A Critical Approach to Place Branding Governance:

From "*Holding Stakes*" to "*Holding Flags*"

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a critical account of place branding governance, questioning whether the decentralisation of ownership enables greater stakeholder participation. To do so, three overarching components are drawn upon from the extant literature, namely (place) brand meanings (Green *et al.,* 2016; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012), stakeholder engagement (Foo *et al.,* 2011; Hankinson, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2015) and Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986). The holistic analysis responds to stakeholders continued hierarchical involvement, which operates in contradiction to academic claims that stakeholders should be partners, and not merely passive participants, in shaping the place branding process (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012).

This place branding conundrum is explored through two in-depth case studies of Bath and Bristol. The case studies utilise in-depth interviews with 60 salient stakeholders from the business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy (Mitchell *et al.,* 1997). The thesis adopts elements from a moderate constructivist approach to grounded theory to augment the data collection, data analysis, and the abductive development of emergent theory (Charmaz, 2014; Gioia *et al.,* 2013). This approach ensures a combination of flexibility, integrity, and depth to the research process.

The abductive research establishes the 7Cs of a critical approach to place branding governance. These combine the three interconnected components (*claims, contributions, capacity*) and four supplementary and emergent outcomes (*competition, connectivity, chronology, cyclicality*). Together these themes show that stakeholders who possess the greatest economic, social and cultural resources, over a prolonged period of time and across the city, are best equipped to establish and maintain their strategic positions within the place branding process.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOVING TOWARD A PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO PLACE BRANDING

It is well established that branding has undergone a transition from a focus on consumption, typified through scripted outputs seen in slogans and recognisable logos, to a sculptured production process that is driven by and aimed toward a brand's stakeholders (Govers, 2013; Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Morgan and Pritchard, 2004). The emphasis on including stakeholders stands at the centre of an increasingly participatory approach to branding (Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Kavaratzis, 2012). This sees contemporary branding theory as looking beyond firm-centric strategies and recognising the ever-increasing role of an assortment of stakeholders in the production, consumption, and shared governance of brands (Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Wilson *et al.,* 2014). These changes recognise a diffusion of ownership to a brand's multiple internal and external stakeholders (Merz *et al.,* 2009). Therefore, it is not merely the way that stakeholders consume and perceive the brand that is gaining attention; rather it is stakeholders' dual role as both producers and consumers in an increasingly complex and transitioning branding process. This raises the quandary of how multiple stakeholders are able to participate in the consumption and production of a brand that can mean different things to different people.

This transition toward participatory branding is particularly acute within place branding (Braun *et al.,* 2012; Kavaratzis, 2012; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Place branding is an umbrella term, incorporating nations, destinations, regions, cities, business districts, urban and rural neighbourhoods, and communities (Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2015; Morgan and Pritchard, 2004; Pryor and Grossbart, 2007). Though parallels are drawn to corporate branding (Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2004, Trueman *et al.,* 2004), place branding offers a unique snapshot of a complicated web of stakeholders, brought together through an interplay of products, services, organisations, administrations, networks, sights and symbols, within a blurred spatial parameter (Hanna and Rowley, 2015). As such, place branding is markedly different from conventional branding. While traditional brands create

associations, images and ultimately value in the consumers' mindset; place brands already possess a plethora of assets and associations, making the place unique and distinctive (Voase, 2012). Place branding represents something '*real*'; the place, its infrastructure and its people (Morgan and Pritchard, 2004; Morgan *et al.,* 2011). Therefore, the emphasis is on encompassing the place's stakeholders and their understandings of these assets, when shaping and reshaping a place's reputation (Morgan *et al.,* 2011).

This propels stakeholders to the heart of the place brand (Aitken and Campelo, 2011), ensuring their participation in branding processes is becoming viewed as a prerequisite, as opposed to an option (Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2012; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). This approach sees stakeholders becoming partners in the co-ownership and legitimisation of place branding, as opposed to passive recipients (Kavaratzis, 2012; Warnaby, 2009a; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). Based on this participatory premise, the strongest and most successful branding encourages stakeholders' active involvement from decision-making through to implementation (Eshuis and Klijn, 2012; Klijn *et al.,* 2012). Previous research considers the importance of visitors (García *et al.,* 2012), brand leaders (Rainisto, 2003), entrepreneurs (Zukin, 2011; García *et al*., 2012), tourism providers (Chronis *et al.,* 2012), business leaders (Jacobsen, 2012), and increasingly residents (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Braun *et al.,* 2013; Freire, 2009). With a few noteworthy exceptions (García *et al.,* 2012; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012), the bulk of previous studies explore one stakeholder category, or a specific stakeholder within a given category. By emphasising the role of stakeholders as distinct and separate brand audiences, the studies omit the significance of stakeholder interactions, which extend across industries, sectors and spatiality.

The literature is beginning to question how stakeholders are involved in an increasingly complex and stakeholder-orientated approach to place branding governance. Hankinson (2001, 2007, 2009) presents antecedents to managing complex destination brands. These antecedents include building partnerships, strong leadership, coordination, communications, and a strong brand ethos. While such antecedents provide a base for further studies in the area, the research remains preoccupied with managerial control starting from above before transcending to the array of stakeholders. Moreover, the antecedents point to recommendations for managers when governing stakeholders, without considering the nuance of understanding and managing stakeholder-to-stakeholder interactions. This assumes there is a designated brand manager,

who is able to provide a governance role that is legitimate and powerful enough to earn the term 'manager.' However, given the complexity of place branding, the decentralisation of ownership and confusion surrounding its management, it is unlikely that any one stakeholder group can attain this leadership mandate. Moreover, even if the title of manager were attained, this would not necessarily provide the ability to effectively manage disparate stakeholder demands within a web of firms, organisations and networks.

Exploring stakeholders' participation within a blurred and complex place branding arena is cumbersome. Stakeholders' perceptions and participation cannot and should not be simplified (Zenker *et al.,* 2017). Yet, a multiplicity of stakeholders brings with them a multitude of converging and competing claims. Investigating these claims and the contributions to place branding is not easily reduced to a strapline or a logo that represents all the stakeholders' interests (Kladou *et al.,* 2017). Brand meanings offer a tool for investigating the intricacies at play, unravelling the functional and symbolic associations that stakeholders align to branded entities (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). Brand meanings is gaining greater attention in the branding literature, which is beginning to translate into the place branding domain (Brodie *et al.,* 2017; Green *et al.,* 2016; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012, 2013, 2016). In place branding, Merrilees *et al.* (2012; 2016) were among the first to compare brand meanings across stakeholder socio-demographics, looking at how stakeholders' meanings differ across functional and symbolic pursuits. Moreover, brand meanings can also be used to explore the discursive resources and strategies used to compel and legitimise a stake in the branding process (Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013). Despite the signs of brand meanings' rising popularity, with a few notable caveats (Green *et al.,* 2016; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012, 2016), place brand meanings remain underexplored. Therefore, while brand meanings offer an insightful basis from which to investigate stakeholders' claims at the centre of the place branding process, there remain few attempts to translate these claims into empirical research.

Outside of marketing, the prominence of stakeholders is widely considered. For example, in management and organisational studies the importance of including stakeholders who affect, or are affected, by a decision is coined (Freeman, 1984). Previous research explores issues relating to stakeholder salience (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Fassin, 2009; Mitchell *et al.,* 1997), managing for stakeholders (Frooman, 1999; Harrison *et al.,* 2010), and the normative aspects of how organisations ought to treat internal and external stakeholders (Ayuso *et al.,*

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2014). In doing so, the stakeholder-orientated research begins to address the importance of stakeholder-to-stakeholder interaction (Laplume *et al.,* 2008; Rowley, 1997; Tantalo and Priem, 2014), and develops models detailing the arbitration of competing stakeholder demands (Abboubi and Cornet, 2012). Despite the attention paid to stakeholders, the existing research emphasises the firm's management of stakeholder interactions, suggesting that ownership and control remains with a central body. While stakeholder theory provides a useful basis from which to extend a stakeholder-orientated approach to branding theory, there is a need to better understand the interactions between stakeholders and how these impact upon their ability to participate in branding processes.

Additionally, previous research suggests that the transition from consumption of branded outputs to the production of branding processes enables greater stakeholder inclusion. One prominent method for contributing to these processes, outlined in both stakeholder theory and place branding, is stakeholder engagement (Enright and Bourns, 2010; Foster and Jonker, 2005; Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Henninger *et al.,* 2016). Stakeholder engagement encourages the active participation of stakeholders in the negotiation of place branding processes (Hankinson, 2007, 2009). Existing studies point to the benefits of stakeholder engagement for unlocking trust, nuanced knowledge and connections across stakeholders (Enright and Bourns, 2010). Moreover, place branding governance frameworks encompass stakeholder engagement as an important tool in managing competing stakeholder claims (Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015). However, not all studies point to the equal access to engagement strategies. There is growing concern that engagement offers a façade of participation, as opposed to the active inclusion of stakeholders (Houghton and Stevens, 2011). In addition, not all stakeholders are participating in engagement strategies in the same way, with some attaining leadership roles, while others are sidelined (Henninger *et al.,* 2016). This points to a potential gulf between the claims of inclusion through participatory place branding and the reality of continued exclusion for many stakeholders. Despite rising awareness of potential differences in stakeholder participation, there has yet to be a holistic approach to exploring what, how and why stakeholders are accessing place branding processes differently.

1.2 RESEARCH STATEMENT

This research builds upon stakeholders heightened positions as producers and consumers within place branding governance. The stakeholder-orientated focus affirms the move away from the output of the brand and looks to the inclusion of stakeholders within a blurred and complicated branding process. Despite the increased recognition of stakeholders enhanced input through a participatory approach to place branding, this research questions how, and to what extent, stakeholders are able to participate in the complicated processes underlying a diffused approach to place branding. Even in place branding, where the emphasis on bottom-up approaches is advocated, the literature is yet to provide a theoretical and practical framework detailing the holistic and complicated governance phenomenon.

This thesis responds to three core omissions outlined in contemporary place branding theory. First, there has been insignificant attention paid to stakeholder-to-stakeholder interactions that underpin participatory branding. Responding to this gap, this research explores the means and forms of participation sought by multiple stakeholders from across two city brands. This allows similarities and differences in stakeholders' conceptualisations to be examined and looks to how stakeholders seek to translate these understandings into place branding processes. Second, it still remains unclear how stakeholders participate in the consumption and production of place brands. Using stakeholder engagement as a case in point, this thesis looks at the ways in which stakeholders actively participate and evaluates any differences in input. Lastly, the extent that participatory branding can make the transition from rhetoric to reality remains underexplored. This research seeks to examine variations between stakeholders' ability to input into place branding processes. Together, this raises the question as to whether a participatory approach to branding allows stakeholders to take up the position of 'partner' in branding processes, as opposed to 'passive recipient' of a branded output.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research aims to investigate the complexities behind a stakeholder-orientated approach to place branding governance. With the diffusion of central ownership shifting toward disparate stakeholder groups, the thesis seeks to uncover how stakeholders participate in this embryonic

and challenging environment. To address these aims, the research investigates the following three objectives:

- To measure and evaluate the brand meanings stakeholders assign to city brands in order to understand where similarities and differences occur.
- To critically investigate the ways that stakeholders participate in the place branding process through stakeholder engagement practices to better comprehend any variations in input.
- To analyse any variations in stakeholders' input in the place branding to help explain if and why participation can be problematic.

1.4 RESEARCH RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE

1.41 THE PLACE BRANDING CONUNDRUM

Conventional branding is epitomised by the pursuit of distinctive character, sparking recognition, a favourable reputation and ultimately a positive reaction from consumers (Voase, 2012). As such, brands are constructed in the consumers' (and stakeholders') mind (Voase, 2012). This works for conventional branding, as products and services are afforded distinctive personalities and images that differentiate them from their brand competitors. When selling every day products and services, the 'brand' provides the point of difference. The 'brand' is pivotal in making Coca-Cola the soft drink market leader, or in assigning the prestige of an Aston Martin car. However, places are fundamentally different. The nature of a place is that it already possesses a plethora of images, distinctiveness and substance (Voase, 2012). This makes the relationship between places and a communicated 'brand' arduous, and as such, places require an alternative analysis.

Brand building techniques can be used to present qualities inherent in a place, but the aim should be to convey the place's assets in order to establish the place's reputation (Morgan *et al.,* 2011). Within this place branding puzzle, is the transition away from the output of the brand and the move toward the branding process, with stakeholders at the helm (Kavaratzis, 2012). This recognises that places cannot be reduced to branded entities or removed from the intricacies of the place and emphasises stakeholders' role as producers, as well as consumers,

of the associations, images, and ultimately reputation of complex and multifaceted places (Morgan and Pritchard, 2004). Yet, caution is still required, and even the term 'branding', comes with a myriad of connotations that might be, ironically, better re-branded as another idiom (Anholt, 2007).

1.42 RESPONDING TO THE TENSIONS BETWEEN STAKEHOLDER GROUPS WITHIN CITIES

A further tension relates to stakeholders' competing claims over some of the most highly promoted and consumed cities. A particularly pertinent tension is felt between visitors and local residents in destinations and cities that are popular tourist attractions. Anti-tourism protests take place across European's peak destination cities, most prominently Barcelona, Venice and Dubrovnik (Coldwell, 2017). In 2016, Barcelona attracted 32 million visitors, compared to the 1.6 million permanent residents (Bryant, 2018). Local residents' call for the management of their cities to be driven by sustainability, rather than hyper-consumption (Milano *et al.,* 2018). Protesters hold banners stating, "This isn't tourism, it's an invasion" and similarly in Venice banners read, "Venice is not a theme park" (Bryant, 2018). The tensions are further exacerbated in Barcelona by the co-existing strains with the political authorities (Bryant, 2018). The coupling of places as both destinations and cities is sparking contestation among stakeholders that shows little signs of easing. Cities represent different things to many different people, which brings complexities and tensions into the brand management process that are difficult to mitigate.

The destination branding literature calls for greater acknowledgement and consideration of all stakeholders located within the spatial borders (Serra *et al.,* 2016). Increasingly, there is a push to consider the "stewardship and sustainability" (Morgan, 2012: 9) of destinations when they are both visitor attractions and homes. Instead of looking at building a lucrative external reputation, visitor economy stakeholders are being pushed to consider the local community and array of stakeholders who live, work, and undertake business in these tourist hot spots (Morgan, 2012). Contemporary place branding governance finds an uneasy home among this commotion, further highlighting the essential need to explore how stakeholders are participating in its processes.

1.43 CITIES AS A PROMINENT EXAMPLE OF STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION WITHIN PLACE BRANDING

Using cities as the case in point is important in helping to understand stakeholders' participation in the consumption and production of complex, decentralised and multifaceted places. In doing so, the research provides insights that may be applicable to other complex, multi-stakeholder brand governance processes. In addition, the value of the city setting extends beyond the theoretical contributions and addresses the fundamental question of how we can better involve the people 'living the brand' in its construction. Linked to the discussion above, for the bulk of stakeholders living and working in cities, the city is not a branded entity simply to be consumed. The branding literature assumes that brands form an important part of peoples' lives, but in the context of a city, its residents' lives become a part of its branding. The city is a home, a workplace, a place to study, relax, or enjoy. This makes the importance of stakeholder inclusion more pronounced and ensures that more care is needed to ensure that participatory place branding is not merely rhetoric and can become a reality.

1.44 BUILDING A MULTIDISCIPLINARY BRAND GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK

This research addresses the omission of stakeholder-to-stakeholder interactions within branding theory when considering the conceptual, theoretical, and practical implications of proactively involving stakeholders in the production and consumption of the brand. To address these gaps, the research presents a critical investigation into the core components shaping the governance of complex brands. As previously noted, branding is increasingly a complicated stakeholder-orientated process, and the encompassed stakeholders behind a brand seek distinction through the interconnected process of consuming and producing competing brand meanings. The novelty of this approach is also its multidisciplinary focus, helping to piece together an understanding of stakeholder participation place branding governance. The use of multidisciplinary theories and frameworks bolsters the research, accepting that brands do not operate in a vacuum removed from the politics and pragmatics of business and society.

1.45 LOOKING AT THE CONNECTION TO POLICY AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Place branding is increasingly seen "as a form of urban policy which is permeating everyday city life" (Lucarelli, 2018; 12). This recognises the connection between places (cities, regions, nations) and political implications (Lucarelli, 2015). While the remit of this research does not extend to include direct political ramifications, it is important to recognise the potential indirect policy implications when looking at how and to what extent stakeholders are able to participate in place branding processes (Morgan and Pritchard, 2004). Moreover, place branding advisers affirm the academically established move away from logos toward a focus on culture, engagement, collaboration and substance (Govers, 2018). European cities have begun to adopt these approaches and recognise the importance of stakeholder inclusion as opposed to destination marketing tactics. One example is Hamburg, whereby the destination management organisation (DMO) sought to expand their approach to branding the city beyond the designation of a slogan and aligned logo. Instead, an emphasis on the city's stakeholders being "one amongst equals" was advocated, supported through and expanded across stakeholder groups encouraging greater cross-stakeholder collaboration (The Place Brand Observer, 2017). Place branding is connected to potential policy and practical implications that could help to encourage stakeholder inclusion and highlight areas of difficulties. These connections are beginning to be recognised but more is needed to translate academic research into practical outcomes (Green *et al.,* 2016).

1.5 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The research utilises case studies of two neighbouring West of England cities, namely Bath and Bristol. The cities are separated by only 13 miles by car and 15 minutes by train (Horsford, 2017). The selection of the two cities relates to the similarities in the structural and political base; including the transfer of responsibility to public-private enterprises to develop the destination branding (West of England LEP, 2018), and the diminishing input from the local authority due to diminishing public sector resources (Moilanen, 2015). Therefore, both cities lack an overarching organisation that brings together stakeholders from the business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy.

However, the two cities are also very different. Bath is renowned for its UNESCO World Heritage listed Georgian and Roman architecture and thermal waters (Visit Bath, 2018). The visitor appeal draws in approximately one million overnight and 3.8 million day visitors to Bath annually (BANES, 2018). Alongside the visitor attractions, Bath continues to expand its business offering, with finance and insurance providing key areas of employment (BANES, 2017). Yet, the city houses a relatively small population of approximately 88,500 (BANES, 2018). In contrast, Bristol promotes itself as the United Kingdom's home of street art, festival culture, and maritime heritage (Visit Bristol, 2018; Bristol City Council, 2018a). In recent years, Bristol is gaining increasing international recognition; particularly since receiving the European Green Capital award in 2015 (Bristol2015, 2018) and multiple 'smart city' projects (Bristolisopen, 2017) and increasingly aspiring to become a world leader for aerospace design and manufacturing (Bristol 247, 2017). More recently in 2017, Bristol was awarded United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) learning city status (Bristol City Council, 2018b). Moreover, Bristol has a larger population of approximately 459, 300 (Bristol City Council, 2018a). This places Bristol within the top ten core cities in the United Kingdom (Bristol City Council, 2018b).

1.6 RESEARCH APPROACH

The research is guided by a moderate social constructionist epistemology and ontological standpoint. This is based on an ontological premise that there are multiple, interrelated realities that are socially constructed (Lock and Strong, 2010), altering based on time, place, and culture (Carson *et al.,* 2001; Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). The epistemological stance sees knowledge as constructed through a constant "struggle between interested parties" (Chronis *et al.,* 2012: 279). The thesis is informed by grounded theory principles, influencing the approach to data collection, data analysis, and the abductive development of emergent theory. The constructivist approach is combined with a more structural Gioia methodology; recognising the pivotal role of the researcher in the research process, while mapping the process of theory construction in an abductive, strategic, and innovative manner (Charmaz, 2014; Gioia *et al.,* 2013).

The research collection method utilises semi-structured, in-depth interviews (53 interviews) and a focus group with stakeholders from the business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy as the primary research method. Mitchell *et al.,*'s (1997) stakeholder salience model provides the initial theoretical selection criterion for the stakeholder participants, detailing salience as relating to power, urgency, and legitimacy. To bolster the validity of the research, projective techniques are integrated (Hofstede *et al.,* 2007), particularly focusing on exploring the brand personification to spark discussion pertaining to the meanings and images associated with the city brand. Unstructured observations and secondary data analysis are used to augment the interview data. The guiding principles of grounded theory allow the data collection and data analysis to occur in tandem. The three-stage approach to data analysis starts with open coding of processes, which helps guide the proceeding interview structures. This is followed by the clustering of processes into collective incidents, and finally these incidents are analysed alongside the existing literature to develop and extend theory (Charmaz, 2014; Gioia *et al.,* 2013). This approach ensures a combination of flexibility, integrity, and depth to the research process.

1.7 RESEARCH OUTLINE

The research outline corresponds with the three objectives investigated throughout this critical approach to place branding governance; namely stakeholders' brand meanings, participation in engagement and explanations behind any variations in input. The remainder of the research is set out as follows (Figure 1):

Chapter 2 - Literature Review: identifies the gaps in the extant place branding literature. This encompasses a brief overview of the changes in the branding literature, stakeholder participation in the place branding literature; place brand meanings; an evaluation of stakeholder theory; an overview of stakeholder engagement; and a synthesis of Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986).

Chapter 3 - Methodology: outlines the eight interconnected research steps from design through to delivery. This includes the research design, research context, implementation, and analysis procedures alongside the philosophical guiding principles.

Chapter 4 - Stakeholders' brand meaning claims: explores the descriptions, attitudes, values and emotions stakeholders' assign to Bath and Bristol.

Chapter 5 - Stakeholders' participation in stakeholder engagement practices: presents stakeholders' contributions through stakeholder engagement strategies, measuring access through engagement tools, approaches and forms.

Chapter 6 - Explaining stakeholders' varying participation: uses Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) to investigate the reasons for differences in stakeholders' access to engagement strategies.

Chapter 7 - Discussion: brings together the findings and initial analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 and presents the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of the research.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion: summarises the contributions and looks to the limitations and future research suggestions

Figure 1: Research Overview

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The research is built around three areas of investigation that combine to critically analyse the process of governing multifaceted city brands. These areas are aligned to the research objectives. First, exploring '*what*' city brand meanings internal stakeholders attribute to Bath and Bristol. By looking at the competing and converging meanings, the research positions brand meanings as an appropriate tool for capturing stakeholders' conceptualisations of their city. Second, the research analyses '*how*' stakeholders participate in the place branding process through stakeholder engagement. Lastly, the research assesses '*why*' stakeholders' capacity to partake in place branding processes differs. To do so, this research uses Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986) as a theoretical lens. Therefore, the research can be broken down into three interconnected components that help to explain the difficulties of branding places as opposed to products and services. Together, the research adds to the brand governance literature, using multiple connected theories to elucidate the hurdles behind the various stages of the branding components (Figure 2). As much of the extant research explores place branding (in its varying contexts), the terminology place branding is predominately used, even though the context focuses specifically on the subcategory of city branding. In business and marketing, it is commonplace to use place branding as the umbrella term when looking at city-based phenomenon (Hanna and Rowley, 2008).

To provide a holistic account of place branding governance, this thesis draws on stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984; Mitchell *et al.,* 1997; Parmar *et al.,* 2010), alongside Bourdieu's field capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) to critique and extend the current literature. While place branding is becoming an increasingly popular research topic, little research has provided an overarching and theoretical analysis of the varying components of the process. This research combines the multiple and interconnected areas of place branding to establish a framework of the core components and outcomes of place branding governance.
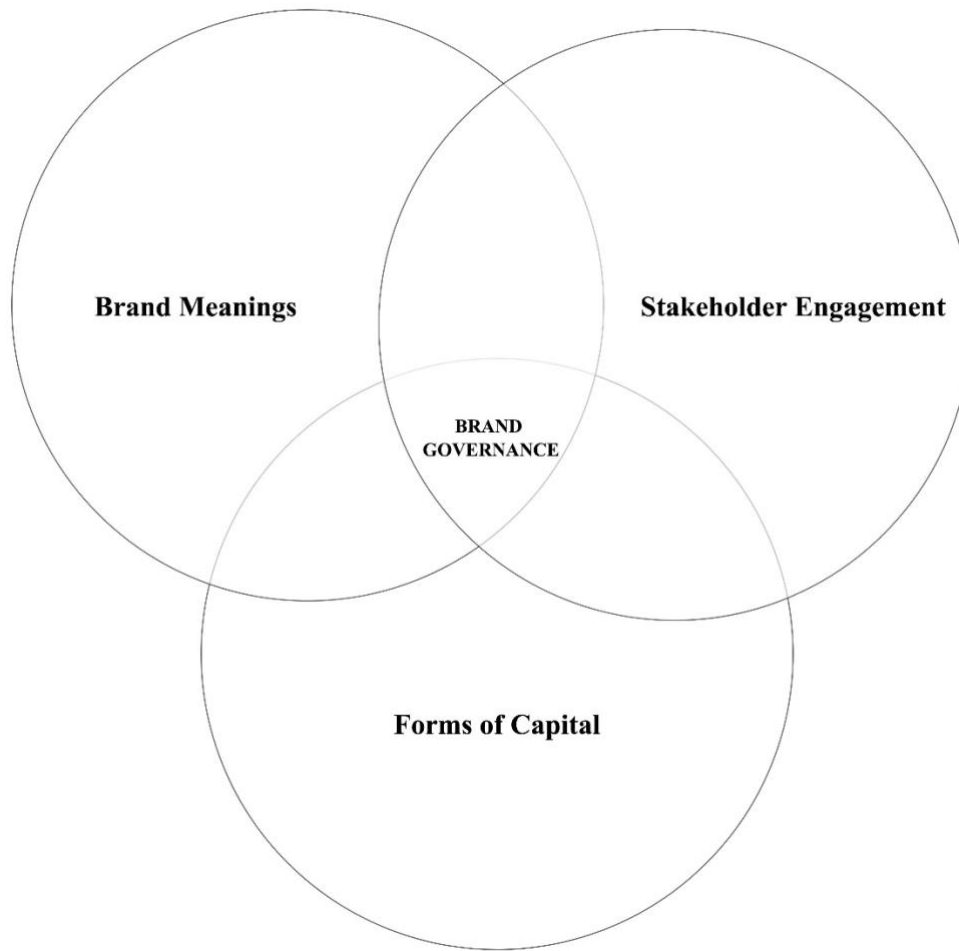
Figure 2: Governing Complex Brand

The literature review sets the scene for the remaining analysis. The first section focuses on the *place branding setting*, providing an exploration of the changing nature of branding, place branding and the specific focus of city branding. Within these areas of research, the emerging claims to participatory place branding are set out. The initial section is followed by the first of three areas of analysis; an overview and application of *brand meanings.* A framework of brand meanings is outlined, followed by an analysis of the current application of brand meanings to the place and city branding literature. The next section explores how stakeholders produce and enact brand meanings by drawing on *stakeholder theory*, stakeholder salience and *stakeholder engagement*. The final section relates to the third objective, using *Bourdieu's field-capital theory* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) as a lens in which to explain the difficulties in including stakeholders in the city branding process. The section starts by providing an overview of the key concepts that form the theoretical framework; including capital, habitus and field. The theoretical base is then explored in relation to its current application in marketing and branding.

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To conclude, the three sections are brought together under the heading of *brand governance*, identifying the areas of contribution in relation to brand governance in city branding.

2.2 A PLACE BRANDING PROCESS

2.21 THE CHANGING NATURE OF BRANDING

Brands are an inescapable part of our everyday life (Steenkamp, 2017). Products, services, people, and increasingly places are identified by unique characteristics that enable them to compete in an ever-competitive world. Yet, our traditional understandings of brands and their value, how they are constructed and managed, and their social and moral worth are all being challenged (Aula and Heinonen, 2016; Campbell and Helleloid, 2016; Klein, 2000; Voase, 2012). Even the definition of a brand raises contention. Traditionally, an entity-based definition was assigned, seeing the brand as a symbol of identification and differentiation of goods and services, to get the edge against competitors (AMA, 2005, cited in Brodie and de Chernatony, 2009). This formulaic approach attracts criticism, since it fails to capture the construction of these associations in the mind of the receiver (Brodie and de Chernatony, 2009; Maurya and Mishra, 2012; Voase, 2012). Other commentators look to the value created, seeing a brand as a "cluster of values" (de Chernatony, 2010: 6) that shape the brand's culture and provide a promise to consumers about the experience. Similarly, brands are associated with "a cluster of meanings" (Batey, 2015: 6) that bring together stakeholders' perceptions and interpretations of the multitude of associations, attributes, benefits and values (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). The changing understanding of brands in the literature moves the focus away from brands as an output and looks to branding as a process. As Anholt (2005: 119) details, "branding in its advanced form is primarily about the people, purpose and reputation."

The paradigm shift sees branding move on from differentiating items with distinctive colours, logos or slogans (Govers, 2013). Instead, branding is relational, with the value of the brand being constructed and altered by the connections with people (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Merz *et al.,* 2009). This shift first related to the brand's connection with its consumers, developing a two-way relationship between the branded item and the consumer. However, the scope now extends beyond consumers, to include the brand's stakeholders (Merz *et al.,* 2009). Therefore, branding is not merely managed through inward managerial decision-making, rather

branding involves the construction and enactment of meanings by multiple internal and external stakeholders (Conejo and Wooliscroft, 2015; Levy and Luedicke, 2013). As a result, branding is a multifarious and social process wherein the brand is negotiated, altered, and benefited by stakeholders (Muniz *et al.,* 2001; Schouten *et al.,* 2007).

Leading from the connection with people, brands produce semiotic marketing systems, which create value for society, realised through subtle changes to the political, social and cultural landscape by stakeholders (Conejo and Wooliscroft, 2015). The emphasis on value through collaboration sits with the evolving application of the service-dominant logic, whereby value is co-created among the brand's stakeholders (Merz *et al.,* 2009; Vargo and Lusch, 2004). This approach accepts an organic view of branding, with brand value being conversationally co-created by a multitude of stakeholders (Ind *et al.,* 2013). While the service-dominant logic provides a common lens in which to explore the creation of value by stakeholders, the current research extends beyond value co-creation. Instead, branding is considered as stakeholder-orientated, looking at the multitude of components that bring benefits and burdens when consuming and producing brands that are shared by multiple stakeholders.

2.3 PLACE BRANDING

2.31 DEFINING PLACE BRANDING

Place branding acts an umbrella term, which covers the branding of nations (Dinnie, 2016), regions (Bruwer and Johnson 2010), destinations (Hankinson, 2009; Morgan and Pritchard, 2004), and most importantly for this research, cities (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2015; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012, 2013, 2016). In recent years, place branding has developed as a separate domain of branding theory (Hankinson, 2009), gaining heightened academic and practitioner interest (Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Lucarelli and Berg, 2011; Morgan *et al*., 2002, 2003; Warren and Dinnie, 2018). This increased attention stems in part from the rising competition between cities, (Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015), each seeking to attract investment, skilled workers, and tourists (Ooi, 2008).

The application of place branding is multidisciplinary, gaining recognition in sociology, history, geography, national identity and politics before being taken up by disciplines such as

marketing, strategy and tourism (Dinnie, 2003). Given place branding's evolution into a "composite construct" (Hanna and Rowley, 2008; 64), there unsurprisingly remains little agreement in relation to an overarching definition (Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). Broadly speaking, place branding traditionally looked at the communication and promotion of products and services within a geo-political entity (Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Keller *et al.*, 2012). However, it is becoming widely accepted that place branding is more complicated than the representation of images (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Voase, 2012). More recent attention has been placed on the amalgamation of visual, verbal and behavioural associations that are built and experienced by people's connection with a place (Zenker and Braun, 2010: 5). Additionally, places are far more complicated than products. Places already possess a wealth of distinctive characteristics and assets that provide associations in the minds of internal and external stakeholders (Voase, 2012). Therefore, place branding is about understanding the place's stakeholders, their conceptualisations of the composition of tangible and intangible assets, and then including these stakeholders in the management of the place's overarching reputation (Govers, 2013; Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015; Morgan *et al.,* 2011). Resultantly, branding must "not be something you add on top; it is something that goes underneath" (Anholt, 2005: 121).

As such, place branding is an ongoing, social and evolutionary process (Hanna and Rowley, 2011), as opposed to a structured managerial activity (Hankinson, 2004, 2009; Ind *et al.,* 2013). The process centres on conversations between a place's stakeholders, engaging in "dialogue, debate and contestation" (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013: 82). The growing emphasis on stakeholders' involvement in the construction, retention, and development of place brands forms the basis of place branding being considered a participatory process, whereby stakeholders co-own and legitimise the brand (Kavaratzis, 2012; Warnaby, 2009a; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). As Aitken and Campelo (2011: 913) premise, the heart of place brands is formed by the people that "live and create it". Taking this stakeholder-orientated approach, success in place branding is attained by actively involving stakeholders in the decision-making processes (Klijn *et al.,* 2012). This propels stakeholders as partners and co-producers of the place brand, rather than passive participants (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Eshuis and Klijn, 2012; Klijn *et al.,* 2012).

By seeing place branding as more than the outward communication of images to a defined target audience, a normative understanding of the branding process begins to emerge (Insch, 2011). This responds to a backlash against certain urban governance attempts to legitimise neoliberal and elitist approaches to places (Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015). Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) build on this normative approach when devising a checklist for place brand managers. First, cultural understandings of place must be given a voice. Second, the brand manager can take a leading role in shaping impressions, but these should mirror any external changes and reflect the stakeholders' understandings at any given time. While this begins to identify the importance of developing a normative understanding of the place branding process, it fails to capture the complexity of contemporary place branding, wherein brand managers often only represent one target stakeholder group, rather than the entire plethora of the place's stakeholders. Further research is needed to understand how stakeholder participation is governed when ownership is blurred.

2.32 MOVING TOWARD A PLACE BRANDING THEORY

While a growing number of place branding studies can be identified (Anholt, 2007; Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2010; Baker, 2007; Dinnie, 2011; Govers and Go, 2009; Hankinson, 2007, 2009, Hanna and Rowley, 2015; Kavaratzis 2004, 2009; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Lucarelli and Berg, 2011; Moilanen and Rainsto, 2008; Rainsto, 2003; Warnaby, 2009a), these are seen to largely provide commentaries, rather than generate a place branding theory (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). As a result, a greater focus on theoretical explanations is required. Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) made headway on this aim when bridging place brands with place identity. Place identity is seen as a process of identity construction as opposed to an outcome, further emphasising the need to look at the process, and not the output. The authors draw on organisational identity theory, using the lens to explain why place branding should not be a driven by a pursuit to derive a single identity.

Lucarelli and Berg (2011) developed a review of the place branding literature between 1988 to 2009 looking at 217 articles focusing on place branding from across urban studies, tourism, geography and marketing. Based on this analysis, three core research trajectories were identified; namely a production-based approach (focusing on the creation and management of place brands), an approach based on appropriation (how brands are used and consumed), and

finally critical approaches (effects of place branding). This thesis brings together the three trajectories critically investigating how place branding is constructed, consumed and managed.

2.33 THE COMPLEXITIES OF PLACE BRANDING

As the preceding section notes, place branding is particularly complex and requires an adjusted analysis to conventional branding. These complexities relate to the vast composition of assets, blurring of ownership, inbuilt distinctiveness, and complicated relationship with traditional branding principles. Places are influenced by multifarious external factors that cannot be easily controlled (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007). Unlike a conventional brand where the emphasis is on creating an image in the absence of differentiation, place brands are comprised of a multiplicity of intricate assets that individually and collectively convey images and associations in stakeholders' minds (Voase, 2012). These assets combine within a complicated web of place brand architecture (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Kerr, 2006). In any given place brand, there can be specific products, buildings, administrations, services and networks that are governed by autonomous public and private organisations (Hankinson, 2009; Klijn *et al.,* 2012). These entities exist (largely) externally to marketing pursuits and develop incrementally over time (Hankinson, 2009). Despite the blurring of local authority control over the brand (Olivera, 2015), the incremental nature of branding creates overlaps with public management (Klijn *et al.,* 2012). These crossovers create social, economic and political implications (Eshuis *et al.,* 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012). Bringing these disparate entities together is a complex and improbable task.

Continued confusion centres around the definitions underscoring the place branding domain. A particularly talking point relates to the difference between place marketing and place branding (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011; Skinner, 2008). Lucarelli and Berg (2011) in their review of the city branding literature premise that place marketing focuses on the techniques of selling and promoting the place or its products and services. In contrast, place branding is seen as the "purposeful symbolic embodiment of all information connected to a city in order to create associations and expectations" (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011: 21). Similarly, Skinner (2008) addresses the perceived 'confused identity' of place marketing and branding. The conceptual paper sees place marketing as the overall management, while focusing on place branding as the promotion and communication of particular elements of the place. Yet, Giovanardi *et al.,*

(2013) acknowledge the interrelatedness of the place concepts. Instead, of separating the two, place branding is seen as an extension of brand management and marketing. Therefore, the authors see the distinction in reverse to Skinner's (2008) definition; with the marketing focusing on selling the place. However, the authors note an important distinction when explaining that place branding is where the relational connections are made (Giovanardi *et al.,* 2013). Arguably, the contradictory debates about the boundaries add to the confusion, as opposed to providing greater clarity. Nonetheless, given the discussion of branding above, the latter definition fits most acutely with this thesis. Place branding is the amalgamation of the assets, the people and the place when shaping the place's reputation, both with and for, a place's stakeholders.

2.34 PARTICIPATORY PLACE BRANDING

The emphasis on a stakeholder-orientated approach to place branding is epitomised by Kavaratzis (2012), when advocating the prerequisite for stakeholder participation. This highly influential article pushes for academics and practitioners to consider participatory place branding as a necessity, rather than a choice. Therefore, instead of paying 'lip service' to stakeholder participation, active inclusion is required. Kavaratzis's (2012) article builds on previous studies that have acknowledged the need to involve stakeholders (Anholt, 2005; Baker, 2007). An important premise driving this paradigm shift is the need to empower stakeholders, providing opportunities to enact meanings assigned to a place and share its ownership (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012). This thesis centres around this premise, recognising the fundamental importance of stakeholders in the shared ownership, construction and consumption of place brands.

2.341 MOVING ATTENTION TOWARD RESIDENT INCLUSION

One notable way the push toward a participatory approach to place branding is being addressed is through granting the local community greater academic and practitioner attention (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Braun *et al.,* 2013; Eshuis *et al*., 2014; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2008; Merrilees *et al*., 2011, 2013, 2016, Zenker *et al.,* 2017). Studies address the managerial benefits of directly including residents in the place branding process. These benefits include facilitating the local experience (Warnaby, 2009b; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014), providing a form of

differentiation between brands (Freire, 2009), positively augmenting the destination's evaluation in the eyes of visitors (Freire, 2009), forming a creative place image (Vanola, 2008), and ultimately allowing for an integrated and reflective city brand (Collomb and Kalandides, 2010). Moreover, other commentators note the symbolic benefits that can be attained by promoting a connection between residents and the place. For example, the inclusion of residents is seen to enhance credibility, trustworthiness, authenticity and legitimacy of the brand (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Braun *et al.,* 2013; Greenop and Darchen, 2015). In addition, residents' participation enables social and emotive meanings assigned to the place to be realised and presented (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Merrilees *et al*., 2009). Therefore, residents' social and symbolic understandings are important, and not just the promotion of the physical characteristics (Agnew, 1987; Cresswell, 2014).

However, residents' expectations from the place brand differ significantly from place officials (Merrilees *et al.,* 2009). Additionally, residents are rarely a unified and coherent group. Rather, the label of residents encompasses a multitude of individuals and collective subgroupings, pursuing often-conflicting aspirations (Braun *et al.,* 2013). Balancing resident pursuits requires co-ordination and the support mechanisms that enable multiple voices to operate concurrently (Eshuis *et al.,* 2014). Therefore, while benefits can be attained from greater resident inclusion, it is difficult to develop a strategy that allows for equal participation.

One method to support greater inclusion is through promoting a shared vision and creating viable structures for participation that support residential projects (Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). These projects can include stakeholder engagement (to be considered in depth below) and placemaking initiatives. Placemaking is becoming a popular tool for encouraging greater participation of residents (and other stakeholders) in the places in which they live, work, and spend their time. Greenop and Darchen (2015) examines the use of events (educational, sporting and cultural) to celebrate diversity and cultural strengths in a suburban town outside of Brisbane in Australia. The involvement of residents in these experiences helps to spark attachment and authenticity and strengthens the branding process. This sparks greater resident brand attachment for the town when compared to its neighbouring metropolis of Brisbane. Therefore, there are benefits of looking for ways to involve residents in place branding. Yet, even these creative alternatives predominately allow consumption, as opposed to a production of the place brand. While residents' perceptions and connection to the brand may improve, it

is unclear how stakeholders are able to influence the way the city is presented and the reputation it attains.

2.342 MANAGING ACROSS MULTIPLE STAKEHOLDER GROUPS

The current application of participatory place branding helps pave the way forward for greater resident inclusion. However, solely focusing on residents fails to consider how residents' interests and concerns can be balanced alongside other stakeholder groups. To foster longer-term success, it is important to consider the multiplicity of stakeholders located within a place (Morgan, 2012). City branding provides a stark example of the multitude of stakeholders that are situated within a given spatiality. Previous studies investigate (though not exclusively) visitors (García et al., 2012), brand leaders (Rainisto, 2003), entrepreneurs (Zukin, 2011; García *et al.,* 2012), business leaders seeking inward investment (Jacobsen, 2012), and residents (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Braun *et al.,* 2013; Freire, 2009). However, these studies have largely (with a few notable exceptions) explored either one of the aforementioned stakeholder categories, or a specific stakeholder within a given group. Resultantly, stakeholders were considered as distinct and separate brand audiences, as opposed to interconnected constituents of the wider city branding process, which extends across industries, sectors, and spatiality.

García *et al.,* (2012) form one of the exceptions when exploring multiple stakeholder groups in tandem. The study demonstrates how visitors, local residents, and entrepreneurs play a role in shaping the place branding process. The authors' holistic analysis demonstrates the benefits of involving multiple stakeholder groups in the creation of place brands, allowing for heightened brand awareness, greater exposure, and utilisation of the key assets in the area. While the study goes some way in demonstrating the importance of a multi-stakeholder analysis, the authors do not explore how multiple interests and concerns are (in)balanced.

Moreover, in the main part, the extant literature presupposes there is a central, albeit problematic, authority that manages the branding process. Even in Kavaratzis's (2012) participatory branding commentary, an emphasis is placed on brand managers pushing for greater synergy and encouraging inclusion. While brand managers remain important actors, the situation is far more complex. Building on what has been stipulated above, place branding

requires the consideration of multiple stakeholder interests concurrently, since "branding is seldom under the control of a central authority" (Iversen and Hem, 2008: 604). Therefore, the emphasis should be on managing '*across*', rather than '*for*' multiple stakeholder groups. This brings further complexities when managing the input of various stakeholder categories, which are positioned across the voluntary, public and private sectors.

An additional complication is the positioning of stakeholder across voluntary, public and private sectors (Klijn *et al.,* 2012). By pooling expertise and resources there is "a pastiche of varied styles and tastes" (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007: 298). However, the process is seldom simple, complicated by the inconsistency in efficiency, rate of change, and the conflicting pursuits of individual stakeholders (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007). Arguably, this approach fails to actively allow for the inclusion of multiple stakeholders. Instead, the public focus incorporates predominately government officials and private focus involves only business leaders (Holcomb, 1999). Therefore, despite the push for participatory approaches, many stakeholders may struggle to actively participate in the place branding process.

As this section details, involving stakeholders in place branding is no longer a choice, it is prerequisite when developing a meaningful and inclusive place branding process. However, difficulties emerge when incorporating various stakeholder interests and pursuits. Dialogue across stakeholder groups becomes an essential conduit when matching stakeholder interests (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Schwarzkopf, 2006). While the literature is beginning to pay attention to these underlying conflicts, there remain gaps in understanding regarding what varying meanings stakeholders are assigning to complex and multifaceted place brands, how stakeholder participation varies, or why unequal participation is very difficult to amend.

2.4 BRAND MEANINGS: UNDERSTANDING STAKEHOLDERS' CONCEPTUALISATIONS

This section provides an overview of brand meanings and its current application to place branding. The section starts by defining brand meanings, before considering the assonance and dissonance across multiple stakeholder claims. The section then details existing methods for measuring stakeholders' brand meanings and combines this analysis to establish a brand

meaning framework applied in the later analysis (see Chapter 4). Finally, the early adoption of brand meanings in the place branding literature is evaluated.

2.41 DEFINING BRAND MEANINGS

Brands are comprised of "a cluster of meanings" (Batey, 2015: 6) that bring together stakeholders' perceptions and interpretations of its multitude of associations, attributes, benefits and values (Allen *et al*., 2007). Ultimately, brands mean different things to the people who produce and consume them. Brand meanings capture these differences and allow for a person's knowledge set relating to the brand assets to be evaluated (Berthon *et al.,* 2009). Additionally, brand meanings provide an avenue for better understanding how multiple stakeholders assign meanings to brands based on the fulfilment of functional and psychological needs (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). While an investigation into stakeholders' brand meanings finds its home in conventional branding, it is pivotal for place branding. As previously detailed, places are inevitably imbued with unique and differentiated functional and symbolic assets (Voase, 2012), pushing the focus onto stakeholders' conceptualisation and involvement in shaping a place's reputation (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Govers, 2013; Morgan *et al.,* 2011).

Stakeholders are pivotal in the negotiation of brand meaning claims (Wilson *et al.,* 2014; Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013). The scope of the stakeholders considered in the extant literature extends beyond the brand's consumers and includes activists (Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013), brand communities (Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Holt, 1992); marketers and financiers (Cova and Paranque, 2012); designers (Gryd-Jones and Kornum, 2013); the business community (Merilees *et al.,* 2012), and increasingly members of the community the brands serve (Kavaratzis, 2012; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012, 2016). While it is rarely as simple as aligning stakeholders to a uniform category (Braun, 2012; Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013), the studies provide a noteworthy starting point when thinking holistically about stakeholders' involvement in brands.

While significant developments have been made in the brand meanings literature, it remains rare to see multiple stakeholders considered within the same study. Merrilees *et al.,* (2012) provides an important caveat, wherein the authors demonstrate how multiple stakeholders' brand meanings can be clustered together using a filtering device. This involves separating

stakeholders based on their role in the local community or the business community. In a more recent study, Merrilees *et al.,* (2016) extend the filtering device when considering the impact of stakeholders' socio-economic characteristics on brand meanings claims. The study shows that variations exist across socio-economic group, with stakeholders with the lowest socio-economic status presenting a functional focus, as opposed to stakeholders at the highest end of the socio-economic scale who recount a more symbolic focus (Merrilees *et al.,* 2016). These studies highlight the benefits of looking across multiple stakeholder groups and identifying points of convergence and divergence between stakeholders' claims. Furthermore, while these studies provide a noteworthy starting point, more is needed when evaluating how brand meanings differ across the functional to symbolic continuum and across city brands.

Looking beyond the consumption of brand meanings, Aitken and Campelo (2011) identify the importance of brand meanings when involving residents in the production and shared ownership of place brands. The involvement of residents' brand meaning is central to the internal mission of the place brand, even though they are often excluded from the external communication of place brand images. Despite residents' perceived exclusion from the communicated images, the authors note how the alignment of brand meanings to people's internal experiences creates a dynamic, shared and authentic account of the place. This goes back to the importance of including the people behind the place when creating an authentic brand essence that supports a stakeholder-orientated and sustainable brand ethos.

Since reference to brand meanings in the marketing and place branding literature remains in its infancy, it is useful to look to tourism and cultural geography wherein a number of useful studies are identified. When looking at destinations, Lichrou *et al.,* (2008) raises the distinction between evaluating attributes of a place versus an assortment of meanings. When considering meanings, it is important to look to the construction of the place and how it is experienced and contested by those involved. In doing so, the authors focused on the narrative people assigned to the places in which they reside. These narratives are used to assign meaning, which varies depending on the person involved. This emphasises the subjective, fluid and divisive nature of brand meanings. Jensen (2007) also took a narrative approach when investigating cultural stories in urban branding. In the study, the meanings are enacted through stories that different place-based stakeholders share both internally and externally. The meanings attached to a place are seen to alter depending upon whether we look to the past, the present, or in select cases,

over time (Colombino, 2009). These advancements are important, since they recognise some of the wider components at play when people are assigning meanings to places. In addition, the variations and contestation between stakeholder claims is shown to be an important part of investigating brand meanings.

2.42 CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE ACROSS BRAND MEANINGS

As noted above, brand meanings allow the functional and symbolic associations stakeholders' attach to a place's medley of assets to be investigated. With these multiple claims, comes points of assonance and dissonance. Gryd-Jones and Kornum (2013) suggest that there is a potential for cultural synergy when stakeholders are working toward a common aim and inspired by a shared motivation. However, the study of the LEGO brand suggests that unity is most fruitful when existing between the brand and stakeholders operating closest to the management, as opposed to the stakeholders on the fringe of the brand's operations (Gyrd-Jones and Kornum, 2013). Despite ranking the participation of external stakeholders as secondary, the study emphasises the significance of a degree of inclusion to avoid stakeholder dissent and negative associations (Gyrd-Jones and Kornum, 2013). Therefore, the most salient stakeholders are afforded the highest levels of participation, while auxiliary stakeholders are offered largely 'lip service' to avoid negative reprisals for the brand.

The ongoing dialogue and interaction between stakeholder claims are seldom simple for conventional branding, and even less so for place branding. Inevitably, gaps emerge between the brand meanings official marketers communicate to wider stakeholder groups and the consumers' own brand meaning claims (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). Therefore, sparking a disjuncture between internal and external stakeholder meanings (Merrilees *et al.,* 2012). Based in conventional branding, Wilson *et al.,* (2014) establish a typology based on the dual relationship of intensity, alongside positive to negative difference. From this, the authors identify four *'gaps'* in brand meaning, termed '*beloved'*, *'on the cusp'*, *'hijacked'*, and '*facing disaster'*. The brands meaning gaps range from positive assonance for '*beloved'* groupings, a degree of dissonance but complementary for *'on the cusp'*, negative dissonance but manageable for *'hijacked'* groupings, and finally *'facing disaster'* whereby a change in strategy is required. The typology brings together collective stakeholders' claims and explores ways in which stakeholders' inclusion advance or impede on the firm's brand management. While this is a

worthwhile typology to highlight the diversity and complexities inherent in multiple brand meanings, it fails to detail the nuances when managing diffused brands with unclear ownership. Therefore, Wilson *et al.,*'s (2014) study looks to the governance between the firm to its stakeholders, omitting the process whereby stakeholders consume, experience, and produce brand meanings across stakeholder groups.

Despite the questionable applicability to place branding, the typology highlights the role of dissonance in shaping stakeholder meanings. As Vallaster and von Wallpach (2013) ascertain, stakeholders can utilise strategies and resources to propel a given position or enhance a brand meaning claim at the detriment of the firm (Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013). In their study of the Gate Gournmet brand crisis, the researchers focus primarily on discursive strategies, looking specifically at how stakeholders attack, defend, and neutralise brand meanings through online mediums. Building on these strategies, the researchers identify the discursive tools the competing groups of brand promotors and brand defenders utilise when seeking to enhance their own position in the branding process. This goes beyond detailing variance and looks to the discursive tools that stakeholders use to legitimise their claims, while also recognising that stakeholders hold both favourable and less favourable positions when negotiating an input into the branding process.

The brand meanings literature also identifies the clustering of similar stakeholders into silos, whereby stakeholders collectively attempt to translate particular brand meaning claims into brand knowledge (Berthon *et al.,* 2009). These silos can relate to similarities in context, lifestyle, socio-cultural frameworks, pursuits, and location (Berthon *et al.,* 2009; Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012). This non-exhaustive list demonstrates the diversity of stakeholder claims outside of central management control. Therefore, stakeholder claims and collaborations are operating interdependently, rather than existing merely in tandem with firm-centric goals. It is dubious whether a firm-centric approach works for conventional brands, however, the picture is more complex when considering the place branding process wherein central management is even more difficult to ascertain.

When assessing the evolution of place brand meanings, Green *et al.,* (2016) highlights the widening acceptance that brand meanings develop organically and lead to competing and converging stakeholder claims. This supports the studies addressed above relating to

conventional branding of products and services. Yet, it is difficult to measure and fully understand how place branding meanings converge or diverge, since the literature lacks and overarching way to measure multiple stakeholder claims (Green *et al.,* 2016). Since brand meanings form the crux of brands, it is important to consider how the competing and converging brand meanings are being developed, deliberated and enacted in the place branding domain. The following sections draws on two brand meaning frameworks (Batey, 2015; Laaksonen *et al.,* 2006) and provides one way in which stakeholders varying brand meaning claims could be measured and evaluated.

2.43 BUILDING A BRAND MEANING FRAMEWORK

Measuring assonance and dissonance across stakeholder groups is a difficult pursuit. To understand, what claims stakeholders are making, it is first important to determine a suitable measure of stakeholders' claims. A noteworthy framework was established by Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006), using brand dimensions to identify the varying levels of stakeholders' perceptions. The researchers identify three brand dimension levels as articulated by internal and external stakeholders, namely the observation, evaluation and atmosphere levels. The observation level addresses the stakeholders' perception of the functional and descriptive components, including the built environment and culture. The evaluation level extends the reasoning to include the attitudes attached to the descriptive components. For example, whether the assets found within the place brand are beautiful or unattractive. Finally, the atmosphere level evaluates the subjective impressions of the place as people experience it. This includes overarching impressions, such as unkind, divided or inflexible.

Together these dimensions help to develop an understanding of the stratified meanings people associate to the medley of assets found within place brands. The focus on external, as well as internal stakeholders, leads the authors to refer to the brand image of the place (city) brands. However, the dimensions identified correspond with the contemporary understanding of brand meanings as comprised of stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes, evaluations and ultimately emotions attached to the brand associations, attributes and benefits. This is confirmed by Green *et al.,* (2016), when encapsulating Laaksonen *et al.*,'s (2006) dimensions as an important step toward measuring place brand meanings. Nonetheless, while the brand dimensions articulated by Laaksonen *et al.,* (2006) provide a base for conceptualising and measuring competing brand

meanings, the authors do not consider the spectrum of brand meanings from functional to symbolic.

More recently, Batey (2015) sets out stakeholders' brand meanings as both definitional (literal) and emotive (symbolic). Brand meanings can be functional, providing literal meanings relating to the attributes and associations inherent in the product, service, or place. The researcher comments how these functional meanings often become the primary brand meanings, aligned automatically when thinking about the brand. Building on this, the symbolic and subjective meanings connect the emotional and psychological significance of the brand for its stakeholders. These latent brand meanings are considered the implicit brand meanings, whereby the value expressiveness, ideals and values of the brand are connected to the consumer and stakeholder. Moreover, Batey (2015) accepts that meanings can contain both denotation and connotation interchangeably. Therefore, Batey (2015) provides an important supplementary framework, recognising the pinnacle role of emotions when signifying a person's conceptualisations of a brand.

Building upon these frameworks, this thesis adapts Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006) dimensions alongside the spectrum of brand meanings from functional to emotive identified by Batey (2015). Together, the frameworks help to measure the level and content of the brand meanings assigned to the place brand by multiple stakeholders. This is useful since it embraces the complexity of the branding process and uses the levels as a means to identify points of convergence and divergence among stakeholders. By first understanding the multiplicity of stakeholders' claims, stakeholders' varying ability to propel these claims into contributions can be further investigated.

2.5 LOOKING TO STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION: STAKEHOLDER THEORY TO STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

This previous section examined what brand meaning claims stakeholders convey, looking for points of similarity and difference across stakeholders. Building on this base, this section investigates how stakeholders participate in the place branding process through stakeholder engagement strategies. To do so, the section starts by outlining stakeholder theory, stakeholder

salience and the origins of stakeholder engagement, before considering its application and gaps within current place branding theory.

2.51 STAKEHOLDER THEORY

The importance of recognising the people behind the processes is encapsulated in stakeholder theory. Though originating in strategic management, organisational management, and business ethics (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Freeman, 1984), stakeholder theory has since been applied beyond these starting points. The current application of stakeholder theory includes administration (Weible, 2006), tourism (Robson and Robson, 1996), and increasingly the specific domain of place branding (Gilmore, 2002; Hankinson, 2004, 2009; Merrilees *et al.*, 2005, 2012; Pike, 2009). As Agle *et al.*, (2008: 153) premise, the "stakeholder idea is alive" and continues to gain memento.

Traditionally, stakeholder theory was investigated under three separate precepts. Donaldson and Preston (1995) summarises these three core areas of stakeholder under the descriptive, instrumental and normative precepts. The descriptive approach conceptualises stakeholders' claims, seeking to identify which stakeholders are legitimate and influential in the firm. Instrumental stakeholder theory looks toward outcomes, focusing on the impact of stakeholder participation for firm performance. Normative stakeholder theory is aligned to business ethics principles, exploring how organisations ought to treat their stakeholders in a morally defensible manner. Arguably, separating the three tenets of stakeholder theory is unhelpful and dilutes the overarching purpose of managing stakeholders' involvement in the firm. Therefore, the three tenets are increasingly considered in unison, since to successfully manage stakeholders all components must be met (Jones and Wick, 1999). This is particularly acute for place branding, whereby the inclusion of multiple stakeholder claims operates across the descriptive, outcome and morally defensible precepts.

When reviewing the literature, Parmare *et al.,* (2010) outline three interconnected business areas addressed through a stakeholder analysis. The first area addresses how value is created and traded by stakeholders. The second part examines the connection between ethics and capital (financial outputs). The final section explores the benefits of including stakeholders when helping managers to overcome managerial hurdles. The authors note the lack of attention

paid to these elements, calling for further work to explore the key concepts in relation to marketing. The first area of omission is considered by Harrison *et al.,* (2010) when measuring value under two umbrella components; '*the ends*' and the '*means to the end*'. Most commonly acknowledged is '*the ends*', referring to the benefits that stakeholders and the firm can derive from working in unison toward a common value and purpose. This value extends beyond a financial quota and looks more holistically at the social, cultural and organisational benefits. Secondly, and most interesting for this thesis, is the '*means to the end*', namely the procedures and processes driving stakeholder interactions and participation. It is this latter component where collective (stakeholder-to-stakeholder) interactions and participation are most pronounced.

Laplume *et al.*, (2008) also review the evolution of stakeholder theory; noting its entrenchment as a widely accepted theory in strategic management. The authors suggest that the theory is reaching its maturity, perceiving there to be a lapse in fresh and worthwhile additions. However, the theory has continued to advance since this review, with scholars adopting and adapting its principles across an array of disciplines (Ayuso *et al.,* 2014; Hanna and Rowley, 2015; Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012; Stubbs and Warnaby, 2015). Despite the scepticism relating to the lifecycle of stakeholder theory, Laplume *et al.*, (2008) recognise the literature's focus on stakeholders' actions and responses, alongside theoretical debates. Yet, with a few noteworthy exceptions (for example Ayuso *et al.,* 2014), the current focus tends to rest on the stakeholders' actions and responses toward the firm. A stakeholder-orientated view of business and marketing practices advances stakeholders position to partners in the creation of organisational values (Eshuis and Klijn, 2012). Therefore, the studies should also include stakeholders' actions and responses toward other stakeholders and not just the firm (Ayuso *et al.,* 2014). This is particularly acute for this thesis, given the decentralised and unstable ownership characteristic in place (and specifically city) branding, which means different things to different stakeholders at different points in time.

Collectively, stakeholder theory builds a series of recommendations for managing stakeholder participation, interactions, outputs, and ethical principles. Stakeholder theory acts as a tool when negotiating complex relationships. Resultantly, the theory is aligned to the principles of governance, looking to instruct and assist in the dynamics of stakeholders' interactions. Nonetheless, the practical nature of the extant literature sparks debates in relation to use of the

label theory (Key, 1999). Critics and proponents alike question the use of the components as a sole theoretical grounding (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). To overcome this potential hurdle, it is commonplace for stakeholder theory to be applied in conjunction with supplementary theories, advocating the strength of considering the multiple theories in tandem (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Rowley, 1997). Despite its limitations, stakeholder theory offers a practical lens to explore stakeholders' complex involvement within business and marketing practices. The benefits of incorporating a stakeholder analysis include its importance as a lens when determining what is a 'stake' and who possesses this level of salience. Additionally, stakeholder theory provides useful frameworks for understanding the complicated management of stakeholder-to-stakeholder interactions within a dynamic branding framework. Moreover, stakeholder theory helps to address the question of how we ought to involve stakeholders and how we can bring stakeholders together toward a common purpose in a morally defensible way.

2.52 STAKEHOLDER SALIENCE

Despite the importance of stakeholder theory, there remains ambiguity regarding the parameters of attaining a 'stake' (or claim) in the process (Parmar *et al.,* 2010; Table 1). Freeman's (1984) definition remains prominent, seeing a stakeholder in an organisation as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives" (Freeman, 1984: 46). A less encompassing conceptualisation is outlined by Fassin (2009), detailing the varying responsibility of stakeholders (internal actors), stakewatchers (pressure groups), and stakekeepers (external regulators). The varying involvement is further entrenched by Mitchell *et al.,* (1997) when detailing a typology of stakeholder salience. The typology centres on stakeholders' possession of power, legitimacy and urgency when transforming goals into actualisation. The authors' typology remains an important guide for identifying stakeholders and stakeholders' fluctuating influence.

Key Author(s)	Conceptualising a 'stake'
Ackermann and Eden (2011)	Development of a *power-interest grid* to pinpoint those with the higher 'stake' or interest in the organization. Four types of stakeholders are identified: 1. *Crowd* – possessing the smallest stake 2. *Subjects* – Interest but little influence 3. *Context setters* – influence but no real interest

	4. *Players* –highest level of power and interest enables managerial attention.
	The importance of *stakeholder influence networks* - a stake can be gained from access to people and information.
Agle et al., (1999)	Firms focus on powerful, legitimate, and urgent stakeholders.
Clarkson (1995)	*Primary versus secondary stakeholders*:
	The pursuits and interests of primary stakeholders (those inside the organisation) are deemed more valuable than secondary stakeholders (where link to the organization is more remote).
Fassin (2009)	The term stakeholder deemed too broad, instead following *separations* are made:
	1. *Stakeholder* – internal constituents who have a real stake in the company.
	2. *Stakewatcher* – pressure groups that influence the firm.
	3. *Stakekeeper* – regulators who impose external control and regulation on the firm.
Freeman (1984)	"A*ny group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives*" (46).
Mitchell et al., (1997)	A typology of stakeholder identification and saliency is constructed, based on power, legitimacy and urgency.

Table 1: Conceptualising a Stake

Ackermann and Eden (2011) similarly purport that a stake is granted based on the possession of power and interest. The authors articulate a scale of interest, denoting that the '*players*' have the greatest stake in the organisation, given the elevated status as possessing power and interest (Ackermann and Eden, 2011). Conversely, the '*crowd*' are seen as having the lowest stake, demoting their role to a potential stakeholder if power or interest is raised, therefore receiving little to no managerial attention. However, the parameters of stakeholder salience only go so far in explaining '*how*' and '*why*' stakeholders are able to input into the place branding processes. Therefore, while stakeholder salience is important as a starting point, it is important to consider a more nuanced approach, wherein the processes and resources enabling or restricting stakeholder participation in place branding are explored.

2.53 STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

2.531 THE IMPORTANCE OF STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

Stakeholder engagement has the groundings to improve stakeholders' participation, by allowing for multiple stakeholder interests and solutions to be considered concurrently

(Blackstone *et al.,* 2012). The process of engaging stakeholders develops a two-way relationship (Foster and Jonker, 2005; Enright and Bourns, 2010), unlocking trust, fostering nuanced knowledge, and creating value (Harrison *et al.,* 2010). The development of trust and relationships amongst stakeholders allows for reconciliations, even during turbulent periods (Merrilees *et al.,* 2005). These interpersonal relationships develop over time, sparking greater commitment and inclusivity (Hanna and Rowley, 2015). Despite the potential benefits, stakeholders are unlikely to act in agreement on all issues meaning that often there is a cumbersome task of balancing stakeholders competing claims. Table 2 addresses the complexities behind stakeholder engagement under four key themes derived from the extant organisation and management literature.

