Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaft und Psychologie

der Freien Universität Berlin

Sensemaking in and through Cross-Sector Knowledge Partnerships

–

An analysis of organizational story-telling in research and education co-operations between university and non-academic partners

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor der Philosophie (Dr. Phil.)

vorgelegt von

Sebastian Mehling

MA European Studies
MA International Affairs

Berlin, April 2019

Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Gehard de Haan, Lead Supervisor

Zweitgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Nina Kolleck, Second Supervisor

Tag der Disputation: 02.10.2019

Für meine Eltern

Declaration of authorship

I hereby declare that the thesis submitted is my own unaided work. All direct or indirect sources used are acknowledged as references. This paper was not previously presented to another examination board and has not been published

Eigenständigkeitserklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbstständig angefertigt habe. Die aus fremden Quellen direkt und indirekt übernommenen Gedanken sind als solche kenntlich gemacht. Die Arbeit wurde weder einem anderen Prüfungsausschuss vorgelegt noch veröffentlicht.

_____

city, date and signature

Curriculum vitae

The curriculum vitae is not included in this online publication in compliance with data protection.

Lebenslauf

Der Lebenslauf ist in der Online-Version aus Gründen des Datenschutzes nicht enthalten.

Abstract (English)

Today research and training partnerships between universities and non-academic partners in government, civil society and business sectors are propagated by international and national policy organizations and funding programs. The normative claim often employed is that these partnerships simultaneously improve academic excellence and social relevance of research and education through collaboration. However, although there is an increasing body of literature evaluating such partnerships according to supposedly objective performance criteria and indicators, there is still a lack of studies that investigate how the social meaning of organizing research and training is (re-) negotiated in and through these partnerships.

This study addresses this gap in the literature by asking how individuals engaged in and through Cross-sector knowledge partnerships (CSKPs) make sense of their partnership. How do they link what they are doing to ideas about their current situation and desired future states of affairs? How do they define their joint objects of value, modes for exchanging them, roles and positions linked to these exchanges and group relationships and identities resulting from them?

In order to answer this question, two CSKPs are selected for a comparison. First, the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development (ISU/Malmö), which is a partnership between Malmö University and the city administration with the aim of improving research, education and urban planning practice so as to contribute to making Malmö more sustainable. Second, the educational cluster "opencampus" (Kiel), which brings together actors in higher education with actors in administration, business and civil society, to develop innovative learning formats that should contribute to the socio-economic development of the region.

Both cases are explored by way of a constant comparative research strategy that focuses the qualitative investigation (based on interviews, focus groups and program documents) of the two cases on processes of negotiating organizational antagonisms and dilemmas. On the basis of the data produced an analytical approach is developed that allows for the exploration of CSKPs as communicative as much as organizational boundary arenas in which individuals make sense of what they are doing by negotiating social frames and organizational scripts for knowledge production.

The major finding of this study is that in both cases organizing a CSKP is intimately linked to organizing dilemmatic boundary narratives and dualistic antagonisms, between: continuity and transformation, immediate value production and work for the common good, market and agora forms of exchange, professional and activist roles, as well as project, organization and network identities for the CSKP.

As a consequence of these initial findings, the study recommends to further develop an analytical approach in the research on education and science that focuses on the process of narratively organizing educational and scientific projects and partnerships. Empirically, such a focus could be grounded in an explorative investigation of crucial organizational dilemmas and narrative processes of boundary-making. Moreover, this study promotes CSKPs as a fruitful research field for investigating the link between discourses on and practices of education and research in late-modern societies.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Forschungs- und Lehrpartnerschaften zwischen Universitäten und nicht-akademischen Partnern aus Regierungs-, Wirtschafts- und zivilgesellschaftlichen Sektoren werden heutzutage verstärkt durch internationale und nationale Organisationen und Programme gefordert und gefördert. Der normative Anspruch dabei ist, zugleich akademische Exzellenz und soziale Relevanz von Forschung und Bildung durch Kooperation zu stärken.

Obwohl es immer mehr Literatur gibt, in der solche Partnerschaften nach vermeintlich objektiven Kriterien und Indikatoren bewertet werden, gibt es nach wie vor kaum Studien, in denen untersucht wird, inwieweit die Bedeutung von Forschung und Bildung in und durch diese Partnerschaften neu ausgehandelt wird.

Hier setzt diese Studie an, indem sie fragt, wie Personen, die an sektor-übergreifenden Wissenspartnerschaften (CSKPs) beteiligt sind, ihre Zusammenarbeit verstehen. Wie knüpfen sie ihre Aktivitäten an Vorstellungen ihrer aktuellen wie auch ihrer gewünschten zukünftigen Situation? Wie definieren sie gemeinsame Wertobjekte, deren Austauschmodi, die Rollen und Positionen, die mit diesem Austausch verbunden sind, sowie die Gruppenidentitäten, die daraus resultieren?

Um diese Frage zu beantworten, werden zwei CSKPs für eine Vergleichsstudie ausgewählt: Erstens das Institut für nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung (ISU/Malmö), welches eine Partnerschaft zwischen der Universität Malmö und der Stadtverwaltung ist, die das Ziel verfolgt Forschung, Bildung und Stadtplanungspraxis zu verbessern und so dazu beizutragen, Malmö nachhaltiger zu machen. Zweitens das Bildungscluster "opencampus" (Kiel), welches Akteure in der Hochschulbildung mit Akteuren aus Verwaltung, Wirtschaft und Zivilgesellschaft zusammenbringt, um innovative Lernformate zu entwickeln, die zur sozioökonomischen Entwicklung der Region beitragen sollen.

Beide Fälle werden anhand einer qualitativ vergleichenden Forschungsstrategie (basierend auf Interviews, Fokusgruppen und Programmdokumenten) erforscht, die den Fokus auf die Aushandlungsprozesse von organisationalen Antagonismen und Dilemmata setzt. Auf der Grundlage der erzeugten Daten wird ein analytischer Ansatz entwickelt, durch den die beiden CSKPs als kommunikative wie auch organisationale Grenzarenen erforscht werden, in denen Individuen durch das Aushandeln sozialer Frames und organisationaler Skripte für die Wissensproduktion einen Sinn für ihre gemeinsamen Aktivitäten erzeugen.

Das wichtigste Ergebnis dieser Studie ist somit auch, dass in beiden Fällen das Organisieren einer CSKP eng mit der Organisation dilemmatischer Grenzen und dualistischer Antagonismen verknüpft ist, und zwar zwischen: Kontinuität und Transformation; unmittelbarer Wertschöpfung und dem Gemeinwohl; Markt- und Agora-Formen des Austauschs; professioneller und Aktivistenrollen; sowie zwischen Projekt-, Organisations- und Netzwerkidentitäten für die CSKP.

Als Ergebnis empfiehlt die Studie, einen analytischen Ansatz für die Forschung in Bildung und Wissenschaft weiterzuentwickeln, der sich auf den Prozess der erzählerischen Organisation von Bildungs- und Forschungspartnerschaften konzentriert. Empirisch könnte ein solcher Fokus auf einer explorativen Untersuchung kritischer Organisationsdilemmata und narrativer Prozesse der Grenzbildung beruhen. Darüber hinaus zeigt diese Studie, dass CSKPs als fruchtbares Forschungsfeld für die Untersuchung der Verbindungen zwischen Diskursen und Praktiken von Bildung und Forschung in spätmodernen Gesellschaften dienen können.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of tables and figures

I Introduction

"On a strategy level it's quite easy. We all want Malmö to be the most sustainable city in the whole world and we want to cooperate to make that possible. And we want research from the university to be implemented in the city, and we want the practice to be something that the researcher can look upon and so on. No problem, easy to agree upon. But then, how do we do this, very concretely? Then it's very complicated" (NbNb P73).

This statement, from one of the interviewees, nicely frames the central research problem of this study. On a strategic level, everyone seems to be in favor of producing knowledge across sectors, across disciplines and in partnership. Such collaborations have many names and concepts, and diverse expectations. For example, transdisciplinary collaborations are promoted for advancing the production of more excellent and simultaneously socially relevant scientific knowledge (e.g. Perry and May 2010, p.11; Calloni et al 2009, p.12), higher rates and quality of technological innovation in service provision and product development (e.g. Feldman and Florida 1994; Etzkowitz and Lydesdorff 2000; Carayannis and Campell 2012; Torugsa and O'Donohue 2016; Kumar and Dahiya 2017) and more efficient use of resources through collaboration (e.g. Hardy et al 2003; George et al. 2002; Perkmannn et al. 2013; Simeone 2017), to name just a few of the anticipated benefits. Cross-sector partnerships are often presented as the answer to deal with democratic deficits in late-modern knowledge societies (cf. O'Brien et al. 2013; Moodie and Holst 2014; Leach et al. 2016). They are also presented as a way to ensure regional competitive advantage in a global knowledge economy (Bastalich 2010; Cooke 2001; Harding et al. 2010; Leydesdorff 2010). They are considered an important ingredient in the transformation of our societies into sustainable ones that tackle climate change and poverty in more just and efficient ways (cf. Heinrichs and Newig 2011; Schneidewind 2009; Schneidewind et al. 2016). However, as this empirical study of two cross-sector partnerships between universities and non-academic partners in Germany and Sweden makes clear: actually engaging in such a partnership on the practical level, rather than in normative or strategic terms, is a complicated process that often provides more questions than answers.

Thus, this study aims at cutting through the largely normative discourse on cross-sector collaborations between universities and non-academic partners, in which they figure as a catch-all approach that promises to solve whatever social and organizational problems are deemed important by their supporters. In order to do so, this study engages with the phenomenon of CSKPs from a constructivist perspective, in which the social reality of a phenomenon is understood as constructed through concrete, intersubjective, meaning-giving activities of human beings in the specific context of their everyday lives (Blaikie 2014, p.23; Burr 2015, p.62). It is about individuals on the everyday level of organizing and how they try to make sense of their particular way of producing knowledge in and through cross-sector knowledge partnerships (CSKPs). These partnerships are understood in the context of this study as partner initiatives that aim at improving knowledge production through the facilitation of exchange relationships and processes between actors associated with different sectors. By researching them, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the meso level in between grand theories and normative debates on the value and necessity of CSKPs on the one hand and evaluations of very specific practices of organizing and implementing CSKPs on the other. More specifically this means it develops an analytical approach tailored for the investigation of the process of meaning-making in CSKPs, as well as it employs this approach to develop a set of middle-range concepts and hypotheses concerning this meaning-making process observed in the two CSKPs studied. This means, that this study adapts the analytical program of communicative sensemaking after Weick et al (2005) and Taylor and van Every (2001) in order to develop a lens focusing on how individuals engaged in CSKPs link broader, more normative and abstract frameworks of meaning to their concrete, practical and interactive situation in order to organize themselves.

This introduction shows how the research interest in this topic emerged in my professional context (1.1) and how it connects to a broader interest in organizing knowledge production across sectors (1.2.). It then shows how the initial interest was translated into specific research objectives and research questions (1.3.), which required a specific analytical-methodological framework (1.4.) in order to contribute to the academic research and organizational practice of organizing CSKPs at the local level (1.5.). At the end of this introduction, I provide an outline of the remainder of this study (1.6).

1.1 Research interest

It was through my practical involvement that I got interested in the phenomenon of CSKPs becoming a larger part of research funding programs (such as the EU's framework programs for research funding, for which we applied with our CSKPs[1]), and increasingly capturing the imagination of academics, community organizers and administrators alike, although seemingly for very different reasons. I realized that the normative arguments for why people engage in them and the managerial approaches on how to organize them effectively and efficiently neglect the aspect of how individuals engaged in such CSKPs struggle to make sense of what they are doing and why they are doing it in an interactive, communicative way. Furthermore, I realized that the concepts used to discuss CSKPs (sectors, collaboration, cooperation, partnership, inter-disciplinarity, trans-disciplinarity, community involvement, relevance, excellence, democratization, etc.) seem to have different and flexible meanings, rather than providing a straightforward, definitive framework for understanding what CSKPs are, why they are desirable and, most importantly, how they can be successfully organized.

I realized through my work planning and organizing CSKPs that they have a normative vision that seems self-explanatory to everyone involved, while at the same time actually organizing and implementing that vision causes friction, misunderstandings and frustrations among those so enthusiastically in favor of CSKPs on a theoretical level. That is why my initial interest in CSKPs very much centered on investigating what the actors who engage through them actually think they are doing, how they communicate with each other about the purpose and meaning of their activities and what relationships form in and around a CSKP.

My initial search for a research problem with respect to CSKPs was thus guided by rather broad and flexible questions and my personal experience that existing knowledge says little about the struggle of CSKP organizers and participants to constantly negotiate, contest and (re-)establish the seemingly equivocal and contradictory meanings of their CSKPs. My reasoning was that an exploratory project that seeks to study CSKPs in their own right together with their participants would yield new insights into their complex nature, which then in turn could be used to gradually build a middle-range, contingent theory about crucial mechanisms or processes in the organization of CSKPs from the bottom up (or from emic, experience-near to etic, experience-distant concepts, Fram 2013, p.6; cf. Geertz 1983, p.58).

---

[1] "DiverCity" (2011-2012), an application for a transdisciplinary, large-scale collaboration (EU FP7 Call SSH.2012.2.2-1: Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts) and "PolisWorks" (2013-2014), an application for a transdisciplinary Marie-Curie Initial Training Partnership.

1.2 Research context: CSKPs at the heart of normative debates about university reform and advancing the late-modern knowledge society

This study focuses specifically on local CSKPs that involve university or academic actors. This is done for pragmatic reasons, so as to limit the scope of the study. In addition, the focus on the university allows me to contribute to the debate about its role as the institution for organizing research and higher education, in the context of its privileged, authoritative position as the locus for everything knowledge-related in the last two centuries.

Today, big data, digitalization, globalization of social networks and the balkanization of public spheres have challenged the university's central position in knowledge production and higher education and its privileged position as an autonomous "republic of science" (Polanyi 2000; cf. Fischer and Mandel 2009). The university faces institutional change and instability, which have forced it to re-examine its identity, rules and norms (Olsen and Maassen 2007, p.7). It must defend itself within public debates about its role in society, how it is justified and made accountable, and what kind of relationship it should have with other institutions (Ibid.). Whether the university as an institution with a distinct system of normative and causal beliefs will start to falter or continue to rise depends, according to Olsen and Maassen, on its ability to defend against outside criticism and contestations or adapt to changing social needs, preferences and opinions (Ibid.).

CSKPs are an important arena for debates about sense and purpose of the university as a central institution for knowledge production in late-modern societies. This is because what emerges in the discourse of CSKP proponents is often an argument about universities needing to engage in CSKPs with other societal actors in order to become socially, politically and economically more relevant (cf. Primeri and Reale 2015; Schneidewind 2009). CSKPs, then, are considered a new modus of organizing knowledge beyond the university, to co-design their research and training together with social stakeholders (however defined), in order to connect research and teaching to "real-life" experiences and problems (cf. Doberneck et al. 2010). Thus, when investigating CSKPs and the way they organize knowledge production, it is important to place the research in the context of debates around organizing and reforming knowledge production in late-modern societies and to modernize its central institution, the university or academy, to lead it out of the ivory tower and into the center of a vibrant, innovative 'knowledge society' (Etzkowitz et al. 2000; Weerts 2008; McKelvey and Holmen 2010).

Thus, there are not only striking parallels between the discourses on CSKPs and

university reform, but often CSKPs are seen as the primary tool to accomplish the transformation of universities, to open them up and reconnect them to society in order to enable late-modern societies to cope with what the EU Council (an important player within European research policy and funding) called "Grand Challenges" of our post-industrial, globalizing societies, such as climate change, energy security, water, food, health and demographic change (EU Council 2009, p.1-2). For EU institutions and other high-profile policy organizations, such as the OECD, these complex challenges require "moving beyond rigid thematic approaches" in order to employ knowledge as a tool to turn these urgent problems into "opportunities and progress" (Ibid.; OECD 2007).

In opposition to this top-down perspective on CSKPs and university reform from high-profile policy institutions and research funding programs, there is also something more akin to a bottom-up perspective on CSKPs and university reform, in which the necessity for both is derived from ideas of grassroots democracy, inclusive ways of knowing and more just and liberating modes of organizing knowledge (cf. Greenwood and Levin 2006; Ibanez-Carrasco and Riano-Alcala 2011; Reason and Bradbury 2001; Stringer 2013; Zuber-Skerrit 2011). In more general terms the prominence of cross-sector partnerships might then be linked to what Pippa Norris calls the emergence of critical citizens (in the context of cross-sector partnerships between politics and civil society), namely the fact that today people are less willing to accept the authority of functionally and sectorally differentiated organizations and institutions and the specialized and formalized expertise they and their managers, bureaucrats and other specialists claim to provide (Norris 1999; Newton and Norris 2000). The elitist class of experts, whether managers, policy makers or career scientists, is widely seen to be in legitimacy crisis, leading citizen amateurs to claim their stake in entrepreneurship, decision-making and knowledge production (Fischer 2000; Jasanoff 2012). With them comes a re-evaluation of practical knowledge, non-scientific expertise and alternative, collaborative and less formalized ways of knowing and learning (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, Fischer 2003). Trans-disciplinarity, as a principle for cross-sectoral knowledge partnerships, with a broad inclusion of stakeholders from different disciplines, sectors, classes, communities and cultures is often seen as a welcome strategy to answer these calls for more direct citizen involvement in knowledge production (Aboelela et al. 2007; Dubb and Howard 2007; McGregor and Volckmann 2011).

However, from the same perspective there is also a critical stance towards CSKPs that argues that through engaging more in so-called collaborative projects across sectors, formerly public organizations such as universities would face the danger of being undermined and colonized by major social interests and economic or political power (Calhoun 2006; Marginson

2006). These critics state that often cross-sector 'stakeholder participation' is a mere euphemism for clientelist and exclusionary coalitions between elite fractions of society, who marginalize lower-class stakeholders through supposedly more inclusive, flexible and project-based cross-sector partnerships, which, when examined closely, display worrying deficits with respect to public accountability and democratic representation (Jörke 2011, cf. Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005; cf. Swyngedouw 2011). Here, as well as with respect to more inclusive forms of learning and research, the danger is that in fact the dictate to produce more relevant knowledge translates into a neoliberal commodification of knowledge production and training (Davies et al 2006; Moore et al. 2011). Critics point out that current ideas of making universities more relevant and 'opening up' traditional public organization for more direct influence of outside groups and interests bring the danger to privatize access to them and to include only those citizens and social interests deemed productive and profitable (Morley 2016). For these critical voices, the normative discourse on CSKPs (in the EU and OECD for instance) are tools for transforming political societies and class conflicts into a pacified, collaborative knowledge economy where everything is governed by dictates of growth and innovation, and which is accordingly also linked to technocratic ideas of developing administrative and market-based solutions to fundamentally political problems (Normand 2016; cf. Swyngedouw 2005).

This shows what is at stake when we consider CSKPs. Accordingly, we need a better idea of what those who engage in and through CSKPs tell each other they are doing and why they are doing it and in order to do that, we need to look more closely at real-world CSKPs and the process of interactive, communicative sensemaking in and through them.

1.3 Research question

The central research question that marked the starting point for an initial operationalization of a broad and flexible research interest in the phenomenon of CSKPs is:

- How do individuals engaged in CSKPs make sense of their partnership?

This research question was complemented throughout the research project through a constant back and forth between data collection, initial analysis and comparison of results across both cases as well as with the literature on CSKPs specifically and the broader social science literature, and here in particular the sensemaking approach within organizational studies. As a result, the above research question was further developed to suggest three sub-questions in this

study's research program of CSKPs:

- How do individual actors involved in CSKPs frame their initiative by defining their current and a desired future situation (i.e. how do they talk about why they organize)?
- How do individual actors involved in CSKPs script their initiative by defining their objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and organizational identity in the CSKP (i.e. how do they talk about how they organize)?
- How exactly does this narrative process of organizational sensemaking in CSKPs enable those that organize them to draw, contest and re-draw conceptual boundaries that separate and link them to each other, and to images of a broader social world beyond their immediate situation?

This study holds that we can improve our knowledge about the questions why and how individuals engage in and through CSKPs, when we focus the investigation on the specific communicative sensemaking process that emerges in and around a particular CSKP in order to determine what kind of actors, relationships, sectors and forms of knowledge are constructed by organizing it.

1.4 Analytical-methodological framework: CSKPs as boundary arenas for organizational sensemaking and the re-negotiating of social boundaries

In order to explore the research question empirically, I use the analytical approach called 'sensemaking' developed by Weick (1995) and others. Within this literature, I focus especially on Taylor and van Every's (2001) analytical framework to study CSKPs in the context of people trying to make sense of their role, their relationship and their joint objects of value and modes of exchange through organizing the CSKP. Thereby, it is of particular interest how they use social background knowledge (and the normative weight they carry) to narratively frame and script their communication concerning the organization of their CSKP.

In order to investigate how actors' personal identities, group relationships and broader social affiliations are linked through communicative sensemaking, I draw on Strauss's (1978) conception of organizations as arenas in which actors interact with each other through referencing (and constructing) the broader social worlds they identify with. For the purpose of this study, arenas and social worlds are used as concepts to approach the CSKP as an arena in which actors engage with each other and make sense of their interaction while linking their

activities to a broader social world beyond their immediate situation.

Bringing the sensemaking approach together with Strauss's concepts of arenas and social worlds, a CSKP can thus be understood as an arena in which differences and similarities are affirmed, negotiated, contested and/or transformed by way of actors in the arena interactively or communicatively negotiating the meaning of their central objects of value, the modes in which they exchange them, the roles they take or are ascribed within this exchange and the organizational relationships/group identity that are constructed—and how by linking these narrative elements together within their arena, they reference normative images of a social world beyond their immediate situation, so as to create meaning in and through organizing themselves.

Within a CSKP specifically, actors negotiate meaning by defining and exchanging "knowledge" (or knowledge-related objects, resources or values, such as information, data, technology, education, skills, etc.) as their central joint object of value. In addition to this, knowledge is also part of defining who they are, what they do and how they relate to the broader social world around them. This meaning-making or sensemaking aspect of organizing a CSKP is approached within this study as "boundary-making" inasmuch the very act of organizing a CSKP is assumed to helping those involved to define what separates and links the various, conflicting dimensions of their identities (personal, interactional, collective) as part of a broader, normative social story about what separates and links us, or as Latour has called it, the story of progress and power as that "which holds us all together" (Latour, 1984, p.270; p.276). Conceptualized in this way, organizing a CSKP can be investigated as necessarily linked to negotiating the meaning of knowledge (and related objects and concepts) within normative, as well as strategic story-telling about social progress, and the way it aims at affirming and/or transforming certain conceptual as much as normative boundaries between objects, subjects, modes of exchange, roles and social positions, and ultimately, forms of organizing.

I use this analytical framework as the basis of an approach that focuses on researching epistemic and ethical frames for organizing, which enable individuals to talk about why they organize themselves together, as well as organizational scripts, which enable individuals to engage each other about the question how to organize themselves. In other words, the frames enable the individuals to describe a current and a desired future situation, while the organizational scripts linked to the frames enable them to communicate with each other how to get from here to there. However, within the context of this study, these frames and scripts are deliberately not understood as being dictated by the logic of one or another sector or organizational background. They are rather assumed to provide more flexible repertoires of

meaning that individual actors can use, adapt and combine in order to link what they do to a broader social world beyond their immediate situation, but to do so intentionally and strategically to legitimate their choices, their position and behavior within their concrete organizational arena (cf. Latour 1984, p.277). Thus, by choosing to use the analytical concepts of frames and scripts as its point of departure, this study deliberatively focuses on researching the meaning-making process within the arenas of two specific CSKPs, rather than trying to use these cases to establish generally valid knowledge about why CSKPs should be organized (or not), or to provide concrete criteria on how they should (or should not) be organized.

The main part of this dissertation, then, is to conduct an exploratory, constant comparative case study (Fram 2013) into sensemaking processes of actors within two CSKPs, in order to understand the dynamic and contested communicative process of individuals to establish a sense of why and how they organize their specific CSKPs. To engage in a constant comparative method means first comparing different within-case observations, i.e. to produce and analytically compare qualitatively different sets of data concerning each case respectively. This is done by comparing data from semi-structured expert interviews (individual sensemaking) among each other and with key organizational texts and program documents (organizational sensemaking), as well as they are validated together with the researched in focus groups (group sensemaking). These case-specific findings are then, in a second step, compared across cases so as to identify and explore differences and similarities between the CSKPs. In a third step, emerging concepts are compared to relevant theoretical concepts and scientific debates in the literature. Through this threefold comparative method, the focus of the study gradually and inductively sharpened towards developing and exploring sensemaking as boundary-making as the theoretical case of interest central for understanding the complex interplay between normative visions of CSKP on the one hand and the practical challenges of organizing them on the other.

