The Interplay Between Co-Creational Place Branding and Overtourism

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Abstract

Overtourism poses a threat to the lifestyle of some local communities and the current literature describes how overtourism negatively affects components of a place brand. By applying corporate branding theories to the concept of a place brand, a place brand is considered as co-created by all stakeholders encountering the brand. In this way, the strength of a place brand is dependent on a clear place identity. Scholars have established the importance of involving local residents in this co-creational process. However, this process has not been studied in the context of overtourism. While literature on overtourism acknowledges the value of stakeholder involvement and local insights, local communities are rarely involved, and research is mostly focused on policymaking. The purpose of this research is to explore how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism. As residents are relevant in the co-creation of a place brand, and overtourism is mostly affecting residents, the main focus will remain on this internal stakeholder.

This topic is explored through a qualitative study using Christiania as a context, as this is a place brand suffering from overtourism. As Christiania is based on a consensus-democracy, all residents contribute to the decision-making process. This can increase the residents' participation in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand, making Christiania an ideal context for this research. Through semi-structured interviews with Christiania residents (Christianites) and tourists visiting Christiania, this research will first seek to understand the current place brand of Christiania and the effect of overtourism. This is done through an inductive approach, using thematic analysis to generate themes for the discussion.

Findings describe the interplay between co-creational place branding and overtourism. Christiania has a clear identity based on a criminal subculture, which creates a strong place brand attracting many tourists. These tourists are deemed undesirable by Christianites and contribute to exceeding the social carrying capacity of Christiania, leading to negative encounters and Christianites isolating themselves. With a dissatisfied local community, the Christiania place brand is not meeting the main goal of a place brand. Co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism by increasing the Christianites' participation in the co-creational process. This can lead to a new clear identity, based on the true Christiania culture, aligned with the vision. This creates a strong place brand attracting a different type of tourist, who is less likely to contribute overtourism. This describes a sustainable tourism development that increases the Christianites satisfaction.

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Introduction

The tourism industry has experienced a constant growth for many years, as various factors have made traveling easier and more affordable. In some places, this extreme growth has led to an immense pressure, posing a threat to local communities and the lifestyle of the local residents. This phenomena has recently been described as overtourism and has since received worldwide attention in the media and amongst academics (Peeters, et al., 2018). Overtourism is often related to various thresholds of a place's carrying capacity, which, when exceeded, negatively impact the host community and deteriorate the tourist experience (Richardson & Fluker, 2004). Cities such as Barcelona, Venice and Dubrovnik have received a great deal of attention in relation to overtourism (Phi, 2019), as local residents have turned to violence and demonstrations against tourism. These aggressive acts are one of many potential consequences of overtourism. As the wellbeing of residents' is threatened, overtourism may lead to unsustainable place development (Gonzales, Coromina, & Galí, 2018).

An extensive study on overtourism conducted by the European Committee on Transport and Tourism (TRAN), argues that the underlying reason behind the overtourism phenomena is policy makers' increased focus on volume growth (Peeters, et al., 2018). However, in an era where tourism becomes more accessible, some level of overtourism is argued to be inevitable (Gowreesunkar & Seraphin, 2019). Therefore, it is important to address potential issues of overtourism, in order to ensure sustainable place development. While there have been attempts in addressing issues of overtourism on a global level, situational contexts differ greatly between places thus encouraging continuous research on ground level (Gowreesunkar & Seraphin, 2019).

As overtourism can potentially decrease local residents' quality of life, and negatively affect the tourist experience and future tourist preferences, overtourism may negatively affect all stakeholders related to a place brand. By applying corporate branding concepts to place branding, a place brand is considered co-created by all stakeholders who encounter the brand (Braun, Kavaratzis, & Zenker, 2013; Hankinson, 2007). These stakeholders include, but are not limited to, residents, tourists, policy makers and tourist agencies. The strength of a place brand is dependent on this co-creational process, which can help a place reach its goals. Local residents play a crucial role in this co-creational process (Braun et al., 2013; Zenker & Erfgen, 2014; Freire, 2009) as they are not only passive place customers, but also active co-producers of public goods and services (Zenker & Erfgen, 2014), affecting the tourist experience. Involving local residents in the place branding process can increase their commitment to place brand development and motivate them to participate in the co-

creational process. However, this process has not been studied in the context of a place suffering from overtourism.

Through a qualitative study of Christiania, this research seeks to explore how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism. Christiania can be considered as a place brand as it must deal with identity management, long-term development, and a variety of stakeholder groups, who dynamically co-create the value of the Christiania place brand. With an estimated one million visitors a year, Christiania is recognized as the second most popular tourist attraction in Copenhagen (Cathcart-Keays, 2016; Gintberg, 2011; Løvehus, n.d.). The high number of visitors compared to about 1000 community inhabitants, creates a highly disproportionate tourist-to-local ratio, thus making Christiania vulnerable to overtourism. As local residents play a crucial role in the dynamic co-creational process, it is vital to understand residents' current needs and attitudes in relation to tourism. Therefore, the interplay between co-creational place branding and overtourism will be researched mainly from a local perspective. Through interviews with local residents and tourists visiting Christiania, this research will first seek to understand the current place brand of Christiania as well as the locals' current attitudes toward tourism. These findings will lead to a discussion on how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism.

While overtourism has become a major threat to the sustainable development of the tourism industry, current circumstances have led the industry to an unprecedented standstill. The global pandemic caused by COVID-19 has resulted in 96% of destinations worldwide imposing travel restrictions (On Tourism & Sustainability, 2020). The World Tourism Organisation is currently estimating a 58% to 78% decline in international tourist arrivals this year, making the tourism industry one of the most affected sectors of the regulations following the COVID-19 outbreak (UNWTO, 2020). As this has led to a temporary stop in international travelling, overtourism is not a currently relevant issue. However, as tourism tends to easily bounce back, the phenomena of overtourism is expected to become a relevant issue in the future (On Tourism & Sustainability, 2020).

Literature Review

Branding Through a Stakeholder Perspective

Due to globalisation, increasing competition, and the changing role of goods (from commodities to vehicles for service provision), the focus of marketing has turned from products, to specialized skills and knowledge (Hatch & Schultz, 2003; Merz, He, & Vargo, 2009) in order to differentiate and create competitive advantage. Thus, the dominant logic of marketing has evolved from being a goods-dominant logic, to becoming a service-dominant logic (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). Through this evolution, there have been four eras of branding.

The first era focused on the goods-dominant logic where the concept of branding was concentrated around tangible features of the product (Simões & Dibb, 2001). A brand was an identifier for customers and brand value was created in exchange and was embedded in physical goods (Merz et al., 2009).

The next era turned to brand images created by companies and used by customers to differentiate brands based on their needs (Merz et al., 2009). Brand value was created in-exchange and derived from functional brand images, or from symbolic brand images based on the customers perception of the brand's ability to satisfy symbolic needs (Merz et al., 2009; Park, Jaworski & MacInnis, 1986). As the image was based on customers' perceptions, companies could only offer value, not deliver value directly.

Later, scholars began considering brand value as co-created through relationships formed between: 1) The company and the customers, as they co-create value by creating, and reacting to, the marketing mix (Keller, 1993). 2) The brand and customers, as personality traits associated with brands may influence customer preference (Aaker, 1997). 3) The brand and company, as company employees represent the brands' vision and culture (de Cernatony, 1999) and can communicate a brand image. In this way, company employees affect customer experience through interactions (Berry, 2000).

Today, branding is studied through a stakeholder perspective and based on the service-dominant logic, where customers are active participants in the value creation process. Through a continuous social process, stakeholders form network-based relationships with brands (Merz et al., 2009) where stakeholders are empowered to dynamically co-create brand value through social interactions (Ballantyne & Aitken, 2007; Gregory, 2007; Ind & Bjerke, 2007a). The value of the brand is thus found in the minds of a wide group of stakeholders (Merz et al., 2009). While current literature on

stakeholder networks emphasise brand communities structured around brand owners and non-owners who admire the brand (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001) these networks can also include non-customers and non-brand community forces (Merz et al., 2009). Freeman (2010) defines stakeholders as groups who "can affect, or are affected by, the accomplishment of organizational purpose" (p. 25). Examples of such stakeholders are seen in figure 1.

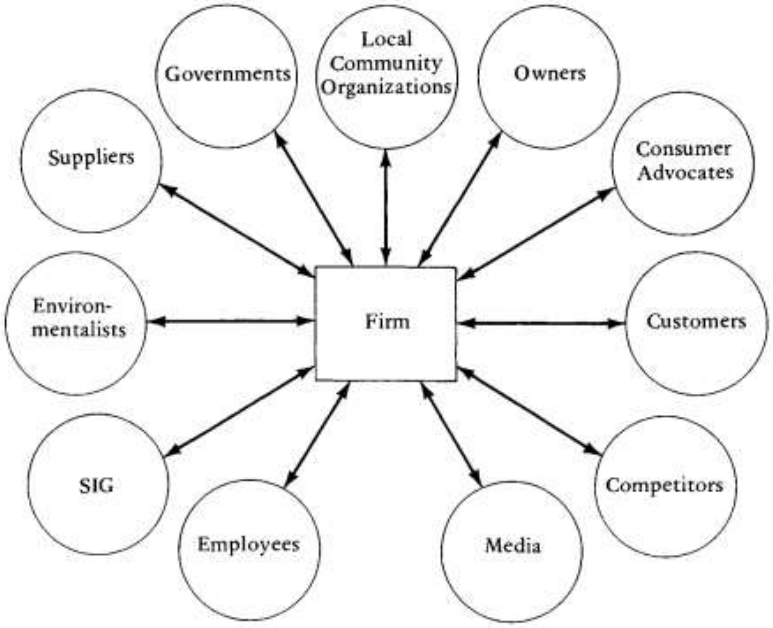


Figure 1: A Map of Examples of Categories of Stakeholders (Freeman, 2010))

Corporate Branding

Stakeholder-focused branding, and the service-dominant logic, is the basis for corporate branding, which is considered to be a holistic construct aimed towards internal and external stakeholders (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). Thus, within corporate branding, brand value is created, not only by companies and customers, but also by complex, dynamic communities and other stakeholders (Merz et al., 2009). Based on this logic, a corporate brand is defined as a network of associations in the consumer's mind (Keller, 1993). Kavaratzis (2009) elaborates this definition by including that a corporate brand is based on the "visual, verbal and behavioural expressions of an organisation's unique business model" (Knox & Bickerton, 2003, p. 1013) that takes place through "the company's mission, core values, beliefs, communication, culture and overall design" (Simões & Dibb, 2001, p. 222).

The building of a coherent corporate brand requires long-term development and is considered complex (Simões & Dibb, 2001) as it includes the management of interactions between both internal stakeholders, such as managers and employees (Hatch & Schultz, 2003), and external stakeholders, such as customers, partners and suppliers (Freeman, 2010; Knox & Bickerton, 2003). The whole organisation must be responsible for the development and maintenance of a corporate brand (Balmer, 2001) and the management of a corporate brand should thus be embedded in the whole organisation, and not just the marketing department (Hatch & Schultz, 2003; Simões & Dibb, 2001).

A strong corporate brand provides a strategic focus for a clear positioning (de Cernatony, 1999), and helps express the distinctiveness of the organisation (Schultz & de Chernatony, 2002). In order for a corporate brand to be successful, there must be an alignment between what the company's top managers want to accomplish in the future (the strategic vision), what has always been known by the company employees (embedded in the organisational culture) and the external stakeholders' impressions of the company (the external image) (Hatch & Schultz, 2001; Hatch & Schultz, 2008). When a corporate brand reaches this coherence, it increases its recognition (Hatch & Schultz, 2003) and is likely to create brand preference and loyalty amongst consumers (Knox & Bickerton, 2003) and affect consumers buying decisions (Brown & Dacin, 1997). This helps leverage the organisation (Balmer, 2001) and makes a strong corporate brand a crucial asset in today's competitive environment (Simões & Dibb, 2001). Additionally, corporate brands are expected to take social responsibility into account, as a result of increasing pressure from consumers (Iglesias, Markovic, Bagherzadeh, & Singh, 2018).

Organisational Culture: Who Are We

Company employees contribute to the meaning of the brand, through interactions with external stakeholders (Balmer & Soenen, 1999; Hatch & Schultz, 2003). The culture reflects the organisation's internal values, beliefs and attitudes that embody the company's heritage and is manifested in the way the employees feel about the company (Hatch & Schultz, 2001). Organisational culture is not a variable that can be managed, but a context in which managers are both participants and symbols (Hatch & Schultz, 1997).

Organisations are subcultures of larger cultural systems (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005) and can be described as a subset of members that identify themselves as a unique group, and routinely take action on the basis of their distinct collective reasoning (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). The organisational culture is created through a complex group learning process where interactions between members

gradually turn basic assumptions into patterns of norms and behaviour (Schein, 2004), which represents the goals the organisational members care about and the unwritten rules that coordinate behaviour (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). The values and cultural norms produce, and are represented by, cultural artifacts. Corporate cultural values can attract customers and other stakeholders, encouraging them to feel a sense of belonging to a brand. In this way, cultural values can become key elements in the differentiation strategy as differentiation can be derived from a sense of belonging (Hatch & Schultz, 2003; Hatch & Schultz, 2008).

A corporate brand can consist of a diverse internal culture, expressed through sub-cultures. This can lead to inconsistent employee-customer interactions (Balmer, 2001; Ind, 1997). However, a strong, shared vision can help align organisational subcultures and thus accomplish consistency in attitudes and behaviour amongst internal stakeholders and help put forward a cohesive corporate communication across a multiplicity of channels (Balmer, 2001; Ind, 1997).

Strategic Vision: How Will We Be Known

The strategic vision of an organisation is the central idea behind the company that embodies the top management's aspirations for the future (Collins & Porras, 1994; Hatch & Schultz, 2003). The vision gives the brand purpose and direction and helps employees, and customers, make meaning of the brand, by binding cultural values together (de Chernatony & Riley, 1998).

The vision is the most manageable element of the corporate brand. However, it must be created through a dynamic process between the top management and all stakeholders (Hatch & Schultz, 2008) and based on core cultural values in order to align with what the internal members of the organisation believe (Collins and Porras, 1994). In this way, the vision becomes appealing to, and relatable for, all stakeholders and creates consistency (Ind, 1997). By continuously communicating the vision it becomes a shared message the internal stakeholders, across all departments can support (Hatch & Schultz, 2001). This helps them deliver the vision through stakeholder interactions and in this way transform the vision into brand reality (Berry, 2000), thus helping the organisation move in a shared direction. As consumers are usually drawn to the outcomes of a strategic vision, it is generally believed to be an alignment between vision and external stakeholder images (Hatch & Schultz, 2008).

External Stakeholder Images: What is Their Image of Us

A brand is a network of associations in the consumer's mind (Keller, 1993). Consumers create and recreate their perceptions of the organisation based on formal and informal messages and experiences with employees. This is the external stakeholders' image of the corporate brand which

can be defined as their feelings and beliefs about the company (Abratt, 1989). The image can thus be described as "the outside world's overall impression of the company" (Hatch & Schultz, 2001: p. 130).

Compared to a product, a corporate brand is intangible (Ind, 1997). Instead of relating to consumers through products, a corporate brand relates to the organisation's stakeholders by building relationships with them and contributing to the image they form (Hatch & Schultz, 2003). This image can vary between individuals and be very complex in its meaning (Abratt, 1989) and it may, or may not, resemble what the organisation actually intended (Ind, 1997; Klijn, Eshuis, & Braun, 2012). The organisation must try to contribute to a consensual image that represents the organisation accurately (Ind, 1997). In order to do so, there must be a consistency in the interactive relationships between all stakeholders. In that way, a brand will be defined by the individual's expression of what it should be (Ind, 1997). Through experiences with the brand, consumers create and recreate brand associations, changing their brand perceptions (Klijn et al., 2012).

Organisational Identity

Several identity frameworks describe identity as dynamic, engaging and emerging from multiple internal and external influences (da Silveria, Lages, & Simões, 2013). Through this view, identity is shaped and reshaped based on dynamic environmental influences and inputs from other social components, while core values remain consistent over time as a long-lasting reference and anchor of meaning. In sociology, Goffman (1990) describes identity as formed through social interactions and in organisational identity, Hatch and Schultz describe identity as a relational construct formed by interactions with others (2002; 2009). The developed research of the service-dominant logic of marketing further supports the interactive construction of identity (da Silveira et al., 2013).

According to Hatch & Schultz (2009) the organisation's identity is at the heart of the corporate brand, affecting its strength. This identity is created through a complex process involving internal stakeholders ("we"), who embody the organisational culture, and external stakeholders, who develop images of the organisation (how they see "us"). This process is referred to as the identity conversation. Through this conversation, the organisation receives feedback from the environment, in the form of external stakeholder's feelings and thoughts. In order to maintain a clear identity, the organisation reacts to this information based on what they know themselves to be. The organisation is not expected to respond to all inputs, but reflect on new information in the context of their cultural values and heritage, and decide what response is appropriate (Hatch & Schultz, 2009). When the organisation responds authentically to external influences, and base the response on self-

knowledge, the organisation has a good foundation for building a clear identity and a strong brand (Hatch & Schultz, 2009) which the external stakeholders respond to. As external images develop over time, brand identity may develop differently than intended by the brand managers. For this reason, the identity conversation needs to be continuously monitored (Klijn et al., 2012). The identity of an organisation defines the strength of the corporate brand. In order for a brand to be successful, the identity must be in alignment with the strategic vision of the organisation therefore the vision must be based on cultural values and help attract customers.

Place Branding

How Corporate Branding Can Be Applied to Place Brands

Previously, place marketers have focused on visual elements of branding, such as logos and advertising campaigns (Kavaratzis, 2009), and believed that a place brand is a manageable communication tool that can be used in order to reach target groups (Zenker, 2011). However, this is not the case, as brand management is not limited to promotional activities (Kavaratsiz, 2009) and a place brand itself is based on the dynamic perceptions of different stakeholder groups (Zenker, 2011).

There are many similarities between a corporate brand and a place brand (Saraniemi, 2011). They both address multiple stakeholder groups (Ind & Mariussen, 2015) and have a high level of intangibility. Additionally, they both need to take social responsibility into account and deal with identity management and long-term development (Kavaratsiz, 2009). All these similarities show how place branding can draw on lessons from corporate branding (Kavaratsiz, 2009).

However, it is argued that a place brand is more complex as a place is more diverse, involves far more stakeholders and residents are organised in complex structures (Braun, Kavaratzis & Zenker, 2013). Additionally, there are no specific contracts between the place and the individuals (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). No one owns a place and Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) can to a lesser degree contribute to the image formed by external stakeholders as they are not in control of all communications and interactions (Kavaratsiz, 2009). According to Kavaratzis (2004) in order for a place to contribute to the image formed by external stakeholders, a place must be associated with stories that must be built into the place, and later communicated. These stories must be engaging so that they are told and retold by stakeholders, contributing to relationship building between diverse groups (Hatch & Schultz, 2003).

