It is my belief that participatory processes can lead to positive transformations for the people involved. However, I do at the same time recognize that participation is inherently ambiguous and complex, and that this makes it vulnerable to unjust practices. It is this view of participation that led me to a focus on challenges that can emerge in participatory processes, or as they will be referred to in this thesis: pitfalls.

The purpose is to explore pitfalls of participation, especially regarding when, how and why participatory practices lead to unjust forms of participation. My experience of being engaged as a Swedish researcher in a participatory design project in a Kenyan context, and critical reflections on this experience serve as the foundation for this exploration. The project concerns small-scale ecotourism development in a fishing village on the shores of Lake Victoria in Western Kenya, where I worked with the development of ecotourism-related products and services in a participatory manner with a local guide group and residents, and with PhD student colleagues from Sweden and Kenya.

A number of pitfalls are highlighted as particularly problematic, which are connected to either abstracted and simplistic conceptualizations of participants and their participation, or to an unjust role distribution in projects. The terms community, empowerment and ownership are used to exemplify how the use of vague and elusive words to describe participation tends to hide participant diversity or lead to overstatements regarding the benefits derived from the project. I discuss how an unjust access to knowledge resources between actors who are to collaborate closely together hinder co-production of knowledge, and I acknowledge how designers' and design researchers' prejudices and a cultural unawareness can lead to some groups not being recognized as important.

The aim is to contribute with methodological guidance regarding how researchers and practitioners can identify and work against the pitfalls that they come across in their practice, and towards achieving just participation.

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HELENA KRAFF

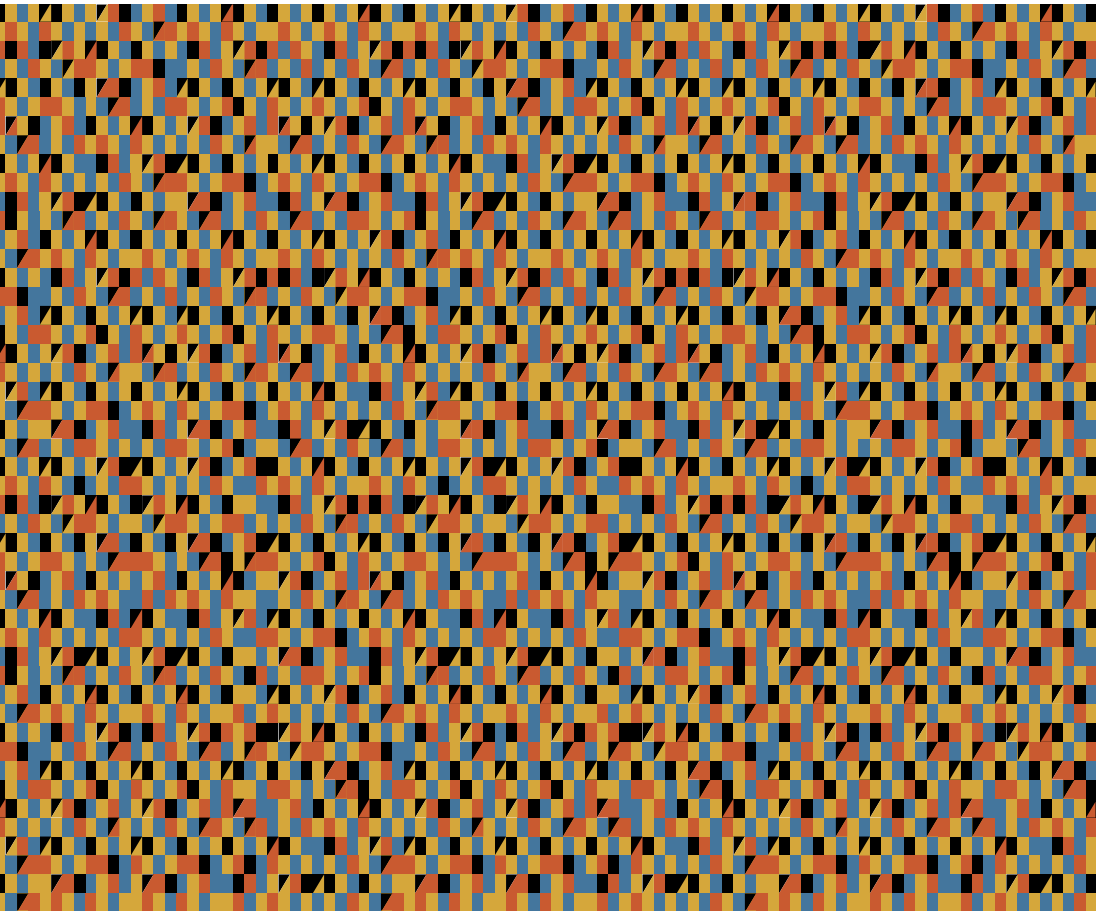
EXPLORING PITFALLS OF PARTICIPATION

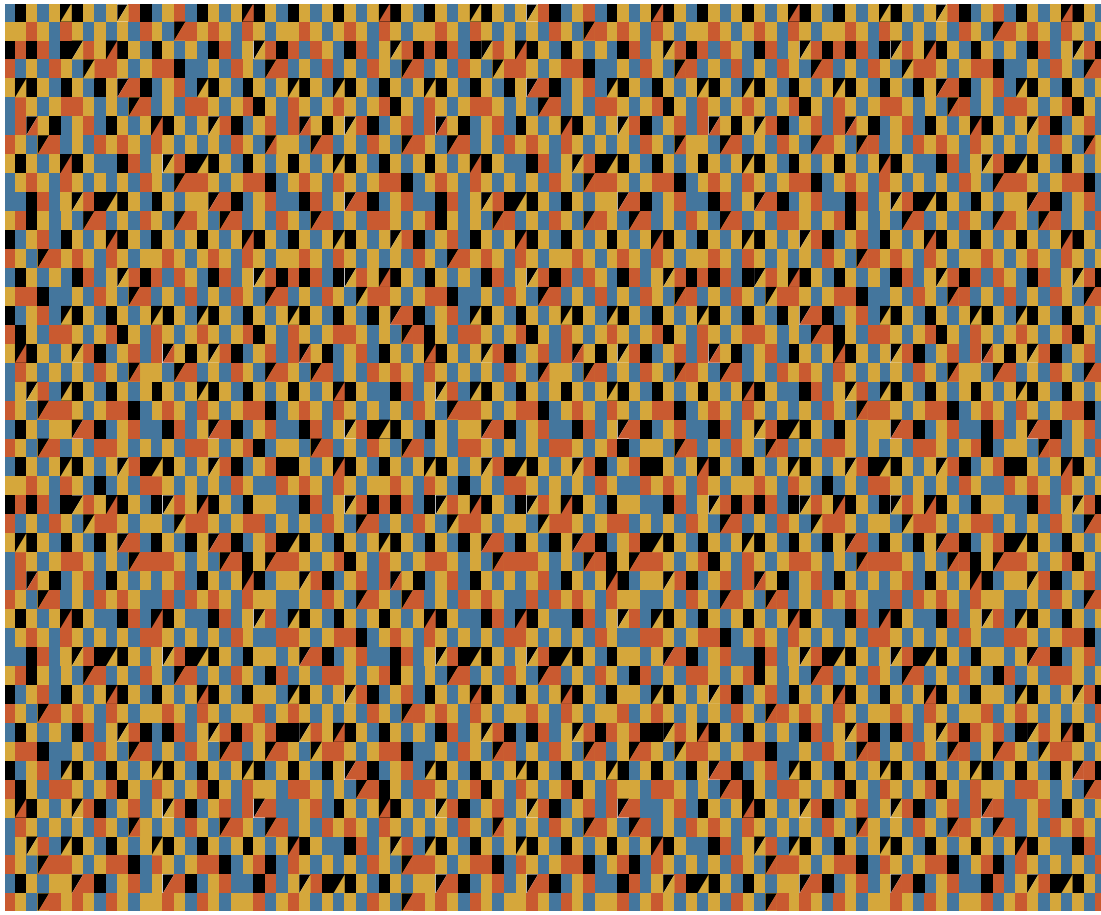
and ways towards JUST PRACTICES through A PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS in Kisumu, Kenya

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

"50 people is not the entire community!"

Comment by one of the guides when my research colleague and I proposed to reduce the number of participants for the third workshop in April 2013.





EXPLORING PITFALLS OF PARTICIPATION AND WAYS TOWARDS JUST PRACTICES THROUGH A PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS IN KISUMU, KENYA

HELENA KRAFF

EXPLORING PITFALLS OF PARTICIPATION

and ways towards JUST PRACTICES through A PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESS in Kisumu, Kenya

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Design at
HDK – Academy of Design and Crafts, Faculty of Fine, Applied and Performing Arts, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

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My PhD studies have been financed in part by Mistra Urban Futures, an international research and knowledge centre addressing key societal challenges in the urban environment. The project in Kisumu is part of a Mistra Urban Futures programme, which is mainly funded by Mistra – the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research – and Sida – the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

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MISTRA URBAN FUTURES

Abstract

Title: Exploring pitfalls of participation and ways towards just practices through a participatory design process in Kisumu, Kenya

Language: English

Keywords: Participation, participatory design, participatory research, pitfalls, just participation, Kenya

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Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis and being engaged in a long-term participatory process have been challenging at times. However, it has at the same time been extremely rewarding thanks to all of the people who have supported me and/or been involved in the process. My first and biggest thank you goes to Eva Maria Jernsand. We have worked together for many years, and we went into to the project in Kisumu as partners. I am grateful for our collaboration, and that I have been able to go through the process of doing a PhD in collaboration with you. To have someone with whom I can always talk to, share concerns with as well as generate and develop ideas with is something that I truly value. Thank you!

Eva Maria's and my work in Kisumu have been in close collaboration with Samwel Owino Jera, devoted tour guide and project member. I have greatly appreciated working with you during these years, and I hope that our collaboration will continue in the future. I would also like to express a big thank you to all of your colleagues in Dunga and Kisumu who have been part of the project. To all members of the guide group in Dunga (DECTTA): John Steve Okumo, Nicholas Owiti, Sylus Owiti, Richard Ojijo, Tobias Didi, George Oweke, Michael Odhiambo, Kennedy Orowe, Kennedy Okumo, Samuel Lionare Okoth, Nashon Okuta, Charles Onyango, Benard Owino and Willys Okumo. Thank you to the Chiela fishmongers women group, and the newly founded Dunga Women in Tourism (DWIT): Joyce Oruko, Francisca Odhiambo, Philister Ojijo, Caroline Maseke, Elisabeth Keta, Eunice Anyango Atendo, Rose Riako, Mary Didi, Rose Anyango, Benta Chien, Brinson Atech, Jackline Aoma and Margaret Lidhasa. Thank you to Leonard Akwany and Caroline Achieng Odera at EcoFinder Kenya and Wise. Dominic Oduor, chairman of the BMU and the other members in this group. Thank you to all residents in Dunga who have participated in the process, and to all guide groups in Kisumu County who have worked with the initiation of the county-wide guide association – Erokamano!

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to the world of research, showed me the possibilities of doing a PhD and guided me in the initial stages. My main supervisor Maria Nyström have contributed with knowledge, support and structure throughout, and she introduced me to Kenya, Kisumu and the research community there. Lena Mossberg welcomed me to the research community at the Centre for Tourism (CFT) and has been involved in our project in Kisumu on several occasions. Also, a big and grateful thank you to my two secondary supervisors Bo Westerlund and Evren Uzer von Busch, for the absolutely crucial comments and guidance that you have given me throughout the years.

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HELENA KRAFF
Gothenburg, 2018-03-02

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1. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

"We often highlighted the positive aspects of working in a participatory manner, and how this allowed for a democratic and transparent process. However, this rather optimistic focus started to feel uneasy after a while. We wondered if we weren't merely justifying already pre-set assumptions, whilst at the same time suppressing the complexities and challenges that we knew were there".

Excerpt from the paper
DESIGNING FOR OR DESIGNING WITH?
(Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a, p. 1598).

This thesis revolves around reflections on a participatory design research project that takes place in a fishing village located just outside Kisumu city by the shores of lake Victoria in the Western parts of Kenya, in which I have been actively involved. The project was initiated in September 2012 and the main part of the fieldwork was conducted up until early 2016, although parts of the project have continued to evolve since. It deals with small-scale ecotourism development, and I have together with a PhD student colleague from Sweden, a local guide group and residents, worked with the development of ecotourism-related products and services in a collaborative manner. Apart part from these actors, another PhD student from Sweden and four PhD students from Kenya have conducted parts of their studies in this village, to which the project has connections.

The text in this thesis accounts for the participatory process in Kisumu, al-

though the main focus will be on the challenges and complexities that arose in it, which I will refer to as *pitfalls* of participation. A number of pitfalls have been identified as being particularly problematic. These include: 1/ abstracted and simplistic conceptualizations of participants and their participation; 2/ overstatements regarding benefits of participation, 3/ insufficient access to project information for residents; 4/ unjust access to knowledge resources[1] for local actors actively engaged in the process[2] as compared to the designers or design researchers; and 5/ unjust preconditions for PhD students from Sweden and Kenya respectively to conduct their research. These pitfalls, how they emerge and what they lead to will be explored in the thesis, with the aim of contributing with methodological guidance regarding how designers and design researchers can work against these pitfalls, and towards just participation.

In this introductory chapter, I am going to outline the background and influencing factors that directed me to the project in Kisumu and to the writing of this thesis, starting with how I felt the need for time to reflect on my participatory practice, and how this led me to PhD studies. I describe how my belief in an inherent goodness of participation altered during my time as a PhD student, as I came in contact with the criticism aimed at it and as I experienced challenges in the project. Lastly, I explain how this altered view of participation led me to an exploration of challenges and pitfalls of participation, and how this exploration was guided by a set of research questions.

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1 By access to *knowledge resources* I am referring in this thesis to the resources that people need access to in order to obtain information about the field in which they are working. This can for example be literature on ecotourism that is located in physical books or in online library databases, as well as it can be information gained through the attendance at seminars or conferences. This information is not knowledge in itself, but can be transformed into knowledge when the information is taken into practice and when it leads to a development of one's abilities. In this thesis, I am particularly referring to access to knowledge resources that are relevant for the work to be conducted in the project, and for the different actors to be able co-produce knowledge together. Considering that the project deals with ecotourism development it is mainly information connected to this area to which I am referring.

2 By local actors who are *actively engaged* in the process I am referring to actors such as the members of the guide group, who have been actively involved throughout the entire process in the Kisumu project, and who have not only participated as participants in workshops or come to presentations about the project, but who have also been engaged in the setting up of these workshops and presentations, and who have been active partners at meetings at which the future of the project has been discussed. Residents on the other hand may or may not have participated in a couple of project activities, and may, even though they are not working in the tourism business, be affected by the project because they are living close to the place where ecotourism is being developed. This distinction between actors that are actively engaged and people who participate as residents also aim to highlight that they have different roles in the process.

Background – initial interest and belief in participation

As a Master's student in Business and Design at the Academy of Design and Crafts (HDK) in Sweden, my then student colleague Eva Maria Jernsand and I were given the opportunity to work with the municipality of Bollebygd.[3] The officials in Bollebygd explained that they saw great potential in a new railway line that was planned to run from the west coast to the east coast of Sweden, which would pass their municipality on the way. They believed that this could attract new residents and visitors and had therefore put a lot of effort into lobbying for Bollebygd to be included as a stop for the commuter trains that would run on the line. If this were to become a reality, the municipality would need to draw up development plans for new housing, infrastructure improvement and other aspects such as leisure activities for residents and visitors. Both Eva Maria and I believed that such a development plan should be based on the 'identities'[4] of Bollebygd and the aspirations that the people who live and work there have for the future. This belief corresponded with the principles of participatory design and the democratic notion that those who may be influenced by the outcome of a process have the right to be involved in it, and have a say about the outcome (Schuler and Namioka, 1993). This led us to start a year-long process of exploration with various participatory methods and tools that allowed us to involve residents, local organizations and county officials in the process of bringing forth ideas on how Bollebygd could develop. The process included workshops in which participants discussed and generated ideas about the future of Bollebygd through for example the creation of personas and building of scale models. It also included a blog[5] and two public exhibitions that functioned as spaces where people could acquire information about the project as well as share their concerns and leave comments or ideas.

The time in Bollebygd allowed Eva Maria and I to work with the design process in a participatory manner, and it was a way of working that we wanted

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3 Bollebygd is a relatively small municipality in Sweden with just over 9,000 residents (http://www.bollebygd.se/kommunochpolitik/kommunfakta/befolkning.4.4b88096f14fb4d9accd2b6f2.html, retrieved 2018-02-27).

4 Identity is an elusive concept, and places such as a municipality, city or town can be seen to have multiple and co-existing identities that are constantly evolving. The concept of the identities of places is further problematized in the book chapter *Democracy in participatory place branding: a critical approach* (Jernsand and Kraff, 2017).

5 Link to the blog: https://komombord.wordpress.com/. Only available in Swedish, retrieved 2018-01-25.

Left: Workshop participants sketching a persona to represent the future Bollebygd. Right: Three personas were created for the first public exhibition in Bollebygd: Bollebygd today, Bollebygd in the future and future visitor.

to continue to explore after we had completed our Master's studies. We started a company together where we often encouraged clients and other concerned stakeholders to participate in the projects on which were working. However, the intensity of the projects left little or no time to reflect on the participatory approach that we believed in so strongly. This led us back to the university, in search of space and time for reflection. About two years later we were enrolled as PhD students and became involved with the research centre Mistra Urban Futures and their research platform in Kisumu, Kenya: Kisumu local interaction platform (KLIP). The idea at KLIP was that research should be of a transdisciplinary nature, which was in line with my interest in participation as well as with my collaboration with Eva Maria who is in marketing. On our first visit to Kisumu, our Kenyan research colleagues at KLIP took Eva Maria and I to a nearby fishing village located on the shores of Lake Victoria. They introduced us to a group of local tour guides who had started a guide organization when the opportunities of working as fishermen were diminishing. Eva Maria and I discussed the possibility of us to set up a project in collaboration with them, with the aim of developing their current tourism business in a participatory, sustainable and small-scale manner.

Shifting focus – doubting participation

A participatory approach always needs to take its starting point in the specific and local context where it is taking place, and we did of course realize that the

process in Kisumu would not be the same as the one in Bollebygd. However, looking back I would say that our approach in the beginning was far too simplistic, and that I viewed the project and my role in it in a rather unproblematic manner. However, the way that I view and approach participation has changed since then. A contributing factor to this change can be traced back to a moment when my belief in participation turned to doubt. It was during a presentation entitled *The purgatory of social design,* held by Otto von Busch.[6] During the presentation, critical questions were posed along the lines of: Is participation always good? Are we manipulating systems? Who benefits? And, does everybody want to participate? These questions caught me off guard, especially since I was to present my project directly afterwards, and had planned to focus on the positive aspects that to me were inherent in participation. It was to be a presentation that followed the design process, with a focus on the methods and tools that Eva Maria and I had used, starting with spending time in the context, interacting with residents and local organizations and getting to know the place. Followed by the organization of workshops that were open for residents to attend, and the arrangement of public presentations and setting up of an available project space to make the process transparent.

Presenting my project after the talk on the purgatory of participation made me realize that my focus on the positive aspects meant that I was mainly justifying already pre-set assumptions, whilst I was at the same time suppressing complexities and challenges that – deep down – I knew were there. I felt the need to stop for a while, question my belief in participation and open for critical reflection on the concept, the process I was working with in Kisumu, and my role in it. This was quite a daunting challenge, particularly if I was to view reflection as the following text suggests:

> ...authentic reflexivity requires a level of open-mindedness that accepts that participatory development may be inevitably tyrannical, and a preparedness to abandon it if this is the case.

The quote is taken from Cooke's and Kothari's (2001, p. 15) introduction to the book *Participation: the new tyranny?* in which the harsh criticism raised by them and the other scholars challenges the whole idea of participation, as well as calling for genuine self-reflection by those of us engaged in participatory projects. The criticism is not aimed at participatory design per se, but at partici-

6 January 27th, 2014 at Konstfack – University of Arts, Craft and Design. The concept of the purgatory of design originally comes from a speech by Milton Glazer at the AIGA National Design Conference, held in Boston in 2005.

patory rural appraisal (PRA) or participatory development projects which takes place in socially and/or economically marginalized communities. However, it is still highly relevant for researchers and practitioners engaged in participatory design to acknowledge it. Much of the criticism is aimed at challenges that can arise in participatory projects irrespective of field, and it is likely that many design researchers and practitioners have come across these challenges, in particular those engaged in projects set up as North-South collaborations. For instance, criticism has been raised regarding European researchers' cultural biases and cultural unawareness when working in various African countries, and it has been argued that projects tend to show symptoms of Eurocentricity (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Also, criticism concerns project frameworks being decided before local actors are involved, and claims have been made that this leads to people feeling the need to "construct their needs" in order to participate in a project (Mosse, 2001, p. 19).

Reading texts that are critical towards participation made me more aware of power issues, and highlighted the importance of including critical self-reflection in my research process. These texts altered my perception of participation, which in turn led to a shift of focus in the Kisumu project.

Aim and research questions

The shift of focus in the Kisumu project, the acknowledgement of criticism towards participation, the integration of critical reflections of the process and of my own role as a researcher, and further experiences while being engaged in it have made a number of contradictions visible between principles of participation[7] and what is feasible within our project framework. For example, achieving co-production of knowledge between actors such as the guides and me as a researcher is seen as central in transdisciplinary research (Guggenheim, 2006;

7 Principles of participation can be of a general type, or they can be connected to a specific type of participation, project or context. For example, allowing those who may be affected by the process or its outcome to participate in the project and have an influence on it is core in participatory design (Schuler and Namioka, 1993). Co-production of knowledge between researchers and other involved actors can be seen as a general principle in transdisciplinary research (Guggenheim, 2006; Robinson, 2008). Allowing the process to be open to change and redirection if the actions and experiences from the process show this to be necessary can be seen as a principle in action research and participatory action research (Lewin, 1946; McTaggart, 1994). Further, for the project in Kisumu, Eva Maria and I saw local ownership as an important principle, although this was, as will be discussed in this thesis, problematic to establish.

Robinson, 2008). However, it is questionable to what extent this is possible, since I as a researcher from Sweden have almost unlimited access to global and local knowledge arenas, both virtually and physically, whilst the guides access to knowledge resources is highly limited. This can be seen to exemplify one specific pitfall of participation, since it undermines the possibilities of just preconditions between the engaged actors. The purpose of this thesis is to identify and explore such pitfalls in order to explain when, how and why the set-up of a participatory project works against its own principles and the goal of reaching positive transformation for the people involved. While the aim is to contribute with methodological guidance[8] regarding how designers and design researchers can identify the pitfalls that they meet in their practice, and work towards *just participation*. To achieve this aim, critical reflections of the participatory project in Kisumu has been applied, for which the following research questions are used as guidance:

1. What are pitfalls of participation, and how do they hinder just participation?
2. What characterizes just participation, and how can designers and design researchers work towards achieving it?

Regarding the research questions, it must be made clear that they are connected to a specific type of project taking place in a specific type of context. They have to a large extent emerged from my experience as a Swedish researcher working in a participatory project set in a fishing village in Kenya, involving local organizations and residents as well as Kenyan and Swedish researchers. Posing the first research question in a different setting or for a different type of project would most likely lead to the identification of other types of pitfalls than those described in this thesis. Furthermore, the second research question is even more closely connected to a specific type of project, since the need to focus on just participation derives from the pitfalls of unjust situations and unequal preconditions between actors, as identified in the Kisumu project.

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8 To this should be added that focus has also been directed at contributions of use to the local actors in Kisumu who have been involved in the project. This includes strengthening the guide groups' knowledge and expertise regarding aspects such as product and service development. It also includes the initiation of a group for women wanting to work in the tourism business, and the initiation of a county-wide guide association aiming to strengthen local guide groups in Kisumu County. Furthermore, guided tours and cultural events have been developed, and there have been infrastructural improvements through the installation of waste collection points and a signage system.

Structure of the thesis

This chapter has so far aimed at providing the reader with insight to the background that formed my interest and belief in participation, at explaining the shift in focus that happened during the research process, and at clarifying the purpose, aim and research questions. Chapter two, *Research context and project area,* explains the context in which the participatory project that this thesis reflects upon takes place, the formalities of the research set-up, and the project area of ecotourism. This is followed by a theoretical section in chapter three, *Theories and practices of participation,* which apart from participation in the field of design, also includes a discussion on how participation is conceptualized in other participatory fields and practices connected to the project in Kisumu, mainly participatory rural appraisal, ecotourism and community-based tourism. What the discussion in chapter three illustrates is that the same types of challenges and problematic issues seem to re-emerge in all of the discussed fields and practices of participation. Chapter four, *Reflection on methodology*, explains how I see the reflection that I conduct of participatory methodologies and the participatory approach in the Kisumu project as an ethnographic/ergonographic investigation. Also, I account for how I make use of feminist theories in order to open up for reflections on power and various forms of exclusion connected to aspects such as gender and Eurocentrism. In chapter five, *Case description – the project in Kisumu*, I report on the participatory project in Kisumu, and I try to be as clear as possible about the roles that the various actors, including myself, have had in the process, and how these roles have changed over time. For instance, who initiated the project, and who has been involved in the planning of activities and decisions regarding its direction. Furthermore, this description of the project is complemented by an appendix consisting of a chronologically ordered list of all project activities, including information on type of activity, place of the activity, organizing actors, participating actors, purpose and form of documentation (Appendix 2, *Project activity schedule*).

Drawing on the discussion held in the first five chapters, I identify a number of pitfalls in chapter six, *Pitfalls of participation,* in which I explore how they are constructed, and what type of participation they lead to, in accordance with the first research question. For example, I discuss how the use of terms such as *community* leads to abstracted conceptualizations of participants, which in turn hides participant diversity, including who participated and therefore also who did not participate. How the use of concepts such as *empowerment* in con-

nection with community (i.e. community empowerment) has led to overstatements regarding who is empowered and in what ways people are empowered. I also discuss how designers' and design researchers' prejudices and/or a cultural unawareness can lead to some groups not being recognized as important for the project. Another point of discussion is how insufficient access to project information, including information on challenges and risks connected to the project, for those who may be affected by the process or its outcome, undermines the possibility for them to make critically aware and informed decisions regarding the project's suitability.

The following and seventh chapter, *Towards just participation,* has a forward-looking focus, and aims to take the discussion on pitfalls from the previous chapter one step further. This is done through an exploration of the second research question regarding characteristics of just participation, and how designers and design researchers can work towards just participation. In the final and eighth chapter, *Concluding discussion,* I summarize the contributions from the discussion on pitfalls and the suggestions for just participation, acknowledge the limitations of these contributions and give suggestions for further research.

Connecting the pitfalls to my previous publications

This thesis is written as a monograph, although connections are made to some of the papers, articles and book chapters that I have written and co-written during my PhD study period, which all reflect on the project in Kisumu. I have found that writing according to the format of an academic article allows me to focus on, and dig deep into a particular issue. Also, some of the publications are co-written with Eva Maria, which has enabled us to immerse in collaborative reflections regarding aspects of the process that we have found challenging. The monograph format on the other hand makes it possible for me to expand on as well deconstruct the thoughts and ideas that were formulated through the writings of the papers, articles and book chapters.

The discussion held in this thesis about the term community and how using it can lead to abstracted conceptualizations of participants, originates from the article *A tool for reflection – on participant diversity and changeability over time in participatory design* (Kraff, 2018). In the article, I acknowledge that communities are often described in simplistic ways as homogenous and static formations, and how this ignores internal differences (Light and Akama, 2012) connected to gender, age, ethnicity, education, religious beliefs, interests, socioeconomic

and professional status (Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998). I use this acknowledgement to argue for the need to reflect on participant diversity, including the different situations that the various participating groups and individuals may be in, and how this demands different approaches for their involvement. However, the problematization of the term community is not taken further in the article, which is why I decided to go back to it in chapter six in this thesis, since it gives me the opportunity to engage in a critical discussion of how community is conceptualized in participatory literature, and how my own use of it in previous publications has led to abstracted conceptualizations of the participants in the Kisumu project. Furthermore, the issue of unjust access to knowledge resources between local actors actively engaged in the process and actors such as Eva Maria and myself, and how this hinders local actors from assuming project ownership is recognized in the paper *Designing for or designing with?* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a). Also, unjust preconditions between researchers from Sweden and Kenya respectively is something that we touch upon in the book chapter *Collaborative PhDs: new approaches, challenges and opportunities* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2016). However, these issues are not elaborated upon at any greater length in these writings, which is why I want to continue exploring unjust access and preconditions between actors and the type of participation to which they lead.

The publications that I draw on, elaborate on as well as critically reflect upon are:

1. Kraff, H., & Jernsand, E. M. (2014a). Designing for or designing with? In E. Bohemia., A. Rieple., J. Liedtka., & R. Cooper. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 19th DMI Academic Design Management Conference: Design Management in an Era of Disruption.* London, UK, September 2–4, 2014. (pp. 1596–1611). Boston: Design Management Institute.
2. Kraff, H., & Jernsand, E. M. (2014b). From disciplines to common ground and actions: reflections on a transdisciplinary project in Kisumu, Kenya. In A. Breytenbach., & K. Pope. (Eds.), *Design with the other 90%: Cumulus Johannesburg Conference Proceedings.* Johannesburg, South Africa, September 22–24, 2014. (pp. 88–93). Johannesburg: Greenside Design Center and the University of Johannesburg.
3. Jernsand, E. M., & Kraff, H. (2015). Participatory place branding through design: the case of Dunga beach in Kisumu, Kenya. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *11*(3), 226–242.
4. Jernsand, E. M., Kraff, H., & Mossberg, L. (2015). Tourism experience innovation through design. *Scandinavian Journal of Tourism and Hospital-*

ity, 15(Supplemental issue: Innovation and Value Creation in Experience-based tourism), 98–119. doi: 10.1080/15022250.2015.1062269

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Furthermore, four reports have been written for the project in Kisumu, with the aim of summarizing what was going on in the project as well as of giving ideas for its continuation. These reports have been distributed to the guide group and other local organizations in the village where the project is based. Another two reports have been written about the setting up of a county-wide guide association for local guides in Kisumu county, and both have been distributed to the guide groups that are part of this association. The first four are written by Eva Maria and myself, whilst the fifth and sixth have been co-written with one of the guides and the former project manager at a local non-governmental organization (NGO).[9] The first four are only available in English, while the latter two are available in English and Dholuo.[10] These reports can be downloaded from Mistra Urban Futures webpage.[11]

The titles, focus of the reports and time of distribution are shown below:

1. *Dunga identity and image: a pre-study.* Distributed in April 2013.
   An analysis of the current state of Dunga beach as a tourist site, with a discussion on strengths, threats, challenges and possibilities for the future.
2. *Dunga ecotourism development: emerging ideas and possible continuation.* Distributed in October 2013.
   Information on what had happened in the project so far. Guidance on

9 Samwel Owino Jera and Caroline Odera.

10 Dholuo is spoken by around 6 million people in Tanzania and Kenya. The majority of residents in Kisumu and Dunga speak Dholuo.

11 https://www.mistraurbanfutures.org/en/our-research/publications, retrieved 2017-11-23.

how to improve visitors experience through storytelling and an improvement of the physical environment. Information on aspects to think about when designing a guided tour, and how interaction can improve visitors experience.

3. *A day in Dunga: reflections and ideas from test tours.*
   Distributed in February 2014.
   Information on what had happened in the project since the last field period. An account of the process that the guides went through when designing two one-day guided tours, and how this process can be used for packaging guided tours in the future.
4. *Ecotourism development in Dunga: with a focus on culture and waste.*
   Distributed in November 2014.
   Information on what had happened in the project since the last field period. A discussion on sustainable development and how this connects to ecotourism development in Dunga regarding ecological, economic and social sustainability.
5. *Forming a local tour guide association: reflections from the start-up process.*
   Distributed in May 2015.
   The first of two reports for a county wide-guide association that was established as part of the project. The report contain discussions on why the association is needed and what it aims to do, as well as a discussion on what steps need to be taken next. Also, an account of the project in Dunga is given as inspiration for how the members of the association can approach their own development process.
6. *A tour guide association in Kisumu County: gender equality in ecotourism.*
   Distributed in January 2016.
   Information on what had happened with the association so far and a discussion on the future. The report also contains a discussion on gender, and on women's inclusion in tourism.

For whom is the thesis intended?

This thesis is first and foremost written for design practitioners, researchers, teachers and students who are interested in participatory research methodologies, and/or in exploring challenges of participation, in particular challenges that can occur in projects set up as North-South collaborations. However, having said that, many of the challenges discussed in this thesis will also be

relatable to practitioners and researchers engaged with participation in other areas, and the aim is also that scholars and practitioners outside the field of design will find the pitfalls discussed in this thesis to be of use in their participatory practice.

Some comments on how the project is presented

The project that this thesis reflects upon is complex in the sense that it involves a large number of participants, which means that I will be referring to many actors and constellations of different actors. I have aimed at being as clear as possible regarding to whom and what I am referring. When discussing the project, I call it the Kisumu project, the project in Kisumu or just the project. I do in some cases refer to Dunga, which is the name of the village where the project has taken place, when I have found that Kisumu is too general.

All the work that I have carried out in the project has been done in collaboration with my colleague Eva Maria Jernsand. I will use Eva Maria and I to indicate when it is the two of us who for example are responsible for taking a decision within the project. Another main actor that has participated is the guide group in Dunga and I will refer to them as the guide group, the guides, members of the guide group, or one of the guides. A group of female fishmongers, papyrus harvesters, mat makers and craftswomen from the village established their own group for women wanting to become involved in tourism as a result of the project. This group is referred to as the female guides, or the female guide group. Also, the guides in the village had the idea of starting a county-wide association for local guides with the aim of strengthening the locally managed tourism businesses in Kisumu County. This group is referred to as the county-wide guide association.

I will sometimes refer to designers and design researchers or practitioners and researchers, to mark that designers, like professionals from other fields can be engaged in participation both as practitioners and researchers, and that the issues discussed in the thesis in general are relevant for both practitioners and researchers.

Having said this I do not mean that a researcher cannot also be a practitioner, or that a researcher cannot work practically in her or his research, and I see myself as a researcher who engages practically in participation. I do

sometimes refer only to the researcher role, if there are issues that are mainly research-related, such as the different preconditions that have existed in the project between PhD students from Kenya and Sweden respectively. Also, the reason for using both designers and design researchers as well as practitioners and researchers is connected to my own disciplinary belonging to design and the fact that I write from a design perspective, and that I first and foremost write to a design audience. While the multidisciplinary nature of the project in Kisumu, which includes researchers and practitioners from other fields, means that I also need to widen the scope and address practitioners and researchers who are not in the field of design.

I will refer to the project in Kisumu as being an ecotourism project. The reason is that this is the term used by the group of researchers in Kisumu at the research platform to which my project and I are connected. It is also the term used by the guide group in Dunga, which partly derives from their interest in ecology and ecological preservation. However, considering that the project takes place in a community implies that there are also connections to community-based tourism. The areas of ecotourism and community-based tourism are connected in the sense that the focus on community involvement can also be found in ecotourism. I will for these reasons discuss and problematize theory from both ecotourism and community-based tourism. However, I will keep to the term ecotourism when referring to the project.

Problematic North-South categorizations

The project in Kisumu, as mentioned, is set in a fishing village by the shores of Lake Victoria in Western Kenya, and the reflections in the thesis partly revolve around the inequalities that may occur between local actors from the village and actors such as myself, in a research project that is based on a North-South collaboration. I will use the categorization of *North/South* with reference to Mohanty's (2003, p. 505) descriptions of it. North/South is according to Mohanty "used to distinguish between affluent, privileged nations and communities and economically and politically marginalized nations and communities". Further, she recognizes that "while these terms are meant to loosely distinguish the northern and southern hemispheres, affluent and marginal nations and communities obviously do not line up neatly within this geographical frame". They are in that sense a "metaphorical rather than geographical" description. Mohanty (2003, p. 505) also use the terms *One-Third/Two-Thirds World,* and she mentions that these include aspects of power and agency of social minorities

and majorities no matter their geographical location, since they take a step even further away from "misleading geographical and ideological binarisms". However, what One-Third/Two-Thirds World misses out on is, according to Mohanty, references to histories of colonization, which is why I will remain with North/South in this thesis. However, it is also important to acknowledge that these terms have limitations and that they are problematic. For instance, using terms that do not acknowledge colonialism misses out on opportunities to problematize still existing inequalities that are connected to a colonial heritage, whilst using terms that make distinctions based on colonial heritages risks re-inscribing old power structures (ibid).

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter two

In this introductory chapter I have aimed to introduce the reader to the background of the research, and to account for the process that led me to the exploration of pitfalls of participation. The aim and purpose of the thesis have been introduced as have the research questions, in which it has been made clear that I will identify a number of pitfalls, explore their nature and how we as researchers and/or practitioners can work towards just participation.

The following and second chapter, *Research context and project area*, will provide with information on the context in which the research project has taken place, the research platform to which the project is connected, and why the project focuses on ecotourism development.

2. RESEARCH CONTEXT AND PROJECT AREA

Research context and project area

"Africa is a great country"

title of a photographic exhibition by Swedish journalist and photographer Jens Assur in 2014, which discussed how the view and portrayal of Africa as a single country and coherent unit still prevail.[12]

This chapter aims to provide the reader with an initial understanding of the context of the research project, and the research platform in Kisumu to which the project is connected. It also aims to explain why the project focuses on eco-tourism development. Some brief information about Kenya's political, cultural and economic history is provided, to give those who may be unfamiliar with it some insight. This includes a discussion on the situation in Kenya during the colonial era, and the importance for European researchers and practitioners coming to Kenya today to be aware of the colonial ill-doings and the risk of current projects revitalizing colonial tendencies.

12 The exhibition consisted of photographs of a number of diverse and fast growing big cities in various African countries (e.g. Mozambique, Tanzania, Rwanda, Nigeria and Ghana). The aim was to challenge dominant media reporting on Africa, and the title plays on the fact that phrases like 'I like African food', or 'I have been to Africa' are still being used. A text by Nigerian poet Tolu Ogunlesi, which was part of the exhibition, argued that the simplified image of Africa does not suit the multiplicity of the continent, consisting as it does of 54 countries, more than one billion people, and a large number of ethnic groups. Assur mentions about the exhibition that despite the diversity of Africa, there are generally two images conveyed to the West. One is 'safari Africa', with jeep rides on the savannah, safari helmets and khakis. The other is 'dying Africa', with images of starving women and children sitting helplessly on the ground. The exhibition has been shown in Kigali (Rwanda), Harare (Zimbawe), Dar Es Salam (Tanzania), Sundsvall, Bollnäs, Halmstad, Karlstad, Gothenburg and Stockholm (Sweden) (http://www.africaisagreatcountry.se/om.html, retrieved 2018-02-27; some information in this paragraph is from texts that were part of the exhibition).

The maps of Africa and Kenya as we know them today. Kenya is located in East Africa and borders to Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania and the Indian Ocean. Kisumu is located in the western part of Kenya, on the shores of Lake Victoria.

The research context – Kenya

The colonial era

The map of Kenya[13] and Africa as we know it today stems from the colonial era. It was decided upon by Europeans during the Berlin Conference held in 1884–1885, when boundaries of completely new nations were drawn by men who had little knowledge of the large continent. This led to closely-knit ethnic groups being separated by new national borders, whilst others, who had had little interaction with each other before, suddenly found themselves sharing the same nationality (Maathai, 2008; Branch, 2011). What followed was according to Serequeberhan (1997/2006, 2009) a process through which European powers shattered existing social formations, with the aim of reforming them as replicas of themselves.