The two cases selected for further empirical investigation and theoretical development were **opencampus** in Kiel (Germany) and the **Institute for Sustainable Urban Development (ISU)** in Malmö (Sweden), because both of them show substantial differences in the way they are organized, the objectives they set themselves and the activities they engage in and, accordingly, promise a rich and diverse set for exploring what unites them on a more general level. Opencampus is a cooperative project between academic, administrative, business and civil society actors, which originates from a student initiative to provide alternative and innovative learning and networking spaces for entrepreneurship-minded students. ISU, on the other hand, is a cooperative project between university and city administration to facilitate

collaborations between both parent organizations with respect to sustainable urban development.

When comparing both cases, the analysis seeks to explore similarities and differences with respect to the CSKPs specific construction of organizational roles, relationships and joint objects of value and the way they are used to transform and reaffirm conceptual boundaries in the two CSKPs investigated, while it simultaneously links the findings back to the state of the art in researching CSKPs.

The following diagram summarizes the overall research process of this exploratory, comparative case study:

Figure 1.1 – Research Process

1.5 Research objectives and contribution

As stated above, this study seeks to ground normative and strategy level debates about CSKPs and their place within reform and transformation of knowledge production in late-modern societies. It does so by engaging in a close-up investigation of how those who organize CSKPs communicatively endow them with meaning. In this way this study contributes to the science and technology studies (STS) literature on CSKPs, which to Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa (2015)

remains dominated by a "rational view" that does not approach the phenomenon as a social and political process among heterogeneous partners to create shared meaning or values, but rather as a rational process through which organizations simply pool and exchange all kinds of knowledge-related resources they lack in order to more efficiently and/or effectively operate (Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa 2015; p.396-399 and 402).

Accordingly, in their study of CSKPs (between university and industry partners), Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa observed that there is a need for a middle-range theory in the field of studying cross-sector partnerships, which can work as an intermediate between grand theories of organization on the one hand and detailed descriptive accounts of the empirics of cross-sector knowledge partnerships on the other (Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa 2015, p.401). They for example found in their literature review of 1,500 studies on CSKPs between university and industry partners that most studies employ a rationalist framework in researching CSKPs, which focuses on explaining whether or not they are successful in obtaining predetermined outcomes (Ibid, p.397). Accordingly, they call for studies that focus more on researching how 'value' is defined in reference to broader normative frames and attached to certain outcomes in CSKPs (Ibid, p.402).

Thus, instead of adding to the many studies of CSKPs that evaluate them according to predefined and supposedly objective evaluative criteria, this study addresses the need for a more specific understanding how value gets defined in and through CSKPs, because it researches a CSKP as a process-in-formation as an interplay or communicative linking process in which actors, their relationships and activities are negotiated in reference to broader, normative stories about social progress, rather than measuring them according to supposedly objective performance criteria.

The concrete output of the research is the development of a simple analytical lens for investigating sensemaking in CSKPs. It focusses the investigation on individuals' descriptions of the central object of value in a CSKP, the modes of exchange, roles and organizational relationships linked to organizing a CSKP. This enables the analysis of the broader social frames and scripts of meaning used in the CSKP arena, without having to assume that the CSKP is a fixed entity, discretely embedded in monolithic sectors, or where actors have predefined identities prescribed by one or another sector.

Moreover, this study provides an initial impetus towards developing an investigative approach through which CSKPs can be analyzed as boundary arenas for organizing differences and common ground. Based on the empirical findings, this research shows that such initiatives can be understood as arenas for organizing boundaries. That means they provide a space for

actors to gather around central organizational contradictions and dilemmas, both of which they need to make sense of in the continuous process of organizing themselves. One central dilemma that works as a springboard for organizing in and through a CSKP is to negotiate the boundaries between the CSKP as a project, an organization and a network. Another central dilemma is to negotiate the difference between the CSKP serving as an agora for political debate and exchanging (normative) ideas and the CSKP as a marketplace for exchanging concrete (material) value objects. Both of these dilemmas exemplify how important and difficult it is for CSKPs to link contradictory goals and identities with each other so as to bring people together who want a) their specific short-term interests served, as much as they want to serve the common, long term good and b) who want their way of knowing and working confirmed and validated as much as they want it to be challenged and improved.

More concretely, both initiatives studied also show that it is instrumentally and symbolically promising to focus a CSKP's story on the roles and relationship of a mentor-student pair of protagonists. Instrumentally, proposing mentors and students as central protagonists can be used to create low-threshold entrance points for collaboration between partners, because working with students and working together through students can be considered less susceptible to the usual performance criteria that would measure the performance of a CSKP according to how it contributes to immediately useful, high-quality knowledge for its respective partners and their different organizational demands. When students are concerned, the focus is more on the long term, and pressures to deliver high-quality outcomes are a bit more relaxed, since the focus is more on learning than on knowing. The role of the mentor simultaneously enables professionals from the partnering organizations, to leave their usual organizational role behind and identify with other actors from across the spectrum on the basis of a unifying role prescription that highlights attitudes of care, giving, responsibility, solidarity and patience. The strategic usefulness of students is also strongly linked to their symbolic value, as those who are young, developing and learning but also as those who are creative, dynamic agents of change, and whose horizontal, informal youth culture is an ideal counter-image to the old, conventional, functionally differentiated organizations and their entrenched professionals that the CSKP to some extent is positioned against.

Additionally, in each case there are specific activities that promise to enable CSKP participants to better organize across boundaries. Opencampus (Kiel) created a boundary workplace (the opencampus co-working space) and the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development created boundary-spanning work relationships, the so-called boundary agents. I propose that the analytical focus on boundaries in organizational sensemaking deserves further

development, as it can help research and practice of CSKPs to navigate differences and find common ground and to identify promising avenues for boundary-spanning activities.

Thus, the contribution of this study is threefold: First, it proposes a specific analytical framework for studying CSKPs by adapting elements from the sensemaking approach within organizational studies (most importantly Taylor and van Every 2001). Second, this framework is broad enough to enable scholars interested in specific types of CSKPs to further develop a more unified approach to studying knowledge production across sectors, instead of continuing to study CSKPs in isolation from each other within the usual approach of associating them with specific sectors. Thirdly, and most importantly, it gives those planning and implementing CSKPs a toolbox of sensitizing concepts, as well as concrete recommendations that can be used and further developed to manage differences and common ground in the challenging work of organizing knowledge production across sectors.

1.6. Outline of this study

This introduction established the major frame of reference of this work and laid down the major structure of the research process and the study's main contributions. ***Chapter 2 (state of the art)*** summarizes the literature on CSKPs. This includes not only literature directly dealing with CSKPs, but also related literature dealing with issues of governance and organization of science and technology. By reviewing the literature through a model developed by Michael Burawoy (2005), I distill four major perspectives on organizing knowledge through CSKPs—the CSKP as professional CSKP, as service CSKP, as critical CSKP and as public CSKP. ***Chapter 3 (research framework)*** develops the main analytical concepts to approach the organization of cross-sector knowledge partnerships as a communicative linking process in which conceptual boundaries between actors and sectors are constructed, negotiated and contested as an important part of organizing CSKPs. In order to focus on this dimension in organizing cross-sector knowledge partnerships, the analytical approach of studying organizing as sensemaking (or social story-telling) is adapted and further developed to focus this study on investigating the character and function of conceptual boundary-making within organizing. ***Chapter 4 (methods)*** explains the research methodology, which produces data on the experiences of participants in CSKPs through interviews, focus groups and document analysis and uses those data to develop a refined, contingent theory of boundary-making within CSKPs. ***Chapter 5 (case analysis)*** presents the two cases of CSKPs selected for this study, the Institute for Sustainable Urban

Development (ISU) in Malmö and the opencampus initiative in Kiel. It introduces them within their context and describes basic structures, processes, activities and the actors involved. It also explores how boundaries are construed, negotiated and contested and how this communicative 'linking process' endows roles, relationships, and objects in and around a CSKP with meaning. *Chapter 6 (discussion)* sums up the important findings of the two case studies and links them back to theories on organizing as sensemaking, as well as the literature on CSKPs. It also discusses the limitations of the findings with respect to both theory development and practice. *Chapter 7 (conclusion)* summarizes the key findings and discusses their implications for future CSKP research and practice.

II State of the Art – constructing four ideal-typical CSKPs: professional, service, critical and public CSKPs

In this chapter I summarize the literature on knowledge production in general and cross-sector knowledge partnerships (CSKPs) in particular. I do so by adapting Michael Burawoy's (2005) model of four ideal-typical forms of knowledge in the social sciences, which he calls professional knowledge, policy knowledge, critical knowledge and public knowledge. I use his model to sort through the literature on knowledge, knowledge production and specific forms of CSKPs by constructing four main perspectives on CSKPs—I call them the professional CSKP, the service CSKP, the critical CSKP and the public CSKP. This model helps to focus the study and summarize broader tendencies in science and technology studies, science sociology, educational science and other literatures relevant to this research on CSKPs. This chapter opens by introducing Burawoy's model before presenting the various perspectives on CSKPs in the literature.

2.1 Burawoy's model of knowledge production in social science

Burawoy (2005) begins his model of knowledge production by referring to Alfred McLung Lee's (1976) essay "Sociology for Whom?", in which he states that this simple question is central to sociological inquiry, because the character of any social phenomenon depends upon "by and for whom it is conceived and applied" (Lee 1976, p.925; Burawoy 2005, p.10). Accordingly, he distinguishes between two dimensions of that question: a producer perspective and a user, or consumer, perspective on knowledge.

In other words, Burawoy emphasizes knowledge's relational character as an object that defines the relationship between a producer and a consumer, as much as it is defined by their relationship. It also allows us to see that the evaluation of knowledge might be very different depending on the specific perspective adopted or social position taken. The same is true for evaluating the character of the relationship as something being established for the benefit of knowledge producers, or whether it is primarily for the benefit of those that use or apply the

knowledge (Burawoy 2005, pp.10-11).

Blaikie discusses this difference in terms of whether knowledge is produced *on people* or *for people* (Blaikie 2008, p.12). In the first case, a CSKP would be established primarily for the benefit of the academic researcher, to enable her to better study the other social actors included in the partnership or to employ their resources for improving academic research. This perspective corresponds more with the internal perspective of the disinterested, objective academic expert, whose theoretical and methodological knowledge allows her to form a more reliable understanding of the social world than insider accounts of social actors could provide (Blaikie 2008, p.45). It also entails a strong sense of the academic community's independence from outsiders' needs and expectations, as well as supplying the academic position within a CSKP with a legitimate claim to leadership (the producer as the principal agent within knowledge production). Within this producer perspective on knowledge production, one could also argue that the primary purpose of a CSKP would be to channel resources (data, funds) to the producer but to leave her otherwise independent of any outside expectations, so that she can produce basic, pure or scientific knowledge and remains free from pressure to produce concrete solutions to problems, or market-ready services or products (Perkmann et al. 2013, cf. Gooday 2012; Douglas 2014).

Conversely, the consumer or client perspective defines the purpose of a CSKP as to produce knowledge for people. In this case, the knowledge user's position is strengthened and the role of the academic knowledge producer is redefined as that of a contractor and service provider who adheres to the expectations and needs of his clients, to provide them with the knowledge they need (Blaikie 2008, p.12). This perspective corresponds with a rather pragmatic idea of knowledge production, which defines the value of knowledge in terms of how well it enables its end users to act and intervene in society (cf. Nowotny et al 2003; Leydesdorff 2010; 2012; Etzkowitz et al 2000; Ranga and Etzkowitz 2013; Carayannis and Campell 2012). This kind of CSKP would emphasize the question "knowledge *for* whom?" rather than the corresponding "knowledge *by* whom?". This shift in perspective could also entail a claim to leadership roles within the CSKP by non-academics (e.g. managers, politicians or citizens as the principal evaluators of knowledge, in the sense of evaluating meaning 'giving it value').

However, Burawoy (2005) argues further that the characterization of knowledge not only depends on the relationship between knowledge producers and consumers, but it also entails assumptions about the purpose for which the knowledge is to be produced. In other words, Burawoy links the question "knowledge by and for whom?" to the question "knowledge for what?". He refers to Lynd (1939), who makes a distinction between instrumental (know

how) and more normative forms of knowledge (know why). Burawoy, then, uses Lynd's distinction to differentiate between an instrumental perspective on knowledge on the one hand, and a more self-reflexive, critical perspective on the other (in doing so he also refers to Max Weber's differentiation between technical rationality and value rationality, Burawoy 2005, p.11).

The instrumental way of examining the purpose of the knowledge produced emphasizes answering the question: "what?", whereas the reflexive way poses the more critical, normative question: "why?". With the first question, the perspective on the purpose of knowledge production is more instrumental, as it focuses on producing knowledge about "what works" rather than trying to understand "why we think that something works". It refers to an empiricist practice in which the social scientist derives hypotheses from his theories, which he then either verifies or falsifies by conducting rigorous tests with social actors whose opinions or reasoning is not as important as their actual, observable behavior within the quasi-experimental test scenario (Hjorland 2013, p.174). When a knowledge statement corresponds with empirical reality and its hypothesis has proved its predictive power within multiple tests, then the validity of that knowledge statement is established, "because it works" (cf. Niiniluoto 2002). The instrumental or positivist approach to knowledge production can thus also be considered pragmatist-empirical as opposed to critical-normative, because it focuses knowledge production on rigorously investigating that (and only that) which is empirically observable, rather than engaging in philosophical debates about the normative meaning and social context of these observations (cf. Burawoy 2005, p.16). It is this limitation of knowledge to the empirically observable that, according to Starbuck, has also contributed to science's respected status within society as a prime source of knowledge (Starbuck 2003, p.75-76). Precisely because scientific methods and theories are preoccupied with establishing objective, empirically testable knowledge, they are generally considered to provide the most effective and reliable methods, technologies and instruments for observing facts and organizing ideas about social reality (Ibid.).

The opposing, self-reflexive perspective on determining the purpose of knowledge by contrast emphasizes the question "why this kind of knowledge?" At the heart of this question is the criticism that traditional (social) science has emphasized an empirical conceptualization of social reality at the expense of the normative sides of social life (Fischer 2003, p.210). Fischer argues, that such an instrumental, or positivist, perspective on social science would create a 'fact-value dichotomy' through which scientists and other experts detach knowledge production from its normative implications to claim that knowledge about society can indeed be produced

without accounting for the social and normative context in which it is produced (Ibid., p.212). A post-positivist or self-reflexive approach to knowledge production instead would need to acknowledge that "whatever constitutes scientific truths at any particular time has to be seen as more than the product of empirically confirmed experiments and tests. Such truths are better described as scientific *interpretations* or *beliefs* based on an amalgam of technical and social judgments" (Ibid, p.215; cf. Nowotny et al 2003). Accordingly, rather than claiming to explain an underlying, value-free empirical reality, a self-reflexive practice of knowledge production would emphasize how social (and also scientific) communities construct and push their own understanding of that reality in order to validate their normative frameworks and social interests (Ibid., p.216; cf. Jasanoff 2004; Jasanoff 1996).

Thus, in terms of this analysis of CSKPs, the two different perspectives—instrumental and reflexive—can be considered as emphasizing either the pragmatist-empirical or critical-normative perspective on knowledge production. A more instrumental CSKP would lend itself well to established organizational leaders or managers and oblige those participating in the partnership to focus on producing instrumental knowledge that improves the capabilities of their organization by providing problem solutions, tailor-made services and products, or, in other words, delivering knowledge that works, i.e. knowledge that is productive and useful to them (and implicitly helps to improve their social position and ability to control their social environment). Conversely, a CSKP that emphasized self-reflexivity and critique of organized (and disciplinary) interests would lend itself to improving the position of challengers to the status quo, who see themselves located somewhat more at the bottom or the margins of their institution. Such a CSKP would emphasize critical reflection on potentially oppressive practices of a supposedly hegemonic, technocratic establishment by bringing together the marginalized or oppressed communities across social domains, sectors and other social or cultural categories.

Burawoy, by establishing these two complementary perspectives on knowledge as a relationship of producer and consumer (he calls it academic vs. extra-academic), as well as an object of more instrumental or normative value (he calls it instrumental vs reflexive), develops a matrix of four types of knowledge—professional, policy, critical and public knowledge (Burawoy 2005, p.16). According to him, each entails different cognitive practices that are based on different evaluations of the form of knowledge that is to be produced, of the ontological truth that underlies it, of the way it is legitimized socially, of the way accountability and leadership is organized, the kind of politics it presupposes and the pathologies it might entail (Ibid.).

Table 2.1 – Model on social science knowledge after Burawoy (2005)

	Internal/producer/academic perspective – knowledge by whom?	External/user/extra-academic perspective – knowledge for whom?
Instrumental perspective – know how?	Professional knowledge	Service knowledge
Knowledge	Theoretical/empirical	Concrete
Truth	Correspondence	Pragmatic
Legitimacy	Scientific norms	Effectiveness
Accountability/ leadership	Peers	Clients
Politics	Professional self-interest	Policy/market interventions
Pathology	Self-referentiality	Servility
Reflexive perspective – know why?	Critical knowledge	Public knowledge
Knowledge	Foundational	Communicative
Truth	Normative	Consensus
Legitimacy	Moral vision	Relevance
Accountability/leadership	Critical intellectuals	Citizens and their representatives
Politics	Internal debate	Public dialogue
Pathology	Dogmatism	Faddishness

(Source: author, based on Burawoy, 2005, p.16)

It is important to note that Burawoy sees in reality much overlap or blurry boundaries between these ideal-type configurations of knowledge he construes as well as he argues that all of them are linked to each other in reciprocal interdependence (Ibid, p.15). At the same time, he also argues that one perspective can be used to pathologize or de-legitimize the other, for example in the way a professional, academic outlook on science would argue that public knowledge would corrupt or de-professionalize science, threaten the legitimacy of academic research as well as its material resources (Ibid.). He instead argues for a strengthening of the links and synergetic connections between the four types, whereby he also argues in favor of a more equal position between the two reflexive forms of knowledge and the instrumental forms, which he sees as dominant due to the fact that, according to him, the soft power of critical values and public influence would not be able to match the material power of professional careers and money provided by professional and service-oriented knowledge production (Ibid., p.18).

In the following sections, I use this basic distinction between four types of knowledge to summarize the literature about science, education, technology and knowledge production in general, as well as the literature or studies on cross-sectoral partnerships between academic and

non-academic actors for the purpose of producing knowledge, or as I call them, cross-sector knowledge partnerships (CSKP).

2.2 The professional CSKP

The professional type of CSKP serves in the literature as an ideal-typical representation of a more traditional academic position and its producer-focused perspective of knowledge production. It is therefore be useful for academics arguing in favor of an autonomous academic system organized into self-governing disciplinary subfields and research programs. For example, Strohschneider (2014), the president of the most influential German research funding institution, the German Research Community (DFG), argues for academic independence and against positions in the German research landscape that emphasize on the necessity of science to more concretely contribute to social transformation, especially advocated by Uwe Schneidewind and others in sustainability research (e.g. Schneidewind 2009; Schneidewind & Singer-Brodowski 2013; Grunwald 2015; WBGU 2011). He sees the so-called transformative science approach as encroaching on the autonomy of science and limiting its potential to advance freely by suggesting it should provide solutions to whatever social problems are deemed important by a political or economic elite (he calls this approach solutionism and compares it to a participatory technocracy) (Strohschneider 2014, p.190). For him and others with this perspective, scientific knowledge can only advance when it is able to formulate and utilize its own defining puzzles, methods and theories in consistent and evolving ways, independent of any outside pressures and expectations (Burawoy 2005, p.10; cf. Bird 2007). In a professional CSKP there is understanding of science "as a coherent institutionalized body of knowledge, uncompromised by any concern with utility" (Gooday 2012, p.550).

The ontological foundation of knowledge within a professional CSKP can be linked to empiricism, realism or positivism, because an independent science is only possible when one assumes that observers and the world they observe are separate (Blaikie 2014, p.14). In a positivist understanding of knowledge production, an external reality is controlled by natural (or quasi natural social) laws and thus works independently from the norms and beliefs of the observer (Ibid). This also means that knowledge is seen to come from accurate, i.e. disinterested or rational, observation and description of the objects and mechanisms of that external world: "It is assumed that, by observing this external world objectively, we can correctly represent it in scientific concepts and theories. It is claimed that knowledge has a sure and certain

foundation in the evidence produced by the scientifically trained researcher properly applying reliable methods and procedure" (Blaikie 2014, p.19). This model has been called the cumulative and correspondence model of knowledge (Kuhn 2012, p.xxxv; Burawoy 2005, p. 16). It also implies that knowledge statements are legitimate only if they can be tested and that any idea that cannot be confirmed through observation is meaningless and should be excluded from the realm of scientific knowledge (and treated as metaphysical belief) (Blaikie 2014, p.20; cf. Fischer 2003, p.212). Thus, in the perspective of professional knowledge production, the reliability of scientific methods and the validity of their theories are emphasized, as they are assumed to enable scientific researchers to be unbiased, neutral observers who can, through their scientific approach, represent reality ever more accurately (Guba and Lincoln 2005, p.195-196).

In the professional mode for CSKPs the evaluation of knowledge is determined through "peer review", i.e. internal review by disciplinary elites (Martin and Whitley 2010, p.64), which can determine the value of knowledge and reward it through high-profile publications (Minguillo 2010), academic prizes (Maassen 2017), and academic rankings (Enders 2014). In general, a proxy for the value of knowledge produced is the accumulation of prestige and growth and development of the academic discipline linked to a certain kind of knowledge production (Whitley 2000, p.25; Minguillo 2010, p.774). Thus, the value of knowledge is mainly determined through an internal meritocratic process that is "anchored in the performance of highly productive academic staff. Highly productive here means staff being awarded the right prizes, publishing in the right journals and achieving the right external research funding income" (Maassen 2017; p.297). The ultimate rationale for a CSKP from the professional perspective on knowledge production can be articulated in terms of granting the professional/academic knowledge producer access to knowledge-related resources (data, labor, funds and infrastructure) so as to enable the scientist to produce true, objective knowledge (through her formal theory, accurate methodology and superior research skills).

Thus, in this vision, the academic knowledge producer is the principal agent in scientific progress. He is the sender who produces the knowledge claims and artifacts that subsequently diffuse throughout a society like through an empty space not populated by agents but rather passive recipients of the scientists' knowledge claims and artifacts (Latour 1984, p.268). The principal role or central agents in a professional CSKP is accordingly the academic professor, i.e. a highly productive and esteemed persona at the top of the meritocratic community of academic peers, who works as a neutral and objective expert (Blaikie 2014), located somewhere outside of society (in an ivory tower) and interacting with it via certain channels (such as

theories, methods, or publications), that do not compromise her autonomy and objective position. The equivalent helper roles within this exchange are that of a peer scientist, a supportive assistant (also in the form of uninterested funders, meaning those that support the pursuit of academic inquiry without making demands), and a passive receiver of knowledge (students and social actors seeking scientific advice). The role of the opponent falls to those technicians (Lynd 1939), technocrats (Strohschneider 2014) and managers (Giroux et al. 2015) trying to curtail the autonomy of science, or challenging its supreme position and criticizing the ontological and epistemological foundations of its professionalism, e.g. alternative scientists (Mizrachi and Shuval 2004; Mizrachi et al. 2005); tinkering laymen (Knorr-Cetina 2013), religious leaders, autocrats, backward cultures, etc. (cf. Douglas 2014, p.57; cf. Basu 2017, p.2).

