Deleuzoguattarian Place Marketing: Becoming, Between, Beneath, and Beyond

Abstract

Purpose: This paper argues that the work of Deleuze and Guattari can help place marketers to think differently about places and place brands.

Design/methodology/approach: This is a conceptual paper that draws together a range of resources to develop a Deleuzoguattarian approach to place marketing.

Findings: Deleuzoguattarian thinking helps place marketers to reconceptualise places as ‘becomings’, which in turn encourages them to look between, beneath, and beyond their usual foci. The Deleuzoguattarian spirit of critical-creativity is also noted, encouraging readers to develop the ideas presented here in new directions.

Research limitations/implications: This paper expands the epistemological imagination of place marketing scholars to consider the places in-between their place brands, the subconscious influences beneath the surface of salience, and phenomena beyond the anthroposcale of everyday experience. This enriches existing conceptualisations and extends place marketing with several new areas of enquiry that can be empirically elaborated through future research.

Practical implications: This paper helps place marketing practitioners to consider and respond to the flows of matter-energy that influence their place brands between, beneath, and beyond their intentional management practices.

Social implications: This paper develops critical schools of thought within the place marketing literature, providing some suggestions about how to develop and manage more inclusive place brands. This may also have implications for activists and others seeking societal improvements.

Originality/value: This paper develops a Deleuzoguattarian approach to place marketing, stimulating new lines of inquiry and experimental practices.
Keywords: Deleuzoguattarian, Deleuze, Guattari, Materiality, Non-Representational Theory, Assemblage.

Introduction

“A general theory of society is a generalized theory of flows” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, p.262)

The diverse literature on place marketing typically focuses on the narratives, images, and meanings of place-making (Warnaby and Medway, 2013; Dupre, 2019). While place marketers have also acknowledged the importance of materiality (e.g. Therkelsen et al. 2010; Warnaby et al., 2010), physical objects and substances are usually conceptualised as static surfaces onto which meanings are ascribed by spatial stakeholders, notwithstanding a few notable exceptions (Henshaw et al. 2015; Medway and Warnaby, 2017). These tendencies contrast with vitalist philosophies of matter, which treat materiality as a flow of dynamic forces (e.g. Barad, 2003; Braidotti, 2006, 2016; DeLanda, 2006, 2016; Bennett, 2010). Vitalist philosophical positions can be found in the nineteenth century works of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer (Grayling, 2019), but were revitalised by the oeuvre of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1983, 1986, 1987). Although widely-cited across the social sciences, Deleuze and Guattari are not as widely-read; largely this is because their writing style is “at times formidably difficult” (Roffe, 2016, p.42), owing more to poetry than prose. As such, many Deleuzoguattarian ideas have been filtered into geography, marketing, and other disciplines through traditions like Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005; Law, 2009), Consumer Culture Theory (Arnould and Thompson, 2015), and Non-Representational Theory (Thrift, 2008). Suffused by a similar spirit, this paper seeks to act as a cipher for Deleuzoguattarian thought within place marketing, introducing their vitalist philosophy of matter and outlining the theoretical and practical implications for place marketing.

The structure of this paper is as follows. The paper begins by addressing the vitalist notion of becoming that runs throughout Deleuzoguattarian thought. Becoming has inspired scholars to

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1 Place marketing is used here as shorthand, encompassing place branding, management, and development also.
conceptualise reality as flows of ‘matter-energy’ taking variegated forms (Bennett, 2010; DeLanda and Harman, 2017). This resonates with conceptualisations of place as ‘kaleidoscopic’ territorialisations (Warnaby and Medway, 2013; Cheetham et al. 2018) and extends critical lines of thinking within place marketing (Medway et al. 2008; Giovanardi et al. 2019). Becoming is the first stage in a Deleuzoguattarian approach to place marketing. The paper then explicates the theoretical and practical implications of becoming under three alliterative headings: the spatial flows between places of consumption and representation are highlighted as potent phenomena in their own right; the subconscious influences of spatial flows beneath the surface of salience are discussed; the possibility of spatial phenomena beyond everyday experiences of place are considered. Finally, the conclusion synthesises these arguments into a helpful heuristic (the 4 Bs) whilst stressing the importance of critical-creative responses to Deleuzoguattarian thought.

