Civic Engagement in an Urban Strategy Process: The role of Emotions, the Atmosphere, and its Impact

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"Great things in business are never done by one person; they're done by a team of people." (Steve Jobs)

As Steve Jobs stated, great innovations are never developed by one actor but are the result of the engagement of various actors. And that is what this dissertation is about, the engagement and contribution of various actors to organizational activities.

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Zusammenfassung

Vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Trends zur Offenheit und der Einbindung unterschiedlicher Akteure in organisatorische Aktivitäten wird in dieser Dissertation das bürgerschaftliche Engagement in einem städtischen Strategieprozess untersucht. Insbesondere wird analysiert, welche Rolle Emotionen für Akteure spielen, wenn sich mehrere institutionelle Ordnungen überschneiden, welche Rolle die Atmosphäre bei der Gestaltung der Zukunft spielt und welche Auswirkungen das Engagement unterschiedlicher Akteure bei der Bewältigung großer Herausforderungen hat. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass unterschiedliche Akteure emotionale Taktiken einsetzen, um ihre Handlungsfähigkeit zu verbessern, so dass Emotionen selbst zu Akteuren werden, die den institutionellen Prozess der Schaffung einer gemeinsamen Strategie beeinflussen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen auch, dass sich die Future-Making-Praktiken und die Atmosphäre gegenseitig beeinflussen, da die Atmosphäre die Akteure zunehmend befähigt, Future-Making zu praktizieren und die Artefakte des Future-Makings anzuwenden. Die Ergebnisse zeigen des Weiteren, dass unterschiedliche Akteure in der Strategiefindung engagiert und ausgegrenzt wurden. Die von den engagierten Akteuren erarbeiteten Visionen zur Bewältigung der sog. Grand Challenges wurden durch die demokratischen Stadtprinzipien, die die Entscheidungsbefugnis des Stadtrats über Stadtstrategie festlegten, zu greifbaren Maßnahmen zusammengefasst. Die vorliegende Arbeit trägt mit diesen Erkenntnissen zur Literatur über Emotionen und Institutionen, Atmosphäre, Future-Making und Labs sowie Stakeholder-Engagement und Grand Challenges bei.

Abstract

Based on the trend of openness and increasing involvement of various actors in organizational activities, this dissertation analyzes civic engagement in an urban strategy process. Specifically, it examines the role of emotions on actors when multiple institutional orders intersect, the role of the atmosphere in future-making, and the impact of stakeholder engagement in tackling grand challenges. The findings show that diverse actors employ emotive tactics to improve their agency, such that emotions themselves become actors that affect the institutional process of finding common ground. They also highlight that future-making practices and the atmosphere influenced each other, as the atmosphere increasingly enabled actors in future-making over time as they appropriated an innovation lab's tools. And the findings also reveal that diverse actors were both engaged and disengaged in the strategy formation. The engaged actors' elaboration of grand visions for tackling grand challenges were condensed into seizable measures because of the democratic city principles that established the city council's decision-making power over the new urban strategy. With these findings, this thesis contributes to the literature on emotions and institutions, atmosphere, future-making, and labs, and stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges.

1 Introduction

This thesis explores civic engagement in an urban strategy process by examining the role of emotions (Chapter 2), the role of the atmosphere (Chapter 3), and its impact (Chapter 4). Finally, this thesis shows how different actors navigate emotional tensions and diverse skills and jointly address future challenges in strategy-making (Chapter 5).

The first chapter outlines this thesis's motivation and research questions, the theoretical discourses, and the research setting.

1.1 Motivation and research questions

Actors like consumers, business partners, front-line employees, and civil society are increasingly engaged in organizational activities. As organizational boundaries become permeable and blurred, organizational managers develop products (Baldwin & von Hippel, 2011), coordinate work (Kornberger et al., 2019), or make strategies (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011; Splitter et al., 2021) in an increasingly open context. In phenomena like open innovation (Chesbrough, 2003), open government (Kornberger et al., 2017) and open strategy (Seidl et al., 2019; Whittington et al., 2011) organizational managers invite different actors to actively engage in organizational activities. In phenomena like activism (Kudesia, 2021) and open source software (von Hippel & von Krogh, 2003) actors might also become engaged by themselves and without invitation (Wenzel et al., 2021).

This shift toward engaging various actors in organizational activities has economic, technological, societal, and cultural drivers. For example, all these forms of engagement share the promise of such new advantages in competitive and disruptive environments as enhancing creativity and innovativeness (Wohlgemuth et al., 2019), creating value (Harrison et al., 2010) and increasing efficiency (Scherer & Voegtlin, 2020). Digital technologies offer new ways for large audiences across organizational boundaries to collaborate and interact. Cultural resistance to hierarchical forms of control is rising, and society in the form of consumers, employees, shareholder activists, and others demands a greater voice (Dobusch et al., 2019; Seidl et al., 2019). Thus, the engagement of diverse actors in

organizational activities “promises a combination of a business case with a moral case” (Dobusch et al., 2019, p. 344).

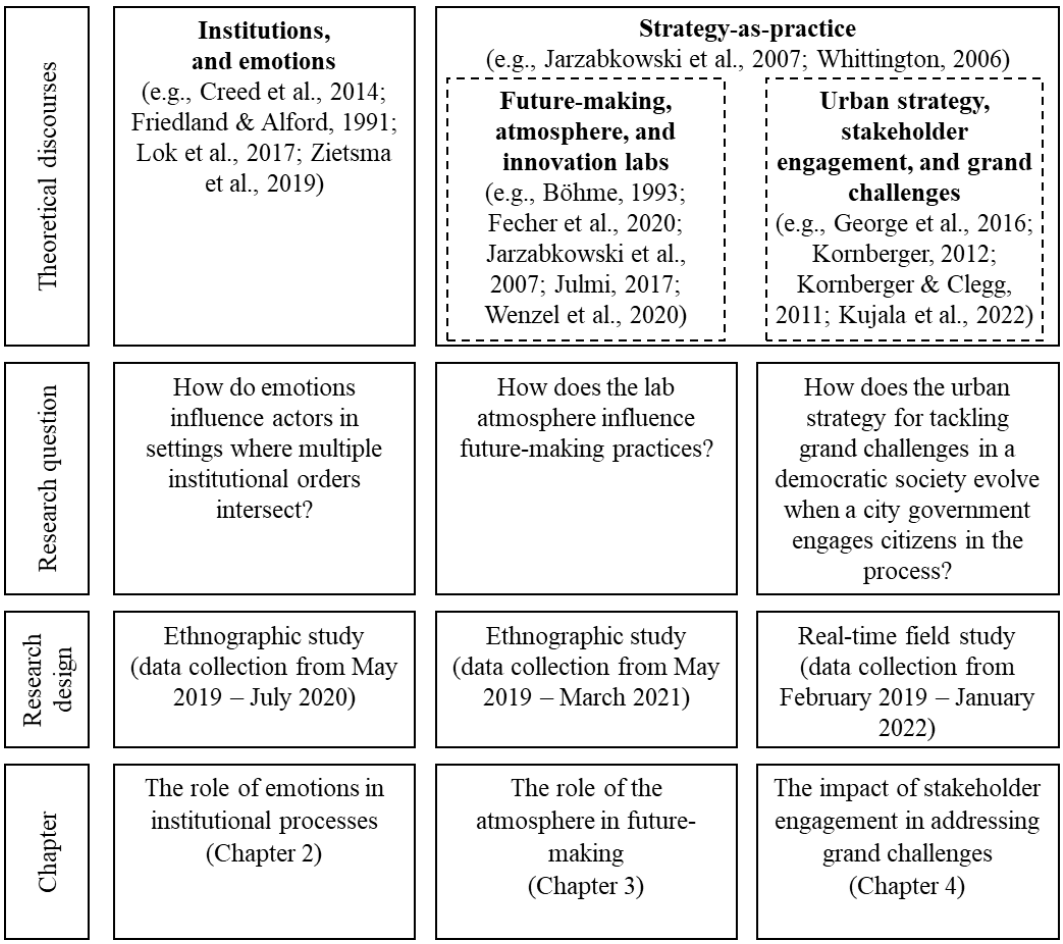
With the involvement of diverse actors in organizational activities comes the challenge of dealing with their differences. Different actors have different thoughts, skills, and emotions, any of which might clash (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Hautz et al., 2017; Hautz et al., 2019; Hutter et al., 2017; Luedicke et al., 2017) so their engagement is often filled with conflicts, oppositions, and tensions to be managed or worked through to meet the interests of all actors involved (de Bakker & den Hond, 2008; Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Jakob-Sadeh & Zilber, 2019; Wenzel et al., 2021; Zietsma & Winn, 2008).

As the mainstream management literature has focused on managerial elites at the center of organizations and their activities, research has not fully grasped what insights for tackling today’s organizational challenges stem from different actors at the organizational periphery (Hautz et al., 2019; Scherer & Palazzo, 2007; Vaara et al., 2019) or how they deal with such polyphony and emotional tensions (Jarvis, 2017; Lingo & Elmes, 2019). We do not know how different skills are managed or which kinds of actors are included and excluded (Hautz et al., 2019; Janssens & Steyaert, 2020).

It is against this background that this thesis asks how various actors are engaged in and contribute to organizational activities. To answer this research question, this thesis focuses on a civic engagement initiative in a large German city that involved various actors in forming an urban strategy. Based on this research setting, this thesis builds on different theoretical underpinnings and addresses multiple aspects of this research question using different data foci (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

Overview of this dissertation



Chapter 2 of this thesis refers to the theoretical discourse on institutions and emotions. In this discourse, there is a research gap on how various actors from multiple institutional orders navigate mixed emotions and why emotions and emotional reactions inform actors' engagement in institutional processes (Farny et al., 2019; Jarvis, 2017; Lingo & Elmes, 2019; Lok et al., 2017). Therefore, Chapter 2 explains how emotions influence actors when multiple institutional orders intersect.

Chapter 3 builds on the theoretical discourse on future-making, the atmosphere, and innovation labs. By exploring the role of the lab atmosphere in future-making, this chapter addresses the research gap of what enables different actors to overcome underlying oppositions and jointly develop future strategies (Augustine et al., 2019).

Chapter 4 relates to the theoretical discourse on urban strategy, stakeholder engagement and grand challenges. It sheds light on the dynamics of stakeholder engagement initiatives in settings with democratic principles (Kujala et al., 2022) by analyzing the evolution of a new urban strategy for tackling grand challenges in which citizens were involved.

The thesis continues as follows. The next section outlines the central theoretical discourses of this thesis and explains their core concepts. Then the research context of this thesis, including each chapter's different data focus, is explained. Next, the role of emotions (Chapter 2) in civic engagement, the role of the atmosphere (Chapter 3) in future-making, and the impact of engaging stakeholders in an urban strategy process (Chapter 4) are explored. The concluding chapter, Chapter 5, highlights and summarizes the thesis's overall findings and main contributions.

1.2 Theoretical background and core concepts

This section outlines the theoretical background of this dissertation. It builds on the theoretical foundations of institutions and emotions and strategy-as-practice. Regarding the theoretical discourse on strategy-as-practice, this thesis focuses on the theoretical background of future-making, innovation labs, and the atmosphere, as well as urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges. Rather than going into detail about the individual theories, the next sections explain the key concepts of institutions and emotions and strategy-as-practice. Then, it outlines the core concepts of future-making, innovation labs, and the atmosphere, as well as urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges.

1.2.1 Institutions and emotions as theoretical background

The institutional theory encompasses a wide range of literature that has gained prominence in the past decades (Wooten & Hoffman, 2017). The study of institutions began with Selznick (1948, 1949, 1957) and Parsons (1956). Selznick analyzed organizations and their institutional environment, while Parsons emphasized that institutions integrate organizations with others in society through rules, contracts, and authority.

The conceptual underpinnings of modern organizational institutionalism, neo-institutionalism, evolved in the late 1970s with the seminal works of Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Until then, organizations were portrayed mainly as rational actors responding to resource-related economic pressures. Neo-institutionalism assumes that much of organizational behavior is due to social pressures that arise from the symbolic environment created by other organizations, so it can explain organizational behaviors that elude rational economic expectation (Suddaby et al., 2013). The core construct of neo-institutionalism is the notion of rational myths (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), that is, widespread but unproven social understandings about rational behavior in organizations. Organizational actors enact and diffuse practices not for performance but for legitimation (Suddaby et al., 2013). In this context, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) introduced the concept of institutional isomorphism, according to which rational organizational actors make similar decisions based on coercive, normative, and mimetic processes, so the more they try to change their organizations, the more similar they become.

A new approach to institutional analysis was the introduction of institutional logics by Friedland and Alford (1991), Haveman and Rao (1997), Thornton and Ocasio (1999), and Scott et al. (2000). According to Friedland and Alford (1991), Western society is composed of multiple institutional orders: the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, families, democracy, and religion. Each of these institutional orders has a central institutional logic that serves as its "organizing principles" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248) and "taken-for-granted social prescriptions" (Battilana & Dorado, 2010, p. 1420) that define understandings and legitimate activities and are embodied in organizational structures (Dunn & Jones, 2010; McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999).

Different or conflicting institutional logics may lead to conflicts (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2010) or promote adaptation (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Reay & Hinings, 2009). Actors who are influenced by multiple institutional logics can manipulate them, give new meanings to practices, and apply them to different institutional orders (Thornton et al., 2012), thus balancing and harmonizing institutional logics and seizing them as opportunities for agency and change (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

The historical evolution of organizational institutionalism has been informed by a ‘cognitive turn’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). People are cognitive carriers of assumed institutional schemas or scripts (Lok et al., 2017). However, people not only carry institutions cognitively but also inhabit them (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006). People “experience the institutional arrangements that not only shape the resources available to them but also make their lives meaningful and prime how they think and feel” (Voronov & Yorks, 2015, p. 579).

To explain how people experience institutional arrangements, the literature broadened its focus from the cognitive perspective by turning to “the socially embedded, interdependent, relational, and emotional nature of persons’ lived experiences of institutional arrangements” (Creed et al., 2014, p. 278). The literature on institutions and emotions analyzes emotions from a sociological perspective (Zietsma et al., 2019). Emotions are “one’s personal expression of what one is feeling in a given moment, an expression that is structured by social convention, by culture” (Gould, 2009, p. 20). Therefore, bodily experienced and expressed emotions are understood as informed by social norms, culture and values–in other words, the institutional context (Kouamé & Liu, 2021; Zietsma et al., 2019). As a result, emotions can be socially contagious (Barsade, 2002) and amplified (Hallett, 2003). In contrast, psychology and organizational behavior research emphasizes emotions as a “feeling state and physiological changes” (Elfenbein, 2007, p. 315) that are triggered by a stimulus without relation to social context or culture (Elfenbein, 2007; Zietsma et al., 2019).

The literature on institutions and emotions has analyzed emotions from structuralist, people-centered, and strategic perspectives (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019).

- The *structuralist* perspective views emotions as constituted in institutions (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Institutional logics are linked with specific ‘emotional registers’ that refer to the appropriate display of emotions (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). Failing to express institutionally appropriate emotions can destabilize institutional arrangements (Creed et al., 2014; Jarvis, 2017). Through socialization processes, specific institutional arrangements are associated with specific emotions that make

these arrangements real to people (Voronov & Vince, 2012; Voronov & Weber, 2016). In this context, research has outlined that certain professions may be linked to specific emotions (Gill & Burrow, 2018; Wright et al., 2017). For example, fear is an integral part of the institution of haute cuisine (Gill & Burrow, 2018).

- The *people-centered* perspective of emotions emphasizes that institutional processes trigger emotional responses that enable or disable agency in institutions (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Actors enable agency by feigning or amplifying emotional displays (Jarvis, 2017) and expressing emotional energy, moral emotions, and social emotions (Fan & Zietsma, 2017) in settings where multiple institutional logics intersect. They engage in reconciling activities to shift their emotional investments and maintain agency when they have become morally disturbed by these arrangements (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018), and they engage in shaming and shunning of those who compromise their emotional investment (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017).

- The *strategic* perspective refers to the use of emotions to induce support for one's institutional projects (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). In this context, emotions can be strategically expressed (Moisander et al., 2016; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018; Tracey, 2016; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) or suppressed (Jarvis et al., 2019) in the institutional work of maintaining, creating and disrupting institutions.

1.2.2 Strategy-as-practice as theoretical background and the theoretical discourses of future-making, innovation labs, atmosphere, and urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, grand challenges

Strategy-as-practice evolved in the early 2000s as a way of studying strategy (Golsorkhi et al., 2015). The focus of strategy-as-practice is not on the performance effects of strategies but on uncovering the "black box of strategy work" (Golsorkhi et al., 2015, p. 1) by analyzing the micro-level activities and practices of strategy-making. Therefore, from a strategy-as-practice perspective, strategy is not a property that organizations 'have', instead, it is something that its members 'do' (Jarzabkowski et al., 2007; Johnson et al., 2003) and that must be understood in its

wider social context (Jarzabkowski et al., 2007; Whittington, 2006). In this regard, strategy is seen as a "situated, socially accomplished activity constructed through the actions and interactions of multiple actors" (Jarzabkowski, 2005, p. 7). Answering the questions of how, by whom, and by what means a strategy is 'done' is essential for managers and strategy theorists if they are to improve strategy-making and get sound answers to these questions in dealing with upcoming challenges (Jarzabkowski, 2005).

The strategy-as-practice research stream builds on two trends in management studies (Suddaby et al., 2013). First, it draws on and expands the strategy process literature (Burgelman, 1983; Floyd & Wooldridge, 2000; Heimeriks et al., 2015; Mintzberg & Waters, 1985), which explores how "strategic decisions are shaped and implemented" (Burgelman et al., 2018, p. 532) to understand strategy content. Second, it is part of the broader 'practice turn' in social science that has emerged since the 1980s (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki et al., 2005; Suddaby et al., 2013; Whittington, 2006). Prominent advocates of this 'practice turn' include Pierre Bourdieu, Theodore Schatzki, Michel Foucault, and Anthony Giddens.

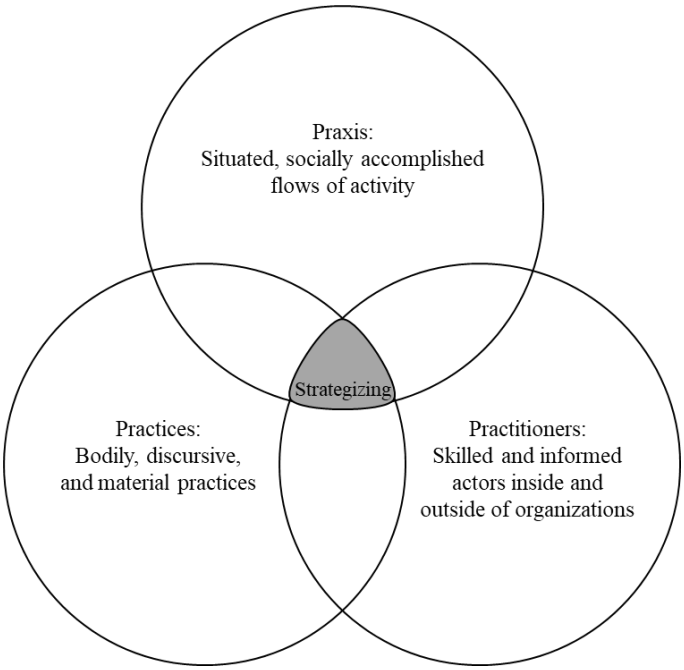
Practice theory is made up of three central themes: society, individuality, and actors. Practice theorists are interested in the societal impact of shared understandings, cultural rules and procedures; in the effects of individuality and the ways of doing 'in practice'; and the impact of the actors' practical skills on practices (Whittington, 2006).

Thus, practice theory has three interrelated aspects: praxis, practices, and practitioners (Jarzabkowski, 2005; Whittington, 2006). As Splitter et al. (2019, p. 222) put it, "Practitioners draw on practices in their praxis; practices define practitioners; praxis redefines these practices."

FIGURE 2

Conceptual strategy-as-practice framework

(based on Jarzabkowski (2005) and Jarzabkowski et al. (2007))



These interrelated aspects of strategy-as-practice are the basics in the strategy-as-practice research stream and provide angles of analysis for examining the work of strategists and strategizing (Figure 2). In this context, ‘practices’ refer to “accepted ways of doing things, embodied and materially mediated, that are shared between actors and routinized over time” (Vaara & Whittington, 2012, p. 287). ‘Praxis’ is the actual activity that takes place in the present and that is shaped and guided by pre-existing and socially defined practices. Praxis can redefine practices when the actual activity in the present changes (Suddaby et al., 2013). ‘Practitioners’ are the skilled and informed individuals that are engaging in strategy and interacting with the social situations that are involved in strategizing (Jarzabkowski, 2005; Suddaby et al., 2013).

Strategy-as-practice scholars have studied the dimensions of strategizing in various settings. They have analyzed material artifacts like strategy prototypes (Knight et al., 2020) and strategy tools (Jarzabkowski & Kaplan, 2015); bodily aspects of strategy, including gestures, facial expressions, and gazes (Liu & Maitlis, 2014;

Wenzel & Koch, 2018); and discourse like strategic accounts of past, present, and future interpretations (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013) and storytelling (Garud et al., 2014). These researchers have focused on settings like those of high-tech companies (Orlikowski, 2002; Wenzel & Koch, 2018), clothing companies (Rouleau, 2005), universities (Jarzabkowski & Seidl, 2008), and cities (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011).

Thus, strategy-as-practice addresses the details of strategizing regarding "how strategists think, talk, reflect, act, interact, emote, embellish and politicize, what tools and technologies they use" (Jarzabkowski, 2005, p. 3) and the consequences of the various forms of strategy-making for strategy as organizational activity (Jarzabkowski, 2005).

This thesis looks at the details of strategizing and the implications of the various forms of strategizing by highlighting the lived experiences of various strategy actors who dealt with the future and exploring how organizational managers engage stakeholders to form an urban strategy that addresses complex challenges. Therefore, the thesis outlines the theoretical discourses of future-making, innovation labs, and the atmosphere, as well as urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges to provide an overview of the theoretical field.

Future-making, innovation labs and the atmosphere

The future has always been an essential part of strategizing. Strategy actors build on their experiences to make future-oriented decisions in designing future strategic plans or projects that overcome challenges, but they also seize opportunities (Alimadadi et al., 2022; Comi & Whyte, 2018; Krämer & Wenzel, 2018).

However, strategy actors address the future as a challenging, open-ended, and indeterminable temporal category that cannot be managed through strategic planning alone (Krämer & Wenzel, 2018; Wenzel et al., 2020; Wenzel, 2021). They "produce and enact the future" (Wenzel et al., 2020, p. 1442) in myriad practices, called future-making practices, that is, practices concerning the future that actors actually 'do' rather than wishing to do or pretending to do (Wenzel, 2021). Therefore, future-making practices refer to the bodily, material, and discursive activities of organizational actors through which they engage with the future

(Wenzel et al., 2020). For example, actors can engage in design thinking (Knight et al., 2020); create drawings, models, or sketches (Comi & Whyte, 2018); and imagine desirable and avoid undesirable future outcomes (Alimadadi et al., 2022). In these ways, the future can be directly or subtly imagined, processed, created, and produced in organizations (Wenzel, 2021).

None of the extant research addresses how the atmosphere influences future-making in organizations, even though future-making often takes place in innovation labs, which are spatial arrangements with specific material surroundings, such as lighting, material artifacts, open working spaces, refreshment areas, and whiteboards (Fecher et al., 2020; Gryszkiewicz et al., 2016; Magadley & Birdi, 2009; Memon & Meyer, 2017).

Originally, the notion of atmosphere came from meteorology and referred to the layers of gases that surround Earth. However, it can also be used metaphorically and be referred to as, for instance, group atmosphere or room atmosphere (DeMolli et al., 2020; Julmi, 2017). The aesthetic interpretations of atmosphere as the ambience, moods, or envelopments of a place (Anderson, 2014; Bille et al., 2015; Böhme, 1993; Jørgensen & Holt, 2019) are rooted in the writings of the philosopher Gernot Böhme (1993, 1995), for whom atmospheres are "spheres of the presence of something, their reality in space" (Böhme, 1993, pp. 121–122) that are experienced bodily. An atmosphere has an ontological vagueness, as it lies 'in-between' subject and object; it does not belong to the actor who perceives and experiences it nor to the spatial-material arrangement (Anderson, 2009; Bille et al., 2015; Böhme, 1993; DeMolli et al., 2020; Marsh & Śliwa, 2021); it constitutes "the common reality of the perceiver and the perceived" (Böhme, 1993, p. 122), as it is the first perception of a new place through its arrangement of colors, scents, sounds, and other material artifacts (Bille & Simonsen, 2021; DeMolli et al., 2020). Therefore, an atmosphere is not in or on objects but a specific attunement of a subject in relation to an object (Bille & Simonsen, 2021).