13 The Republic of Kenya is situated in East Africa. The population has reached over 46 million, the official languages are Kiswahili and English, although there are about 40 other languages spoken. The capital and largest city is Nairobi with almost 4 million residents. The majority are Christians (about 80%) followed by Muslims (about 10%) and other religions (Hinduism and other local religions) (The Central Intelligence Agency, 2016; Sida webpage, retrieved 2018-01-06). Kenya counts as a lower-middle-income country, with about 33% of the population living below the poverty line of 1,9 $/day. The unemployment rate is 11% (year 2016), with 13% of women and 9% of men being out of work. The literacy level has increased significantly since elementary education came to be free of charge in 2003, being 86% for youths (ages 15–24, 2015) (World Bank, 2017, 2018). Kenya is a member of the East Africa Community (EAC). The economy is diverse, the country is rich in agricultural land, and the tourism industry attracts international visitors from around the globe. One big sector is services, of which a main part is tourism, contributing to 47% of the GDP, followed by agriculture (tea, coffee, corn, flowers etc.), which stands for about 36% and industry at 17% (The Central Intelligence Agency, 2016).

Turning to Kenya, texts by writer and poet Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1985, 2000/2006) and environmentalist Wangari Maathai[14] (2008, 2009) provide us with a glimpse of what life was like before the destructive effects of the British colonization. Maathai, who grew up in central Kenya, describes how she and her family could live off the fertile plot of land that they owned. Hunger was unknown. However, with colonization came intensive exploitation of natural resources. Large-scale commercial agriculture was introduced and indigenous food crops were replaced by tea and coffee. Indigenous forests were demolished to make room for plantations of trees imported from Europe, and the hunting of wildlife increased relentlessly. People were displaced from the land that they owned to make room for British settlers, and a tax system was established which meant that native Kenyans had to pay tax to the British government. A monetary economy took over instead of a livestock-based. Maathai describes how this destroyed large land areas so that they were no longer fertile, and that people have forgotten how to grow traditional crops that could have provided them and their families with both food and a stable income.

In addition, Maathai states that "[e]verything that represented local culture was enthusiastically replaced" (2008, p. 11). Places of historical importance were renamed, often after a colonial officer. Clothes made out of animal skins were replaced by cotton fabrics. Oral culture, dancing and cultural rites were dismissed, demonized or banned by the missionaries who introduced Christianity and the English education system. English became the official language, the use of native languages was forbidden in schools, and the so-called monitor system was introduced to make sure that all students spoke only English. Those who did speak their mother tongue were forced to wear a badge with inscriptions like "I am stupid, I was caught speaking my mother tongue" (ibid, p. 59). This trivialization of anything African, and an "almost complete transformation of the local culture into one akin to that of Europe" (ibid, p. 11) has, according to Maathai, created deeply ingrained self-doubt, a feeling of inferiority, and the constant struggle of living in a "dual world" (ibid, p. 6). Similarly, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1985, p. 114), looking back at his own childhood in Kenya, mentions how the harmony between language and culture was shattered when "the language of my education was no longer the language of my culture". What was also problematic was that European languages, mainly English, French and Portuguese, were seen to be *the* languages for African writers

14 Wangari Maathai (1940–2011), was the first woman in Kenya to receive a doctorate. She is the founder of The Green Belt Movement, and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 for her work on democracy and environmental reforms.

and politicians, which led to the exclusion of texts and political discussions in languages such as Yoruba, Zulu and Kiswahili.[15] English was made into the one and only language, and "all the others had to bow before it in deference" (ibid, p. 114). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o refers to this as being a suppression of systemic type, which led Africans to look "to Europe for the basis of everything, as the very center of the universe" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 2000/2006, p. 390).

Independence and post-independence

Kenya gained self-rule in June 1963, full independence in December the same year, and became a republic in 1964. The first election after independence was won by the Kenya African National Union party (KANU). The party had already been formed in the 1920s and had struggled since then against colonial rule. At the time of independence it was led by Jomo Kenyatta, who just a few years earlier had been held in detention by the British regime under accusations of being a member of the rebellious Mau Mau movement.[16] Gaining independence was momentous for KANU, although it has been said that there was not much uniting the party except for their struggle against colonial rule. Internal fractions therefore soon led to the breakout by another of the party leaders, Oginga Odinga (Branch, 2011). Politics in Kenya since independence has according to Branch (2011) and Maathai (2008, 2009) been plagued by many battles, and the struggle for power has often been limited to a few men and some women, who over the years have made themselves into an almost untouchable elite, involved with corruption, counteracting multipartyism,[17] and creating tensions between groups. For example, using ethnicity in political campaigning has resulted in unnecessary clashes. The general election in 2007 was marked by violence, and over 1,000 Kenyans are said to have been killed in the following months (Maathai 2008, 2009; Branch, 2011).

New forms of colonialism?

Decolonization in African countries occurred in the 1950s and 1960s (as men-

15 Yoruba is spoken in the western parts of Africa (e.g. Nigeria), Zulu mainly in South Africa, while Kiswahili (or Swahili) is spoken in the eastern and central parts of Africa (e.g. Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Mozambique).

16 The Mau Mau movement fought for independence during the colonial occupation. The name is an abbreviation of 'Mzungu aende ulaya, Mwafrika apate uhuru' which means 'Let the foreigner go back abroad, let the Africans regain freedom'.

17 Kenya became a one-party state in 1982 when Daniel Arap Moi gained power. Moi then managed to uphold this form of rule until 1991, when pressure from the Kenyan people, the opposition and international stakeholders grew to strong.

tioned, 1963 in Kenya) through the withdrawal of armies, bureaucracies and colonizing settlers, although this did not automatically mean that African countries moved into a post-colonial era. Rather what happened in some countries was a move into neo-colonialism, in which European powers still exercized control over economic, political and cultural channels and programmes. European countries were in the position to invest, whereas African countries became fields for investment (Childs and Williams, 1997).

This history of colonial oppression and neo-colonial control is something that I need to be aware of and reflect upon when working as a European researcher in Kisumu and Kenya. I need to be attentive to the risks of the project or my actions in it re-inscribing old power structures of subjugation. For example, is there a risk of places in Kenya, being conceptualized as 'laboratories' of research or places to be explored and written up by European researchers, as was the case during the colonial era? To what extent is my project formulated by European researchers, and to what extent do those who will be affected by the result of it have a say about its focus, direction, execution and implementation (Harding, 1998; Kochhar, 1999)? Furthermore, what does it mean that research projects are introduced, conducted and reported mainly in English? What signals does this send to people who do not speak English and who thereby cannot access the information produced within the project directly, but only through translations? Also, to what extent do participatory design projects set up in African countries resemble aid projects? What are the differences between collaborative planning and implementation of waste collection points in my project, and a similar process in an aid project?

The research set-up in Kisumu

The project in Kisumu is funded by the international research centre Mistra Urban Futures.[18] The centre focuses on sustainable urban development and aims to contribute to the creation of sustainable and just living conditions in

18 Mistra Urban Futures was initiated in 2010. The secretariat is in Sweden and it is financed by the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research (Mistra), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), and a consortium constituted by organizations in the region of Västra Götaland in the western part of Sweden. The centre is hosted by Chalmers University of Technology.

cities and rural areas, now and in the future.[19] The approach to work towards this is transdisciplinary, which means that projects are set up as collaborations between actors from academia, industry, and the civil and public community. Mistra Urban Futures has established local interaction platforms (LIPs) in six cities around the world,[20] of which one is based in Kisumu, Kenya (KLIP). With KLIP as base, senior researchers and PhD students from the Kenyan universities Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology (JOOUST) and Maseno University as well as the Swedish University of Gothenburg cooperate in building knowledge networks with local actors in Kisumu and its environs. The overarching aim of Mistra Urban Futures, to work for sustainable urban development, has been approached at KLIP through two thematic areas, namely marketplaces and ecotourism.[21]

The project area – ecotourism development in Dunga

One reason that ecotourism was made a focus area at KLIP is that tourism is seen to have the potential to play a key role in attaining the national vision for Kenya, namely that of becoming a "middle-income country providing high quality life to all its citizens" by 2030 (Government of the Republic of Kenya, 2007, p. 1). Ecotourism is considered to have the possibility to reduce poverty through the creation of local jobs which cannot be exported, as well as to strengthen the environmental sustainability (Ministry of Tourism, 2010; Hayombe et al., 2012). The Kenyan Ministry of Tourism has also emphasized the importance of community participation, from planning to implementation in all ecotourism development programmes to enhance local capacity. According to the ministry, tourism projects can provide community members with employment and training, as well as enabling them to benefit from development funds aimed for example at education in ecological awareness and spin-off enterprises (Ministry of Tourism, 2010, p. 12).

Tourism in Kenya has for a long time mainly been developed around coastal, wildlife and safari destinations, areas that are most likely to continue to be

19 Sustainable urban development is broadly defined as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 43).

20 Cape Town in South Africa, Kisumu in Kenya, Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm in Sweden, Sheffield-Manchester in England.

21 The focus has changed since then into a focus on socio-spatial, socio-ecological and socio-cultural transformations. Furthermore, embedded in the focus areas of KLIP are the Sustainable development goals (SDGs) (formerly the Millennium development goals (MDGs).

the main attractions. However, the Ministry of Tourism believes that Kenyan tourism will become more diversified through a focus on ecotourism and community-based projects in other areas. The Ministry (2010) has for example stated that tourism can produce development opportunities for rural areas that otherwise would have been forgotten. For instance, tourism development in rural areas can be a means to achieving improvement of infrastructure in areas struggling with poor conditions of roads, railways, ports, water supply, sewage systems, sanitation and telecommunication (Kisia, 2013).[22]

Turning to Kisumu,[23] we can see that the city and its surrounding areas are historically less visited as compared to other parts of Kenya. It is Kenya's third largest city with about 400,000 in population, situated on the north-eastern shore of Lake Victoria,[24] and a city facing many challenges, such as high poverty levels, high levels of youth and women's unemployment, poor water supplies, waste management issues, and underdeveloped infrastructure and service systems.[25] Tourism has not been a top priority in the area. However, researchers at KLIP have identified ecotourism as a potential driving force for development (KLIP, 2013), and it is seen as an "alternative development path that can enhance environmental conservation, promote preservation of cultural heritage as well as provide an alternative source of sustainable livelihood" (Hayombe et al., 2012, p. 158). Furthermore, the former county deputy governor Adhiambo Odinga[26] has emphasized that ecotourism could constitute a means of "alleviating the prevalent poverty in Kisumu" (KLIP, 2013, p. 27).[27]

Connections have been established between researchers working with ecotourism and representatives from Kisumu County government through KLIP, and the chairman of KLIP has stated that the challenges facing the city need to be addressed collaboratively (Agong, 2003).[28] This has led to various constellations in which local communities, the county government, private industry

22 Speech by Dr Rose Kisia at annual KLIP conference in Kisumu, November 22, 2013.

23 The word Kisumu stem from suma and sumo in Dholuo, meaning barter trade, signaling its importance as a marketplace in the past. It is said to have grown into a town in the early 1900 when the Mombasa Railway was built.

24 Lake Victoria is the biggest lake on the African continent. It is called Nam Lolwe in Dholuo, meaning the water that extends to the ends of the earth.

25 www.mistraurbanfutures.org/en/node/154, retrieved 2018-01-24.

26 Ruth Adhiambo Odinga was the deputy governor until the election in 2017.

27 Having said that, Kisumu is at the same time also thriving. There are many university branches located in the city, there is a thriving middle class, and in the afternoons one finds young people drinking coffee in trendy cafes in one of the many malls located in the city centre.

28 Speech by Professor Stephen Gaya Agong at the annual KLIP conference in Kisumu, November 22, 2013.

The location of Dunga in Kisumu.

partners and academia are collaborating in working for sustainable development, through projects dealing with ecotourism (KLIP, 2013). One place identified by researchers at KLIP as having potential for and possible benefit from ecotourism development is Dunga beach (Hayombe et al., 2012). Dunga beach[29] lies in connection to the village of Dunga about six kilometres from Kisumu city centre, and it is where the project that this thesis reflects upon have taken place. The village consists of about 3,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority belong to the Luo community.[30] The main languages spoken are Dholuo, Kiswahili and English. Due to the proximity to the lake, 80% of residents rely on it for their income, working as fishermen, fishmongers, boat builders, and other related jobs. However, the poor state of the lake is a cause for major concern, and the fish stock is decreasing due to overfishing, pollution and the infestation of the invasive water hyacinth plant. This makes it crucial to find new sources of income, and ecotourism is seen as an opportunity to do so.[31]

The initial reason for Dunga becoming the site of research for my PhD student project was that there was an already established connection between KLIP and local organizations in Dunga. Also important was that there was an established local tour guide organization in place, which meant that the tour-

29 It should be noted that the word beach does not have the same meaning in Kisumu as it does in for example Sweden. When talking about a beach in Kisumu it is not necessarily connected to an upscale beach resort, where tourists go to sunbathe and swim. The more general conception is that it is a fish-landing site connected to a fish market and sometimes also to small restaurants, often run by local entrepreneurs and visited mainly by residents of Kisumu.

30 Luo is the third largest ethnic group in Kenya.

31 This is not to say that it is not important to improve the environmental state of the lake, and there have been many projects focusing on this. For example, the government has tried several methods for getting rid of the water hyacinths, and the guide group in Dunga works actively to educate visitors about the environmental challenges of the lake.

The boat-landing site at Dunga beach is the place where fishermen land their boat to unload and sell their catch to the fishmongers. Right: White egrets, one of the many bird species that can be spotted by the lake.

ism business was initiated locally and that it was fully managed by members of the community. This guide organization had been started in 2003 by two residents who developed an interest in ecotourism after attending a workshop on the subject, organized by the Ecotourism Society of Kenya. One of them explained to Eva Maria and me that they saw an opportunity for Dunga to develop, and for local youths to find a complementary source of income to fishing. Thus they decided to start the tour guide organization DECTTA, a group that has now grown to include 30 members of the community.[32]

Problematizing ecotourism

Considering that I am engaged in the project in Kisumu as a researcher indicate a need for me to acknowledge that ecotourism as the focus area of this project provides me with a certain lens through which I interpret the situation, as do all types of focus areas.[33] This focus conceals as well reveals things, making it important for me to try to unpack the normative foundations on which it is based, so that I can explore it critically and find my own position in it (Holtzblatt and Jones, 1993). Not engaging in critical exploration of this area that is central to my research would provide me with an idealized definition of ecotourism, namely that it is a responsible, low-impact, locally oriented and nature-based form of tourism, incorporating educational aspects on sustainability and the local environment. That the objective of the tourist should be not to consume wildlife or natural resources, but to contribute to its maintenance by participating with labour or financial means, in order to enhance conservation and the well-being of local communities, as well as that local communities should be included both early and on a long-term basis in decision-making, and that the ecotourism business should benefit them economically (Fennel, 2003).

Ecotourism presented in this way implies that it has the potential to preserve the environment, empower community members and create local jobs. However, there are issues connected with ecotourism development that need to be addressed. One issue is the risk of economic leakage occurring when tourism ventures are owned and managed by foreign organizations, and when

32 Working as guides has however not provided all members of the group with a full-time job and some of them therefore work as fishermen or craftsmen too.

33 In this paragraph, I mention ecotourism as a focus area, and by this, I mean that ecotourism is the focus area of the practical project in Kisumu. However, participation is the main focus in this thesis, and in the remaining chapters I will critically explore and unpack participation, and how I have worked with it in the ecotourism project.

most of the revenues leave the country, as opposed to benefitting the local community (e.g. Belsky, 1999; Epler Wood, 2002; Honey, 2008). A second issue is the risk of the concept being used with non-genuine intentions, such as for 'green washing' purposes for which the term eco is plastered on the surface as a mere marketing tool (Scheyvens, 1999). A third issue is that a stereotypical image of local communities is showcased to tourists, in which only traditional and native culture is shown, whilst modern and/or technological solutions are concealed (Blackstock, 2005; Stronza and Gordillo, 2008). A fourth issue is the risk that the opportunity to earn an income from tourism will foster economic dependence if it influences people to abandon other sources of income. Also, fluctuation in the number of visitors can create a high level of vulnerability (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008; Amati, 2013), which becomes especially palpable if tourism offerings are only targeted towards international tourists, who may choose not to visit due to aspects such as down-turns in their own economies (Amati, 2013) or virus or terrorism alarms, in or 'close to' the country of arrival.

The above-mentioned challenges are important for me to take into consideration when approaching the project in Dunga. One aspect that I find crucial is that the tourism business is fully managed by a local organization, consisting of residents from the village, which means that there is no economic leakage to foreign organizations. However, securing revenues is still challenging due to fluctuations in the number of visitors, and the guides have mentioned how there was a decline in international visitors after the turbulent election in 2007, a terrorist attack in a mall in Nairobi in 2013 and the Ebola outbreak in West Africa in 2014. This instability in the international tourism market led to discussions in the project regarding the need to focus on national tourists, and the development of products and services that they request. Furthermore, it is important to reflect upon what is being shown and told to tourists when they visit the village. Are they only told about the traditional fishing methods, or do they also receive information about how fishermen make use of solar lamps on their boats during night fishing? Also, the question arises of what responsibility the local guide group has towards the community in terms of investing some of the revenues from tourism for community development purposes. The question also arises concerning what responsibilities I have as a researcher towards the community in general, and to what extent it is problematic that the project strengthens an already strong group in the community (i.e. the guide group).

Another aspect that must be brought up in relation to the challenges of tourism development, and that has been important to take in to account in

the Kisumu project, is gender and gender inclusion in tourism. Studies of Kenya's tourism industry show that it is "overtly gender imbalanced" and "male dominated" (Koome, Kiprutto, Kibe and Kiama, 2013, p. 53). Women working in tourism are mainly found in low-paid and low-skilled jobs. They are seldom involved in decision-making and planning of tourism resources, and there is considerable discrimination against women when it comes to sharing the benefits of tourism (Stephen, Isaac, George and Dominic, 2013).

As discussed above, ecotourism brings with it many challenges, and there are cases in Kenya where local communities have been pushed away, used or simply not included in a genuine way (e.g. Sindiga, 1999; Kibicho, 2003). It is important to discuss and problematize such challenges. However, what also needs to be problematized is that there is a risk that stories of 'bad cases' create suspicion towards ecotourism in general, undermining and casting a shadow over efforts that are genuine. I have noticed for instance that people (mainly in Sweden) grow hesitant when I mention that the project in Kisumu deals with ecotourism development. Some have quickly responded with an exposition of the ill-doings that they believe are inherent in ecotourism projects in African countries. For instance, that it is synonymous with upscale eco-lodges from which residents are excluded in terms of access to the site, management positions and the revenues earned. However, this is not in line with our project, nor does it fit the ecotourism business being conducted in Dunga, which has been initiated, and is managed and owned by a group of residents. The guide group does not have an aim to develop eco-lodges where foreign tourists can enjoy sundowners[34] whilst watching the sunset from a private verandah. The aim is to target both national and international visitors as well as students,[35] and to integrate educational aspects in the tours. When international visitors do come, they are taken on a boat tour, shown the daily proceedings at the fish market and perhaps taken on a walk around the community. Also, considering accessibility for residents it can be mentioned that international and national visitors pay a small fee when entering a boardwalk built in the nearby wetlands, whilst members of the community access it free of charge.

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34 Sundowners are mentioned in guide books as a drink enjoyed at sunset after a long day of safari excursions (e.g. Ham, Butler and Starnes, 2012).

35 School classes visiting Dunga are common. They come from all over Kenya, ranging from primary to university, and they come to experience the lake, learn about the nearby wetlands and to see the activities in the fish market.

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter three

In this chapter I have aimed to introduce the context in which the project has taken place. This includes information on the set-up of the research platform in Kisumu to which my project is connected. I have also discussed the project area of ecotourism, with the aim of making visible the possibilities as well as the challenges of ecotourism development taking place in community settings. The chapter began with a brief account of the colonial occupation of Kenya.

The following and third chapter, *Theories and practices of participation*, will explore a set of theories and practices of participation to situate the disciplines to which the project in Kisumu and my research connect. My research is first and foremost connected to participatory design, which is why a discussion on participation in design makes up the biggest part of the chapter. However, it also connects to participatory rural appraisal, participatory architecture and planning, participatory ecotourism and community-based tourism, which is why the chapter also includes shorter discussions on these areas. The focus in the third chapter is not to explore the advantages of participation. Rather, the aim is to explore challenges, or pitfalls as they are referred to in this thesis. Several pitfalls are highlighted, some of which are interesting to explore further in relation to the project in Kisumu.

3. THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF PARTICIPATION

Theories and practices of participation

"Why are designers making the same mistakes as development workers did in the 70s?"

Comment received from audience member after other researchers and I had presented our participatory projects at Cumulus design conference in Johannesburg, September 2014.

This theoretical chapter revolves around a discussion on participatory design (PD), from how it emerged in Scandinavian industrial workplace settings, to how it is now being practiced in various parts of the world in both workplaces and public contexts. The aim is not to provide an account of the advantages of participatory design and participatory design methods. There are plenty examples already existing of discussions about how participation enables those who will be affected by a process to have a say about its outcome. Or where it is described how the engagement with prototypes gives people the opportunity to express their practical knowledge and experiences better, whilst this at the same facilitates the designers' understanding of their situation. Rather, the aim is to explore challenges of participation, how these have been described historically in design literature, and why some of these challenges still prevail.

In addition, the nature of the project in Kisumu, the context in which it is taking place and the theme of ecotourism make it necessary also to include a discussion on participatory approaches from outside the field of design. For instance, when working in a participatory manner to develop tourism it is necessary to acquire an understanding about areas such as ecotourism and community-based tourism.[36] The fact that the guides and other organizations in

36 Community-based tourism is about small-scale tourism ventures. The local community is the producer of tourism and community members should have some level of control over the tourism business (Scheyvens and Biddulph, 2017). Ecotourism focuses on local communities, although emphasis is also put on other aspects, for example that it must be responsible, low-impact, nature-based and incorporate educational aspects on sustainability (Fennel, 2003).

the community where the project is taking place, were accustomed to methods from participatory rural appraisal (PRA) but not to participatory design, made it important also to consider the literature in the PRA field. Lastly, I look briefly into participatory architecture and planning since tourism development often relates to aspects such as the spatial use of places. Apart from their focus on participation, these areas have in common that they all emerged as a response to notions in a specific industry or in the larger society that were seen as repressive, excluding or disruptive. Also, as the discussion in this chapter will show, similar types of challenges have been recognized within them, and the same type of criticism have been targeted against them.

Participation in design

The emergence of participatory design

The involvement of people other than designers in the design process was initiated through the "workplace democracy movement" that emerged in Scandinavia during the 1960s (Kuhn and Muller, 1993, p. 26).[37] The approach is commonly referred to as participatory design,[38] and was a response to a lack of user involvement in system development processes at a time when both private and public organizations were becoming heavily computerized (Bødker, Grønbæk and Kyng, 1993; Ehn 1993; Greenbaum, 1993; Grudin, 1993). The introduction of computers into workplaces was, according to Mumford (1993, p. 257), accomplished in an "authoritarian manner", and concerns were raised by a number of scholars that this led to deskilling processes where workers risked being downgraded to doing unskilled, automatized and dehumanized work, with lower responsibilities and salaries as a consequence (Bødker et al., 1993; Ehn 1993; Grudin, 1993). Bravo (1993) even stated that it was hazardous not to involve workers in computer software development, since not being able to influence the technical functions at their work-stations contributed to various stress-related symptoms and deteriorating eyesight. To counter this, projects

37 This approach also spread to the US where there was a push for organizations to move away from prevailing Taylorized working models, to challenge hierarchical structures and to empower workers (e.g. Miller, 1992; Greenbaum, 1993).

38 Other terms that were used include cooperative design, cooperative development, participatory systems design, and work-oriented design approach.

were initiated that involved trade unions, system developers, management and workers'[39] in the development of the computer systems that the workers were to use. The aim was to create a more humane working environment, to increase workers influence, to support them in articulating their needs, and to create a better relationship between workers and those who designed the systems (Bødker et al., 1993; Mumford, 1993; Suchman, 1993).

Core principles behind this emerging participatory approach to design include democracy and mutual learning. The democracy aspect revolved around the notion that those who may be affected by a process need to be given the possibility to be involved in it and influence its outcomes (Schuler and Namioka, 1993). Whilst mutual learning meant that designers aimed to learn about the staffs working situation and how they performed their tasks, whereas the workers learned to express their skills and gained an understanding of technical constraints and possibilities (Wagner, 1992; Bødker et al., 1993; Ehn, 1993; Greenbaum, 1993). Other terms commonly used to describe participatory design include emancipation, empowerment and partnership. For instance, Greenbaum (1993, p. 42) described it as being based on an "emancipatory perspective" and stated that the process should empower participants so that they felt that they could express their needs, concerns and ideas. Holtzblatt and Jones (1993, p. 188) saw partnerships as "the opening to participatory design…", and as a necessity for dialogues between designers and users, if users were to be empowered to co-direct the dialogue.

Literature discussing these initial ideas, projects and methodologies of participatory design is found in writings such as the anthologies *Design at Work* (Greenbaum and Kyng, 1991) and *Participatory Design Principles and Practices* (Schuler and Namioka, 1993), as well as in the proceedings of the first Participatory design conferences (PDC, held biannually since 1990). A large part of the focus in these writings was on strategies, methods and tools for participation (Miller, 1992), and they included examples of how visualization, physical mock-ups and prototyping were used (e.g. Bødker et al., 1993; Ehn, 1993; Holtzblatt and Jones, 1993; Muller, 1993),[40] as well as of how ethnographic field methods could be adopted in participatory design processes (Blomberg, Giacomi, Mosher, and Swenton-Wall, 1993).

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39 Workers could include industrial workers, hospital workers, clerical workers etc.

40 Other methods described in the early participatory design literature include Future workshops (Jungk and Mullert, 1987), Pictive (Muller, 1993), Ethics (Mumford, 1993), and Must (Kensing, Simonsen and Bødker, 1996).

Highlighted challenges in participatory design

The aim of increasing workers' influence, as discussed above, was not always easily attainable, and concerns were raised regarding obstacles for achieving successful participation. For instance, Emspak (1993) mentioned that even though the focus on method development had led to a useful source of clearly articulated tools and methods, the actual forms in which participation was to take place had been left unarticulated. Grønbæk, Grudin, Bødker and Bannon (1993) recognized that participation may encourage people to strive towards democratic workplaces, but that it is not necessarily so that the result of participation leads to workplace democracy, since it is the structures and systems in the organization that determine to what extent participation is accepted and adopted. Furthermore, it was mentioned as a risk that user participation can be hindered by rigid contracts and late involvement (Greenbaum, 1993; Grønbæk et al., 1993), and that it is easy for organizations with non-genuine aims to "hide hierarchical realities behind participatory rhetoric" (Miller, 1992, p. 96), as a way to get staff to embrace drastic changes in their working situation, in projects that in reality only aimed at increasing efficiency and control (Mumford, 1993).

Another factor that was brought up in the early literature of participatory design was power imbalances between actors in participatory processes (e.g. Bravo 1993; Bødker et al., 1993; Ehn 1993; Greenbaum 1993; Grønbæk et al., 1993). It was for example acknowledged by Bødker et al. (1993) and Wagner (1992) that workers may fear voicing concern or expressing criticism of management ideas in workshops where they are to work alongside members of this same management, and that they may not even want to participate in collaborative sessions if the working environment normally is highly hierarchical. Such instances are, according to Bødker et al. (1993, p. 165) problematic since they result in the most powerful actor "setting the agenda". Also problematized are the roles of designers and their relationship to the workers involved. Muller (1993) argues that an unnecessary power imbalance is created if a prototype is so technically advanced that workers cannot explore it on their own but must run all their ideas by a technically knowledgeable designer. While Markussen stated that it is often claimed that designers "support people's work, not to control it", when in reality "we may in fact sometimes do both" (1994, p. 64).

Discussions on challenges with the designer role in participatory design, and the relationship to those involved, as mentioned above, can also be found in later writings. For instance, it has been argued that designers and design re-

searchers to easily can "privilege their own ideas and experiences" over those of participants (Steen, 2011, p. 55), and that ethical guidelines are lacking for people's involvement (Lasky, 2013). In addition, concerns have been raised regarding the way in which designers' and participants' roles are accounted for in project reports. It has been argued that designers' power to influence the direction of projects is seldom recognized in project reports or presentations (Light and Akama 2012). That there despite the heavy focus on the involvement of people in design processes are few accounts on how people participate, what roles they are given or take on in projects or how their roles may alter as the project is progressing (Dalsgaard and Halskov 2012; Blomberg and Karasti 2013), and it is stated that people's participation is often portrayed as being uncomplicated (Bødker, 2006). These acknowledged challenges have led scholars to argue for better articulations regarding the roles that people have in projects (Halskov and Hansen 2014). That there is a need to commit to reflecting critically on why, how, when, and in what ways people participate (Vines, Clarke, Wright, McCarthy and Olivier, 2013), as well as what influence we as designers have over projects (Light and Akama 2012).

Community-based participatory design

Most of the early participatory design projects took place in workplace settings in Western countries, and generally involved staff, management and system designers. However, there are also examples of projects taking place in rural communities in various African countries, involving residents of those communities. For instance, Braa (1996, p. 22) describes two cases initiated in the 1990s that dealt with computer system development for healthcare services in disadvantaged South African communities, and which involved both hospital staff and community members. He suggests, after the experience of working in this context, that a "community approach" should be added to the already existing perspectives of participatory design. Such an approach would, according to Braa, need to contain activities on different levels, including collaborative activities with residents, informative activities (e.g. open meetings, announcements in local radio and newspapers) aimed at the broader community, as well as activities on a political level for discussing the project in relation to larger issues of social development. Another example, given by Korpela et al. (1996), is a project dealing with system design in the healthcare sector in south-western Nigeria. They argue that participatory design is a suitable approach in an Afri-

can context, but that the "scope of participation needs to be expanded" (ibid, p. 25). Such expansion includes the involvement of community members who will be served by the medical facilities where the system is to be implemented, and a tripartite partnership is suggested as the appropriate approach to achieve this type of multi-stakeholder collaboration.

Later accounts of participatory design in community contexts are given in Routledge's handbook on participatory design by DiSalvo, Clement and Pipek (2013), as well as in several papers from the Participatory Design Conference (e.g Puri, Byrne, Leopoldo and Quraishi, 2004; Elovaara, Igira and Mörtberg, 2006; Akama and Ivanka, 2010; Winschiers-Theophilus, Chivuno-Kuria, Kapuire, Bidwell and Blake, 2010; Ssozi-Mugarura, Blake and Rivett, 2016). DiSalvo et al. (2013) like Braa (1996), see this as a distinct area within participatory design, and call it community-based participatory design (CBPD), whilst Ssozi-Mugarura et al. (2016) refer to it as community-based co-design (CBCD).[41] As in the earlier writings, it is stated that participatory design is suitable in an African context, and that this is so due to long-standing practices of "inclusive decision-making and participatory community meetings" (Winshiers-Theophilus et al., 2010, p. 2).

The term community is, perhaps not unsurprisingly, commonly used in accounts of community-based participatory design projects. However, the term has been recognized as problematic in the sense that it is "simultaneously elusive and familiar" (DiSalvo et al., 2013, p. 183). That it tends to hide social heterogeneity, possible internal power relations and who it is that is participating (Akama and Ivanka, 2010; Light and Akama, 2012), and it has been pointed out that community is "taken-for-granted in the participatory design discourse, omitting critical examination…" (Akama and Ivanka 2010, p. 11).

This discussion on community and how it tends to hide who is participating is connected to how we as researchers and practitioners account for participants and their participation in research writings and project reports. This is something that I will discuss further in chapter six, *Pitfalls of participation,* where I identify vague and abstracted conceptualization's of participants, through the use of words such as community, as a pitfall of participation.

41 I use community-based participatory design (CBPD) in this thesis.

Participation in other fields

Participatory rural appraisal

Participatory rural appraisal (PRA),[42] has several connections to participatory design. For instance, it is influenced by action research, rests on the principle that people have the right to participate in processes where the outcome will concern them, and it emerged from a discontent with current top-down processes in development projects in the 1970s. Its process is to some extent described in a similar way as a design process, namely as progressive, iterative and adaptive, with an explorative and flexible use of methods (Chambers, 1997). It is, as in design, acknowledged that much of our knowledge is tacit, and PRA methods and tools are therefore often visual and based on non-verbal communication, including mapping, modelling or diagramming, which enables people to express things that are hard to verbalize (Chambers, 2002).

Acknowledged challenges in participatory rural appraisal

The practice of participatory rural appraisal has, since it emerged, expanded rapidly. According to Chambers (1997, p. 115), this has led to serious problems with bad practice, and he argues that "[i]n some countries and regions, such as Nepal and Andhra Pradesh, the question is reportedly less whether to use PRA processes or methods, and more how well or badly they will be used". Meanwhile Sarin, (1998, p. 124) connects it to a lack of standards, which has made it hard to "distinguish between those genuinely committed to participation and equitable development and those who have simply joined the bandwagon to stay in business". Furthermore, the heavy focus on methods and tools has received criticism. It has for instance been argued that an over belief and pos-

42 PRA stems from rapid rural appraisal (RRA) that emerged in the 1970s. The main aim of RRA was to create more effective and just ways for outsiders (i.e. researchers and project workers) to learn about rural life in an alternative way as compared to the common use of questionnaires, which were seen to be top-down and dominated by researchers. In the 1980s, the aspect of the participation of rural residents was introduced to RRA, which led to the emergence of participatory rural appraisal (PRA). The focus in PRA is on empowerment of vulnerable or socially and economically marginalized groups, and it is described as a set of approaches and methods that aim to enable people to engage actively in the development of their community. Areas of application include natural resource management (coastal resources, water conservation, land tenure and policy etc.) agriculture, health and nutrition, all of which are related to the field of development. The application of PRA is widely spread, with projects taking place in South and South-East Asia, Latin America, and African countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Ghana. PRA also has connections to participatory learning and action (PLA) (Chambers, 1983, 1994, 1997).

itivity towards tools has led to other aspects such as social inclusion, empowerment, conflict and inequality being overshadowed, left unproblematized or undefined (Chambers, 1997; Cornwall, 1998; Crawley, 1998; Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998). That communities are seen as homogenous entities, and that descriptions of how people are involved go no further than statements that it is community participation (Chambers, 1997). Another aspect, acknowledged as problematic, is that it is mainly positive results that are chosen to be included in publications since they fit in with already pre-set constructions and beliefs, while errors are rarely shared and reported, but rather hidden away and forgotten in a form of "diplomatic discretion". According to Chambers, this sensor-ship is not uncommon, since after all, those who write about projects often rely on their reports to make a living (Chambers, 1997, p. 86).

Other acknowledged challenges in participatory rural appraisal concern the inequalities that exist between project workers coming from the outside, such as researchers from other cultural (e.g. European) contexts and local facilitators (who may act as a sort of intercultural interpreter). The local facilitator may be a member of the community in which a project is taking place, a member of a community-based organization (CBO) or a researcher from a local university. Local facilitators are crucial for the foreign project workers' ability to carry out their work, since they can encourage acceptance from other local actors, and provide knowledge on local cultures and customs, connections, translation and much more. However, this crucial job is, according to Chambers (1994, 1997), often undervalued in terms of compensation and other privileges, while the foreign project workers receive numerous privileges such as allowances for working abroad, residence in quality hotels and decent remuneration.

These above-mentioned challenges have led scholars engaged in participatory rural appraisal, like their counterparts in participatory design, to argue for the development of a more reflective and critical agenda (Crawley, 1998; Humble, 1998). For researchers and development practitioners to become self-critical, and for the inclusion of challenges met and mistakes made in research reporting (Chambers, 1997). Chambers (1997, p. 2), referring to development professionals working with participation, states that we "are much of the problem, and it is through changes in us that" changes can be brought about.

Harsh criticism aimed at participation

The critical points mentioned above, have to a large extent been raised by the frontal figure of PRA, Robert Chambers. However, the harshest criticism can be

found in publications such as *Participation: the new tyranny?* (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), in which PRA and participation is truly scrutinized. It is for example argued that participation has become characterized by ostensible claims of democracy, empowerment and local ownership of projects (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Taylor, 2001; Hickey and Mohan, 2004), even though projects are most often directed by external project leaders, since it is these actors who "own the research tools, choose the topics, record the information, and abstract and summarize" the results (Mosse, 2001, p. 19). Meanwhile, claims for empowerment are said to be unclear since who it is that is empowered is rarely accounted for; if empowerment is restricted to specific groups or if it includes the entire community (Cleaver, 2001). Furthermore, it has been argued that the practice of participation has become "routinized" (Henkel and Sirrat, 2001, p. 178) and that project workers lack critical self-reflection (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). It has also been asserted that focus is wrongly put on analyses of project activities, whilst reflections on "power dynamics, on patterns of inclusion and exclusion" are absent (Cleaver, 2001, p. 54). Another such assertion is that project set-up and reports carry symptoms of ethnocentricity, with a language that "depicts the world in terms of a distinction between 'them' and 'us'" (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, p. 105).

Architecture and planning

Some of the early mentions of participation in design are intertwined with architecture, noticeable for example in the first conference on participatory design that took place in Manchester in 1971. In the conference publication, we can read Cross's (1972) criticism towards the current lack of social responsibility by designers, architects and planners, and how he viewed participation as a means for them to address socially related issues. Today, citizen participation[43] in architecture and planning, as in design, is both praised and condemned. It is for example mentioned that participation is seen by some as a deepened form of democracy, where people are engaged in democratic dialogue forums and decision-making processes in their cities (Tahvilzadeh, 2013). However, it is at the same time argued that even though citizen participation may be based on the ideal that it is open for everybody, and that everybody has the same possibilities and influential power (Mansbridge et al., 2010), there are plenty examples of processes with non-genuine motives that are poorly executed (Tahvilzadeh, 2013). It has been stated that participation has become a roman-

43 Citizen participation is in some contexts (Sweden for example) often referred to as citizen dialogues.

ticized phenomenon, seen as the "saviour of all evil" (Miessen, 2010, p. 14), and that there is a risk of participatory processes becoming controlled by the interest of already privileged groups, since marginalized and vulnerable groups do not have the power or time to participate (Tahvilzadeh, 2013). Such forms of participation, where unprivileged groups are involved in non-genuine ways, were acknowledged as far back as the late 1960s in the US through Arnstein's (1969, p. 216) ladder of citizen participation, and through the concern she expressed about claims of citizen participation not resulting in a "redistribution of power".

Ecotourism and community-based tourism

Another area related to the project in Kisumu, and in which participation can be found is tourism, or more specifically ecotourism and community-based tourism Ecotourism has been described as a counter-reaction, and an alternative to mass tourism that has been accused of disturbing local communities and damaging natural reserves (Stonich, 1998; Belsky 1999; Fennel, 2003; Honey, 2008). In terms of participation, it is mentioned as important that community members are included in decision-making processes early on and on a long-term basis, and that the tourism business should benefit them economically (Fennel, 2003). Furthermore, it has been said that ecotourism can empower members of local communities (Scheyvens, 1999) since they gain new knowledge, skills and contacts, as well as experience in managing projects and formulating proposals for funding (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008).

However, concerns have been raised regarding how participation is accounted for, as is the case in participatory design, participatory rural appraisal, and participatory architecture and planning. It has for example been argued that issues of internal power relations have been ignored (Hall, 1994), that the complex nature of communities is insufficiently acknowledged, and that it is rarely made explicit who the participants are in tourism-related projects (Southgate, 2006). It has been asserted that literature on ecotourism and community-based tourism is littered with naïve stories of participation, and that claims of community control over tourism development are poorly evidenced (Blackstock, 2002; Southgate, 2006). Another contention is that people who are not positive towards tourism development projects in their community are treated as though they were impeding development (Blackstock, 2005). That "communities rarely have the opportunity to say no" (Hall, 1994, p. 169), and that members of local communities seldom get a real chance to manage tourism businesses, but are only provided with an illusion of self-management

(Blackstock, 2005). In addition, with regard to ecotourism in Kenya, Amati (2013) argues that it is full of contradictions; that ecotourism ventures have become unsustainable in terms of both economic and social factors; and that communities struggle to benefit from them, since they are often owned and managed by foreigners, or large international tourism corporations.