Hankinson (2007) and Kerr (2006) argue that there is a widespread and sufficient acceptance of the similarities between corporate branding and place branding, allowing place branding to draw from

existing models of corporate branding. Additionally, Balmer & Gray (2003) and Freire (2009) argue that corporate-level branding can apply to countries, regions and cities. This allows a place brand to be considered as an umbrella brand (Rainisto, 2003) that covers a multitude of stakeholders and audiences related to the place (Kavaratzis, 2007), making stakeholders feel that they are dealing with an entity they can have a relationship with (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006). This shift in focus reflects the evolution of branding, from product branding, to corporate branding, focusing on the organisation as a whole. Because of this shift, places are increasingly importing concepts and techniques from corporate branding, viewing branding as a dynamic, continuous process, integrating elements of the place into a coherent and effective place brand strategy (Kavaratsiz, 2009). Applying concepts from corporate branding to place branding, the local residents of a place can be defined as the internal stakeholders of the brand (Balakrishnan, 2009) as they embody the culture of the place and communicate this to external stakeholders. External stakeholders of a place can be described as visitors, potential new residents and new businesses looking to invest in the place.

Definition of Place Branding

Adapting the definition of a corporate brand to the context of place branding, Zenker (2011) define a place brand as "a network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design" (p. 42). This definition shows how a place brand is not a communicated expression, but the stakeholder's perception of those expressions (Zenker, 2011). This emphasises the role of all stakeholders, including the internal culture (Braun et al., 2013) and vision.

Scholars often use the term destination brand and place brand interchangeably (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). However, there are differences between the two approaches. A place is a multidisciplinary construct (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). According to Agnew (1987), a place consists of the location, the built environment and the inside definition of the place. It is a distinctive region made of economic, social, cultural, and environmental characteristics (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). The task of a destination brand is to increase tourist visits and spending and it is defined through narratives communicated by tourism promotional material (Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2011). The tasks of a place brand are broader and more holistic. These tasks include facilitating place development, improving competitive place positioning and economic development, reinforcing local identity, and attracting new investments and talent, as well as increasing tourism revenue (Morgan et al., 2011; Ind & Mariussen, 2015). In this way, destinations and places share a similar goal of economic benefits in terms of tourism, however, the aim of a place brand is also to enhance the place's overall

competitiveness and desirability, impacting all place stakeholders (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). All activities concerning the development of a place are ultimately targeted towards local residents, as the ultimate goal is to improve their quality of life (Kavaratzis, 2004). A strong place brand can also help in community development by increasing resident's identification with the place (Kavaratzis, 2004) and help a place gain a positive reputation by building emotional connections with stakeholders, that drive consumer behaviour (Morgan et al., 2011).

Place Identity

As already established, the many similarities between corporate brands and place brands allow place brand researchers to draw on useful lessons from corporate branding. Based on this premise, the identity of a place can be based on the dynamic relationship between the place culture, embodied by the local residents, and the external stakeholder's image of the place. Through stakeholder interactions, where internal and external stakeholders listen and respond to each other, the place can see their image, through the eyes of the external stakeholders, and actively respond to this, within the context of the place culture. In this way, a place can create a clear identity. This helps transmit a consistent brand among stakeholders, transforming the brand into a valuable asset (Simões & Dibb, 2001). In order for the place brand to be further successful, the identity must align with the vision of the place.

The Importance of Local Residents

The place product and the place brand value is co-created by a multitude of stakeholders who encounter the brand (Braun et al., 2013; Hankinson, 2007), describing the place branding process as a dialogue between stakeholders (Hatch & Schultz, 2009). Local residents play a particularly important role in this co-creational branding process as they are not only passive place customers, but active co-producers of public goods and services (Zenker & Erfgen, 2014) and thus play an active role in place brand activities (Braun et al., 2013), highlighting the significance of the internal audience (Ind & Bjerke, 2007b). Involving local residents in the place branding process, and thus in the construction of the brand and the creation of the brand content, can make residents feel more committed and loyal to the brand (Eshuis & Klijn, 2012).

Yet, many DMOs focus their resources on the building of a brand image through diverse external communications (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). The reason for this might be that co-creational place branding is challenging, as residents do not form a coherent group and thus have varying and conflicting preferences, desires, and attitudes (Zenker & Erfgen, 2014). Based on these different demands, and varying degrees of knowledge, resident's own perception of the place brand varies

strongly (Zenker, 2011). Another challenge for DMOs and other place authorities is to give away power and trust resident's decisions (Ind & Bjerke, 2007b). By trusting residents with decision making, residents can gain a feeling of being respected. This, in turn, can influence the resident's satisfaction, place commitment and trust of authorities and prevent them from formulating an incoherent meaning of the brand (Eshuis & Klijn, 2012).

Local residents contribute to a place brand in many ways. They are an integrated part of the place brand, as well as important targets (Braun et al., 2013). Through intentional and unintentional internal negotiations, residents create the meaning of the brand, which can be communicated to external stakeholders. Braun et al. (2013) identify three different roles residents fulfil in the place branding process:

Residents as integrated part of a place brand

Residents are naturally an integrated part of the place brand as they are at the heart of the place. The residents, and the interactions between them, make up the social environment of the place. Freire (2009) suggests that external stakeholders use local residents as an indicator for place brand evaluation, arguing that the perceived degree of friendliness in local people's attitudes is a crucial element in place evaluation. Local residents are also used as a justifier for place brand consumption, and as a differentiating factor between place brands. In this way, local residents are becoming increasingly important in the differentiation of a place (Morgan et al., 2011).

Residents as ambassadors for their place brand

If local residents are satisfied, they may generate positive word-of-mouth regarding the place, that may positively influence external stakeholders' place image. In this way, local residents can become place brand ambassadors. Place word-of-mouth is perceived, by external stakeholders, as authentic, informal, and trustworthy sources of place information (Braun et al., 2013). Local residents are able to communicate reliable messages about their place to potential place consumers, highlighting the important role of residents in the place brand communication process and in the co-creation of place brand value. This can increase their feeling of brand ownership and belonging, and thus increase their sense of responsibility for the brand development, management, and external reputation (Braun et al., 2013). In this way, word-of-mouth from place ambassadors becomes a powerful tool for strengthening and communicating the place brand (Braun et al., 2013). Social media creates multiple opportunities for the integration of residents in the place branding process as residents can, through this platform, contribute to the discussion and reinforce or reject messages (Braun et al., 2013). This forces the DMOs to shift their focus away from controlling messages to instead think in terms of conversations (Morgan et al., 2011).

Residents as citizens

Residents have political power in that they vote and are part of political decisions. This is both an obligation and a right so place authorities must guarantee their participation and contribution to decision making (Braun et al., 2013). It can be argued that branding and democracy do not mix when a brand is imposed from the top down. One should never assume that residents will respond to a place brand automatically. For this reason, the place branding process must be democratised to a greater extent (Ind & Mariussen, 2015) and based on a bottom-up approach. This can increase the engagement of citizens (Ind & Mariussen, 2015) and create a coherence between the place brand and the place's values and help in the creation of a shared strategic vision. This contradicts Braun et al (2013) who believes place brand participation should be limited to a few relevant resident groups.

Everything that communicates the brand requires the support and assistance from local residents in order for the place branding process to be effectively developed (Braun et al., 2013). If place brand managers do not have the support of local residents, they risk local residents challenging the brand and protesting official place brand campaigns. To achieve true resident participation, brand practitioners need to involve residents beyond merely measuring their associations with their place (Zenker & Erfgen, 2014). A true participatory approach will allow residents to influence the content and goals of the branding, as well as co-decide the methods and tools of communication that will be used (Zenker & Erfgen, 2014). This is the strongest form of stakeholder participation (Eshuis & Klijn, 2012).

Overtourism

Overtourism is a newly discussed phenomena, argued to have become globally recognized through popular media (Milano, Cheer, & Noveli, 2019) and while it has no clear definition, it is used broadly to describe various negative impacts of tourism. All existing literature regarding overtourism describes destinations. The TRAN Committee states that overtourism generally occurs when thresholds of a place's carrying capacity are exceeded (Peeters, et al., 2018, p. 22). This may result in negative encounters between local residents and tourists, potentially leading to resentment and rapid and undesirable cultural change in the host community (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). In this way, exceeding thresholds negatively impacts the destination, putting a strain on sustainable destination development (Insch, 2020).

Overtourism is often related to crowding, where "excessive numbers of tourists at a specific destination […] can result in negative impacts of all types on the community involved" (Dodds & Butler, 2019a, p. 519), thereby suggesting that overtourism is a new term for a long existing

phenomena. However, overtourism is not only limited to overcrowding, but also considered in relation to the utilisation of resources at a destination, such as the use of space at popular tourist hotspots (Milano et al., 2019). Despite overcrowding often being temporary as it mostly occurs during high season, the potential negative consequences on the local community can be permanent and damage the general lifestyles and wellbeing of the locals (Milano et al., 2019).

In relation to the use of local resources, overtourism is commonly linked to the concept of carrying capacity, which can be defined as "[…] the level of human activity an area can accommodate without it deteriorating, the resident community being adversely affected or the quality of visitor experience declining." (Richardson & Fluker, 2004, p. 305). Moreover, "overtourism describes the situation in which the impact of tourism, at certain times and in certain locations, exceeds physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological, and/or political capacity thresholds" (Peeters, et al., 2018, p. 22). This is an expansion of Richardson & Fluker (2004) who identified five dimensions of carrying capacity: physical capacity, ecological capacity, social capacity, psychological capacity and economic. All five dimensions vary greatly depending on the destination, and it can be difficult, if not impossible, to measure and determine precise thresholds. It can be argued that a threshold is reached, when the local's quality of life has been reduced or the tourist experience has deteriorated (Insch, 2020). Exceeding the threshold of any one of the five dimensions can lead to overtourism. Studies related to carrying capacity often focus on the socio-cultural dimension by including the perspectives of the local community. While resident attitudes serve as an important indicator of social carrying capacity (Gonzales, Coromina, & Galí, 2018), the limit is difficult to establish, as it is subjective to each person (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012).

This subjectivity is seen in the type of places where overtourism is most often reported, such as Venice, Barcelona and Dubrovnik (Dodds & Butler, 2019a; Insch, 2020). There is a common acknowledgement amongst scholars, that cities in Europe have received most attention in regard to the discussion on overtourism (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012; Insch 2020). However, these scholars disagree with the reasoning behind this. Dodds and Butler (2019a) argue that most European residents are educated and thus aware of their rights to raise their voice when they experience negative impacts of tourism. Inkson and Minnaert (2012) support this argument by stating that that locals of developing countries are more likely to lack educational skills and confidence to speak up. This is another reason why it is difficult to measure overtourism, since it is often first realized when the locals voice their opinions (Dodds & Butler, 2019a). Other scholars stress the importance of culture, arguing that many Asian destinations are familiar with high population density and therefore

not nearly as bothered by crowds as smaller European towns would be (On Tourism & Sustainability, 2020). Moreover, in larger cities, tourists are usually concentrated in hotspots, minimising the possibility of local and tourist encounters, thus minimising the risk of exceeding social carrying capacity (Dodds & Butler, 2019a).

Causes of Overtourism

The causes of overtourism vary greatly depending on the destination, however, research does agree on some common denominators. One research found that tourism strategies, whose goals are to increase visitor numbers, have been especially harmful to the destination (Seraphin, Ivanov, Dosquet, & Bourliataux-Lajoinie, 2019). It is argued that DMO's play a central role as they encourage heavy visitation and repeat visits (Cheung & Li, 2019; Seraphin, Zaman, Olver, Bourliataux-Lajoinie, & Dosquet, 2019). However, these scholars do not consider DMO's to be the main cause of overtourism. The TRAN committee, on the other hand, blame various policy makers for encouraging heavy visitation and thus to be a main cause of overtourism (Peeter et al, 2019).

Scholars have attempted to combine various case studies of overtourism, in order to further understand causes of overtourism and how to manage it in an international context (Gowreesunkar & Seraphin, 2019; Peeters et al, 2018). The scholars agree on the phenomena of overtourism being different in every context, thus encouraging more research on ground level. Dodds & Butler (2019c) support the argument that causes of overtourism differ between destinations, and have created a list of common enablers of overtourism, rather than specific causes. The first enabler is the general increase in the number of tourists worldwide, caused by a growing middle class in Asian countries (Dodds & Butler, 2019a; Inkson & Minnaert, 2012; Insch, 2020). This enabler puts a strain on popular destinations. Also, technological advances have made traveling easier, leading to new groups of tourists, who travel with a short-term focus both in terms of planning and duration of stay. Through the Internet, and social media platforms in particular, these tourists have easy access to a great amount of information, making it easier to plan trips abroad (Bourliautaux-lajoinie et al, 2019). This increases the likelihood of heavy visitation concentrated to the most popular sights of a destination.

Dodds & Butler (2019c) argue that another enabler of overtourism is the growth-focused mindset of policy makers, leading to short-term problem solving. As a consequence, tourism related issues are often blamed on others and treated as if they can be solved immediately, thus lacking the consideration of sustainable growth. Another enabler of overtourism is the destination's lack of control over tourist arrivals and activities. Dodd's and Butler (2019b) argue that the rise of low-cost airlines has had a significant impact on the increase in tourist arrivals. Finally, there is an imbalance

of power among tourism stakeholders, leading to a lack of common goals and shared understanding. Despite stakeholder involvement being acknowledged as an important part of tourism planning, local communities are rarely involved in such processes until the destination experiences problems. When late efforts are made to involve local communities, there is a risk of locals rejecting participation due to lack of interest in tourism issues or feelings of being unable to influence decision-making (Dodds & Butler, 2019c). Those who do participate often have their own agendas and reasons for being involved, thus possibly contributing to the lack of shared common goals amongst various stakeholders. This emphasises the need to align various stakeholders in creating a common purpose, to effectively address or prevent overtourism (Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018).

Negative Impacts of Overtourism

Overtourism has many potential negative consequences, ranging from minor inconveniences to violent protests. Inkson & Minnaert (2012) argue that overtourism is often related to the negative impacts of tourism in general. These include, but are not limited to, conflict of interest between locals and tourists, local resentment towards tourism, loss of cultural pride, commodified culture, staged authenticity, displacement of locals and crime. Dodds & Butler (2019b) describe the consequences of overtourism as "too many tourists in one place, rowdy and other inappropriate behaviour by tourists, antagonism between residents and tourists, crowding, strains on infrastructure, loss of authenticity, loss of amenity and reduction in quality of life of residents and reduced enjoyment of experiences by tourists." (p. 1).

The Impact of Overtourism on Locals

Doxey's index of irritation, also called irridex, might be the most used tool for measuring irritation between locals and tourists at any given destination, yet it still remains heavily critiqued by scholars (Cheung & Li, 2019; Dodds & Butler, 2019a). Doxey (1975) suggests that when the number of tourists in a destination increases, so does the risk of local negative attitudes aimed towards tourists. The irridex has 4 stages: euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism. As the number of tourists increase, the resentment of the locals is expected to increase depending on the extent to which locals feel the tourists represent a challenge to their lifestyle (Doxey, 1975).

The irridex has received critique as it lacks detailed empirical research (Cheung & Li, 2019). Moreover, Dodds & Butler (2019a) argue that the irridex is too simplistic, as the attitudes of the locals are not necessarily dependent on an increasing number of tourists, and even if that was the case, local's attitudes would not necessarily be as consistent as the irridex suggests. Moreover, local attitudes toward tourism differ depending on how close the local lives to the city centre, duration of

residency and the level of involvement in the tourism sector (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). This is supported by research that has found locals, not employed in the tourism sector, to be less willing to accept more tourists (Gonzales, Coromina, & Galí, 2018). The same research also concluded that a local's dependence on tourism, is the primary reason for them entering and remaining in a conversation with tourists. Nevertheless, Doxey's irridex is continuously used amongst scholars as an indicator to measure and monitor irritations between locals and tourists.

Similarly, research has found that locals change their attitudes when their environment is challenged by external factors, such as overtourism, resulting in 4 archetypes of locals becoming visible (Seraphin, Ivanov, Dosquet, & Bourliataux-Lajoinie, 2019). These archetypes are defined as victims, peaceful activists, vandals, and resilient locals. In accordance with Doxey's irridex, the negative attitudes of the host community are expected to increase along with tourist numbers increasing.

Overall, literature agrees that overtourism can have several negative impacts on the local community such as a reduction in the quality of life (Dodds & Butler, 2019b), threatening the general wellbeing of the locals (Insch, 2020), loss of cultural identity (Doxey, 1975; Seraphin, Ivanov, Dosquet, & Bourliataux-Lajoinie, 2019), feelings of anxiety, increased conflict of interest, resentment, displacement and rapid undesirable cultural change potentially leading to demonstrations (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012).

The Impact of Overtourism on Tourists

When locals experience overtourism, it will also have an impact on the tourists. As the tourist's experience is inherently linked to their encounters with the locals (Seraphin, Zaman, Olver, Bourliataux-Lajoinie, & Dosquet, 2019; Inkson & Minnaert, 2012), the tourist feels the impact of overtourism once the locals are affected and hold negative attitudes or display a change in behaviour. Destinations must first of all be pleasurable for the locals, which subsequently leads to enjoyable places for the tourist (Seraphin, Zaman, Olver, Bourliataux-Lajoinie, & Dosquet, 2019). Overtourism can also affect the tourists in other aspects, such as crowding, and can lead to an overall deterioration of the tourist experience (Insch, 2020). The tourist experience is also dependent on the type of tourist, as a tourist who does not venture outside of the tourist bubble may only find himself amongst positive encounters, as he only meets locals who are performing their service roles (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). A place experiencing overtourism may result in a negative tourist-local encounter, reducing the tourist's enjoyment of the destination (Dodds & Butler, 2019b; Insch, 2020). The search for authentic experiences, outside the tourist bubble, is a trend referred to as new tourism, where the tourist seeks different experiences with more spontaneity and adventure

(Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). This type of tourist therefore has a higher chance of meeting a local in a natural setting, thus gaining a more authentic experience, whether it be positive or negative.

The Impact of Overtourism on DMOs

The destination brand and efforts of DMO's are also affected by overtourism, as DMO's adapt their strategies depending on tourist behaviours (Seraphin, Zaman, Olver, Bourliataux-Lajoinie, & Dosquet, 2019). Research suggests managing a destination in collaboration with locals and other policy makers, as a destination suffering from overtourism impacts the destination's image and ability to attract tourists in the future (Insch, 2020). While this thought is commonly acknowledged by scholars, it is difficult to achieve in practice. One problem has been the imbalance of power, making one stakeholder in control of decision-making and planning, and only including the local's opinions after the destination is experiencing overtourism (Dodds & Butler, 2019c). However, Insch (2020) argues that there is a need to understand how locals cope with negative impacts of overtourism, in order to effectively address it.

So far, many DMOs' have not included local insights and their solution to overcome overtourism has been to market outside of high season and to promote less popular areas, however, Dodds & Butler (2019a) argue that this is worthless in the long run. Instead, hard measure actions such as limiting the number of flights and cruise ships would be effective in counteracting overtourism, even though it is not a realistic solution for policy makers (Dodds & Butler, 2019a). Dodds & Butler (2019a) further state that deterring tourists from visiting a destination can be effective, however, such measures can further damage the destination image. While these solutions would benefit the general wellbeing of the locals, it would harm the economic benefit brought in by tourism. Dodds and Butler (2019a) argue that literature on the trade-off between economic benefits and social costs is often discussed, but that historically economic benefits have outweighed the importance of the other. This might be due to the many benefits economic growth brings to a destination's development (Inkson and Minnaert, 2012). Insch (2020) concluded that in order for a destination to develop sustainably, policy makers should prioritise the wellbeing of the locals before tourism related economic benefits, thus imposing a difficult challenge to DMOs in managing overtourism.