Stakeholder engagement literature themes	Studies	Key extracts
Normative: using stakeholder engagement as a means to promote what ought to be done, allowing for greater stakeholder inclusion and fairness	*Dawkins (2014)*	Stakeholder engagement derives from 'good faith' concept, building on normative stakeholder theory. Yet, often a balance between good will and meeting free market demands.
	Enright and Bourns (2010)	See a shift from top-down hierarchical approaches to a non-hierarchical alternative. Helps identify shared problems and solutions.
	Jimena (2010)	Engaging stakeholders is paramount in a CSR orientated environment.
	Harrison et al., (2010)	Promotes trust, knowledge, and shared value.
	Reynolds et al., (2006)	When faced with the decision to decide based on singular or shared interests, the latter provides an instrumental and normative base.
Business strategies: the use of stakeholder engagement to benefit aims, objectives and overall success	*Jimena (2010)*	Engagement brings strategic benefits, including risk management and sustainability.
	Merrilees et al., (2005)	Provides unity even when internal and external conflict.
	Harrison et al., (2010)	Involving stakeholders can lead to more consistent and sustainable results
	Raj (2008)	Involving internal and external stakeholders is essential to success. Five principles to get stakeholders involved: - Get to know your stakeholders - Engage as early as possible - Listen carefully - Communicate openly - Use policy as a carrot, not a stick

Variants: stakeholder engagement is not a static process, it can vary depending on the tools, people, and context	Foo et al., (2011) Foster and Jonker (2005) Laplume et al., (2008)	Engagement is a flow, rather than one-dimensional. The process is both one and two-way, varying over time and context. Different approaches to inclusion are identified. The process is interpreted and enacted differently depending on the structure of the organisation. When a business cannot incorporate all interests, stakeholders' claims are balanced. The balance can be decided based on a specific point or balanced across multiple points.
Tensions: a disjuncture emerges between the claims to inclusion and the reality of exclusion	Blackstone et al., (2012) Maio (2003)	Tensions between critical and constructivist approaches to engagement. Stakeholders are demanding a voice and should not be ignored.

Table 2: Emergent Themes in the Stakeholder Engagement Literature

The literature pinpoints a combination of descriptive, instrumental and normative benefits gained from incorporating stakeholders in engagement strategies. These encourage shared commitment and responsibility among stakeholders, allowing for a greater understanding of areas of weakness, and the development of collaborative solutions (Enright and Bourns, 2010). Therefore, stakeholder engagement is perceived to provide a valuable, often long-term, tool when managing disparate stakeholder claims (Jimena, 2010; Foo *et al.,* 2011). Yet, firms cannot concede to all stakeholder demands, meaning a balance is required (Laplume *et al.,* 2008). A distinction emerges based on whether to balance interests around a singular decision, or balance stakeholder interests across an array of interlocking decisions (Reynolds *et al.,* 2006). This choice broadly relates to weighing up what is instrumentally more valuable versus normatively acceptable (Reynolds *et al.,* 2006). This further demonstrates that normative insights play an important role in the decision-making process. Put simply, by embracing multiple viewpoints there is a better chance knowledge can be generated and shared, creating more consistent, equitable and sustainable results (Harrison *et al.,* 2010).

While the benefits help to explain some reasons for stakeholder engagement's continued popularity, it is the '*variants*' and '*critical*' themes that are of most significant to the thesis. As outlined above, variations are unavoidable, since it is impractical to think all stakeholders'

views could be considered in tandem, especially when selectivity and salience come into play. This is particularly pronounced given the existence of multiple, interlocking and continually evolving formal and informal relationships that exist, creating a network of complex and problematic interactions (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Blackstock *et al.,* 2012). The potential influence of these interconnections is considered in brief below. Yet, more is needed to understand how these variations are implemented and the consequences for stakeholders' ability to participate.

While stakeholder engagement may not be a simple process, the bulk of the literature addresses the benefits of stakeholder engagement when coordinating disparate stakeholders towards a common goal. Resultantly, it remains unclear whether stakeholder engagement creates rhetoric, as opposed to a reality whereby stakeholders are included into the decision-making process. More recently, some studies are beginning to question the varying application and success of stakeholder engagement processes. Foo *et al.,* (2011) provide an important case in point by questioning the success of stakeholder engagement. Looking at the role of local authorities in private finance initiatives, the study analyses stakeholders' varying participation in stakeholder engagement. Instead of providing positive outcomes, stakeholders are dubious over the motives of the local authorities and fail to see the impact these tools have on the decision-making process. The authors build this critique by affirming four levels of stakeholder engagement. The first level is seen as communication, proceeding to consultation, consensus, and finally collaboration (Figure 3). The place branding literature is only beginning to explore how access to engagement strategies varies across stakeholders (Henninger *et al.,* 2016). There remains a need to explore how multiple stakeholder groups, across multiple cases access different engagement strategies and what these variations mean for stakeholders' premised inclusion in participatory place branding.
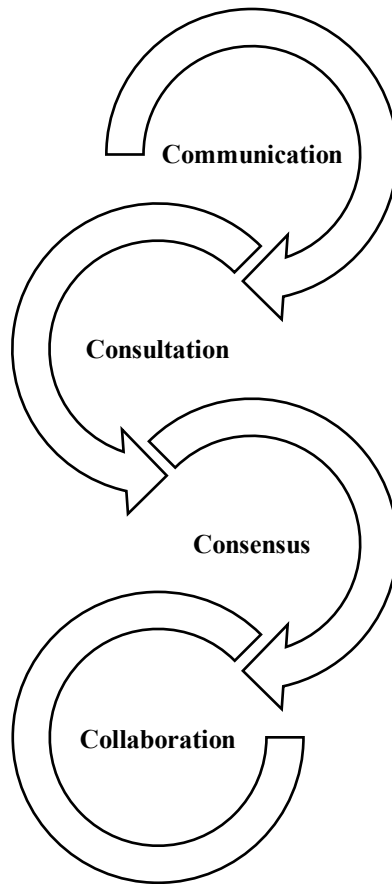
Figure 3: Interpretation of Foo et al'., (2011) Stages of Engagement

2.532 THE IMPORTANCE OF STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT IN PLACE BRANDING

In the place branding literature, stakeholder engagement is defined as a central component that "embraces the processes whereby stakeholders are identified, their interests surfaced and interactions managed" (Hanna and Rowley, 2011: 465). Stakeholder engagement runs through the corporate branding (Hankinson, 2009; 2011) and place branding governance models (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Houghton and Stevens, 2011). Stakeholder engagement operates alongside the brand architecture, providing an arena whereby multiple, and often competing, stakeholder pursuits can be considered in tandem (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015). Even more acutely for the thesis, there is a growing consensus that stakeholder engagement aids the construction and enactment of shared brand meanings emerging from stakeholder engagement (Hatch and Schultz, 2010). This enables stakeholders to work together to develop

a shared purpose and a shared belonging when seeking to represent something that they can be proud of (Govers, 2013). Resultantly, stakeholders should be granted a platform to voice their understandings, even when presenting conflicting perspectives (Baker, 2007). This reaffirms the pinnacle importance of incorporating stakeholder voices through engagement channels when achieving the pursuit of a participatory approach to brand governance.

Nonetheless, more critical views of stakeholder engagement are beginning to emerge, with a distinction being drawn between stakeholders who are able to fully engage in the entire branding process, as opposed to a façade of consultation and involvement through structured and inflexible meetings and forums (Houghton and Stevens, 2011). As a result, while stakeholder engagement creates a possible to foster relationships, these relationships will only develop for select stakeholders (Henninger *et al.*, 2016; Houghton and Stevens, 2011). Additionally, the effective implementation of the stakeholder engagement process is cumbersome, since the diffused ownership of place branding increases tensions between converging stakeholder interests and concerns (Hanna and Rowley, 2015). Given the inherent difficulties, merely advocating 'lip service', rather than participation, is likely to fail and further extend the gulf between stakeholder objectives (Collomb and Kalandides, 2010; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). Despite the practical difficulties of aligning the pursuits of multiple stakeholders, little is known about the practices used when successfully engaging stakeholders, why stakeholder engagement at times is not succeeding, and ultimately how stakeholder pursuits can be balanced through the effective utilisation of stakeholder engagement.

Building upon these limitations, Henninger *at al.,* (2016) evaluate the primacy of certain stakeholder groups over others. Four types of stakeholders are established, namely primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary. For the authors, primary stakeholders can access the branding process and act as key decision-makers. In contrast, quaternary stakeholders are noted for their lack of involvement and lack of knowledge of how to get involved. The authors push for greater opportunities to be afforded to stakeholders when seeking to participate in engagement channels. The study also identifies the losses caused by stakeholders' exclusion, with the connection to the place's heritage being reduced by the omission of local residents. This goes beyond previous research and looks to the effect of stakeholders' participation on the branding process.

Likewise, despite the academic call for greater inclusion of stakeholder engagement (Hanna and Rowley, 2011), in practice the branding process remains predominately linear and focused around the communication and promotion of slogans or logos (Green *et al.,* 2016). Yet, the literature is failing to consider why stakeholder engagement is failing to move beyond marketing gimmicks or why certain stakeholders are attaining more primacy over others. Therefore, greater emphasis should be placed on how stakeholders' participation varies and why these discrepancies remain a commonplace problem.

2.6 USING BOURDIEU'S FIELD-CAPITAL THEORY TO EXPLAIN STAKEHOLDER'S VARYING CAPACITY IN PLACE BRANDING

This section adds an additional component to the holistic understanding of place brand governance, by providing a theoretical lens that highlights reasons for stakeholders varying participation. With important caveats (Brodie *et al.,* 2017; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013), there have been limited attempts to augment academic understanding of the place branding process with theoretical groundings. Additionally, this research is among the first, with one notable exception (Warren and Dinnie, 2018), to use Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) as a meta-theory when explaining the varying capacity of stakeholders to participate in place branding processes.

This section begins by providing an outline of Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit, particularly focusing on the economic, social, cultural and ultimately symbolic forms of capital and the interaction of these capacities with the habitus and field. The application of this lens to marketing, branding, and limited application to place branding is then considered. The aim is to provide a succinct overview of the theory and its current application across multiple disciplines. Each of the core tenets of the theory that are of relevance in the proceeding analysis are assessed. However, this thesis does not purport to provide an in-depth analysis of the fine details of the theory. Instead, the framework sets out the core concepts, identifying strengths and weaknesses in the theory and its potential benefit as a theoretical lens in which to explore the governance quandary of stakeholder participation within the place branding process.

2.61 Outlining the Parameters of Bourdieu's Field-Capital Theory

Bourdieu's classic texts extend over five decades, providing a scholastic methodological and epistemological toolkit in which we can better understand the people, practices and particularities of social contexts (Thomson, 2014). From these works three core, interconnected, facets emerge; the field, capital, and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986). Bourdieu builds an understanding of these facets over time and over a series of empirical applications. The connection between the three facets means that one cannot be understood fully without reference to another. Therefore, throughout this section each aspect is considered, despite the crux of the analysis focusing on the particular apparatus (capital) the stakeholders are using.

2.611 Field

The field is explained simply as the social space where interactions take place (Bourdieu, 1989). Society is seen as structured into semi-autonomous institutional and social arrangements, whereby people compete for status and distinction (Bourdieu, 1984; Tapp and Warren, 2010). Within these multiple, often overlapping fields, people (agents) perform given roles, utilising a myriad of resources and dispositions to develop and retain a strategic position of influence. Ultimately, the field is the playground in which people compete for legitimacy and power. While fields are influenced by external and predetermined factors, these arenas are also culturally and socially driven (Tapp and Warren, 2010).

The concept of the field stems from Bourdieu's early analysis of education (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), culture (Bourdieu, 1984), literature (Bourdieu 1996a), housing (Bourdieu, 2005b [2000]), and even to an existential analysis of his own childhood and upbringing (2007, 2004). The analysis of the field is applied beyond these origins and extends to include politics (McNay, 1999; Wacquant, 2004) and increasingly marketing (Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Holt, 1998; Tapp and Warren, 2010) and even branding (Warren and Dinnie, 2018). The popularity and the broad application of the theory demonstrates its versality and usefulness when looking to explain why certain people are to gain a greater impetus over others.

Running through Bourdieu's work is the central tenets of power, legitimacy and hierarchies. These are resounded in Bourdieu's (1998: 40-41) conceptualisation of the fields of competition as:

> "*A structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field, and, as a result, their strategies.*"

This is not to say that it represents a fully representative account of the actors' reality, rather the field is used as a scholarly tool (a heuristic), in which to make sense of society's operations. Therefore, the players within the field will not draw the boundaries around their arenas of dispositions, events and practices in the manner that we construct as social scientists. As such, fields should be explored on a case by case basis, since there is no formulaic way to explore any given field (Tapp and Warren, 2010). The field has blurred boundaries, as well as players with given positions, specific rules, skills, own rules, star players, legends and more (Thomson, 2014). A stake in the field is formed based on the accumulation and conversion of capitals (social, economic, cultural and symbolic) (Bourdieu, 1993). Those with ample stocks of capital are better placed to accumulate further capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, to use the football analogy, the playfield is not even, and players are not granted an equal shot at goal. This reinforces the emphasis that the field is structured around a hierarchy, with the dominant people and institutions possessing the power to determine the stakes.

Tapp and Warren's (2010) overview of Bourdieu's work in relation to consumption details the varying nature of fields. The review sees fields as either rooted in institutionalised practices and forms, or loosely defined with boundaries that are difficult to pinpoint. City branding is most closely aligned with the latter description, operating as a broad and difficult to define field. This runs parallel to the literatures increasing conceptualisation of the place brand architecture, as comprised of a multitude of overlapping organisations and stakeholder groups that collectively share the consumption, governance and administration of the city (Hanna and Rowley, 2011). The complexities of blurred boundaries make it difficult to identify players and

determine the (often discrete) rules operating in the field. The result of this masking allows people with enhanced skills to better respond and succeed in the field (Tapp and Warren, 2010). The additional hurdles for fields that are loosely defined is important for the thesis, setting the scene for an investigation into why certain stakeholders are able to infiltrate the city branding process more successfully than others.

A further distinction is between fields that focus on a singular arena of competition and larger fields that comprise multiple smaller subfields that are interconnected and highly dependent (Bourdieu, 2005). When marking these variations, Bourdieu asserts that the overarching "homology between the specialised fields and the overall social field means that many strategies function as double plays" operating in several fields at once (Bourdieu, 2005: 271). The place branding web (Hanna and Rowley, 2015) fits more closely with the medley of social fields and multiplicities of strategies, each linked to the overall branding process, but with their own spheres of operation.

The epistemological and methodological tool is not without its criticisms. These criticisms include the over emphasis on determinism, considering the reproduction of the field as the primary point of analysis, underplaying the potential for change (Lahire, 2011; Swartz, 2012; Trizzulla *et al.,* 2016). A second criticism looks to the artificial creation of borders around the field (Tapp and Warren, 2010). While Bourdieu (1998) accepts borders are blurry and difficult to define, it raises the conundrum of where to characterise particular activities and events, particularly given the crossovers between the fields. Linked to this, is the problem of having too many fields altogether. At least four stratifications of the field can be identified; namely the field of power, broad field of consideration, specific fields and then the institutions or agents within a given field (Bourdieu, 2005). Questions arise as to where to draw the line, as fields can be broken down into numerous sub components, making the boundaries ever more confusing (Martin and Gregg, 2014). Similarly, it becomes unclear which of the fields we can mark as dominant and which we determine to be subordinate, and how the dominant fields are enacted as such (Martin and Gregg, 2014). Nonetheless, as this section shows, the fields are not necessarily representations of the facts and living entities, rather fields are a scholarly articulation used to examine the relations occurring with a given context. Therefore, if the parameters are clearly articulated by the researcher, it is arguable that there is little need to add any further complexity to an already manifest series of tools.

2.612 FORMS OF CAPITAL

Within these overlapping social arenas, stakeholders compete for legitimacy by commanding and mobilising forms of economic, cultural, social and ultimately symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). Capital operates as the currency that actors collect and cash in when seeking to assert a strategic position in the field (Warren and Dinnie, 2018). Bourdieu places less emphasis on economic capital, emphasising the aligned importance of the sum of social and cultural capital when fostering symbolic and legitimised capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986). Nonetheless, these capacities do not operate in a vacuum, and work alongside societal expectations and demands, ensuring change can be a slow and difficult procedure (Bourdieu, 1998).

Collectively, these forms of capital provide the arsenals for stakeholders to compete and compare themselves with other people in the field. Capital can be used, deployed and retained by the actors (Tapp and Warren, 2010). Once used the capital operates in the past, either to 'trade off' existing capital for development of social and cultural capital, or to fulfil a given need or action in the field. Similarly, capital can be deployed in the present, using the resources to meet a given requirement. Alternatively, capital can be retained and stocked up for future use (Tapp and Warren, 2010). Combined these capacities bring into the forefront of stakeholder participation the importance of economic resources, group membership, networks, associations, nuanced knowledge, education, qualifications, and titles in order to attain honour, prestige and the greatest prize of all, legitimacy.

Each form of capital represents different resources attained and mobilised by stakeholders in the field. Economic capital refers to the tangible resources that stakeholders have at their disposal, whether it be liquidity, investments, property, assets, lucrative income stream or access to a financial funding and resources (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu acknowledges the significance of economic resources as the springboard for attainment of the other forms of capital, namely social and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, economic capital is most pervasive when in its 'transubstantiated' form – developing into social or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Hasting and Matthews, 2015). When thinking about city branding, the importance of economic capital as an important resource employed by city branding stakeholders remains underexplored.

Bourdieu's forms of capital go beyond the material possessions. Social capital looks at the legitimacy that can be gained by actors working collectively, establishing bonds, networks and affiliations to develop and retain support (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu acknowledges the importance of social networks and ties, but places greater emphasis on the prestige aligned to these connections (Bourdieu, 1986; Grenfell, 2014; Hasting and Matthews, 2015). Therefore, the emphasis for Bourdieu is the legitimacy acquired through the totalling of resources that are assimilated and retained through a durable network of established relationships, bringing with them a strong sense of recognition and a continued ability to access the shared resources (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Cultural capital operates at the heart of the field-capital theory (Hasting and Matthews, 2015), focusing on the skills, expertise, knowledge and talents that enable a person to act in a particular way and negotiate a strong position in competitive fields (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). For Bourdieu, the existence of large stocks of cultural capital provide the actor with the ability to gain access to the otherwise closed institutions and practices occurring in the field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). While there are no physical barriers, failing to possess the relevant skills and capacity discretely excludes select persons from these closely guarded arenas. Therefore, it is the people who have the knowledge of these intricate arenas, such as classical music or the theatre, that are able to fully access and enjoy the entertainment they provide.

While actors possess varying quantities of social and cultural capital, not all capital is perceived as equal. The most powerful being the capital that gains recognition and prestige within a given field (Hasting and Matthews, 2015). By gaining recognition the reward of legitimacy and ultimately a stronger position in the field can be attained (Bourdieu, 1986). The attainment of honour, prestige or recognition of resources enables actors to turn social and cultural capital into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Resultantly, symbolic capital is accrued through the sum of the legitimised social and cultural capital actors possess in the field(s) (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, through the conversion of these resources into symbolic capital then value is secured, creating legitimacy and credibility for actors' claims and position in the field. Yet, not all capital is equally valued within fields of action, which is why it is important to consider the underlying dispositions and principles structuring actors in the field. These variations are considered through the aligned concepts of the habitus and doxa.

2.613 HABITUS AND DOXA

For Bourdieu, you cannot understand the field without considering the relational role of the habitus, both shaping and being shaped by the actors and context in which it operates, since the "habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 127). Therefore, it is vastly important to acknowledge the guiding principles, dispositions and practices underscoring the actors' interpretations and positioning in the field. Bourdieu (1994: 170) describes the habitus as a "structured and structuring structure." When this description is broken down, its application to the understanding of actors' perceptions and practices within contextual fields becomes more apparent.

First, the structured component looks to the past and present experiences actors experience over time. These might include education, family upbringing or social ties. The structuring aspect of the formation looks to the continued development of these experiences in the present, shaping the ongoing practices of actors. Finally, the structure looks beyond one's own experiences and practices and explores the ordering of dispositions in the field, which in turn shape actors' perceptions and practices (Bourdieu, 1990). At the heart of these developments are the *dispositions* actors form over time, characterised by "a particular predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination" (Bourdieu, 1977: 214). Linking again to both the structure and structuring, these dispositions are described as operating as "the result of organising action," as well "a way of being" (Bourdieu, 1977: 214).

The habitus reunites multiple dichotomies traditionally gulfed in the sociological world. By looking at both the structuring and the structure, the habitus draws together the individual and the social, the subjective and the objective and most famously agency and structure. It is the dichotomy between structure and agency that is of most interest for this current research, particularly its use in helping to explain the competition and struggles between actors in the field. It is here where the relational interconnection between the two tools is most pronounced. When actors are competing in the field, they come armed with particular views, beliefs and abilities that help them navigate the arena (Bourdieu, 1994). Not all actors fare so well when navigating the field and operating within the unwritten rules of the game, termed the doxa. However, with a prolonged immersion, 'practical knowledge' is gained, which helps actors to negotiate stronger positions in the field (Bourdieu, 1980). The source of understanding the

logic of practice comes from the habitus, providing a "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1994: 63). Put simply, theses form the principles and practices that guide stakeholders to act in a particular way (Bourdieu, 1977). The habitus is shaped by past experiences and continues to evolve with present and future experiences. Yet, these experiences are intertwined with a number of social structures that impact how we see and experience the social and institutional structures, these include class, race and gender (Bourdieu, 1977).

Alongside this, the doxa works as an invisible social force, ensuring certain precepts and 'rules of the game' are seen as self-evident and difficult to amend (Bourdieu, 1998). This creates natural beliefs and unquestioned perceptions, which are taken for granted as the way in which things operate in the field. Bourdieu (2000:16) summarises this acceptance when noting the doxa provides "a set of fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of a self-conscious dogma." Therefore, the doxa acts as an invisible influence, helping or hindering actors to proceed and interpret their surroundings in a given way. Yet, the actors are not fully aware they are acting on these hidden logics. The principles are rarely explicitly considered since what is essential "goes without saying because it comes without saying" (Bourdieu, 1977: 165). The result sees actors who come to the field with unconscious and internalised dispositions, preferences, and abilities.

The doxa is a central concept in the theory, working invisibly to legitimise attitudes and actions in the field (Bourdieu, 1998). The unquestioning acceptance that these processes are the way in which the field operates serves to reproduce the unequal power relations. In doing so, the doxa reinforces the objective social structures and is evidenced in the practices and perceptions of actors, i.e. their habitus. Furthermore, the doxa also helps to shape the symbolic power in the field, which is mediated by accumulated capital, deciding where to grant legitimacy. This leads to symbolic power being granted to established institutions, as well as operating to reinforce the practices of these already powerful institutions. Similarly, the doxa can serve to justify the symbolic value placed on symbolic goods. Arguably, a similar acceptance might be granted to processes occurring in the city branding process. Yet, there is little understanding of how this operates and what it means when seeking to governing place (and specifically city) brands.

The habitus organises and prioritises practices, internalising understanding and entrenching particular behaviours. These preferences and dispositions help to reinforce the position of people in the field, making it difficult to break away from the norm. When reiterating the interconnections between the three core tenets of Bourdieu's theoretical lens, Maton (2014) sets the three theories out quite clearly with the following equation:

$$[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice.$$

Drawing these together, the equation helps to illustrate that the actor's practices stem from the relations between actor's dispositions and position in the field, within a given social arena.

2.614 HYSTERESIS AND CHANGE

An often-overlooked development in Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit is that of hysteresis (Grenfell, 2014). A term derived from the natural sciences, hysteresis addresses the change dimension in the field (Grenfell, 2014). A common criticism of Bourdieu's work is that he fails to allow for change and instead purports an overly deterministic and tautological account of actors' positions and interpretations in the field (Lahire, 2011). Yet, defenders of Bourdieu's work point to the implicit references to change (Hardy, 2014). The field and an individual's experience and enactment of its structures are ongoing, varying based on the past, present and future (Hardy, 2014). The habitus is constantly transformed (Bourdieu, 1984; Fowler, 1997) structured by social conditionings and structuring an individual's perceptions, attitudes and positions (Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, change sits at the heart of the relational connection between the field and the habitus, since change in one inevitably results in change in the other. In the most part, this change is gradual, going unnoticed by the actors in the field. However, hysteresis refers to the disruption and consequences of these two interrelated facets being out of sync. Put simply, it is when a time lag occurs between the accepting dispositions and understandings of how an arena should operate and the structure of the field.

An important aspect of this field facet is the impact hysteresis has on symbolic capital; on what resources are deemed legitimate and who is able to exert such legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1984). The disruption of the 'normal' practices and accepted protocols in the field, provides both opportunities and risks to the players operating in the field (Hardy, 2014). Opportunities are

present since actors are able to take advantage of the shift to propel themselves into a stronger or more entrenched position in the field. However, it is normally those already equipped with the highest stocks of economic, social and cultural capital that are able to lead the way in the renegotiation of social positions and structures. Having already acquired the dispositions that enable them to act upon the potential for symbolic capital gained from a maximisation of the changing field positions (Hardy, 2014). Resultantly, the hysteresis effect can serve to strengthen the position of the powerful players in the field, while the less successful are unable to recognise and maximise upon the changes occurring.

The hysteresis effect can occur on an individual level, wherein an individual accumulates symbolic capital to achieve a perceived desirable position in the field but as a consequence falls out of place with the previously taken for granted membership in a community and previous familiarity. An example of a boxer who has grown up in a Chicago ghetto is presented (Bourdieu, 1993a). Having become a professional boxer, he feels he can no longer return to the area where he grew up, following the footsteps those who have succeeded before him. The boxer no longer has the social capital required to retain his previous acceptance in the area, instead there would be pressures and demands placed on him to give others access to his privileged position, wealth and status. Therefore, individuals who develop symbolic capital beyond the remits of their previously held position in the field can struggle to continue to feel at home or at least in these spaces. Consequently, there are some winners and some losers when sudden and disruptive change occurs in the field. Those who can master the changes manage to favour well, leaving others behind.

2.62 APPLYING BOURDIEU'S FIELD-CAPITAL THEORY

The meta theory continues to gain precedence outside of its origins in sociology, extending across the social sciences and into business and management. Tapp and Warren (2010) provide an overarching evaluation of the implications of the Bourdieu's toolkit for marketing. The conceptual paper examines the overarching importance of competition when explaining consumer behaviour and marketing. Previously, Holt (1998), Holbrook *et al.,* (2002) and Arnould and Thompson (2005) have all looked to the importance of Bourdieu theories when explaining consumption practices. Specifically, in branding, Bourdieu has also been applied. Kaneva (2011) assesses how power is mediated when individuals are presenting their identity

in nation branding. Additionally, the importance of cultural intermediaries when promoting fields of brands has also been explored (Hackley and Kover, 2007). Moreover, the self and personal branding literature also refers to Bourdieu's toolkits when explaining how an individual can seek to distinguish themselves from others (Wee and Brooks, 2010).

Interestingly, Bourdieu is applied in relation to the branding of the higher education sector (two UK business schools) (Naidoo *et al.,* 2014). Higher Education leaders and managers are seen to negotiate the value of the different forms of capital when negotiating prestige and rankings in University league tables. Moor (2008) evaluates the role of branding consultants as cultural intermediaries, seeking to articulate what is deemed as legitimate culture. While this study begins to explore the process of creating distinction, the emphasis is placed on one key stakeholder and their ability to command capital and legitimacy. In contrast, the thesis explores the process and procedures whereby actors (stakeholders) compete for legitimacy, using the engagement tools and resources at their disposal.

Aitken and Campelo (2011) also refer to social capital and the underlying influence of the habitus when hypothesising the essentiality of incorporating communal practices. Together, the resources are seen to create a shared understanding that embeds a relationship between people and places (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Relph, 1976). The main emphasis rests on the social reproduction of cultural, historical, emotional and cognitive experiences. A more recent example of the resurgence of a Bourdieusian lens in place branding is presented by Warren and Dinnie's (2018) study on place promoters operating as cultural intermediaries in the place branding field. The study investigates the occupational resources and capabilities at place promoters' disposal and explores how these actors align their interpretations of the city and its identity to the wider audiences. In doing so, the place promotors are able to shape the way Toronto is marketed and promoted. The study identifies the symbolic medley of professional and personal resources and dispositions that place promoters use to legitimise their position and influence into the promotional practices underscoring the place brand. In doing so, the paper is among the first to look at the social and cultural capital that these actors employ to attain this status as a cultural intermediary and legitimise their position in the relevant fields.

A noteworthy point by the authors speaks to the important conversion of social capital into cultural capital. This is realised through the use of networks and associations in the field to

gain relevant knowledge, experience and credentials to undertake their occupational roles in the city branding process. However, the study does not address how multiple stakeholders use their resources and resultant position within the field to compete for legitimacy and influence over actions. This is a particularly important gap, since the explanations behind the continued competition between stakeholders is an important omission in the place branding literature. By explaining stakeholders' varying access to resources answers may be gathered to help understand why stakeholders' participation remains hierarchical and difficult to change.

2.7 DRAWING TOGETHER PLACE BRANDING GOVERNANCE

The final section focuses on the current application of branding and place branding governance, looking at how stakeholders are increasingly participating in the consumption and production of brands. To do so, the section first considers the existing frameworks, before drawing together the literature review and evaluating how governance needs to encompass the holistic components shaping the ways that stakeholders participate in (place) branding.

The onset of a stakeholder-orientated approach to place (and specifically city) branding makes brand governance increasingly multifaceted. The complexities include how you govern a brand that already possesses a distinctive persona (Voase, 2012); is increasingly shared among its stakeholders (Kavaratzis, 2012); is influenced by a multitude of internal and external factors (Hanna and Rowley, 2011); and lacks central ownership (Hristow and Ramkisson, 2016). There are signs that the brand governance literature is beginning to explore the mechanisms required when governing complex, transient and decentralised brands. Hankinson (2001, 2007, 2009) uses the case in point of destination branding and the principles of corporate branding to illuminate antecedents behind managing complex brands. Hankinson (2007, 2009) recognises the complexities inherent in place branding, which make conventional branding protocols and central management a fruitless pursuit. Responding to the complexities, Hankinson (2007) first conceptually develops guiding principles derived from the corporate branding literature. These are synthesised under five antecedents required when managing complex place brands; namely building partnerships, strong leadership, coordination, communications, and a strong brand orientated ethos (Figure 4).

Partnerships

Well managed co-operative network to promote synergy and create mutual benefits; seen as overarching through DMOS and small-scale through individual organisations (business and community groups) working together within a stakeholder network.

Strong visionary leadership

Core persons act as brand champions, establishing a central vision an values for the brand.

Coordination and alignment

Coordination from a central lead that creates procedures to support the brand experience and reaffirm the brand orientation ethos; externally look for synergy between brand values

Consistent commnications

Communicate a consistent message across brand audiences, particularly in the development stage of the brand. Use of meetings, presentations and workshops to 'win' support of brand partners.

A brand-orientated organisational culture

Create an ethos through training and mentoring that promotes an alliance across the organisations with shared values.

Figure 4: Hankinson's Five Antecedents for Managing Place Brands (Hankinson, 2007, 2009)

Hankinson's later empirical study applies and evaluates these antecedents to a destination brand (Hankinson, 2009). The study points to the overarching importance placed on partnerships, which is considered by all 20 organisations included in the study (Hankinson, 2009). However, of the 200 stakeholders identified, only 20 are considered core partners, suggesting a gulf between the discussion of partnerships and participation in partnership. Moreover, the existence of small interest clusters of interested parties is commonplace, with certain stakeholders managing both their own brand and destination brand concurrently. More

interesting is the relational connections among the stakeholders, with managers developing informal relationships and utilising consultations to foster a unified understanding of the brand. For example, the partnerships focus on the promotion of consensus and cooperation among leaders from across the city, pushing for agreement on activities that provide mutual value.

Linked to partnerships is the importance assigned to brand leadership, with the duty often falling to senior management within the DMO. The most successful leaders are seen to possess personable social skills, enabling them to spark enthusiasm and innovation among stakeholders. A key aim for these leaders is to be accepted by other stakeholders and form strategic relationships with stakeholder organisations. Yet, the empirical data suggests that the leadership did not always work effectively, particularly since leaders of DMOs did not always have authority over areas of the brand's development. This relates to the decentralisation of control and blurring of ownership identified throughout the review. Given that no single stakeholder group has sole authority over the governance of the place brand, it is cumbersome and inadvisable to attempt to enforce top-down and artificial leadership (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016).

Similarly, coordination among departments is also shown to be lacking, with the reality of DMOs commitment and coordination falling short of the claims in the literature. Variations exist between the coordination achieved in tourism bodies versus local government agencies and regional development agencies. However, Hankinson's study presupposes that these organisations exist separately within a place or destination. Yet, this fails to capture the changing nature of city branding, whereby local governmental agencies, regional development agencies and tourism bodies can operate in tandem, alongside a medley of small clusters of active stakeholders (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016).

Hankinson (2009) also analyses brand communications, which is seen to be more limited for place brands than their corporate counterparts. While the DMOs use communication tools, priority is given to service deliverers, Moreover, there is a need to encourage greater communication through workshops and training events that involve more varied stakeholders. Therefore, Hankinson recognises that communications could be improved and one way of doing this is through involving more people in the process. Finally, brand culture receives less empirical attention, with the leaders acknowledging the importance of internal support while

providing little evidence of its existence in practice. The creation of internal brand support is seen as difficult because of the complexities involved in trying to bring together contrasting organisational cultures. Given the heightened emphasis on stakeholders, the omission of stakeholders' involvement in shaping the organisational culture is an important one. This further suggests that the transition toward a stakeholder-orientated approach is still in its infancy.

Finally, Hankinson's studies also pinpoint two further areas of interest; that of brand reality and brand architecture (Hankinson, 2007, 2009). These relate to the composition of the physical environment; with the former relating to the ability to deliver the quality and experience promised and the latter relating to the amalgamation of smaller brands existing within the wider place branding remit. The brand architecture illustrates the complexity of the place branding process, since it imbues social, political and economic factors (Eshuis *et al.,* 2013). Again, these areas are particularly important for place branding given the importance of incorporating stakeholders in the experience and presentation of an already distinctive and embodied set of tangible and intangible assets.

Overall, Hankinson (2007, 2009) uses guiding principles from corporate branding to promote the unifying of stakeholders together through a collective and coordinated processes. Moreover, the importance of promoting a brand that reflects the reality of the people and place it represents is deemed pivotal. While Hankinson's brand governance model provides a useful starting point, the research remains preoccupied with top-down managerial control. Even though the empirical application of the antecedents demonstrates weaknesses in the antecedents, the study remains concerned with central management control, attained largely by DMOs. This may be applicable for certain destination brands, but it does not apply to a wide array of place brands, which no longer operate in this manner. However, the antecedents are used to recommend managerial orientated operations, seeing branding as starting with central management, specific leadership, and the dissemination of the brand ethos and values. This rose-tinted analysis of the brand governance process fails to consider the nuance of managing across stakeholders when control is blurred. This fails to recognise the shared ownership of place brands that extends beyond a single body and includes the network of stakeholders with shared and contrasting meanings and associations. This thesis addresses these gaps in

Hankinson's principles, recognising that brand governance cannot be prescribed to a central body and instead looking at stakeholder-to-stakeholder interaction.

Hanna and Rowley (2011) were among the first to consider a strategic approach to managing holistic place brands. The study builds upon Hankinson's (2007, 2009) frameworks, by devising a conceptual model that links the multiple place branding components together. The model draws together the evaluation of the place brand, with the brand infrastructure, brand identity, brand articulation, brand communication, brand experience, with the mediating role of the brand architecture. Brand evaluation presents an advancement of brand image, recognising that multiple elements form stakeholders' associations, perceptions, and meanings. The brand infrastructure is comprised of stakeholder engagement (management) and the infrastructure (regeneration). The infrastructure draws together the tangible and intangible place attributes. The brand identity looks to the brand essence, again emphasising the functional and experiential attributes of the place. The brand architecture addresses the need to design and manage brand portfolios. Brand articulation speaks to the expression of the brand through the visual and verbal cues. This component translates the identity into distinctive images, logos, colours and slogans. Closely aligned is brand communication, presenting the visualisations to a wider audience. Finally, brand experience looks at the interaction between the brand and the consumer and moved away from an overemphasis in previous literature on brand image. Instead of just looking at communicative tools, the emphasis on experience builds on the role of stakeholders as producers and sees marketing as largely external.

The model is vastly important, drawing together a breadth of research and synthesising the interconnectivity of the key components underscoring the place branding process. An area of particular importance for this thesis is the central role of brand experience, which draws on the notion of shared ownership and production of place brands. However, this remains interlocked with the more firm-centric approaches to managing and communicating visual and verbal cues. The infrastructure of relationships is also important for the thesis, given its focus on stakeholder engagement as a governance tool working alongside the tangible and intangible infrastructure. The infrastructure holds accord to the brand meanings discussed previously in this review, drawing together functional and experiential attributes. Therefore, place branding is not merely about creating images, but the experience and meanings people align at the heart of the brand. A further contributory factor enhancing the significance of the model is the consideration that

place branding process is holistic and interconnected. As outlined throughout, the different components of place branding do not operate in isolation, but operate as interconnected subprocesses that holistically shape the transitory place branding process. By drawing these multifaceted areas together, Hanna and Rowley (2011) have successfully moved beyond the previous preoccupation with silos that looked at the relational, communicative and strategic models as standalone viewpoints.

Nonetheless, a point of disparity is in relation to specification of directional relationships between the components. For example, suggesting that the brand infrastructure shapes the brand identity, which in turn shapes the articulation, then communications and finally experience. While some benefit can be derived from showing relationships between the components, the over emphasis on specific connections detracts from the overall interconnectivity of the components. This fails to consider the interconnection and multidirectional nature of place branding components, which are made more complex by a blurred ownership that makes directional relationships a problematic pursuit. Nonetheless, the model recognises that place branding is not deterministic, and instead shaped by the intertwining of people and processes occurring within a place. Therefore, it provides a noteworthy starting point when analysing stakeholders' participation in place branding governance.

Building on the unique and complex composition of place brands, Hanna and Rowley (2015) focus their attention on the governance of the multifaceted place brand architecture. As outlined above, the place brand architecture encompasses the multitude of stakeholders and corresponding organisations that collectively form the base of the brand. In a significant departure from previous studies, the authors extend DMOs away from one central organisation, and include a multitude of communication, regeneration, marketing, cultural and economic development bodies. While arguably this only provides a snapshot of the richness of the ownership, it presents a move away from focusing on a singular organisation. Furthermore, alongside the DMOs, the study identifies a host of collaborative bodies. Using Liverpool as a case study, the place brand architecture encompasses the managed place branding organisations (DMOs), alongside government organisations, regeneration organisations, commercial organisations, universities and colleges, tourism and leisure organisations, places in the region and major sporting organisation. Together these organisations form a place brand web. The

scope of these brands highlights the growing acceptance that ownership over place brands are shared and multifaceted.

Using interviews with managed place brands, the study highlights the variations in strategies undertaken in place brands, particularly for region brands. Again, the recurrent importance of leadership is elucidated, with the various stakeholders taking responsibility for their part in the place brand architecture. Collaboration and communication are key for leadership success, seen as enhancing with congruence. Once again, stakeholder engagement emerges as a central component. However, successful engagement is considered to be reliant on an identification and shared sense of core brand values, rather than having these values imposed with little benefit. Penultimately, the place infrastructure (both physical and experiential) comes into play. The need for the infrastructure to match stakeholder claims emerges, but its management is difficult and dependent on external factors such as funding and resources. Finally, visual identity remains an emergent theme, yet only a small number of organisations note the enactment of an overarching visual identity. In many instances, the name alone was used, as opposed to aligned imagery. These themes further advance the importance of looking for holistic ways to manage multiple stakeholder demands. However, by focusing on only the brand architecture, the intricacies of meanings that underscore the brand and the views and decisions of its stakeholders are largely omitted. Moreover, the study predominately focuses on the positives of involving stakeholders, rather than looking at how and why stakeholders might be excluded from the place brand web.

Aitken and Campelo (2011) also adds to the research trajectory when detailing the four Rs of place branding; namely relationships, responsibilities, roles and rights. The approach to place branding and its governance emphasises the importance of shared ownership and stakeholder inclusion as a base to management. Instead of looking for top-down methods, the authors point to the importance of bottom-up, stakeholder focused and participatory approaches that recognise both the meanings and practices people align to places. The outcome of allowing for stakeholder inclusion in place branding processes is greater authenticity (brand essence), shared commitment from stakeholders and a sustainable approach to governance. This marks an important recognition of stakeholders as co-owners and not merely passive recipients in the place branding process. However, the focus is predominately geared toward residents, which

omits the complexity at play when governing complex brands that are shared among multiple stakeholders from a multitude of different starting points.

More recently, Zenker and Braun (2017) add to the place brand management literature by devising a branded house strategy. The strategy responds to the oversimplification of city branding, whereby blanket approaches to branding the city are applied, despite the variations for the people and place they represent. This approach combines conceptual insights from place branding, brand architecture (for branding more widely) and consumer marketing. In doing so, the authors differentiate between the place brand as a whole and the communicated place brand. The former accepts that place branding is a process that encompasses the associations (and subsequent meanings) people hold in their mind. The latter looks to the associations that are perceived as important when shaping the place perceptions of target groups. This includes the need to form brand knowledge to influence attitude and behaviour.

Zenker and Braun's (2017) study looks for convergences across the core target groups. The authors accept that this creates challenges, especially when there are conflicts between the competing stakeholder groups. The model benefits from encapsulating a multitude of stakeholder claims and looking for ways to get stakeholders to cooperate. However, the focus still presupposes that brand management can be controlled from a central body and that can manage the competing claims. Moreover, while authors do concede that the dominant associations are often power-related, the model rests on the assumption that the official associations represent the interests of the target audiences and the city as a whole. This ignores the divisions among target groups, omits the ways that brand associations are represented, and fails to sufficiently address the inevitable power imbalances at play in the process. Moreover, splitting place branding into internal and communicated parts, essentially silences the former while promoting the latter. If stakeholders are central to a place's internal essence and external reputation, then the two-parts should coexist and not be artificially separated.

Lucarelli and Giovanardi (2016) begin to recognise the power and contestation at play when applying brand governance to geographical areas. While linking the branding process closely to public management, the authors identify language as the essential tool stakeholders use to negotiate contested brand meanings. This approach connects the brand governance and the communicative nature of branding, when addressing the communicative relationship between

competing stakeholders within an Italian region (Romagna). The authors identify a number of themes that emerge when multiple stakeholders partake in shared brand governance (Figure 5). These themes begin to highlight reasons why a participatory approach is struggling to gain fruition. The authors bring together the findings when surmising;

> "*In the entanglement between the governance of the branding process and the process of brand governance, a governance system is being reproduced as networks of linguistically enacted power politics reflecting asymmetrical relationships, limiting access and lacking accountability*" (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016: 25).

The benefit of this approach is that the authors begin to move away from a formulaic display of branding concepts, and look at the people in the place, assessing how they display their brand meanings and interact with each other. By taking an alternative process, the commentary identifies the importance of power, place and time when considering how stakeholders are involved in the brand governance of complex places.

Chaos and fragmentation

Competition and lack of cohesion among competing claims

Politics of scale

Complexity of interactions driven by multi-level governance

Tension between public and private

Lack of mutual understanding creating conflict between juxtapositioning groups, realised through variations between a top-down and bottom-up approach and variations in individual personalities

Tension between inland and coastal

Link to geometrics of power (Massey, 1992), with stark contrasts in the way competing groups want the area to be presented

Politics of memory

Stakeholders selectively drawing on the past to negotiative a more favourable input, highlighting the importance of temporality

Figure 5: Brand Governance and Discursive Tools [Adapted from Lucarelli and Giovanardi, (2016)]

The authors represent current thinking in urban studies wherein there is a rising recognition that can be a 'darker' side to the brand governance of places (Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015; Peck, 2015; Warren and Dinnie, 2018). Resultantly, the interconnection of power and dialogue for brand governance has received insufficient attention in the literature. Lucarelli and Giovanardi (2016) set the scene for a more critical analysis of the interactions at play when participating in the brand building process. These build on other urban studies papers that take a critical approach to branding. For example, Clegg (1989) points to the lack of harmony and

power relations that are at play when using dialogue to negotiate a brand. A starker example is the emphasis on the colonialization of places with neo-liberal ideals (Ward, 2000). It is not the aim of this research to delve into the depths of the urban geography and public management debates. However, these more critical studies of brand governance help to identify the importance of place branding incorporating multidisciplinary studies when seeking to understand how stakeholders are involved in building the brands that they help to build.

2.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE WHAT, HOW AND WHY OF BRAND GOVERNANCE

This extensive review draws together multidisciplinary lenses to provide a base in which to critically investigate place brand governance. In doing so, three vastly important tenets of the governance process are outlined, namely the meanings, practices and resources that stakeholders bring to the place branding table. The review provides a synthesis of these three core governance components, exploring the extant literature to date and joining these themes together to help elucidate a holistic understanding of the place branding process and the essentiality of stakeholder participation to its success.

As the review details, there have been important advancements in exploring place brand governance through holistic and multidimensional approaches. However, this review highlights the need to further explore stakeholders' multiple meanings, the ways that stakeholders participate through stakeholder engagement, and underlying reasons for stakeholders' participation might vary. An important and unexplored way to investigate these gaps is through Bourdieu's field-capital toolkit (1977, 1984, 1986). In doing so, the research further addresses the potential social stratification and hierarchical nature of stakeholder participation. This provides a critical and normative gaze to what has been largely explored through instrumental lenses.

Moreover, the review of the literature begins to show the interlocking stages of brand governance; namely the '*what'*, '*how'* and '*why'* of contemporary place branding governance. As noted previously, the '*what*' looks to the importance of brand meaning that ties together the associations, values and experiences and creates an understanding of the functional and

symbolic meanings that form place brands. The '*how*' addresses the vitality of practices, in particular how the discursive tools (stakeholder engagement) are used to construct and enact the meanings assigned to the brand. Finally, the '*why*' tackles the more critical dimension of potential social stratification and exclusion, running contrary to claims of a participatory approach to place branding. This allows for an evaluation of why certain stakeholders are gaining impetus based on their access to economic, social and cultural resources. While other studies have begun to provide holistic accounts of place branding, this combination is unique and illuminating for a critical and stakeholder-orientated analysis of place brand governance.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research journey, detailing the philosophical and methodological decisions that shape the research design, implementation and analysis. As the initial chapters detail, this thesis aims to present a holistic and critical approach to place branding governance. To do so, the research evaluates stakeholders' brand meanings claims, varying stakeholder contributions in engagement strategies, and finally, looks to reasons for gulf in stakeholders' differing capacities. This chapter is structured around eight interconnected action points that combine to form the integrated research agenda. These stages are as follows; understanding and applying pre-existing theoretical groundings; justifying the selection of qualitative data; outlining the guiding principles of a moderate constructivist approach to grounded theory; investigating the phenomenon through case study design; identifying a theoretical sample; selecting complementary methods for data collection analysing the data; ensuring validity and consistency of analysis; and following research protocols.

3.2 AN INTEGRATED RESEARCH JOURNEY

As the introduction to this chapter outlines, the research follows an integrated and iterative research agenda. The eight interconnected action points cover the theoretical groundings, methodological choices, focus, research design, implementation, and analysis (Figure 6). Each action point is considered in turn throughout the chapter, combining to show the importance of ensuring an integrated research journey.

PHILOSOPHICAL STANDPOINT
Interpretivism and social construcitonism

TYPE OF DATA
Selecting qualitative data

METHODOLOGICAL GUIDANCE
Incorporating principles of grounded theory

CASE STUDY SELECTION
Comparing and contrasting Bath and Bristol

SAMPLE SELECTION
Theoretical sampling and saturation

DATA COLLECTION
Interviews as the primary method

DATA ANALYSIS
Three-stage iterative coding process

RESEARCH PRACTICALITIES
Role of researcher, ethics and access

Figure 6: An Integrated Research Agenda

3.3 PHILOSOPHICAL STANDPOINT

3.31 INTERPRETIVISM

Consistency between philosophical orientation and the research design is pivotal for scholarly vigilance (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Pernecky and Jamal, 2010). Responding to these requirements, this thesis is driven by a social constructionist epistemological and ontological standpoint, located within an interpretivist understanding of reality and knowledge within it.

Interpretive research looks for depth and meaning, recognising that complex and underexplored phenomenon cannot be easily quantified (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006). As such, interpretive research is often inductive or abductive, seeking to explore and develop understandings into an under-researched area in detail, rather than searching for factual and causal relations (Hackley, 2005; Mason *et al.,* 2010). Notable distinctions can be made to positivism, which focuses on the perceived existence of an independent reality, where value-free and neutral knowledge is attainable through deductive measures (Bell and Thorpe, 2013). Robust and reliable data is central to positivistic research, looking to quantify and measure the existence, extent, frequency or direction of a research phenomenon (Johnson and Duberley, 2013). In contrast, interpretive researchers do not pursue a single objective reality, instead searching for meanings, interpretations and contextualisation (Bell and Thorpe, 2013). The latter approach emphases the complex and transitory interplay of reality and knowledge, shaped by many factors, including people and places. These interpretivist understandings fit with the research assumptions, searching for meanings and understandings relating to their topic, in this case place branding governance.

3.32 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

Social constructionism is positioned within an interpretivist ontological and epistemological understanding of reality and knowledge. This philosophical paradigm is popular within the social sciences (Pernecky, 2012) and is gaining increasing attention in marketing (Hackley, 1998, 2003; Melewar *et al.,* 2012), tourism (Chronis *et al.,* 2012; Xiao *et al.,* 2013) and place branding (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). The paradigm centres on the ontological premise that there are multiple, interrelated and socially constructed realities (Lock and Strong, 2010), that alter based on time, place and culture (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). However, there are groups with vested interests influencing the construction of reality (Carson *et al.,* 2001). The epistemological premise sees knowledge as the result of a constant "struggle between interested parties" (Chronis *et al.,* 2012: 279). Moreover, knowledge is constructed and based on experiences that are shaped through a series of interactions (Lock and Strong, 2010). These underlying connotations indicate that individuals and groups lay claim to knowledge, exercising dominance and power over others (Hackley, 2001). Therefore, reality and knowledge operate in a state of flux, with meanings and understandings being constantly shaped and reshaped by multiple stakeholders.

Critics of social constructionism point to the alleged blurring of hermeneutic, constructivist and interpretivist boundaries (Pernecky, 2012). Moreover, the paradigm is accused of being rhetorical (Maines, 2003) and tautological in nature (Groff, 2004). However, social constructionism rests on a continuum, with the main critique aligned to strong social constructionism, as opposed to weak and moderate variations (Pernecky, 2012). Weak social constructionism perceives knowledge regarding social facts as constructed and concedes that knowledge regarding physical facts can be objective (Pernecky, 2012). Similar to weak constructionism is the moderate stem of social constructionism, which acknowledges that empirical markers exist alongside constructed meanings and understandings (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). In contrast, strong social constructionists perceive all knowledge, tangibly and intangibly based, to be socially constructed (Pernecky, 2012). The current research is underscored by moderate social constructionism, as it is the place brand meanings and stakeholders' varying participation that is deemed to be socially constructed by multiple parties with vested interests, rather than the existence of tangible entities within each of the cities.

3.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

This research relies on qualitative data to evaluate stakeholders varying participation in place branding governance. Definitions of qualitative research are "particularly difficult to pin down" (Van Maanen, 1998: xi), ranging from recognising qualitative research as "a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomenon in context-specific settings" (Golafshani, 2003: 600), to an intricate craft (Watson, 1994), or merely a "contrast to quantitative research" (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008: 4). Furthermore, qualitative research allows for flexibility and creativity, producing rich and meaningful interpretations of complex and underexplored phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Rageh et al., 2013). This enables the researcher to undercover participants' perceptions and understandings (Harrison, 2013) and aids the identification of additional factors that are not uncovered in the existing literature (Rageh et al., 2013).

Despite the benefits, qualitative methods are criticised for the usually low numbers of participants, which is seen as restricting the ability to provide generalisable, representative and

reliable data (Malhotra, and Birks, 2003). However, these criticisms are rooted in positivist, rather than social constructionist assumptions (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). For social constructionist research, it is more important to collect and analyse participants' perceptions and roles (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). Additionally, the research does not seek to generate universal truths, instead the research provides the base for a more critical account of stakeholders' positions within place branding governance.

3.5 INCORPORATING ELEMENTS OF GROUNDED THEORY

This research is unique in that it is informed by some of the principles of a moderate constructivist approach to grounded theory. Aspects of this research methodology play an important part in shaping the sample selections, data collection, data analysis and an abductive development of emergent theory. A constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006, 2014, 2017) is combined with a more structural Gioia methodology (Gioia *et al.,* 2013); recognising the pivotal role of the researcher in the research process, while mapping the process of theory construction in an abductive, strategic, and innovative manner. It is important to note that grounded theory supplements the interpretivist research and this research is not classifying itself as a grounded theory methodology. Nonetheless, there are benefits of using some of the principles of grounded theory as a guide when (re)navigating the research journey in line with both the emergent findings and extant literature. Moreover, elements of grounded theory are considered to be particularly useful when undertaking a qualitative and critical inquiry, encouraging a thorough scrutiny of the data and analysis (Charmaz, 2017).

3.51 MODERATE CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY

While grounded theory finds its home as a rebuttal to positivistic criticism of qualitative research (Glaser and Strauss, 1965), its application has since splintered. For Glaser, the connection to the positivist paradigm remains central, developing a systematic approach that can be rigorously verified (Glaser, 1978). In contrast, Strauss aligns his more recent work to symbolic interactionalism, embracing the focal role of the social world in the research process (Strauss, 1995). Gioia *et al.,* (2013) develops an alternative variation, establishing a methodological direction, rather than the rigid details. This allows for creativity, while

retaining the need for structure. Despite the emphasis on flexibility, the Gioia methodology places emphasis on the need for a set of research questions as a starting point, if not a detailed and presupposing view of the literature. This fits well with the approach taken in the current research, whereby core research aims were derived at the beginning of the research journey and modified as the iterative data collection and analysis develops.

The Gioia adaption responds to the intricacies in the management discipline, helping to explain its increased popularity in the field (Clark *et al.,* 2010; Maitlis and Lawrence, 2007; Mantere *et al.,* 2012). In addition, the Gioia methodology accepts that the researcher is a part of the process, acting as a knowledge agent during the second and third stages of the analysis process. However, it is unlikely that a researcher, even with the greatest intention and rigour, could remove their role and influence in the research during the data collection and initial analysis. Even in the latter stages, the researcher is not merely a knowledge agent; they are also a student, a friend, a daughter, a colleague, and many other things. As the later section discusses, reflexivity can augment the research by accepting the role of the researcher and the society when developing and analysing the data (Goulding and Saren, 2010). Resultantly, while the Gioia methodology is beneficial as a benchmark, this research adopts principles from the Gioia approach alongside the constructivist stream of grounded theory.

Charmaz (2014, 2017) coins the constructivist grounded theory approach. This recognises the underlying structure devised by Glaser and Strauss (1967), while acknowledging that researchers are not neutral bodies unaffected and removed from the research process (Charmaz, 2006; Goulding and Saren, 2010; Munkejord, 2009). Instead, as a researcher you must consider where you are coming from and how your position is shaped (Charmaz, 2000). Through this, Charmaz (2006) promotes the importance of your world view, status, power, and influences. Put simply, all the factors that make you think and feel as you do. For example, as a researcher it is important to recognise the preconceptions, privileges, and weaknesses that are brought to the research. In the current research, this includes a previous background in Law ensuring an underlying predisposition to get to the root of the process and help remedy any problems. Additionally, this includes the researcher's position as a young female academic, speaking to participants from male dominated inward investment and visitor economy sectors.

This research combines the importance placed on the researcher, with the principles and structure associated with the Gioia methodology. Built into this hybrid approach is the importance of iterative interpretations and comparisons; the search for meaning through an iterative development of themes; a search for theoretical sampling and saturation; an ongoing and interconnected three-stage development process; leading to emergent theory advancement and development. These components are considered under the relevant stages throughout the research journey.

3.52 RECONCILING MODERATE CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY WITH SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

A potential area of contention surrounds the alignment of constructivist grounded theory and the social constructionist paradigm (Andrews, 2012). Since the former looks at the individuals' cognition of processes, whereas social constructionism looks beyond the individual and places importance on constructed and fluctuating societal norms and values. Moreover, constructivism has been denoted as aligning to relativism in terms of epistemology and ontology, whereas social constructionism's original manifestation accepts the presence of an objective reality, while arguing that it is the knowledge within that reality that is constructed (Andrews, 2012; Berger and Luckmann, 1991). In terms of the individual versus society, the interchangeably of these terms even by Charmaz (2001, 2005, 2006) blurs the importance of this distinction (Andrews, 2012). Additionally, the notion of an objective reality is inconsistent with social constructionists' ontological premise that there are multiple, interrelated realities that are socially constructed (Lock and Strong, 2010), and altering based on time, place, and culture (Erikkson and Kovalainen, 2008). This instead recognises that there are groups with vested interests influencing the construction of reality (Carson *et al.,* 2001).

Yet, these points raise the important question of whether a modified approach to the constructivist grounded theory approach is needed; recognising and identifying societal and individual processes when developing codes and accepting that the researcher's role is impacted not only by their own cognitions, but also those derived from society at a given time and place. In response to these pointers, the research uses principles from a moderate constructivist approach to grounded theory; recognising the importance of the researcher in the process, while adhering to the structure denoted in the Gioia methodology.

3.6 CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

3.61 SELECTING A CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

The research utilises a case study methodology, comparing and contrasting the place branding governance for Bath and Bristol over an 18-month period starting in October 2015 to March 2017. Case studies are a commonplace methodology within place and city branding research (Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015; Zenker and Seigis, 2012). By selecting an extensive case study methodology, the research is able to explore an under-researched area in depth (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). Moreover, case studies generate context specific understandings, making the selection a popular choice for interpretivist research (Flyvberg, 2011). In addition, in-depth case studies provide depth and focus that allows for contextual insights, which benefits theory generation (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010) and enables a holistic understanding of unique phenomena (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). Attached to this benefit is the recognition that human behaviour cannot be understood through merely rule-based logic, which is inherent in the scientific case study method (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The researcher's close interaction with the data, and the context in which the data is derived, ensures a wealth of knowledge that could not be gleaned from a positivistic hypothesis approach to case study research. Lastly, case studies enable inductive and abductive understandings to be advanced in a real-life setting (Poulis *et al.,* 2013).

Nonetheless, a case study methodology is subject to criticism, especially from researchers advocating a positivistic stance. Criticisms of the case study methodology includes a questioning of the methodology's capacity to ensure rigour, again measuring success on an ability to provide valid, reliable and generalisable data (Gibbert *et al.,* 2008; Yin, 2002). However, the critique is rebutted by interpretivists who view the conventional logic as oversimplified and misleading (Flyvbjerg, 2006). While it is important to ensure that a case study eliminates undue bias and provides valid insights into real phenomena, the hallmarks of reliability and generalisability derive from positivist roots (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). For the current interpretivist research, the importance of developing valid and reflective findings overshadows the need for positivist rigour. Furthermore, since the case studies are guided by social constructionist principles, the aim is not to objectively demonstrate that one detectable measure defines another in all instances (Hackley, 2003), instead the research seeks insights into emergent area of theory. Resultantly, while the criticisms would guide the

decisions of a positivistic methodology, the current research weighs the benefits of contextual and specific understandings as the predominant goal.

3.62 CASE STUDY SELECTION CRITERIA

The selection of appropriate case studies is pivotal for developing theoretical advancements (Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010; Seawright and Gerring, 2008), particularly given the complex nature of place branding governance. The selection of two case studies, Bath and Bristol, centres around the cases' relevance and application when building theory on the claims, contributions and capacity of stakeholders within a contemporary understanding of place branding governance. Resultantly, the research adopts an information-orientated case study collection strategy, selecting cases based on the maximum utility of information from small samples (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Within the information-orientated approach, the cases are selected based on their ability to present complex circumstances (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Using these starting points, Bath and Bristol are selected based on the following theoretical and contextual criteria:

- A decentralisation of place branding ownership
- A recognised national and international reputation
- Identification of a need to involve stakeholders in branding processes
- Presence of multiple stakeholder groups in engagement strategies across the city
- Initial indications of complexity in the place branding governance process

The following subsection provides a brief genealogy of Bath and Bristol based on secondary sources. The overview incorporates reasons and examples of the cities meeting the above criterion. These selection criteria were also confirmed by the research gatekeepers.

3.63 BATH AND BRISTOL

The selection of the two neighbouring cities looks to the similarities in the structural and political base; including the importance of public-private enterprises to develop the official branding (West of England LEP, 2018) and the reduced overarching input by the local authority due to diminishing public sector resources (Moilanen, 2015). Therefore, at the time of selection, both cities lacked an overarching brand management organisation that included

business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy stakeholders. While political and structural similarities allow for a consistent base to the analysis, the main focus is variations in stakeholders' participation across the two cities. The differences stem in part from variations in Bath and Bristol's composition.

Bath is internationally recognised for its rich heritage dating back from the city's Roman founders, to the Georgians, for whom the city was a playground for health, healing and hedonism (Visit Bath, 2018). Bath was awarded UNESCO World Heritage Site status in 1987 for its Roman remains (in particular, the Temple of Sulis Minerva and Roman Baths), harmonious blend of Georgian architecture, natural thermal hot springs and sculptured landscapes (UNESCO, 2015). Moreover, the contemporary offerings include a niche cultural and literacy scene, with assets including the Theatre Royal, and celebrations of Jane Austin's novels written while in Bath. Alongside these offerings are cultural, culinary, music, and arts festivals, including the annual Great Bath Feast, Bath Christmas Market, and the Jane Austin Festival (Visit Bath, 2018).

While the link to heritage is fundamental in attracting over one million overnight visitors and 3.8 million day visitors annually (BANES, 2018), key stakeholders in Bath are beginning to push for recognition beyond the tourism appeal (BANES, 2017; Bath Bridge, 2017). These high visitor numbers are met with relatively low population numbers, with approximately 88,500 residents for the Bath area (BANES, 2018). Nonetheless, the local authority is advocating a shifting focus on economic growth, community regeneration and a development of communities (BANES, 2017). This is matched by business stakeholders located across the city, promoting a 'beautifully inventive' vision that looks beyond heritage to maximising economic and creative opportunities (Bath Bridge, 2017). Further complexity is created by the amalgamation of the local authority under the Bath and North East Somerset catchment (BANES, 2018). Therefore, the local authority represents Keynsham, Midsomer Norton, Radstock, and the Chew Valley, in addition to the city itself.

Despite its close proximity, Bristol has a markedly different composition to Bath. The city is vastly larger, with a population of approximately 459, 300 (Bristol City Council, 2018a). In addition, Bristol stands out as a hub for creativity, innovation, maritime heritage, culture, and urban design (Visit Bristol, 2018). Festivals echo the ethos of the city, ranging from the

internationally renowned Balloon Fiesta, the Harbour Festival, Upfest street art festival, and Making Sunday Special (Visit Bristol, 2018). In recent years, Bristol has gained increasing international recognition; particularly since receiving the European Green Capital award in 2015 (Bristol2015, 2017) and beginning the United Kingdom's first UNESCO Learning City in 2017 (Bristol City Council, 2018b).

