Wetter-Edman, 2014), and the innovation process for services and experiences can easily be linked to the similar process of designing. Design and the act of prototyping allows for innovations to take shape while testing ideas in direct contact with stakeholders and the market.

The concept of prototyping is uncommon in the marketing/management discourse; however, it is a vital phase in the design process. Prototypes, visualisations and scenarios are used as tools for communication and idea generation

among stakeholders. The 'design-by-doing' approach is spiral, iterative and reflective (Ehn, 1993, p. 58) and ideas and new knowledge are created through reflections in action (Lawson, 1997; Schön, 1992). The tools are used to reach the intangible tacit knowledge that people have difficulties in expressing verbally, and to make it tangible (Schön, 1983). This means that it is possible to 'express in action' what might not be possible to express in formal language (Ehn, 1993, p. 67). Users' personal experience is highly rated since they are the ones who know how a product or service can and should be used (Krippendorff & Butter, 2007; Westerlund, 2009). Therefore, participatory design is a mutual learning process between users (in this case the tourists) and designers (Ehn, 1993). The designers' personal experience is also important, and 'experience prototyping' (Buchenau & Suri, 2000, p. 425) is often used by designers to identify needs, gain empathy with the user and discover practical and emotional aspects. The designers put themselves into a situation where the user of a product or service would be and then explore it by action (Buchenau & Suri, 2000).

The purpose of the article is to illustrate how design can be integrated with experience innovation. As in Paper I, the processes, methods and tools for participation are explored, since they are matters that are also proposed as being important for the development of experience innovation theory. The characteristics of experience innovation, the experiencescape and experience design are used as theoretical reference points, and the empirical example revolves around two test tours with national and international tourists that took place in 2013. A spiral model for experience innovation and design is presented. It complies with the prototyping phase of the design process. Visual representations are emphasised as important communication and idea generation tools among participants. The model illustrates an ongoing process that considers and develops the characteristics of the experience into new or improved experiences. Again, as in Paper I, the article opens up the possibility for connections between the disciplines of marketing and design, as well as between academia and practice in a transdisciplinary manner.

Paper III: Engagement as transformation: Learnings from a tourism development project in Dunga by Lake Victoria, Kenya.

In tourism planning, integrated methods have emerged where participation from and partnership with local stakeholders are central (Fazenda, Nunes da Silva & Costa, 2010). However, the creation of equal relationships has proved to be problematic. Combining socially, environmentally and economically feasible features is hard to accomplish (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Participatory notions and processes are described in planning documents; however, in practice, communities are seldom involved other than as informants, especially in the devel-

oping world (Marzuki, Hay & James, 2012; Tosun, 2000). More practical examples on how participation can be enhanced in the tourism industry are needed (Camilleri, 2014).

Participation can also mean embedded engagement in the research context on the part of the researcher. Dredge et al (2013) claim that engagement is a methodological necessity since it benefits research productivity, reduces the gap between research and practice, and increases the capacity for knowledge co-production. Thus, there are great opportunities for tourism development work to be transformative for researchers, managers, project workers and communities. However, a truly deep engagement from stakeholders is crucial in order for individuals and societies to be able to change. It is therefore interesting to explore engagement as a transformative aspect of tourism development and research.

The article 'Engagement as transformation: Learnings from a tourism development project in Dunga by Lake Victoria, Kenya' is accepted for publication in a special issue of *Action Research Journal* on 'Development, Aid and Social Transformation' (see Jernsand, forthcoming). Helena Kraff was part of the empirical material generation process. The purpose of the article is to explore engagement as a transformative feature of tourism research and development practice. The article takes its stance from learning and transformational learning theories, considering the relational and social milieus that are needed to engage people in transformational learning processes. Three aspects of engagement are proposed through which higher learning loops and transformation can be enhanced: embodied and situated learning, relationship-building, and acknowledging and sharing of power. Facilitators and visual tools are emphasised as enhancing learning, for example through raised energy levels. Long-term funding increases the potential for projects to survive, to grow more and stronger relations, and to break down power barriers such as gender inequalities and cultural differences. Engagement thus results in the alteration of assumptions and values; however, it is only through patient and emotional involvement that social transformation can take place. The article contributes to the overall purpose of the thesis through an understanding of the complexity of being part of collaborative work but also the value of engagement in such projects.