Atmosphere is central to sensory-affective experiences in the spatial arrangement (DeMolli et al., 2020). It transcends boundaries; links people, places and things; and is bound up in a temporal dynamic (Bille et al., 2015). It is simultaneously personal and impersonal, as it is part of the collective but experienced individually (Anderson, 2009). Thus, it is a connection of various

ambiguities (de Vaujany et al., 2019; DeMolli et al., 2020; Michels & Steyaert, 2017), which can be "crafted as moments of potentiality and promise" (Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p. 98).

The concept of atmosphere was only recently introduced into the discourse on organizational theory (Michels & Steyaert, 2017). Borch (2010) built on Sloterdijk's (1998) trilogy on spheres (Sphären I-III) and conceptualized organizations as foam structures made of individual bubbles in which spatiality and, thus, atmospheres, are central. The single bubbles in this foam structure stand for individual equal offices or departments of organizations, separated by protective membranes.

Empirically, the first organizational studies to focus on the production of atmospheres between spaces, material artifacts, and people referred to artistic contexts (Marsh & Śliwa, 2021; Michels & Steyaert, 2017) and creative or collaborative spaces (de Vaujany et al., 2019; DeMolli et al., 2020; Leclair, 2022). These studies found that atmosphere connects spatial-material artifacts (de Vaujany et al., 2019; DeMolli et al., 2020) and appeals to actors' sensory-affective experiences (Leclair, 2022; Marsh & Śliwa, 2021). However, atmosphere can be produced to a limited extent, as these sensory-affective experiences, along with external conditions like the weather, create unpredictability in how the atmosphere unfolds and is perceived (Leclair, 2022; Marsh & Śliwa, 2021; Michels & Steyaert, 2017).

Urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges

The urban strategy on which this thesis focuses was traditionally a planning activity with top-down management. It relied on planning experts who made their decisions based on scientifically sound economic, structural, and technological aspects. However, the planning experts often failed to meet the needs of stakeholders like citizens, so the urban planning was not legitimized (Brorström, 2015; Kornberger, 2012).

In the context of public-sector reforms, urban planning has evolved into urban strategizing (Brandtner et al., 2017; Brorström, 2015; Kornberger et al., 2021). Urban strategy unites knowledge with strategists' visions and is legitimized through a link between societal problems and scientific solutions, which motivates

the public to engage with the strategy to benefit their common future (Brandtner et al., 2017; Jalonen et al., 2018; Kornberger, 2012; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011; Löffler & Martin, 2015).

Research that addresses urban strategy has highlighted, for instance, the development of urban strategy (Andres et al., 2020; Brandtner et al., 2017), power issues (Jalonen et al., 2018; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011), and long-term effects of joint strategy work (Kornberger et al., 2021). In addition, it has emphasized the polyvocality of urban strategies, where the strategies of the powerful (e.g., politicians, urban planners, developers) are themselves subject to negotiation when their interests conflict (Andres et al., 2020). The literature has also highlighted the performativity of urban strategy and its documents that legitimize change and outcomes and enforce desired governance configurations (Brandtner et al., 2017; Jalonen et al., 2018; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). In the long term, urban strategy shaped a new 'thought style' including the city as an institution (Kornberger et al., 2021). Urban strategies attract the interests of stakeholders like citizens, communities, employees, and businesses as the living, working, or operating environment is shaped (Brorström, 2015).

The concept of stakeholder engagement gained popularity in organizational research at the beginning of the 2000s (Andriof et al., 2002; Kujala et al., 2022). Stakeholder engagement refers to the relationships and outcomes between organizations and stakeholders, including employees, suppliers, customers, communities, and citizens (Kujala et al., 2022). The theoretical notion of stakeholder engagement draws on stakeholder theory (Freeman, 2010), which focuses strategic thinking on stakeholders and stakeholders' relationships with an organization. Stakeholder engagement refers to "the aims, activities, and impacts of stakeholder relations in a moral, strategic, and/or pragmatic manner" (Kujala et al., 2022, 4). The most prominent among the definitions of the stakeholder engagement concept (Kujala et al., 2022) is that of M. Greenwood (2007, p. 315), who defines it "as practices the organisation undertakes to involve stakeholders in a positive manner in organisational activities." However, all of the definitions share the idea that stakeholder engagement is a purposeful action by an organization that influences performance and value creation in relation to stakeholders and refers to

practices like informing, consulting, co-producing, and decision-making (Sachs & Kujala, 2021).

The literature on stakeholder engagement has examined stakeholders' relationships (e.g., Garcia-Castro & Aguilera, 2015; Maak, 2007; Mitchell et al., 1997), stakeholders' communications (e.g., Kaptein & van Tulder, 2003; Lehtimaki & Kujala, 2017), learning effects with and from stakeholders (e.g., Calton & Payne, 2003; Payne & Calton, 2004), and integrative stakeholder engagement (e.g., Burchell & Cook, 2013; M. Greenwood, 2007) in various settings and areas, including the strategic management and corporate social responsibility of private, public, and third-sector organizations (Freeman et al., 2017; Kujala & Sachs, 2019; Sachs & Kujala, 2021).

The organizational literature has found that stakeholder engagement is especially important in addressing grand challenges (George et al., 2016; Howard-Grenville, 2021; Porter et al., 2020). The term 'grand challenge' originated from the mathematician David Hilbert, who referred to 23 mathematical problems that, when solved, enable progress. In 2003, Bill Gates spoke of grand challenges as part of his Global Health Initiative (Howard-Grenville, 2021). Today, grand challenges refer to "seemingly intractable" problems (Ferraro et al., 2015, p. 365), such as climate change, poverty and inequality, health issues, and demographic change. Grand challenges are complex, uncertain, and evaluative. The number of interrelated elements changes dynamically and cannot be fully understood, the consequences of actions are unforeseeable, and grand challenges require ontological, epistemological and value-based judgements on what is given by nature or made by humans, what is true or false, and what is good or bad (Ferraro et al., 2015; Howard-Grenville, 2021; Voegtlin et al., 2022). Therefore, a multilevel perspective from different stakeholders with different interests, skills, needs and emotions is needed to think critically about grand challenges' root causes and identify possible solutions (George et al., 2016; Howard-Grenville, 2021).

1.3 Research setting and data collection

The findings of this thesis come from a field study that examined the civic engagement process of a large German city in which citizens were involved in developing a new strategy. The foci of the qualitative data that were collected and

analyzed differed with each chapter. Before outlining these data foci, the research setting will be explained.

1.3.1 Research setting

The city government of a large German city involved its citizens in the development of a new urban strategy. The urban strategy concept was first introduced in 1998 and has been updated and revised repeatedly since then. In 2018, the city's government launched such an update and involved actors like citizens, urban planning experts, and city employees in forming a new urban strategy for managing new urban challenges like rising pollution, population, and digitalization.

These challenges often cannot be solved unambiguously, as they represent conflicting goals and require changes in daily life. For example, the city faced the challenge of competing land uses, with more housing needed in response to tremendous population growth and more green space needed to avoid extreme heat waves and flooding and to counteract climate change. Solutions to these challenges included converting parking lots into green spaces, replacing back yards with new residential buildings, and replacing private motorized transport in the city with expanded bicycle paths and public transport.

As Figure 3 shows, the new urban strategy for addressing these challenges was developed during engagement events between February 2019 and January 2022 and was finally approved by the city council in February 2022.

- The *kick-off event* in February 2019 initiated the update of the city strategy process. Around 300 actors—urban planning experts, representatives of city associations, politicians, city employees, interested citizens, and others—participated in this event.
- *Two identical workshop*s in May 2019 were attended by approximately 100 citizens each. About two-thirds of those participants were randomly selected from the resident register, and a third signed up because of personal interest. The workshop discussions with citizens highlighted the city's core challenges and identified possible solutions to be addressed in the new urban strategy.

- The *admin lab*, a series of five workshops, took place between October 2019 and June 2020 and included roughly 30 city employees from various departments, such as the health department, the building department, and the IT department. The workshops dealt with content-related strategy work and with organizational and process-related issues related to the new strategy.

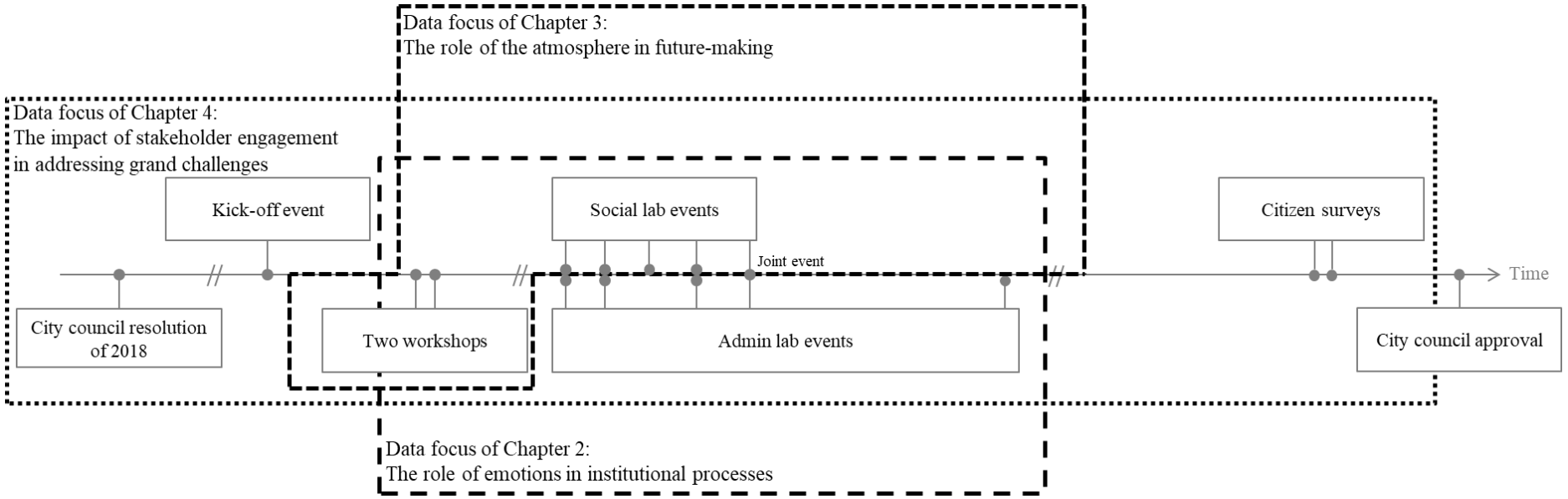
- The *social lab*, also called the citizen lab, was conducted from October 2019 to March 2020. In this series of five workshops, thirty carefully selected citizens developed strategy concepts. Five city planners supplemented these citizens in a dual role as citizens representing the public sector and as clients of the engagement process. City planners engaged a foundation that focuses on innovative collaboration to conduct this workshop series. The foundation introduced the 'social labbing'-method, which is based on a design thinking approach with experimental techniques like prototyping and ideating. In the last event of the social lab, held in March 2020, the city employees from the admin lab joined the social lab to understand and improve the citizens' elaborated urban strategy concepts.

- From September 2021 to January 2022, the city government sought feedback on drafts of the new urban strategy via an online *survey* of citizens and a *survey* with interest groups like clubs and societies.

The citizens that took part in the various engagement events differed in terms of their disciplinary, hierarchical, and private backgrounds. From such diverse sectors as social economy, economy, non-organized civil society, and organized civil society, the citizens were artists, real estate experts, homeless people, entrepreneurs, environmentalists, refugees, and health care workers; they were managers, students, employees, retirees, and civil servants; and they were singles, spouses, and parents. Therefore, their agendas regarding the future urban strategy differed, based on whether they wanted to improve cultural spaces, create housing, preserve or increase green spaces, enhance communities, improve infrastructure, and/or make the city more globally oriented.

FIGURE 3

The civic engagement process and events, and the data foci of the three chapters



1.3.2 Data focus of the different chapters and research questions

Qualitative data in the form of interviews, observations, and documents were collected over 35 months, from February 2019 to January 2022. Figure 3 shows that the data sections and foci of the chapters two to four, which are explained below, differ. Details on data collection are outlined in the individual chapters.

Chapter 2, 'The role of emotions in institutional processes', is based on data collected over fifteen months, from May 2019 to July 2020, from the two sets of workshops, the social lab events, and the admin lab events. The data focuses on emotional displays of the citizens involved in the social lab, so this chapter emphasizes the micro-activities (e.g., emotional tactics) and macro-social processes (e.g., influence on the institutional process) observed in these events. The main data sources of this chapter are the naturalistic observations, audio recordings of, and extensive notes on the social lab actors' facial, body, vocal, and verbal behaviors and the 47 semi-structured interviews with 28 informants from the two identical workshops and the social lab. The observations and the interviews made it possible to follow up on the engaged social lab actors' emotions. In addition, documents gathered during this research period, such as official brochures, reports, pictures on websites, and communication material, were collected to supplement the interviews and observations.

In contrast to Chapter 2, the data focus of Chapter 3, 'The role of the atmosphere in future-making', was on the social lab participants' future-making activities and their sensory-affective experiences in the spatial arrangement. Data collection took place between May 2019 and March 2021 and included 47 semi-structured interviews with 28 informants that were conducted around the two identical workshops and the social lab events; observations and audio-recordings of the social lab workshops; detailed notes about facial, vocal, verbal, and body behaviors; and documents like outcome documents, written results, and communication materials and pictures. Pictures, interviews with the social lab participants, and observations were especially useful in studying the atmosphere.

Data for Chapter 4, 'The impact of stakeholder engagement in addressing grand challenges', were collected over the entire study period, from February 2019 to January 2022. In contrast to Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the data for this chapter

focuses on strategizing activities and practices on a macro-level and examines how urban strategy evolved in a democratic society when a city government engaged citizens. Therefore, the data has a specific focus on how the city government engaged the citizens in forming the urban strategy. The data included observations of the kick-off event, the two identical workshops, and the social lab workshop series, including detailed notes and verbatim quotes. It also contained 55 interviews with 29 informants who were participants and organizers of the engagement events, and documents like resolutions of the city council, videos on official websites, drafts and outcome documents, and newspaper articles.

In the following, different aspects of the research question of how various actors are engaged in and contribute to organizational activities are analyzed. Chapter 2 explores the role of emotions in institutional processes, chapter 3 the role of the atmosphere in future-making and chapter 4 the impact of stakeholder engagement in addressing grand challenges.

2 The role of emotions in institutional processes[1]

2.1 Introduction

Emotions play a critical role in enabling agency in institutions (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Research has focused on how actors use emotions to strengthen their commitment to an institutional arrangement or on how they use emotions in other actors to advance those actors' commitment to that arrangement. However, when multiple emotional registers that stem from different institutional orders and their respective logics encounter each other, emotions also have a strong potential to lead to conflict and to disable agency (Jakob-Sadeh & Zilber, 2019). To strengthen one's agency, actors who are faced with multiple emotional registers can show emotions that differ from their real feelings (Jarvis, 2017). For instance, actors can suppress their emotions to uphold their ability to act and avoid conflict in group work. Although research has analyzed conflicts that arise from different emotional registers and how to avoid these conflicts, how actors navigate the dynamics that result from differing emotions, beyond suppressing them, remains unexplored (Jarvis, 2017; Lok et al., 2017). In response, Lingo and Elmes (2019, p. 909) called for investigation of "emotional micro-processes […], especially the interplay between negative and positive emotions." It is against this background that our study asks how emotions influence actors in settings where multiple institutional orders intersect.

To answer our research question, we study a civic engagement process in a large German city (Jalonen et al., 2018). The case is specifically interesting, in its civic engagement process, representatives of different institutional orders (Voronov, 2014) worked together to create a concept for a city in circa 2040. In this endeavor, diverse actors came together to create a common concept for how life in the city should be organized in the future. As political objectives differed, participants employed emotive tactics to promote their vision.

[1] This chapter refers to the paper 'Tracing the invisible actors in institutional processes: An ethnography of emotions in civic engagement' with the collaboration of Verena Bader and Georg Loscher. For more information, see the Appendix A on p. 137.

Our findings suggest that, when actors employ emotive tactics to strengthen their agency, emotions themselves become actors that shape the institutional arrangement. When actors perceived the requirements of multiple emotional registers as sharply differing, their emotive tactics created a state of emotional illusion, as actors feigned their emotional displays to express socially acceptable emotions. In turn, their emotions facilitated or hindered the institutional process. When the actors realized that their agency was strengthened through honest emotional displays, they expressed emotional openness and emotional richness, which galvanized the civic engagement process. However, when new actors joined the group, the original actors used the emotive tactics of dogmatism and dedication to elicit emotions from them and impel broader commitment for their elaborated concepts. However, as emotional agency unfolded, the original actors were caught up in their own emotions and failed to appeal to new actors' emotional values, disabling the original actors' agency.

Our findings contribute to the literature on emotions and institutions (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). First, we reveal that emotions themselves have agency in institutional processes, as emotions that are displayed evoke additional emotions in institutional processes. These emotions echo, change, or amplify the initial emotional expression, and by being shown or feigned, directly reshape the institutional arrangement.

Second, we shed new light on emotions in settings with actors from different institutional orders by analyzing how actors navigate differing emotions to enable their agency (Jakob-Sadeh & Zilber, 2019; Jarvis et al., 2019; Lingo & Elmes, 2019). We outline the effects of emotive tactics at equal institutional levels of hierarchy and argue that actors deal with differing emotional expectations through the interplay of emotive tactics. The emotive tactics of emotional contagion, emotional openness, and emotional richness strengthen actors' ability to act, while those of emotional suppression, emotional dogmatism, and emotional dedication hinder actors' ability to act. Thereby, we find that too strong emotional investments disable actors' agency.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. First, we add to research on emotions in institutional theory. Particularly, we focus on the agentic resources of emotions in institutions (Abdelnour et al., 2017) and outline the role of

expressions of emotions, which may differ from experienced emotions. Drawing on an ethnographic study of a civic engagement process, we refer to the methodological issues related to the study of emotions in institutional arrangements. Then we present our findings concerning how emotions affect actors when multiple institutional orders are involved. Next, we discuss how emotions themselves have agency and how emotive tactics in the interplay with emotional agency enable and disable actors' agency. We conclude with a discussion of future research opportunities and practical implications.

2.2 Theoretical background

Society is composed of a system of different institutional orders (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012), e.g. market, state, family, democracy, and religion. Institutional orders are shaped by mutually dependent and often conflicting institutional logics, which constitute the 'organizing principles' (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248) that influence or constrain individual or organizational behavior. Multiple or incompatible institutional logics may cause conflicts (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2010) or promote adaptation (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Reay & Hinings, 2009). Actors can balance and harmonize incompatible institutional logics to seize them as agency and change opportunities (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), so actors can be influenced by multiple logics and apply them to different institutional orders by manipulating them and giving new meanings to practices (Thornton et al., 2012).

The logic's appropriate use and expression of emotions are known as emotional registers (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017), so when people from multiple institutional orders meet (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), different emotional registers encounter each other (Friedland, 2018; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018). However, how actors draw on different emotional registers in response to other actors is still unclear.

Research has shown that actors use emotions in several ways to strengthen their agency (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). First, they use their own emotions to animate their involvement in an institutional arrangement (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Gill & Burrow, 2018; Giorgi & Palmisano, 2017; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). Giorgi and Palmisano (2017) showed that strong emotions in the

everyday institutional life helps actors put aside rational concerns and increase their commitment to the prevalent institutional arrangement. In contrast, Wijaya and Heugens (2018) showed that staff and volunteers who feel morally concerned about church practices loosen their emotional investments in the idealized but disturbed arrangement and ground them in a spiritual one to uphold their agency. Fan and Zietsma (2017) outlined that, in settings with opposing logics, actors increase their agency through social and moral emotions and emotional energy, enabling them to create a new shared governance logic. Fear also strengthens chefs' engagement to meet the high standards of *haute cuisine* (Gill & Burrow, 2018).

The second way in which actors use emotions to strengthen their agency is by using emotions in others' (Lingo & Elmes, 2019; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Voronov et al., 2013). Voronov et al. (2013) argued that actors change their emotional messages in interactions with different audiences to appeal to those audiences' preferences and improve their own chances of success. Actors also engage on social media to drive collective action through shaming and shunning activities against organizations that threaten their emotional registers (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017), or by encouraging one another (Lingo & Elmes, 2019). Emotional dynamics generated by empowerment and stories of injustice foster actors' reflexivity and energize them to disengage from their institutional structures (Ruebottom & Auster, 2018).

Therefore, agency requires emotional competence (Abdelnour et al., 2017; Lok et al., 2017), as a person must display the emotions that a group regards as appropriate to playing a particular role in an institutional order (Voronov & Weber, 2016). The process of socializing into a position in an institutional field teaches people which outward emotional displays and private feelings are prescribed and valued (Voronov & Vince, 2012). According to Voronov and Vince (2012, p. 64), "these resulting internalized unconscious representations of what is good and bad and right and wrong in organizations help to generate self-imposed limitations on behavior."

However, emotions might not always be "worn on the sleeve" (Jarvis et al., 2019, p. 1359). The literature on emotional regulation has pointed out that individuals work on amplifying or suppressing emotions to display them appropriately based on the situation (Hochschild, 1979). Employees are often paid

to look friendly and show the "socially acceptable emotional face" (Fineman, 1999, p. 293). Jarvis (2017) pointed out that institutional rules are also embedded in normative expectations. To satisfy emotional norms, actors feign emotions, expressing emotions that do not reflect their own physiological experience in either intensity or valence.

Jakob-Sadeh and Zilber (2019) and Jarvis et al. (2019) showed how emotions are suppressed to improve commitment to an institutional arrangement by complying with emotional display norms. Emotional control helps actors who are faced with contradictory logics to strengthen their engagement in an institutional project (Jakob-Sadeh & Zilber, 2019). However, emotions that are inappropriate to the situation disrupt efforts and hamper involvement at least temporarily. Jarvis et al. (2019) outlined that actors consider the norms that determine the appropriateness of emotional displays and strategically suppress emotions that are not compliant with those norms to evoke the desired reactions.

In summary, to strengthen their agency, people often display emotions that differ from their feelings, for instance, they suppress or amplify certain emotions (Fineman, 1999; Hochschild, 1979; Jarvis, 2017). However, the efficacy of emotive tactics to navigate multiple emotional registers needs further research (Jarvis et al., 2019), as how actors deal with mixed emotions, and why emotions and emotional responses influence actors' engagement in institutional projects are not clear (Farny et al., 2019; Lingo & Elmes, 2019; Lok et al., 2017). Therefore, we investigate how emotions affect actors in settings in which various institutional orders intersect.

2.3 Methods

We shed light on the research question by means of an ethnographic study that examines a civic engagement process in a large German city. In the civic engagement process, actors from different institutional orders work together to develop a future city concept (Jalonen et al., 2018).

2.3.1 The case organization

A German city involved its residents in drafting its urban development plan for the year 2040. The civic engagement process comprised two introductory events in May 2019 and a series of five workshops with the same 30 participants, who

represented the city's society. The participants of the workshop series were carefully selected by the workshop organization team, the moderators. The participants enacted various roles across different institutional orders (Abdelnour et al., 2017) and came from diverse sectors and communities, such as the art, real estate, homeless, entrepreneurship, environmental, refugee, and health care communities. All had agendas like improving infrastructure, strengthening cultural space, enhancing social justice, creating housing, or preserving green space and differed regarding their hierarchical and private backgrounds, as they were managers, employees, students, retirees, civil servants, parents, singles, or spouses. Therefore, the participants also wanted to improve the lives of old and young people, preserve small and local districts, enhance communities, or make their city more globally oriented. In the last event of the workshop series, more than 30 civil servants joined the participants to understand and improve the participants' elaborated future city concepts. Then the elaborated future city concepts will be integrated into the city's new strategy to be presented to the city council in the fall of 2021.

2.3.2 Data collection

Data collection comprised naturalistic observation, interviews, and documentary data, such as emails (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Jakob-Sadeh & Zilber, 2019). As an observer, the first author had unique access to the workshop series and directly experienced the context for five months (October 2019 – March 2020). Interviews about the civic engagement before and after the series and documents provided data for the remainder of the study period (May 2019 – July 2020).

Naturalistic observation

The workshop series' moderators introduced the first author as a researcher who was observing the participants' interactions during the five workshops. Workshops 1, 2, 4, and 5 were each four hours in length, while workshop 3 was six hours. With the support of a graduate student, the first author took extensive notes during each workshop and audio-recorded group works. The participants' facial, body, vocal, and verbal behaviors while working as a group were noted to identify emotional expressions (Liu & Maitlis, 2014). As emotions were often displayed in micro-seconds, audio recordings supplemented the handwritten transcripts by

recording variations in voice and wording and loud gestures like banging on the table.

In observing the emotional displays of individual actors, the two observers focused on specific groups and could not observe all groups at the same time. Therefore, to include the emotional experiences of as many actors as possible and be able to identify dynamics over time, the observations alternated among the same groups. These groups were observed over several workshops.

During the social gatherings, the first author carried out informal conversations with the participants, moderators, and city employees and recorded field notes later.