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter four

This chapter has revolved around a discussion of theories and practices of participation. The main focus has been on participatory design, although participatory rural appraisal, ecotourism, community-based tourism, and participatory architecture and planning have also been included. What the discussion on these participatory fields and areas illustrates is that similar types of challenges emerge in all of them, that similar criticism have been directed at them, and that some issues acknowledged way back in the 1960s still prevail.

Furthermore, the challenges identified in this chapter are to a large extent connected to the roles that designers and participants respectively have in projects, and the relationships between them. Also, they are connected to the way in which people's involvement is accounted for in research writings and project reports. These challenges have connections to the project in Kisumu, and I aim to take these through and explore them further in chapter six, *Pitfalls of participation*. It is in particular the discussion by Chambers on inequalities between external researchers and local actors, as well as the challenges embedded in the use of the term community, and concepts such as community empowerment and community participation that I will problematize further.

In the following and fourth chapter, *Reflection on methodology*, I will describe the approaches that I have used to engage in a reflection on the participatory approach in the Kisumu project. This includes a discussion on how I see this reflection as an ethnographic (or rather ergonographic) exploration, as well as on how I have chosen to use feminist theory as a critical lens in this exploration.

4. REFLECTION ON METHODOLOGY

Reflection on methodology

> "[r]eflexivity refers to the capacity of any entity to turn back on itself, to make itself its own object of investigation. For example, reflexivity may mean turning back on a phenomenon on a societal/global level or on the level of minutiae, or the researcher turning back on her/himself or on her/his discipline"
>
> Excerpt from Pihkala and Karasti (2016, p. 21) on the meaning of reflexivity in participatory design.

The aim of this thesis is to explore pitfalls of participation and participatory design research, which amongst other things means that I need to engage in a critical reflection of the participatory methodologies that I have made use of in the Kisumu project. However, I have found writing about my methodological approach in a reflective mode to be challenging, since it forces me to explore how I have chosen to approach the project critically. I have fallen into a style of writing in which I simply describe the participatory research methodologies that have guided the process, in a straightforward and affirmative fashion. For a long time, I kept on reformulating and fine-tuning an introductory text to this chapter, which stated that the project in Kisumu has a transdisciplinary (TD)[44] set-up in the sense that it is approached from multiple angles through the collaboration between actors from different academic disciplines, practices and members of the society, where the aim is co-produce knowledge that is useful for both academia and practice. I also claimed that the process is

44 Transdisciplinary research stems from a belief that the complexity of contemporary society requires a tripartite collaboration between academia, industry and society (e.g. Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons, 2001; Guggenheim, 2006; Pohl et al., 2010). It is, like action research and participatory action research tied to a specific context in which both scientific and societal perspectives are supposed to be taken into account (Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008).

informed by action research (AR)[45] and participatory action research (PAR)[46] methodologies, in the sense that Eva Maria and I have aimed to keep the process open for change and redirection, and since the project is taking place in a community that to some extent can be seen as underprivileged. Finally, I stated that this arrangement of participatory approaches set the scene for an inclusive and action-oriented research process, which is appropriate when the aim is not only to develop scientific knowledge but also to accomplish real transformation through implementations with positive societal effects.

This type of description presents an ideal picture of participatory research, where co-production of knowledge and openness to change and redirection of the process are represented as certainties, as if they came naturally with participation. This is in opposition to the aim of the thesis, namely to explore the uncertainties and complexities that lie behind such ideal representations. I will therefore not to give a descriptive explanation of action research, participatory action research or transdisciplinary research. Rather, I will describe the methods that I have used to enable critical reflection of these participatory methodologies and on the participatory approach that I have used in Kisumu.

It should also be mentioned that the focus on challenges of participation and participatory research makes methodology a central component in this thesis. Challenges that are of a methodological nature are therefore not confined to this chapter, but will be discussed throughout the remaining parts of the thesis. For instance, the hindrances experienced in the Kisumu project of reaching co-production of knowledge between the engaged actors, as is an aim in transdisciplinary research, is explored in chapter six, *Pitfalls of participation*.

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45 Participatory design is often described as having a connection to action research, and there are many similarities between descriptions of the two approaches (e.g. Bødker et al., 1993; Swann, 2002; Kensing and Greenbaum, 2013; Hasdell, 2016), such as the emphasis on reaching transformation at a local level. The possibilities for researchers to become actively involved in a process of change (McTaggart, 1994; Bannon and Ehn, 2013), and the iterative and emergent nature of the process, which is kept open for change and redirection if the actions and experiences from the process show this as necessary (Lewin, 1946; McTaggart, 1994; Swann, 2002; Blomberg and Karasti, 2013). Another similarity is the element of creation through visualizations, photographs or the building of prototypes (Bødker et al., 1993; McIntyre, 2008).

46 Participatory action research is a form of action research that emerged in the 1970s, and which takes inspiration from Paulo Freire (e.g. Freire, 1970) and his focus on the emancipation of underprivileged groups and their right to partake in critical reflection on their situation, as a way to unveil dominant power structures (Chevalier and Buckles, 2013). Participatory action research methodology is generally used to provide guidance for projects taking place in the global South, and/or which involve marginalized or underprivileged communities (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2003; Chevalier and Buckles, 2013).

An ethno/ergonographic exploration of the participatory approach

This thesis revolves to a large extent around my observations of the participatory approach used in the Kisumu project, and a critical reflection of the challenges that appeared in it. The methodological approach can thereby be defined as ethnographic, where I through my active engagement in the participatory process, and through reflections on this engagement, explore and analyze the nature of participation and how people engage in it.

It is not that I see myself as an ethnographic researcher exploring the local context and the community life in Dunga. Some of the methods that have been used in the process, such as following the guides when they take visitors on guided tours, are inspired by ethnographic methods,[47] although my research process has not been ethnographic in the sense that I have rigorously followed and analyzed the guides and how they live. Rather, it is how I look at the participatory approach and my actions as a design researcher in it that can be seen as an ethnographic investigation. I have been actively and personally involved in the participatory process. I have observed and tried to make sense of the events in it and how different actors including myself have become involved, as well as how this involvement, and people's roles, relations and preconditions have altered as the project has progressed. This approach to ethnographic work could be likened to Ahmed's (2012, p. 22) idea of "institutional ethnography", and her description of how she does ethnographic work within and on her own field (in her case, diversity work at the university), which puts her in the position of being both an insider and an outsider.

However, having said that, I would like to frame my approach a bit narrower, since stating that I explore participation as an ethnographer is an overstatement. Here I turn to Czarniaswskas (2007, p. 17) discussion on the misuse of the term ethnography by scholars who are not really exploring human societies and cultures, or "people's ways of life", but only fractions of it. Keeping in mind that I am not exploring people, their culture and how they live, but rather my

47 Ethnography has influenced participatory design research since the 1980s. It has for example been mentioned that ethnographic methods can enable designers to understand the everyday and collaborative practices of people better, due to the focus on first-hand experiences, a natural setting and the importance of understanding the situation from the viewpoint of the participants. However, criticism has also been raised regarding ethnography being applied only in the form of methods or techniques, with the argument that this undermines the holistic focus and the possibilities to analyze and interpret the situation rigorously (Blomberg et al., 1993; Blomberg and Karasti, 2013).

own work, and the practice of participatory design and participatory research, using the concept *ergonography*[48] (ergon meaning work) (Czarniaswska, 1997, 2007) is more accurate. I have taken guidance from literature on ethnography, but I am aware that my focus on the practice of participation means that I am only looking at a small fraction of life. Other similar concepts include Mol's (2002, p. 53) *praxiography,*[49] where the researcher investigates and writes stories about "practices" as opposed to stories of "people and the relations between them", as would be the case for an ethnographer.

Becoming aware of challenges through a breakdown

I have encountered things that differed from my expectations of what a participatory process should be like, through my active engagement in the project and through my observations of and reflections on this engagement. Such encounters can be referred to as *breakdowns* and are seen as crucial for making ethnographers aware of problematic issues that they initially could not see (Agar, 1986). For me, one such breakdown came when being introduced to the criticism aimed at participation. This occurred during a presentation on the 'purgatory' of participation, which challenged my view of it through questions such as who benefits from participation?[50] This experience led me to question the 'inherent goodness' of participation, to alter my interpretation of it and my approach to the project in Kisumu. In addition, this encounter was perhaps particularly forceful since it occurred right before I was to present my own project, and since my plan to present it in a straightforward and positive manner stood in stark contrast to the criticism that was presented. This could therefore be seen as a core breakdown (Agar, 1986) since it changed my perception of participation to such an extent that it was impossible to continue in the same manner as before. Having opened myself to questioning participation through

48 Czarniaswska (1997, 2007) replaces *ethno*, meaning people with *ergon*, meaning work, but chooses to keep *graphon*, meaning write, which implies that an ergonographer investigates and writes about work and practices.

49 The focus on practice (or praxis) in praxiography indicates that a praxiographic study is situated within and tied to a specific context or performance of that practice. Mol (2002, p. 54) emphasizes how this means that the meaning of the word *is* in such studies "requires spatial specification", and that it is impossible to say that something *is* in a certain way "by nature, everywhere". Similarly, the discussion on just participation in this thesis is highly connected to the specific participatory practice that has happened in the project in Kisumu, meaning that what *is* important, challenging or successful in this process do not necessarily have to be so in another participatory process taking place in another space and time.

50 Held in January, 2014 by Otto von Busch.

this breakdown may also have made it easier for me to see aspects such as inequalities between actors and the exclusion of women in the project. For instance, one of my PhD student colleagues, Jennifher Adhiambo Otieno, had urged Eva Maria and me to involve women right from the start of the project, although it was not until after the breakdown that we actually listened, and took action to work for an active integration of women.

Writing as reflection and reflecting on writing

Seeing my exploration and observations of the participatory approach as ethnographic, or rather ergonographic, also casts light on how writing can be used as a "method of inquiry"[51] (Richardson and Adams St Pierre, 2018, p. 818) to further explore and deepen my understanding of challenges of participation. Using writing in this way implies that you turn it into a tool for (self)-reflection, where you think through the act of writing (ibid), and where your thinking, and therefore also your actions, are altered as a result of the writing process (Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, using writing as reflection opens for the opportunity of catching fleeting thoughts and emotions, things that you may not have noted down in your field-notes, or that may not be in your direct consciousness, but which can come forth through the act of writing (Richardson and Adams St Pierre, 2018).

Writing has for me been a method of inquiry in the sense that it has altered my understanding and approach to participation. It has made instances in the process visible where I had thought that I was setting up preconditions for just participation, but where I in reality was creating a form of participation that for some was exclusionary or unjust. For example, it was when writing the paper *Designing for or designing with?* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a), in which Eva Maria and I connected the criticism aimed at participation to the way that we had worked with the process in Kisumu, that we could identify some of the challenges with our approach. Also, writing have made aware of some of my own preconceived notions, prejudices and Eurocentric thinking, in the sense that I did not always notice that they were there until I had written them out on paper. However, I am sure that there are some still prevailing that I am yet to notice. These are things in the text that I am yet to see, and that I am still blind to, but which may be revealed through the act of situating a text such as this one in a public forum.

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51 Writing as a method of inquiry and analysis is connected to CAP ethnographies (creative analytical processes) and experimental writing (Richardson and Adams St Pierre, 2018).

In addition, I have aimed to use this thesis to reflect, not only through writing but also on writing, meaning that I take the opportunity to reflect critically on my previous publications in which I have written about the project.[52] The idea behind this is that it allows me to go back to earlier thoughts and ideas, and to reflect critically upon details in these texts that I may not have seen when writing for the publication deadline.

Feminist theory as a lens for critical reflection

The focus on reflection on my participatory practice makes it natural to turn to Schön and his descriptions of design as a reflective practice and his concepts of reflection-in-action (and on action) and reflective conversation (e.g. Schön 1983, 1984). However, important to note is that reflection can become limiting if it is not done with the aim to constantly learn and re-learn, or if it does not include reflections on your own role as a practitioner or researcher, or your own frame of reference and the systems in which you are working. If this is not done, you will, according to Schön (1983, p. 283), not get very far in your reflection, and you may need to be pushed into seeing what you have so far "worked to avoid seeing". Connecting this to my own research process, I would say that I was pushed to look beyond my established view of participation through the breakdown described earlier, which occurred when I was introduced to criticism of participation. Furthermore, I have, in the later stages, found feminist theories to be helpful when aiming to see beyond my own established views, and I have used it a critical lens when reflecting on the project in Kisumu.

Following the thoughts of Bardzell and Bardzell (2011), and Pihkala and Karasti (2016), feminist theories can be used to facilitate reflection on participation, since they cast light on issues of power, politics and various forms of exclusion connected to for example gender and Eurocentrism. They provide a critical perspective, emphasizing the importance of questioning dominant values, assumptions, epistemologies and concepts that affect your research process (Bardzell, 2010; Bardzell and Bardzell, 2011), and they acknowledge the need to identify and reflect upon the role and influence of the researcher in the

52 See pages 23–24 where the publications that I reflect upon are listed.

process (Pihkala and Karasti, 2016).[53] This indicates that reflecting on participation through feminist theories opens up for an exploration of things that I take as being natural and given, due to my own background, beliefs and position in the world (Ahmed, 2012). Feminist theories can thus facilitate reflection on my role as a Swedish researcher working in Kenya, challenging possible Eurocentric thinking, and urging me to reflect on otherwise genderless notions such as participants and community through a gender lens (Ali, 2007).

It is mainly to texts that focus on postcolonial or race-related issues that I have turned to in feminist theories (e.g. Mohanty, 1988; Harding, 1998; Mohanty, 2003; Ahmed, 2012). For instance, Harding's (1998) and Mohanty's (1988, 2003) texts opened for reflection on how I write about the involvement of women in the project, and the risk of writing in a Eurocentric, stereotypical, generalizing and reductionist way, thus creating inaccurate stories of 'others'. While readings of Ahmed (2012) have enabled me to reflect on my use of words and made me more attentive to the power stored in words. As well as it showed me how words such as community and empowerment, can become routine phrases that are easy to employ simply because I am already using them.

Reflections on binary aspects of gender

The integration of feminist theories into my reflective process, and of a gender perspective in the Kisumu project came quite late. The closest collaboration partner in the project during the first two years was the local guide group, and the fact that this group consisted mainly of men meant that there were few women who participated project activities.[54] A reason for this is that guiding is a male-dominated profession in Kenya (e.g. Koome et al., 2013; Stephen et al., 2013), and women were rarely included in discussions regarding tourism development taking place in the community. However, it was also due to my own cultural background, having been brought up in an egalitarian culture where

53 There is methodological guidance to be found in participatory action research (PAR) regarding aspects such as gender and Eurocentrism (e.g. Cornwall, 2003; Chevalier and Buckles, 2013). However, I have chosen to use feminist theories since they provide richer material on these areas than PAR theory does. Further, there are other theories that emphasize the need for researchers to identify their own role in the process, such as Actor network theory (ANT) (e.g. Latour, 2005). However, I will stay with feminist theories since they offer a wider scope for reflection, in the sense that they also focus on aspects such as gender, post-colonialism and Eurocentrism, all of which are needed for the type of research project that I am reflecting upon in this thesis.

54 Both men and women participated in the first three workshops that were open to residents. However, the participation of women decreased when the participation narrowed to mainly consisting of the guide group after the first three workshops.

women working as guides is a natural and uncontested phenomenon. Thus in the initial phases I did not reflect that much upon the male composition of the group. Gender was in other words not a main object of my attention (Ahmed, 2012). However, the breakdown described above, when being introduced to criticism of participation during the presentation on the 'purgatory' of participation, as well as discussions with my PhD student colleague Jennifher, led to the integration of a gender focus in the project. Jennifher had on several occasions pointed out to Eva Maria and me that we should consider involving women in the project. However, I felt that I lacked a good enough understanding of the social organization of gender in this particular cultural, geographical, disciplinary and political context, and I doubted that I was in a good position to work with it. My own culture was in this case a "prison house", which at first hindered me from seeing that there were gender-related issues, as well as it meant that I was not equipped with the knowledge or insights needed to approach such issues (Harding, 1998, p. 61).

My interpretation of gender in the Kisumu project is binary in the sense that it does not go much further than a discussion of men and women.[55] This is partly influenced by my empirical material and the things that I have observed. For instance, that guiding is a male-dominated profession in the area, and that discussions on gender[56] in the project have been divided into discussions on either men or women. For example, how women could become involved in the project and in the tourism business, what challenges there were for women working as guides, how the more experienced male guides could help the women to get started, and how the male guides' position might change when women started working as guides. Also, the women who became engaged in the local tourism business through the project collaborated with the male guide group, but chose to organize themselves in a women's group, and they have mainly focused on introducing activities such as cooking and crafts for tourists, which are both common and socially accepted professions for women. This indicate that what I have seen in the project are binary aspects of gender. However, it could also be said that the reflection in itself is binary, since I do not attempt to reflect further than these binaries, for which

55 This means that I am not portraying the full complexity of gender, in the sense that I do not acknowledge that gender is in part socially and culturally determined (Murthy, 1998); that "gender relations are dynamic" (Harding, 1998, p. 86); that there can be "multiple models of gender" (Cornwall, 1998, p. 51); or that there are "many ways of being a man or a woman" (ibid, p. 53).

56 For example, parts of the discussions during the two initial workshops for the county-wide guide association, held early in 2015, focused on gender.

the inclusion of feminist theories does provide material. This is connected to the late inclusion of gender in the project, and to my own late start in reading feminist theories, which means that I am only able to go to a certain depth in my reflections on gender at this point. I am not a feminist scholar and discussing gender could be seen as trying to bite off more than I can chew, in particular when you consider the complexity of the field. However, the fact that the lack of focus on involving women in the project emerged as an issue, and that women since then have become actively involved in the project and thereby also in the previously male-dominated guide profession indicate that I cannot ignore to address gender. Even though I will not be able to produce a fully insightful, deep and nuanced discussion on it.

Reflecting on the role of a Swedish researcher working in Kenya

Reflecting on if, when and how my research consolidates or restores Eurocentric norms, colonial power-structures, or other forms of cultural biases is important since the project takes place in a country that has a history of European colonization, since it is set-up as a North-South collaboration, and since it includes Swedish researchers going to Kenya to do research. Also, the fact that I had a very limited understanding about the cultures in Kenya when I first went into the project indicates a need to reflect on my own cultural unawareness, and how my own background influences the way that I see the world and thereby conduct my research (Markussen, 1994; Harding, 1998). For example, I lacked insight to how cultures in this setting are constructed regarding aspects such a gender, religion, education, class, ethnicity, affiliation with specific lines of work, groups or organizations. My thinking was reductionist and stereotypical and I had a number of preconceived and false beliefs about what Kenya and Kenyan cultures are, and a different understanding of how things 'should' work. Being involved in the project, spending time in the context, interacting with the Kenyan society and reading literature on Kenyan cultures have of course widened my understanding, although my unawareness will never fully disappear since it is not the cultural context that I was brought up in. Some of the misunderstandings that I had in the beginning have been corrected, whilst new ones have been created. These new misunderstandings have been generated through my now more comprehensive, but still very

patchy understanding of Kenya. I have, in the later parts of the project, noticed that I sometimes overrate my cultural knowledge, thinking that I understand, when in fact I am still making judgements that are based on and limited by my own perspectives. One example is my conception of meeting time. Coming from Sweden it was my belief that one should arrive at work-related meetings at the appointed time. In Kisumu on the other hand it is normal to start about half an hour after the appointed time, and it is seen as rude to start the meeting before everyone has arrived. This created frustration on my side when I was there at the appointed time, whilst the people I was about to meet probably felt stressed by knowing that I was there already, impatiently waiting. Neither concept of time is more right than the other, and I do not know why I did not follow the local custom when I was there, and arrived at the same time as everybody else. I guess it shows how ingrained our cultural behaviours are, and how firmly we believe that the cultural behaviours that we are used to are the right ones. What this indicates is that I need always to keep in mind that what I take as being natural is in fact "not natural at all, but *learned*, that is, cultural" (Larson, 1973, p. 464).

This need to reflect on cultural unawareness has been recognized in participatory design literature. For instance, Del Gaudio, Jefferson de Oliviera and Franzato (2014) point out that projects set in an unfamiliar context demand the creation of well-grounded understanding of the setting, local (and sometimes unspoken) rules, community dynamics, traditions, and the perception and use of time. Whilst Winschiers-Theophilus et al. (2010) recognize the importance of taking local knowledge systems into account. However, gaining such understanding take a substantial amount of time, and as the discussion above hints, it is uncertain how well grounded this understanding can ever become. Perhaps it is not only about gaining understanding about other cultures, but about combining the knowledge systems of the Global South and North as has been proposed by Thackara (2008), in a setting in which intercultural communication can occur.

The power embedded in the researcher role

The discussion above on the need to account for my role as a Swedish researcher, working in a culture to which I am unaccustomed is a first step in positioning the "social location" of the research (Harding, 1998, p. 188). However, this positioning is incomplete unless it is followed by further clarifications regarding the type of role that I as a researcher have in the project, what power and

influence I have on its process and outcome, and what my responsibilities are (Suchman, 2002; Light and Akama, 2012). This need to position oneself as a researcher can be connected to Haraway's (1988, p. 582) discussion of the "god trick",[57] and the criticism of researchers writing as if they are acting objectively from nowhere, even though they are writing from somewhere, and for someone's particular interest (e.g. certain institutions, disciplinary communities or political interests). Turning to design, you find similar criticism. Suchman (2002, p. 96), for instance, talks of a "design from nowhere", where designers and/or design researchers' positions in projects are unlocatable, whilst Light and Akama (2012) problematize the anonymization of designers and their actions, and any portrayal of them as objective and neutral.

One aspect of positioning myself in the research is to make clear how I account for my role to the people I work with in Kisumu. When engaging with residents in the village where the project is taking place, I have referred to myself as a PhD student, which is also how the guides talk about us (Eva Maria and myself) when they for example introduce us to people or when they talk about the project. Positioning myself as a PhD student makes it possible for people to place me in a university context, as well as it provides with information that this is a research project. This could of course be problematical since it may signal to people that I have less power to act within the project than I do have. For instance, it may give the impression that I do not have the power to make major decisions regarding the direction of the project, but that this is done by someone higher up in the university hierarchical system.

I believe that it is important that I conceptualize myself as being an actor from the university, whilst residents are conceptualized as residents and the guides as guides engaged in a tourism organization, since it clarifies that people are acting from different positions. I would not like to call myself a facilitator, since that term hides the fact that I have a project-leading role. Also, stating that I act only as a facilitator in the project would be incorrect since I have been an active actor in the sense that I state my ideas and suggestions in workshops, meetings, open presentations and reports. Further information on my role as a design researcher (who in her researcher role also work as a practitioner), and how my role relates to other people's role in the process, will be given in the case description in the following chapter.

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57 Haraway's concept of situated knowledges in which the god trick is discussed, is a critical response to Harding's (1986) discussion on standpoint theory.

Reflecting on representation

One last thing that is important to address in this chapter, and when writing about a project taking place in an African country, is the commonly one-sided and negative portrayal of Africa, African countries, cultures and people in Eurocentric media, literature and research writings,[58] since it indicates the need to be aware of what type of message I make present through my writings and presentations of the project in Kisumu. For example, what type of language am I using, and in what ways may it be biased, Eurocentric, condescending, adding to stereotypes or creating new prejudice? Are people categorized in a hierarchical manner, or am I using classist connotations of words to characterize members of a particular group, including words such as deprived, disadvantaged, or underprivileged? Or am I using terms such as developing, emerging or non-industrialized country, which "contain an implicit comparison with the countries that are…" (Schwartz, 1995, p. 69). These may seem to be obvious questions, however they need to be discussed as long as biased and simplified writings exist and as long as a condescending rhetoric is used. How we formulate ourselves influence our future actions as well as other and future researchers. It is a "way to exercise power/…/where the written word has political effects and implications beyond the immediate discipline" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 509).

Regarding my own use of words when writing about the project in Kisumu, one word that can be problematized is vulnerable. In an article, *A tool for reflection – on participant diversity and changeability over time in participatory design* (Kraff, 2018), I argue for the importance of researchers reflecting on aspects such as vulnerability in projects where there are people involved in the process who live under strained economic circumstances,[59] who do not have adequate social safety nets,[60] or when peoples possibilities of making an income are or risk to become dependent on the project. I write that the guide group had a strong

58 Africa has often been displayed as a coherent unity, where all African countries are bundled together as if they were a single country. British journalist Richard Dowden mentions that it is rare that journalists show a more complex image of Africa, and that the "endlessly repeated images of guns, oppression, hunger and disease create the impression that this is all that ever happens in Africa", even though "[m]illions of Africans have never known hunger or war and lead ordinary peaceful lives" (Dowden, 2009, p. 6). Similarly, Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) talks about the 'single story of Africa', in which Africa is described repeatedly in negatives and as being different.

59 For example, living below the poverty line (1,9 $/day), or living on insecure day-to-day earnings.

60 For example, not having an income, medical or life insurance.

social position in the village, but that the number of visitors tends fluctuate due to external factors over which the guides have no control.[61] This, and the fact that they do not have access to fully functional and adequate social welfare systems indicate that they are in a vulnerable situation financially, and that I need to take this into consideration when making decisions in the project.

Although, my use of the term vulnerable can at the same time be questioned, since it may add to certain prejudice. Thus, it needs to be complemented by contrasting stories and contrasting terms to avoid the creation of a negative and monolithic image of the group or the community. For example, it needs to be accompanied by the acknowledgement that the guides take a lot of initiatives to gain secure situations for themselves. That they on several occasions successfully have applied for funds to develop their organization, and that they actively promote the place to attract more visitors. Also, the term vulnerability is in the article not tied only to the situation of the people engaged in this project. Rather, I claim that vulnerability needs to be explored in all types of participatory design projects due to the aim in design of attaining some sort of change, and the fact that participants are expected to contribute with their own personal ideas, and views to achieve this change. This is connected to an important principle in participatory design, namely that people should have the right to influence a process where the outcome will affect them (Schuler and Namioka, 1993). Although, it should not be taken for granted that all people feel that they are able to express their views freely, and it should be acknowledged that some may feel uncomfortable or even unsafe when being asked do so. Members of staff may for example feel uncomfortable to speak their mind in a workshop if what is said will be forwarded to her or his manager (Wagner, 1992), whereas residents in a community might experience a pressure to adapt how they express their views in order to take part in projects that can lead to a development of their community, neighbourhood or city (Mosse, 2001). Involving people in participation thereby "inevitably means that they are put in an exposed and possibly vulnerable situation" (Kraff, 2018, p. 65).

Representation through photographs

In similarity to the discussion on my use of words and how I write about the

61 The guides have expressed concern about the decrease in number of visitors, mainly international but to some extent also national, in connection with the terrorist attack in a shopping mall in Nairobi in 2013, the Ebola outbreak in West Africa in 2014, and the presidential elections in 2007 and 2017.

project in Kisumu, I also need to discuss the type of images that I use in relation to these writings. How are participants and the place where the project is taking place portrayed, and do the photographs in the thesis confirm preconceived or one-sided images of Kenya or Africa? Reports on participatory design projects often include photographs from project activities, no matter what context the project takes place in. However, it is interesting to consider if we ever question the purpose of these photographs. Are photos of project activities useful, for example from a workshop with smiling people gathered around large sheets of papers with colourful post-its on them? Do they provide new insights when they are incorporated into a paper intended for a design conference, where most readers have seen these types of photos numerous times before? Do I feel a need to show that we are working with visual and tangible methods, in a process that for some may seem far removed from more 'traditional' design processes where the outcome is a tangible artefact? Do I include pictures out of habit? Or because I think it is expected? In the paper *Designing for or designing with?* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a), Eva Maria and I did not include any photographs of the process. It did not seem necessary or appropriate, since we did not discuss project activities per se, but criticized the notion of preset frameworks in participatory research and an unequal distribution of roles in the project. However, one of the reviewers of the paper mentioned that it would be interesting to include some visual information from the fieldwork, such as workshops and practical implementations. We ended up including two photos, although we felt that they would not add to the readers understanding of the actual content of the paper.

Regarding the photos in this thesis, I can say that I did include them out of habit at first, and there were a lot of pictures of smiling workshop participants drawing colorful images. I believe that it is important to include photos when describing the project in Kisumu to provide readers who are unfamiliar with the context some additional understanding of the place. For instance, the village where the project is taking place is called Dunga, and the main tourism activities take place at a beach in the village, often referred to as Dunga beach. However, when mentioning Dunga beach in Sweden, people have thought that it is a luxury beach resort. This is not the case. A beach on the shores of Lake Victoria in Kisumu, such as Dunga beach, is often connected to a boat-landing site and a fish market, which is something that can be shown through photographs (see photo on page 38). When putting the thesis together, I do need to consider whether the photos that I choose show a one-sided image of the place. For instance, do I only show pictures from Dunga or do I also include im-

ages from Kisumu's inner city? I know the other parts of the city, but the reader may not, and could get the impression that Kisumu only consist of a small fishing village. What pictures do I show from the lake? Do they only include views of traditional sailing boats because I think they are beautiful, or do I include photos so that readers can see the larger motor-driven boats? What do I show from the village? Pictures of the traditionally crafted fish baskets, or of the solar lamps being charged outside the community centre?

However, having said that, it is also interesting to pose the question why photographs from a project in Kenya are seen as problematic. I have been asked to problematize the use of photos from the project in Kisumu on several occasions, particularly when they include people from the village, but I was never asked to do the same for the project in Bollebygd, which is in Sweden. Who decides if and when photographs are problematic? People in Kisumu have mentioned that they take pride in being included in photographs, and one of the guides commented: "when I see my picture, I feel that I am part and parcel of the process".[62] The guides have on several occasions asked for the photos that Eva Maria and I have taken, so that they can use them for marketing purposes, which raises the question if it is alright to use a photo for marketing purposes in the tourism business in Dunga, but problematic to use the same photo in this thesis? The photographs in this thesis are included to give the reader an initial understanding of the context and research process, seen through the eyes of Eva Maria and myself.

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter five

In this chapter I have aimed to describe how I have observed and reflected upon the participatory approach of the project in Kisumu. I have also described how the use of a feminist lens in this reflection opened for a critical form of reflection on aspects such as gender and my role as a Swedish researcher in the process. I have also considered the importance of reflecting on how I represent the people engaged in the project through my writings about and presentations of the project.

The overall aim in this thesis, to provide methodological guidance regarding how researchers and practitioners engaged in participation can work to-

62 December 6th 2013.

wards just forms of participation, is partly dealt with in this chapter. Feminist theories can be used as guidance in the sense that they cast light on pitfalls related to issues of power, exclusion, inequalities, and unjust situations in participatory processes. Also, the discussion on representation and simplified or stereotypical ways of portraying African countries and the people living there, can be connected to pitfalls related to how people are conceptualized in reports on participation. It is challenges such as these that will be further explored in chapter six, *Pitfalls of participation*.

In the following and fifth chapter, *Case description – the project in Kisumu*, I will zoom in on the process in Kisumu, with the aim of giving a clear account of how it was initiated, how it has evolved, who has been involved and in what ways people have been involved. Keeping the discussion in this methodological chapter in mind, I will also aim to account clearly for my own role in the process, as well as for the role of gender in the project, and how and when it was introduced.

5. CASE DESCRIPTION – THE PROJECT IN KISUMU

Case description – the project in Kisumu

"Don´t let this go now!"

Comment that I received from one of the participants after a workshop held for women in October 2015, which focused on the inclusion of women in the guiding profession. The comment was a request that I should not let to go of the process of integrating women in tourism, which I had been part in initiating.

The previous chapter described how I have approached the reflection of the participatory approach for the project in Kisumu, and it can be seen as a base for this fifth chapter that will provide with a description of this project. The project, which deals with ecotourism development in the fishing community of Dunga outside Kisumu city in Western Kenya, was initiated in September 2012. The main part of the fieldwork was conducted up until early 2016, although parts of it have continued to evolve since. Various actors have been involved in different ways. Some have been involved throughout and some have been involved for shorter periods, some at the start and other others only at a later stage. There have been a large number of activities, such as workshops, meetings and presentations, and there have been implementations throughout. The direction of the project has changed on more than one occasion, and there are other projects that have connected to ours. This complexity indicates that it will be demanding for the reader to grasp the situation and to get a good overview of the project, and I therefore aim to provide a description that is as clear as possible in this chapter. Information is given on the variety of participants, the roles that these participants have had in the project, and the role

that I have had. The aim is also to show how decisions have been taken, what methods have been used, and why these methods have been seen as suitable. Apart from this, the chapter describes the practical and implemented results of the process.

Framing of the project

The idea for the project came during the first field period in Kisumu in September of 2012 when Eva Maria and I first visited Dunga and were introduced by colleagues at the research platform in Kisumu (KLIP) to the members of the local guide group (DECTTA), the local non-governmental organization (NGO) Eco Finder Kenya,[63] and the community-elected Beach Management Unit (BMU).[64] We were introduced to other tourism sites as well, which senior researchers at KLIP had identified as interesting. However, Dunga seemed the most appropriate of these since there was an active group in place already working with ecotourism, which meant that it would not be a topic introduced by us as researchers. The guide group has been our key contact and closest collaboration partner throughout the project, although we have also had regular contact with the BMU[65] and the NGO. Also, there are four Kenyan PhD students, and one Swedish PhD student apart from Eva Maria and I, who have conducted parts of their research in Dunga.[66] Two of these are also focusing on ecotourism, and we have conducted some of the fieldwork together, particularly in the initial phases. Furthermore, a group of women in Dunga also got involved in the project about two years in, as they formed their own organization for wom-

63 The NGO focuses on education and conservation regarding the lake and its adjacent wetlands. They have provided members of the guide group with training on fauna and wildlife knowledge.

64 BMUs are community-based organizations that can be found in communities near lakes or the sea in Kenya. Their task is mainly to organize those involved in businesses related to fishing, such as boat owners, fish traders and boat builders. However, they often have a broader role and may also be in charge of land allocation as well as working to improve the general situation in the community.

65 It is customary to have a meeting with the BMU before carrying out any form of structural implementation in the village, and before organizing larger events. For example, we had a meeting before the cultural day held in late 2015. At the meeting, the members of the BMU speak their minds, and give their approval to proceed if they consider it to be a good idea.

66 Joshua Wanga, Frankline Otinede, Jennifher Adhiambo Otineo, Franklin Mwango and Helena Hanson. One of the PhD students had also conducted a project in Dunga during his Master studies, which made our initial connections with the local organizations in Dunga easier.

en wanting to work with tourism. As did a number of other local guide groups in Kisumu County, when the project turned to a focus on the establishment of a county-wide guide association.

The field periods that Eva Maria and I have spent in Kisumu are spread over seven occasions between 2012 and 2015.[67] These periods have been complemented by fieldwork conducted in Sweden, when two guides, one from the male guide group and one from the female guide group in Dunga spent ten days there in 2016. Another short visit to Kisumu was made by Eva Maria and me in 2017. There have also been Skype meetings,[68] e-mails and other online conversations. About a year and half into the process, Eva Maria and I held 19 qualitative, open-ended interviews with the local organizations and residents in Dunga, with the aim of inquiring how they had felt about the process and the activities in it so far.[69] These interviews were followed up by two additional interviews, with one member of the male guide group and one member of the female guide group. All interviews were sound-recorded and they have been transcribed verbatim.

All the fieldwork has been conducted in close collaboration with Eva Maria, and we have since the project started explored the principles of and developed methods for participation together. Notes have been taken during all field activities and written down daily in a research journal, and Eva Maria and I have shared our observations with each other during the entire process. These observations and all other sources of empirical material (photographs, films and secondary data) have been qualitatively analyzed in what can be described as a collaborative and cyclical process. The analysis usually started at the end of each day when Eva Maria and I reflected together on our observations from that day, and this was then followed by individual journal writing later in the evening. The next step was a reading of my research journal after coming back to Gothenburg. This reading aimed to source material for the reports that we have written after each field trip. These reports had no academic purpose, and there was no research question guiding the reading, although it provided me with a broader and deeper understanding of the situation. These readings have then been complemented by several new readings of the empirical material in which I have pinpointed important themes, of which a few have been further

67 Each field period lasted about three weeks.

68 There have been nine meetings held over Skype.

69 The interviews were held on 5–6 December 2013, with: the founder of the local NGO, an intern at the NGO, the vice-chairman of the BMU, nine members of the guide group, two craftswomen, one craftsman, one boat builder, two fishmongers and one fisherman.

explored through the writing of academic abstracts, papers, articles and book chapters.

Eva Maria and I have, sometimes in collaboration with our PhD student colleagues, put together a budget proposal prior to every field trip.[70] It was then sent to and approved by KLIP, sometimes after alterations. The money that has been released has mainly been used to implement ideas that have come up as a result of the project (e.g. signage systems, waste collection points and guide uniforms), for organizing training sessions for the guides, or purchasing workshop material. The guides were generally not included in the planning of these budgets in the early stages of the project, although they became more involved after about two years, when it was they who suggested what activities and what implementations were needed, for which they also calculated the costs.

In addition, four open presentations about the process have been held in the community hall in Dunga, at which residents have been briefed about the current stage of the project, and during which they have had the opportunity to pose questions. The number of people attending were not counted for the first two presentations, the third had about 45 and the fourth had about 30 attendees. Four reports[71] have been written summarizing what was going on in the project. These included issues and ideas that had come forth in workshops, Eva Maria's and my interpretation of the place, as well as theories and inspirational examples on tourism development. All these reports have been written by Eva Maria and me and they are only available in English. Eva Maria and I also set up an available project space at the office of the NGO, which included a suggestion box[72] and information about the project. Two additional reports were written for the county-wide tour guide association, initiated in early 2015. These were written by Eva Maria, myself, one of the guides and the former manager of the local NGO. These two reports were also translated from English to Dholuo.

Many of the activities within the project have been in the form of collaborative workshops where I have acted as workshop leader,[73] workshop participant, and also observing researcher. This could be seen to jeopardize the

70 A budget for three weeks of fieldwork and following implementation was usually in-between 150,000 and 300,000 Kenyan shilling's, which is equivalent to about 1,450 respectively 2,900 US dollars.

71 Titles and brief information on the content in these reports are mentioned on pages 24–25.

72 Suggestion boxes are a common method in Kisumu and Kenya for sharing thoughts.

73 I do not see the role of a workshop leader in these workshops as being confined to the act of facilitation since there were many instances where I also provided with my own ideas.

quality of my observations. However, the fact that the workshops were co-led by both Eva Maria and I meant that we could take turns, where one facilitated whilst the other observed (note-taking, taking photographs or filming). Also, the guides took on a more active role the in workshops as the process went along which meant that they acted as co-facilitators or captured the workshop in photos or on film.

The structure of this chapter

I have chosen to divide the textual description in this chapter into sections according to the seven field periods that Eva Maria and I spent in Kisumu between 2012–2015. Important actions, moments and decisions taken in the project that led to changes of direction in the approach are highlighted in the text. Also, the textual description is complemented by a model of the actors engaged in the project, which is referred to as *actor model*. This model reappears in connection with the textual description of each field period to show that some actors only were involved during shorter periods. Further, this *actor model* is complemented with *field period illustrations* showing the activities that have taken place during each field period. These illustrations of the separate field periods have been put together at the end of this chapter in an illustration of the full *research process* (pages 108–109). Also, a chronologically ordered list of all project activities is included as Appendix two, *Project activity schedule,* consisting of information on type of activity, place of the activity, organizing actors, participating actors, purpose and form of documentation.