Paper IV: Democracy in participatory place branding: a critical approach
Paper IV is accepted for publication in a book chapter in a volume of Routledge Critical Marketing series, *Inclusive Place Branding: Critical Perspectives in Theory and Practice,* edited by Mihalis Kavaratzis, Massimo Giovanardi and Maria Lichrou. The title is 'Democracy in participatory place branding: a critical approach' and it is co-written with Helena Kraff (see Jernsand & Kraff, forthcoming). I am the corresponding and main author of this conceptual paper, but we have contrib-

uted almost equally apart from in the final stages. We presented the paper at University of Leicester in July 2015 at the 9th international conference in critical management studies, which had the theme 'Is there an alternative? Management after critique'.

The demands for a socially sustainable development of our society have resulted in calls for active citizenship and an extended, broader, deeper and more vital sense of democracy (Abrahamsson, 2015; Barnes, Newman & Sullivan, 2004; Lindberg, Coppedge, Gerring, Teorell et al, 2014). Diversity brings in more perspectives, including disadvantaged population groups, which are not always expressed through formal electoral democracy (Lindberg et al, 2014). Another reason for participation is that the global challenges raise complex social issues, which traditional social engineering is not able to handle since it considers people as objects of state care, rather than as important actors of development themselves (Abrahamsson, 2015). Such complex social issues can only be resolved together with those who are concerned. Participation is also a way of reducing the risk that representatives use their power to further self-interests and thereby marginalise others (Lindberg et al, 2014). Beneath the surface, you may find that participation is downscaled to a model where residents are involved only for the purpose of education or even for the justification of decisions that have already been made (Arnstein, 1969).

In order to attain legitimacy, it is commonly considered possible to direct participating stakeholders' opinions towards a unified will, "a rational consensus of public opinion" (Henneberg, Scammell & O'Shaughnessy, 2009, p. 176). However, a focus on consensus may lead to reductive processes and the failure to see differences (Hamdi, 2009); crucial matters risk falling under the rule of the majority (Miessen, 2010). In the public sector, it is argued that participation has become a 'technology' to control citizens (Eshuis & Edwards, 2013). Some groups are often consulted while others are not represented at all, especially if they are considered difficult to reach or if they have conflicting opinions compared to the views of the policy-makers (Martin, 2009).

Since place branding has entered this public sphere, its democratic legitimacy is effectively scrutinised (Kalandides, 2011b). Branding, as a commercial tactic, has been translated into a place context, where it has been criticised for being a political tool used to impose the views of urban elites on the legislation of their governance (Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015). It is argued that residents are important stakeholders and should not merely be consulted or paid "lip service" (Kavaratzis, 2012, p. 8).

In place branding, consensus thinking manifests itself in common visions on how stakeholders imagine a future state of the place. Successful branding requires consensus since the idea is that the brand should be coherent; that it captures the essence of a place (Stubbs & Warnaby, 2015; Warnaby & Medway,

2015; Warnaby, Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2015). The risk with such thinking is that place identity is reduced to something definite (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013) and that branding turn into a controllable communication tool that expresses a 'unified' voice of all actors (Marsh & Fawcett, 2011; Zenker & Beckmann, 2013).

Comparing coherency in place branding to how consensus is criticised in other disciplines, the paper questions the correspondence between consensus and the inclusion of multiple stakeholders in place branding. This is done by reviewing and analysing literature from fields that are subject to a participatory approach in the public sphere: public administration, geography, architecture, design and development studies. The conclusion is that consensus does not correspond with the nature of places. Consensus is also in contrast to democracy and participation. Differing and even contrasting views must be allowed to come forth, since the variety is what makes places interesting. For the overarching purpose of this thesis, the paper contributes with an important problematisation of the relation between three of the characteristics of inclusive place branding: participation, democracy and multiplicity. Like the other papers (I, II and III), it also opens up the potential for connection and learning between fields that are subject to a participatory approach in the public sphere.

5. Conclusion

In the introduction, I asked what inclusive place branding is. My purpose was to define and conceptualise it, which I carried out in chapter 2. Five characteristics of inclusive place branding were outlined: an evolutionary process, transformation, participation, multiplicity and democracy. The evolutionary process means that inclusive place branding is open-ended and continuously open for new influences. Transformation involves learning through experiences, which changes not only associations about a place, but behaviour, attitudes and even worldviews. Participation means something more than merely taking part: it is about engagement, knowledge integration and co-creation. Multiplicity refers to the diverse stakeholders, actors and representations, but also to the plurality of disciplines and approaches that must be part of an inclusive view. Finally, democracy considers the ethical dimension, power and responsibility, empowerment and ownership.