Semi-structured interviews

In total, we conducted 47 interviews with 28 informants. We conducted seven semi-structured interviews before the workshop series began, and these interviewees participated in the introduction events in May 2019. During and after the workshop series, we conducted an additional 40 interviews with 21 informants – 20 participants, and 1 moderator of the workshop series – to follow-up on their emotions. Interviewees were selected based on theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes. The institutional orders of the participants we interviewed varied between market (5 interviewees), state (5 interviewees), family (8 interviewees), and democracy (9 interviewees). In order to identify potential dynamics, some informants were asked repeatedly. Questions focused on the informants' backgrounds, their personal experiences of the event, and incidents and feelings during the event. We also asked the moderator of the event about the aim and focus of each workshop.

Documentary data

In addition to the observation and interview data, we supplemented our database with documentary data, including official brochures and publicly available articles on the city's official website and reports with pictures on the workshop organizer's website. The moderators and the city sent communication material with participants, such as emails, to the first author during and after the research period.

We collected information about the workshop's location, summaries of the last event, and photos of workshops or written results.

Table 1 provides an overview of our data.

TABLE 1

Overview of data sources (Chapter 2)

Source of data	Type of data		
Interviews		Number of interviews	Number of interviewees
	Participants (introduction event)	7	7
	Participants (workshop series)	37	20
	Moderator (workshop series)	3	1
	TOTAL	47	28
Naturalistic observations		Duration	
	Field notes	22 h	
	Audio-recordings with notes on facial, body, vocal and verbal behaviors	6 h 35 min	
Documen-tary data		Number	
	Documents (e.g., emails, internal results)	172 pages	
	Photos	322	

2.3.3 Data Analysis

We analyzed the data in two steps.

Step 1: Memos and field notes

As Feldman (2000, p. 615) stated about a qualitative study, "It is always hard to say where data gathering stops and data analysis begins." Our analysis was also intertwined with taking field notes, conducting interviews, and discussions among the co-authors. As with Sharma and Bansal (2020), our insights from writing memos and reviewing events improved what we understood. For instance, after the first interviews with participants, we found that different institutional requirements characterized the group and that these differing perspectives originated from multiple institutional orders (i.e. market, state, family, and democracy). We also

realized that emotional suppression played an important role in the actors' navigation of the varying emotional registers. The interviewees stated that they did not express their negative feelings about contradictory perspectives in group work, so our subsequent questioning dealt more thoroughly with when and how emotional control was applied in the process. We also focused more on the literature on emotions and institutions (Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012) to understand the dynamics we observed in the workshops and interviews.

Step 2: Coding of emotions

We enriched our understanding by focusing not only on the emotions that were displayed but also on felt emotions (Kouamé & Liu, 2021). We coded all transcripts of audio recordings, field notes, interview transcripts, and documents, to better understand the data. We proceeded as follows:

First, the audio recording transcripts were matched with field notes about the facial, physical, vocal, and verbal cues taken at the same time. Then they were coded initially following the scheme of Liu and Maitlis (2014) adjusted by further emotional cues of Coan and Gottman (2007). For example, the emotion 'anger' consisted of verbal, physical, facial, and vocal cues. Verbal cues included direct expressions of anger like "I am so angry" and challenging behavior like interrupting or making commands. Physical cues included highly agitated hand gestures, clenched fists, and leaning forward, while facial cues included direct gazes, flushed faces, and vocal cues included a loud voice, a lowered voice, or a voice that emphasized biting words. With this scheme we identified the display of 18 positive or negative emotions, such as humor, excitement, amusement, anger, annoyance, and defensiveness.

Next, we coded emotions in the field notes, interview transcripts, and documents using in vivo codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). We compared the emotional codes from the audio recordings, field notes, interview transcripts, and documents. Iterating with the literature, we grouped similar codes, identified relationships, and clustered them in higher-order categories. Our analysis found 'emotional contagion', 'emotional suppression', 'emotional openness', 'emotional richness', 'emotional dogmatism', and 'emotional dedication' as higher-order categories. Following Grandey and Gabriel (2015, p. 337), we defined emotional

contagion as "'spread' to targets (i.e. customers) through unconscious mimicry of expressions, which induces a change in mood in the perceiver, affecting his or her judgments and behaviors." Emotional suppression refers to the control of experienced, negative emotions, while emotional openness is the expressed acceptance of others' emotional associations. Emotional richness refers to the display of a range of positive and negative experienced emotions, such as annoyance, excitement, amusement. Emotional dogmatism is the emotional expression of insisting on one's perspective, and emotional dedication is the emotionally excessive wish to achieve a goal. Figure 4 gives an overview of the coding structure, and Table 2 presents the data for our findings.

FIGURE 4

Data structure

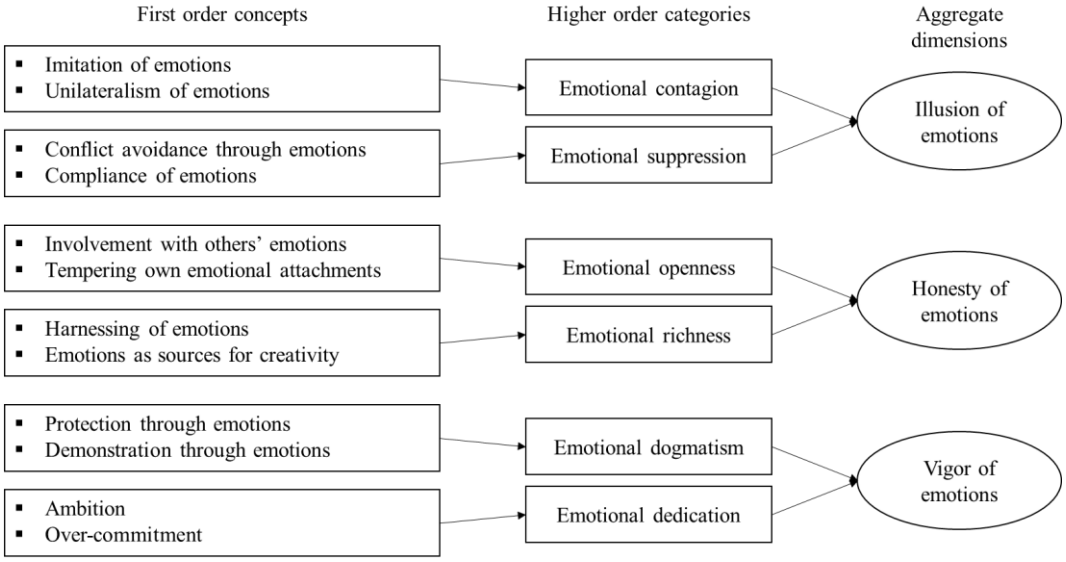


TABLE 2

Data that supports interpretations of processes of emotive tactics

Phases	Emotive tactics process	Illustrative quotes/examples
Illusion of emotions	Emotional contagion	- "In the first or second workshop, I was very tired in the evening. [...] The others pushed me in there because everyone was in a good mood and motivated. Then I also pushed back and mobilized my energy. Maybe that also improved the general buzz." (Participant Mat, about workshops 1 and 2) - Warm-Up 'High-Five': The participants gave each other a high-five and said, 'Glad you are here!'. Positive emotions were shared by greeting each other and being cheerful with each other. (Memo, workshop 3) - Using the 'yes, and…'-trick during group discussions: SARAH: [...] What I really like is when district [A] invites district [B]. [joyful] STELLA: Twinnings! Yes, that is it! City district Twinnings! Yes, that is it! [excited] SARAH: [laughing] STELLA: Always poor with rich [excited]. SARAH: Yes, right. Yes, yes, just [...] to get to know each other. [excited, all are laughing] ANN: Yes. [neutral] SARAH: That would also, that would probably also ... [excited.] ... ALICE: Organizing city walks for neighbors from other districts. [interested] SARAH: Yes, exactly! We invite you to our neighborhood. [excited]

		ALICE: I will show you my neighborhood [interested]. SARAH: And then you can proudly present your district. I think there would be… [excited] ALICE: We show what is great about our district. [joyful] SARAH: I think there would be a real competition. Yes? [excited] GINA: Also, nice backyards and stuff. Right, yes. [joyful] (Observation with audio recording, workshop 2)
	Emotional suppression	- "Yes, but it was all so incredibly stressful, and everything was so fast, so fast. I did not really understand the task, and then the others did not really understand what they were supposed to do either. I thought that was kind of stupid. [...] I felt like I was being forced to do something. [...] And I think several people felt the same way." (Participant Amy, about workshop 3) - "For me, [the statement of the older participant] was almost violent because he actively rejected my opinion, again in front of the whole group, and misrepresented what happened in our group work. Then I was about to say something and disagree, but I did not want to create any negative dynamics at the end of the workshop. I did not want to end the evening with a confrontation." (Participant Mat, about workshop 2) - We observed that Olaf withdrew from the group discussion. [...] Only when a moderator joined the group did Olaf express his point of view. While [another group member] expressed his opinion, Olaf grimaced but did not share his opinion. (Field notes, workshop 3)
Honesty of emotions	Emotional openness	- "We sometimes agreed, and sometimes someone thought I had a different opinion, but that was also accepted. We often noted slightly divergent points and said this is definitely valid, [...] maybe both points can be combined, or the divergent points were included in the different realities of the various personas." (Participant Mat, about workshop 4) - "One said to the others, 'Okay, this fits here, this fits there.' I also went [to other groups] and suggested [...], 'Maybe this fits here', and they agreed." (Participant William, about workshop 4)

		- "She performed [the moderator role in our group] really charmingly and funny. [...] I thought that was really cool, by the way." (Participant Amy, about workshop 4)
	Emotional richness	- "It was funny and amusing and enjoyable. We laughed because we [made a joke] and crafted something funny. [...] That was amusing for everybody, and everybody showed that." (Participant Stella, about workshop 4) - "The first part was working on the templates; that was a bit more objective. The second part was the design of a flyer, and it became much more relaxed because you needed to get a bit more creative, and the content was about emotions somehow and not about objective topics." (Participant Mike, about workshop 4) - William provided feedback that he enjoyed the collaboration, that the group had plenty of time to work creatively, and that the future looks quite bright with people dancing [in all future scenarios].'" (Memo, workshop 4)
Vigor of emotions	Emotional dogmatism	- "We thought again about what was important to us in this effort to assert our [workshop series] interests." (Participant Sarah, about workshop 5) - "Of course, we also tried to defend our own ideas because we felt very strongly about them." (Participant Mat, about workshop 5) - "[Our idea was] less traffic in general, and [the city employee] really wanted to add the self-driving cars, even though they did not fit in at all. [...] The two of us [participants] tried to explain our idea to her[...], and in the end she said that she wrote [the idea about the self-driving cars] down anyway, because she liked it. [...] I thought that was inappropriate [...], and I was annoyed." (Participant Kelly, about workshop 5)
	Emotional dedication	- "[We had] the ambition to get it done, which is also an emotion." (Participant Sally, about workshop 5) - "I think everyone was a little stressed. I thought that the emotion was a bit tense. […] Everybody was thinking: 'We have to make it. […] Now is the moment.'" (Participant Mat, about workshop 5)

		- "We observed that, during the group sessions, many city employees could not keep up with the participants. They were significantly outnumbered in each group, although there were actually more city employees than participants. A few city employees participated in the working groups, others watched, and other city employees withdrew at the buffet. After the event ended, some city employees left very quickly, while [those who had participated] stayed to socialize." (Memo, workshop 5)

2.4 Findings

This section explains how participants used emotive tactics to strengthen their agency in three phases: Illusion of emotions in workshops 1, 2, and 3; honesty of emotions in workshop 4; and vigor of emotions in workshop 5. In this process, emotions themselves developed agency of their own, becoming invisible actors that directly influenced the institutional process of finding common ground between actors from multiple institutional orders. We illustrate our data with vignettes.

2.4.1 Phase 1: Illusion of emotions (workshops 1, 2, and 3)

Phase 1 was characterized by the illusion of emotions as positive emotions were staged. Representatives of different institutions met for the first time. To increase their agency in the future city conceptualization, participants applied emotional contagion and emotional suppression, so the experienced positive emotions resulted in new feelings of delight and relaxation, which facilitated the participants' collaborative endeavor. Felt – but hidden – negative emotions led to anger, which hindered the development of the future city concept.

Emotional contagion

In the beginning, the various emotional registers seemed to be a hindrance to conceptualizing the future city. The experienced emotions of participants during their daily urban lives were visible, so the moderators responded with a proactive display of positive emotions, and the participants spread these positive emotions through imitation and unilateralism. The resulting shared emotions galvanized the future city conceptualization as more positive feelings were expressed.

Participants imitated the moderators' emotional displays, setting aside their own emotional expectations and showing joyful emotions, which led to relaxation and facilitated the civic engagement process. For example, a warmup game revealed how participants adopted the moderators' cheerfulness. Two moderators demonstrated how to play the game first, expressing delight and hugging each other. In the next round, the participants imitated the moderators, sharing their experienced cheerfulness and also hugging each other, even though they did not know each other well. In doing so, they neglected their own emotional requirements for distance and space and imitated the prescribed emotional and physical

closeness. As participants engaged in the physical contact, their emotions loosened up and they spread happiness. The happiness was shared again, and the civic engagement process was directly mobilized.

Emotional unilateralism was another way in which participants pushed each other through their own positive emotional displays. To remain a valued member of the future city conceptualization, they intentionally expressed positive emotions, which encouraged the others to also show positive emotions. As a result, the mutually felt and expressed positivity continued to rise and fueled the future city conceptualization as a direct actor. For instance, the moderators introduced the trick 'yes, and…' to facilitate smooth group work. We found that the unilateral positive emotional expressions created through the 'yes, and…' trick were spread among the participants and had a positive effect on idea generation.

Gina, a retired gig worker and previously a single mother, had ideas for improving social justice in the future city, such as by introducing quotas for inexpensive apartments and places to exchange goods freely. The other participants in Gina's working group, most of whom were executives, did not criticize her ideas using 'yes, but…' but extended her ideas with 'yes, and….' They used animated voices, smiling faces, and hand gestures to make their suggestions about more emphasis on social diversity in the future city and more public venues. Individual emotional doubts were turned into emotional encouragement to upgrade ideas. Everyone felt that their ideas were confirmed by the others and, in turn, approved the others' ideas. Thus, the shared positivity directly animated the participants' collaborative arrangement.

In a follow-up interview, Gina stated,

"Normally, you think in terms of 'yes, but…,' but now we could imagine, dream, have a vision. I thought that was nice, and that it worked. I somehow came out of this [group work] totally motivated and with such positive feelings because it just showed me that everything can be different. […] We came up with so many things right off the start, and somehow we all did it."

Despite the use of positive games and tricks, the participants' emotional registers also clashed, such as when participants did not apply the 'yes, and…' mindset or when they were stressed. In these situations, participants' emotions

about their own lives in the city re-surfaced. These emotions were so dominant that participants fell back on traditional forms of social interaction.

Emotional suppression

Participants controlled their negative emotional displays through conflict avoidance and compliance to enact appropriate expressions. The suppressed emotions resulted in new feelings of frustration or sadness, which hampered the work. Participants avoided conflict by suppressing their negative emotions in their group works. The data showed that the negative emotions experienced were not visible, as the participants stuck to neutral emotional expressions. For instance, the open-minded student, Mat, maintained his agency by withdrawing emotionally from a conflict with older participants who were rooted in their conservative backgrounds. Inspired by the positive aspects of undemocratic and socialist regimes, Mat wanted to promote social commitment in the future city, but the conservative participants in his work group condemned his idea, taking the political viewpoint that they did not want 'Communism' and 'Socialism' back in Germany. When their emotions collided, Mat avoided the conflict by controlling his negative emotions. He restrained his felt emotions to maintain his ability to act. In an interview, he explained,

"When I realize I get angry and I am talking to a wall […], there are two ways to deal with it: Either I get angrier […] and eventually freak out when my anger explodes—but I do not think that is the best way in a group discussion [...], where everybody is working together during several sessions – or I take a step back […]. I told myself I must step back before I start yelling at people or doing anything else just to be right. I cannot force anyone to like this idea."

The negative emotions impacted Mat's feelings in the civic engagement process. He was hurt because his emotional experiences with the city life were not appreciated. Thus, his emotions turned negative. He felt discouraged in the next workshop. As Mat outlined,

"With the thought [of the potential conflict from last time], I went to the workshop this morning. [...] In the beginning, I thought: '[Such a discussion] will hopefully not happen again,' and that, of course, also depressed my mood."

Another emotive tactic that came along with appropriate emotional displays to secure one's agency was emotional compliance, that is, complying emotionally with the emotional contradictions in the workshop series. However, the controlled negative emotions made participants feel overwhelmed and dissatisfied with their contribution to the work concept, which hindered the future city's conceptualization.

For instance, the data showed that, because of the opposing emotional registers of group members with diverse backgrounds, conceptualizing the future city in the group works was challenging. The director of a public institution, Alice, found herself in emotional contradiction: She wanted to be enthusiastic and open-minded about her group members' ideas, but she felt annoyed and narrow-minded about making announcement and structuring a process as she is used to doing it in her job to fulfil the workshop's tasks. However, she wanted to comply with the emotional requirements of the workshop series, so she did not display her annoyance. Still, inwardly, her negative emotions ran high and complicated the future city development. In an interview, she explained the situation:

"I controlled my emotions because of the group dynamic […], and at that moment, of course, I was not authentic. […] I was in conflict between my social need to be relaxed with the group [to find a solution] and the feeling that we have to get it done now."

The emotional dynamics of staging emotions played out in a feedback session at the end of the workshop 3, when the whole group erupted with their suppressed negative emotions. The display of one participant's negative emotions triggered another participant's expression of negative emotions and created a spiral of negative emotions. The artist, Amy, who expressed her negative emotions, explained it in an interview:

"In retrospect, I thought that was stupid of me [to show my negative emotions], but others had already mentioned [something negative], and I was annoyed, so I expressed them."

As the moderators appreciated the participants' honest emotions and promised to consider it the next time, emotions acted as actors in impacting the future city's conceptualization. Thus, the participants also realized that their level

of commitment to the future city's conceptualization was strengthened by displaying their true emotional experiences, so they drew on honest emotions as the process continued.

2.4.2 Phase 2: Honesty of emotions (workshop 4)

Phase 2 was characterized by an honesty of emotions. Through emotional openness and emotional richness, participants appreciated their multiple emotional experiences and used them as a resource in conceptualizing the future city. The various emotions led to new emotions that shaped the civic engagement process and formed a shared emotional attachment to the urban concepts the groups developed.

Emotional openness

The participants opened-up about their differing emotional experiences through involvement and tempering. They integrated their peers' different emotions and emotionally let go of being right. Thus, participants felt more appreciated, which made them emotionally more open to each other's emotions.

The participants became involved with each other's emotions, accepting the diverse emotional backgrounds and how these backgrounds affected each other's views about the future city. Thus, instead of getting annoyed, they matched the various emotional experiences with their own emotions to improve the future city concept. The emotions involved in finding agreements led to smoother interactions, as they directly impacted the future city's conceptualization and were used by participants to improve their engagement. For instance, Olaf, a nature-lover, and the head of an inclusive institution, became involved with a retired participant's emotional experiences related to his school years. Olaf combined these emotions with his own emotions to develop ideas that fit the emotional needs of both. Other group members tried to integrate these emotional backgrounds into their ideas. In an interview, Olaf explained:

"We got engaged with each other, and when you do that, it is easier to understand each other, and you are more likely to reach agreement."

However, the participants not only became involved with the various emotional experiences of their peers but tempered their emotional attachment to their own experiences and abilities and appreciated others' diverse strengths. By

expressing appreciation for the others' abilities, mutual satisfaction increased. Everybody felt valued and showed their feelings through enjoyment and appreciation for others' skills. The shared joy improved the future city's conceptualization and resulted in an emotional bond with the elaborated results.

For example, Alice, was able to loosen her emotional attachment to her usual role as a manager. In conceptualizing the future together, she acknowledged her younger group member's ability to visualize concepts, which boosted her positive emotions and resulted in a satisfactory conceptualization of the future city. In an interview, Alice explained,

"We met quite well. It was relatively simple. The young woman took charge of prototyping. She did a great job. [...] That was very nice task-sharing."

Emotional richness

Besides emotional openness, participants also felt the pleasure of increased agency resulting from emotional richness. By harnessing their emotions and creativity, the participants could display a wide range of positive and negative emotions. As the participants' individual emotional experiences shaped the institutional arrangement, emotional attachment to the conceptualization of the future city was built.

By displaying emotional harnessing – that is, using emotional displays to make a point – the participants realized that emotions worked. They experienced the satisfaction of being heard, which affected the civic engagement process as compromises were found more easily.

For example, the young PR manager, Sam, used negative emotional displays to persuade her group members about her views. Sam was firmly rooted in her cultural tradition and lived it regularly. Because of her emotional attachment to a local tradition, she wanted to preserve it for the city's future. However, some of her group members, anchored in globalism, saw the tradition as a mere tourist attraction that had no importance to the city's residents, so they did not want to include the preservation of the tradition in the future concept of the city. To convince the others about the tradition's meaning, Sam employed negative emotional displays. We observed that she used highly stressed intonations and animated hand gestures and

moved her upper body. Through her emotional commitment to her point of view, Sam was able to appeal to others' emotional values and find a compromise. In an interview, she stated,

"I jumped strongly on the topic of tradition because that was important to me. [...] I just thought that what the others were saying was not quite right. That is why I jumped in more, because I thought, 'no, that is important for me now.'"

Participants not only integrated their various emotional experiences to emphasize their emotional needs but also to use them as sources of creativity. The participants were inspired by their different emotional associations and incorporated these emotions as new ideas into the development of the future city. The varying emotions that the participants attached to their ideas for the future city and displayed were understood as a new source of inspiration, so the additional emotions that the participants displayed were leveraged for more ideas. These emotions, again, affected the collaborative arrangement as creative actors.

For instance, the working group that developed a future city concept about social coexistence drew on the creativity of humor. The group was inspired by their emotions regarding a workshop moderator as a fictional resident of the future city. The group members made fun of the moderator and his rushed nature. Through their amused emotions, the group members came up with the idea that the fictional future resident had suffered burnout and was unemployed as a result. This image led to great laughter among the group members. The group briefly drifted off topic and made more jokes, which were a new source of inspiration for the next urban development idea, consumption-free spaces. In an interview, the older group member, Grace, explained,

"It was just great to be in the group. We were such a great group with Mat, my humble person, Alec and [the others]. That was really exciting. We had so much fun. There is no other way to put it. We simply let our creativity run wild."

In summary, the emotions shaped the conceptualization of the future city as invisible actors. The participants' honest emotional displays increased their level of engagement and led to an emotional attachment to their conception of the future city. Their emotional bond to their future city concept was strengthened when the city employees joined the workshop, as the emotional attachments of the

participants were turned in a vigor of emotions to convince the city employees about their ideas.

2.4.3 Phase 3: Vigor of emotions (workshop 5)

Phase 3 was characterized by the vigor of emotions. City employees joined this last workshop, and the original participants tried to defend their elaborated future city concepts and impel broader action through emotional dogmatism and emotional dedication. The emotions that surfaced in this process influenced the participants' and city employees' collaborative arrangement and acted again as invisible actors. As the original participants became increasingly emotionally dogmatic and dedicated, they failed to appeal to the emotional values of the city employees.

Emotional instability was generated among the participants. The city employees, who outnumbered them and represented various municipal departments, had worked on organizational and procedural issues in a parallel workstream as part of the city's urban development process. However, anchored in their departments' emotional registers, they had differing emotions about the city's future development.

Emotional dogmatism

The conceptualization of the future city, with all its emotional ups and downs, caused the original participants to be so emotionally attached to their joint achievements that they displayed emotional dogmatism. They protected their concepts and demonstrated their way of working through strong emotional displays, so new emotions in and between the participants and the city employees arose that directly affected their interactions.

The original participants protected their future city concepts emotionally and did not allow for opposing emotional perspectives about their concepts. When participants and city employees agreed regarding the city's future, joint satisfaction and positive emotions emerged. Participants were delighted to have their views accepted, and the city employees were happy to find common ground and receive new ideas about the city's development. The experienced joy resulted in mutual

recognition of the different emotional experiences, which facilitated the conceptualization of the future city. In an interview, Amy explained,

"I liked the attitude of a city employee. She reflected on one of our ideas to give homeless people the opportunity to participate in cultural events and said that it was important because it would also contribute to people's health. I thought that was cool. I had not expected that, and I thought: 'Wow'."

However, when participants and city employees disagreed, anger was expressed. Participants and city employees forcefully discussed their diverse emotional experiences, and the negative emotions hampered the further conceptualization. Participants and city employees could not concentrate on future issues but were occupied with their anger. In an interview, Amy told us,

"I noticed that one city employee was still upset at the very end [and] was totally nervous. Then I thought he did not agree at all. [...] That was my feeling."