**Becoming Placed**

Becoming is central to Deleuzoguattarian thinking. ‘Being’ implies independent individuals that interact, but ‘becoming’ describes a world where “the partners do not precede the meeting” (Haraway, 2008, p.4) but evolve through their entanglements (Barad, 2003). Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p.407) write of “matter-energy… matter in variation”. People, places, and other phenomena emerge from these variations as “swirls” or “transitory coagulations” (DeLanda and Harman, 2017, p.58). This philosophy of becoming accords with the work of relational geographers (Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006), for whom geographies are “continuously being made, unmade, and remade by the incessant shuffling of heterogeneous relations” (Doel, 2007, p.810). It also aligns with recent conceptualisations of place as “kaleidoscopic” (Warnaby and Medway, 2013, p.356), or “dynamic, multifaceted and fluid” (Cheetham et al. 2018, p.475). Becoming rejects “a world of fixed entities” as a “distortion”, albeit one that is often “necessary and useful because humans must use the world instrumentally if they are to survive” (Bennett, 2010, p.122). From this perspective space might describe a messy morass of mutable materialities, while places are understood as strategic attempts to stabilise and make sense of said spatiality. This echoes De Certeau’s (1984, p.117) definitional delineation where space is “composed of intersections of mobile elements” while place refers to a “configuration of
positions… an indication of stability”. Space and place are both becomings but they can be
differentiated by the **extent of their stabilisation** (see also Nieuwenhuis, 2016; Giovanardi and
Lucarelli, 2018).

The stabilisation associated with place can be understood via the Deleuzoguattarian metaphor of
territorialisation, which is used to describe processes through which matter-energy becomes more
organised; this includes, but is by no means restricted to, the literal territorial acts of claiming and
controlling space (DeLanda, 2006). With this metaphor in mind, Cheetham et al. (2018, p.475) argue
“that place is relationally constructed through territorializing consumption practices which
continuously produce and sustain multifarious versions of place.” It might be added that place is also
constituted relationally by marketing practices (Castilhos et al. 2016; Canniford et al. 2018). If so,
place marketing can be reinterpreted as a territorial project of stabilising matter-energies into more
identifiable and profitable forms. This project is ongoing because territories are always open to the
possibility of de-territorialisation or de-stabilisation, necessitating regular maintenance and
management (DeLanda, 2006; Brighenti, 2010, 2014). Marketing theorists generally assume that
marketers and consumers desire ontological stability (Canniford and Shankar, 2016), meaning a world
of manageable entities and relationships (Zwick and Bradshaw, 2016). Studies of place identities and
attachments imply that place marketers and consumers share this desire despite, or perhaps because
of, the interflowing and hazy nature of places (Colomb and Kalandides, 2010; Kalandides, 2011;
Warnaby and Medway, 2013; Ujang et al. 2018). In contrast, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) celebrate
**how** deterritorialisations dissolve boundaries, diminish hierarchies, and escape control (however
temporarily) to generate novel thoughts, feelings, actions, and becomings. This celebration points to a
heterophilic axiology at the heart of Deleuzoguattarian thinking, one that implores place marketers to
resist the homogenising tendency of copying successful place branding strategies (Eisenschitz, 2010),
and to become more experimental in embracing differences and engendering diversification.

Taking this heterophilia further, Deleuzoguattarian thinkers might propose that place marketers
destabilise their assets, **letting them** become more interconnected with other place-becomings through
collaborations and coalitions. The shift from ‘clone towns’ to ‘slow towns’ investigated by Duignan et
al. (2018) provides a possible case-in-point, describing how ‘embryonic’ events can lead to long-term legacies by becoming more closely networked with local stakeholders. The heterophilia of Deleuzoguattarian thinking could therefore build on the “critical-literature streams” within place marketing (Medway et al. 2008, p.125), particularly calls therein for “bottom-up” approaches to place marketing that are “open to the widest possible stakeholder participation”, even participations that challenge mainstream place marketing practices (Warnaby and Medway, 2013, p.358).

As part of this critical ambition for more inclusive place branding researchers could seek out, study, and support sites where the hierarchies, exclusions, and marginalisations produced by conventional ‘top-down’ place marketing approaches are being deterritorialised. These deterritorialisations may be dramatic, such as the anti-capitalist experiment of Exarcheia (Chatzidakis et al. 2012), or incremental, like attempts by Santorini locals to diversify their tourism trade (Lichrou et al. 2017). However, this approach should be advanced cautiously as the ‘lines of flight’ opened up by deterritorialising practices are often chased by the territorialising tendencies of capitalism (O’Sullivan, 2016).