I also wondered how place branding can progress towards inclusiveness. My purpose was to explore and demonstrate how inclusiveness in place branding can be enhanced. In the case study, I facilitated and experienced an inclusive place branding process together with colleagues and partners in a small scale tourism and community development setting. I was thereby able to exemplify a process in chapter 3, with the characteristics outlined in the definition, and which I propose enhances inclusiveness. The importance of participatory, transdisciplinary and reflexive research was pointed out, and I exemplified the opportunities and challenges of collaborative work, including ethical considerations.

Now, the question remains as to what an inclusive approach implies for the future of place branding theory and practice, which was also part of my purpose. I argue that the five characteristics contribute to a broadened view of stakeholders and their roles in place branding theory and practice, as well as broadening the perspective on what the outcomes of place branding can be. Inclusive place branding is an interface between place brand actors as well as an interface between these actors and the place. It can facilitate the identification of new opportunities, and the capturing of those that are already out there. The justification, coordination and enhancement of these initiatives have the aim of building

sustainable place brand equity. The collaborative process thus contributes to making the place safe, secure, enjoyable or fascinating for existing and future residents, organisations and visitors; it develops into what different stakeholders want it to be. However, it does not only have the aim of attracting or representing; it also builds relationships through engagement. Conflicts will arise, but through the collaborative process, these are allowed to come forth and have the chance to be mitigated. The interaction between place stakeholders helps people, groups and organisations to understand their own and their place's identity and role in society, which brings meaning to people's lives and to the existence of the organisations. Place branding builds social, cultural and symbolic capital, and it positions the place in relation to internal and external stakeholders and audiences. Place branding is thus part of the broader discourse of place development and management, to which it contributes by providing social and cultural glue. At its best, it acknowledges and shares power, and it encourages long-term commitment.

On the basis of my work, I argue that the following aspects are the most significant in order to enhance inclusive place branding:

- A combination of critical and pragmatic perspectives

- Bottom-up, small-scale and long-term processes.

- Multiple levels of participation

- Context-based and visual methods and tools

- New or complementary evaluation measures

Each of these is further described below.

A combination of critical and pragmatic perspectives

Inclusiveness can be enhanced through participatory, transdisciplinary and reflexive research and development practice. Thus, the future of place branding must include much more interaction and learning across borders. Moving away from organisational and disciplinary silos, to co-creating knowledge between actors, helps to create an atmosphere among stakeholders, where rather than researching *on* or developing *for* the community, research and development practitioners become partners in the community development process. The blurring of borders between research and practice is inevitable, since collaboration, action, implementation and continuity are central aspects. This is not about the

researcher coming back some years later with an academically written 300-page thesis and telling the practitioners to use it (Jernsand & Kraff, 2016). To what extent the academic researcher wants or is able to take active part in such a process can be discussed; however, the project has shown that real practical and regular outcomes of a project or activity inspire people to participate and keep it alive.

The knowledge integration between disciplines is further recognised as crucial in the thesis. Marketing is considered in combination with design, geography, political science, architecture, development studies and learning theories, as well as with theories developed in tourism studies, for the understanding and development of the research domain. For instance, my very close collaboration with a designer contributed to mutual learning between our fields of research. Our collaboration also contributed to practical tourism development in Dunga, since we worked together with local researchers, practitioners and residents. Further, our collaboration contributed to increased understanding of the participants, i.e. individuals, groups and organisations, as well as their relationships with each other, and the challenges of incorporating multiple interests and views.

The proposed conflict between pragmatic and critical orientations of participatory research (Johansson & Lindhult (2008) is thus an important aspect of this thesis, since I argue that to be inclusive, you need both perspectives. Workability, action and learning by doing need to be combined with critical reflection and the acknowledgement of conflicts. Without ethical considerations, or without a realistic, practical and efficient process, inclusive place branding is neither democratic, transformative nor evolutionary.

Bottom-up, small-scale, and long-term processes

Inclusive place branding is in contrast with the top-down, fixed models that have traditionally been applied to local, regional and urban development thinking and practice; such models do not work anymore, at least not by themselves. Less dependent small actors are able to tailor their own models, with collaboration across actors, levels and systems. Place branding is part of a governance system and needs to be acknowledged as such, but the bottom-up perspective must be there in order for place branding to be inclusive and sustainable. It is about a combination of legitimacy and the right for people to take part in a process by which they are directly affected.