First and second field periods

SEPTEMBER, NOVEMBER 2012

Gaining initial understanding of the context

An important first step in my research was to gain an initial understanding of the context I would be working in. This started before the first visit to Kisumu and before it was decided that Dunga would be our case. However, I knew that we were going to be working with ecotourism, which influenced the way that I reached this initial understanding. Before our first trip to Kisumu Eva Maria

and I read guidebooks and searched the Internet to obtain an understanding of how Kisumu and its surrounding region[74] were described in relation to the rest of the country in tourism-related media. It soon became clear that most of the main tourist attractions were not considered to be within this region. For example, in a list of the seventeen top places to visit, only one was in this area (Ham et al., 2012). When Kisumu was mentioned it was often in relation to Lake Victoria, however not as an asset but as a source to major problems, including the invasive water hyacinth plant, and the diseases bilharzia and malaria, described as "Victoria's unwelcome guests" (ibid, p. 137).

The issues caused by the water hyacinths became highly palpable when we flew in over Kisumu for the first time, in September 2012. I looked down through the airplane window, at a vast green field spread out below – however I soon realized that it was the lake itself, covered with water hyacinths.[75] Later the same day I met a PhD student colleague, and he talked a bit about how he wanted to work with ecotourism. Then he turned to the subject of the lake, mentioning that a large number of residents relies on it to make a living, but that it is in a bad condition, it is Kisumu's biggest potential that is on the point of destruction. Furthermore, one of the first things that Eva Maria and I did once we were in Kisumu was to visit the local tourism offices, to talk to people who knew the area and its 'hidden gems' that might not be mentioned in the guidebooks we had read. The lake was not mentioned, and when we asked about it we were told that we could not go on boat trips due to the water hyacinths. Similarly, when we asked where we could get a good view of the lake, we were told that this was not possible since it is not 'there' anymore because of the water hyacinths.

Having said that, it should be mentioned that the water hyacinths were a major problem back in 2012, as is shown in the images on next page. However, they were gone about a year later and the lakeshores in Kisumu have since then (at the moment of writing in January 2018) been relatively clear of hyacinths, as can be seen in the image on next page. When visiting Kisumu in late 2017, and when talking to tourism officials, the lake was no longer mentioned as a problem, but rather as a possibility.

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74 Kisumu is a part of the Western region, which is also called the Western circuit.

75 The water hyacinth is floating plant, which means that it moves around in the lake. The location of water hyacinths depends on for example the season and the direction of winds and currents. One reason for why the water hyacinths have become particularly problematic for Kisumu is that the city is located in a gulf of the lake, which means that it is easier for the hyacinths to float into the gulf than it is for them to float out.



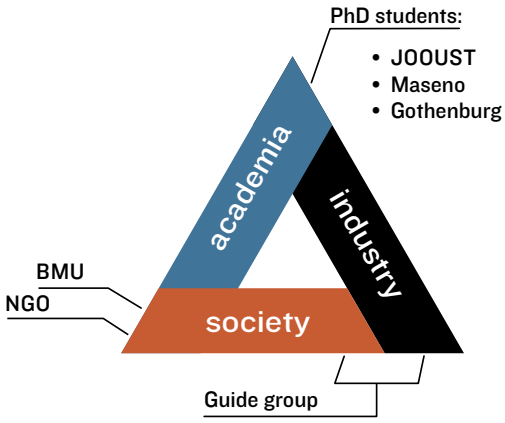
Water hyacinths on Lake Victoria.
Water hyacinths covering the lakeshore in Kisumu in September 2012.
The lakeshore by Kisumu city clear of water hyacinths in 2015.

Connecting with local actors – initiation of the project

Eva Maria and I had met the members of the guide group in Dunga briefly on two occasions in September 2012, when we took a short tour in the community as well as a boat ride with two members of the group. However, it was not until November the same year, when we returned to Kisumu for our second field period, that Eva Maria and I, together with our PhD student colleagues, presented a rough idea to the guides, the NGO and the BMU, of how we thought we could work together with them in our PhD student projects. The organizations were open to allowing us to conduct our research in Dunga and showed an interest in development opportunities for ecotourism. It was decided that we would collaborate in a project on ecotourism development, and we discussed formal matters such as us PhD students being allowed to write about the project and to take photographs in the community, as long as everybody felt comfortable. It was decided that the writings and photographs were to be used for research purposes only, and that all photographs would be shared with the guide group.[76] After this meeting, the PhD student group organized a workshop to which we invited the three organizations from Dunga to discuss what shape the participatory process should take, for example, how to involve residents.

These activities comprised the initiation period of the project, and the *actor model* that can be seen on next page, shows the actors involved in the project at that time. The actors represent the society, industry and academia in

76 I have received written consent from those appearing in photographs in the thesis to use the photos.



This ACTOR MODEL shows the actors involved in the project during the initiation, namely the PhD students, the guide group, the NGO and the BMU. Residents who were not part of these organizations were not involved at this stage.

accordance with a transdisciplinary research set-up.[77] The model shows that the decision to go through with the project in Dunga was settled between us as PhD students and three local organizations (the guide group, the NGO and the BMU). Residents in Dunga who were not part of these organizations were not involved at this stage of the process, and thereby not included in this decision. The model also shows the guide group as being both an industry actor and representatives of the community (the guides live in the village and are members of the community).

Gaining an initial understanding of Dunga

After the initial contacts had been made, it was important to create an understanding of Dunga and of the tourism business taking place there. From previous experiences of working with tourism and place development in Sweden, Eva Maria and I knew that we could gain a lot of experience by taking on the role of tourists. This would give us opportunities to experience the tourism services first hand, and we would get to see the guides in their work situation. Eva Maria and I decided to spend a day in Dunga, as tourists, and we travelled

77 The *actor model* bear similarities to and is inspired by the triple helix model which is commonly used in transdisciplinary research. Although, the participating actors accounted for in triple helix, which are generally academia, industry and government (or state or public sector) (e.g. Etzkowits and Leydesdorff, 2000; Saad and Sawdie, 2011), differ from the model in this thesis where I have academia industry and society (as in members of the society). Although, with that said there are also connections to the County government of Kisumu in the project. Furthermore, there are later variations, or extensions of the triple helix model, such as the quadruple helix in which society or civil society is also included, as well as the quintuple helix where the environment is added (e.g. Marcovhich and Shinn, 2011; Carayannis and Campbell, 2012).

there by tuk-tuk,[78] which is a common way to travel in Kisumu (alongside cars, motorcycle taxis, bicycle taxis or minibuses). It was a bumpy twenty-minute ride, and we felt bad that we had lured the driver and his vehicle onto the rough and rocky road leading to Dunga. When arriving we were greeted by three tour guides, two of whom we had not met before, who offered a one-hour boat ride. During the boat ride we were struck by the calmness and cool breeze on the lake, as opposed to the hustle and bustle of Kisumu city. The guides chatted with local fishermen that passed by, giving a sense of community, and the spotting of hippos was accompanied by songs, stories and myths around them.

We got back to the beach just in time to see the fishmongers scaling, slicing and frying tilapia fish. After having seen tilapia lying exposed to the dust and heat at the markets in town, and after finding out that the fish on another nearby beach was imported from Uganda, we had been reluctant to eat it, but here you could see that it was fresh.

One of the guides then took us for a tour in the village, where people were drying maize and mending nets in their gardens. We were told how the water hyacinths got caught in the nets, and how it could take days to get them out. We visited an elderly lady and sat in her garden as she prepared the local brew, whilst being told how Luos arrange their homesteads. Seeing the settings of buildings in the village gave a more authentic feel as compared to when we later visited Kisumu Museum with its setup of a traditional Luo homestead. At a viewpoint overlooking the lake, a craftsman sat under some trees weaving fishing baskets, showing tremendous craft skills that he had been taught by his father. As we were heading back, we walked past the community centre that is also the office for the NGO. Solar lamps were being charged outside, and we were told how the NGO works with different groups in the community in various projects, of which some focus on green energy and solar lighting.[79]

The day in Dunga had shown potential of the place as an ecotourism site. There was a sense of community, and as foreign visitors we gained some insight into the Luo culture. We also became aware of some of the practical problems that the water hyacinths caused. However, there were also a number of challenges such as litter, and parked cars and buses right on the beach, which

78 A tuk tuk is a small motor-driven vehicle on three wheels. It is generally used as a taxi in Kisumu, and to some extent to transport goods.

79 The Ngo have for example been engaged in a solar lamp project for smokeless homes, which aims to minimize the use of lamps fueled by kerosene. Solar lamps are also used by fishermen during night fishing.

Fishing boat by the shore in Dunga.

From top left to bottom:
Traditional Luo homestead at Kisumu Museum.
Fisherman tending his nets.
Fishing baskets made from papyrus.
Solar lamps being charged.
Tilapia fish served at a restaurant in Dunga.

did not indicate that this was an ecotourism site. Furthermore, when we were about to head home we realized that tuk-tuks rarely came to Dunga due to the bad road, unless they were booked, and booking one would take quite some time. Throughout the process, almost everybody that we have met has expressed her or his concern for the road. It is seen as a hindrance for residents in Dunga to access the city centre, for visitors to come to Dunga, and for people from Kisumu city to come the fish market in Dunga.

The experience that we gained by taking on the role of tourists is of course highly subjective, and does not provide an understanding of how other visitors experience the place. Eva Maria and I therefore spent two days in Dunga interviewing visitors about their experience. The interviews showed that they appreciated being by the lake and seeing the fishmonger's activities, and most of them said that they would recommend others to go there. Yet no one had bought anything from the craft stall or the small shop in the community centre. Some mentioned the litter and that they did not know if the tour guides were professionals, since they did not wear any uniforms or nametags. Eva Maria and I also conducted comparative studies in this initial phase, to gain insight into how tourist offerings in Dunga relate to those in Kisumu, the nearby region and other places in Kenya. We explored the city, visiting places that we had read about or been recommended to go to by colleagues, and we went on excursions in the region and to Nairobi.[80] Also, meetings were held with three public organizations and one private tourism organization to gain insight to future plans for tourism development in Kisumu.[81]

These activities as well as attendance at three research symposiums on tourism development in Kisumu,[82] taken together were what formed my initial understanding of tourism in Kenya. To some extent they also contributed to an initial understanding of Kenya's history and its socio-cultural, socio-eco-

80 In Kisumu: Impala Park, Kisumu Museum, Kiboko Bay, Hippo Point, Tilapia Beach, Luagni Beach, Kisumu Port, Jomo Kenyatta Sports Ground, Masai market and Kibuye market. In the region: Abindu, Kit Mkay, Ndere Island, Kakamega Forest, Jaromogi Oginga Odinga Mausoleum, Nyangoma Kogelo and Kericho valley. In Nairobi: National Museum, Uhuru Park, National Conference Centre, David Sheldrick Trust, Kitangela Glass, Ocean Sole, Karen Museum, Bomas of Kenya, National Archives, Kenya Culture Centre, Go Down Art Gallery and Railway Museum.

81 Edgar Ndubi at Kisumu Regional office for the Ministry of Tourism, Lake Victoria Tourism Association, Robert Otieno at the Kisumu office of Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) and Lydia at the KWS office in Ndere Island.

82 The annual KLIP days, attended in 2012, 2013 and 2014.

nomic and political situation.[83] However, having said that I am aware that I looked at all these activities through a tourism lens, and that my understanding of aspects that were not related to tourism needed to be deepened.

Involving residents

The experience of spending a day in Dunga as tourists, and of talking with visitors gave some initial insight into the tourist offerings that were available. However, Eva Maria and I did not have much insight into the community, or to what extent residents were, or wanted to be involved in the tourism business. This led to the development of two workshops, of which the first, a mapping workshop aimed at identifying people and groups who could be connected to the tourism business in Dunga. The workshop was initiated and planned by us as researchers (Eva Maria, myself and four PhD student colleagues), whilst the guides invited people and informed them about the workshop. It was held in the community hall in Dunga in November 2012 and attracted about 75 participants.

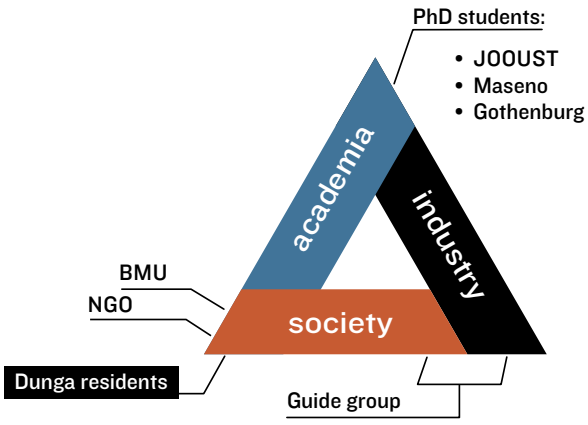
Participants were asked to draw a large map of the village, to place out groups or individuals who they knew had a connection to tourism or who they thought should be connected, and to discuss the possibilities of new relationships being created between these. One result of the workshop came up when we later interviewed a boat builder who had participated.[84] He said that when he and other fellow boat builders placed themselves as actors on the map, they saw how spread out they were in the village. Therefore they got together and talked to the BMU and asked if they could use a piece of land down by the beach so that they could work together in one space. The fact that they could establish a common working station has given them an opportunity to find new customers as well as it provides for an interesting spot for visitors.

This first workshop had only been announced a couple of days before it was held, and I was surprised to see that so many people turned up on such a short notice. In Sweden I was used to having to invite people months in advance if you wanted anyone to turn up. I was also used to people arriving at the announced time, and that people were ready to leave the very minute that the activity was scheduled to end. Here people dropped in throughout and some

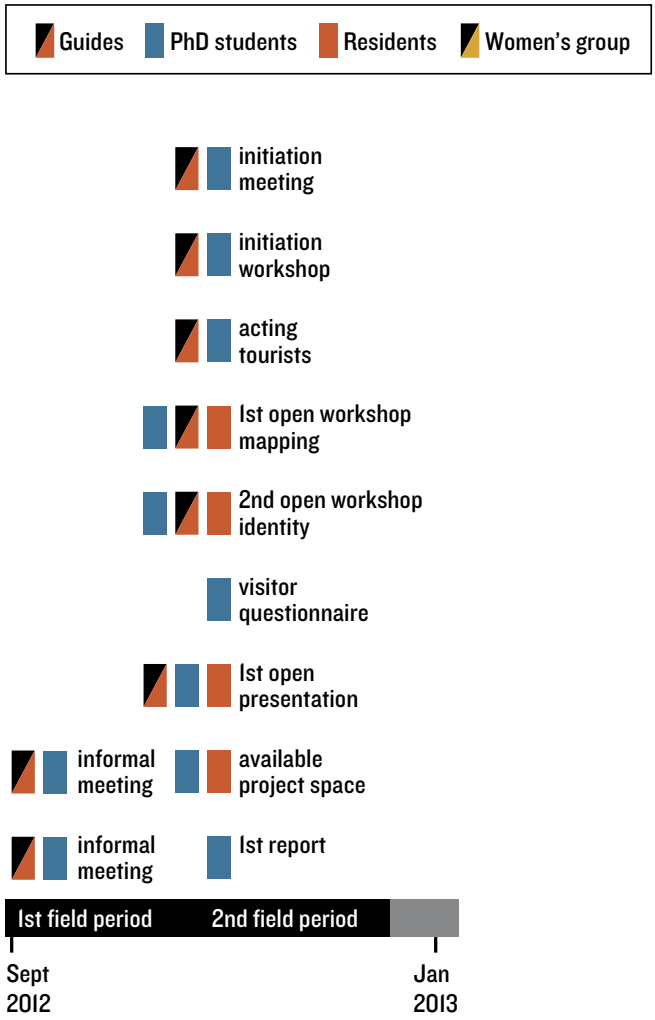
83 There are many destinations in Kenya that provide information on Kenya's ethnic groups (Bomas of Kenya), politics (Jaromogi Oginga Odinga Mausoleum), or the contemporary art scene (Go Down Art Gallery). Also, when you are taken on a guided tour with a local guide, you will often get information on everything from food culture to local entrepreneurship.

84 6th December 2013.

Top left: The first workshop in Dunga.
Top right: One group in the second workshop performed a song with lyrics explaining how they felt about Dunga.
Below: Presentation at the first workshop.
Opposite page: Group work during the second workshop.



This updated ACTOR MODEL shows that residents have been included through the two workshops held during the second field period.



This FIELD PERIOD ILLUSTRATION depicts the activities conducted during the first two field periods in September and November 2012. It also shows the kinds of actors participating in each of the activities.

stayed longer than the time we had scheduled for the workshop. The workshop was conducted in collaboration with four PhD student colleagues, although we still found it hard to facilitate the large group. This led to changes in the set-up for the second workshop, which we divided into several different stations, some of which were held outside the community hall. Some of the activities were set up in a way so that participants could move freely between them or drop in when they arrived, without disturbing the rest of the group. This sec-

ond workshop revolved around discussions and visualizations on the identity/identities of Dunga. One station was called *past, present and future Dunga*, where the participants discussed what was good and bad in the past, if there were aspects from the past and present that they wanted to take into the future, if there were aspect that they did not want to take in to the future and if they saw a need for new development. Other stations revolved around aspects that the participants felt should represent Dunga beach as a tourist site. Suggestions included tilapia fish, and the colours green, yellow and blue representing papyrus, the yellow flowers on the Oleander tree and the lake.

Third field period

APRIL–MAY 2013

The second workshop, held in November 2012 during the second field period, included as many participants as the first (about 75 in number), and we found it hard to facilitate such a large group this time too. Therefore, when retuning to Kisumu for the third field period in April 2013, Eva Maria and I proposed to the members of the guide group that we could reduce the number of participants to about 50 to make it easier to facilitate. The guides did not agree and said that it was important to keep the process as open as possible and that"*50 people is not the entire community!*" They also expressed concern that the previous two workshops, which had both lasted for three hours, took up a lot of time from the participants, and that there were those who could not attend such long workshops. This led to a change in the design of the third workshop, which was set up at the beach, a place that many residents visit daily. It was open for a full day which meant that people could drop in when they had the time, and the activities in the workshop were designed to take only a couple of minutes each. The participants worked individually and put their contributions in a suggestion box, which is a common way in Kisumu for sharing thoughts. This set-up was also due to another reflection from the previous two workshops, which to a large extent had been based on group work, and where we noticed that not everybody felt comfortable discussing openly in a group. This new approach allowed people to sit by themselves for a while, without a group waiting for a contribution. It had also been observed that not everybody was comfortable with reading, talking or writing in English and the information in this workshop was therefore written in Dholuo and the participants

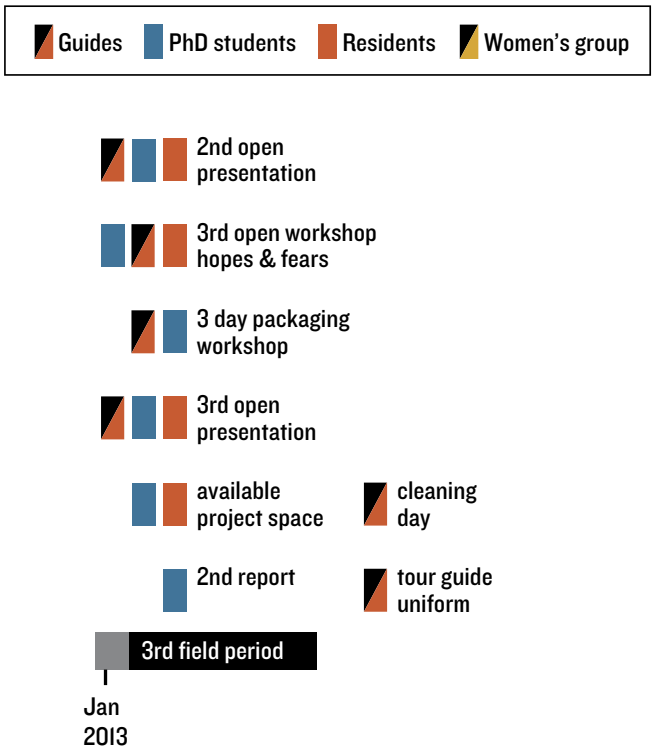
Set-up for workshop on hopes and fears connected to ecotourism development.

could draw or write their answers using Dholuo or Kiswahili if they wished. The aim of the workshop was to find out how members of the community felt about ecotourism development, if they had hopes but also if they had fears. We received 77 contributions that mentioned hopes that residents had connected to tourism and 50 that mentioned specific fears. The fears included, amongst other things, that tourism would not lead to any new jobs being created for community members, and that tourism development would lead to environmental degradation whilst hopes included that it could lead to the opposite, namely ecological conservation and job opportunities.

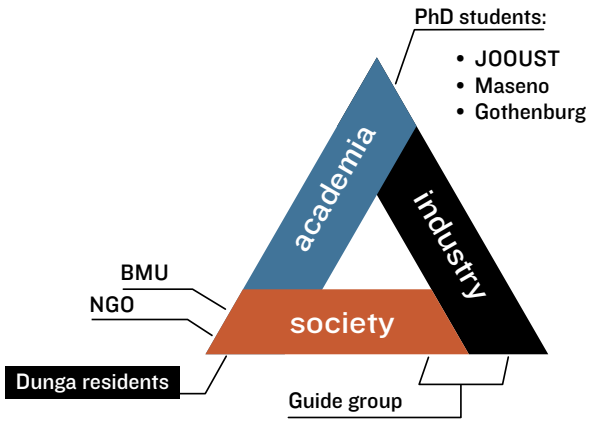
Taking the collaboration further – a change of direction regarding who is involved

The past three workshops had focused on resident involvement, and on gaining insights into what residents thought about tourism development taking place in their village and how they wanted it to develop. There had been a gathering of many ideas and Eva Maria and I thought it was time to take these ideas further, to see if some of them could be developed, tested and implemented. We therefore decided to conduct a set of workshops only with the guides, since it would be hard keep a focused development process if a large number of people were to be involved. This decision only to involve the guides marks a change of direction in the project, since now the core of the project came to consist mainly of the guide group Eva Maria and myself. There were still opportunities for residents to stay updated and to express their views on the project through the available project space, the open presentations and the reports.

Top: Guides discussing content of guided tours.
Bottom left: Waste collection point being installed by the beach in Dunga.
Right: One of the signs that was installed.



This FIELD PERIOD ILLUSTRATION shows the activities and participating actors during the third field period. At first glance it seems as though the main collaboration has been with residents. However, it is important to look at the type of activity also, since this reveals that two of the activities that involves residents are presentations in which the focus is mainly on providing people with information about the project. The residents were in other words not engaged in the activities as active agents in the same way as they had been during the first three workshop. Furthermore, the illustration also shows two activities that the guides carried out without Eva Maria's and my interference after the third field period (although the expense for the guide uniforms was part of the project budget).



This ACTOR MODEL shows that the actors involved during this third field period were the same as the last field period.

Also, one or two residents participated in the following workshops, and a few were also involved at a later stage as professionals (local carpenters, fishmongers, craftsmen, an artist, and a theatre group).

The aim of this new phase was not to create a large-scale proposal for ecotourism development that would be presented at the end of the project, and at best implemented afterwards. Rather, the aim was to initiate an incremental process where things could be prototyped and implemented as the process went along. Aspects that had come up during discussions with the guides, such as the need to develop the one-hour boat trips that they usually performed to increase income opportunities, led to focus being put on building knowledge on areas such as concept development, packaging and branding.

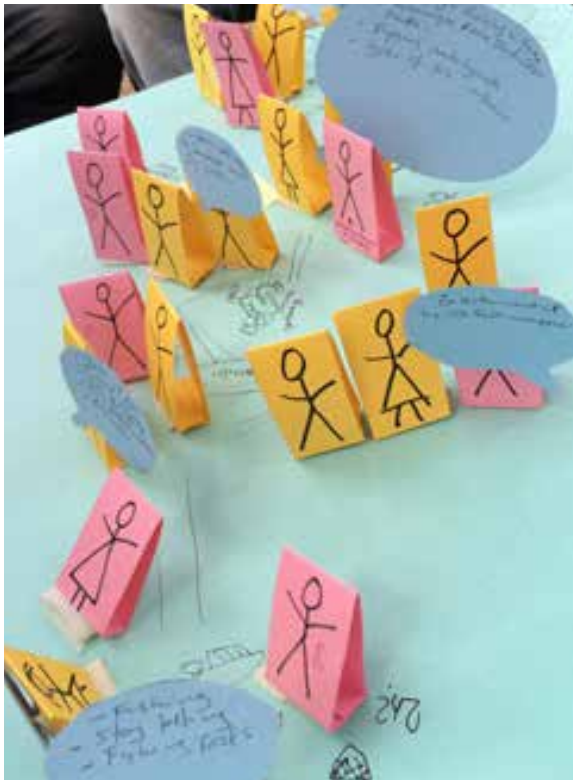
The first activity in this new phase was a three-day workshop focusing on packaging of guided tours. The guides decided that five of them would participate each day, although on the last day ten of the guides decided to participate. The first day was a walking workshop where we walked the tourist route as a group, discussing strengths and weaknesses of the current tours as well as ideas for improvements. One aspect that was brought up was that the guides felt that visitors often mistrusted them, and that people did not believe that they were professional guides but just boys hanging around, or believed that they had issues with alcohol or other substance abuses. We discussed whether this problem could be eased if they wore uniforms, and this later resulted in that the guides designed uniform T-shirts (in yellow and green, with a printed image of a tilapia fish and text saying tour guide). They said that wearing the shirts made them feel more like a group, and that it indicated their professional status by identifying them as tour guides. Another aspect that was discussed during the walking workshop was the issue of litter on the beach,[85] which led to the second workshop day focusing solely on this issue. During this second day we sketched waste collection and recycling points as a starting point for continued work towards a cleaner beach. The same workshop also included sketching on a signage system for the beach, since we had discussed how difficult it was for new visitors to find their way, for example to the toilets. This later led to a number of waste bins and signs being built by local carpenters and installed on the beach, as well as to the arrangement of several cleaning days. The third workshop day focused on branding and ideation around what type of activities a one-day guided tour could contain.

Fourth field period

NOVEMBER–DECEMBER 2013

The focus in the third field period of developing the guided tours and infrastructure was continued during the fourth field period in April–May 2013. However, there was also an additional focus, namely to integrate craft in the tourism business. One workshop therefore focused on craft integration, and it included sketching on a logotype for a local craft group, sketching on tags that

85 Litter is an issue in Kisumu, much due to a lack of infrastructure for waste collection. The official waste collection does not reach all places, which forces people to get rid of their rubbish by other means, often by burning it.

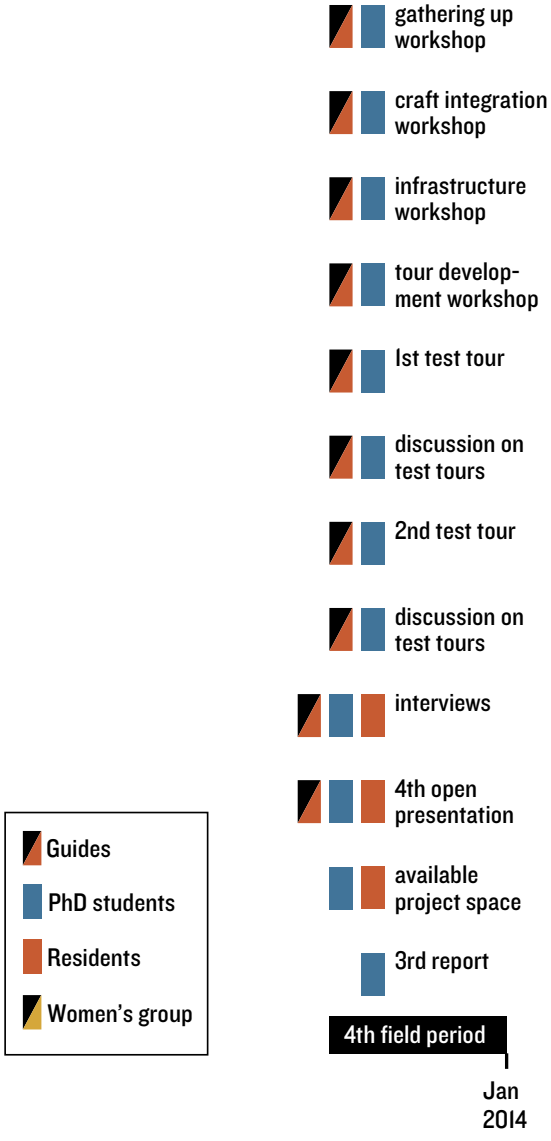


Left: Discussions during workshop with the guide group.
Right: Paper prototype for tour development.

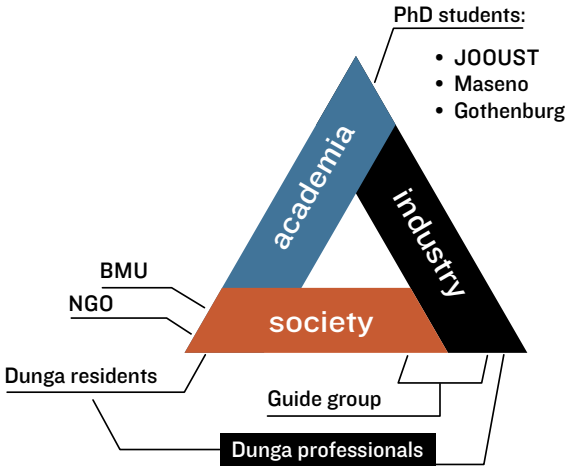
could be attached to products, and discussions on how craft activities could be integrated into the guided tours. This workshop included a local artist apart from the guides, and one of the participating guides also works as a craftsman.

Furthermore, Eva Maria and I had through a professor who has long experience of working with tour development organized for a group of Swedish tourists to come to Dunga to test a one-day guided tour, and through colleagues in Kisumu we had organized for two families from Kisumu to do the same. This gave the guides and us a specific goal to work towards, and Eva Maria and I planned for a tour development workshop with the guides. We started the workshop with a large blank sheet of paper on which we (us and the guides) drew the map of Dunga. A set of cardboard characters represented guides, visitors and community members, and cut-out speech bubbles enabled us to discuss what could be said during a tour. With this as a starting point, we discussed activities during the tours, places of interest, interesting stories to tell visitors, timing of different activities, as we drew the discussed activities onto the map. One of the guides commented that this visual way of working allowed them to get an overview of the whole tour as well as they could see all the movements during the tour. The paper prototype then acted as a support

Top: Making jewelry during the tour.
Bottom: One of the guides picking a water hyacinth plant to show visitors.



This FIELD PERIOD ILLUSTRATION depicts the activities during the fourth field period in November–December 2013. It clearly shows that the collaboration with the guides has intensified whilst the involvement of residents has been reduced to being called to interviews and being invited to an open presentation and the available project space. However, there were a few residents who participated as professionals during the test tours.



This version of the ACTOR MODEL shows that residents were involved in the project as professionals at this stage of the project. This was mainly during the craft integration workshop and the test tours.

when the guides planned the tour, and they tested their new tour designs in a real setting with the Swedish and Kenyan visitors respectively a couple of days later, which are referred to as test tours.[86]

The test tours were in themselves also a form of prototyping and the visitors wrote comments in personal journals that were shared with the guide group. We also had a meeting between the first and second tour at which changes were made for the second tour. The tours included two to three local craftsmen and craftswomen who talked about the water hyacinth, and who wove and made paper and jewelry out of the plant together with the visitors. The visitors also took a boat trip that included a coffee break on the lake. They were taken around the community, told stories about Dungas history by both the guides and an elder from the village, and they cooked ugali[87] with members of the fishmonger group. Since these two test tours, the guides have regularly included cooking activities, fishing and storytelling in their tours.[88]

86 Two test tours were conducted, one with national tourists and one with international tourists. The national group consisted of two families from Kisumu. The mother in one of the families is an ecologist and teacher at the university (JOOUST), which was seen as appropriate due to the focus on ecotourism. She came with her two children aged 6 and 11. The father of the other family brought six children aged 9 to 18. Both families were quite used to experiences similar to the tour in Dunga and could compare the site with others they had been to in other parts of Kenya and East Africa. The international group consisted of eight adults from Sweden, most of whom had professional knowledge of tourism and/or sustainable tourism.

87 Ugali is a staple dish in Kenya made of maize flour, millet or sorghum mixed with cassava. It is cooked to a consistency like a thick and dense dough.

88 The process of developing the tours is thoroughly described in the article *Tourism experience innovation through design* (Jernsand, Kraff and Mossberg, 2015).

A breakdown between field periods

Between the fourth and fifth field periods, I came in contact with the criticism aimed at participation (January 2014), which led me to the *breakdown*, and the change in how I view and approach participation. This coincided with a decision to pause the visits to Kisumu for a while so that Eva Maria and I could focus on writing. This meant that since we were not busy with planning for fieldwork, working intensively in Kisumu, or writing a report about the field period, we had time to take the criticism into serious account and truly reflect on it. Also, a call for conference papers came up during this time, and we decided to write a paper in which we would use the criticism as a reflective lens on our approach in the project. This resulted in the paper *Designing for or designing with?* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a), which gives an overview of existing criticism and which makes visible how our project fell in line with much of this criticism. For instance, Eva Maria and I had the idea, in the initial phase of the project, that we would manage the process in collaboration with the local experts, in this case guides. In other words, that the guides would take joint ownership of the process. This is in line with literature on participatory design, action research and transdisciplinary research. For example, in participatory design, the sharing of power between people when deciding the scope of a project is seen as crucial (Bratteteig and Wagner, 2012). In action research, it is stated that the society should be involved from planning to implementation of projects (McIntyre, 2008). In transdisciplinary research, it is stressed as important that all involved actors get the chance to take part in the formulation of the problem statement and the design of the project strategy (Talwar, Wiek and Robinson, 2011; Lang et al., 2012; Wiek, Ness, Schweizer-Ries, Brand and Farioli, 2012). However, claims for local ownership of projects have received harsh criticism (e.g. Henkel and Sirrat, 2001). In our paper, Eva Maria and I describe how we as researchers were the ones mainly to shape the direction of the project in the initial phases, despite the fact that ecotourism was not a concept that was introduced by us as researchers, and despite the fact that the guides were involved from the start (Mosse, 2001). It was us who choose the main topics, elaborated upon, and designed the workshops, as well as it was us who gathered the information from these workshops and filtered out what we saw as important as we wrote the reports and put together the information for the public presentations (Mosse, 2001).

Traditional food being served, and a theatre performance during the cultural day.

Fifth field period

NOVEMBER 2014

A change of direction regarding who is steering the project

This act of using criticism aimed at participation as a lens for reflection led to changes in our approach to the project, in which Eva Maria and I took a step back and consulted the guides on how they thought the process should proceed (this was about two years into the process). The guides proposed a set of ideas that they thought were important to focus on, including the arrangement of an annual cultural day and the setting up of a cultural museum. The cultural day was intended to showcase Luo culture and be available to both residents and visitors. The idea of the museum came from their concern that they did not have any place to take visitors when the weather did not permit activities such as boat trips or educational sessions out of doors on the beach.[89] A museum would provide with indoor space and the opportunity to showcase artefacts that are part of Luo culture. Eva Maria and I then set up a

89 A large percentage of visitors are students, and the guides often have educational sessions held outside for them on sustainability, ecology, the nearby wetlands or other topics.

loose structure for a set of workshops[90] in which the guides could plan for the cultural day and brainstorm on ideas for the museum. It was then the guides who held in the finalizing of the plans for the cultural day, and a workshop that they wanted to arrange to get ideas from residents on what a cultural museum should contain. The cultural day was held in November 2014 and it coincided with the museum workshop. The guides had drawn sketches for the workshop of how the museum could be arranged, and they had set up a provisional arrangement of traditional Luo artefacts so that residents could get an idea of what the museum could contain. Residents could leave comments and ideas in a suggestion box regarding the museum, and children could draw pictures of things that they thought should be on a mural in the museum. The cultural day was arranged as an event at which residents and visitors could enjoy traditional food, dancing and sport competitions. The guides had also arranged for a local theatre group to perform a play to inform people about the importance of keeping the beach and the village clean from rubbish.

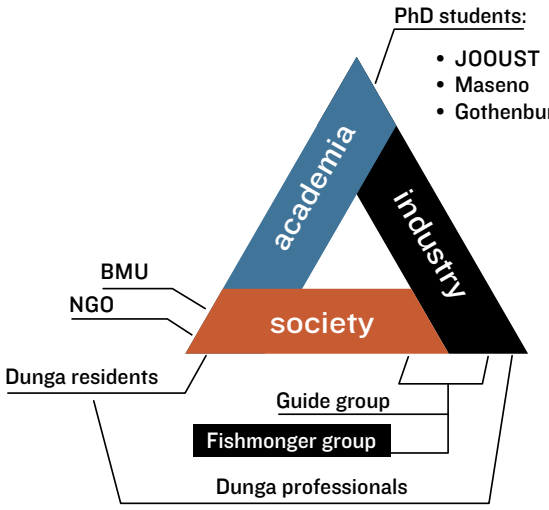
The budget for these activities was collaboratively planned by the guides, Eva Maria, and myself. This was the opposite of previous field periods, for which Eva Maria and I had done the budgetary planning without the involvement of the guides. This further highlights the change of direction in the project where it went from being mainly steered by Eva Maria and me in the sense that it had been the two of us who had planned and designed the previous workshops, to divided responsibilities where Eva Maria and I planned some activities whilst the guides planned others.

Yet another change of direction – involving women in tourism

Even though Eva Maria and I did take a step back regarding the management of project activities during this fifth field period, we did at about the same time take the initiative to work actively on integrating a gender perspective into the project. Women had participated in the first three workshops that had been open for residents to attend. However, the fact that the guide group mainly consisted of men[91] meant that we had acquired little insight into women's views on ecotourism development taking place in their village as we entered into closer collaboration with the guide group.

There was in particular one group of fishmongers who were affected by tourists coming to the village, since their working station at the fish market is

90 These workshops all included one or two community members.
91 A few women have been part of the group in the role of receptionists.



This image of the ACTOR MODEL shows the involvement of the fishmonger group. Also, Dunga professionals in this version of the model represent the theatre group that was involved during the cultural day.

This FIELD PERIOD ILLUSTRATION shows the continued collaboration with the members of the guide group, who are now included in budget planning, and who had the main responsibility during the cultural day and museum workshop. It also shows the workshop with the fishmonger group, and that residents were only involved during the cultural day and museum workshop.

a place through which most visitors pass. Although, it was rare for the women to get involved in discussions with tourists when the guides took them to the fish market, despite the fact that the women are highly knowledgeable about the lake, the different fish species and the local food culture. Nor had they been included in discussions on the general development of tourism in the community in the past, or previously in our project. One of my PhD student colleagues, Jennifher, focusing on gender in her own PhD and who knows the context well, had pointed out that Eva Maria's and my approach were lacking a gender perspective. This lead to the organization of a workshop in November 2014 for the fishmonger group, with the aim of inquiring about their views on tourism development in their village. The women brought up important and insightful aspects that had not come up before in our discussions with

the guide group. One example was that children in the village could be affected both positively and negatively by tourism, negatively in the sense that they might be exposed to customs that were not accepted in the local culture, and positively in the sense that they could see that being a guide was a possible future profession.

Sixth and Seventh field periods

MARCH, NOVEMBER 2015

A new project idea leading to a final change of direction

Yet another six months into the project, in March 2015, the guide group presented the idea of starting up an association that could support local guides from all over Kisumu County, and proposed that Eva Maria and I could be involved in setting it up. The reason for setting up this association was threefold. One reason was that the guides saw it as an opportunity to share the methods and learning from the process they had gone through with us, with local guides working at other sites. Another reason was that they saw an opportunity to create a knowledge community, in which the members could learn from each other. A third reason was that they saw the need to strengthen the position of local guide groups (i.e. local management of tourism businesses), and that by coming together as a larger group they would find it easier to approach institutions such as the Ministry of Tourism and the County Government.

After initial discussions about the possibilities of such an association, three guides from Dunga, Eva Maria and I visited five sites in and around Kisu-

Image depicting Kisumu County, and the location of the sites that were included in setting up the association in 2015. Ndere Island was the eleventh site added to the association, after expressing a wish to join.