Accordingly, place marketing academics writing about sites of deterritorialisation run the risk of drawing these experiments to the attention of marketers, local governments, and other potent actors. Such attention has advantages, such as the reallocation of resources, but critical scholars have also argued that the lived richness of a place can be stripped away by the profit-maximising logics of spatial commodification, commercialisation, and capitalisation (Lefebvre, 1991; Saatcioglu and Ozzane, 2013; Giovanardi et al. 2019). As such, critical thinkers and practitioners might decide that some becomings are best served in the spatial shadows.

Between Places

Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987) used many metaphors to describe the open-ended systems of becoming. Following DeLanda (2006, 2016), assemblage has arguably become the most popular appellation, describing how “a heterogeneous set of elements mutually resonate to become something entirely unpredictable.” (Bryant et al., 2011, p.6) Applications of assemblages abound in geography (Allen, 2011; Dewsbury, 2011; Nash and Gorman-Murray, 2017) and marketing theory (Arnould and
Thompson, 2015; Canniford and Bajde, 2016), developing more diverse, dynamic, and de-centred accounts of spatiality:

“From an assemblage perspective, space is constructed from distributed entanglements of both material (e.g. objects, physical locations, technologies) and expressive components (e.g. language, signs, gestures, codes and laws). In this view, spaces and the actions that occur there can be seen to be constructed from a broader network of things than initial appearances might warrant.” (Canniford et al. 2018, p.235).

It is debated whether ‘assemblage’ is a suitable Anglophone translation of Deleuze and Guattari’s French term agencement (Phillips, 2006; Law, 2009). For Roffe (2016, p.45, original emphasis) it is “the ideal English translation: it is a substantive, and has the spatial connotations common with the French, but it also convokes the sense of activity (assembling) that captures a key part of Deleuze and Guattari’s term.” In contrast, Hietanen and Andéhn (2018, p.552) use agencement “to highlight the agentic relationality and the intertwined nature of all forces in such emergent events, rather than ‘assemblage’, which connotes a more technical notion designating an arrangement of objects”. For their part, Deleuze and Guattari (1987, pp.3-4) argue that the assemblage/agencement is suggestive of fluvial forces:

“in all things, there are lines of articulation or segmentarity, strata and territories; but also lines of flight, movements of deterritorialisation and destratification. Comparative rates of flow on these lines produce phenomena of relative slowness and viscosity, or, on the contrary, of acceleration and rupture. All this, lines and measurable speeds, constitutes an assemblage [or agencement].”

The position adopted in this paper is agnostic regarding terminology, but argues that a fluvial ontological outlook is crucial in Deleuzoguattarian thinking, as well as advantageous for place marketers. For instance, cities and regions can be reimagined as flows of humans and other variable matters. Amongst other insights, this reimagining redirects attention to the places between those featuring prominently in marketing campaigns. For example, Sherry et al. (2004) describe how the unexceptional roads surrounding the ESPN Zone contributed to the otherworldly experience of
crossing its threshold. Similarly, Maclaran and Brown (2005) found that the utopian experience of Powerscourt was partly constituted by the feeling of displacement when passing from the clinical, generic shopping streets outside into the shopping centre’s chaotic interior. Describing the opposite phenomenon, Borghini et al. (2009) note how the sociospatial experience of American Girl Place diffuses beyond the perimeter of this flagship store thanks to the bright branded bags carried by customers through adjoining avenues. For the aforementioned authors these effects were interesting asides, but for Deleuzoguattarian thinkers these may be important flows that create transient proto-places. The omission of these in-between places is partly a legacy of Augé’s (1992) description of airports, motorways, and other sites of movement as ‘non-places’. Deleuzoguattarian thinking treats streets, vehicles, and other spaces in-between as places worth studying in their own right.

A Deleuzoguattarian focus on flows may also help to theorise mobile or peripatetic places like multi-sited festivals (Lucarelli and Giovanardi, 2016) or pop-ups (Taube and Warnaby, 2017).