Place brand authorities, who are not usually familiar with the bottom-up process, need to take the opportunity to learn from other fields that have experience of working with participation, to see that initiatives are not limited to, for

example, the legitimisation of plans that are already decided upon. Inclusive place branding is a holistic, long-term and systematic commitment, and it includes participation from other groups than those who have the power. Allowing heterogeneous voices and conflicts to be heard (Coppedge & Gerring et al, 2011; Mouffe, 2013) increases the pluralistic point and decreases the risk of marginalisation (Eshuis & Edwards, 2013; Miessen, 2010). Moreover, inclusive place branding needs a closer connection to other governance processes that deal with related features. Place branding cannot remain an isolated and independent area of practice. Thus, having an inclusive approach is a means of changing a way of thinking that has been predominant for a long time.

The thesis also contributes to the understanding of inclusive place branding as a long-term process. Funders of projects must consider time as a crucial factor for the success of inclusive place branding initiatives and development practices. Further, with regard to funding, the Dunga project included financial support for small events, infrastructure and registration fees for two tour guide associations, which was an important factor in the development of the project, because people saw the changes and became interested in taking part on a regular basis. It is through such small-scale, innovative projects and events that inclusive place branding can develop at all.

Multiple levels of participation

Inclusiveness is dependent on engagement. Through embodied and situated learning, relationship-building and the acknowledgement and sharing of power, place branding can be transformative; it can change people and societies. Although the Dunga project has not resulted in significant economic impacts, it has raised consciousness among hosts, tourists, guides and researchers regarding the positive and negative effects of tourism and human interference with nature and communities. However, the transformation mainly manifests itself in the learning process, through which the residents were proud of their contribution to tourism development, and in which trust arose between participants, making it possible to deal with aspects such as gender inequality and inter-generational shifts. Participation is about co-creation and knowledge integration. The tour guide group gained confidence, the tours were refined, the infrastructure improved, women were trained and took part in guiding, and two new tour guide organisations were formed. It should be noted that problematic matters were not always discussed during workshops, meetings or similar occasions; rather, those discussions were held in the spaces in-between, when people had the time to reflect on what had happened. This implies that inclusive place branding needs to be based on engagement through participation and transformation.

This engagement should be connected to the alteration of assumptions and values, for which long-term time horizons and patient persistence are needed in order to break down power barriers.

In the conceptualisation of inclusive place branding in chapter 2, I argue, referring to Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969), that participation must take place on different steps in the ladder, depending on the context, the people involved and the activity. I demonstrate this in chapter 3, where in the project we tried to reach several steps through different types of activities and relationships: from having an available project space and organising public presentations (informing) to a situation where the guides were the ones who asked us to be partners when starting a tour guide association (citizen control). Inclusion means taking the opportunity to meet people where they are, depending on, for example, interest, ability, preferences and time.

Context-based and visual methods and tools

Inclusive place branding is enhanced through the use of context-based and visual methods and tools. This thesis rests mainly on design and participatory design methods, which are characterised by a user-based and non-verbal approach through which strong ideation and imagination are improved (Westerlund, 2009). However, participatory methods in general are also problematised in the thesis, since the risk is that they give little room for closer engagement and seldom go beyond safe topics (Paganoni, 2012). Already strong voices may get even more power and participation may be used as a control tool for realising policies (Arnstein, 1969; Eshuis & Edwards, 2013). People with diverging opinions should not only be able to have their say during single, sporadic events but regularly and more deeply, and they should be part of decision-making. In the Dunga case, several methods were used, and they were evaluated and refined throughout the project, depending on the circumstances. This was a way of making the methods more democratic, involving more stakeholders and allowing the process to proceed in an evolutionary manner. It implies that tool-kits are seldom applicable in an inclusive approach to place branding: tools need to be based on or at least modified to the specific context. Inclusive place branding thus includes the acknowledgement of less powerful and marginalised groups, and their inclusion can be enhanced through customised and visual methods and tools, while at the same time keeping in mind that these may only scratch the surface of problematic issues.

New or complementary evaluation measures

Due to its complexity, place branding is more difficult to evaluate than other types of branding and marketing (Zenker & Martin, 2011). Having an inclusive approach means that evaluation becomes even more complex, or at least very different. The same modes of evaluation may not be relevant, or they may need to be combined with other approaches.

Hanna and Rowley (2013) reviewed how place brands are commonly evaluated, and they found three main approaches: one that applies established consumer brand image evaluation methods to places, another that relates to the economic, social and political health of the place, and a third that emphasises ways of assessing personal experiences and perceptions. These are all interesting to consider; however, they do not take inclusiveness in the process into account, or explore how inclusiveness has affected the outcomes. This implies that on top of the other difficult measurements of place branding, there is a further important dimension.