Cross-sector relations within this kind of CSKP can be described as exclusive, meritocratic and multidisciplinary club, governed by scientific norms and controlled by scholarly peers (Olsen and Maassen 2007, p.8). A professional CSKP, then, can be understood as ideally being a rational and instrumental club in which the partners derive "mutual benefit from sharing one or more of the following: production costs, the member's characteristics (e.g. members' information, skill or access to professional prestige, infrastructure, etc.), or exchange a good characterized by excludable benefits" (Cornes and Sandler 1997, p.33-34). Excludable benefits refer here to the character of the benefits produced as being benefits that can primarily be consumed by club members or insiders (by excluding external free-riders) and thus contributing to the survival, well-being and autonomy of the club members, relative to those outside the club (Ibid.). But exclusion also refers to providing a safe space for like-minded and equal members (i.e. academic peers) to share and openly exchange those things that are valuable to them without outside intrusion and unwanted scrutiny for their internal processes. Multi-organizational or multi-disciplinary refers to a cooperation in which partners draw knowledge and other resources from multiple organizational backgrounds and disciplines, but are able to keep their organizational or disciplinary boundaries intact (Choi and Pak 2006, p.359). This means that exchange is characterized in terms of horizontal, cross-organizational or cross-sector sharing, which leaves the disciplines or organizations autonomous and their practice distinctively their own (cf. Burawoy 2005, p.23). Aboelela (2007) describes the research style of multidisciplinary partnerships as "parallel play", in which two or more disciplines deal with the same question but remain in their distinct disciplinary paradigm or deal with different but related questions (p.340). That is why Alvargonzález (2011) calls it additive, because it leaves the partnering organizations separate or autonomous from each other and only involves a

minimum of coordination and exchange (p.388), so as to not compromise their respective (academic) autonomy.

Accordingly, a professional CSKP would function like a channel for accessing resources in society and for communicating scientific objects back to society (cf. Rogers 2003; Ottoson 2009) so as to serve primarily the career of professional academics and the preservation of autonomy and the advancement of the discipline or research program. At the same time, it would confer legitimacy to non-academic partners by involving them in the prestigious endeavor of contributing to the advancement of science, as well as obtaining methods, skills and artifacts certified as scientific, objective and thus of superior quality (Burawoy 2015, p.10; Starbuck 2006, p.7), which can help to advance their position vis-a-vis other peers within their respective sectors (Ibanez-Carrasco et al. 2011, p.80; Hong and Su 2013, p.457; Newberg and Dunn 2002, pp.217-218). However, a professional CSKP is also criticized in the literature for not lending itself well to the establishment of long-term relationships with non-academic partners, due to the tendency of insularity or "splendid isolation" of professional science towards non-academics (Burawoy 2005, p.17) and by a 'scientification' of language and communicative codes, which create high entry barriers against non-scientific positions that cannot express themselves in scientific language. It also shields the realm of supposedly 'objective' science from public review, influence and criticism (Jasanoff 2012, p.239). Within a producer-focused, instrumental CSKP this can be argued to lead to an imbalance of power within the communication between academic and non-academic partners, as the instrumental perspective towards the social world can inform attitudes that treat it as means to achieve scientific ends. This kind of attitude could then be argued to inform an exclusionary, even condescending perspective which would communicate to non-academics that they are "pockets of needs, laboratories for experimentation, or passive recipients of expertise" (Bringle et al 1999, p.9; cf. Maurrasse 2002).

2.3 The service CSKP

Another literature on CSKPs describes them rather in terms of service knowledge. As stated above, this is the perspective of institutionalized knowledge users, or clients, who are positioned outside academia, e.g. governments, businesses or civil society organizations (cf. Burawoy 2005, p.9). In this literature, the pragmatic nature of knowledge as useful knowledge is emphasized and its relevance is not established by academic peers, but by extra-academic

professionals and the way they can use knowledge, skills or technologies provided by the knowledge producers to solve real-world problems or satisfy human and social needs (cf. Viale and Etzkowitz 2005; Gebhardt 2015; Lindblom and Cohen 1979). Utility as a measurement of evaluation purports that knowledge is primarily supposed to allow organizations, institutions and corporations and their members and representatives to intervene in society and solve (non-scientific) problems (Abbot 2004, p.9). Accordingly, an important angle for this kind of CSKP is to achieve a better link between scientific knowledge and its social application, so as to increase the problem-solving capacity (exploitation, prediction and control) of social organizations (as opposed to research programs and academic disciplines) (cf. Blaikie 2014, p.136).

This kind of CSKP corresponds closely with what Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons (2001, 2002) have called mode-2 knowledge production, which focuses on solving complex social problems, necessitating more substantive coordination and management of knowledge, skills, technologies and information from many disciplines, organizations and sectors (cf. Bornmann 2013, p.218). Mode-2 knowledge production emphasizes the need to solve "wicked" problems that transgress institutional and disciplinary boundaries (Dentoni and Blitzer 2015; Boradkar 2017). In order to do so scientists are called upon to develop a more inclusive scientific language and practices that make information accessible to a broad range of actors and enable them to participate in the process as well as profit more directly from its achievements (Alvargonzález 2011, p.399; Frodeman 2011). However, similar to the instrumental dimension in the professional CSKP (and its evaluation of knowledge through the proxy of survival and development of a discipline), the service CSKP puts forward an evaluation of knowledge in terms of its usefulness in furthering the survival, expansion and development of the client organization by measuring how far it improved the client organization's access of resources (input), its efficiency in the production of crucial organizational services or products (throughput), and to a more effective delivery of these services/products to the organization's customer base (output). Thus, in similar fashion to the professional CSKP, the service CSKP emphasizes an instrumental evaluation of knowledge as a tool to cumulatively adapt organizational activities and processes better to an (external) social reality and the quasi natural laws of social organization, so that there is an increasingly precise correspondence between both and the capacity of control, survival and growth of the organization (and the individual positions and careers that go with it) is increased.

Similar to the instrumental character of a professional CSKP, the service CSKP is also often described in terms of a channel that grants access to crucial resources in possession of the

other partners (cf. Al-Ankrah and Tabaa 2015, p.396; Bekkers and Bodas-Freitas 2008). However, from the external user perspective prevalent in a service CSKP, this moves in the opposite direction: the CSKP's primary purpose is to grant outside, non-academic partners access to academic data, labor, capital and infrastructure (Perkmann et al 2013). The principal role emphasized within this CSKP is that of the organizational manager, a highly productive, efficient and effective persona residing in the higher management layers of a social organization, who coordinates the process of transforming capital and labor into innovative and competitive services and products (Powers 2003; Osborne 2003). She is an organizational expert who operates according to objective methods and theories of efficient use, production and effective delivery. But she is also the principal client or investor (rather than a disinterested funder), who is in the position to define ends or objectives of the contractually controlled project however she sees fit. The role of the helper, then, accrues to the academic expert, understood as contracting provider, who is not in the position (or under obligation) to question the social purpose of the project, and thus concentrates on fulfilling her contractual obligations to produce a clearly defined tool, instrument or technology for the client in the most cost-efficient way. The role of the opponent conversely would be that of an unproductive academic who wastes valuable resources by producing socially irrelevant, i.e. unproductive knowledge, as well as those obstructing the smooth and efficient operations of the organization headed by the manager and her peers.

In the service CSKP, cross-sector relationships are governed by the principle of benefit maximization as rationally conceived, contractually agreed, efficiently implemented and subsequently measured and checked for actual performance (cf. O'Byrne 2003, p.29-30). Similar to the professional CSKP, relationships are understood in terms of an exclusive club to pool and exchange information and knowledge-related resources of all kinds. This means that partners engage with each other in an exclusive setting in order to acquire resources the other possesses and they lack, while excluding outsiders from this space of exchange (Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa 2015, p.396; Koka and Prescott 2002). However, in contrast to the multidisciplinary club of the professional CSKP, the service CSKP would display higher degrees of top-down (or client-provider) coordination, i.e. the CSKP would be coordinated by non-academic professional in the upper levels of e.g. administration, state or business organization. Thus, it could be described in terms of an inter-sectoral or interdisciplinary club in the way it involves a process of synthesizing and harmonizing links between disciplines and sectors into a coordinated whole (Choi and Pak 2006, p.359). In this respect, a service CSKP is described in the literature as much more interactive, integrated and focused than a multi-disciplinary

professional club, but also more rigidly controlled and managed. It would be accordingly less designed for safeguarding the autonomy of those who oppose the claims to leadership by managers, clients and funders than the professional CSKP would (cf. Alvargonzález, 2011, p.388).

However, a service CSKP simultaneously emphasizes the idea of synergistic collaboration that is qualitatively different from the additive character of multidisciplinary cooperation in the professional CSKP. Synergistic relations then would mean that the cooperation itself creates value that is more than just the sum of the partners' individual assets. The comparatively high degree of coordination, formalization and hierarchical arrangement of the relationships between academic and non-academic partners (contractor and clients) in the service CSKP would thus be balanced out by the promise of efficiency and effectiveness gains for all partners involved, through better management and thus a more efficient and relevant or effective knowledge production (Trakman 2008). Thus, the unequal relationship between client and contracting knowledge workers or providers would be legitimized through emphasizing the idea of a win-win relationship, in which everyone involved gains, independent of their position within the more hierarchical and formal, but also rational, transparent and predictable partnership (Ibid.)

A service CSKP could thus be associated with the position of organizational leaders or managers (in government, private and civil society organizations), enable them to argue in favor of accessing academic resources (labor, skills, data, infrastructure, prestige) and to push for precise delivery contracts and performance controls so as to increase their opportunities to receive tailor-made, useful knowledge, skills, or technologies for their organization (Lindblom and Cohen 1979). In this way, a service CSKP could be argued to support the agenda of corporatization (Trakman 2008, p.71) or rationalization (Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa 2015, p.388) of knowledge production, i.e. to support a reform agenda to improve management control of knowledge production and accountability towards outside clients or stakeholders in order to allow for better transparency, efficiency gains and better identification of the utility or relevance of the knowledge provided (cf. Trakman 2008, p.69). At the same time, a service CSKP could be criticized for discouraging actors from engaging in the risky and to some degree irrational (i.e. unpredictable and wasteful) process of free inquiry, knowledge creation and invention (Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa 2015) as well as serving as instruments of special interests to capture and control an otherwise more inclusive, creative and democratic process of knowledge production through contractual or managerial straitjackets (Burawoy 2005, p.17) or the privatization, commercialization or commodification (Trakman 2008, p.69) of knowledge

through e.g. patenting and agreements of confidentiality that go counter to the basic principles of free inquiry and free diffusion of knowledge.

2.4 The critical CSKP

The critical CSKP described in the literature can be distinguished from the more instrumental professional and service CSKPs as it does not emphasize the necessity to advance a research program or organization, but instead to critically examine their normative foundations (e.g. feminist and queer theory, Burawoy 2005, p.11). The critical CSKP lends itself accordingly to a more self-reflexive, bottom-up approach towards knowledge production and bolsters arguments related to how the CSKP should advance a critical re-evaluation and correction of power relations within and around professional, institutionalized academia specifically and the corporate environment of organized interests in general. As such, the critical CSKP is often described within action research approaches to knowledge production (cf. Reason and Bradbury 2001). This kind of CSKP is useful to those challenging the established research programs of professional science and their cozy, instrumental relationships with funders and clients among the social elite or establishment (Burawoy 2005; Gaventa and Cornwall 2008).

With respect to knowledge, the literature describing some version of a critical CSKP emphasizes an idealist or critical ontology, which purports a subjectivist understanding of reality as something that is mutually constructed by human beings, rather than something external to human subjects and objectively true (Berger and Luckmann 1967; Blaikie 2014, p.16). Accordingly, truth is understood as a negotiated and temporary agreement between social beings, bound to a certain time and a certain place and endowed with certain social interests and normative perspectives (Blaikie 2014, p.23). Thus, the critical CSKP proposes an understanding of knowledge production that, in contrast to scientific realism of the professional CSKP, focuses on a critical examination of the social context within which knowledge emerged and the practical context in which it might be applied (Hajer and Wagneaar 2003; Fischer 2003; Habermas 1971, p.305; Meehan 2013). This would involve arguing in favor of critical self-reflection of science's potential complicitness in the reproduction of social systems of domination and power (Gaventa and Cornwall 2008). In order to do so, a critical CSKP emphasizes the necessity of self-critically scrutinizing science as an empirical-analytical tool for social domination and an implicitly normative tool for legitimizing it (Ibid; Honneth 2005, p.297). This critical stance would reject the very possibility of objective theories and

methodologies and favor opening up a space for science (and society) to critically engage and reflect upon its own cognitive practices and to realize that they are socially constructed, contestable and limited (Habermas 1971, p.305; cf. Jasanoff 2003; Nowotny et al. 2001).

In this way, a (self-) critical CSKP could be linked to the idea of knowledge as justice, emancipation, autonomy and freedom from domination (Blaikie 2014, p.136; Habermas 1971, p.310-311). This is because, in contrast to positivist science's authoritarian principle of universal "scientific" knowledge, critical knowledge production can be seen as positing the ideal of a multiplicity of "knowing", practiced within loosely organized intellectual schools and small, local, autonomous and activist political communities (Burawoy 2005). This type of knowing would value conflict and debate (over forced consensus, e.g. by silencing alternative voices) and the incommensurable multiplicity of social realities and the simultaneousness of dissonant voices (cf. Denzin 2005, p.11). Understood in this way, critical knowledge production could also be called "anti-authoritarian", even "anti-scientific" (Blaikie 2014, p.51), because it can be linked to radical criticism of the authority of institutionalized, professional knowledge and consequently the authority of the (professional scientist) or those non-academic experts, managers and bureaucrats who use what they call objective knowledge to maintain and legitimize their position of social authority and domination.

The critical CSKP, with its reflexive, anti-instrumental character, does not emphasize access to resources, but the opposite: a safe space or an "ideal speech situation" (Habermas 1971), which is (as many would claim naively) characterized by an absence of more instrumental interests, coercive identity projects and organizational logics of exploitation so that every individual can fully and freely express itself (Ramsay 2017, p.145). The essential way knowledge moves from A to B can be associated with the concept of non-coercive dialogue and value infusion, meaning critical knowledge and ethical norms and values are thought of as being infused into groups, organizations and individuals, who in various ways and to various degrees are inspired to change their ways of knowing and doing and to create new non-coercive organizational forms inspired by the normative vision of critical intellectuals and activist scholars (Burawoy 2005; Merelman 2001; Barnett 2016). The result of such a value infusion is that activists in disparate locations with minimal organization and without direct, institutionalized linkages are able to unite on the basis of this normative vision infused into their organizational practice (Soule 2004, p. 300, in Snow et al 2008). Examples of this are attempts to infuse multiculturalism or diversity and social and ecological justice (Marom 2016) as underlying values into all different (social science) disciplines (Lang et al. 2012; Wiek et al. 2012; Yarime et al. 2012).

The principal role within the critical CSKP would be that of a critical academic intellectual or activist who could be considered a member of a somewhat loose idea of the "high intelligentsia" (Osborne 2004, p.436). This role would be associated with possessing a moral vision and methods of non-coercive communication and exchange that do not serve or legitimize the instrumental logic of control, productivity, growth and exploitation, but instead aim at mutual liberation and emancipation (Ibid.). This role is similar to that of the outside expert in the professional CSKP, but is also more of a moral vanguard, a liberator of the oppressed and a teacher who teaches critical consciousness through "problem posing" (Freire 2008), rather than proclaiming an authoritative way how to define and solve problems (Fischer 2000, p.185; Bingham, Biesta and Rancière 2010; Petrovic and Rolstad 2017; Lotz-Sisitka et al 2015). Simone de Beauvoir's understanding of feminists' mission for women in society is also typical of the role of the academic as liberator within the critical CSKP: to free academics and others from living a colonized or inauthentic life in which they have internalized the rationality of capitalism, scientism, sexism and racism and being complicit in reinforcing their own and others' oppressive conditions, while being pacified with the "delights of passivity"—individual status, career and material well-being (cf. de Beauvoir 1949, pp. 29,359; cf. Deutscher 2008). Within the critical CSKP, the critical intellectual's mission would thus be to point out this "problem of voluntary servitude" as the major hindrance to projects of human liberation and social justice (Newman 2010, p.31). The helper role would be played by like-minded, suppressed and marginalized individuals and communities who collaborate with the critical intellectual/political activist and learn with him how to emancipate themselves. The opponent would be those career academics and managers, capitalists and powerful politicians who represent the institutions of capitalism and (neo-)liberalism, as well as other forms of suppression and domination within the rationalist, instrumental project that is associated with Western capitalist modernity (cf. Davies et al 2006; Blaikie 2014, p.167).

The cross-sector relationships that the critical CSKP emphasizes are those that would have the potential for engendering more egalitarian, non-hierarchical value orientations. They can be thought of as being akin to informal "transnational issue networks" (cf. Keck and Sikkink 1998) and social movements that help foster authentic, non-coercive relationships and cooperation and mutual value infusion between various groups of activists and marginalized communities to develop a common understanding of their suppression and the underlying causes, as well as to freely commit to shared objectives, strategies and campaigns to address them (Smith 2004, p.322, in Snow et al. 2008). This form of organizing knowledge production can be thought of as an anti-organization, meaning to organize informally in order to abolish

the hierarchical structures of political power and authority associated with Western rational and universalism and scientism and a white, Western and male-dominated academic establishment (Longino 2018). Instead, a critical CSKP would create emancipatory knowledge, skills and technologies that would maximize opportunities for non-domination "through the development of alternative practices and relationships based on free association, equal liberty and voluntary cooperation" (Newman 2010, p.35-36). Wachaus (2012) uses Newman's communitarian strain of anarchism within organization theory to argue that social progress can only through a maximization of liberty in "noncoercive organizations", which do not rely on imposition of organization and authority from above but instead support an organic, bottom-up development of networks of federated associations (Wachhaus 2012, p.36). This idea of organizational relationships as free and voluntary echoes Gordon's evaluation of social movement organizations as networks of "informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political and cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Gordon 2008, p.14). Such a social movement is characterized as decentralized, without formal membership or fixed boundaries (and thus in contrast to 'conventional' ideas of social organization as well as disciplinary knowledge production). It is instead based on heterogeneity, multiplicity and nonlinearity as it is made up by "countless autonomous nodes of social struggle", that overlap, expand and contract as individuals or groups chose to interact or to part ways (Ibid.).

Accordingly, the critical CSKP is often described in the literature as being somewhat akin to a transdisciplinary movement organization that serves as a tool for organizing critical communities, infusing norms into the practice of partner organizations and creating safe spaces for unproductive, non-coercive and critical discussion and congregation (e.g. cf. Berg and Lindskog 2018; Chilvers and Kearns 2016). Transdisciplinarity is understood here as a moral and ethical critique of the standard configuration of knowledge in disciplines serving the instrumental rationality of productivity, growth and control (Bernstein 2015, p.6). Thus, a critical CSKP could be seen as working towards ways of knowing that transcend disciplinary and organizational boundaries and to propose a systemic re-configuration towards a more communal, transdisciplinary and ethical perspective that revalues non-technical, non-instrumental issues of social justice, as well as the position of non-academic actors at the margins of organized society seen as being excluded illegitimately from the rationalistic, centralized and hierarchical ways of organizing knowledge production in modern Western societies (cf. Darbellay 2015, p.1666). From this point of view, a critical CSKP is often seen as a vehicle for provoking and invigorating ethical debates on power and social justice within and

outside of scholarly and scientific inquiry (Bernstein 2015) and to hold its partners (organizations and their leaders) accountable on the basis of visions of a more ethical, sustainable and just practice (cf. Sjöström and Zuin 2016; Rauschmayer et al.2012). But it can also be criticized for lending itself to moral dogmatism and sectarianism, through which those who follow a different ideology are morally disqualified and treated as patients for "awareness therapy" (Hayes 2017; Burawoy 2005). Another criticism is that the ambition to have informal, non-coercive debates, free from instrumental logics of productivity and efficient institutionalization, would necessarily lead to issues of how to organize effectively and how to efficiently produce relevant outcomes for the resources consumed (cf. Trakman 2008).

2.5 The public CSKP

The counterpart to the service CSKP is the public CSKP. In contrast to the former, the public CSKP does not emphasize organized interests but instead aims at creating publics, that is, to make the issues and interests of the citizenry visible within a collaborative, dialogic process based on democratic procedures so as to turn, as Burawoy argues, "private struggles into public issues" (Burawoy 2005, p.8-9). However, just like the critical CSKP, the public CSKP is associated with a reflexive perspective that emphasizes the importance of an equal partnership between researcher and researched (or governor and governed). Within the public CSKP, the focus is on empowering the public (and not on marginalized communities) and safeguarding or supporting the public sphere, where citizens communicate their different interests, goals and values so as to democratically adjust necessarily different political positions in a constitutive and open dialogue towards consensus, compromise and democratic decision. Thus, rather than focusing on the normative foundations of science and other organized interests (as the critical CSKP would do), a public CSKP would adopt a bottom-up approach to democratize the "normative foundations and direction of society" as a whole (Ibid, p.11).

The ideal for knowledge production in a public CSKP could be described with the phrase: "knowledge as democracy" or democratic process (Visvanathan 2005; Gaventa and Cornwall 2008). A public CSKP can be understood as anti-foundationalist or non-foundationalist (and in this way distinct from a critical CSKP), meaning, it can be associated with intellectual positions that argue that there are no permanent, unvarying moral criteria for establishing true, or morally legitimate or more authentic knowledge (cf. Blaikie 2014, p.23). Instead, the quality of knowledge would be held to be determined inter-subjectively, within the

ongoing and tentative dialogue between citizens in their endeavor to reach a new, better consensus or more democratic status quo (cf. Nullmeier 2005). In this way, the public CSKP could also be understood as being more pragmatic than the critical CSKP, because it lends itself well to positions that argue that all knowledge necessarily must be discriminatory, that there is no perfectly objective, nor unqualifiedly useful, or ethically pure knowledge (cf. Gur-Ze'ev 1998). Instead, the public CSKP emphasizes that the best one can do is to design careful democratic, procedural checks and balances within knowledge production and social organization to minimize the degree of domination to the necessary amount, rather than to strive to purge the element of power and domination in science and society altogether (Kalleberg 2010, pp. 182; Blaikie 2014, p.23). The focus then would also shift from reflecting about the moral foundations of social interaction towards emphasizing pragmatic and practical reasoning, communicative procedures and democratic methods that people use to maintain a sense of a fair social order (cf. Blaikie 2014, p.140).

Accordingly, it is focused on the process of translating interests and norms between various interest groups and on communicating and facilitating dialogue, so as to constitute and maintain a democratic public sphere supportive of majority rule, consensus and pragmatic compromise (Carolan 2006; Burawoy 2005; cf. Funtowicz and Ravetz 1993). This sphere is somewhat akin to the safe space of the critical CSKP, but can be thought of as more permeable or accessible for all kinds of identities, interests and values (especially those of the majority and their organized leadership), as well as potentially more formal in character (due to emphasis on democratic procedures and constitutionality of the process). Translation as a central modus operandi in a public CSKP also means translating common-sense into science and science into common-sense, public interest into scientific problems and scientific solutions into means for facilitating the democratic constitution of societies. The procedures that make this translation possible are rather described in democratic terms as those that enable the partners to define terms, interests and expectations in a communicative process, which ensures that everyone understands the exchange in the same way and different positions, interests and values can be articulated and are accounted for (Wilkinson 2012, p.27; Amey 2007).

The principal role within the public CSKP is the researcher turned facilitator or mediator, who conducts research according to the ideal of democratic dialogue, i.e. someone who brings diverse groups and individuals together to work towards a consensus and to nurture a shared sense of citizenry and public-wide consensus about the nature of society (Burawoy 2005, p.7). Leadership is assigned to communicators, facilitators or mediators in between different communities, groups and interests (Osborne 2004). For Osborne, a mediator is not

simply a medium, but also someone for whom ideas are more like instruments than principles, a motivator of syntheses that 'work' and have support in the public. In short, those operating a public CSKP are experts as much in the social contexts and fields in which ideas operate as in the intellectual content of the ideas themselves and thus able to organize a dialogue between the parties that leads towards fair compromises and pragmatic, tentative, yet effective and efficient decisions (Ibid., p.435). The role of the helper is assigned to the citizens, meaning all those who enter the arena of the CSKP as political, democratic personae, who filter their special interests, personal preferences or cultural affiliations through a democratic ethos and the respect of democratic, representative procedures (Olsen 2007). Opponents would be conversely identified as those who disrespect democratic procedures and democratically produced decisions, for example self-proclaimed experts, technocrats and others who hide their self-interests behind the authority of their socially established positions.