From a business standpoint, Bristol receives acclaim for its pioneering nature, relating to its smart city projects (Bristol Is Open, 2018) and is increasingly becoming known for its moderate developments in aerospace design and manufacturing (Bristol247, 2016). Nonetheless, Bristol also shares a degree of division, with the separation of the city into unique cultural boroughs and districts, each with their own identity and narrative (Visit Bristol, 2018). This ranges from Stokes Croft, with an edgy, alternative, and independent spirit characterised by its street art culture, to Clifton representing traditional culture, affluence, and beauty (Bristol City Council, 2018a). Moreover, Bristol experiences relative extremes in wealth and poverty, retaining deprivation hot spots alongside areas of affluence (Bristol City Council, 2018a). Both cities attain a level of international acclaim, while suffering from internal uncertainty. The composition of the cities is considered in greater detail alongside the analysis in Chapter 4.

3.7 SELECTING A STAKEHOLDER SAMPLE

A theoretical sample of stakeholders from the business community, local community, visitor economy, and local authority (responsible for work relating to one of the three aforementioned stakeholder groups) is incorporated in the research. Stakeholders are assigned a stakeholder group based on their primary input into place branding processes. However, stakeholders are often undertaking numerous roles at any given point (Braun *et al.,* 2013). Nonetheless, it was the primarily input that is the central focal point and the research benefits from including stakeholders who possess resources and knowledge from multiple areas. Moreover, two stakeholders from the higher education sector were later incorporated to support the existing analysis. This was in response to the recurrent emphasis placed on higher education stakeholders during the interviews.

3.71 THEORETICAL SAMPLE

In the first instance stakeholders were selected from the four stakeholder groups based on their primary internal role and connection to the city. To incorporate stakeholders active in place branding processes then Mitchell *et al.*,'s (1997) stakeholder salience model was applied. The salience model investigates the power, urgency, and legitimacy of stakeholders' claims. Using this model, stakeholders are included based on their perceived possession of the three attributes (power, urgency, and legitimacy). Resultantly, only definitive and dependent stakeholders were selected (Mitchell *et al.,* 1997). This ensures that all stakeholders included have access to at least one form of engagement (power); regularly participate in ongoing place branding processes that impact their primary stakeholder category (urgency); and are perceived as having a central role within their stakeholder group (legitimacy). As the research developed, participants were selected based on emergent findings (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Again, this is consistent with some of the principles of grounded theory. As such, a degree of theoretical sampling is derived through the researcher's ongoing analysis and reflections (Charmaz, 2006). Therefore, when the relevance and applicability of Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986) was established, the researcher began to combine the need to fulfil the internal and salient checklist with the access and mobility of capital.

In total, 60 stakeholders were interviewed for the research covering four stakeholder categories across Bath and Bristol (Appendix A). These stakeholder participants include local authority officials, elected officials, leaders and organisers within tourism bodies, hotel owners, restaurant proprietors, business leaders, city-based entrepreneurs, lobbyists, central organisers and members of resident groups, and key parties responsible for inward investment in the city. Since case study cities are named, additional care is taken to anonymise the participants; using pseudonyms and referring to stakeholders as members of stakeholder groups, rather than specific organisations.

To boost access, gatekeepers were utilised, providing connections to further participants. The gatekeepers were selected based on their central role within the city, enhancing access to the key participants. Using gatekeepers is commonplace in qualitative case, enhancing the researcher's ability to gather focused and insightful information from multifarious sources (Hackley, 2003). However, the non-random nature of the selection process has been criticised

for its ability to allow for researcher bias (Ghauri and Grønhaug, 2002). Yet, these claims can be challenged for the current research given the importance of being able to access participants on the basis of theoretical relevance, which is enhanced by the ability to select relevant and applicable stakeholders from a wider sample (Das *et al.,* 2012).

3.72 THEORETICAL SATURATION

Theoretical saturation is the point where these theoretical avenues are no longer bringing new insights and theoretical potential (Charmaz, 2006; Samuel and Peattie, 2016). Converse to saturation in other remits of interpretivist enquiry, saturation is not just of data, but of theoretical constructs (Charmaz, 2014). In grounded theory, interviews and data evolve in tandem. Therefore, saturation is not about hearing recurrent stories, instead it rests on saturation of categories. This is an area that is difficult to affirm, forming a popular critique of grounded theory (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). However, instead of viewing the difficulty as a weakness, it is better seen as an opportunity. Theoretical saturation is richer and more niche than that of data saturation. While it is difficult to determine and depends on the constant comparisons without new properties emerging, it is also fluid and recognises that saturation changes with time and place. For example, further dimensions might become important at a later time, if these institutional structures shift, or processes alter (Bryant, 2013). Resultantly, the notion of theoretical saturations fits with the social constructionist notion that reality and knowledge within remains in a state of flux (Lock and Strong, 2010).

3.8 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Qualitative research benefits from a strategic amalgamation of multiple methods, advocating an in-depth understanding of phenomenon alongside a rebuttal of drawbacks associated with individual research methods (Denzin, 2010). Consequently, the research employs the following research methods:

3.81 RESEARCH DIARY

A research diary is central to the ongoing research process, allowing for reflective notes of the progress made; tasks completed; tasks set; initial analytical thoughts throughout the iterative data collection; and data analysis stages. These notes are constantly referred to by the

researcher when working through the eight research action points, working as an aid for research direction, a tool of data collection and a method of data analysis. Resultantly, the research diary supports the development of a complementary data collection strategy, since the researcher is able to continually reflect on the research process, and adjust the methods utilised accordingly. Moreover, the research diaries help to encourage the researcher to exhibit a degree of insightful reflexivity (Nadin and Cassell, 2006).

An online research diary application was used alongside ten handwritten research diaries. The handwritten diaries tracked critical and evaluative thought regarding the subject area, reflections on the literature and methodology, creative insights, areas requiring clarification and further thought and ongoing analysis from the start of the research journey to the end. The online research diary (Evernote) was particularly crucial during the data collection, transcription and data analysis stages of the research. A diary extract was created and added to for each interview, interview transcription and subsequent analysis. The extract included reflections from the interviews, identification of emergent themes while transcribing the interview recordings alongside relevant quotes and points of interest, and a more coherent analysis of each transcript during the latter stages of the analysis. The researcher had access to Evernote on any PC and through a mobile application. This allowed for regular reflections regarding the research from remote locations. The diary was pivotal in shaping the outcomes of the research and helping to piece together the writing up stage of the work.

3.82 OBSERVATIONS

Observations are integral to interpretive research, providing contextualisation and depth to the findings (Poulis *et al.,* 2013). By studying social processes and phenomena in a natural setting, verbal and nonverbal cues can be identified (Johnson and Duberley, 2011). Moreover, the unstructured nature of observations allows for flexibility and enables stakeholders' perceptions, roles, and importance to be considered in context. Additionally, observations may enable a researcher to uncover factors that the participant may not have openly disclosed (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2005). These benefits meant that observations were included as a preliminary form of data collection. Eleven observations, at key sites and attractions across both cities were incorporated (Appendix B). These observations formed the basis of data

collection planning, allowing the researcher to understand the context of the city and its surroundings during the development of interview themes and questions.

3.83 COLLECTION OF SECONDARY SOURCES

In addition to the observations, secondary sources were collected from Bath and Bristol and support the development of interview themes and the research agenda. Secondary sources were collated both online through an extensive evaluation of accessible data from primary local authority sources, visitor attractions, business community online outlets and local community online outputs. These formed the basis of the initial data collection that was used to affirm the case study selection, decide on the key themes for the interview schedules and provide background material for the interviews. However, at a large number of the interviews the participants provided further secondary materials. These were compiled to develop a greater understanding of the case study cities and to augment the development of the research themes in the later interviews.

3.84 INTERVIEWS

In-depth interviews form the primary data collection method used for the research. Interviews are commonplace within place branding and city-based research (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Hanna and Rowley, 2015; Zenker and Seigis, 2012). Interviews enable transitory and fluid meanings associated with place branding to be uncovered through carefully tailored, iterative, open-ended questions in the form of a discussion (Chisnall, 2005; Rickly-Boyd, 2012). Moreover, in-depth interviews enable the researcher to develop insights into otherwise unobservable matters (Woodruffe-Burton and Bairstow, 2008), such as the subtle negotiation of participation in place branding governance. Despite the benefits, individual in-depth interviews have been critiqued for their alleged inability to capture the dynamic interactions between participants that are inherent within focus groups (Gates, 2010). Moreover, the strength of the interview is dependent upon the skillset of the researcher (Golafshani, 2003). In an attempt to mediate these flaws, duo interviews and focus groups were employed, whereby multiple participants can be interviewed at the same time. Duo interviews follow the same premise as individual interviews, with the difference being that two participants are present instead of one. This allows for a conversation between the participants, expanding on core

points, and demonstrating both agreement and dissent in the city branding process. While this helps to spark the flow of discussion, it is less disruptive to the participants thought process having one participant contributing, as opposed to four or more within a focus group environment.

The interviews were semi-structured allowing for themes to be detailed in a set of pre-defined areas and expanded upon based on participants' responses (Rowley, 2012). Exploring how stakeholders conceptualise their city, and how stakeholders contribute to its consumption and production, is complex and multifaceted. Drawing these areas together in a research schedule is seldom simple. The interview guides were designed to introduce and relax the participants, with an introductory section on the participants' viewpoints and role within the city brands. Additionally, as the participants' role within the city brands varies significantly, each interview schedule was tailored to the specific participant (Appendix C). Therefore, the semi-structured nature of the interview leaves scope for flexibility depending on the participants' knowledge, responsiveness, the flow of the discussion and the development of research themes. Additionally, throughout the interviews the researcher prompted the respondents to expand and develop on areas of interest to the research aims and objectives.

In total, 53 interviews and one focus group were completed with stakeholders from across Bath and Bristol. This included 50 in-depth interviews, three duo in-depth interviews and one large interview/small focus group. The interviews and focus groups were predominately undertaken face-to-face (49 of the 54), with the remaining five interviews being conducted over the telephone. As long as the interview is equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge telephone interviews can be as insightful as in-person interviews (Rowley, 2012). The interviews ranged from 60 minutes to 140 minutes and formed the predominant data collection tool for assessing competing stakeholder claims, allowing the participants to provide insights and explanations relating to their city's brand meanings, and the potential for negotiation and collaborative action. Each interview was audio-recorded and later transcribed per dictum, resulting in over 760,000 words of transcription data.

3.85 SMALL SCALE FOCUS GROUP

Focus groups capture the participants' attitudes and perceptions in depth (Gregori *et al.,* 2014), utilising the groups' participatory role to gain knowledge and meaning through social interactions (Heiskanen *et al.,* 2008). The researcher conducted one focus group with stakeholders working together on a visitor attraction in Bristol. The dynamic environment inherent within a focus group enabled the participants to engage in a discussion, covering the themes in detail, and demonstrating variations in perceptions. Furthermore, as elements of the discussion are complex, the dynamics of a group environment allow for a participant with a detailed understanding of the city branding process to articulate their perceptions, sparking ideas and perceptions from the other participants (Heiskanen *et al.,* 2008). However, it is important to keep the focus group structured around the relevant themes, to ensure that the group does not diverge off the focus of the research (Heiskanen *et al.,* 2008). Moreover, given the potential for disruption in interview flow and direction, focus groups were only utilised as an additional data collection method to interviews. While only one focus group was completed at a later stage in the research collection, its success pinpointed the potential scope of this research method to extend this research.

3.86 SUPPORTING THE DATA COLLECTION TOOLS WITH CREATIVITY AND FLEXIBILITY

Researching the complex interactions of people and places requires creativity and flexibility in approach. Throughout the research these considerations were taken on board and adjustments were incorporated. As the research journey shows, there is a degree of flexibility built into the research design. Moreover, when undertaking the interviews, the researcher ensured that the respondent led the discussion, using the interview schedule as a prompt, as opposed to a script. Similarly, the research themes and questions evolved as the research developed, responding to the emergent themes and their correspondence with the literature. As well as ensuring flexibility, the research sought to implement techniques and strategies to augment the collection of complex data. These are discussed under the visual and projective techniques and multiple methods sections outlined below.

3.861 VISUAL AND PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

The richness of qualitative research creates space for the use of holistic and creative measures, such as visual and projective techniques (Sayre, 2001; Wiles *et al.,* 2011). Visual and projective tools are increasingly utilised within marketing, consumer, and tourism research (Rohani *et al.,* 2014). Rich qualitative research uses projective techniques to create avenues for participants to speak freely and engage in a dialogue with the interviewer (Sayre, 2001). By doing so, projective techniques are seen to enhance the quality of the research, enabling the participant to engage actively in the interview and research focus (Hofstede *et al.,* 2007). This is particularly crucial when the topic is complex, as participants may struggle to articulate their perceptions meaningfully (Thorpe, 2003). Responding to these benefits, this research began by incorporating visual and projective techniques into the in-depth interviews to help spark the participant to further discuss and reflect on the claims, contributions and capacity of stakeholders in place branding governance.

The projective techniques incorporated included photo elicitation, object personification, sentence completion tasks, and word associations. These were aimed at sparking the respondent to provide rich and meaningful data (Hofstede *et al.,* 2007). The use of photographs as a stimulus has been praised for enabling the researcher to comprehend how the visitors perceive a phenomenon (Beverland *et al.,* 2008) and for aiding the depth of the discussion (Belk, 2013). Furthermore, visual methodologies enable behaviours and insights to be captured within a situational context (Rohani *et al.,* 2014). In the initial five interviews visual techniques were utilised. These included photo sorting and photo elicitation, whereby the participant was asked to bring photographs of Bath or Bristol before discussing the reasons for the selection of the images. The use of images and photographs was used to provoke discussion with stakeholders about their conceptualisations of the city and their role in advancing these perceptions.

However, following the initial five interviews, these approaches were only used selectively. Mostly, this was because these approaches were not suitable for all participations incorporated in the research. While they provided a talking point for local community stakeholders, they were met with scepticism by members of the business community and to an extent the visitor economy. In keeping with the need to be flexible and respond the research and participants'

needs, the researcher only used these approaches when it seemed a helpful prompt for the discussion.

In addition to the visual techniques, other small-scale projective techniques were incorporated in the interviews (Appendix D). This included sentence completion, word association and object personification, whereby prompts were used to spark and enhance the depth of discussion. The prompt that was considered as particularly beneficial when sparking discussion about the cities was object personification. This enabled participants to align human characteristics and personalities to both cities. This helped participants to discuss their perceptions and aligned meanings of the city. When participants are provided abstract material through projective techniques then it is claimed that social desirability and topical sensitivity is reduced, since the participant projects their reactions and thoughts onto the stimuli presented (Belk, 2013). The responses were then used to locate themes and as a prompt for later discussions (Churchill and Iacobucci, 2005). Again, based on the varying knowledge and roles of the participants, the amount these projective techniques were incorporated was considered on an interview-by-interview basis.

3.862 USE OF MULTIPLE METHODS

Case study methodology encourages the use of multiple methods to develop theoretical insights into complex issues at a given site (Poulis *et al.,* 2013). Yet, a multiple methods approach remains quite rare in marketing literature, despite its ability to provide robust and multifaceted results (Davis *et al.,* 2011). It is noteworthy that the success of utilising multiple methods requires integration between complementary methods (Chamberlain *et al.,* 2011), which is a further reason the research was designed and implemented through a staged complementary process. Nonetheless, the utilisation multiple methods have been criticised for advocating that a single, objective social reality can be observed with the correct tools (Mason, 2002). Yet, the utilisation of multiple methods for the current research enhanced the researcher's ability to crosscheck stakeholders' multiple perceptions and varying input in place branding governance (Ramshaw *et al.,* 2013). Resultantly, the benefits of utilising multiple complementary methods are deemed to outweigh the potential flaws, helping to provide a further layer of detail and augment the reflexivity inherent in the research.

3.9 DATA ANALYSIS

3.91 INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP

Again, the principles associated with a moderate constructivist approach to grounded theory were important in shaping the iterative analysis alongside the data collection. This was broken down into three core stages. The first stage of analysis, termed initial and open coding (Charmaz, 2014) or first-order coding (Gioia *et al*., 2013) allows for segments of raw data to be crafted into emergent incidents. However, during this process selectivity remained important, as not every process will be integral to the research development (Charmaz, 2006). While concepts are useful tools in deriving meaning, social and psychological processes can tell a far greater story, adding depth and richness to the data. Moreover, since the research builds on the processes at play when governing the complexity of place branding, it is an appropriate approach for understanding the data. Given this, the processes inherent in the transcripts and observations were noted in the research diaries, alongside an overview of their potential importance, and examples of their application

The second stage of analysis looked toward focused and axial coding (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008, 2015), whereby the researcher begins to search for the bigger story, and what the data is saying (Bryant, 2013). The processes derived in the initial coding were clustered, drawing links between the processes and looking at their overarching meaning. It is at this stage that the researcher made sense of the data and initial codes derived, making decisions as to what is analytically fruitful to advance further (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). For example, multiple incidents relating to leadership emerged in the initial coding, which were then clustered into the label leadership, and later explored alongside the literature in city branding and more widely. The quality of the initial and focused codes relies on the ability of the researcher, ensuring it was essential to spend the time and focus on checking and rechecking the codes alongside the data (Charmaz, 2006; Goulding, 2002). Throughout this entire process the researcher ensured they were pushing themselves to question the codes and incidents derived, questioning the meaning and usefulness of the emergent findings. Again, the importance of recurrent interpretation is evident, and the inevitably role of the researcher as a core participant in the research process.

Finally, theoretical coding was sought, whereby the researcher aligned and extended these codes, memos, and incidents in order to define and extend empirical and theoretical properties (Charmaz, 2006, 2015). It is here where the subcategories are developed from the previous phases and allocated into core categories. This enabled hypothesises to be developed based on the both the relationships emerging in the data and the existing literature (Charmaz, 2006, 2014, 2015). Ultimately, abduction was key to the theorising of categories alongside what is already known. Abduction rests on a creative leap, from empirical findings to accountable and understandable theory (Pierce, 1958, cited in Charmaz 2006). By doing so, grounded theory begins to overcome the critiques associated with inductive and deductive approaches (Bryant and Lasky, 2007). Nonetheless, again its success rests on the process of making choices and selectivity (Charmaz, 2006). This was particularly acute when deciding amongst competing explanations. As Pierce (1958, cited in Charmaz, 2006) denotes, the advice adhered to was to move with the strongest hypothesis, selecting the theory with the greatest range of interpretation and understanding.

The scope of these categories can travel across disciplines, as well as across theoretical and epistemological debates (Charmaz, 2006). Yet, the theories derived by grounded theory are usually aligned to middle or lower level theories (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). However, there is nothing preventing grounded theory aiding the development of meta theories. To do so, the researcher must immerse themselves in the ongoing process of analysing and theorising, reflecting, building, and developing emergent theory.

Nonetheless, the coding and analysis process was not static. Instead, coding was ongoing throughout the research, with continual refinements and adaptions throughout the period. This was to ensure quality and consistency in the findings. Therefore, when a new code emerged then the researcher went back to the raw data, re-coding aspects of the data, and checking for consistent and validity (Charmaz, 2006). Fortunately, this did not require starting the process again and re-coding all the data. Instead, the researcher relied on the essential role of checking and testing new codes. To check that new codes were theoretically plausible, the researcher checked how they measured up against the earlier data. Resultantly, the process of analysing and theorising was ongoing, requiring skilful application of the tools presented by grounded theory.

The three stages of coding were conducted manually. The first stage relied heavily on notes taken during and after the interviews and subsequent analysis during the transcription stages (see Appendix E). The second stage used spider diagrams and reflections to cluster together themes, alongside reflections in diary entries on Evernote (see Appendix F). The final stage was conducted in two parts. Initially, the clustered themes were analysed alongside the extant literature and identified gaps (Chapter 2), building overarching theoretical codes. These align to the data chapters and their subsequent headings. Finally, qualitative analysis software (NVivo) was used to further expand and store the theoretical themes into refined codes (see Appendix G). The use of both manual and computer aided processes enabled a thorough analysis of the transcriptions and a systematic coding of the outputs. The coded theoretical themes on NVivo could be compared and contrasted across city and stakeholder groups, through cross tabulations and word searches (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6). Moreover, the storage of these codes into the computer package eased the retrieval and inclusion of stakeholder perceptions' that might have otherwise been lost in the vast quantity of transcription material. However, NVivo was used to supplement, rather than replace the manual coding. Therefore, the key findings are based on the manual analysis, with the NVivo analysis being used to illustrate these outcomes.

3.92 OBSERVATIONS AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Observations in the case study cities were undertaken to support the interviews and focus group, which are the principal research methods. In-depth notes were collated and synthesised in summarises of the observations. These were thematically analysed, evaluating the primary and secondary themes emerging. As previously mentioned, secondary sources were also used to augment the research design in its early stages. These documents were thoroughly read and evaluated with detailed notes being taken and emergent themes being extrapolated.

3.10 RESEARCH PRACTICALITIES

3.101 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

The strength of the researcher's skills and methodological toolkit is paramount when crafting, implementing and analysing qualitative case study research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Given

the complex and multifaceted nature of place branding governance the role of the researcher is particularly important when assuring that the participants are able to comprehend and engage with such a diverse and intricate topic. To ensure that these hurdles were addressed, the researcher undertook extensive training in research and methods, kept up to date with academic advances in the field and thoroughly planned the research journey from design to evaluation.

The potential for researcher reflexivity has also been noted, occurring when the researcher's opinions, interests, and concerns are integrated into the research process (Woodruffe-Burton, 2006). Despite the reluctance to accede to reflexivity in management research (Bell and Thorpe, 2013), reflexivity is increasingly being accepted into qualitative research (Belhassen and Caton, 2006). "Reflexivity has a prolific history in qualitative research" (Noy, 2011: 917), and if applied cautiously reflexivity can benefit the research by allowing the researcher to approach challenging and sensitive issues (Bettany and Woodruffe-Burton, 2006). The researcher can bring value to the research process by participating and engaging in the theoretical dialogue (Olesen, 2000). Additionally, through reflexivity, the researcher is able to comprehend and denote interactions into meaning through tacit understanding (Riley and Love, 2000). It would be foolhardy to premise that a qualitative researcher could be completely removed from the research process (Bettany and Woodruffe Burton, 2006). Resultantly, a degree of reflexivity is deemed favourable, aiding the iterative dialogue during the collection stage, and prompting novel insights within the analysis.

3.102 ETHICS

This research adheres to a strict code of ethics, ensuring the participants are fully informed of their rights and the researcher's responsibilities (Christians, 2008) and that the multiplicity of stakeholder beliefs and perceptions were presented with integrity and honesty (Pocock *et al.,* 2013). The researcher is paramount to ensuring that ethical standards are maintained and incorporated throughout the research (Ghauri and Grønhaug, 2002). To ensure these standards were met, the research systematically went through the ethical protocols for the research and presented these to Cardiff University's Ethics Committee. These procedures were approved in full (Appendix H). Central to this approval is the provision of an overview of the research aims, rights, and researcher's responsibilities for the participants. Alongside this a consent sheet provided prior to commencement, outlining the research, its aim, dissemination and data

storage (see Appendix H). On the consent form participants were granted the option to be fully anonymous, in that any attributing factors that might highlight their identity to others in the city would be removed. This was incorporated since the researcher was using Bath and Bristol as the case studies, meaning those that were involved may be able to identify stakeholders based on their role and inclusion in certain engagement strategies. However, to protect the identity of the participants the researcher has chosen to only align the stakeholders to their stakeholder category as opposed to a description of their organisation. Again, these stems from the ability for others to draw the connections between people and their role and identify the participant.

Moreover, care and diligence were taken when discussing sensitive issues, such as a person's perception of their heritage and connection to the city, internal and external conflicts between different stakeholder groups, and areas of inclusion and exclusion. Participants were made aware that they do not have to answer any questions that they are uncomfortable answering and can ask for the interview to be paused or stopped at any point. In addition, the participants were granted the opportunity to ask to be removed from the research or view any data stored about them.

A potential for ethical considerations is also raised by the inclusion of non-participant observations. The field observations, albeit small-scale, were undertaken at sites where official parties had been previously notified. Nonetheless, the observations raise a potential ethical conundrum, since visitors will also be present at the sites. However, the observations predominately focus on descriptions of the sites, rather than specific members of the public. The researcher was nonetheless cautious to ensure that personal information about any visitors or members of the public was not incorporated in the observation write-ups and analysis.

3.103 ACCESS

Access is a cumbersome and timely process that can hamper the ability to undertake research within a limited timescale (Saunders *et al.,* 2009). The problems can be reduced by forming connections with gatekeepers, who have access to the participants and resources required (Erickson and Kovalainen, 2008). As previously detailed, the utilisation of gatekeepers in both cities aided the data collection stage. Additionally, the non-random nature of the sampling

enabled alterations to be made in line with practical constraints. Despite the initiatives used to promote greater access, it remained a time-consuming process. This was made particularly acute by the nature of the sample and the selection processes. Stakeholders from across two cities and four stakeholder groups were individually contacted. To attain the sample of 60 stakeholders, over 180 emails were sent, and 65 telephone calls made. A sample planning sheet helped to organise this process, yet it was inevitably time consuming as often stakeholders would not be available until a date later in the future. Furthermore, for each interview the researcher would travel to Bath and Bristol to conduct the interview, either onsite or in a nearby establishment. This meant that the data collection process took over 18 months to complete. In addition, the researcher would have liked to have complemented the undertaken interviews with follow up interviews and focus groups. However, again time restrictions made this impractical for the current research.

3.11 LIMITATIONS

The research addresses a gap within a complicated area of place branding, which was difficult for certain participants to engage with and discuss in detail. The researcher's role was particularly paramount when ensuring the discussions remained focused and connected to the generation of place branding theory. In addition to undertaking training on research collection techniques, the researcher also adopted projective techniques to overcome communication barriers and spark detailed and meaningful discussions with participants. These factors were useful when ensuring stakeholders' perceptions of their cities were accurately portrayed. Despite the efforts to present all stakeholders equally, it is hard to remove all differences in input. Certain stakeholders are professionally trained in providing responses and articulating their viewpoints. With this comes a similar drawback, since stakeholders presenting articulations from a professional standpoint were often cautious to deviate from the organisational perspective. Overall, this did not impede the findings, since the researcher sought to gain the stakeholders' perspective aligned to a given role. Problems arose when stakeholders were presenting the company's official line, rather than the practices as they occur.

A further area of concern relates to the research scope and aligned sample. As this chapter has shown, 60 stakeholders were selected over an 18-month period. While the cut off corresponded to theoretical saturation and an affirmation of the themes discussed, the responses are spread across a number of differentiators (city and stakeholder group). With greater resources and time, the researcher would have liked to have undertaken additional focus groups with stakeholders from across the four stakeholder groups to test the themes and findings. Moreover, subsequent participant observations to analyse the processes in operation would have been beneficial. It is hoped that these gaps can be addressed in subsequent research.

A further area the researcher would have liked to have developed further is the use of projective and visual techniques. The research would have benefited from a subsequent videography, providing rich and insightful reflections on the stakeholders' varying positions in place branding governance. Again, the researcher was unable to incorporate these follow up methods due to constrained time and resources. Instead, this will form an area of future research.

In addition, the selection of two in-depth case studies based on the cases' ability to gather information on two proposed contrasting approaches to place branding governance brings benefits and burdens for the research. While the multiplicity of approaches provides an interesting comparison and widens the remit of the research, the contrasting nature may also detract from the depth that a single case study or two similar case studies could attain. The researcher sought to ensure equal depth and detail was attained from the two cities to provide an unbiased and true comparison. Again, ensuring this balance was a timely and difficult process during the collection and analysis stages. Moreover, the case study settings were selected due to their points of similarity and difference. However, the two cities are very different in size and functionality, with Bristol forming one of the United Kingdom's 'Core Cities' with a population over half a million (Bristol City Council, 2018a). In contrast, Bath is significantly smaller and has an added complication in its World Heritage Status (Visit Bath, 2018). While the case study selection criteria did not include equality in size and similarities in activities, follow-up studies looking across similar and different sized cities would be a worthwhile addition.

3.12 Concluding Remarks

The research journey combines eight action points iteratively undertaken to address stakeholder participation in contemporary place branding governance. This chapter details the justifications for these decisions, along with an explanation of their application. Examples of the research action points in operation are detailed in the designated appendices. The remainder of the thesis puts these points into action.

CHAPTER 4
STAKEHOLDERS' CLAIMS: THE BRAND MEANING CONTINUUM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As the initial chapters have begun to show, place branding governance is complex; benefited and burdened by a blurring of central management that is diffusing ownership among a myriad of stakeholders. However, the thesis critically examines stakeholders' ability to participate in this changing environment. To do so, three core components are considered; stakeholders' claims, contributions and capacity. This chapter centres on the first component, evaluating the brand meaning claims stakeholders ascribe to the places they consume and produce. The chapter replaces the need for an in-depth contextual analysis of secondary sources outlining Bath and Bristol's characteristics. Instead, this chapter focuses on the descriptions, attitudes, value judgments and emotions assigned through stakeholders' brand meaning claims. Through the analysis points of assonance and dissonance between stakeholder groups and across city brands are also examined.

The chapter proceeds as follows. Bath and Bristol's brand meanings are explored under four brand meaning dimensions; namely descriptions, attitudes, values and emotions. These dimensions combine the frameworks presented by Batey (2015) and Laaksonen *et al.,* (2006), seeing brand meanings as existing on a continuum ranging from functional descriptions to symbolic values and emotions. The points of similarities and difference are woven into the analysis along the brand meaning dimensions. The discussion of differences also includes tensions across stakeholder groups. The final section outlines emergent themes that help to understand the complex and multifaceted nature of brand meanings and its implications for brand governance.

4.2 ESTABLISHING THE BRAND MEANING DIMENSIONS

As the literature review details (Chapter 2), brand meanings form the heart of brands; representing the descriptions, attitudes, values and emotions people assign to the brands they produce and consume (Batey, 2015; Green *et al.,* 2016; Laaksonen *et al.,* 2006). The recognition of multiple meanings responds to academic calls to encompass stakeholders who operate in the forefront and background of the brand building process (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). This chapter applies and extends Batey (2015) and Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006) dimensions of brand meaning to establish a framework for investigating place brand meanings (Figure 7).
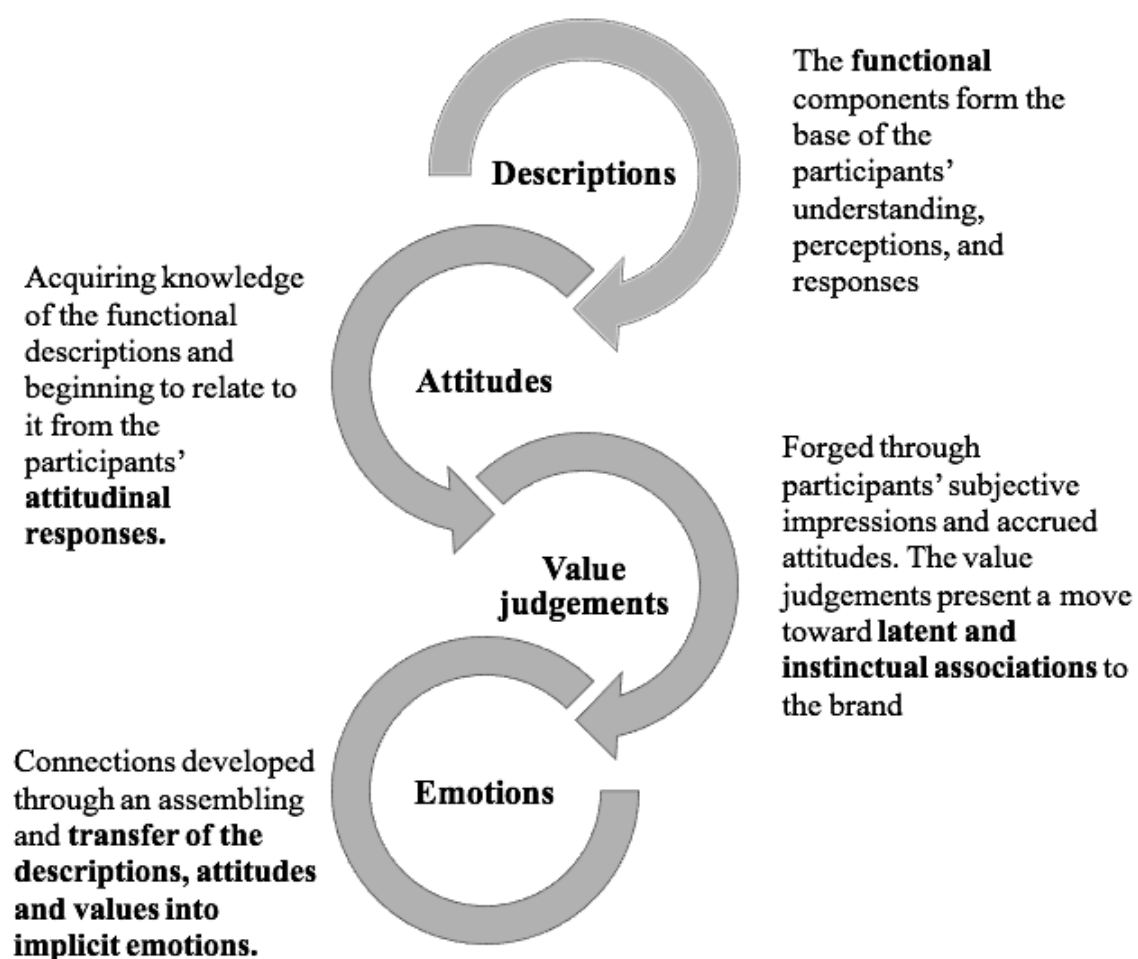
Figure 7: Brand Meaning Dimension [Adapted from Batey (2015) and Laaksonen *et al*., (2006)]

The descriptive, attitudinal and value judgements dimensions are taken from Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006) brand meaning framework. Since the authors do not consider the spectrum of

brand meanings, Batey (2015) is used as a supplementary framework. This conceptual research recognises the pinnacle role of emotions when signifying a person's conceptualisations of a brand. Combined, the brand meaning levels, along with the functional to emotive spectrum, form a continuum of brand meaning dimensions. The descriptive dimension reflects Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006) observational layer outlining the functional descriptions offered by the participants. The attitudinal dimension (evaluation layer) builds on these descriptions, forming perceptions of the functional components that exist within the brand. The value judgements are based on an impression of the amalgamation of the descriptive and resultant attitudinal reflections, developing often implicit judgements. It is here where the brand meanings become more emblematic in nature, focusing on feelings that impede or enhance the positivity of stakeholders' brand meaning claims. Finally, the fourth-dimension augments Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006) three levels with an additional emotive layer. As outlined in the conceptual framework above, this recognises the symbolic and emotive connection participants attach to the city brands (Batey, 2015). This framework is applied to Bath and Bristol's city brand meanings, exploring the meanings across the city brands and from the point of view of stakeholders from the business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy.

4.3 EXAMINING BATH AND BRISTOL'S BRAND MEANING DIMENSIONS

4.31 DESCRIPTIVE DIMENSION

4.311 BATH

Bath's historic tangible and intangible infrastructure stand out as the leader among all participant claims (Table 3). This corresponds with the array of Roman and Georgian architecture, 5,000 listed buildings and the highest concentration of museums per square mile in the United Kingdom (Visit Bath, 2018). The unique blend of Georgian architecture, thermal waters supplying the Roman Baths and iconic streets and crescents form the basis of the city's World Heritage Site (WHS) inscription since 1987. The prevalence of a certain image assigned to the historical architecture found in Bath creates what is referred to as '*Bathness:'*

"It is this idea that if you were blindfolded and dropped into a place and the blindfold was taken off, would you know where you were? You know because of the design of the buildings and their scale and the stone. You know, if it looks largely Bath stone, a Georgian style, you would assume it was Bath." (Thomas, local community)

'Bathness' refers to the uniform design of the city, which provides a distinctive character. 'Bathness' is closely aligned to the Georgian architecture prevalent throughout the city; characterised by the carefully planned Georgian terraces, crescents, cobbled streets, promenades, all built using the distinctive Bath stone. The retention of 'Bathness' is very important for a number of Bath's stakeholders, particularly in the local community. This distinctive look provides a crucial brand meaning that begins at the descriptive level and becomes embedded in the participants' attitudes, values and emotions as you transcend through the brand meaning dimensions.

Key Themes	*Examples*	*NVivo Analysis*	*Interview Quotations*
Historic tangible and intangible infrastructure	World Heritage Site, Georgian architecture, Roman Baths, Bath stone, 'Bathness'	168 references from 28 participants; all stakeholders groups discuss; discussion by all stakeholders but with different impressions	*"So factually, it is a world heritage city. It gets that status because of the Roman Baths and the Georgian architecture, as well as the blue print that was created by the Georgians."* (Arthur, business community) *"It's a planned city, it follows its Medieval street plan. Even the Georgians didn't alter the Medieval street plan that much, but what they did do was ensure that it was lined up systematically around landmarks. Ensuring there was enough green space around to present the buildings in their best light. Of course, the stone adds to that because there's so much of it. It's a very distinctive feature, it's what local retired planners call the term 'Bathness'."* (Bill, local community)
Water	Spa, thermal waters, Bath spa, river, flooding	73 references from 21 interviews; predominately visitor economy, also local authority and	*"The city needs to realise its DNA. It was born on thermal spa waters, so that would encourage a wellbeing economy. An economy built on inspiration, rejuvenation, and renewal. I think that for me it started to give me a list of attributes that would allow Bath to talk about a brand in a very different way than it's seen at the moment, and actually a*

		business community	*very different way to lots of other cities in the world."* (Arthur, business community)
			"It's built around wellbeing and the spa waters and people coming here to take the spa waters." (Dean, local authority)
			"The cultural use of the hot springs; 2000 years of humankind's use of the hot water." (Rick, visitor economy)
Arts and culture	Music, arts, theatre, literature	32 references from 18 participants; predominately stakeholders from the visitor economy and local community	*"It's a cultural centre. We have music, art, theatre, and all kinds of galleries here."* (Joseph, local community)
			"We've looked at the various festivals whether it be music, literature, folk festivals, the art galleries and museums, the Holburne Museum, Victoria Gallery. The literary connections, whether it be Jane Austin, Dickins, or the other writers who have taken inspiration from Bath" (Mark, visitor economy)

Table 3: Descriptive Dimension for Bath

Further tangible features stakeholders discuss include the thermal waters and spas. The natural springs and thermal waters date back to the Roman period, engraining its importance into stakeholders' memory. As Mark (visitor economy) describes. "*Even when you think about the name, the name Bath, it is synonymous with the naturally hot thermal waters.*" The importance of forging links between Bath and its thermal spas is embedded by naming the train station, Bath Spa. Moreover, while the thermal waters are linked to the heritage in Bath, the importance extends to the pivotal geographical and recreational role of the natural asset for contemporary Bath. The contentious proposal to undertake fracking in the Mendip Hills sparked concern for Bath's stakeholders (Guardian, 2011). The source of the water is unknown, sparking fears that drilling into the hills could inadvertently damage the flow of the thermal water:

"*The source of the hot water is a bit of a mystery. There are a lot of theories about where it comes from, but if you try and find out then you might cause it to stop. We're very concerned, for example, that fracking might cause it to stop. Once you've stopped it then you couldn't restart it. That would certainly reduce the attraction of Bath.*" (Steven, local community)

The concern is linked to the functional value of the water, but also symbolic role of the waters for Bath residents, visitors, and business owners. From a functional perspective, the hot springs and thermal waters provide a vital tourism and hospitality attraction. The Roman Baths alone brings over a million visitors a year (Nigel, local authority). Moreover, the local community are granted shared ownership of the waters under the Royal Charter of Queen Elizabeth I, therefore "*strictly speaking the water belongs to the citizens of Bath ... it was their water that has been brought back to life*" in the reopening of Bath Thermal Spa in August 2006 (Michael, visitor economy). Therefore, water again originates as a functional description, while resonating with the value judgements and emotions located on the symbolic end of the brand meaning dimensions.

The tangible and intangible arts and culture are also frequently referenced (Table 3). While less prevalent than the two previous brand meanings, there is an emphasis on highbrow culture, art, literature, and music. The local community and visitor economy discuss these forms of cultural attraction most frequently. These attractions also tailor activities for the local community, promoting the inclusion of residents with the city's cultural scene:

> "*I'll tell you what is absolutely great about Bath and not many people know, the first Friday of the International Music Festival there is a party in the city for residents. Another thing you can only do is book hour sessions there for free, and they treat you to a glass of bubbly, and you can just go in there with half a dozen friends and have the place to yourself.*" (Anne, local community)

This section identifies three central descriptive themes. However, stakeholders also refer the landscape, green spaces, emerging small business infrastructure, and the compact size of the city. Together the descriptive dimension provides a crucial base of understanding for the participants, shaping the evaluations, value judgements and emotions outlined in the continuing dimensions. Michael (visitor economy) call this essential infrastructure the "*hardware*" for the city brand, which is then augmented by the "*software*" wherein these tangible and intangible assets are experienced by people within the place.

4.312 Bristol

In contrast to Bath, arts and culture emerge as the most pronounced brand meaning for stakeholders in Bristol (Table 4). Rachel (local authority) epitomises the importance when stating, *"There are some really strong cultural institutions who do amazing things*!" Stakeholders outline the importance of the arts, theatre, music and literature as central components. One of the strongest associations relates to the unique street art found in Bristol. Street art is *"one of Bristol's signature attractions"* (Amy, visitor economy), made famous by the world-renowned street artist Banksy who began his career in Bristol. Street art is a welcomed and celebrated part of the city, experienced through the annual Upfest Festival, street art tours and whole segments of the city canvasing its wall with street art. For example, the inner-city region of Stokes Croft is notorious for its street art culture and artists. This recognition of street art provides the descriptive foundation, which serves to represent something more intrinsic for many stakeholders, especially those in the visitor economy and (in part) the local community. The street art represents the creativity and diversity of the city, sparking unorthodox, radical and independent impressions.

Arts and culture are also referenced with relation to the abundance of events and festivals that celebrate art, music and literature across the city. When outlining the variety of cultural events Rachel (local authority) suggests; *"so not everyone is going to be particularly interested in going to Massive Attack on the Downs, or the Balloon Fiesta, or going to the museum or Old Vic, but the fact you've got so much diversity there means there is generally something for everyone."* Therefore, the identification of the cultural attractions and events are matched with the diversity in offerings, allowing for an eclectic mix to match a variety of interests.

Key Themes	Examples	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Arts and culture	Street art, Banksy, arts, literature, music, theatre, Old Vic, Colston's Hall, events, festivals	74 references from 29 participants; majority of references from the visitor economy.	*"Culture is really high on the list irrespective of who you speak to"* (Rose, visitor economy) *"The fact that it's moved from being quite a philistine city, to one of the most culturally interesting."* (David, business community)

Historic tangible and intangible infrastructure	Maritime heritage, industrial heritage, docklands, Brunel, SS Brunel, slave trade, SS Great Britain	60 references from 21 participants; visitor economy most prominent again, followed by local community, minimal reference from business community.	*"I've told you Engine Shed, Watershed, all the sheds in Bristol are relics of our trading and port status, and that is part of the current landscape. But, it has a chequered history. I think some of that is interesting as a tension. It is something cities have to."* (Julian, local authority) *For me, if I was looking at one key thing to say about Bristol it's the maritime heritage and training really."* (Bert, visitor economy)
Business infrastructure	Business success, Engine Shed, investment, opportunities, smart city, aerospace industry, digital microchips	46 references from 16 participants; largely the business community, followed by local authority	*"Bristol is held up as a city that is achieving a great deal around smart cities, and almost any publication that comes up now on UK smart cities must mention Bristol. Many of them will identify Bristol as being a leader."* (Stuart, business community) *"A lot of business here, you've got a strong workforce, which means employers want to be here. Lots of big industries and businesses operate in and around the city, which are quite diverse. There's lots of employment opportunities for people."* (Cameron, local authority)

Table 4: Descriptive Dimension for Bristol

The historic infrastructure is also considered as a primary brand meaning, while recognising that people from outside of the city do not recognise the rich and diverse history Bristol has to offer (Table 4). Similar to Bath, the emphasis on the historic infrastructure comes largely from the visitor economy and local community. The prominence of the historic infrastructure in Bath diminishes the recognition for Bristol. As Amy (visitor economy) explains, "*in some ways we [Bristol] suffer from being in the shadow of Bath.*" Despite the recognition that the image of the city omits Bristol's historical assets, the internal stakeholders discuss at length the multitude of heritage attractions, pivotal historical figures and clouded industrial and imperial past. As Table 4 highlights, key examples include the maritime heritage, industrial heritage, and a variety of eras of architecture. Intangible descriptions of the heritage were discussed in relation to the pioneering role of Brunel, enshrined by his connection to the SS Great Britain located along Bristol's riverfront:

"I think Brunel is such an important person for Bristol. He spent a lot of time here. He was voted the second most important Brit ever, after Churchill. He's probably the greatest engineer in the world. For Bristol to own the Brunel brand, and to have Brunel's most amazing ship, it's a sense of pride for the city. They are huge masks in the skyline. You can't come to Bristol and not know there is a massive ship. It was actually the most innovative ship in the world." (Howard, visitor economy)

Brunel's pivotal engineering successes was crucial in gaining international recognition, continuing to shape the engineering focus in the present. The success of Brunel is represented tangibly in the SS Great Britain, which Howard explains stands as a familiar beacon on the Bristol skyline. As in the case of Bath, the descriptive brand meanings provide a base for the brand meaning, rarely do the descriptive components remain isolated from the increasingly symbolic attitudes, evaluations and emotions. In the description provided by Howard, it begins by detailing the descriptive dimensions, before transcending into a discussion of innovation, engineering accomplishment, and ultimately pride.

While the participants speak chiefly of the positive brand meanings associated with Bristol's history, there remains a darker past. The association of Bristol with the slave trade triangle sparks contention, particularly in relation to central place names and attractions. One example is Colston Hall, the main concert venue in Bristol, which is named after the merchant and slave trader, Edward Colston:

"I think it is something that perhaps for a long time the city refused to talk about it. In the last five to ten years there has been a lot more public conversations about those tensions. It doesn't mean the tensions have gone away, but I think people are finding a way to make it a part of the Bristol story, and that feels important rather than just pretending it never happened. It is an important thing. Massive Attack refused to ever play at Colston Hall because it was named after the Colston family." (Julian, local authority)

As Julian suggests, there are attempts to accept responsibility for the chequered merchant past. Despite these breakthroughs, stakeholders acknowledge there remains a lot of work for Bristol to fully accept this darker heritage. These criticisms are particularly acute when compared with the attempts made in Liverpool.

Another prevalent theme relates to the business infrastructure (Table 4). Bristol is associated with world-leading high technology industries, including aerospace, smart technology, and digital microchips. This is reinforced by a strong university sector and an increasing tendency to work collaboratively across successful industries. The growth of business in the city is seen to provide employment opportunities for local people. Cameron (local community) highlights these opportunities when explaining, "*lots of business is happening here in the city; big businesses with airlines, Royles Royce, Lansdown, Lloyds Bank HQ*". Similarly, Stuart (business community) speaks of Bristol as a "*technical hotbed*" attracting talented workers and high-profile businesses. Moreover, the business infrastructure descriptions are advanced by participants when discussing the attitudes and value judgements affiliated to innovation, knowledge, and a pioneering city brand meaning.

This section pinpoints the importance of acknowledging the descriptive brand meanings assigned by the cities' stakeholders. Previously, promotional explorations have focused on these primary and functional meanings and used them as a base for scripted identities (Keller *et al.,* 2011). This section begins to show the restrictions of this approach by recognising that the functional brand meanings do not operate in isolation to the remainder of the brand meaning dimensions. While these perceptions provide an important base, looking only at descriptions fails to recognise how these meanings are used to shape attitudes, values and emotions.

4.32 ATTITUDES DIMENSION
4.321 BATH

Building on the descriptive brand meanings, stakeholders in Bath assign brand meanings expressing the city's beautiful, rejuvenating, innovative and recreational composition (Table 5) Again, the interconnection with the descriptive accounts can be seen, with stakeholders claiming Bath is beautiful with examples of the architecture, built environment, landscape and sense of 'Bathness'. As Anne (local community) surmises, "*It is a very good-looking place to be and when I first moved here I used to just wander around gorping at things.*" Despite the predominately positive associations of beautiful from all stakeholder groups, concern emerges from the business community that the picturesque setting allows for a level of complacency.

Second, rejuvenating extends the spa and thermal waters seen in the descriptive brand meaning. Bath's association with the thermal waters transcend to include an association with health and healing. As Michael (visitor economy) explains in Table 5, Bath is a place of sanctuary and recovery, epitomised through the perceived healing qualities of the thermal waters and the development of the Mineral Hospital. While the healing and rejuvenating qualities are aligned to city's heritage, a reliance of rejuvenation and wellbeing continues to be important in contemporary Bath. As such, the rejuvenating appeal of the city is considered a key asset, especially for the visitor economy. Yet, assonance across stakeholder groups emerges since the connection to the water is considered favourable by the local community and attracts workers.

Key Themes	Examples	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Beautiful	Landscape, basin, Georgian architecture, green spaces, cobbled streets	78 references from 25 participants; shared across stakeholder groups	"I would say it's a truly remarkable, beautiful, easy to enjoy city. I think when I come back from holiday then I still feel like I'm on holiday." (Arthur, business community) "There's integration of the countryside and the city, which provides the picturesque views." (Rick, local authority)
Rejuvenating	Relaxing, wellness, wellbeing, regeneration, spa culture	73 references from 22 participants; predominately visitor economy (n=32)	"What makes Bath stand out is that it was built was a place for recovery and fun. The Romans discovered the water and decided it had healing properties, and people came here to recuperate. They came here to de-stress, but at the same time, they wanted to enjoy themselves. It was a Roman leisure centre." (Michael, visitor economy) "That says if you're going to bring your team anywhere in the world to do some R&R and reimagining then Bath is the place to come ... A spa is this great place of stillness and dynamism. I think that's a claim that no one else can make. It's 'ownable'." (Arthur, business community)
Recreational	Retail, hospitality, leisure, destination, holiday, slow	44 references from 20 participants; shared across stakeholder groups	"I think the range of offerings, whether it be the really good selection of restaurants, or the really good selection of shops because that's an important attraction for millions of people." (Mark, visitor economy)

pace, entertainment,	*"Bath has always been about wellbeing, socialising. If you look at the 18th century then it had a reputation of people coming here to get rich, find a husband for their daughters, wear their laurels and make new friends."* (Lucas, local authority)

Table 5: Attitudes Dimension for Bath

Linked in part to rejuvenation are the claims pertaining to the recreational brand meanings. Table 5 details the participants' connection of recreation with the leisure, retail and service offerings. However, as Nigel (local authority) explains in Table 5, the connection to recreation extends beyond the present offerings and again links to the city's past. Bath has a legacy of being a leisure city. Several participants note that Bath has a legacy as a holiday resort:

> *"It's an unusual place to live because it's the only city in the country that was never an administrative centre. It's a city that was a holiday resort. So, it doesn't have all the buildings that are normally associated with the tax office and the rest of it. It was built for leisure."* (Bill, local community)

As Bill conveys, the city's infrastructure was never designed as an administrative centre. While these origins shape the physical appearance of the city, the lack of an administrative core causes contention for other stakeholders, who advocate greater development in keeping with twenty-first century economic and societal needs. Further dissonance arises in the overreliance on the legacy of the city's past, preventing the city from competing on a regional and national scale.

4.322 BRISTOL

For Bristol, the principal brand meaning attitudes are diverse, innovative, creative, vibrant and independent (Table 6). The participant claims relating to the diverse character of the city brand extends across a multitude of descriptive components, including arts and culture, history and heritage, business and extend to include the multicultural and multilingual makeup of the city. The variations in the architecture, attractions, events and festivals on offer provide examples of diversity. Moreover, the diversity extends to include differences among Bristol's population, with variations based on spatiality, nationality, and socio-economic backgrounds:

"Bristol is an eclectic city that welcomes people from different backgrounds. I don't just mean ethnic diversity, I mean diversity of thought, diversity of background. We welcome people who want to contribute to making the city a greater place for everybody." (Andrea, local community)

Positive associations are derived from these variations, with Bristol being seen as eclectic, allowing numerous voices to be heard. However, the diversity also transpires in negative ways. Not all stakeholders are able to access and benefit from the diversity of attractions, events and festivals. While the diversity of regions and nationalities awards the city with a cosmopolitan feel for those benefiting from segmentation, for others these silos create isolation and deprivation. Therefore, it is only the stakeholders in the favourable positions across Bristol that are benefiting from the diversity.

Connected to the diversity is the recognition of independence (Table 6). Bristol is home to a multitude of independent businesses, practices and people. The independence extends to include the use of the Bristol pound and the existence of Bristol time. The importance of retaining independence is seen across the sectors and industries, and largely perceived as a positive trait. While considered here as an attitude, the independent spirit of the city is captured in the unorthodox value judgements and creates an emotive sense of pride.

Key Themes	Examples	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Diverse	Multicultural, eclectic, variety of attractions, events, multiple communities	73 references from 23 participants; across business community, visitor economy and local authority but minimal reference by local community (n=6)	*"The fact that there is such a diverse offer in the city. In terms of events and festivals, but also in terms of buildings and our core offer, and other art organisations. There is something for everyone."* (Rachel, local authority) *"Bristol is like a series of villages. Each area of Bristol has its own distinctive identity, image and impression."* (Lauren, visitor economy)
Innovative	Constant change encourages industrial and cultural advancements	71 references from 25 participants; shared across business community,	*"I think it [Bristol] encourages innovation. It has good universities, good strong legacies of people coming to the universities and then staying on."* (Andrea, local community)

	visitor economy and local authority but minimal reference by local community (n=7)		*"I think Bristol is one of those cities where people just go out and do stuff, and make stuff happen. It's a make stuff happen city. A very DIY city. I think what we were trying to do when we were thinking about our work actually, with smart cities. Looking at how we can bring that creative element and that can-do attitude."* (Francesca, business community)
Vibrant	Lively, weekly events, festivals, regional hub, young, exciting	55 references from 23 participants: largely local authority (n=21)	*"A lot of visitors, lots of big events happening. Recently we had the big balloon fiesta and the harbour regatta as well. About a quarter of a million people turn up to these events. It's almost like a regional capital for vibrancy"* (Cameron, local community) *"It's a very exciting and very vibrant place. With having two universities then it's quite a young population."* (Julie, visitor economy)
Independent	Independent businesses, retailers, independent spirit	43 references from 18 participants; visitor economy main group	*"I'm a strong believer in emphasising Bristol's independent nature. I've been a very strong advocate of the Bristol pound and having highstreets with local independent businesses. You get far better employment that way."* (David, business community) *"The thing about Bristol is that it has a strong attitude toward being independent; about being independent and its independence. I've felt quite empowered by that for many years ... I was interested in supporting independent culture because I wanted to work more independently."* (Lewis, visitor economy)

Table 6: Attitudes Dimension for Bristol

Innovative and vibrant extend across several descriptive components. As Table 6 shows, Bristol provides a favourable environment for technological, cultural and creative innovation. Bristol's assets are adapted and extended, strengthening the city. The universities also promote the innovative undercurrent. Again, the innovative character is traced back through Bristol's heritage, in particular the key individuals, such as Brunel, affiliated to the city. Similarly, the vibrant brand meaning connects to the previous two attitudes, recognising the lively atmosphere in Bristol with an abundance of events, festivals and attractions. As Cameron (local

community) points out in Table 6, Bristol acts as regional hub of activity driven by its eclectic events and activity schedule. A further link to the vibrancy is the perceived age of the population in Bristol, since Bristol is also considered to be a young and university-orientated city.

Bath and Bristol's descriptive brand meaning present similar overarching themes yet differing manifestations. For example, while both cities look to the historic and cultural infrastructure, these descriptions develop into very different aptitudes. For Bath these attributes spark evaluations of beauty and rejuvenation, whereas in Bristol they create views of innovation and vibrancy. Exploring the attitudes illuminates these differences and shows what stakeholder groups are assigning these varying meanings. This shows the enhanced ability to explore points of assonance and dissonance when looking beyond the abstract articulations at the descriptive dimension. This enables a holistic and nuanced evaluation of the variations, rather than a snapshot of multiple stakeholder brand meaning claims.

4.33 VALUE JUDGEMENTS DIMENSIONS
4.331 BATH

In Bath, varied and contradictory brand value judgements emerge, ranging from welcoming to competitive, hedonistic to prohibitive, and backward to transitioning. From these, transitioning, backward and glamorous emerge as three central value judgements (Table 7). Transitioning is important since it recognises the push for change and advances beginning to take place. As Raj (local authority) explains in Table 7, participants in Bath are advocating a shift from reliance on the beautiful, recreational and rejuvenating city brand meanings to a more vibrant, entrepreneurial and innovative alternative. This is affirmed by Dean (local authority) when expressing, "*what we're trying to do is get away from it [Bath] being seen as that graveyard of ambition, towards being the place you arrive, and you take off almost.*" The emphasis is on both an actual and an aspirational meaning for the city, looking to the future potential rather than the current tangible infrastructure. Therefore, brand meanings provide a multifaceted and temporal account of the city as it means to the stakeholders in the present and to the future.

The temporality of brand meanings is also in this push toward modernisation and a reinvention of the city brand. Yet, changes remain in a state of flux. As Table 7 details, these stakeholders

are disproportionately from the business community and local authority. The flipside to this dichotomy sees stakeholders from the local community and visitor economy expressing concerning about the potential loss of Bath's character. As Ruth (local authority) points out, "*Local people are very engaged in making sure the city doesn't get ruined and the heritage is preserved.*" Therefore, stakeholder tensions are prevalent in the transitioning value judgement.

Key Themes	Examples	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Transitioning	Pushing to change, modernisation beginning, move toward business focus	118 references from 30 participants, main group discussing is local authority (n=47), followed by business community (n=36)	*"What we now need to build up for a 21st century audience. Well you've got your historical bit, and your health bit. What we need to build and reimagine for the next generation. It has always been a place that people do business and that's got lost a little bit as offices have closed down, but now we're building that backup. Actually, the reason people came here was health and the architecture. They weren't built by poor people, they were built by people who made money."* (Peter, local authority) *"There is a definite sense of change. It's the right time to get into groups and see what that means. The priority historically had been around tourism, and that remains a priority but even tourism is changing."* (Raj, local authority)
Backward	Outdated, slow to change	53 references from 20 participants.	*"There's no great buildings here, other than the Royal Crescent. There are no landmark buildings. They haven't developed the river. There's nothing twenty-first century about Bath. It relies purely on its heritage, but that's not enough. That's the whole problem, that's the past. The past isn't the future. You can engage the past, to help present or the future, but you can't rely on the past for the future. That's what Bath is still doing, it's relying on the old-world heritage, and that's not enough."* (Frank, visitor economy) *"Well the downside of a city like this is that it's very conservative. I don't mean*

			politically. Change is very difficult for a lot of people because they're very comfortable and don't want to change anything because it's quite nice as it is, So, why change anything? My argument is well you don't live in a museum." (Michael, visitor economy)
Glamorous	Stylish, elegant, prestigious, attractive, appealing, gentile	32 references from 12 participants; predominately visitor economy (n=18)	"Bath has always been a prestigious destination. I guess it's to do with the spa culture. It was a prestigious destination 2000 years ago, it was a prestigious destination 200 years ago, and it still holds onto that prestige of being a glamorous spa town." (Jane, local authority) "I don't think anybody I've ever met would disagree that it's stylish. It's quite elegant isn't it? It's beautiful. It's elegant. People use those words and its absolute honesty." (Michael, visitor economy)

Table 7: Value Judgement Dimension for Bath

Closely associated with these debates is the impression that Bath is backward. This stems from a view of Bath is a "*graveyard of ambition*" (Dean, local authority), "*rests on its laurels*" (Frank, visitor economy) and presents a "*living museum*" (Steven, local community). These capture the dissatisfaction with the slow change and a failure to respond to twenty-first century needs. A degree of contradiction emerges between the recurrent emphasis on heritage, espoused through the beauty, recreation and rejuvenation underscoring the city brand, running alongside distain about an overreliance on the past. Susan (business community) reaffirms this view, when warning, "*If you're not careful the idea of beauty and history means that one looks backwards.*" Likewise, the lost Dyson opportunity is presented as an example of Bath's failure to think innovatively:

> "I know the Council in their wisdom declined the opportunity to have a big Dyson design and technology college, which seems crazy to me. It would have really put the place on the map. I was just talking about that we're not just about Jane Austin and tourist haunts, but actually it's got something modern and contemporary relevant to young people. Losing out on that was a real lost opportunity." (Liam, business community)

Again, Liam critiques the perceived over association with heritage and tourism and its exclusion of business opportunities. It is not that the stakeholders in the business community do not favour the beauty and heritage associated with Bath, rather there is a concern over a disproportionate reliance on past successes. Instead, stakeholders are pushing to "*move toward the more inventive side, while retaining the beauty and the uniqueness*" and speaking to "*the amazing creativity and inventiveness*" the city possesses (Susan, business community). The potential for a compromise is advocated by James (visitor economy):

> "*Bath is unfortunately very much centred around Jane Austin. It has this Jane Austin festival where people dress up in Jane Austin dress and parade through the street for two days. That's great, but there's a terrible danger that you become this sort of heritage with a capital H. You become crystallised in the past, which is at odds with the reality of the place.*" (James, visitor economy)

James suggests that Bath should not remove its connection to the past, but it cannot let a preoccupation with protectionism prevent changes in the present. James goes on to propose that the creative industries should be allowed to thrive, since Bath is and has always been a place that reinvents itself.

Protection of the city's assets is seen as pivotal for stakeholders located within the visitor economy, particularly those working within heritage and tourism. Yet, this is not to the extent that advancements are curtailed. Rick (visitor economy) explains these problems when noting, "'*Bathness' will mean that anything will get picked over to death in some cases*." Rick references the, at times, overzealous efforts by select local community groups to prevent change in the city. Similarly, Michael (visitor economy) points out, "*Well you don't live in a museum, you live in the 21st century.*" The overarching criticism points to the lack of initiative by Bath's stakeholders:

> "*There's a lack of bringing in the assets into the twenty-first century and a lack of desire to do so. We congratulate ourselves on turning a famous building, with Millennium money, into this is what Georgian life was like. That's it, that's what Bath's going to be known for? Just turning a bloody building into an example of that. Jesus Christ, OK. It's great that we've done it, but in the world stage of significance it wouldn't even reach 100th place.*" (Frank, visitor economy)

The perceived lack of initiative is seen as stifling the city's ability to differentiate itself internationally. Instead of maximising the potential for Bath to be a world leading visitor attraction, there tends to be an apathy toward modernisation. Frustration toward an apathetic approach to advancement is shared by many of the visitor economy's stakeholders, who critique a failure to maximise Bath's natural advantage.