Top left: Guides discussing the association for local guides in Kisumu County during the first workshop.
Left and top right: Meetings with guide groups at the sites Tich Kouma and Kit Mikay.

mu County where local guide groups with varying experience take visitors on boat trips and other excursions. This was followed by two workshops with two representatives each, from ten sites in Kisumu County. The first workshop focused on a discussion around challenges that they face as local guides, as well as a discussion on what the association should be about including aspects such as core values, ethical issues and codes of conduct. The second workshop had more of an educative nature and included a talk about lessons learnt from the project in Dunga by one of the guides, Eva Maria and me, and a talk on how to plan for the different activities in a tour by a Swedish professor with exper-

tise in tourism. This was then again followed up by more visits to the different sites by a guide from Dunga, Eva Maria and me, to discuss what had happened so far as well as to discuss the future of the association. All of these activities were co-planned by the three of us, apart from a brainstorming activity during the first workshop that was planned by Eva Maria and me only. Guides from other sites who participated in these initial meetings were positive towards the idea and said that they wished to join this new association. At this stage there were guide groups from eleven sites around the county that wished to join.

Further integration of women in tourism

Along with supporting the guides in the setting up of the county-wide guide association, Eva Maria and I approached the fishmonger group again, and requested another meeting. At the meeting we inquired if they were interested in organizing themselves and starting to work towards becoming guides. They found this idea to be good and soon initiated a group that apart from representatives from the fishmonger group also included women working with craft, mat making and papyrus harvesting. This meeting was held at the end of our sixth field period, and the task of supporting women in their work towards becoming guides was continued by the male guides in Dunga and two Master's students who had expressed an interest in working with gender inclusion in tourism.[92] The students and a couple of male guides conducted an initial training session and a workshop with the women to prepare them for a test tour similar to the one that Eva Maria and I had undertaken with the male guides about a year earlier. Also, members of the male guide group organized one more training session for the women after the test tour.

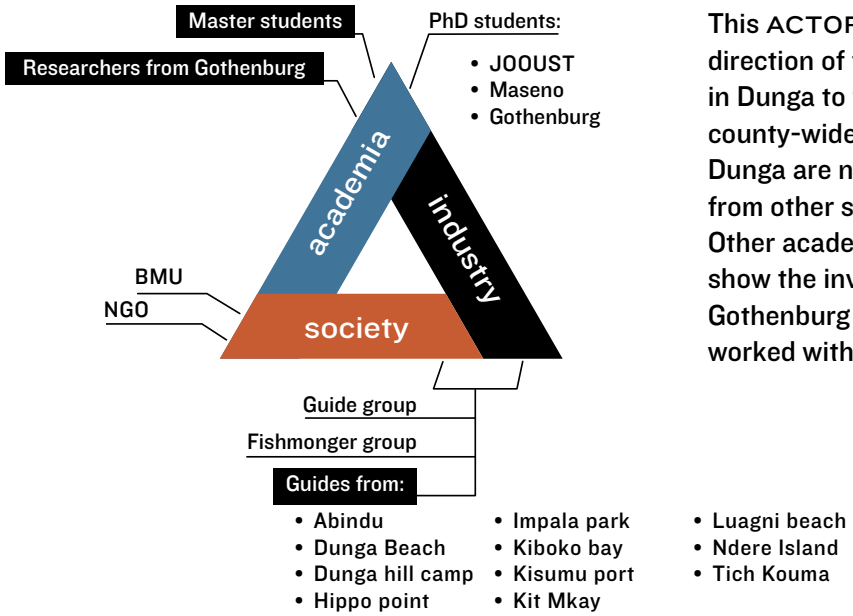
The work of setting up the county-wide guide association and integrating women into the tourism business continued during the seventh field period. One aspect that was discussed when planning activities during this field period was that all participants in previous workshops for the county-wide guide association had been men. There were some women working at a few of the sites, although none of them had come to the previous workshops. When the male guides from Dunga presented the idea of conducting an exchange vis-

92 The students, Mahmuda Alam and Bruce Mugola were both participating in a course called Reality studio, set up by the department of Architecture at Chalmers Institute of Technology in Gothenburg, in collaboration with the departments of Urban Planning at Maseno and JOOUST. The results, apart from the test tour, included the students' report *Not just tourism – ecotourism with a gender perspective*.

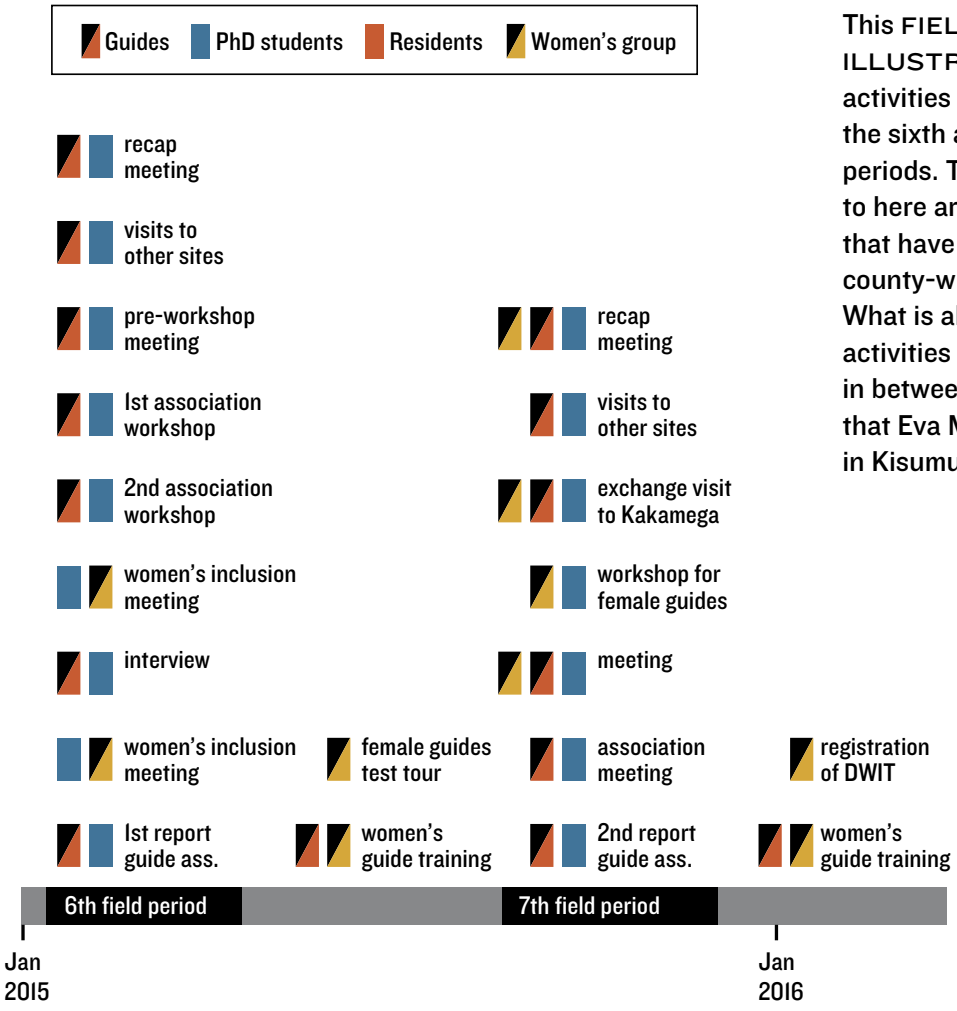
Photo from test tour led by women. Photo by Mahmuda Alam.

it to Kakamega rainforest for the members of the county-wide guide association, we discussed how we could get women to join. The guides knew that Kakamega had highly skilled both male and female local guides,[93] and saw an opportunity to learn from them. One man and one woman from each of the sites in the county-wide guide association, and the women in Dunga who were in the process of becoming guides, joined the trip to Kakamaga. Focus during this trip was on the guide profession in general and how to be a professional guide, although emphasis was also put on women working as guides. One of the female guides in Kakamega talked about the challenges that she had faced when working as a guide in a male-dominated profession. Both men and women from the Kisumu group later mentioned that they were inspired by the

93 The guide group in Kakamega consists of 20 members, of which four are women.



This ACTOR MODEL shows the change of direction of the project, from being based in Dunga to focusing on the initiation of a county-wide guide association. Residents in Dunga are no longer involved, and new actors from other sites have joined the project. Other academic actors are also included to show the involvement of researchers from Gothenburg and the Master's students who worked with the women's group.



This FIELD PERIOD ILLUSTRATION shows the activities that took place during the sixth and seventh field periods. The reports referred to here are the two reports that have been written for the county-wide guide association. What is also shown are the activities that have taken place in between the field periods that Eva Maria and I have spent in Kisumu.

Participants at the workshop practicing meet and greet.

guiding skills that the female guide in Kakamega had shown, and the women in Dunga have kept contact with her.

Soon after the visit to Kakamega, Eva Maria and I organized a one-day workshop to which we invited women from the sites in the county-wide guide association, who were or wanted to become guides, some of whom had joined the trip to Kakamega. The day included lectures by two Swedish researchers on sustainable tourism and tour guiding skills. Eva Maria and I talked about packaging guided tours and we organized a workshop at which the women tested different meet and greet situations (the moment when the guides greet visitors, bidding them welcome).

Development since late 2015

The last field period that Eva Maria and I spent in Kisumu was in November 2015, (except for a shorter visit in November 2017[94]). This was followed by a visit by two of the guides from Dunga, one man and one woman, to Gothenburg, Sweden, in April 2016. The main purpose of the visit was for the guides to gain

94 This was in conjunction with a conference organised by Mistra Urban Futures and the platform in Kisumu (KLIP). Eva Maria and I presented the project at the conference. The male and female guide groups from Dunga both attended the conference, and the conference participants went on an excursion around the city, which included a visit to Dunga where the guides presented the project further.

further knowledge on tourism and expand their network. It was arranged so that the trip coincided with a seminar on inclusive tourism at the School of Business, Economics and Law at the University of Gothenburg. We attended the seminar together and the guides presented their project to a group of international tourism scholars. We also met Swedish tourism organizations and Swedish guides which gave an opportunity to discuss guiding and tourism with other professionals in their field.

Furthermore, there has been progress with both the county-wide guide association and the women's guide group in Dunga. The women formed their own group in the form of a community-based organization (CBO) in early 2016, called Dunga Women in Tourism (DWIT). They have received further training from members of the male guide group in Dunga, as well as from the former manager of the local NGO, who now runs an organization focusing on female entrepreneurship. The women have done some guiding for visitors and they have been involved in cooking and craft activities during guided tours. Also, they have joined the men in activities for guides that have been organized by actors such as the tourism department in Kisumu County, and they have joined the men for their weekly birdwatching sessions.

However, progress is also slow, and the women have mentioned that they still need a lot of training to feel confident about leading guided tours. They are hesitant about taking visitors out on walks or birdwatching sessions since they do not have enough knowledge about the birdlife or fauna in the area, and since they do not want to say to a visitor that they do not know the answer to her or his question. They have expressed a wish to take visitors on boat tours but none of them has a driving license for boats and they are not used to being out on the lake. Also, the women have mentioned that it is hard to get the chance to take visitors on tours since some of them are still working as fishmongers. The male guide group always has someone available at the spot that most visitors pass through when they come to the village. The women are usually further away down by the beach when they are working at the fish market, and they have not always had the capacity to have a member present at the visitor meeting point at all time. They also saw it as stressful to be called to cater to visitors without preparation beforehand, since that meant that they would have no time to wash and change after working with the fish.

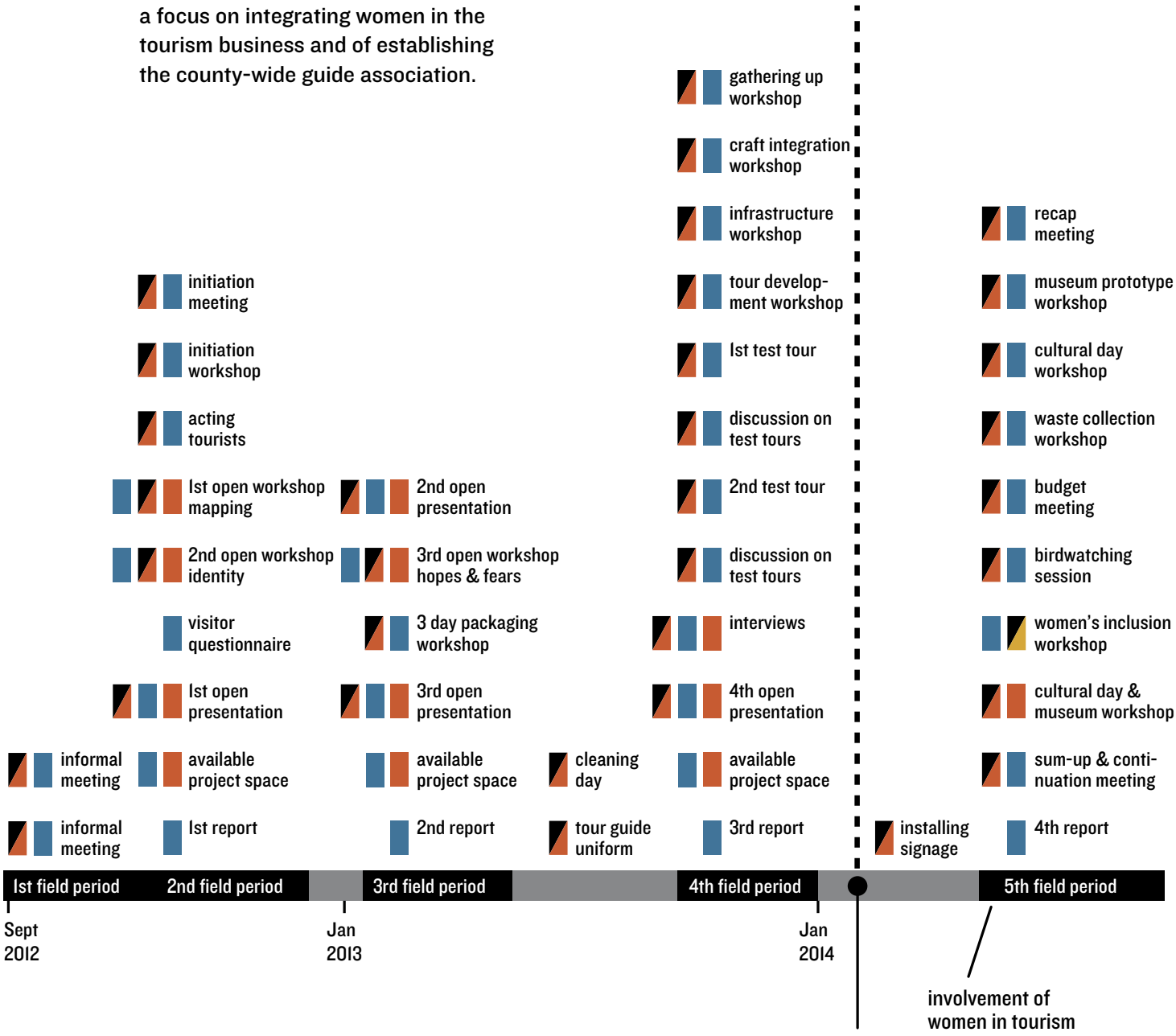
The county-wide guide association has formulated a constitution and put together a board and a steering committee. Members of the board have said that having the association has improved the communication between the guides at the different sites, and that those who were not aware of each other

Joint birdwatching session. Photograph by Richard Ojijo. Guides from Kenya in discussion with guides in Gothenburg.

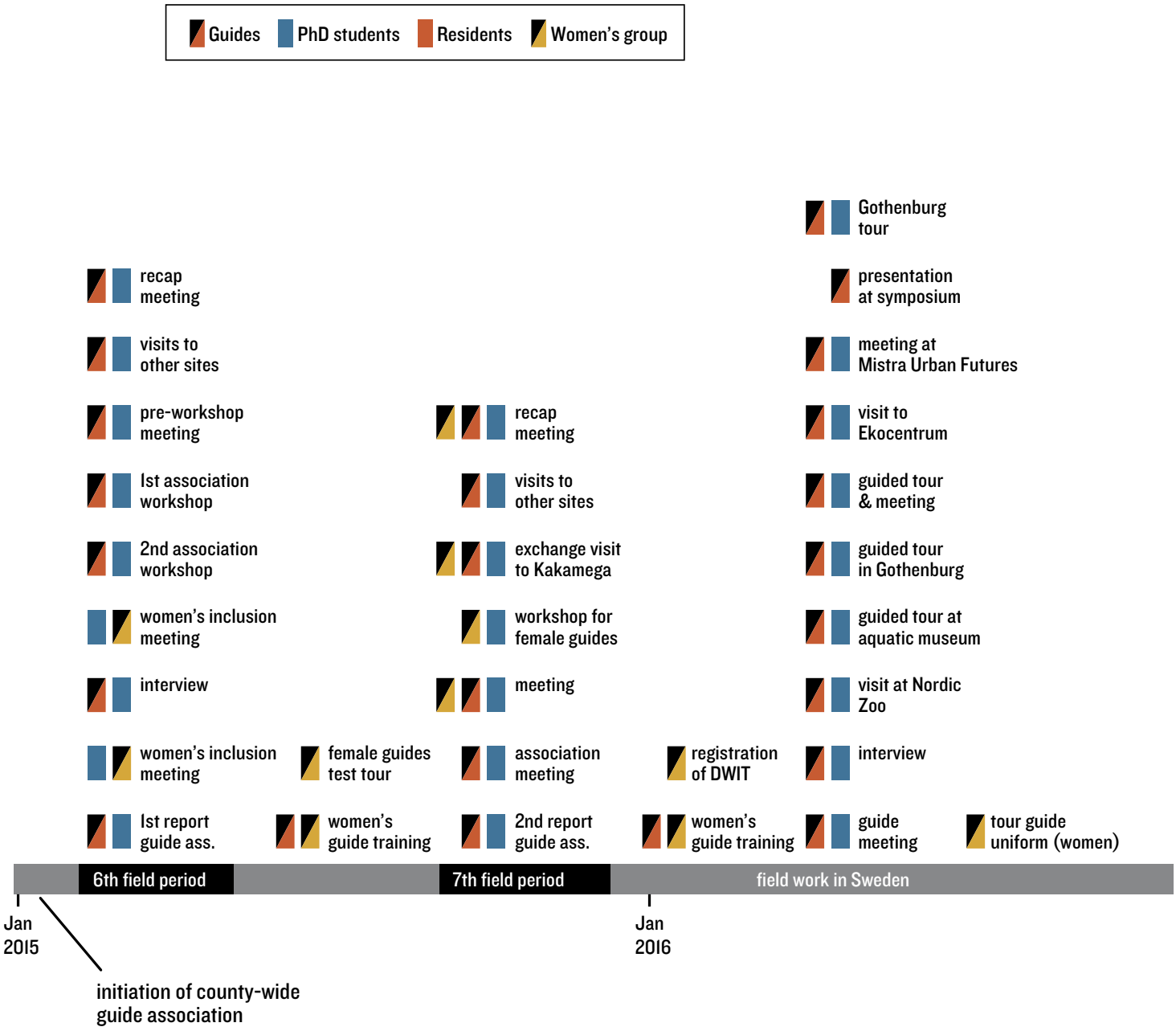
before have become so now, meaning that they can recommend tourists to go to each other's sites. However, they find it challenging to arrange meetings since some of the sites are far away from each other, which makes it expensive for the guides at those sites to come to meetings.

Also, the contact between local guide groups in the county and the official tourism department has for a long time been arranged through middlemen consisting of privately owned tour-operating firms. However, the decision by the local guide groups to organize themselves in a county-wide association has given them the confidence to approach the tourism department on their own, and establish direct contact. Being an organized larger entity, as opposed to several smaller groups facilitates the communication with the tourism department, and its director has said that in the future he will turn directly to the grassroots organizations (i.e. the local guides), now that he knows that they are properly formalized.

The full research process showing all activities between September 2012 and April 2016. This image makes visible how the project has gone from a focus on the involvement of residents, to a focus on the male guide group in Dunga, and finally to a focus on integrating women in the tourism business and of establishing the county-wide guide association.



'breakdown' leading to shift in mindset and approach


Guides
PhD students
Residents
Women's group
Gothenburg tour
recap meeting
presentation at symposium
visits to other sites
meeting at Mistra Urban Futures
pre-workshop meeting
recap meeting
visit to Ekocentrum
1st association workshop
visits to other sites
guided tour & meeting
2nd association workshop
exchange visit to Kakamega
guided tour in Gothenburg
women's inclusion meeting
workshop for female guides
guided tour at aquatic museum
interview
meeting
visit at Nordic Zoo
women's inclusion meeting
female guides test tour
association meeting
registration of DWIT
interview
1st report guide ass.
women's guide training
2nd report guide ass.
women's guide training
guide meeting
tour guide uniform (women)
6th field period
7th field period
field work in Sweden
Jan 2015
Jan 2016
initiation of county-wide guide association

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter six

This chapter has accounted for the participatory process in the Kisumu project. I have described how the project was initiated, what practical results have been implemented as the process has proceeded as well as how the initial focus to develop the ecotourism business in Dunga and strengthen the local guide group there have evolved into two new focus areas. These two initiatives, which focus on women's involvement in tourism and the organization of a county-wide guide association, are up and running and will hopefully continue to develop further. My involvement in the project has officially ended with the end of my PhD studies. However, Eva Maria and I are still in contact with the male and female guide groups in Dunga, and the county-wide guide association, and we have hopes for continued collaboration.

When describing the project in this chapter I have aimed to be as clear as possible regarding who has participated, under what circumstances and during which period, keeping in mind that this also reveals who did not participate. I have also tried to be explicit about the fact that the project takes place in a community setting and that this means that residents' views need to be taken into account. However, the project also takes place in a professional workplace setting, in the sense that the main focus has been the development of guide groups. This means that some people have participated as residents, while others have participated in their professional roles as guides. This connects to the following chapter, *Pitfalls of participation,* in which I will discuss a number of pitfalls that can emerge when people's participation is not clearly articulated. Through critical reflections on my previous publications, I will exemplify how the use of elusive or ambiguous words can hide important information, produce overstatements and lead to simplistic representations of people. Furthermore, I will also identify a number of pitfalls connected to an unjust role distribution in projects, through a discussion on how the distribution of roles in the Kisumu project led to inequalities and unjust situations.

6. PITFALLS OF PARTICIPATION

Pitfalls of participation

"50 people is not the entire community!"

Comment by one of the guides when Eva Maria and I proposed to reduce the number of participants for the third workshop in April 2013.

This chapter takes as its starting point the first research question: *What are pitfalls of participation, and how do they hinder just participation from being realized?* To answer this, I will identify and explore a number of pitfalls that I experienced in the Kisumu project, some of which tie into already existing discussions on challenges of participation. These pitfalls are divided into two overarching themes, of which the first is connected to our use of words as researchers and/or practitioners and how this use can produce abstracted conceptualizations of participants and their participation. The term community,[95] and concepts such as community empowerment are used to exemplify how words can hide important information regarding who is participating and how people participate. The second theme concerns role distribution in projects, and I will

95 Community is often defined as a group of people gathered in some type of symbolic, social or spatial organization, in which people share a sense of identity, norms, values, culture, attitudes class, ethnicity, faith or interests. A community can be small or large in scale, and the attachment between people in the community can be "'thin' or 'thick'" (Delanty, 2010, p. xi). It can be particular and local, national, international or global. It can for instance be a rural community in Kenya's countryside, or an international community consisting of a body of nations that are grouped together through a common interest, such as the East African Community (EAC) or the European Union (EU). This indicates that there is a duality embedded in community, in the sense that it can be based on social connections and closeness, whilst it can also be seen as the universal community including all people in the world, who are tied together since we are all humans. Furthermore, a community can align with and support the general order of things or it can oppose it. It can be "traditional, modern or even postmodern", and it can be either inclusive or exclusive (ibid, p. xi). The meaning of community in the singular is *similarity* and *identity*. It originates from *comuneté* (old French) and *communus* (Latin) meaning with and together. Common versions of the term include: virtual community, communities of practice, communities of place and political community.

discuss how the following three factors hinder the realization of just participation: 1/ insufficient access to project information for residents; 2/ unjust access to knowledge resources between actors who are to co-produce knowledge together; and 3/different preconditions between academic actors who are to collaborate with each other. Furthermore, I want to discuss how these pitfalls are related to Eurocentric values, prejudice and cultural unawareness on behalf of actors such as myself, as well as how they are related to the project set-up of a North-South collaboration.

Use of words for conceptualizing participants

In the first part of this chapter I will problematize the words and type of language that are used for conceptualizing participants and their participation in research writing, as well as project reports and presentations. I base the need for this problematization on the idea that the words that we as researchers and practitioners use influence our thoughts and actions and thereby the way that people are involved in participatory processes. This corresponds with Ahmed's recognition that words are powerful, have force and the "potential to do things" (2012, p. 54) as well as with Mohanty's (2003, p. 509) argument that words can be used as a means "to exercise power". In addition, I find Ahmed's (p. 50) idea useful that to understand "what happens" when certain words are used, you need to "follow them around, and explore what they do and do not do…", to be of use when exploring the connection between words and pitfalls of participation. Pursuing this train of thought, I aim to follow words such as *community*, *empowerment* and *ownership* regarding how they are used to conceptualize participants and their participation in others' research writing as well as my own.

Community – distinctive but also vague

The term community is used in participatory design literature to signify that a project is taking place in a community setting and/or public context.[96] Similarly

96 Keeping in mind that a community can take many forms indicates that such projects can take place within different types of communities. It can for example be an activist or hobbyist community (DiSalvo et al., 2013), a network community, a virtual community, a community of practice, a geographically defined community, or a community organized around cultural, religious or ethnic belonging.

to Braa (1996) and Di Salvo et al. (2013), I find it useful to see community-based participatory design as its own area within the larger field of participatory design. Seeing it as its own area distinguishes between projects taking place in a public community setting in which people are participating as citizens, and projects taking place within an organizational setting in which people are participating as members of staff.[97] For instance, a resident in Dunga participates in the project on ecotourism development for different reasons and on different terms from a staff member in a project in an industrial firm, or a nurse on a hospital ward in Kisumu city. The person living in Dunga participates in the role of a resident in the community, and does so in her or his free time.[98] The reason for participation may be to acquire information about the project or to have the opportunity to give her or his views on ecotourism development taking place close to home. A member of staff at an industrial firm on the other hand will participate in a project at the workplace during paid working hours. He or she may have been asked to do so by an employer, and the purpose may be to influence a possible organizational transformation so that it is adapted to her or his working situation. Furthermore, I find it important to make a distinction between projects taking place in a public community setting and those taking place in an organizational setting since this distinction indicates that I as a design researcher do not only need to learn about someone's work situation, but also about the socio-cultural, socio-economic and political context of the community (DiSalvo et al., 2013; Kapuire, Winschiers-Theophilus, and Blake, 2015).

Having said that, it is not enough only to state that a project such as the one in Kisumu is taking place in a community setting and that people are participating as residents. A community can be a complex structure, consisting of different types of constellations, groups, subgroups and individuals, all of which have different interests, needs and preconditions for participating. Also, no person is only a community member and people may not only be participating as residents, but may be doing so in a number of roles. This means that the conceptualizations of participants need to be as articulated and detailed

97 There can of course be community formations within an organization and at the workplace, such as communities of practice. However, this is not the type of community that I discuss in this chapter. The object of my discussion is rather the type of community that is geographically defined and relatively small-scale, and in which the majority of the people (although not necessarily all) share a sense of belonging to the community.

98 Here I refer to those participating in the project as residents, and not as members of a group such as the guide group, who are participating mainly in their role as guides (i.e. professionals, even though they are also members of the community).

as possible to show their diversity. However, as the following discussion will show, there are examples in literature on participation of overly simplistic accounts of community participation, and my own use of the term community in previous writings about the project in Kisumu is problematic.

The use of the word community in participatory literature

The way in which the term community has been used in literature of participatory design, participatory development, participatory rural appraisal, ecotourism and community-based tourism, has received criticism. In design, Di Salvo et al. (2013, p. 183) write that community is a "difficult qualifier because it is simultaneously elusive and familiar", while Akama and Ivanka (2010) and Light and Akama (2012) state that the meaning of the term has been left unproblematized and that it tends to conceal social diversity and who it is that is participating, whilst the existence of internal differences and power relations are neglected.

An example of a problematic use of the word community in participatory design literature can be drawn from an article in which a project in South Africa is discussed (Puri et al., 2004). It states that the project took place in a specific municipality and in which district this municipality is located. It also states that most residents of the municipality are poor, under-resourced and living in rural settings. It explains too that the project focuses on children's health. This description positions the project within a defined geographical setting in a straightforward manner, and it is followed by the statement that:

> ...it was important before embarking on any intervention to have a collective decision made regarding community support for a child health project. Once that support was given /.../ the next step taken was the creation of a common vision for the community and the district concerning the development of their children (ibid, p. 44).

The emphasis on the importance of gaining support before any intervention is undertaken should be seen as positive. However, it is problematic that the discussion is not accompanied by an account of the size of the community and that there are no indications regarding how large a percentage of the community took part in the "collective decision made regarding community support...", or in "the creation of a common vision..." (ibid, p. 44). With this I am not saying that the project did not have substantial community support or that the level of community involvement was not sufficient for the purpose, but that the way in which the participation is accounted for in the text makes

it hard for the reader to know to what extent there actually was community support.

Similar issues can be found in tourism literature stating that there is a "distinct reluctance to tackle the conceptually difficult task of defining what 'community' actually means" (Southgate, 2006, p. 82). That there is a naïve and "stereotypical idealization" of the concept, a hesitancy to be explicit regarding who is participating, an overbelief in community consensus and an ignorance of the fact that one single and unified opinion rarely exists in any community (Blackstock, 2002, p. 42; Southgate, 2006). Literature on participatory development and participatory rural appraisal claims that community is a slippery concept that has become romanticized and been kept unproblematized and undefined (Kothari 2001; Mosse, 2001; Pelling, 2007). It pinpoints as problematic that communities are portrayed as homogenous units, and that the use of the term simplifies complex situations (Chambers, 1997; Cornwall, 1998; Crawley, 1998), since it hides differences such as age, economic capacity, faith, ethnicity and gender (Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998). It also points out that focus in many community-based projects is automatically put on aspects such as unity and consensus, whilst difference and conflict are not mentioned (Guijt and Shah, 1998; Pelling, 2007), as well as it stated that it is rarely acknowledged that communities consist of people with diverging experiences, interests, priorities and positions (Cousins, 1998; McGee, 2002), or that the culture within a community can be controlled by oppressive, exclusionary, patriarchal or conservative social norms (Pelling, 2007).

In addition, another instance when the term community can be problematic is when it is used in connection with the term *empowerment*, if it is not clearly articulated who it is that is empowered. Is it the entire community or is the empowerment confined to a few individuals or specific groups (Cleaver, 2001)? Is empowerment claimed without further explanations as to how people have been empowered, or is it not articulated that empowerment have different meanings for different people (Crawley, 1998)?

The use of the word community in writings about the project

The term community is also something that Eva Maria and I have used in texts and presentations about the project in Dunga. One of the first conference papers that we wrote, *Designing for or designing with?* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a, p.

1604),[99] contained the word community no less than 24 times. Some of these formulations are perhaps suitable, such as "in the early 21st century two community members from Dunga found an interest in ecotourism". However, there are also formulations such as "residents from the community participated in three workshops in the initial stages" and "at the end of the process, we interviewed the local organizations and members of the community to inquire how they had perceived the process and the activities in it". Also, in a journal article, *Tourism experience innovation through design*, where we discuss how the development of the one-day guided tours can be seen as a process of innovation, we write that we went through a participatory process with "the guides and the community" (Jernsand, Kraff and Mossberg 2015, p. 105).

It is not that these statements are untrue, but they are problematic. For instance, our use of the term community and the way that we have formulated the sentences quoted above, means that we do not articulate who participated, which in turn also means that we are not clear about who did not participate. It is impossible to see to the gender balance between the participants for example, or if the participants belonged to certain groups, with the exception of that we mention the guide group. It is also impossible to gain an understanding of how large a part of the community it was that participated, since we do not state how many people were living there. There are instances where we have stated how many people participated in certain workshops, for example that there were 75 participants in the first workshop held at the end of 2012, although this information does not mean anything if it is not accompanied by information stating that there are about 3,000 people living in the community.

This discussion on how large a community is raises questions relating to when it is justified to state that you are working with 'the community', that you have 'community support', or that a project is 'community-based'. Are guidelines needed for example along the lines of at least two thirds of the community should be informed about the project and being able to have their say about it, with at least one third being involved in project activities? What is the

99 I had an idea of making clear which texts were written before, and which were written after the moment when I came in contact with the criticism of participation, since this would make visible the shift in mindset and how this influenced my writing thereafter. However, some of the quotes from earlier publications concerning the use of the term community that I criticize in this chapter, were written after the shift in mindset. What this shows is how easy it is to think that you have changed your approach and thinking, when in reality, some of your thoughts and actions still remain with old ways of doing things. Experiencing a breakdown is one thing, but changing your approach and learning to see things in new ways is a long and hopefully forever continuing and evolving process.

percentage minimum for when I can say that I am working with a community? The response "50 people is not the entire community!" by one of the guides[100] when Eva Maria and I asked if we could reduce the number of participants for the third workshop, serves as a reminder to myself to think twice when using the term community in relation to the project.

Furthermore, in the paper *Designing for or designing with*? (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a, p. 1607) we also stated that "by working in a participatory manner, we hoped that the process would strengthen the community and local organizations". This statement is problematic since it does not explain in what way we hoped that the process would strengthen the community or organizations, and since our claim of aiming to strengthen 'the community' is as an overstatement. I would say that one aim of the project was to strengthen the guide group (i.e. a local organization), which it also has in the sense that the guides have become more secure in their roles as guides through the knowledge gained during the project, as well as there having been an improvement and development of the tourist services that they offer.[101]

However, in what way exactly did we aim to strengthen the community? Did we mean that we aimed to strengthen all 3,000 residents? Members of the community did participate in the early stages of the project, mainly in the first three workshops, and there have been presentations held about what was going on in the project in the community hall, as was discussed in chapter five, in the case description. Such actions may indicate to people that their thoughts, ideas and concerns are being taken into consideration and that they can continue to be updated about the progress of the project, but that is not the same thing as being strengthened. There were some members of the community that participated as professionals for shorter periods in the in the later stages of the project. For instance, there was a group of craftsmen and craftswomen and a group of fishmongers who participated in the two test tours conducted during the fourth field period in December 2013. The aim of including these groups and individuals was to strengthen more groups than just the guides,

100 26th April 2013.

101 Members of the guide group have said for example that they gained new knowledge at the three-day workshop on packaging that was held during the third field period in early 2013, referring mainly to knowledge on branding, visual identity and how they can profile their tourism business. They have mentioned how they have been asked by Beach Management Units (BMUs) at other beaches to talk to people there about the project, the methods that we have used, and the development process that they have gone through. In addition, residents who participated in the interviews held on the 5th and 6th December 2013, said that they could see a change in the guides in the sense that they had introduced new ways to interact with tourists during the guided tours.

and to show the possibilities of involving other groups in the tourism business. However, again, this concerned just a few individuals, and not the entire community.

Representations of Africa through the use of the word community

The discussion above gives examples of a number of pitfalls connected to using the term community, namely that its use frequently leads to vague and overly broad conceptualizations of who the participants are, and that this hides important information and makes overstatements possible. Another aspect that I find important to discuss regarding the term community is how it is used in accounts of projects taking place in African countries. The reason for this is not that I find it interesting to compare a project in Kenya with projects in other countries in Africa simply because they are located in Africa. Rather, it is due to the way in which Africa, African countries and the people living there have often been portrayed in media, literature and research, in a simplified, one-sided and negative way (e.g. Adichie, 2009; Dowden, 2009). Integrating this aspect into the discussion in this thesis therefore highlights the importance of reflecting upon whether there is a risk that accounts of participatory design projects taking place in African countries may contribute to this negative portrayal.

A paper from 1996, using two participatory design projects in South Africa as examples, states that it is "important to recognize that third world participatory design approaches need to emphasize the community, rather than the workplace" (Braa, 1996, p. 15). The emphasis on the need to focus on community can be seen as appropriate in this regard since community had previously not been an area receiving attention in participatory design. One of the projects discussed in the paper dealt with the development of a hospital information system. The aim to go beyond the organization where the system was to be developed (the hospital) to allow people living in nearby communities to participate in the development, can be seen as a way to increase the possibilities for people to have a say in matters of concern to them. Reaching out to nearby communities when working in a hospital context was therefore a means to enhance the level of participation in participatory design.

However, at the same time the question should be posed as to what type of image was conveyed of South Africa and 'third world' countries. The statement that focusing on community is suitable in this context since "in a third world environment the workplace is not a similarly important arena for social

and political development" (ibid, p. 16) implies negative connotations. Also, referring to something being suitable to such a large and diverse entity as 'third world' countries is problematic, and it is unfortunate that such broad generalizations are still being used in later accounts. For instance, a toolkit produced by an international design agency includes the statement: "[t]his process has been specially-adapted for organizations like yours that work with communities in need in Africa, Asia and Latin America" (Ideo, 2009, p. 3). When showing this toolkit to a PhD student colleague based in Nairobi, he said that he did not think it was possible to adapt tools and methods for such a diverse continent as Africa, commenting: "the tool you take to Senegal won't work in Kenya".

Furthermore, the traditional practice of community meetings and collective decision-making are mentioned in later accounts of participatory design projects taking place in South Africa and Namibia, as a way to underline the suitability of participatory design in such contexts (Puri et al., 2004; Winshiers-Theophilus et al., 2010). This is perhaps legitimate and it may very well be so that a long-standing practice of collective decision making creates a good starting point for participatory design. However, it is problematic when such accounts are not followed by discussions on how inclusive decision-making is conceptualized in community meetings, or if, and if so how these systems of decision-making differ from the systems of decision-making in participatory design. Similarly, the concept of *Ubuntu* is used to strengthen the argument that participation is suitable in an African context. Ubuntu is described as being closely tied to community and about a connectedness between all people, based on a belief that each and every person exists through engagement with others and through a collective morality (Puri et al., 2004; Winshiers-Theophilus et al., 2010; Kapuire et al., 2015; Manzini, 2015; Ssozi-Mugarura et al., 2016). Participation is thereby connected directly to the notion of community, and the strong community culture in African countries is used to claim that participatory design is suitable there. Such arguments may be justified, and there might be great potential in further exploration of the concept Ubuntu and its connection to participatory design. What is problematic however is that Ubuntu is mentioned mainly in passing in articles and papers, but without being described in detail or elaborated upon. If Ubuntu is to become embedded in community-based participatory design, then a comprehensive theoretical grounding of the concept is needed to explore and critically review its meaning for participatory design.

In addition, Winshiers-Theophilus et al. (2010, p. 2) mention that there can

be gaps between local participants and external and/or foreign researchers in terms of "individuality and community, orality versus print-based literacy, and technological skills versus local situational knowledge". This acknowledgement offers a reminder to researchers and practitioners from other cultural settings to develop awareness of the fact that the approach they would use back home might be inappropriate in other contexts. In other words, they need to see beyond their own "readings of participation" and "draw upon local epistemologies" (ibid, p. 2). However, the risk is that such accounts also contribute to an image of community members as people who are experts on everything connected to the traditional and local, but who know nothing about modern development or the world outside their immediate village. Thus it could be questioned why community members often only get ascribed the knowledge of their place, whilst researchers are ascribed a professional type of knowledge, for example on technology? This may be connected to Harding's (1998, p. 153, 106) claim that there is a "tendency of the Eurocentric, colonial or imperial mentality" to conceptualize residents' knowledge as "a kind of folk belief, merely local knowledge, or ethno-science".

The community or the professional in Dunga?