One way for DMO's to address the issues of overtourism is through visitor management, focusing on the five dimensions of carrying capacity (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). More specifically, the focus should be on minimizing negative socio-cultural impacts and maximizing the positive ones. "The basic idea is that if the local community are more involved in the decision-making process, tourism development will be more adapted to their needs and circumstances" (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012, p.

252). Hence, a satisfied local community increases the chance of positive tourist experiences and a positive destination brand image (Cheung & Li, 2019; Insch, 2020; Janusz et al, 2017). Oklevik et al. (2019) suggests focusing on the tourists in creating sustainable experiences, meaning that a few tourists contribute to economic growth, without the need to increase visitor numbers. While this is theoretically ideal, the practicalities behind this solution are complicated, especially due to the many individual members of a local community having conflicting personal interests (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012).

Research Gap and Research Question

As the concept of branding, and the dominant logic of marketing has evolved, branding is today studied through a stakeholder-based perspective. This is the basis for corporate branding where brand value is created through a dynamic process involving all stakeholders. Due to the many similarities between a corporate brand and a place brand, scholars argue that place branding can draw on existing models of corporate branding (Hankinson, 2007; Kerr, 2006; Balmer & Gray, 2003; Freire, 2009). Thus, through the lens of corporate branding, a place brand is co-created by the place's stakeholders and the strength of the place brand is dependent on a clear place identity that aligns with the vision of the place. A strong place brand can help a place achieve its main goals.

Many place branding frameworks focus on the role of residents in the co-creation of a place brand. Friere (2008) argues that local residents are important in the brand-building process as consumers evaluate a place based on residents. Braun et al. (2013) explains the different roles of residents in the formation and communication of a place brand and how this affects place brand management. Zenker & Erfgen (2014) argue for a true participatory approach, involving residents beyond merely measuring their associations with the place. All these frameworks highlight the role of local residents in the place branding process, focusing on how co-creational place branding can help a place gain competitive advantage.

Traveling has become easier and more affordable, making the phenomena of overtourism, and the related issues, more common. When thresholds of a place's carrying capacity are exceeded, the lifestyle of the local community and wellbeing of the local residents are challenged. When a place experiences overtourism, all stakeholders are affected. Existing literature agrees on the immense value of local insights in understanding and tackling the issues of overtourism. However, research involving residents is mostly focused on policymaking, including authorities and a small representation of the local community, without any guarantee of equal power in decision-making.

Traditionally, economic benefits of tourism have overruled the focus on local wellbeing. Research involving a whole community in addressing issues of overtourism, is yet to be done. A lack of understanding of local needs can further accommodate issues related to overtourism, ultimately causing irreversible damage to the host community and their lifestyle.

Combining Co-Creational Place Branding and Overtourism

Scholars often use the term destination brand and place brand interchangeably (Ind & Mariussen, 2015). All literature on overtourism use the term destination. However, as this literature describes a multidisciplinary construct involving multiple stakeholders, and focuses on the local residents' quality of life, Ind & Mariussen's (2015) definition of a place brand can replace the destination term used in overtourism literature.

Existing literature describes how overtourism is affecting a place image (Insch, 2020) and how overtourism can lead to undesirable cultural change (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012) and a loss of cultural identity (Doxey, 1975) within the host community. In this way, overtourism is affecting a place brand. Much literature exists today in regards to how co-creational place branding, involving local residents, can strengthen a place brand, however, none of the existing frameworks address how co-creational place branding can help strengthen a place brand that is suffering from overtourism. Despite stakeholder involvement being acknowledged as an important part of tourism planning, local communities are rarely involved in such processes until the place experiences problems of overtourism. Research suggests managing a place in collaboration with locals and other policy makers, as a place suffering from overtourism impacts the place's image and ability to attract tourists in the future (Insch, 2020). However, Insch (2020) argues that there is a need to understand how locals cope with negative impacts of overtourism, in order to effectively address it.

This research will try to fill a gap in literature, by exploring the interrelated relationship between co-creational place branding and overtourism. Through a qualitative study of Christiania, this research seeks to understand how co-creational place branding can help address potential issues of overtourism. As local residents are deemed as particularly relevant in the co-creational place branding process, and overtourism is mostly affecting local residents, the main focus will remain on this internal stakeholder. Thereby this research will expand the knowledge on co-creational place branding and overtourism.

Christiania is considered a relevant context for two reasons. First, Christiania is currently experiencing a high number of tourists, making them vulnerable to overtourism. Second, Christiania is based on a consensus-democracy giving every resident an equal opportunity to voice their

opinions and contribute to decision-making. This makes the place branding process of the Christiania brand highly democratised and based on a bottom-up approach. It also makes the whole community responsible for maintaining and developing the Christiania place brand (Balmer, 2001).

In order to explore the interrelated relationship between co-creational place branding and overtourism, this research will first describe the Christiania place brand and assess how overtourism is affecting Christiania and the co-creation of the Christiania place brand. The findings will lead to a discussion examining how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism. This leads the research to the following research question and sub-questions:

How can co-creational place branding help address issues of overtourism?

- **What is the Christiania place brand?**
- **How is overtourism affecting Christiania?**
- **How is overtourism affecting the co-creation of the Christiania place brand?**

Methodology

In order to explore how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism, it is important to gain an in-depth understanding of the stakeholders involved and the effects of overtourism. Thus, semi-structured interviews were deemed relevant as a data collection method. This is a qualitative approach to data collection that is based on the belief that people best describe and explain their experiences in their own words, unconstrained by specific research frameworks (Veal, 2011). Thus, a more detailed understanding of the participant is achieved, as a vast amount of information in a smaller sample size is collected and analysed (Veal, 2011). The aim of the research is not to generalise the findings, as this would limit the thorough understanding of the topic (Veal, 2011) . Moreover, the exploratory nature of this research is especially relevant in leisure and tourism studies, since tourism is subject to constant change, and therefore requires continuous research (Veal, 2011). This research follows an inductive approach, where data is collected first, followed by an analysis of the data and lastly an explanation of the generated analysis pattern. The open-ended nature of this approach is appropriate for this exploratory research. Figure 2 visually depicts an overview of the research process.

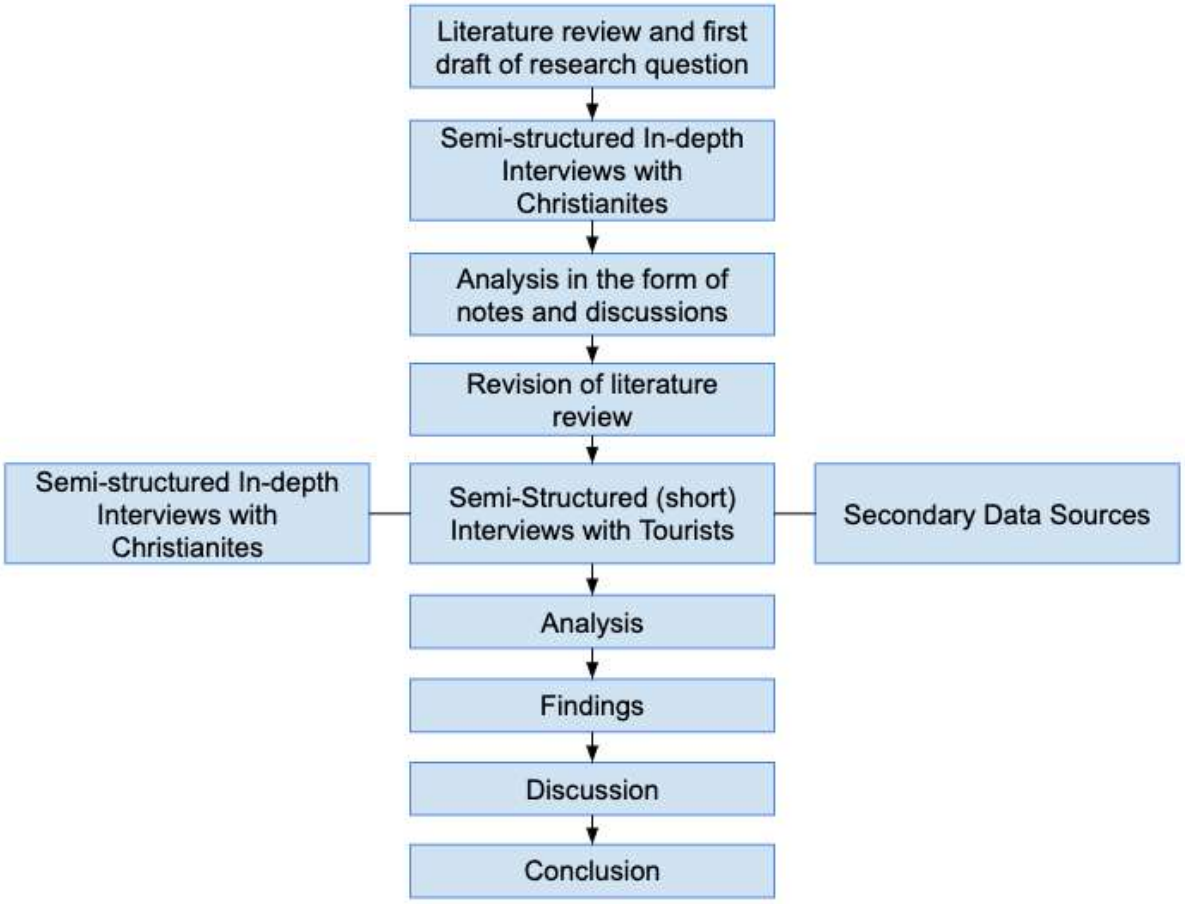


Figure 2: The Research Process

Christiania

Initially, in order to explore the research question, a case study design was deemed relevant. Within this case study design, Christiania would be explored as a single case and the main unit of analysis in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the Christiania community and all the related stakeholders. However, due to the special circumstances related to the outbreak of Covid-19, Christiania closed their gates, which ultimately made it impossible to perform a proper case study of Christiania. Christiania can be considered as a holistic case, that consists of multiple components, characteristics and sublevels, that together form an entity (de Vaus, 2001). As our ability to collect data was restricted, information regarding all levels of analysis was lacking, and it became impossible to gain a full understanding of the case and to complete the intended case study design. Thus, the research question will be explored using Christiania as a context.

The History of Christiania

Christiania is a residential community in Copenhagen, located next to Christianshavn. The area covers 85 acres and used to be a military complex until 1971 (Reimer, 2012). When the area was abandoned by the military, some people connected to the youth movement saw the opportunity to move in, and by the end of the year, the area had hundreds of inhabitants (Reimer, 2012). These inhabitants were eager to rebel against the authoritarian bureaucracy and sought out to create a life based on community and freedom in a self-governing society (Christianias Historie, n.d.). The inhabitants built houses, without the permission from the local government and called themselves "Christianitter" (translation: Christianites) and defined their new hometown as a Freetown.

The inhabitants were considered as "squatters" and part of a formally illegal settlement and in 1972, the Freetown became politically acknowledged as a "social experiment" (Reimer, 2012), something that later has been disallowed by the Supreme Court (Reimer, 2012). In 1973, Christiania had become a collective community, organised into smaller areas, with a local self-governing structure (Christianias Historie, n.d.). Throughout the 70's, Christiania struggled with issues related to hard drugs and drug-abusers. The Freetown decided, in 1979, to introduce a blockade, terminating all trade of hard drugs and throwing out all drug-abusers who denied treatment (Nielsen, 2016). However, cannabis could still be traded, and used, "legally", and the sale of cannabis was concentrated in one area of the Freetown, which would later become known as Pusher Street (Agger, 2014).

Christiania has been accused, by popular media, of being a diminishing city filled with violence and crime and of being the drug centre of Scandinavia and the root to all evil (Christianias Historie, n.d.). In order to tackle this reputation, Christiania published the magazine "Nitten", in the 1980's. Christiania wanted Denmark to know that it was an ecological oriented city and a self-governing community. In the beginning of the 1990s, Christiania started to receive a lot of visitors, mainly schoolchildren and tourists (Christianias Historie, n.d.).

(Image found in Nielsen, 2016)

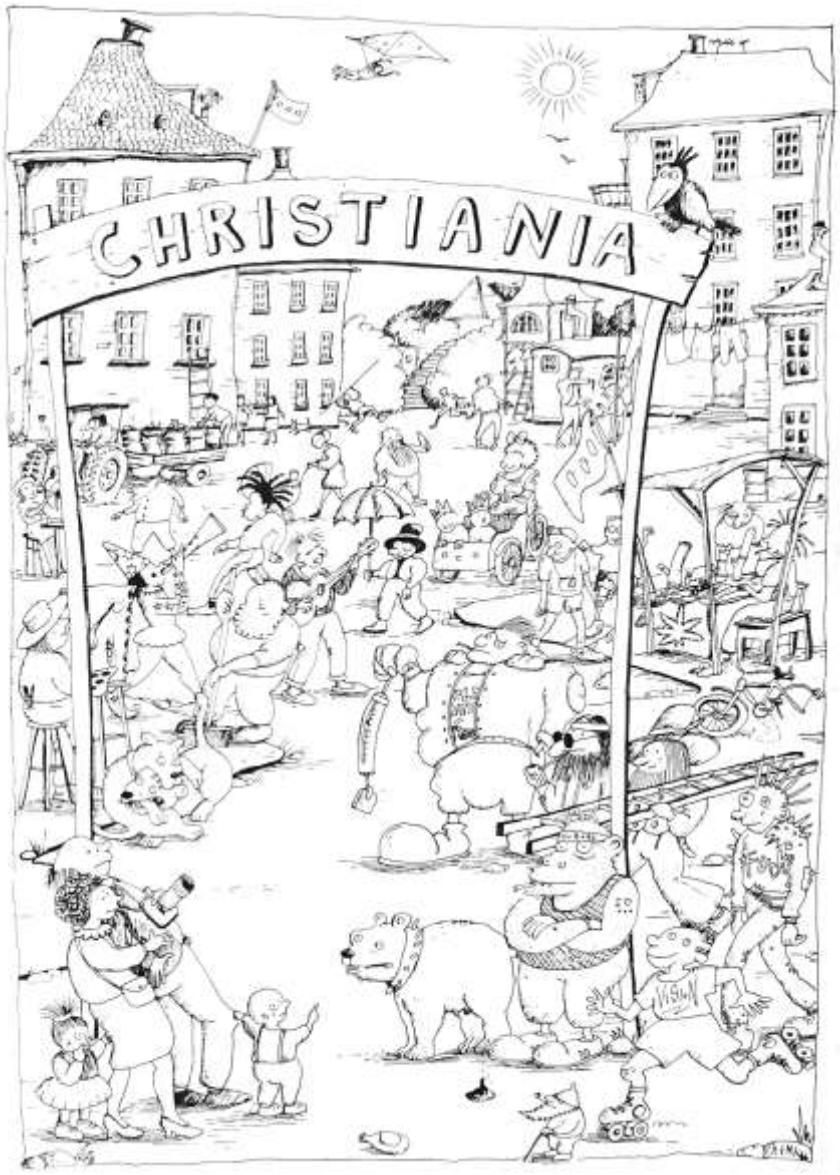
Christiania Today

Today, Christiania remains a residential community with almost 1000 inhabitants (Løvehus, n.d.). All the houses are collectively owned by Christiania and all the residents pay rent to the community. Within the city walls there are shops, cafes, restaurants, workshops, performance venues, kindergartens, galleries, a recycling station (the first one in Denmark (Gintberg, 2011), a health care centre, a grocery store and a welfare centre. Pusher Street still exists today, and it is estimated that 10.000 transactions are made here every day, and that the street has a revenue of one billion DKK a year (Agger, 2014; Gintberg, 2011). Christiania refers to itself as "refuge" meaning a space allowing for deviations from the norm and protection for those who deviate (Reimer, 2012).

Christiania has four unbreakable rules that can be considered as Christiania's constitution: No weapons, no hard drugs, no violence and no biker-badges (Løvehus, n.d.). Christiania is also an automobile-free town. Christiania's mission is "to build a self-governing society, where each individual can develop freely whilst being responsible to the community. This society shall rest in itself financially, and the common endeavour must always be to show that mental and physical pollution can be prevented" (Christianias Målsætting, n.d.). There is no DMO in Christiania, making the Christianites solely responsible for the Christiania place brand and tourism related activities. Christiania is based on a consensus-democracy. There is not a hierarchy and no elections. All decisions are made during communal meetings where participants discuss until they reach an agreement. This makes Christiania a relevant object of interest for this research. As local community

participation is valued and encouraged, Christiania can represent a community ideal for the study of co-creational practices, thus making Christiania suitable for the exploration of the research question.

Through the establishment of the "Fristaden Christiania" Foundation in 2011, Christiania was able to collectively purchase a large part of the land (Calderon, 2019), after the Danish government gave them an ultimatum (Cathcart-Keays, 2016). This purchase helped Christiania ensure its autonomy, collective right of use and development opportunities (Christianias Historie, n.d.). However, it also made Christiania subject to Danish regulations meaning, amongst others, that building activities now require a permit (Calderon, 2019). Problems with local authorities and the police still affect Christiania, and new problems, such as tourism and gentrification threatens the community (Calderon, 2019). Every year, up to a million people visit Christiania, making it Copenhagen's second most popular tourist attraction (Cathcart-Keays, 2016; Gintberg, 2011; Løvehus, n.d.). This is an estimate as the nature of the area makes a precise measure difficult. Nevertheless, the high number of visitors may indicate that Christiania is experiencing issues of overtourism, once again making Christiania suitable for the exploration of the research question.



(Back Cover of Nitten (Løvehus, n.d.)).

Data collection

The data was collected from semi-structured in-depth interviews with Christianites, short semi-structured interviews with tourists and secondary data sources. The use of both primary and secondary data sources enhances triangulation, thus minimizing potential bias in the data collected and from the researchers themselves, increasing credibility of the study. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. All subjects gave oral consent to participate in the research and be audio recorded. To ensure the confidentiality and privacy of the participants, all data was, to a varying degree, made anonymous.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are characterised by a flexible structure, with open ended questions, which encourages independent thinking from the participant and gives the researcher the opportunity to gain an elaborate understanding of the topic. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were considered relevant in order to explore the complex concept of co-creational place branding. As the research follows an inductive approach, where the aim is to identify patterns in the collected data, this technique was deemed relevant (Veal, 2011). Based on the semi-structured technique, the researcher prepares a checklist with overall themes to cover during the interview, as well as some pre-prepared questions. This helps provide a similar frame for all interviews which later in the research process makes analytical comparison more comprehensible in order to find similarities in the data. The technique further allows for improvised, supplementary questions when appropriate, in order to better understand, and further explore, given answers (Veal, 2011). Such effort can also be done after the interview is finished, as a follow-up. However, when performing interviews "on location", such opportunities may be limited thus making the design of understandable, comprehensive questions very important (Veal, 2011, p. 127).

During interviews, the aim of the researcher is not to engage in conversation, but rather to listen and encourage the respondent to talk and elaborate. This minimises the risk of bias and influence from the researcher and helps the researcher gain a more accurate personal depiction of the participants' opinions. The time and effort invested in such qualitative research, ensures a higher degree of understanding between the researcher and the participants, and increases the internal validity of the research (Veal, 2011, p. 251).