The negative emotions also played out as we observed that some city employees withdrew. The participants emotionally insisted on their way of working, as they were emotionally stuck with the working method, they had established during the first four workshops. However, in attempting to acquire the city employees' commitment to their conceptualization of the future city, they puzzled the city employees, who had never developed the city in this way before. However, instead of appealing to the city employees' emotional requirements, the participants' continued to insist and even increased their emotional insistence in response to the puzzled feelings the city employees displayed.

For example, Grace, a medical facility manager, emotionally insisted on the participants' established way of working. In interacting with the city employees, she excitedly demonstrated it through her emotional dogmatism. As in the previous workshops, the participants worked within strict time limits, and some city employees were confounded by the way of working and refused to accept it, remaining emotionally stuck on formal exchanges or refusing the time pressure. These responses pushed Grace's emotions again, to insist further on the participants' established way of working. As she explained,

"I think we managed to confound the city staff a couple of times, and I thought that was wonderful. I felt [our way of working] was incredible, also groundbreaking. I thought, 'yes, you can also work like this'."

In this process, when the participants' emotions were animated by the city employees' displayed astonishment, the participants started to express emotional dedication.

Emotional dedication

The participants became even more excited in eliciting emotions in the city employees to drive engagement with their future city concepts through emotional ambition and over-commitment. However, their wish to impel the city employees' commitment to the elaborated urban concepts was too strong.

The participants wanted to be heard by the people in charge, the city employees. To evoke feelings of enthusiasm in the city employees, they displayed exaggerated emotions, such as by being more joyful. However, they did not integrate the city employees' emotional backgrounds into discussions about their ideas but dominated them with their emotional dedication. The doubting and skeptical emotions expressed by some city employees drove the participants' emotional ambition to make city employees understand what they stood for.

For example, we observed that Grace became ambitious to convince the city employees of the value of their future concepts, but the city employees could not get a word in edgewise. Grace had many speaking parts, supported her statements with hand gestures and continuous body movements, and explained her point of view determinedly and in a loud voice. City employees often had no choice but to show their approval, as when they disagreed, Grace exaggerated her emotional expressions. In an interview, she explained:

"That is when I felt I had to talk more or convince [the city employees] more or make my wishes – the wishes of our group – clear to them that it is not about legal requirements now but about the needs of the people who live here. [...] That spurred my ambition."

Because of the participants' emotional ambition to drive action, the city employees' emotional requirements were neglected. Instead of drawing on their

emotional associations and experiences with urban development, the participants ‘did their own thing’. Because of their over-commitment, they were so emotionally immersed in their own ideas for the future city that they did not consider other emotional experiences, leaving the city employees behind.

For example, Sarah, the entrepreneur, was emotionally entangled in the established way of working in the workshop series. Whereas in the beginning she had collaborated with a city employee, she increasingly conceptualized the future city on her own through her emotional vigor. The data showed that many city employees did not know what to do: They observed what was happening, talked privately in small groups, or performed the tasks together with a workshop moderator. In an interview, Sarah stated: “It was a workshop with spectators.”

By not thoroughly involving the city employees the participants missed the chance to create joint emotional attachments with them and the future city concepts. Through emotional dogmatism and emotional dedication, the participants failed to impel broader action for their future city concepts. Over the course of the workshop series, the participants got so attached to their joint concepts that emotions became an actor that influenced the collaborative arrangement.

2.5 Concluding discussion

Our objective in this study was to determine how emotions influence actors in settings where multiple institutional orders intersect. We investigated a civic engagement process of a large German city and analyzed the impact of emotions. We found that actors employed emotive tactics to strengthen their ability to conceptualize the future city, so emotions themselves become actors that shaped the institutional process of finding common ground.

When actors perceived the requirements of emotional registers from various institutions to differ sharply, they tended to express socially acceptable emotions to improve their agency and controlled non-appropriate ones. The contagion of positive emotions led to relaxation and joy, which directly facilitated the civic engagement process. However, the suppression of negative emotions resulted in new feelings of anger and frustration, which hindered the institutional process. We also found that actors’ emotional expressions became increasingly open and rich

when they realized that their agency was strengthened by emotional honesty. Openness toward others' emotions resulted in feelings of delight at the mutually elaborated result, which reanimated the institutional process. Rich emotions led to feelings of being heard and valued, galvanizing the process. However, when new actors joined the group, the original group members' emotional displays were dogmatic and dedicated. They attempted to advance their concepts of the future city by using emotions strategically to influence the new actors. However, the emotions they displayed shaped the institutional arrangement as invisible actors, and the participants' agency was disabled when they failed to appeal to the new actors' emotional values.

Based on our findings, we make two contributions to the literature on emotions and institutions. First, we found that emotions themselves have agency in institutional processes, so we extend the literature on emotions as agentic resources in institutions (Abdelnour et al., 2017; Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Emotions are not only a means by which to strengthen actors' agency, as they also directly animate or hamper institutional projects. In contrast to Hallett's (2003) theory of emotional amplification, we suggest that, in institutional processes, displayed emotions evoke additional emotions that echo, change, or amplify the initial emotional expression, and by being displayed or feigned, directly affect the institutional process. For example, displayed emotions of perplexity pushed other actors' emotions to display even stronger emotions, which resulted in more emotions of perplexity, impacting the institutional process. Anger shown because of a disagreement could evoke defensive emotions, which, when displayed, resulted in emotions of opening-up and led to compromises. Displayed joy, in contrast, led to further joy, which mobilized the collaborative arrangement through, for example, enhanced idea generation. We assume, for instance, that in the studies by Fan and Zietsma (2017) and Wijaya and Heugens (2018) the identified social and moral emotions had agency themselves, impacting the institutional processes and the agency of actors to solve problems and build a shared governance logic (Fan & Zietsma, 2017) and to fix extant arrangements and engage in disrupting activities (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). We also suspect that eruptions of negative emotions as described in Jakob-Sadeh and Zilber (2019) and Toubiana and Zietsma (2017), are mobilized through emotional agency. The display of negative emotions triggers

additional displays of negative emotions, which leads to changes in the constellation of logics. Therefore, emotions are actors that impact institutional processes. Thus, we respond to the calls of Farny et al. (2019) and Lok et al. (2017) by showing where mixed emotions come from and how they shape institutional arrangements.

Second, we broaden research on emotions in settings with actors from different institutional orders by analyzing how actors navigate emotions to enable their own agency. Jakob-Sadeh and Zilber (2019) and Jarvis et al. (2019) showed that actors from various institutions employ emotional control to uphold their agency. We expand their work by examining the emotional micro-processes (Lingo & Elmes, 2019) of actors at equal levels of institutional hierarchy. We argue that actors in such working communities navigate differing expectations through the interplay of emotive tactics. They try to strengthen their agency by means of emotional contagion, emotional suppression, emotional openness, emotional richness, emotional dogmatism, and emotional dedication. We find that emotional contagion, emotional openness, and emotional richness are effective in enabling one's agency and that actors fueled their own engagement in the institutional process through these emotive tactics. In contrast, emotional suppression, emotional dogmatism, and emotional dedication were only partially effective. By suppressing negative emotions, actors maintained the institutional arrangement but disabled their agency as their emotional displays were inconsistent with their values. Our findings also show the important role of expressing negative emotions to ensure successful collaboration. This finding contradicts Jakob-Sadeh and Zilber (2019) who suggested that the eruption of negative emotions hinders agency. We find that, through the display of honest emotions (e.g. negative emotions), actors can strengthen their agency in the institutional arrangement, as their emotional displays are consistent with their values, enabling them to increase their level of commitment. We also suggest that excessive emotional investment (Voronov & Vince, 2012) in an institutional project disables agency. Employing the emotional tactics of dogmatism and dedication, the original actors insisted on the future city concepts they developed and tried to evoke emotions in the new actors to drive broader support. However, in doing so, they neglected opposing emotional experiences and failed to appeal to the new actors' values as emotional agency

unfolded. Because of their strong emotional investment in their institutional project, they prevented the new actors from emotionally investing in it, which hindered their agency.

Although we believe our ethnographic approach allowed us to reveal how different emotional registers influence actors' engagement in institutions, the study has two primary limitations. First, in a civic engagement process, non-experts interact over a defined period of time, so our findings may apply to a wide range of settings in which non-experts work on a topic, such as strategy-making, where actors from various departments interact but may not apply to settings where experts collaborate over an extended period of time. Second, we captured displayed emotions by taking extensive field notes of facial, body, verbal, and vocal behaviors and making audio recordings of group work. Although we believe this was a very useful way to identify emotions (Kouamé & Liu, 2021; Samra-Fredericks, 2004), it is limited by the in-situ interpretation of the field researcher. Therefore, future research could use videotaping (e.g., Liu & Maitlis, 2014) to generate a more fine-grained process view of emotional dynamics between actors.

Despite these limitations, our paper makes two contributions to the literature. First, we used an analysis of how emotions influence actors in settings where multiple institutional orders meet to find that emotions themselves become actors that shape institutional processes. Thus, we contribute to the literature on emotions and institutions by identifying emotions as invisible actors in institutional processes. Second, we expand this literature by identifying the emotive tactics actors employ and how these tactics enable and disable their agency.

3 The role of the atmosphere in future-making[2]

3.1 Introduction

"For me, it is only the surrounding atmosphere which gives subjects their true value." – Claude Monet

Dealing with the future is one key challenge for organizations. It is categorized as a complex and open temporal dimension, which cannot be controlled (Wenzel et al., 2020; Wenzel, 2021). To tackle this challenge and prepare for the unforeseeable, actors engage with the future in different future-making practices, i.e., social practices concerning the future, which entail discursive, bodily, and material practices (Wenzel et al., 2020). Recently, future-making is increasingly formalized, e.g., through the establishment of so-called labs (Fecher et al., 2020; Magadley & Birdi, 2009; Zivkovic, 2018). With their specific material and spatial surrounding, labs are places of encounter that lead to associations and vibes among the lab participants. However, so far, we know little about future-making practices in labs. To better understand how future-making is enacted in labs, we draw on the conceptual perspective of the atmosphere. We assume that the lab atmosphere might play an important role in the enactment of future-making practices, as an atmosphere is constituted in the sensory-affective experiences of material artifacts, spaces, and people (Böhme, 1993; DeMolli et al., 2020). It is against this background that our study asks how the lab atmosphere influences future-making practices.

We address this question by drawing on an ethnographic study of a social lab that was established to engage citizens in creating concepts for future living in a large German city. The study is based on observations, interviews, and documentary data. The case is particularly interesting as in the social lab, various spaces and material artifacts were used to create different concepts of future life.

[2] This chapter refers to the paper 'Welcome to the social lab: The role of the atmosphere in future-making practices' with the collaboration of Verena Bader and Stephan Kaiser. For more information, see the Appendix B on p. 138.

Our findings contribute to the literature on future-making, the atmosphere and labs (DeMolli et al., 2020; Fecher et al., 2020; Marsh & Śliwa, 2021; Michels & Steyaert, 2017; Wenzel et al., 2020). First, we study the interplay of practices and the atmosphere in labs. We identify practices of future-making, i.e., familiarizing, creating, and sharing, and find that the atmosphere and future-making practices influence each other. Thereby, an atmosphere can be an enabler or barrier for future-making. We also show that an enabling lab atmosphere is created through the combination of formalized and less formalized future-making practices and a fit between the spatial and material artifacts with the practices of people.

Second, we shed new light on the atmosphere in the organizational context. We show how the atmosphere are created in-between the recurring practices and dynamics of different workshops. Hence, the atmosphere not only brings together people, artifacts, and ideas but impacts their interactions and is impacted by their interactions over time.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. We first elaborate the theoretical foundations about future-making, innovation labs and the atmosphere before presenting our ethnographic study and a description of the research methods. Then we outline our findings concerning how the lab atmosphere influences the future-making practices. Next, we discuss our findings on how the atmosphere enables or constrains actors in future-making. We conclude with future research opportunities and practical implications.

3.2 Theoretical background

Future-making can be conceptualized as a strategic activity and practice (Reckwitz, 2002), as shaping the future is an important issue of strategizing. For example, strategic planning processes are conceptualized with the future in mind (Comi & Whyte, 2018). However, the future cannot be foreseen or anticipated through mere planning processes as it is often characterized by ambiguity and unrealizability (Augustine et al., 2019; Wenzel et al., 2020). Thus, “actors produce and enact the future” (Wenzel et al., 2020, p. 1442) in various practices such as managing uncertainty with algorithms, drawing expectations from the past to the future or even consulting oracles (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013; Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012; Wenzel, 2021). Especially, imagining the future in the face of grand challenges,

such as climate change or living in sustainable cities, requires "coordinated and collaborative effort" (George et al., 2016, p. 1880) of multiple social actors involved. Related future-making practices refer to expressing desires, values, hopes and fears in formal or informal ways (Augustine et al., 2019; Wenzel, 2021).

Recently, organizations increasingly formalize such future-making practices, e.g., in the establishment of so-called innovation labs. Innovation labs are typically spatial settings with specific material surroundings where diverse actors meet to innovate or elaborate future strategies (Fecher et al., 2020; Gryszkiewicz et al., 2016; Magadley & Birdi, 2009; Memon & Meyer, 2017). The practices enacted in those labs are often based on design-thinking principles (Zivkovic, 2018). With their specific spatial and material arrangement made of lighting, décor, and architecture, innovation labs aim to influence participants' practices by promoting creativity and overcoming silo-thinking (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012; Lewis & Moultrie, 2005; Magadley & Birdi, 2009). Artifacts such as round tables, open working spaces, refreshment areas, whiteboards, post-its or multimedia systems foster collaboration. Additionally, facilitators support participants in elaborating future strategies in labs, e.g., by instructing the practices enacted in those labs (Fecher et al., 2020; Lewis & Moultrie, 2005; Magadley & Birdi, 2009; Memon & Meyer, 2017). However, Fecher et al. (2020) indicate that the success of such labs, e.g., innovation labs, depends on how actors enact practices in labs.

To better understand those future-making practices of actors in labs, we draw on the concept of the atmosphere (DeMolli et al., 2020; Julmi, 2017; Michels & Steyaert, 2017). The concept of the atmosphere is influenced by the aesthetic interpretations of Gernot Böhme (Böhme, 1993). For him, the atmosphere is "experienced in bodily presence in relation to persons and things or in spaces" (Böhme, 1993, p. 119). It is linked with moods or ambience (Bille et al., 2015; Böhme, 1993; Jørgensen & Holt, 2019) and constituted in the affective-sensory experiences of spatial arrangements (DeMolli et al., 2020; Jørgensen & Holt, 2019). When arriving at a new place, neither shapes nor designs are primarily perceived, but the atmosphere (Böhme, 1993). The atmosphere lies in-between subject and object; i.e., it does neither belong to the actor who experiences or perceives the atmosphere nor space (Anderson, 2009; Bille et al., 2015; Böhme, 1993; DeMolli et al., 2020). It is simultaneously impersonal and personal; it is part of the collective

but also experienced individually (Anderson, 2009). And these sensory-affective experiences impact the atmosphere again. Thus, the atmosphere is constantly emerging and evolving from the artifacts entangled with space and practices of people. Through its bodily material entanglements, the atmosphere can affect people and their emerging emotions shape their interactions and practices (Anderson, 2014; Bille & Simonsen, 2021). In this context, Marsh and Śliwa (2021) found that creating and manipulating the atmosphere led to affective transitions in actors to no longer be fearful.

Initial organizational studies of atmosphere production between people, material artifacts and spaces have referred to artistic settings (DeMolli et al., 2020; Michels & Steyaert, 2017), political resistance (Marsh & Śliwa, 2021) or collaborative spaces (de Vaujany et al., 2019). They predominantly focused on how the atmosphere is "crafted as moments of potentiality and promise" (Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p. 98) between multilayered artifacts such as the festival space and the city that appeal to actors' sensory-affective experiences (de Vaujany et al., 2019; DeMolli et al., 2020). The atmosphere has limited controllability due to the unpredictability of exactly these sensory-affective experiences (Marsh & Śliwa, 2021) and external conditions such as the weather (Michels & Steyaert, 2017).

However, the atmosphere is important in all areas of everyday life (Beyes, 2016; Michels & Steyaert, 2017; Reckwitz, 2012). Its involved spatial and material surroundings shape and "make" organizations (de Vaujany & Vaast, 2014, p. 713), thereby creating reality (Orlikowski, 2007). Thus understood, the atmosphere in present future-making labs is intimately involved in creating the future. As we know little about the atmosphere's role in future making, we trace future-making practices in the form of interactions between people, spatial dynamics, and material artifacts, as well as how these practices play out in the atmosphere.

In summary, different future-making practices are enacted in labs. With their spatial and material arrangement, labs are places of encounters to engage with the future collectively. However, the success of labs largely depends on the interactions of the lab participants. So far, we do not know "what moves the progression of attempted syntheses along or enables to more or less overcome underlying oppositions" (Augustine et al., 2019, p. 1956) in labs. Thus, we examine the influence of the lab atmosphere on future-making practices.

3.3 Methods

The study is based on an ethnographic study of future-making practices in a social lab, where citizens were involved in developing future living in a large German city in 2040. Studying the atmosphere during this future-making process relates to methodological challenges. The atmosphere is no separate but connected phenomenon which is constantly transforming and emerging from the material artifacts in space and the practices of people (Anderson, 2014; Bille et al., 2015; Bille & Simonsen, 2021; DeMolli et al., 2020). With our objective to analyze the role of the lab atmosphere in future-making practices, we examined the lab space (e.g., architecture and design), the material artifacts (e.g., tools), the combination of the spatial and material arrangement, how the participants experience this arrangement sensually and affectively and how their practices influence the atmosphere (DeMolli et al., 2020).

3.3.1 The case organization

The future-making process was designed as a social lab. By ‘social labbing’ complex social challenges like grand challenges are addressed. It is a method characterized as a longer-term process with experimental techniques like ideating or prototyping, in which diverse participants are involved. Facilitators support the participants in their endeavor to tackle the root cause of challenges in labs (Hassan, 2014).

The objective of this social lab was to develop various future scenarios of life in the future city. By focusing on specific topics such as mobility, housing, or society, the social lab tried to overcome grand challenges in terms of goal conflicts in the future city. It was performed by facilitators as an iterative process comprising five workshops at different locations with the same participants. 30 people from diverse backgrounds, e.g., an urban planning manager, a disabled person, a representative of Fridays For Future participated. The process of the five workshops was based on a design thinking approach with its divergent (e.g., familiarization, brainstorming, prototyping) and convergent (defining, testing) elements. In workshop one, participants got involved in the core topics and the subtopics in order to acquire knowledge. Workshop two was focused on idea generation. These ideas were evaluated and sorted out, further developed into different future city concepts,

and translated into prototypes in workshops three and four. In workshop five, the elaborated concepts were finalized. The elaborated concepts will be included in the city's new urban development plan to be presented to the city council in the fall of 2021.

3.3.2 Data collection

We started this research project initially with a general interest in the emotional practices enacted by participants during group work. However, it soon became apparent that some material artifacts, such as the workshop space or the tools, played an important role in developing the future city concept; hence we increasingly focused our attention additionally on these.

We employed ethnographic methods in the form of interviews, participant observation and documentary data (DeMolli et al., 2020; Michels & Steyaert, 2017). Our data collection spanned 23 months, from May 2019 to March 2021, of which we conducted observations in a phase of five months and semi-structured interviews in a phase of 15 months, which were particularly essential for our research endeavor. Documentary data were collected between and after these phases.

From October 2019 to March 2020, the first author attended the five workshops of the social lab (four to six hours in length). Together with a graduate student, she audio-recorded group works and thereby took extensive notes about facial, vocal, verbal and body behaviors (Liu & Maitlis, 2014). Audio recordings completed the handwritten notes by recording changes in wording and voice and loud gestures such as banging on the table. Additionally, the first author had informal conversations with participants and facilitators during social gatherings. She recorded field notes later.

Between May 2019 and July 2020, we conducted 47 semi-structured interviews with 28 informants. Interviewees were selected based on theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) and lasted an average of 40 minutes. Before the workshop series started, we conducted seven interviews with participants of the two introduction events. During and after the social lab, we conducted 40 interviews with one facilitator and 20 participants. Some interviewees were asked repeatedly to identify sensory-affective dynamics.

We complemented our observation and interview data with documentary data such as website articles or official brochures. We were also allowed to take and collect pictures of the workshops. Such visual data are important when conducting research on the atmosphere (DeMolli et al., 2020). Additionally, we collected the communication material of the facilitators and the city with the participants during and after the research period such as written results and summaries of the last event or information about the workshop location for the next event.

Table 3 provides an overview of our data.

TABLE 3

Overview of data sources (Chapter 3)

Source of data	Type of data		
Interviews		Number of interviews	Number of interviewees
	Participants (introduction event)	7	7
	Participants (workshop series)	37	20
	Facilitator (workshop series)	3	1
	TOTAL	47	28
Naturalistic observations		Duration	
	Field notes	22 h	
	Audio-recordings with notes on facial, body, vocal and verbal behaviors	6 h 35 min	
Documen-tary data		Number	
	Documents (e.g., emails, internal results)	245 pages	
	Photos	322	

3.3.3 Data analysis

In line with previous research on the atmosphere in organizational settings (DeMolli et al., 2020; Michels & Steyaert, 2017), our data analysis followed induction principles (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). We laid emphasis on emotions while also being open to emerging ideas. We analyzed our data in three steps.

First, we coded the emotions and sensations in the interview transcripts, field notes, and documents using in vivo codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) and categorized them into emerging concepts.

Second, we clustered our data sets chronologically (Werle & Seidl, 2015) and identified the different material artifacts involved in the civic engagement process. Thereby, we noticed a connection between the material artifacts and sensory-affective experiences. By analyzing how the material artifacts were used in the workshop and iterating with literature, we realized that the participants enacted the same three subsequent future-making practices, i.e., familiarizing, creating, and sharing, in each workshop (Burgelman et al., 2018).

Third, we studied the material artifacts and the space regarding sensory-affective experiences and expressions. By iterating between the literature and our empirical findings, we identified the concept of the atmosphere as favorable for interpreting our data, especially as the sensual-affective experiences of participants were influenced by their perceptions of the space, the material artifacts and their practices (Bille et al., 2015; Bille & Simonsen, 2021; DeMolli et al., 2020). In line with DeMolli et al. (2020), we then tried to understand how the atmosphere and the practices of participants influenced each other. We explored how the atmosphere was created by participants collectively but experienced individually (Anderson, 2009) and how these experiences resulted in practices that changed the atmosphere again. The notion of in-between helped us understand how the atmosphere evolved and enabled or constrained participants to enact future-making. Table 4 presents additional illustrative data for our findings.