Conceptually-speaking, Rossolatos (2018) has drawn on Deleuze and Guattari to develop a more ‘nomadic’ theory of place branding that can accommodate moving experiences of emplacement (or ‘spacing’). Hill (2016) provides an empirical example of a similar conceptualisation in action by theorising the journeys of football fans on match days as flows of affect. He showed how the management of these flows by the police and other actors shaped the mood of the match itself. This contributes to the idea that place marketers should pay attention to in-between places in order to better understand how stakeholders experience and engage with their assets. This logic shares much in common with Lucarelli’s (2019) ‘ecological approach’, which focuses on what he describes as the ‘trans-local expressions’ of a city. This ecological approach encompasses focal places but can also consider the places in-between help to that constitute a city as an assemblage of flows.

Beneath Place-Making

As noted earlier, Roffe (2016, p.45) defends the use of assemblage (rather than agencement) partly on the basis that it has active associations of “assembling”. Others object to the anthropocentrism that this implies (e.g. Hietanen and Andéhn, 2018), and challenge accounts where “consumers assemble
experiences and collectives; managers struggle with brands and markets; consumers make markets using resources” (Bettany, 2016, p.192). Indeed, the idea of an assembler, human or otherwise, runs counter to Deleuze and Guattari’s (1986) notion of the assemblage as “a concept that allows us to dispense with any reference to a foundational human subject”, as Roffé (2016, p.42) himself notes.

Assemblage approaches can explain phenomena without recourse to human subjectivity as the primary driver of events; instead, Deleuzoguattarian thinkers are encouraged to look at the “asignifying and asubjective” flows of force beneath the surface of conscious experiences and collective representations (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.9). As Bryant et al. (2011, p.4) explain, “Deleuze and Guattari set forth an ontological vision of an asubjective realm of becoming, with the subject and thought being only a final, residual product of these primary ontological movements.” The implications of this position are profound for place marketing, which is heavily influenced by the phenomenological philosophical precept that subjectivity and meaning is central to any analysis (Warnaby and Medway, 2013).

When taken seriously, Deleuzoguattarian a-subjectivity produces a worldview that “makes any coherent individuality an ontological myth, masking a stuttering organic machine-pile” (Hietanen et al. 2019, p.4). Humans and nonhumans alike are treated as machines of matter-energy within wider nonconscious machinic systems of interflowing forces (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, 1987; Hietanen and Andéhn, 2018). Applied to place marketing, this worldview advocates a focus on observed patterns of action rather than interpretations reported in interviews and other forms of discursive data. Adopting a Deleuzoguattarian lens, Hietanen et al. (2016, p.305) understand airports as socially-stratified spaces that operate largely unconsciously to encourage linear, predictable, and organised progressions of bodies from check-in desks to airplane seats:

“In an implicit sense, luxury boutiques and high-end restaurants housed in airport terminals constitute restrictive zones whose services cater to affluent travellers but actively discourage those less privileged. In an explicit sense, business and first class passengers are granted privileged access to lounges and fast track queues from which economy passengers are formally excluded… one could
argue that nowhere else in contemporary western society is social class distinction as visible as in the airport”.

The study of Exarcheia by Chatzidakis et al. (2012) provides another empirical example of nonconscious patterns. Although they do not adopt a Deleuzoguattarian lens themselves, these authors note how information and affect could travel more quickly in this Athenian district because the streets there intersected more frequently than other areas of the city, also making it more difficult for the authorities to control flows of human bodies. These spatial arrangements help to explain why Exarcheia is more prone to riots than the surrounding neighbourhoods and why this place has developed an anarchic identity (Chatzidakis et al. 2012). These two cases demonstrate how explanations of place marketing phenomena can be constructed with little or no reference to conscious deliberations, intentional actions, or reflexive interpretations. This style of scholarship is quite different from the phenomenological emphasis on meaning-making by agentic stakeholders found in most place marketing studies (e.g. Warnaby and Medway, 2013; Dupre, 2019). At the same time, it represents an extension of those studies acknowledging the role of nonhuman actors and their nonconscious actions in place-making processes (e.g. Canniford et al. 2018; Vicdan and Hong, 2018; Cheetham et al. 2018).