Some limitations are associated with semi-structured interviews. First, data collected from semi-structured interviews is based on a small sample of participants. For this reason, the findings from such data cannot be generalised to a larger part of the population, limiting the external validity and replicability of this qualitative research method (Veal, 2011). A second limitation lies in bias which may occur when the researcher, despite being aware of their objective role, influences the interview in order to keep a friendly tone with the participants (Veal, 2011). Data may also be biased if the participant answers based on what he or she believes the researcher wants to hear (Jordan & Gibson, 2004).

There are some potential problems related to audio recording the interviews as this may hinder some participants' willingness to answer truthfully (Veal, 2011). In order to minimise this drawback, the researcher must be able to ensure anonymity of the participants. Still, this does not fully

guarantee the participants willingness to speak the absolute truth. Such problems may particularly occur when researching sensitive topics that deal with unacceptable social behaviours or illegal actions (Veal, 2011). This may lead to data being exaggerated or under-reported (Veal, 2011).

Semi-Structured In-depth Interviews with Christianites

As the research question will be explored within the context of Christiania, and overtourism is commonly measured through a local perspective, four semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with local Christianites. In-depth interviews are often characterised by being informal, and a way to gain in-depth insights by encouraging participants to explain their answers, over a duration of at least 30 minutes (Veal, 2011, p. 240). The time and effort matters, as it increases the likelihood of the researcher and the participant fully understanding each other.

All interviews took place at different locations in Christiania. The researchers gained contact with the participants through Chrisitania.org, by reaching out to Nyt Forum (Christiania's information office) and Rundvisergruppen (Christiania's official tour guide group). One of the participants was approached randomly. All the participants were, to a varying degree, involved in the tourism sector of Christiania, where one of the participants is financially dependent on tourists. Three of the interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 2.5 hours, depending on the participant. One interview was shorter and lasted only 15 minutes, as it was conducted in the shop where the participant was working. There were however no customers and the interview was therefore not interrupted, but kept at a respectful limit, in order to not interfere with the participants' work. The short time span of the interview somewhat limited the opportunity to gain an extensive understanding of participant's opinions.

All the interviews followed a pre-prepared interview guide (Appendix 1), however, the researcher also improvised questions when appropriate. The interviews were audio recorded and conducted in Danish, which was the native language of all the Christiania-participants, in order to minimise miscommunications and potential language barriers. The interviews were transcribed and translated to English (Appendix 3), with some interference when this was considered necessary in order to make the data understandable (Veal, 2011), e.g. Danish figures of speech were translated to their implied meaning. As the interviews were conducted outside of the tourist high-season, data collection relied on the participants' ability to recall the past in order to get a clear picture on tourism in Christiania and how it affects the community (de Vaus, 2001). Measures were made to anonymise the participants in order to protect their privacy and minimise potential scrutiny for statements and opinions. All participants have been given aliases and will be referred to as Peter,

Monica, Ida, and Lilly. However, due to the close structure of the Christiania community, anonymisation could only partially be achieved, as some members of the community may be able to recognise the participants based on certain elements of the data (Veal, 2011).

Semi-structured (short) Interviews with tourists

Tourists visiting Christiania were interviewed in order to understand the external image of Christiania, as formed by tourists. These stakeholders were deemed as the most relevant external stakeholders for this research, as tourists carry out overtourism, enabled by a variety of factors. Additionally, due to limited scope and resources, it was not possible to collect data from other external stakeholders. Data collected from tourists was based on short semi-structured interviews. These were carried out by the main entrance of Christiania, by Prinsessegade and Bådmandsstræde. The aim of the interviews was to gain insights into the tourists' individual beliefs and impressions of Christiania, thus making open-ended questions most appropriate as this allowed for greater exploration of the tourists' personal beliefs. As the interviews were carried out "on location", in Christiania, the researchers were able to capture experiences in real time, making the answers more vivid and detailed (Smed, 2014). While this can exaggerate certain feelings and experiences at the time, it is beneficial in the sense that it is a fragmented snapshot of the tourist's real experience (Smed, 2014). Therefore, it is less influenced by their past experience and other daily life interferences (Smed, 2014). However, as the interviews were performed in Christiania, a community the tourists briefly visit, the researchers would not be able to ask follow-up questions, after the interviews were over. Thus, the researchers made sure the questions were understandable and comprehensive in order to gain as much information as possible from the participants while in Christiania.

The questions were based on a pre-prepared interview-guide (Appendix 2) and varied slightly depending on whether the tourists were entering or leaving Christiania, as to separate expectations from real experiences. This helped narrow down the focus of the interviews, and helped establish a timeframe of no longer than five minutes, which helped increase the participation and commitment of tourists (Veal, 2011, p. 265).

The questions, and the structure of the interviews, encouraged interaction between the researchers and the participants, which made further elaborations possible, minimising the risk of miscommunication with tourists who were less proficient in English language (Veal, 2011). Such interactions were based on a friendly tone from the researchers' side, something that increased the risk of bias.

Some tourists may have come to Christiania in order to purchase cannabis. The fact that such behaviour is illegal in Denmark, may have restricted some participants from answering truthfully, which ultimately may have affected the data. The friendly tone of the researchers may have helped in overcoming this obstacle as it helped build a sense of trust by engaging in friendly conversation with the participants. As mentioned, such actions increased the risk of bias. However, the researchers were aware of their objective role and did their best not to influence the participants.

A total of 16 interviews were conducted with tourists, all of whom were relatively young (22-41 years old). The tourists were approached at random, as to minimize bias in selecting certain types of participants. Most participants were from European countries and consisted mostly of groups of two, however only one tourist from each group answered the interview questions. They were briefly informed about the overall topic and length of the interview, before agreeing to participate. No names were revealed at any point and all subjects were anonymised. The recordings were transcribed (Appendix 4), with some interference to compensate for insufficient English proficiency.

Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data sources are already existing data sources in the form of raw data and published summaries (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhilll, 2012). As opposed to primary data, specifically collected for a specific research project, secondary data is already collected, by other people, for other purposes (Donnellan & Lucas, 2013; Veal, 2011). This data is open for alternative analyses and interpretations (Veal, 2011). Both primary data and secondary data can generate new knowledge and thus help in answering the research question (Donnellan & Lucas, 2013).

The collection of secondary data is less time consuming as data is instantly available. This collection is also less expensive or at no cost at all. The people who collected the data may be more experienced in producing data of a higher quality and the data may be based on a larger sample (Donnellan & Lucas, 2013). However, secondary data has been designed for a different purpose than that of this specific research project, so it may not be ideal. There is also a limitation in the opportunities for analysis, as raw data may be limited (Veal, 2011) and the information about data collection procedures may not be known (Donnellan & Lucas, 2013).

For this study, secondary data in the form of documentary sources, as well as a qualitative analysis report produced by an independent consultant agency for Wonderful Copenhagen, will be used in order to supplement the primary data. The documentary sources are in the form of newspaper articles from national Danish media, as well as international. This data was chosen as it addresses

the research question and contributes to a greater understanding of the situation Christiania. All secondary sources are listed in the reference list.

Data analysis

Thematic Analysis

There are no specific guidelines when analysing qualitative data. However, most qualitative research follows a general approach of reading through the data and finding emergent themes, followed by the analysis, where meanings, relationships and differences are established, using different tools (Veal, 2011). For this research, thematic analysis is used, which can be defined as "a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes') within qualitative data." (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach to thematic analysis has been widely used in various fields of research, as it offers a theoretically flexible approach to analysing and interpreting data. Thematic analysis is appropriate for inductive qualitative research as it allows for great exploration of new terrain. For this reason, it was deemed relevant for this study. Moreover, when applying thematic analysis, the research question does not need to be fixed, as it guides the analysis in terms of relevant themes. This made thematic analysis suitable for this research, as the research question was continuously developed throughout the process. Throughout the process, new themes are generated from the data, helping the researcher explore the topic and theories in question.

The concept of reflexivity acknowledges that the orientation of the researcher will be shaped by their social processes and personal characteristics which may affect how the researchers reflect upon the data collection process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The researchers grew up in Nordic countries, learning about the controversies connected to Christiania. However, at the time of data collection and analysis, the researchers had lived in Copenhagen for five years, and gained a new perspective of the Freetown, resulting in an indifferent opinion of the community and its residents. On the other hand, the researchers have a background in tourism and branding which made them passionate about the topic of the study which might affect the data collection process.

Steps of Thematic Analysis

After the data had been collected, and transcribed, thematic analysis was used for coding and interpreting. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest a six phase approach on how to identify, analyse and interpret the data. These phases are not necessarily followed by order and therefore allows the researchers to alter between them when needed.

First, the researcher needs to fully immerse themselves in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Both researchers were present during the interviews and took turns transcribing and translating the data, allowing them to reflect on the collected data and gain new knowledge, which could be used in the following interviews. The researchers thoroughly re-read the data and discussed interesting aspects for coding throughout the process. This interplay between data collection and data analysis is often difficult to achieve in practice due to both being demanding activities (Veal, 2011). This was also the case of this research process, as the interviews were held shortly after one another, which meant that time constraints kept analysis at a minimum. Nonetheless, all data sets were reflected upon in forms of notes and conversations between the researchers, ensuring full immersion in the data.

Secondly, the data should be re-read while generating codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The qualitative data analysis software Nvivo was used in order to systemise the codes generated. NVivo was chosen as it is an intuitive, flexible software, allowing for the combination of both primary and secondary data in one project (Veal, 2011). Moreover, Nvivo is flexible in how one chooses to use it, making it suitable for following a thematic analysis approach. In order to validate the process, the researchers read through the data and coded independently, minimising like-minded thinking and unintentional influences. Hereafter, each data set was read through and coded in NVivo, combining and re-evaluating the researchers separate codes. One should think only in terms of codes, not themes, and avoid one-worded codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, some codes contained a short description in order to keep the code clear and consistent. As new codes are generated, the data should always be looked through again, to see if more data fits with the new codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This was done by looking through each code and adding or removing data when necessary.

Thirdly, similar codes should be clustered together to generate themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This was first done through individual brainstorming and later combined through the construction of a "themes concept map" in NVivo, where clusters of data were made into themes and arrows were added for clarifying relationships (Figure 3). Some codes did not belong to a specific theme, and were therefore gathered in a theme named "miscellaneous" (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Fourthly, one needs to review the themes and determine which are fruitful for the research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During the review of the themes, some clusters were slightly changed in order to create a more coherent theme. Other themes were deemed too vague or irrelevant and therefore disregarded or partially used as sub-themes.

Fifthly, the themes should be named and defined (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Overall, three themes were deemed fruitful for the research. The final step of thematic analysis is to produce the report by selectively choosing and combining the findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Findings

The three themes generated from the data are the Christiana place brand, conflicting views on tourism, and co-creation as a response to overtourism. The first theme presented is the Christiania place brand, consisting of four components, namely the Christiania culture, the Christiania vision, external stakeholder's image of Christiania and the identity conversation. The combination of these components contributes to an understanding of the current Christiania place brand. This understanding is necessary in order to assess how the Christiania place brand is co-created today and to further be able to understand how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism. The second generated theme is the residents' conflicting views on tourism, which is expressed through three components, namely negative impacts of tourism, positive impacts of tourism and tourist encounters. This theme is essential for understanding the current tourism situation in Christiania and local attitudes, in order to know which issues of overtourism to address. The last generated theme is co-creation as a response to overtourism, which explores the willingness of the locals to co-create. This is done by looking into four components, namely ability to influence the tourist experience, tourism on the meeting agenda, benefits of co-creation and obstacles of co-creation. The three themes are visualised in figure 3 and will be thoroughly addressed in the next section of this report.

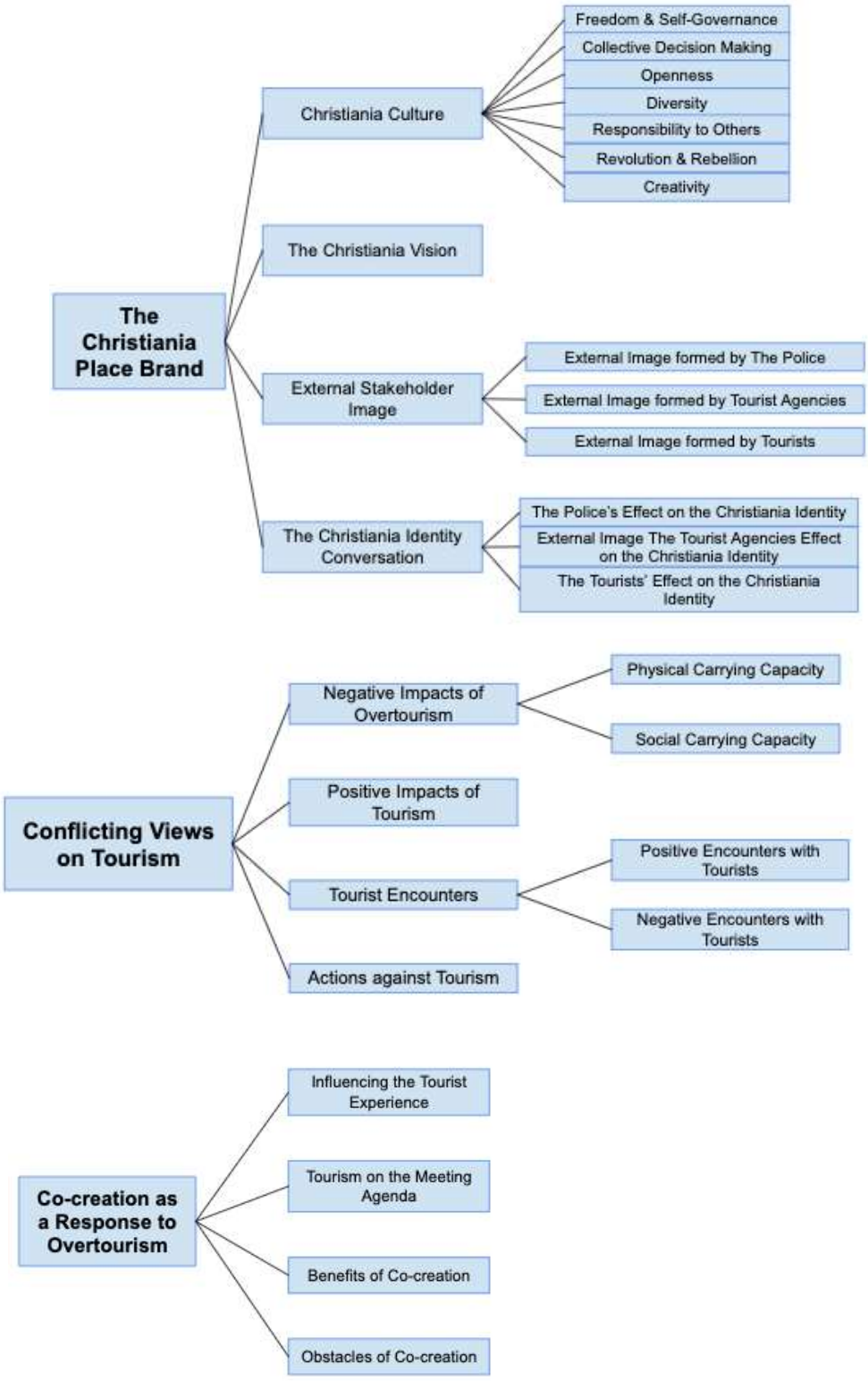


Figure 3: Overview of Findings

The Christiania Place Brand

The first generated theme is the Christiania place brand. Christiania is considered a place brand as it is intangible and must deal with identity management and long-term development. The Christiania place brand addresses multiple stakeholder groups who affect and are affected by the development of the Freetown (Freeman, 2010), and can thus resemble a complex umbrella brand. No one owns the Christiania brand and there is no DMO in Christiania that can communicate a preferred Christiania image. For this reason, Christiania must be associated with stories that diverse stakeholder groups can engage with and use to build an image of the Freetown. In accordance to place brand theories, the aim of the Christiania place brand can be to facilitate place- and economic development by improving competitive place positioning and reinforce place identity in order to attract more businesses and visitors (Morgan et al., 2011; Ind & Mariussen, 2015). However, the ultimate goal of the Christiania place brand considers the improvement of the Christianites' quality of life (Kavaratzis, 2004).

The Christiania place brand is based on visual and behavioural expressions of Christiania, which are embodied by the Freetown itself, and the internal stakeholders who represent the Christiania culture (Zenker, 2011). These are the residents of Christiania, namely the Christianites and the Christiania employees. Through social interactions and negotiations with external stakeholders, such as the police, tourist agencies and tourists, Christiania affects the external stakeholder's associations with the Freetown. In this way, the Christiania place brand is dynamically co-created through internal and external stakeholder-based relationships.

In order to explore the interplay between overtourism and the Christiania place brand, an assessment of the Christiania place brand will first be elaborated. Four components of the Christiania place brand were identified in the analysis, namely the culture, vision, external stakeholder images, and the identity of Christiania.

Christiania Culture

The first component of the Christiania brand, the Christiania culture, reflects the beliefs and attitudes that embody Christiania's heritage. Over time, interactions between Christianites have established a set of values and behavioural norms that coordinate behaviour and have, over time, made Christianites feel a sense of belonging to the Freetown, and produced cultural artifacts. The internal stakeholders of Christiania are an integrated part of the brand (Braun et al., 2013) as they embody the culture of Christiania. Together with the cultural artifacts, the internal stakeholders communicate the meaning of the Christiania brand.

Christiania exists in a larger external environment, as a subculture of a larger Danish cultural system. Christianites are a distinct cultural group who act on the basis of their unique collective understanding. In this way, the Christiania culture expresses the uniqueness of Christiania, compared to Copenhagen and Denmark, as Peter says: "[...] it's so different here. It's unique" (p. 22). The analysis uncovered nine cultural values and norms that together form the Christiania culture. These were: Freedom and self-governance, collective decision making, openness, diversity, taking responsibility, revolution and rebellion and creativity.

Freedom & Self-Governance

One of the values identified within the Christiania culture is freedom. This value would not be apparent, or even unique, if it were not for the contrasting culture of the external Danish environment. Christiania's valuation of freedom is expressed in their self-governance which is considered a goal of Christiania. Christiania does not want to be controlled by an external authority and wants the freedom to exercise all necessary functions without intervention from the government. This belief embodies Christiania's heritage:

> Freedom has always been important here. Personal freedom and the freedom we have taken here. We have taken an old military complex and taken the responsibility for running it and through many years, without any agreement with the government. So we have taken responsibility (Lilly, p. 1).

Christianites consider self-governance to be the only way they can take responsibility for the area and comply with their constitution and function optimally (Lilly). Their constitution includes rules such as "no violence, no weapons, no hard drugs" (Lilly, p. 2) and "no biker badges" (Ida, p. 10). Copenhagen municipality tries to assist Christiania in the maintenance of the area. Yet, Christiania rejects this offer and continues to practice their self-governance as Peter explains when talking about the garbage situation in Christiania: "Copenhagen municipality has talked to us about it [the garbage situation in Christiania] and they have offered us some money, [...]. We have told them we will figure it out ourselves so we have not accepted any money" (Peter, p. 3).