TABLE 4

Data that supports interpretations of key observations

Key Observations	Illustrative quotes/examples
Reciprocal influence between atmospheres and future-making practices	- "People were in a very good mood, I thought that was really positive. I was a bit exhausted when I arrived and it was just in that space, all the people had this optimism, I thought that was a very pleasant atmosphere." (Participant Martha about workshop 1) - "The kickoff was fun with this lineup. That connects you, of course, and that is fun. And I think that the shoe size-game was a particularly original idea. That loosens you up, that actually gets you up [...] and then you somehow talk and then consequently it results in a quite good dialogue." (Participant Sarah about workshop 1) - "[Just before the last activity during creating, marking the most important conflicting goals with sticky dots], the [participants] talked to their neighbors [...]. There was a more relaxed mood again, people are laughing, talking, interacting." (Field notes about workshop 1) - "[After a warm-up game] the mood is very positive. People are laughing and partly [joking]." (Field notes about workshop 2) - "Yes, and he immediately talked about all kinds of things, some of which we already knew. [...] And that was not the point [...]. Overall, the atmosphere was actually very harmonious and yes, well, I am always a bit reluctant to intervene [if I cannot really contribute]." (Participant Gina about workshop 2) - "He had quite a negative attitude and talked quite a lot and I found it hard to counteract [...] when there is someone [in your group] who takes over the conversation and then drags the atmosphere down" (Participant Kelly about workshop 2)

	- "The setting, in these venues a bit raw, a bit rocky, I really liked that. The way it was catered was nice. It created [...] a positive situation, [...] a very positive framework for dealing with these questions [of the future]." (Participant Rob about workshop 3) - "The room was different from the previous ones and emanated quite a bare atmosphere. [...] The mood was not quite as exuberant as the last times [when participants entered the workshop venue and started to familiarize]." (Memo, workshop 4) - "The room was an unfortunate [choice] because the acoustics were quite poor. […] I think the issue of room acoustics is a strong one because it makes a big difference in how inspired you are to collaborate". (Participant Mary about workshop 4) - "So, from the first feeling I found [the fourth workshop] totally pleasant. I had the feeling that by seeing and recognizing people again, maybe a kind of mini-community was created. And it was a very pleasant atmosphere. And I found that also at the first workshop [the atmosphere was pleasant], but people didn't know each other then. And this time I found it striking that I actually felt comfortable right away." (Participant Stella about workshop 4) - "There was a slightly goofy vibe during prototyping; there was a lot of laughing and light joking with each other." (Field notes about workshop 4) - "The group has already known each other; they have already worked together. And for me, in particular, every room situation makes a difference. So, when I enter a room, I have a certain feeling […]: What about the atmosphere in the room? And, of course, the surroundings and the light and all kinds of things play a role for me. At the fifth time I experienced the atmosphere from the beginning as very positive." (Participant William about workshop 5) - "The objective [of the overall communication] is to establish trust, an atmosphere in which people communicate openly and address needs quickly." (Internal document: Ein Social Lab für urbane Zukünfte, p.31)

	- "At the end of the workshop, it creates a nice atmosphere when people [...] get together over [food and drink] and facilitators and participants talk on a more personal level." (Internal document: Ein Social Lab für urbane Zukünfte, p.20)
Harmonization of future-making practices and atmospheres	- "The advantage [of prototyping]: it is more playful, even people [...] for whom language is not the most important and biggest medium [...] can express themselves differently. And the disadvantage [...] is that many [people] are no longer particularly skilled [in crafting]. So, I haven't made pictures since kindergarten. That is not my medium." (Participant Alice about workshop 4) - "When saying goodbye […], the participants once again emphasized the openness throughout the group, the similarities regarding future city concepts between the different groups, and the mutual appreciation they experienced." (Memo to Workshop 4) - "I found that very pleasant, because this time, and this is also a difference from the previous [workshop], there was enough time to take another close look at the future scenarios." (Participant Alf about workshop 4) - "Not everyone could get involved. [...] then it was realized that maybe [we weren't not fast enough] and so we [split up to succeed]." (Participant Kelly about workshop 5) - "The venue [of the fifth workshop] was good [for me]. [...] Everyone could join in everywhere, so there was not another gallery where some could have withdrawn to create the future, and I, for example, could not have come up there. So, the external conditions were good, and [the workshop] started well." (Participant William about workshop 5) - "By knowing each other better [in the groups], i.e., having worked together more often, you also learned to appreciate each other and to see that maybe this person really does have more knowledge on the subject, more input or simply another view that is also important to listen to." (Participant Mat about workshop 5) - "[And I need] a bit more space and I didn't have that. In this respect, it was unsatisfying for me. I later tried to look at all these pinboards and photograph them [] as well, that I have the same information [like the others]". (Participant William about workshop 5)

	- "The atmosphere was totally good. [...] also this relaxed way of dealing with each other, where we called out the things [between the presentations]". (Participant Sarah about workshop 5) - "[The atmosphere was very exuberant during the farewell], [Grace] shouted loudly for the city [staff] to take a cue [in the social lab way of working and its atmosphere]. A city employee responded that she should come over and [Grace] then promptly said, 'I like to do that.' The audience laughs again." (Field notes about workshop 5) - "It is important [for a positive basic atmosphere] to establish routines for the participants. This can be, for example, the use of a specific sound at certain moments to signal a change. Or that each workshop day begins and ends with the group standing in a circle to check in and check out together." (Internal document: Ein Social Lab für urbane Zukünfte, p.19)

3.4 Findings

Our findings on the linkages between the atmosphere of the future-making lab and future-making practices stem from the analysis of five workshops. Each workshop was organized along with three subsequent future-making practices. We denote these practices as familiarizing, creating, and sharing. First, there was a practice that was coined by activities of getting to know each other or later of reuniting (familiarizing). After that, concrete ideas for the future were developed, and ideas relating to the future of the city were produced and elaborated (creating). These ideas, developed individually or in subgroups, were collectively shared amongst all participants in a third subsequent practice (sharing).

Our data shows that the atmosphere of the lab and future-making practices influenced each other. Whereas at the beginning of the workshop series, the atmosphere was both an enabler and barrier for future-making, it became increasingly an enabler over time as harmonization processes set it.

This can be attributed to the finding that the atmosphere evolved in-between the future-making practices. We observed that participants experienced the atmosphere in different practices differently, both through their sensory-affective experiences of the spatial and material environment and through the enactment of the practices itself. Analogous to the theoretical notion of an atmosphere, our data and observations suggest that the atmosphere was formed collectively in interaction but experienced individually.

From the beginning, both facilitators and participants tried to create an atmosphere in which everyone felt comfortable to engage with the future. However, the atmosphere changed due to new sensory-affective experiences through the spatial and material arrangement and through the practices that participants enacted in the workshops. In-between the workshops, however, the spatial and material arrangement such as rooms, working methods or tools and the participants' abilities adapted and harmonized over time. Through this harmonization, the atmosphere became an enabler of future-making increasingly. This resulted in a future-making atmosphere among the participants at the end, where everyone felt included and enabled in future-making.

With reference to the approach of Denis et al. (2001), we reduce the complexity of our findings by a descriptive summary of each subsequent practice accompanied by vignettes and key observations. Each vignette outlines a different activity of the three future-making practices, familiarizing, creating, and sharing. It begins with a description of the situation and then presents the interaction between the atmosphere and the enactment of the different activities. Extracts from our data illustrate the dynamics described. The seven vignettes lead us to two key observations that we will explain, referring to examples of the vignettes.

3.4.1 Familiarizing

The first practice of each workshop referred to the future-making practice familiarizing. Specifically, participants familiarized themselves with the other participants, the workshop method, and topics of the future city. In doing so, the participants experienced an atmosphere at the very beginning of familiarizing and were influenced by an atmosphere while familiarizing. Familiarizing, in turn, affected the atmosphere. As each workshop took place at a different location (see figure 5), participants had new sensory-affective experiences, so familiarizing became a recurrent practice throughout the process.

The vignettes show the different activities of familiarizing, i.e., introducing oneself, getting to know the workshop theme, and recapitulating topics of the future from the previous workshops.

To illustrate how the participants familiarized themselves with each other, vignette 1 shows their first encounter at the first workshop. By approaching each other and introducing themselves, the wait-and-see atmosphere was opened up, which promoted familiarizing again.

Vignette 1

In the beginning, the participants experienced a wait-and-see atmosphere. While waiting for the official start of the first workshop, they were insecure about how to behave and what to expect as they did not know anyone else and how the day will look like. We noticed that some participants were standing scattered and alone in the workshop room, watching the other participants and the spatial-material arrangement around them. They saw rows of black chairs in the center of the workshop room, pinboards with numbers and statistics about the city's future development in the back and a large map on the side (see figure 5).

In an interview, Sebastian explained: “And then there were these rows of chairs [...] so it was a bit school-like. And that was not the ideal impression when you get in there.”

Mat stated in another interview: “At first, I was a bit shy because I didn’t know anyone.”

And William outlined: “The first time [I was reserved], and when I walked into the workshop venue, I thought, ‘let’s see what happens, what’s going on’.”

However, the atmosphere began to open up when other participants approached each other and introduced themselves with a handshake. The sensed openness inspired all participants again also to introduce themselves and start conversations.

Sebastian added: “Right at the beginning, I tried to say hello to everyone just before it officially started. I always find the beginning time, well, I don’t find it awkward, but I know it might be awkward for other people, and I’m that kind of person who notices that and wants people to be relaxed.”

Mat further outlined: “People were very open, so if you didn’t say anything, people kept coming by introducing themselves and saying: ‘Hello, I’m Petra, hello, I’m Johannes,’. So, it was just such an open, open atmosphere from the beginning. And then gradually [over the workshop] everyone was already like ‘ah, really cool that you’re doing this and that, quite interesting’, [and] you got to talk for the first time [...].”

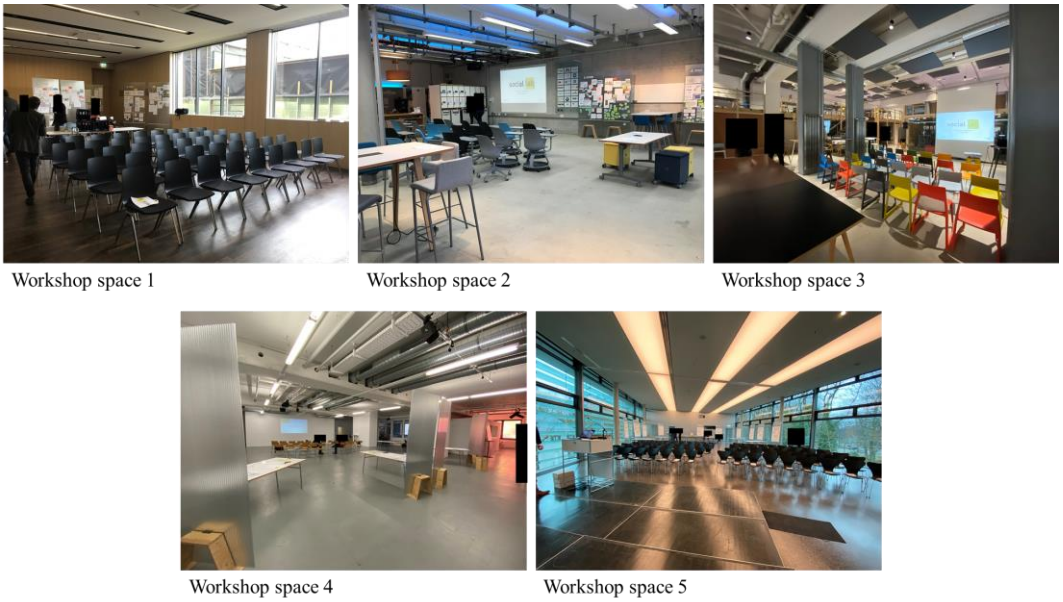
We observed that the open atmosphere immediately facilitated the further future-making. The initial openness spilled over into the official rounds of introductions, and the participants increasingly came into contact with each other.

To sum up, the atmosphere opened up due to the participants familiarizing themselves with each other at the very beginning. The created open atmosphere impacted the participants’ later activities. They were encouraged in familiarizing over the workshop.

To highlight how participants familiarized themselves with the workshop theme, vignette 2 explains the first impressions about workshop three when entering its venue. In vignette 2, participants experienced an atmosphere of co-working in the third workshop that enabled or constrained them in familiarizing.

FIGURE 5

Overview of workshop spaces before the official start of each workshop



Vignette 2

When arriving at the workshop venue, participants instantly experienced an atmosphere that symbolized innovative co-working that pushed or impeded familiarizing. With the venue of the third workshop, a co-working space of start-ups, the participants associated an environment where the future is made. The spatial-material arrangement immediately led participants to discuss and develop ideas about life in the future city. They sensed different designs, colorful chairs, group tables on two floors, and recurring material artifacts such as pinboards, but elaborated and supplemented with visionary ideas in the participants in the previous workshops (see figure 5).

We noticed that some participants were energized by the co-working atmosphere they experienced. They started immediately to familiarize themselves with the third workshop. For example, stimulated by the atmosphere, they discussed mobility and creative places of collaboration in the future city.

In an interview, the participant Sarah stated: “I found this room atmosphere great, [...] and when you experience it, it energizes you.”

Olaf also stated: “I loved the co-worker location, especially the whole ambience. It had [...] something, something can develop there. I can understand very well that a lot of start-ups work there. They feel comfortable there; there are like-minded people there. [Start-ups] can grow there, and I think those are also environments that you simply need for a [lab] like that.”

However, participants with disabilities or physical limitations did not feel energized when entering the workshop venue. They felt already constrained in familiarizing through the initial atmosphere, which was created through the spatial and material surrounding but also the anticipation of the other participants. E.g., in contrast to other participants, they were not inspired when entering the workshop venue but were constrained. For instance, one participant used a wheelchair; he could not move around freely in the room equipped with material artifacts. Another person could hardly understand the other participants because of the bad room acoustics. Therefore, they felt excluded, which also affected the enactment of future-making in the further workshop (see *vignette 3*). The handicapped participants were disappointed that their needs had not been considered and felt disadvantaged not having the same opportunities as the others.

In an interview, William outlined: "The event room was not easily accessible for me. And then I went into the event room and saw that it consisted of two floors and that there was a gallery upstairs, where some people later withdrew for [future-making]. That would not have been possible for me, of course."

To sum up, the atmosphere which was experienced right at the beginning of the third workshop impacted familiarizing with the workshop. Some participants were enabled in familiarizing by the atmosphere of co-working. Other participants were constrained by the atmosphere of co-working. They felt excluded and disadvantaged through the atmosphere which affected their engagement to familiarize.

To show how participants familiarized themselves with future-related topics, vignette 3 highlights how participants recapped the results of the previous workshop two in the exercise of clustering cards. Thereby, sensory-affective experiences were made and expressed, changing the atmosphere from chaos to motivation. The atmosphere, in turn, enabled or constrained the participants in familiarizing.

Vignette 3

When grouping cards, the participants experienced an atmosphere of chaos first.

It was a big mess with 30 people gathering around a big table to sort through over a hundred different cards lying there, finding headings to the clusters, and showing relationships.

For instance, in an interview, Mat outlined: "In the beginning, it was a chaos of cards lying on the table. […]. It was a bit chaotic here and there because 30 people were gathering around a table, all sorting at the same time […] Everybody thought differently, everybody clustered differently."

And Rob stated: “It was a bit chaotic because there was just a lot of stuff spread out on the table.”

Participants then started to communicate with each other. We observed that they called out topics, glanced at other participants and passed cards. Data showed that the atmosphere changed from chaos to motivation as everybody tried to get involved and contribute their expertise to find structure in the chaos.

Strengthened by the motivational surrounding of both the spatial and material arrangement (see *vignette 2*) and the practices, they were highly engaged in grouping the future topics. They debated how to group the cards, moved them between different clusters and agreed on categorizing them. These sensory-affective experiences of being involved in the content as well as the material surrounding carried over again to the atmosphere. Thus, we found that the atmosphere enabled some participants for familiarizing, i.e., getting to know the topics for the future city.

In an interview, one facilitator stated: “[The participants] were so motivated right away. Not like, ‘I will let the others do it first’, but they threw themselves into it and immediately talked to each other and [wrote headings on paper] [...]. And you really had the feeling that [...] they really moved like a common brain.”

In another interview, the participant Alice outlined: “I had fun working on that. I really like structuring processes and thought it was great how we clustered the [cards] very quickly as a group and then moved them back and forth with each other and quickly agreed on how to organize it.”

Although a number of participants were enabled to engage in familiarizing through the atmosphere actively, our data also showed that some participants were constrained in familiarizing by the atmosphere and could not contribute. First, they were partially influenced by the sensory-affective disadvantage experiences from the beginning atmosphere (see *vignette 2*). Second, they felt neglected when grouping the cards. Most participants were preoccupied with themselves and familiarizing and did not consider the needs and wishes of the others. E.g., they had to work quickly to comply with time pressure, they did not make room for the others at the big table, that they can move around freely, or they rearranged others’ sorted cards. Thus, some other participants experienced exclusion, which impeded future-making.

The facilitator further explained in the interview: “Some participants moved to a second row, away from the table [...] But they did not withdraw. They wanted to also contribute at that moment.”

And the participant William outlined: “At the large table where all the cards were laid out [...], I could not move at all in the narrowness. It was quite clear that I was at a disadvantage.”

To sum up, the atmosphere got motivational through the participants' future-making activity of clustering cards. The created atmosphere impacted the clustering of cards again. Some participants were enabled in clustering cards by the motivating atmosphere. Other participants were constrained in clustering cards by the motivating atmosphere.

3.4.2 Creating

The second practice of each workshop referred to creating. By enacting this practice, participants planned, ideated, and imagined the future using different tools such as discursive tricks, templates, or pictures. In doing so, the atmosphere was impacted by creating and creating impacted the atmosphere.

The vignettes show one activity of creating, i.e., imagining using templates, which was enacted in workshop three (*vignette 4*) and workshop four (*vignette 5*). In-between creating in workshop three and workshop four the atmosphere became more and more an enabler of creating and creating vice versa strengthened the atmosphere as an enabler, as harmonization processes set in.

Vignette 4 highlights how participants imagined the future city in workshop three. Thereby, the atmosphere changed from motivation to stress as participants were overwhelmed in creating.

Vignette 4

Surrounded by a motivational atmosphere from the familiarizing practice (see vignette 3), the participants were keen to create the future city and began to work on different templates in newly formed groups of four to six people. Instructed by the facilitators, the participants had to plan the future by working on different templates in short time slots. However, in doing so, they quickly experienced an atmosphere of stress. For instance, the participants had difficulties bonding and coming up with innovative solutions for the future under such time pressure. We observed that participants felt disturbed, as, e.g., they could not finish the single tasks, tasks descriptions were unclear and finding compromises among the group members were difficult.

In an interview, Olaf explained: "This situation was really stressful."

Mat described the group work as "no cooperation, but opposition."

And Alice outlined: "There was already a problem to understand what was really asked, [...] and then suddenly that [task] was over and we had just finished two things. [...] And then suddenly there was the feeling of time pressure."

The atmosphere of stress even increased when the facilitators repeatedly announced the remaining time and, in the last minutes of a task, turned up the music and announced a loud countdown. This atmosphere constrained the participants in creating. They were no longer able to think creatively as they did not understand each other due to the loud noise and were only concerned with the remaining time.

Mat further stated: "[The facilitators started] playing music two minutes before [finishing the task]. […] I did not understand the others anymore because the music was playing now. [They announced that] you had one minute left. Now, we were talking about you guys have 30 seconds left. Now we were counting down ten seconds, and I was always like, oh my god. That made it difficult."

To sum up, the atmosphere changed to stress through participants' future-making activity of imagining. Participants were constrained in imagining by the stressful atmosphere.

Vignette 5 shows how participants imagined the future city in workshop four. In-between workshop three and workshop four, the harmonization process between future-making practices and the atmosphere started. As material artifacts were adjusted and people's abilities developed, the atmosphere evolved and got pleasant again.

Vignette 5

In the fourth workshop, the creating practice of the third workshop was continued, i.e., the participants worked in the same small groups and had to continue working on the different tasks and templates.

Data showed that the harmonization between practices and atmosphere was in progress here. There was a mutual adjustment of practices, which facilitated creating. E.g., the facilitators adapted the material artifacts to the participants' abilities, and the participants adapted their activities towards the tools and to each other. Thus, an increasingly enabling atmosphere was produced through creating.

In contrast to workshop 3 (*see vignette 4*), the atmosphere was no longer perceived as a barrier to creating. We found that the participants were in the process of appropriating the tools and coming together. Having worked with the tools last time, the participants were already experienced in working quickly to include all their ideas on the template and comply with time pressure. It was also observed that the participants perceived time pressure as not so demanding anymore as the facilitators had adjusted the tool to the participants. Time pressure was eased by allowing participants to have more time completing the template and signaling it using signs instead of loud noise. Besides, we noticed that participants adapted their skills to each other and thus improved cooperation. They showed consideration for others by reaching out and helping their group members. For example, they

explained tasks or terms additionally, appreciated opposing views, or changed roles. While the participants jointly worked on the templates, there were emotions and sensations that indicated a satisfaction of advancement. This satisfaction spread and created a pleasant atmosphere. Now, the participants were able to focus on the tasks and got deeply involved in imagining the future.

In an interview, Alice stated: “That was much more pleasant again. I thought that was very enjoyable again after all.”

And Mat outlined in another interview: “The facilitators really considered our feedback from the third workshop [...] And they tried to adapt what was always stressful: they walked around with small signs [indicating the remaining time] that you realized [the time pressure]. But you were not totally thrown out of the group work. So, it was just more flowing [...], actually, much more pleasant.”

In another interview, Mike outlined: “Now there was less time pressure, and you could get more involved in the subject and deepen your understanding. It was a relatively relaxed atmosphere. […] In terms of group dynamics, we had already gotten to know each other much better in the fourth event [...]. The atmosphere was very pleasant and productive, and we were also used to the format.”

To sum up, the atmosphere got pleasant as participants increasingly mastered the future-making activity of imagining. And the created atmosphere enabled imagining the future again. The material artifacts were aligned to the people’s abilities, and the people’s abilities adapted to the material artifacts and each other. Thus, harmonization was in progress, and the atmosphere became an enabler of creating the future increasingly.

3.4.3 Sharing

The third subsequent practice of each workshop referred to sharing. Specifically, participants enacted sharing by jointly assessing the workshop results and thereby realizing commonalities. In doing so, they used different artifacts such as short presentations, exhibitions, feedback circles, or informal get-togethers. We observed that sharing affected the atmosphere, and the atmosphere affected sharing.

The vignettes show how participants jointly assessed the workshop’s results: one informal using get-together (*vignette 6*) and one formal using short presentations (vignette 7).

Vignette 6 illustrates the beginning conversation and joint assessment of results during the informal get-together after the first workshop. While sharing, the participants experienced and expressed sensations and emotions, which

strengthened the atmosphere in its initial openness created in-between the practices and activities of the first workshop.

Vignette 6

At the end of the first workshop, the atmosphere was suffused with a beginning openness created in-between the previous practices and a remaining closedness from the sense of strangeness in the group (*see vignette 1*). The participants were released to have successfully completed the first workshop of the event series. By familiarizing and creating, the atmosphere has already opened up. However, the participants were still surrounded by closedness as they still did not really know the other group members.

We observed that the open atmosphere was reinforced when the participants gathered for an informal get-together after the first workshop. By getting to know each other, the participants realized the first commonalities, and the atmosphere increased to open up. The more open atmosphere encouraged the participants in sharing their thoughts for the future again.

Data showed that the participants felt comfortable. They had fun and were curious about each other and the future workshop process. Provided with food and drink, they mixed and mingled. We observed that they made small talk in different groups. They explained their wishes for the future city, reflected on the workshop results as well as on their experiences and speculated about the next steps. Each participant was involved in the small groups, and the participants also kept changing groups. There again, everyone was immediately involved, which continued to open up the atmosphere again.

In an interview, Sarah stated: “Also, with the food afterwards. [There is the saying] the way to a man’s heart is through his stomach, and I think it is really well catered, and the whole context of the room, the fact that you eat together afterwards and then talk a little bit outside of protocol, that is incredibly valuable. Those informal topics are sometimes the most important.”

The food and drink triggered a conviviality among the participants in the future-making lab that loosened them and made them talk about their hopes and social backgrounds.

Martha outlined in an interview: “I really liked the [food and drink]. And I think that also helped a bit to make people talk.”

And Sally explained: “I liked how people came together over dinner and got to know each other. [For example], where they came from or what their thoughts were.”

The open atmosphere even affected the next workshop as the participants started to exchange their thoughts about the future city right away when familiarizing themselves with each other.

In an interview, Mat stated: “At the beginning of the second workshop, I already knew a few people because we had talked at the get-together of the first workshop. [...] I’m an outgoing and open person […], but when I’m in a group of complete strangers [...], and I have to go over to them and say ‘Hey, I want to say something about this’, of course, that makes it more difficult. But by talking to most people before, it was definitely better now.”

To sum up, the atmosphere was reinforced in its beginning openness through the participants’ future-making activity of getting-together. The created atmosphere enabled future-making again as it impacted the next practice of the following workshop.

Vignette 7 highlights how participants shared their results of the future city in workshop five using short presentations of two minutes. As there was a fit between the artifacts and the people’s abilities an atmosphere of future-making developed through sharing and enabled the participants in sharing again.

Vignette 7

In the fifth workshop, sharing was enacted by the already known activity from the third workshop, i.e., presenting results within two minutes. In the third workshop, the participants were not able to keep the time limit. They were stopped and could not communicate their results to others. Thus, an atmosphere of disappointment arose.

Over time, participants began to master the tools, and an atmosphere of future-making arose. For instance, when sharing the elaborated strategies using presentations, most participants did not need two minutes anymore. Instead, they were able to present the results in under two minutes. We observed that in mastering sharing, the participants had learned from their mistakes. Now, they prepared their presentations by pre-structuring their speech and including only the most important ideas. In-between the different workshops, the participants had also learned how to share their results concisely. E.g., they joked and made eye contact with the audience. Excited emotions were felt and expressed by both the audience and presenters. While sharing, participants realized their similarities. For example, all showed strong enthusiasm for the future city, and all had the idea of strengthening self-organization for citizens and neighborhoods in the future city. We recognized that the participants bonded. Thereby, sensory-affective experiences were evoked, and an atmosphere of future-making arose. This atmosphere reflected the future-making practices, i.e., familiarizing, creating, and sharing, as it was characterized by ease in dealing with challenges, strong enthusiasm, and mutual familiarity.

Participants collectively experienced sensations and emotions reflecting cordiality, humor and hope for a better future.

In an interview, Amy explained: “There was such a warm atmosphere [...] among the people. We all had the same drive. [...] And you realized that it became more and more familiar towards the end.”

And in another interview, Grace stated: “The pace, the motivation and the handling of problems [was characterized by] take it easy and let us see what will work.”

The atmosphere of future-making enabled ordinary citizens to become future-makers. Over the different workshops, the participants learned how to enact future-making and use different artifacts. As the abilities of people developed, the atmosphere became increasingly an enabler of future-making.