Cross-sector relationships in a public CSKP then are understood as a supra-disciplinary agora or platform, which means they are focused on issues pertaining to citizenship as a focal point over and above other organizational concerns, so as to clarify how "objects, discourses and practices construct possibilities for and constraints on citizenship" (Osborne 2015, pp.8-9). When a more public CSKP is described it is often done so by referring to the ideal of representative democracy, in which particular interests in knowledge production could be negotiated as well as more normative ideas of the common good could be formulated and pragmatically conceptualized (Olsen 2007). It is important to note that supra-disciplinarity within such a public CSKP does not mean the integration of all science under the roof of one super discipline, but rather as a systemic approach that allows for what Gasper (2010) calls a democratic "orchestration of the sciences" (Ibid., p.4). In this respect, the public CSKP is more pragmatic and less messianic than the critical CSKP, as the democratic ethos underlying a public CSKP upholds that individuals, though able to know the common good, will never fully realize it once and for all and for the benefit of everyone. The democratic process, as the foundation of knowledge production, would be argued to reduce the inequality and injustice while simultaneously safeguarding the process from being hijacked by anti-plural ideologies that promise to overcome modern-day alienation (cf. Fraenkel 2011, p.271; Gasper 2010; Norgaard 2006). On the other hand, the public CSKP emphasizes the need for democratic coordination and efficient production of decisions, cultural cohesion and the legitimate organization of the polity. Accordingly, like the service CSKP, it privileges contractual, formal arrangements, transparent procedures and organizational accountability. However, unlike the service CSKP, this is not understood in terms of producing club goods for organized interests,

but in terms of producing common goods and democratic synergies for the (re)public or citizenry as a whole (cf. Deneulin and Towsend 2006, p.15).

Accordingly, a public CSKP would serve as a tool to produce public dialogue, create a sense of what is socially and politically relevant and serve as a platform to communicate between groups, so as to advance consensus and contribute to the emergence of a more democratic public identity (polity making), to "democratize expertise" and knowledge production (Maasen and Weingart 2005, p.2). Its major strength lies in engendering respectful, informed dialogue between citizens, based on their ability to create an inclusive and accessible space for reflection, which is framed by pragmatic, democratic procedures and norms of communication (Maurrasse 2002). Conversely, a public-minded CSKP could be criticized for over-simplifying and de-professionalizing knowledge production, with its emphasis on making knowledge more accessible and useful for, but also more accountable to the public (cf. Lorenz 2012; pp.610-611), pandering to the latest fads in public or popular scientific discourse (Burawoy 2005) or politicizing science, meaning compromising epistemic quality in favor of public legitimacy (Maasen and Weingart 2005, p.4; Strohschneider 2014; Benner 2012).

2.6 Conclusion

The above attempt to briefly summarize various important perspectives on CSKP in the literature with help of Burawoy's four different types of knowledge. As Burawoy argues himself, any attempt at developing a model must necessarily remain somewhat schematic and simplistic (cf. Burawoy 2005, p.22). However, it helps to purposefully highlight certain tendencies within the debate on CSKPs and to analytically distinguish four different perspectives. In reality these four different types are definitely not as clearly distinguishable and internally homogeneous as they appear within this literature review. However, constructing them out of the vast and variegated literature on transdisciplinary knowledge production allows us to more clearly understand that to organize a cross-sector knowledge partnership can mean very different things from different perspectives.

In the first, professional perspective, a CSKP is described in terms of traditional academic positions that highlight the primacy of the professional, career academic in partnerships with the non-academic world. The second type of CSKP instead can be associated with managerial perspectives of CSKP high-lightening the position of extra-academic professional clients. This for example is a position that is arguably predominant among

industrial partners but also government and supra-national policy organizations, such as EU and OECD. However, following Burawoy, both perspectives—the professional-academic and service-oriented perspective on CSKPs—can be called rather instrumental, as they display a belief that knowledge is what enables disciplines or organizations/institutions/corporations to better adapt their internal processes and modes of operation to an external reality (increasing their correspondence to natural laws or quasi-natural, social laws so as to increase their ability to control, manipulate or predict their environment). In both perspectives, a CSKP could be seen as an instrument to better access, produce and transfer material resources, knowledge, skills and data across sectors, i.e. to exchange club goods between academic disciplines and organized interests.

This instrumental characterization of CSKPs then is in conflict with more reflexive or normative-ethical ideas of a CSKP, which are more rooted in the postmodern critique of so-called Western scientism (cf. Ginev 2013; Moore et al. 2011), as one can find them in the approaches associated with action research (Reason and Bradbury 2001), citizen science (cf. Pettibone et al. 2017, Newman et al. 2012) and within calls for a democratization of the sciences (cf. Longino 2015; Kitcher 2011). But also among the reflexive forms of CSKP—the critical and the public CSKP—one can, on the one hand, distinguish between an internal, academic and producer-oriented perspective towards knowledge, which highlights the position of critical intellectuals in and around academia and their mission to challenge the suppression of alternative modes of knowing and knowledge production by the dominant establishment and professional elite within academia. On the other hand, there is the more pragmatic and socially embedded perspective of the public CSKP, which highlights the interest of public audiences and citizens and their need to formulate (scientifically valid) consensus, articulate (fact-based) collective action and preserve and fairly distribute the common good.

However, as Burawoy argues, in reality these different modes of knowledge production co-exist as a complex web of reciprocity, overlap and interdependence through which potential conflicts, and contradictions as well as opportunities for synergies and complementarity between them are constantly articulated when real-world actors come together in order to produce knowledge (Burawoy 2005). This study, then, takes these conflicts, contradictions and complications as well as their mutual connections and complementarities between the various perspectives onto CSKP as its point of departure, in order to argue in favor of exploring how individuals engaged in a CSKP practically navigate the complex field of cross-sector partnerships for knowledge production. That means, this study aims at exploring two real cases of CSKPs (the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development in Malmö and opencampus in Kiel)

in order to gain a more detailed idea of what the people engaged in a CSKP actually tell each other what they are doing, how and why. In this way a more nuanced, context-sensitive and small-scale answer about the meaning of CSKPs for knowledge production is derived from accounts of the practitioners themselves, so as to complement the rather macro-accounts on knowledge production in late-modern societies as summarized above. The macro-accounts constructed above, however, also provide a sense for the different, overlapping as well as contradictory repertoires of meaning available to those that organize knowledge production in and through CSKPs.

III Research framework for analyzing Cross-Sector Knowledge Partnerships (CSKPs)

The previous chapter showed four different ideal-typical understandings of what a CSKP could be, how it should work and what it does. This research project aims at enabling a better understanding of how cross-sector knowledge partnerships are endowed with purpose and meaning by those who engage in and through them. The central research question is:

How do the people engaged in CSKPs make sense of their partnership?

This research project uses a qualitative research framework to explore this question, because it allows for context-sensitive analysis of practitioners' reasoning, i.e. to clarify why they engage in CSKPs and how they use CSKPs to engage with broader issues relevant to their social and professional lives by researching first and foremost their perspectives and experience. In order to research practitioners' reasoning about why and how they engage in and through a CSKP, this research project focuses on their communication and language use (in interviews and focus groups, as well as in organizational program documents) and develops its theoretical perspective on the process of organizing their CSKP through a partly deductive, partly inductive research process. The aim of such a research approach is to arrive at contingent, middle-range theoretical concepts that help to better understand the complex nature of two specific CSKPs, while simultaneously contributing useful concepts for the continuous research process towards more substantive general knowledge about CSKPs.

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter was built gradually throughout the empirical investigation through an iterative process of going back and forth between observation, analysis, theorizing and comparing preliminary concepts with relevant ideas formulated in the academic literature. In this way, the theoretical framework of this study did not precede the empirical investigation, despite being presented here before the empirical cases. Instead, the theoretical framework was gradually developed in parallel with the empirical research, although not in purely inductive fashion, as preliminary concepts induced from empirics have been compared with and informed by concepts deduced from the literature throughout the investigation.

To explain this specific deductive-inductive approach, I first discuss the position and function of theory within a constant comparative research strategy and what kind of theoretical knowledge it can produce (3.1).

Then, in the core section of this chapter (3.2), I present my theoretical framework. Here I argue why this research project focuses on investigating language and communication as a central unit of analysis for understanding organizing in and through CSKPs (3.2.1). I conceptualize communication as linking concrete arenas for organizing (such as a CSKP) with broader social worlds beyond the concrete situation, or broader horizons of meaning that contextualize the situated meaning-making activities of concrete actors (3.2.2). The concept of interpretative schemes of communication is further operationalized as supplying epistemic frames to clarify 'what the current state of affairs is' and ethical frames to supply a sense of 'what the future state of affairs should be' (3.2.3). These static frames allow actors to formulate more dynamic and actionable scripts. These scripts help the actors in the arena to act together by enabling them to clarify, 1) the central, joint object around which they organize, 2) the modes of exchange around this object, 3) the roles to be assumed in the course of the exchange and 4) the organizational identity that would or should emerge as a consequence (3.2.4).

The important aspect of the process of scripting the organizational arena is that it enables the actors to employ flexible, overlapping and essentially inconsistent repertoires of meaning that help them to construct their agency and intentionality and in this way facilitate the process of pragmatic reasoning and collective organizing to continue (3.2.5). This also means that investigating the communicative formulation of concrete boundaries out of these overlapping and flexible repertoires can be approached as an important meaning-making device that separates and connects (and holds together) actors, their organizational arena and the social worlds they identify with into a meaningful organizational endeavor. The concept of boundary-making as an important communicative device for organizing a meaningful CSKP is identified as a central analytical lens for this study (3.2.6).

I then summarize the main theoretical argument and explain briefly how I use it as sensitizing conceptualization to approach CSKPs analytically within an exploratory investigation of two cases (3.3).

3.1. Theory within the exploratory, constant comparative research approach: From sensitizing concepts via empirical investigation to middle-range theory

This study started with a very basic definition of cross-sector knowledge partnerships (CSKPs) as initiatives that aim at improving knowledge production (and related objects such as

50

information, education, skills, technologies) through the facilitation of exchange relationships and processes between actors in different sectors.

However, as shown in chapter 2, when going beyond such a broad definition, there are quite different possible meanings that can be attached to a CSKP. This is because, as with other social phenomena, CSKPs come in a multitude of forms, characterized by a variety of objectives, institutional arrangements, involved actors and activities. This multiplicity of potential forms and meanings makes it problematic to formulate a general but also precise enough definition that, within the context of this study, could serve as analytical framework that guides the investigation of the real-world cases of CSKPs. This is not a unique problem in research on CSKPs. Conducting social science research on any kind of social phenomenon is a fundamentally problematic endeavor that involves compromises, consciously subjective choices and the setting of limits to what can be known and what kind of knowledge claims can be made in a specific research project. Thus, within this chapter on the study's research framework, I want to make my choices transparent and show how I developed an analytical framework for the subsequently presented investigation of the two cases of CSKPs (Chapter 5) that make up the backbone of this study.

3.1.1 The role of theory in the constant comparative process of analyzing

Because the research question is explorative in nature, a first choice was to use the constant comparative method as the general research approach. The constant comparative method can be defined as a method of data analysis in which all data are systematically compared to all other data within a research project in an iterative process of going back forth between data collection and data analysis (O'Connor et al. 2008, p.41). Such an approach is suitable for the development of more complex, context-sensitive theory in close correspondence to the empirical case and data obtained from investigating it (Palmberger and Gingrich 2013, p.96). It enables this investigation to approach theorizing about CSKPs in a more exploratory mode from the bottom up (or inductively, from specific to general) and the inside out (from emic or inside to an etic or outside perspective) (Fram 2013, p.1). Both of these movement metaphors follow the constructivist epistemology used by this study, which maintains that definitive categories and concepts must be carefully constructed from analysis so as to generate context-sensitive knowledge (cf. Charmaz 2000, p.510; Neuendorf 2016, p.72, Fram 2013, p.5-6).

However, as Suddaby (2014) argues, it would be a mistake to conclude that this

investigation can avoid trying to be clear about its theoretical assumptions or needs to reject building a theoretical frame of reference all together, to exclusively focus on collecting and aggregating empirical material (Ibid., p.2). Suddaby argues that no knowledge about a subject can be created without a conceptual framework. In other words, research cannot do without defining central concepts as part of an analytical framework that can organize concrete experience into more general knowledge (Ibid; Bruce 2007, p.2; Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010, p.189).

There is an intense dispute within the constant comparative approach to explore cases on the proper position and function of theory (Evans 2013; Thornberg 2012; Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010; Bruce 2007; Seaman 2008). The orthodox version of the constant comparative approach, as developed by Glaser and Strauss in their seminal work *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), adopts a strictly inductive stance in which theory is generated from the data and not treated as something external or existing prior to the investigation (Ibid., p.5; Bradbury-Jones et al. 2014, p.136). Key for such a strictly inductive approach is to refrain from formulating an extant theoretical framework, and instead to allow important analytical themes and theoretical concepts to emerge from patterns found in the case under study "without presupposing in advance what the important dimensions will be" (Patton 2002, p.5). As Glaser and Strauss state, this means "at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p.37; cf. Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010, p.191). However, although this is seen as a major strength of the constant comparative, or 'grounded' approach to theory building, as it allows for flexibility, creativity and the discovery of innovative theoretical concepts that closely fit the data (rather than fitting social phenomenon into preconceived concepts), it also is seen as its major weakness. On the one hand, this is because it can cause the researcher to become "enslaved to the data" (Ibid., p.190), that is to treat empirical material uncritically, not as information (provided by interviewees for example) that needs to be critically analyzed (in the light of external or prior knowledge of the concepts in use) in order to become data for the research. Instead, Suddaby argues, there is a tendency within the grounded theory approach to treat empirical material as something directly espousing some kind of higher authenticity or truth as a matter of fact (Suddaby 2006). Additionally, a strictly inductive strategy of entering an investigation without an orienting theoretical framework bears the risk of engaging in unfocused data collection that leaves the researcher with an abundance of empirical material and descriptions of actors, events and situations, but without a comprehensive approach on how to aggregate them and effectively build a theoretical account from them

(O'Connor et al. 2008; Suddaby 2006).

Because of these problems, Corbin and Strauss (2014), as well as Charmaz (2003, 2014) and Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) proposed refinements to the original, strictly inductive approach of grounded theorizing proposed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 that allow for a more substantial incorporation and use of established theoretical concepts to guide the empirical research. Corbin and Strauss (2014) for example argue that, although it is important to not begin qualitative research with a predefined theoretical framework or sets of definite concepts, it is helpful to begin an inquiry with concepts derived from general or formal theory, so as to explore their meaning through the empirical investigation. This is helpful for the researcher, according to them, because such a "theoretical framework can provide insight, direction and a useful list of initial concepts" (p.40). The key for them is to not treat these concepts as definitive or prescriptive but to remain open and critical about the "imported concepts" and to adapt, change or discard them if they prove to be a poor fit with the data in the empirical investigation (Ibid.). As Thornberg (2014) argues, this critical dimension is essential for cumulative theorizing as aimed for by the constant comparative approach (Ibid., p.250), as it sensitizes the researcher to not uncritically take pre-existing theories for granted, but to use the empirical investigation to relate and build on earlier work by distinguishing what is usable and what should be refuted through testing those concepts within an empirical research project (Ibid.; cf. Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010).

Charmaz (2003) similarly speaks of a critical and reflexive use of theory by arguing that the research should use established theoretical concepts as sensitizing concepts for the empirical inquiry, instead of using them as prescriptive, definitive concepts (Charmaz 2003, p.259; Charmaz 2014, p.30; Bowen 2006, p.14). Her notion of sensitizing concepts goes back to Blumer (1954), who defined it in contrast to definitive concepts in research:

> "A definitive concept refers precisely to what is common to a class of objects, by the aid of a clear definition in terms of attributes or fixed benchmarks. (…) A sensitizing concept lacks such specification of attributes or benchmarks and consequently it does not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content. Instead, it gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer 1954, p.7).

Thus, sensitizing concepts are theoretical concepts that can be used in a flexible and tentative framework for operationalizing the researcher's initial interest in a social phenomenon (Charmaz 2014, p.31). Sensitizing means that to some degree the concepts used are generic

rather than specific (or prescriptive), i.e. concepts that refer to what is typical in a group of things without assuming that these traits can be observed as such in any specific or unique instantiation of a type included in this group. In so doing, they guide an investigation that has to gauge the applicability of its concepts in relation to the observations made about the empirical case (Ibid, p.8; Bowen 2006). But it also means that rather than subscribing to a particular formal or grand theory as providing a coherent and closed (and accordingly definitive and prescriptive) worldview, the empirical researcher should use social science theories and concepts as analytical toolboxes. This means the researcher transparently chooses concepts in the course of her study, so as to open them up for critical investigation, and to potentially adapt and refine (or discard) them (Hedström and Ylikoski 2014, p.8). As Thornberg argues, this theoretical pluralism in constant comparative or grounded theorizing does not mean vulgar relativism in the sense of "anything goes", but is informed by a research position which Thayer-Bacon (2003) called "qualified relativism". It is rooted in pragmatism, as it assumes that all inquiries are informed by theoretical assumptions that are socio-culturally bound and, as a consequence, any construction of knowledge is "social, interactive, ongoing, flexible, and tentative" (Thornberg 2012, p.250).

This process of pragmatically incorporating prior theory and earlier work into the research approach of constant comparative analysis is also at the heart of Goldkuhl and Cronholm's (2010) refinement of the classical, strictly inductive version of grounded theory, within their "multi-grounded theory", which posits that research needs not only to be grounded in the data, but also needs grounding in relevant theoretical accounts and prior knowledge, so as to reduce the risk of "reinventing the wheel" (Ibid., p.191). They propose, similarly to Charmaz, using existing theory as one among other building blocks that support the empirical data to form a new, emergent theory (Ibid.).

The present study adopts a less orthodox and strict approach to grounded theorizing. It relies on a theoretical framework, but treats this framework as sensitizing rather than definitive. This means that within the purpose of this study, crucial analytical concepts are defined in reference to the existing literature in order to build an analytical framework for exploring the meaning-making in the two specific cases of CSKPs investigated. It does so rather than trying to define general traits of CSKPs as if they do exist "out there", beyond the confines of this study's specific interest in and perspective on them and detached from investigation of two specific cases of CSKPs. In other words, the goal of this theory chapter is to develop an analytical framework for investigating CSKPs, so as to be able to explore as freely as possible the practice of making sense of CSKPs by those that organize it, while at the same time

providing the necessary theoretical or analytical focus required to suggest some more general lessons that could be learned from studying the two unique cases of CSKPs investigated in this study.

3.1.2 Towards a middle-range theory of CSKPs

This investigation aims not to build an entire theory of CSKPs from scratch through grounded theorizing, but to generate a special, more refined, or substantive theory concerning CSKPs that ensures a closer fit to the more formal theoretical concepts from organizational studies with the data stemming from the empirical investigation. This application of the constant comparative approach is in line with Goldkuhl and Cronholm's usage of constant comparative research as an analytical approach of continuous and mutual refinement of research interest, empirical data and existing theories, in order to arrive at a conceptual treatment of the social phenomenon of interest that is context-sensitive (or has a close fit to the data), but still relates its substantive account to the more abstract and general dimensions of formal theory (Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010, p.194).

Goldkuhl and Cronholm's juxtaposition of formal theory and substantive theory recalls Sartori's (1991) remarks on different kinds of knowledge that can be envisaged by a research project. For him, a social science researcher has to make a fundamental choice when researching real world cases to produce knowledge about social phenomena. One has to choose between:

- addressing the uniqueness of a case, i.e. setting a context-embedded focus which studies one case in order to produce in-depth (or context-adequate) knowledge about that case (thus, knowing more about less cases), or
- addressing the universality of laws, i.e. producing context-independent knowledge about the general laws governing a broader universe of cases (thus trading understanding-in-context for inclusiveness in order to know less about more cases) (Ibid. 1991, p.253-254).

The two kinds of knowledge are inversely related: the more one is interested in making inferences about general laws, the less one can know about a specific case and its particular characteristics, because in order to increase the inclusiveness of one's concepts, one has to reduce their complexity (or context-specificity) in a process of upward aggregation (thus losing weight in order to climb up Sartori's "ladder of abstraction", Ibid., p.254). Inversely, the more one is interested in contextual-sensitive understanding of a particular phenomenon (or a close fit of theory and data), the less one can know about the applicability of one's specific account

in other contexts, because one engages in increasing the inherent complexity of one's concepts in a process of downward specification (Ibid.). Accordingly, a study interested in producing context-sensitive knowledge use a qualitative approach and research fewer cases, but conduct more within-case observations in order to generate internally valid, context-specific knowledge (fewer cases, more observations per case), while a study that is interested in generating more general knowledge, would rather be larger-n, and quantitative, i.e. engage in fewer observations per case but with a larger number of cases in order to produce externally valid, context-independent knowledge (Eden and Huxham 2006, in Clegg et al. 2006, p.392).

The first kind of knowledge closely aligns with what Glaser and Strauss (1967) have called substantive theory, and which they declared to be the aim of their inductive, constant comparative approach to theorizing (Ibid, p.32). With substantial theory they seek to develop a limited, contingent theoretical account of a substantive or empirical area of sociological inquiry, such as patient care, race relations or research organizations (Ibid.). In contrast to substantive theory, and more in accordance with Sartori's knowledge about general laws, they propose the concept of formal theory, which would be concerned with the development of an abstract or conceptual area of sociological inquiry, such as stigma, organizations, authority and power (Ibid.). However, what for Sartori is a researcher's choice between more qualitative and quantitative approaches to knowledge generation (and the accompanying trade-offs as to what can be known), is for Glaser and Strauss more of a functional and hierarchical relationship, in which substantive theory and its close fit to data necessarily precedes (or grounds) more formal and abstract theoretical accounts (Ibid., p.34).

However, in the constant comparative approach to grounded theorizing (whether the orthodox or revised version, as discussed above) substantive and formal theoretical concepts are related to each other in mutually constitutive way, so as to form together something Glaser and Strauss call a middle-range theory (Ibid, p.33). The notion of middle-range theory is derived from earlier work by Karl Merton (1949), who developed his concept of a theoretical middle-range to argue in favor of special theories with limited conceptual range to deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena. For him, middle-range theories are the motor of science, because they provide fruitful hypotheses that guide further cycles of empirical investigation and theorizing, rather than suggesting theoretical closure (Ibid. p.448, p.457; cf. Tilly 2010, p.55; Geels 2007, p.628). In this way, middle-range theories contribute to an evolving body of theory that is grounded in empirical investigations as well as incorporating aspects of formal theory so as to formulate hypotheses and analytical frameworks in close dialogue with established theory to contribute to further cycles of observing, analyzing and theorizing (Ibid. p.448; Hedström

and Ylikoski 2014, p.8).

This research project follows this approach: it aims at formulating a middle-range theory about organizing knowledge production in and through CSKPs. It does so by scrutinizing the meaning of important concepts related to CSKPs, such as knowledge, actors/sectors and partnership from a bottom-up or emic-to-etic (context-sensitive to general) approach to theorizing. However, in opposition to classic, inductive grounded theorizing and more in accordance with later refinement of the research approach by Corbin and Strauss (2014), as well as Fram (2013), Charmaz (2014) and Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010), I use sensitizing concepts about the social process of organizing as sensemaking, so as to produce a theoretical framework that does not develop its central theoretical concepts in isolation from prior work, but includes them as frame of reference for its constant comparative approach (Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010). Concretely this means that I referred to formal organization theory and social science literature throughout the constant comparative investigation of organizing CSKPs, going back and forth between data collection, data analysis, theorizing, and reviewing suitable literature on the issues encountered during the empirical investigation (see Figure 1.1 in the introduction).

This chapter thus does not aim at locating the research and its objects of interest within an all-encompassing theoretical system of CSKPs, but rather aims to develop a general orientation, which should be considered more as "preliminary to theory than theory itself" (Merton 1963, p.xxiv; cf. Wodak 2009, p.70). The theoretical ambitions of this research are therefore more limited in scope than the formal theories used to build the preliminary theoretical framework for the investigation. This study does not try to explain the emergence of CSKPs, describe the conditions for organizing them successfully according to some objective performance criteria or even try to use the phenomenon of CSKPs to make more general claims about late modern societies. Instead, it aims to formulate an analytical approach that supplies useful theoretical lenses for investigating CSKPs, so as to be able to formulate a limited theory of CSKPs that focus specifically of some designated part of the process of organizing them (rather than attempting to explain the phenomenon as a whole). Thus, on the one hand the objective of this research project is to produce a framework that enables researchers and practitioners to reflect on their observations of or experiences with CSKPs by adopting a more abstract perspective informed by formal theory of organizational science (i.e. the sensemaking approach in organizational studies as explained below in 3.2), which is nevertheless devised in close dialogue with observations stemming from the case studies of two real-world CSKPs. On the other hand it aims at establishing CSKPs as a more substantial field of inquiry in

organizational studies and specifically within the sensemaking approach in organizational studies, because they—much like laboratories—allow a more close-up investigation of those issues that normally remain in the background for organizations, most specifically how organizational members create, share and maintain meaning through communicating (and in this way constructing) conceptual boundaries that separate them and link them together.