Other Deleuzoguattarian thinkers argue that unconscious flows of action do not necessarily diminish “the importance of the subject in terms of both ethical and political accountability” (Braidotti, 2006, p.197) – mostly those working in a feminist theoretical tradition (e.g. Haraway, 2008). These softer, less deterministic, positions posit that human subjectivity does play a role in shaping events, albeit alongside a nebula of nonconscious forces also. This resonates with Thrift’s (2008) Non-Representational Theory (NRT), which redirects scholarly attention to the ‘pre-cognitive’ human responses emerging from ‘onflows’ of everyday activity (Hill et al. 2014), such as those found when driving a car (Laurier, 2011), feeling the mood of a football crowd (Hill, 2016), or experiencing the smells of a place (Canniford et al. 2018). NRT is more accurately described as more-than-representational (Lormier, 2005), insofar as it acknowledges conscious representational activities equally alongside unconscious flows (Hill et al. 2014; Anderson and Harrison, 2010), just like the
feminist Deleuzoguattarian thinkers (Haraway, 2008; Braidotti, 2016). NRT has already been applied to understand how consumers respond to spatial phenomena (Hill, 2016; Canniford et al. 2018) and how they make places via consumption practices (Cheetham et al. 2018), but only Rossolatos’s (2018) conceptual paper applies a ‘post-representational’ perspective to place marketing. Yet, many studies of place marketing – such as those relating to multi-sensorial experiences (Henshaw et al. 2015; Medway and Warnaby, 2017) and minutiae like litter (Parker et al. 2015) – might also benefit from the post-representational approach provided by Deleuze and Guattari, regardless of the stance taken in regards to human subjectivity.

Beyond Place

Deleuzoguattarian thinking can also conceptualise beyond the places of everyday human experience that feature prominently in the extant literature. In his dialogue with Graham Harman, DeLanda argues that “across very long times scales (i.e. much longer than a human lifetime) many objects disappear from view and you would only be able to “see” flows, that is, becomings. At shorter time scales, many of these becomings can be grasped as semi-permanent beings.” (Delanda and Harman, 2017, pp.59) The artist Felix Hess provides a concrete example of this when he recorded five days of ambient sound in New York and then played it 360 times faster. Listening to this art piece, Morton (2013, p.56) notes how “a slow, periodic hum begins to become audible… the standing wave caused by pressure changes in the air over the Atlantic Ocean.” This illustrates how some assemblages exist beyond the perceptive capabilities of human sensory organs, and raises the question: what other geographical assemblages might exist beyond the places of everyday experience? Despite the habit of treating cities and other macro-geographies as singular entities, empirical research suggests that these places are only indirectly conceived via aggregating the attachments associated with it (e.g. Warnaby and Medway, 2013). Similarly, place marketers studying geographical phenomena like Hadrian’s Wall have explored the ‘fuzzy’ nature of places beyond the scale of direct human perception (Warnaby et al. 2010).
Building on the arguments presented in earlier sections of this paper, it could be asserted that Deleuzoguattarian thinking therefore leads to the conclusion that Roman walls, cities, and other places beyond the scale of human perception are much more than their famous landmarks and even the sum-total of all the attachments and identifications that might pertain to them. For mainstream place marketers this means that there are many sources of destabilising forces that should not be ignored, while for critical place marketers this means that there are always matter-energies excluded from even the most inclusive place brand. In any case place marketing is always an incomplete process that cannot be pursued through direct or reported observation alone. Understanding macro-phenomena requires a degree of speculation beyond human experience (DeLanda and Harman, 2017).

The same is true of smaller scales of space and time. Fast flows of microscopic matter-energy like electricity and data are difficult to perceive, “too small or too fast to be “things” (Bennett, 2010, p.viii). Given that these micro-flows are increasingly influential in contemporary capitalism (Zuboff, 2019), it is increasingly important for place marketers to be able to study and manage them. The proliferation of sensors, surveillance, and social media generates a deluge of geo-located data that can, when agglomerated into larger and slower patterns, can be more easily perceived by human observers.