Since Christiania's establishment, the Freetown has been in conflict with the Danish government. The Danish government wanted to get rid of the Christiania settlement, considering the Freetown as a problem. In the end, the Danish government gave Christiania an ultimatum, offering Christiania to buy the area: "We were forced by the government to buy [the area which Christiania occupied]. They [the government] said that if we didn't want to buy, then they would sell it to someone else" (Lilly, p. 7). Christiania's purchase of the area secured the Christianites ability to stay in Christiania

and remain autonomous. In order to buy the area, Christiania had to create a foundation called "Fristaden Christiania". This was against the Christianites will:

> [...] it wasn't our idea back then to have a foundation and to purchase. We were pressured to do it. It's not a flower that has grown in our yard. It is something that has been pushed on us from the outside (Lilly, p. 8).

Some Christianites believe the purchase of the area, and the establishment of the foundation, has led to Christiania becoming less of a Freetown (Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018). "That the government and some agencies from the outside now decide how we should live and breathe in here. And that is taking over more and more" (Ida, p. 1). The purchase of the area, through the foundation-agreement, was decided in a community meeting (Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018).

Collective Decision Making

The culture within Christiania is also highly defined by the structure of the community, and the system of government within, which can be defined as a consensus-democracy. It's a large collective where everyone is part of deciding how it should be run (Lilly). "First of all, there are no leaders here [...]" (Peter, p. 1). "There are no CEO's who sit and decide [...]. We don't have a mayor here" (Lilly, p. 8). "[...] there are no voting's. We discuss until we agree with each other" (Peter, p. 1). "[...] what we primarily live for is that we talk about it together" (Ida, p. 2). These attitudes, expressed by several participants, embody Christiania's heritage, as the community has always been structured in this way.

Meetings

The collective decision making is mostly made visible through the meetings that are held in Christiania. Freedom of speech is an important part of the meetings, as well as listening to each other (Ida). Through the meetings, Christianites learn each other's opinions and are able to take advantage of each other's knowledge and find inspiration (Ida). The community meetings have the highest authority within Christiania (Lilly; Peter). All Christianites are encouraged to participate in the meetings, however the meetings are volunteer, "[...] but if you choose not to come, you also have to accept what the others have decided" (Lilly, p. 8).

There are monthly area-meetings within each residential area and the majority of residents are usually present (Peter). During these meetings, decisions are made regarding how money, from Christiania, should be invested in the residential areas. The areas choose representatives to join other meetings, such as finance meetings, who return to their areas with a summary (Ida). Furthermore, all business owners, and Rundvisergruppen meet once a week (Lilly). All the agendas

for upcoming meetings, as well as summaries from past meetings, are printed in Christiania's own newspaper Ugespejlet (Peter), giving all the Christianites the opportunity to stay updated.

Findings show how residents' willingness to participate in meetings, and the community in general, can depend on how long they have lived in Christiania. One participant, who had lived in Christiania for 1.5 years, found it difficult to express her opinion at the meetings, because she was new in the community: "[...] I've joined some of them [the meetings]. [...] because I am so new here. So I'm not the one who talks loudest. Those who have lived here longer, and know more, are better at doing that [laughs]" (Monica, p. 3). Another factor that may affect residents willingness to participate in meetings is the sheer volume of meetings, which is the reason why some meetings are only attended by area representatives. "[...] you become a little tired of all the meetings. So we swap. [...] if not… in the end you can't stand it anymore [laughs]" (Ida, p. 2-3). A third factor that can affect residents' willingness to participate in meetings is the individual's interest in the meeting agenda: "[...] I can feel that some topics don't really concern me and that I cannot contribute as much. Then I'll rather read in Ugespejlet what they have decided" (Lilly, p. 8).

As every resident is involved in the decision making, or has the opportunity to be involved, Christiania becomes a close community, where people have a lot to do with each other and know each other (Peter). This closeness is apparent in how the Christianites explain the nature of their interactions:

> [...] it can take a long time to pick up a litre of milk in the store because you always run into people you haven't seen in a while and have a chat. It's like our own little Facebook. When you sit down on a bench somewhere and talk to other people. Then you hear all about the internal things, and that's important (Ida, p. 3).

Here, Ida talks about what can be defined as a behavioural norm within Christiania. This behaviour says something about the pace that dominates in Christiania, where residents have a laid-back attitude. Things take time, and Christianites have a relaxed attitude towards daily life (Monica, Peter).

Openness

The meetings also represent another important value within the Christiania culture, namely openness, as the meetings are open to all Christianites and everyone can express their opinion: "We decide things during meetings and all residents can attend all meetings in here [...]. In that way it's incredibly open" (Lilly, p. 8). Openness is also something that defines behavioural norms within

Christiania: "You don't meddle in what other people believe in [...]. In that way it's a very free and open place, which is still very well organised" (Lilly, p. 8).

Openness is not limited to the interactions between members of the Christiania community, but also in considering the outside world. "[...] this is a Freetown and I think there has to be room for everyone" (Monica, p. 3). "It's not ours, but everyone's Christiania" (Ida, p. 3). Christiania is after all a public area, so it must be open to everyone (Drivsholm, 2017). "[...] it [Ida's residential area] can look like a private area. And it most certainly is not. So people are very welcome" (Ida, p. 4). "[...] we have done a lot to open up and make it accessible so you can take walks all the way along the moat. And it is a public area so it cannot be more open than it is" (Lilly, p. 2). The Chrisitanites value this openness: **"**It is very important that we're not an isolated place. [...] I have always found it important that Christiania is an open place that wants to welcome visitors from all over the world" (Lilly, p. 3).

Christiania is not only open to visitors, but also open to people who want to be employed in Christiania-based businesses. According to Peter and Lilly there are approximately 400 positions in Christiania and half of them are taken by non-residents. These employees become internal stakeholders of the Christiania brand. Through interactions with external stakeholders, they display the meaning of the Christiania brand. However, as many of the workers do not live in Christiania, they may not be as invested in the Christiania place brand and thus be less committed to the brand and have desires and attitudes that conflict those of the Christianites, impacting the place brand.

Diversity

Christianites describe their community as open and tolerant of people who do not conform with mainstream norms. As Peter says:

> Maybe you can say it's more open here. More accepting of unusual people. We have many strange people in Christiania [laughs]. Meaning, they don't feel unusual maybe. But when they walk around in the city [Copenhagen] people might point at them and have a lot of prejudice against them because they are too unusual (p. 16).

Similarly, Monica expressed: "[...] there are a lot of strange people out here who might scream a little loud, but would never hurt anybody" (p. 2). The participants describe people who do not conform with mainstream norms as "crazy people" (Ida), "unusual people" (Peter), and "strange people" (Monica; Peter). This is not said with bad intentions, as the Christianites value them and make room for them, making Christiania a diverse community. "[...] we consider it as important, that

we show the diversity. […] the valuable thing that mirrors Christiania in that there must be some kind of crazy people sometimes in between. Someone who lives a bit differently [...]" (Ida, p. 2).

Ida believes Christiania has become more bureaucratic after they had to purchase the area. Participants think this bureaucratisation takes time away from "all that you actually moved out here for" (Ida, p. 1) and has led to Christiania becoming more expensive (Calderon, 2019) resulting in a normalisation of Christiania (Ida; Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018), decreasing the diversity (Ida). Ida believes this may eventually lead to the death of Christiania, as it will become too dull. In this way, the purchase of Christiania, which was done in order for Christiania to be able to remain autonomous, has limited Christiania's ability to be a diverse community (Calderon, 2019).

Responsibility to Others

The openness of Christiania can create issues for the community, as this cultural value attracts a lot of people who are not supposed to be in Christiania or who have struggles (Peter). Christiania tries to handle the issues by taking responsibility and helping those in need. The yearly Christmas dinner for homeless people, the health care centre, and the social welfare centre, located inside Christiania, represent Christiania's responsible behaviour:

> We have our own social welfare centre meaning it's Christiania's welfare centre. It's not associated with Copenhagen municipality, but Copenhagen municipality works very closely with our social welfare centre because there are many people in Christiania who have issues and struggles and Copenhagen municipality really wants us to help those people instead of those people seeking help from the outside. Also, there are a lot of people who do not live in Christiania but use our social welfare centre because they feel they communicate better with our centre than their own. [...] People in Christiania use this, but also people from the outside. (Peter, p. 2).

The Christianites also feel a sense of responsibility towards tourists, as they are in charge of cleaning up the outdoor areas and maintaining a nice atmosphere (Ida). Peter expressed his concern over tourists' lack of access to proper toilet facilities in Christiania, showing his worry for tourists in general.

Revolution & Rebellion

Christianites consider Christiania to be an alternative, revolutionary society (Lilly) that was founded as a rebellion against authorities (Calderon, 2019). "It [Christiania] has been a political hot potato for a long time and it has always been associated with rebellion. It started at the same time as the youth movement in 1968. So it's a revolutionary place" (Lilly, p. 1). As Christiania was built by a rebellious

movement, rebellion can be considered as a value and a belief that embodies the Christiania heritage.

Special Architecture

The rebelliousness of Christiania is expressed in a number of ways. One of which are the houses, defined by special architecture, which can be considered as artifacts of the Christiania culture. Originally, Christianites built everything without permission from Copenhagen municipality (Calderon, 2019). Christianites consider their lack of obedience to authorities as the reason why the area was saved from becoming a mainstream area (Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018), thereby highlighting its distinctiveness. "[...] the point was to rebuild Christiania, like all these self-made houses" (Ida, p. 5). Peter pointed at a house, describing it as "A very specially built house made by German craftsmen" (p. 20), and his own house which is made of two caravans put together. Ida also talked about her residential area being defined by different looking houses: "We live in a very beautiful area. [...] There are many self-made houses out there and they're quite different to look at" (Ida, p. 3).

The purchase of Christiania allowed the Christianites to stay in the area, but it also made Christiania subject to all common Danish laws and regulations (Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018). This has affected the Christianites' ability to build new houses, as they now need approval before anything can be constructed (Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018). "[...] we have negotiations with the government regarding if we are allowed to put up fences [...]" (Lilly, p. 7).

Cannabis Liberalisation

One of Christiania's strongest beliefs is the legalisation of cannabis in Denmark, which they believe will lead to a decrease in criminal activities (Buer, 2018). Christiania's beliefs and attitudes towards the legalisation of cannabis represents the community's rebellious values.

Pusher Street can be considered as a cultural artifact that represents Christiania's rebellious values and their mission to legalise cannabis in Denmark. "This [Pusher Street] is a place we created in the 70's, in 1975. Because we believe hash should be legal in Denmark" (Peter, p. 4). Pusher Street is supposed to be a transparent market where cannabis is the only "legally" traded drug. Christianites are against all hard drugs (Buer, 2018), something that is expressed in the Christiania constitution (Lilly). People who are caught dealing or using drugs, other than cannabis, are thrown out of the Freetown (Buer, 2018). This is a practice that started when Christiania introduced a junk-blockade in the late 70's (Lilly). This behaviour represents Christiania's sense of responsibility to others and ultimately reflects Christiania's goal of self-governance as Christiania enforce their own laws.

The trade and use of cannabis that happens in and around Pusher Street is illegal under national Danish law, criminalising Christiania's open cannabis-market. Lilly acknowledges this: "[...] we have taken on us to have a criminal environment in here and want to join in the fight to legalise cannabis" (p. 2). That the environment is described as criminal is not only based on the fact that cannabis itself is illegal, but also on the fact that the criminal environment attracts more criminality. "[…] there is too much violence, there are too many people who live outside Christiania, and there is an issue with other drugs [...]. We think there is too much money that is spent there. [...] and a lot of controls and [...] it's related to bikers" (Peter, p. 5). As Peter explains, Pusher Street has transformed and does no longer accurately represent Christiania, as it violates Christiania's constitution (no hard drugs and no violence). It is assumed that the people who stand on Pusher Street have an agenda based on monetary gain.

Not all Christianites agree that Pusher Street should exist (Lilly). Findings suggest that Pusher Street is one of the most debated subjects in Christiania, preoccupying a large part of Christianites' time and energy (Peter). Christianites were, while data was being collected, debating whether to close the street due to an increase in violence and trade of hard drugs (Peter). "[...] there are a lot of people, for example where I live, who want to get rid of that street. They consider it as a pain for us, which it also is" (Peter, p. 5). However, Pusher Street is subject to the collective decision-making within Christiania, so everyone has to reach an agreement. Currently, the majority is against closing down Pusher Street (Lilly).

The criminalisation of Pusher Street both attracts and deters visitors:

> Something that of course draws a lot of attention is that we have this hash-market down here. That's something some people do not like, of course and it might deter some people from coming here at all because they know something criminal is happening. While others might be especially attracted by it and find it extra exciting so it's both sides (Lilly, p. 4).

According to Buer (2018), Pusher Street is mostly used by tourists and the area surrounding Pusher Street is highly coloured by tourism (Lilly). The high number of visitors in this area, especially during high season, makes it difficult for visitors to see people other than tourists, thus hindering them from interacting with Christianites (Drivsholm, 2017). While walking through Pusher Street, Peter suggested that everyone there were tourists. Ida believed that tourists who use Pusher Street come and then leave again, without going further into Christiania, and without knowing that cannabis is illegal in Denmark. "[...] our biggest problem is that this [Pusher Street] is attracting an enormous amount of people. The tourists think Christiania is only that" (Peter, p. 8). The internal stakeholders

who stand on Pusher Street can be interpreted as front-line figures of Christiania as tourists presumably encounter most pushers.

Many Christianites distance themselves from Pusher Street, saying they do not have anything to do with it (Ida), or that they make their money elsewhere (Monica). "Most of the people who stand on that street don't know anything about Christiania. They come to that street and then they leave again" (Peter, p. 4-5). "That street lives its own life. And it has some rules that are only there" (Peter, p. 18). However, some participants acknowledge the connection between Christiana and Pusher Street as Christianites own the pusher-booths, and Christiania allows the pushers from the outside to be there: "[...] in order to have a booth here you have to live in Christiania. But some people who live in Christiania who have a booth, they rent it out to someone else [non-residents]" (Peter, p. 4). "[…] most of the people who control that street are associated with bikers. We don't have anything to do with this, besides allowing them to be there" (Peter, p. 5). Ida also expresses how one Christianite must be physically present at each pusher-booth, if not the booth is removed by Christiania.

Pusher Street can be considered a cultural artifact that represents Christiania's rebellious values and their mission to legalise cannabis in Denmark. However, the street is today in violation of Christiania's constitution, thus not representing Christiania's true cultural values accurately. The internal stakeholders who stand on Pusher Street represent a criminal subculture of Christiania and may have goals based on monetary gains. As a high number of tourists only visit the street when they are in Christiania, the internal stakeholders on Pusher Street become front-line figures of Christiania as tourists presumably encounter pushers more than Christianites unrelated to Pusher Street.

Graffiti

Another cultural artifact that represents the rebelliousness of Christiania is the graffiti seen in the Freetown. Peter confirms that graffiti is not legal in Christiania, even though plenty is visible and concentrated in the downtown area. Peter agreed that a lot of the graffiti portrays stereotypes of cannabis connected to Christiania: "Yeah, probably a lot of the people who make the graffiti also smoke a lot of hash… But there are some artists on the other side there. It's very beautiful and has nothing to do with hash" (Peter, p. 24).

Creativity

Graffiti, and the special architecture, can also represent Christiania's creative values. "Christiania has always been a place for art and culture. And a lot of music and theatre [...]" (Lilly, p. 1). Creative

values are also expressed through the art galleries located in Christiania, like Galopperiet (Ida; Lilly). "[...] I believe we have 10-12 art museums, art collections in Christiania. Where people paint and sell their stuff. There are a lot of them in the residential areas too" (Peter, p. 17). Ida describes creativity as a reason why many Christianites moved to the Freetown.

Overall, findings have identified a Christiania culture that is based on values connected to freedom, self-governance, and collective decision making, visible through their community structure and the meetings. Christiania also values openness and takes great responsibility for other people leading to Christiania becoming a diverse community. The Christiania culture also values creativity and reflects attitudes of rebellion and revolution which embodies the Christiania heritage. Pusher Street is also a visible representation of these values, and the Christiania heritage, however, some Christianites condemn Pusher Street, and distance themselves from it, saying it has nothing to do with Christiania.

The Christiania Vision

The second component of the Christiania brand is the vision of the Freetown. This vision embodies the Christianites aspirations for what they want to accomplish in the future. As there are no leaders in Christiania, this vision has been created by the Christianites themselves, increasing the probability of the vision being based on the Christiania culture.

Christiania's dream is to build a self-governing, alternative society where they can solve problems in different ways than what other societies (Lilly; Randeris & Mathiassen, 2018). Lilly and Monica envision a peaceful and nice Christiania where people respect the rules. Ida shares this idea and believes the best way for Christiania to communicate their vision is through the Christiania constitution. It is important to Lilly that Christiania continues to develop, and remains contemporary, so that it continues to attract new people. Christiania does not want to close the area to outside visitors, but ensure better guidance, so tourists will get a more correct impression of the Freetown, and Christianites can feel more respected (Drivsholm, 2017).

Christianites envision a Christiania that attracts what they define as guests, not tourists, who want to experience the "internal things" by taking part in Christiania and using what Christiania has to offer, such as restaurants, cafes and shops (Ida; Lilly; Christensen, Juhlin & Rifbjerg, 2018). All the Christiania participants say that they want tourists to experience the true Christiania and learn about the Christiania lifestyle, and in that way get the best experience possible. In order for this to happen, Christianites have to interact with the tourists and teach them about the true Christiania (Ida;

Monica; Peter). To Peter and Lilly, tourists will only learn about the true Christiania if they get past Pusher Street:

> I don't get in contact with those [tourists who do not know much about Christiania] so much. Because they might not be trying to get that much in contact with us. They just have a quick look and then they leave again. If you don't really get any background information, or any information at all, then they might get the impression that this seems harsh, this environment down here [by Pusher Street]. They can see that something criminal is happening and also that the police come every now and then. [...] But if you succeed in getting past the street [Pusher Street] [...] then it's something entirely different (Lilly, p. 5).

Peter envisions a Christiania without Pusher Street, where visitors get a sense of what Christiania actually is about. In Peter's vision for Christiania, tourists who visit Christiana have certain interests:

> That would have been incredible [if Pusher Street was gone]. Then people can start to see how we reach decisions, how our community works, how we are, how we own, that we can make decisions without a leader and that we can all be in it together. Then people can see these things which I see, and those who live here see, but it's very difficult for those on the outside" (Peter, p. 7). "Then, maybe we can start thinking in a different way in terms of tourists. Then it will be tourists who were interested in us as a residential area and not hash (Peter, p. 22).

Christianites envision a future where Christiania attracts guests, who are interested in the Freetown. Christiania wants to give these guests a good experience by teaching them about the Christiania lifestyle through interactions. In this vision, the tourists experience something other than Pusher Street and thus gain a more correct impression of the Freetown as perceived by Christianites. This can make Christianites feel more respected which can enhance their satisfaction and sense of pride, which in turn can make the Christianites more engaged in the branding process.

External Stakeholder Images

The third component of the Christiania brand, is the image of Christiania, held by external stakeholders. As Christiania has become accessible to the outside world (Ida; Lilly), external stakeholders have developed relationships with Christiania, and with each other, based on their image of Christiania. Through these relationships, the external stakeholders gain perceptions and impressions of, and form associations with, Christiania. This is based on formal and informal interactions with the Freetown and its internal stakeholders, and each other. In this way, the cultural

values and stories of Christiania are communicated, making the Christiania brand more tangible. The image formed by external stakeholders does not necessarily reflect the image that Christiania actually wants to portray. Findings suggest that stakeholder images formed by the police, tourism agencies and tourists, are most relevant to the Christiania brand.