3.2 Sensemaking as an analytical framework for studying CSKPs

3.2.1 Investigating communication in and through CSKPs

In accordance with the constant comparative approach, I gradually built a foundation of initial interpretations by investigating and analyzing CSKPs, which, when compared subsequently to more general or formal theories about organization, fit well to the sensemaking approach in organizational studies, as developed most notably by Karl Weick (1995) and Taylor and van Every (2000). Sensemaking thereby stands for an interpretative approach that conceptualizes the process of organizing as communicative and intersubjective meaning-making activities by which concrete actors try to make sense of unfolding situations collectively (Putnam 1983; Weick 1995, p.68; Weick 2012). Thus, a core aspect of the sensemaking approach is to focus research on organizations on the process of organizing through communication (Maitlis and Christianson 2014, p.58, p.62). The concept of sensemaking has become influential in organizational studies, because it is concerned with studying exactly how, through conversations on the ground, text and talk are produced by specific actors within a collectively negotiated interpretation of the world thjat allows them to understand their environment as something that can be organized. As Taylor and van Every (2000) state:

> "We see communication as an ongoing process of making sense of the circumstances in which people collectively find ourselves and of the events that affect them. The sensemaking (…) takes place in interactive talk and draws on the resources of language in order to formulate and exchange through talk (…) symbolically encoded presentations of these circumstances. As this occurs a situation is talked into existence and the basis is laid for action to deal with it. Communication thus concerns both, descriptions of existing states (…) and what to do about them (…)" (Ibid, p.58).

Thus, on a basic level, organizing as sensemaking is approached as a constructive, communicative practice, as it is "concerned with the conversational and social practices (methods) through which the members of a society socially construct a sense of shared meaning" (Gephart 1993, p.1469). Accordingly, this approach locates the process of organizing as sensemaking in spoken language and written texts (Maitlis and Christianson 2014, p.95).

I chose to use the sensemaking approach in organizational studies in part for pragmatic reasons, because focusing this study on the process of organizing as communicative sensemaking allows to study the process of organizing a CSKP as something that can be observed in texts and conversations. As Alvesson and Karreman (2000) state, language and language use form the most important source of empirical material accessible to social researchers (p.1126-1127). At the same time, I focus on organizing as a process of communicative sensemaking as a consequence of more constructivist understandings of social phenomena as consisting to a large extent of the "meaning-making activities of groups and individuals around those phenomena" (Guba and Lincoln 2005, p.197).

In his formal theory of structuration, Giddens also stated that language is an important medium for the process of meaning-making that links agency and structure (Giddens 1993, p.125).[2] Language, for him, can be understood as social action in the form of a "speech act", which is situated (temporally and spatially located) and enacted by a subject for the facilitation of meaningful communication or interaction (Ibid.). In this sense, language is the primary tool agents use to reflexively understand and change (or organize) their environment, while monitoring their own and others' place in it (Ibid. p.109). At the same time, language is also an abstract set of rules, which are not temporally or spatially located and linked to any specific subject (the language user or speaker), but can be understood as "an abstract property of the community of speakers" as a whole (Ibid., p.125). Language, then, is not only a tool that facilitates direct interaction between agents, but also forms the social background of the encounter, or provides the framework within which it occurs (Ibid, p.113; Loyal 2003, p.72-73).

Thus, language use and communication are key in organizing individual activities into a meaningful collective practice (Thornton et al. 2013, p.128). This is because communication not only enables the individual to act, but also to communicate intentionality to other individuals through this act by linking actors, their interactive situation and the broader, structural frameworks of meaning together. Accordingly, this investigation into the meaning-making in

---

[2] Giddens' theory does not equate society with language, but sees it as (a nevertheless important) part of a much broader general theory of social life and social practice. For a critique of Giddens' theoretical discussion of language in context of his conception of social rules and resources essential for the process of structuration, see Thompson 1989, p.60-66; p.75.

and through CSKPs makes the deliberate analytical choice to focus on communication in text and talk as the unit of analysis, so as to be able to trace organizing through texts stemming from interviews, focus groups and program documents of the CSKPs in question (see Chapter 4).

3.2.2 Interpretative schemes linking the concrete organizational arena of a CSKP to the broader social worlds of the actors involved

The next theoretical question of significance is how communication in text and talk can be approached analytically. Key for this investigation's specific analytical approach is Giddens' concept of actors construing their agency and intentionality by referencing "interpretative schemes by means of which sense is *made* by participants of what each says and does" (Giddens 1993, p.129). He continues by writing that such interpretative schemes draw on a "cognitive order", which is shared by a community, but "while drawing upon such a cognitive order the application of interpretative schemes at the same time *reconstitutes* that order" (Ibid.). Thus, such schemes can be understood as rule-like elements of stocks of knowledge (Loyal 2003, p.76) that form the socio-cognitive context for concrete and situated action in the form of evaluative social representations (van Dijk 1993, p.257-258). Van Dijk compares them to programs or operating systems, which work as mental representations of general, socially shared opinions, experiences, events and situations, but get applied by concrete individuals in the specific situation they find themselves in to deal with (Ibid, p.258).[3]

That which Giddens calls 'cognitive order' can also be expressed as Anselm Strauss' (1978) 'social worlds'. Social worlds were more specifically defined by Clarke (2005) as abstract collectivities of actors with shared commitments to certain activities, resources, goals and beliefs: "Social worlds are universes of discourse and principal affiliative mechanisms through which people organize social life" (Ibid., p.45-46). Thus, social worlds provide the social background knowledge or broader, more abstract reference points for social actors to

---

[3] There is a lot of slightly different terminology in organizational studies that refers to those broader sets of meaning that people reference in their everyday communication. Some scholars follow Giddens and call them interpretative schemes or schemata (Labianca et al. 2000; Bingham and Kahl 2013); other call them institutional logics (e.g. Glaser et al 2016; Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013), mental models (van Dijk 2006; Young 2008), organizational vocabularies (Thornton 2004; Ocasio et al 2015), cultural registers (Weber 2005; see McPherson and Sauder 2013), maps (Taylor and van Every 2000), discursive resources (Cuevas-Garcia 2015), to name just a few. I follow Giddens here, because the concept of interpretative schemes highlights the fact that those broader, social stocks of knowledge only exist by being used as interpretative devices (and thus do not exist outside of concrete communication), and because the concept also highlights that there is an abundance of different schemes available, which do not amount to a coherent, internally consistent system (as the terms program, vocabulary, logic or model would suggest).

engage and organize with each other in more concrete social situations.

However, Clarke defines social worlds as neither discretely separated, nor in themselves static, but as the transient result of continuously ongoing interactions and negotiations between people within and around these social worlds. For her, social worlds are an interactive unit of regularized, mutual response or of communication, which is not bound geographically or by formal membership (Clarke 1991, p.131). Social worlds should thus not be seen as static, discrete and external frameworks that organize peoples' activities, but as overlapping areas of social commitment, that overlap and inter-penetrate each other so as to form society as a kind of mosaic of social worlds (Ibid.).

In this investigation I define sectors relevant for the organization of a CSKP in a generic, i.e. sensitizing way, as social worlds, which are understood as broader, affiliative horizon of meaning that those who engage each other in and through a CSKP reference, by using certain interpretative schemes that have proven useful for them within one or more organizational situations. As Clarke argues, this conceptualization has analytical value, because it helps to "avoid misrepresenting collective actors as monolithic by examining diversity within worlds, while still tracking and tracing their overall perspectives, ideologies, thrusts and goals" (Clarke 1998, p.265). Instead of using this investigation to define exactly what sectors are in general, it focuses it on the processes by which people in their everyday communication (re-)create the concept of sectors as something meaningful within their interaction (Charmaz 2014, p.153).

Bringing both together, i.e. using Giddens' concept of interpretative schemes as referencing broader social worlds actors are affiliated with, allows this investigation to define a more precise analytical concept of communication. However, although such interpretative schemes referencing broader social worlds of commitment and meaning are necessary for communicative meaning-making in an organizational situation, they do not suffice to explain it (Giddens, 1986, p.21; Loyal 2003, p.90-91). This is because they are applied and actualized within concrete communication and negotiations with other actors (cf. Loyal 2003, p.91). As such, they should not be understood as objective, external societal or cultural constraints on the action of the individual. They can instead be understood as subjective, personal interpretations that actors use as a tool to help them make sense of the evolving situation they face and to be able to choose a right course of action in response (cf. van Dijk 2006, p.163). These schemes thus function as an intermediary or interface between individuals, the social situations they are in and the broader social worlds that provide a necessary context or background for their situated interaction (Ullrich 1999). They do so by providing the situated speech act with what Giddens called the referential aspects of language and feature as such semantic representations of social

settings, participant identities, roles and relationships, actions and goals (van Dijk, 2014, p.4, p.6; van Dijk 2006, p.171). In so doing, they not only represent personal beliefs but also often personal versions of social representations, such as knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, which in turn relate the individual and his concrete, situated actions to the structure of larger, more abstract groups such as cultures, institutions or nations (van Dijk 2001, p.113).

However, following Clarke, organizing takes place in concrete situations that can be understood as arenas of commitment, in which actors engage in ongoing negotiations about the nature and purpose of their interaction so as to be able to organize their relationships meaningfully (cf. Clarke 2003, p.554). Rather than a physical place or a specific forum, an arena is a generic or sensitizing concept for specific, socially situated communicative action, where meaning is co-created between social actors within ongoing negotiations (Ibid., p.558; Aula and Mantere 2013, p.343; cf. Rowland 1991). In this way, arenas are dialectically connected to the actors engaging in them: they are constituted by these actors' interaction, as well as structuring and constraining it. This sensitizing concept of organizing as taking place within a communicative arena also goes back to Strauss and is closely linked to his concept of social worlds (1978, 1993; cf. Pohlmann 2016). Strauss (1978) argued that organizations emerge from negotiations taking place in communicative arenas, in which "members of various subworlds or social worlds stake differential claims, seek differential ends, engage in contests, and make or break alliances in order to do the things they wish to do" (Strauss 1978, p.125, cf. Strauss 2017, p.226). The activities of actors in an arena, thus, necessarily involve establishing, maintaining and argumentatively negotiating the boundaries between social worlds so as to gain legitimacy for one's own positions within the arena, as well as for the world one is affiliated with (Clarke 2008, p.118). In this sense, individual actors enact social worlds *through* their communication within an organizational arena, as they commonly act as representatives of their social worlds, performing their collective identity (Ibid.). At the same time, they enact the arena as they interact *in* it, as the place where concrete positions and roles are taken, performed and justified in reference to the broader social worlds surrounding it.

For the purpose of this research project, this means that instead of using definitive conceptualization of CSKPs and the sectors they link as two clearly distinguishable entities and discrete and closed systems of meaning, I use the concept of arenas or social worlds as a sensitizing, analytical lens to explore them as necessarily interlinked and overlapping frames of references which actors both need to make sense of in their communication, if they want to organize together. This means, that by using the generic term of social worlds instead of sectors, actors are not equated with the sector they are identified with (or identifying with), but they are

approached as agents that creatively use, apply and adapt broader stocks of knowledge for meaning-making, which might or might not coincide with what commonly is referred to as sector, or sphere, field or discipline. CSKPs can then be more openly explored as dynamic and unique arena in which broader stocks of knowledge are applied (as interpretative schemes) and re-produced by individuals so as to enable them to communicatively create a meaningful situation that can be organized. Visually this could be expressed in a very simplified way as:

Figure 3.1 – Schematic visualization of links between actors, arenas and social worlds
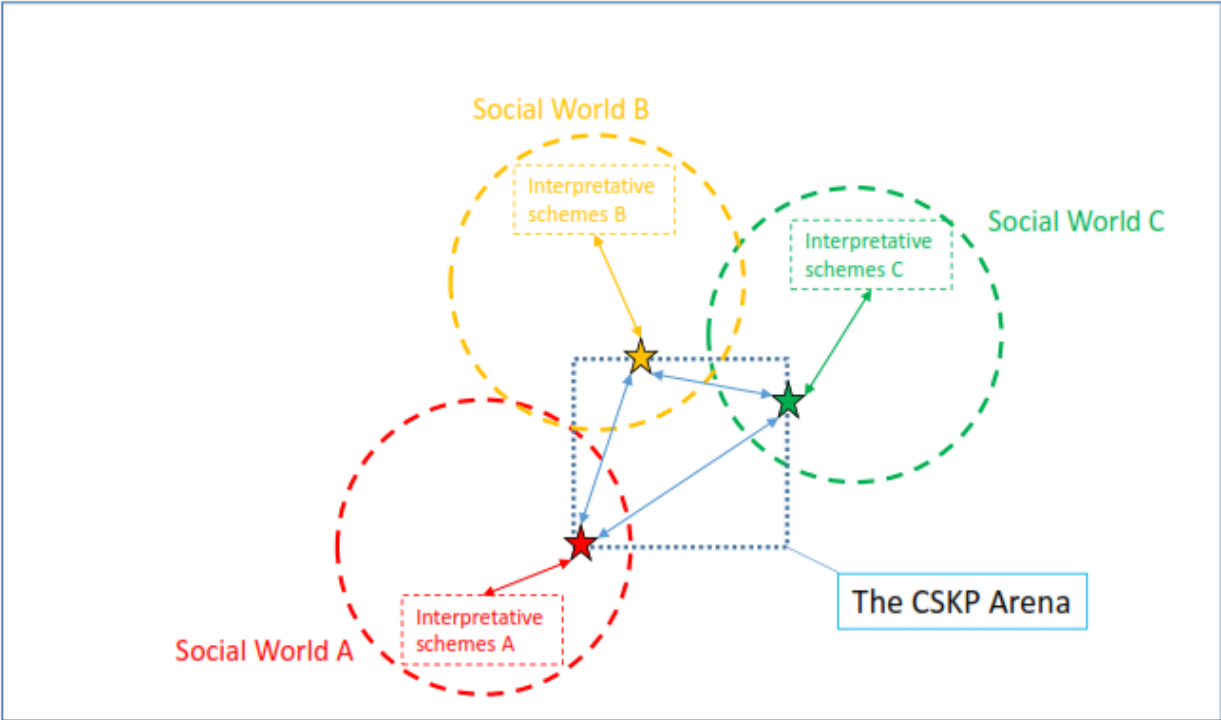
(Source: author)

This sensitizing conceptualization of the CSKP as an arena in which broader social worlds are referenced in the communicative interaction of actors (in the above visualization depicted as stars), allows this investigation to open up the black-box of organizing a CSKP for analysis into the negotiations that take place in it, and the (re-)enactment of broader social horizons of meaning through organizing it (and to do so without presuming that CSKPs or sectors are some clearly defined monolithic entities existing outside the communicative sensemaking interaction of concrete actors).

3.2.3 Organizing as narration: interpretative schemes as repertoires for framing a story about the situation that is and the situation that should be

In order to transform a chaotic present state and its abundance of information into a meaningful arena for organization that can be acted upon, actors refer to available interpretative schemes. According to Ullrich (1999), interpretative schemes organize the actor's social background by providing her with cognitive, evaluative and normative repertoires for action. They offer not only specific common-sense interpretations of a given situation, but also guidance in terms of how to judge and act (Ibid, p.2). Interpretative schemes can also be understood in their function as "interpretative repertoires" (Wetherell and Potter 1988), meaning they provide actors with relatively stable or coherent ways of talking about objects and events in a social world (Ibid., p.178; Potter et al. 1984, p.138; Edley 2001, p.198; Cuevas-Garcia 2016, p.146). More precisely, they can be understood as

> "recognizable routines of arguments, descriptions and evaluations found in people's talk often distinguished by familiar clichés, anecdotes and tropes. They are the building blocks through which people develop accounts and versions of significant events and through which they perform social life. Interpretative repertoires consist of 'what everybody knows' about a topic" (Reynolds and Wetherell 2003, p.497).

Understood in this way, interpretative schemes can be defined as the building blocks of organizing through communication. They are the communicative resource through which a community's or sector's "common sense" can be organized in conversation, by supplying actors with a "patchwork of quotations" (Edley 2001, p.198) or "clusters of terms, categories and idioms" (Potter 2012, p.115) to draw from when conversing with each other (Edley 2001, p.198). Thus, such interpretative schemes or repertoires help actors process information and guide decision-making and problem-solving by referencing plausible or "common-sense" organizing principles and symbols of the broader social world(s) they are linked with and which have been important in their socialization thus far (including their sectoral background) (Thornton 2004; Thornton et al. 2012, p.2, p.88). In other words, these schemes are learned and shape the actor's understanding of complex information by providing generalized but inconsistent and thus flexible sets of rules, so as to provide plausible (not accurate) evaluations that can propel interactive deliberation, communication and decision-making between agents within concrete and, consequently, ongoing and essentially ambivalent, social situations (cf. Edley 2001; Thornton et al. 2012, p.89, p.96).

This communicative process of meaning-making at work, when actors apply their

interpretative schemes to engage in the social construction of a meaningful CSKP can be further conceptualized as story-telling, which is according to Maitlis and Christianson (2014) the central communicative processes through which "organization members interpret their environment in and through interactions with each other, constructing accounts that allow them to comprehend the world and act collectively" (Maitlis and Christianson 2014, p.66). For Taylor and van Every (2000) the core of this approach is to comprehend organization as narrativization, which enables actors to make something as abstract as an organization real and tangible in their actions, while simultaneously understandable and meaningful beyond the confines of the concrete, ongoing situation at hand (Ibid., p.34). Narration—the act of telling a story—is according to them our way of understanding and communicating "action and its objects, of agents and their relationship, of community and its ethical codes, which makes it possible for […] organizational members to comprehend and to deal practically with their own and others' actions and situations" (Ibid., p.34-35). Accordingly, they follow Bruner by proposing narration or story-telling as the underlying, basic form of processing social information (Ibid., p.41; Bruner 1991, p.4). This way of conceiving human processing of information is decidedly different from rational accounts and causal explanations as to why people do what they do, or why things happen in one way rather than another (Ibid, p.7). When narrativization is seen as the basic device for humans to process and communicate social information, then neither rational methods for assuring truth, nor empirical methods for determining verifiability are analytically relevant; instead, the hermeneutical method of interpretation of the "reasons" for things happening becomes a more useful research tool (Ibid.; cf. Czarniawska 1998, p.8).

When linked with the conceptualization of communication as narrativization, these interpretative schemes can be seen as the building blocks for transforming a chaotic simultaneity of actors, events, objects and locations, into a social story that gives all of these random things meaning by linking them (or aspects of them) in a more or less bounded, yet forwardly directed sequence, which enables actors to "contain uncanniness" (rather than resolving it) by giving them the sense that the chaos can be interpreted, comprehended, and acted upon: in other words, organized (Bruner 1991, p.16).

Simply put, this way of narratively processing information about the world and formulating prospective action for dealing with it can be formulated within two fundamental organizational questions: "What is the story here?" and "Now what should I do?" (Weick et al. 2005, p. 410). For Weick et al., the first fundamental question of organizing (as sensemaking) has the force to bring an organizable arena into existence, to carve it out of the unknowable, unpredictable stream of experience as something comprehensible and socializable (Ibid.). The

second question builds on the first and has, according to Weick et al. "the force of bringing meaning into existence, meaning that [people] hope is stable enough for them to act into the future, continue to act, and to have sense that they remain in touch with the connecting flow of experience" (Ibid., p.410).

Interpretative schemes in-use as epistemic and ethical frames

The first part of Weick's central organizational question "what is the story here?" can be further linked to interpretative schemes as those tools or devices that help to frame the question. According to Goffman (1974), frames are closely linked to "schemata of interpretation", inasmuch they are the explicitly articulated rhetorical devices that operationalize schemes in communicative interactions and negotiations, so as to enable individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" events within their concrete life space, as well as within the social world at large (Ibid., p.24; Thornton et al. 2012, p.154; Benford and Snow 2000, p.614). Frames, according to Snow and Benford (1988), work as interpretative schemes in the way they condense and simplify aspects of the "world out there", but the concept more specifically refers to interpretative schemes in-use in a social arena, where they are employed to "mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists" (Ibid., p.198). Thus, the concept of frames highlights the fact that meaning for an organization is neither an automatic and direct effect of certain interpretative schemes that are employed, nor a simple aggregation of individual attitudes and perceptions, "but also the outcome of negotiating shared meaning" (Gamson 1992, p.111).

However, as Herman and Vervaeck (2005) state, story frames supply a rather static structure to the conversation (Ibid, p.167). In terms of Weick's fundamental organizational question, they thus can be seen as supplying the communicative actor with a sense of "what the situation is" and to communicate this static, present-tense situation to others implicated in this situation. This kind of frame can be understood as "epistemic frame" inasmuch it helps actors to "produce an epistemic interpretation of the state of affairs that characterizes the situation the participants are in" (Taylor and van Every 2000, p.59). However, for a situation to lend itself to be organized, interpretative schemes also contain what Taylor and van Every call "deontic", or ethical, frames which communicate a "virtual or as yet unrealized state" (Ibid., p.58).

Thus interpretative schemes can be understood as consisting of epistemic frames (what is) and ethical frames (what should be), but both refer basically to "expectations about the world, based on prior experience, against which new experiences are measured and interpreted"

(Tannen 1993, p.17). Accordingly, transforming an equivocal stream of experience through narrativization into a situation that can be organized can be understood as involving a) an epistemic interpretation of what the story is and who is involved, as well as b) an ethical interpretation of what is a desired and feasible future state of affairs (Taylor and van Every 2000, p.59). In other words, by using interpretative schemes, actors construct accounts about "what is, what was and will be" (epistemic schemes framing the circumstances for organizing) as well as accounts about "what should, or could, or may be" (ethical schemes framing the action of organizing) (Ibid.).

These epistemic and ethical frames circumscribe the arena for sensemaking in and through a CSKP by providing reference points for organizing action:

Table 3.2 – Interpretative schemes as epistemic and ethical frames

Interpretative schemes	Epistemic frames – What is the situation?
Ethical frames – what should the situation be?	Arena of a CSKP Organizing as sensemaking

(source: author)

When we split up the framing questions "what is the situation?" (epistemic frame) and "what should the situation be?" (ethical frame), we can start to discern the reference points of organizing as sensemaking, that arrange the 'lessons learned' (the background knowledge derived from socialization in and affiliation to a social world) into interpretative repertoires of frames for use in the organizational arena. But, as Czarniawska (1998) in her narrative approach to organization studies pointed out, any narrative requires more than just an original state of affairs and a desired future state of affairs. For it to become a narrative it also requires an action or event that links both together into a meaningful whole (Ibid, p.2).

3.2.4 The organization as scripted reality: constructing roles, modes of exchange and organizational identity between actors around a joint object of value

Interpretative schemes not only supply static story frames to clarify what the situation is and should be, but also, when these frames are taken together, suggest certain avenues for action, or scripts. The scripted part of organizing as sensemaking is concerned with the second of Weick's fundamental organizational questions, "now what should I do?", or simply "how?", where according to Caroline Weiss (1995), the core of organizing is located, or the organizational members' "theory of change", meaning their story about how problems arise and how they can be solved (Ibid., p.72; Frechtling 2015, p.299). According to Taylor and van Every (2000), this more dynamic dimension of organizing can be understood as "the site where problems are not only addressed, but agency relations are established" through enacting the organizational script (p.61-62).

We can conceive of an organizational script as derived from frames and providing typical roles and behavioral prescriptions, which prime the individual to elaborate and improvise her action as 'enactment' of the organization (Cornelissen and Werner 2014, p.207; Berger and Luckmann 1967). Thus, while epistemic and ethical frames allow for the identification of key features of a static situation (what is and should be), scripts allow the individual to locate itself as a biographical and intentional being within a sequence of unfolding events and inter-linked locations, so as to give itself and its situation a sense of "how to get there from here" (Cornelissen and Werner 2014, p.223; Tannen 1993).