To sum up, there was a reciprocal influence between the atmosphere and future-making practices. Over time, the atmosphere and future-making practices harmonized. Thus, the atmosphere became an enabler of the practices, as both the participants learned how to use the artifacts, learned to collaborate, and facilitators also adjusted the artifacts to the abilities of the participants. Thereby, the participants found their way of future-making. When enacting the practices, new sensory-affective experiences were made, affecting the atmosphere again. A future-making atmosphere arose, enabling citizens to be future-makers.

3.4.4 Key observations

Derived from the seven vignettes, we make two key observations.

Key observation 1: Reciprocal influence between the atmosphere and future-making practices

One key observation was that the atmosphere and future-making practices influenced each other. The atmosphere influenced the future-making practices, and the future-making practices influenced the atmosphere. This mutual influence spilled over within one practice, from one practice to the next practice and from one workshop to the next workshop.

The atmosphere influenced the future-making practices: The atmosphere enabled or constrained future-making. Enabled means the future-making practices were boosted by the atmosphere. Constrained means that the future-making practices were hindered by the atmosphere.

We noticed that the atmosphere enabled the future-making practices when participants felt supported by the atmosphere in enacting future-making. This is

illustrated in vignettes 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7. Vignette 2 shows that some participants were instantly empowered by the atmosphere when entering the new workshop venue. The spatial and material arrangement of the room created a sense of anticipation among the participants that energized them to enact familiarizing. Vignette 3 highlights that the participants were enabled by the motivational atmosphere to contribute and cluster the cards. Vignette 5 illustrates how the pleasant atmosphere enabled the participants in imagining the future. They could diligently complete the tasks on the template. Vignette 6 shows that the atmosphere can even affect the next workshop. Through the atmosphere of openness created at the end of the first workshop, participants were enabled in familiarizing of the next workshop. Vignette 7 highlights how the atmosphere of future-making empowered the participants to be future-makers. By experiencing sensations and emotions of hope, cordiality and humor, the participants were enabled in sharing by the atmosphere.

The atmosphere also constrained the future-making practices when participants felt hindered by the atmosphere in enacting future-making: Vignettes 2 and 3 show that participants were hindered in future-making by the atmosphere. Vignette 2 illustrates that some participants felt disadvantaged by the co-creation atmosphere because they could not move freely and thus did not experience the overall energy. Vignette 3 illustrates that some participants experienced exclusion because everyone acted self-centered, and no consideration was given to others in the motivating atmosphere. Thus, they were unable to engage and contribute properly.

The future-making practices influenced the atmosphere: The prevailing atmosphere was changed or intensified through the future-making practices. While enacting the future-making practices, i.e., familiarizing, creating, and sharing, the participants made new sensory-affective experiences. These experiences were transferred to the atmosphere.

In vignettes 1, 3, 4, and 7, we observed that the atmosphere changed through enacting future-making practices. Vignette 1 highlights that participants loosened an initially wait-and-see atmosphere by approaching others and introducing themselves. Vignette 3 shows that the atmosphere became motivational when the participants clustered the cards with ideas for the future. In vignette 4 we observed that the atmosphere was suffused with stress through enacting future-making

practices. The participants did not master the future-making practice of creating. As they experienced difficulties in collaborating and working with the material artifacts, they got nervous. The sensed nervousness developed an atmosphere of stress where conflicting opinions were neglected, and the strongest prevailed. Vignette 7, in contrast, explains how mastering sharing led participants to appreciate each other's ideas and realize their similarities. These sensory-affective experiences carried over into the atmosphere and promoted a future-making atmosphere.

Vignette 6 highlights how the atmosphere was reinforced through the future-making practices. We observed that the sensed openness from getting-together spread to the atmosphere and reinforced its initial openness.

Transfer of the mutual influence between the atmosphere and future-making practices: The mutual influence between the atmosphere and future-making practices spilled over within one practice, and from one practice to the other practice of one workshop and from one workshop to the other workshop.

Vignette 3 highlights how the mutual influence between the atmosphere and future-making activities is transferred within one workshop practice. While familiarizing, the participants had different sensory-affective experiences in-between the enactment of the different activities. Thus, while clustering cards the participants were still impacted by their sensations and emotions of the spatial and material arrangement and thus already felt energized or disadvantaged.

Vignettes 1 and 7 illustrate how the mutual influence carried over from one practice to the other practice of a workshop. Vignette 1 explains that participants were suffused with an atmosphere of openness created in the previous practices of familiarizing and creating when sharing their thoughts in workshop one. Vignette 7 illustrates that the sensory-affective experiences of the previous practices influenced the development of the future-making atmosphere in the last workshop.

Vignettes 6 and 7 show that the mutual influence between the atmosphere and future-making practices spilled over from one workshop to the other workshop. Vignette 6 highlights that the sensory-affective experiences made from sharing and the respective atmosphere in workshop one influenced the experiences and enactments in the familiarizing practice in workshop two. Vignette 7 explains that

the sensations and emotions of the previous workshops influenced the development of the future-making atmosphere in the last workshop.

Key observation 2: Harmonization of future-making practices and the atmosphere

While the atmosphere was both an enabler and a barrier at the beginning of the workshop series, it evolved more and more into an enabler of future-making practices over time. Thus, another key observation was that future-making practices and the atmosphere harmonized as artifacts and the abilities of people were aligned. The tools were adapted to the participants' skills, and the participants developed their skills and learned how to collaborate and use the tools.

Data showed that the workshop facilitators adapted the tools to the participants' abilities. In doing so, a more inclusive atmosphere was created as all participants felt involved in future-making. As vignette 5 illustrates, the facilitators adapted the time pressure during imagining in workshop 4 versus workshop 3. For example, participants were allowed to have a little more time completing the templates, and time pressure was signaled using signs instead of turned up the music and a loud countdown. Thus, the atmosphere became smoother, and the participants felt enabled in future-making. We also observed that the workshop venue was adapted to the participants' needs and increasingly matched their abilities. While the third workshop location was not accessible (see vignette 2) and the fourth workshop location had poor acoustics, the fifth workshop location was inclusive. Thus, the atmosphere of the spatial and material surrounding enabled all participants in future-making.

However, data also showed that the participants developed their skills and learned how to use the tools. In doing so, a pleasant and future-making atmosphere was increasingly created. Participants were proud to work together to create a future city concept. Vignettes 5 and 7 illustrate that the participants more and more mastered the tools. They were experienced in how to use the tools and learned from their previous mistakes. For example, the participants completed the templates quickly to comply with time pressure (see vignette 5), prepared their presentations by pre-structuring their speech and sharing their ideas concisely (see vignette 7).

Additionally, vignette 5 highlights that participants adapted their skills to each other. By working together repeatedly, they learned to deal with each other

and to accept their different abilities. In doing so, sensations and emotions of joint advancement emerged and spilled over to the atmosphere.

3.5 Concluding discussion

Our objective in this study was to understand the role of the atmosphere in future-making practices. We examined a civic engagement process of a large German city and showed how the atmosphere and future-making practices influenced each other. Specifically, we found that the atmosphere increasingly enabled citizens in future-making over time as they appropriated the tools of the social lab.

We identified three future-making practices, familiarizing, creating, and sharing, which were enacted in the five workshops. The constantly evolving atmosphere constrained or enabled the future-making practices, and the future-making practices affected the atmosphere again. The reciprocal influence between the atmosphere and the future-making practices spilled over within one practice, and from one practice to the other practice of one workshop and from one workshop to the other workshop. In-between the different workshops harmonization processes set in. Thus, the atmosphere became increasingly an enabler of the future-making practices over time.

Based on our findings, we make two contributions to the literature on the atmosphere, future-making and labs.

First, we analyze the interplay of the actors' abilities, practices, and the atmosphere in labs. We identify practices of future-making, i.e., familiarizing, creating, and sharing (Wenzel et al., 2020). We find that the atmosphere impacts future-making practices and that future-making practices influence the atmosphere, in turn. Thereby, actors react differently to the atmosphere, depending on their abilities. Thus, an atmosphere enables or constrains actors in enacting future-making (Janssens & Steyaert, 2020). When actors felt supported by the atmosphere, they were enabled in their practices. For example, the atmosphere of co-working empowered some participants to familiarize before the workshop officially began. When actors felt hindered by the atmosphere, they were constrained in their practices. For example, the motivational atmosphere hampered some participants with different skills in future-making. No consideration was given to them to be

included. Considering a context of openness, where diverse actors collaborate, like our case, it is challenging to produce an inclusive atmosphere for participants with various abilities. We also draw on Wenzel (2021) and argue that not only the future is enacted in formalized practices, e.g., creating, but also in less formalized ones, e.g., familiarizing and sharing. Creating referred to the actual planning process of the future city, which consisted of different activities such as imagining. Familiarizing and sharing included activities that were enacted both during the official workshop and in the unofficial part, e.g., at the arrival or get-together. We show that it is this interplay of formal practices, less formal ones, and the atmosphere in labs that is important for the successful enactment of future-making. In the informal part, an open atmosphere is created by getting to know each other's abilities, hopes, and values (Augustine et al., 2019). This open atmosphere can be transferred to the actual imagining practices of the future, i.e., creating or even the next workshop. However, the acquired knowledge about each other can also be harnessed for a successful future-making as participants know their mutual strengths. Thereby, we also extend research on so-called labs. We draw on de Vaujany et al. (2019) and show how the atmosphere is produced in collaborative spaces, such as innovation labs. As with Fecher et al. (2020), we find that the success of labs depends on the dynamic interactions of actors with the lab artifacts. We point out that in successful labs, the material tools and actors' practices must be aligned. Only then an enabling atmosphere is created in labs, which boosts, e.g., future-making. In this context, we also extend our understanding of future-making from a sociomaterial view (de Vaujany & Vaast, 2014; Orlikowski, 2007). Our findings reveal that the social (actors from diverse social backgrounds and their interactions) and the lab (methods of experimenting, idea generation, tools) are inextricably intertwined within future-making practices and that the future is enacted through these present practices (Orlikowski, 2007). Thereby, we show how the atmosphere and related sensory-affective experiences enable and constrain future-making practices, e.g., by capacitating some participants for future-making while excluding others, which ultimately has consequences on the creation of the future.

Second, we broaden research on the atmosphere in the organizational context, e.g., future-making (Beyes, 2016; Michels & Steyaert, 2017; Reckwitz,

2012). In line with DeMolli et al. (2020) and Michels and Steyaert (2017), we find that the atmosphere is produced between people, spaces, and material artifacts. We support Marsh and Śliwa (2021) and Michels and Steyaert (2017) in their notion that the atmosphere can be organized and planned to a limited extend as sensory-affective experiences and practices are not foreseeable. In this context, we also refer to Bille and Simonsen (2019) and show empirically how the atmosphere is influenced by practices. We also expand DeMolli et al. (2020) regarding the in-betweenness of the atmosphere. They showed that the atmosphere was produced in-between multiple ambiguities, e.g., the determined and non-determined, the city and the festival, the locals, and the festivalgoers. We also identify flowing elements and dynamics, e.g., recurring practices in each workshop. We find that within and between the workshops the flowing elements, and dynamics impact the sensory-affective experiences of actors, their abilities, and the enactment of practices, and thus also the atmosphere. Therefore, the atmosphere connects not only people, artifacts, and spaces, but also is changed by their interactions and changes their interactions over time. Thereby, we respond to the call of Marsh and Śliwa (2021) by indicating that a low amount of soft resistance to spaces or material tools creates an atmosphere of stress which constrain participants in enacting future-making in the short term. The participants felt disadvantaged not having the same opportunities for future-making, undermining their further participation (Fleming, 2016). However, in the longer-term participants emotionally connect to exactly these tools and spaces, when they succeed in using them. A future-making atmosphere is created, that, in turn, empowers the participants.

Our ethnographic approach has allowed us to zoom in on the atmospheric aspects in future-making, yet future research opportunities arise by acknowledging the limitations of our study. First, in the civic engagement process, diverse citizens participated who shared a common interest, e.g., the future of the city. The atmosphere and the associated dynamics might change when participants have no common objective. Second, we studied the atmosphere regarding the distant future, where values, desires, hopes and fears play a vital role (Augustine et al., 2019). Thus, our context was an essential one to study but was simultaneously limited in its generalizability. For example, the atmosphere might be enablers and barriers of future-making to a limited extent when participants' values and hopes are not

addressed. Thus, our findings apply to a range of settings that fit these boundary conditions, such as strategy meetings regarding goal conflicts or multi-stakeholder negotiations.

This study has significant implications for practitioners in the field of strategizing or future-making. The atmosphere enables or constrains practitioners in their organizational endeavors. Ignoring the atmosphere and their associated sensory-affective experiences can lead to unintended consequences such as lack of engagement, loss of motivation, conflicts, or exclusion. Organizations should take care to plan and create an atmosphere that inspires and supports practitioners in achieving their goals through careful selection of spaces, tools, and practices. This is especially important for creating an inclusive atmosphere in a social lab. Physical surroundings and material artifacts should be chosen to fit the participants' abilities and are accessible for all participants, such as small and large persons, or persons with disabilities. Although present every day and mundane (Latour, 1992; Sykes et al., 2012), food and drinks are also integral elements to smoothen an atmosphere. Food intake not only increases performance but is also a place for informal encounters, where participants can get to know each other better. For an inclusive atmosphere, a wide variety of food and beverages should be available to meet the preferences of all participants (e.g., vegan, halal, organic). Additionally, recurring elements such as the same tools should be used in a social lab that the participants improve their abilities in using them. Practices should also consist of an interplay of formalized and less formalized activities. In the formalized activities, the actual strategy or future is created. In the less formalized ones, the basic conditions for successful collaboration are set. Particularly for organizations where diverse stakeholders are working together, it is important to create common ground by familiarizing and sharing, for example, through personal questions or behaviors such as greetings or introductions. The sensory and affective experiences thereby made spill over to the atmosphere, which opens up allowing for an honest exchange in the actual strategy- or future-making. The tools and spaces should enable these practices and, as is the case with innovation labs, be equipped with opportunities for refreshment and retreat to promote informal conversations. Managers or facilitators hoping to create an enabling atmosphere for every participant must also be aware that the atmosphere is constantly evolving and transforming. Thus, the

atmosphere might be constraining for a while. However, for a re-enabling atmosphere and successful organizing, it is then integral that the tools and spaces are adapted to the participants' needs; and that the participants also adapt their abilities to the tools and each other. Therefore, to truly welcome participants to a social lab, attention must be paid to the atmosphere. A welcoming atmosphere does not arise automatically but is a confluence of several factors. It also does not happen immediately; it takes time for a harmonious atmosphere to develop in which everyone feels welcome to collaborate on the future and to tackle its (grand) challenges.

In this paper, we investigated the role of the lab atmosphere in future-making. We found that the atmosphere and future-making practices influenced each other. Over time, however, the atmosphere increasingly enabled citizens in future-making as a fit between the spatial and material artifacts and the participants' abilities was established. We make two contributions to the literature on the atmosphere and future-making. First, we show how the atmosphere constrains or enables future-making. Second, we expand research on the atmosphere in organizational settings.

4 The impact of stakeholder engagement in addressing grand challenges[3]

4.1 Introduction

A large German city faced grand challenges (George et al., 2016), as it was feeling the effects of climate change in the form of overheating and torrential rain, and at the same time was confronted with societal challenges like strong population growth and an aging society that resulted in a shortage of land and housing and issues of social cohesion. The city government launched a new urban strategy process in which citizens were involved in stakeholder engagement initiatives to address these grand challenges.

Grand challenges are complex problems that confront society with extreme uncertainty (Ferraro et al., 2015). The solutions to grand challenges "require coordinated and sustained effort from multiple and diverse stakeholders" (George et al., 2016, p. 1881), as new innovations change individual and societal behavior (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016).

However, how stakeholder-engagement initiatives impact finding the solution to grand challenges is not well understood (Johnson-Cramer et al., 2021); for instance, we know little about the complexity and dynamics of stakeholder engagement (Kujala et al., 2022). Therefore, this study seeks to chart the evolution of a new urban strategy for tackling grand challenges in a democratic society when a city government engages citizens in the process.

To address the question concerning how urban strategy-making evolves when citizens are engaged, we combine concepts from urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges. Based on Freeman's (2010) stakeholder theory, stakeholder engagement involves stakeholders in organizational activities (M. Greenwood, 2007). Even though stakeholder engagement is supposed to include equality and partnership, it is affected by stakeholders' differing interests,

[3] This chapter refers to the paper 'How grand challenges become seizable: Civic (dis-) engagement in the formation of urban strategy' with the collaboration of Verena Bader and Stephan Kaiser. For more information, see the Appendix C on p. 139.

hierarchies, and relationships. In cities, stakeholders like city employees, politicians, and experts all have their own rationalities, but it is especially citizens, who have their own interests and a stake in the urban strategy that affects their lives in the city, who can have an important effect on any strategy's success.

We draw on a real-time field study of a German city's stakeholder-engagement initiative using observations, interviews, and documentary data. Civic engagement in this city takes place in a context in which citizens' participation is embedded in institutionalized democracy, so collective decisions, such as those about strategies, are made according to democratic principles.

We find that the city government engaged and then disengaged citizens in the formation of a new urban strategy. Citizens were engaged to legitimize the need to tackle certain grand challenges so they would accept the associated changes in future urban life that were to come with the new strategy's implementation. In this regard, the citizens became engaged stakeholders in strategy formation and co-created the new urban strategy in the form of grand visions. However, citizens were disengaged from the process when the city's democratic principles established the city council's decision-making power over the new urban strategy and condensed the grand visions into 'seizable' measures to tackle the grand challenges. With control over the strategy imposed by the democratic principles, citizens had only a consulting role.

Our findings contribute in two ways to the literature on stakeholder engagement and grand challenges. First, we broaden the literature on stakeholder engagement by finding that citizens were engaged and then disengaged during the phases and different types of stakeholder engagement. In this regard, we also show how the new urban strategy evolved. Second, we shed new light on how grand challenges are tackled collectively in modern democratic societies. We show that stakeholders must be included in coming up with big visions for addressing grand challenges, but democratic principles transform these grand and sometimes radical visions into manageable steps. In this context, we also show that stakeholder engagement can be a way of securing political power. Therefore, stakeholder engagement not only enhances the capabilities and resources needed to tackle grand challenges but also helps to legitimize the implementation of the new strategy in the face of its consequences for citizens, such as required lifestyle changes.

The rest of the article is structured as follows. First, we elaborate on the theoretical foundations of urban strategy, stakeholder engagement, and grand challenges. Then we describe our methods, including descriptions of the case organization, data collection, and analysis. Next, we present our findings in three phases of the civic engagement process. Finally, we discuss our findings, identify key theoretical contributions, and conclude with suggestions for future research.

4.2 Theoretical background

4.2.1 Urban strategy

Kornberger's (2012) seminal work shows how city governance evolved from planning to urban strategy. In the past, urban development relied exclusively on the expertise of planning experts, without reference to politics. As planning was based purely on the science-based economic, structural, and technological aspects of development, it often failed to meet the complex challenges of urban governing, as the various rationalities of stakeholders in the city, such as those of citizens, were not considered. Developing an urban strategy without considering the affected stakeholders' views limited the strategy's legitimacy among those stakeholders (Brorström, 2015; Kornberger, 2012). Today, urban strategy unites science and politics (Kornberger, 2012; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011), imparting knowledge to democracy through a deliberative approach, thus legitimizing itself. Deliberative democracy is based on the ideal that diverse stakeholders are engaged in discourse about issues that affect their lives and discuss them on the basis of equality and respect (Bächtiger et al., 2018; Kornberger, 2012; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011; Nanz & Leggewie, 2018). Based on the responses of the various stakeholders and scientific experts, a 'big picture' is created that symbolizes a desirable future and mobilizes the public to work for this future now (Brandtner et al., 2017; Jalonen et al., 2018; Kornberger, 2012; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Thus, by engaging stakeholders, urban strategy identifies a link between societal problems and scientific solutions (Kornberger, 2012; Löffler & Martin, 2015). In the long term, this form of urban strategy shapes a new 'thought style' and, thus, the city as an institution (Kornberger et al., 2021). However, in the process of deliberative democracy, some people, such as special-interest groups, have more say than others through their advisory role (Kornberger, 2012). In addition, the decision-making

power is held by elected or appointed authorities in democratic societies (Bächtiger et al., 2018), so these elected or appointed authorities, such as city councils, determine the degree of stakeholder participation and inclusion of stakeholders' ideas in strategy-making.

4.2.2 Stakeholder engagement and grand challenges

Stakeholder engagement refers to practicing stakeholder theory (Freeman, 2010) in organizations, including businesses and public organizations like cities (Kujala & Sachs, 2019). According to M. Greenwood (2007, p. 315), "stakeholder engagement is understood as practices the organisation undertakes to involve stakeholders in a positive manner in organisational activities." It entails three components (Sachs & Kujala, 2021): it is goal-directed, it influences performance and value creation in relation to stakeholders, and it relates to practices like informing, consulting, co-producing, and decision-making that manifest in various types of stakeholder engagement.

A broad literature classifies the types of stakeholder engagement. For instance, Arnstein (1969) was one of the first to differentiate among stages of citizen engagement. Arnstein's 'ladder of engagement' consists of eight rungs, of which the lowest two, manipulation and therapy, refer to nonparticipation, followed by informing, consultation and placation as types of tokenism, and then partnership, delegated power, and citizen control as stages of citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). In contrast, Kujala et al. (2022) identified stakeholder collaboration, stakeholder inclusion, and stakeholder democracy, where stakeholder collaboration refers to joint activities between stakeholders and organizations (e.g., Desai, 2018), stakeholder inclusion refers to the involvement of stakeholders' knowledge and resources (e.g., Luedicke et al., 2017), and stakeholder democracy refers to stakeholders' decision-making power (e.g., Edinger-Schons et al., 2020; Matten & Crane, 2005; Scherer & Voegtlin, 2020). Participation and inclusion are also differentiated (Quick & Feldman, 2011) such that stakeholder participation refers to the public's involvement in the content of programs and policies, and stakeholder inclusion refers to making connections between people and topics through the co-production of the processes and the content of decision-making.

Stakeholders have become increasingly involved in their organizations' activities. The literature has analyzed various contexts of stakeholder engagement, including providing input through feedback (e.g., Schmidthuber & Hilgers, 2015, 2018), conversations (e.g., Castelló et al., 2016; Lehtimaki & Kujala, 2017), activism (e.g., Kudesia, 2021), and co-creating strategies (e.g., Dobusch et al., 2019; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011).

For example, some cities in Austria, including Linz, Bregenz, and Dornbirn, asked citizens for feedback via web and mobile applications on the city's shortcomings, such as broken street lights (Schmidthuber & Hilgers, 2015, 2018). In contrast, a health corporation engaged citizens via Twitter in conversations around sustainable development issues, strengthening its legitimacy for dealing with heterogeneous and contradictory demands through a non-hierarchical exchange with the public (Castelló et al., 2016). However, good intentions regarding stakeholder engagement initiatives do not always result in good outcomes. Lehtimaki and Kujala (2017) described how a company engaged stakeholders in a dialogue to promote the legitimacy of an investment project, which dialogue quickly escalated into an international dispute and a crisis of legitimacy. Stakeholders also become engaged in organizational activities without invitation. For example, Kudesia (2021) showed how the Black Lives Matter movement emerged from public anger and local protests against a police shooting of a Black teenager. Stakeholders can be also involved in co-production. For example, Dobusch et al. (2019) and Kornberger and Clegg (2011) examined how stakeholders co-create organizational strategies. For their part, Dobusch et al. (2019) explored Wikimedia's strategic planning process based on an open call for stakeholder engagement and found that not all stakeholders were equally able to contribute to these discussions because of, for example, language and socioeconomic barriers. Kornberger and Clegg (2011) also showed that some stakeholders were not properly included in crafting Sydney, Australia's strategy for the year 2030, as strategy experts and consultants controlled which issues were defined as strategic and which were discussed in the stakeholder-engagement process. They excluded topics of acute concern to the city's residents and controversial topics.

In summary, stakeholder engagement is practiced in various forms and contexts and can lead to outcomes like enhanced innovation potential (Dobusch et al., 2019; Wohlgemuth et al., 2019) and legitimacy but can also evolve into crises of legitimacy (Castelló et al., 2016; Edinger-Schons et al., 2020; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011; Lehtimaki & Kujala, 2017).

Stakeholder engagement is especially important in tackling grand challenges (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016; Scherer & Voegtlin, 2020). Grand challenges like climate change, an aging society, health issues, species extinction, population growth, and migration threaten our living standards and future life together. Grand challenges are complex problems that imply different interactions, connections, or agreements. They confront society and organizations with radical uncertainty, e.g., the consequences of current actions are unpredictable. And they cross jurisdictional boundaries, involve multiple value criteria and are associated with conflicting goals (Ferraro et al., 2015). According to George et al. (2016), grand challenges are critical barriers whose removal solves a global-societal problem when implemented on a broad scale. Grand challenges, therefore, require "coordinated and collaborative effort" (George et al., 2016, p. 1880) by various stakeholders (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016) that come up with solutions, and change individual and societal behavior (George et al., 2016). However, research has not fully grasped how the engagement of various stakeholders influences the ability to find solutions to these challenges (Johnson-Cramer et al., 2021). For instance, we do not understand the dynamics between stakeholder participation and inclusion in settings where decisions are made according to democratic principles and where stakeholder engagement can be both a valuable resource and a threat to the legitimation of those decisions (Kujala et al., 2022). We examine the evolution of a new urban strategy for tackling grand challenges in democratic societies and analyze a city government's engagement of citizens in this process.