Within the local community there are multiple viewpoints relating to the backward versus modernisation dichotomy. There are local community stakeholders who advocate a protection of the heritage as paramount, critiquing "sleights of hand" (Bill, local community) by the local authority and city developers that have led to heritage being lost. These tensions are heightened by the inscription of Bath as a WHS, alongside the ownership of the "highest concentration of listed buildings in the country, other than Westminster" Sue (visitor economy). For these stakeholders, lobbying the protection of these assets is pivotal. Less overtly, others wish to protect the heritage, but do not perceive modernisation alongside protection as insurmountable. As Joseph (local community) suggests; "Well it's got to achieve being a living, historic, and beautiful city that is to say clearly, not a fossil, not a museum piece." A similar positive connotation is the potential for revenue from the heritage and beauty, which acts as a "tourist magnet" (Robert, local community). Therefore, alongside the more protectionist views are those pushing for change:

> *"You could say that could be one of the downsides that people here don't want things to change. I'm in the camp that you should build and grow heritage, not let it not change".* (Joanne, local community)

This highlights the difficulty of assigning brand meanings to a specific stakeholder group, as stakeholders are not uniform and often hold multiple roles within a city (Braun *et al.,* 2012). Nonetheless, the backward value judgement is important, showcasing the multiplicity of meanings behind one impression and the implications these meanings have for the brand building process. Moreover, the aligned dichotomy between preservation versus modernisation is pivotal in shaping the production and consumption of Bath's city brand, prompting collaboration among converging views and competition among diverging views.

Stakeholder valuation of Bath's brand representing glamour, style and elegance represent the more positive value judgments (Table 7). The glamorous value judgment is built from an accumulation of the positive connotations detailed in the descriptive and attitude dimension. For example, the arts and culture, alongside beauty and recreation. Moreover, stakeholders note with pride the perceived outward image of Bath as glamorous, authenticating their own claims of what they perceived to be a largely agreed upon evaluation. However, even the positive valuation of glamorous runs into confrontation with the less favourable valuation of superficial. Further demonstrating that brand meanings are seldom simple or linear. Instead, fragmentation, variation and constant flux ensures that brand meanings remain complex and at times contradictory.

4.332 BRISTOL

Bristol is considered divided (Table 8), presenting a "*tale of two cities*" (John, local authority). The prosperity, diversity, innovation and vibrancy are not equally accessed by all stakeholders. Roger (local community) identifies the positioning of areas of extreme wealth next to areas of extreme deprivation (Table 8). The inequalities are illuminated by Rachel (local authority) when explaining:

> *"Bristol is a really complex city. It's very much a city of two halves. It has some really great things going on, but we have some huge areas of deprivation. Bristol is one of the cities that has the highest number of PhD students, but also the lowest educational attainment levels."* (Rachel, local authority)

These concerns were shared by stakeholders from across Bristol, pointing to the visibility and longevity of the divisions. The local community are particularly concerned about these divisions, seeing the regeneration of the city as widening the gaps between those that have, and those that have not.

Key Themes	Examples	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Divided	City of two-halves, city of villages, inequalities, divisions	68 references from 23 participants; mainly local	*"Yes, diversity is brilliant, but the challenges as a relatively rich city, if you're poor in Bristol then you're excluded. So, you're poorer than if you were poor in Liverpool for instance. It's a lovely, brilliant city, but it's*

		community (n=23)	got all the social challenges that you can possibly devise." (David, business community)
			"It has very wealthy pockets, and some pockets of very high deprivation. There is a number of vulnerable people who live in Bristol, a number of people who are homeless and that number is increasing. There are already people living in areas of deprivation with lots of needs; health needs, employment needs, and got no money. So, there's those kinda things that we try and support them in trying to make the most of the areas in which they live." (Roger, local community)
Unorthodox	Not afraid to be different, quirky, radical, daring	62 references from 20 participants; visitor economy mentions the most frequent (n=29)	"We do things slightly differently in Bristol and it has a sort of fun and playful element." (Julian, local authority) "It's actually quite a quirky place. Bristolians, true Bristolians, are people who will push back and a little bit individualistic" (Nathan, visitor economy)
Community-orientated	Close-knit, community connections, welcoming	56 references from 22 participants; shared across stakeholder groups	"It's a big place, but it feels like a village. You can't leave your house without bumping into someone you know, which you don't really get with other cities." (Sian, visitor economy) "It's about coming to a place where you can be very successful individually, but you can do it in a way that has a community, has a heart, and has vibrancy. There are lots of different communities. There will be something for everyone here." (Andrea, local community)
Transitioning	Constant evolution and change	52 references from 22 participants; visitor economy have the most references (n=20), followed by business community (n=14)	"Bristol is a city that is definitely on the move. We need to bring people with us, carry on the work that is being done, and not get put off by anything. If we're going to change Bristol for the better, then we need to continue moving forward." (Patrick, visitor economy) "It has adapted, from what used to be a trading city to something quite different now." (Roberta, local community)

Table 8: Value Judgement Dimension for Bristol

EUnorthodox stands as a dominant brand meaning expressed by the Bristol's stakeholders (Table 8). Unorthodox encapsulates the previous brand meaning dimensions; embracing the independence, diversity, cultural richness, vibrancy, daring spirit and innovation. These are built on the foundations of a pioneering heritage alongside a quirky and diverse cultural scene. This includes a wide acclaim toward street art and alternative and confrontational visual arts. Bristol means something different than the norm, "*A bit alternative and a bit kind of different, a bit grassroots*" (Rachel, local authority). These values judgements are supported by city-wide initiatives, such as the selection of festivals and events. Examples includes the annual summer Balloon Fiesta, Making Sunday Special events, and even a giant water slide making its way through Park Street:

> "*You go from European Green Capital to something as diverse and extreme as a naked bike ride. We have lots of things happening here. It's just surprise after surprise when you visit Bristol.*" (Patrick, visitor economy)

However, these unorthodox activities and events are not equally accessible to all stakeholders, pointing again to the inequalities dividing the city. Despite the discontent expressed under the divided valuation, community-orientated emerges as a value judgement (Table 8). Community-orientated looks to the impression of Bristol as being community-focused, friendly, connected and welcoming. Despite the larger population size for Bristol in comparison to Bath, the stakeholders refer to the city feeling like a village (Table 8). Some participants speak of the entire city as a community, and others note the smaller communities across the city. Sian (visitor economy) speaks of the connections between people who live and work in Bristol (Table 8) when explaining the commonality of unplanned encounters with friends and colleagues across the city. Aligned to the community and village feel is the sense of feeling welcome:

> "*I think it's a very welcoming city. When I first came here, and I came from Birmingham, it felt like, and I don't mean this to be disrespectful, but it felt like a village. It was very welcoming and like a village, but creative like a big city.*" (Roger, local community)

As Roger details, the welcoming and village feel runs alongside the vibrancy and creativity. This is advanced by Andrea (local community) in Table 8, when pinpointing community-spirit

runs parallel to success and vibrancy. Therefore, the attachment of community-orientated brand meanings runs in harmony with the transitioning and daring valuations, provides a focal point to bring stakeholders together, augmenting the sense of belonging in the city.

The discussions surrounding transitioning differ to the considerations outlined for Bath. Instead of references the onset of transitions, the ethos in Bristol speaks to fluidity and constant change from the 1970s to today. The stakeholders reference the catalyst for change as the physical development in the 1960s and 1970s, which extends into the present day. These changes brought a new ethos for the city, one of innovation and change. This fits with the associations of Bristol as vibrant, diverse and culturally rich. Therefore, instead of being an aspiration, the transitioning is a part of the city and its character. This sparks a positive assonance among stakeholders, in contrast to the dissonance for Bath.

The crux of the competition among brand meanings are shown when looking to the value judgement dimension. For Bristol, a number of contradictions also emerge. Yet, these are less pronounced than for Bath. As Table 8 shows, similar contradictions emerge in relation to transitioning alongside backward and a stark contradiction arises in terms of divided alongside community. However, minus these few exceptions the brand valuations operate predominately in harmony in Bristol. Fun, daring, pioneering, youthful and unorthodox all emerge as value judgements, working largely in tandem. Similarly, responsible and truthful speaks to the consciousness of the Bristol's brand meaning claims. This demonstrates that brand meanings can be clustered when complementary differences emerge.

4.34 EMOTIVE DIMENSION
4.341 BATH

The NVivo analysis is not detailed for the emotive dimensions (Table 9 and Table 10) as the emotions are rarely explicitly stated by the stakeholders. Instead, they are inferred and develop accumulatively based on the aforementioned brand meaning dimensions. Belonging, pride and frustration emerge as the three recurrent brand meaning emotions detailed by stakeholders in Bath (Table 9). Belonging speaks to the self-association of the individual or group to the city and its associated knowledge, attitudes and values. A link here is the importance placed on the sense of community in Bath, whereby local residents, workers and attractions seek to protect

and embrace others from the city. As Anne (local community) explains in Table 9, this protectionism is seen by outsiders as a clique, but for those on the inside it is seen as a welcoming and community-spirited. Moreover, as Ben (business community) explains, the sense of belonging speaks to the feeling that you are an accepted and welcomed part of the community. Further links can be drawn to the discussions relating to the size of the city and the interconnectivity of residents and workers.

Key Themes	Examples	Interview Quotations
Belonging	Self-association, membership, lineage, community attachment	"I think that the sense of community and belonging. When I first said I was going to move to Bath people would say oh it's very cliquey and hard to get to know people. I think it's just a case of finding something you enjoy and joining in, that's where the sense of the community comes from." (Anne, local community)
		"Thinking about how you make the city not just a place that you live but it's a place that you're actually apart of." (Ben, business community)
		"Being born and bred in Bath, and I've always worked here and lived here, and now running my business here. I wanted to be part of a local business community, but also be a voice for that community as well." (Sarah, business community)
Pride	Joy and reward attained from city brand	"By being a member of this place called Bath you're a part of something you're proud of and actually gives you access and opportunity to get involved in stuff." (Ben, business community)
		"I think that if you live in place like this you have to be proud of it and share it with other people. Not try and keep the glam to yourself … It's pure luck that I live here, and that I can afford to live here, and enjoy living here. So, who am I to say that other people shouldn't enjoy that as well?" (Anne, local community)
Frustration	Annoyance at failure to modernise versus modernisation without regard to the heritage	"This subject has been going on pretty much since I moved in 10 years ago, and still haven't got anywhere there. I've found the whole process frustrating really." (Liam, business community)
		"Part of the problem of having a status of world heritage city is that it's pretty easy to use that as a vehicle to do nothing because you don't want to offend and you don't want to change." (Michael, visitor economy)

Table 9: Emotive Dimension for Bath

Linked to belonging and passion is a sense of pride in Bath. As Anne (local community) explains in Table 9, the stakeholders feel lucky to live or work in the city. It is noteworthy that the predominant source of the pride espoused relates to the city's heritage and beauty. Joanne (local community) details this connection when explaining, "*There is a lot of people who love heritage and feel very proud of that heritage and history, and not changing things.*" The connection between the pride and heritage goes someway in explaining the vigour and contention behind the dichotomy between preservation versus modernisation.

Yet, negative implicit emotions can also be inferred from the stakeholders. Frustration emerges as an important and recurrent emotive brand meaning. Stakeholders from both sides of the modernisation versus preservation dichotomy are frustrated at either a failure to develop or developments that disregard the existing character of the city. Other implicit emotions also include protectionism, disconnection, aspiration and apathy. The protectionism can be seen directly through the wish to preserve the traditional composition of Bath. The disconnection runs alongside the frustration, with a perceived apathy delineated to the lack of change and complacency, as well as the perceived unwillingness to maximise Bath's potential. Moreover, the aspiration looks to the push for change and to be the best version of the city in the twenty-first century. Further, a number of additional emotions would likely arise if a wider sample of stakeholders was considered. This thesis relies on stakeholders who already hold a level of salience in the branding process, it would be worthwhile extending this further to assess how emotions vary for those not currently demonstrating an interest or a level of power in the process.

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For Bristol, belonging, pride and isolation emerge as three recurrent and important brand meaning emotions (Table 10). For belonging, self-association is important, alongside membership and lineage. In Table 10, Martin (local community) explains the importance of lineage when tracing his family history to Bristol over 500-years. This deep-rooted connection reinforces the strong associations with the city. Yet, the connections need not be intrinsic to the person, landmarks can also spark a sense of belonging in Bristol. Julie (visitor economy) explains in Table 10, how the Bristol Suspension Bridge acts as a marker of entry into Bristol, used by residents to signal their return home after a trip away. Moreover, the community-

orientation sparks a sense of belonging and connection among the stakeholders, whether it relates to the entire city or a sub region. Another example relates to the sense of unorthodoxy, which participants' assign to their own perception of the self. Stakeholders draw parallels between their own unorthodoxy and in congruence with the city (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Again, the sense of belonging is interconnected to the descriptions, attitudes and value judgements.

Key Themes	Examples	Interview Quotations
Belonging	Self-association, membership, lineage	*"That's why so many people came to celebrate the Bridge when it first opened. Things like people being able to see it from the air and knowing their home. There's a lot of people who say that when they've been away then they deliberately drive over the Bridge, or along the port way, so that they can see the Bridge and know they're back in Bristol."* (Julie, visitor economy)
		"I've done my family history, and apart from for about 40 years then we've been in Bristol for about 500 years. So, I'm almost a local. Although, as I said when we were having a lecture on this, we ought to speak to our constituents in our first language. Well I said, one has a problem there, having been in Bristol and all the family for 500 years, then we've never spoken English of course [laughs]. So yes, I do associate strongly with Bristol." (Martin, local authority*)*
Pride	Satisfaction attained from city's achievements, assets and connection	*"You have a lot of people who are really proud of where they live. You can get t-shirts from the market that have local slang on from the area you live in. But, I don't think there is kind of rivalry between different areas, there's just a difference between them."* (Julie, visitor economy)
		*"Things like winning the European Green Capital in 2015 and becoming proud of the fact that Bristol is a sustainable green city. There is a huge amount to celebrate that has been successful in that area and making that part of the city identity stronger as well." (*Julian, local authority)
		*"If you can think of it in those terms and come up with things that people genuinely feel happy about. You know the sort of things people want to tell their family and their friends about the place where they live." (*Julian, local authority)
Isolation	The projection of vibrancy, independence and	*"We do need to be able to share the success and wealth better across the city than we do at the moment. There are some areas that haven't really changed in terms of their demographics or life*

| | fun excludes those who do not have access to these claims; a city of two-halves | *expectancy in 100 years, 150 years. So, the same types of people, with the same jobs, still exist in those areas 150 years later."* (Cameron, local authority)

"There is very very low expectation of change, which you might not be surprised of in high poverty and run-down areas. But it's getting worse by the fact that they're continuously talked over and ignored by other groups who have far less contact with the city. They're more likely to be people passing through or just arrived, or lived on the outside and travel through. So, you get a kind of feeling wandering around Bristol at times that it's not that far off what it was like in Brixton in the 80s when there were the riots." (Fred, local community) |

Table 10: Emotive Dimension for Bristol

When stating the pride espoused from being connected to Bristol, there's an emphasis on the reward attained from being a member of the community. The reasons for the pride range extend across tangible assets the city possesses to Bristol's achievements, attitudes and values. Julian (local authority) lists the European Green Capital Award as the catalyst for his pride in the city, whereas Julie (visitor economy) speaks of her pride toward the city as a whole. Once more, the connections across the brand meaning layers become evident. Other positive brand meaning emotions include excitement and enlightenment. The excitement is seen through the abundance of events, activities, attractions and opportunities that make the city an innovative, creative and unorthodox place to live, work and visit. Moreover, the enlightenment addresses the abundance of businesses and opportunities in Bristol, which makes it an innovative, knowledgeable and ultimately pioneering city.

As with Bath, negative emotions also emerge, including disconnection and isolation. The disconnection and isolation speak to the exclusion and divisions inherent in Bristol. As Table 10 shows, the situation has not improved for parts of Bristol over the past century, despite all the advancements occurring in the city as a whole. This creates frictions since people with a perceived less legitimate claim to the city as able to sway its presentation, while the local community feels antagonism at their omission. Yet, Fred (local community) goes on to explain how this isolation from Bristol as a whole creates connections with the local area:

"If you were in a wealthy area, or your expectations are quite high, then you don't need that kind of relationship with your neighbours. But when you're poor and you have no way of escaping from them then you do." (Fred, local community)

Therefore, local community stakeholders become more engaged in their local area in an attempt to lessen the isolation from the rest of Bristol. There is also isolation across some of the wealthier districts. As Lauren (visitor economy) explains, "*I think that people who live in certain areas won't venture into other areas*". This links back to the divisions inherent in Bristol, whereby the city is often seen to be a series of villages, rather than a single base.

As the analysis shows, brand meanings are multidimensional and interconnected. By looking at the multiple dimensions, the research shows the complexities at play. Moreover, the emotive dimensions help uncover stakeholder motivations for participation in the city branding process, whether it be positive emotions of pride and belonging, or feelings of frustration and concern. The variations in emotions and connections to the stakeholders draws parallels with Kavaratzis and Hatch's (2013) exploration of branding alongside identity theory. Therefore, as well as providing a holistic account of the brand meanings as a crucial and multidimensional component in place branding governance, the dimensions showcase reasons and experiences shaping the evolving stakeholders' participation.

4.4 DISCUSSION: DRAWING TOGETHER THEMES FROM ACROSS THE BRAND MEANING DIMENSIONS

Brands comprise "a cluster of meanings" (Batey, 2015: 6) that develop from multiple stakeholders' perceptions and interpretations of a multitude of associations, attributes, benefits and values (Allen *et al.,* 2007). This research builds on the increasing acceptance of stakeholders and the meanings they attach when evaluating the brand building process (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). Despite the rising acceptance of stakeholders' pivotal role as partners in place branding (Aitken and Campelo, 2011), there are only minimal attempts to capture the multiplicity of brand meanings (Merrilees *et al.,* 2012). This is especially acute when ownership of the brand is blurred (Green *et al.,* 2016). The previous section begins to address these omissions, combining Batey's (2015) functional to symbolic continuum, with Laaksonen *et al.,'s* (2006) brand meaning levels, to develop five interconnected brand meaning dimensions. These are outlined and applied to Bath and Bristol's stakeholder claims, providing

an empirical application of the complexities in operation. Throughout the empirical investigation of brand meaning dimensions a number of themes emerge. These themes help to illuminate opportunities and hurdles when governing complex and multifaceted brand meanings. Moreover, the benefits of evaluating brand meanings as a core component of place branding governance are espoused.

4.41 MULTIPLICITY, MULTIDIMENSIONALITY AND INTERCONNECTIVITY OF BRAND MEANING

The chapter was built around an understanding that brand meanings are complex, multifaceted and require a holistic analysis. This research provides the first important step in analysing the holistic nature of place branding by showcasing the multiplicity of brand meanings consumed and produced by stakeholders from across Bath and Bristol. In doing so, the chapter affirms the existence of a multiplicity of brand meanings (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Berthon *et al.,* 2009; Wilson *et al.,* 2014), whereby stakeholders' assign functional and psychological value to brands (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). However, this research extends the existing understanding, by demonstrating the multidimensionality of brand meanings at each of the descriptive, attitudinal, evaluation and emotive dimensions. Moreover, the analysis points to a multiplicity of meanings across stakeholder groups. With noteworthy exceptions (Merrilees *et al.,* 2012; Braun *et al.,* 2017), there have been few attempts to study multiple stakeholders concurrently. The inclusion of four stakeholder groups allows for a multi-stakeholder analysis that illuminates the scope of brand meaning claims.

The thesis also empirically investigates brand meanings across Bath and Bristol, allowing for additional comparisons to be drawn based on the brand. Therefore, the research is able to capture the multiplicity of meaning across spatiality. As shown above, at the descriptive dimension many of the overarching themes are the same, for example, the historic and cultural infrastructure. However, when looking beyond the functional aspects to the more symbolic attitudes and values the differences become clearer. The way the historic infrastructure is perceived varies greatly across the city brands yet using merely descriptions as a promotional tool would omit these important differences. Therefore, by also looking across two cities, the research shows where the crux of the intricacies develops and how these variations manifest in different ways in different contexts.

A further noteworthy finding relates to the quantity of these multiple brand meanings found within the two city branding examples. In Bath, the multiplicity of brand meanings is starker, with stakeholders acknowledging a breadth of different meanings assigned to the city. In Bristol, the multiplicity of claims remains, but to a lesser extent. This tentatively suggests that less congruence exists in Bath, helping to explain the highly levels of uncertainty and discontent expressed by many of its stakeholders. In contrast, Bristol's stakeholders appear to be more accepting of multiplicity, working on avenues of unison and building upon the acceptance to welcome the inclusion of additional stakeholders into the branding process.

In addition to the multiplicity, brand meanings are also shown to be interconnected. By extending and applying Batey (2015) and Laaksonen *et al.*,'s (2006) frameworks, this research is able to show the connections across brand meaning dimensions. The brand meaning dimensions are not operating in isolation; the stakeholders are building their brand meaning claims based on an amalgamation of descriptions, attitudes, impressions and emotions. In comparison to the branding of conventional goods and services, place brands are inextricably linked to the 'place', which is represented most acutely in the descriptive brand meaning dimension. Yet, by evaluating the duality of meanings from functional to symbolic, the research is able to capture how stakeholders understand, connect with and experience the brand.

4.42 MELDING OF BRAND MEANINGS

This research identifies examples of the melding of similar brand meanings, affirming the potential for stakeholder assonance (Wilson *et al.,* 2014). Assonance between stakeholder claims is importance since it enables a degree of cultural synergy to be established between stakeholders when working together toward a common aim (Gyrd-Jones and Kornum, 2013). However, to date the previous research has largely focused on the assonance between the firm and the stakeholders (Wilson *et al.,* 2014; Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013). The thesis builds upon previous research and demonstrates the potential for assonance between brand meaning claims when ownership is shared among diffused stakeholder groups. Moreover, by looking across the brand meanings continuum this research is able to show where brand assonance (and dissonance) is strongest or weakest. Specifically, there is greater assonance when looking at stakeholders' more functional brand meanings versus the potential for dissonance in the value

judgements. Moreover, at the emotive dimensions assonance between stakeholders' claims re-emerges. Stakeholders who share emotions, such as isolation or frustration, are trying to work together to find a shared solution to the problems causing these negative emotions.

4.43 COMPETITION AND CONFLICT

The multiplicity and multidimensionality of brand meanings creates both harmony and conflict among stakeholders. While previous research looks to the detrimental role of dissonance for the firm (Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013), this research looks holistically at the perceived conflicts emerging between stakeholder groups. The chapter provides an empirical investigation into the root conflict between stakeholders, whereas previous research largely focuses purely on the outcome of conflict within place branding (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). In particular, the tensions surrounding backwards versus transitioning in Bath and regarding divided and community-orientated in Bristol are highlighted. An identification of conflicts between stakeholder claims provides the base for the later analysis of varying stakeholder contributions and capacities. Moreover, the apathy and frustration sparked by brand meaning dissonance begins to demonstrate the underlying power battles inherent within the place branding process (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016). Therefore, while stakeholders are consuming the place brands in different ways, their varying ability to participate in the production of the dominant claims begins to surface. These tensions are considered in depth throughout the remainder of the thesis.

4.44 TIME AND TEMPORALITY

An inference running through the analysis of brand meaning relates to time and temporality. As with many other areas of branding, time and temporality remain scarcely considered in place branding despite its enduring influence. While there are connections between time and temporality; time refers to the flow of time in the present, whereas temporality looks to the concept of the past, present and future (Gibbs, 1998). Despite the omission, time is central to an understanding of brand meanings that operate in a constant state of flux. Brand meanings are not static but vary over time and place (Merilees *et al.,* 2012). However, temporality also plays out when meanings are assigned to the past, present and future often interchangeably.

Lucarelli and Giovanardi (2016) are among the first to acknowledge temporality in place branding when exploring the politics of memory, looking to the past to negotiate a more favourable input in the present. The politics of memory emerges throughout this empirical investigation, with both Bristol and Bath using its heritage as a source of legitimacy when negotiating brand meanings in the present. Yet, the way in which the memories of the past are applied varies across the two cities. In Bath, brand meanings espouse a strong connection to the past, which helps to explain why the value judgement of transitioning raises contention among stakeholders. In contrast, Bristol is using the past to gain extra legitimacy for the present and the future, with transitioning being considered as constant and ongoing. Another noteworthy mention comes from Brodie *et al.,* (2017), who acknowledge the temporality of corporate branding. The authors use temporality when conceptually discussing how the firm adjusts depending on the networks of stakeholders in the past, present and future. However, this largely focuses on how firms change over time, as opposed to stakeholders' use of time and temporality for place branding.

The temporality emerges in positive and negative ways. Building on the past is seen to create legitimacy and authenticity for the claims (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). For example, when stakeholders in Bristol speak of being innovative it is common for Brunel to be referenced as the pioneer of innovation shaping the city into the present day. Moreover, in Bath its hedonic past is seen as creating its recreational present. Yet, stakeholders disagree about whether these connections are positive or negative. As outlined, for other stakeholders in Bath the overreliance on past successes stifles advancements in the present. Moreover, the past can bring negative connotations. In Bristol, the close connection to the slave trade is only beginning to gain acknowledgement. Criticisms emerge of a failure to fully accept the dark heritage and openly discuss Bristol's part in the events. The divisions of the past also continue to play out in the present, with Bristol being seen by many as a divided city, benefiting those with wealth to the detriment of those below the breadline.

Throughout the brand meaning dimensions, time is operating as an underlying influence. However, it becomes most prominent in the value judgements and emotive dimensions. The emphasis on the brand meanings backward and transitioning are among the most overt examples. However, the influence of time is also interwoven into additional brand meanings in more subtle ways, connecting brand meanings with memories of the past and aspirations for

the future. Therefore, brand meanings are both reflective and progressive, encapsulating reflections and aspirations. Again, these complexities help to understand the difficulties of applying previous governance models to a multifaceted branding process.

4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter provides a holistic overview of the multiplicity and multidimensionality of brand meaning claims relating to Bath and Bristol. The importance of the intricacies across stakeholder claims supports the move away from prescriptive logos and slogans, and push toward participatory place branding (Kladou *et al.,* 2017). While functional brand meanings provide an important base of analysis, there is value in looking beyond descriptive attributes and looking at the ways that attitudes, impressions and emotions are shaped during the place branding process. Together the four dimensions demonstrate the multidimensional and complex nature of brand meanings that are neither purely descriptive, nor entirely emotive. Instead, brand meanings are an amalgamation of all the dimensions, varying based on the branding setting and stakeholder group. Moreover, by investigating the multiplicity of brand meaning claims, the chapter highlights points of similarity and difference that emerge across stakeholders and across city brands. This research augments previous studies that explore the variations in assonance and dissonance between firms and stakeholders (Wilson *et al.,* 2014; Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013), by examining the melds and gulfs when ownership is largely decentralised and blurred.

Time and power also emerge as two important, and yet unexplored, aspects of place branding. Points of divergence are matched with a competition between claims, yet little is known about how these claims are enacted and whether discrepancies in stakeholder influence arise. Similarly, time can serve to reinforce powerful doctrines, controlling the emphasis given to select meanings over others (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016). Moreover, while brand meanings allow for change, the findings point to the difficulty and frustration experienced by stakeholders when seeking to alter entrenched claims. This raises the question of how change can be enacted, and who is able to shape these changes? The thesis will build upon these themes further in the following chapters.

There is no simple approach to governing place branding. This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of what meanings stakeholders are aligning to Bath and Bristol, as well as evaluating the complementary and competing claims. The remaining chapters develop a more critical approach to place branding governance, examining the varying contributions made to the place branding process through stakeholder engagement and investigating reasons for the continued exclusion of certain stakeholders why variations occur between stakeholders.

CHAPTER 5
STAKEHOLDER CONTRIBUTIONS: CRITICALLY INVESTIGATING STAKEHOLDERS' PARTICIPATION IN STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter highlights the multiplicity of brand meanings operating across interconnected dimensions, covering stakeholders' descriptions, attitudes, values and emotions (Batey, 2015; Laaksonen *et al.,* 2006). These meanings vary depending on city and stakeholder category, as well as an array of underlying factors such as time, power and motivation. This chapter builds upon these multifaceted meanings, by moving on from '*what'* brand meanings stakeholders' assign, to analysing '*how'* the brand meanings are produced and consumed by stakeholders from the business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy. To do so, this research integrates stakeholder theory alongside stakeholder engagement. Again, this is based around a combination of the descriptive, instrumental and normative components of stakeholder theory (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). To investigate stakeholder participation in engagement, this chapter first examines the ways that stakeholders participate in place the branding process. A critical examination of variations between stakeholders then allows for an investigation into stakeholders' varying levels of access to the engagement apparatus.

The chapter proceeds as follows: first, is an examination of the ways in which stakeholders are participating through formal and informal engagement tools. This is followed by an exploration of the different approaches stakeholders undertake. Combining the analysis for the first two sections, the chapter details the variations in forms of engagement. Building upon the findings from the previous sections, a hierarchy of engagement is established. Finally, emergent themes

relating to stakeholders' varying participation is espoused, this include the importance of temporality, spatiality, connectivity, ownership, leadership and accountability.

5.2 INVESTIGATING THE WAYS STAKEHOLDERS PARTICIPATE IN ENGAGEMENT ACTIVITIES

Stakeholder engagement emerges as an important facet of the brand governance process (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Hankinson, 2009, 2015). Despite the increasing recognition of stakeholder engagement, as a discursive tool to involve stakeholders in the place branding process, there remains a gulf in empirical studies that explore '*how*' stakeholder engagement allows for the inclusion of multiple stakeholder voices. An abductive analysis of the data suggests stakeholder engagement can be broken down into three interlocking factors; namely tools, approaches and forms. The 'tools' address the apparatus stakeholders are employing when producing and consuming brand meanings. These can be both formal and informal. The 'approaches' include stakeholders' actions during the engagement process and can be clustered into supplementary, advisory and coordination. Finally, drawing these apparatus and actions together, this chapter explores the 'forms' of engagement. These extend Foo *et al.*,'s (2011) stages of engagement, assessing stakeholders' access to communication, consultation, collaboration and partnership building.

5.21 ENGAGEMENT TOOLS

This section sets out the mixture of apparatus stakeholders across Bath and Bristol employ when producing and consuming brand meanings. In line with current research, the findings demonstrate that stakeholders access a mixture of formal and informal engagement tools when partaking in the city branding process (Hanna and Rowley, 2011) (Figure 8). The formal tools include prearranged committees, meetings, forums and structured feedback through questionnaires and surveys. These formal tools allow for stakeholders to collectively propel brand meaning claims through largely rearranged channels. The informal tools include (though not exclusively) events, competitions, workshops, festivals and increasingly an array of informal discussions and networking activities. These tools expand beyond the prearranged and structured attempts to draw stakeholders together around a specific focus, instead looking

to more flexible and exciting alternatives. The findings also highlight variations in use of engagement tools across the two cities and stakeholder groups.
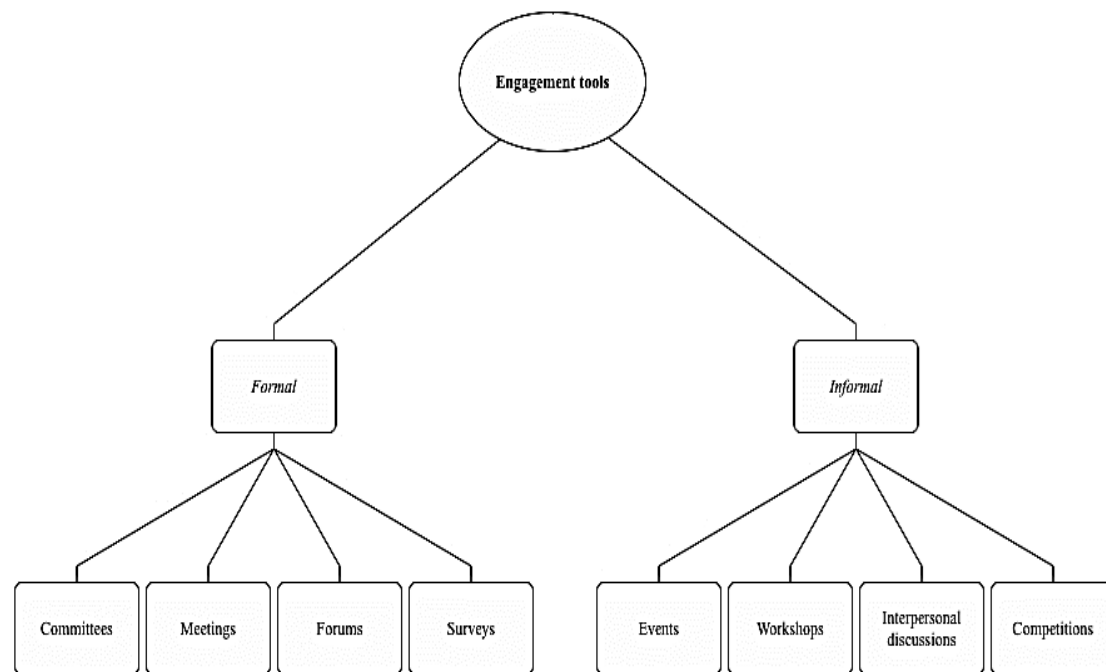
Figure 8: Stakeholder Engagement Formal and Informal Tools

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Table 11 sets out variations in stakeholders' use of engagement tools in Bath. The findings show that stakeholders in Bath are still largely relying on formal tools, while informal tools are becoming increasingly commonplace, especially for stakeholders from the business community and visitor economy. In line with traditional accounts of stakeholder engagement (Ackermann and Eden, 2011), meetings remain a common, though time-consuming apparatus. Committees provide extra focus and commitment, though the selectivity in commission appointment creates a more fruitful avenue for inclusion. In contrast, forums bring together large volumes of stakeholders, though it becomes cumbersome to achieve a recognisable input. Therefore, multiple stakeholders have the option of utilising multiple tools, but not all tools provide the same levels of access to the engagement process.

For the informal tools, access also varies depending on the tool. While events, festivals, workshops, and competitions allow for creative alternatives, it is often the informal discussions

and the interpersonal connections they create that provide the greatest access to engagement. Therefore, despite the local community are finding alternatives ways to partake in workshops, the main influence is achieved by the business community and visitor economy when creating networks through informal discussions. Rick (local authority) epitomises this dichotomy with reference to the "*golf course type of conversations*" inherent within informal discussions. These relationships develop over time, with stakeholders forging connections with people rather than specific organisations.

Engagement tools	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Formal engagement tools: Meetings; Committees; Forums;	Formal tools most frequently discussed; in particular meetings (n=32) and committees (n=28)	"*There has been a lot of meetings and a lot of people being involved, working out what they're doing, arguing about what the remit is, have we got the remit right etc.*" (Raj, local authority)
	Coding references for all stakeholder groups; the local authority largely discussing committees and forums, whereas local community and business community more active in meetings. The visitor economy discussing formal tools least.	"*I don't have a formal role. Just go to some meetings. There could be more done, but the leader uses up all his time sitting on lots of committees.*" (Ian, business community) "*I got involved in the local residence association because I went along to the meetings and had been a member for four years or so*" (Robert, local community) "*We want to be quite present in the city because that's a part of our strategy, but you have to think what is the best way of doing that? Otherwise, you can find yourself in endless meetings without having anytime to actually get any work done.*" (Richard, visitor economy)
Informal engagement tools: Events/ festivals; Networking (including informal discussions); Workshops; Digital and social media	Overall informal tools less frequently discussed in Bath. Events the exception (n=38), also an increasing emphasis on networking (n=28). The business community form the highest number of coding references, especially for events (n=17). The visitor economy and local	"*You'll quite often have those golf course type of conversations that aren't done in meetings and things. So, a lot of that influence and conversation happens.*" (Rick, local authority) "*You can if you want try to engage more people, but you generally have to take it to them and hold events in the community. You can do that, and it works at times. But it depends how much time you've got to do that and resources.*" (Rick, local authority) "*We got local children designing their bridges and had them all made up into top trumps. We did an exhibition where you could learn about different types of bridges*

authority are also discussing events.	*and you could build your own cable stay bridge. We worked with an engineering school in the city. They helped us to run a few sessions and they came up with these designs and then had these all made up. All the children came when we did the event to announce the winner of the real bridge."* (Jane, local authority)

Table 11: Bath Engagement Tools

The varying access to the engagement process is further evident in the differing utilisation of engagement tools depending on the stakeholder group. Building upon Table 11, the local community have the most limited access to engagement tools, particularly the formal tools that afford entry into city-wide networks over prolonged periods of time. The city-wide tools available are predominately structured, formal and consultative. While the local community are beginning to get involved in informal engagement tools, this involvement falls short of the other stakeholder groups. Nonetheless, there are indications of certain well-resourced stakeholders in the local community utilising the informal networking mechanisms to their advantage:

> *"Bath is small enough for it to be run by a whole series of people who you could probably list on two hands. They're all asked to our parties for example."* (Steven, local community)

Steven is replicating the informal discussions and events that stakeholders from the business community and visitor economy use more frequently. However, the access to these events are only granted to the leaders of the collective residents' associations. Most local community stakeholders do not obtain such a strategic position and therefore struggle to gain access to the key players whom are seen to "*run*" the city.

In contrast, stakeholders from the business community are more selective in their choice of engagement tools, selecting options that enable the greatest impact. These choices are often engagement tools that set up long-term and city-wide influence. Moreover, the business community benefit most overtly from informal events and interpersonal discussions. One example is the Business Breakfast, which fosters relationships between key stakeholders from the business community, allowing for a transmission of knowledge and forging ongoing connections:

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*"We are building up a community of likeminded people. You know each other, trust each other. It really does help other members because it helps people to actually do real business, with each othe*r." （Sarah, business community)

As Sarah alludes the underlying influence of these connections is often more important than official channels. The events allow stakeholders to develop ongoing relationships based on mutual interests and trust (Ackermann and Eden, 2011). Therefore, it is at this informal and subtle level where the potential for future longstanding and influential engagement is sparked.

In Bath, the visitor economy attains an elevated status, in part due to the importance of the city's iconic heritage. Moreover, the propensity of active visitor economy stakeholders sees engagement tools being used to engage with other visitor economy stakeholders, as well as more widely across the city. The development of membership collectives, such as the DMO, enables these engagement tools to expand over a medium to long term. Again, visitor economy stakeholders benefit from selectivity:

"We want to be quite present in the city because that's a part of our strategy, but you have to think what is the best way of doing that? Otherwise, you can find yourself in endless meetings without having anytime to actually get any work done." (Richard, visitor economy)

A critique of the formal tools relates to their resource intensive and time-consuming nature. However, the visitor economy stakeholders are also able to be selective of the formal tools, such as meetings, that they implement. Alongside these formal tools, stakeholders are utilising events to promote interpersonal benefits. As Richard (visitor economy) deduces, *"A lot then does down to personal relationships with other counterparts in other organisations, and how we maintain those.*" This further illuminates the importance of using informal events to foster strategic connections across the city.

The local authority stakeholders' use of engagement tools is widespread, with engagement being considered a part of their civic duty. This helps to explain the local authority's emphasis on formal engagement tools that are widely available to multiple stakeholder categories. This duty sparks scrutiny from the city's stakeholders, pushing the local authority to undertake visible, open and accessible engagement tools versus a view that the local authority encourages

discussion without implementation. To overcome these restrictions, there are signs that local authority stakeholders are beginning to embrace informal alternatives to encourage participation. These informal tools are becoming more commonplace when the stakeholders are tasked with mediating tensions. One area of contention relates to the countervailing brand meanings, underscoring modernisation versus preservation. As the previous chapter outlined, this is an area of rife tension between two competing dichotomies; encouraging change and innovation versus the protection of the beauty, heritage and character of the city. One example of these tensions is the regeneration of the Quayside, encouraging investment and modernisation of the city. This is coupled with a tension surrounding water and how this shapes how Bath's assets are presented. To begin to dilute these tensions, the local authority stakeholders are utilising informal engagement tools, including competitions, events and workshops:

"We did invite the public to say, 'Which one do you like best?' They did actually come up with the same one. It was a fairly comfortable decision. It's really nice that people who look at it purely from an aesthetic or heart of feeling came up from the same result as the people who looked at it from a much more strategic direction. I think that shows the people of Bath are actually ready for contemporary design in the city." (Jane, local authority)

Jane provides an example of how these informal alternatives can spark unity and acceptance between stakeholder claims. Moreover, by allowing for multiple conceptualisations of the regeneration to be visualised, the process brought stakeholders closer together with greater acceptance of a contemporary city brand.

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In contrast to Bath, Bristol's stakeholders more frequently discuss informal engagement tools, including the city's use of events and festivals that bring together disparate stakeholder groups. While there are signs that the utilisation of engagement tools is more widespread across the stakeholder groups, variations in access still remains (Table 12). Meetings also emerge as the most popular formal tool. Again, similar differences emerge across meetings, committees and forums, with meetings relating to specific issues, committees structuring a longer-term programme of discussions, and forums allowing for greater volumes of participation rather than fruitful involvement. Despite the greater volume of inclusion through the events and festivals,

the exclusivity of informal discussions and networking remain commonplace. The local authority is more prominent in these networks compared to Bath's local authority, however, the local community remain largely excluded unless it is in the local community network.

Engagement tools	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Formal engagement tools: *Meetings; Committees; Forums;*	Formal tools less frequently mentioned. However, meetings (n=41) and forums (n=25) return a large number of coding references. Meetings are predominately discussed by the local community (n=13) and local authority (n=16).	*"It's mostly formal. We would have meetings around specific issues. We would sit down and have that conversation and see where it goes."* (Cameron, local authority) *"Through these various companies then we have boards that enables us to use the board system of structure. In normal practice, you will agree a plan, generally annually. I mean the fact there are key members behind that. It clearly needs to align with their priorities, and sometimes the timescales for their priorities don't tend to fit with the company."* (Marcos, business community) *"Quite a few years ago I sat on the planning committee, which approved the regeneration of the harbourside, and that is almost complete now. The last segment is going ahead. There is an element, which is a bit broader of course, and personally I do think that is important because you're contributing in both direct and indirect ways. For example, I'm on the tourism body, so I directly input that."* (Martin, local authority)
Informal engagement tools: *Events/ festivals; Networking (including informal discussions); Workshops; Digital and social media*	Informal tools the most frequently discussed in Bristol; in particular events and festivals (n=69), followed by informal discussions (n=31). Visitor economy discussing events and festivals most frequently (n=29), while business community most active in informal discussions	*"What I find is that they're a good way of cross-fertilising ideas and actually it's a good opportunity for different people from across the council to meet and network with each other. Then they can kind of link up on projects too."* (John, local authority) *"On the first Friday of every month … It's basically a bunch of people getting together in the bar with a glass of wine, sponsored by somebody. No formal presentations, or very rarely. It just works. You get very senior people from universities coming along, along with other really junior people from organisations. It's very friendly, no forms to fill in. It's a genuine open network. There's a similar thing called the Green Mingle, which happens on the first Thursday of every month. So, some of that just builds the social capital in the city almost, around people feeling connected and feeling they know each other"* (Julian, local authority).

"I've met them at an event and we've occasionally done stuff together. It's not difficult to get hold of people. It's about the people more than the function really. So formally there's not much collaboration … I don't think the formal link is very strong, but I don't think that's a hindrance." (Ross, business community)

Table 12: Bristol Engagement Tools

In a similar account to Bath, the local community falls short of access to the engagement tools that allow for input over long time periods or across the city. Instead, involvement is largely through structured top-down bodies. Towards the more formal end of the spectrum, the local community has created access to formal channels. One example is through the Neighbourhood Partnerships. These include access to forums and large-scale meetings in the city. However, the scope of this involvement is questioned:

"*They like to do the soft cheerful stuff. If someone is going to suggest a community event or a hanging basket, or for everyone to go out for a walk, then they will happily support that. It is benign and noncontroversial"* (Roberta, local community)

Informal access is largely through participation in events. However, as the proceeding sections outline, attendance at an event does not match immersive involvement in the strategic city-wide and long-term engagement tools.

Again, the business community are principally involved in the informal and strategically selected tools. An emergent focus is on the informal connections ensuring access to the right people for the right purpose (see Julian in Table 12). These informal tools act as a catalyst for ongoing connections between stakeholders with mutual interests, as well as strengthening ties between stakeholders with pre-existing connections. However, the access to these networking events is more easily accessed than in Bath, encompassing smaller organisations alongside key players in the city.

The visitor economy in Bristol is a central stakeholder group, utilising formal and a multitude of informal engagement tools. Formal engagement retains a strategic focus. However, the visitor economy is extending the remit beyond structured decision-making and is active in

sparking engagement through events. This develops connections with stakeholders from across the city, as well as promoting a greater inclusion of the wider city community in planning and celebrating the city's legacy.

Bristol uses its lively events calendar as a catalyst for engagement, sparking enthusiasm and cohesion among its diverse population. These events invite people to both celebrate and contribute to the representation of key figures from its past, such as Brunel. Other city-wide events focused on the green agenda and the attainment of the European Green Capital in 2015. This green agenda involved multiple stakeholders from across the city, looking to establish strategic alliances based on the promotion, visualisation and disbursement of Green Capital.

The local authority is more active in Bristol, sharing its civic duty with an elected mayor. The local authority stakeholders are prominent in both formal meetings and informal events, again demonstrating the important role of the informal engagement tools working in unison with formal counterparts (see John in Table 12). The willingness to include informal tools helps boost connections that might have not have otherwise materialised. The local authority further promotes greater stakeholder inclusion through the utilisation of events that allow for the participation of multifarious stakeholders from across the city. These events are coordinated around the unorthodox and independent ethos of the city, seeking to promote a city-wide celebration of its identity.

5.22 STAKEHOLDER APPROACHES

The utilisation of various tools only goes so far in explaining the differences in stakeholders' participation in engagement apparatus. Therefore, this section examines stakeholder approaches for engaging in the city branding processes. The findings illuminate that stakeholders partake in different ways, therefore possessing varying levels of salience (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Fassin, 2009). The analysis pinpointed nine approaches stakeholders utilise when participating in the engagement processes pertaining to city brand meanings. The nine approaches to engagement are broken down into supplementary, advisory and coordination roles (Figure 9). Except for a few notable caveats (Fassin, 2009; Henninger *et al.,* 2016), the stakeholder engagement and place branding literature has been slow to explore the varying roles afforded to stakeholders.

Henninger *et al.,* (2016) sets out four stakeholder roles, each with varying access to engagement within place branding. The primary stakeholders are seen to have direct access to key decision makers, whereas at the lowest end of inclusion the quaternary stakeholders have minimal involvement in the process. Similarly, Fassin (2009) outlines three types of stakeholders and their varying salience; stakeholders are the internal participants with a real stake, whereas stakewatchers are the pressure groups and stakekeepers are the external regulators. Both studies presume a central governance body and the negotiation of stakeholder salience in line with this focal point. However, in place branding ownership is shared among multiple stakeholders and there is a blurring of central governance (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). The current research builds on and advances these studies, by exploring stakeholder approaches when there is no central governance body.
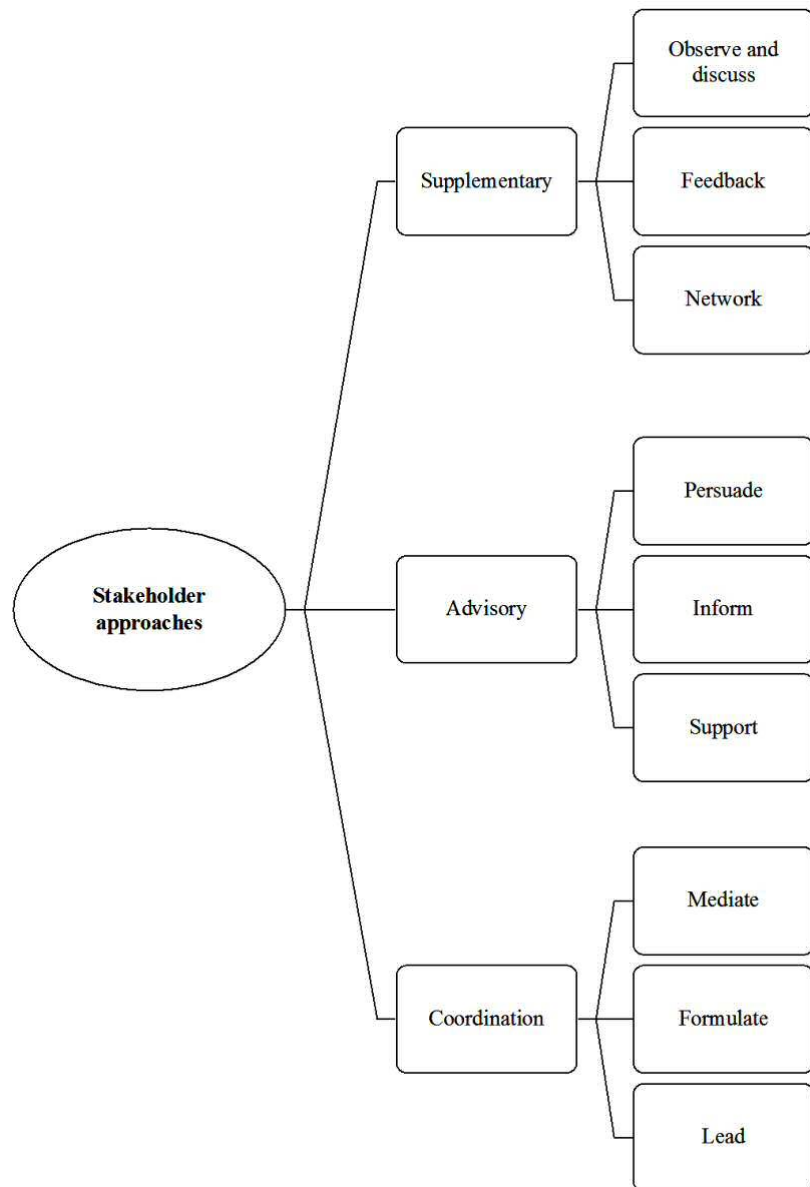
Figure 9: Stakeholder Approaches to Engagement

Stakeholders employ multiple approaches, often interchangeably, when engaging in numerous capacities in small-scale projects and larger city-wide initiatives. These are considered below:

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Table 13 provides examples of the variations in stakeholder approaches in Bath. The supplementary approaches only allow minimal participation, in particular the 'observe and discuss' and 'feedback' approaches. These approaches centre on specific, often narrow, issues.

Stakeholders gain access and awareness of the decisions being made, while having minimal scope to alter the overall direction. As the previous section details, the ability to network affords heightened inclusion. Though these stakeholders are not directly inputting, the forging of connections established a base for future engagement strategies. While all stakeholders network in differing ways, the business community stakeholders are more frequently establishing city-wide networks that develop over time. Moreover, while the local authority mentions the 'observe and discuss' alongside 'feedback' approaches the most, they are often running these sessions to encourage wider city inclusion. Those partaking in the feedback and discussions are predominately the local community. Local community stakeholders are disheartened by the over-utilisation of feedback, in replacement of active input:

> *"The common approach now is to go for a public consultation, which largely consists of a few stands of conceptual drawings … You get a select list of heavily weighted questions and if you steer away from those and say 'why don't you do this?' Or,' why don't you do that?' Then you basically get ignored. So that's a concerning developing, you don't feel as though the average man in the street has any say in what gets imposed basically on the city.*" (Thomas, local community).

Thomas' passage further demonstrates the tensions at play between stakeholders, with the local community continuing to feel excluded from the real decision-making processes.

Approaches	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Supplementary approaches: *Observe and discuss; Feedback; Network*	90 coding references; observe (n=33) and feedback (n=33) obtaining the highest number of references. Local authority featuring prominently in 'feedback' (n=13) and 'observe' and 'discuss' (n=11).	*"That's where the Bath city conference idea was formed. We had a conference with everyone in the Guildhall. We invited everyone, and we've held it every year ever since. We have over 300 people turn up. We have stalls and speakers. That's about the celebrating the city as a whole. It was basically an excuse to not have to pick and choose people who will sit around the table. That worked really well. We had a Q&A session at the end."* (Raj, local authority) *"There was well over some 1000 responses to the planning on the Holburne, largely 50/50 in terms of people who loved it or hated it. That was a debate, which really did bring into play the citizens of Bath. They were almost forced into a situation where they*

		had to think about modern architecture and the progress of the city." (Rick, visitor economy) *"Formally we did a questionnaire, which was a consultation process, which happened earlier on in the year."* (Ryan, business community) *"The council goes out to all the groups and leading members of the area, and says 'we've got this project come in and sit down and we will give you lectures from architects, planners, developers, all telling you what is going on'. That goes back into the community because they're important people and they spread the word. You know the chairman of the residents' association, that sorta thing."* (Nigel, local authority)
Advisory approaches: *Persuade; Inform; Support*	Highest quantity of coding references (n=151). 'Inform' (n=58) and 'support' (n=55) obtaining the highest number of coding references. Local community accounting for 20 of 38 'persuade' references. Visitor economy (n=23) and business community (n=16) accounting for large proportion of 'support' references. 'Inform' shared among stakeholder groups, except for significantly lower references by the local community.	*"We like to think of ourselves as the common sense of Bath. It sounds a bit fancy, but we try and talk to architects and persuade them if they did this instead of that then it would actually look better. You win some and you lose some."* (Thomas, local community) *"The workshops are being used to kick off the management process. We invited a 150 targeted people. The whole idea of that is to get them into one room for the morning, shake them upside down, and see what their issues are. Then let them knock the edges off the debate. You've then got a whole range of issues."* (Rick, local authority) *"I think there are some groups, artistic groups or historically motivated groups who have more power depending on who is listening to who at what time. So, if there's a lobby that is very aggressive and very much trying to make Bath look like it was all the same chocolate box Georgian, then that lobby can be influential and can be listened to because people in power don't tend to fight all of their battles all of the time."* (Paul, visitor economy)
Coordination approaches:	88 coding references; with 'formulate'	*"About 20 people were commissioned from across the city with various roles and responsibilities. So,*

Mediate; *Formulate;* *Lead*	(n=52) the highest frequency, followed by 'lead' (n=20) and 'mediate' (n=16).	*commercial sector, public sector, third sector, arts, health, transport, and residents' responsibility. That group was tasked with writing a new narrative for the city.''* (Arthur, business community)
	Business community disproportionately high number of 'formulate' references (n=33), even in comparison to local authority (n=9). Business community also accounting for 13 of 20 'lead' coding references.	*"I would say my job goes from programme lead all the way down to programme glue. I have to make things stick and make things work."* (Susan, business community)
		"What we did was engage an organisation ... and said to them we want to go out talk to all these organisations, which you sit between, get them all in a room together and tell us what they want from the strategy. The framework is less money, greater collaboration, greater partnership, and greater visibility." (Peter, local authority)
		"There is the opportunity to influence from there, but the real shakers are the board. The reason there are 12 people on the board is because they represent the industry and will present plans to them, we will present creatives to them. I tend not to go 'do you want this, this, and this?' Because you know you can't manage campaigns by committee because committee can only criticise and not create." (Michael, visitor economy)

Table 13: Stakeholder Approaches Bath

The advisory approaches are the most commonplace in Bath, in particular 'inform' and 'support'. Instead of working within predefined stakeholder categories, stakeholders are able to disseminate knowledge and expertise across stakeholder groups. As Thomas outlines in Table 13, his pre-existing knowledge of architecture and engineering affords a privileged position as "*the common sense of Bath*." However, selectivity emerges since not all stakeholders are able to gain access to advisory approaches, especially when the engagement apparatus operates outside of a given project or stakeholder group. As Rick details, there is a selection process. Paul also mentions selectivity when looking at stakeholders partaking in persuading approaches. Paul identifies the external events happening in the city and discusses

how different stakeholders can attain greater access during turbulent periods. Paul goes on to suggest there are underlying power dynamics that control who has access to given approaches at certain times.

The coordination approaches form the crux of participation for stakeholders in Bath, addressing stakeholders' ability to mediate, formulate and lead. The business community are disproportionately able to access the 'formulate' approaches. The NVivo analysis supports this discrepancy. In Bath, there are small clusters of stakeholders who are encouraging inward investment to the city. Together the group sees the benefits of pooling multi-sector knowledge, access, and resources. In return, these stakeholders gain access to the pinnacle approaches of 'formulate' and 'lead'. Often these approaches are for engagement strategies that are long-term and city wide. For example, as Arthur details in Table 13, the commissioning of a brand narrative for Bath.

The local authority also retain influence at the coordination level, sparking large-scale engagement as a part of their civic duty. This sees the local authority overseeing the mooting of the preservation versus modernisation dichotomy, the increasing emphasis on a collegial cultural and creative strategy, the importance of water and wellbeing and the regeneration of the struggling areas of the city:

> "*We're trying to encourage all of the promotional activities that happen around Bath to be more collaborative anyways. Even if they don't manage to come up with an identity that everyone can share, then I think it would be really beneficial if we could agree some key words, some key themes, and then potentially there are commercial spins off from that as well.*" (Peter, local authority)

Local authority stakeholders are encouraging inclusion by involving multiple stakeholders and attempting to facilitate engagement, rather than enforce through top-down approaches. This again shows the complexities at play for place branding governance, since decentralisation of ownership means that the local authority remains a key player, yet their approaches run parallel to other stakeholder initiatives operating across the city.

5.222 BRISTOL

In Bristol, variations between engagement approaches also emerge, however these variations are less stark than the discrepancies in Bath. As Table 14 details, local community stakeholders experience apathy and frustration at the lack of tangible input beyond token gestures. Neighbourhood Partnerships are local authority led initiatives tasked with providing a platform for local community voices. However, even though they provide access to engagement, local community stakeholders question the impact:

> *"I think with the Neighbourhood Partnership where it does have a positive benefit it's because we're rationalised by the council. Then you are sort of able to stand up in that sort of forum, and they have to listen to what you say, even if they then ignore it. It gives you room to speak, so that's a benefit."* (Fred, local community)

Moreover, there are attempts to draw stakeholders together, as we saw in relation to tools, but the influence stakeholders attain through networking is afforded to those with existing social connections. Stakeholders detail the importance of attaining supplementary networks, since Bristol is "*personal, more about relationships with people, and networks*" (Francesca, business community). Therefore, input need not always be about the potential to overtly lead engagement processes, but also relates to more subtle and interpersonal channels. With these connections there is a level of ambiguity and flexibility, providing ongoing access to networks, rather than for a pre-defined and one-off purpose.

Approaches	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Supplementary approaches: *Observe and discuss; Feedback; Network*	92 references, shared among observe (n=32), feedback (n=29) and network (n=31). Business community most frequently referencing 'networking' (n=11) and local authority referencing	*"We can go to meetings and make public forum statements and things like that, but what we can't do is actually get a planner to listen to us."* (Roberta, local community) *"I think it's probably fair to say that there are an awful lot of people who are relatively content and don't see the point or the need to get engaged in community life. Anyway, I think, and I see things getting done because of what people say, but also just information. So particularly in relation to consultations about buildings, building design, or*

	'observe' (n=13) and 'feedback' (n=13). Local community lowest on 'network' (n=4).	*ideas for spaces, that well before planning applications and the like, consultancy firms arriving, then having a forum where you can come along and meet 30, 40, 50 people who are on the doorstep of that development and have the chance to learn more about it."* (Nick, local authority) *"There are quite a number of forums in the city that are designed to help visitor attractions work together … There was a big push recently for something called Great China Welcome, which is to get businesses ready to welcome more visitors from China because that's an expanding market and there is more scope for people from China to fly abroad now."* (Julie, visitor economy)
Advisory approaches: Persuade; Inform; Support	Most frequently referenced (n=133); 'inform' highest (n=64), followed by 'support' (n=56), whereas 'persuade' receives less attention (n=13). Local authority forming half of all 'inform' references (n=32) and largest proportion of 'support' references (n=21).	*"We have a group made up of museums. We meet together as a group and share ideas."* (Lara, local authority) *"We've done a lot of work around sort of putting together presentations and gathering data. We've used the Arts Council as a case, presentations around the value of culture. We've done a lot of research into what works in Bristol. We've done a lot of research around how much we spend on culture, the benefit of that, how many people are employed in the sector, the number of school children visiting sites, all those kinds of things, so we can draw together presentations."* (Rachel, local authority) *"There was a group made up of the most pioneering business leaders of the city. There was this document that's called the 2020 plan, which was a vision for the city. They went through a whole branding exercise to come up with Bristol's USP. They came up with the statement that Bristol is a cultural city. It is really interesting that it is generated from a group of pure business leaders. They weren't talking about, not specifically about the economy or entrepreneurialism, but actually they saw all of that embodied in the statement that Bristol is a cultural city."* (Rose, visitor economy)

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Coordination approaches: Mediate; Formulate; Lead	84 references, most frequent for formulate (n=40).

Business community highest for formulate (n=16), lead shared between business community and local authority. | *"I act as a kind of communication conduit between the DMO and the cultural organisations and get the two involved together. The DMOs are desperate for content, for hate using these marketing words but content and product to put out to visitors. So, they want the kind of insider story on the Harbourside Festival or various kinds of things that are happening and need that information from the cultural sector."* (James, visitor economy)

"We will bring the right people and make the connections informal, and pitch to them based on what we are trying to do at that time. We are trying to formalise some bits. We're trying to create a programme of business advocates where we will use some of these business leaders in a more formal way. So, we will appoint them, give them tools, give them intelligence, and they'll do their day job, which is often about selling their business or selling Bristol." (Ron, business community)

"We have officers whose role it is to out and engage with local residents and residents' groups, supporting them where they are. Helping groups form if they're not formed. We have the ability to reach out into local communities. We have quite a good intelligence network, who is where and what, and where we need to be, particularly around areas that aren't very good at organising themselves." (Cameron, local authority) |

Table 14: Stakeholder Approaches Bristol

As in Bath, stakeholders are discussing 'advisory' approaches most frequently. The local authority is particularly active in these approaches, looking to ways that engagement can be used to share information within and across sectors. As Lara and Rachel set out in Table 14, the cultural sectors are increasingly sharing information and supporting each other. Rose extends this support, identifying how the business leaders, including those in the cultural sectors, were invited to help inform a vision for Bristol. Once again, selectivity arises, since only the key players were awarded with this heightened input.

For the coordination approaches, the business community and local authority stakeholders gain the greatest impetus. James in Table 14 outlines the benefits of acting as a conduit between competing stakeholders, whereas Ron and Cameron are able to set the agenda for engagement. Moreover, throughout the empirical data, stakeholders discuss the pinnacle role of the mayoral leadership in encouragement and overall guidance.

This section establishes that engagement is more than simply the provision of tools. Stakeholders' ability to shape the production of brand meanings varies depending on the ability to access 'advisory' and particularly 'coordination' approaches. Together, tools and approaches demonstrate the complexity of engagement and the variations in its use across city brands and stakeholder groups. The next section combines these findings and looks to the overarching forms of engagement stakeholders can access.

5.23 FORMS OF ENGAGEMENT

Building on the previous analysis, varying forms of engagement emerge from the findings, further suggesting that engagement is not a catchall process that involves all stakeholders equally. Instead, the findings pinpoint four forms of engagement; namely communication, consultation, collaboration and partnership. The following subsections develop and apply these four forms of engagement to Bath and Bristol:

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The findings demonstrate that stakeholders in Bath partake in different forms of engagement that bring with them varying levels of participation. Therefore, these findings further identify a gulf between the rhetoric of inclusion through a participatory approach to place branding (Baker, 2007; Kavaratzis, 2012) and the reality of continued exclusion. Table 15 begins to illustrate this emergent gulf between rhetoric and reality. The weightings fall toward the 'communicate' and 'consultative' levels of engagement, with 'collaboration' and particularly 'partnership formations' remaining concentrated by key players from the business and visitor economy.