One of the major aims of inclusive place branding is that of learning across disciplines and stakeholders, which at its best leads to positive transformation. A means of evaluating such aim could be to measure in what ways the characteristics outlined in chapter 2 are fulfilled; to what extent the process is inclusive in terms of evolutionary process, participation, multiplicity, democracy and transformation. Regarding the evolutionary process, this could be about the extent to which new influences are allowed to come forth: how often, what types of influences, whether and how they were brought forward, and who took the initiatives. Here it is also interesting to consider what types of activities, artifacts or innovations the process has resulted in. Regarding participation, measurements could include who is included and at what level of participation, how many levels of Arnstein's ladder are represented, how knowledge is integrated, and what methods and tools are used. Regarding multiplicity, it is interesting to consider the number of actors, stakeholders, disciplines, approaches and contexts involved. The evaluation of democratic characteristics may include an analysis of hierarchies in the process, how power has been shared and what types of ethical considerations have been made. Finally, on transformation, there are learning outcomes related to pride, confidence and social skills as well as whether and in what ways the participants have changed their behaviour, assumptions or worldviews. All of these evaluations can be compared and combined with traditionally measured outcomes of branding, such as place satisfaction, loyalty, trust and identification.

Limitations and suggestions for further research

This thesis views place branding from a management and process-based perspective and with inclusiveness as its central concept. To be able to facilitate inclusiveness, we need to know what it is, what the opportunities and challenges are, and what the process leads to. Although important, place communication in the forms of promotion and other traditional marketing activities plays a secondary role in the thesis. Nonetheless, the conceptualisation presented does not simply have an inward perspective, since the producers and the consumers of a place are often the same people (residents, industry, officials), especially if we take into consideration the co-creation of experiences, where even visitors are actively involved in production.

Further studies could focus on something that has been discussed briefly in this thesis: the importance of allowing multiple identities to flourish (see paper IV). This is interesting to note in relation to the influx of refugees to Europe in recent years. If multiple identities are not taken into account in communication efforts, the risk is that cultural boundaries are reinforced and that conflicts arise between groups. Further research could contrast the focus on homogeneous cultural entities in place branding with the concept of transculturalism, which views cultures as 'hybrid formations' and 'ongoing transforming dialogues' (Dagnino, 2012, p. 13).

A small-scale process in a specific single place, as in the case of this thesis, has its limitations. It is only one example and is on a very small scale, which of course makes it difficult to make generalizations. Therefore it would be interesting to perform similar studies in other contexts and on larger scales, in the global south and elsewhere.

The thesis agrees with the recent proposal that place brand managers should be seen merely as facilitators of the identity process, as one of many stakeholder groups in a system of ongoing, interwoven processes of interaction (e.g. Kalandides, 2011b; Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). However, this stance hands over responsibility to the participants (Henkel & Roderick, 2001) and downplays the influence facilitators have through their shaping of the direction of the process (Mosse, 2001). It is therefore reasonable to further problematise the power relations involved in the use of notions such as facilitator or partner.

The thesis identifies the role of experiences as a 'product' of place branding and relates experience innovation to a spiral-shaped process. The concept of experiences in relation to place branding could be further researched, for example with regard to how experiences can lead to transformation, and how experiences can be co-created with more stakeholders than just customers and firms.

Interactive modes of research and development practice are considered central in this thesis for the development of inclusive place branding. There is an

emerging interest in transdisciplinary research, which could be further re-searched in relation to place branding. Transdisciplinary research addresses complex issues that cannot be met by a single discipline, nor by academics or practitioners alone; this makes it relevant in relation to the multifaceted place development discourse.

Lessons from this study can be transferred to general branding. All types of brands and branding are becoming more complex in a changing world, due to technological advancements and globalisation. As Giovanardi et al (2013, p. 378) point out, drawing on the work of Hatch and Schultz (2010) and Olins (2000), organisations are becoming increasingly "fragmented and multifaceted", which makes them similar to places. Thus, the definition and characteristics of inclu-sive place branding as outlined in this thesis may be considered in a general definition of inclusive branding. The conceptualisation can also be integrated with further studies on public governance processes, since the view of inclu-siveness in this thesis largely resonates with how participatory and deliberative democracy has become a means of promoting political renewal (Barnes et al, 2004).

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