Christiania contributes to the image formed by external stakeholders through relationship building and communication with the outside world. The Christiania bike is a well-known product (Peter) and the craftsmanship skills of Christiania-based businesses are sometimes portrayed on TV (Peter) and a lot of documentaries have been made about the Freetown (Lilly). However, Christianites are very well aware of the many presumptions the outside world has about the Freetown and its residents, and the stereotypes that exist. "They [people on the outside] think we are just a bunch of freeloaders that live for free and have stolen a piece of land" (Ida, p. 3). Peter presumes that many outsiders do not know that people live in Christiania and that outsiders are prejudice, thinking Christiania is all about cannabis, blaming newspapers and guidebooks for the negative stereotypes that have been developed (Buer, 2018). Both Lilly and Peter believe Pusher Street creates an impression of Christiania as being a scary, closed community, and believes this hinders visitors from exploring Christiania. Peter believes that people's perceptions of Christiania can only change when cannabis becomes legal in Denmark.

The External Image formed by The Police

The police may associate drugs and criminality with the Christiania brand, and have an image of Christiania as a rebellious community as they have a continued presence in Christiania. The police are present in order to ensure the security and safety of the Christianites and visitors and focus their action against the organised drug trade (Calderon, 2019). The police visit Christiania often, as expressed by Peter: "The police are here all the time" (p. 5). Sometimes they are there three times a day (Calderon, 2019), and sometimes they visit as much as 13 times a day (Søndergård, 2020).

Christianites complain about the nature of the razzias, blaming the police for creating a bad atmosphere in Christiania affecting the local businesses. "[...] the police were here last Tuesday. […]. And that was extreme. I was really shocked" (Ida, p. 8).

> [...] it is harsh because the police contribute to creating this atmosphere a lot. Like now, when they have removed flowerpots and there is dirt everywhere and it creates a really bad atmosphere [laughs]. [...] the police come here so much and that, of course, bothers people, if the police come and people start running all over with their hash [laughs]. Then your jaw

> might drop a little. So that affects our businesses, that the police come here so much (Lilly, p. 5).

Hereby the police contribute to a negative atmosphere in Christiania, highlighting the police's image of Christiania as rebellious.

The External Image formed by Tourist Agencies

According to Peter, tourist agencies have a distorted image of Christiania as a violent community, dominated by cannabis, where people steal.

In the past, Christiania struggled with a lot of external tourist agencies bringing tour groups into Christiania. The tourist agencies may have had an image of Christiania as an area open to all visitors and thus taken advantage, and capitalised, on the open culture of the Freetown. "[...] there is a lot of money in it [tourism]. A lot of tourism agencies want to have tours here and make money on it" (Lilly, p. 3). Tourist information offices may also have an image of Christiania as an open area, as they promote Christiania to a high extent (Peter).

As a result of this, Christiania has told tourist information offices to stop promoting them (Peter) and limited tourist agencies' access to the area. Now, tourists can only purchase a guided tour of Christiania, through Christiania's own guide-group, Rundvisergruppen (Peter, Lilly). In this way Christianites increase their effect on the image formed by external stakeholders.

The External Image formed by Tourists

The tourist interviews were analysed in order to define the tourists' external image of Christiania. For all the tourists it was their first time visiting the Freetown. Most of the tourists were visiting Christiania on their first or second day of their stay in Copenhagen. In order to explain the findings from the interviews with the tourists, it is worth mentioning that the police had a large presence in Christiania the day the interviews were conducted, and Pusher Street was closed off. The interviews were conducted away from the police, so participants entering did not see the police.

Prior Knowledge and Expectations of the Tourists

Through formal and informal messages from Christiania, or information from other stakeholder networks, tourists learn about Christiania. One tourist had read about Christiania in tourist guidebooks (Tourist 1). One tourist had been told by friends that she should visit the Freetown (Tourist 6) and another tourist said he had read a lot of different opinions about the place in the media (Tourist 4). Most of the tourists said they had read about Christiania on the Internet (Tourist 2, 3, 8, 12, 16). All of these sources were based on information from external stakeholder networks. Tourist 5 had learned about Christiania from a friend who used to live in the Freetown.

Findings suggest that tourists do not possess much knowledge of Christiania. When explaining what they know about the Freetown, one tourist replied that Christiania is a free society, in a closed part of Copenhagen, which the police cannot enter (Tourist 2). He had read this on the Internet. One tourist said drugs are legal in the Freetown (Tourist 7). One tourist knew that it is a collective society where no hard drugs are allowed (Tourist 12) and some had heard about the rules saying you are not allowed to take photos (Tourist 2, 3). One tourist confirmed Peter's notion of oblivious tourists, as she was surprised to learn that people live within Christiania (Tourist 9).

As the tourists lacked knowledge regarding Christiania, most tourists did not have a purpose for their visit to Christiania and did not have many expectations (Tourist 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11). They considered it a "must-see" in Copenhagen (Tourist 1,2) and expected to see old houses and cool architecture (Tourist 1, 5, 7, 9) and for Christiania to be colourful and filled with graffiti (Tourist 1, 3, 14). They expected Christiania to be a little fairy-tale (Tourist 1) with art (Tourist 8) and weed plants (Tourist 9, 14). They expected Christiania to be different from Copenhagen and the people who live there to be nice and stoned (Tourist 9). One tourist explained that the purpose of their visit was to make up their own mind about the Freetown (Tourist 4) and another said she wanted to find something to smoke (Tourist 6).

These findings suggest that tourists mainly get their information from external stakeholder-based sources, which Christiania is not in control of, thus making it difficult for Christiania to have an influence on external stakeholder images. These sources may have led to the tourists lack of, and in some cases misleading, knowledge about the Freetown. This knowledge may lead tourists to form unrealistic expectations of the Freetown, such as Christianites being stoned, and may ultimately lead tourists to form an image of Christiania that is deemed undesirable by the Christianites.

Associations

Most of the tourists said they associate Christiania with drugs, cannabis, or something illegal (Tourist 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9) thus making these assumptions the most apparent. These associations reflect some of the negative stereotypes the Christianites also reported. Other associations are more coherent with how Christianites describe themselves and entailed freedom (Tourist 1, 10), saying it is an independent, free community (Tourist 3, 7). Some tourists associated Christiania with anarchism and non-conformism (Tourists 1, 9, 8) and saw it as a place without much system or law and order (Tourist 4, 8). Some tourists associated Christiania with peace, love, and hippies (Tourist 2, 5, 8). Other than that, associations included colourful (Tourist 2, 3, 8), cool art (Tourist 6), graffiti (Tourist 4, 5), relaxed (Tourist 10), squatters (Tourist 5) and farms and cows (Tourist 9). As tourists get their

knowledge from external stakeholder-based sources, these findings may suggest that stories regarding freedom and self-governance, rebellion and creativity, are strong and engaging stories that are built into the Christiania place as they are communicated by external stakeholders, affecting the image formed by tourists (Hatch & Schultz, 2003; Kavaratzis, 2004). None of the tourists mentioned associations related to collective decision making, openness, diversity, or responsibility, which in contrast was what Christianites emphasised the most.

Impressions

Tourists exiting Christiania got the impression that Christiania resembled Tomorrowland, a Belgian electronic music festival (Tourist 1). Other tourists got the impression that Christiania was colourful (Tourist 15, 16) and felt like freedom (Tourist 16), which is similar to some of the elements tourists associated with Christiania before entering. Other than that, the impressions tourists got from Christiania were divided.

Some got a negative impression of the Freetown, finding it difficult to understand: "It's one place you need to see to understand what it is. [...] I didn't like it. Sorry [laughs]. [...] it's not our lifestyle. We don't understand, but it's interesting to see" (Tourist 13, p.1). One tourist got the impression that it was less clean and contemporary than she expected (Tourist 14). Others got a negative impression of Christiania because they did not feel safe while visiting: "It's hard to know if it is safe or not, isn't it?" (Tourist 14, p.1). "Not so good [impression]. I actually thought it would be more safe. Like, it didn't make me feel safe, you know. [Because of] the atmosphere (Tourist 11, p. 1). None of these tourists got far into Christiania, Tourist 11 saying he did not get far into Christiania because of the police. None of them interacted with local Christianites, or employees, thus basing their image of Christiania purely on visual expressions. Tourist 14 said it was because the people inside stood in big groups.

Others enjoyed Christiania and left with a good impression. Tourist 12 said she liked Christiania, and that it is nice to see people in a community: "I feel like it's people that are a bit more free and a bit more okay with general life and not worried. [...] it's nice to see that people are in a community and they are sort of. nice together". She did not interact with anyone while visiting, but she did walk quite far into Christiania and based her impression on the people she saw. One tourist explained her experience as a nice surprise and related her good impression to a talk with a local woman:

> [...] I was nicely surprised. [...] Because we met some girl in the gallery, [...] and we had a nice chat with her, and we spoke about the, not accident, but [...] in the morning when the

> police came and did some things [...]. So yeah, that's it. And I think that everybody here [the people in Christiania] is okay [laughs] (Tourist 15, p. 1).

These findings suggest that interactions with locals may have a positive impact on the impression tourists get from Christiania. The tourists who did not get far into the Freetown and did not interact with locals left with the impression of Christiania being unsafe. This might be due to the police's presence in Christiania at the time the interviews were conducted. Tourist 12 did not interact with the internal stakeholders directly, but she did observe them and mentioned how she liked Christiania because people seemed free and that it was nice to see people in a community who are nice together. This can be related to Freire (2009) saying that visitors use local residents as an indicator for place brand evaluation and how perceived friendliness in local people's attitudes is crucial. Tourist 15 was the only one who talked with a local and through this interaction, they talked about the police being in Christiania. This might have helped Tourist 15 understand why the police were there, thus contributing to a good impression and authentic experience.

Overall, these findings suggest that tourists, who have not experienced Christiania, mainly get their information from external stakeholder-based sources which Christiania is not in control of, leading to misleading or a lack of knowledge. Tourists associate freedom, anarchism, a lack of system, something illegal, hippies, cool art, graffiti, drugs, and illegal activities with Christiania, the latter two association being most apparent. The tourist who interacted with a local left Christiania with a more positive impression than those who did not interact with locals. The latter also left with an impression, or an image of Christiania, that can be deemed undesirable for Christiania, as it reflects Christiania stereotypes Christianites say they disprove of.

The Christiania Identity Conversation

The identity of Christiania is the fourth component of the Christiania place brand, combining the findings from the analysis described above. This identity is created through the identity conversation (Hatch & Schultz, 2009) which involves the internal and external stakeholders of Christiania. Through a complex process, the internal stakeholders, who embody the culture of Christiania, receive feedback from the environment. This feedback is the external stakeholders' impressions and associations with the Freetown, which makes up the external stakeholder's image. The internal stakeholders reflect on this information and respond to it, if it is considered appropriate based on the context of their cultural values and heritage (Hatch & Schultz, 2009). If Christiania responds authentically, and base the response on self-knowledge, Christiania has a good foundation for building a clear identity, and a strong brand.

The Police's Effect on the Christiania Identity

The police may associate drugs and criminality with the Christiania brand, and have an image of Christiania as a rebellious community. Christiania responds by confirming this image, by continuing to allow the pushers to have a presence in Christiania. This contributes to a clear identity, leading to further response from the police in the form of more razzias. The Christianites complain about the nature of these razzias, saying the police create a bad atmosphere. However, as the police are basing their actions on an image that coincides with the criminal subculture of the pushers, the razzias contribute to a clear identity.

The Tourist Agencies Effect on the Christiania Identity

According to Peter, the tourist agencies have a distorted image of Christiania as a violent community, dominated by cannabis, where people steal. Christiania decided to respond to this image by restricting the tourist agencies' access to the Freetown and instead create a Christiania-based tour guide group. In this way, Christiania hindered the tourist agencies' image to affect the Christiania identity. However, this restriction contradicts Christiania's value of openness, as it restricts outsiders from entering the Freetown if they profit from it. In this way, the response may have led to an unclear Christiania identity.

The Tourists' Effect on the Christiania Identity

The image formed by tourists is affected by multiple points of communication, both from Christiania and from other external points of contact, such as information on the internet, tourist guidebooks and external word-of-mouth. Tourists associate Christiania with values connected to freedom, self-governance, rebellion, and creativity. Christiania responds authentically to these images through cultural artifacts such as special houses and graffiti thus creating a clear identity. None of the tourists mentioned associations related to collective decision making, openness, diversity, or responsibility even though these are relevant Christiania values.

However, the most salient tourist associations identified in the analysis were related to drugs and undefined illegal activities. Christianites confirm these associations by allowing Pusher Street to exist, despite knowing it is a criminal environment. Pusher Street itself and the related internal stakeholder, and the police who control Pusher Street, also confirms the external stakeholders' image of Christiania as a place associated with something illegal. This alignment contributes to a clear Christiania identity.

The tourists who did not get far into Christiania, and only saw Pusher Street and police, left with an impression of the Freetown as an unsafe place. This is not in alignment with the Christiania culture,

which is supposed to be welcoming to all visitors, nor the Christiania vision, which goal is for tourists to experience the true Christiania, and not just Pusher Street. One could say that the internal stakeholders who stand on Pusher Street are greatly empowered in the identity conversation as Pusher Street attracts many tourists, most of whom do not visit other parts of Christiania. In this way, the tourists are most likely to interact with, and base their image of Christiania, on the internal stakeholders found on Pusher Street and the visual representation of the street. These internal stakeholders represent a criminal subculture of Christiania and may hold beliefs and attitudes that differ from the Christiania culture. They may not share the Christiania vision as they have other goals based on monetary gain. The internal stakeholders found on Pusher Street respond on behalf of all Christiania to the external stakeholder images by confirming them, creating a clear identity, and a strong Christiania place brand, based on values that differ from the true Christiania culture.

Conflicting Views on Tourism

The second theme generated from the data, is the conflicting views on tourism that currently exist amongst the residents in Christiania. Through the analysis, it became clear that Christiania is suffering from overtourism. At the same time, Christianites recognise the many positive impacts that tourism brings, and this influences their general perception of tourism. This tension between negative and positive impacts of tourism is seen in the encounters between locals and tourists, and actions taken against the effects of tourism.

Negative Impacts of Overtourism - Signs of Overtourism

Physical Carrying Capacity

Statements from locals regarding tourism indicate that thresholds of physical carrying capacity have been reached. In general, the Christianites agree on high numbers of yearly visitors, challenging the physical resources of Christiania. Peter acknowledges a general increase in tourism beyond their area, saying: "Copenhagen is really overrun by tourists at the moment" (p. 9). However, the main worry remains within Christiania where tourism constantly increases and recently seems particularly extreme (Ida). It can be argued that Christiania, having up to a million visitors a year (Cathcart-Keays, 2016; Gintberg, 2011; Løvehus, n.d.), is a popular tourist hotspot within Copenhagen, which puts pressure on the Freetown's physical carrying capacity (Milano et a., 2019). This pressure is partially enabled by the short-term traveling patterns of today's tourists and Christiania's inability to control tourist arrivals and tourist activities (Dodds & Butler, 2019c). With most tourists visiting the Freetown on their first or second day of being in Copenhagen, as well as spending little time in Christiania, the data suggests that the behaviour of these tourists is coherent with the trend of short-term planning and thus contribute to the immense pressure on Christiania's physical carrying

capacity. An indicator of exceeding physical carrying capacity is locals questioning whether Christiania can even physically sustain more tourists (Ida). This is further confirmed by Christianites agreeing that they encounter tourists often, partially due to their jobs in downtown Christiania, and the feeling of only seeing tourists, not locals, on the streets (Drivsholm, 2017, Peter).

Peter strongly blames Pusher Street for attracting an enormous amount of people, suggesting that Pusher Street is a tourist hotspot within Christiania. This challenges the physical carrying capacity of particular spots, potentially leading to overtourism (Milano et al., 2019). Monica and Ida see crowding more as a seasonal disturbance, with split opinions by Monica who positively expresses "I think it [tourism] is nice" (p. 1) in contrast to Ida who describes the seasonal crowds negatively as extreme. More specifically, Ida relates the seasonal crowding to an increase in traffic, making her unable to bike around in Christiania, which was a frustration shared by others as well (Peter; Buer, 2018). On a general level, concerns are expressed by Ida saying: "[...] we're becoming run down [by tourism]" (p. 5) and by Lilly saying: "[...] it [tourism] takes a toll on the whole area" (p. 7). These feelings of Christiania being too crowded and run down, are important indicators of the physical carrying capacity of Christiania being exceeded (Gonzales, Coromina & Gali, 2018). As crowding is subjective to each individual, it is difficult to determine an exact threshold (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). Nonetheless, the data suggests that Christianites, to a large extent, are negatively impacted by the vast number of tourists, something that demonstrates clear signs of overtourism (Peeters, et al., 2018). Even though it is no surprise that overtourism, in terms of physical carrying capacity, is most noticeable during the high season (e.g. summer), it can permanently damage the general lifestyle of the Christianites (Milano et al., 2019).

Social Carrying Capacity

Christianites express worries for Christiania and their lifestyle, which indicates that thresholds of Christiania's social carrying capacity have been reached. The Christianites demonstrate their worry for the current tourism situation, by comparing themselves to other destinations more affected by overtourism, such as Venice and Barcelona (Lilly). Lilly expresses her compassion with these destinations as they seem worse off than Christiania, indicating a worry for the potential future of Christiania. She also compared Christiania to Tivoli, acknowledging Tivoli's advantage in not being a residential area and thus being able to close at night, something that is not possible in Christiania. Peter felt frustrated with tourists who view Christiania as an exhibition as tourists look through windows and interfere with Christianites' privacy, thus impacting their daily lives. Ida also referred to many fellow Christianites who are going insane as they feel they are living in a zoo. These local opinions and perspectives display the current negative attitudes, frustrations and worries

Christianites have regarding their future life in Christiania. These are important indicators of Christiania's social carrying capacity being somewhat exceeded (Gonzales, Coromina, & Galí, 2018). The locals worry that overtourism may reduce their quality of life and general wellbeing (Dodds & Butler, 2019a, Insch, 2020).

Another indicator of social carrying capacity being exceeded, is how some locals are concerned with the impact overtourism has on their village lifestyle. This is coherent with existing literature (Milano et al., 2019). Peter expresses how tourism affects Christiania in a way that is different from destinations, as Christiania is a small village area, and tourism is affecting the residents' everyday life. Tourism is described as killing Christiania (Calderon, 2019) and tearing Christiania apart by disrupting their village lifestyle (Buer, 2018). This feeling is reinforced by Lilly stating: "we have to protect ourselves, so we don't ruin our village life here" (p. 2). In coherence with Doxey's irridex (1975) the Christianites describe how the increase in tourism is affecting their lifestyle. However, Christianites do not solely base their negative attitudes on an increase in visitors, as Doxey's irridex otherwise suggests. Rather, the negative attitudes emerge as various thresholds are exceeded.