Scripting, as Bévort and Suddaby note, can be understood as process by which individuals creatively engage with probable or potential scripts so as to adapt provisional identities or roles that reconcile competing institutional pressures (Bévort and Suddaby 2016, p.18). They argue that the concept of a script can be useful for a researcher to study the interactive way in which individuals define and articulate a role (Taylor and van Every 2000 call it "attitude", p.62), that allows them to link their behavior and the situational micro-events they are in to macro-institutional structures or the social context (Ibid., p.21; cf. Goffman 1983, p.84). As Gioia and Poole (1984) argue, a script is used by individuals as a heuristic device to understand a new situation in terms of a similar but old one (Ibid, p.453). Thus, they provide a dual benefit, as they help individuals to understand certain institutional or organizational situations, as well as they provide a guide to specific performances and behavior appropriate in those situations (Ibid., p.450-452; cf. Poole, Gray and Gioia 1990). According to Bévort and Suddaby (2016), however, scripts should not be understood as behavioral programs that

individuals automatically execute in absolute conformity with institutional structures and external expectations (Ibid, p.35). In their study of a global accounting firm, they found rather that individuals subjectively interpreted competing institutional logics and pressures in order to enact elements of different, even conflicting, scripts within a role that was adapted to fit them individually in the social situation they were in and the broader organizational and social context surrounding that situation (Ibid.).

To summarize, as frames are referenced to clarify questions of who, what and why in a generic and static way, it is the dynamic script in which these aspects are combined by intentional agents to formulate the question that is fundamental for organizing: how? In order to approach this question analytically, I follow Taylor and van Every (2000), who use Greimas' work on analyzing the narrative archetype in Russian fairytales (which in turn is based on Vladimir Propp's work), and explain that the practice of organizing can be understood as scripted improvisations of actors that co-orient their actions interactively, as well as in reference to the generic schemes or broader social repertoires of meaning available to them.

Thus, Weick's two central, static framing question for organization (what is the story here and what should it be) are necessarily complemented by a more dynamic and personalized scripting question in which actors also clarify who has to do what for whom concretely in order to get from the current state of affairs to a desired future state of affairs (Taylor and van Every 2000, p.19). In this way, the more abstract collective and speculative dimensions of the organizational story are made into a concrete, comprehensible and actionable story populated by real people that have agency and intentionality and do concrete things with each other and for each other or by exchanging a meaningful object. For Taylor and van Every, this is the central narrative building block of organizing as sensemaking: two or more actors telling each other about their organizational relationship in terms of an exchange, i.e. for them narratively understanding and communicating a meaningful organization is intimately linked to creating a story in which two or more actors clarify their roles and their relationship by exchanging a joint object of value (Ibid, p.46).

They argue that an object of value can be a physical thing, a problem or any other of the myriad of concerns that occupy actors' attention every day, whether at home or at work (Ibid.). The concept of exchanging such an object of value furthermore implies that the object undergoes a change of state, through being exchanged (Ibid.). For example, the joint object of value may be a broken car that focuses the attention of at least two actors (the car owner and the mechanic) and is aimed at improving the quality of the car (transforming it from a car that does not work delivered into the hands of the mechanic into a car that runs being delivered back into the hands

of the owner) (Ibid.). The effect of this exchange is to create a triadic relationship between the two actors and the object of value, in which the actors perceive themselves as occupying complementary roles that are explained by their respective orientations towards the object of value (Ibid.). As Taylor and van Every state:

> "The circumstances for an exchange relationship are created when the attention of more than one actor, at minimum A and B, is focused on the same object, X. The concept of exchange implies that the object in question undergoes a change of state (it gets exchanged). As it does, the co-orienting actors are affected by either giving up or acquiring a possession or quality." (Ibid, p.46)

Following their analytical account of organizing as story-telling, this study accordingly holds, that one can use their simple A-X-B formula in order to investigate how roles, objects of value, their exchange and the resulting co-orientation of actors and organization of relationships are narratively constructed. The organizational arena of a CSKP, then, can be approached as a specific place for the realization of such processes of exchange and for co-orientation to emerge (Ibid, p.82). However, how two or more actors value the object they exchange and co-orient their social relationship around is only partly determined by their interaction in the arena. The object is also partly evaluated in reference to their personal preferences or former experiences, as they are shaped by their socialization in and affiliation to a broader social world beyond their immediate situation. The exchange of objects of value and the co-orientation of two or more actors around this exchange can accordingly be seen as both located at the center of the social arena, while necessarily linking it to the broader social worlds beyond the immediate situation of the arena, so as to endow the relationship between the actors with meaning and significance.

The central frames, roles, objects, modes of exchange and organized relationships could be something very different according to the specific interest, and cultural/social world perspective of a specific actor. However, the more the object becomes part of a continuous exchange and interaction between actors situated in a communicative arena, the more the values or meaning co-orient each other in the course of the different actors repeatedly communicating to each other what the object in question means in general, for them personally and within their situation. This process does not necessarily mean that the object's meaning becomes the same for all actors involved in a communicative arena. The result of co-orientation is not necessarily to produce a congruent orientation, as the result of negotiation is not necessarily to arrive at a mutually agreeable contract, or the result of communication is not necessarily to arrive at a common understanding. Whatever the result is of such a process, though, it will always be co-produced in an interactive, organizational arena and be based on establishing some kind of relationship between those co-producing it, and between those broader social worlds that they

use as a reference point to inform their position.

The same kind of double-bind is also present when it comes to the character of the roles that A and B inhabit: they are partly constructed or scripted in reference to the social worlds they are socialized in, as well as they are formed through the interactive, communicative relationship they establish in reference to each other within their concrete organizational situation, or arena (by exchanging the joint object of value). This interdependent nesting of social worlds, arena, roles (identities), objects of value and relationships, can be graphically expressed as:

Figure 3.3 – The organizational script A>X<B enabling actors to link their arena and social world(s)
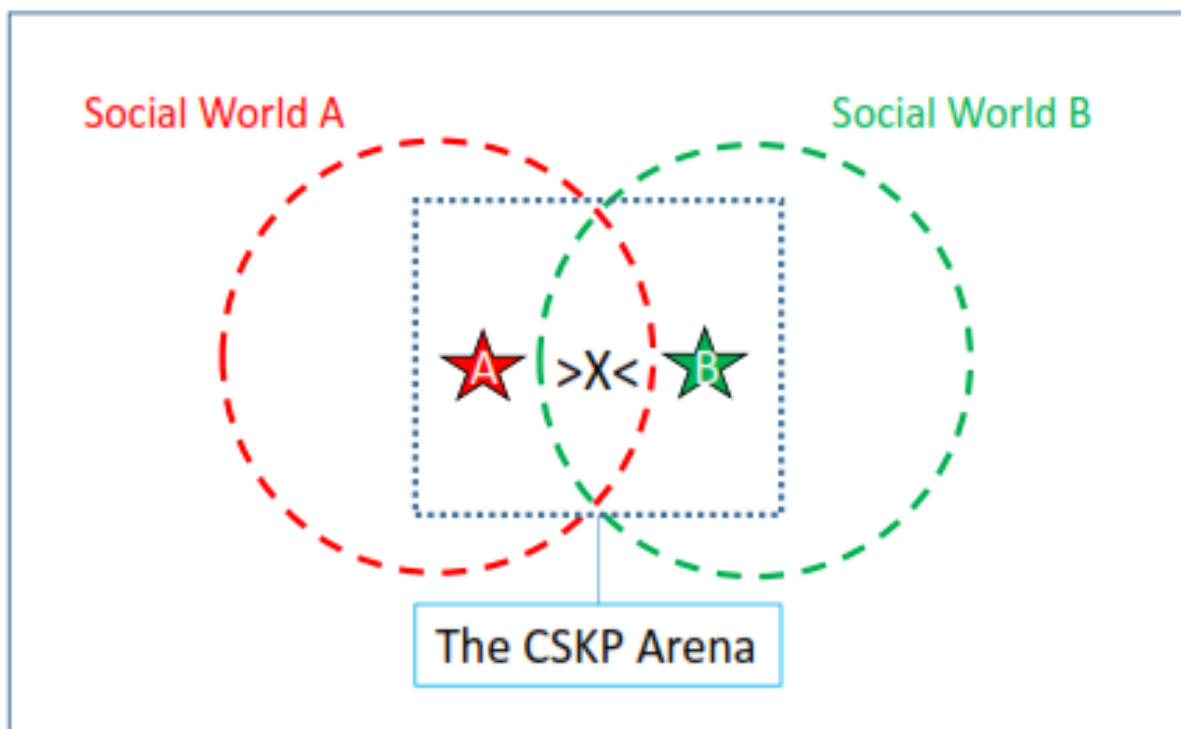
In the image above, the red and green circles denote the social worlds that are referenced in and construed through interactive communication in the arena (the blue square). The organizational arena is constituted by the actors improvising an organizational script, i.e. performing their roles (A, B) and establishing a co-orienting relationship or group identity (AXB) by exchanging (><) a joint object of value (X), whereby they are simultaneously referencing those broader frames of meaning provided by the social world(s).

In terms of the analysis of CSKPs, this generic framework helps to identify important dimensions of the organizational reality (epistemic and ethical frames, object of value, modes of exchange, roles and relationships emerging in the arena) as well as it helps to identify a way in which they can be understood as linked together. This allows the present research project to ask specific questions when exploring sensemaking in the two empirical cases of CSKPs. The above table about interpretative schemes in use (3.1) can be further developed by adding the sensitizing concept of generic scripts for organizing, which clarifies the character of the joint object of value, the modes of exchanging it, the roles linked to this exchange and the group relationships and identities emerging from this exchange:

Table 3.4 – Interpretative schemes as framing a scripted organizational arena – linking the why and how of organizing

Interpretative schemes **Why?**	Epistemic frames - What is the situation?
Ethical frames - what should the situation be?	Scripted arena of a CSKP - now what should I do? **<u>How?</u>** What is the character of our joint object of value? (X) What is the character of our exchange? ($> <$) What is my role and the role of the other(s)? (A,B) What is the character of our organizational identity? (A>X<B)

 The above table summarizes the investigative program of this study of sensemaking in two cases of CSKPs. It allows this study to explore sensemaking in CSKPs in an open, explorative yet theoretically grounded way.

3.2.5 The pragmatic nature of applying interpretative frames and scripts to make a situation organizable

As argued above, these behavioral scripts and situational frames are understood within the purpose of this study as providing flexible tools, building blocks or repertoires for sensemaking. Accordingly, they leave the actors in the arena significant leeway in interpreting and performing them. This means that actors can choose to a significant degree the frames of reference and

combine them in creative ways to create personalized and situationally appropriate versions of more commonly accepted or abstract and generic scripts, highlighting thereby some aspects or dimensions that are useful or relevant to them specifically, and de-emphasizing others (Bévort and Suddaby 2016, McPherson and Saunder 2013). Thus, the actions of actors in a CSKP arena can be understood as influenced by these scripts and frames, while at the same time actors engaging with each other through referencing them have properties of their own that cannot be reduced to deterministically (and unconsciously) executing them. The promise of such a conceptualization of actors is to allow this study to trace the collective or social dimensions of individual activities within a unique and local (that is, observable) situation (cf. Fairclough 2012, p.76; Hedström and Ylikoski 2014, p.8).

Lawrence et al. (2011) use the concept of interpretative agency to emphasize how situated individuals refer to broader, normative or institutionalized frames to script their roles and their actions (and make those norms and institutions real through their individual re-enactment), but that they do so within a situation that allows them a degree of latitude and choice in how they might interpret the range of possible actions available to them and others (Ibid., p.54). Thereby the boundaries between an individual, the social arena he is situated in and the broader social world it is linked to, are considered porous or dynamic. This means that it is assumed that all three aspects of the social—the individual, interactive social situations and social worlds—are mutually constituted or co-produced in and through the negotiations between actors taking place in the organizational arena, but who reference broader social knowledge beyond their immediate situation in order to constitute their interaction and individuality (Clarke 2003, p.557).

And here the true value of interpretative schemes becomes apparent: because they are not integrated and coherent, but marked by inconsistency, fragmentation and contradiction (Ullrich 1999), they enable actors to creatively use, adapt and re-combine their elements for justifying their actions to others in essentially ambivalent and uncertain situations. In other words, because they are inconsistent and contradictory, people can make choices about them, can break them up and re-arrange them in new and innovative ways (Bruner 1991, p.12) and use them as a repertoire to pick from, depending on what the situation seems to require or what they want it to be (Edley 2001, p.203-204).

In this way scripts and frames serve "as a springboard to action" (Taylor and van Every 2000, p.40) as much as they serve as a springboard to argument, deliberation and communication. Organizational frames and scripts, or states of the world and ways of acting in it, need to be combined in order for people to organize. At the same time, however, they also

contain contrasting or even conflicting elements that require differentiation. In other words, this ambivalence between unity and differentiation make them perfectly suited for enabling intentional and creative actors to make sense of ambivalent situations, i.e. situations that are in some respect unique and accordingly in some kind of breach with the more abstract and generic frames/scripts and thus require organizing and sensemaking. Frames and scripts as interpretative schemes thus provide actors the means to create and communicate 'common sense', because they paradoxically "contain the seeds of their own negation" (Edley 2001, p.203). In so doing, they enable people to do as they please, while also enabling (and requiring) them to justify what they do in terms of the general good.

In so doing, frames and scripts preserve the content of 'lessons learned'—social and personal background knowledge—as something that is both believable and doubtful, so that knowledgeable and intentional agents can apply, adapt and update them interactively in new and unique situations (Weick et al. 2005, p.414). Reducing ambiguity or equivocality is important, but in order to inform and sustain meaning-making and purposeful action, a story needs to be both believable and contestable (or "exciting", Weick et al. 2005, p.415), i.e. retain ambivalence, so as to keep things moving and to enable intentional agents to go through ever new iterations of enactment and interpretation (Ibid., p.414). This is what Menz (1999) has called the organizational paradox: In order to be successful, he argues, "An organization needs to both reduce and retain complexity" (Ibid, p.103-104). Katambwe and Taylor (2006) similarly argue that organizations essentially evolve by maintaining or managing ambiguity by supplying an orienting sense of order and integration, while at the same time assuring an adequate degree of ambivalence and differentiation, so as to allow agents to creatively perform the script and act intentionally, meaning to enable them to make pragmatic decisions and actively author (or organize) their situation.

For this study into the meaning-making dimension of CSKPs, this means that it is analytically important to explore the way meaning is construed in reference to fundamental ambivalences, conflicts, contestation, contradictions, or as Edley (2001) calls it: "ideological dilemmas" (Ibid., pp. 202). He derives this concept from Billig (1988), who defines it in opposition to the Marxist (or critical) conceptualization of ideologies as coherent, macro-Discourses that represent the domination of the ruling segments of a society as natural or inevitable (Ibid, p.202). Edley instead refers to "lived ideologies" or common-sense narratives, which, unlike Marxist intellectual ideologies, are marked by inconsistency, fragmentation and internal contradiction. This fact makes them "wonderfully rich and flexible resources for social interaction and everyday sensemaking" (Ibid, p.203) and therefore rich cases for reconstructing

sensemaking in a discursive analysis. As Billig states:

> "The very existence of these opposing images, words, evaluations, maxims and so on is crucial, in that they permit the possibility not just of social dilemmas but of social thinking itself. Without these oppositions there would be no way of arguing about dilemmas or understanding how opposing values can come into collision" (Billig et al. 1988, p.17).

Accordingly, a crucial aspect of the question "what is the story here and what should I do?" is the question of how to contain the multitude of possible and contradictory answers to that question, how to draw and maintain a boundary separating legitimate from illegitimate answers to that question. This requires analysis of instances in which the CSKPs or actors linked with it are considered in breach with a script or frame and to explore what this specific state of uncertainty and ambivalence means for the CSKPs and the actors involved.

More specifically, it means to explore how the actors involved in organizing the CSKP use dilemmas, contradictions and conflicts in their arguments about what the situation is, what it should be and who is to do what for whom in order for them to get to a desired future state of affairs from their current situation. It also means to look specifically for breaches, contradictions and violations of expectations about CSKP roles, objects of value, modes of exchange and organizational relationships.

Focusing on those situations of breach and violation allows me to explore the process of boundary breaking, making and maintain as an important part of meaning-making in and through CSKPs, which can be approached as that which enables actors to orient themselves towards the canonical (collective order and stability) as well as their ability (or indeed their obligation as intentional agents) to deviate from it (individual diversity and autonomy) in order to have something to continuously organize. Thus, the organizational paradox of oscillating between integration and differentiation, or unity and diversity can be explored within CSKPs as that which Giddens (1984) called the 'dialectic of control', but which in the context of this study would be better called 'the dialectic of organizing', i.e. organizing and making sense of a CSKP by negotiating the shifting, porous and contestable boundary between dependence and autonomy, stability and change (Ibid., p.16).

3.2.6 Analyzing CSKPs with a focus on boundary constructions in narration

When focusing on dilemmas and contradictions in the two cases of CSKPs as something essential to their organization, the meaning-making activities taking place can be approached

analytically as boundary-making. This means that boundaries can be considered an essential part of maintaining the struggle between actors, so they can keep searching for answers about what separates and links them in organizing the CSKP and, in so doing, keep organizing it (cf. Latour 1984). This struggle about how to define the boundary and communicate about their canonicity (Bruner 1991) as well as their permeability or breakability, is, as argued in the previous section, what empowers them to think and act socially, as well as to organize.

This means to further sharpen the lens of the analytical exploration of objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and organizational relationships (as they are performed in reference to broader frames and scripts) to focus on how those dimensions of organizing a CSKP enable those involved to draw, contest, break up and transform boundaries between that which defines *them* and that which does not.

The CSKP as boundary arena

This study follows Star and Griesemer (1989) and their exploration of boundaries in organizing by focusing the study on physical or virtual boundaries that allow actors from different social worlds to collaborate and form stable, yet transitory, working relationships, in which tasks are distributed and temporary local agreements are negotiated and re-negotiated, new understandings are forged and new accommodations made as the social actors interact with each other (Ibid.; Kimble 2010, p.438).

For CSKPs, this metaphor of organizing boundaries is particularly valuable, as it calls to attention that the concept of cross-sector knowledge partnership implies people with different organizational or institutional backgrounds working together at the boundary that separates their sectors in order to produce and/or share knowledge. Thus, the objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and relationships linked to them can be conceptualized as simultaneously being located at the boundary between broader social worlds or institutional sectors and having different meanings attached to them, depending on the perspective adopted. By extension then the CSKP becomes visible as a boundary arena in which these different perspectives, identities and institutional norms intersect or collide and demand to be organized.

Here Carlile (2002, 2004) and his study on boundary-making processes within companies can be instructive. He researched how a company's domains of sales/marketing, design engineering, manufacturing engineering and production worked or—better—failed to work together in order to investigate how innovation, defined as the creation of a novel product, can be studied as occurring at the boundaries between highly specialized and functionally

differentiated domains of an organization (Carlile 2004, p.558).

For him, the boundary between domains, organizations or an organization and its environment first poses a problem of information processing (Carlile 2002., p.443; Putnam and Boys 2006, p.546) and the primary organizational activity of the actors located in the boundary arena is to create a shared language on both sides of the boundary, which he calls a common lexicon or syntax, so that an exchange or transfer of the objects of value can be organized across the boundary (Carlile 2002, p.453).

However, as Carlile argues further, even in the presence of a shared language, an exchange of the object in question cannot be organized without also creating a common understanding, which entails acknowledging different interests or stakes in the respective domains concerning the object that is to be exchanged at the boundary (Carlile 2008, p.558). Thus, the boundary not only implies different languages on either side, but also actors who are necessarily located at different social positions and endowed with different interests and perspectives (Putnam and Boys 2006, p.547). Communicating across the boundary can then also be understood as a process of brokering trade-offs between different interests and meanings and making differences between positions explicit, so as to be able to take them into account.

Yet, next to the creation of a common language and a common understanding, Carlile also proposes a third dimension of the boundary in organizing, which he describes as the formulation of a common interest (Carlile 2004, p.560). This means that, at the boundary, actors not only work towards finding a shared language so as to understand their differences better, but they also work towards overcoming these differences, so as to forge new understanding and new and innovative ways of expressing the social and organizing it. This hope to collaboratively work towards something new makes the arena at the boundary between domains (or organizations) a place of deliberative uncertainty, in hopes of engendering novelty and innovation. The CSKP as a boundary arena then becomes a space from which the actors who are located there can work towards changing their own domains (or transforming them). Moreover, their location at the boundary then becomes something like a new center rather than a peripheral place for transit, in as much it would—once a common interest is formulated— change significantly the way they understand their respective domains or organizations. In other words, unique experiences at the boundary forge them into a kind of boundary community of fate that understands that in the face of the novelty encountered at the boundary (maybe then better characterized as frontier) they have to transform "the way they used to do things back home" in their respective domains or social worlds.

Thus, the boundary in organizing a CSKP is an essential location for making it

meaningful in three ways: to find a common language, to communicate a common understanding of differences, and to strive for forging a novel, common interest that promises progress, transformation and change. The central point I want to take from Carlile's treatment of boundaries in organizing is, then, that it focuses this research of meaning-making in and through CSKPs on those issues, events, roles or artifacts that enable the actors involved to communicate about that which separates and links them in meaningful ways. Furthermore, it allows this research to explore the dimensions of objects, modes of exchange, roles and relationships within organizing CSKPs as linked to issues of processing information (creating a shared language), communicating difference (creating a common understanding) and forging new forms of communality and identities (creating a common interest), whereby the boundary as a metaphor becomes a crucial lens for exploring what CSKP organizers discuss and negotiate as that unique quality or element that separates and links them in meaningful ways.

3.3 Conclusion: Summary and refinement of the research question

This study started with a very basic definition of cross-sector knowledge partnerships (CSKPs) as initiatives that aim at improving knowledge production through the facilitation of exchange relationships and processes between actors associated with different sectors.

This definition was further developed into a working definition of a CSKP that conceptualizes it as a process of organizing social meaning. This meaning-making process was understood as taking in an interactive, situated arena in which actors engage in a conversation about their objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and relationship with respect to each other and the social world(s) beyond their immediate situation. The arena of the CSKP can then be approached as a narrative space in which intentional actors create the unique story of their initiative by defining their roles, objects of value, modes of exchange, and their organizational relationships, or identity as a group. This unfolding and multi-voiced story of a CSKP can be approached as a device to argue, define and contest organizational meaning by drawing and re-drawing conceptual boundaries that separate and link the various roles, objects, exchanges, relationship and identities together into a meaningful whole.

Thus, rather than presupposing that the actors, sectors, organizational objects (and objectives) as well as organizational relationships and identities are fixed and form some kind of stable, external building blocks for the CSKP, this research project sees these elements as

formed in and through organizing a CSKP. I do not aim to develop general or objective knowledge about actors, sectors, objects, exchange modes and organized relationships in CSKPs. Instead, I take these elements as generic, narrative devices that the individuals in the two cases investigated use to co-author their unique story of organizing themselves as a CSKP.

Furthermore, when exploring the narrative building blocks of frames and scripts in use (see table 3.2), special focus will be given to dilemmas, ambivalences and conflicts that emerge when organizing the CSKP, or in other words, those situations where the implicit, canonical frames and scripts are breached, broken up or in other ways considered violated. This is done because those instances make the otherwise implicit links between the concrete, interactive and unfolding character of organizing a CSKP and the broader social contexts in which it is embedded visible for the researcher. But it is also done, because those organizational moments marked by antagonism and/or ambivalence allow for a more detailed investigation of what I have called boundary-making, that is the narrative process of (re-)negotiating, breaking and (re-)drawing conceptual boundaries so as to organize difference and communalities, or that which separates and links the actors, sectors, objects and relationships of a CSKP in a meaningful way.

Here the character of the CSKP as an arena metaphorically located at the boundary between different sectors is an important factor for making a CSKP a promising object of studying organizing as sensemaking or meaning-making, because when organizing a CSKP the usual interpretative schemes that actors are accustomed to through repeated and unproblematic usage in their respective sectors or organizational domains cannot be employed so easily and smoothly. This is because the arena for organizing a CSKP is by its very nature contested and ambiguous: it brings people from different social and professional backgrounds together and throws them into an arena intentionally located at the intersection of sectors and organizational spheres and thus marked by a multiplicity of available interpretative repertoires. Thus, focusing on meaning-making in and through CSKPs specifically allows this research to explore what Maitlis and Christianson (2014) have called the "pluryvocality of organizations and the much contested nature of organizational meanings" (Ibid. p.81). By focusing on the issue of boundary-making in and through CSKPs, furthermore, this research explores how, in the presence of such a pervasive pluryvocality, the actors in the CSKP arena attempt to establish a common language, a common understanding and a common interest in the face of equally important concerns about safeguarding difference, diversity and autonomy.