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The findings present a key example of partnerships benefiting the business community. A group of business leaders from across the city benefit from working in partnership to promote innovation and investment for Bath. The independence of the group allows for freedom and creativity when developing an identity for the city:

> *"We're not in a monitoring role. We're in a challenging role and being creative. If we're seen as the creative ideas people and the think tank of Bath. Then I think that's a really good role that's not amongst the elected representatives of Bath."* (Susan, business community)

By being independent, the stakeholders are able select the issues on their agenda and use creativity in their approaches. This points to the varying access to engagement, while also beginning to identify reasons why certain individuals and groups are able to gain access to engagement, while others remain burdened by the process.

Forms	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Communication	56 references; visitor economy discussing most frequently (n=20) and business community the least (n=7).	*"The cultural forum is a way that people can come together. There has to be a purpose for holding the meeting ... if they come forward with a plan for development, or something like that, then the professionals who run the Cultural Forum, they are professional staff, will organise a meeting where that can be presented to members of the Cultural Forum."* (Joseph, local community) *"We have a structured programme of communications, but we keep it slightly informal as well."* (Mark, visitor economy) *"New methods of communicating, we're up on Facebook and Twitter and things like that. There will be different audiences and maybe wider audiences and maybe a wider audience, who's going to understand what you're doing and why."* (Rick, visitor economy)
Consultation	67 references; local authority discussing most frequently (n=25), followed by visitor economy (n=17)	*"The council ran a consultation, but it was a very poor consultation because they offered three choices in the same place virtually, ignoring all the other ones. Unsurprisingly it got lots of opposition so it's sort of a case of OK we'll have another think."* (Robert, local community)

		"We will have consultation periods, for example our Head of Marketing will in January get together key people like the attractions and piggy back of the hoteliers group. So, there's lots of little groups that meet. She'll go along and say 'this is our plan for the year, what do you think?' There's a little bit of consultation. They'll ask for example 'why are doing that campaign as I don't understand it?' So, she will take it into consideration" (Mark, visitor economy). *"You only get a seat at the table if you actually disagree with something. You don't get a seat at the table to say yes, I agree. We had to navigate a route where we had to disagree with some things. You know, where we thought there were unresolved challenges. So, we submitted consultation response when it was open for consultation, and we submitted our response to the inspectorate, and we do have a seat at the table on the topic discussion areas, which I'm gearing up for."* (Sue, visitor economy)
Collaboration	45 references, spread across the stakeholder groups with the exception of the local community (n=3).	*"Great benefits in collaboration. I'm a great believer in it. It's the engagement too, people who were previously running their own businesses quietly and getting on with it and not really quite sure how to engage, or maybe were involved in forums that were about anger or protest, are now able to be much more constructive."* (Paul, visitor economy) *"We collaborate regionally, and we have identified ways that Bristol and Bath can work together, as one regional entity. Then we work with the shops. The retail sectors. We work with universities. We work with the local residents. We work with the residents' associations. We work with the preservation organisations. So, we do our best to be as collaborative as possible."* (Ruth, local authority) *"It started off with a meeting of people that ranged from key stakeholders from other business groups, to small business owners, to guesthouse owners, to pretty much everyone that was involved in the business community in Bath. We had a meeting and got together, and kind of all decided what we thought we should focus on in terms of what was the quick wins and longer-term wins. There has been one other meeting. From that we've sort of*

		formed subgroups. I'm involved in the strategic group." (Sarah, business community)
Partnerships	28 references, predominately discussed by visitor economy (n=13) and business community (n=9).	*"My experience in Bath is that there have been endless strategies which take up endless consultation and then they get put into a drawer. Put on a shelf and nothing happens. The partnerships and things that have really worked have been centred around real doing."* (James, business community).
		"When you have such strong heritage interests in a city, such as Bath Preservation Trust, the National Trust, and other civic community societies, and the Council, which is heavily engaged in development then those two might be conflicting, and it could be a recipe for disaster in action. Things with the World Heritage Site Steering Group bring together all those parties around a none political table. There's no politics or a flag involved in UNESCO. It's just seen as a method of convening everybody to decide what is the best way forward. That has proved very useful in building key partnerships." (Rick, local authority)
		"The partnership includes over 20 directors and they're from all sectors. They're very powerful directors from public services, through to independent companies, we've got MoD, H&S, all sorts around the table, the LEP. In fact, perhaps I should go through the list of directors so that you can see what people bring. It's just phenomenal as a group of senior engaged people in the city brand." (Sarah, business community)

Table 15: Forms of Engagement Bath

The visitor economy stakeholders infiltrate engagement forms across 'communication', 'consultation', 'collaboration' and to an extent 'partnership'. Yet, participation is not equal for all stakeholders across the visitor economy. Sue reiterates the tensions when suggesting that in order to pass through the communicative and consultative levels of engagement and gain a *"seat at the table"* there remains an emphasis on opposition. Moreover, there are signs of the diminishing visitor economy independence, especially when managing demand for visitors. Until recently, the visitor economy was represented by a DMO that shared responsibility for the attraction of visitors to Bath among multiple stakeholder groups, both public and private. This resulted in an influential partnership, removed from the perceived bureaucracy charged

against the local authority. Moreover, the representation of multiple stakeholder groups from across the city allowed for a representative approach to engagement. However, there are signs that the local authority is looking to regain more overt ownership of the brand, shifting back to local authority management.

Therefore, the local authority also holds a favourable position when overseeing city-wide partnerships and collaborations. Access to these forms of engagement relate to a paternal duty to manage stakeholder interactions. The presence also affords local authority stakeholders a strategic position alongside "*key players*" (Rick, local authority), presiding over local authority-led initiatives and wider stakeholder initiatives. Furthermore, this accountability creates a duty toward promoting the inclusion of the local community in the decision-making processes. This transcends across a wide remit of areas, extending into public management and governance. Nonetheless, when looking to engagement that produces and enables the consumption of brand meanings the representativeness of the local authority's engagement approaches is questioned. There are minimal financial and practical resources attached to these engagement strategies, creating "*talking shops*" (Ruth, local authority). Therefore, the local authority is seen to consult with a multitude of stakeholders across the converging and diverging brand meanings. Yet, this rarely extends beyond an exchange of dialogue or predefined parameters for input. For some stakeholders, these endless communicative and consultative devices are considered to create more harm than good, sparking apathy, discontent and encouraging competition.

A further restriction the local authority face when using the forms of engagement are the time frames assigned to political agendas. These typically spam between three to four years. It is commonplace for directions to shift in accordance with these time frames. These politically motivated shifts create tensions among stakeholders. As Ruth (local authority) explains, "*Bath has a very short-term memory and that is apparent in its own identit*y." This restricts the longevity and sustainability of engagement strategies, instead increasing tensions across the city.

In contrast, the local community stakeholders are accessing the communicative and consultative levels of engagement, with only minimal access to collaboration and partnership levels of engagement (Table 15). Only key individuals and groups from the local community

are able to access the higher levels of engagement. Steering groups are commonplace enabling the ability to partake through communicative and consultative channels, but rarely through collaboration and partnership. This disjuncture reinforces tensions among stakeholders, with the local community feeling disconnected and apathetic with their perceived lack of ability to participate. This further identifies the gulf between inclusion through communicative channels versus long-term and (often) strategic involvement through partnerships.

Figure 10: NVivo World Frequency Diagram for Partnerships in Bath

The research incorporates a word frequency query for the partnership node (coded theme) in NVivo, to further explore the importance of partnerships in the engagement process (Figure 10). The associated words identify the inclusion of *people*, *things* and *city*. More interesting, is the dominance of the *local authority* and *council* pinpointing the retention of ownership, albeit often based on expectation, rather than reality. Additional noteworthy features are the inclusion of the dominant stakeholder groups, many of which Table 15 and the preceding analysis illuminate. This includes recurrent reference to *business*, *museums, tourism* and *restaurants*. Moreover, the analysis helps elucidate potential explanations behind the power of partnerships, with references to *money*, *challenge*, *trust* and once again, *time*.

The findings point to heightened stakeholder inclusion in Bristol, in comparison to Bath. As Rachel (local authority) outlines, "*Bristol does allow the very cool stuff to happen because the routes are open to the discussion a lot more.*" The acceptance of multiple brand meanings operating concurrently makes engagement more accessible. Similarly, there is more dispersion of stakeholder collectives partaking in the various forms of engagement (Table 16). For example, whereas partnerships in Bath receive 28 references, in Bristol this extends to 56 references. Moreover, Figure 11 begins to demonstrate the wider scope associations aligned to partnerships in Bristol. The NVivo word frequency query suggests that the empirical discussions relate to the importance of *people*, including the *community* and *neighbour*s as *partners*, working alongside *businesses, organisations* and the *local authority*.
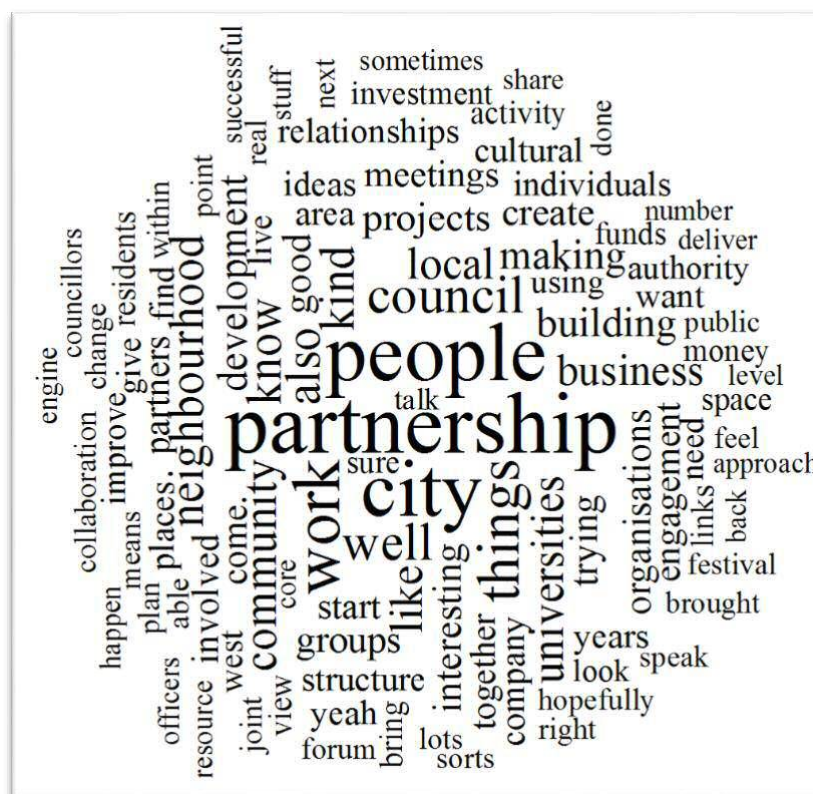
Figure 11: NVivo Word Frequency Output for Partnerships in Bristol

One noteworthy example is a cross sector partnership surrounding Bristol's bid and subsequent implementation of the European Green Capital Award in 2015. The "*umbrella group consists*

of about 700 different community groups involved in sustainability" (Elisa, higher education). This partnership, along with similar partnerships across the city, utilise networking events alongside collegial activities to enhance a sense of community and pride. Nonetheless, the stakeholders accessing the coordination roles within the partnerships already possess influence across the city:

> "*If you look at that partnership, it existed, but it had nothing like the structure or the collective voice it does now. Even if that is the sole legacy in giving all those organisations a mechanism to engage with the council, engage with all the kind of big players in the city, then I see that as a positive. Quite often I think it's a process of getting the big organisations working together and the kind of commonality of the goal*" (Elisa, higher education)

Despite positive indicators, there remain discrepancies. As Elisa outlines, the "*big players*" and "*big organisations*" continue to dominate partnerships. Moreover, differences across (and within) stakeholder groups also emerge. Access to coordination roles within collaboration and partnerships remain disproportionately available to business community and local authority stakeholders. In contrast, the diminished uptake and access to collaboration and partnership (in particular advisory or coordination roles) for local community stakeholders further advances the tensions surrounding the 'division' brand meanings seen in the previous chapter.

Forms	*NVivo Analysis*	*Interview Quotations*
Communication	44 references; largely discussed by the visitor economy (n=21) and local authority (n=13)	"*We use a tool called ABCD, which is around getting into the communities, making connections, reaching connectors, as in people who have the ability to reach other people, and helping them organise around a task without doing the work for them.*" (Cameron, local authority)
		"*I think it's about giving people options and explaining what the options are. If you do, then tell them this is the benefit or impact.*" (John, local authority)
		"*We also invite them regularly to come down and see what is going on. When they are putting on tours, if they do different types of interactive tours, say history or food, then they will promote us by saying I don't know, if you're interested in exploring the visual delights of*

		Bristol then go to so and so place." (Lauren, visitor economy)
Consultation	29 references; local authority discussing most frequently (n=12), followed by local community (n=8)	*"I think it's very difficult to impose a brand from above. It wouldn't be right for the city council or other strategic organisations to just impose a brand. You need to engage with people on what they think and how they see the city. If I say those sorts of words I just said now, I don't know that's my sense of the Bristol brand, but what would most residents say?"* (John, local authority)
		"You have this museum, which is the historic collection. MShed, it's 10 years old now, but when it was devised it was always going to be the people's museum with consultation from day one." (Lara, local authority)
Collaboration	46 references; shared among stakeholder groups with the exception of the local community (n=4)	*"I'm going to a meeting with Bristol Marketing Arts Group, which is all the marketing people from the museums and performing arts organisations that meet regularly to share information. It's from that kind of notion that we will work better together in collaboration, rather than competition. It's those types of initiatives that are really pulling people together."* (James, visitor economy)
		"There's lot of collaborations that happen in the city all of the time. I guess to some extent festivals help with that a bit, because things like Harbour Festival involve lots of different organisations. Then we do the festival, called Doing Things Differently. This year that involved a lot of different people, views and organisations and that kinda thing. So yeah, you know, the [cultural] sectors are just very supportive, and tend to go and see one another's stuff quite frequently." (Rachel, local authority)
Partnership	56 references; local authority (n=23) and business community (n=20) discussing most frequently	*"To me it's what I referred to earlier on as the 'Bristol approach'. I think it's one that increasingly in the UK is being adopted. It is around having this authentic public, private, people partnership. Where people are fully engaged, active, influencing partner in the city."* (Stuart, local authority)
		"We've been working with Bristol partners, and we want Bristol to be known for having this approach to smart cities that are actually citizen-led." (Francesca, business community)

	"There was a sense that we needed, together, to effect some really lasting change and how these organisations are led and provided for. It was far better for us and the city. We were far more powerful if we spoke as one voice, rather than battling. A good example of this is that we work together across probably about ten different organisations." (Rose, visitor economy)

Table 16: Forms of Engagement Bristol

The stakeholders from the business community benefit from enhanced access to coordination roles within collaboration and partnerships, extending across the city and over time. In a similar picture to Bath, the business community stakeholders also benefit from a lower level of accountability and a removal of political timescales. Also, the local authority stakeholders remain prominent, developing partnerships that extend across the business community, visitor economy and the local community. Yet, the findings affirm the advantages of looking to bottom-up approaches that reflect the multiplicity and multidimensionality of brand meanings, As John identifies in Table 16, it is very difficult to impose a brand from above without gaining acceptance through stakeholder participation.

Bristol's visitor economy demonstrates a more collegial approach to engagement, in contrast to the competition among visitor economy stakeholders in Bath. There are clusters of visitor economy stakeholder collectives working in long-term partnerships and shorter-term collaborations to establish greater input into the branding process. Rose's passage in Table 16 provides a prime example of these collectives in operation. These partnerships represent "*a collective vision, rather than being ego-centric*" (Lauren, visitor economy). Operating alongside these clusters is the DMO. In a similar vein to Bath, the marketing conduit for the visitor attractions operates as a gatekeeper for the official promotion of the visitor attractions. However, it is not acting in isolation from the important partnerships formed independently across the visitor economy.

Throughout the chapter, the input of the local community features largely in the predefined and structured engagement processes, enabling access but not necessarily equal engagement outcomes. The local community stakeholders seek to overcome these hurdles by creating their own vehicles for collective engagement at the local level, developing associations and groups

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based on a specific area or interest. Moreover, the local authority uses a replication of the partnership structure to aid the collective engagement and involvement of the local community. This is largely formal in nature and its remit is under scrutiny given reductions in funding and resources to augment the partnership. Nonetheless, it provides a channel for the local community to present their vision of the city and gain support in the process. However, these partnerships have been criticised for advancing 'lip service' as opposed to effective and meaningful engagement. This further supports a disjuncture between the claims of inclusion, and the reality of continuing exclusion for certain stakeholders pinpointing to a hierarchy of stakeholder engagement for the place branding process.

5.3 A HIERARCHY OF STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

The forms of engagement build upon Foo *et al.,*'s (2011) stages of engagement for public finance. Similar to Foo *et al.,* (2011), the forms of engagement sit on a hierarchy, with communication (i.e. information gathering) offering the lowest value of engagement for stakeholders, followed by consultation, collaboration and partnerships. As the analysis highlights, the hierarchy relates to the level of access and corresponding input (Figure 12). This research extends Foo *et al.,*'s (2011) levels of engagement, by incorporating the pivotal role of partnerships, operating beyond collaboration and allowing for the highest level of access and potential input.

Partnerships — *Shared ownership and long-term decision-making. Development of trust and ongoing commitments*

Collaboration — *Mutual consensus and shared short-term decision-making and actions*

Consultation — *Advise and opinions sought on pre-determined criteria*

Communication — *Dissemination and sharing of information. Limited and auxiliary input*
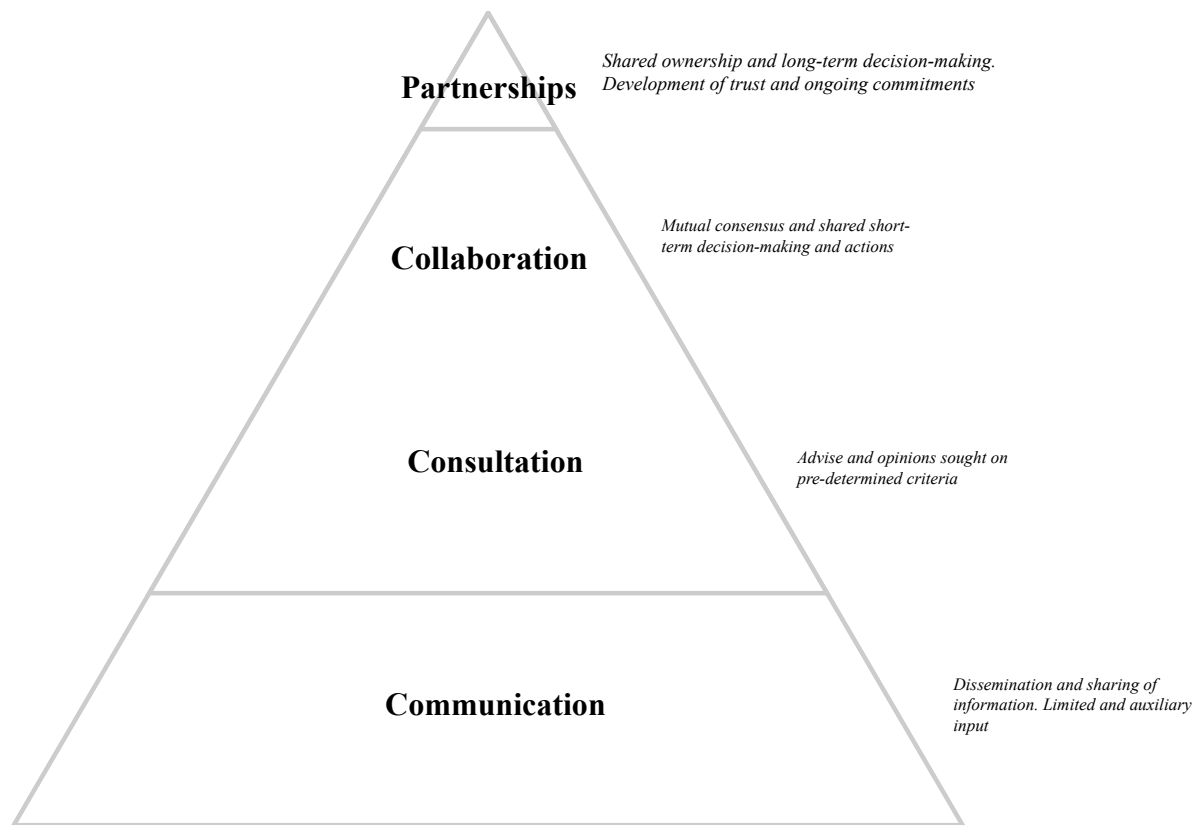
Figure 12: Hierarchy of Stakeholder Engagement

At the base of the hierarchy is communication, operating as an auxiliary form of engagement. Communication is commonplace across both city brands due to its wide availability and relatively low resource requirements. As outlined in the preceding analysis, communication looks to the dissemination and provision of information with little opportunity to input. While Hankinson (2007, 2009) suggests consistent communication forms a central antecedent for managing place branding, this research demonstrates the problems of relying too heavily on purely communication, since it is predominately short-term with reduced ownership and participation. The findings identify large-scale collective engagement strategies as the most overt tools, including forums and group meetings. Predominately stakeholders are able to participate through observing and discussing. Nonetheless, communicative channels can have a more covert influence in the place branding process, with informal channels, such as events and networking, allowing access to nuanced knowledge and connections. These covert engagement strategies further highlight the complex power relationships running through the place branding process.

Moving beyond communicative forms of engagement is input through consultation. Consultation looks mainly to the advisory approaches; informing, objecting or supporting collective issues through predominately prearranged channels. This can be through formal tools, such as committees, forums and meetings, as well as through informal and creative alternatives such as workshops, activities and events. However, in line with Houghton and Stevens (2011), the findings pinpoint critiques of superimposing the direction of consultation, with input being restricted to predefined options in a fixed time. Therefore, consultation is largely static and fixed, with stakeholders gaining access for a set date or given period of time. This creates a gulf in ownership, with ownership being retained by the parties identifying the parameters of the consultation.

Collaboration allows for greater stakeholder participation, with stakeholders working together to produce, enact and consume brand meanings. Collaborations utilise an array of formal and informal tools, as well as multiple, often intertwining approaches to allow stakeholders to integrate into multiple components of the engagement process. While select parties are seen to take the lead and formulate the approaches devised, collaboration allows for the development and enhancement of mutual interests. Collaborations can be one-off strategically formed approaches or recurrent when interests arise. Therefore, collaborations allow for stakeholders to develop reciprocal relationships, mutually supporting and informing the decisions and actions taken. This can allow for a diffusion of ownership to multiple stakeholders. However, in other instances collaborations can extend over longer periods of time, providing a base for long-term partnerships.

Partnerships extends Foo *et al.,*'s (2011) stages of engagement beyond the short or medium-term benefits of collaboration and includes the long-term sharing of skills, resources and connections. Hankinson (2007, 2009) is among the first to identify the pivotal role of partnerships for place branding governance. Similar to the current research, Hankinson (2007, 2009) identifies the varying nature of partnerships that can be overarching or small-scale. This research builds upon Hankinson's (2007, 2009) findings and evaluates how partnerships encompass a multitude of engagement tools and approaches, depending on the nature and context. Moreover, partnerships foster sustained and ongoing engagement over time. Time helps to strengthen relational connections between the partaking stakeholders, supporting mutual interests, trust and connectivity. Therefore, partnerships are bringing together

stakeholders around a network of similar interests (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Hanna and Rowley, 2015).

While partnerships are replicated within each stakeholder category, the findings pinpoint the dominance of key players within the strategic, city-wide and long-term partnerships. In a similar manner to Hankinson's (2009) study, the number of partners is very few in comparison to the stakeholders involved. This affirms the interrelation between power and collaboration when branding complex places (Marzono and Scott, 2009). Therefore, the claims to inclusion through flatter structures are mediated against the façade of involvement (Houghton and Stevens, 2011). This chapter begins to identify the imbalance of access to engagement, which serves to question the normative pursuit of inclusion in engagement through a participatory place branding approach.

5.4 DISCUSSION: DRAWING TOGETHER THEMES FOR STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

An overarching finding from this chapter is the establishment of a hierarchy of stakeholder engagement impacting varying participation within the place branding process. This research builds on previous studies by combining tools, approaches and forms of engagement to build a hierarchy of participation. Previous research establishes the need to involve stakeholders through engagement (Enright and Bourns, 2010; Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2013, 2015; Hankinson, 2007) and begins to critique the power imbalances (Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Houghton and Stevens, 2011). This research goes further by identifying 'how' stakeholders are accessing engagement and pinpointing areas of discrepancies across both stakeholder groups and city brands. This analysis identifies the flaws behind the premise of a participatory approach to place branding, further affirming that governing place branding is seldom simple or formulaic. These are important findings, helping to identify which stakeholders are struggling to compete and where gulfs in participation emerge. In particular, this research affirms the difficulties faced by local community stakeholders when seeking to equally partake in place branding processes (Braun *et al.,* 2013; Eshuis *et al.,* 2014; Green *et al.,* 2016). Moreover, the analysis begins to demonstrate the multi-layered nature of the engagement process, providing a holistic analysis and critique of current applications in the literature.

The hierarchy of stakeholder engagement extends previous attempts to explain stakeholder engagement across multiple stakeholder groups, especially in a place branding context where ownership is blurred. The analysis includes a recognition of the importance of spatiality and temporality, with the most powerful partnerships extending across the city and over a long period of time. Again, this speaks to the complexity of place branding governance and the need to consider the process as holistic and multidimensional (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016). By incorporating stakeholder approaches, the analysis affirms that access to engagement tools and forms of engagement does not translate into the same level of participation (Foo *et al.,* 2011). While local community stakeholders may benefit from access to formal and informal engagement tools within a partnership, access is predominately through communicative or advisory approaches. These approaches do not necessarily allow for the same access as stakeholders from the business community or local authority who are possessing coordination roles in the process. This is particularly acute when spatiality and time come into play, with these same stakeholders extending their input over time and place. Therefore, this chapter helps to uncover the mixture of apparatus and approaches shaping access to engagement for place branding governance.

While the previous section establishes the hierarchy in the processes, this section builds upon these findings pinpointing higher-order themes that interrelate with the hierarchy of stakeholder engagement for place branding governance. This section builds upon these themes and identifies the importance of connectivity, ownership, leadership and accountability for stakeholder engagement in place branding governance (Table 17).

Theme	NVivo Analysis	Interview Quotations
Connectivity	The most frequently referenced (Bath, n=150; Bristol, n=168). In Bath, the business community dominate (n=51), in comparison to a lower reference for the local community (n=18).	*"Bath is very fortune and there are a lot of engaged and interested people who want to be a part of that conversation."* (Peter, Bath, local authority) *"I guess one of the key things for us is because it's a small city we've really got to work in partnership with other players within the city, who are trying to achieve similar aims."* (Richard, Bath, visitor economy) *"We made a point right from the start that there was always a council representative on the Board of*

	In Bristol, the references are dispersed across the business community (n=44), local authority (n=48) and visitor economy (n=44). Again, the lowest quantity of references from the local community (n=27).	*Directors. We've had senior politicians, we've got one of the senior executives on the board. Bath is a small city, so a lot of the directors, we've got 16 in total, they will know different elements of the Council and things.*" (Ryan, Bath, business community) "*You'd think that Bath being smaller would be more kind of connected, but it's not ... Bristol is more connected. This afternoon I'm going to a meeting with the marketing people from the museums that meet regularly to share information. It's from that kind of we will work better in collaboration, than competition.*" (James, Bath and Bristol, visitor economy) "*It's always a lot of hard work, and people don't realise until they work with us how much it takes. They just think 'oh that's great you've got people involved'. It is also a long and deep approach of involving people. It's like building relationships from the very beginning.*" (Francesca, Bristol, business community)
Leadership	Leadership receiving heightened focus in Bristol (n=64), with significantly less references in Bath (n=22). All stakeholder groups in Bristol are referencing leadership to a similar extent. In Bath, disconnection (n=68) and competition feature more prominently (n=40).	"*What we've found in Bath is that there are so many competing brands that the debate is almost too fierce to get that consensus. I think in some bigger cities then you would have a clear idea about who might lead. If the city council in Amsterdam or something announce that is the brand, then everybody else would follow. I think in Bath, the city council, is so heavily engaged in these wider issues that I don't know if it's really strong enough to push a brand.*" (Rick, Bath, local authority) "*I think again, there's no driver on the bus. There's something fundamentally wrong that's not joining everyone together. I think that's perhaps in the old days, inverted commas, there was a council that did all of that, albeit not very well, but at least everyone knew who that was. Nowadays I'm not sure people know who does what anymore.*" (Paul, Bath, visitor economy) "*Actually, you know, one of the criticisms, pre-having an elected mayor, is that a lot has been achieved in the city, in spite of the city council. I think what having an elected mayor did was it gave us a bit of a focal point, a bit of a steer, a decision-making go to.*" (Andrea, Bristol, local community)

		"I think it's really important. He's got his particular views on things. He's got his opinions. Some of those won't necessarily be helpful to our agenda but having somebody to act as a spokesperson and shine on a light on things. Someone who is a natural person to wheel out to a major event, as opposed to a leader who is constrained by party politics." (Ron, Bristol, business community)
Ownership	Ownership more pervasive in Bristol (n=59), though remains high in Bath (n=44).	"There is a reality that Bristol is a complex place. It's not linear anymore. It's not city council does x and everything else follows. It's all about making connections and joining the dots together." (Andrea, Bristol, local community)
	The local authority stakeholders have the highest number of coding references (Bath, n=18; Bristol, n=21).	"The strategy was not to impose a fancy logo and a set of stories or whatever, but to do as much community engagement as possible and create a structure that people within the community can buy into. It's like what I was saying earlier about organising an ecosystem. The principle was there, but we couldn't follow it through because the money got taken away. The principle was really brought into and accepted. But yeah, it was built on a premise that this is not us telling you what it is; this is for you to build into. We'll create as many channels as we possibly can for you to feed into. We'll create organisation and structure, and then project it outwards." (Ron, Bristol, business community)
		"We're a hybrid company; we have two stakeholders, which are the Chamber of Commerce and the local authority. We have a separate board and a separate constitution, separate articles of association, and we're listed as a none for profit organisation … The local authority doesn't have the control, they have a seat on the board; 12 people on the board and they have one seat. So, there are 11 other people on the board. They [the local authority] have no majority whatsoever, but they have a stake in it." (Michael, Bath, visitor economy)
Accountability	Accountability more pervasive in Bath (n=45) than Bristol (n=25)	"We're running it as a business and not a bureaucracy, which is a massive difference. A bureaucracy is run through policy and procedure and the customer is almost disregarded. In business, it's run for shareholders. Well, in effect our shareholders are our stakeholders. It's run for the stakeholders, our members. In terms of regen, trying to bring people here to spend money, then we think
	The local authority in Bath discuss the most frequently (n=19),	

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compared to the business community in Bristol (n=10).	*is good for the resident too."* (Michael, Bath, visitor economy)
	"There are very strong checks and balances in the current democracy and that is frustrating to some people who want things to happen quickly. So, democracy itself is not perfect, but just doing away with it and having somebody who can make lots of decisions singlehandedly, unless that person has absolutely brilliant judgement in every area, can be more dangerous." (Ruth, Bath, local authority)
	"*We work alongside the elected politicians. The elected politicians are decision-makers, particularly around money. If we have to spend any money around these areas, then they're the ones who have to make the decisions. They like to make sure they've involved in key decisions in the area. They have a stake in owning whatever gets done.*" (Cameron, Bristol, local authority)
	"*We have a very unusual language in the public sector with how we talk about things and how we sort of chop the city up. Other people don't think about it like that. The private sector, as well have a different way of looking at the world. They have different motivations to the public sector. We're not profit making, and that's never going to be our priority. But, partners do need to be mindful of that. Then I suppose the challenge is how you balance everybody's priorities and communicate with each other clearly to get the right angle*" (Stuart, Bristol, local authority)

Table 17: Stakeholder Engagement Emergent Themes

5.41 CONNECTIVITY

The most pervasive theme across both case studies is connectivity. This looks at the extent and types of connections between stakeholders when engaging in the city branding process. Engagement operates as a discursive tool to strengthen connections between stakeholders (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015). These benefits can forge individual and organisational connections (Ackermann and Eden, 2011). As Paul (Bath, visitor economy) explains, "*I've developed networks and relationships over time that allow other things to happen and save me time in some areas.*" This further supports the preceding analysis, demonstrating that connectivity is most pronounced between key players, particularly through membership into

exclusive clusters. This is acute for coordinating approaches within partnerships. As Table 17 shows, stakeholders who benefit from access to these connections are welcomed into the conversations and develop mutual interests that extend over time. Julian (Bristol, local authority) outlines how these connections can form an ecosystem reinforcing shared aims:

> *"We worked to build this network and ecosystem of organisations around sustainability and high tech. We saw that as an economic opportunity."* Julian (Bristol, local authority)

The connections extend across the city, evolving over time and working to provide collective benefits. Nonetheless, connectivity is not always positive. While collegiality brings benefits to those granted membership, the push for connections also sparks competition and exclusion:

> "[There are] *some very loud voices, who aren't necessarily representative of the whole community, who might have strong views, and we might not necessarily agree with, and the rest of the community might not necessarily agree with either."* (Richard, visitor economy).

The remit of connectivity and its influence in place branding governance is gaining attention in the literature (Hankinson, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2015). These studies look to social network theory (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Rowley, 1997), assessing stakeholders' position, density and access to a network of stakeholders. For Rowley (1997) the emphasis is on whether these clusters of stakeholders are highly dense or whether the firm is central. While the clustering of stakeholders presents similarities to the current research, there is a need to consider how connections operate when ownership is blurred. Ackermann and Eden (2011) extend the parameters, incorporating an array of facets such as the formal or informal capacity, whether the connections are positive or negative, alongside stakeholders' position, connection and access. The importance of connectivity in part speaks to these understandings. As the chapter demonstrates throughout, stakeholders are using their connections to other influential players to negotiate a more strategic position and resultant access to the most pervasive engagement strategies.

While these advances are important, looking purely at the social ties fails to consider the wider influences at play. The social connections alone do not explain how a multiplicity of tools,

approaches and forms are used to develop and retain a powerful position. Though the connections between people are important, additional facets such as the sharing of resources, money, knowledge, shared protection of interests are also important. Moreover, these explanations do not consider how stakeholders are able to retain such positions and gain legitimacy for their access and involvement. The combination of these influences will be considered in the following chapter.

5.42 LEADERSHIP

The place branding governance literature recognises the importance of leadership (Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2015), with select people acting as brand champions promoting a central vision for the brand. This research confirms the importance of leadership and its potential to influence engagement within place branding governance (Allen, 2011). Leadership can be small-scale, providing coordination at a local or organisational level, or it can be city-wide. While the hierarchy of engagement demonstrates the pervasiveness of leadership within the coordination roles (Marzono and Scott, 2009), the most explicit influence is attained when leadership is considered across the city. Bristol is most overtly benefiting from mayoral leadership, providing direction, coordination and cohesion when bringing together diverse brand meanings. As Andrea and Ron detail in Table 17, having a charismatic leader provides a focal point for actions and encourages momentum. The stakeholders discuss the pivotal role of the previous mayor, who was particularly active in fostering activities that unite the city, as well promoting Bristol nationally and internationally.

However, in Bath a different account of leadership emerges. Critiques of the local authority and the absence of a figurehead leads stakeholders to claim there is an absence of city-wide leadership. While in Bristol the appointment of a mayor reinstates a figurehead for the city, the same leadership is seen to be absent for Bath. The greater emphasis on disconnection and competition runs parallel to the diminishing recognition of leadership. As Rick discusses in Table 17, there are a multitude of competing brands with no recognition of who is responsible for managing the diverging approaches. Paul deduces a similar outcome, when claiming there is "*no driver on the bus.*" These findings suggest that despite the decentralisation of ownership and the importance of including multiple voices in the place branding process, a focal point in which to direct city-wide efforts remains important.

Nonetheless, leadership can also have a darker side. Even in Bristol where the perceptions were largely positive, cracks in leadership begin to show. A particular concern was the subtle exclusion of demographic and socio-economic groups across the city. These concerns run parallel to the division value judgement set out in Chapter 4. While city-wide events were seen to bring segments of the community together, other groups remain isolated. Similarly, the emphasis on fun and vibrancy overtook the multiplicity of other stakeholder brand meanings. As such, the mayor is afforded authority when swaying the presentation of the city in a particular direction (Marzono and Scott, 2009). Nonetheless, the appointment of a new mayor in 2016 marks a differing in approaches across the city, with inclusion becoming a focal point of the leadership. This further identifies the influence an individual can have, acting as a gatekeeper to the multiplicity of meanings.

When looking to the small-scale leadership operating within a local or organisational context then further tensions arise. The coordination roles, in particular formulate and lead, provide select stakeholders with a heightened level of access to the most fruitful forms of engagement. As this chapter shows, these small-scale leaders can develop powerful clusters, which further advances their position at the expense of auxiliary stakeholders. Despite a push toward leadership promoting shared brand values (Hanna and Rowley, 2015), the reality of micro leadership is reinforcing the gap between claims of inclusion and the reality of top-down exclusivity (Eshuis *et al.,* 2014). The findings point to a contradiction between the benefits of leadership when encouraging the collective consumption and production of multiple brand meanings and the tensions surrounding selectivity when appointing privileged individuals to manage complex stakeholder interactions. Not only is leadership allowing select voices to gain prominence, but change is only afforded when leadership shifts. This creates vacuums of power for select stakeholders to the exclusion of the wider participation. These findings demonstrate that leadership for place branding governance is complex and contested. However, if leaders look to bottom-up approaches that allow for multiplicity to be celebrated then some tensions can be mediated.

5.43 OWNERSHIP

The dichotomy surrounding leadership links to the blurring of ownership, wherein the decentralisation of control away from the local authority is working alongside a rising

acceptance of multi-stakeholder involvement (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Kavaratazis, 2012). Despite claims that the process is becoming more participatory, the findings point to the clustering of ownership among powerful stakeholder groups across the city brands. This runs contrary to the brand experience, wherein stakeholders are seen to share ownership and therefore production of place branding (Hanna and Rowley, 2011). Stakeholders in Bath are cautious of these developments. As Steven (local community) explains, *"Bath is small enough for it to be run by a whole series of people who you could probably list on two hands."* Moreover, the decentralisation of brand ownership and corresponding leadership gulf allows the business community to possess a leading role in the engagement processes across the city. This is particularly acute in relation to coordination roles, such as formulating and leading the engagement process. A prominent example is the local authority's decision to commission an official city identity to a cluster of business community stakeholders. The group researched and coordinated a narrative for the city. To do so, the stakeholders employed large scale engagement strategies involving stakeholders from multiple sectors. The outcome was a slogan that promotes the economic benefits of inward investment, alongside a recognition of the city's aesthetic appeal. Here the emphasis on creating slogans remains commonplace, rather than allowing for multiplicity in brand meanings. Further, the slogan encourages a modernisation of the brand, which sparks tensions with those seeking to protect the traditional composition of the city. The examples illuminate the influence that can be gained from claiming ownership over the process and the tensions siloed ownership can create.

In Bristol, the tensions are less rife. However, a similar picture emerges with ownership being granted to a select few to design a vision for Bristol by 2020. While engagement strategies remain popular, the overarching coordination rests with a few key players, suggesting ownership exists in silos of influential stakeholders. These findings present a more critical account of ownership, which is becoming diffused, but dispersed among select stakeholders. The local community continue to be the stakeholder group suffering from these changes. Again, this demonstrates the need to look further at why certain stakeholders are able to gain impetus and the impacts of this for place branding governance.

5.44 ACCOUNTABILITY

Running alongside leadership and ownership is accountability. The sharing of place branding ownership is premised as creating a duty to be accountable to all stakeholders in the place (Serra *et al.,* 2017). Previous place branding research underexplores the implications of shifting accountability for stakeholders undertaking engagement strategies. Both positive and negative outcomes derive from accountability. The findings demonstrate the legitimacy attained from being democratically charged to coordinate the city's governance. Stakeholders from the local authority present their claims as altruistic, since decisions are made outside the remit of profit creation. Though, this omits the political motivations shaping engagement and the timeframes for engagement (Marzono and Scott, 2009). However, accountability also creates an expectation and duty for select stakeholders to advocate inclusion within engagement and ensure a fair representation of city branding meanings. This creates an uncomfortable position for the local authority, with an often-onerous expectation that it is their duty to "*fix the world*" (Nigel, Bath, local authority). The current economic climate means that local authorities do not have resources or capacity to meet these expectations (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). With these expectations comes dissent at lack of perceived outcomes from the process (Foo *et al.,* 2011). Moreover, the decentralisation of ownership and push toward involving multiple stakeholders run contrary to these expectations. This creates conflict and confusion for stakeholders.

A further insight is the enhanced access gained when accountability is removed, acting as an enabler for other stakeholder groups. As demonstrated throughout the findings, the business community, visitor economy and local community are able to benefit from the independence and freedom to act outside of the public's scrutiny. This removes an obligation to act in a particular way, enabling the stakeholders to exercise flexible and creative alternatives and operate (largely) without external scrutiny. This covert potential is underexplored in the extant research and highlights the difficulties in changing expectations and existing understandings of power and responsibility. Moreover, the findings suggest that despite ownership being claimed to be shared, accountability still remains within the public management arena.

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter adds to the extant literature in three main ways. First, the chapter develops a holistic account of stakeholder engagement, identifying the combination of tools, approaches and forms of engagement and the mitigating influence of time and scope. The holistic approach allows for a critical analysis of stakeholders' varying involvement in the engagement processes. Second, this chapter uses the holistic approach to engagement to identify a hierarchy of stakeholder engagement across stakeholder groups and city brands. This builds upon previous research and begins to suggest a darker side to engagement. Therefore, working to rebut claims of participatory place branding and the heightening use of engagement in place brand governance frameworks. Finally, this chapter presents emergent themes running interdependently along the hierarchy of stakeholder engagement. These themes include the influence of connectivity, leadership, ownership and accountability. Together, these findings pinpoint a disjuncture between claims of stakeholder participation and the reality of top-down hierarchies (Eshuis *et al.*, 2014; Sztejnberg and Giovanardi, 2017). Moreover, these findings establish the need to consider the reasons *why* stakeholders are accessing engagement differently both across stakeholder categories and across city brands.

The first set of findings builds upon previous conceptualisations of stakeholder engagement, both within and outside of city branding, establishing a more nuanced understanding of the processes underscoring engagement across multiple stakeholder groups. This extends Foo *et al.*, (2011) stages of stakeholder engagement, recognising the dynamism and complexity at the heart of stakeholders' participation in the city branding process. The engagement process in Bath and Bristol is shaped by the interplay of formal and informal tools; supplementary, advisory and coordination roles; which combine to allow for input through the channels of communication, consultation, collaboration and partnerships. Within these facets of time, spatiality, visibility and context become focal.

By conceptualising engagement as a fluid and multidimensional process, the research is better able to evaluate stakeholders' access and interactions (Ayuso *et al.*, 2014). The primary emphasis looks to the collective engagement tools, approaches and forms that are utilised by stakeholders. These are shown to vary depending on the stakeholder group and across the cities. Largely, the decentralisation of the local authority has blurred the control over engagement and

allowed for multiple parties to participate. However, the local authority retains an important role in the process, coordinating and supporting city-wide engagement. This is particularly acute at the strategic level, whereby the local authority is afforded an almost veto over official approaches. Nonetheless, this input is only one mechanism through which stakeholders are participating. The business community, particularly in Bath, has a pivotal role in the engagement process. The visitor economy remains an important player, gaining access to key partnerships within the visitor economy and across the city. Nonetheless, tensions within the visitor economy can hamper these collective efforts. Of particular importance, is the exclusion and apathy felt by many stakeholders in the local community. This is still true in Bristol, whereby the claims to inclusion receive heightened favour. This further affirms that a gulf emerges between claims of inclusion through participatory place branding and the reality of top-down hierarchical engagement processes.

Moreover, differences across the case studies emerge. In Bristol stakeholders are, to an extent, able to partake across the forms of engagement. In contrast, Bath's local community stakeholders struggle to attain input beyond a superficial level. Despite, avenues for access being greater in Bristol, the hierarchy still remains. Engagement would benefit from forging connections between people and place through open channels of communication, consultation, collaboration and partnership. This presents an opportunity to address further '*why*' differences are located across city brands and how this alters the ability of stakeholders to input into participatory place branding. These also fit within the more recent synopsis of stakeholder theory (Parmare *et al.,* 2010), looking at the shared creation of value and the connection between ethics and capital in helping managers overcome these hurdles. These findings suggest that stakeholder theory needs to reflect that management or governance can extend beyond firm-centric approaches and look at stakeholder-to-stakeholder interaction when ownership is blurred.

The final contributions look to the emergent themes that underpin this governance puzzle. In particular, the emphasis on interconnectivity of the hierarchy of stakeholder engagement with connectivity, ownership, leadership and accountability. The closed networks, paternal perceptions of the local authority and lack of overarching leadership creates a difficult mix of problems for the production of city brand meanings. It allows privileged stakeholders to permeate central positions, overcome the restrictions of an accountable and representative duty

and impose a narrative that is implemented across the city brand. By recognising these emergent themes occurring within the engagement process and across the devised hierarchy, the research is able to pinpoint areas that support for gulfs in participatory place branding. These are explored in detail throughout the remainder of the thesis.

CHAPTER 6

STAKEHOLDERS' CAPITAL AND CAPACITY: USING A BOURDIEUSIAN LENS TO ANALYSE STAKEHOLDERS' VARYING POSITIONS IN THE CITY BRANDING 'FIELD'

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters examine the first two components of place branding governance, namely *stakeholders' claims* (Chapter 4) and *stakeholders' contributions* (Chapter 5). Chapter 4 assessed the multiplicity of interconnected brand meanings stakeholders assign to the places in which they live, work, and do business. Brand meanings are complex, covering stakeholders' functional descriptions, as well as their attitudes, values and emotions. The analysis highlighted the tensions surrounding stakeholders competing and converging brand meaning claims. Chapter 5 built upon this analysis and showed '*how*' stakeholders contribute to the shared consumption and production of these brand meanings through stakeholder engagement. Stakeholders participate through formal and informal tools; supplementary, advisory and coordination approaches; and communications, consultations, collaborations and partnerships forms of engagement. Together, the engagement apparatus showed a hierarchy of stakeholder participation, with the pinnacle access being granted through partnerships versus superficial access being attained through communications and consultations. In both chapters, the analysis points to the continued dominance of the local authority stakeholders, alongside the emergent power gained by the business community and a lesser extent the visitor economy. In contrast, the local community remained largely excluded from the most strategic forms of engagement, questioning whether the blurring of ownership in place branding governance allows for greater input for struggling stakeholders.

This chapter builds upon these important findings, critically evaluating the varying capacity of stakeholders to participate in the place branding process (Chapter 5) and convey brand

meanings (Chapter 4). This addresses an important omission in place branding governance by examining the reasons '*why*' certain stakeholders are able to gain a more strategic position in place branding processes and 'why' these processes are difficult to change.

To address the omission of stakeholder capacity, this chapter applies Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986). The theoretical lens helps to explain stakeholders' varying ability to command and mobilise economic, cultural, social and ultimately symbolic capital by applying the field-capital theory to the investigation of hierarchical stakeholder positions within the city branding field. Therefore, this research extends existing place branding governance theory by investigating how stakeholders' positions are shaped by the capital they possess and their means of exploiting this capital. However, this research also shows that the forms of capital alone do not fully explain stakeholders' varying capacity. This research draws on the emergent themes of longevity and scope to explain why some stakeholders are better able to command and legitimise their stocks of economic, social and cultural capital into symbolic capital.

The chapter proceeds as follows: First, Bourdieu's field-capital theory is applied as a methodological lens, exploring the social, cultural, economic and resultant symbolic capital deployed by stakeholders from across Bath and Bristol. Second, the boundaries of the theory are considered, developing theoretical insights that emerge from the data. These point to the importance of longevity and scope when explaining how the forms of capital gain impetus in the city branding field. Using these emergent findings, a typology of 'stakes' in the branding process is established. The typology divides stakeholders' positions into four quadrants, namely privileged, opportunistic, routine and struggling. Stakeholders' position within these quadrants and the implications for place branding governance are considered. Finally, further areas of extension and clarification behind Bourdieu's analysis to place branding governance are examined.

6.2 APPLYING BOURDIEU'S FORMS OF CAPITAL TO BATH AND BRISTOL'S CITY BRANDING FIELD

This section centres on Bourdieu's (1977, 1985, 1986) forms of capital; namely economic, social and cultural (Table 18). The focus is on the city branding field, using the two cities as

differing manifestations of the field when investigating a particularly complicated example of the stakeholders' positions within contemporary place branding governance. This research sees the city branding field as multidimensional; it is the arena where stakeholders' claims and contributions come together, and it is the outcome of these components. Therefore, to be in the arena of city branding, actors (stakeholders) need to possess various forms of capital, but for city branding to result in something (for example, a process/ product) this capital needs to be mobilised. Based on this, the subsection first evaluates stakeholders' perceptions relating to the stocks of capital they possess that grant them access to the city branding field. This is followed by an analysis of the emergent themes that explain the ways that stakeholders are mobilising these forms of capital to gain impetus in the city branding processes. Together, this helps to show the clusters of stakeholders who possess the greatest stocks of capital within the city branding field and begins to evaluate how these forms of capital are mobilised. By considering these two parts together, variances in stakeholder positions and stakeholders' varying capacity to gain greater levels of participation into the city branding process is considered.

Code	Coding Properties
Economic	Access to material resources, examples include money, funding, property, land.
Social	Collective capacity of stakeholders, including group membership, affiliations, networks.
Cultural	Capacity to apply knowledge and skills, examples include education, training, institutional knowhow, creativity.

Table 18: Coding Bourdieu's Forms of Capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986)

Consistent with the previous chapters, the themes are developed abductively, based on an application of Bourdieu's field-capital theory and the emergent findings from the data. Following the three-stage analysis, the final codes were stored on NVivo and provide an indication of the number of references made to each form of capital (Table 19). As per the previous analysis, these frequencies identify a guide of the proportionality of claims, as opposed to equating to the strength aligned to each code.

	Business community (n=coding references)	Local community (n=coding references)	Visitor economy (n=coding references)	Local Authority (n=coding references)	Total (n=coding references)
Stakeholder claims Bath					
Cultural	38	36	28	30	132
Economic	15	8	20	19	62
Social	54	47	50	41	192
Stakeholder claims Bristol					
Cultural	39	22	32	29	122
Economic	16	20	13	19	68
Social	22	21	19	25	87

Table 19: Stakeholder Claims (NVivo Coding Frequencies)

6.21 ECONOMIC CAPITAL

6.211 CLUSTERS OF ECONOMIC CAPITAL

Stakeholders from across Bath and Bristol discuss their possession and mobilisation of economic capital less than the social and cultural capital counterparts (Table 19), supporting the need to expand an analysis of capital beyond monetary assets (Bourdieu, 1984). However, the infrequency of claims to economic capital does not eradicate the importance of monetary resources for stakeholders' varying capacity to access and participate in place branding processes. The literature supports these findings, demonstrating the interrelationship between wealth and property alongside attaining prosperous social ties and relevant knowledge and skills (Anheier *et al.,* 1995; Parmentier *et al.,* 2013). In addition, the current research confirms the extended importance of economic capital as a prerequisite for participation and a precursor to building social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Hasting and Matthews, 2015).

The findings also point to certain stakeholder groups possessing greater stocks of economic capital. For example, stakeholders from the business community benefit from greater stocks of economic capital. For the visitor economy, the variations are greater when looking within the stakeholder group, with certain sub-groups benefiting from greater quantities of economic

capital. The local authority remains troubled by diminishing resources, alongside powerful doxic logics that determine how their economic capital is spent:

> *"We're always constrained by resources, but I think we've got reasonable systems in place now. If an inquiry comes into the West of England, then we will capture it and pass it onto the relevant organisation, or to a local agent."* (Dean, Bath, local authority)

The doxa works as an invisible social force, ensuring given precepts and 'rules of the game' are seen as self-evident and difficult to amend (Bourdieu, 1998). This creates natural beliefs and unquestioned perceptions, which are taken for granted as the way in which things operate in the field. This recognition is dependent on the overarching field of power at a given point (McDonough, 2006). The field of power covers the dominant political dispositions understood by actors in the field (McDonough, 2006). Therefore, the local authority stakeholders have a reduced access to stocks of economic capital that run parallel to political dispositions emphasising minimal spending on nonessential services. This makes the existing economic capital difficult to mobilise, with investment in city branding being considered a non-essential cost.

Furthermore, the local community stakeholders possess stocks of economic capital. When the economic resources are discussed by the local community, in the most part, it relates to availability of income and resources that allow the participant to give their time voluntarily or in relation to small pots of funding attained from one of the other stakeholder groups. Again, this suggests that economic capital is a necessity when gaining access to the city branding field, with stakeholders requiring available time and resources to invest. For the stakeholders participating in a professional capacity, then this hurdle is met by the remuneration for their time and knowledge through an income. For those acting voluntarily (most notably the local community), a certain level of wealth and availability is essential. However, when selecting salient stakeholders (Mitchell *et al.,* 1997) for the theoretical sample, this research largely omitted stakeholders who did not possess this minimal threshold of economic resources. Therefore, the selection of stakeholders who are already holding a position in the process automatically assumes the capacity to act either professionally for an income or voluntarily with equity to support the time deployed.

> *"For me, what I'm doing is exercising my old skills in a new environment. I don't need the money. I live off my pension. Getting others to do that is difficult, either because they haven't got the opportunity or because they're still working full time."* (Robert, Bath, local community)

However, these financial hurdles indirectly exclude a wide range of stakeholders from the local community. While this level of exclusivity is beyond the remit of this current analysis, it remains an important and troubling phenomenon for place branding governance more widely.

6.212 FROM AUSTERITY TO FOSTERING FUNDING STREAMS

There is heightened competition for economic capital, which stems in part from the austerity doxa underpinning the decision-making in the fields of power (Alexander, 2007; Bourdieu, 1998). Stakeholders are competing for limited resources, of which city branding and related engagement activities do not feature at the top of the list of financial priorities for governance bodies, organisations or many funders. Therefore, one realisation of the shifting priorities and diminishing quantity of funding streams is the move away from government-backed branding initiatives (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). The official marketing and branding of cities was initially centrally managed, in the most part, by the local authorities (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). As this research outlines, a combination of budget cuts, restructuring of local authority ownership, the onset of public-private partnerships creates an environment premised around shared ownership. The result are funding streams that are few and far between:

> *"Once upon a time I think the Council put in all the money and it was run entirely by the Council, but those times have changed. They [museums] now seek as much money as possible from all the interested parties, who have got something to benefit from it."*
> (Ruth, Bath, local authority)

Instead of looking to the local authority for the primary source of funding, alternative funding streams are accessed. These include public-private enterprises or applications to national or organisational funding bodies. In this new funding environment, opportunities can be maximised for the stakeholders with the pre-existing knowledge, connections and resources that allow access to these external pots of funding:

"We were successful in winning quite a lot of funding out of European Innovation projects. We started to build a portfolio of projects around this notion of smart cities. It wasn't always a word we liked, but it had enough resonance with businesses and industries and funders for us to start to use it." (Julian, Bristol, local authority)

Julian is in a favourable position, since he already possesses large stocks of economic capital, and is able to use pre-existing social and cultural capacity to gain access and mobilise long-term multi-million-pound funding streams. Additionally, Julian affirms the prominence of innovative and environmental brand meanings, aligned to the smart city initiatives. Rather than establishing one engagement generated project, Julian is able to develop multiple projects across the city. Julian's previous experience means he is better equipped to understand what happens before, during and as a result of engagement processes. Moreover, connections across the forms of capital are shown; with social capital being attained through the link to businesses, industries and funders, as well as the cultural capital when knowing how to apply for, and successfully attain, funding grants. The forms of capital are not operating in isolation; rather the possession of large stocks of one form of capital enables the development of greater stocks of other capital and the mobilisation of capital into outcomes. As a result, Julian and his organisation are able to continually produce the brand through their existence and visibility across Bristol. The organisation's focus on 'smart cities' and environmental projects is contributing to the production of the brand meaning 'innovative.'

However, the funding process is cumbersome and risky, since the process of applying for funding requires time, effort and resources. Not all stakeholders are equally able to undertake this risk:

"The process of applying for funding makes me uncomfortable. You can spend a week writing a funding application, and ultimately someone somewhere will just put a tick or a cross against the application. By which, the consequences make your week of work completely unrewarded and unpaid for. For me, that seems a very torturous road to go down. For me, I have a young family and I can't just do that." (Lewis, Bristol, visitor economy)

Again, to be able to access to additional economic capital, there is a need to have an existing buffer to compensate the risks that comes with the funding process. Therefore, with the risks inherent in the funding process acting as a barrier for new entrants into the field. To respond to

these difficulties, stakeholders are sharing the risk across a group; pooling resources, knowledge and money to successfully attain financial support. One example of this looks to the establishment of a partnership comprised of ten cultural attractions within Bristol, whereby collectively stakeholders were able to develop objectives, lists of priorities and importantly, larger pots of funding, to undertake cultural initiatives in their attractions:

> *"If we all work together then we can say, this is the cultural sector's capital need for the next 100 years. What might we expect from the Arts Council, or directly from government? What might be expect from the city council? Where is the gap? How we might work best together to fill that gap? Then, you go to the council, and they say oh you guys have got your act together. You're working together."* (Rose, Bristol, visitor economy)

Stakeholders are combining social capital with the imperative of attaining economic capital. Moreover, funding attained through competitive bids from national or international funding bodies is seen as prestigious. This prestige affords the stakeholders symbolic value. However, these benefits are weighed against the practical problems of reduced choice and having to follow specific criteria. For example, while Julian is afforded large stocks of economic capital that extend both geographically and temporally, he remains controlled by the requirements of the funders and key players in the field. These restrictions ensure that the team are forced to use the term '*smart city*'. While, external funding creates provides the required economic resources from respected institutions, this access can be to the detriment of independence. For the stakeholders involved, the diminished choice dictates the brand meanings portrayed through the engagement processes.

6.213 ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND INDEPENDENCE

Not all forms of economic capital are granted the same levels of prestige. While funding provides the required resources to enter the city branding field, there are limits to its applicability. Creating independent funding streams can be advantageous, removing stringent terms set by funders. Here the emphasis on independence includes a distancing from the rules and regulations surrounding official funding channels. For the purpose of this research, official channels include local authority funding, as well funding from the national governments and national and international funding bodies. Responding to the hurdles associated with official

funding channels, a business interest group in Bath devised a creative system of revenue generation:

> *"I think the way we're is funded is purely genius. We no longer rely on any grant from the local authority or public funding, making it truly independent, which means we can choose exactly what we wish to do to fulfil the vision and strategy."* (Susan, Bath, business community)

The business interest group is vastly active in the city-wide engagement activities that shape a narrative for Bath. By removing the accountability to funding bodies, the group was free to devise their own brand meanings and use their ample resources to translate visions into practice.

Independent economic capital is also attained through access to land and property, providing tangible resources to strengthen stakeholder claims and contributions. As explained throughout this thesis, place (and specifically city) branding combines tangible and intangible resources, sparking functional and emblematic meanings for internal stakeholders. Within this, the possession of tangible assets is fundamentally important. The ownership of land, property, key heritage sites, cultural attractions, businesses and swathes of residential and commercial properties across the city brings with it a strong position within the city branding field:

> *"I ought to mention a key figure who worked for the local authority, he was a maverick and a good challenger of the local authority. He wielded enormous power as a land holder and authority in the city."* (Anne, Bath, business community)

These assets provide a gateway to city-wide engagement activities, in particular advantageous collaborations and long-term partnerships. One example of this is the dual role of the local authority in Bath, as both a governing body and a land owner. This allows the local authority to mobilise its economic capital for a prolonged period and with high levels of influence:

> *"The other thing to note about Bath is that the City Council owns something like 67% of the property in the city. When it was just Bath Council it never levied a rate because it had so much income from the property."* (James, Bath and Bristol, visitor economy)

Despite the premise that the stakeholders co-produce place branding processes (Kavaratzis, 2012), this research confirms the central, albeit problematic, position maintained by local authority stakeholders (Marzono and Scott, 2009). The ownership of land and property provides one explanation for this continued advantageous position. Beyond merely commercial properties, the local authority in Bath owns and operates crucial visitor attractions. One of pivotal importance is the Roman Baths, which brings in excess of one million guests annually (BANES, 2015). Similarly, stakeholders in the visitor economy are afforded economic capital through ownership of pivotal visitor attractions. The ownership of key properties across the city affords stakeholders economic capital, but more importantly, the possession of strategic attractions sets the stakeholders apart as important players in the city branding field. This is particularly acute in Bath, where a small collection of heritage attractions commands a strategic position in the engagement practices because of the perceived importance of these sites for bringing in visitors and income to the city.

This section demonstrates the continued importance of obtaining stocks of economic capital. The possession of economic capital provides a base to be able to take risks, enabling the transference of claims into contributions, creating independence removed from accountability, and building other forms of capital. It is the latter point that is of greatest significance for the remainder of the analysis. The forms of capital are interconnected, and the most strategic positions are gained when stakeholders are able to access multiple forms of capital and mobilise these forms of capital across the city.

6.22 CULTURAL CAPITAL
6.221 HEIGHTENED IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL CAPITAL

In this research, claims to cultural capital are discussed more overtly by stakeholders than claims to economic capital (Table 19). Cultural capital is particularly important when analysing stakeholders' varying position within the multifaceted, nuanced and complex city branding field. The significance of cultural capital is connected to the nature of branding, which draws on meanings, images, signifiers and credentials (Holt, 1998). All of these branding facets are closely connected to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Yet, cultural capital is more pervasive in Bristol, in comparison to Bath. This affirms the overarching importance of the habitus, shaping the values placed on capital in the field (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, the value placed

on the forms of capital is dependent upon the field, with the cultural forms of capital gaining impetus in Bristol's city branding field, versus an emphasis on social capital in Bath's. For stakeholders in Bristol, the habitus affirms the unconscious acceptance of independence, creativity, innovation and entrepreneurialism, which tie closely with cultural capital. In contrast, there is a greater approval granted to social capital in Bath.

As the review of the literature (Chapter 2) outlines, Bourdieu's cultural capital operates on two footings. First, and central to the premise in this chapter, stakeholders accumulate and mobilise cultural capital when seeking to maximise their position in the field (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993). Second, the legitimised cultural capital helps reinforce accepted dispositions and doxic logics that form the habitus, ultimately guiding the stakeholders' understandings of the city branding field (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). This reflects the interrelation of the field and habitus to the forms of capital (1977). Therefore, while the primary focus of this chapter is the cultural capacities of stakeholders, it is also important to identify the dispositions that shape the varying emphasis on particular sets of ideals and knowledge within a field. Together, these facets help to explain '*why*' certain stakeholders are gaining more strategic forms of participation (Chapter 5) that creates a more favourable ability to advance stakeholder claims (Chapter 4).

6.222 CLUSTERS OF CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE CITY BRANDING FIELD

In the current research, stakeholders discuss their knowledge, expertise, skills, credentials, professional capabilities and talents that they bring to the engagement activities. These resources are wide ranging, covering the practical skills needed to voice the brand meaning claims through engagement and a nuanced knowledge of the city and its identity, to the possession of unique talents that propel a seat at the city branding table. While cultural claims exist across the city brands and across the stakeholder groups, noteworthy differences emerge in terms of the direct and indirect impact of access to cultural capital on stakeholders' capacity to partake in the city branding process.

Again, all stakeholder groups demonstrate a prerequisite quantity of cultural capital that enabled access to varying levels of participation (Chapter 5). Despite all stakeholders possessing some stocks of cultural capital, significant differences emerge when analysing stakeholders' stocks of capital, along with the variable ability to mobilise their cultural capital.