The impact of tourism on the Christiania lifestyle became apparent in March, when the outbreak of COVID-19 led to a Christiania lock-down, completely emptying Christiania of tourists. Restricting tourists' access is seen as a hard measure to fight overtourism (Dodds & Butler, 2019a). These types of hard measures are considered as most effective for overcoming overtourism, but unrealistic to implement in real life (Dodds & Butler, 2019a). However, a global pandemic enabled such an act and the effects are already visible. One Christianite describes how the current break from extreme tourism has made it possible for Christianites to have more time for each other, something that is in harmony with their lifestyle (Søndergård, 2020). The current situation can be compared to the annual low season, as Ida expresses similar thoughts when describing the winter-time in Christiania: "[...] people are becoming anxious and feel that we want to regain our city. So it's very nice here during the winter. We can sit in peace [...], and talk" (p. 4-5). This change in lifestyle also indicates that the social carrying capacity of Christiania has to some extent been exceeded. Moreover, it shows that the locals enjoy the low season, as it gives them a break from tourism. This break gives Christianites room to practice their lifestyle and ensure their wellbeing.

The last indicator of social carrying capacity being exceeded is seen in the Christianites' varied willingness to accept more tourists. Peter and Ida do not want more tourists in Christiania, stating that Christiania is not organised enough to handle more tourists (Peter). Lilly, who works closely with tourists, contradicts the others by stating "[...] we are well equipped in city-Christiania to

accommodate all kinds of guests and visitors" (p. 2). Monica, who is financially dependent on tourism is also positive towards an increase in tourism. Ida recognised how tourism affects Christianites differently, acknowledging that some barely notice it, while others are negatively affected by it. It is clear that the threshold of social carrying capacity is only exceeded for the participants who are not dependent on tourism.

Overall, the findings have provided evidence of how Christiania is currently suffering from overtourism as thresholds of physical carrying capacity and social carrying capacity are being exceeded. Christiania suffers from the consequences of overtourism, clearly shown as damaging the lifestyle and general wellbeing of the community (Milano et al., 2019) and leading to undesirable cultural change (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012).

Positive Impacts of Tourism – Motivating Factors

Despite finding clear signs of overtourism, posing a threat to the Christianites' lifestyle, the participants also acknowledge some positive impacts of tourism. This makes it difficult to apply Doxey's irridex, as individual Christianites represent different phases of the irridex. Moreover, a single person could be plotted on different ends of the irridex, depending on the situational context. The positive impacts of tourism that were mentioned, often related to the financial benefits that can be derived from tourism. This serves as a motivational factor for encouraging tourism in the future, despite the consequences. Peter estimated that the clientele in one Christiania restaurant consists of 80% tourists, while Ida could not imagine Kvindesmedien surviving without tourists, thus showing tourism's positive impact on local businesses. Lilly confirms this: "But we also have to be aware of how tourism is something that makes it possible for us to survive and develop. Because we have to live and make money every day here and this [tourism] makes it possible for us to have businesses" (p. 2). Monica also expressed that as long as tourists visit Christiania, it becomes something to make money off. Likewise, Peter was interested in finding ways for more financial gains from tourism. In this sense, the Christianites are well aware of the benefits tourism brings, and thus want to encourage tourism, even though it causes a change in their lifestyle.

Other positive impacts of tourism are the cultural exchange and the opportunity to learn from other cultures: "I think it's very nice to have the opportunity to meet many different people from the whole world. To get some different impressions and cultures in life" (Monica, p. 1). "That [tourists] contributes to our development, that we get this kind of culture exchange that is here [...] It's like a wealth. Not just financially, but also culturally and socially" (Lilly, p. 3), thus providing Christianites with the joy of learning from other cultures. Thereby, positive impacts of tourism include financial

benefits and cultural exchanges, which become motivational factors for continuing the growth or maintenance of tourism in Christiania.

Tourist Encounters

The conflicting opinions on tourism, bringing financial benefits, but also interrupting the local lifestyle, is reflected in the encounters between locals and tourists. These encounters are both a result of overtourism and a driver for the local's perception of tourists. As Christiania is experiencing a high number of tourists, all the participants mention having frequent encounters with tourists. While some encounters lead to a positive experience, others increase Christianites' resentment towards tourism.

Ida, Lilly, and Peter say that most tourists only come to the downtown area to have a look and then leave again quickly. Lilly believes most tourists come to the downtown area to see Pusher Street because they find Pusher Street especially attractive. Peter also mentions Pusher Street as attracting an enormous amount of people. Ida and Peter believe most tourists are curious about Christiania, however they mention that the tourists do not know much about Christiania and sometimes take up too much space. Moreover, Ida and Peter believe the tourists are a little ignorant and misbehaved, disrupting the privacy of the Christianites. While Lilly and Monica share the latter opinion, their general views on tourists are positive and Monica does not mind the occasional invasion of privacy. Lilly considers some tourists as pilgrims, coming to Christiania to learn more about collective societies.

Inkson and Minnaert (2012) argue that duration of residency, proximity to the city centre and personal involvement in the tourism sector impact local attitudes. Of all the participants, Monica is supposedly most involved in the tourism sector of Christiania, as she is financially dependent on the revenue generated from selling art to tourists. Monica is also the most recent inhabitant. Thus, in coherence with the literature, Monica is the most optimistic regarding tourism (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012). However, Monica lives in close proximity to the city centre, which according to theory would increase her chances of resenting tourists, which is not the case, implying that dependence on tourism has a larger effect (Gonzales, Coromina, & Gali, 2018) Peter, on the other hand, lives fairly close to downtown Christiania, and is less involved in tourism, making him more sceptical towards tourists. Hereby it can be said that local attitudes towards tourism are not solely caused by tourist numbers but depend on a variety of other factors also including proximity to the city centre, duration of stay and involvement in tourism. Moreover, encounters with tourists can also affect the Christianites' perception of tourists.

Positive Encounters with Tourists

The encounters that involved conversations between the locals and the tourists were most often positive. Peter mentioned how tourists, who enter his residential area, often engage in a conversation with him, increasing the understanding of one another. According to Peter, these conversations always contribute to the tourists getting a good impression of Christiania and learning more about the Freetown. Peter said that most of his encounters and conversations with tourists are positive. Monica also held a positive attitude towards tourists, even inviting them inside her home. Ida and Lilly are often confronted with tourists asking for directions, and both mention how this can develop into longer conversations about Christiania and the Christiania lifestyle. When asked about their opinion on the longer conversations, Ida finds it fun to teach visitors about her life, and Lilly said: "I think it's fine. You have to be open to that, and help them get around, when people come visit." (p. 4). Lilly added how it is common practice for Christianites to help tourists, as tourists often seek their advice in galleries and cafes. Contrary to the others, Ida mentioned how she occasionally goes outside to conversate with tourists, despite it being demanding, which shows her genuine interest in tourists. As Ida is not dependent on tourism, the same way as Lilly and Monica are, this finding goes against previous literature, which has found dependence on tourism to be the most important factor in initiating and remaining in a conversation with tourists (Gonzales, Coromina, & Galí, 2018). The findings of this research do not support dependence on tourism as the most important reason to initiate a conversation with a tourists but do support dependence on tourism having an impact on residents remaining in longer conversations with tourists. The positive tourist encounters and attitudes show that even though Christiania is currently suffering from overtourism, Christianites still like to engage with tourists, and appreciate visits from outsiders who seek to learn more about the Freetown.

Negative Encounters with Tourists

Nevertheless, overtourism can lead to negative encounters and resentment (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012), which was a salient topic during the interviews. Christianites' negative encounters with tourists mostly relate to disrespectful tourist behaviour in residential areas, as tourists do not respect the Christianites' privacy (Ida & Peter). Peter has experienced tourists sitting on his stairs, and confronted them:

> Some young people are sitting on the stairs in front of our house and we tell them: 'you cannot sit here, we live here', and the people reply: 'God, we didn't know people live here'. And it is very difficult to understand, how on earth can you not think we live here, but this is something they are thinking (p. 9).

Similarly, Monica has confronted tourists who are not following the rules: "I do not see a problem in telling them [the tourists] how things work around here, in terms of our rules. And I think we should be allowed to get angry with them [the tourists], if they don't follow the rules" (p. 2), thus expressing how Christianites attempt to protect themselves by correcting the behaviour of tourists.

Another negative encounter is when tourists enter the homes of the Christianites without permission (Buer, 2018; Monica; Lilly). While most Christianites consider this an invasion of privacy, Monica has a different attitude, making her stand out as she is not bothered as much by the invasion of her privacy, compared to the other participants. This was confirmed in her story about tourists entering her home, and her reacting with humour and positivity.

Negative encounters represent how tourism is negatively impacting Christiania and the general wellbeing of the local community (Insch, 2020). In coherence with existing literature, anger towards tourists is prominent when the tourists do not adhere to local rules. However, Christianites stand out as they respond to negative behaviour by correcting the tourists and educating them about Christiania. Peter mentioned how these encounters often lead to longer conversations, and the tourist walking away with a positive experience. This can be related back to Christiania's responsible behaviour towards tourists. Overall, positive encounters mostly occur when the tourists initiate conversations with the locals, while negative encounters mostly occur when Christianites feel the need to correct tourist behaviour.

Actions against Tourism

The data also revealed other ways in which Christianites act as a response to the negative impacts of tourism. Tourism is being blamed for making Christianites hide away from the busy areas (Buer, 2018) and in general isolate themselves from areas prone to tourism. Likewise, Peter expressed "[…] when you walk around, you don't really see many Christianites. Because they keep inside, like in a tavern, or in the residential areas." (p. 4). This statement was supported by Ida saying: "[...] some people isolate themselves within their homes. Pull down the curtains and turn their back on it [tourism]" (p. 4). These actions are a clear indicator of how tourism is negatively affecting the local lifestyle, making the Christianites avoid tourist encounters. While Lilly did agree that there is a need to escape the tourists every now and then, she thought of it rather as a small break to recharge before going back to downtown Christiania. Nevertheless, Kontaktgruppen, which is the official group representing Christiania to the outside world, has acted against the increasing number of tourists, by reaching out to Danish tourist information centres, requesting them to stop the promotion of Christiania (Peter).This suggests that Danish tourist centres are partially responsible for

overtourism in Christiania, as DMO's typically encourage heavy visitation (Seraphin, Zaman, Olver, Bourliataux-Lajoinie, & Dosquet, 2019).

A common act against tourism, was related to the need for more privacy. Christianites who feel heavily affected by tourism, have built fences in front of their homes to protect themselves, despite these measures being illegal (Ida; Lilly). Lilly justifies the fences as they help protect not only the resident's individual privacy but ultimately the Christiania village life. Ida agrees to the need for restricting tourists' access, but says such restrictions are negatively affecting the village life. Ida describes how the construction of fences creates different opinions amongst Christianites: "We don't really know how we feel about that [putting up a fence], because everything is supposed to be available to everyone" (Ida, p. 3). Thus, Ida indicates that the construction of fences is in violation of the open Christiania culture. Thus, tourism might be starting to affect the Christiania culture.

Some Christianites have resorted to finding loopholes to legally keep the tourists away from their homes, as Peter states: "In this area the plants are allowed to grow as much as possible, so you almost have to crawl to get in" (p. 4). Peter also mentioned a big gate by the entrance of his residential area which is "[…] made in such a way that people don't think you are free to walk in" (p. 18), thus deterring most tourists from entering. Other locals have approached Rundvisergruppen and requested them to stay away from their homes during the tours (Ida). Lilly, who is a part of Rundvisergruppen, attempts to prevent tourists from invading the privacy of the Christianites, by educating the tourists on general behaviour and rules of Christiania. Kontaktgruppen has also been made responsible for dealing with tourism in Christiania, but they have many other issues to attend to (Peter).

Overall, opinions on current tourism in Christiania is turbulent. The locals acknowledge various benefits from tourism and at times genuinely enjoy conversing with visitors. It is however clear that Christiania suffers from overtourism as both physical and social carrying capacity thresholds are exceeded. The consequences of overtourism are also evident, especially in how the lifestyle of the local community and Christianites' attitudes toward tourism are affected.

Co-creation as a Response to Overtourism

The last theme uncovered from the data, was the Christianites' willingness to engage with tourists and obstacles preventing them from doing so. As seen in the theme of conflicting views on tourism, some Christianites feel more negatively affected by tourism than others, making it difficult to address issues of overtourism. This theme uncovers the Christianites' view on attracting more tourists and their perception of their ability to influence the tourist experience. Moreover, this

theme covers Christiania's current prioritization of addressing issues of tourism and finally, the perceived benefits of participating in co-creational branding, as well as obstacles to do so.

Influencing the Tourist Experience

The findings show how Christianites to a varying degree understand their ability to influence external stakeholders, as well as their willingness to do so. These findings suggest that Christianites are aware of their role as co-creators of the Christiania brand, with the aim of increasing the desirability of the Freetown and providing a good experience for the tourists (Lilly). Peter feels he can only influence tourists by talking to them and answering their questions if they themselves approach him. In the same sense, Monica only felt able to influence tourists visiting her shop. Ida also believes that the tourist must approach her, as she does not feel responsible for making their experience good. Ida mentioned that she occasionally approaches and talks to visitors. She does however believe that some Christianites would never do this, because they are fed up with tourists.

As Christianites isolate themselves and avoid tourist-dense areas, the likelihood of interactions become limited. Ida pointed out that the probability of her interacting with tourists depend on the type of tourist and the tourist's purpose of visit. Christianites are more likely to interact with curious tourists who come to Christiania with the purpose of learning about the Freetown and experiencing the lifestyle. This is opposed to oblivious tourists who lack knowledge of, and consideration for, the Freetown.

Tourism on the Meeting Agenda

Regardless of their personal opinion, Christianites acknowledge that some locals are greatly affected by tourism, and therefore agree that they as a community must take action to protect the locals suffering from tourism. This is reflected in how Christiania as a community is negotiating with Copenhagen municipality about the construction of fences. The participants disagree whether issues of overtourism are already being addressed at the community meetings. Peter believes tourism is not something that is discussed often as it is a complicated issue with many conflicting opinions. In Peter's opinion, issues related to Pusher Street are most often discussed, which shows that Christianites prioritize other issues that are considered more prevalent than tourism. Ida believes issues related to tourism are often on the meeting agenda. Lilly partially agrees but states that while tourism is often on the agenda, it is rarely ever addressed. Lilly elaborated by saying that the recent meetings have addressed Christiania's opportunities to put up fences legally, which she describes as an indirect discussion of addressing issues related to tourism. Lilly added how some Christianites recently have been interested in discussing ways to get more money out of tourism. Ida expressed

how discussing tourism at the meetings would allow her to hear and understand how her fellow Christianites feel about tourism.

These findings show how there is an interest and common agreement to address the issues of tourism. In total, the findings show that tourism is not prioritized at the meetings and therefore not addressed, partially due to conflicting opinions and other issues being more prevalent. This causes Christianites to think in short terms, such as constructing fences. Christianites' willingness to participate in meetings might reflect their willingness to co-create the Christiania brand. As previously mentioned, Christianites willingness to participate in meetings depend on their length of residency, the volume of meetings and the individual's interest in what is on the meeting agenda.

The meetings have the potential to put Christiania at an advantage, compared to other places, when discussing measures on how to deal with overtourism. The community structure of Christiania allows Christianites to contribute to the place brand through their role as citizens (Braun et al, 2013). As all Christianites can participate, the branding process becomes democratised, enabling a bottom-up implementation of the Christiania brand. This can turn the Christianites into a coherent group with a united perception of the brand, decreasing the risk of Christianites challenging the brand. As all residents are trusted to participate, it can increase their feelings of being accepted, which in turn can increase their satisfaction and brand commitment. Through collective decision making, the Christiania brand increases its chance of achieving true resident participation in the branding process. Additionally, when Christianites are involved in the decision making, tourism development is adapted to their specific situation (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012) and can therefore more effectively address specific issues of overtourism.

Benefits of co-creation

On one hand, the data revealed that Christianites are motivated to address issues of overtourism and see the benefits of their involvement in tourist interactions, as this may help improve the image held by external stakeholders. Lilly explains:

> It [Christianites being more involved in tourism] improves our image around the world, that it's an open place where you feel welcome [...]. You can experience this collective, this village, this community in the middle of Copenhagen. (Lilly, p. 8).

Ida shares this view, as she explains how her mother, and her mother's friends' perception of Christiania was changed, after interacting with a Christianite tour guide:

> Extremely many people visit here. At the same time, it's a wonderful thing, because it's exactly that which does so that the rest of Denmark and the world get another insight into what Christiania really is. Because from the outside, it seems like it's a lot about Pusher Street. [...] they [Ida's mother and mother's friends] came out on a guided tour [...]. And they were very sceptical when they arrived, but positive when they left. Precisely because they gained another insight into how our society works, and how we communicate (Ida, p. 3).

Peter, Lilly, and Ida believe that if Christianites were more involved in Christiania tourism it would help create an external image of Christiania that coincides more with the image Christianites want to project. Boiled down, this preferred image encompasses peacefulness, special houses and most importantly a unique way of living, based on a collective lifestyle (Ida, Lilly, Monica & Peter), and represents features of Christiania, which the locals are particularly proud of. All the Christiania participants want the tourists to experience their lifestyle, which in turn will give the tourists a great experience according to the Christianites. By being involved in the tourist experience, the locals are able to influence the tourist to experience aspects of Christiania that the locals feel represents their preferred image of the Freetown. Peter and Lilly stress the importance of getting past Pusher Street in order to experience the true Christiania as envisioned by the locals.

By not being involved in the tourist's experience, both Lilly and Ida worry that the tourists might get a bad impression of Christiania and ultimately an undesirable image of the Freetown that might be based solely on the criminal environment surrounding Pusher Street. This turned out to be the case, as some tourists associate Christiania with drugs and some question their safety during the visit (Tourist 11, Tourist 14). Peter also expresses how Pusher Street creates an undesirable image. The desire of the locals to portray a positive image of the Freetown, thus requires the tourist to venture past Pusher Street (Peter), and to interact with the locals (Ida, Monica, Peter).

Another benefit of involving the locals in tourist interactions was described by Ida, who considers such interactions as potentially creating joy amongst Christianites, if they have the energy to participate:

> I think that [Christianites being more involved in tourism] can create some more joy, also amongst the individual Christianites, who then in some way can get something positive out of the fact that someone comes to visit us. But this is also something you create yourselves. You must be an extrovert and have the energy to do so. If you have lived here for many years, you become tired of it. So it's difficult. (Ida, p. 6).

Ida was also interested in the idea of communicating directly with the tourists to understand their expectations and what they want to see. Lilly talked about the constant battle of finding the balance between providing the tourists with a good experience and not affecting the locals in a negative way, as tourism is constantly growing. The idea of turning the negative sides of tourism into something positive, was a shared thought amongst the participants.

Obstacles of co-creation

The Christianites experience many obstacles hindering them from addressing overtourism. Throughout Peter's interview it was mentioned how tourism grows and that the residents of Christiania do not know how to handle it. This sense of inability to act is also expressed by Ida and Lilly:

> But I don't really know how to continue to work with this [tourism]. You can't close off the residential areas, because that is an important part of Christiania that all of us who live here create this together. So I can't really see how. [...] it's difficult. You can't stand and inform everyone who enters and say 'you have to behave nicely' [laughs], 'you are in my backyard' (Ida, p. 9-10).

> […] tourists and tourism are words that have become a bit negative because it's something we have had a bit enough of and we feel we cannot control it. It's just growing (Lilly, p. 11).