4.3 Methods

Our insights stemmed from a real-time field study of a large German city's stakeholder-engagement initiative. The study was driven by interest in strategy-making among stakeholders. Viewing strategy development from a practice lens

(Jarzabkowski et al., 2007; Reckwitz, 2002) helped us to focus on the everyday activities of the various actors, which demanded intensive observation and engagement with practitioners (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013). To capture temporality (Whittington, 2007), we looked at various practices over successive time periods and analyzed how they produced new outcomes over time (Kouamé & Langley, 2018).

4.3.1 The case organization

The city government of a large German city set up a new urban strategy, involving its citizens to increase the new strategy's legitimacy. The urban strategy was first approved by the city council in 1998 and has been updated several times since. The city council initiated a new update to address such emerging grand challenges as increasing digitalization, population, and pollution. Based on a city council mandate in 2018, city planners set up a stakeholder-engagement initiative that involved stakeholders like citizens, city planners, experts, and consultants in forming the new urban strategy. The stakeholder-engagement initiative comprised several events and engagement formats between February 2019 and January 2022. These events included a kick-off event with citizens, experts, and politicians; two identical workshops with two groups of citizens; two strategy workstreams, one with the city administration (the admin lab) and one with citizens (the citizen lab); an online survey; and a survey with interest groups like clubs and societies (see figure 6).

The kick-off event introduced the relaunch of the urban strategy in February 2019. About 300 stakeholders, including city employees, local politicians, urban planning experts, city association representatives, and interested citizens attended this three-hour event.

The two workshops in May 2019 took place over approximately six hours and were attended by about 100 citizens each. Of these, about two-thirds were randomly selected from the resident register, and a third signed up out of their own interest.

The admin lab, conducted from October 2019 to June 2020 and attended by about 30 city employees from various departments (e.g., the health department, the IT department, the building department) developed the new strategy over a course

of five workshops. Besides content-related strategy work, they focused on organizational and procedural issues related to the new strategy.

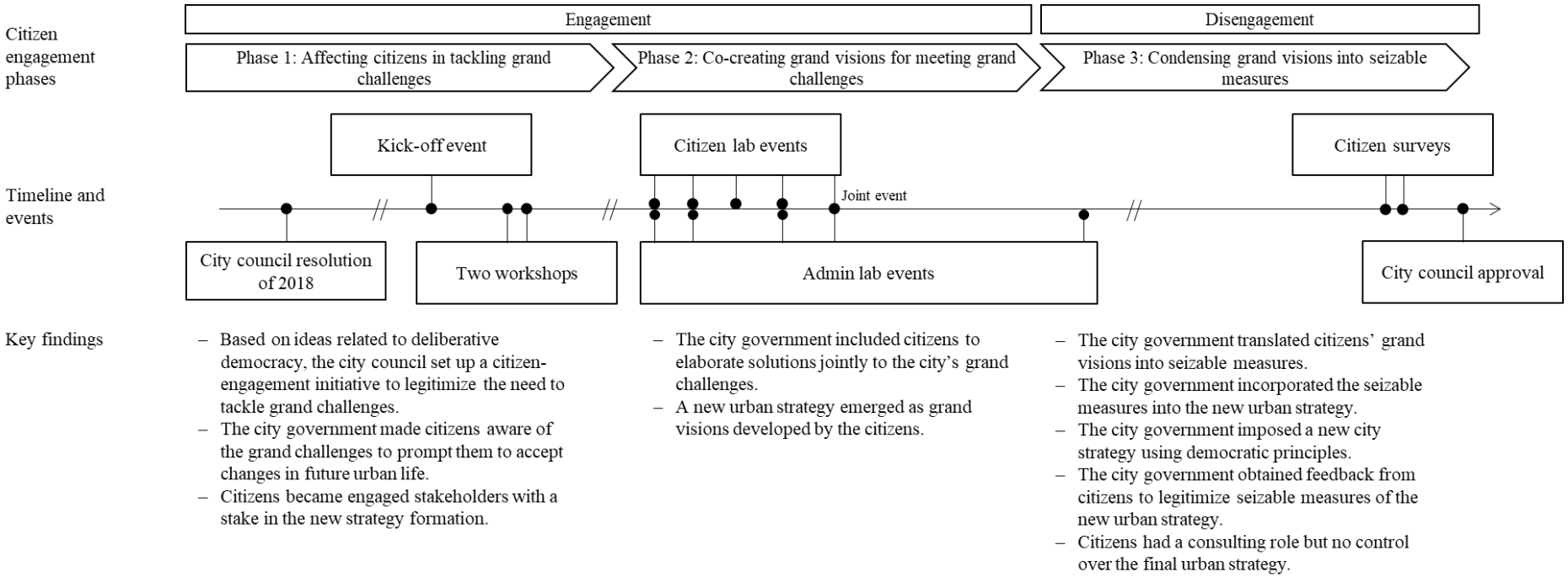
City planners engaged a foundation that was dedicated to innovative collaboration and engagement to conduct the citizen lab, which was held from October 2019 to March 2020. Thirty citizens from stakeholder groups like social economy, economy, non-organized and organized civil society (e.g., clubs and associations like Fridays for Future and the LGBT community) elaborated grand visions over the course of five workshops. Five city planners complemented these citizens, playing a dual role as citizens representing the public sector and as clients of the civic-engagement process.

The online survey and the survey with interest groups were conducted from September 2021 to January 2022.

The final urban strategy was developed during this stakeholder-engagement process and is expected to be approved by the city council in February 2022 (depending on the corona pandemic).

FIGURE 6

Evolution of the urban strategy for tackling grand challenges



4.3.2 Data collection

Our data collection focused on the stakeholder engagement initiatives with citizens. We collected qualitative data over 35 months, from February 2019 to January 2022. We conducted observations, interviews, and collected documentary data (Jarzabkowski, 2008) (see table 5).

The first author attended the kick-off event of the joint strategy process, which was attended by around 300 participants (February 2019), the two workshops with approximately 100 participants each (May 2019), and the workshop series of five events with the 30 participants (October 2019 – March 2020). All events were three to six hours in length. The first author took detailed notes and verbatim quotes during these events, which she wrote up within 24 hours and audio-recorded group work during the workshop series.

We also conducted 55 interviews with 29 informants, in total. Interviewees were selected based on theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Forty-eight semi-structured interviews with 28 informants lasted an average of 40 minutes and were recorded and transcribed, with detailed notes written up within a day. These semi-structured interviews included interviews with seven citizens who had attended one of the two workshops in May 2019 and 40 interviews with 21 informants during and after the citizen lab between October 2019 and March 2020. Of those 21 informants, 15 were citizens, 5 were city planners in a dual role as both citizens and clients of the civic-engagement process, and 1 was a facilitator from the foundation. Some interviewees were interviewed more than once to identify dynamics in the stakeholder-engagement process. The interviews were loosely structured around the interviewees' backgrounds, their personal experiences of the event, and their role in the strategy process. City employees were also asked about the city administration's internal strategy workstream and their observations. After the admin lab workshop series was finished, we conducted one interview with a city planner, whom we asked to summarize the stakeholder-engagement initiative, the progress, and the final strategy draft. Before, between, and after the stakeholder-engagement process's various events and initiatives, we conducted seven informal interviews with three city planners and two facilitators to track it progress. These

informal interviews were not recorded, but we took extensive notes, which we recorded within a day.

In addition to data from observations and interviews, we analyzed documentary data throughout the study period. These data included official brochures, publicly available requests, resolutions of the city council, articles, and reports on the city's official website (with photographs and videos), and communication material with participants (e.g., e-mails and information sheets used in the workshops). We also collected event summaries and result documents like newspaper articles, elaborated posters with daily routines of future city inhabitants, and brochures of the future city.

TABLE 5

Overview of data sources (Chapter 4)

Source of data	Type of data		
Interviews		Number of interviews	Number of interviewees
	Participants (introduction event)	7	7
	Participants incl. city planners & facilitators (workshop series)	48	22
	TOTAL	55	29
Naturalistic observations		Duration	
	Field notes	22 h	
	Audio-recordings with notes on facial, body, vocal and verbal behaviors	6 h 35 min	
Documen-tary data		Number	
	Documents (e.g., emails, internal results)	749 pages	
	Photos	322	

4.3.3 Data Analysis

We conducted data analysis in parallel with data collection (Feldman, 2000) using inductive qualitative techniques (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) informed by our interest in strategy-making among stakeholders while being open to new ideas. As

is typical with in-depth qualitative research (Spee & Jarzabkowski, 2011), our analysis proceeded in several stages.

First, we wrote a thorough description of the stakeholder-engagement process's events and initiatives. This description was clustered chronologically and focused on the ways stakeholders could contribute to the strategy of the future city, what they did during the stakeholder-engagement process, and how the events' and initiatives' outcomes were processed further. We updated our description when we obtained new data, such as new result documents. We also analyzed the talk during the workshop series by transcribing the audio-recorded group work during the workshop series and looking for relationships between the talk and the results documents, preliminary outcomes of the city administration's internal strategy workstream, and the produced strategy.

Second, we coded the interviews, field notes, and documents using first-order codes (van Maanen, 1979). Initial codes referred primarily to a description of the stakeholders' various activities. For example, we found that legitimizing and fostering acceptance were activities of the city government, encouraging and motivating were the workshop provider's activities, and demonstrating one's expertise, brainstorming, and developing strategies were citizens' activities. We then compared the initial description with the codes and, as we did, noticed that the urban strategy-making for tackling grand challenges evolved as citizens were engaged and disengaged.

Third, the literature on the types and dimensions of stakeholder engagement led us to realize that, during the civic-engagement process, the city government engaged the citizens through affecting, and co-creating, and disengaged the citizens through condensing. We analyzed the stakeholder-engagement activities and types of stakeholder engagement over time and wrote memos about when the citizens were engaged in the urban strategy formation and drew figures to visualize this connection. Table 6 describes the data we used to arrive at our findings.

TABLE 6

Data that supports interpretations of civic-engagement practices

Phases	Practices	Examples/quotations:
Phase 1: Affecting citizens in tackling grand challenges	Informing citizens	- "[The city] is facing a range of challenges. Strong population growth, the integration of immigrants and refugees, an aging society, a shortage of space and housing, high economic dynamics, increasing traffic, the energy turnaround, and many other issues require new solutions and ideas for integrated and long-term urban development planning processes." (Zukunftsschau 2040+, p. 3) - "Strengthen awareness of the [urban strategy] internally and externally, especially among the actors who are central to its implementation and facilitate the engagement of all residents in the [urban strategy]" (2018 city council resolution V12615, p.12) - "The [citizen engagement] phase begins with a major kick-off event [...]. On one hand, this event is intended to introduce the strategy relaunch and outline the challenges and future trends, and [...] on the other hand, to provide citizens with concrete information about the subsequent participation opportunities and encourage them to get involved." (City council resolution 2018, p. 14)
	Starting conversations	- "[The new urban strategy formation] must be conducted in dialogue with citizens, and we are confident that we will then be able to allay their fears [...] and develop future sustainable solutions." (City planner Peter, February 2019) - "The successful day for me is [...] when the participants go home and say, 'It was important that I participated today. I was able to state my opinion. I gained new insights, and it was good that I was there.'" (City planner Mary, May 2019)

Phase 2: Co-creating grand visions for meeting grand challenges	Enabling citizens to think strategically	- "The difficulty with such engagement initiatives is the citizens' ability to abstract. We do not want to discuss a park bench here, but rather conflicting goals, e.g., 'What do I want, bike lanes or roads for cars in the future'." (City planner Alec, March 2019) (field notes) - "We want to engage people here in developing a new city strategy, and that is why we are doing the [citizen] lab." (City planner Aaron, October 2019) - "We also promoted the [citizen] lab more prominently because we really liked this approach and its methodology. We presented the citizen lab approach [to a city council committee], [...] and that was well received. The citizen lab brochure is an appendix to the [upcoming] city council resolution [of the new city strategy]." (City planner Alec, January 2022)
	Emerging of a sense of community	- "I enjoy the opportunity to be involved in designing the future city strategy. It is my hometown and [...] I feel strongly about it." (Participant Mat, October 2019) - "It was a really exciting [and] very constructive [citizen lab event]. We had [...] very intensive discussions. [...] I had the impression that every participant was involved and discussed the topics constructively, and we came up with a lot of ideas. It was surprising that there were even more ideas than you normally have." (City planner Anne, December 2019)

Phase 3: Condensing grand visions into seizable measures	Validating the grand visions	- "One of my highlights was when I noticed how the city planners appropriated the [citizen lab], how they were enthusiastic [about the citizen lab], supported it, defended it to their colleagues, and stated how good it and its contents were. One urban planner remarked in a discussion about the integration of strategy and future scenarios that 'Of course, the future scenarios have to be integrated into this strategy now.'" (Foundation team member Viola, March 2020) - "Looking at the future scenarios, we saw that some topics needed to be added here and others there [...]. The [citizen] lab was characterized by top issues currently in vogue. However, other topics were neglected, although they were also important in urban development planning." (City planner Alec, January 2022)
	Merging the grand visions with other strategic specifications	- "Following the joint event between the [citizen] lab and the admin lab, the planning department revised and adjusted the new strategy through the future city scenarios of the citizen lab. This version was then sent to the departments [involved in the new strategy formulation], which were asked for feedback." (City planner Marvin, July 2020) (field notes) - The comparison between the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the City Strategy showed that most of the goals were already considered in the City Strategy. There was a need for further adaptation, especially in the areas of climate protection and adaptation, efficient use of natural resources and circular economy, sustainable public procurement, and strengthening resilience and adaptability to climate-related hazards and natural disasters. (Report Urban Strategy Relaunch 2021, p. 28)
	Legitimizing seizable measures for tackling grand challenges	- "Here you have the opportunity to comment on the final draft of the urban strategy and give us advice for further elaboration. What do you like? What is missing in the draft?" (Website statement about the online survey, December 2021) - "As part of an online dialog [...], the drafts of the [new urban strategy] will be presented for discussion. Subsequently, the city administration will deal with your feedback [...] in detail and take it into account when finalizing the drafts. In addition,

		the expert public and interest groups will be involved.” (Website statement on the new urban strategy process, December 2021)

4.4 Findings

This section presents a processual analysis of our findings on how urban strategy-making to tackle grand challenges evolved in a democratic society when citizens were engaged.

The data analysis identified three phases of the city's civic-engagement process, each related to certain practices of stakeholder engagement.

In phase 1, the city government told its citizens about the grand challenges to prompt them to accept the changes in their future urban lives. In this affecting phase, the new strategy was planned, and citizens were engaged based on the idea of a deliberative democracy. By showing the citizens how their lives will be affected and how they had a stake in the creation of the new strategy, the city government transformed the citizens into engaged stakeholders.

In phase 2, the city government involved the citizens in jointly elaborating solutions for addressing the city's grand challenges. In this co-creating phase, citizens' grand visions emerged as a new urban strategy to tackle the city's grand challenges.

In phase 3, the city government translated the citizens' grand visions into seizable measures and sought feedback from the citizens to legitimize the seizable measures of the new urban strategy document. In this condensing phase, the city's democratic principles were imposed on decision-making about the strategy, and the citizens had a consulting role but no influence.

4.4.1 Phase 1: Affecting citizens in tackling grand challenges

The city was facing such grand challenges as climate change, population growth, an aging society, and digitalization, which had to be addressed and required changes in the city's existing strategy. However, the required amendments to the urban strategy would affect its citizens' everyday lives, so in the first phase of the civic-engagement process, citizens were invited to participate in the urban strategy process based on the idea of a deliberative democracy, primarily to legitimize it. The city government sought to expose the citizens to the grand challenges to prompt them to accept the changes in their future urban lives that would result from tackling

the grand challenges. For example, backyards could be replaced by new housing and parking lots could be converted into gardens or green spaces. As city planner Marvin outlined during an interview, in this phase "Citizens are introduced to the grand challenges" (field notes). This quotation shows that the city government affected the citizens' willingness to address the grand challenges by providing them with information and starting conversations. In doing so, citizens were transformed into engaged stakeholders who knew they had a stake in forming the new urban strategy.

Informing citizens

The city affected the citizens' willingness to face the grand challenges and legitimize the new urban strategy by creating a link between societal problems and scientific solutions. Experts and politicians informed citizens about the grand challenges, possible solutions, and these solutions' consequences for future urban life. Based on this information, citizens worked together to sketch a 'big picture' of a desirable future city, which prompted them to accept its consequences for urban life.

For example, during the kick-off event, "the dialogue between the city and its residents was opened" (official city website). Grand challenge topics like 'mobility in cities and regions,' 'digital transformation,' 'social cohesion,' and 'life quality' were addressed in panel discussions with various experts, such as a professor of urban design, an architect, an IT expert, and a social worker. We observed that the experts tried to affect the citizens' willingness to tackle the grand challenges, to allay their fears, and to mobilize them to pursue a common future urban strategy by issuing a constant call to participate in further civic-engagement events and integrating the responses of the various experts involved into the strategy process via graphic recording that symbolized the grand challenges and the direction for addressing them. As the city planner Aaron outlined in a video interview on the city's website, "[The new urban strategy] is an important element to look with people in one direction, to get going in the direction we want to go." Thus, citizens engaged in forming the new strategy were encouraged to look in one direction to the future city, to be affected by the grand challenges, to accept their consequences, and to legitimize the new urban strategy.

Starting conversations

To make citizens aware of the grand challenges and legitimize a future strategy that would require behavioral changes, the city government involved citizens in providing input to the content of the city's new strategy. We observed that the city government started conversations with the citizens about the city's grand challenges and ways to address them. For instance, citizens' understanding of the city's grand challenges was developed in two workshops in which the city's advantages and disadvantages were elaborated and discussed and actions to overcome the grand challenges were proposed.

Our data showed that all citizens agreed quickly on the city's central challenges of housing and mobility in the face of climate change. In an interview, participant Iris pointed out, "It became clear very quickly where the problem was in the city. It was incredibly stark to see housing and traffic. [...] Red, red, red!" We observed that this picture of 'red' encouraged the citizens to work jointly toward a common future city, which allayed their fears. They had a stake in the new urban strategy and were prompted to engage further in preparing for this future by tackling the grand challenges and accepting the consequences for their future city life. As Iris explained further, "[The civic engagement] really inspired me. I am more interested in [urban development] issues now. [...] It was great to be involved as a citizen and that someone was interested in [our opinion]. [...] There is the feeling that you are being heard and [...] that you can participate. I thought that was great."

In summary, the city government made the citizens aware of the grand challenges to prompt them to accept the changes in their future urban lives. In doing so, it transformed the citizens into engaged stakeholders who were willing to work for the future by tackling the city's grand challenges.

4.4.2 Phase 2: Co-creating grand visions for meeting grand challenges

In phase 2 of the civic-engagement process, the city government involved the citizens further in jointly elaborating the new urban strategy. Although citizens were already motivated to create the future strategy, they lacked the skill to think strategically, so the city government engaged a foundation that was dedicated to innovative collaboration and engagement to provide workshops on the civic-engagement process. The foundation was instructed to help enable citizens to

abstract individual solutions and think in strategic terms. We found that the foundation's workshops helped citizens to think strategically and observed that the participants developed empathy for each other and that a sense of community emerged. This sense of community made joint work possible, but it also gave rise to grand, but also rigorous, visions of the future city.

Enabling citizens to think strategically

We observed that the foundation's innovative engagement method, a 'citizen lab,' enabled the workshops' citizen participants to co-create solutions to the city's grand challenges and to think strategically.

Our data showed that the citizen lab method helped citizens to co-create. They engaged playfully with multiple ways of knowing by first developing solutions on the action level and then abstracting those solutions to a strategy level. In the abstraction process, solutions at the action level were clustered, connected, and placed in larger contexts. In this way, citizens were able to make connections between and among the grand challenges over time and, thus, to think strategically and develop grand visions.

For instance, we observed that the citizens were enabled to find visionary solutions to grand challenges through a two-level approach in which concrete problems and solutions were identified first and then further abstracted. Via warm-up games, the citizens were introduced to innovative thinking to help them find solutions to the city's grand challenges in terms of housing, mobility, social cohesion, and environment. Clustering these solutions, describing the future city's inhabitants, and developing their future daily routines enabled the citizens then to abstract individual solutions and tackle the grand challenges on a strategy level. In this regard, city planner Alec stated,

"For me, the citizen lab was fascinating. At the beginning, when the elaborated results were on the action level, I thought, 'This is classic; citizen [inclusion] usually works when there are concrete actions to discuss, and it is always difficult to bring people to the strategy level.' […] And then, that worked increasingly well over the lab process. And I thought that was very good."

The foundation made a significant effort to make the citizen lab a success, and this effort enabled the citizens to co-create a future urban strategy. Our data showed that the foundation sought to create ideal workshop conditions for formulating the strategy so the participants could engage thoroughly with the grand challenges and the future city strategy. For example, the foundation's team members carefully selected the locations for the special events, provided food and drinks, reminded the participants of upcoming events via e-mail, prepared a variety of templates, and followed up on the workshops. As participant Ryan stated, "This setting, these venues [...], how it was catered: [...] The foundation created a very positive [environment] for dealing with these [strategic] issues, and that is a real achievement. I think that is great. The communication, [...] that five days before [the event] you get an email, [...] they do that well." City planned Marvin added, "The foundation invested its lifeblood in these workshops."

During one phase of the citizen-lab, citizens met with the city employees who had been working on organizational and procedural issues around the new urban strategy. Although the city employees were much more experienced in strategic thinking, we observed that the citizens were so engaged and enthusiastic about their newly developed grand visions that the content of their new urban strategy surpassed that of the city employees.

Emergence of a sense of community

Once the citizens became accustomed to strategic thinking, they started to address the city's grand challenges and developed and put together big pictures. We observed that they were able to make connections between their personal experiences, the grand challenges, and their wishes for the future through their exchanges. They felt heard and appreciated in relaying their personal experiences and backgrounds, so a sense of community emerged, and the groups indulged on wishful thinking and agreed on big solutions to grand challenges, the implementation of which would mean rigorous changes in their urban lives.

Citizens discussed their thoughts with others, expressed their opinions on how the future city should look, and started to work toward this future by creating grand visions for tackling the grand challenges. For instance, participant Grace stated: "I was able to share my thoughts with others, [...] and I really had the feeling,

‘yes, you are allowed to say your opinion, [...] you are heard, and you have a forum to express your opinion among people who understand you.’” And the participant Sarah outlined: “It was great because one had an idea and the other said, ‘yes, if you say so, then we can do it like that.’ This turned into a joint creative process.”

Thus, a sense of community emerged that citizens jointly made in an effort to tackle the grand challenges and create a future city in which it would be worth living. This community elaborated grand visions for tackling the city’s grand challenges by expanding each other’s ideas and thus indulging in wishful thinking. But the grand visions also were aligned with rigorous changes in the current urban lifestyle, including some austerity for the inhabitants. For instance, the citizens’ vision of the urban future was a circular city that was characterized by recycling and repair. Although major employers in the city and around the city were car manufacturers, the citizens were all in favor of a village-like city with a car-free downtown. They also agreed on decentralizing utilities, cultural offerings, and recreational opportunities from the city center to its outskirts and envisioned a colorful city characterized by common good, where citizens lived in municipal housing with salary-based rents, and multi-national enterprises had an obligation to perform in the general interest in a community-based city. The citizens also envisioned a city of coexistence, where active land policies, densification, and municipal and cooperative housing projects provided sufficient housing. Table 7 shows the citizens’ grand visions.

In summary, to engage citizens in developing a new urban strategy, the city government taught the citizens strategic thinking, which results in the emergence of a sense of community among the citizens. They then jointly developed grand visions and agreed on solutions that would entail rigorous changes in their way of living.