Again, a wealth of the resources are clustered among key stakeholders, including the business community, local authority and, to a larger extent than elsewhere in the analysis, visitor economy stakeholders. These differences relate to the varying possession and application of existing knowledge and skills, and the additional cultural capital gained through leadership over place branding processes. These are considered in the sections below.

6.223 SHARING KNOWLEDGE OF THE CITY BRANDING FIELD

For the current analysis, the main focus centres on stakeholders' varying access to cultural capital when creating, justifying and maintaining a strategic position in the city branding processes (Chapter 5). The research affirms that possessing necessary skills, expertise, knowledge and an understanding of how the apparatus operate (engagement processes), helps to provides stakeholders' access and a level of influence:

> *"I think having a residents' association, having people who have the area of expertise does carry more weight, because one local resident whining doesn't do much"* (Anne, Bath, local community)

As Anne explains, bringing together stakeholders with shared expertise creates both access to the field and recognition for the input. A noteworthy point here relates to the specific area of expertise, with greater emphasis being placed on prior embodied and institutionalised capital that correlates with the current role (Bourdieu, 1986). Anne goes on to discuss the skills accumulated through years of working in an administrative position, allowing her to transfer this knowledge into the organisation of the local community group. The emphasis on experience and skills attained from previous or current employment is evidenced by multiple stakeholders from across the local community. Similarly, other stakeholder groups express the importance of past and present professional capacities:

> *"We wanted to anchor it in the city, with real people being both users and beneficiaries of the projects and the programmes. We worked closely with organisations to look at how you create an approach that brings real people, in real communities, into those projects and sustain that participation in a meaningful way. We sort of created this view of smart cities that they should be for people and driven by people. Seeing communities as co-designers and co-creators of this smart city. Rather than just being something that we impose from the top. It has become quite distinctive about Bristol's*

approach to the smart city. People recognise it when we talk externally, which is something we've invested a lot of thinking in." (Julian, Bristol, local authority)

Over time, Julian was able to capture what being a 'smart city' means to Bristol and its stakeholders, developing this understanding through a combination of professional skills and interpersonal connections. The combination of cultural and social capital creates credibility and legitimacy by (re)producing these meanings with stakeholders from across the city. As a result, Julian fosters a long-term and city-wide collective engagement strategy that propels his vision of an innovative, digital savvy and environmentally friendly city. Additionally, the process is undertaken in accord with "*real people*", rather than focusing on purely top-down approaches. The reiteration of looking at '*real*' stakeholders suggests that value is being put on the shared ownership of place brandings, rather than focusing on traditional top-down strategies.

As Julian and Anne allude, not all skills, expertise and talent are considered equal across the stakeholder groups and city brands. In this research participants refer to key skills that boost their position within place branding processes. These include; knowledge of the engagement process, an ability to mediate across stakeholders, and knowledge of areas of governance and marketing as key skills. A prime example of how these skills benefit stakeholders' ability to enter and maintain a strong position in the field is exemplified by a business interest group in Bath. The success of the group was also driven by accumulated knowledge from different sectors across Bath. Using the combined knowledge of the business, finance, creative industries, innovation and even branding domains to develop a narrative for the city. The bringing together of these powerful players into one group is considered to be "*phenomenal as a group of senior engaged people in the city brand*" (Susan, Bath, business community). While the individual knowledge and expertise of the directors plays a fundamental role in the process, a further contributory factor is the negotiation and mediation skills of its coordinator:

> *"I'd be humble and say I'm project glue because often it feels like I am. There's only me working on it with the grace and favour of the directors, and how much they choose to put it, which varies across the directors. They are great visionary people and I can't expect them to spare too much time. It's about making projects happen that involve as many people as possible."* (Susan, Bath, business community)

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Susan possesses the professional capacity, time and resources to bring together the directors and coordinate actions. Again, this links to the importance of longstanding experience gained through professional roles, sparking embodied and institutionalised cultural capital. In addition, attaining experience across multiple sectors and industries reinforces the strength of stakeholders' claims. Therefore, skills can be clustered, expanding the scope of knowledge:

> *"Around that table of chamber members, I think there are three or four other members who are there with other hats on if that makes sense. Many of our members are doing other things as well. Be that a day job, or other voluntary activities, they're involved with. We're looking to engage through a whole variety of mechanisms."* (Andrea, Bristol, local community)

As the thesis details, place branding governance covers wide-ranging tools, approaches and forms of engagement that encompass multiple stakeholder groups, sectors and industries (Chapter 5). The wide breadth brings complexities. However, the scope of the combined group's skills presents an opportunity for stakeholders to develop the relevant knowledge to participate in multiple engagement activities across the city. Andrea sets out the value of this city-wide knowledge, noting stakeholders' amalgamation of skills from professional and voluntary roles. This suggests that the players thriving in the competition for participation are those who are able to expand their influence beyond a specific silo and infiltrate processes that occur across the city over a prolonged period.

6.23 SOCIAL CAPITAL
6.231 THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

It is when social capital is assessed that the crux of the differences between stakeholders emerges. Social capital is most prevalent and also serves to reinforce stakeholders' existing access to, and position within, the city branding field. This research specifically focuses on social capital under a Bourdieusian lens (Bourdieu, 1986), as opposed to social capital examined more widely in business and marketing (Rowley, 1997). Bourdieu's social capital analyses the (re)production of the field through the establishment of prevailing groups, memberships and affiliations (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, the research focuses on the accumulation and legitimisation of resources through the power of numbers, the establishment of trust and reciprocity, and the reinforcement of mutual benefits (Bourdieu, 1985).

Claims relating to social capital are mentioned far more frequently in Bath, in comparison to Bristol (Bath n=192, Bristol n=87). Mentions of social capital across the stakeholder groups are more evenly distributed (Table 19). However, as the remainder of the analysis shows, possessing some stocks of social capital does not automatically allow for the mobilisation and legitimisation of these fundamental resources. Moreover, clusters of powerful stakeholders provide barriers to stakeholder inclusion, making entry into the field a burdensome task for new entrants. As noted throughout this chapter, the forms of capital do not operate in isolation; each form of capital operates to mutually affirm and strengthen the other forms of capital. Nonetheless, within this dynamic, social capital is pivotal, strengthening the cultural and economic capital held by the key players in Bristol's, and to a greater extent, Bath's, city branding field. Therefore, the clustering of social capital within and between key groups across the cities hamper efforts to enhance stakeholder inclusion for all stakeholder groups.

6.232 POWER IN CLUSTERS

Stakeholders from across Bath and Bristol's can benefit from increased access to the field and mobilisation of place branding processes when supported by group affiliation and a power in numbers. For those who do not possess such high stocks of economic and cultural capital, social capital can enable resources to be pooled and legitimacy to be attained:

> *"We only use the name of the group and its existence simply because it gives us the ability to shout a little bit louder. But if there was an issue about which way do we shout, then we try and do that as much as possible on the direction in which people's opinion is." (Fred, Bristol, local community)*

As Fred details, membership in a group affords its members an opportunity to voice their perceptions in the engagement strategies. While it is difficult for an individual to permeate the field, as a collective the local community group was able to maximise its exposure and work together to produce a common benefit. Therefore, the local community stakeholders are able to access stocks of capital are better place to gain access to engagement. However, as the research has shown, this access often remains stifled to the lower levels of engagement (Chapter 5).

In Bath, it is the business community who excel at commanding and mobilising larger stocks of social capital. Core stakeholders within the business community are able to affirm and legitimise their social capital to enhance an already favourable position enabled by the possession of economic and cultural capital:

> *"It's about moving them onto the next step and seeing that together they're stronger. So, fearing them as competition and worrying if collaboration works. When we had the sector meetings and we had about 12 different sectors brought together ... They were getting to know each other and getting to trust each other."* (Susan, Bath, business community)

Susan discusses the clustering of key business community stakeholders together, promoting a sharing of city-wide knowledge and promoting trust over competition. For the stakeholders involved in this cluster there are significant benefits for the attainment of social capital and an ability to mobilise it within the city branding field. However, for other stakeholders in Bath it is difficult to compete with a group comprised of leading figures from across the city. This raises two important points: First, the most powerful groups are those that possess large stocks of economic and cultural capital and combine these resources to form a power block. Second, is the underexplored significance of individuals that cluster within stakeholder groups. As the literature review (Chapter 2) details, Bourdieu is primarily structuralist, seeing structure as overriding agency (Bourdieu, 1977). However, this research begins to show that understanding individuals is also important for place branding governance. The distribution of capital is vastly important, but in city branding individuals are recognising and acting upon this distribution.

6.233 SOCIAL CAPITAL CREATES A BARRIER TO STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

Despite the potential for greater stakeholder inclusion, the majority of the findings suggest social capital reinforces hierarchies. Moreover, social capital is seen to be the most exclusive and difficult to attain form of capital, with key players protecting their position by forging powerful alliances across the city. These problems are particularly pronounced in Bath, wherein the small-size of the city and the prevalence of established clusters of stakeholders makes it exceptionally difficult to enact change:

"It's a bit like a playset family of people who look after each other. It takes a long time to get into that cliché. I'm only saying this because I was born here, lived here all my life, worked here, and ran businesses here. It's more to do with the fact that if you're an outsider coming into Bath, whether that's as a resident, business owner, what have you, you can't just pitch up and go 'right, I'm a new business, look at me I'm great, everyone take me under their wing'. It takes a while for you to be taken into that group. I suppose that goes on from the fact that Bath is very supportive of its own, of each other if you like, whether it's residents, citizens etc., and because it is such a small city, and everyone knows what's going, it's possibly harder for people coming in as residents or business owners to understand that they won't necessarily be accepted straight away." (Sarah, Bath, business community)

Sarah summarises the tensions acutely when detailing absence of social capital as a barrier to entry into Bath's city branding field. Stakeholders require a connection to the city through time (length of establishment) and locality. The absence of these criteria makes it difficult for new entrants to benefit from the protected membership. The exclusion is embedded by the small number of select stakeholders who hold strong positions in the field. These powerful players form connections across multiple stakeholder groups and are able to mobilise their social capital when getting involved in multiple engagement apparatus:

> *"Bath is small enough for it to be run by a whole series of people who you could probably list on two hands."* (Steven, Bath, local community)

While clusters of powerful stakeholders emerge in both cities, it is the Bath's small size and entrenched access barriers that strengthens the gulf between those stakeholders who able to actively participate, and those who do not. As Frank (Bath: visitor economy) purports, *"Engagement in this city is all about you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours."* Frank's description affirms the tendency of stakeholders in Bath to partake in mutually beneficial actions, which Frank concedes as restrictive and short-sighted. These inbuilt problems are seen to contribute to Bath failing to develop into a city for the twenty-first century or failing to utilise its unique assets to maximum effect. While the reinforcement of stakeholder exclusion is more pronounced in the claims made by stakeholders in Bath, it is not to say that Bristol is removed from similar obstacles:

> *"The reality is that it is people who know of each other, talking to each other. Often, I find that's the way to get things started. If people invest trust in me, or I invest trust in*

another organisation, then that is enough to open up the conversation. Then, actually the people who represent me, or the Council in those partnerships, might not be me. But, the trust is there, and it gives that opportunity to open things up. That's probably the key bit about the people knowing each other. The sense of advocacy that you can provide on behalf of your organisation that allows other people to come into those groups." (Julian, Bristol, local authority)

The above description of social capital operating in Bristol reinforces the value attained when developing trust and reciprocal relationships between stakeholders. Again, an important facet here is the role that individuals play in shaping and reaffirming this trust and advocacy. It is not merely group membership, rather the powerful connections between key individuals operating across organisations and groups. Nonetheless, the barriers to entry are less overt in Bristol, with new organisations and individuals entering the field:

"It goes back to that ecosystem, whoever has a role to play at whatever point we're in. We [Bristol] try to be as well networked as we possibly can be." (Ron, business community, Bath and Bristol)

There are structures in place that reinforce collaborations and encourage greater partnership working. Again, the focus is often on bringing together individuals, through periodic networking events (Chapter 4). This again illuminates an important distinction between Bath and Bristol. In Bath, the emphasis on group membership and affinity is pivotal, whereas in Bristol the importance of attaining power through numbers runs parallel to the importance of strategic and ad hoc connections. There is a lower entry threshold for stakeholders in Bristol, enabling stakeholders to develop new and existing connections, which can be converted into group membership. In Bath, protectionism and heightened competition makes the transition more difficult for new entrants.

6.24 COMBINING CAPITAL

Again, social capital is not operating in isolation. In Julian's description above, the outcome of these connections is the development of partnerships, supported by reputation and the reciprocity of good will. These partnerships are not forged purely by a shared affinity, there is also a requirement for the group to be built on relevant cultural capital and have sufficient economic resources. Therefore, it is at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of engagement (Chapter 5)

where the combination of the forms of capital are most overt. Once within these powerful partnerships, stakeholders are then able to reinforce their strategic position in the field:

> *"There's museum groups, and like I say, the directors get together and share skills and share ideas and that kinda thing. They work together on stuff all the time."* (Rachel, Bristol, visitor economy)

Rachel reinforces recurrent themes identified throughout the research, that of time and temporality. This includes the importance of participating in engagement over a prolonged time period (time), alongside the importance of the past, present and future connections (temporal dimensions). To extend your position across the field, then time and resources are essential:

> *"I guess a lot of it is formed on the basis of personal relationships and trust over the years. We spend a lot of time looking outwards. We spend a lot of time talking about what we do. There is a sort of sense that making yourself visible and easy to find, then other people who are interested in the things you're doing, maybe because they're doing them too, will be able to connect with you."* (Julian, Bristol, local authority)

Moreover, the stakeholders with the greatest stocks of capital combined with an ability to mobilise the capital (for example, through partnerships) are often involved the groups involved in multiple engagement apparatus across the city branding (Chapter 5). Rather than operating within the confines a predefined stakeholder group, the key stakeholders are involved in multiple and interchangeable forms of engagement that are reinforced by the combined strength of their capital.

6.25 SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

Symbolic capital is important when explaining stakeholders' varying positions within the city branding field (Warren and Dinnie, 2018), being achieved through the granting of prestige and honour to the ownership and distribution of the other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). Throughout the discussion of the forms of capital in the preceding sections, the legitimisation of stakeholders' forms of capital was considered. For example, the credibility placed on understanding how shared stakeholder goals can be attained through stakeholder engagement, collective knowledge across a myriad of sectors, accountability versus independence, or through being a long-term resident coupled with business owner in Bath. These types of capital

are most successful when clustered together in partnerships. These partnerships are particularly powerful when championed by a strong leader (Chapter 5; Hankinson, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2015):

> *"I think there was a moment when that new generation of leadership was all of a certain calibre that perhaps the city hadn't had before. There was a moment when we all kind of went, suddenly the cultural organisations all have really strong leadership, great ... All of a sudden; they're listening. They're not all of a sudden putting millions of pounds on the table, which is a whole different argument, but all of a sudden they're listening and recognising that the cultural leaders of the city are leaders of the city, and therefore should sit at that table."* (Rose, Bristol, visitor economy)

By combining nuanced knowledge with a strong leader, the cultural attractions present a unified and legitimised voice. With a similar pursuit in mind, the local community groups in Bath forge an overarching collective that represents each of the community subgroups. A key driver behind this collective is its strong leadership, with a chairman with a wealth of knowledge about the city (having lived in the city since 1970) and institutionalised skills regarding the planning and governance processes. The capacity of the leader to push for city-wide initiatives, in particular an emphasis on protecting the heritage of the city, provides credibility and legitimacy for the local community propositions.

However, the interlocking importance of stakeholders' recognition and distribution of capital(s) is again highlighted. As noted previously, stakeholders are not merely responding to the symbolic value placed on leadership, they are recognising and acting on their resources. For example, the previous Mayor of Bristol granted a legitimised and entrenched position when (re)producing the meanings conveyed:

> *"The last mayor was very good at promoting the city, and in quite a charismatic way; talking about the city, and the way the city is going, what the city is trying to do and working with lots of other places around the world, and in the UK."* (Marcos, Bristol, business community)

The democratic position of the mayoral leadership legitimised the stocks of capital(s) and granted the major the ability to lead on partnerships, city-wide celebrations (Green Capital) and events (Make Sunday Special), centred around his conceptualisation of the city as fun,

sustainable and independent. While this helped to put Bristol on the map, nationally and internationally, other stakeholders critique the approaches as exclusionary and narrow. In contrast, the current mayor is seen to advocate greater stakeholder inclusion:

> *So, the prior mayor, and the drive within the city is very different now that Marvin is mayor, and Marvin is very much more around inclusivity, and wanting people to be engaged and a city for everyone.* (Rachel, Bristol, local authority)

While having a figurehead provides coordination, these key players have the ability to shape the city branding field, further raising the quandary of inclusion versus exclusion.

6.3 BUILDING UPON THE FORMS OF CAPITAL

Throughout the analysis, an interconnectivity between the forms of capital emerges. Stakeholders are collecting and mobilising stocks of monetary (economic) and non-monetary (cultural, social and symbolic) capital to gain a strategic position in the city branding field. Therefore, capital is pivotal when determining stakeholders' ability to participate in engagement apparatus (Chapter 5) and (re)produce brand meanings (Chapter 4). However, Bourdieu's lens does not fully explain all the factors impeding or enhancing stakeholders' ability to access and navigate the city branding field. In particular, the thesis pinpoints the significance of time and temporality alongside scope of the process when helping to explain the value stakeholders place on the forms of capital.

6.31 TIME AND TEMPORALITY

Throughout the preceding analysis, time and temporality emerges as a recurrent theme. With a few notable exceptions (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016), time is a largely overlooked facet within the extant place branding literature. This research pinpoints the importance of recognising time as an overarching facet that shapes why certain stakeholders continue to have a more strategic position in the city branding field, despite the claims of a move toward participatory approaches. In particular, the longevity of establishment is shown to be an important legitimising component, with stakeholders who have longstanding positions in the

field gaining symbolic value and resultantly greater access to the tools and actions underscoring city branding.

Bourdieu faces criticism based on his alleged determinism and exclusion of change in the field (Alexander, 1994; Jenkins, 1982; Lahire, 2011). Nonetheless, advocates of Bourdieu suggest that time did feature, albeit implicitly, in his theoretical lens. In particular, Hardy (2014) points to the recognition of subtle changes in the habitus, as well as the more overt disruptions in the field when hysteresis sees a dramatic shift in the accepted habitus and practices of the field. Moreover, Bourdieu (1984) recognises that stakeholders' capital becomes more pervasive the longer they are immersed in the field, providing the practical knowledge to better (re)negotiate their position. It is not the aim of this research to evaluate to what extent Bourdieu captured the importance of time in his extant work. Rather, this research pinpoints the central role of time beyond subtle or disruptive change. In this research time is shaping the symbolic value of the stakeholder's resources, adding legitimacy and ultimately power. Therefore, the stakeholders with an established position in the field are better placed to define and retain a strategic position.

6.32 SCOPE

In addition to the value placed on time, symbolic value is attributed to the scope of the application of the capital. This looks to the collection and utilisation of resources across multiple parts of the city branding field. Instead of exerting a strategic position and using it for one small area of city branding, these stakeholders are able to contribute to the city branding process in multiple ways, undertaking multiple roles and collating an array of connections, skills and funds to multiple projects and tools:

> *"It is really important to go out and talk to a diverse group of people. You start to join the dots together because you start to think 'oh that is interesting, I met so and so last week and they were talking about them', or 'hmmm they should meet so and so'. So sometimes you're just connecting people together, putting the pieces of the jigsaw together. There is a reality that it is a complex place. It's not linear anymore. It's not 'city council does x and everything else follows'. It's all about making connections and joining the dots together."* (Cameron, Bristol, local community)

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Instead of the decentralisation of ownership enabling greater participation in branding processes, there is heightened confusion and competition among stakeholders (Hankinson, 2015). These shifts have altered the ways that stakeholders can access and mobilise capital in the field. To navigate these complexities, stakeholders are seeking to expand their resources, knowledge and connections across multiple stakeholder groups, gaining access to city-wide branding processes (engagement) that cover the production and enactment of holistic brand meanings.

6.4 BUILDING A TYPOLOGY OF STAKEHOLDER POSITIONS

The above sections detail competing stakeholder claims to economic, cultural and social capital, analysing where the greatest stocks of capital lie and the process of converting these capital(s) into symbolic value. By doing so, variations in access and legitimacy emerge, further highlighting a hierarchy in stakeholder positioning within the city branding field. Moreover, the analysis identifies the overarching importance of time (length of establishment) and scope (parameters of influence), with stakeholders moving into favourable positions in the field when they establish longevity the possession of resources and input beyond a single domain.

This section builds upon these findings and establishes a new typology of stakeholder positioning in the city branding field. This extends Bourdieu's forms of capital within place branding governance by using the emergent themes of time and scope to determine why select stakeholders are able to gain a more favourable positions in competitive fields. In doing so, the typology outlines four stakeholder positions, namely *privileged, routine, opportunistic* and *struggling* (Figure 13). Moreover, this typology significantly adds to the place branding governance literature, explaining '*why*' the premise of inclusion remains rhetoric and investigating the ways in which stakeholders (re)negotiate their position in the city branding field. Together, the typology offers an alternative way of measuring stakeholder participation, moving beyond an emphasis on social class (Bourdieu, 1984), sociodemographic variables (Merrilees *et al*., 2016) and stakeholder categorisation (Hanna and Rowley, 2015). The thesis extends current understanding by establishing a novel and empirically driven typology to help explain the recurrent power hierarchies and tensions impeding place branding governance.

Long-term	*Routine*	*Privileged*
Short-term	*Struggling*	*Opportunistic*
	Minimal scope	*Large scope*

Time (length of establishment) (vertical axis label)

Scope (of resources)
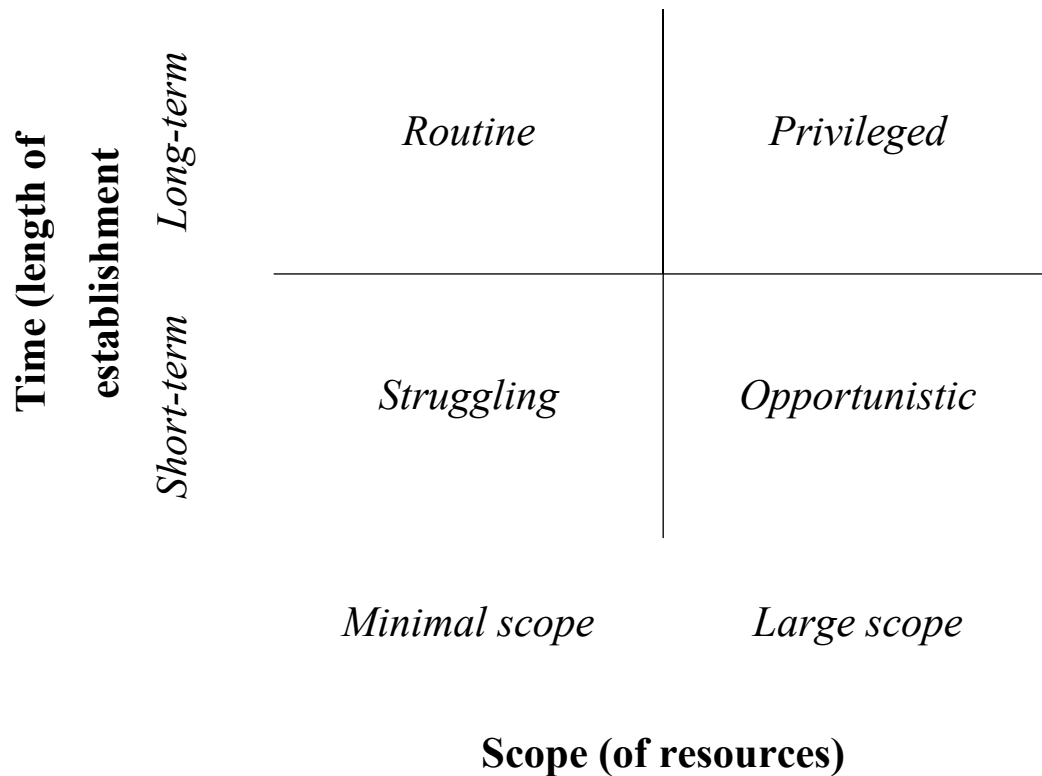
Figure 13: Building a Matrix of Stakeholder Positions

6.41 PRIVILEGED

The privileged stakeholders are "*the real shakers*" (Michael, Bath: visitor economy). The position is built from the combination of longevity of establishment and broad access to activities, events and dispositions across the field. As detailed in the preceding section, in order to command the benefits granted from time and access to the field, privileged stakeholders possess a wealth of economic, social and cultural capital. Moreover, in the large part, the privileged stakeholders are able to foster legitimacy from the wealth of resources, attaining symbolic power. In turn, the legitimisation of the resources helps to create an (often unwitting) acceptance and approval from other stakeholders in the field, even when this approval can covertly deter their own access to the field. The preceding section outlines examples of this acceptance, including the mayoral position in Bristol. This unknowing acceptance of specific stakeholder's positions in the field affirms the prevailing influence of the doxa wherein people accept the status quo. Therefore, it is the privileged stakeholders, operating in the strongest and legitimised positions that define and retain the city branding dispositions. Translating these outcomes to place brand governance, it is the privileged stakeholders who are best placed to

turn brand meanings into dominant brand narratives (Chapter 4) and feature at the crux of engagement hierarchy (Chapter 5).

6.411 EMPIRICAL EXAMPLES

Examples of stakeholders operating from this privileged position can be taken from Bath and Bristol. City-wide partnerships are prevalent in the privileged quadrant. As mentioned previously, partnerships promote the drawing together of skills, resources and shared dispositions, providing strength and legitimacy when attaining the powerful positions in the city branding field. An example of a powerful partnership is a business interest group in Bath, which is continually identified as an important player. It is therefore unsurprising that the members are predominately located within the privileged quadrant. The composition of the group brings together entrepreneurs and ambassadors from across the city, pushing for a changing logic that moves away from purely heritage and draws upon creativity and innovation. By pooling the resources of its board members, the group is able to yield an influential position in the city branding field:

> *"So, you can see a whole array of people from different sectors and industries. They're very high powered and creative thinkers. That's the nature of the group. You stuff it full of representatives from different bodies, because they're not meant to represent their organisation, they come as what they have to give and what they want for Bath."*
> (Susan, Bath, business community)

Once again, the blurring of formal and informal stakeholder roles is evidenced, with Susan acknowledging that the board members bring their skillsets from their official positions and utilise these resources to push for a version of Bath that correspond with their assigned brand meanings.

A further noteworthy manifestation of the privileged quadrant is the varying presence of political leadership within the quadrant. While other research points to the prevalent position of the state's actors and institutions in shaping the field (Hardy, 2014), place branding sits at an uncomfortable crossroads, combining claims of diffused ownership alongside the continued importance of a central leadership body (Hankinson, 2009; Marzano and Scott, 2009). This chapter has shown the uneasy position of local authority stakeholders, strained by diminishing

resources and changing logics in the field of power. Moreover, the symbolic power of the leaders of the local authority is redacted by the short-term nature of political cycles. The four-year cycle and prospect of re-election creates further politically motivated restraints, leading stakeholders to question the legitimacy of state involvement in the field:

> *"Bath is led by lack of decision-making, short term thinking. Just a complete lack of any plan. In the private sector you have a 20-year plan. In the public sector you have a six-month plan because it's all politically driven and nobody wants to make a decision because they're more fearful of their own self than they are to make a decision to plan the future. Guarding their own backsides, as opposed to thinking about the future basically."* (Frank, Bath, visitor economy)

Frank presents a critical take on the local authority's leadership in Bath, pointing to the perceived restrictions tied to a lack of long-term approaches. The short-term nature of the leadership role can result in political leaders fluctuating from privileged to aspiring positions. A similar critique can be levied in Bristol, when examining the four-year mayoral cycle. Nonetheless, what was acute in Bristol was the ability for leaders to convert their political leadership into symbolic leadership. This was the case for Bristol's former mayor, who continues to feature prominently in city branding activities and discourses across the city.

A more surprising addition to the privileged field are the key stakeholders involved in a city-wide community representative group in Bath. The group encompasses local community groups from across the city, each comprising knowledgeable and connected individuals. Moreover, the group benefits from a sense of permanency, underwritten by a constitution that sets out the long-term plan for the city and its corresponding identity. Importantly, the group's figurehead is an influential and connected player in the city branding processes:

> *"Certainly, organisations like [the collective] are all geared up to have enough people power to be at the key meetings and help shape the outcomes."* (Richard, Bath, visitor economy)

The ability for local community stakeholders to enter the privilege quadrant presents an opportunity for local community stakeholders to gain precedence in the increasingly competitive city branding field. The finding in one respect represents a hopeful insight into the potential of greater stakeholder inclusion, particularly given the concerning absence of local

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residents in the crux of the city branding process (Braun *et al.,* 2013; Kavaratzis, 2008). However, caution should be exercised, since the inclusion is only granted to the elite local community members, those who are able to gather a wide remit of resources, knowledge and connections and use this currency to navigate the city branding field. In the most part, local community stakeholders struggle to enter into the privileged quadrant. Therefore, further progress is needed to equip stakeholders with the resources needed to turn the rhetoric of a participatory place branding approach into reality.

6.42 OPPORTUNISTIC

The opportunistic quadrant retains the broad scope of access to the field, with symbolic value being attained from an array of resources that extend beyond a specific stakeholder category. However, in contrast to privileged stakeholders, the opportunistic stakeholders participate in the activities over a short period of time. It is noteworthy that the short-term nature can reflect a decision on the part of the stakeholder, since they do not wish to commit for longer than a specific interest determines. As Paul (Bath, visitor economy) explains, "*People tend to get together for a purpose, to do something, and then disengage.*" Here reference can be made to one of Bourdieu's other conceptual tools, that of interest, wherein the stakeholders are selective in their decisions driven by an underlying motive to gain monetary value (Swartz, 2012). Long-term access, particularly when this is extended across multiple sub-fields, can be timely and cumbersome for stakeholders:

> *"That's probably one of the biggest problems and it's not sustainable because you end up taking on too much and just stop. A lot of the value that you've built up in yourself, in your knowledge, and the teams you've put together is then destroyed frequently because people just leave because they get fed up … If they're not managed and the succession management put in place, then they just disappear along with all their knowledge."* (Paul, Bath, visitor economy)

As Paul explains, the strength attained from working together to present the city can be lost when pressures are extended over a long period of time. Therefore, pragmatically, many stakeholders aspire for a strong position in the short term, but no not wish to retain the position for more than a given amount of time. Similarly, stakeholders may wish to disrupt the field, commanding resources in an attempt to disrupt the logic. Therefore, while time is seen to

enhance legitimacy and symbolic value, stakeholders positioned in this quadrant continue to hold important positions in the city branding field.

However, there are restrictions to this intermittent access, since the stakeholders are not always established or recognised by other key players in the field. This is particularly acute in Bath, where, "*It takes a long time to get into that cliché if you like*" (Sarah, Bath, business community). As the previously section detailed, social capital is pervasive in Bath and with comes a level of protection and ownership over the city brand. To gain the pivotal positions, stakeholders need to pass a threshold and demonstrate their membership into this guarded community. The level of protectionism comes with benefits for those involved in the clusters but stands as a barrier to inclusion for participatory place branding.

6.421 EMPIRICAL EXAMPLES

The amount of time needed to become established is difficult to quantify, resulting in a blurring of the opportunistic and privileged positions. The shifting nature of stakeholder positions is outlined in the privileged discussion above. For example, the short-term nature of political cycles sees elected representatives falling into the opportunistic quadrant, including elected members of the local authority, councillors and political leadership. In addition, the temporary nature of multiple leadership positions (examples include city wide organisations, partnerships, and representative bodies) also places these stakeholders into this quadrant.

On a practical footing, stakeholders who are partaking in specific city-wide initiative within a given timeframe are positioned in the opportunistic quadrant. Bristol's award of European Green Capital in 2015 provides an example of this short-term status with corresponding funding, initiatives, events and a powerful disposition. The Partnership brought together stakeholders from across the city branding field, promoting the sustainability-based city brand meanings. However, the partnership and other aligned Green Capital projects came with a short life spam, which reduced the legitimacy of the overall initiative:

> *"I think it's been rather hard going for things like Green Capital, which there was a huge amount of money going into it, and it only lasted one year. I'm not sure what the legacy is to be honest with you. I think it's quite good at putting on these huge festivals. But, in terms of ongoing drip, drip, drip, building up, then I think you've got to be*

careful it's not all flash and all substance. Yeah and there's a huge amount of social isolation. I mean our particular group, we're very concerned with the sort of needs of the older community. The older community tend to get a little bit left out and overlooked really. Not everyone wants to go to big events." (Sophie, Bristol, local community)

Sophie identifies some of the problems that come with a lack of long-term thinking, as well as highlighting how these short-term initiatives target specific groups to the exclusion of other groups.

6.43 ROUTINE

The stakeholders investigated are most commonly located within the routine quadrant. Again, this relates to the theoretical sample (Chapter 3), whereby stakeholders were selected based on a level of pre-existing salience. The routine quadrant is based on stakeholders' long-term establishment in the city branding field. However, the resources and dispositions are predominately related to a specific purpose and stakeholder category. As we have seen with the other quadrants, fluctuation occurs, in particular between routine and privileged when additional access (and corresponding resources) are attained. However, it also represents the most stable position, with many stakeholders remaining in this quadrant for long periods of time, fulfilling specific formal and informal roles. Therefore, these findings help to demonstrate how some stakeholders are able to retain their strategic position in the field over a prolonged period of time.

Despite the reduced ability to mobilise city-wide and strategic forms of engagement, stakeholders retain a strong position, using the knowledge and resources gained over time to influence specific activities and shape the underlying habitus for the field. Moreover, the specificity of the resources provides a number of advantages, since the stakeholders are able to devote time, resources and in-depth knowledge to one remit, rather than stretching these capabilities over the city branding field. Furthermore, the in-depth knowledge of the processes underscoring their position brings with it symbolic value, with stakeholders across the field identifying key individuals and groups as designated and well prepared for specific tasks.

6.431 EMPIRICAL EXAMPLES

One of the key examples from the research are professionals undertaking employment for the local authority, visitor economy and to a lesser extent business community. Again, the dichotomy between symbolic value of being employed versus volunteering within the field arises. This includes positions wherein the stakeholders are directly involved in the marketing or communication of organisations, attractions and the components of the city. A noteworthy example of stakeholders positioned in the routine quadrant are local authority appointed officers. An important distinction is made to the local authority democratically appointed staff. In contrast, officers are often employed on permanent contracts, extending across a long period of time. This is exemplified by the following example of the important mediating role of officers in overseeing the local community partnerships in Bristol:

> *"Every residents' association in the area is de facto a member of the partnership. So, they can be involved and express their voices, bid for grants and do what it is they want to do. Our role is to try and listen as best we can. It makes administration easier if you have humps of people with leadership. It means you can address the views of lots of people, as opposed to trying to work through lots of people."* (Cameron, Bristol, local authority)

Cameron emphasises the facilitating role of long-term coordinators, possessing the ability to use their pre-existing knowledge of the processes to bring stakeholders together to discuss certain approaches. Cameron also mentions the importance of resident associations when local community stakeholders are accessing and mobilising their capital. Local community groups feature highly in this quadrant. The members convert their longstanding knowledge into symbolic value. Again, the research demonstrates the dichotomy of symbolic value that locals possess from residency versus employees from the workplace. However, in many instances, the two are combined, with local community members working (or previously) working in established professions across the city:

> *"I've spent most of my working life in Bath and retired here. I still live here. I wasn't particularly orientated to the city to start with. I was a computer guru, and I got involved when a campaign to save a particular building. It seemed a good idea to have something on the internet as something to refer to. I opted to write it and put it up. I just got sucked in deeper and deeper ever since."* (Bill, Bath, local community)

This reaffirms the need to look beyond using only stakeholder categories to determine and analyse input, often stakeholders possess multiple hats.

A further example is seen in the cultural leaders in Bristol, who pooled the resources and knowledge of the cultural sector and established a long-term approach to sharing knowledge, funding and access to the specific sub-field:

> *"Certainly now, compared to seven years ago, the cultural sector of the city works together really well. We all meet together very often. We meet with the council on a quarterly basis. All the buildings meet with the councillors. There's a lot of discussion that happens across the whole city. I certainly feel we're just one part of the city."* (Rose, Bristol, visitor economy)

Rose's description of the cultural sector as one component of a wider picture reaffirms the value that can be derived from recognising and focusing on a specific area. Together, the cultural sectors are able to propel a vision for the city that encompasses shared meanings and plans for the future. This reiterates the potential for assonance among stakeholders' shared brand meanings (Chapter 4). Moreover, Rose's points speak to the variety of brand meaning claims assigned to strategic positions in the field. This builds upon the points made throughout the research in that city branding is not a single logo or catchphrase, but rather a multifaceted and complex process that encompasses multiple actors, sectors and challenges.

6.44 STRUGGLING

The struggling quadrant encompasses stakeholders with a more precarious position in the field, often with narrow access beyond their stakeholder group and a short-term position. While the opportunistic stakeholders are afforded the benefit of longevity, these stakeholders are predominately short-term and therefore unestablished in the field. As a result, these stakeholders have a restricted ability to mobilise their resources through the branding processes (engagement) and to gain the strategic positions in the field. As seen with previous quadrants, the short-term and narrow scope of the resources is at times driven by stakeholders' practical and pragmatic considerations. However, stakeholders in this quadrant more frequently discuss the struggle for participation in the city branding process. Moreover, the struggling position of

these stakeholders further demonstrates the gulf between the claim of inclusion and the reality of continued exclusion in the city branding process.

6.441 EMPIRICAL EXAMPLES

The main focus of this section looks to those stakeholders who are disillusioned by their struggling position. A stark example are stakeholders involved in campaign and lobby groups in Bath and Bristol. These stakeholders are pursuing dispositions and activities that run counter to the dominant logic. Yet, the short-term nature and limited scope of resources can make this a cumbersome task. Building on the findings in Chapter 5, the situation for these stakeholders is becoming increasingly problematic:

> *"They make up their mind and then tell you what they're going to do, whereas beforehand they would say we've got these ideas would you like to say which one you would like sort of approach"*. (Bill, Bath, local community)

While signs of inclusion for the local community are highlighted in terms of strategic and well-resourced stakeholder groups, it remains difficult for many local community stakeholders to mobilise their resources and participate in the processes within the city branding field. Again, the theoretical sample reduced the number of struggling stakeholders pinpointed in this research. However, if the sample was extended to include those lacking the salience to access the city branding fields then the number of struggling stakeholders would likely increase substantially.

Despite gaining access to the city branding field, it becomes cumbersome for these stakeholders to shape the processes and resultant outcome of the field:

> *"You'll have no doubt picked up on things like this artsy project that was going to make music by nuts dropping off a tree, but unfortunately it was a year where there were no nuts. An awful lot of money went on events and art and I'm not saying there is anything wrong with that, but it didn't have massive impact in poorer parts of the city. The city centre was very much reserved for these arty types of people, and these are the people who got a big surprise when the city voted the other way"*. (Fred, Bristol, local community)

Fred references the Green Capital activities, and specifically critiquing the benefits the yearlong event brought to specific '*arty types of people*', rather than the residents living in the more deprived areas of the city. As noted in Chapter 4, Bristol is a city of 'haves' and 'haves not', and the branding process is privileging the stakeholders with the resources and legitimacy to catch the public's attention. A lack of representation is similarly noted in Bath, with the processes being controlled by "*a decorum of select people that don't truly represent the people of the city*" (Thomas, Bath: local community). As this subsection begins to show, it is when the struggling stakeholder quadrant is evaluated that the barriers to participation and stakeholder tensions are most pronounced.

6.45 COMPARING BATH AND BRISTOL

Despite the overarching similarities espoused from Bath and Bristol's manifestation of the city branding field, the thesis shows that subtle differences in stakeholders' access, mobilisation and legitimisation of capital. One key difference relates to the fluidity of positions. In Bristol, there are more overt signs of stakeholders moving between quadrants, particularly between the routine and privileged quadrants. In contrast, stakeholders' positions are more static in Bath, with "*A few people who sitting around the table and trying and make it happen*" (Liam, Bath: visitor economy). This reinforces the dominant position of a select few privileged stakeholders. Liam's points are echoed in the preceding section, wherein the discussion of fluidity features prominently.

The typology provides an analysis of the stakeholders' competing capacities within the city branding field. The above analysis highlights the positioning of key players in the privileged quadrant, while others struggle to command and particularly mobilise capital. This helps to explain why certain brand meanings remain dominant and why often the same players can more easily enhance these meanings through engagement. For example, the transition toward innovation in Bath is testament to the influence of strategic partnerships formed of key players possessing large stocks of economic, social and cultural capital. Moreover, the typology details the different manifestations of the city branding field in Bath and Bristol, with access to the strategic positions being more cumbersome for stakeholders in Bath. This corresponds to the greater ability of Bristol's stakeholders to alter their positioning. Furthermore, the typology offers a complementary analysis that looks beyond merely stakeholders' position within a large

group, sector or industry. This begins to recognise the complexity of stakeholder positions, with key players operating within and across stakeholder groups. As a whole, the typology helps to explain why previous attempts to model place branding governance have been problematic.

6.5 DISCUSSION: (RE)INTERPRETING BOURDIEU'S FIELD-CAPITAL THEORY FOR PLACE BRANDING GOVERNANCE

The chapter uses Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986) as a lens to explore '*why*' some stakeholders continue to struggle to participate in place branding governance. Looking specifically at Bath and Bristol's city branding fields, the research critically analyses stakeholders how stakeholders' perceived stocks of capital enable access to the field. More importantly, the chapter also addresses the extent that these capital(s) can be mobilised and legitimised, enabling stakeholders to participate in the place branding processes by gaining a strategic position in the field. However, the data indicates the importance of length of establishment (time) and scope of the resources when commanding, and particularly mobilising and legitimising, the forms of capital within the city branding fields. This extends Bourdieu's lens within place branding governance, looking specifically at the complexities shaping the field, the branding processes and its problematic governance. In addition, this section will briefly cover incremental additions to Bourdieu's theoretical lens for place branding governance.

6.51 STAKEHOLDER DUALITY

As the preceding three chapters have shown, stakeholders do not always fit neatly under one stakeholder category (Braun, 2012; Braun *et al.,* 2017). Stakeholders can wear many hats; whether it be a resident, employee, social enterprise, business owner or business adviser. Stakeholders were selected based on their primary role in the city, but that does not remove the capital(s) they possess or command that has been gained through their auxiliary characteristics. Many of the local community stakeholders included in the research worked voluntarily in local community groups post retirement, having previous built up skills, expertise and a reputation from their previous employment. Moreover, in Bath symbolic value is attained by businesses

whose owners are from Bath. These intricacies build upon previous research, wherein the varying symbolic value put on being classified as working professional versus the authenticity of residence have been considered (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). Additionally, the professional versus volunteer dichotomy has been granted a great deal of attention in the tourism literature (Sin, 2009). However, the current research highlights the duality of stakeholders' resources as a means to explain stakeholders' enhanced ability to access the field and participate in its processes. The amalgamation of the resources from the different guises provides additional stocks of capital, the means to mobilise the resources, and in many cases the legitimacy to do so. Therefore, by establishing a typology that looks at the multifaceted access and use of resources over time, the research is able to factor in the duality of stakeholder positions, demonstrating a further layer of complexity in the governance of complex of city brands.

6.52 COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL AGENCY

The literature refers to the distinction between individual and collective agency (Meyer and Jepperson, 2000). Individual agency is seen as something removed and different to its collective counterpart. Yet, this research begins to demonstrate that the two are inseparable and interconnected. The actors in the field undertake positions that are shaped by their resources as individuals and corresponding accumulation toward a shared goal in stakeholder groups. The research benefits from including an emphasis on both the individual and collectives, demonstrating how the two are interrelated and showcasing the additional symbolic value that can be accessed by working in unison with stakeholders in the field who share similar dispositions. Therefore, instead of forcing these constructs into boxes, the thesis embraces the duality of a stakeholder, operating as an individual and undertaking a larger role within a collective. The stakeholders are moving between the two positions interchangeably, largely without conscious thought. Yet, the literature continues to stress the two positions as if they operate in a different time and space. By combining the focus, the research is able to further demonstrate the multifaceted arena in which city brand governance takes place.

6.53 CITY BRANDING AND 'TASTE'

Though the main aim of this chapter is to explore the varying utilisation of capital and stakeholders' use and legitimisation of the corresponding resources, it is important to note the

underlying influence of the dispositions, values, principles and rules that underscore the way that stakeholders act in the field. The way people experience the social and intuitional fields are influenced by the dispositions people collect in their personal and professional capacity (Bourdieu, 1984). The dispositions include structural components within the field, such as age, class, gender and ethnicity. Moreover, they relate to the way people view the city and the manner in which people believe participation should occur. Together, these cultural dispositions foster 'taste', guiding the perceptions, actions and ultimately the habitus.

The stakeholders operating in the city branding field are no different. They come to the field with pre-conceptualisations of the city and their role within the place branding governance. Chapter 4 sets out these variations when discussing the differences in brand meanings across the two case studies. Very broadly, Bristol is marked by an acceptance and welcoming of independence, creativity and all things alternative. In contrast, Bath's dispositions are a source of contention, with the ongoing emphasis on the traditional (favouring heritage), competing against a movement seeking to shift these tendencies toward an innovative and creative alternative.

These complexities in Bath align to a further concept in Bourdieu's toolkit, that of hysteresis (Bourdieu 1984, 1990; Hardy, 2014). Hysteresis looks to the disruption sparked by a disconnection between the habitus and the field. For Bath, this is occurring as the habitus begins to move away from a preoccupation with heritage and move toward the city as a vibrant, innovative and creative city attracting investments. A disjuncture emerges with stakeholders struggling to adjust to the changing logic and seeking to retain the previous focus:

> *"Old versus new. History verses future. Preservation verses promotion of a bright shiny future. They're the obvious tensions. So, you've got the people who accept it as a more dynamic city verses those that want to keep it exactly as it is."* (Ben, Bath, business community)

By explaining this phenomenon through the hysteresis concept, it helps to further illuminate the scale of the problem for Bath and demonstrates why certain stakeholders are negotiating the change effectively and retaining strong positions in the field.

By operating within the confines of these structures and beliefs, stakeholders gain recognition and reward, fostering symbolic capital and aiding their position in the city branding field:

> *"The thing about Bristol is that it has a strong attitude toward being independent; about being independent and its independence. I've felt quite empowered by that for many years."* (Lewis, Bristol, visitor attraction)

Taking the emphasis on independence as a case in point, Lewis begins to demonstrate the empowerment a celebration of independence offers to stakeholders in the field. Stakeholders that fulfil roles that match these dispositions are better able to convert their cultural (and social) capital into symbolic capital. For the key players in the field, they are able to adjust their position and seek to become cultural intermediaries, shaping the perceptions and taste of other stakeholders. In Bristol, it is arguable that an overarching acceptance of independence widens the scope for stakeholders' entry and participation in the process. This is particularly acute given the interconnection of independence with innovative thinking and creativity. This was realised through the attainment of the UNESCO 'City of Learning' status in 2017 (Bristol City Council, 2018b). Prior to this official celebration, the emphasis on learning and experimenting remained an important brand meaning:

> *"It's a city of learning, of experimenting and learning, and bringing different practices and things together with a can-do attitude."* (Francesca, Bristol, business community)

In contrast, Bath protects entry into the field with an emphasis on the more highbrow components of the culture (Bourdieu, 1984), whether that be the protecting the World Heritage status of the city, its refined arts and cultural scene, or even the move toward small and niche innovation companies. The dichotomy between modernisation and preservation has played out across the thesis. Bath struggles to embrace the multiplicity of brand meanings claims because of the potential detraction from the unique Georgian cityscape, often sparking competition and distain among competing stakeholder claims. Therefore, even when looking to present the city for businesses the heritage and history needs to remain focal:

> *"Very often the preservation lobby and the business lobby doesn't quite see eye to eye. The business lobby is not mad enough to say you want to destroy the historic fabric because the reason people want to come and do business in Bath is because of the place it is. Of course, we want to preserve the historic fabric, but we don't want to use the*

historic fabric protection thereof as an argument for not doing things." (Matthew, Bath, business community)

When exploring the manifestations in Bath and Bristol, stark differences emerge in the taste and dispositions. In Bristol we see a resurgence of the deemed lowbrow forms of cultural dispositions, with an emphasis on street art, individualistic art, crafts and quirky alternatives to the mainstream. In contrast, Bath remains burdened by a preoccupation with the highbrow cultural dispositions, of cultural heritage, fine dining and arts. This is noteworthy since there has been a great deal of focus on the emergence of new forms of cultural capital (Friedman, 2011). Yet, an analysis of the city branding field reveals the remaining importance of the dichotomy of highbrow versus lowbrow culture. Moreover, by assessing the development of habitus across the cities we are able to further explain why the city branding process plays out differently in different settings, ensuring the need for flexibility in its brand governance.

6.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter offers an application, (re)interpretation and extension of Bourdieusian theory for place branding governance. In doing so, this chapter addresses the third component in the brand governance evaluation, exploring *why* a disjuncture between the claims of inclusion and the reality of exclusion continues to problematise place branding governance. Bourdieu's published work is used to examine the varying positions of stakeholders in the city branding field. A particular focus is on the resources that stakeholders possess, looking at the forms of capital (economic, social and cultural). The chapter demonstrates the varying capacity of stakeholders to translate resources into symbolic power, devising a typology of stakeholder positions based on the accumulative value of these resources over time and across the city branding field. The interrelation of these resources with the dispositions, understandings and ultimately brand meanings prevailing in the field is considered alongside the resources.

Through the investigation of the forms of capital and the development of a matrix of stakeholder positions, the research shows what stakeholder groups are holding privileged positions in the field versus those struggling to compete. A noteworthy finding is the continued, albeit it uneasy, strategic position of the local authority (Marzono and Scott, 2009). Despite claims that the ownership is diffused among stakeholders, the local authority remains pivotal,

holding a legitimised and excepted position in the field. Moreover, the local community are also found to be stakeholder groups struggling the most. In contrast, the business community and visitor economy stakeholders are able to use the decentralisation and surrounding confusion to negotiate a more favourable position and gain greater input in place branding processes. Therefore, the changes to contemporary place branding governance have favoured the stakeholders with the resources and legitimacy to (re)negotiate their position in the field. Again, suggesting more is needed to reach the pinnacle of a participatory approach to place branding governance.

There are few attempts in the place branding literature to explore why participatory place branding is failing. This chapter provides a valuable contribution, by demonstrating why certain stakeholders are gaining more impetus in the branding process. Moreover, this chapter goes further, advancing an analysis of stakeholder positions beyond merely a stakeholder category and considering how stakeholders' medley of resources can help to position them favourably or less favourably in the field. Stakeholders possess a multifaceted composition of resources, from a multiplicity of functions gathered over time. Together, these findings help to explain why systematic and formulaic attempts at place branding governance are problematic.

While the application and interpretation of Bourdieu goes some way in explaining the complex phenomenon, there remains a number of limitations in its application. These include the underplaying of time and change, since there been some signs of production as well as reproduction of the field. This was particularly acute for Bristol, where transience and change are more accepted. Moreover, stakeholders are operating as individual and collective agents, armed with a wealth of resources that can be considered alone or as a part of a collection of stakeholders geared toward a shared aim. Therefore, the research demonstrates the need to consider Bourdieu's toolkit as providing one useful, but not all-encompassing, lens in which to explore a holistic conduit of complex and multifaceted processes.

CHAPTER 7
DISCUSSION:
THE 7CS OF PLACE BRANDING
GOVERNANCE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The thesis presents a critical approach to place branding governance. Seven areas of criticality are identified, comprising of three fundamental components of place branding governance along with four emergent themes which help to raise awareness of the criticality behind place branding governance. The core components first cover *stakeholder claims,* exploring what brand meanings stakeholders assign to the places they produce and consume (Chapter 4). Second, this research evaluates *stakeholder contributions*, analysing how stakeholders are participating in the place branding process and assessing whether engagement offers a means for a more participatory approach (Chapter 5). Third, this research critically explores *stakeholder capacities*, applying and extending Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1986) to place (and specifically city) branding. The emphasis rests on why certain stakeholders hold more strategic positions in the city branding field. Extending from this analysis are the four thematic outcomes, namely *competition, connections, chronology* and *cyclicality*. *Competition* is at the heart of the struggle for participation in the process of (re)producing and consuming Bath's and Bristol's brand. *Connections* explores the link between people and between people and place. *Chronology* addresses time and temporality behind place branding. *Cyclicality* recognises the cycle of consumption and production within place branding, while emphasising the assigned importance of reproduction wherein change is more difficult to enact. These starting points and outcomes combine to build the *7Cs of a critical approach to place branding governance*.

The thesis began by using stakeholder theory to determine the central importance of stakeholders (Agle *et al.,* 2008), to help identify stakeholders (Mitchell *et al.,* 1997; Parmar *et*

al., 2010) and to evaluate expectations regarding stakeholders' role in the place branding process (Harrison *et al.,* 2010; Laplume *et al.,* 2008). This combines the descriptive, instrumental and normative components of the theory (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). To do so, the research encompasses an understanding of: What is a stakeholder? What are the benefits of their inclusion? And, how ought stakeholders be treated? However, as the research develops stakeholder theory begins to be supplemented with Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1986).

While the normative directions remain important in determining who ought to be included, capital emerges as the overarching theme bringing together the 7Cs of a critical approach to place branding governance. As Chapter 6 begins to detail, stakeholders' varying stocks and mobilisation of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital helps to explain the power relations and hierarchies reminiscent in stakeholder engagement and competing claims to brand meanings. In particular, the meta-theory sheds light on the disjuncture between the claims to inclusion through participatory place branding and the continued reality of top-down governance by select stakeholders (Eshuis *et al.,* 2014), which is evident in each of the 7Cs. In doing so, this research extends previous, largely conceptual, accounts that dominate the place branding domain. The mapping of stakeholder participation through a typology of stakeholder positions is one of the core contributions of the thesis (Chapter 6). It brings together the three data chapters (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), providing an exploration of the continued disjuncture between claims of inclusion and the reality of exclusion. Moreover, the privileged and opportunistic stakeholder positions enable stakeholders to retain a strong position in the field and retain their influence over place branding governance.

In addition, this research draws together complementary conceptual frameworks to help explain the complicated phenomenon of place branding governance. This includes conceptual arguments surrounding strategic brand management (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015), participatory place branding (Ind *et al*., 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014), brand meanings (Green *et al.* 2016; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012, 2016; Wilson *et al.,* 2014); and stakeholder engagement (Green *et al..* 2016; Hanna and Rowley, 2011; Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Houghton and Stevens, 2011). By exploring the conceptual frameworks in unison, emergent themes can be derived that help to understand the benefits and drawbacks of place branding governance research. In doing so, these themes showcase the inconsistencies in the claims of

inclusion in a participatory place branding process and point to the potentially darker side to stakeholder engagement as a tool for stakeholder participation.

This chapter pieces together the interconnected brand governance components identified in the preceding chapters, providing overarching theoretical, conceptual and managerial implications derived through the research findings. To do so, the chapter is structured as follows. First, the benefits relating to stakeholders' *claims* (Chapter 4), *contributions* (Chapter 5) and *capacity* (Chapter 6) are synthesised. Second, the thematic outcomes identified throughout the analysis in the aforementioned data chapters are showcased. These combine to establish the 7Cs behind a critical approach to place branding governance. Third, the chapter goes on to consider the empirical and methodological contributions of the thesis. Finally, managerial and policy implications are drawn out and a series of recommendations are provided. These highlights how the findings can help promote the practical inclusion of multiple stakeholders in place branding governance, helping to close the existing the gap between academic theory and practice (Green *et al.,* 2016).

7.2 BUILDING A FRAMEWORK FOR A CRITICAL APPROACH TO PLACE BRANDING GOVERNANCE (7CS)

As highlighted above, this thesis synthesises the components and outcomes underlying a critical approach to place branding governance. Figure 14 draws together the analysis from the previous chapters, showcasing the interconnectivity of the three components (claims, contributions and capacity) and pinpointing the four crossover themes (competition, connectivity, chronology and cyclicality):
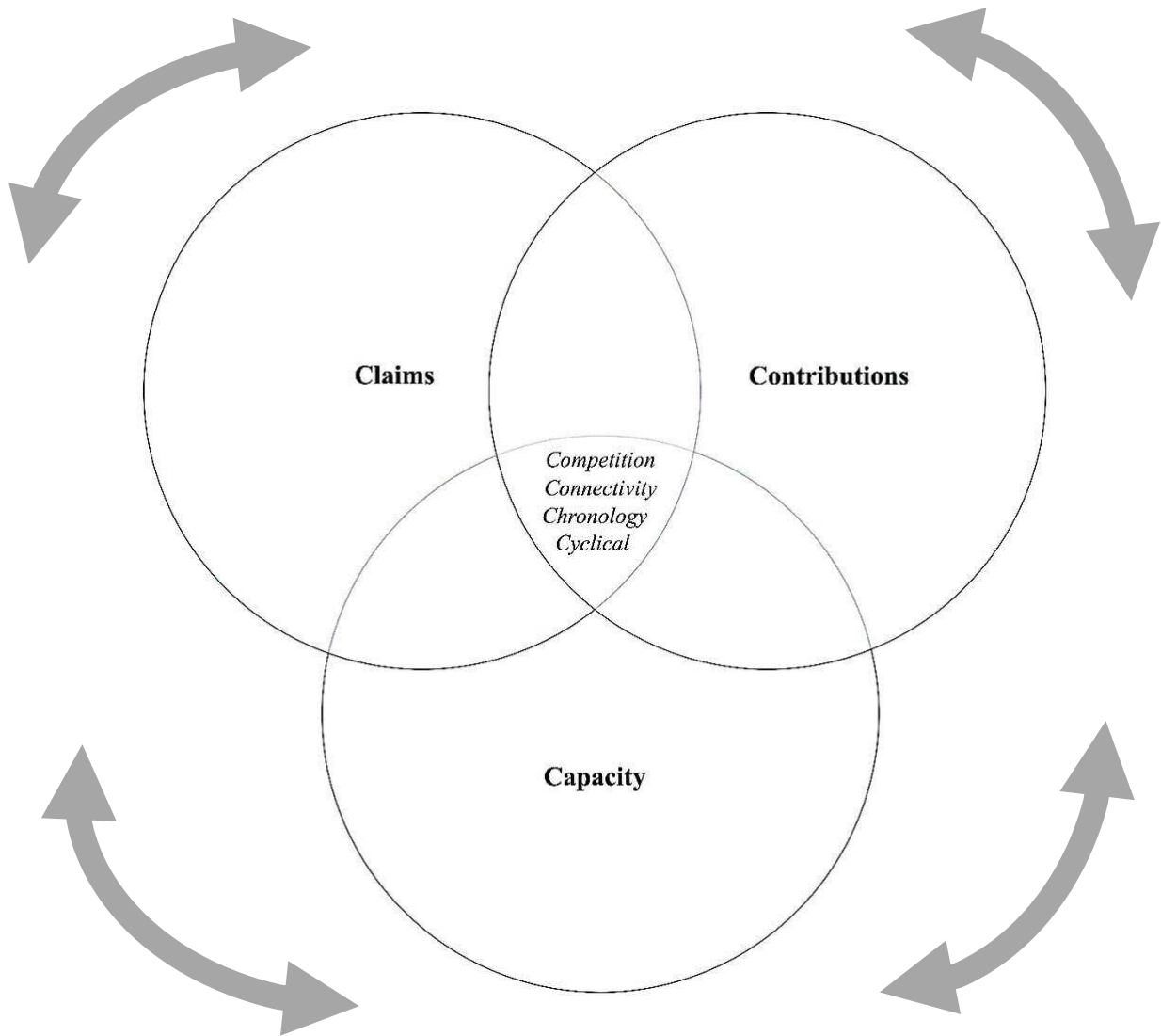
Figure 14: Building a Framework for A Critical Approach to Place Branding Governance

The following subsections synthesise the theoretical and conceptual contributions of claims, contributions and capacity before extending the discussion to include an overview of the four supplementary themes.

7.21 CLAIMS

The first data chapter (Chapter 4) looks at *stakeholder claims*, measuring and evaluating the brand meanings stakeholders' assign to the cities they represent. Reiterating the direction of a large proportion of place branding literature, this affirms that branding should not be reduced to a slogan, logo or colour scheme (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Govers, 2013, 2018; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Pryor and Grossbart, 2007). Capturing the multidimensionality and intrinsic

connections people form with places, logos and slogans only presents a snapshot and a one-dimensional account of the city, normally for a strategic purpose. The move away from slogans affirms a significant swathe of the current branding research, wherein the emphasis on the outcome of a brand is replaced by the importance of involving stakeholders in the process of branding (Braun *et al.,* 2012; Govers, 2013; Kavaratzis, 2012; Merrilees *et al.,* 2009). Moreover, the governance of these complex processes is increasingly shared by a multitude of stakeholders, beyond merely the official marketing managers (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Greenop and Darchen, 2015). Therefore, stakeholders should be actively involved in the production and enactment of associations and meanings when managing a place's reputation (Morgan *et al.,* 2011). Additionally, brand meanings offer a way to incorporate stakeholders' descriptions, attitudes, values and emotions into the mix (Batey, 2015; Green *et al.,* 2016; Laaksonen *et al.,* 2006). Despite the growing popularity, there remains a need to advance scholarly knowledge of brand meanings within place and city branding (Green *et al.,* 2016). This thesis responds to these calls when using brand meanings as the crux of the analysis, seeing stakeholders' brand meanings as the ingredients that shape the direction of the branding process.

Chapter 4 measures and evaluates stakeholders' claims, exploring what Bath and Bristol mean to stakeholders from the business community, local authority, local community and visitor economy. A contribution from the chapter is the empirical illustration of how brand meanings exist on a continuum from functional to symbolic resulting in various and interconnected meanings. To reach these conclusions, Batey's (2015) understanding that brand meanings operate on a scale from functional to emotive is combined with Laaksonen *et al.,*'s (2006) brand meaning dimensions. Instead of focusing purely on the functional descriptions, the continuum allows the different brand meaning dimensions to be examined and the nuanced variations between claims and stakeholders to be scrutinised. When official place branding strategies are implemented elsewhere simplicity is opted over allowing for the nuances to be evaluated in detail (Braun *et al.,* 2017; Green *et al.,* 2016). This thesis adds to existing knowledge by empirically demonstrating the importance of looking beyond the descriptive stakeholder claims and capturing the multiplicity and multidimensionality of the stakeholders' brand meanings. Moreover, this research shows that brand meanings are not purely functional or emotive, consisting of a mixture of the different layers that manifest themselves in different ways.

The chapter also captures the interconnectivity of the multiple dimensions of brand meanings, with the descriptive brand meanings being used as a base and justification for the later attitudinal and emotive responses. A particularly noteworthy point relating to this connection is the tendency for the descriptive brand meanings to focus on the tangible and intangible aspects of the city, as well as the people and engagement connected to these features. For example, Bristol's composition of arts and cultural attractions with street art and Banksy at the helm. Or, Bath's historic sites and attractions, gaining international acclaim through its World Heritage Status. This confirms that unlike branding for conventional products and services that can be separated (at least in part) from the core product or service on offer, for place branding the unique combination of the tangible and intangible infrastructure, brand architecture, protocols and governance and myriad of people is largely inseparable to the brand meanings assigned (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Voase, 2012). There is an inextricable connection between the place as the product and peoples' connection to it (Aitken and Campelo, 2011). However, these descriptions are difficult to change, with certain brand meanings dominating. This suggests that advancements to the makeup of the city can take time to filter through into stakeholders' perceptions. The capacity section considers the reasons for the slow percolation.