In this way, the study aims to formulate a middle-range theory about sensemaking in and through CSKPs. It seeks to formulate concepts and theories with limited conceptual range that deal with the aspect of sensemaking in transdisciplinary research and teaching partnerships

between academic and non-academic partners, in order to provide hypotheses about the meso-level of organizational story-telling that can guide further cycles of empirical investigation and theorizing. In order to do so, I designed an analytical framework that explores the CSKP as a specific organizational boundary-arena, in which intentional actors negotiate social meaning by telling each other a unique organizational story in which they constantly articulate, enact and contest the meaning of who they are and what they do together in reference to the broader social world(s) surrounding them. By operationalizing Taylor and van Every's formal theory on organizations into a simple set of investigative questions—what is the situation?; what should it be?; what are the roles?; what are the objects of value?; what are the modes of exchange?; what are the organizational relationships/identities?—this study delivers a specifically tailored research strategy on exploring meaning-making and story-telling in the two cases of CSKPs investigated in Malmö and Kiel.

Refinement of the research question

The basic research question stated in the introduction read:

- How do individuals engaged in CSKPs make sense of their partnership?

This research question was refined throughout the research project through a constant back and forth between data collection, initial analysis and comparison of results across both cases as well as with the literature on CSKPs and the literature on the sensemaking approach within organizational studies. As a result, the above research question was further developed to suggest three sub-questions:

- How do actors involved in CSKPs frame their initiative by defining their current and a desired future situation?
- How do actors involved in a CSKP script their initiative by defining their objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and organizational identity in the CSKP?
- How exactly does this narrative process of organizational sensemaking in CSKPs enable those that organize them to draw, contest and re-draw conceptual boundaries that separate and link them to each other, and images of a broader social world(s) beyond their immediate situation?

The next steps for this research, addressed in the chapters to follow, are to operationalize this approach methodologically (Chapter 4 - methods), to formulate a suitable narrative of the empirical cases (Chapter 5 – case study empirics), to discuss possible links between the case narrative and sensitizing concepts about closer together (Chapter 6 - discussion) and to draw

conclusions that answer the research questions, reflect about the viability of theoretical and methodological tools employed and potential lesson to be drawn for future research and practice of CSKPs (Chapter 7 - conclusion).

IV Methods

In this chapter, I explain how my specific research interest informed the formulation of a qualitative, comparative case study research design and the case selection procedure (3.1). I furthermore explain how I identified empirical sources of data and appropriate data collection methods (3.2), how the data was approached and analyzed (3.3) and how the whole research process addresses issues of validity concerning the kind of knowledge produced (3.4).

4.1 Research design: qualitative comparative case study & case Selection

Because this study seeks to produce context-sensitive understanding of the process of sensemaking in and through CSKPs, it employs a qualitative, i.e. small-n, case study design investigating two cases of CSKPs. George and Bennet (2005) state that small-n, qualitative case studies are especially suited for inductive theory building, in which a case is investigated intensively in an exploratory mode (Ibid., p.262). This approach enables me to research the subjects' understanding of what they do in their own terms as the building block of theorizing and in so doing ensures that refined and specific concepts about sensemaking in CSKPs are context-sensitive and grounded in the inter-subjective construction of the phenomenon of interest by those who constitute it (cf. Mayring, 2002, p.22). This kind of approach allows for context-sensitive observations that in turn can form the basis for formulating contingent theories and refined hypotheses, or building blocks for more comprehensive theorizing as additional cases are examined within a subsequent, deductive (hypothesis-testing) and larger-n comparative case study (Ibid.; cf. Gerring 2007, p.39; Yin 2003; Stake 2005, p.450; Bryman 2008, p.373). The comparative angle introduced by cross-case analysis of two CSKPs increases the external validity of emerging concepts from each case study (Eisenhardt 2007, p.27). This iteration between within-case analysis on the one hand and cross-case comparison on the other helps to avoid the pitfalls of inductive, single case studies, most notably overgeneralizing their 'parochial' (Sartori 1991, p.247) conclusions so as to establish relevance for a broader population of (unexamined) cases (George and Bennett, p.254, 261). Thus, combining in-depth

analysis of a single case with cross-case comparison is helpful for reflecting about what kind of observed patterns are more general in scope and which ones are more limited in range (Gerring 2007, p.13). At the same time, grounding emergent theorizing in a context sensitive study of a small number of cases reduces the danger of conceptual overstretch and reductionism that is inherent in quantitative cross-case comparison, as they swallow much case-specific detail in order to accommodate too many cases (Flyvbjerg 2006; Muno 2009, p.121-122).

However, the way I approached the phenomenon of CSKPs and defined my cases was not predetermined at the outset of the investigation (Ibid, p.4, Flyvbjerg 2006, p.231). Instead, I focused on gradually producing a plausible "casing" of my phenomenon of interest, by continuously refining what kind of observations would constitute the case within my case study (Ragin 1992, p.218). This means that, throughout my research, I refined the relationship between observations made and the case that could be theoretically constructed on the basis of these observations. In other words, the general research direction was determined by constantly moving back and forth between linking (emergent) concepts with evidence and preliminary scientific theory with ongoing research practice (Ibid., p.218; cf. Gerring 2007, p.41¸ cf. Flyvbjerg 2006, p.236). In addition to gradually developing the case from observation, I simultaneously and continuously developed it through better grounding of preliminary analytical descriptions in the existing theory (Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010). During data collection, I employed and refined the emerging concepts in reference to the more formal theoretical accounts of the sensemaking school in organizational studies and specifically Taylor and van Every's work on analyzing organizing in reference to Aborigas Greimas' theoretical account of narrative elements in Russian fairytales (Taylor and van Every 2000). This grounding of emergent theorizing in a pre-existing theory help to advance the investigation by working on fitting emergent casing and theory together into a new, adapted version of the sensemaking approach that would fit specifically to the study of CSKPs (and thus be a step towards the envisaged middle-range theory of CSKPs).

This case study, then, can be defined as a study in which initial observations are made in order to (re-)construct the phenomenon observed into a case, which in turn is approached as an instance or unit of a larger class (or population) of cases (Abbott 1992, p.53; Gerring 2007, p.19; Patton 2002, p.228). On the one hand this means that my theoretical casing of CSKPs is constituted by various within-case observations (Gerring 2007, p.21) or embedded units of analysis (Yin 2003, p.25). But it further means that within-case observations are treated as building blocks (or "mini-cases", Stake 2005, p.451), which, taken together, allow me to draw some plausible inferences pertaining the complex nature of the case as a whole. This case in

turn needs to speak to the larger class or population of cases, so as to climb up the ladder of abstraction and arrive at a higher-order, more general account of the phenomenon.

In the constant comparative approach, the within-case observation, the case and the larger population of cases are nested within each other. Determining their relationship is only possible in reference to the methodological and theoretical propositions employed to ground the initial research interest in the empirics and to guide the process of gradual refinement of initial analytical accounts towards a more general, theoretically relevant representation of the empirics in a middle-range theory of CSKPs (cf. Gerring 2007, p.26).

4.1.1 Case selection as case construction

This study is not trying to question or confirm existing theory, but is rather interested in the phenomenon of CSKP's as such.

Accordingly, my first sampling of potentially interesting instances of CSKPs was more phenomenon-driven than theory-driven (Eisenhardt 2007, p.26). However, in the course of studying the phenomenon I adapted existing theory (sensemaking) in order to build an analytical frame that fitted the purpose of exploring the phenomenon in more detail. Thereby, I followed Rapley (2013), who considers the first, initial casing of the case in a case study not as definitive, but instead as the starting point for a research project. This allowed me to explore the phenomenon of CSKPs in an increasingly rigorous way, by multiplying and analytically aggregating theoretically promising observations from the starting point onward (Rapley 2013 p.53, cf. Patton 2002, p.236).

Through the continuous exploration of my initial, phenomenon-driven casing (the CSKP as monolithic entity), I gradually developed a refined casing through continuous analytical interpretation of my data from interviews and program documents, as well as continuous exploration of the available theories in organizational studies that would correspond with my initial analysis. In this way the process of sensemaking in and through CSKPs was eventually carved out as the central theoretical case of interest that would lend itself well to being further developed together with the data stemming from my exploration of two, specific and unique instances of CSKPs.

At the same time, more pragmatic considerations were relevant for this choice of casing the phenomenon of CSKPs as a process of organizing as (narrative) sensemaking.

As Stake (2005) argues, selecting cases for a qualitative case study should be based on

assessing which cases offer the most opportunities to learn (Ibid., p.451). He explains that this "may mean taking the one most accessible or the one we can spend the most time with. Potential for learning is a different and sometimes superior criterion to representativeness" (Ibid.).

Thus, when conducting this case study, considerations of feasibility were crucial, because the explorative character of this study required to select cases that were accessible and could be accompanied for a longer stretch of time. More specifically, when approaching the issue of case selection, my initial requirements for suitable candidates for a case study were that they

- are longer-term efforts that are still ongoing;
- involve actors from different sectors with a focus on bringing science and society closer together;
- signal openness for participating in a lengthy research process through interviews, workshops and giving access to crucial, potentially sensitive program documents;
- are geographically and culturally accessible (especially in terms of language), so as to enable me to spend considerable amount of time in the field and communicate with the CSKP participants in a direct and efficient way.

Based on these pragmatic research criteria, two potential CSKPs were excluded because they were located in Southern and Northern America respectively. Another potential case in the Netherlands was excluded because, on closer inspection, it was neither a cooperation between university and outside partners (the civil society claimed to be included by the university actors turned out to be students who participated in the project as part of their education), nor was it actually realized, but still in a planning phase. Another promising case was eventually excluded (after considerable work was invested in gaining access and conducting expert interviews), because the CSKP turned out, on closer inspection, to be in a process of increasing organizational meltdown and dysfunction, which had the effect that initially promised access to participants, partners and program documents was increasingly retracted, up to a point where I had to make the difficult decision not to further invest time and resources in trying to force myself into this (undoubtedly interesting) case.

Yet, the two CSKPs eventually chosen for this study also need to fulfill some basic requirements of a comparative case study, i.e. provide a necessary degree of variation and similarity in possible observations, so as to allow reflection about which of the emerging concepts concerning sensemaking in a CSKP are broader and which are more limited in scope. Here I followed Yin's logic of replication, which considers a comparative case study setting as akin to an experimental strategy, in which significant findings from one single case study should be replicated (or tested) in subsequent cross-case comparisons in order to increase external

validity (Yin 2003, p.47; Maxwell and Chmiel 2013, p.546). He states, that each individual case study should be done as a single-case study. The respective conclusions drawn from each case should then be considered propositions needing replication in the other case (Yin2003, p.50). The logic of replication within Yin's case study design indicates an iterative process that is reflective of the issue that the specific and unique social context of a case bears significantly on the nature of the case. Thus, a replication-oriented comparative case study seeks greater validity (or generalizability) of its findings by requiring the case study researcher to cross-check emergent findings from one case study within a second one. Because the context of the two cases necessarily differs to some extent, conclusions that are supported by evidence from both of the two cases have an expanded generalizability and validity (Ibid, p.53; Grünbaum 2007, p.91).

4.1.2 Case selection: the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development in Malmö and opencampus in Kiel

In order to make the comparison valuable in context of an explorative, theory-building case study, I aimed for maximizing contrasts between the CSKPs, because a contrasting sample would highlight differences in context and conditions relevant for a more comprehensive theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of interest—sensemaking in and through CSKPs (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr 2014., p.126; Yin 2003, p.54). Accordingly, I chose two CSKPs placed in comparable but contrasting contexts: both cases are located in Western Europe within Member States of the EU, one in Germany and the other one in Sweden.

The cities they are located in—Kiel and Malmö—are of roughly similar size and display comparable economic development and important demographic features. However, there are significant differences in terms of political culture, economic structures and academic traditions. Malmö has a short but intense history of university-city-civil society collaboration that builds on a political culture that is open to cross-sectoral partnerships. Its university college is relatively new and was founded by the city as part of an urban renewal strategy (B. Persson 2010, p.5; Pätsch 2015, p.12-13). Malmö University is centrally organized and embedded in a pragmatic tradition of applied science. The university in Kiel, by contrast, has a proud tradition as an independent academic institution that dates back to 1665. It is less centrally organized and consists of more independent faculties in the tradition of humanist science and has only recently and gradually opened up to more cross-sectoral cooperations in research and education with

local, non-academic partners in the city and region. With respect to the institutional context, both CSKPs accordingly have very different and contrasting trajectories. This would endow observations of similarity between these two very different cases with a higher degree of generality.

The difference in institutional context is also mirrored in the cases: The Institute for Sustainable Urban Development (ISU) in Malmö is a longer-standing initiative that dates back to 2002 (when it was called SEKUM) as a project run by mid-level officials in the city administration and heads of department at the university, and funded through a joint investment of the City of Malmö and the university (after an initial phase in which the city administration used external EU funds to kick off the initiative). It gradually expanded to include more city administrative units and university departments. Its basic objective is to increase collaboration between the city and university in order to support the production of more excellent and relevant research and training (on sustainable urban development) that would benefit both institutions and Malmö at large.

The opencampus initiative in Kiel by contrast is a relatively new initiative (it started in 2009 as Campus Business Box, CBB), which is also more bottom-up and outside-in than the Malmö case. Opencampus was initiated by students, who in concert with local businesses tried to establish more relevant, initially extracurricular training for students at the university. It subsequently gained more, but essentially individual and ad-hoc support by middle-rank university academics and city administrators. Because of this outsider position vis-a-vis established institutions, but also because it received external funding from a national foundation, opencampus is much more independent from its partner organizations than the initiative in Malmö, which is funded and in this way 'owned' by its partner organizations. However, as the external funding for the Kiel initiative is limited to a two-year kick-off period, mainstreaming into the university, establishing more formal relationships with city administration and business partners and ensuring continuous funding are important for its organizational development. In this way it resembles to some extent the earlier phase of mainstreaming that the Malmö CSKP had already accomplished. Conversely, the present state of the Malmö initiative resembles to some extent a possible future state for the initiative in Kiel. Thus, because both initiatives are located at different phases of their life cycle, they offer contrasting insights into sensemaking in both early and later phases of organizational maturity. This allows the retrospective accounts about the CSKP's beginning in Malmö, as well as the prospective accounts about the envisaged future for the initiative in Kiel, to be complemented and critically evaluated through the mirror of real-time observations of possible past and future in the present state of the other case

respectively.

Both initiatives accordingly follow comparable but different development paths, are located at different stages in their development and offer good insights into the influence of different structural contexts and stakeholder constellations on the process of organizing a CSKP. On the other hand, both initiatives display similarities that are crucial for the study interest in sensemaking: both are based on the principle of mutual gain (or win-win) and capacity and community building through cooperation and both, in one way or another, aim at conferring more legitimacy to the activities of the individuals, departments, institutions or organizations involved. Most importantly though, both follow the idea that cross-sector cooperation will make academic research and/or training more relevant and useful for the immediate social environment of city and region, while the input from outside actors will help improve the quality of academic research and training.

At the same time, the two CSKPs were at a crucial and problematic point in their development, which promised relevant observations of the process of organizing-as-sensemaking, because those involved in the CSKPs had to re-adjust and change their activities and operations and accordingly had to openly articulate, discuss and reflect on the nature and purpose of what they were doing in their CSKP. During the time of field research, the initiative in Malmö was involved in a reflection and re-organization phase, because the project's funding period was about to expire and in order to be extended those involved in the CSKP needed to show what they had done in the past years, as well as realign its operations and activities to the shifting needs of its mother organizations and individual stakeholders within the city administration and university departments. At the time the CSKP in Kiel was entering a phase of re-organization, mainstreaming into the university, scaling up and formalizing its operations (i.e. relaunching CBB's various interventions as opencampus), which meant that its taken-for-granted ways of organizing needed to be re-defined vis-a-vis new partners, new needs and new institutional constellations. This situation in turn also allowed me to gain access, because in both cases an outside observer was seen as a welcome contribution to the reflection and transition process.

4.2 Collection of empirical material

After the cases were selected, I developed a methodological apparatus that would allow me to adopt different angles from which to look at the CKSPs so as to triangulate meaning. I defined

different data collection strategies as well as different data sources (Gibbert and Ruigrok 2010, p.713) in order to increase the plausibility of the knowledge generated from both CSKPs (cf. Yin 2003, p.21; Gerring 2007, p.173). For this reason, three major methods of observation were chosen:

Interviews of CSKP core members and their partners to observe

- the CSKPs as a collection of individuals and their accounts of the social reality of the CSKP and
- the CSKPs as an organizational entity seen by actors from relevant partner organizations and outside observers.

Two focus groups of CSKP core members and their partner per case to observe

- the CSKP as a cross-sector, organizational community.

Document analysis of CSKP program documents, partner program documents and literature about the immediate context of the CSKP to observe

- the CSKP as an organizational text for internal use and outside audiences and
- the CSKP within its immediate spatial, organizational and temporal context.

As is typical with an exploratory, constant comparative research project, relevant angles on the phenomenon were identified and data sources sampled along the way as the central case of interest gradually materialized and theoretical concepts developed from the different kinds of data collected through continuous and circular rounds of comparative analysis (including the comparison of emerging concepts against existing theories in the literature, Goldkuhl and Cronholm 2010). This in turn informed new iterations of casing, helped me to identify theoretically relevant categories and classifications and allowed me to refine and adjust the explorative direction of my research (Flick 2009, p.407-408, Fram 2013, p.19-20). (for a more detailed argument about the theoretical foundations of this approach, see section 3.1.1, for a description of the analytical dimension of this approach, see section 4.3.2)

Here, a schematic visualization of this iterative case study process:

Figure 4.1 – Iterative case study process

Iterative Case Study Process
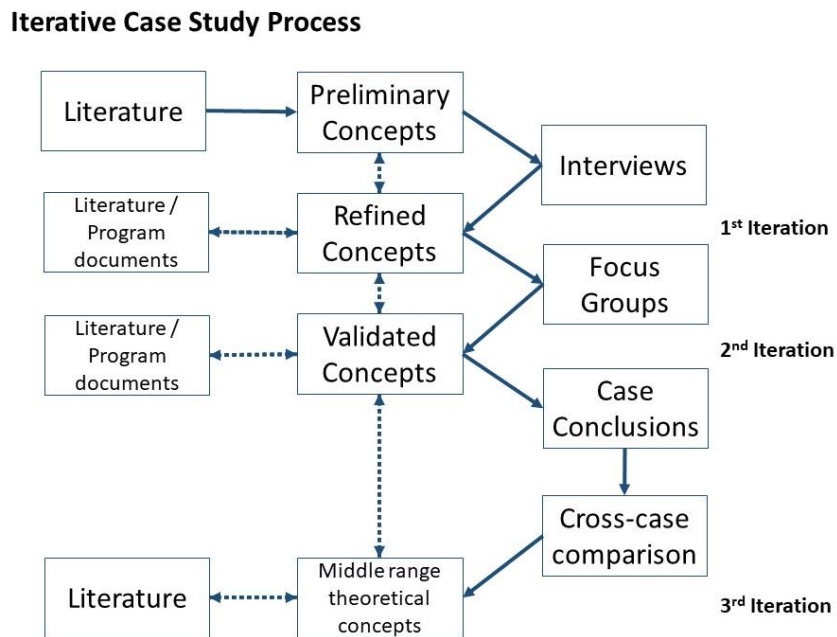
(Source: author)

The graphic above shows how this research project executed the constant comparative approach methodologically and how the data produced during each observational step were informed by, as well as linked back (through comparative analysis) to, preliminary concepts, data and analysis stemming from the previous round of data collection and analysis. However, it is important to note that the schematic visualization of the research process above is somewhat idealized. In reality the process did not so neatly fall into different phases but was overlapping and uneven (e.g. depending on varying degrees of access to program documents or interviewees, on my ability to transcribe and analyze interviews before the next round of interviewing, or my ability to time interviews and focus groups).

The above constant comparative circle was conducted for each of the two cases separately to arrive at analytical conclusions in close fit with the empirical case. Only in a subsequent step (and in accordance with Yin's replication approach to comparative case study cf. Yin 2010, pp.208) were the separate conclusions linked so as to produce a "multi-case" (Abbott 1992, p.72) discussion, meaning to isolate and further develop only those analytical accounts that equally fit to both cases and thus could serve as a middle-ground or middle-range theory of CSKPs (cf. chapter 5).

The purpose of first exploring the respective CSKP as a unique case detached from the

other case in the comparison, is to explore its own story in its complexity, before summarizing and consolidating findings across cases (cf. Flyvbjerg 2008, p.238).

4.2.1 Interviews

Since the case of interest for this study is, how people in their conversation with each other produce meaning or make sense of their activities in and around a cross-sector knowledge partnership, its central data is derived from interviews. By selecting interviews as a central data source and observation technique, this study simultaneously assumes that a) an exploration of the meaning of CSKPs can be analytically anchored in studying language and b) that language use in interactive talk constitutes the most important empirical source for this investigation (Taylor and van Every 2000, p.58; cf. Alvesson and Kärreman 2001, p.1126). It accordingly assumes that the people organizing CSKPs are essential "conversational creatures that live a dialogical life" (Brinkmann 2013, p.2) and enact their CSKP through conversations and talk such as that produced by an interview (Ibid, p.1-2; Rapley 2001, p.303).

However, interviews provide narratives (De Fina 2009), and as Taylor and van Every (2002) point out, narrative accounts do not provide causal explanations, but a basis for interpretation as to why someone acted as he or she did (Ibid, p.43). Interviews are thus a suitable method for this study to observe the CSKP members' reasoning for why things are happening, as it is impossible to observe actual causes (cf. Ibid; Bruner 1991, p.7). Thus, although interview accounts provide an important angle for understanding the social reality of an organization, they are problematic as well, because they are necessarily partial and incomplete and can even be distorted by interviewees engaging in "moral story-telling" or "impression management", i.e. presenting themselves in a positive light with respect to what they assume is socially desirable or desired by the researcher (Alvesson 2003, p.21; Hollway and Jefferson 2000, p.36; Wilkinson 1998, p.119-120; Brown et al 2008, p.1042).

That is why this study uses a diverse sample of knowledgeable informants from different organizational levels (top-to-bottom) and layers (core-to-periphery), because it helped to establish a mutual check on individual interview accounts by supplying diverse perspectives on the phenomena in question (Eisenhardt 2007, p.28). This ensures that observing the CSKP members' reasoning as drawn from individual, retrospective interview accounts will, when compared, allow for a more valid interpretation on the multifaceted, evolving and complex nature of sensemaking. The individuals sampled for this case study on sensemaking within

CSKPs accordingly include actors from different hierarchical levels (leadership vs. rank and file) within the organizational core of the CSKP to ensure contrasting perspectives on it. Because the core members of the CSKPs constitute a rather small group in both cases, the sample is in fact representative: In both CSKPs, I interviewed everyone in the leadership and its rank and file (n=8 across both CSKPs).

However, in order to get a more comprehensive view on organizational sensemaking in a CSKP, another important, complementary angle are the accounts of outside partners (i.e. those cooperating with the CSKP but not part of its day-to-day organization). Thus, relevant outside partners were identified mainly through "snowball sampling" or chain-referral sampling (Robinson 2014, p.37), in which I followed interviewees' suggestions or identified potential interviewees from program documents (Patton 2002, p.237). Based on this, I selected potential interviewees when they a) were mentioned prominently or often in interviews or CSKP program documents, b) promised contrasting or crucial information on the case and the theoretical questions emerging from its analysis and c) were available and willing to participate (on this unit n=20 across both CSKPs).