The above discussion raises questions regarding the prevailing focus on community in participatory design projects taking place in African countries. According to my understanding, the need exists for more diversity in the literature dealing with participatory design on the African continent, and it would be highly interesting, as well as more accurate, if more focus were put on the entrepreneurial, the academic or the technically advanced Kenya, Namibia or Uganda and other African countries.

Turning to the project in Dunga it should be mentioned that I saw it as a community-based project for a long time, and I often talked about it as being about community participation. Now (at the moment of writing) I would say that the project lies in the intersection between the community and the workplace, in which the main actors are professional groups in a community setting. It is important to state the connection to the community, and it is crucial that the other actors engaged in the project and I aim to take community members' thoughts, ideas and concerns into consideration. The guides in Dunga are all members of the community, and they have knowledge about the community and the local context, which is important for the project. However, the guides participated first and foremost as guides, and their professional

knowledge in guiding, ecology and wildlife was also important. Furthermore, activities in the project often focused on the guides' working conditions and how these could be improved. For example, in the early stages of the project the guides expressed the view that visitors did not take them seriously, and that people did not always trust that they were professional guides since they did not have uniforms. This led to discussions on how the guides presented themselves and how they could communicate their knowledge and their membership in the group to visitors, which in turn, amongst other things, led to the design of a logotype and guide uniforms for the group. It was also the wish to improve the working condition for local guides in the whole of Kisumu County that sparked their idea of setting up the county-wide guide association about two and a half years into the project.

The residents who participated in the first three workshops were all members of the community, and in my early writings I have referred to these workshops as being about community participation or community involvement (e.g. Kraff and Jernsand 2014a, 2014b). It is true that the participants in these workshops were community members, although the fact that I did not recognize their occupations could be problematized – that they were also fishermen, boat builders, fishmongers, craftsmen, mat makers, carpenters, stone masons, tailors, shop attendants, restaurant workers, restaurant owners, taxi drivers mainly driving motorcycle taxis, hairdressers, students, and vendors making a living selling food products such as maize, tomatoes, sugar cane, chapatti, mandazi,[102] and porridge, or other products such as charcoal. This information about people's profession was collected during the first workshop through questionnaires that Eva Maria and I handed out. However, we did not take this information into much consideration in the following two workshops that also involved members of the community. It is interesting to ask what would have happened if we had taken peoples profession and professional experiences into more consideration, as opposed to seeing them mainly as community members. Another group, namely the fishmonger group, did become involved in the project as professionals, although this was not until two years into the project.

Where is gender in the community?

An aspect that has been discussed at length in literature on participatory rural appraisal and participatory development, but which has not been included in

102 Mandazi is a popular fried snack, which is often taken with tea.

participatory design debates in any comprehensive manner is how the term community tends to hide gender and gender-related issues. Some scholars have stated for instance that it is easy to overlook gender since the common idea is that it is "automatically taken care of through participation" and community involvement (Gujit and Kaul Shah 1998, p. 10), and that communities are conceptualized as being gender-neutral constructs. They have also asserted that participatory methods often are gender-blind, and that gender-neutral approaches are favoured in community-based projects since they are seen as being sensitive to local customs (Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998; Murthy, 1998; Cornwall, 2003). A number of researchers have also argued that if gender is included, it is often limited to a "footnote, rather than a place from which to begin the analysis" (Crawley, 1998, p. 25), and that such shallow inclusion leads to participatory projects becoming inequitable and exclusionary processes that risk reinforcing "hegemonic gender norms" instead of being inclusive and transformative (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1329).

Scholars critical towards the negligence of a gender focus in participation argue that gender needs to become an area of analysis, and it is stated that it should not be assumed that gender is included just because women are present at project meetings and workshops (Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998; Cornwall, 2003). Reaching a critical mass of women participating can be positive, but only if they are properly supported in ways encouraging them to feel that they have agency and power to influence (Mohanty, 1988; Cornwall, 2003). Furthermore, including women in separate activities is sometimes seen as a way to enable women to voice their opinions. However, this can also be problematic if it leads to that the issues dealt with by these groups are not integrated into the overall project frame, or if they are regarded as being important only to women (Cornwall, 1998; Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998; Cornwall, 2003). For gender to be included in the agenda, it needs to be seen as everybody's issue, so the goal must be to involve both men and women in active participation (Cornwall, 1998; Cornwall, 2003). It also needs to be understood that gender roles are dynamic and thus always changing, and that women who raise their voices in projects are not speaking for "all women". All women are not victims, nor are they victims merely because they are women (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1338).

The risk of re-inscribing a monolithic African woman

To the above discussion on the need to make the gender aspect visible in projects, it could be added that it is also important to make gender visible in writ-

ings and presentations about projects. This may be viewed as a way to avoid the pitfall of vague and overly broad conceptualizations of who participated. However, it then needs to also be taken into consideration *how* gender is made visible, and *how* women who participate in projects are represented. Do researchers or practitioners such as myself risk for example reproducing an already simplified image of African women when writing about the women who have participated in the project? In other words, making gender visible can be a way of providing more specific and detailed descriptions of participants and their participation, although, doing this in a simplified way may turn it into another pitfall.

Research produced by scholars in the Global North has been accused of contributing to a reconstruction of a stereotypical and generalized image of women in Africa as being a powerless and victimized monolithic entity, with no individual agency to change their lives (e.g. Mohanty, 1988; Harding, 1998; Mohanty, 2003; Ali, 2007). In such conceptualizations, women in African countries fall under a description of the "average third world woman" who "leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender and her being "third world" (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized etc.)" (Mohanty, 1988, p. 66). Also, women from the diverse African continent have often been defined as victims of patriarchy, for which African men are made responsible. African men, like women are thereby described one-sidedly using notions of dominance and exploitation (Mohanty, 1988). The creation of these monolithic images is unfortunately not confined to academia but can be found in literature and other media. For example, Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) talks about the danger of a 'single story', and the need to fight the one-sided and mainly negative image of Africa and African women that is still being spread in western literature. Furthermore, it has been argued that reductionist writing about women in African countries says, "too little and too much at the same time" (Mohanty, 1988, p. 68), and that it has "colonizing effects" through the crafting of a "third World difference" and "others" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 516, 519). Another argument is that it is ahistorical in the sense that gender and claims of female subordination are described as being stable and static over time. In addition, scholars have asserted that reductionists writing is simplifying since it mainly describes the structural set-ups of certain phenomena, whilst leaving out the meanings and values attached to these set-ups, and how meanings and values alter over time and between different contexts, groups and individuals (Mohanty, 1988; Harding, 1998).

This type of simplified and prejudiced writing must according to Mohanty (1988) be continually pointed out and questioned. For instance, it needs to be recognized that it is incomplete, since it ignores the diversity and complexity of human life, and the fact that women (or men) cannot be grouped together as a coherent entity, since all individuals holds their own distinct positions, and since no person has a completely fixed identity. Women have several roles simultaneously and they have various connections to different cultures, religions, institutions, frameworks and political contexts. They also belong to different classes, ethnicities and knowledge-systems, all of which influence their aspirations, and self-images, as well as what they find to be possible or challenging, and their ability to contest and challenge hegemonies (Mohanty, 1988, 2003; Ali, 2007). Women's diverse situations need to be defined through analyses of clearly defined and localized groups at a certain and identified point in time (Harding, 1998). Stories of resistance need to be included, since people are rarely only victims (Mohanty, 2003). Many different types of stories about African women are needed, stories that start from different perspectives, from which they are not portrayed as "the other" or as living under catastrophe and poverty (Adichie, 2009).[103]

My interpretation and representation of women in the project

The recognition of the importance of incorporating a gender perspective in the project and the active inclusion of women came, as has been discussed in chapters four and five, *Reflection on methodology* and *Case description – the project in Kisumu*, quite late, mainly through the participation of the women who formed the female guide group in Dunga. This late inclusion can be seen to exemplify that gender is not "automatically taken care of through participation" (Gujit and Kaul Shah 1998, p. 10), and that the focus on the community in the initial stages, and the focus on the guide group after this led to gender being hidden and overlooked. Gender was not an object of my attention and the participatory approach was gender-neutral in the initial stages (Gujit and Kaul Shah 1998; Ahmed, 2012).

Furthermore, as the need to involve women became apparent in the project, it should be mentioned that I was hesitant about approaching the women at first since I was under the impression that they did not speak English. How-

103 Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie; https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story. Retrieved 2017-12-27.

ever, it turned out that several of the women did speak English, so language has not hindered our communication in any significant way. This was a prejudice on my side, which stemmed from a one-sided and faulty image of women living in Kenyan villages as uneducated and unversed in communicating with foreigners. Also, it shows how I grouped diverse individuals into a coherent unity.

Keeping this prejudice in mind, it is important to question how women are portrayed in my writings. For instance, how does it affect the readers' view of the women as well as the men in the project when I write that women were rarely involved in discussions on tourism development and that the guide profession is male-dominated in this context? Do I portray the women who formed the women's guide group as a coherent and victimized group through my writing, or do I provide a more accurate description of them as strong, organized, and smart individuals who have taken the initiative to improve their situation? Are they portrayed as a group of women actively striving for a change in perception regarding women working in tourism? To what extent do I make clear that I am not writing about women in Kenya or even women in Kisumu or Dunga, but about a few individuals who wished to access a line of work that was new to them?

Guiding may be a male-dominated profession in Kisumu and Kenya, but this does not mean that the situation looks exactly the same in the entire city, region or country, as the visit to the Kakamega rainforest exemplifies. There women have worked as guides for a long time. The women who are now engaged in the county-wide guide association and in the women's guide group in Dunga are diverse in the sense that they are of different ages, have different educational levels and different professional backgrounds. Some have a deep knowledge of fish species and how the different parts of the fish can be used for various purposes, whilst others are knowledgeable craftswomen. One woman who is engaged in the county-wide guide association is the manager at a tourism site in Kisumu County, and she is also a member of the association board. She has longer experience of working in tourism than many of her male colleagues. During her time there, the site that she manages has received an award for its development, and her organizational skills make her a highly appreciated board member. Meanwhile, the former manager of the NGO in Dunga has followed the project and the initiation of the female guide group from the start. She has experience of guiding and has trained some of the male guides in Dunga when they first started working as guides. She has long experience of working with gender issues in various fields, is a driven entrepreneur,

and was named as one of the top 100 most positively aspiring African young people in 2017.[104]

Ownership – another vaguely defined term

The terms community and briefly also empowerment have been used in this chapter to exemplify pitfalls of participation connected to how words are used when conceptualizing participants and their participation. Another term that is interesting to explore in this connection is *ownership*, or more particularly local ownership of projects. Project ownership by local actors is mentioned as important in participatory design literature. For instance, Korpela et al. (1996, p. 27), state that community members need to be included throughout the entirety of a project, from initiation to implementation, and that early involvement is important since it "gives the community a sense of ownership…". This statement may at first glance seem plausible, although it raises questions regarding the meaning of ownership in community based participatory design, and what criteria need to be met for ownership to be established. Is it for example possible to claim that people have ownership just because they are engaged in a project from beginning to end? Does it not need to be accompanied by a discussion on *how* local actors are involved in decision-making processes and the setting up of the project framework? Is there a difference between *giving* someone a *sense* of ownership, and actually *having* or *claiming* ownership? And what are the connections between ownership and access to project budget, and budget planning?[105]

Project ownership by the guides in the Kisumu project, or rather our claim for it in earlier texts and presentations, is problematized in the paper *Designing for or designing with?* (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a). It is true that the guides have been involved from the very start of the project and that they have played an important part throughout. For instance, they participated in meetings in the initial stages at which we discussed appropriate ways to involve residents. They influenced the design of the third workshop that was open for residents, since they felt that the previous two had been too long and that many people

104 By the organization Positive Youth's Africa (PYA) (http://www.positiveyouthsafrica.org, retrieved 2018-01-23).

105 By this I do not mean that local ownership needs to be a goal in all types of projects, and I am aware that it may not even be suitable in some projects. The argument is not for local ownership per se. Rather it is about how claims of ownership need to be followed by definitions of what this ownership entails. When discussing ownership in the Kisumu project I do not refer to all residents in the village, but to those who have been actively involved in the project throughout, which is mainly the guide group.

had therefore not been able to participate. Also, the fact that the guides were already working actively with ecotourism development before the initiation of the project could be regarded as indicating that they had ownership of the project topic. However, Eva Maria's and my claims regarding the guides' ownership, at least when referring to the first two years of the project, are overstatements. During those first two years it was we as researchers who chose the main topics and designed the workshops (Mosse, 2001). We were also the ones who wrote the reports and put together the information for the public presentations, which meant that the information from all participatory activities was filtered through us (Mosse, 2001; Jégou, Delétraz, Massoni, Roussat and Coirié, 2013; Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a).

The guides' role has evolved over time and they became more and more involved in the overall planning of the project as it progressed. For example, about two years into the project it was the guides who suggested that focus should be put on the creation of a cultural museum and they were the ones who brought forward the idea of organizing a cultural day. When working on the cultural day and with the museum idea, Eva Maria and I organized two initial workshops, after which the guides took over the process. They organized the cultural day and a workshop in which residents could have a say about an early prototype of the museum. Furthermore, the initiative to start up the county-wide guide association came from the guides, and they asked Eva Maria and me to take part in the activities that revolved around setting up the framework for the association. The planning for the initial events during the setting up of the association was divided between the two of us and the guides. For instance, we went on joint trips to visit guide groups at other sites in Kisumu County to discuss the idea of the association with them, and we co-planned the first workshops and the field trip that was undertaken during the sixth and seventh field period in March and November respectively, in 2015. I would say that the guides took ownership of the project when they introduced this idea for the county-wide guide association, while Eva Maria's and my role after this have been of a supportive character. We have had meetings over Skype and we met the guides in late 2017 to discuss the progress of the association and possibilities for the future. The association has established a board consisting of guides from local guide groups in the county and it is the members of this board who are now leading the ongoing work.

Unjust distribution of roles in projects

The focus so far in this chapter has been on our use of words as researchers and/or practitioners, and how this can lead to vague or simplistic conceptualizations of participants. In this last section, I will shift focus to the second theme of pitfalls, the *distribution of roles* in projects. As I did with the first theme, I will identify a number of pitfalls connected to this second theme, that derive from the project in Kisumu. These pitfalls include the three following issues; 1/ insufficient access to project information for residents; 2/ unjust access to knowledge resources between actors such as myself and the guides; and 3/ unjust preconditions between academic actors to conduct their research. In addition, I will discuss how these issues, arising between researchers and local actors in Kenya on the one hand researchers from Sweden on the other, signal a need to discuss how roles are distributed in projects based on a North-South collaboration.

Insufficient access to project information

One main aim in the project has been to keep the process as open and transparent as possible for residents in Dunga. As described in chapter five, *Case description – the project in Kisumu*, this has been done through the written reports, the available project space and the open presentations held in the community hall, all of which communicated what was going on in the project. Apart from this, the first three workshops offered opportunities for residents to get updated about the project and express their views on it. These efforts and activities could be viewed as attempts to attain just participation by creating multiple ways for people to gain access to the project and to project information. However, what may seem as straightforward and just when you first look at it, can turn out to be exclusionary if you reflect on it more deeply and through a critical lens.

The inaccessible 'available' projects space

Making a process transparent and accessible, and how this can be achieved through the creation of an available project space, is sometimes mentioned in presentations and writings on participatory design projects, including my own (e.g. British Design Council, 2012; Kraff and Jernsand 2014a, 2014b). For example, Eva Maria and I mention how we set up an available project space in Dunga in several publications (e.g. Kraff and Jernsand 2014a, 2014b), in which we explain that the project space was located in the community centre by the lakeshore in the village. That this space included a project wall on which we put

up printed copies of the four open presentations that we had held in the community hall, and that there was a suggestion box in which people could leave comments and ideas. We also wrote that the four reports that we had written for the project were available in this space.

The members of the Beach management unit (BMU), local NGO and guide group have stated that they saw the open presentations, the available project space and the reports as important since they gave people opportunities to acquire information and also to some extent to share their views or raise concerns. For instance, the founder of the NGO and several of the guides explained to Eva Maria and me that researchers and project workers often visit the village, conduct workshops, interview residents or hand out questionnaires, but that it is not common that the outcome of the research is communicated back to them. In an interview with the founder of the NGO,[106] he expressed his concern about this, stating that researchers come there to "squeeze information from the community and then turn away", and he mentioned that he appreciated that we were "not only coming and involving the community in focus group discussions, picking their heads", but that we also informed them of the progress made in the project. Also, members of the guide group as well as of the NGO have mentioned that they have been able to refer to the reports when applying for funding for different projects.[107]

However, when reflecting critically on the available project space, I realized that it was not as accessible as I first thought. A conversation with a group of elders in the village[108] made it clear that they viewed the location where the available project space was set up as a place for young people, and they felt it was not really available to the older generation. Also, the community centre doubles as a gift shop and visitor reception, which led to some people not feeling that it was a space for members of the community. This raises questions of for whom an available project space is available, and why we (Eva Maria and I) based it on the idea that people were to come to it, as opposed to it coming to them? Why did we not use more than one location? Why did we not design it so that it was mobile and easy to move to different locations? Furthermore, the fact that many of the natural meetings places in the village are located outside in a shaded area or by one of the benches that are placed down by the beach,

106 December 5th 2013.

107 For example, the guide group applied for and landed funding to build so called earth benches in the village, to give people somewhere to rest and meet. An earth bench is built of cement and used bottles.

108 November 4th 2014.

and that people see it as customary to convey information to each other in person, indicate that information situated indoors on posters and in written reports, as was the case with the available project space, was not the best option to make a project easily accessible.

Virtual inaccessibility

A complement to having the project space in the community centre, might have been to have it online too, since this would have allowed people to access it wherever they were through their computer or phone. The social media channels used by the guide group partly filled this function, and they have posted information about project activities there. However, this format also excludes a large number of people. As one of the guides commented to Eva Maria and I, we have immediate access to information about what is happening in the project through various social media channels. We can almost immediately find out if there is a tourism-related event happening, if this has been posted on social media. However, the same news may not reach people in the village until the next day, or even the next week.[109]

The idea of having an available project space online can be further problematized if we look at it through a gender lens, analyzing the role gender plays in social media (Bardzell, 2010). Most of the male guides are active on social media outlets, and it has been relatively easy to come into contact with them when I have been in Sweden. We have for example had regular contact on social media, from simple greetings to staying in touch and being updated about what is happening in the project, as well as setting dates for Skype meetings. Staying connected has however not been as easy with the group of women who became involved in the project at the end of 2014, and who founded the women's guide group. Some of them do have social media accounts but they are generally not as active as many of the male guides. Also, the male guide group has a shared computer for the use of their organization, which the women do not. One of the male guides suggested that I could send e-mails to the women, first letting him know that I had sent an e-mail so that he could then tell the women and lend them the computer to read the e-mail. What this discussion indicates is that some groups and individuals have a harder time accessing information about the project when it is online, which makes them dependent on someone else to access the information. Also, accessing project information online for residents and the guides is connected to a cost.

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109 April 11th 2016.

Project access getting lost in translation

In similarity to the available project space it could be questioned how accessible the open presentations were for residents. These presentations usually followed a format where Eva Maria and I talked in English, after which the guides translated what we had said into Dholuo. When I asked one of the guides what he believed people thought about the presentations being held in English and then translated to Dholuo, he said that there is a directedness that is lost when things are translated and that it is inevitable that some things will be left out or distorted. He also said that when activities are conducted in English there will be those, who do not know English, who consider the activity not to be for them.[110]

This issue with language also arose with the four reports that are written in English, which meant that many people could not access the information in the reports directly. Members of the guide group have told me that they shared the information from the reports during community meetings, which offered people who could not read them the possibility of still accessing the information. However, as with project information online, it also meant that people became dependent on someone else to access, as well as it put extra pressure on the guides to act as constant informants of the project.

Kenyan poet and postcolonial theorist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1985) and his view on language as being the key to people's cultural environment are interesting to explore in connection to the above discussion on how language can limit people's direct access to project information. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o sees a close connection between language and culture, and argues that scholars who only write in English are guilty of locking knowledge into a space that is inaccessible to a large number of people. Reflecting on the project through his ideas reveals a double exclusion of people from the project. The fact that much of the project information was in English meant that people were excluded from discussions concerning their cultural environment and the development of their community, as well as they were excluded from taking part of the knowledge that was produced in the project.

Limited access to critical information

The aim with the above discussion on access to the project and to project information is not to claim that all residents in a community necessarily feel that they want this access, and it is likely that there are those who do not have

110 October 16th 2015.

any interest in the project. However, for projects similar to the one in Kisumu, where the project outcome may have an effect on residents' lives,[111] it is crucial that those who wish to have information do have easy access to it.

Furthermore, it is important to see what type of information is made available. If it is set in a positive tone, merely proclaiming the benefits of the project, or if it also includes information about possible risks connected to the project and the project area (i.e. ecotourism). Has people's level of awareness about ecotourism been taken into consideration, and has the information been adapted thereafter? In other words, does the information provided enable people to make an informed and critically aware decision regarding the suitability of the project for their community? For the project in Kisumu, providing information on the possible risks of ecotourism development included information on the risks of economic leakages, which occur when revenues go to external sources as opposed to local organizations and the community. That there are cases when the term ecotourism has been used for 'green-washing' purposes, and that there can be conflicts of interest between people in the community, for example if residents are pushed out of public spaces in order to make room for the tourism business (Belsky, 1999; Scheyvens, 1999; Honey, 2008).

However, this type of critical information on ecotourism was minimal in the initial stages of the project. As has been mentioned, ecotourism was an occupation in which the guide group was already involved when the project was initiated. However, Eva Maria and I did not take into full consideration whether or not other people in the community found ecotourism development suitable, nor did we take the time to investigate fully their understanding of the concept (Kraff and Jernsand, 2014a). Instead, the first workshop in which residents participated focused on mapping the actors who could be connected to the tourism business, and the topic of the second workshop was place identity. This meant that the focus of the first two workshops was to generate ideas for tourism development, and that there was little room left for critical information.

Unjust access to knowledge resources

As recounted in chapter four, *Reflection on methodology*, the project in Kisumu was set up as a transdisciplinary research project, in the sense that it built on collaboration between different disciplines, as well as between members of ac-

111 Residents will for example be affected if there is a large increase in numbers of visitors.

ademia, industry and the society. One aspect that is emphasized in literature on transdisciplinary research, and which is seen as a precondition for increasing the social relevance of research, is co-production of knowledge between these actors (Nowotny, 2004; Guggenheim, 2006; Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008; Robinson 2008; Polk, 2015a, 2015b). However, the question arises as to what extent co-production of knowledge is actually possible, when the actors concerned have unjust access to knowledge resources. This issue with unjust access to knowledge resources is perhaps particularly palpable in North-South collaborations. For example, individuals such as the guides in Dunga have a limited access to the global knowledge arena, whereas Eva Maria and I as Swedish researchers can move easily between the local and the global, both physically and virtually. As a researcher from Sweden, I have an almost unlimited access to knowledge resources through the library system at my university, I can participate in international conferences, as well as I have the opportunity to travel to the other side of the globe to work with ecotourism development and learn new things from other cultures. The guides on the other hand have minimal access to theory and new knowledge on ecotourism, and their opportunities to travel to conferences or other knowledge forums such as tourism fairs and exhibitions are highly limited even if these take place in Kenya.

I would say that there has been some level of co-production of knowledge between the guides, Eva Maria and me. For example, during brainstorming sessions in workshops, where we built on each other's ideas regarding the development of guided tours, signage systems and waste collection points. However, in my experience some of the guides wanted access to more material on ecotourism to deepen their knowledge of the area than to which they actually did have access, and the fact that I had an almost unlimited access to this created an unjust situation since we were to co-produce new knowledge in this area together. I am however aware that a guide may not have the same interest in academic texts as someone from academia, although with access to knowledge resources on ecotourism I am also referring to industrial reports and factual books. Research on ecotourism is often closely intertwined with industry, and is therefore often of interest to practitioners. One of the guides has shown particular interest in gaining access to knowledge produced within the academic world, and he has participated in research seminars in Kisumu and Gothenburg. However, the fact that he did not succeed in securing funding to attend a conference on sustainable tourism, held in the neighbouring country of Tanzania, despite having his abstract accepted, made the unjust preconditions between him and us even more visible.

Another factor that can hinder the co-production of knowledge between the guides, Eva Maria, me is that there are inequalities built into the project, limiting effective communication when Eva Maria and I are not in Kenya. This is connected to unjust access to the internet and computers between us, where I have unlimited free access to internet during working hours as well as I have sole use of a fully functional work computer. The guides on the other hand do not always have access to the internet and they only have one shared computer for the whole group. Accessing internet to respond to a Facebook message is something that the guides can do fairly easily, and this form of communication between us has not been experienced as stressful. However, they have mentioned that it is difficult and stressful to arrange Skype meetings. One of the guides said[112] that having meetings through Skype meant that he needed to have a good and stable internet connection, a computer with a functioning microphone and preferably also a functioning web camera. If the internet access was unstable at the time for the meeting, for example due to a recent power cut, or if the computer shared by the group was not available, he would need to travel into town to get to an internet café. However, when he did finally arrive at the café it had sometimes been the case that Eva Maria and I did not have any more time available for the meeting.

Unjust preconditions between academic actors

The issues with unjust access to knowledge resources, as discussed in the section above, does not only exist between the guides and me as an academic, but also between my Kenyan PhD student colleagues and me as a PhD student from Sweden. The idea from the beginning was that we were to be a group of four PhD students, two from Sweden and two from Kenya, working together with ecotourism development and that we were to collaborate closely during our PhD study period. However, we failed to create a functioning collaborative climate between us. This was partly due to that we did not take enough time in the initial stages to create a good enough understanding of each other's life-worlds and knowledge backgrounds (design, marketing, urban planning and ecology) which in turn meant that we did not know how our different knowledges could complement each other, or how we could create a common ground on which to base our collaboration (Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2008; Kraff

112 April 11th 2016.

and Jernsand, 2014b; Polk, 2015a, 2015b). However, the problem was also that we had different preconditions for participating in the project and conducting our research.

For example, my PhD student colleagues in Kenya did not have access to the same extensive university library system as I did. They did not have the same amount of time to work on their PhDs since they also worked almost full time as teachers. They did not have access to a fully organized compulsory PhD course programme, and they did not have the same opportunities to travel to international conferences. There have been instances when they have been able to attend an international conference or a PhD course, however these events have been exceptions and sometimes the result of individual efforts, as opposed to a fully organized and cohesive PhD study plan and budget. Two of my PhD student colleagues from Kenya had however the opportunity to spend some time in Gothenburg and they were then able to have temporary access to the library database at my university. Nevertheless, this was another temporary solution to a larger problem, which in the long run did little to equalize our preconditions.

The fact that I have been able to do my research in a culture that is different from the one I am used to has contributed a good deal to my learning in the sense that being in an unfamiliar context exposes you to new experiences, puts you on the edge, and makes you particularly attentive to things that are unfamiliar. In other words, I had the opportunity to gain insights that I would not have acquired had I done my research in a more familiar setting. This experience of doing your research in a new and unfamiliar setting was however not a privilege that my Kenyan PhD student colleagues enjoyed. There were, as mentioned, some of my colleagues who did go to Sweden, although this was only for shorter periods with the aim of them taking part in PhD courses. However, none of them stayed for longer periods, which would have enabled them to base at least parts of their projects in Sweden. When discussing this, during an interview for a book chapter (Kraff and Jernsand, 2016), one of my colleagues mentioned that he had been thinking about what would have happened if he had had the opportunity to base his research project in Gothenburg, and how this would have given him the opportunity to gain access to the same type of learning curve that Eva Maria and I had.

The question may well be posed why I am doing my research in Kenya. Do I have anything to offer? Thackara (2008) asks this question about European designers working in the Global South, and replies that yes, a designer coming to a place as an outsider can see, develop and reveal aspects that are hidden to

the people who live and work there. This is what lies at the core of a designer's abilities, to see what is not yet there, and to make this visible to those who are too close to it to see it for themselves. But does this mean that I need to do it on another continent? No. Would a designer from the same country be able to do it equally well? Yes. This notion of travelling to faraway places to work and do research should be seen for what it is really about – intercultural communication that gives us the opportunity for cultural exchange of knowledge and a chance to look at our own and other cultures in a new light. What is problematic here is therefore not necessarily that I am working in Kenya, but that it is possible for me to do so, whilst my Kenyan colleagues do not have the same opportunities.

The example of the different preconditions for my colleagues from Kenya and myself indicates that "unequal relations of power and privilege" that have existed for a long time between African, and European or American scholars (Jeyifo, 1999, p. 39), still prevail. These distorted power relations between scholars collaborating on projects, are noticeable also in publications, since European researchers' publications dominate in international journals, whereas African researchers' contributions are often played down (Appiah, 1991; Eriksson Baaz, 2015). A contributing factor to the underrepresentation of African scholars can be connected to limited access to fully stocked library systems and the limited possibility to attend international conferences.

Not being able to attend conferences is a hindrance to getting published during the PhD study period. Writing a conference paper is usually less demanding on time, in the sense that the review process is less extensive, as compared to an article in a journal. Having the opportunity to attend conferences therefore makes it easier to publish within the limited time frame of a PhD. Also, the heavy teaching load that many Kenyan PhD students are assigned during their PhD study period means that they have limited time for writing. One of my colleagues in Kisumu described how it takes a long time to shift your focus from being a teacher who listens and devotes her thoughts to students, to that of being a researcher needing to concentrate on your own research questions and process.[113] What she meant was that it takes time to shift focus and enter a mode in which you feel focused enough to write. These issues, recounted above, are highly problematic and should be seen as signs of a continued under-promotion of African scholars in the academic world (Ali, 2007).

113 October 20th 2015.

Identified pitfalls of participation

The pitfalls that have been identified and explored in this chapter can be summarized in accordance with the two themes mentioned in the introduction. The first of these themes, which is connected to our, as researchers and practitioners, use of words and how we conceptualize participants and their participation in projects, can lead to the following pitfalls:

- *Hidden information in elusive words:* Stating that a project involves the community, is community-based or that there has been community participation, without providing additional facts, hides important information regarding who participated. It makes it impossible to see how large a percentage of residents it was that participated, the gender balance in the project, or if the participants belonged to certain groups. It also hides information on how participants are positioned within the community, if they have a strong position, or if they are in a vulnerable or in any other ways marginalized position.
- *Overstatement of benefits:* Claiming community empowerment or that local actors have ownership of a project is problematic if what is meant by empowerment or ownership is not defined, as well as who is empowered or who has ownership. It is also problematical if the criteria are not specified that need to be meet for ownership to be attained, or for how ownership relates to influence over project direction and decision-making. Keeping the descriptions of empowerment or ownership vague in articles and other forms of publication makes overstatement possible, while it at the same time makes it impossible for the reader to create an understanding of whether or not the claims of community empowerment have been realized.
- *Simplistic representation of people:* Representing people as only being community members, like the use of the term community, hides important information, as well as reducing people to being less than they actually are. Monolithic and simplified representations of communities, groups or individuals conceal diversity and agency.

The second theme of roles and role distribution in projects, includes the following pitfalls:

- *Insufficient access to project information:* The possibilities for residents to access information about a project are reduced if 1/the information is located in a place that is not accessible to everyone; or 2/ if people are depend-

ent on others for getting access to the information; and 3/ if they feel that the information is not for them since it is not available in their language. Furthermore, information is inadequate if it only accounts for the positive aspects and possibilities that may result from the project, since it hinders people from being able to form critically aware opinions regarding the suitability, or unsuitability of the project.

- *Unjust access to knowledge resources between actors who are to co-produce knowledge*: This can be both physical and online access, where some actors have almost unlimited access to the global and local knowledge arenas, whilst others do not. With actors, I am here referring to the guides and the PhD students involved from Kenya and Sweden respectively.
- *Unjust preconditions between academic actors:* This is similar to the point above, but needs to be stated as an issue of its own since it extends beyond the immediate research project. For example, it concerns academics' possibilities to write and publish research.

Connections between power and pitfalls of participation

There is one factor that has been present throughout the thesis, and which is noticeable in all of the pitfalls identified, namely power. For example, the pitfall of insufficient information to residents can be connected to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'os (1985, 200/2006) discussions on language. Using a language that is not known to people can be seen as a way to exercise power in the sense that it excludes people from the project and hinders them from participating in discussions on matters that concern them. Foucault's theories on power are also useful when reflecting on the pitfalls connected to the distribution of roles in the project. One example is how the unjust situations between the guides and myself as well as between myself and my Kenyan colleagues are connected to, or a result of systems of differentiation, regulations and hierarchical structures. How power is exercised through actions taken in the project that favour actors such as myself over actors such as the guides or my PhD student colleagues, and to what extent these actions are made possible by underlying structures that allow for such favouritism (Foucault, 1980; 2000).

Much of the discussion in this thesis can also be connected to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation and her discussion on the redistribution of power between powerholders and marginalized citizens. For example, the discussion in Arnstein's article shows that the pitfall of overstatement was already present in the late 1960s, when she argued there were many claims for participa-

tion, but that there was no discussion on what participation entailed in terms of power and decision-making. Processes that are claimed to be participatory but during which people (in Arnstein's case marginalized citizens) are not involved in actual decision-making, are according to Arnstein (1969, p. 217) "empty and frustrating" and should be seen as "non-participation". Furthermore, Arnstein's analysis of the distribution of power between actors is useful when taking the pitfalls identified in this chapter into a discussion on possible ways of working towards just participation. For instance, making visible the distribution of power between the actors engaged in a project can be a way to tackle pitfalls connected to overstatements of benefits derived from the project.

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter seven

This chapter has explored the first research question: *What are pitfalls of participation, and how do they hinder just participation?* This has been done through the identification of a number of pitfalls, of which some are connected to use of words and terminology in participatory literature. The examples drawn from theory and Eva Maria's and my earlier writings on the project in Kisumu exemplify how the use of ambiguous words can hide important information and produce simplistic representations of people. The aim with the problematization of the term community in this chapter has however not been to argue that it should never be used, but rather to highlight the need to keep an ongoing discussion on the meaning of ambiguous words such as community, ownership and empowerment. We must continually define what they mean and what they mean in the particular project, setting or situation. The fact that a term is problematic does not necessarily mean that we should, or even can get rid of it. As Delanty (2010) notes, all terms that are commonly used are basically more or less disputed. Getting rid of them only means that we have to find new ones, which after a while may become equally contested. That a word is contested could instead be seen as a sign of openness to the questioning of its established meanings and how it is used.

Furthermore, it is not necessarily the term in itself that is a pitfall. However, it can be turned into a pitfall if it is used in a way that hides information, claims things that are not articulated, or if it portrays people in a simplistic fashion. For example, stating that the project is taking place in a community,

or referring to Dunga as a community may not be problematic, if I make clear how the project is connected to the community and how residents and local organizations have participated. I need to state clearly that the project does not deal with a form of development that will be of direct benefit for all residents, since it is far from everybody who is actively involved in the tourism business. Nevertheless, residents may still be affected by the project, for example if the development of the tourism business leads to an increase of tourists, which in turn can lead to increased traffic, more waste and raised fish prices. I also need to be clear with the fact that, the active participation of residents to a large extent was confined to the initial stages of the project, and in particular to the first three workshops. That about 75 people came to each of the first two workshops, which is a small percentage when considering the actual size of the community (about 3,000 residents).

The discussion on the other set of pitfalls in this chapter is drawn from unjust situations that have developed in the Kisumu project. These situations, occurring between researchers and local actors from Kenya and a researcher from Sweden, signal the need to discuss how roles are distributed in projects based on North-South collaboration. They raise questions regarding differences between actors from different parts of the world when it comes to privilege, access, opportunities and preconditions, and how these result in situations where some actors participate under unjust circumstances. In addition, some of the inequalities that appeared in the project, such as an unjust access to knowledge resources, hinder goals such as co-production of knowledge between the actors involved. Limited access to project information, or if the information merely proclaims the possible benefits of the project, leaving out possible risks and challenges that may appear, may hinder people from making informed and critically aware decisions regarding the suitability of a project for their community.

In the following and seventh chapter, *Towards just participation*, I aim to turn the problematization in this chapter into a discussion on possible ways to work against the pitfalls identified and towards just participation. Articulating participant diversity and the distribution of power between actors, providing critical information as well as the possibility for residents to express concerns under circumstances that feel safe, and initiating debates on inequalities in North-South collaborations are discussed as ways to work for just participation.

7. TOWARDS JUST PARTICIPATION

Towards just participation

The fact that many of the unjust situations that appeared in the project are connected to the distribution of roles between actors from Kenya and Sweden respectively signals a need to discuss the ways in which projects set up as North-South collaborations are organized.

Excerpt from the discussion in this chapter, regarding the need to address unjust situations between the actors engaged in the project.

In the previous chapter I identified and explored a number of pitfalls of participation, how they were constructed and how they hindered just participation in the Kisumu project. In this chapter I aim to explore the second research question: *What characterizes just participation, and how can designers and design researchers work towards realizing it?*[114] The focus on just participation derives from the pitfalls identified, all of which produce some sort of inequality or unjust situation, such as people's participation being represented in unjust ways, or in the sense that they participate under unjust circumstances. The creation of clear conceptualizations of participants and their participation, and a just distribution of roles in projects are explored as ways of working towards just participation. Furthermore, continual, critical reflection through different lenses is investigated as possible means for recognizing pitfalls in your participatory practice. Feminist theory and criticism of participation are given as examples of such lenses.

114 Keeping in mind here that I am also referring to practitioners and researchers engaged in participation who are in other fields than design.

My aim is not to provide an answer to how just participation can be achieved for all types of participatory practices. The ambiguous and complex nature of participation implies that this is impossible, and that the answer will be different for each and every project. Rather the aim here is to provide an initiating discussion on a few of many aspects that are important to consider, in projects with similar characteristics to the one in Kisumu, when the aim is to work towards just participation. Similarly, formulating a rigid definition for just participation is impossible and unsuited to its purpose. Just participation is by definition fluid and dependent on a particular context, the type of project and the participants.

Articulating participant diversity

In the first part of this chapter I will identify the acknowledgement and articulation of participant diversity as a way to move away from abstracted conceptualizations of participants. Articulating participant diversity can make visible that communities are not homogenous, but that they consist of various groups, formations and individuals who may all be in different situations, have different needs and possibilities to participate. Articulating the diverse nature of participants in research reports is important since it explains to readers who participated and therefore also who did not participate. However, it is equally important to articulate this diversity during the participatory process, since this will make visible that people may need to be involved in different ways. The discussion in the following sections will therefore focus both on how participant diversity can be articulated in writings and project reports, as well as how it can be taken into account when designing the participatory approach.

Groups to articulate diversity

Conceptualizing the participants in the Kisumu project only through a general description of them as community members is, as was discussed in the previous chapter, not enough. One way to make such descriptions less generalized, whilst still keeping it manageable, is to articulate the situations of the different groups living within the community. I find it suitable to focus on groups in this particular project since the people who have participated to a large extent

are members of one or more group,[115] and since many of them have participated in the role as a member of these groups. It is also through groups that we have been able to reach people, and when the guides were to invite people to come to the first workshop in late 2012, they identified groups[116] rather than individuals. Also, the groups in Dunga who have participated in the project are of a size[117] that allow me still to see the individual.

Reflecting on the characteristics and situations of the participating groups has been a way for me to create an understanding of their different situations, needs and preconditions for participation. This understanding of differences between groups has been important since it has made visible that they need to be involved in different ways. For example, looking at the situation of the male guide group in Dunga at the beginning of the project provided me as a researcher with information that was important to take into account. Having been initiated in 2003, the group had a long history of working with tourism. Its members had a strong position in the village, and the group was stable and well formalized. Most of its members had gone through shorter trainings in guiding and other related skills, and they had some income security thanks to a system of collectively shared revenues. These preconditions meant that it was relatively easy for most of the guides to participate in the project since it focused directly at their area of business, and since they had the possibility to participate in for example a workshop and still earn an income that day, thanks to the system of collectively shared revenues.