In addition, Chapter 4 identifies points of assonance and dissonance among stakeholder claims. This builds upon the work undertaken in conventional products and services that sees brand meanings as a way to evaluate stakeholders' common conceptualisations and determine how close these conceptualisations are to the managerial ideals (Gryd-Jones and Kornum, 2013; Vallaster and Wallpach, 2013; Wilson *et al.,* 2014). It is here where the complexity of consuming place branding comes into play. Yet, the current literature largely fails to capture the impact of the diffusion of ownership within place branding (Green *et al.,* 2016). Responding in part to this gulf, Merrilees *et al.,* (2012, 2016) develops brand meaning filters, differentiating stakeholder brand meanings based on their primary purpose within the city and socio-economic status. However, these filters only demonstrate differences in the abstract, failing to look at the different components of brand meanings. This research extends this further, looking at brand meanings across two cities and four different stakeholder groups. By looking in depth, the variations can be explored in more detail. More importantly, the differences across the various brand meaning dimensions can be explored. For example, a key finding from this research is that the crux of the similarities exists at the descriptive, in contrast to the variations that become more pronounced as you travel along the brand meaning continuum. Therefore, by focusing

largely on the descriptive dimensions the multiplicity of stakeholder meanings is lost and the branding process is oversimplified.

Despite the existence of similarities and convergences in brand meanings, competition and conflict remains ripe. These play out in numerous ways, including the dichotomy between modernisation and preservation in Bath and a disjuncture between '*those who have and have not*' in Bristol. Previous research outside of place branding explores stakeholder dissonance (Vallaster and Wallpach, 2013), looking at the way that stakeholders form resistance against brand managers. However, few studies have investigated how conflicting brand meanings play out in place branding. This research illustrates the areas of dissent when consuming the place brand before considering if this dissent is reinforced by variations in stakeholders' ability to produce or change the dominant images. Moreover, conflict is most pronounced once you look to the value judgments and more covert emotions. This reaffirms the importance of looking in detail across the brand meaning continuum, as well as highlighting where conflicts emerge. Moreover, by identifying what conflicts are emerging the chapter begins to provide the base for the power battles at play between competing stakeholder claims.

Finally, time and temporality come into play. Despite its recurrent importance in this thesis, time and temporality have been underexplored in the branding and place branding literature to date. While gaining recognition in Lucarelli and Giovanardi's (2016) study when looking at the (re)negotiation of the present based on positive accounts of the past, others have been slow to address the importance of temporality for the brand meanings stakeholders produce and consume. The thesis premises that the past, present and future operate in paradoxical ways. Bristol looks to the past to reinforce its innovative vision in the present and push for greater brand evolution in the future. Yet, this connection to the past is selective, with the darker past (Bristol's connection to the slave trade triangle) being omitted to protect its image in the present. Meanwhile, stakeholders in Bath are struggling between an overreliance on the past versus an aspiration of the future. Nonetheless, in both cases temporality and time are being used as a source of legitimacy for propelling a given brand meaning claim. In Bath, the legitimacy is weighted toward the past, whereas in Bristol the emphasis is on the future. Moreover, this research demonstrates that temporality becomes most pronounced at the symbolic end of the brand meanings continuum. These complexities and contradictions are explored in more detail in the chronology subsection below.

7.22 CONTRIBUTIONS

Chapter 5 builds upon the brand meaning analysis and evaluates how stakeholders are contributing to the place branding process through stakeholder engagement. This looks at the process of (re)producing and consuming brand meaning claims. In doing so, the chapter addresses the second tenet of stakeholder theory, looking at the instrumental evaluation of stakeholder involvement. This builds on traditional stakeholder theory, which looks to the role of firms and managers (Freeman, 1984; Harrison *et al.,* 2010; Laplume *et al.,* 2008). Due to the widening acceptance that place branding ownership is shared among multiple stakeholders, the traditional approach is extended to incorporate the salient stakeholders selected in the current research. Instead of looking at the outcome in terms of equity (Laplume *et al.,* 2008), the chapter develops the tools, approaches and forms of engagement, using stakeholder participation as the currency of success. In addition, the third tenet of stakeholder theory is brought into play, looking at how the engagement process ought to play out along the lines of the participatory approach to place branding (Baker, 2007; Kavaratzis, 2012). This calls for stakeholders to actively participate in branding processes and be granted access to the strategies that enable a meaningful contribution. This includes (though not exclusively) stakeholder engagement.

Stakeholder engagement offers a means to bring people together to share their perceptions of these ever-changing features (Foster and Jonker, 2005; Enright and Bourns, 2010). Inevitably there will always be winners and losers when juggling various approaches and perceptions (Blackstock *et al.,* 2012). However, what this chapter begins to show is that the winners of the battles have largely already been decided, since it is dependent on the ability to access the strategic engagement toolkit, approaches enabling control and the long-term partnerships. It is this combination of tools, approaches and forms that enable stakeholders to attain the pinnacle positions on the stakeholder engagement pyramid. It is here when the ability to produce and reproduce brand meanings, rather than consume is at its greatest. These findings are in line with studies outside place and city branding (Foo *et al.,* 2011). However, the research incrementally extends these findings by also providing explanations as to how the hierarchy is able to reproduce these meanings and enable the same players to retain pivotal positions.

In a similar approach to the brand meanings analysis, Chapter 5 develops a means to measure stakeholder involvement and then synthesises the themes to better explain what the varying levels of stakeholder involvement means in place branding. This two-pronged approach provides a measure to empirically explore the phenomenon, combined with a critical analysis of what these various processes mean for place branding governance. A theme that runs throughout current place branding literature is that of blurred ownership. This is characteristic of the move toward a stakeholder-orientated view of place branding governance, since ownership is premised to be diffused among multiple stakeholders (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). Nonetheless, there are recent (post data collection) signs that Bath's local authority is making attempts to reclaim some ownership over the 'brand' (Bath Echo, 2016). However, as this thesis affirms, the brand is a by-product of the ongoing stakeholder-orientated production and consumption that cannot simply be owned and managed by a given stakeholder group (Merrilees *et al.,* 2012). The nature of contemporary place branding is that the heart of the brand is not controlled by those who signpost its success through slogans and logos, rather it is shaped by the people's interaction with the converging internal and external features and functional and symbolic brand meanings that constitute the city and its surrounding areas.

Chapter 5 combines the emergent themes derived from a thematic analysis along with the extant literature on participatory place branding, stakeholder engagement and stakeholder theory. A taxonomy of stakeholder engagement is developed, showcasing stakeholders' varying access to formal and informal tools, approaches and forms of engagement. Combining this analysis, a hierarchy of stakeholder engagement is developed bringing into the question the success of a push toward a participatory approach to place branding (Kavaratzis, 2012), as well as the perceived benefits of engagement for place branding governance (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015). While the place branding literature has begun to question the equality of engagement (Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Houghton and Stevens, 2011), this research uses the taxonomy to highlight the discrepancies and examines what this means for stakeholders' involvement in place branding processes. The findings show that stakeholders from the local authority remain prevalent in the higher levels of engagement alongside the business community. The visitor economy remains an important player, accessing the collaborations and to a lesser extent the partnerships. Yet, the local community remain represented in the lower levels of engagement. The outcome is particularly bleak for stakeholders in Bath, wherein the disjuncture between those who have access versus those that struggle to gain more

than superficial access is most overt. This is consistent with work in tourism (Boley and McGehee, 2014; Okazaki, 2008, Tosun, 2006), public management (Foo *et al.,* 2011), destination branding (Hankinson, 2009) and to a lesser extent place branding (Henninger *et al.,* 2016). Therefore, while the necessity of stakeholders' inclusion is considered academically paramount, the advice is not gaining fruition in practice.

While place branding literature points out the need for stakeholder engagement when regulating the management and governance of a complicated phenomenon (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Hankinson, 2007, 2009), there has been few attempts to look at what constitutes this engagement. The analysis in Chapter 5 begins to fill in these gaps. By looking at tools, the variations in formal versus informal is showcased, with stakeholders often using a combination of both to meet their aims. Yet, not all tools allow for equal participation (Houghton and Stevens, 2011). Moreover, the pervasiveness of the tool across the city becomes almost as important as the engagement tool selected. One example is formal meetings and forums. These vary significantly depending on who is championing the cause and what scope the engagement tool has, i.e. is it among a few stakeholders based on an isolated issue or is it a city-wide initiative. This correlates to the complexity of studying engagement strategies that vary significantly in remit. It is clear that city-wide initiatives hold greater opportunities to influence the macro decisions, but this does not omit the underlying influence of the small-scale engagement tools where connections between people and ideas can be forged. Small scale engagement between key players well-positioned in their stakeholder group allow for connections to be advanced. These connections can provide immediate or deferred benefits for stakeholders.

Key partnerships also demonstrate the aid these subtler forms of engagement bring when extending engagement strategies across the city. These partnerships are often long-term, rather than ad hoc for a select purpose. The importance and varying scope of partnerships has also received attention in the literature (Hankinson, 2007, 2009). An area of recognition is the power of the long-term nature of partnerships to convert relational connections between stakeholders into trust (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Hanna and Rowley, 2015). Yet, the quantity of partnerships is minimal in comparison to the number of stakeholders seeking active involvement in the process (Hankinson, 2009). This further suggests that partnerships present a guise of a flatter structure, while reinforcing (at least in part) the façade of involvement

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(Houghton and Stevens, 2011). This research also showcases the differences between collaboration and partnerships, seeing collaboration as largely short-term versus the prevailing nature of partnerships. This is not to say that stakeholders cannot select the short-term nature of collaboration in preference to longer-term commitment, rather that through partnerships key connections and influence is achieved.

Linked in particular to the stakeholder approaches is the recurrent theme of stakeholder leadership. As the thesis has shown, leadership is increasingly uncertain within a stakeholder-orientated approach to place branding governance. The diffusion of central ownership (Hanna and Rowley, 2015) is matched with claims of a flatter leadership style centring around collective responsibility (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). Likewise, the previous literature addresses the importance of leadership in providing direction for engagement strategies (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Hankinson 2009). However, others have begun to question if the variations in stakeholders' access to engagement means that leadership is only afforded to select stakeholders (Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Marzono and Scott, 2009). Extending these concerns, this thesis suggests that leadership can help to reinforce the gulf between the rhetoric of participatory place branding and the reality of exclusion. The leadership roles enable control over the mediation, formulation and implementation of engagement. The ability to set the agenda is very powerful. Moreover, these stakeholders can select who is invited into the process, further highlighting the selectivity at play.

Beyond the small-scale approaches, leadership of the city is addressed more broadly. For example, the mayoral position in Bristol is seen as key in advocating the importance of Bristol's brand internally, nationally and internationally. This was particularly acute for the previous mayor who was a strong advocate of gaining greater international recognition for Bristol. In contrast, Bath is criticised for lacking leadership when pushing for recognition and change. Having '*no driver of the bus'* is seen to slow progress and enables power grabs between competing stakeholders across the city. Therefore, leadership is not without its benefits. In support of the previous research (Hanna and Rowley, 2015; Hankinson, 2007), leadership has the potential to support bottom-up approaches, encourage greater stakeholder inclusion and a favourable presentation of a myriad of branding processes if exercised equitably (Hankinson, 2009). The problem at present is that again the gap between rhetoric and reality continues to prevail.

Linked to leadership is accountability. Despite the blurring of ownership, the local authorities still hold a legitimate and democratically bound connection to the running of the city (Marzono and Scott, 2009). For many stakeholders these expectations extend to place branding, even when the processes have been devolved and funding streams have been cut. As Chapter 6 explores, this legitimacy can be beneficial for the stakeholders involved in place branding processes and often city governance is aligned to the promotion of particular meanings and associations. This research affirms that the blurring of ownership does not remove the local authority as central, albeit problematic, stakeholders. In addition, while the official DMO remains connected to the local authority, even these strategic players are operating in isolation from the business community and local community (Hanna and Rowley, 2015). Nonetheless, for many the accountability for branding remains the responsibility of the local authority and/or the official DMOs. Yet, accountability can be a burden rather than a benefit. It is difficult for these central players to alter the status quo, without facing backlash from constituents (in the case of the local authority) or paying members (in the case of the DMO). In contrast, freedom from accountability and informal engagement strategies can be pervasive when pushing for an approach that challenges the status quo.

In addition to the critical outcomes, some positive signs can be derived. For example, there are means in which stakeholders can navigate the engagement strategies to gain additional involvement, whether it is through the use of informal tools, coordinating approaches behind the scenes or working together to develop long-term partnerships. The subtler forms of engagement present both opportunities and threats to inclusion, since these channels are also navigated by those who command the knowledge and resources to maximise their potential (see Chapter 6). Despite the benefits, the partnerships are not fulfilling the bottom-up checklist of shared accountability, transparency and ownership (Sztejnberg and Giovanardi, 2017). Instead, the hierarchy of participation remains skewed toward key stakeholders from the local authority and business community.

Throughout the chapter the importance of connections is evident. Hankinson (2006, 2009) and Hanna and Rowley (2011, 2015) point to the relational connections between stakeholders within an interwoven web, highlighting the importance of forming relationships and establishing trust and shared strategies. These connections are existing across individuals, as

well as across groups. This research affirms the importance of connections between people when gaining impetus in the process. These connections are fostered by partnerships and controlled by the stakeholders who are able to co-ordinate the engagement strategies. This research builds upon these points further, showing that it is not just the connections between people that are important. There are a multitude of connections emerging across the city. These can be social, but also economic or even cultural. Stakeholders are seeking out partners who are well resourced in both funds and knowledge. Moreover, there are higher stakes when working in unison; sharing funds, knowledge, connections and ideas. These findings are explored in depth in Chapter 6. However, a core contribution from Chapter 5 is the extension of the relational connections explored previously, to looking at the shared connections beyond merely the social parameters.

7.23 CAPACITY

Chapter 6 is central to addressing the gaps in the current approaches to place branding governance. To do so, the chapter looks at stakeholders' capacity to propel place brand meanings and be involved in the place branding process. To explore stakeholder capacity, Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) is applied. Previously, place branding has received criticism for failing to use meta-theories to better explain the phenomenon at play (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). With notable caveats, this thesis is among the forerunners in using a meta-theory to expand the place branding analysis beyond conceptual frameworks. Moreover, to the author's recollection this thesis is only the second (after Warren and Dinnie, 2018) piece of place branding research to use Bourdieu as a lens. Warren and Dinnie (2018) provide a useful starting point, looking at place promoters and their role as cultural intermediaries shaping the place branding field(s). Their study begins to look at the connections between stakeholders' role in producing, rather than just consuming the direction of place branding. This thesis builds upon these findings, looking at multiple stakeholders and how they are able to negotiate varying positions in the competitive place branding city, using these positions to gain impetus in the place branding process and shape the brand meanings conveyed.

While all the data chapters combine to help understand the interconnection of *claims* (brand meanings), *contributions* (stakeholder engagement) and *capacity* (capital), Chapter 6 holds the

most explanatory potential when critiquing the current attempts at navigating place branding governance and showcasing the overarching importance of capital. The chapter first provides a breakdown of stakeholders' possession and mobilisation of economic, social and cultural capital and its translation into symbolic capital. These findings demonstrate the clustering of capital within select groups of stakeholders, most notably the business community and local authority. At the opposite end, the local community is struggling to attain the necessary capital required to negotiate a favourable position in the field. This application of Bourdieu's theory demonstrates how the possession and mobilisation of capital can explain why certain groups of stakeholders are better equipped to partake in the (re)production of place branding, rather than just the consumption of place brands. Moreover, the stakeholder groups who are more pronounced at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of stakeholder engagement (Chapter 5) are also those possessing the greatest stocks of capital (Chapter 6). Similarly, partnerships are seen to provide the means to share economic, social and cultural capital further helping to explain why certain stakeholders are dominating the engagement landscape. These findings go some way in explaining the gulf between push for participatory approaches and the reality of continued exclusion in place branding and sparks calls for mechanisms to be installed to promote better inclusion of stakeholders.

In addition, Chapter 6 extends the application of the forms of capital to the city branding field by developing a typology of stakeholder positions. The transition of capital into symbolic capital provides the greatest legitimacy and aids the position stakeholders gain in the field (Bourdieu, 1984; Hardy, 2014; Warren and Dinnie, 2018). The research points to the enhanced legitimacy when the capital is gained across the city (scope) and over prolonged periods of time (permanency/establishment). A matrix is developed based on these findings, establishing four stakeholder positions, namely privileged, opportunistic, routine and struggling. This provides an ancillary method of classifying stakeholders involved in the place branding process based on the mobilisation and legitimisation of capital through scope and length of establishment. While this may not be the only matrix the forms of capital could provide (as the themes that follow will discuss), it is one way in which stakeholders' varying positions can be assessed. This shows that there are alternative, often complementary ways, of mapping stakeholders' input that supplements the analysis based on the stakeholder groups. Moreover, using the typology, the prevalence of particular stakeholder groups within given stakeholder positions is critically examined. This further points to the over-dominance of stakeholders from

the business community and local authority in the privileged quadrant, local authority stakeholders in the routine quadrant and visitor economy between the aspiring and routine quadrants. In addition, stakeholders from the local community are disproportionately located in the struggling quadrant.

The struggling position of the local community affirms the claims in the literature that stakeholders are not being represented in the place branding process (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Eshuis *et al.,* 2014; Henninger *et al.,* 2016) and provides explanations for their continued exclusion. Not only are local community stakeholders possessing less stocks of capital, but the capital they possess is rarely long-term or mobilised across the city. This is represented by their situation within the consultation and communication forms of engagement (Chapter 5). By identifying the problems facing the local community, potential solutions and means for inclusion can be identified, including equipping these groups with the resources and skills they are struggling to attain.

Alongside providing an explanation behind stakeholder differences, Chapter 6 also looks to the differences in the two case studies, Bath and Bristol. It is rare for the academic literature to deal with multiple stakeholders, with a few noteworthy exceptions (Merrilees *et al.,* 2013, 2016). This thesis adds to place branding knowledge by offering comparisons across multiple sites, as well as with across multiple stakeholder groups. The breadth of the research allows for points of similarity and difference to be examined on multiple analytical levels. The duality of analysis provides a holistic explanation of a complex problem, pinpointing areas of interest that can be expanded upon in future research. One such area is the different manifestation of taste (dispositions and habitus) in Bath versus Bristol. The emphasis on the consumption of highbrow culture in Bath is contrasted against the welcoming of lowbrow culture in Bristol (Chapter 6). In addition to suggesting the highbrow versus lowbrow distinction continues to hold relevance, the variations pinpoint the problems of generalising across city brands or regions. It is through the city lens that further differences in the consumption of place branding can be illuminated.

In addition, the cities respond to change in very different ways. While Bristol's stakeholder shows signs of an increasingly unified articulation based around independence, creativity and a sense of being alternative, Bath's stakeholders experience greater discerns. In part, these

differences are marked by a changing understanding of what Bath stands for (hysteresis effect), shifting from a focus on heritage to modernisation. Stakeholders are struggling to adjust to the changing doxic logics, with the stakeholders well-equipped with resources using the transition to entrench their position in the field (Chapter 6). By looking across two case studies two differing manifestations are showcased, providing an empirical example of the effects of a change in city consciousness.

Moreover, Chapter 6 also builds upon Bourdieu's application of the field-capital theory within the context of place branding governance. A critique leveraged against Bourdieu's work relates to the perceived failure to consider transience, time and turbulence (Alexander, 1994; Jenkins, 1982, Lahire, 2011). Yet, other commentators dispute these claims, pointing to hysteresis as one example of how periods of transition are brought into the analysis (Hardy, 2014). Nonetheless, Bourdieu's main emphasis remains around the reproduction of meanings, as opposed to recognising the potential for production when stakeholders renegotiate their position in the field. Building on this, this research affirms that reproduction is central when explaining the power imbalances across stakeholders, but also sees place branding as cyclical. As such, place branding is an ongoing process that sees stakeholders producing, reproducing and consuming brand meanings through engagement strategies over time. While change can be problematic, it is not impossible for stakeholders equipped with the knowledge and resources to navigate the field. Moreover, the thesis shows that in Bristol navigation of the field is made easier, since its stakeholders are less protective over access to social capital and the dispositions in the city surround independent and creative change. Furthermore, this research also builds on existing research by identifying the potential for connections to be forged that extend beyond the collective capacity of stakeholder groups and encompass individuals within a place branding ecosystem. This does not omit the power that comes with membership and numbers (social capital), but points out that groups are forged of, often strategically placed, individuals that are better positioned to propel the shared vision. Therefore, collectives and individuals should not be seen as completely separate, since there are important interconnections between groups and individuals.

Overall, Chapter 6 provides a theoretical explanation as to why place branding governance is failing in its attempts at stakeholder inclusion and to highlight where exclusion is most pronounced. The analysis is centred around competition for capital, a theme that emerges

throughout this research. The competition between stakeholders is beginning to gain attention (Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Sztejnberg and Giovanardi, 2017; Warren and Dinnie, 2018). However, more was needed to explore how this competition occurs and what it means for place branding governance. Chapter 6 is central to gaining this understanding, with Bourdieu's lens being utilised to explain stakeholders' competing positions within the competitive place branding field. This helps to identify the hurdles facing the pursuit of a participatory approach to place branding, showing where the competition is most problematic and providing explanations behind the prevalence of exclusion. The following section details the importance of competition when explaining a critical approach to place branding governance. Running through the claims, contributions and capital chapters detailed above are concurrent themes that further help to provide a critical approach to place branding governance, namely competition, connectivity, chronology (temporality and time) and cyclicality. These are now considered in turn.

7.24 COMPETITION

Competition is at the centre of this critical approach to place branding governance. The blurring of brand ownership sparks an unwitting competition between stakeholders. Despite the calls for participation and greater stakeholder involvement, Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) found that debate, dialogue and contestation are inescapable components of place branding. Other studies have drawn distinctions between place branding as a process and the communicated output of the place brand, with power relations being characteristic in dominant associations assigned to the latter (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Zenker *et al.,* 2017). Yet, even the place branding process itself is rife with power relations, with the primacy of select brand meanings showcasing the hidden influence of certain dispositions over stakeholders' perceptions. As Chapter 6 shows, the dispositions shaped by the habitus can influence stakeholders' views even though they consider these associations to be individually determined. Moreover, looking at stakeholder engagement (Chapter 5), competition is occurring at the discursive level before official communications of select brand identities are crafted. Therefore, this research shows how competition infiltrates the place branding process, from the claims through to the contributions, before looking for explanations as to why these tensions remain rife.

The importance of language in shaping the negotiation of brand meanings has been expressed by Lucarelli and Giovanardi (2016). When looking for explanations behind stakeholders' varying access, the politics and strategic relationships behind place branding processes is held to account. The thesis does not aim to investigate merely the political ramifications of place branding. However, the thesis does show that strategic relationships exist beyond political boundaries. Again, the blurring of brand ownership means administrative bodies are no longer centrally responsible (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). More importantly, is the changing nature of place branding that sees the branding process as more than the communication of an official brand identity and looks to the importance of the people behind the place (Govers, 2013, 2018). While this provides opportunities for greater involvement in processes that impact the way the city is understood, the competition and power battles restrict the potential for a shared approach to place branding. This research adds to the current literature by showing how and why competition exists between and within stakeholder groups, as well as across city brands. By illustrating these contestations and looking for explanations, the research sheds light on the reasons between the gulf in claims of a participatory approach to place branding and the reality of continued top-down, power laden branding outcomes.

7.25 CONNECTIVITY

Within the wider remit of competition, comes connectivity, with stakeholders enhancing their position by sharing resources, knowledge, contacts and funds with people that share their view of the place brand. One way these connections are achieved is through the development and maintenance of long-term partnerships (Hankinson, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2015). These are often championed by coordinators and leaders, well equipped to understand the processes needed to translate ideas into action (Jacobsen, 2012). The importance of partnerships, leadership and coordination is seen as central to producing a strong brand ethos (Brodie *et al.,* 2017; Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Hankinson, 2009). Relationships provide stability even in turbulent times (Merrilees *et al.,* 2005). Yet, the previous emphasis looks largely to the relational connections among people (Rowley, 1997), looking for mutual benefits and synergy (Hankinson, 2009). With this, comes informal relationships between strategically placed individuals. The results from previous chapters identify these relational processes among both individuals within distinct groups and groups as a whole. Moreover, these connections are seen to be most powerful when developed by stakeholder groups. Chapter 6 (detailed under the

capacity subheading) provides examples of these connections and the benefits they can bring for stakeholders who have the resources to negotiate a strategic position within the processes associated to place branding. However, social capital is strongest when combined with the other forms of capital. To gain access to the branding arena stakeholders require a prerequisite level of economic, social and cultural capital. Once these initial entry barriers are crossed, connections across the forms of capital help to further enhance a stakeholder's position in the field. Economic, social and cultural capital are mutually reinforcing each other's stocks and mobility.

7.26 CHRONOLOGY

A noteworthy contribution from this research is the multiple ways in which time and temporality play out throughout the analysis. While there are connections between time and temporality, time refers to the flow of time in the present, whereas temporality looks to the concept of the past, present and future (Gibbs, 1998). Linking these to conventional branding, time is better suited when explaining the brand evolution, with brands using techniques in the present that enables the brand to expand in the future (Merrilees *et al.,* 2005). This allows the brands to stay relevant as time moves on. Running alongside these processes, is the connection to the past, present and future. It is here where temporality comes into play, which is better represented through the conventional notions such as brand heritage. This looks to the connection of a brand to the past in order to attain competitiveness in the form of longevity and sustainability (Wiedmann *et al.,* 2011). This research demonstrates the combined importance of both time and temporality, manifested in different ways throughout the analysis.

The brand community literature recognises the importance of temporality, seeing brand communities as being either enduring or temporary (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). As such, brand communities exist as geotemporal entities (McAlexander *et al.,* 2002). Moreover, there are signs that place branding is beginning to recognise the importance of either temporality or time. Hanna and Rowley (2011) emphasise the importance of brand evolution in their strategic management guide for place branding. Lucarelli and Giovanardi (2016) instead focus on the importance of temporality, looking at the importance of the past in shaping the present. This research builds upon these papers by recognising the dual role of time and temporality and the paradoxical connection between the two concepts. This is showcased in

Chapter 6, where the connections to the past and the future (temporality) sparks legitimacy, but this is engrained further by stakeholders' increased length of establishment (time) in the field.

7.27 CYCLICALITY

Finally, place branding is largely accepted to be an ongoing, social and evolutionary process (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Hanna and Rowley, 2011). This standpoint accepts that place branding is a two-way process between stakeholders (Warnaby, 2009a; Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). The sharing of ownership with stakeholders is a central starting premise of this thesis. However, this research extends the cyclicality of place branding governance and looks to the potentially darker side of stakeholder participation through iterative cycles of consumption and (re)production. To do so, three parts of the cyclicality of place branding are illuminated in the research. First, affirming the social and evolutionary nature of place branding. Second, extending this cyclicality when recognising that it is not just the involvement of stakeholders in the consumption of place branding, rather the consumption and production of place branding also operate as an ongoing and iterative process. Finally, and of most interest for the current critical approach adopted in the research, is the overarching importance of reproduction as a driving force behind the place branding processes (Chapter 6). While stakeholders are involved in the ongoing and social process, this process is difficult to change and often reinforces the existing brand meanings and engagement strategies in operation.

This thesis is among the first to comprehensively analyse the connection between consumption, production and reproduction in place branding governance. Chapter 4 evaluates stakeholders' consumption of brand meanings, looking for points of assonance and dissonance in stakeholders' conceptualisation of the city versus how they see the presentation of the city. Chapter 5 analyses the production of these meanings through tools, approaches and forms of stakeholder engagement. Finally, Chapter 6 critically investigates the reproduction of select brand meanings and stakeholder access to engagement through a Bourdieusian lens. Together, the research draws connections across the chapters and evaluates the capital and capacity of stakeholders when seeking to participate in place branding. Some studies have begun to suggest that stakeholder participation in the production of place branding is difficult to obtain in a genuine form (Houghton and Stevens, 2011; Henninger *et al.,* 2016; Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016; Warren and Dinnie, 2018). However, none have drawn the three actions together and

critically explored what it means for place branding governance. This research provides initial explanations as to why stakeholders' participation in the consumption and production remains troubled with power relations and competition.

7.3 BUILDING THE 7CS THROUGH A MULTI-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF STAKEHOLDERS AND CITY BRANDS

The empirical benefits include looking at both multiple stakeholder groups and multiple case studies. By doing so, the research is able to empirically explore points of similarity and difference across stakeholder groups (business community, visitor economy, local authority and local community) and across city brands (Bath and Bristol). With a few noteworthy exceptions (including García *et al.,* 2012; Merrilees *et al.,* 2012, 2016), the breadth of this research is rarely found in the existing literature. The broad coverage the thesis enables problems highlighted in the literature to be explored in detail. One example is the rhetoric behind the claim that stakeholder engagement better allows for inclusion of stakeholder voices (Houghton and Stevens, 2011). The two-pronged approach provides a measure of stakeholder involvement based on a combination of the data and the literature, and devises tools, approaches and forms of engagement. Then emergent themes are developed around the claims of inclusion, exploring if and how stakeholders are able to gain access to engagement strategies linked to the representation of the cities. The research also uses a two-pronged approach when measuring and investigating brand meaning claims. Moreover, Chapter 6 responds to the theoretical gulf in the place branding domain, and incorporates Bourdieu's field-practice theory (1977, 1984, 1986). Together, the research presents a holistic overview of core problems facing place branding governance.

7.4 PRACTICAL AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The research was designed to provide theoretical and practical outcomes, responding to the calls to better bridge academic theory with practice (Green *et al.,* 2016). However, a problem arises as to what constitutes place branding governance when the premise of this thesis sees place branding as removed from purely the central management of a DMO and/or local authority. Investigating the core components of place branding governance helps to understand how this can operate when ownership is diffused among multiple stakeholders. While place

branding is changing and stakeholders are at the helm of its advancements, this does not omit the continued importance of official destination and branding practitioners and policy makers, working alongside the wider stakeholder community. Rather, the research suggests that these official stakeholders are increasingly working with a myriad of other stakeholder groups. Therefore, these practical implications are based toward practitioners, policy makers and the multitude of stakeholders shaping the consumption and production of place branding.

A central premise of this research is that place branding is no longer about simply providing prescriptive branding protocols, epitomised by the creation of a single logo, slogan or colour scheme that claims to represent all stakeholders from across the city (Govers, 2013, 2018). This is not to say that for many place branding professionals the creation of these official communication tools is not an inbuilt part into their job description and may still fulfil certain aims and expectations of clients. However, place branding should not stop here. This research affirms the transition of place branding research that suggests that place branding is less about a single communicated outcome and more about the process of involving the plethora of stakeholders. This embraces stakeholders' differing perceptions, as well as the points of similarity. The brand meanings continuum provides an example of these points of similarity and difference. The stakeholder engagement hierarchy pinpoints problems when seeking to more actively involve stakeholders in the place branding processes. Finally, the varying stakeholder positions detailed in the power and capital matrix (Chapter 6) provide explanations for the exclusion of certain stakeholders and the over-dominance of others. These findings help to raise awareness of the practices and problems underlying a diffused approach to place branding governance.

For example, the continuum shows the variations from functional to emotive, moving beyond the descriptive dimensions that are inherent in a large swathe of practical place (and specifically city) branding examples (Green *et al.,* 2016). Instead of focusing primarily on the descriptive accounts, the attitudes, values and emotions of stakeholders can be considered. For marketing and branding professionals, the more symbolic connections may help to spark resonance between stakeholders. Moreover, the points of convergence among stakeholder groups may be of use for stakeholders from the visitor economy, business community, local authority and local community. By evaluating brand meanings on a continuum, stakeholders can seek collaborations or partnerships based on shared meanings. On the flipside, contestation within

and among stakeholder groups are highlighted. By showing where and what the problems are, stakeholders can start to work together to develop co-created solutions. Therefore, the level of detail the analysis provides can be used to better inform stakeholders and push for a greater recognition of branding complexities.

A key finding of practical significance is the gulf between academic push for increased participation and the reality of continued exclusion for certain stakeholder groups. While other forms of participation (such as place making) may offer a more fruitful avenue for inclusion, stakeholder engagement remains problematised by entry barriers. This research provides a practical example of these barriers in operation. Looking to the stakeholder approaches (Chapter 6), the local community remain in the advisory approaches, in contrast to the business community gaining access to the coordination and control approaches. Therefore, even when the local community are gaining access to the formal and city-wide engagement strategies, it is largely in an advisory capacity. This provides a lower level of input than attained by other stakeholder groups, such as the business community and visitor economy. These findings demonstrate the variations in input and affirm that top-down engagement strategies remain commonplace (Eshuis *et al.*, 2014). To respond to these findings, progress is needed, pushing for shared commitment to city-wide approaches and encouraging a flatter system of participation.

Similarly, the hierarchy of stakeholder engagement sees collaboration and partnerships as the pinnacle for involvement. Again, this affirms that access to engagement is not equally accessible for all stakeholders and highlights the overrepresentation of the local authority and business community at the partnership level; visitor economy at the collaboration level; and local community in the lower levels of consultation and communication. It is perhaps not surprising that the local authority remains integrated into the higher levels of the pyramid, given their overarching governance of the city and its administrations (Marzono and Scott, 2009). More interesting are the variations in the business community, visitor economy and local community, suggesting that informal access to the engagement strategies is also hierarchical and warrants greater evaluation.

The pervasive input available through partnerships is also noteworthy, with the long-term partnerships offering the most conducive form of engagement for the stakeholders included in

the research. Building on the points above, if partnerships were made more accessible and enabled a greater array of voices then they could offer an avenue for increased participation across the stakeholder groups. As Chapter 6 shows, the reasons why some partnerships are more prevalent often comes down to resources and connections. Therefore, more is needed to equip stakeholders with the required resources and connections to form successful partnerships. Increasing the funding available for city-wide partnerships would help to ease these divides. However, as this research demonstrates, the blurring of ownership is in part a symptom of a reduced pool in which to attain funding from. The most successful partnerships have developed their own funding streams to overcome the scarcity and accountability aligned to official funding streams. These innovative approaches were possible when stakeholders have the knowledge and connections to foster alternative revenue streams. If there were greater means to disseminate this knowledge across the city and forge a city-wide stakeholder network, then the skills and connections could be shared across the stakeholder groups. One way to do this might be through capitalising on the advances brought by the digital revolution; sharing resources and skills through virtual teams, using social media to push for crowdfunding, and using digital tools to enable greater connections and ongoing communication between disperse stakeholders.

However, partnerships require time and commitment to maintain that many stakeholders do not wish to invest. To encourage participation and manage the challenge, coordination and leadership is required. Again, these requirements are loaded by time and financial restraints. Moreover, this research has shown that leadership can bring benefits and problems (Hristov and Ramkissoon, 2016). The problems are linked to the selectivity of leadership and a continued emphasis on top-down approaches to stakeholder participation (Marzono and Scott, 2009). For example, there are numerous benefits attributed to the Neighbourhood Partnerships in Bristol. The approaches provide a forum for stakeholder involvement and a financial backing for select projects. However, they are still largely controlled by a few key players, employed by the local authorities. Therefore, the engagement remains predominately top-down, as opposed to stakeholder-led. This research suggests that leadership within partnerships needs to be more equitable, promoting a shared platform for stakeholders. Making use of brand ambassadors from across the stakeholder groups may be a useful way to encourage horizontal leadership and spark community cohesion (Andersson and Ekman, 2009).

A further barrier to involvement links to the findings related to accountability. Many stakeholders continue to believe that the place branding process is the responsibility of the local authority and that they are granted resources to implement a city-wide brand. In recent years, the funding for these initiatives have ceased and the responsibility for place branding is now shared. Moreover, since stakeholders form the heart of place branding, they should be made to feel welcome to input through formal and informal methods. More could be done at a policy level to raise awareness that place branding is shifting from an outcome to a process and encourage stakeholders to embrace and celebrate this change. Additionally, the use of informal engagement tools, such as events and activities might help to spark enthusiasm for getting involved in city-wide and local initiatives.

Stakeholder involvement needs to be made more accessible and transparent. A critique identified in the research is the prevalence of exclusivity within closed stakeholder networks. These networks are closely guarded (particularly in Bath), making it difficult for newcomers or those lacking the required credentials to infiltrate the branding arena and its engagement strategies. There is need for transparency and ease of access across the stakeholder groups. These processes will be difficult to change, but this research goes some way in highlighting the areas of exclusivity and explaining why the participation of stakeholders remains problematic.

The significance of time and scope also bring with them practical implications. It is important for those involved in place branding, both formally and informally, to recognise the past, present and future. Bristol shows signs of needing to think more about its past and embrace the dark heritage as a part of the city's initial success. In contrast, Bath is critiqued for failing to think about its future and relying too heavily on the past. While Bath is overemphasising its brand heritage, Bristol is focusing on its brand evolution. Both cities would benefit from embracing the mutual dependency of the past and the future. In addition, time is an important factor, with stakeholders' ability to command and mobilise resources increasing along the length of establishment. The stakeholders possessing resources gathered over extended periods of time are granted more strategic positions in place branding. This reinforces the hierarchy of participation and makes it problematic for new entrants to partake to the same benefit. Bristol shows greater signs of opening up access, with the introduction of periodic networking events whereby stakeholders are afforded the opportunity to meet others in similar or connected areas.

More could be done to extend these networking events across the city, encouraging stakeholders to attend from across the stakeholder groups.

Furthermore, this research shows how differences in stakeholder positions and access to engagement depend upon access to small-scale initiatives versus city-wide initiatives. To respond to the variations in stakeholder access depending on the scope of the stakeholders' resources more should be done to grant resources and access to the small-scale initiatives, promoting their importance and legitimacy. If more small-scale initiatives were embraced, the cities might stand a better chance of implementing a flatter process of involvement. Again, Bristol shows signs of moving toward these more inclusionary approaches. However, more is needed to make stakeholders feel welcome and equipped to participate in the complex and nuanced place branding process.

7.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter draws together seven interconnected research areas that combine to raise awareness of the criticality behind a diffused approach to place branding governance. Behind each theme is the central importance of capital, with stakeholders' participation being enhanced or impeded by stakeholders' possession of economic, cultural, social and ultimately symbolic capital over time and place. As such, the research highlights the often-omitted importance of reproduction when explaining the power relations, hierarchies and capacities of stakeholders within place branding governance. While the 7Cs bring together seven key areas helping to highlight and explain the problems, they are not the end of the place branding puzzle. Instead, they provide three components and four thematic outcomes that help to shed light on the issues and point to future areas of study. As such, they do not present the same levels of analysis. In addition to the combination of components and outcomes, the 7Cs are connected in a myriad of ways behind the overarching thread of capital. It is hoped that future research can build upon these findings and look at the vertical and horizontal associations between these areas of criticality.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Consistent with the developments in conventional branding, place branding has shifted from a focus on the output (the brand), to the central importance of involving stakeholders in the branding process (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011). These shifts see place branding moving away from merely scripting an identity for a place brand with the aim of attracting the highest visitor numbers or lucrative national and international reputation. Instead, place branding is seen as a stakeholder-orientated process, driven by and aimed toward a place's stakeholders (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Braun *et al.,* 2013; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Combined with this shifting stakeholder-orientation is a decentralisation of central management and control over place branding (Oliveira, 2015). The blurring of ownership is particularly acute in a city branding context, where the local authorities are largely reducing or devolving official management of place branding strategies. More widely, the stakeholder-orientated era of place branding sees the inclusion of multiple stakeholders as central, not just stakeholders undertaking 'official' roles, but for all of a place's stakeholders (Aitken and Campelo, 2011).

These developments add to the complexity at the heart of place branding, epitomised by the inclusion of myriad of invested disparate stakeholder groups (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013) across a "kaleidoscopic blend" of place branding elements (Stubbs and Warnaby, 2015: 102). The complexities mean that you cannot and should not simplify a place brand, especially for stakeholders with a vested interest (Zenker *et al.,* 2017). This research contributes to the place branding governance literature by recognising the complexities and showing the multidimensionality and multiplicity inherent in brand meanings (Chapter 4). This research then develops these findings to illustrate the complexities operating behind the guise of engagement, seeing stakeholder engagement as a multifaceted concept that often disguises variations in stakeholder participation (Chapter 5). Finally, and offering the greatest contribution, this research presents a critical approach to place branding by investigating why these variations in stakeholders' participation occur (Chapter 6). While stakeholders more

easily participate in the brand's consumption, with all the stakeholders included in this research showing signs of engaging and sharing brand meanings, the ability to (re)produce these brand meanings through the most conducive engagement strategies is more selective. The blurring of ownership in some ways offers a potential for greater involvement for all stakeholders, as opposed to central management. However, this research suggests that the blurred ownership is only beneficial for the stakeholders who are best equipped to navigate the processes that underlie place branding.

This chapter brings the seven chapters together, synthesising the research journey from articulation to evaluation. The chapter begins by recapping the research building blocks, including the research aims, research methodology and research position. The remainder of the chapter focuses on the key contributions espoused through the research, before considering the limitations alongside areas of future exploration.

8.2 THE RESEARCH BUILDING BLOCKS

8.21 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This research contributes to place branding governance by critically investigating stakeholders' participation in place branding. To do so, the research began with the following three objectives:

- To measure and evaluate the brand meanings stakeholders assign to city brands in order to understand where similarities and differences occur.
- To critically investigate the ways that stakeholders participate in the place branding process through stakeholder engagement strategies to better comprehend any variations in input.
- To analyse any variations in stakeholders' input in the place branding to help explain if and why participation can be problematic.

8.22 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To explore these objectives the researcher utilises multiple case studies, analysing the similarities and differences for Bath and Bristol. The city is chosen as the unit of place analysis, given the complexities at play within confined spatial borders. The research uses some elements of grounded theory, allowing the research to develop abductively. As Chapter 3 details, these approaches were reconciled with a moderate social constructionist epistemological and ontological philosophical standpoint, seeing aspects of the intangible world as socially constructed by society and individuals within it (Lock and Strong, 2010). Within the case studies, 53 in-depth semi-structured interviews along with one focus group are the primary data collection tools, undertaken and analysed iteratively through a three-stage process of development, evaluation and abduction. The theoretical sample totalled 60 salient stakeholders from the business community, local community, local authority and visitor economy. The abductive themes developed from these interviews form the crux of the research findings, which are summarised below.

8.23 POSITIONING THE RESEARCH IN THE LITERATURE
8.231 RETHINKING THE CONCEPT: WHAT IS PLACE BRANDING GOVERNANCE?

This research develops a critical approach to place branding governance, looking specifically at internal stakeholders' participation in Bath and Bristol's city branding consumption and production processes. Place branding governance looks to how stakeholders are involved in these processes, bringing together streams of place branding literature from across the strategic management and communication domains. This research builds upon the acceptance that place branding is no longer centrally controlled or managed (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007), and instead is shared among its stakeholders (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Kavaratzis, 2012). While there are claims that this diffusion of ownership enables a more participatory approach to place branding (Baker, 2007; Kavaratzis, 2012), this thesis questions the extent that claims to inclusion are matched by stakeholder participation.

This research adopts multidisciplinary theories and conceptual frameworks, adding to existing place branding theory. Stakeholder theory is used as an important as a starting point, helping

to identify stakeholders (Freeman, 1984; Mitchell *et al.,* 1997), evaluate stakeholder salience (Agle *et al.,* 1999; Mitchell *et al*., 1997) and was used as a guide when beginning to question the benefits versus normative considerations of stakeholder inclusion (Dawkins, 2014; Enright and Bourns, 2010). This thesis combines stakeholder theory, stakeholder engagement and brand meanings frameworks with the existing conceptual understandings of place branding and its governance (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Hankinson, 2007, 2009; Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Hatch and Schultz, 2010). Moreover, following the iterative analysis of the initial interviews, Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986) is incorporated as a meta-theory, helping to explain why certain stakeholders hold more strategic positions within place branding and why these positions remain difficult to change. The holistic and multidisciplinary nature of the research is one of its unique features, crafting a research journey that explains the phenomenon at play, as opposed to remaining siloed within a given discipline. This is important for place branding given its complex position at the crossroads of multiple disciplinary boundaries, including marketing, branding, management, tourism, economic geography, and public management. Despite the recognition of multiple theories and frameworks, the research main focus is in the marketing (branding) approach to place branding governance.

8.3 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

8.31 DEVELOPING A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF PLACE BRANDING GOVERNANCE: THE 7CS

The main contribution from the research is the presentation of the 7Cs of critical approach to place branding governance (Figure 15). By looking holistically at stakeholders' participation in place branding governance, the research reveals seven areas of criticality. As Chapter 6 outlines, the 7Cs combine the three core components emerged through an investigation of the research objectives and the four overarching emergent themes developed across each objective. Despite the different levels of analysis (components and outcomes), the 7Cs are useful in demonstrating why place branding governance is complex and hierarchical. Moreover, all the areas of criticality link (at least in part) to stakeholders' varying capital.
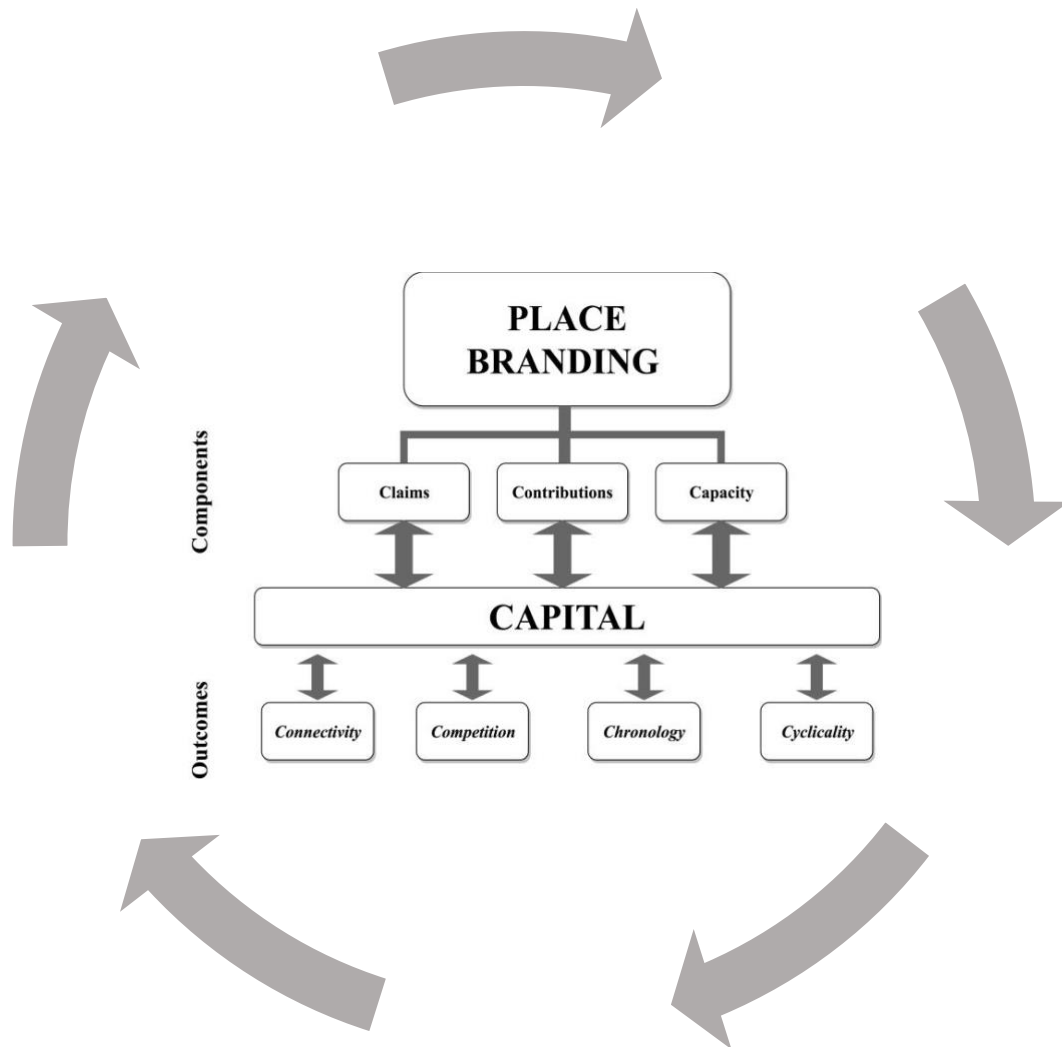
Figure 15: A Critical Approach to Place Branding Framework

In addition to identifying areas of criticality to be expanded in future research, further contributions are made within each of the 7Cs:

8.311 CLAIMS

Brand meanings measure and evaluate stakeholders' claims assigned to the cities they represent. This recognises the dual importance of stakeholders, as producers in place branding and also consumers of the place brand. Zenker and Braun (2010: 5) reiterate the importance of stakeholders in the authors' highly cited definition of the place brand. Moreover, the alignment of Batey's (2015) and Laaksonen's *et al.,*'s (2006) conceptual accounts of brand meanings

allow this research to pinpoint stakeholder brand meanings across descriptive, attitudinal, value orientated and emotive layers of analysis. This extends previous analysis of brand meanings by empirically illustrating brand meanings for Bath and Bristol's city brands on a continuum from functional to emotive.

The empirical analysis of stakeholders' brand meanings provides an essential base for exploring stakeholder participation in the remainder of the research. However, it also provides incremental contributions to conceptualisations of place brand meaning, which is an area warranting attention (Green *et al.,* 2016). An analysis of the brand meanings along the continuum shows that the meanings are multidimensional and interconnected. Place branding should not be simplified to catchall descriptions (Zenker *et al.,* 2017), the brand meaning analysis also provides a snapshot of the benefits that can be attained from exploring the various dimensions of stakeholders' brand meanings. Moreover, the research identifies points of assonance and dissonance among stakeholders. Along the continuum points of assonance are easier to obtain when looking to the functional and descriptive brand meanings, the dissonance between stakeholder claims' is better explored at the attitudinal and particularly the values layers. This begins to highlight the sources of conflict and competition among competing stakeholder claims.

8.312 CONTRIBUTIONS

Stakeholders' participation in stakeholder engagement offers one means of producing, as well as consuming, the place brand. The current literature relating to stakeholder engagement within place branding centres around the premise of instrumental remunerations (Hanna and Rowley, 2015; Hankinson, 2009), as well normative recommendations of how stakeholders ought to be involved (Green *et al.,* 2016). This research recognises the positives that can come from greater stakeholder inclusion, while highlighting stakeholder exclusion remains commonplace. The thesis measures stakeholders' participation through the iterative development of tools, approaches and forms of stakeholder engagement that combine to form a hierarchy of stakeholder participation. This builds upon previous stakeholder engagement research by empirically showing the potentially darker side of engagement processes, whereby certain stakeholders hold a stronger position to actively participate versus those that are subdued through 'lip-service'. The taxonomy of stakeholder engagement with tools, approaches and

forms provides an in-depth and holistic way to measure stakeholders' participation in place branding. Moreover, the empirical examination confirms the hypothesis that a decentralisation of place branding does not allow for equal levels of stakeholder engagement, instead power relations dictate access and involvement in the most strategic forms of engagement.

These findings also confirm the central role of partnerships when shaping stakeholders' participation in place branding (Hankinson, 2009). A distinction is drawn between the long-term nature of partnerships, as opposed to the short-term and often opportunistic use of collaborations. Previous research focuses on the benefits of partnerships, which unlock trust and connections between stakeholders (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Hanna and Rowley, 2015). This research demonstrates how partnerships can help to reinforce the rhetoric of inclusion, while in reality access to the city-wide and long-term partnerships remains restricted to certain stakeholders. Across both Bath and Bristol, stakeholders from the business community and local authority are benefiting from the relational connections across partnerships. Further themes helping to explain the differing access to the forms of engagement include accountability and leadership. A paradox in accountability is shown, with freedom from accountability allowing for greater scope to question the traditional stance taken in the city. Moreover, leadership helps to bring stakeholder groups together, but also serves to reinforce the hierarchy of engagement and retention of top-down approaches to stakeholder participation. Therefore, while there are claims that place branding is becoming a participatory process, this participation comes with differing levels of access and influence.

8.313 CAPACITY

Chapter 6 provides theoretical and empirical explanations behind stakeholders' varying capacity to partake in place branding. Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) provides an explanatory lens, with stakeholders from across the stakeholder groups and city brands possessing and mobilising different quantities of economic, social, cultural and ultimately symbolic capital. Again, it is the stakeholders who are most active in the higher levels of the hierarchy of engagement that possess and mobilise the greatest stocks of capital. Therefore, stakeholders' ability to participate is enhanced or impeded by their monetary backing, access to funding, relevant knowledge of the engagement processes, education, skills,

group membership and access to core stakeholders. These also gain additional legitimacy when achieved over a long period of time and across the city.

Place branding remains in its infancy, with few attempts to theoretically explain stakeholder participation in its processes (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Warren and Dinnie (2018) provide a noteworthy caveat, using Bourdieu's notion of cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1984, 1994) when looking at how place promoters are fundamental in shaping the presentation of the city. This thesis builds upon these important findings, looking at how multiple stakeholders compete for the most strategic positions within place branding. This looks more at the competition between stakeholder groups, rather than looking at how a given stakeholder creates a certain place brand image. Therefore, for this research the emphasis is on explaining the differences between a multiplicity of stakeholders.

The thesis develops a typology of stakeholder positions to demonstrate the multiplicity and complexity of stakeholder positions. The typology focuses on the mobilisation and legitimisation of the forms of capital, based on access to capital across the city (scope) and over a long period of time (establishment). Four stakeholder positions are established across a matrix of scope and time, namely privileged, opportunistic, routine and struggling. This provides an important contribution to place branding governance by showing an alternative and supplementary way to classify stakeholders' positions that begins to explain the reasons behind the prevailing variations in stakeholders' participation. These extensions supplement the analysis based on stakeholder groups, since positioning within the most strategic quadrants (for example, privileged) remain dominated by stakeholders from the business community, versus the local community's overrepresentation in the struggling quadrant. This provide an explanation behind the previous literature's claims that the local community remain removed from place branding's production processes (Braun *et al.,* 2013; Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Eshuis *et al.,* 2014; Henninger *et al.,* 2016). Finally, Chapter 6 provides incremental advancements to Bourdieu's application to place branding governance by emphasising the importance of (re)production of stakeholder positions, as opposed to the marketing and branding's previous emphasis on consumption. Moreover, as this chapter goes on to discuss, the addition of time and change emerges as an important facet when applying Bourdieu within place branding.

8.314 COMPETITION

In addition to the core components explored through the research objectives, the emergent themes provide noteworthy additions to the place branding literature. First, is the competition between stakeholders. Stakeholders' competing claims and contributions further identifies the need to think critically about how these differences play out through participatory place branding. As the previous synthesis begins to show, competition is driving the contestation between stakeholder claims (Chapter 4), stakeholders varying positions in the hierarchy of engagement (Chapter 5) and the competition for resources, knowledge and access to groups (Chapter 6). The place branding literature has begun to recognise the presence of contestation and debate between stakeholders (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016). This research builds upon these acknowledgements, identifying ways that competition between stakeholders is manifesting and the impacts competition has for stakeholder participation.

8.315 CONNECTIVITY

The second theme considers connectivity, with stakeholders advancing their claims and contributions by sharing resources, knowledge and social ties with other stakeholders. This reinforces the importance of stakeholders working together to improve or retain their position in the place branding processes. However, by some stakeholders forging powerful alliances, other stakeholders may end up excluded. Therefore, only those with a strategic position gain meaningful participation under place branding governance (Chapter 5 and 6). The selective benefits derived through connectivity help to explain why the hierarchy of engagement and stakeholders' positions are difficult to change for place branding. Certain stakeholders who possess multiple and interconnected forms of capital, especially over a long period of time and across the city, are best equipped to direct their participation in place branding. In contrast, stakeholders lacking the resources to forge connections struggle to access the higher levels of stakeholder engagement, or the strategic stakeholder positions. While previous research recognises the benefits of connections (Hanna and Rowley, 2011, 2015; Hankinson, 2009; Rowley, 1997), this research demonstrates how connections reinforce power relations and hierarchies inherent within place branding governance.

8.316 CHRONOLOGY

Third, chronology looks to the interconnected importance of time and temporality for place branding governance. Stakeholders are attaining legitimacy for their brand meaning claims and participation in stakeholder engagement by drawing upon the length of establishment (time) and connections to the past, present and future (temporality). While temporality has received attention in the brand community literature (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; McAlexander et al. 2002), it is only beginning to gain evaluation in place branding (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016). This research pinpoints the recurrent importance of time and temporality and begins to assess how the two actions operate concurrently, again helping to reinforce stakeholders' dominant positions.

8.317 CYCLICALITY

Finally, the cyclicality of place branding is identified. This research identifies the iterative cycle of consumption and (re)production. Stakeholders are central to the consumption of the place brand, possessing descriptive, attitudinal, value orientated and emotive meanings about the city and its presentation (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Batey, 2015; Green *et al.*, 2016; Laaksonen *et al.*, 2006). However, these meanings are (re)produced through stakeholders' contribution in stakeholder engagement processes where the brand meanings are translated into local and city-wide dialogues. This research suggests that it is important to encompass both the consumption and production of place branding into empirical research. Moreover, the central importance of reproduction of claims through the reproduction of stakeholders' positions is one of the most important, and yet overlooked, parts of the place branding governance puzzle. The thesis responds to this gap by showing why it is very difficult for stakeholders to change the status quo and gain access to engagement beyond a superficial level of entry. This further identifies the power relations that are shaping place branding governance.

8.32 THE OVERARCHING IMPORTANCE OF CAPITAL

An overarching theme piecing together the 7Cs and the critical approach to place branding governance is stakeholder capital. This reiterates the explanatory importance of Chapter 6, which applies Bourdieu's field-capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986) to help explain stakeholders' varying positions within branding fields. In each of the 7Cs, stakeholder capital

can be seen as vastly important (Figure 15), enhancing or impeding stakeholder participation in place branding. Chapters 4 and 5 identify the problems; the multiplicity of claims, dissonance between claims, varying access to engagement tools, approaches and forms; and the existence of a hierarchy of engagement. Chapter 6 looks to stakeholder capital to explain the reasons for these problems and the difficulties for stakeholders seeking to push for change. The remainder of the 7Cs discussed then demonstrate the outcomes of the capital, providing empirically supported areas of criticality within place branding governance.

8.33 EVALUATING STAKEHOLDERS' POSITIONS WITHIN PLACE BRANDING

As the capacity subsection mentions in brief and Chapter 6 examines in detail, this thesis adds a supplementary way of evaluating stakeholder positions within place branding. Building upon the importance of capital, the typology of stakeholder positions (Chapter 6) uses the empirical synthesis of the forms of capital, with stakeholders' claiming that the stocks of capital gain greater legitimacy when they are collected over a long period of time and mobilised across the city. The four quadrants divide stakeholders based on length of time and scope of the access. This also captures the recurrent emphasis on the scope of participation and time seen throughout the thesis. While time and scope are also identified when investigating stakeholders' claims and contributions, the analysis of stakeholder capacity build upon these findings and extends the theoretical explanation of a complicated phenomenon.

8.34 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REPRODUCTION AS OPPOSED TO SHARED PRODUCTION OF PLACE BRANDING

Drawing on the findings above, this thesis provides a novel and holistic illustration of the importance of the reproduction of stakeholders' claims driven by the reproduction of stakeholder positions within the hierarchy of stakeholder engagement. While the literature pushes stakeholders to be involved in the production and not just consumption of brands (Aitken and Campelo, 2011; Green *et al.*, 2016), this thesis shows that often it is more of a case of reproducing the same approaches by the same people. It is difficult to change the processes and practices, since those with the strategic positions within place branding are able to retain this privileged spot over time and place. Therefore, despite the blurring of stakeholder

ownership of place branding, power relations and hierarchies remain difficult to alter or access for the majority of stakeholders.

8.4 LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis provides a holistic and critical account of place branding governance, analysing the interconnecting components of the place branding process and questioning whether the decentralisation of ownership enables greater stakeholder participation. Many benefits come from providing a holistic account, detailed throughout Chapter 7. However, the approach is not without its flaws. By opting for breadth over depth, an overview of an amalgamation of complementary research domains can be covered. However, it is not possible to go into depth or evaluate the fine details of such a broad span of literatures. While every care was taken to understand and apply the analysis in a valid and representative manner, there is a risk that the intricacies of certain areas may be omitted. One particular area of exclusion relates to the omission of concepts of place and space (Cresswell, 2014). These are vastly important concepts for human and cultural geography and there has been substantial theoretical advancements on the connections between these concepts and place branding (Cresswell, 2014). While these contributions are significant in other disciplines, this research is positioned primarily in marketing and branding. To build on from these findings, future research from across tourism, public management and geography could apply and extend the framework in their own disciplines.

Despite the broad nature of the research, it is still not possible or desirable to include all aspects into one thesis. For example, this research focuses on the interconnectivity of brand meanings (claims), stakeholder engagement (contributions) and stakeholder capital (capacity). These are three important tenets shaping the problems behind place branding governance, but they do not represent the entire puzzle. The various measures of brand perceptions connected to brand meanings, such as the array of brand dimensions and the importance of brand associations, brand identities, brand image and brand reputation is only mentioned in brief in the research. The connection of these various pieces of the puzzle requires greater focus, but it was not the aim of this research to examine these connections in depth. To keep the focus on the stakeholders involved and their descriptions, attitudes, values and emotions then brand

meaning forms the central lens. Later research could investigate in more depth the connection between brand meanings and the rest of the brand dimensions (Hanna and Rowley, 2011) or the connection to the brand identity and brand image dichotomy (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Similarly, the research does not incorporate the service dominant logic (Merz *et al.,* 2009; Vargo and Lusch, 2004) when looking at the shared consumption and production of brand meanings. This popular marketing theory was omitted since the focus was not on the creation of value in use by bringing together stakeholders. Instead, this research looks to the barriers for stakeholder participation, using Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986). However, further research could use this important service lens to advance the findings by examining the value created or diminished through stakeholders' participation in place branding processes.

Similarly, stakeholder engagement only provides one way by which stakeholders can partake in place branding processes, particularly in the city branding context. Increasingly, place making is gaining attention (Greenop and Darchen, 2015). Arguably, place making might offer the means of encouraging stakeholder-orientated bottom-up involvement, enabling communities and sectors to work together to present their accounts of the city (Greenop and Darchen, 2015). This is an important and upcoming area of evaluation. Again, selectivity means that all possible avenues cannot be included. Stakeholder engagement is selected because of its existing prominence in the place branding literature and the signs of underlying tensions behind the claims of inclusion.

The utilisation of Bourdieu's field-capital theory (1977, 1984, 1986) as an explanatory lens developed from the initial analysis of secondary documents, observations and early interviews. The abductive nature of the research allows for flexibility in the research design, adjusting in line with the emergent findings. Bourdieu's work provides a valuable lens to better understand why certain stakeholders attain and retain positions of influence in what is premised as a participatory approach to place branding. Nonetheless, as Chapter 6 details, Bourdieu's toolkit does not cover all the phenomenon emerging throughout the research findings. One example is the dichotomy between the individual and the collective, which is a problematic area within the meta-theory (Lahire, 2011; Trizzulla *et al.,* 2016). Bourdieu's work fails to reconcile the importance of the individual negotiating strategic networks and relational connections. This research empirically illustrates the importance of both the individual and the group, attempting to bridge these criticisms and show how individuals work within larger groups. Nonetheless,

the social network analysis deals more overtly with these connections (Ackermann and Eden, 2011; Rowley, 1997). Again, this research does not extend the focus and explore this theory in sufficient depth, nor does it tackle how the two theories might both complement and contradict one another. The elusive interplay of these two competing theories offers an interesting angle for future research, exploring how the individual and their connections to strategic networks benefits or impedes the group struggle. Conversely, research could look at whether the individual and the group are in fact separate or inevitably connected forces in the place branding process.