> We cannot install a counting machine by the entrance and make people pay when they enter. We're not allowed to because it's a public area, and not the same as Tivoli. So we need to find a different approach and try to get money from our guests in another way (Lilly, p. 7).

Lilly, Ida, and Peter are interested in changing tourism into something positive but experience a sense of hopelessness in terms of finding solutions. The Christianites' sense of hopelessness relates to the complexity of tourism as an issue. Rather than discussing long-term solutions during the meetings, the construction of fences becomes a short-term solution to a complex problem. In the search of inspiration, the participants compare themselves to other destinations. Peter and Ida mention destinations charging tourists at the entrance, but deem it impossible in Christiania, as all entrances are open and non-regulated. Moreover, Peter does not believe that Christiania is organised enough to handle more tourists and is uncertain if Christiania should be organised beyond their meeting-structure, as this is an important part of the Christiania culture. Monica does not feel the need to change the tourist situation as it is today. Once again, conflicting opinions on tourism is

noticeable, thus creating a challenge to addressing the issues of overtourism, as a sense of hopelessness in the Christianites discourage potential action.

Additionally, the fact that most tourists base their image on external sources, not connected to Christiania, further contributes to the sense of hopelessness in the Christianites: "[…] almost everything you read in those guides [traditional guidebooks] from other countries have something to do with hash. [...] Then they [the tourists] become affected by this and assume it [Christiania] is an illegal area." (Peter, p. 8). These external forces are not controlled by Christiania and thus pose a threat to the image Christiania strives to portray. With easy access to information online, this will always be the case, thus emphasizing the importance of positive stakeholder interactions, in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand.

Interactions between Christianites and tourists become difficult, especially during the high-season, as there is a high tourist-to-local ratio (Ida). Additionally, too many tourists visit Christiania without a purpose, not being interested in the true Christiania (Peter). According to Lilly, it is difficult to find the balance between wanting to attract more visitors, while ensuring the wellbeing of the locals: "We must protect ourselves so we can stand being here ourselves. It's double, because we also want to attract people and we want to improve our businesses." (Lilly, p. 5), once again displaying the internal conflict of attitudes toward tourism. Peter ended his interview by emphasising the difficulties in dealing with tourism as it is considered a burden.

Overall, Christianites perceive co-creation as valuable as it helps them influence external stakeholders to create an image of Christiania that is considered in alignment with the true Christiania culture. While this works as a motivation for Christianites to interact with tourists, it is challenged by various obstacles, such as a sense of hopelessness in addressing overtourism.

Discussion

The following discussion, based on findings, is illustrated in figure 4 which depicts how co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism. Currently, Christiania is in the outer loop of the figure, as they experience high levels of overtourism and the Christianites are less involved in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand. The following discussion will outline how Christiania, through increased resident participation, can move to the inner circle and thus address issues of overtourism.

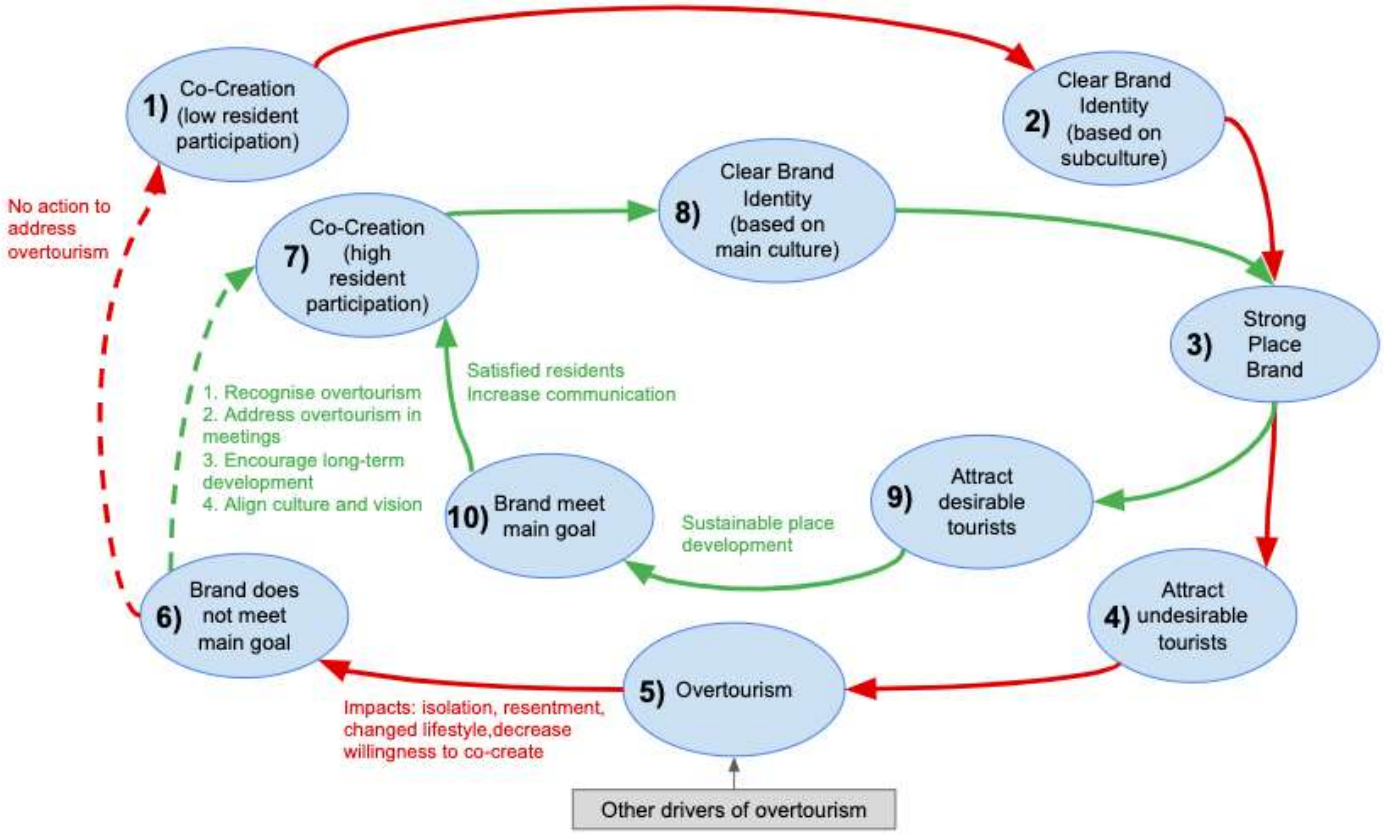


Figure 4: How co-creational branding can address issues of overtourism

The external stakeholders' image of Christiania is mainly based on associations with drugs and illegal activities and impressions of Christiania as an unsafe place. This image is influenced by the visual and behavioural expressions of Pusher Street as most tourists who visit the Freetown only see this street, making Pusher Street dominate external stakeholder images and communications. Currently, Christianites have a low participation in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand (1). Through

the identity conversation (Hatch & Schultz, 2009), Christiania responds to this image by allowing Pusher Street to exist, despite knowing it is a criminal environment, which is not in line with Christiania's true values. This empowers the internal stakeholders of Pusher Street, who represent a criminal subculture of Christiania, to lead the identity conversation, as they are front-line internal stakeholders and therefore most likely to interact with tourists. This leads to an alignment between the external stakeholders' image and the subculture of Christiania, which creates a clear Christiania identity, based on a criminal Christiania subculture (2). This clear identity strengthens the Christiania place brand, as it provides Christiania with a clear positioning, helping Christiania achieve competitive advantage (3). This is evident as Pusher Street attracts a great amount of tourists, who consider Christiania a must-see in Copenhagen.

However, this identity does not align with the Christiania vision, as it mostly attracts oblivious tourists, who are described as uninterested, inconsiderate, and unaware of the Christiania lifestyle (4). This is not in line with the vision of Christiania, which aims to attract curious guests, who want to experience the true Christiania through the use of local offers and services, unrelated to Pusher Street. In this way, the Christiania place brand partially leads to overtourism as oblivious tourists contribute to thresholds of Christiania's carrying capacity being exceeded (5) (Richardson & Fluker, 2004). To some level, this leads Christianites to resent tourism and escape it through isolation, ultimately impacting their lifestyle and general wellbeing. Thus, the place brand of Christiania does not meet the main goals of a place brand (6), which is enhancing the overall desirability of the place and improving the residents' quality of life (Kavaratzis, 2004). This also hinders Christiania further in achieving their vision as it makes Christianites less willing and able to contribute to the tourist's experience, thus excluding the Christianites from actively participating in the co-creational branding process. As the Christianites are not able to achieve their vision, and are not actively participating in the co-creational branding process (1), the clear identity of Christiania, based on Pusher Street, continues to be the greatest influence to the Christiania place brand (2).

The pattern described above may signal that Christiania is in a self-destructive loop. As the current identity of Christiania contributes to exceeding thresholds of carrying capacity, Christianites are isolating themselves and thus not participating in the co-creational branding process. In this way the identity remains the same and the loop is repeated. In order to change the loop, Christiania needs to address the issues of overtourism, by influencing the identity dynamics and aligning it with the Christiania vision. This can be done by Christianites increasing their participation in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand.

In order for Christianites to participate in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand, Christiania needs to overcome obstacles that are currently hindering such participation. First, Christiania needs to recognise that overtourism not just affects the daily life of individual residents, but can potentially damage the lifestyle of the whole community in the long run. Second, Christiania needs to prioritise addressing the issue of overtourism during the community meetings and encourage long-term problem-solving. Kontaktgruppen, who is responsible for dealing with current issues in Christiania can initiate this. In total, this can help Christianites overcome their sense of hopelessness, as they approach the problem more hands-on. In the end, it might enhance Christianites willingness to interact more with tourists, thus increasing the Christianites role in the branding process (7), making the true Christiania culture, based on freedom, self-governance, collective decision-making, openness, diversity, responsibility to others, creativity, revolution and rebellion, more visible. As culture cannot be managed (Hatch & Schultz, 1997), the Christiania subculture will still exist, but an increase in Chrisitanites' participation can help the true Christiania culture overpower the subculture and thus lead the identity conversation.

By increasing participation, Christianites become more prominent in the co-creation of the Christiania brand. Through this co-creation the Christianites can, to a higher degree, influence the external stakeholders' image, and thus align the external image with the true culture of Christiania, influencing the identity conversation. In the beginning of this process, the identity of Christiania will be unclear, as the image of the external stakeholders, which still is based on associations with drugs and illegal activities, will not align with the culture of Christiania. However, through communication with external stakeholders (such as tourists and external DMOs) and long-term development, the external stakeholders will eventually base their image on the true culture of Christiania, and the identity will in theory be clear again (8). Since Christiania does not have a DMO, and depends on resident participation, they have ensured the creation of a vision based on the true Christiania culture. However, with no DMO, no one takes responsibility, nor initiates communicating the new preferred image to external stakeholders. This can increase the Christianites' sense of hopelessness.

As the new identity will be clear, it will contribute to a strong Christiania place brand (3) based on the true Christiania culture which is in alignment with the Christiania vision. This place brand can help overcome issues of overtourism, by attracting curious tourists who are interested in collective societies and the Christiania lifestyle (9). These tourists might, to a lesser degree, contribute to exceeding social carrying capacity, as they are less likely to disrupt the village lifestyle and more likely to be in line with the Christiania vision. This vision aims to attract guests who are interested in

the Christiania lifestyle and who are more likely to use Christiania's services, unrelated to Pusher Street. In this way, they will contribute to the Christiania economy. As these tourists are in line with the Christiania vision, Christianites will hold more positive attitudes towards these tourists and their overall satisfaction will increase. Moreover, this will affect the discussion on financial gains versus resident wellbeing, as both are addressed (Inkson and Minnaert, 2012).

Through this process, the Christiania place brand can accomplish the main goal of a place brand, ensuring the resident's quality of life (10). As the residents become more satisfied, they are more likely to commit to the Christiania place brand, and generate positive, trustworthy word-of-mouth which can influence the external image of Christiania. In this way, the local residents can become brand ambassadors (Braun et al., 2013), increasing their participation in the co-creational branding process further. This can help Christiania gain a positive reputation, by building emotional connections with stakeholders, with the aim of attracting the right type of tourists.

Findings demonstrate that Christianites themselves understand the positive outcomes of participating in the co-creation of the Christiania place brand. Findings also revealed that tourists who interacted with locals, as opposed to those who did not, gained a more positive impression of Christiania, supporting how Christianites' participation in co-creational activities influence external stakeholder's image of Christiania. However, Christianites question the process, as willingness to participate in co-creational activities depends on the individual. Moreover, increasing residents' participation in the co-creational process may require Christiania to become more structured, which contradicts their cultural values. Thus, efforts toward increasing Christianites participation in co-creational activities may be challenging.

In conclusion, co-creational place branding can help address issues of overtourism by increasing residents' participation in the co-creational process, thus creating a place brand that aligns the residents' culture, and vision and the external stakeholders' image. This creates a clear identity and a new, strong place brand that attracts guests, not tourists, who are less likely to exceed the carrying capacity thresholds related to overtourism. This describes a sustainable tourism development that increases residents' satisfaction and enables the place brand to fulfil its main goal.

Conclusion

Theoretical Contribution

The main theoretical contribution of this research is the expansion of knowledge on co-creational place branding and overtourism, as well as the interplay between the two concepts. This research has explored how the involvement of stakeholders, and local residents in particular, can help a place brand address potential issues of overtourism. In this way, this research further supports the arguments for applying corporate branding concepts to place branding. By involving stakeholders, and residents in particular, a place can obtain a clear identity, based on the true culture of the place, which in turn can create a strong place brand that attracts desirable tourists, less likely to exceed thresholds of a place's carrying capacity. In this way, co-creational place branding helps address the issues of overtourism.

Within the context of overtourism, this research questions the applicability of Doxey's (1975) irridex, as it was deemed too simplistic and relies on assumptions. The irridex suggests that local resentment towards tourists increases in line with growing tourist numbers. However, this research suggests factors, other than merely tourist numbers, also have an effect on local attitudes. These factors include the resident's involvement with tourists, the degree to which the resident is financially dependent on tourism, and the resident's duration of residency.

This research contributes to existing literature, by adding local isolation as a prominent negative impact of overtourism. While literature on overtourism agrees on the phenomena's effect on the local residents' lifestyle, no literature expresses the action of locals isolating themselves. Isolation was, however, the most emphasised impact of overtourism amongst Christianites. Thereby, this research suggests isolation as a consequence of a smaller community experiencing overtourism.

Moreover, this research contributes to existing literature, by exploring the effects of true resident participation in the co-creation of a place brand. Existing theories acknowledge the importance of involving residents in decision-making. In reality, this rarely occurs and when it does, residents often lack power in decision-making, compared to policy makers. The nature of how decisions are made in Christiania, provides an ideal context for the study of resident involvement in decision-making and co-creational place branding. Findings revealed that whilst true resident participation can enable an alignment between culture and vision, it also hinders the community from making decisions as residents themselves do not initiate actions aimed at overtourism. In other contexts, DMOs would be responsible for such initiatives.

Findings suggest that all resident groups should participate in the co-creation of a place brand as this can increase the satisfaction of all residents. This contradicts Braun et al. (2013) who suggests only including a few resident groups. However, it is important that the residents form a coherent group and that the true culture of the place prevails over potential subcultures. In this way, the place brand ensures an alignment between the culture of the place and the place's vision. The true culture of the place will influence the external stakeholders' image and create a clear identity and a strong place brand that can help attract desirable tourists who are less likely to exceed thresholds of a place's carrying capacity.

Managerial Implications

The successful application of corporate branding theories to place branding can provide DMOs with a framework for investigating the identity of a place brand and discover if undesirable cultural values are influencing external images and defining the place identity. By doing so, DMOs can focus their co-creational efforts towards aligning the true culture of a place with the external stakeholder image's and thus create a new identity, which helps in attracting tourists who are less likely to exceed the thresholds of a place's carrying capacity. This tactic can make hard measures to counteract overtourism unnecessary, such as limiting the number of flights and cruise ships. Additionally, it will help decrease overtourism without limiting economic benefits, as the new tourists attracted by the new place brand are more likely to make use of local offerings.

This research also further encourages DMOs to work on increasing resident participation in the co-creation of a place brand, as such participation not only helps create a coherent place brand, but also helps address, and potentially overcome, issues of overtourism. This reflects a true participatory approach (Zenker & Erfgen, 2014) and helps a DMO gain valuable insights from the local residents (Gowreesunkar & Seraphin, 2019; Inkson & Minnaert, 2012).

Further, the involvement of residents in this research can demonstrate and encourage various policy makers to provide locals and other stakeholders with equal power in the decision-making process. This can encourage the creation of a common purpose (Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018), and help align a place's vision, culture, and external image. However, such an alignment and equal share of power might be undesirable for places where policy makers' main agenda is based on economic growth, most commonly at the expense of residents' wellbeing.

Limitations and Further Research

There are some limitations to this research. First, the research included few interviews based on internal stakeholders. Additionally, all internal stakeholders interviewed were, to a varying degree, involved in the tourism sector of Christiania, which might influence their opinions due to bias. The in-depth interviews attempted to minimise this bias, however, this limitation may still decrease the internal validity of this research.

Second, the tourists interviewed were not asked about their willingness to interact with local Christianites, affecting the findings of this research. However, as new tourism is an increasing trend, where tourists are venturing outside of the tourists bubble, looking for authentic experiences and encounters with locals (Inkson & Minnaert, 2012), one can assume such a willingness exists, or will exist among tourists visiting Christiania in the future.

A third limitation is that Christiania does not have a DMO which contributes to the image formed by external stakeholders through promotional campaigns. This makes Christiania an ideal context for studying resident participation in the co-creation of a place brand, but limits the application of the findings from this research, as such communities are rare. However, the aim of this research is not to accomplish external validity nor replicability, but instead reach internal validity.

A fourth limitation is that data was collected outside of high season. Thus, the data collected from the Christianites relied on their ability to recall the past in order to get a clear picture of tourism in Christiania and how it affects the community. This has also influenced the data collected from tourists as they experienced Christiania during low season.

A fifth limitation concerns the interviews with the tourists. Some tourists might have visited Christiania in order to purchase illegal substances, restricting some participants from answering truthfully and thus affecting the data. The limited English skills of some tourists hindered them in being able to answer questions fully, ultimately affecting the data. As the interviews with tourists were unscheduled, they were much shorter than what is usually required in order to gain in-depth insights. However, this was the only option, as a questionnaire-based survey is insufficient for gathering data regarding feelings, associations, and impressions.

The last limitation concerns the number of stakeholders and resident groups interviewed. Only two stakeholder groups were interviewed, and the residents somewhat belonged to the same resident group as they shared similar views.

This limitation can encourage further research to include more stakeholders and resident groups. This can provide a more elaborate insight into the interplay between co-creational place branding and overtourism. Christiania remains an interesting context for further studies of this topic, where the inclusion of more stakeholders can contribute to a more holistic understanding. By involving more resident groups, further research can include Christianites not involved in the tourist sector, thus eliminating the potential bias of this research, and increasing the internal validity.

Further studies can apply this research to other contexts in order to further explore the interplay between co-creational place branding and overtourism. Further research can also focus on more practical measures in how to increase resident participation in the co-creation of a place brand suffering from overtourism.

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