However, this was not the situation for all other local guide groups in the county, who became involved when the county wide-guide association was initiated, and it proved difficult for some of them to participate in project activities. This was partly due to their level of formalization since these groups were not in the position to provide members with an income during days that they participated in project activities. As one guide from Kisumu city commented, participating in the project was impossible for some guides, since it meant that they would lose out on income, even when activities were of an educa-

115 For example, the male guides in Dunga have participated as members of the male guide group in the village, although they later also participated as members of the county-wide guide association, and some of them have also participated as members of a local craft group. The women who initiated the female guide group participated as members of this group, and also as members of the county-wide guide association, while some also participated as members of a fishmonger group.

116 There were according to the guides about 50 active groups in the community at this time.

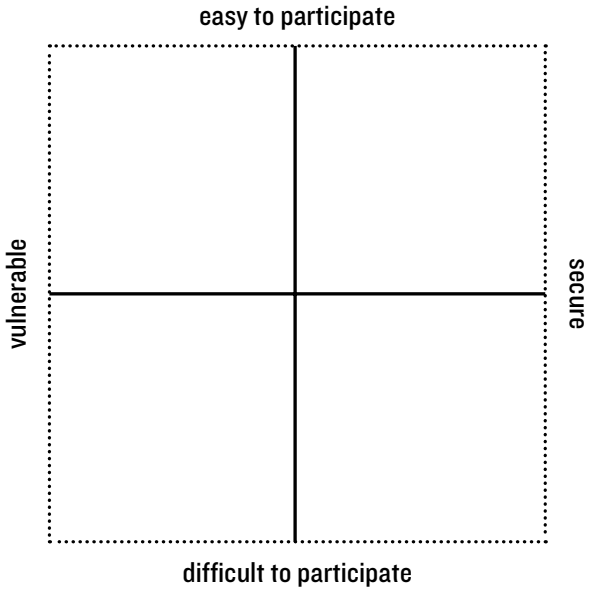
117 For example, the male guide group has about 30 members, at the moment of writing in January 2018, while the female guide group has 16 members.

tional nature such as training sessions on tour guiding skills, and which were considered to be important for their future.[118] Similarly, the fishmonger group in Dunga found it difficult to participate in project activities since it meant that they would need to pay someone else to take care of their fish sales whilst being away.

This discussion exemplifies the different characteristics and preconditions that different groups in a project can have, that this affects their possibilities to participate, and that the approach for their involvement needs to be adapted thereafter. It highlights the importance of reflecting thoroughly upon the situation(s) of each and every group participating in a project, and on the differences between the groups, for example regarding their level of formalization. Thus, it was the situation of groups such as the fishmongers, who found it difficult to devote time to workshops, that led to that the third workshop (in early 2013, during the third field period) was held on the beach and designed in such a way that people could attend in their own time, without it taking up more than a couple of minutes of their time.

A tool for reflection on group diversity, difference and the relationships between them

The importance of articulating and reflecting upon the different situations of participating groups in projects is something that I elaborate on in the article *A tool for reflection – on participant diversity and changeability over time in participatory design* (Kraff, 2018). In this article, I present a tool for reflection that aims to facilitate the reflective process for researchers and practitioners working in projects involving a large number of groups and/or individuals. The idea is that using the tool can promote increased understanding of the different situations and preconditions that the participating groups may have. It is organized as a matrix with two axes, going from vulnera-



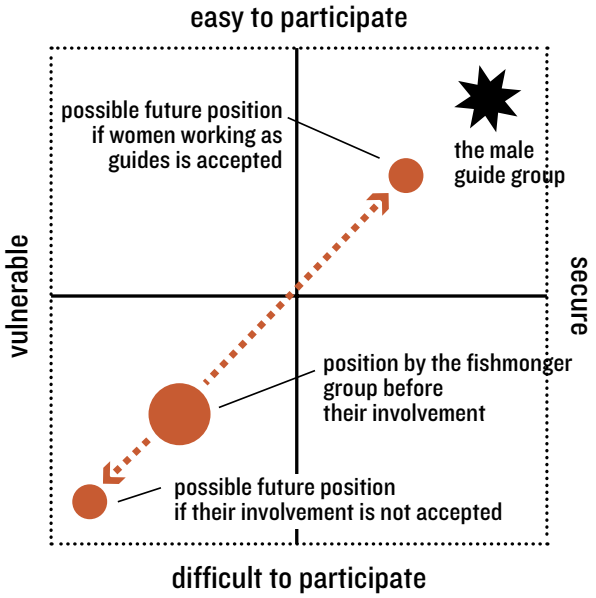
Tool for reflection on participant diversity (Kraff, 2018).

118 March 23rd 2016.

ble to secure on the horizontal axis and from difficult to participate to easy to participate on the vertical, as can be seen in the figure on previous page. These variables, of secure-vulnerable and easy-difficult are in the article described as a starting point when reflecting on participants' situations.[119] However, it is recognized that other types of projects in other types of settings may demand a different set of variables.

Positioning the participating groups in the tool creates a visual overview of all of them and facilitates a reflection on their respective positions, relation to each other, and what differentiates them. Reflecting through the tool at an early stage in the project can therefore make diversity visible and reveal whether groups need to be involved in different ways. Also, using the tool makes it possible to reflect upon how activities and decisions made in the project may affect the groups' situations, as well as how their relationships to each other may be affected. For example, it can make visible the situation of the guide group and the fishmonger group respectively when the project was initiated, and how the women's integration into the tourism business can move them towards a position that the members of the male guide group has held for a long time, as can be seen in the figure on next page. It is important to reflect upon such a change of relations between two groups, where one group moves from a weaker and more vulnerable position towards a stronger and more privileged position, which the other group has been alone in having for a long time. This is particularly true when it happens in a setting where the possibilities and resources of the privileged position are limited. For instance, some guides need to complement their guide work with other jobs, and there is a risk that the number of visitors will decrease suddenly, due to external factors that are out of guides control. This indicates a need to reflect on whether an

119 In the article, I connect the necessity to reflect on vulnerability with the aim of most design processes to reach some sort of a change, and with the fact that in participatory design, participants are expected to share their own ideas and views to reach this change. This principle, that those who may be affected by a process or its outcome have the right to influence it, is important in participatory design (Schuler and Namioka, 1993). However, vulnerability needs to be taken into account since it cannot be assumed that everybody feels comfortable in expressing their views. Members of staff may for example feel uneasy when being asked to speak their minds in a process where their contributions will be forwarded to their manager (Wagner, 1992), while community members might feel pressured to "construct their needs" to be able to participate in the project (Mosse, 2001, p. 20). Thereby engaging people in participation automatically puts them in a more or less exposed and possibly vulnerable situation. Furthermore, in the article I also mention that people's ability to participate (i.e. if they find it easy or difficult to participate) must be taken into account if participating means that they need opt out of other important tasks (Kraff, 2018).



The image illustrates the positions of the male guide group and the fishmonger group respectively when the project started, as well as it shows the possible movements of the fishmonger group as it is integrated into the tourism business (Kraff, 2018).

inclusion of women in tourism would lead to a redistribution of resources so that the existing guides would need to share their tourism incomes with the women, perhaps turning the tourism business into a site of tension (Harding, 1998). The possibilities for the women to move towards a stronger position is thereby partly dependent on this move being accepted and seen as positive by the already existing male guide group.[120]

Groups, yet another abstraction

It may seem strange to argue that groups are a suitable unit for reflection, after having claimed that abstracted conceptualizations of participants constitute a pitfall of participation. Groups are after all, just like community, an abstraction under which it is possible to gather diverse individuals into a larger entity. It is also possible to make overstatements when using groups, such as when it is claimed that a group is empowered or strengthened, if this claim is not followed by further details on how the group has been empowered or strengthened, or whether or not it was all members of the group who were empowered or strengthened. For example, my claim in the text above, that the members of the guide group found it relatively easy to participate can be seen as problematic. Stating this makes it possible to highlight that members of this group generally found it easier to participate in the project as compared to how it was generally more difficult for members of the fishmonger group. However, there

120 See the full article (Kraff, 2018) for further reflections on participant diversity.

are of course also variations and hierarchies within these groups. One member of the guide group has for example been busy doing other jobs related to his role as a fisherman at times when we have had a project activity scheduled. Two others are often chosen collectively by the group to be on duty (i.e. taking care of visitors) during project activities. Yet another member of the group, with support from two others, has had the closest contact with Eva Maria and me. He has participated in almost all the project activities, which means that he has had more influence on the project than other guides, particularly compared with those who do not participate as frequently. It is therefore also necessary to make the diversity within groups visible, if this is related to their ability to participate or to their position in the project.

However, groups have as mentioned been important in the project, and describing the situations of participating groups can make the conceptualization of participants in a community-based project clearer and a lot more detailed, as opposed to keeping with the overarching term community, or community members. Also, whether or not groups are suitable as a unit for reflection is dependent on the size and the type of project, as well as on the size and characteristics of the groups.

The limit of clear conceptualizations of participants

What I have not dealt with so far in this chapter, but which deserves attention in connection to a discussion on the need to provide with clear articulations of participants and their participation, is that the argument for clear articulations also needs to be turned back on itself. This means that I need to pose the questions firstly if there is a limit for providing clear descriptions and secondly if being too clear can turn into a pitfall.

I have experienced it as challenging to keep a good balance between being clear about who has participated and in what ways people have participated in the project, while at the same time not exposing people in ways with which they may not be comfortable. For example, the members of the guide group in Dunga have been active throughout the project and they are, at the moment of writing, running the process of setting up the county-wide guide association without much influence from Eva Maria and myself. For this reason, the specification of Eva Maria and myself may seem questionable, for example when we have been responsible for taking decisions and making progress in the process, since I do not specify individual guides in the same way. This could be seen as unethical in the sense that it gives Eva Maria and myself credit,

while the guides remain uncredited for personal efforts, unnamed and only defined as a group. However, it may at the same time be seen as unethical to expose people through using their names in research reports on participatory projects. It is for example difficult to know when it is suitable to be explicit with names, and if there are instances when this is seen as unsuitable. When it comes to academic texts, I have chosen only to name academic actors, with the exception when I name one guide and the former manager of an NGO in a situation where they are co-authors of a report.

Articulating distribution of power

To a discussion on the need to articulate who participants are and in what ways people participate, it should also be added that it is important to articulate the distribution of power within projects. I draw this idea of focusing on the distribution of power between actors from Arnstein's (1969) discussion on how the level of power had by participants and project initiators respectively provides information on the type of participation being dealt with. For instance, stating that it was Eva Maria and I who designed the workshops, wrote the reports and put together the open presentations makes it clear we steered the process to a large extent in the initial stages, thus making impossible any claims for local project ownership during these stages.

Connected to this is Arnstein's (p. 217) statement that there are "significant gradations of citizen participation", to which it could be added that there can be different gradations of participation even within a project. For example, people in a community may participate in different ways and they may have different levels of decision-making power in a project. This was the case in the Kisumu project where it is important to clarify that the guides and community members respectively participated in different ways and that the guides had a much higher level of influence on the project than other residents. Also, the account of the project in Kisumu makes clear that the distribution of power was not the same during the entire project, but that it altered as the project progressed. Eva Maria and I had more power in the beginning whilst this was shared to a greater extent with the guides after about two years into the project.

Revealing and addressing unjust situations

Regarding the pitfalls connected to unjust role distribution, as discussed in the previous chapter, there have been some attempts to challenge this in the project in Kisumu. For instance, the visit to Sweden by two of the guides in early 2016 meant that they gained temporary access to an international knowledge arena within their field of work. However, this was a one-off event, and cannot be seen as creating a basis for just participation. In this part of the chapter I aim to explore further what type of efforts are needed to create a just distribution of project roles that are not based on ad hoc solutions.

Opening up for the possibility to question and affect project direction

In the previous chapter I discussed how access to critical project information, which includes possible risks and challenges with the project, offers residents the possibility to form critically aware and informed opinions regarding the suitability or unsuitability of the project for their community. However, this needs to be accompanied by the creation of spaces where residents can raise possible concerns, opinions or contesting views that may come up after having gained access to this information. There also needs to be room for alteration of the project frame, direction and form of execution, if this is seen as necessary to make it suitable for the local setting. This is particularly important for projects such as the one in Kisumu, where the development of ecotourism may lead to changes in the community, where the concept of ecotourism was not well known to the majority of its residents when the project was initiated, and where the project was introduced by external researchers.

Furthermore, opening up for people to express concerns and contesting views also necessitates recognizing that raising concerns can feel difficult, uncomfortable and even unsafe, especially if the project can lead to development of the community, or if it is supported by a strong group (Pottier, and Orone, 1995; Cornwall, 2003). For instance, people may not feel completely free to express diverging views about the project, due to a belief that they need to be positive towards it in order to be able to take part (Mosse, 2001). This is particularly hard if done in a public forum such as a collaborative workshop, and/or when the researchers who initiated it are present.

In the Kisumu project, it became evident that Eva Maria and I hindered

diverging views from being expressed during a workshop[121] that focused on working conditions in the village. The participants described both positive and negative aspects in regard to their working conditions throughout the whole exercise. This was probably possible since these were seen as uncontroversial issues and were already accepted by the majority as problematic. One such example was the poor state of the road leading to town, which made it hard for people to travel to the city markets to buy and sell goods. One of the questions, however, revolved around the presence of researchers in the community, since researchers coming to the community to conduct interviews and other activities were common. One participant mentioned that this could be seen as problematic. However, this caused a heated discussion amongst the other participants and it was soon agreed that there were only positive effects in this regard.

Ongoing evaluation as a way to facilitate safe questioning

The above section acknowledges that expressing critical or diverging views on a project may be suppressed or experienced as uncomfortable by participants, in particular if this is to be done in the presence of researchers. It is therefore interesting to explore ways for participants to engage in critical reflection without the presence of researchers or others having a powerful position in the project. To initiate such a discussion, I draw on the experience of working as an evaluator in an EU project that aimed to strengthen creative industries in Gothenburg (Sweden) during a period of two years.[122] As an evaluator of such projects, your job is to follow the process and give continuous feedback, criticism and advice to the members of the project management team. The project in Gothenburg included a business incubator for entrepreneurs in the creative industries, and the aim was to support them in the process of setting up and establishing their businesses. My task as an evaluator was to interview the entrepreneurs regarding how they experienced the incubator programme. The entrepreneurs raised both positive and critical aspects during these interviews and it was my task to anonymize their responses and intertwine them with my own reviews before communicating the information to the project team.

Taking the example of ongoing evaluation in EU projects into participatory

121 4th November 2014.

122 This form of evaluation is called ongoing evaluation, meaning that the evaluation takes place during the project as opposed to afterwards, and is mandatory for EU-funded projects whose budget exceeds 1 million Euros. The evaluator can be either a researcher or a private consultant.

design is a way to enrich projects with an intermediary who can provide participants with integrity and anonymity so that they feel able to raise concerns that they may be uncomfortable about raising otherwise. This could be set up so that one or two people follow the process at a distance, observing some activities in person and engaging in dialogues with researchers and project initiators involved, as well as local organizations and residents. They would also provide the project team on a regular basis with their critical reflections and recommendations for possible alterations, in which the views of participants would be embedded and anonymized. The evaluator would be someone not directly engaged in the project but knowledgeable about the project topic and with expertise in participatory processes. Furthermore, for projects for which the researcher or other project members lack cultural awareness, it would be beneficial if the evaluator knew the context and cultural setting well. This constitutes a possibility to expand the ethical procedures of participatory design research, steering it towards a more culturally, historically and contextually informed position.

Discussions on project set-up for North-South collaborations

The discussion held in chapter six regarding unjust access to knowledge resources between actors such as myself and the guides, and different preconditions for conducting research for PhD students from Kenya and Sweden respectively, have not yet been elaborated upon this chapter. The fact that these unjust situations are connected to the distribution of roles between actors from Kenya and Sweden respectively signals a need to discuss the ways in which participatory projects similar to the one in Kisumu are organized, and to what extent project set-ups are controlled or influenced by Eurocentric values. This includes discussions within individual projects, between researchers and/or practitioners and other participants. However, such unjust situations also need to be made visible outside the immediate project to stimulate broader discussions between universities, funding agencies, knowledge centres, research institutes, researchers and participants. Such discussions need to start with the acknowledgement that the distribution of economic means and the political arrangements in projects have an effect on the production of knowledge (Harding, 1998). They need to include analyses of whether all actors have sufficient access to knowledge resources if they are actively involved and supposed to co-produce knowledge together, and whether academics who are to collaborate have equal preconditions to conduct their research.

Reflecting on how pitfalls can be identified

As a final note on how to work towards just participation, I would like to discuss how pitfalls can be identified. The identification of some of the pitfalls that appeared in the Kisumu project occurred partly through discussions with participants and PhD student colleagues in Kisumu. Others were identified through critical reflection on the project. Critical reflection has been guided by viewing the situation through what can be called critical lenses. It was when reflecting on the project, and our role in it, through criticism aimed at participation (e.g. Crawley, 1998; Gujit and Kaul Shah, 1998; Cleaver, 2001; Mosse, 2001) that Eva Maria and I recognized a number of challenges and unjust situations. One example was that the aim of reaching local project ownership was hindered by the fact that during the first two years we as researchers steered the main parts of the project. Reading texts that are critical to participation also made visible how the use of terms such as community can hide important information, and how words such as empowerment when connected to community can produce overstatements.

Studying feminist theory has stimulated me to critically reflect on the involvement, or rather lack of involvement, of women in the project. This was not an object of my attention at first and I saw the participatory approach as un-gendered in the initial stages (Gujit and Kaul Shah 1998; Ahmed, 2012). Readings of Ahmed (2012) enabled me to reflect on my use of words, making me more attentive to the power of words and how words such as community and empowerment can become routine expressions that are easy to employ simply because I am already using them. Other important texts by Harding (1998) and Mohanty (1988, 2003) opened up for reflection on how I write about the involvement of women in the project, and the risk of writing in a stereotypical, generalizing and reductionist way, thus creating an image of 'others'. Also, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'os (1985, 2006) discussions enabled me to reflect on language and how knowledge can be made unavailable through language. Texts by Foucault (1980, 2000) were useful for reflecting on power relations in the project specifically, and how unjust situations between the actors involved are connected to, or a result of systems of differentiation, regulations or hierarchical structures.

Towards just participation

The discussion in this chapter deals with the need to articulate participant diversity clearly and to reveal and address unjust situations between the engaged actors. In summary, what has been identified as necessary to take into consideration when working against abstracted conceptualizations of participants and their participation, and an unjust distribution of roles between actors engaged in a project that takes place in a community, and which is set up as a North-South collaboration, includes the following:

ARTICULATING PARTICIPANT DIVERSITY

- Explore how you as a researcher or practitioner can gain an *overview and an understanding of the diverse individuals, groups or other constellations that may exist* in the community. Find a unit that is suitable for acknowledging diversity for the particular project type and setting and that allows you to see beyond 'the community'. Taking groups as an example, important questions to pose are: how many and what types of groups are active or present in the community? How are they positioned in relation to each other? Are there differences between them, or particular characteristics of certain groups that need to be taken into account when designing the participatory approach? Becoming aware of participant diversity will of course be done partly through engaging in the context, with residents and local organizations. However, it can be further facilitated by a tool for reflection such as the one described in this chapter. Reflections through such a tool facilitate the creation of an overview of the participating groups and how these groups are positioned in relation to one another. Also, it can be used to reflect upon how actions taken in the project may affect the relationships between groups. For example, what happens if one group's participation moves towards a more privileged position that another group has been alone in having for a long time (Kraff, 2018)?
- Explore *how participant diversity can be articulated when writing about or presenting the project*. How can you clarify not only who participated but also who did not participate? How can you describe in what ways people participated, during which stages of the project they participated, what possibilities there were for people to participate, and if there were factors that in one way or another hindered their involvement? For the project in Kisumu it was important to emphasize that residents' active participation was mainly confined to the first three workshops and that there were about 75 par-

ticipants in each of the first two workshops out of a total of 3,000 residents in the community. It was also important to state that there were open presentations, an available project space and written reports that aimed to inform residents about the project, and to give further opportunities for lifting ideas or raising concern. However, it is equally important to state that these efforts reached far from the whole community, and that they were not fully available to everyone. Also crucial to acknowledge is that there was a lack of focus on women's involvement in the initial stages, the workshop with the female fishmonger group about two years into the process being the first active attempt at integrating a gender perspective. I have aimed to be as explicit as possible about this in the text, further emphasized through the visualization of the research process (see pages 108–109) and in the project activity schedule in Appendix two. Also, conceptualizing participants mainly by group membership means that I need to be aware of the limits of this method, since a group, like a community gathers possibly diverse individuals into a larger unit, in which diversity may be hidden. Thus, aspects such as the gender distribution in groups must be explicitly described, as must the fact that the level of participation in a group is not always totally even, as was the case with the members of the guide group.

- Consider *how overstatements can be avoided*. Being clear not only about the roles that residents and local organizations have had in the project, but also about the role that I as a researcher or practitioner have had makes overstatements and exaggerated claims of local project ownership difficult. For instance, the information that that it was chiefly Eva Maria and I who chose the main topics and designed the workshops in the beginning, as well as putting together the public presentations and writing the reports in the initial stage of the project, makes it impossible to claim that local actors had project ownership during that time.
- Articulating the *distribution of power* complements the articulation of participant diversity since they are both needed to achieve adequate conceptualizations of participants and their participation. Being clear about the distribution of power also connects to the point above since it is a way to make exaggerated claims of local project ownership impossible. Furthermore, it can help to illustrate that there may be more than one level of participation in a project since people may have different levels of decision-making power within it, as well as it can show that people's level of project influence may alter as the project proceeds.

- Consider how those who have participated can be *represented in a just way* in research reports and presentations about the project. For example, how can I write in a way that explains that no person in Dunga is only a community member, that the community is complex in the composition of its population, and that it is forever changing? How can I best write that the men and women who have participated are diverse, with different educational backgrounds, motivations and goals?

JUST DISTRIBUTION OF ROLES:

- Ensure that residents in the community have *access to sufficient and critical information* regarding the project. Reflection on the project in Kisumu concludes that efforts were made to provide information. However, the ways in which this information was made available or rather unavailable need to be addressed. For example, questions should have been posed like: What channels, places, timings and formats used for spreading information are suitable for this particular context? Who is excluded if information is only provided at a certain time during the day, if a certain language is used, or if it is only available online? And what happens to accessibility if people are dependent on someone else for gaining access to information? Furthermore, providing residents with critical information on possible challenges and risks that can come with the project enables people to formulate informed and critically aware opinions regarding its suitability. This is particularly important in a project such as the one in Kisumu where the development that the project leads to may affect them.
- Consider that people may find it difficult and uncomfortable to express negative views or concerns regarding the project in a public forum and/or when the initiators of the project are present. How can people be provided with the *possibility to express concern under circumstances that feel safe and comfortable?* I propose that this could be facilitated through engaging an evaluator who would follow the process at a distance, observe some activities in person and engage in dialogues with the researchers, project initiators, local organizations and residents involved. The task of this person on a regular basis would be to provide the project team with critical reflections and recommendations for alterations to the project, in which the views of residents are embedded and anonymized, thus guaranteeing their integrity.
- Ensure that the actors actively involved in the project and who are supposed to co-produce knowledge together have *sufficient access to knowledge*

resources. It is my belief that the development of the tourism business in Dunga could have progressed further, and that the knowledge produced within the project could have reached higher levels if the guides had had better access to knowledge resources in their field. Some of the guides have shown interest in participating in conferences and seminars. However, they have not always been able to participate due to economic constraints. For example, the conference on sustainable tourism held in Dar Es Salam, Tanzania, for which one of the guides had an abstract accepted, could have offered him a chance to gain access to new knowledge within his field through attendance at panel sessions and keynote talks. It would also have given him the opportunity of establishing contacts with tourism scholars and actors from the tourism industry in a neighbouring country.[123]

- Ensure that academics who are to collaborate have *equal preconditions for participating in the collaboration and conducting their research*. Factors to take into consideration in this regard, drawing from the experiences of the inequalities between PhD students from Kenya and Sweden respectively, include: access to library systems, possibilities to travel to and participate in international conferences, time to conduct their research and to participate in collaborative activities as well as opportunities to conduct their research in an unfamiliar setting.
- *Discuss issues of inequalities* within the project, why they exist and what they lead to. For example, in what ways does the project consolidate or restore Euro- or androcentric norms? However, it is also essential to discuss such issues on a broader scale, between universities, funding agencies, knowledge centres, research institutes, researchers and participants.

Furthermore, I propose that critical reflection through different lenses can be a way to recognize pitfalls. For the project in Kisumu I have found it particularly beneficial to reflect through the lens of feminist theory as well as that of literature critical towards participation.

123 The session where he would have presented was moderated by a professor from Dar Es Salaam, and six other scholars from Tanzania were to present at the same session. Some of the other panel discussions at the conference were moderated by actors from Tanzania's tourism industry.

Chapter summary and introduction to chapter eight

In this chapter I have explored the second research question which asks: what characterizes just participation, and how can researchers and practitioners work towards it? The answer to this question has been influenced by the particular situation in the Kisumu project and I have from my experiences of the situations in it discussed ways to work towards just participation through the creation of clear conceptualizations of participants and their participation, and a just distribution of roles in projects.

In the following and final chapter, *Concluding discussion,* I will revisit my research questions, and discuss and reflect on the answers that I have given to these questions. The discussion held in this chapter, on ways towards just participation, will be summarized in a definition that represents my interpretation of what is needed to start working towards just participation in a project such as the one in Kisumu. Lastly, I will give some suggestions for possible further research.

8. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Concluding discussion

Just participation for the project in Kisumu can be defined as a responsibility on behalf of researchers and/or practitioners to: provide with clear and just conceptualizations of participants and their participation; reflect upon possible differences between participating groups and how this may demand different forms of involvement; and ensure that residents have access to sufficient and critical information about the project, as well as the possibility to express concerns under safe conditions. Also, there is a necessity to ensure that the actors who are to collaborate closely and co-create knowledge together have sufficient access to knowledge resources, and that all researchers have the same preconditions to conduct their research.

How I define the starting point for just participation for the particular project in Kisumu, based on the reflection of the project and the discussion in the previous chapter.

Participation is seen in this thesis as having the potential to lead to positive transformations. As was the case for the guide group in the Kisumu project, it can strengthen participants in a way that enables them to improve their professional level and work situation. However, it is at the same time recognized that the participatory process is inherently ambiguous, complex and full of pitfalls, which makes it vulnerable to unjust performances. I have encountered some of these pitfalls when working with the project in Kisumu and I have fallen into others when writing about the process in academic texts. For example, I have seen how unjust access to knowledge resources between researchers, as well as between researchers and participants clearly hinders co-production of knowledge. Also, literature on participation shows that researchers and practitioners engaged in it have faced similar pitfalls as the ones described in this thesis since the late 1960s.

The purpose of this thesis has been to identify and explore pitfalls of participation, how they are constructed and how they hinder just participation from being realized. Critical reflections on the project in Kisumu has led to a number of pitfalls being identified. These can be structured under two overarching themes: firstly, researchers' and practitioners' use of words when conceptualizing participants and their participation, and secondly role distribution in projects. The pitfalls in the first theme were to a large extent analyzed in the discussion of the term community, to illustrate how vague and elusive words can hide important information regarding who is participating and how people are participating, as well as making possible overstatements of benefits derived from projects, and simplistic representations of people. For the second theme, the pitfalls identified included insufficient access to project information for residents, an unjust access to knowledge resources between actors such as myself and the guides, as well as different preconditions to conduct their research for the engaged PhD students from Kenya and Sweden respectively. Furthermore, I discussed how these pitfalls are related to prejudice and cultural unawareness on behalf of actors such as myself, as well as to the project set-up of a North-South collaboration.

In this final chapter I will summarize the discussions following from the two research questions: 1/ *What are pitfalls of participation, and how do they hinder just participation?* And 2/ *What characterizes just participation, and how can designers and design researchers work towards achieving it?* I will explore some limitations of the discussion and I will discuss possible topics for future research.

The construction of pitfalls and how they hinder just participation

The pitfalls identified in this thesis are the ones that I have experienced firsthand in the Kisumu project, of which a few resonate with existing literature. They are tied to a particular type of project, taking place in a particular type of setting, in the sense that they derive from the perspective of a Swedish PhD student working with participation in a Kenyan context, in a project that involves local organizations and residents in a fishing community, as well as it involves both Swedish and Kenyan PhD students. It is therefore likely that an exploration of pitfalls in another type of project would result in the identification of other types of challenges. However, there is in my mind a value in

identifying, exploring and exposing the pitfalls that we encounter in projects, since this can provide others, who are engaged in similar types of projects with methodological guidance, and a lens that they can use when critically reflecting on their own experiences.

For the first of the two themes under which the pitfalls identified are categorized, I emphasized the importance of reflecting upon the power of words and terminology when conceptualizing participants and their participation. For the project in Kisumu, in accordance with the ideas of Ahmed (2012), I have seen it as particularly important to follow elusive and often vaguely defined words such as community, empowerment and project ownership. Doing this made it possible to explore how such words, when they were used without additional information, hid important facts regarding who the participants were. This in turn made it impossible to see the gender balance, if the participants belonged to certain groups, or how large a percentage of residents participated. Similarly, it made the risk of overstatements visible, and how it is impossible for outsiders to understand whether or not claims of empowerment and project ownership have been realized if the following aspects are not clearly articulated: 1/ how people are empowered; 2/ what criteria have been met for ownership to be reached; and 3/ how ownership relates to influence over project direction and decision-making. It also enabled a discussion to be held on how our use of words can create simplistic representations of people, reducing them to less than their full selves.

In the discussion on the second theme of role distribution in projects, I reflected upon how unjust situations can appear in projects when there is insufficient access to project information for residents. Access to information can for example be hindered if it is located in a space (physical or online) that is not available to all residents, if it is in an unknown language, or if people are dependent on others for getting access to the information. Another problem arises if the information is inadequate in the sense that it only accounts for the positive results that can come out of the project, since this hinder people from forming critically aware opinions regarding the suitability of the project for their community. In addition, I explored how an unjust access to knowledge resources between actors such as the guides and myself, where I have an almost unlimited access to the local and global knowledge arena whereas the guides access to such arenas is highly limited, hindered co-production of knowledge between us. Lastly, I discussed how the Kenyan and Swedish PhD students conducted their research on different preconditions.

Ways towards just participation

The problematization of the pitfalls identified was then turned into a discussion on how researchers and/or practitioners can work towards *just participation.* Articulating participant diversity when writing about or presenting projects, avoiding overstatements, and representing people in a fair and nuanced manner were proposed as important strategies when aiming for just participation. It was also mentioned that the aim with my problematization of terms such as community is not to argue that it should never be used, but rather to highlight the need to keep an ongoing discussion on the meaning of such terms, and to always accompany them with additional information regarding its signification in the particular project, setting and situation.

Providing residents with critical information and giving them opportunities to express concerns about the project is lifted as another way for working towards just participation. However, it is at the same time recognized that expressing concern about a project that may lead to a development in your community can feel difficult, uncomfortable and even unsafe. For this reason, I discuss ways for participants to express concerns under safe circumstances. I propose that this could be facilitated through involving an external evaluator who would engage in dialogues with the researchers, project initiators, local organizations and residents. This person would then provide the project team with critical reflections and recommendations for alterations to the project, in which the views of residents are embedded and anonymized, thus guaranteeing their integrity.

It was also acknowledged as essential to provide actors who are to collaborate and co-produce knowledge together with sufficient access to knowledge resources. It is vital as well to ensuring that academics who are to do this have the same preconditions for partaking in the collaboration and for conducting their research. It is likewise vital to open up for discussions on inequalities between actors in projects set up as North-South collaborations. Ongoing and critical reflection through different lenses such as feminist theory is lifted here as a tool for recognizing pitfalls.

Furthermore, as I come to the end of the writing process for this thesis, I can see how the act of moving between writing shorter texts in the form of articles, papers and book chapters and writing this longer text for the monograph, has created yet another form of reflection. Writing an article has allowed me to dig deep into a certain issue, and to put all focus on that issue for a concentrated period of time, as well as allowing me to engage in a reflective writing

process with Eva Maria. Writing a monograph on the other hand has forced me to view our project in Kisumu in a holistic perspective, reflecting on the entirety of it, and trying to zoom in and out interchangeably. In other words, it has enabled me to go into two different modes of reflection. One mode is more intense, focused, often pressured for time due to a deadline, and can be done in collaboration with other people, whereas the other is longer, slower, possible to leave for a while, and more open to going back and forth between ideas. Writing a monograph, during a time when I have also been writing articles, has allowed me to use the monograph to reflect on what I was writing in the articles, and the way in which I wrote. I have previously discussed (in chapter four, *Reflection on methodology*) how writing can be used as a tool for reflection, meaning that it can be used a means to recognize pitfalls, just like reflecting through different lenses. Reflecting on previous publications through the writing of a monograph can be seen as a particular way to explore pitfalls connected to how participants and their participation are conceptualized.

Defining just participation for a particular project

My aim with the discussion on pitfalls and ways towards just participation is not to provide an answer to how just participation can be reached for participatory practices and research in general. The complex nature of participation implies that this is impossible. Just participation is highly dependent on context and situation, meaning that it needs to be defined within projects. Rather, my hope is that the discussion held in this thesis will contribute to a sensitizing towards the idea of just participation. Drawing on the discussion in previous chapters, I have defined just participation in the particular project in Kisumu, as follows:

> A responsibility on behalf of researchers and/or practitioners to: provide with clear and just conceptualizations of participants and their participation; reflect upon possible differences between participating groups and how this may demand different forms of involvement; and ensure that residents have access to sufficient and critical information about the project, as well as the possibility to express concerns under safe conditions. Also, there is a necessity to ensure that the actors who are to collaborate closely and co-create knowledge together have sufficient access to knowledge resources, and that all researchers have the same preconditions to conduct their research.

This formulation implies that establishing a project structure where people can participate in a just and meaningful way contributes to the creation of a

process that is suitable for the local context and which is co-produced by local and external actors. However, it should be acknowledged that this formulation is constructed by me when reflecting on the project in hindsight, and I would say, drawing on my experiences from Kisumu, that just participation in reality should be defined by the actors engaged in the project when it is initiated, as well as it should be continually reassessed throughout the process. Furthermore, strategies for defining just participation is something that needs to be explored further. For example, questions need to be posed like: how are people to be involved in discussions on just participation, and how are they to know what just participation is, can or should be if they have not been engaged in such discussions, or even a participatory process before. In other words, how can you make sure that the processes of establishing just participation, is in itself just? Who can ensure that this process is kept just? Should it be a group consisting of representatives from the different actors in the project or should it be an external actor such as an evaluator? Furthermore, formulating just participation does not necessarily mean that just participation will be reached, since the act of formulating needs to be followed by appropriate actions. The formulation above of just participation, and the discussion in this thesis, is to be seen as a starting point from which the discussion on just participation can be continued.

Limitations of the suggestions for just participation

As a final point in this thesis, before going into suggestions for further research, I will reflect critically on the suggestions made for ways of working towards just participation. For example, I identify abstracted conceptualizations of participants and their participation as problematic and I explore a number of pitfalls that such conceptualizations result in. My argument is that the aim should be to state clearly who it is that have participated and how they have participated. However, this argument for clear articulations needs to be followed by the recognition that there is a limit to how clear such conceptualizations can be made before there is a risk of encroaching on people's integrity. This is something that needs to be discussed within projects, although broader discussions are also needed between researchers engaged in participatory research.

Another aspect regarding clear conceptualizations is that a monograph may be one of few formats where you can provide clear articulations of participants and their participation without being constrained by word limits. How much you can elaborate is often limited in articles and other shorter texts, and it may also be the case that clear articulations make the text overly detailed and difficult to read. One way to tackle this would be to demand that authors account for the project set-up, people's participation and the role distribution in the project, including the researcher's roles, when submitting articles, but that this information does not need to be included in full length in the actual article. Provided that there is some sort of standard for what type of information needs to be included, it is also possible to consider that journals demanding such precision and detail gain some sort of accreditation.

Suggestions for further research

Time as an issue of power in participatory research

The experiences gained through being involved in the project in Kisumu have led to an interest in further exploring inequalities and unjust situations in participatory research. This thesis explores some inequalities and unjust situations that can occur in projects set up like the one in Kisumu. However, there are still many factors that I would like to investigate further. For instance, it is possible to look at inequalities from different perspectives. Eva Maria and I have written a paper that we plan to develop into a journal article, in which we explore *time as an issue of power* in participatory research. Seeing participation through a time lens opens up for questions such as who has time, or is given time in participatory research? How is time related to aspects such as gender, and how may time limit the diversity of participants?[124]

Meta-analysis and ongoing evaluation

Experiencing pitfalls of participation in the project in Kisumu and further exploring them in this thesis have also made me interested in exploring how pitfalls are constructed in other projects similar to the set-up in Kisumu. It would be interesting to conduct meta-studies of such projects, since this would take

124 The paper was presented at the 1st Parse Biennial Research Conference in Gothenburg, 4–6 November, 2015. The title was *Unequal distribution of time in transdisciplinary research*.

the exploration in this thesis to a more general level. This would facilitate a mapping and comparison of pitfalls and enable a broader exploration to be carried out regarding why and how pitfalls appear. It would also make it possible to develop the suggestions in this thesis on ways to carry the work towards just participation one step further.

Another possibility, which I feel would have increased the level of reflexivity in the Kisumu project, would be to integrate ongoing evaluation in participatory design projects. An evaluator with this agenda would be able to see things that are not always possible to see when you are deeply engaged in a project.

Further research in Kisumu

It would be interesting to continue the collaboration with the guides in Dunga and Kisumu. Eva Maria and I have discussed what such a continuation would be like, with representatives from the male and female guide groups in Dunga, as well as the county-wide guide association. The focus in that case could for example be on supporting the development of the female guide group. This would enable further exploration to be undertaken of women's role in tourism in this context, as well as exploring questions on how gender can be integrated into the participatory approach in a fruitful way. Other interesting questions to explore include what roles the male guides could take in such a process. Furthermore, the continued development of the county-wide guide association raises questions regarding the role that the male guides from Dunga, who have experience from the participatory process that they have gone through with us, can take in the process of further establishing the county-wide guide association, which can be seen as an upscaled version of the process in Dunga.

Chapter summary and end of thesis

This thesis took as its starting point the belief that participation is inherently ambiguous and complex and that for this reason it is important to keep an ongoing debate and a continuous focus on when, how and why there is a risk that the participatory approach might produce unjust situations, as opposed to positive transformation. A number of pitfalls have been identified, and I have explored how they emerged and the kinds of situations they caused in the Kisumu project. A number of suggestions have also been given as to how

these pitfalls can be approached. However, at the same time I do recognize that further studies of other projects would provide better grounding for these suggestions.

Lastly, I would say that pitfalls of participation deserve more attention. The complex nature of participation demands an openness in the participatory design research community about the challenges we as researchers and practitioners face when working in projects. Pitfalls can be tackled within individual projects, although it is through collective efforts that they can be hindered from reappearing.

SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

En undersökning av fallgropar i deltagande processer och sätt att arbeta mot rättvist deltagande – genom en deltagande designprocess i Kisumu, Kenya

Den här avhandlingen kretsar kring en kritisk reflektion av deltagande processer inom design och designforskning, och till viss del även deltagande forskning utanför designområdet. Texten grundar sig i min tro att deltagande processer kan leda till positiv förändring för de som deltar, samtidigt som jag inser att det finns en komplexitet inbyggd i deltagande processer som gör dem sårbara för misstag, samt orättvisa och ibland icke genuina handlingar. Det är den komplexiteten och sårbarheten som ledde mig till att fokusera på de utmaningar som kan uppstå i deltagande processer, eller som de benämns i avhandlingen: *fallgropar*.