Looking beyond the anthroposcale also reminds place marketers that places, like people, have a lifespan. The decline and death of place has received remarkably little attention within place marketing; one exception being Warnaby and Medway’s (2017) study of dereliction. ‘Darker’ readings of Deleuzoguattarian thought focus on the Body without Organs (BwO) and its destructive potential (Culp, 2016; Hietanen et al. 2019). The BwO describes a state of totally unorganised forces and flows (Thanem, 2006), an extreme deterritorialisation, a kind of anti-assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari (1987, pp. 159-160) warn “how necessary caution is, the art of dosages, since overdose is a danger […] dismantling the organism has never meant killing yourself, but rather opening the body to connections”. As such, the BwO represents the utopian horizon of possibility for those feeling restrained by biological or sociological organisations. Place marketers might recognise BwO tendencies when place consumers seek escapism in extreme experiences, such as those provided by painful adventure challenges (Scott et al. 2017), and adapt their marketing practices accordingly.
Place marketers might also consider that places becoming totally un-organised are no longer particular places at all, a form of topocide. Yet, from Culp’s (2016) ‘dark Deleuzian’ perspective the destructive aspects of BwOs open up fertile ground for new becomings, leading to the counter-intuitive conclusion that topocide may sometimes be desirable for place marketers. For instance, when place marketers study the ailing British high street in an era of internet shopping (e.g. Parker et al. 2017), the assumed objective is to save these spaces. Reading against this common-sensical grain, a darker Deleuzoguattarian thought is that letting these retailers disappear might enable the emergence of alternative forms of commerce and even alternative public spaces like urban street parks or legal graffiti art zones. The death and rebirth of place is likely to be a site of contestation, as Maclaran and Brown’s (2005) study of the Powerscourt refurbishment demonstrates, yet the BwO is a reminder that opportunities for alternative becomings lie beyond every extant place.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that Deleuzoguattarian thinking, especially a vitalist conception of matter, helps to enrich and extend place marketing as an area of scholarship and practice. The philosophy of becoming enriches conceptualisations of place as kaleidoscopic (Warnaby and Medway, 2013) by delving deeper into a post-representational philosophical perspective of space as flowing matter-energies (Hill et al. 2014; Rossolatos, 2018). This view seeks to “assign space a dynamic role that is both fluid in nature and transforms the actions and relationships of its actors, rather than treat it as a passive container for human actions” (Vicdan and Hong, 2018, p.170). It also positions place as an entity that emerges from acts of territorialisation (Cheetham et al. 2018), acts of making-meaning from the messy morass of mutable materialities. Becoming incorporates materialities and meanings, but cautions against over-emphasising the latter. As Bennett (2010, p.xiv) argues, seeing the world as meaningful and sensical “may be indispensable to the action-oriented perception on which our survival depends… but it is also dangerous and counterproductive to live this fiction all the time.” Thus becoming also extends place marketing scholarship by looking between places of consumption and representation, beneath the conscious place-making practices that produce them, and beyond the perceptions of everyday experience. These ‘4 Bs’ of Becoming, Between, Beneath, and Beyond may
serve as a helpful heuristic for place marketers, reminding them of the “countercultural kind of perceiving” opened up by Deleuzoguattarian thought (Bennett, 2010, p.xiv). It is countercultural in the discipline of place marketing, which typically emphasises narratives and images (Warnaby and Medway, 2013), but also within marketing scholarship and practice more generally, which generally asserts the power of marketers and consumers as meaning-making human subjects (Bettany, 2016; Hietanen et al. 2019).

It is hoped that the 4 Bs and the arguments in these paper may be useful for place marketers. However, if readers want to become more Deleuzoguattarian they should take these as inspiration rather than instruction. Deleuze and Guattari believed that ideas should be used rather than interpreted, entailing critical and creative adaptations rather than accurate interpretations and faithful applications (Roffe, 2016). They decried dogma and hoped to instil iconoclasm instead of idolatry in their readership; as Botez and Hietanen (2017, p.867-8) note, “in contrast to what one might have learned to assume, being radical is conceptually founded on staying close to the roots (Lat: rad-ixes) … to be radical means: do not bow down, do not worship.” Deleuze and Guattari did not want worshippers but radicals, those willing to take their ideas and develop them rather than merely deploy them. Many of the authors cited in this paper have done just that (e.g. DeLanda, 2006, 2016; Bennett, 2010; Barad, 2003; Haraway, 2008; Latour, 2005; Brighenti, 2010, 2014), exemplary of the critical-creative spirit that Deleuze and Guattari endorsed. As Braidotti (2016, p.23) once wrote, “the task of critical thinkers is defined accordingly as the creation of new concepts.” Therefore, this paper concludes by calling for place marketers to keep Deleuzoguattarian ideas moving in new directions.

Given their fluvial ontology of matter-energies, it is perhaps unsurprising that the key epistemic recommendation of Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p.24) is to keep thinking dynamic, “make rhizomes, not roots, never plant!”
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