Moreover, previous marketing and management research uses Bourdieu's work when exploring consumption (Tapp and Warren, 2010), whereas this research sought to show the importance production as well as consumption of place brands. Despite this emphasis, the bulk of the research focuses on the (re)production of place branding, rather than its consumption. In part this is based on the under exploration of production of place branding in the extant research. However, this also relates to the stakeholder groups included in this research. Stakeholders are selected based on their internal relevance and access to engagement processes. This selection process omits external stakeholders, such as visitors, who would present an important group to investigate when looking at the consumption of place brands. Future studies might address this omission and look at the varying consumption of place brands by internal and external stakeholders.

Throughout the data chapters, emergent themes are discussed and later synthesised in Chapter 7. This research provides a snapshot of these areas of criticality. However, further research could explore these themes in depth. One of particular interest, and scarce consideration, is the paradox of time and temporality and how this plays out in place branding. Research in this area might include an analysis of how stakeholders use the time and temporality paradox to advance collective positions in the city branding field. This research begins to delve into Bourdieu's notion of hysteresis and change (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990; Hardy, 2014). Chapter 6 suggests that stakeholders can benefit from transitions when equipped with the knowledge and resources to respond. Moreover, Chapter 6 begins to explore how Bath and Bristol deal with an overemphasis on the past versus on overemphasis on the future. Yet, more is needed to explore this phenomenon and what it means for place branding research.

The 7Cs do not encompass all factors impacting place branding governance. The framework details the three core components, supported by four core themes that are most prominent in the research. Given the complex nature of place branding, there is likely a wealth of additional factors that extends far beyond this reach. More research is needed to apply this framework to other cities and stakeholder groups, affirming and extending its scope. Additional research is also needed to explore the relationship between the 7Cs of a critical approach to place branding governance. In this research, the 7Cs are used to identify problem areas. However, they are not positioned on the same levels of analysis. Vertical and horizontal relationships exist between the 7Cs. Future research could investigate these complex relationships and map out the connections between the 7Cs.

The 7Cs of a critical approach to place branding governance are developed here and applied to the city branding context. Chapter 3 begins to explain the reasons for selecting the city brand as the context, driven by the complexities and amalgamation of people, processes and an entangled infrastructure. However, the research has not been applied to other place branding contexts, such as destinations or nations. These contexts produce a series of distinctions that relate to the makeup of the place, therefore the areas of criticality may not develop in the same ways or with the same outcomes. In particular, the destination brand is far more focused and nation brands often receive centralised attention. It remains unclear if the 7Cs and contributions from this research can be applied to other place branding contexts. The areas of criticality need to be explored within these contexts to evaluate their relevance and outcomes.

An additional area that receives scant attention in this thesis is the rising influence of digital technologies on place branding. Social media has become an accessible platform that enables stakeholders to collectively negotiate and produce brand meanings, as well as providing a channel for stakeholders to promote their vision of a brand (Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013). Increasingly, the importance of digital and social media platforms is gaining attention in the place branding academic research (Ind *et al.,* 2013; Mariani *et al.,* 2016; Florek, 2011). In particular, social media may help to overcome some inclusion hurdles. By providing remote, instant and convenient access to city-wide networks, stakeholders are able to form connections without having to leave their homes or offices. Some attention is paid to the potential benefits in the stakeholder interviews. These themes are not developed in the subsequent interviews, in part because of the sample selection. The research incorporates stakeholders already possessing

a stake in the process, having overcome the initial salience barriers (Agle *et al.,* 1999; Mitchell *et al.,* 1997). Digital and social media would be better suited to studies that encompass a broader array of stakeholders, both actively participating in city activities and those who do not have the time or resources to physically attend engagement activities. Nonetheless, with the digital revolution in full swing, it is likely that digital technologies will have a rising influence in the near future. Research could expand on the offline processes explored in this research and look how digital technologies can better bring people together and expand the physical boundaries of place.

A further critique relates to the outcomes of research. The research provides a critical framework of place branding governance, highlighting problem areas that require further attention. However, the research does not go so far as to evaluate potential solutions to these problems. It is useful to pinpoint the problem areas, however, there is also a need to identify how place branding can allow for greater stakeholder participation. As suggested above, place making may offer a more fruitful and complementary means of stakeholder inclusion. Place making looks more broadly at stakeholder inclusion, beyond engagement strategies and at its broadest remit analyses practices and approaches that enable stakeholders to get involved in the places they live, work and visit. This could include events, fundraisers and redesigning the landscape. Place making more widely is gaining policy recognition (Gov.UK, 2018). Future research is needed to explore how stakeholder engagement fits into the place making agenda, questioning whether these routes enable greater access or provide an additional veil for the power imbalances.

The blurred lines between formal and informal, direct and indirect, and professional and voluntary also creates points of confusion in the research. These distinctions are one of the aspects that makes the branding process cumbersome to analyse and complex in its manifestation, but it also creates predisposed differences between the stakeholders. These problems are highlighted in similar research that seeks to bring together multiple stakeholder groups, all performing different roles within a place (Hankinson, 2009). This thesis attempts to address these hurdles, recognising the retention of influence by the local authority, along with the prestige granted to resources that are employed in a formal and professional capacity. What is interesting is the legitimacy and resources that can be gained without these formal and professional seals of approval. Therefore, the research reveals unexpected findings by

evaluating the input of all stakeholders together. Nonetheless, it is important to recognise the different starting points of stakeholders from across the city. Even within each stakeholder group, it would be impossible to capture a sample starting from the same level of accessibility. This research takes measures to ensure the perceptions and input of stakeholders is evaluated, but it cannot escape the complexity of involving stakeholders in a system of blurred ownership.

Other limitations relate to the methodological restrictions of this project. While there are many benefits of investigating four stakeholder groups across two cities, even this expansive scope does not encompass all the stakeholders involved in the place branding process. Two particular areas that are encompassed but warrant further attention are higher education and the third sector. These two players are becoming very influential in the place branding process. Responding in part to their importance, this research incorporates one stakeholder from higher education in Bath and Bristol. However, future research would benefit from developing these points in greater depth, in particular looking at the differences across cities. For example, in a 'University' city, such as Cambridge, the higher education stakeholders might be more prominent when compared to post-industrial cities such as Stoke on Trent.

Moreover, there is an inevitable crossover within and across stakeholder groups. It is not possible to draw neat boundaries around the stakeholder groups, since stakeholders come with a number of dispositions that often expand across stakeholder groups (Braun *et al.,* 2013). Nonetheless, stakeholders' primary purpose forms the base of the sample. This helps to shed light on the differences across stakeholder groups, while still allowing for the duality of stakeholder roles. While the blurring of stakeholder groups is complex, this research accepts and embraces this complexity and does not see these crossovers as entirely detrimental to the overall findings.

Linked to this is the selection of two case study cities, Bath and Bristol. As Chapter 3 details, the selection of the case studies centres around an information orientated approached, looking for similarities and differences across the cities. However, it is problematic to make generalisations from only two case study sites, especially when they are differing in approaches used. Additional research could be undertaken at multiple case study cities, looking for the subtler differences between similar cities using comparable approaches. Examples might

include Liverpool alongside Bristol, or Bath alongside York or Edinburgh. By looking across more cities further insights can be developed and the core areas of the 7Cs can be extracted.

Also linked to the sample selection, the participants are selected based on their active involvement in engagement strategies. This already presupposes a level of salience and the research develops a framework that advances the analysis of stakeholder salience. However, by only including those who actively partake, show an interest and already have a pre-existing legitimacy to partake, the everyday member of the local community, visitor economy and business community could be overlooked. The participation, or attempted participation, in these processes was central to the research design. Therefore, trade-offs had to be made in designing the research programme. Future research can add to the framework with stakeholders who do not possess this initial level of access. This might also include stakeholders with various socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

A final methodological note relates to the absence of follow-up interviews or focus groups with the participants. Benefits can be derived from following up each of the interviews, recapping the themes and ensuring a valid understanding of the participants' perceptions (Beverland and Lindgreen, 2010; Rowley, 2012). Given that the focus rests on the stakeholders' perceptions, this would bolster the research and validity of the findings. Unfortunately, the time constraints and resources available to the researcher did not allow for an additional round of primary data collection. However, future research could return to stakeholders and assess the validity of the research themes and look for longitudinal changes.

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APPENDIX A:

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION TABLE

Interview No.	Pseudonym	City	Primary Stakeholder Group	Activity	Interview Word Length (nearest 10)
			BATH PARTICIPANTS		
1	Anne	Bath	LC	LRG	10320
2	Bill	Bath	LC	IG	18660
2	Thomas	Bath	LC	IG	18660*
3	Frank	Bath	VE	SI	8,260
4	James	Bath/Bristol	VE	DMO	9700
5	Susan	Bath	BC	IC	13230
6	Arthur	Bath	BC	IC/ PBO	8690
6	Ben	Bath	BC	IC/ PBO	8690*
7	Ryan	Bath	BC	BR	8240
8	Ian	Bath	LC	LRG	10080
9	Michael	Bath	VE	HI	10970
10	Robert	Bath	LC	LRG	7890
11	Jane	Bath	LA	PR	13250
11	Peter	Bath	LA	PR	13250*
12	Roger	Bath/Bristol	LA	RIG	7320
13	Paul	Bath	VE	SI/HI/VA	13,440
16	Matthew	Bath	BC	BR/DMO	6560
17	Ruth	Bath	LA	HI/VA	7030
18	Mark	Bath	VE	VA	8670
19	Rick	Bath	LA	HO/VA	9230
23	Joseph	Bath	LC	IG	13430

26	Richard	Bath	VC	HO/ VA	7600
28	Steven	Bath	LC	LRG/ RC	10160
33	Sue	Bath	VE	HO/ VA	9290
34	Joanne	Bath	LC	IG/HO	6080
36	Liam	Bath	BC	SI/ PBO	6100
38	Nigel	Bath	LA	CF	7990
38	Lucas	Bath	LA	ED	7990*
48	Sarah	Bath	BC	BR/PBO	5760
50	Raj	Bath	LA	LC/ RC	6930
52	Ahmad	Bath	HE	CM	3840
53	Dean	Bath	LA	PL	4360
	BRISTOL PARTICIPANTS				
14	Patrick	Bristol	VE	DMO	4140
15	Howard	Bristol	VE	HI/VA	8500
20	Martin	Bristol	LA	LC	7310
21	John	Bristol	LA	PL	6570
22	Stuart	Bristol	BC	IC	6950
24	Marcos	Bristol	BC	IC	6720
25	Lauren	Bristol	VE	VA	8730
27	Rose	Bristol	VE	VA	8580
29	Cameron	Bristol	LA	LC/ RC	6840
30	Julie	Bristol	VC	VA	7190
31	Julian	Bristol	LA	BC/ IC	7690
32	Amy	Bristol	LA	HO/ VA	4800
35	Ross	Bristol	BC	IC	4920
37	Lewis	Bristol	VE	PBO/VA	6530
39	Lara	Bristol	VE	HO	6480
40	Sian	Bristol	VE	VA/IG/HO	100110
40	Nathan	Bristol	VE	VA/IG/HO	100110*
40	Burt	Bristol	VE	VA/IG/HO	100110*
41	Roberta	Bristol	LC	LRG	8820
42	Nick	Bristol	LC	LRG	4840

43	Fred	Bristol	LC	LRG	8030
44	Rachel	Bristol	LA	VC/LC	5300
45	Sophie	Bristol	LC	LRG/ RC	4890
46	Roger	Bristol	LA	LC/ RC	5900
47	David	Bristol	VE	BC/LC/CF	6020
49	Andrea	Bristol	LC	TS/ IG	3580
51	Francesca	Bristol	BC	BR	4580
54	Elisa	Bristol	HE	CM	4230

*duplicate of above

Primary Stakeholder Group Key

Abbreviation	Stakeholder Group
BC	Business Community
HE	Higher Education
LA	Local Authority
LC	Local Community
VE	Visitor Economy

Stakeholder Activities Key

Abbreviation	Activity
BR	Business Representatives
CF	Central Figure
CM	Communications
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
ED	Economic Development
HI	Heritage Industry
HO	Heritage Overseer
IC	Investment Collective
IG	Interest group
LRG	Local resident group
PBO	Private Business Owner
PL	Placemaking Related Activities
PR	Place Regeneration
RC	Resident Coordinator
RIG	Regional Investment Group
SI	Services Industry
TS	Third sector
VA	Visitor Attraction

	City	Date/ Location(s)	Reflections
1	Bath	**01/09/2015: Sightseeing bus tour**	Identification of popular attractions; include Guild Hall, Grand Parade, River Avon, Abbey. Link to rugby – since 1865 – long established. Moving from Medieval to Georgian – examples of architecture pinpointed across the city. Emphasis on the water – history of the name River Avon, translates to River River. Also, the connectivity of the city and link to the railway. Thermae Bath Spa – reinvigorated – big investment and a key asset. Identification of influential past figures Jane Austin – seen as Bath's most famous resident, yet different visit that often. Used to be a place that attracted the social elite- all about status. All about lifestyle and leisure. Also a link to retail, Jolly's was established in 1831 and remains on the high street today. Previous link to gambling, seen as the Vegas if England. Connection to science and astronomy – link to discovery and Hershel. Pioneering also advancements in modern restaurants, brands, along heritage sites. Iconic status of the Royal Crescent, Royal Victoria Park and Roman Baths. The Baths remain a top UK visitor attraction, linked to 2000 years of heritage. Draw together the connection to the hot water in the city Yet, not all positive. Problems include a bias interpretation of the history, untold stories and conflict between flagship sites. Emphasis swayed more toward the past than the present.
2	Bath	**1/09/2015: Roman Baths, visitor attraction**	Use of audio and interpretation boards, models of the Baths, and commentary provided by Bill Bryson – a popular travel writer. Also, use of actors and guides around the attraction.

			Emphasis on the 2000 years of history, but only recovered in the last 300 years.
			Not just about the physical, but also the intangible. A link to the people – showing different accounts from the perspective of people who might have visited the Baths. Also, looking across the different time periods; starting with Roman, then Georgian and nineteenth century.
			The hot springs seen as a 'wander' by the Romans, considered sacred and healing qualities. Also, a resort and link to leisure and lifestyle.
			Use of stories to recount the past – based on perspectives of people from all walks of life. Make the link to the life of individuals and the connection to today.
			Also, a link to life and death in Bath.
			Authentication through UNESCO link
3	Bath	1/09/2015: **Museum of Bath Architecture**	Emphasis on the Georgian architecture, in particular the Royal Crescent – designers seen as craftsmen. During Georgian period (1750-1830) town grew to 30,000. Seen as the fashionable playground, home of gambling, gossiping and calavance.
			Importance of John Wood 1704 – a key figure in shaping the backdrop of the popular city. 1754 – Royal Crescent – comprises of 30 homes and open landscape.
			Iconic status of Poultney Bridge
			Subtle changes around Bath over the past two centuries.
			Importance of the hot springs
4	Bath	08/09/2015: **Tour of Bath city centre**	Overview of the city centre centres largely around its heritage, dating back to the Romans. A particular emphasis is placed on the Georgian heritage and the prevalence of its architecture.
			Mixture of fact and folklore
			Outlines the changes to the city over time – yet, the developments all within a small spatial parameter.

				Emphasis on the spa and developments of a spa quarter – modernisation of the Thermae Spa marks a (re)recognition of the importance of water to the city.

Tension between new and old architecture across the city – but this is similar to the past, whereby the Georgian's only kept three Medieval buildings.

Importance of key people in shaping the city – Beau Nash. Irony of tensions surrounding the building of a casino, even though it matches the city's roots. Also, discussion of Jane Austin's perceived connection to the city and John Wood's role in shaping the image.

Emphasis on past versus present use of the city's buildings.

Emphasis on the beauty; the parks, landscape, crescents and architecture.

To be a guide then certain barriers to entry – have to go to the board to gain entry. Present a particular topic and determine if you are appropriate for representing the city.

5	Bath	10/09/2015: **Bath Fashion Museum**	Exhibition located within the Assembly Rooms – audio guide for commentary.

Change to dress in Georgian attire. Main focus on Georgian attire, with some examples of other eras. Story of how dress evolved. Differences in style for entertaining, or home, or events.

Link made to the present – how fashion evolved to current trends.

6	Bath	12/09/2015: **No.1. Royal Crescent**	Introductory video before moving onto the main attraction, which is the recreated Georgian home. Use of themed dress and volunteer guides in each room to provide information and answer any queries. Guides possess a detailed knowledge.

Most of the house is reconstructed – based on accounts of how it would have looked.

Volunteers undertaking talks, explaining what life would have been like in the 18th century. The contrast between life in the kitchen versus life in the living quarters.

Link to astronomy – can look through a telescope.

			Education for children.
			Refurbishment and enhancements made to the property in recent years.
7	Bath	**12/09/2015: City wide**	Observations of the city: fusion of modern businesses with Georgian and Roman heritage.
			Previous hub of contemporary living, but since frozen in time. Little to no UNESCO mention, seems the WHS status is played down.
			Mazes of cobbled streets – very scenic and pristine. A lot of bars and restaurants. Visitor centre effectively a gift shop, charge for a map. Buzzling streets – lots of performers and demonstrations of arts and crafts.
			Multiple walking tours all around the city centre – feels like a visitor attraction, more than a functioning administrative zone.
			Mock Georgian architecture used for the shopping centre (South Gate) and few signs of modern buildings.
			Use of placemaking techniques and artwork across the city.
8	Bristol	**03/10/2015: Bristol sightseeing bus tour**	Overview of history of the city centre with a large emphasis on the maritime/port heritage– 800 years ago the whole area was a harbour. The second most important port (after London) in the UK. Emphasis placed on the SS Great Britain. First sailed in 1843 – fully restored and on the riverside. Used to travel to New York.
			Also, a spa area – Hotwells district with 17th century hot water springs. Used to be used for spa treatments, but analysed the water and found signs of radiation.
			Mixture of old and new buildings The Norman Gateway goes back to the original abbey established in 1140. Link to Wallace and Grommet – Shawn the Sheep's shattered across the city. Brandon Hill – home to John Calbot. Clifton Suspension Bridge – opened in 1864 – designed by Brunel, attached stories.
			Multiple different areas – Clifton and 'the Downs' – prosperous area.

			Also, information on the different colleges and universities in the city.
			Controversial figures – for example, Edward Colston – a lot of roads named after him, donated a lot of money to the city, but connected to the slave trade.
			Not all the positives – overview of the Bristol riots and tensions in the city.
			All Bristol's taxis are blue – all had to repaint to get a new license.
			Key sites and stories pointed out, including Emma Saunders the 'railway man's friend' as she used to provide comfort and support to the railway men. Also, the Hole in the Wall, which was the inspiration for treasure island.
9	Bristol	**03/10/2015: MShed Museum**	A museum designed to present Bristol's population and areas over the years. Mixture of eras, but no distinct historical identity presented.
			Includes quotes and input from the local population.
			Mixture of artefacts, information boards, TVs, photographs, paintings.
			Division across districts – not necessarily Bristol as a whole, instead the city is made up of unique and differentiated areas.
			Recognition of the role in the slave triangle – asking people if Bristol should acknowledge its part in the slave trade past – verdict is 'yes'
10	Bristol	**04/10/2015: Bristol walking tour**	Good combination of historic and contemporary – covered the Romans, Saxons, Normans, Georgians, Victorians, slave trade, art decco, contemporary, architecture, maritime, up and coming, river, good versus bad, folklore (pirates), literature, art, history and sustainability!
			Discussion of the damage caused during the war and the city's reconstruction in the post war era.
			The influence of St Nicholas' Market – both past and present
			Street art a driving force behind the city – Nelson Street a canvas to street art – Upfest festival. Link to Banksy, JP, Inkie.

			Pubs fight for the status of oldest pub .
11	Bristol	**04/10/2015: SS Great Britain**	SS Great Britain built in 1843 – first voyages carrying people and then goods. Can go around the ship, all restored. Views of modern Bristol while on the vessel. Audio guides can be programmed to recount stories from the perspective of a first class customer, third class, a pet on board or a historian. Stories alongside factual representations. Use of digital and information boards – a lot of focus on Brunel and his place in Bristol's history.
12	Bristol	**22/10/2015: Bristol Suspension Bridge**	Iconic on the skyline and entry into Bristol – connects to Clifton. Exhibition includes information and stories about the making of the bridge, but also personal accounts from the local community. Link to architecture and pioneering nature of the city.

Interview Schedule

Introduction and Outline – [designed around specific role within Bath]

❖ **Introductions, Consent, and Ethics**

❖ **Theme 1 – Warm-up and Connection to the City**

- Tell me about yourself and your connection to the city of Bath

- How long have you lived/worked in the city?

- Are you from the city?

- What are some of your favourite aspects of the city? Is there anything you would change?

- What makes Bath unique as a place to live, work, or visit?

- How does the appeal differ?

- Key factors you identify with the city?

- How would you describe Bath to an outsider? Summarise in three words.

❖ **Theme 2 – Role within the Residents' Association**

- Can you tell me about your role within the residents' associations?

- What is the vision and aims of the association?

- Who is involved?

- How often did you meet?

- What issues would you discuss? How would you decide on an agenda?

- What relationship does the local community association have with other local businesses?

- Do you work with anyone else, for example other collaborative local community groups?

- Are you involved in collaboration and consultation with businesses?

- Do you work with the local authority regarding any matters? Are your views represented in the decision-making process?
- What joint projects were undertaken?
- In what ways to convey and enact your ideas for the city and what it means to you?
- How do you decide on these areas and what to address?
- Does the group focus on Bath as a whole or look at specific regions concerns also?
- Were there ever any disagreements regarding the best approach to take for the area?
- How were they resolved? Examples

- ❖ **Theme 3 – Additional Approaches and Involvement within Bath – in relation to the presentation of the city**
  - Are you involved in any other collectives/projects within the city?
  - What do they involve? Who are they with?
  - Would you say that engagement between different groups in the city is commonplace? Examples
  - How do groups come together to create an understanding of the city?
  - What business partnerships are you involved in? How do these operate?
  - How do the public and private projects and enterprises coordinate their approaches?
  - Would you say you were engaged in the decision-making process with public bodies?
  - How would you rate the level of engagement, if on a scale from the lowest being communication; consultation; consensus; to the highest being collaboration?
  - Do you think there should be or less engagement amongst groups in future? What would this involve?
  - How could engagement in the city be improved?
  - Who is involved in encouraging stakeholder groups to work together? Is there any resistance?
  - Can you think of examples of good and bad practices of stakeholder engagement?
  - Can you think of any problems associated with high levels of engagement, for the city brand specifically?

- ❖ **Theme 4 - Bath as a city brand**
  - *Looking now toward branding and viewing the city of Bath as a city brand. The research purports that city brands, while more complicated than brands focusing on*

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products and services, are nonetheless pivotal to establishing a place identity, and resultant image for those living, working, and visiting the cities. I am particularly interested in exploring the important roles individuals and groups have when shaping the place brand.

- How would you describe the Bath brand?
- What makes it stand out from other cities?
- Does the Bath brand accurately represent the city itself?
- Who is involved in creating the Bath brand?
- What are the benefits of having a strong brand? Do you think Bath benefits from this?
- How is Bath brand received? Do people view it favourable?
- What is the identity that the Bath brand hopes to present, in your opinion?
- What would you associate with the Bath brand?
- What perceptions do you have of the Bath brand? Why?
- An interesting way of viewing perceptions of a brand is through what is termed brand personality. Brand personality is the human characteristics associated with a brand, offering a way to differentiate the brand from its competitors and an opportunity to attract loyal consumers. For example, you may say that Apple is cool, down-to-earth and confident, where as Microsoft is perhaps sincere, corporate and intelligent.
- What personality would you align to the city of Bath? Why?

** PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUE: Object personification
❖ **Theme 5 - Disagreement/ Conflicts**

Given the array of interests and viewpoints within the scope of an entire city, it is unsurprising that sometimes people do not always agree on a particular approach, or way to present the city of Bath. This section explores what happens when people do not agree on the best way to present the city, and even over what makes it authentic.

- Can you think of times within the city where there have been disagreements regarding the best way to present and manage the city brand? Examples.
- What were the underlying reasons for the disputes?
- Who was involved?
- How long did the dispute continue for?
- How were the conflicts resolved?

- Is there disagreement over what is seen as authentic in the city? Examples – is it more authentic to preserve the past or modernise in the future?

- Disagreements over the authenticity of the Thermea Spa – would you say this was an authentic development in keeping with the Bath brand?

- Similarly, the AquEye proposal, did you think this an authentic development?

- What conflicts occurred in these instances? Who were the key people involved? Are they resolved now?

- Do the public and private sectors work in unison?

- Any other tensions in the city at present?

❖ **Theme 6 - Future changes – the ongoing development of the city**

To conclude we will just briefly explore the ongoing development of the Bath city brand, and where you see it heading in future years.

- Do you see any changes in the Bath brand occurring over the next five years? Where will local businesses fit into this change?

- What direction is the brand heading?

- Do you think the brand will become more or less authentic? Why?

- Will stakeholder engagement rise in importance or decline?

- Are more conflicts likely to occur?

- In a utopian, how would you see the image of the Bath brand in 50 years time?

❖ **Conclusions and thanks**

APPENDIX D:

PROJECTIVE AND VISUAL TECHNIQUES

Word Association Exercise

Thinking in terms of what Bath/Bristol means to you, please state the first words that comes to your head when I read the following words…

- ❖ People
- ❖ Infrastructure
- ❖ Images
- ❖ Values
- ❖ Emotions
- ❖ Business
- ❖ Marketing
- ❖ Public bodies
- ❖ Private businesses
- ❖ Local community
- ❖ Tourism
- ❖ Visitors
- ❖ Ambassadors

Object Personification Exercise

Sticking with the idea of brand personality, if you were to describe the Bath/Bristol city brand as a person….

- - What would they look like?
- - What would their personality be like?
- - Who would they speak to at a party?

- What would be their favourite sport?

- What would be their favourite thing to do at the weekend?

- What music would they listen to?

Sentence Completion Task

Again, reflecting on your views of Bath/Bristol, the presentation of Bath/Bristol, and what Bath means to you….

- To me Bath/Bristol represents...…………………………………………....................

- The city of Bath/Bristol, is best known for……………………………………….....

- The identity of the city is best described as………………………………………..

- Over the last ten years the city has……………………………………….............

- The city is associated with……………………………………………………...

- My role in Bath/Bristol is …………..……………………………………………..

APPENDIX E:

ANALYSIS EXTRACTS FOR STAGE 1

A mixture of research diary entries (i), spider diagrams (ii) and initial analysis during transcriptions(iii):

i.   *Research diary entries example:*

INTERVIEW 1   FIRST ORDER   COOLING - BACK TO BASICS

- Multiple participation / groups
- Commitments
- Hyperlocal
- Voluntary
- Practical contributions
- Social
- Local produce
- Profile generation
- Retirement
- International presence / connections
- Welcoming
- Fear of loneliness
- University pull
- London commute
- Festivals   } creativity /
- Events   }   energy
- Live music

- Exhibitions
- Bristol / Bath connection
- Sense of community | Pride
- Belonging
- False impressions
- Party politics
- Traffic
- Vision
- Uncertainty
- Good looking / attractive city
- Connectivity
- Capacity
- Computer / typing skills
- Practical - little ideas / ... ideas
- Enterprises
- Planner - job related issues
    planning expertise

ii.   *Spider diagrams*

iii.   ***Extracts from NVivo transcription notes taken using Evernote:***

<u>**December 2016: Analysing while transcribing**</u>

- The line between the different stakeholder categories might be a tricky and artificial
This particular participant is effectively in both the visitor economy (museum and archive function) and local community (even the emphasis on a place for the community to meet and harmonise).

- **The emphasis on cultural capital is reiterated**

- **Pride** in the city and its connection to the John Wesley is evident

- **LA less able to rely on economic capital because of huge cuts to budgets and resources**

- **Change in power base –** moving away from the DMO - the social and collective capital

- **Mutually beneficial partnerships**

- **Ethos of sharing** in Bristol

- Openness and welcoming nature of Bristol aligned to it being a port city - welcomed John Wesley when a lot of other places would not have at that time.

- Questioning of the morality of the slave trade - roots of the heritage of the city and how individuals sought to help others.

<u>**Interview 44 - Bristol - Visitor economy/ Local authority: [description removed]**</u>
<u>**22nd January 2017**</u>

Small city and connected

- Culturally diverse - linked to strong institutions, suggesting it's backed and legitimised

- Festivals and events are a key part of the city - showcase the city and reflect its emphasis on cultural and social activities - bringing people together through cultural and social activities:

"*We are one of the few cities in the UK that still has harbour festival, which is a big city centre free festival. We have St Paul's Carnival in the city, which is quite well renowned. We have the balloon fiesta, and the outdoor events. We're known for being a city where big things happen in the city in a sense. So, we had Massive Attack play the Downs in Bristol, and that quite a big gig in terms of Massive Attack coming back to their home and playing outside at an outside festival gig. Arcadia, who have stuff for Glastonbury, they did some stuff last year. They had the tour of Britain in Bristol this year, big event for the whole day. So, I think outside the city people see it as a place where stuff happens.*"

- Cultural identity - seen as alternative and quirky - key part of the identity ensuring it doesn't want to be pigeonholed

- Difficulty of a strategy and single identity because pride in being different and not mainstream

- City of contrasts, high achiever's vs low attainment:

"*Really, it's slightly difficult because Bristol is a really complex city, it's a very much a city of two halves in many respects. It has some really great things going on, but you know we have some huge areas of deprivation in some parts of the city. We have, you know, Bristol is one of*

the cities that has the highest number of PhD students, but also the lowest educational attainment levels, all in the same city."

- Differences between Bath and Bristol not that pronounced

- Council role through their direct frontline services and advocacy - key role in the city:

"Then I kind of have a role in terms of advocacy in the council for culture. We obviously as a council fund 21 arts organisations in the city, and we provide a programme, which is a core funding. But we also fund lots of other creative organisations through different funds, the community festival fund etc. So, we're kind of advocators as well as a role in the city, and we're involved in the work on the cultural and creative strategy and all that kind of thing."

- Culture a key issue on the agendas - long-term plan:

- Role of deputy mayor is important- responsible for culture

- Consultation with key individuals in the city - ran by consultants

- Selection of people based on profile in the city and connection to one another:

"Ah a kind of, well a variety of ways really, we as a steering group kind of put together a list of names of key kind of people we thought there were in the city, and then they kind of are asking those people for more people, and those people for more people. It kind of spreads out from there. But the Steering Group involves someone from the voluntary sector, someone from sports, people from the cultural sector, and elected members as well. So there's kind of a variety of people that are feeding into that and obviously they're following up leads when they've been and spoken to people."

- Cultural sector collaborates without much encouragement - collaborative nature to the city

- Advocacy role in promoting culture to the council and its senior members and elected officers

- Representing the value of culture

- Mixture of formal and informal consultation -council well established to deal with the formal, informal increasing and benefits.

- Culturally diversity makes it all encompassing for all:

"Well, I think what offers an opportunity is simply the diversity of the offer. So, the fact that there is such a diverse offer in the city. In terms of events and festivals, but also in terms of buildings and our core offer, and other art organisations in the city as well. There is kind of something for everyone in lots of respects in terms of the offer. So, not everyone is going to be particularly interested in going to Massive Attack on the Downs, or the Balloon fiesta or going to the museum or Old Vic, but the fact you've got so much diversity there means there is generally something for everyone. There is something happening every weekend, in the summer particularly, keeping the city at buzz in a lot of respects."

- Festivals a part of the cultural identity and increase inclusivity:

"But I think, you know, we talk sometimes about festivals being more inclusive, and I guess to some extent they are. So we talk about harbour festival, it's a free festival that happens in the city. About 60 to 70% of that audience is from a Bristol postcode, and they can come in and wander around, and harbour festival is a part of that cultural identity."

- Festivals also help promote collaborative working:

"I guess to some extent festivals help with that a bit because things like harbour festival involve lots of different organisations and Circus City, that happens all the circus companies but also links them into the venues, so that creates partnerships there. Then we do the festival, called Doing Things Differently, this year that involved a lot of different people, views and organisations and that kinda thing."

- Link with education and schools

- Collaborations and partnerships in the sector - share skills and share ideas - key players:

"the directors get together and share skills and share ideas and that kinda thing."

- Based on individuals working together.

- Collective mindset allows 'cool' and creative things to happen - reinforces the cultural offering when social and cultural capital combines:

"I mean it does allow the very cool stuff to happen because the routes are open to the discussion a lot more. I'm trying to think of any example. Crane dance maybe, the media studios, there were artists there who wanted to make these cranes outside of MShed dance, you know, that is something that because people are open to the suggestion and open to the idea, and it kinda happens and other cool stuff happens, and people see that."

BUT - BARRIERS TO INVOLVEMENT FOR THOSE EXCLUDED FROM THESE NETWORKS:

"There will be people who don't feel like they're linked in, and don't feel like they've got those kinda links across. That's the whole thing about the cultural offer in the city, it's great for those involved, but if you're not involved then it's not so great."

- To break down these barriers need to know what the problems are and limit the restrictions imposed on certain groups, may be imposed by economic constraints

- Interlinks between culture, business, and universities

- Link to the universities - strong role in culture and use of spaces

- Links to the voluntary sector.

- Mayoral leadership provides focus and clear vision - get more done:

- Drawbacks of mayoral position - not inclusive, frequent stark changes, reduced control for council:

"It's only one person's vision. It's a bit different now we've got Marvin, I guess, as opposed to George because George was independent, whereas Marvin is in the Labour Party, so it's Labour Party and in that sense it is a party vision. I guess that, you know, changes every 4 years or whatever, but that's the way local politics works. It just means you can get very strong change of directions every 4 years."

Also - different mayoral visions:

"Marvin's view of the city is very different to George's and how he wants the city to be seen. So George was very keen to be accessible and child friendly, and George was a lot fun, whereas Marvin is more serious in his approach and more about that inclusivity. Yeah he wants it to be

a city where people have fun, but he wants it to be a city where everyone has fun. He wants it to be much more inclusive and socially equal."

- MShed represents Bristol and the people of Bristol - tells stories of the city and its people, successes, exhibitions for aligned stories

- MShed co-created with resident and community groups:

"I mean there was a huge load of community engagement, and that still exists today, we still have a lot of those links. There was a whole section around the different neighbourhoods, and that is co-created with those neighbourhoods. Our participation team and curatorial team worked with those neighbourhoods and communities to design the places."

- Difficult to reach a consensus on a given 'brand' or 'identity' - want differences

APPENDIX F:

ANALYSIS EXTRACTS FOR STAGE 2

Mixture of diary entries (i) and reflections on Evernote (ii):
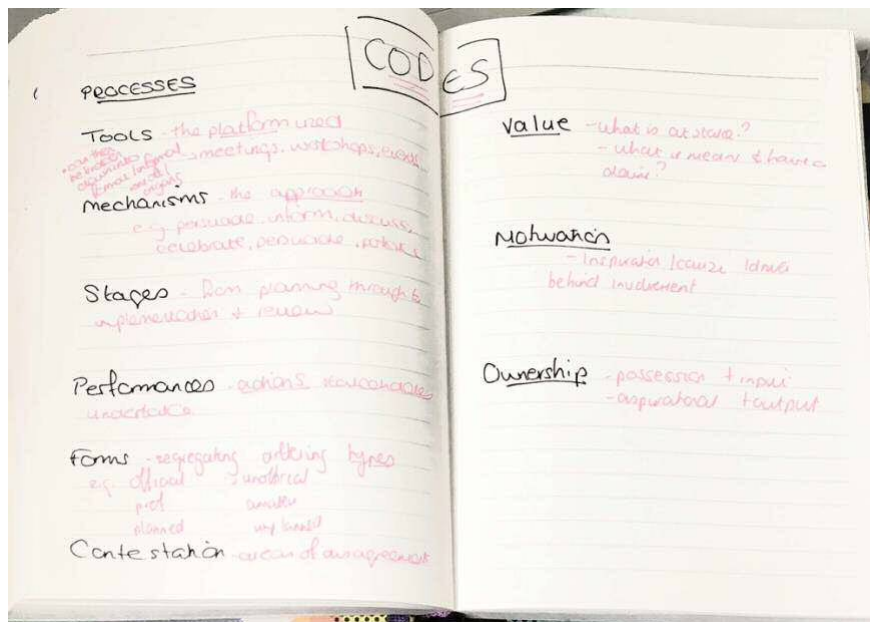
i)   Examples of diary entries:

Analysis Reflections: November 2017 (taken from Evernote)

<u>Bristol</u>

- An initial setting of the scene is happening in the transcripts – the discussion of the city, its context, its imagery, its people, its assets. This sets the scene behind the rest of the analysis.

- A lot of discussion in #40 about the balancing of multiple interests, and whether leadership through a mayoral system is the best approach to ensuring inclusivity or whether it ends up with voices being ignored. Looks here to the hierarchy of involvement, but they aren't necessarily talking about their own performances and tools, instead critiquing the forms and city-wide approach. Another layer to consider perhaps…

- Also, in #40 an interesting discussion about the uncertain role of the state and local authority - performing certain actions.

- I wonder if forms are best considered as a higher order code of performances or whether the two are best considered separately, or performance removed. Performances looks at the actions of the stakeholders, whereas the forms looks an array of factors influencing the input, such as whether it's official or unofficial, planned or unplanned etc? This could be built from the performances as well?

- Stakeholders operate individually and collectively - look to internal promotion and education, then onto how this can be strengthened through collective links across the city

- In contestation start to set the scene for stakeholder claims/resources with highlighting dissent over money and access to resources etc across the city

- Getting the public involved as a way of marketing and promoting the brand meanings - not just collective, need to also consider the individual actions and how they work as a part of a wider constituent

- Struggling to differentiate between the actions undertaken collaboratively across the city and the importance of individual stakeholders' actions, it is better to consider the two together, or do they need to be considered separately? Instead, is it a point of analysis that the focus on engagement and collaboration only looks to the input of collectives across the city, as opposed to the individual processes and performances undertaken by individuals across the city, which incrementally build the city brand in the inclusive sense.

- When thinking about collective, the discussion relates to actual and potential collaborations, looking at areas where they "should" or "would like" to make connections. Not just actual but also aspirational.

- Some of the forms need acknowledgement of motivation, i.e. motivated by employment or voluntary. Whereas other forms, like planned and unplanned come more naturally from the performances/actions undertaken by the stakeholders. Forms tends to bring all of the codes together so they act as a higher order code - not necessarily important to group them under forms but discuss them as multiple forms.

- Importance of independence from the local authority is noted in #35 enabling stakeholders to interact without interference

- Bristol considered less competitive - worked together, help each other, aided by the fact is focuses on diversity

- Leadership a recurrent theme when looking at way in which resources/capacities is enhanced and diminished

- Nature of the collaboration/acceptance seems to have changed in Bristol, #27 looks at how the line between business, culture, and even the third sector is blurring with more of an acceptance into the formal and informal networks

- For #27 the underlying meaning of the city as driven by culture and the arts allowed for greater individual input and empowerment - showing that capital attached to the city is linked to capital assigned to an individual's role. Maybe, the two are interconnected in the process of (re)production and consumption? The city brand meanings assigned with the greatest strength empower the individual's capacity to input. Therefore, it is important to see how and what brand meanings are advanced - before going onto seeing how they are played out, and which ones are granted more strength? Is it strength from the person/group/city or all interconnected?

- The performances include an array of actions by the stakeholders - need to determine how to split these up when getting into the sub codes.

- The forms of involvement are not just engagement in the strictest sense - as this removes the incremental roles of stakeholders changing communities and enacting brand meanings from the grassroots, beyond the formulaic and formal structures - #47 provides a case in point

- Investing as a performance as well as a sign of capital variations - where the money goes but also aids in the process and enablers the performances.

Mixture of diary entries, alongside coding on NVivo:

i) *Examples of diary entries:*

3 CORE CATEGORIES

ROLES — FORMS / STAGES

MOTIVATIONS

CAPITAL — consultation / comm echoes partnership

INITIAL 1st stages	FOCUSED 2nd	RADICAL 3rd	COLLECTIVE
- processes / involve	- Formal ofici	Hierarchy / Crossover of Participation	Capital
e.s. meetings, festivals, absence, middleman funding, time, networks,	- informal - Multiple participation - Top down - bottom up - social engineer	key Forms of inv	ROLES
loss of input, - mistrust of public officials, public and private divide, self interest, problem orientated, pressure,	financial juridical cultural Political	habited / mobilisation mess Legislation Mandate / bottom	motivation
need to advocacy co-operation	State involvement citizen interest	?	
union reliant	leadership	empowerment	
lobbying, raising, reliant on audience, input expertise, mentorships	facilitator bureaucracy innovation entrepreneur Management professional voluntary	Ownership Transitory Stages Resistance	

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ii) NVivo Coding Examples

APPENDIX H:

COPY OF ETHICAL APPROVAL FORMS

SURNAME:REYNOLDS
Student Number: 1344366

ETHICS 2

Cardiff Business School
Cardiff University

Ysgol Fusnes Caerdydd
Prifysgol Caerdydd

FULL ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM
(STAFF/PHD STUDENTS) or students referring
their form for a full ethical review

(For guidance on how to complete this form, please see Learning Central – CARBS RESEARCH ETHICS)

If your research will involve patients or patient data in the NHS then you should secure approval from the NHS Health Research Authority. Online applications are available on http://www.hra.nhs.uk/resources/applying-for-reviews/

NB: Safety Guidelines for researchers working alone on projects – please go to this University's web link to learn about safety policies - http://www.cf.ac.uk/osheu/index.html

Name of Lead Researcher :   Laura Reynolds

School: Marketing

Email: ReynoldsL4@cardiff.ac.uk

Names of other Researchers: N/A

APPLICATION APPROVED
Research Ethics Committee
Cardiff Business School
Cardiff University

Email addresses of other Researchers : N/A

Title of Project: Stakeholder-authentication process: scripted or sculptured? Exploring the dynamic interplay of people and place when constructing authenticity within heritage city brands

Start and Estimated End Date of Project: 15/07/2015 – 30/09/2017

Aims and Objectives of the Research Project:

- To identify and explore how different groups of stakeholders co-construct what is understood as being authentic within heritage city brands.
- To understand core distinctions between stakeholders involved in the authentication process and the influence these variations have on the authenticity pursued and enacted within the heritage city brand.
- To analyse the influence of low and high levels of stakeholder engagement for the authenticity realized within heritage city brands.
- To consider and develop antecedents and consequences of stakeholder conflict within the authentication process.

Please indicate any sources of funding for this project:

ESRC and Cardiff Business School

ETHICS 2

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1. Describe the methodology to be applied in the project

The research objectives will be explored through a cross-comparison in-depth case study exploration and analysis of two key United Kingdom heritage city brands, namely Bath and Bristol. The case study methodology will be underpinned by an interpretive theoretical base, based on a social constructionist epistemological and ontological understanding of the world and knowledge within it. The first case study to be explored will be Bath, which is expected to commence by late July/early August 2015. The second case study, Bristol, is expected to commence by January 2016.

The case study methodology will comprise of predominately primary qualitative methods, including approximately 80-100 in-depth semi-structured interviews, 10-15 focus groups, and 20-25 participant/non-participant observations (depending on access). If access is permitted different stakeholders may be shadowed at their work place or around a key heritage site.

The interviews and focus groups are expected to last approximately 60 to 90 minutes. If the participants consent to have the interview/focus group recorded, then the interviews/focus groups will be transcribed and coded based on inductive themes from the literature and emergent themes from the data. Should the participant request the interview/focus group is not recorded then detailed notes will be taken and coded accordingly. If access is granted to shadow stakeholders and to undertake observations at heritage cities throughout the city brands, then field notes will be taken and thematically coded.

The interviews and focus groups will, when applicable, utilize visual and projective techniques to help spark the participant to further discuss and reflect on the complicated notion of authenticity. Visual techniques that may be used include photo sorting and photo elicitation, whereby the participant will be given selected photographs of key areas and sites around Bath and Bristol or asked to discuss the authenticity presented. Additionally, selected participants, particularly visitors and the local community, will be asked to produce several visual images of Bath or Bristol and discuss the nature of authenticity presented. Additional visual and projective tools may include the use of videography, whereby a small number of selected participants will be asked to provide a short video of what makes Bath/Bristol authentic, what key parties are involved in this perception, and potential areas of disagreement. When this approach is utilized an additional information and consent form will be provided and if necessary recording equipment will be provided. The video footage will be used as both a means of sparking dialogue and it will be analyzed thematically, following the above structure.

Further small-scale projective techniques may include sentence completion, word association, collage construction and object personification. These will be incorporated into the interview schedules and applied when applicable. Given the varying knowledge and roles of the participants, the use of projective techniques will be considered on an interview by interview basis.

Documents will also be collected and analyzed relating to both Bath and Bristol. These documents may include tourism promotional materials, city planning and development documents (either publicly available or provided for the research with consent), marketing materials, newsletters, training guides, meeting minutes, emails, and letters. The data collected will be analyzed thematically, following the themes and attitudes presented in both the literature and alternative data collection techniques.

PLEASE ATTACH COPIES OF QUESTIONNAIRES OR INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDES TO THIS APPLICATION

2. *Describe the participant sample who will be contacted for this Research Project. You need to consider the number of participants, their age, gender, recruitment methods and exclusion/inclusion criteria.*

The participant sample utilized will be non-random purposive sampling, expanding to referral sampling as the research develops. Initially the sample will be attained through access to gatekeepers. Both primary and secondary stakeholders from a number of stakeholder groups and businesses in Bath and Bristol will be contacted.

These include:
- City brand managers
- Local authorities and representatives
- Tourism sector representatives
- Key city based heritage sites
- The National Trust
- Local residence groups
- Visitors
- World Heritage Site coordinators (Bath) and Steering Group Representatives
- Volunteer groups
- Marketing communication agencies
- Local Universities
- Parish and town councils

The researcher seeks to attain approximately 80 to 100 participants for in-depth interviews and a further 30 to 40 for focus groups. The participants' age, gender, locality, and role within the heritage city brand will be requested and analysed. These differentiators are important to the research since the nature of the authenticity pursued, level of stakeholder engagement, and stakeholder conflict will explored alongside an understanding of the parties' socio-demographics characteristics. It is therefore advantageous to the research findings to determine whether similarities and differences arise based on the stakeholders' age, gender, locality and role within the heritage city brand. The participant will be given the option to choose not to disclose this information.

The criteria for inclusion will be based on the participants' role and involvement within the heritage city brands, particularly based on the participants' level of connection to the city's heritage and resultant authenticity. All participants will be over 18 years old and have a degree of involvement in the heritage city brand. Participants will be excluded if they have little to no involvement within the heritage city brand or if they choose not to consent.

3. *Describe the method by which you intend to gain consent from participants.*

Initially participants will be sought through relevant gatekeepers, as detailed in box number 2. These gatekeepers will be approached through an invitation letter, sent either by post or email. Where appropriate an initial telephone conversation may precede the invitation letter/email, attaining interest and asking for contact details to send the formal invitation. The invitation letter outlines the aims and objectives of the research, the nature of the research project, timescale, participants' input and initial ethical and privacy considerations. Where appropriate the participants will be given the opportunity to request additional information and clarification. There will be an option for the participant to select if they wish to remain completely anonymous.

Prior to the commencement of the interview the participants will be provided with a briefing document, further outlining the nature of the research and the participants' role within the research process.

Additionally, a detailed consent form will be provided, pinpointing the voluntary and ethically approved nature of the research. Participants will also be given the option of receiving an outline of core findings and a digital copy of the completed thesis.

> **PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF ALL INFORMATION WHICH WILL BE GIVEN TO PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS (including invitation letter, briefing documents and, if appropriate, the consent form you will be using).**

4. *Please make a clear and concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them throughout the duration of the project. (Please use additional sheets where necessary.)*

Care and diligence will be taken when discussing sensitive issues, such as a person's perception of their heritage, the heritage and identity of a person's home or workplace, internal and external conflicts between different parties, and what is viewed as being authentic. Participants will be made aware that they do not have to answer any questions that they are uncomfortable answering and can ask for the interview to be paused or stopped at any point.

A potential for ethical considerations is also raised by the participant and non-participant observations. The field observations, albeit small-scale, will be undertaken at sites where official parties have been previously notified. Nonetheless, the observations raise a potential ethical conundrum, since visitors will also present at the sites. However, as the observations will predominately focused on the site's construction of authenticity and the team involved, rather than specific members of the public.

5. *Please complete the following in relation to your research project:*

		Yes	No	n/a
(a)	Will you describe the main details of the research process to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	☒	☐	☐
(b)	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	☒	☐	☐
(c)	Will you obtain written consent for participation?	☒	☐	☐
(d)	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	☒	☐	☐
(e)	If you are using a questionnaire, will you give participants the option of omitting questions they do not want to answer?	☐	☐	☒
(f)	Will you tell participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality and that, if published, it will not be identifiable as theirs?	☐	☒	☐
(g)	Will you offer to send participants findings from the research (e.g. copies of publications arising from the research)?	☒	☐	☐
(h)	If working with children and young people please confirm that you have visited this website : Working with children and young people and vunerable adults please go to web link - http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/racdv/ethics/guidelines/index.html	☐	☐	☒
(i)	**DATA PROTECTION:** (A) Will any non-anonymised and/or personalised data be generated? (B) If "YES" will it be stored beyond the end of the project/archived? http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/research/researchethics/destructionofdata/index.html	☐	☒	☐

ETHICS 2

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Attachment 1 – Further Explanations for Section 5

5(f) – I will ensure confidentiality for participants when presenting and publishing the findings. To do so pseudonyms will be used throughout and participants will not be identified by name. However, I will provide an option for key figures within the city brand or focal positions within organizations and tourist sites related to the development of the city brand to remove their full anonymity, in that the organization or site can be stated, as well other identifying factors such as job role, gender, and position. This will be particularly relevant for positions where there are limited employees or organizations which manage heritage sites whose characteristics are not easily disguised (i.e. the Roman Baths). In these instances to preserve the integrity of the data, I will offer the option of forgoing full anonymity as this will ensure participants are able to fully articulate their perspective and that of their organization and their contribution can be assigned a job role at a given site or organization. Where these considerations may arise, the researcher will discuss the nature of the anonymity at the point of access.

Participants who wish have their data treated with full anonymity, will not be identifiable by a defining characteristic, for example a specific job title. Additionally, participants who choose to disclose their identity will be provided with the researcher's contact details in case they wish to change their decision at a later date.

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Cardiff Business School
Cardiff University

Ysgol Fusnes Caerdydd
Prifysgol Caerdydd

[Insert site/organization address where applicable]

Re: INVITATION TO CONTRIBUTE TO PHD RESEARCH: WHAT MAKES [BATH/BRISTOL] AUTHENTIC TO YOU?

Dear *[insert name]*,

The heritage city of [Bath/Bristol] has a rich heritage and identity, ensuring a diversity of viewpoints and approaches to the presentation of the city. I am conducting research on the important role of individuals and groups when shaping the presentation of [Bath's/Bristol's] iconic heritage, looking particularly at what makes [Bath/Bristol] authentic to those directly and indirectly involved within the city. I am extremely interested in finding out more about the pivotal role of *[insert company/organization/site/individual/group]*, especially given *[insert personalized reference]*. Given the important and topical nature of the research I am hopeful that it will provide valuable feedback and support to the [Bath/Bristol] heritage city brand, and those involved in the city's ongoing development and success.

Participation in the research project will involve an interviewer administered face-to-face semi structured interview, lasting approximately 60 to 90 minutes. *[Where appropriate the use of visual and projective techniques will be briefly described]*. Participation in the research is entirely voluntary and participants can withdraw from the study at any time without providing a reason. Participants may also ask questions at any time and discuss any concerns with either the researcher or the supervisor as listed below.

Participants will be able to select if they wish for the information provided to be held and presented with full anonymously, in that only the researcher will be able to trace the participant. If anonymity is selected then information or comments will not be traced back to individual contributors. Participants can also select if they wish to forgo full anonymity and allow for inclusion of potentially identifiable characteristics. At no point will participants be mentioned by name. All information will be stored confidentially in accordance with the current Data Protection Act. *[This is a template. Given the variety*

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of groups addressed in the research this may slightly alter to cater to the specific group approached. However, all key information will remain]

I am PhD Researcher at Cardiff Business School, and the research is fully funded through both the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Cardiff Business School. The research is supervised by Professor Adam Lindgreen of Cardiff University (LindgreenA@cardiff.ac.uk) and Professor Michael Beverland of the University of Bath (M.B.Beverland@bath.ac.uk). The research is scheduled to begin by August 2015, with a PhD completion date being set at October 2017. If requested participants will be provided with an overview of key findings and a digital copy of the thesis. *[Where appropriate organizations/sites will also be offered additional dissemination of findings, such as presentations]*

I would like to discuss the opportunity with you in more detail. I will contact you on *[insert number]* within the next 7 days to discuss the research and arrange a meeting. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on my email (ReynoldsL4@cardiff.ac.uk), or on my mobile (07793238485). If you have any concerns regarding the research requests then please contact my Research Supervisor, Professor Adam Lindgreen of Cardiff University, on LindgreenA@cardiff.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,

Laura Reynolds
PhD Researcher
Cardiff Business School
ReynoldsL4@cardiff.ac.uk
+44 7793238485

*The specific format and wording of the invitation will vary slightly depending on the stakeholder group approached, whether an interview, focus group, or observation is requested, and based on whether single of multiple participants will be approached at a specific site.

CARDIFF BUSINESS SCHOOL

RESEARCH ETHICS

Consent Form

Research Description: The research focuses on the important role of individuals and groups when presenting and marketing a city, looking particularly at the viewpoints of stakeholders directly involved in influencing the city's identity. The research also addresses the important role of stakeholder engagement and collaboration, as well as the potential for conflicts regarding the representation of a unique and diverse city.

I understand that my participation in this project will involve completing an interview about my role within the city, my views and involvement in engagement strategies, and the potential for disagreements on how best to present the city to the outside world. I understand that the interview will require approximately 45 to 60 minutes of my time. I understand that the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed at a later date.

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I have second thoughts about my participation in this project, I am free to withdraw or discuss my concerns with Dr Nicole Koenig-Lewis (Koenig-LewisN@cardiff.ac.uk) at any time.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially and securely. I understand that the information provided will be retained for up to three years will then be fully anonymised, deleted or destroyed. I understand that if I withdraw my consent I can ask for the information I have provided to be deleted/destroyed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I understand that at no point will I be mentioned by name in the research findings and later publications. However, I would like all information that I provide during the interview to be held with full anonymously, in that it will not be possible to trace information or comments back to my contribution.

    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No

I understand that if I choose to be identified in the research that I can at a later date contact the principal researcher (ReynoldsL4@cardiff.ac.uk) and request for my information to be held anonymously.

I, _____ (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by Laura Reynolds (PhD Researcher, email: ReynoldsL4@cardiff.ac.uk), of Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University, under the supervision of Dr Nicole Koenig-Lewis.

Signed:

Date:

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CARDIFF BUSINESS SCHOOL
RESEARCH ETHICS
Participant Information Sheet

Research Description

The research focuses on the important role of individuals and groups when shaping the presentation of iconic city brands, looking particularly at the benefits and burdens of engaging and collaborating with internal stakeholder in the formation of a city's identity. The research looks specifically at the unique cities of Bath and Bristol, and the roles and perceptions of individuals and groups involved within each city brand. Part of the research will involve speaking and observing an array of different individuals, groups, and sites within and around Bath and Bristol.

Research Participation

Participation in this project will involve completing a face to face interview, lasting approximately 60 minutes. The interview will be semi-structured, covering topics such as the key individuals and groups roles within the iconic city brand, stakeholders' perceptions on whether the marketing and representation of the city is authentic, and the degree to which stakeholders agree and disagree with the approaches taken by other groups in and around the city.

The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed at a later date. Participants can select whether forgo full anonymity in published works. Individuals will not be named in any instance and pseudonyms will be used throughout. Consent for all of aspects of the research can be withdrawn at any time.

Research Distribution

The research findings will be published in a doctoral dissertation, and potentially used for academic journals, conferences, and publications. The research findings will also be made available to participants and those involved in the city planning and development, with the aim of providing valuable feedback and support to the ongoing development and success of the Bath and Bristol.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact me by email (ReynoldsL4@cardiff.ac.uk) or telephone (07793238485).

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Attachment 5 – Participant Characteristic Sheet

CARDIFF BUSINESS SCHOOL

Participant Characteristics Criteria

The characteristics provided will be used in the data analysis stages to determine the role of key characteristics of individuals and groups involved in the heritage city brand. The participant characteristics will not be used to identify your contribution within the research findings.

Gender:

☐ Male

☐ Female

Age:

☐ 18 – 24

☐ 25 – 34

☐ 35 – 44

☐ 45 – 54

☐ 55 – 64

☐ 65 and above

☐ I prefer not to say

Attachment 6 – Interview Themes and Guidance Questions*

INTERVIEW THEMES AND EXEMPLAR QUESTIONS

Research Outline

The first section will introduce the research focus and the structure of the interview, and cover consent and anonymity, alongside the participants' ability to stop the interview at any point. The main purpose will be to ensure that the participant is fully informed and made comfortable before proceeding with the interview topics.

Theme 1 – Warmup and Background

- Tell me about yourself
- What do you do for a living?
- Education?
- How long have you worked/lived/ visited/ volunteered in Bath/Bristol for?
-

Theme 2: Authenticity

- What does authenticity mean to you?
- How would you define 'authentic'?
- What examples can you provide to demonstrate, looking within and outside of the heritage city?
- What ruins the authenticity of an area?
- How can the authenticity be increased?
- How can inauthenticity be avoided?

Theme 3: Connection and Role in Bath/Bristol

- Key factors you identify with the city?
- Role within the city?
- Views of the city?
- Changes over time?
- Favourite aspect of the city?
- Element you might change regarding the city?
- Reasons for these views and changes?

Theme 4: Strength of the city brand

- What do you associate with Bath/Bristol as a city brand?
- Has this changed over time?
- What influences this perspectives?
- Do any people shape this viewpoint?
- How could the brand be improved?
- Does the city have a clear brand?

Theme 5: Presentation of Bath/Bristol's heritage

- What role do you have in presenting the heritage at Bath/Bristol?
- What are you views on the current techniques and approaches used?
- Who is involved? How?
- Key sites
- Importance
- Comparisons to elsewhere

Theme 6: Key 'Authentic' aspects s in and around Bath/Bristol

- Select the most and least authentic sites
- What makes the city authentic/inauthentic?
- What else beyond tangible sites and areas are important?
- How important are the stories and history?
- Reasons
- What shapes this?
- How can the authenticity be improved?
- Is the emphasis on authenticity for the city important to you?
- Benefits/burdens

Theme 7: The contribution of people and place to Bath/Bristol's city brand

- What role do you think people play in developing the city brand?
- How can people make an aspect more or less authentic?
- How important are artifacts and sites?

Theme 8: Connection/Engagement to Stakeholder Groups

- Level of engagement
- What are the benefits of high levels of engagement with other groups and individuals?
- How would you rate the level of communication; consultation; consensus; and collaboration?
- Examples
- Examples of forms of engagement seen or involved in?
- Benefits these provide?
- Potential burdens of high levels of engagement?
- Preference for greater or less engagement?
- Implications?
- Consultation process
- Views
- Ways to improve engagement
- Examples of good/bad approaches
- Elements requiring improvement
- How do you think this influences the city brand?
- How about specifically the authenticity of the city?

Theme 9: Conflicts when determining authenticity

- What conflicts arise?
- What potential conflicts?
- Underlying tensions?
- Nature of conflicts
- What causes the conflicts?
- What do the disputes involve?
- Who are the key players?
- Do any particular groups disagree on the management of the heritage?
- Does it damage the ability to collectively work together?
- Different levels of conflict
- Where do the predominant conflicts lie?
- What do the disputes involve?
- Whose voice wins?
- Changes over time
- Reasons
- Examples

Theme 10: Future changes and advancements

- Potential changes over time
- Where is the heritage city brand heading?
- Cause for acclaim/ concern?

Conclusion

The interview will be brought to a close and the main points summarized, asking for the participant to contribute anymore points as they see appropriate. It will also be used to thank the participant for their time and reaffirm that they can contact myself for any further information if they wish.

* These are exemplar questions as the specific questions asked will vary slightly depending on the expertise and role of the stakeholder(s) interviewed in either an individual or group format.

Attachment 7 - Visual and Projective Techniques

<u>EXAMPLAR VISUAL AND PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES</u>

PHOTO SORTING/ PHOTO ELICITATION/ PHOTO SHARING

Selected participants with a longstanding connection and involvement with Bath/Bristol will be invited to discuss the level of authenticity in specific photos of Bath/Bristol, discussing what makes the photographed aspect of the city authentic or inauthentic, and sorting which are deemed the most to the least authentic.

Selected participants, predominately visitors and local community, will be asked to present photographs from in and around Bath/Bristol that represent what is authentic/inauthentic about the city, and the places and people involved in creating this perception. The participants will then be asked to discuss reasons for these selections and discuss in detail the people/sites selected.

When photographs are provided by the participant it will be outlined on the consent and information forms provided, detailing that the photographs will only be used for the purpose of the research and not passed onto any third parties. All photographs will be thematically analysed and securely stored, following the Data Protection Act and terms agreed on anonymity/data destruction/data storage.

VIDEOGRAPHY

A small number of participants from an array of stakeholder groups may be asked to provide a short video footage demonstrating what makes the city brand authentic/inauthentic, who is involved in the process of making the brand authentic, and showing potential conflicts within the city brand. This will either be recorded on a mobile device, or if necessary recording equipment will be provided for the participants. If this approach is utilized it will be outlined on the consent and information forms provided, detailing that the footage will only be used for the purpose of the research and not passed onto any third parties.

The video footage would be used as a focal point of discussion, as well as a source of analysis. All video footage will be thematically analysed and securely stored, following the Data Protection Act and terms agreed on anonymity/data destruction/data storage.

SENTENCE COMPLETION

Sentence completion tasks will be utilized if the researcher deems the flow of the interview would be benefited by the inclusion of prompts to spark greater dialogue.

Examples of sentence completions include:

- *Over the last ten years the marketing and presentation of Bath has..............................*
- *The key group involved in determining what makes the city of Bath authentic is.......*

WORD ASSOCIATION

Word association tasks will be utilized if the researcher deems the flow of the interview would be benefited by the inclusion of prompts to spark greater dialogue.

Examples of word associations include:

In relation to the heritage inherent in Bristol's city brand state the first word that comes to mind following the single word prompt:

- *Original*
- *Diverse*

COLLAGE CONSTRUCTION

An example of collage construction includes asking a given participant to map out the links or conflicts between stakeholder groups, as well as any potential networks.

OBJECT PERSONIFICATION

Object personification will be used to the participants' spark imagination and gain insights into how the city brand is perceived. If appropriate object personification will be used in most interviews. The exception will be if the researcher deems that the participant has expert knowledge and might find the questions patronizing.

Examples of object personification include:

If you were to describe the heritage city brand as a person....

- What would they look like?
- What would their personality be like?
- Who would they speak to at a party?
- What would be their favourite sport?
- What would be their favourite thing to do at the weekend?