Det deltagande projektet i Kisumu, Kenya

Reflektionen av deltagande design (participatory design) och designforskning utgår från mina erfarenheter av att arbeta med deltagande i ett forskningsprojekt i fiskebyn Dunga som ligger i utkanten av staden Kisumu vid Viktoria sjön i västra Kenya. Projektet initierades i september 2012 och det huvudsakliga fältarbetet pågick fram till våren 2016, även om vissa delar av projektet har fortgått även efter det. Projektet handlar om småskalig utveckling av ekoturism och jag har tillsammans med en doktorandkollega från Sverige, en grupp lokala guider och invånare i byn arbetat med utvecklingen av tjänster och produkter relaterade till ekoturism. Förutom dessa aktörer har ytterligare en doktorand från Sverige och fyra doktorander från Kenya utfört delar av sina doktorandstudier i samma by, och vi har genomfört en del av fältarbetet tillsammans.

Vad gäller deltagandet och vilka som har deltagit i projektet så är det viktigt att tydliggöra att invånare i Dunga har varit involverade, men att deras involvering till stor del har varit begränsad till projektets första två år. Det är främst i tre workshops som invånare har deltagit, där de i de första två diskuterade och 'brainstormade' kring vilka lokala aktörer som kan involveras i arbetet med att utveckla turismrelaterade tjänster samt hur de vill att Dunga ska framställas gentemot besökare. Den tredje workshopen fokuserade på att ta reda på huruvida invånarna har farhågor eller förhoppningar vad gäller ekoturism utvecklingen i Dunga. Jag och min doktorandkollega genomförde även fyra presentationer som var öppna för invånare. I dessa presentationer infor-

merade vi om vad som pågick i projektet och det fanns en möjlighet att ställa frågor. Vi har skrivit fyra rapporter om hur projektet har utvecklats vilka har funnits tillgängliga i ett informationscenter i byn. I detta center fanns det också en möjlighet för invånare att lämna åsikter eller kommentarer om projektet. Dock så är det medlemmarna i den lokala guideorganisationen som har varit de främsta deltagarna i projektet, och det är tillsammans med dem som jag och min doktorandkollega har utvecklat de guidade turerna, tagit fram sopsorteringsstationer, installerat ett skyltsystem samt arbetat med kunskapsutveckling inom turism, guidning och varumärkesbyggande.

Ungefär två år in i projektet engagerades också en grupp kvinnliga fiskhandlare. Anledningen till detta var att gruppen påverkades mycket av turismen då deras arbetsplats vid fiskmarknaden är ett område dit guiderna ofta tar gäster, men det var sällan som kvinnorna fick tillfälle att tala och interagera med gästerna. Kvinnor var överlag inte involverade i arbetet med turismutvecklingen i byn, guidegruppen bestod till större delen av manliga medlemmar och guidning är ett mansdominerat yrke i området. Jag och min doktorandkollega inledde en diskussion med kvinnorna för att höra oss för vad de ansåg om att det pågår ett projekt om ekoturismutveckling i deras by. De utryckte en vilja att interagera mer med besökare och vi frågade om de var intresserade att själva bli aktiva aktörer inom turism, vilket de reagerade positivt på. Kvinnorna har sedan dess startat en egen grupp för kvinnor som vill arbeta inom turism, de har fått stöd av de manliga guiderna i byn med utbildning i guidning, och de har genomfört ett antal aktiviteter med turister.

Vid ungefär samma tid (två år in i projektet) framförde den manliga guidegruppen en idé om att starta upp en organisation med syfte att stödja lokala guidegrupper från andra platser inom Kisumus kommun och de frågade om jag och min doktorandkollega kunde vara delaktiga i arbetet med att starta den organisationen. Detta ledde till ett antal workshops, för både kvinnor och män, samt en resa till regnskogen Kakamega där en grupp erfarna lokala guider arbetar. Syftet var att utbyta kunskap och erfarenheter, och då några av medlemmarna i Kakamegas guidegrupp är kvinnor gavs tillfälle att diskutera vilka utmaningar kvinnliga guider kan möta i sitt arbete, hur det är att arbeta i en mansdominerad bransch samt hur kvinnor som vill arbeta med guidning kan stöttas av sina manliga kollegor.

Efter initieringen av den kommunövergripande organisationen, genomförde två av dess medlemmar (en man och en kvinna) en resa till Sverige och Göteborg med syftet att erfara hur turismen är uppbyggd i Sverige samt att knyta kontakter och utbyta erfarenheter med turistaktörer i Sverige. Guider-

nas deltagande i och presentation vid ett seminarium om hållbar turism på Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet gav även tillfälle att knyta internationella kontakter.

Vid skrivandets stund (januari 2018) fortgår arbetet i Kisumu med utvecklingen av den kommunövergripande guideorganisationen samt av den kvinnliga guidegruppen i Dunga utan större involvering av mig och min kollega.

Avhandlingens syfte och mål

I avhandlingen redogör jag för den deltagande processen i Dunga och Kisumu, men det huvudsakliga syftet är att identifiera och utforska utmaningar som kan uppstå i en deltagande process. Denna utforskning görs med utgångspunkt i processen i Dunga, men jag relaterar även till existerande diskussioner och litteratur om deltagande design och deltagande forskning. Samtliga utmaningar som identifieras i avhandlingen har gemensamt att de resulterar i någon form av orättvisa, antingen genom sättet som deltagare representeras i presentationer eller texter om projekt, eller genom orättvisa förhållanden mellan de olika aktörerna som är involverande. Syftet med avhandlingen är därför också att utforska möjliga sätt att arbeta för en rättvis beskrivning av deltagare, samt mot en process där samtliga involverade aktörer får chansens att delta på ett rättvist sätt. Målet är att diskussionen som jag för kring utmaningar, eller fallgropar som jag kallar dem, bidrar till metodutveckling inom deltagande design och deltagande forskning, samt att diskussionen öppnar upp för en bredare debatt, där fokus tillåts att läggas på de utmaningar vi (som forskare eller praktiker) möter i projekt.

Metod

Projektet i Dunga baseras på en aktionsforsknings metodik (action research), eller mer specifikt deltagande aktionsforskning (participatory action research) samt deltagande design. Projektet bygger därmed på deltagande och grundar sig i idén att de som deltar på något sätt ska stärkas av processen. Det är en aktions-orienterad process, fokus har legat på reella implementeringar som är till gagn för deltagarna (samtidigt som akademisk kunskap produceras), och processen har till viss mån hållits öppen för förändringar (McTaggart, 1994; Kemmis and McTaggart, 2003; Chevalier and Buckles, 2013). Samtidigt så är projektet också utformat som ett transdisciplinärt projekt då det bygger på samarbete mellan olika akademiska discipliner, samhällsmedborgare och nä-

ringsliv/industri. Forskarna i projektet som främst utgörs av mig själv och min doktorandkollega kommer från design respektive marknadsföring, invånarna i Dunga utgör samhällsmedborgarna medan guiderna har deltagit främst som aktörer inom turistindustrin, men även som samhällsmedborgare då de både verkar och bor i Dunga. Ett mål i processen har också varit att deltagare och forskare ska skapa kunskap tillsammans, vilket även det går i enlighet med transdisciplinär forskning (Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny et al., 2001; Guggenheim, 2006; Pohl et al., 2010).

Dock så redogör jag inte för aktions-, transdisciplinär- eller deltagande designforskning i metodkapitlet i någon större bemärkelse. De metodikerna har guidat den deltagande processen i Dunga, men då syftet i avhandlingen är att kritiskt reflektera över utmaningar som kan uppstå i en deltagande process innebär det att hela avhandlingen kretsar kring en reflektion av deltagande forskningsmetodik. I metodkapitlet har jag istället valt att beskriva de metoder som jag har använt för att reflektera över aktions-, transdisciplinär- och deltagande designforskning. Främst beskriver jag hur jag har tittat på den deltagande processen i Dunga i likhet med hur en ergonograf [1] (Czarniawska, 1997, 2007) studerar en praktik (i det här fallet min egen praktik), och hur människor involveras i den här praktiken.

Jag beskriver också hur jag avvänder mig av feministiska teorier som en kritisk lins när jag studerar deltagande metoder och den deltagande processen i Dunga. Utifrån feministisk teori hämtar jag även argument kring vikten av att positionera mig själv som forskare och att reflektera över min egen roll i och inflytande över den deltagande processen, samt kring vikten av att reflektera över hur jag som forskare representerar deltagarna genom de ord och bilder som jag använder i avhandlingen.

Slutligen skriver jag om hur jag har sett på min skrivprocess som ett reflektionsverktyg i sig, samt att jag nämner hur jag har valt att i avhandlingen reflektera kritiskt över hur jag har formulerat mig om projektet och dess deltagare i tidigare och redan utgivna publikationer.

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1 Uttrycket ergonografi är en översättning av Czarniawskas (1997, 2007) engelska begrepp *ergonography*. Charniavska menar att etnografi, som betyder att studera och beskriva människors sätt att leva, ibland används på ett inkorrekt sätt av forskare som enbart tittar på delar av människor liv, som till exempel ett arbete eller en viss praktik. Vid sådana tillfällen är begrepp som ergonografi, eller *ergonography*, enligt Charniavska lämpligare, då det tydliggör att man studerar en praktik eller ett arbete, då ordet *ergon* betyder just arbete. I mitt fall studerar jag deltagande praktiker.

Fallgropar i deltagande processer

De fallgropar som jag identifierar genom den kritiska reflektionen av projektet i Kisumu, samt genom en översikt av litteratur om deltagande forskning och praktik kan kategoriseras under två teman: 1/ hur vi som forskare eller praktiker formulerar oss när vi beskriver deltagarna och hur de deltar, samt 2/ hur roller distribueras mellan de aktörer som är involverade i deltagande projekt.

Under det första temat diskuterar jag vikten av att reflektera över ordens makt när vi skriver och talar om de projekt som vi som forskare eller praktiker arbetar med. Här fokuserar jag främst på begreppet *community*, vilket är svårt att översätta till svenska, men som i det här fallet syftar på en begränsad geografisk plats där människor bor, och där invånarna har någon form av koppling till platsen och/eller de andra som bor där. Community är ett ord som används inom deltagande design och andra deltagande praktiker, och jag tar upp den kritik som har riktats mot hur ordet har använts för att beskriva deltagande, samt att jag reflekterar kritiskt över hur jag själv har använt ordet i tidigare publikationer. Order community får därigenom agera exempel för hur val av ord och sättet vi använder dem på kan leda till vaga och förenklade beskrivningar av deltagare och deras deltagande. Hur det kan dölja vilka det är som deltar, och därmed också vilka som inte deltar, samtidigt som det också kan dölja på vilket sätt och under vilka förutsättningar människor deltar. Förutom community diskuterar jag även hur användandet av vissa ord (till exempel de engelska orden *empowerment* och *ownership*) kan leda till överdrifter vad gäller de fördelar som projektet leder till, samt hur ord kan förminska deltagarna, och deras egenskaper.

För det andra temat diskuterar jag hur otillgänglig, otillräcklig eller okritisk information om ett projekt gör det omöjligt för deltagarna att skapa sig en väl grundad uppfattning om projektet, dess möjligheter och risker, samt huruvida det är ett lämpligt projekt i den aktuella kontexten. Jag tar också upp hur val av informationskanaler eller språk kan göra att vissa blir beroende av andra för att få tillgång till informationen. I diskussionen kring det andra temat berör jag också hur förutsättningarna för att forskare och deltagare ska kunna skapa kunskap tillsammans undermineras om deltagarna inte får tillgång till den information som behövs för att kunna bygga denna kunskap. Till sist tar jag upp hur ojämlika förutsättningar mellan forskare underminerar samarbetet, och möjligheten för vissa att utföra sin forskning. Inom projektet i Kisumu har ett flertal ojämlika situationer uppstått vilket har lett till att aktörer som guiderna och mina Kenyanska doktorandkollegor har deltagit under orättvisa

förhållanden. Jag problematiserar exempelvis hur jag som svensk doktorand har nästintill obegränsad tillgång till information inom mitt område genom biblioteksdatabasen på mitt universitet, samt möjligheterna att delta i internationella forskningssammanhang, medan situationen ser annorlunda ut för guiderna i Kisumu och för mina Kenyanska doktorandkollegor.

Förslag på sätt att arbeta mot rättvisa förhållanden i deltagande processer

De fallgropar som identifieras kring vaga och förenklade beskrivningar av deltagare och deras deltagande, samt kring de orättvisa förhållanden som kan uppstå mellan deltagare och forskare (eller praktiker) tas i avhandlingen sedan vidare in i en diskussion kring möjliga sätt att arbeta mot rättvisande beskrivningar av deltagarna och deras deltagande, samt mot rättvisa förhållanden mellan aktörer i den deltagande processen. Jag diskuterar ett flertal sätt för hur man kan jobba för detta, vilket kan sammanfattas i följande punkter:

- Utforska hur du som forskare eller praktiker kan *skapa dig en överblick och förståelse för de olika individer, grupper eller andra konstellationer* som på något sätt är med i eller berörs av projektet. Att medvetandegöra sig om deltagarnas mångfald sker delvis genom att engagera sig i projektet och interagera med invånare och lokala organisationer, men det kan även främjas ytterligare genom reflektioner inom projektgruppen. I avhandlingen diskuterar jag ett verktyg designat för att underlätta sådana reflektioner. Detta reflektionsverktyg är behjälpligt för att skapa en överblick över de grupper (eller individer) som är viktiga att ta hänsyn till, hur deras förutsättningar ser ut och hur de är relaterade till varandra. Det kan också användas för att reflektera kring hur de beslut som tas i projektet kan påverka deltagarna, deras situation och relationer till varandra. Detta verktyg för reflektion är något som jag diskuterar vidare i artikeln *A tool for reflection – on participant diversity and changeability over time in participatory design* (Kraff, 2018).
- *Utforska hur mångfalden hos deltagarna kan göras synlig* när du skriver om eller presenterar projektet. Hur synliggör man på bästa sätt vilka som deltog, vilka som inte deltog, på vilket sätt människor deltog, under vilka stadier i projektet, under vilka förutsättningar, samt om det fanns något som hindrade vissa grupper eller individer från att delta. Också viktigt att beakta är hur deltagare kan representeras på ett sätt som inte reducerar dem till mindre än vad de är.
- *Beakta hur överdrifter kan undvikas när du skriver om eller presenterar projektet*. Var

tydlig med på vilka sätt deltagare har blivit stärkta av projektet, och för vilka det har lett till en positiv (eller negativ) förändring. Var också tydlig med din egen roll som forskare eller praktiker i processen, och hur din roll står i relation till deltagarna. Hur är du respektive deltagarna delaktiga i de beslut som tas i projektet, vem är det som driver processen och anger riktningen?

- *Säkerställ att invånare har tillgång till tillräcklig och kritisk information* om projektet. Till exempel genom att se över genom vilka kanaler, på vilka platser, på vilka tider, i vilka format och på vilka språk som informationen finns tillgänglig.
- Ta i beaktning att det kan upplevas som svårt eller obekvämt att påtala aspekter med projektet som stör eller bekymrar deltagare i ett publikt forum, eller när de aktörer som initierade projektet är närvarande. Hur kan *deltagare ges möjlighet att utrycka åsikter på ett sätt som känns bekvämt och säkert*. I avhandlingen föreslår jag att detta kan underlättas genom att engagera en extern utvärderare (i likhet med hur en följeforskare arbetar) som följer processen, samtalar med forskare, projektinitierare, lokala organisationer och invånare. Den personen delger sedan projektteamet, på en regelbunden basis sina reflektioner och rekommendationer för förändring, i vilka invånarnas åsikter är inkluderade och anonymiserade.
- Säkerställ att de deltagare som är aktivt involverade i projektet har *adekvata möjligheter att införskaffa nödvändig information* för att kunna bygga ny kunskap inom projektet. Säkerställ också att samtliga forskare som ska samarbeta inom projektet har *samma förutsättningar för att delta och genomföra sin forskning*. Det kan till exempel inkludera tillgång till samma bibliotekssystem, likvärdiga möjligheter att delta i internationella konferenser, samt likvärdig tid att utföra sin forskning och delta i projektaktiviteter.
- *Diskutera ojämlikheter som uppstår i projektet*. Varför de existerar, vilka situationer de leder till, samt om de befäster eller förstärker euro- eller androcentriska normer. Dock så finns det också ett behov av att diskutera ojämlikheter i projekt på en högre nivå, mellan aktörer från universitet, finansiärer och forskningsinstitut.

Avslutande diskussion

Mitt mål med diskussionen som jag för i avhandlingen, om fallgropar i deltagande processer, är inte att ge ett definitivt svar på hur rättvisa processer för deltagande kan säkras. Den komplexa naturen av deltagande processer inne-

bär att det är omöjligt. Vad som definierar rättvist deltagande är till stor del kopplat till sammanhang, situation och kontext, vilket innebär att rättvist deltagande måste definieras inom varje enskilt projekt. För det specifika projektet i Kisumu definierar jag rättvist deltagande som:

> Ett ansvar hos forskarna i projektet att: beskriva deltagarna och hur de deltar på ett tydligt, nyanserat och rättvisande sätt; reflektera över möjliga skillnader mellan deltagare och om dessa skillnader kräver olika former av medverkan; se till så att invånare har tillgång till tillräcklig och kritisk information om projektet, samt att de har en möjlighet att uttrycka eventuell oro kring projektet under förhållanden där de känner sig säkra. Det är också nödvändigt att se till att samtliga aktörer som ska samarbeta och generera kunskap tillsammans har adekvat tillgång till kunskapsresurser, och att de forskare som deltar i projektet har samma förutsättningar att bedriva sin forskning.

Dock så är det viktigt att påpeka att denna definition har konstruerats av mig utifrån den reflektion som jag har gjort av projektet i efterhand, och hur rättvist deltagande bör definieras inom ett projekt är något som kräver vidare diskussioner. Jag skulle med utgångspunkt utifrån mina erfarenheter från Kisumu säga att det bör definieras av de aktörer som deltar i projektet och att det bör finnas utrymme för förändring av denna definition under projektets gång. Men hur kan rättvist deltagande diskuteras, och hur ska deltagare veta vad rättvist deltagande innebär om de inte har varit engagerade i sådana diskussioner, eller i ett deltagande projekt tidigare? Med andra ord, hur kan man se till att processerna för att etablera rättvist deltagande, är rättvisa i sig själva? En annan aspekt som är viktig att ha i åtanke är att rättvist deltagande inte nödvändigtvis införlivas enbart för att man har definierat vad som krävs för att nå det. För att rättvist deltagande ska uppnås måste handlingen att definiera det följas av lämpliga åtgärder. Formuleringen ovan om rättvist deltagande och diskussionen i denna avhandling bör därav ses som en utgångspunkt, från vilken en diskussion om rättvist deltagande kan fortgå.

Möjliga områden för fortsatt forskning

Erfarenheten av att jobba med ett deltagande projekt och att kritiskt reflektera över deltagandets komplexitet har lett till att jag har identifierat ett antal orättvisa förhållanden som kan uppstå mellan aktörer. Men det finns många aspekter med dessa förhållanden som jag vill undersöka vidare och djupare. Det är till exempel intressant att titta på ojämlikheter och orättvisor utifrån

olika perspektiv. Här har min doktorandkollega och jag börjat utforska *tid som en maktaspekt* i deltagande processer, då tid som utgångspunkt möjliggör frågeställningar som: vem har eller får tid att delta i en deltagande process? Hur relaterar tid till aspekter som genus, och på vilka sätt kan tid exkludera deltagare?

Det vore även intressant att vidare utforska fallgropar i deltagande processer som utförts i liknande kontexter, eller på liknande sätt som projektet i Kisumu. Metastudier skulle göra det möjligt att lyfta diskussionen kring fallgropar som förts i den här avhandlingen till en mer generell nivå, samt att det skulle möjliggöra skapandet av en djupare förståelse kring varför och hur de uppstår.

Vad gäller vidare utveckling av projektet i Kisumu så fortskrider arbetet med den kommunövergripande guideorganisationen, likaså fortsätter medlemmarna i den kvinnliga organisationen att utveckla sina roller som guider. Forskningsmässigt anser jag det intressant att fortsätta följa dessa processer, och om möjligt även agera stöd i den vidare utvecklingen av de två organisationerna. Forskningsfokus skulle till exempel kunna riktas mot att studera vilken roll guiderna från Dunga tar i processen med utvecklingen av den kommunövergripande organisationen, och hur de använder sig av den kunskap de byggt upp under processen som de har genomgått sedan starten av projektet 2012. Detta väcker frågeställningar kring uppskalning av deltagande projekt och förmedling av kunskap mellan gamla och nya deltagare.

Det är min uppfattning att de utmaningar som vi som forskare och praktiker möter i deltagande processer bör få mer uppmärksamhet. Vissa utmaningar kan vi lösa på egen hand inom det enskilda projektet, men det är genom gemensamma diskussioner och åtgärder som vi kan skapa verktyg och arbeta för att dessa utmaningar inte återuppstår.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I.

Abbreviations used in the thesis

There are a number of concepts, definitions and names of organizations that are abbreviated in the thesis text. The list below serves as an explanation of these, to facilitate the reading.

AR	Action research
BMU	Beach management unit
CBO	Community-based organization
CBPD	Community-based participatory design
CBCD	Community-based co-design
CSO	Civil society organization
DECTTA	Dunga ecotourism and youth group
DWIT	Dunga women in tourism
HDK	Academy of Design and Crafts, at the University of Gothenburg
JOOUST	Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Technology
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KLIP	Kisumu local interaction platform
KWS	Kenya wildlife services
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PAR	Participatory action research
PLA	Participatory learning and action
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal/ participatory rapid appraisal
PD	Participatory design
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
TD	Transdisciplinary research

Appendix 2.

Project activity schedule

Activity and method	Place	Organizing actors	Participating actors	Purpose	Documentation
1st fieldperiod in Kisumu, Sep 2012					
First visit to Dunga: informal meeting	Office of the local NGO and guide group, located by the beach in Dunga.	Senior researchers from KLIP	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, members of the guide group and NGO	Find a suitable site where there were organizations or groups interested in collaborating in a small scale eco-tourism development project.	Diary notes, photographs.
Second visit to Dunga: informal meeting	Boat tour on the lake	Members of the guide group	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues	Getting to know the guide group.	Diary notes, photographs.
2nd fieldperiod in Kisumu, Nov 2012					
Initiation meeting	Office of NGO and guide group.	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues	Members of the guide group, NGO and BMU	A group of PhD students presented their project ideas. Discussion and input from the local organizations.	Diary notes.
Initiation workshop. Group work.	KLIP office	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues	Members of the guide group, NGO and BMU	Discussing and brainstorming what types of activities and tools for participation are suitable in this context.	Visual workshop documentation, observation notes, photographs.
Acting tourits	The beach area in Dunga, boat-tour and walk in the village	Members of the guide group	Helena and Eva Maria	Gain first hand experience as a visitor in Dunga. See the guides working situation and get initial insight of the community.	Diary notes, photographs.
1st open workshop - mapping. Group work.	Community hall in Dunga	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues	Members of the guide group and NGO, residents (about 75 participants in total)	Finding out what stakeholders there are, who are connected, or could be connected to tourism. Gain insight of the local context and resident views. Get indications for suitable comming actions.	Visual maps of the place, observation notes, photographs.

2nd open workshop - identity. Including SWOT, drawings that represents Dunga, song production, discusions. Group work.	Community hall, and outside the community hall	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues	Members of the guide group, residents (about 75 participants in total)	Gain insight of the local context. Opportunity for residents to share their views on tourism development. Get indications for suitable coming actions. Generate ideas for tourism development.	Visual workshop documentation, observation notes, photographs.
Visitor questionaire	The beach area in Dunga	Helena and Eva Maria	Domestic and international visitors	Gain insight of who the visitors are, why they have chosen to come, and how they experience the place	Filled-in interview sheets, compilation sheets, written analysis.
1st open presentation	Community hall	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, members of the guide group	Residents	Keep the process open, inform about progress, and allow for residents to share thoughts and concerns.	Powerpoint, diary notes, photographs.
1st report. Written in English	Distributed via e-mail, and some printed copies		Helena and Eva Maria (authors)	Inform about the project and give ideas for possible continuation.	1st written report "Dunga identity and image".
3rd fieldperiod in Kisumu, April 2013					
2nd open presentation	Community hall	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, members of the guide group	Residents	Keep the process open, inform about progress, and allow for people to share thoughts and concerns.	Powerpoint and diary notes.
3rd open workshop -hopes and fears. Individual work.	The beach area	Helena and Eva Maria	Residents, members of the guide group and NGO.	Allow people to share thoughts and concern in regards to tourism development. Get indications for suitable coming actions. Adapt the project to the context.	Visual workshop documentation (drawings and writings, in English, Dholuo and Swahili), observation notes.
Three day packaging workshop (day 1). Walking workshop. Group work	Beach area and boat tour	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group (5 participants)	Gaint insight of the current situation and the current guided tours (signage, parking, littering, interactions with guides and members of the community etc.).	Observation notes, photographs.

Activity and method	Place	Organizing actors	Participating actors	Purpose	Documentation
Three day packaging workshop (day 2). Idea generation. Group work	Outside Community hall	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group (5 participants, different from previous day)	Work with issues related to litter. Sketching on waste collection system and signage system.	Observation notes, photographs.
Three day workshop (day 3). Idea generation. Group work	Outside Dunga Community hall	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group (10 participants)	Developing ideas that had been brought forward in the process so far. Initiate a development process of guided tours.	Visual workshop documentation, observations notes, photographs.
3rd open presentation	Community hall	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, members of the guide group	Residents	Keep the process open, inform about progress, and allow for people to share thoughts and concerns.	Powerpoint and diary notes
2nd report. Written in English	Distributed via e-mail, and some printed copies	Helena, Eva Maria (authors)		Inform about the project and give ideas for possible continuation.	2nd written report "Dunga ecotourism development – emerging ideas and possible continuation".
4th fieldperiod in Kisumu, Nov-Dec 2013					
Gathering up workshop	Office of NGO and guide group.	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, members of the guide group (15 people)		Catch up progress since April (presentations from guides and PhD students). Generate ideas on the areas of infrastucture, craft inclusion in tourism and guided tours.	Powerpoint presentations, visual workshop documentation, observation notes.
Graphic design seminar	Office of NGO and guide group	Helena	Eva Maria, members of the guide group (15 participants)	Provide with information and inspiration on how to work with graphic design.	Powerpoint presentation.
Craft integration workshop	Outside Community hall	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group, local artist and craftsman	The guides saw a need to include craft in tourism. Sketching on and discussing craftsproducts, logotype and labels.	Visual workshop documentatgion, observation notes, photographs.

Infrastructure workshop	Outside the office of the NGO and guide group.	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group, two residents	Continue the work with litter and waste collection points.	Visual workshop documentation (sketches), observation notes and photographs.
Tour development workshop	Outside Community hall	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group (5 -10 participants)	Develop full day guided tours, that included other activities than a boattrip.	Paper prototype of a guided tour.
1st testtour - national visitors.	The beach area, boattour, crafts stall, local restauarant and walk in the village	Members of the guide group.	Two families from Kisumu (10 persons). Helena, Eva Maria and two PhD colleagues observed.	Real life testing of a new tour. Learning about visitor reactions.	Observation notes, notes from participants, photographs.
Discussion on testtour	Office of NGO and guide group	Helena, Eva Maria, members of the guide group		Reflecting on and evaluating the tour.	Diary notes.
2nd testtour - international visitors	The beach area, boattour, craft stall, local restauarant and walk in the village	Members of the guide group.	Helena, Eva Maria, and two PhD student colllegues observed	Real life testing of a tour. Learning about visitor reactions.	Observation notes, notes from test tour participants, photographs.
Discussion on testtour and seminar	Office of NGO and guide group.	Proffesor in marketing	Helena, Eva Maria, members of the guide group	Reflecting on the second prototype tour. Lecture by professor in marketing on tour guiding and tourism.	Diary notes and photographs.
Interviews (semi-structured)	Office of NGO and guide group.	Helena and Eva Maria	7 residents, 9 guides, 2 NGO representatives, 1 BMU member.	Gain insight of how people who have been involved in the process have perceived it; the methods used, outcome so far etc.	19 recorded and transcribed interviews
4th open presentation	Community hall	Helena, Eva Maria, PhD coleagues, members of the guide group	Residents	Keep the process open. Inform of what is going on in the process. Leave room for discussion.	Powerpoint, diary notes, and photographs
Report. Written in English	Distributed via e-mail and some printed copies	Helena, Eva Maria,		Keep the process open to stakeholders. Summary of process, ideas and suggestions.	3rd written report: "A day in Dunga - reflections and ideas from test tours".

Activity and method	Place	Organizing actors	Participating actors	Purpose	Documentation
5th fieldperiod in Kisumu, Oct-Nov 2014					
Recap meeting	The beach area	Helena, Eva Maria and members of the guide group		Discuss progress since last year. The guides presented ideas for continuation, including a cultural museum and cultural day.	Dirary notes and photographs.
Museum prototype workshop	Office of fishermens coop in Dunga	Helena and Eva Maria	Members the guide group	Discuss and sketch on ideas for the cultural museum.	Sketches, observation notes and photographs.
Cultural day workshop	Otside Dunga community hall	Helena and Eva Maria	Members the guide group	Brainstorming ideas for content of a cultural day	Visual workshop documentation, observation notes, photographs.
Waste collection workshop	Office of fishermens Coop in Dunga	Helena and Eva Maria	Members the guide group	Continuation and further development of the waste collection system.	Sketches, observation notes, photographs.
Budget meeting	Office of NGO and guide group.	Helena, Eva Maria and members of the guide group		Discuss the budget for the cultural day and museum prototype.	Diary notes.
Birdwatching session	The wetland area by the beach	Members of the guide group	Helena and Eva Maria	Meet in informal manner.	Photographs and diary notes.
Women's inclusion workshop	Office of fishermens Coop in Dunga	Helena, Eva Maria and a PhD student colleague	Seven women from the fishmonger group, and a student from Chalmers	Gain insight to how women experienced tourism development in their village. Also, to understand if, and if so how they wished to be more involved in tourism.	Visual workshop documentation, observation notes and photographs.
Cultural day and museum workshop (a beach cleanup also took place).	The beach area and community hall	Members of the guide-group	Residents, visitors (mainly university students), Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student collageues	Test the idea of a cultural day, inform about waste collection and gain insight of residents and visitors thoughts about a cultural museum.	Photographs, films, observation notes.
Sum-up and continuation meeting	Office of NGO and guide group.	Helena, Eva Maria and members of the guide group.		Sum up the process and discuss the guides proposal of starting up a county-wide association, with the aim to support local guides.	Diary notes.

4th report. Written in English	Distributed via e-mail	Helena, Eva Maria		Keep the process open to stakeholders. Summary of process, ideas and suggestions.	4th written report: "Ecotourism development in Dunga - with a focus on culture and waste".
6th fieldperiod in Kisumu, March 2015					
Recap meeting	office of NGO and guide group.	Helena, Eva Maria and members of the guide group		Discuss what had happened since November, how the plans for the county-wide association has proceeded and what should the next steps be.	Diary notes
Visits to other sites - in Kisumu County. Meetings with local guide groups.	Dunga Hill Camp, Kiboko Bay, Hippo Point, Luagni Beach and Kisumu Port	Helena, Eva Maria, two guides from Dunga	Guides working at the sites and other local organisations (e.g. dance and crafts groups)	Explore the interest of a county-wide organisation.	Diary notes and photographs.
Pre-workshop meeting	office of NGO and guide group.	Helena and Eva Maria	Members of the guide group in Dunga	Testing tools that could be used in workshops when establishing the future county wide guide association.	Diary notes and photographs.
1st association workshop	office of NGO and guide group.	Helena and Eva Maria, one guide from Dunga	11 guides from 7 different sites in Kisumu County	Further explore the interest of a county wide guide association. Discuss what the association should stand for.	Visual workshop documentation, observation notes, photographs.
2nd association workshop (and seminar)	KLIP house	Helena and Eva Maria, one guide from Dunga, professor in marketing	22 guides from 9 different sites in Kisumu County	Continue discussions on what the assocation should stand for, lecture by professor in marketing, talk about learnings from the process in Dunga.	Visual workshop documentation, observation notes, photographs.
Meeting on womens inclusion in tourism	Office of fishermens co-op	Helena, Eva Maria PhD student colleague, Professor in marketing	6 women from the fishmonger group, matweaving group and papyrus harvesting group.	Continue discussion on womens involvement in the tourism business. For instance, how would the women like to be involved.	Diary notes.
Interview	office of NGO and guide group.	Helena and Eva Maria	One of the guides	Interview with one of the guides in Dunga about the concept of time in participatory research.	recorded (sound) and transcribed interview.

Activity and method	Place	Organizing actors	Participating actors	Purpose	Documentation
Meeting on womens inclusion in tourism	Office of fishermens co-op	Helena, Eva Maria, one of the (male) guides, 6 women from the fishmonger group, matweaving group and papyrus harvesting group.		Discussion about how women can become actively involved in guiding, how the male guides can support through for example trainings.	diary notes.
1st Report - for the country-wide association. Written in English and Dholuo	Distributed via e-mail as well as printed and handed out during field visits.	Helena, Eva Maria, chairman of the county-wide guide association, manager of the NGO (authors).		Keep the process open to stakeholders. Summary of process, ideas and suggestions.	1st report on the county wide guide association: "Forming a local tour guide association: reflections from the startup process".
7th fieldperiod in Kisumu, Oct 2015					
Recap meeting	office of NGO and guide group.		Helena, Eva Maria, two guides from Dunga one from the county-wide guide association and one from the womens guide group in Dunga.	Discussions on what has happened in Dunga and with the county-wide guide association since last year. Discuss the need to organise a set of trainings to invigorate members. Discussion about the gender aspect in tourism.	Diary notes
Visits to other sites in Kisumu county. Meetings with local guides and organisations.	Tich Kouma, Abindu, Kit Mikay, Luagni beach	Helena, Eva Maria, two guides from Dunga.	Guides at the sites (12 from Abindu, 9 from Tich Kouma, 8 from Kit Mikay, 5 from Luagni).	Continue discussions with local guides about the association, provide them with the 1st report and invite them to coming actvities.	Diary notes and photographs.
Exchange visit to Kakamega	Kakamega rainforest in Kakamega county	One guide from Dunga Helena, Eva Maria, manager and guides from Kakamega.	28 guides from Kisumu County (50% women and 50% men)	Learning and knowledge exchange. Visit a site where a group of local male and female guides have long experience of guiding. Discussing possibilities and challenges that female guides faces in their work.	Diary notes, photographs.

Workshop for female guides (seminars and enacting parts of a guided tour)	KLIP office	Helena, Eva Maria, one PhD student colleague, professor in marketing, doctor in human geography.	18 women from different sites in Kisumu county, who were already working, or who had an interest in becoming guides.	Discuss the role of women in tourism. Provide with initial knowledge on guiding and sustainable tourism. Test a guiding situation.	Observation notes, photograps, films.
Meeting	Outside community hall	Helena, Eva Maria and guides from Dunga (men and women)		The group of women in Dunga who wanted to start working as guides wished to discuss this with the male guides.	Diary notes.
Association meeting (for the county wide association)	Outside community hall	8 boardmembers of the county-wide guide association.	Helena and Eva Maria	Discuss the future of the association	Diary notes, meeting notes
2nd report - for the country wide association. Written in English and Dholuo	Distributed via e-mail.	Helena, Eva Maria, chairman of the county-wide guide association, manager of NGO (authors)		Keep the process open to stakeholders. Summary of process, ideas and suggestions.	2nd report on the county wide association: "A tour guide association in Kisumu county: gender equality in ecotourism".
1st fieldperiod in Gothenburg (guide visit) April 2016					
Gothenburg tour	Walk around the city centre, Gothenburg city museum, the garden society park, and boat tour on the canal.	Helena	Two guides from Dunga	Experience the touristic offerings in another city. This included a guided boat tour which was led by a female guide.	Diary notes and photographs.
Presentation at symposium (with the theme Inclusive tourism).	School of Business Econimics and Law in Gothenburg.	Two guides from Dunga.	Researchers from Sweden, Tanzania England and Australia. Practitioners from Gothenburg.	Share experiences from the project in Dunga.	Diary notes, photographs and power point presentation.

Activity and method	Place	Organizing actors	Participating actors	Purpose	Documentation
Meeting at Mistra Urban Futures.	Office of Mistra Urban Futures in Gothenburg.		Two guides from Dunga, Helena, Eva Maria, director, deputy scientific director and communications officer of Mistra Urban Futures.	Discuss how the project has gone so far and how it could continue.	Diary notes
Visit to Ekocentrum (exhibition on sustainability)	Ekocentrum		Two guides from Dunga, Helena, Helena, Eva Maria	Visit an organisation which focuses on exhibiting sustainability projects.	Diary notes and photographs
Guided tour and meeting	Bergsjön (in eastern Gothneburg)		Two guides from Dunga, Helena, Eva Maria, two members of an organization in Bergsjön focusing on community based tourism.	Exchange knowledge.	Diary notes and photographs
Guided tour in Gothemburg.	Gothenburg city centre.	Local organisation which arranges thematic guided in Gothenburg.	Tow guides from Dunga, Helena, Eva Maria, 5 other participants and a guide.	Experience a guided tour with a specfic theme (food culture in Gothenburg).	Diary notes and photographs.
Guided tour at aquatic museum	Havets hus in Lysekil		Tow guides from Dunga, Helena, Eva Maria	Experience a park with an aqautic theme and see how they do guided tours.	Diary notes and photographs.
Visit at Nordic zoo	Nordens ark in Hunnebostrand		Two guides from Dunga, Helena, Eva Maria	Explore the structure of the park. For example their boardwalks.	Diary notes and photographs

Interview	School of Business Economics and Law	Helena and Eva Maria	Two guides from Dunga	Open ended interview with the purpose to explore their experiences of the project.	Recording (sound) and notes.
Guide meeting (between Kenyan and Swedish guides)	Bråstad		Two guides from Dunga, Helena, Eva Maria, professor in marketing, two Swedish guides (who had been to Dunga).	Discuss the guide profession and exchange experiences.	Diary notes.
Recurring activities (Sep 2012-Nov 2017)					
Visit to touristic sites in Kisumu and other parts of Kenya.	For example: Kisumu museum, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Masoleum, Impala park, Ndere Island, Eldoret, House of Bomas, Karen Museum, Kitangela, National museum etc.		Eva Maria, Helena and PhD student colleagues.	Experiences and learn from other types of touristic sites. Explore the context and culture.	Diary notes and photographs
Workshop prototyping	KLIP house	Helena and Eva Maria		Collaborative prototyping of workshops, in order to make them suitable for the context and current situation. All workshops were planned in advance.	Visual posters, diary notes and photographs.
Available project space	Office of local NGO and guide group	Helena and Eva Maria	Residents and visitors	Provide with information about the project in a public space. As well as give an oportunity for people to share their views in a suggestion box.	Posters from slide shows at public presentation, reports, suggestion box etc.
Phd discussions	KLIP house, restaurants and Cafés in Kisumu, or via skype.		PhD student colleagues	Discuss our respective projects, share experiences.	Diary notes
Tourism stakeholder meetings (e.g. Ministry of Tourism and Kenya Wildlife Services.	Offices of stakeholders		Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, guides from Dunga.	Informing concerned stakeholders about the process, discussing and exchanging experiences	Diary notes

Activity and method	Place	Organizing actors	Participating actors	Purpose	Documentation
Meetings with local organizations in Dunga	Office of local NGO and guide group or BMU office		Helena, Eva Maria, PhD student colleagues, members of the guide group, Ngo and BMU.	Regular meetings inorder to keep people informed and to discuss the future of the project.	Diary notes
Skype meetings with the guide group (9)			Helena, Eva Maria, members of the guide group.	Meetings to keep contact between fieldperiods. Discuss how the project is proceeding.	Meeting notes
Tour guide trainings.	Community hall	Members of the guide group in Dunga. Local organization that works with womens support.	Members of the womens guide group in Dunga.	Provide with training sessions for women.	Photographs

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