TABLE 7

Grand visions and 'seizable' measures for the new urban strategy

Grand visions	Strategic proposals from the grand visions (citizen lab)	Strategic topics and seizable measures in the new city strategy
Village-like City	Introduction of a car-free city center	Introduction of urban and climate-compatible mobility in which individual, commercial, and delivery traffic is reduced, regulated and virtually emission-free by 2035
	Decentralized settlement structures and decentralization of utilities, cultural offerings, and recreational opportunities	Polycentric city with decentralized supply offerings
	Expansion of public transport and promotion of cycling	Provision of demand-driven, safe, affordable, barrier-free, and climate-friendly mobility for all; prioritize public transport, cycling. and walking, complemented by shared mobility
	Increase in green areas and green open spaces for recreation by converting vacated traffic areas	Design of green and open spaces, streets and buildings for a healthful urban climate and high quality of stay; strengthening of green infrastructure; influence of a human scale in urban spaces
	Reorientation of the economy from the automotive industry to more research & development and tourism	An attractive and appealing metropolis with sustainable and city-compatible tourism; strengthening science and research; creating space for the development of creative forces and promoting social, technological, and economic innovation
	Increasing the self-sufficiency of citizens through, for example, use of vegetables from the garden or orchards in the city	Orientation to the various needs of people in the design of public spaces
	Healthful lifestyle of citizens through yoga and high-quality, balanced or vegan diet.	Protection and promotion of the health and well-being of citizens; ensuring needs-based health care and developing

		target-group-specific health-promoting measures and preventive services; minimizing environmental influences that are harmful to health, and promoting a healthful living environment and citizen behavior
Colorful City	Local economy made up of existing and new businesses and general-interest obligations for multi-national enterprises	A resilient economy made up of new and established companies
	Living in mostly ecological and zero-emission houses; sustainable construction and roof and façade greening on existing buildings	Climate-neutral or climate-resilient design and redevelopment of new and existing neighborhoods; design of buildings as a contribution to a healthful urban climate
	Strengthening of municipal housing projects, permanent social reasons for restricting property rights, apartment-exchange policy, modular architecture, and salary-based rents	Consideration of various housing needs
	Balanced social mix and diversity in urban neighborhoods	Strengthening of the social mix and counteracting social displacement in urban neighborhoods
	Energy transition and sustainable energies (e.g., photovoltaics) in the city's open spaces	Minimization of the environmental footprint and striving for resource equity and efficiency; climate neutrality by 2035
	Participatory and interdisciplinary urban planning with civic engagement	Involvement of urban society in urban design; mobilizing and harnessing the knowledge of urban society
	Digitalization in almost all areas of life; digital assistance systems for all ages to preserve individual resources	Ensuring digital infrastructure and offerings; equal and barrier-free access to city information and services
	Consumption-free public spaces for the community, with free cultural offerings	Promotion of diverse cultural offerings
	Strengthening of municipal and cooperative housing projects, active land policies, ban on real estate speculation, promotion of leaseholds	Active land policy by securing and increasing the land portfolio

City of Coexistence	Application of local densification opportunities	Densification, restructuring, and expansion as the basis for settlement development
	Including the surrounding area in the city as a whole	The city as an integral part and driving force of the region; advocating for a pan-regional perspective and inter-municipal coordination
	Accessibility to the surrounding area with public transport	Deepened partnership cooperation with the surrounding area; further development of regional alliances and cooperation
	Promotion of social peace and justice through a balanced social mix in urban neighborhoods	Promotion of social peace, neighborhood cohesion, and attachment to the city and the neighborhood; promotion of corresponding offers
	Promotion of community through the introduction of community and meeting spaces with social infrastructure (e.g., kindergartens)	Orientation of the design of public spaces to the needs of all people; ensuring barrier-free access and a high quality of stay; flexible usability of public spaces and promotion of social interaction
	Engagement and involvement of citizens in the development of neighborhoods	Appreciating and promoting diverse civic engagement and offering corresponding incentives and opportunities; enabling all citizens to be involved
	Reduction of bureaucratic obstacles	Harnessing the potential of digital technologies and processes for efficient and citizen-friendly administration; promoting the necessary cultural change
	Promotion of social and political justice	Recognition and consideration of citizens' diverse lifestyles, needs, and abilities regardless of age, nationality, sexual and gender identity, disability, worldview, religion, cultural and social origin, and life situation; self-determined and unrestricted participation in social, economic, and political

Community-based City		life; active advocacy for equal opportunities, participation, and anti-discrimination
	Participation and involvement of citizens; increase in volunteering	Appreciation and promotion of diverse civic engagement through offerings and incentives
	Community-based and cooperative housing projects with modular architecture	Consideration of various housing needs
	Promotion of high-rise buildings with community spaces	Consideration of various housing needs
	Reorientation of the economy toward social and ecological responsibility: Moving away from a focus on the automotive sector to more mobility	Alignment of local economic policy with sustainability; balancing of economic, social, and ecological interests
	Expansion of public transport and promotion of cycling	Provision of demand-driven, safe, affordable, barrier-free, and climate-friendly mobility for all, giving priority to public transport, cycling, and walking, complemented by shared mobility
	Participation and involvement of citizens; increase in volunteering	Appreciation and promotion of diverse civic engagement through offerings and incentives
	Integration and protection of minorities	Recognition and consideration of diverse lifestyles, needs and abilities
	Participation and involvement of citizens; increase in volunteering	Appreciation and promotion of diverse civic engagement through offerings and incentives
	Consumption-free public spaces for the community, with free cultural offerings	Promotion of diverse cultural offerings

Circular City	Economic transformation to a sustainable and circular economy through repair and total recycling as a new industry, jobs in recycling, raw material extraction through recycling; reorientation of the economy from the automotive industry to more knowledge & research, creativity, co-existence, and innovation	Alignment of regional economic policy with the circular economy; strengthening of science and research; creating space for the development of creative forces and promoting social, technological, and economic innovation
	New space for meeting and exchange (e.g., repair cafés as neighborhood meeting points)	Orientation to people's various needs in the design of public spaces
	Promoting environmental awareness and changes in consumption through school education	Education as a lifelong process in terms of formal, cultural, political, informal, digital, sustainable, and social education
	Increase in green areas and green open spaces	Design of green and open spaces, streets, and buildings for a healthful urban climate and high quality of stay; strengthening of green infrastructure

4.4.3 Phase 3: Condensing grand visions into seizable measures

In phase 3 of the stakeholder engagement process, the citizens' elaborated grand visions were condensed. Based on democratic principles, the city government transformed the citizens' grand visions into seizable measures, which were incorporated into the urban strategy document, and then legitimized from citizens' feedback.

However, our data showed that the city planners were in conflict. On one hand, they were convinced of the value of the results from the citizen lab and wanted to incorporate them into the new strategy, but they had to develop an urban strategy that could be approved by the city council as the representative of the city's population as a whole. Therefore, the grand visions from the citizen lab served as input to the new urban strategy, but the city's democratic principles imposed how the urban strategy was finalized. Those principles determined that the city council would have decision-making power and that citizens would have no control over the new urban strategy. However, the city planners incorporated the grand visions from the citizen lab into the final strategy draft, thus validating the grand visions from the citizen lab, and merged them with certain specifications.

Validating the grand visions

The responsibility of urban planners is to implement the decisions of the city council in the field of urban development and to create a city that considers the realities of inhabitants' lives. To fulfill their role, city planners validated the strategy results from the citizen lab and used the grand visions as 'food for thought.' For instance, the urban planners found that the strategic grand visions from the citizen lab were influenced by today's zeitgeist, but the various needs of the city's many population groups were not considered. For example, the citizen participants designed a digitally connected city in which residents produced their food locally and organically on their own balconies, transportation was autonomous, and remote work was prevalent. However, to meet the needs of other population groups in the city, e.g., such as elderly people and people who had no balcony, the urban planners invalidated the grand visions. As city planner Alec outlined,

The [citizen lab] participants integrated their personal views and their personal circumstances […] strongly into the [grand visions]. However, we as a city

administration detached ourselves from this personal view […] and thought of many more groups in the urban society. That is our professional business. When we deal with fundamental social issues, we think about multiple target groups in the urban development.

Merging the grand visions with other strategic specifications

The city planners merged the strategy content from the citizen lab with specifications from the city council and the internal strategy workstream. Our data shows that specifications from the city council, such as the requirement to consider the UN's sustainable development goals, strategy content from the various departments of the city administration were supplemented with strategic thoughts from the citizen lab's grand visions. Therefore, while attention was paid to the content of the citizen lab's strategy, the exact wording was negotiated with the city employees. As city planner Marvin explained, "[In the admin lab], every word is looked at long and hard when formulating strategy topics."

We noticed that the grand visions from the citizen lab refined the final urban strategy. For instance, strategic issues like climate change, green spaces, and urban culture were strengthened in the new urban strategy using input from the citizen lab. Strategic ideas from the citizen lab were reflected in all topics of the final urban strategy draft, including preservation of a social mix and counteracting social displacement, orientation of economic policy toward a circular economy, enhancement of a polycentric city, influence of a human scale in urban spaces, and promotion and advancement of civic-engagement initiatives.

However, the grand visions of the citizen lab to tackle the city's grand challenges were not included into the final urban strategy draft but were condensed into seizable solutions and integrated into the new urban strategy document in a less disruptive form. Table 7 presents the citizens' grand visions and the seizable measures. For instance, the "car-free city center" as proposed by the citizen lab was integrated to the final strategy draft as "urban and climate-compatible mobility in which individual, commercial and delivery traffic is virtually emission-free by 2035."

Legitimizing seizable measures for tackling grand challenges

The city government sought feedback from citizens to legitimize the seizable measures of the new urban strategy. We found that this feedback did not change the final strategy draft but was merely consultative in terms of whether the citizens' issues were included in the new urban strategy.

For example, the city planners set up an online survey to get feedback on the final draft strategy. Citizens were asked to express their opinions on the various strategic issues, including what they liked, what needed improvement, and what was lacking. However, our data showed that this civic engagement was met with little response. As it was published as part of another survey, this urban strategy survey received little attention from citizens, as about 30 comments were received—two to ten comments per topic. In addition, the quality of the citizens' comments did not meet the desired level of abstraction for strategy development, and only a few comments referred to strategic issues, such as one that suggested strengthening the sustainability of financial expenditures. Other comments ranged from visions like no more traffic fatalities to individual measures like actively inviting Friday for Future activists and using outdoor pools year-round. Therefore, suggested changes to the strategy were not used; instead, the survey served only as an indicator of whether the strategic themes of the new strategy addressed people's individual problems. As city planner Alec outlined, "This type of civic engagement in terms of feedback can only be used if topics are missing, or to determine whether there a consensus on the major topics. However, the individual strategy topics are no longer revised editorially based on the comments."

In summary, the city government condensed citizens' grand visions for addressing the grand challenges into seizable measures to ensure that the diverse needs of the city's various population groups were met. The city's democratic principles required finalization of the urban strategy to be the city council. Citizens' feedback served to legitimize the seizable measures in the new urban strategy for tackling the grand challenges.

4.5 Concluding discussion

We explored a civic-engagement initiative of a large German city and analyzed the evolution of a new urban strategy. This strategy was intended to address the city's grand challenges by engaging citizens in the process of strategy formation. We found that citizens were both engaged and then disengaged based on the dimensions of stakeholder engagement: democracy, inclusion, and participation.

The civic-engagement process was a process of engagement and disengagement. Initially, based on the ideas of a deliberative democracy, the city government engaged citizens in forming the new urban strategy for legitimation purposes because of the behavioral and lifestyle changes that would be required of them in the future city. Over the course of the civic-engagement process, the participating citizens became engaged stakeholders with a stake in the future urban strategy. They were affected by the grand challenges by participating in information events and starting conversations with the city government. Thus, they co-created the future urban strategy in an inclusion process, and the new urban strategy emerged as grand visions for tackling the grand challenges. However, the city government then disengaged then citizens and imposed the new urban strategy through the city's democratic principles that determined that the city council had decision-making power, while the citizens had no control. The city council condensed the grand visions into seizable measures, which were incorporated into the new urban strategy document. Ultimately, the city government legitimized these seizable measures for tackling the grand challenges by seeking feedback from the citizens, but the citizens had merely a consulting role, and their input at this stage effected no changes in the strategy.

Our findings lead us to make two contributions to the literature on stakeholder engagement and grand challenges. First, we advance research on stakeholder engagement (M. Greenwood, 2007; Kujala et al., 2022; Kujala & Sachs, 2019; Sachs & Kujala, 2021) by showing how stakeholder engagement is performed over time and identifying the interrelationships of the stakeholder-engagement dimensions of democracy, inclusion, and participation in the context of cities. We respond to Kujala et al.'s (2022) call to show an iterative and ongoing stakeholder-engagement process and to clarify the practices of stakeholder

engagement in new contexts. We found that the civic-engagement process was a process of engagement and disengagement based on the phase of stakeholder engagement and its dimensions of participation, inclusion, and democracy (Arnstein, 1969; Kujala et al., 2022; Löffler & Martin, 2015; Quick & Feldman, 2011). Based on the ideas of a deliberative democracy, citizens were engaged to legitimate the need to tackle grand challenges in the new urban strategy. They participated in information events, had conversations with the city government about the grand challenges, in the course of which they began to accept the necessary changes in their future urban lives, and were included in forming the new urban strategy through co-creating. However, the city government also disengaged citizens when the city's democratic principles determined that the city council had decision-making power over strategy and that the participating citizens had no control over it. Their elaborated grand visions served only as input for the new urban strategy document, and they legitimized the new urban strategy through their feedback, but this feedback played no role in the final strategy. In this context, we also indicate the dynamic nature of the dimensions of stakeholder engagement, which can evolve into higher or lower dimensions of stakeholder engagement, depending on their execution. Thus, we contribute to further differentiating stakeholder inclusion and stakeholder participation (Quick & Feldman, 2011): Both have specific characteristics, such as the co-creating elements in stakeholder inclusion, but we emphasize their dynamic nature. For example, the citizen lab was originally planned as a citizen-participation initiative that would merely serve to legitimize the need to address grand challenges in the new urban strategy. However, because of the efforts of moderators involved, citizens co-produced the content of the new urban strategy and became engaged stakeholders (Arnstein, 1969; Kujala et al., 2022; Löffler & Martin, 2015; Quick & Feldman, 2011). In this regard, we also identified types of urban strategy (Mintzberg & Waters, 1985). Initially, the city's new urban strategy was a planned strategy, but when citizens became engaged stakeholders during the civic-engagement process, the new urban strategy emerged as citizens' grand visions. Ultimately, however, the new urban strategy was imposed by democratic principles when the city government transformed the grand visions into seizable measures for tackling the grand challenges.

Second, we broaden the literature on grand challenges (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016; Scherer & Voegtlin, 2020), as we find that addressing grand challenges requires successful inclusion of stakeholders (Johnson-Cramer et al., 2021) in a first step. Grand visions are developed through the co-creative work of different stakeholders with different skills and resources (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016). However, our findings also show that engaged and affected citizens' grand visions can also mean rigorous changes in the way of life that might not be sustainable for all citizens in the city. The principles of representative democracy can transform these grand visions into seizable measures for addressing grand challenges. In this regard, we also show that stakeholder engagement serves to legitimize decisions about addressing grand challenges. We outline that the civic-engagement initiative was not initiated to enhance innovativeness in finding solutions to grand challenges by getting input from a broad range of stakeholders (Wohlgemuth et al., 2019). Instead, it was planned to gain acceptance and legitimacy for a new urban strategy for addressing grand challenges that has implications for future urban life. Thus, the decisions concerning which grand challenges are relevant to the city and its strategy and what future city life will look like is legitimized by stakeholder engagement. This finding resonates with those of Kornberger and Clegg (2011) and Kornberger (2012). Stakeholder engagement secures political power and, consequently, social cohesion on controversial issues like grand challenges. Therefore, "coordinated and collaborative effort" (George et al., 2016, p. 1880) by stakeholders (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016) is needed not only to improve capabilities and resources, but also to ensure legitimacy when addressing grand challenges has consequences like required lifestyle changes.

Our study is subject to boundary conditions that also provide opportunities for future research. We analyzed one city's civic-engagement process and focused on how citizens were involved in the process. Although examining the process in this context is useful, its generalizability might be limited, as the dynamics of stakeholder engagement could differ in context of privately owned companies. A second limitation is related to our study's having been conducted in Germany. Stakeholder relations might play out differently in non-democratic countries.

In conclusion, we examined a civic-engagement initiative of a large German city and analyzed the evolution of a new urban strategy for tackling grand

challenges. We found that citizens were engaged and then disengaged during the strategy-formation process. Citizens were engaged to legitimize the consequences on future urban life to address the grand challenges in the new urban strategy. In this regard, the citizens became engaged stakeholder with a stake in the strategy formation and co-created the new urban strategy. However, citizens were disengaged then as the city's democratic principles determined the city council's decision-making power over strategy, giving no control over the new urban strategy to the participating citizen. Strategy was imposed by the principles of representative democracy, while citizens had only an indirect consulting role. Our study makes two contributions to the literature on stakeholder engagement and grand challenges. First, it expands research on stakeholder engagement and shows how citizens were engaged and then disengaged during the phases of stakeholder engagement. In this regard, we also show how the new urban strategy evolved. Second, we shed new insights into grand challenges by showing how grand challenges were made seizable. Tackling grand challenges requires successful stakeholder engagement not only to come up with big solutions but also to make those big solutions workable and their consequences legitimate to the broader citizenship.

5 Overall conclusion

With the increasing engagement of diverse actors in organizational activities in response to economic, technological, societal, and cultural factors, this dissertation addresses how various actors are involved in and contribute to organizational activities. Specifically, this thesis sheds light on how citizens are engaged in an urban strategy process, how their differences, such as diverse emotions and abilities, are managed and how they work together to develop a new urban strategy.

Research has neglected to consider the ability of actors to contribute to such engagement initiatives through emotional micro-processes (Jarvis et al., 2019; Lingo & Elmes, 2019). Moreover, the role of the atmosphere and its influence on organizational activities, such as strategy development for a future city, has been overlooked (de Vaujany & Vaast, 2014; Orlikowski, 2007; Reckwitz, 2012). The dynamics of stakeholder engagement initiatives and how the involvement of different stakeholders influences the ability to address challenges has also been unclear (Johnson-Cramer et al., 2021; Kujala et al., 2022).

This thesis expands current research by analyzing emotions' influence on institutional projects, examining the atmosphere, and exploring the dynamics of stakeholder engagement in the evolution of an urban strategy.

In the following the main findings and contributions of this thesis are summarized. Then, this thesis concludes with opportunities for future research and concluding remarks.

5.1 Summary of the main findings and contributions of this thesis

This thesis finds that emotions themselves have agency in institutional processes and influence actors' engagement in finding common ground for a future urban strategy. Moreover, different actors of civic engagement initiatives further strengthen their ability to act and to contribute to the future urban strategy through the interplay of emotive tactics such as emotional contagion, emotional suppression, emotional openness, emotional richness, emotional dogmatism, and emotional dedication.

This thesis also shows that an atmosphere can be an enabler or barrier to developing the future urban strategy. Various actors experienced the atmosphere in different future-making practices for the new urban strategy differently through their sensory-affective experiences of the spatial-material lab surrounding and the enactment of the future-making practices. Thereby, the atmosphere was created in-between recurring future-making practices and dynamics.

This thesis also highlights that diverse actors were engaged and then disengaged during the evolution of the urban strategy. Initially, they were engaged for legitimation purposes of the new urban strategy. Then, they developed a new urban strategy in the form of grand visions as engaged stakeholders. Finally, they were disengaged as their developed grand visions were condensed into seizable measures by the city government.

Based on these findings, this thesis makes three major contributions to the literature:

First, it expands the literature on emotions and institutions (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019) by showing that emotions are agentic resources in institutions that directly animate or hamper institutional projects such as finding common ground in civic engagement initiatives (Abdelnour et al., 2017; Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Engaged actors' emotional tactics also enable or disable their agency (Jakob-Sadeh & Zilber, 2019; Jarvis et al., 2019; Lingo & Elmes, 2019; Voronov & Vince, 2012).

Second, it contributes to the literature on the atmosphere, future-making, and innovation labs by highlighting that the atmosphere has an inclusive and exclusive effect on future-making (de Vaujany & Vaast, 2014; Fecher et al., 2020; Janssens & Steyaert, 2020; Orlikowski, 2007; Wenzel et al., 2020). An atmosphere enables or constrains actors in enacting future-making, thereby capacitating some actors for future-making while excluding others, ultimately affecting future urban strategy. This thesis further broadens research on the atmosphere in organizational settings (Bille & Simonsen, 2021; DeMolli et al., 2020; Marsh & Śliwa, 2021; Michels & Steyaert, 2017; Reckwitz, 2012) by showing that an atmosphere is created in-between recurring practices and dynamics.

Third, this thesis advances the literature on stakeholder engagement and grand challenges by showing how an urban strategy evolved, how citizens were engaged and disengaged during this process (M. Greenwood, 2007; Kujala et al., 2022; Kujala & Sachs, 2019; Mintzberg & Waters, 1985; Quick & Feldman, 2011; Sachs & Kujala, 2021), and how solutions to grand challenges were made seizable. Stakeholder engagement enhances capabilities and resources and ensures legitimacy when tackling grand challenges that affect daily lives (Ferraro et al., 2015; George et al., 2016; Kornberger, 2012; Kornberger & Clegg, 2011; Scherer & Voegtlin, 2020).

5.2 Opportunities for future research

Based on the findings and limitations of the studies discussed in Chapters 2 through 4, opportunities for future research emerge.

First, this thesis focuses on immediate emotions during the civic engagement process itself. Thus, future research could examine long-term emotions related to the dynamics of the stakeholder engagement process. For example, an analysis of the emotional reactions of the engaged citizens after the implementation of the new urban strategy and the related consequences for participation in future engagement processes.

Second, this thesis focuses on emotional micro-processes in institutional processes. However, it is not only emotions that influence actors' engagement in institutional processes but also "their sensory way of knowing" (Creed et al., 2020, p. 418). Future research could therefore investigate how sensory micro-processes affect the engagement in institutional projects.

Third, this thesis explored a civic engagement strategy process conducted for the first time in this city. Thus, the city government had no experience engaging citizens in strategy development and could not foresee the emerging dynamics between engagement and disengagement. Future research could therefore explore whether the dynamics between engagement and disengagement identified in this thesis also apply to contexts in which a city already has experience with expanded civic engagement in strategy development.

5.3 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, this thesis advances the understanding of the engagement of various actors in organizational activities. By analyzing civic engagement in an urban strategy process, it highlights the role of emotions as invisible actors in institutional processes, the role of the atmosphere in enabling and constraining actors in future-making, and the impact of stakeholder engagement on the urban strategy evolution itself.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Further information on Chapter 2 - The role of emotions in institutional processes

This chapter refers to the working paper ‘Tracing the invisible actors in institutional processes: An ethnography of emotions in civic engagement’ of Anna-Lisa Schneider, Verena Bader, and Georg Loscher.

Previous, actual, or further developed versions have been and will be presented at the following conferences:

- Schneider, A.-L., Bader, V., Loscher, G., and Kaiser, S. (forthcoming): Tracing the invisible actors in institutional processes: An ethnography of emotions in civic engagement. Paper accepted for the 38th EGOS Colloquium, July 2022, Vienna, Austria (hybrid conference).
- Schneider, A.-L., Bader, V., and Loscher, G. (2021): Navigating institutional complexity and collaboration through emotion work. Paper presented at the 81st Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, virtual conference.
- Schneider, A.-L., Bader, V., and Loscher, G. (2020): Let’s continue working together – Emotional feigning tactics to maintain cooperation in institutionally complex settings. Paper presented at the 36th EGOS Colloquium, July 2020, Hamburg, Germany (virtual conference).

This paper was submitted to the Journal ‘Organization Studies’ and sent for peer-review. The paper was rejected with the opportunity to resubmit it for consideration to the Journal ‘Organization Studies’.

Appendix B: Further information on Chapter 3 - The role of the atmosphere in future-making

This chapter refers to the working paper ‘Welcome to the social lab: The role of the atmosphere in future-making practices’ of Anna-Lisa Schneider, Verena Bader, and Stephan Kaiser.

Previous, actual, or further developed versions have been and will be presented at the following conferences:

- Schneider, A.-L., Bader, V. and Kaiser, S. (forthcoming): Making and breaking the future in the presence: The atmospheric practices in a future-making lab. Paper accepted for the 82nd Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Seattle, USA (hybrid conference).
- Schneider, A.-L., Bader, V. and Kaiser, S. (2021): Welcome to the Social Lab: The Role of the Atmosphere in Future-making Practices. Paper presented at the SMS 41st Annual Conference, September 2021, Toronto, Canada (virtual conference).

This paper was awarded the Strategic Management Society Strategy Practice Best Impact Paper Award at the SMS 41st Annual Conference in September 2021.

Appendix C: Further information on Chapter 4 - The impact of stakeholder engagement in addressing grand challenges

This chapter refers to the working paper ‘How grand challenges become seizable: Civic (dis-) engagement in the formation of urban strategy’ of Anna-Lisa Schneider, Verena Bader, and Stephan Kaiser.

Previous, actual, or further developed versions have been and will be presented at the following conferences:

- Schneider, A.-L., Bader, V. and Kaiser, S. (2021): Balancing openness through emotional practices. Paper presented at the 37th EGOS Colloquium, July 2021, Amsterdam, Netherlands (virtual conference).

This paper was submitted to the Journal ‘Business & Society’ and sent for peer-review. The opportunity was offered to revise and resubmit the paper for consideration to the Journal ‘Business & Society’.