Table 4.2 – Interviews conducted

	Malmö (ISU)	Kiel (OC)
Data Collection Period	Feb.2014 April 2014	Jan-Feb. 2014 March 2014 May 2014
CSKP leadership	2	1
CSKP file and rank	4	1
CSKP partners	9	11
Total interviews	15	13

Interview technique: Semi-structured discursive interview

When conducting interviews, it is challenging to a) produce specific and comparable information in a relatively short time, while b) remaining as open as possible for the interviewee to communicate the information he deemed relevant and their personal perspective (Gollnick 2013, p.102). For these reasons, a semi-structured interview format was chosen, or "focused narrative interview" (Brinkmann 2013, p.20; Helfferich 2014, p.568), because it enabled me to

follow up on evolving issues deemed important by my interviewees in the course of the interview. At the same time, it gave me a crucial amount of control in setting the focus on issues important for my research interest (Brinkmann 2013, p.21, p.25; Helfferich 2014, p.560).

More specifically, among the many different ways on how to design and conduct semi-structured interviews, Carsten Ullrich's (1999) method of "discursive interviewing" was selected, because it describes in very concrete ways how interviews should be designed in order to produce data suitable for analyzing sensemaking. Central for his approach is the design of interview guidelines and questions that aim to bring the interviewee into a position in which she has to "evoke" interpretative schemes (frames and scripts)[4] in her answers (Ibid, p.6, 9). In order to do this, the guidelines need to contain open questions that invite or call on the interviewee to

- share their knowledge about a relevant issues or situations (e.g. "what is your understanding of…?"),
- describe a relevant situation (e.g. "how did this happen?", "what happened then?")
- evaluate issues, aspects or specific situations (e.g. "how can you tell that…?")
- provide reasons for certain actions or situations (e.g. "how did you decide that…?", "what was the reason for…?") (Ibid, p.16-17).

The following interview guideline (Figure 3.2 below) was accordingly designed to contain open questions about crucial aspects or dimensions of a CSKP, so as to enable the interview respondents to "tell their story" of the CSKP—from past via present to its future; from inputs to the CSKP via its activities and outcomes to its goals; from their own organizational role and expectations to those of other partners and non-involved (but affected) third parties. At the same time, each question was designed to invite interviewees to evoke relevant narrative logics by asking them to take positions on the issues raised and to defend their perceptions, opinions, and actions. Every question thus had two parts: The first part was aimed at getting the respondent to define their criteria (e.g. "what constitutes success?") and the second part to describe their indicators (e.g. "how can you tell?") (cf. Oels 2003, p.132).

Finally, I used a few props for story-telling or evaluative reasoning, e.g. I asked the respondents to draw me the structure of the CSKP (question 4), or provided them with an evaluative chart to rate people and partner organizations in terms of their importance for the CSKP (question 11)—both of which were devices to force the respondents to prioritize, reason explicitly and defend their choices (they were accompanied with questions like: "why did you choose to draw it this way/choose this person?")

---

[4] Ullrich calls them "Deutungsmuster" or interpretative patterns.

Table 4.3 – Interview guideline for semi-structured interviews in both CSKPs

Semi-structured Interview questions / Narrative Stimuli
1. Please tell me briefly who you are and when and why you started to work for/with the initiative?
2. Please tell me how the initiative came about?
3. What is your/your organization's role in the initiative?
4. Can you please draw me the structure of the initiative?
5. From your perspective, when would the initiative be a success? (How can you tell?)
6. What are the most important activities of the initiative? (How can you tell?) And in the future, what should it be?
7. Concretely: What worked particularly well and what is rather problematic? (How can you tell?)
8. What impact does the initiative have on your own work? What do you hope for the future? (How can you tell?)
9. What kind of impact does the initiative have on its partners' work? (How can you tell?) What do you hope for the future?
10. What kind of impact does the initiative have on the region / city? (How can you tell?) What do you hope for the future?
11. Who of the people/partners working for the initiative is crucial for bringing about the results in this initiative? (How can you tell?) Who will be important in the future?
12. Do you have any concerns about the initiative not living up to expectation? (How can you tell?)
13. What are the major resources of the initiative? – and what will they be in the future?
14. What do you think will be the likely future development of initiative? (How can you tell?)
15. Can you imagine circumstances in which you have to quit working for / leaving the initiative? (How can you tell?)
16. If a colleague from another city, or another region comes to you: What advice would you give him for building his initiative?

(Source: author)

Interviewee access and confidentiality

In order to get access to the CSKPs and their partners for interviews, I presented my work to the leadership of each CSKP as a study that would condense and share insights from the interviews in a later stage workshop (cf. Section 3.2.2 on focus groups). I also promised anonymity and confidentiality, which was mainly achieved by making personal data anonymous in the transcripts (through pseudonyms, grouping individual statements as classes or types, and omission of personal information). However, since the CSKPs studied are small (especially in respect to their core groups of leadership and employees), as well as the

qualitative character of this study and its reliance on rather lengthy quotes from the interviews, absolute anonymity is not feasible (Saunders et al 2015a, p.618; Saunders et al 2015b, p.134).

Interview setting and transcription

After a brief, standardized introduction into the aims and purpose of the study, I asked each interviewee's permission to record the interview and assured the best possible confidentiality of their personal data, so that they could give an informed, verbal consent to be part of the study. When consent was obtained, the interview followed the guidelines presented above, which were not shared beforehand in order to obtain more spontaneous answers and observe the reflection and story-telling dimension of their account unfolding in the interview conversation.

Each interview was conducted face-to-face, lasted about 45-60 minutes and was held either at the interviewee's office or an available conference room at their workplace. They were conducted either in German in the case of opencampus in Kiel or English with the ISU in Malmö. The fact that English was the language of the interview in the Swedish CSKP might be assumed to diminish the quality of the interview data obtained. However, in no interview with the Swedish case did major communication issues emerge, since all involved were working in an international work environment in which English is a regularly used language. Additionally, the fact that the interview was conducted in another language than their own enabled respondents to reflect on the linguistic differences between the English and the Swedish term, so as to point out the peculiarity of the Swedish expression. In this respect, my disadvantage in not speaking Swedish and as a stranger to the local conversation opened up new avenues for explication and explanation (and thus sensemaking) that might otherwise would not have presented themselves (cf. Oels 2003, p.126).

The interviews were transcribed (i.e. usually within the month) in the language in which the interview was conducted, using a combination of voice-recognition and transcription software to speed up the process. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, with slight corrections in terms of grammar and coherence to improve subsequent readability (e.g. "ehms" were deleted). Peculiarities of expression and emphatic emphasis of terms were marked in the transcribed text in brackets, as well as situations where the recording was unintelligible or so unclear that it allowed for more than one possible transcription. Each interview is supplied with a unique alphabetical code (e.g. IA, IB, …IZ) and ordered internally by marking questions by the interviewer and answers given by the interviewee with a paragraph number (e.g. P35). Accordingly, whenever in the subsequent case analysis chapters a quote stems from an

interview it is followed by a parenthesis like this one: (IA P67)

4.2.2 Focus groups

The interviews were transcribed and an initial analysis was conducted, which served as the basis for subsequent data analysis in which focus group techniques were used.

In general, conducting focus groups can serve as a method of data collection on the phenomenon studied as a collective, in order to complement individual accounts collected through for example interviews. Focus groups are particularly suited to "explore group characteristics and dynamics as relevant constitutive forces in the construction of meaning and the practice of social life" (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2005, p.902; cf. Barbour 2013, p.315). They can enable the researcher to observe collective orientations in the process of formation, because in the group conversation individuals are forced to take positions and defend them vis-a-vis others, which allows the dynamic and interactive character of sensemaking to unfold and become visible to the researcher (cf. Vogl 2014, p.582). A focus group setting accordingly produces a more authentic and natural environment for research observations concerning collective dimensions and common frames of reference in sensemaking when compared to individual interviews (cf. Flick 2009, p.197; Kidd and Parshall2000, p.294).

However, in this research project focus groups served mainly to refine and cross-validate (or contextualize) the preliminary analysis derived from the data obtained from individual interviews (Morgan 1988, p.31; Morgan 1996). Thus, served to address the requirement of inductive, comparative theorizing to gradually build theoretical concepts and categories from continuous iterations between data collection, analysis, validation of preliminary concepts and identification of additional data and collection sites necessary for continuing the research cycle until sufficient plausibility (or saturation) of emerging concepts is reached (cf. Charmaz 2014, p.89; Creswell 2014, p.189). Because the focus group constituted an round of verificaation that was as well qualitatively different from the previous round of individual interviews, it helped to triangulate preliminary concepts developed from analyzing individual interview narratives of the CSKP (cf. Flick 2009, p.121), by suppling a feedback loop in which preliminary results derived from the interviews were discussed with those who participated in them (Vogl 2014, p.581). In this way, the focus group allowed the CSKP as a group to challenge my conceptualizations and representations. The focus groups accordingly gave them a way "to speak back" to their representation within my scientific analysis, which in

turn enabled me to reflect and to avoid "premature consolidation" of my categories and explanations (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2005, p.903; cf. Wilkinson 1999, p.117).

Focus group design, recruitment and setting

The focus group sessions were held after the expert interviews were obtained, transcribed and analyzed. In preparation for the focus groups I attempted a first synthesis of emerging conceptualizations from the interviews. In order to effectively communicate these preliminary findings, a logic model of each CSKP's organizational action-oriented narrative, or "theory of change", was produced. A logic model or causal pathway model is a way of illustrating visually the multifaceted and complex relationships between actions and outcomes as part of a broader program logic (or theory) underlying an initiative, project or organization (Anderson 2006, p.3; Blamey et al 2013; cf. Section 3.3.3). This model or map of the CSKP, then, was used as a stimulus or discussion aid for the focus group discussion (cf. Stewart et al. 2009, p.92). Other important stimuli were direct (but anonymized) quotes from individual interviews that were either typical or extreme, but in both cases poignant and vivid in their descriptive or metaphorical account of the CSKP or important issues pertaining to it, so as to open up discussion, rather than suggest consensus. In concert, the theoretical model and the concrete narratives provided allowed me to probe emerging concepts.

In total two focus groups per CSKP were held as part of the iterative process of gradual refinement of my casing, meaning the results obtained from the first focus group session were used to re-interpret the interviews, to re-aggregate them into a new logic model of the CSKP, to be once more presented to and discussed by the CSKP as a group in a second focus group setting (cf. figure 3.2 above).

For each focus group session, I sent email invitations to all those who participated in the previous interview round. This had the unintended result that in the first Malmö focus group only one partner (of the nine partners interviewed) showed up, mainly due to scheduling reasons. Accordingly, for the second focus group session I adopted a more targeted recruiting of external partners (including follow-up phone calls after the invitation was sent), which also took their scheduling needs into account and resulted into a higher participation rate among CSKP partners (see figure below). In Kiel, on the other hand, the first invitation was also extended to some partners who could not previously participate in an interview. As a consequence, the number of partners in the focus group session exceeded the number of partners

previously interviewed (12 in the focus group, 11 previously interviewed). This unanticipated high turn-out of partners resulted in a group size that exceeded the size usually recommended for a focus group (5 to 10), with 6 to 8 preferred (Krueger and Casey 2002, p.1). This led to a more formal, less interactive atmosphere in which responses tended to be shorter and more superficial (cf. Krueger and Casey 2015, p.382-383). This was also due to some of the partner organizations sending employees not previously involved in the research project and not familiar enough with the CSKP to be knowledgeable participants in the focus group discussion. Thus, for the second focus group in Kiel as well, a more targeted recruitment strategy was adopted to get fewer, more knowledgeable participants.

Table 4.4 – Focus group participation

	Malmö	Kiel
First Focus Group	June 18th 2014	June 3rd 2014
Participants (CSKP core members) (Outside partners)	7 (6) (1)	13 (1) (12)
Second Focus Group	September 3rd 2014	December 18th 2014
Participants (CSKP core members) (Outside partners)	9 (6) (3)	8 (2) (6)

Each focus group lasted for 4 hours, broken down into 4 sets à 45 minutes, with two 10-minute breaks and at half time a longer break lasting ca. 15-20 minutes. The first half was used for my presentation and subsequent general comments concerning the model as a whole, while the second set was for more in-depth discussion of crucial segments of the model and emerging issues.

Each focus group was recorded with the consent of the participants and assurance of safeguarding their personal data. Immediately after the focus group session, I made a protocol to capture important aspects of the setting, developments in the discussion and positions taken. The recordings were transcribed soon after the focus groups, also because I promised to provide documentation about the session to CSKP partners in a timely fashion. In comparison to the interviews, they were transcribed in a less detailed fashion as a summarized result log, but entailed more information on setting and interactive elements of the research situation.

The few times direct quotes from the focus group sessions are used within the case

analysis they are marked by a FG1 or FG2 to indicate whether they stem from the result log of the first or second focus group conducted in each respective case, and then followed by indication where in the focus group's result log the quote can be found (e.g. P47 for paragraph 47). A quote from a focus group is accordingly followed by a parenthesis, like this one: (FG1 P47).

4.2.3 Document analysis

In addition to the interviews and focus groups I conducted a document analysis. This served the purpose to corroborate factual statements from interviews, but more importantly also as an additional source of data that would allow for an alternative perspective on the construction and codification of meaning of the respective CSKP. For these purposes, two broader categories of documents were used: a) program documents of the CSKPs (for internal as well as external use); b) documents about the immediate CSKP context (program documents of partner organizations, academic and gray literature). These documents were analyzed with different degrees of rigor and intensity depending on how directly related they were to the CSKP under investigation. Those documents used to simply corroborate factual statements made by other sources (especially interviews) were less intensively analyzed than those relevant for clarifying central theoretical concepts emerging from the investigation.

A) Program documents of the CSKPs (for internal as well as external use)

In both cases, as much documentation on the CSKPs was collected as possible. This was not only important for gathering background information, clarifying historical detail or to fill in important informational gaps that were left over from the selective and incomplete interview accounts. The various kinds of program documentation produced by the CSKP for internal and/or external use were especially valuable as an independent, qualitatively different source of data that complemented my investigation into sensemaking in and through CSKPs (cf. Wolff 2004, p.288).

Taylor and van Every (2010) argue that organizational texts are central for sensemaking, because they fix and codify (or formalize) conversations and in this way embody the organization in a very concrete yet transcending way. Program documents are often the result of local conversations, and also (subsequently) organize many conversations in many places

and many times (Ibid, p.31). In this way, program documents, like strategic plans or evaluations, serve as an organizational center around which conversations and practices coalesce (Taylor and van Every 2010, p.152, p.174-175). Thus, official program documents were included in order to allow for investigating "institutional traces", i.e. to sensitize my interpretation for the relationship between text and talk in organizational sensemaking.

However, in this research project the analysis of documents was also instrumental in triangulating data sources and in this way helped me refine theoretical ideas developed from the interviews and focus groups. Because they were originally produced for another purpose than my research (unlike the interviews), they allowed for an unobtrusive and non-reactive observation of issues directly relevant for the day-to-day sensemaking in and through a CSKP (cf. Bowen 2009, p.31; Charmaz 2014, p.46). Including program documentation in this investigation accordingly provided an important opportunity to check, refine and develop the emerging theoretical concepts and categories about sensemaking in CSKPs that formed from analyzing the interviews and focus groups. They provided complementary and independent evidence as well as contrasting viewpoints that helped to contextualize and refine my developing understanding of sensemaking in CSKPs (cf. Flick 2009, p.259). Two kinds of program documents were important for different reasons:

- Program documents for primarily internal use, such as meeting minutes and documentation of activities, were especially important to trace the process of *meaning-making within the CSKP*.
- Program documents intended for an external audience, such as reports for funders, publications and self-portrayal on web pages, Twitter and Facebook, addressed the dimension of *meaning-making through the CSKP*, as they are intended to present a meaningful, coherent and identifiable entity towards its relevant social and institutional environment.

I identified and obtained both kinds of program documents by asking CSKP members at the end of each interview whether they knew of relevant program documents and could point me in the right direction or grant me access to them directly. I also obtained program documents (especially those targeted for external audiences) was through Internet research and by collecting them at CSKP events.

The most important program documents obtained were detailed minutes of meetings and annual reports to partner organizations and funders (in the case of the initiative in Malmö) and application documents for external grants, in which a detailed account was given about prior accomplishments and intended proceedings (in the case of the Kiel initiative).

In order to be systematically included in the study, all program documentation obtained

was downloaded or scanned and electronically archived as a subcategory of empirical data within the total data corpus of data. In this way it could subsequently be coded together with those accounts stemming from interviews and focus groups by help of the coding software.

B) Documents about immediate CSKP context

This category of documents was especially relevant for gaining a better understanding about the immediate regional, cultural-historic and institutional context of the CSKPs investigated. It contained three kinds of texts:

- Program documents about the institutional context surrounding the CSKP (especially program documents containing detailed information and self-portrayal of the CSKP's partner organizations),
- Official policy documents that were mentioned within interviews, focus groups or CSKP program documents as important reference (e.g. the report of the Malmö Commission about urban development in Malmö [Malmö Commission 2012] or the report of Regional Development Committee of the Kiel Region in respect to recommended strategies for economic development [REK 2013]) and
- Newspaper articles, academic studies and other sources that corroborated or supplemented the stories from interviews or program documents with additional information about the regional socio-economic, cultural or political-institutional context (e.g. academic literature about Malmö's urban renewal policies since the early 2000s [Holgersen 2014, Baeten 2012]; gray literature about demographic and economic development in the Kiel Region [IW Consult 2013]; newspaper articles about regional developments and specific events relevant to the investigation [SHZ 2015]).

Those documents directly mentioned as relevant by interviewees or those mentioning the CSKP under investigation specifically were treated with more analytical rigor than those texts whose primary purpose was to supplement or corroborate a story provided in interviews, focus groups or program documents. This means that documents directly related to the CSKP in question were systematically included in the data set for intense study through coding, and those documents clarifying information were rather consulted in an ad hoc style when needed.

The analysis of these types of documents constituted a vital but secondary instrument within my inductive, explorative research approach, because it enabled me to identify patterns, develop conceptual boundaries and improve the fit and relevance of my emerging analysis of sensemaking in and through CSKPs by providing an alternative perspective for comparison with the primary, i.e. more central methods of observation, interviews and focus groups (cf. Bowen 2009, p.37).

4.3. Analysis: open coding and focused coding

Program documents, interview data and focus group data were all coded and integrated into a single coding system. The whole coding procedure was designed in two coding cycles, which built on each other so as to derive a sufficiently plausibly mid-range theoretical perspective on sensemaking in and through CSKPs from the empirical data. These cycles are initial or open coding and focused coding. Both coding steps were completed in succession in order to allow for an initially open exploration and a subsequent reduction of complexity through focusing, selecting and aggregating.

4.3.1 Initial open coding

During the initial coding, I followed Ryan and Bernard's (2003) technique for identifying themes (Ibid, pp.89-93; Saldana 2012, p.139). Coffey and Atkinson (1996) warn that breaking up the long and complicated accounts of interviewees too readily into small, coded and separated segments poses the danger of losing the sense that they are part of a coherent story (rather than neatly separated elements of a theoretical system) (p.52; Maxwell and Chmiel 2013). Identifying themes and applying more descriptive (than analytical) coding is therefore a good starting point for theorizing, because it allows for thinking in more coherent story lines together and getting a feel for the patterns in language use (Ibid.). Thus, when approaching the texts, Ryan and Bernard (2003) recommend looking for:

- repetitions, i.e. topics, formulations, etc. that occur more often and could allow for establishing significance of the specific issue;

- indigenous concepts, i.e. local, peculiar or innovative expressions, insider shorthand, taken-for-granted statements, etc. that help to discern specific meanings (cf. Charmaz, 2014, pp.134);

- exogenous concepts and theories, i.e. references made to explicit theories and concepts beyond the CSKP (cf. Thornton et al 2012., p.152);

- metaphors and analogies, i.e. symbolic expressions that also help to discern specific meanings (cf. Potter 1996, p.9, p.13-14; Edley 2001; Billig et al. 1988)

- transitions, i.e. the way a topic shifts into another, thereby potentially revealing important inter-linkages between issues and topics, but also silences, hierarchies, etc. between topics;

- linguistic connectors, i.e. terms like 'because', 'thus', 'however' etc., because they signify causal assumptions (cf. Saldana 2012);

- similarities and differences, i.e. exploring differences and similarities in respondent's discussion of a topic, and in how far they personally or their situation differs and dilemmas and conflicts are expressed (cf. versus coding in Saldana, 2012, pp. 93) and

- silences, i.e. exploring what respondents omit or de-emphasize in their statements (cf. Clarke 2005, p.15).

I combined this thematic exploration of my data with a situational exploration based on Clarke's (2003) definition of important elements in an organizational situation's rendering of the grounded theory approach (Ibid., p.564). Specifically that means that I looked for:

- individual human actors, i.e. individuals that were repeatedly referred to or especially emphasized by the respondents in relation to a topic, other actors;

- collective human actors, i.e. collective actors that were repeatedly referred to or especially emphasized to a topic, other actors;

- nonhuman actants, i.e. expressions of the nonhuman elements of the CSKP, such as documents referenced, facilities used, other material things employed or produced, such as reports, specialized information, expertise;

- discursive constructions of individual roles/collective identities and nonhuman actant, i.e. stereotypical, symbolic or ideological accounts of actors and actants;

- political/economic elements, i.e. expressions about the state, sectors, political actors, or politicized issues;

- temporal elements, such as historical sequences, periods of crisis, organizational trajectories;

- spatial elements, geographical aspects, sites, levels;

- contested issues or ideological dilemmas and debates, i.e. expressions that signify a contested nature of an issue, or topic, their meaning and consequences, especially when they revealed tensions between social and professional meanings, between static topics and dynamic processes, between individual preferences and organizational norms, etc.(cf. Charmaz, 2014, p.115);

- key events in the situation, i.e. specific temporally and spatially confined events that had a significant impact, e.g. turning points, or tipping points, because they signify change and allow for identifying important characteristics of the CSKP and its environment and

- related discourses, i.e. expression of normative expectations of actors, or of popular culture/media discourses.

The thematic coding strategy after Ryan and Bernard and the situational coding strategy after Clarke were used as lenses, meaning they informed me where to look and what to look for, rather than resulting in direct coding. For the actual coding in this initial open coding cycle, I used action-oriented codes that were closer to the text and preferably derived from the text in vivo, so as to enable me to preserve the narrative meaning of the coded fragments as much as possible (cf. Charmaz 2014, pp.120; Böhm, 2004, p.271). This process generated initial, descriptive codes of relatively large and coherent segments of the texts, which then were further developed conceptually within memos attached to the coded text passages (on the importance of memo writing for inductive theorizing, see especially Corbin and Strauss 2014, pp.117).

4.3.2 Focused coding, categorizing and theorizing

After the initial and open coding of the text corpus was finished, and produced a multitude of codes, I systematically refined and re-assembled these codes in a focused coding scheme that followed Charmaz (2014, p.140). Focused coding means gradually building more abstract categories out of the initial descriptive or open codes through constant comparison of sections of the data, codes and memos (and emerging concepts therein) with each other and across texts from interviews, focus groups and documents (cf. Palmberger and Gingrich 2013, p.96; Saldana 2008, p.159). It involves assessing codes according to their conceptual value, i.e. their ability to reveal larger patterns in between statements, and to select those that are more promising for further analysis and development in memos (Charmaz 2014, p. 144). It also involves consolidation of codes into groupings of codes (or categories) so as to gain deeper insight into their specific properties, as well as their relationship among each other (which then is further developed through memo writing about categories, re-coding statements on the basis of focused codes).

By comparing codes and arranging them into categories, the themes and situations initially focused on could be compared across texts and CSKPs, i.e. beyond the confines of a specific text originating from an interview, focus group or program document, and allowed me to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the data. In this fashion I could gradually build a conceptual system of categories across texts and eventually also across both CSKPs, which was further developed in the writing phase into formulating a middle-range theory of sensemaking in CSKPs.

4.4 Validity: increasing the credibility of this study by maximizing its reliability, internal/external validity, and reflexivity

The methodological approach of this study is thus carefully designed and implemented in order to conduct a qualitative, explorative and comparative case study of meaning-making in and through CSKPs, which exhibits a high degree of scientific validity. The validity question is essential for academic or scientific research. It is basically concerned with the question: how credible are the inferences that a study draws from the data collected (Patton 1999, p.1190). Throughout this methods chapter I refer to issues of validity; in fact, the purpose of the chapter itself is to increase trust in this study's reliability, by transparently documenting how my research proceeded from the formulation of my central research questions, to choosing a suitable research design (3.1), defining relevant observations and designing data collection methods (3.2), to deciding which analytical approach to use, and showing how exactly I employed it to produce specific research outputs (3.3). Through this detailed documentation I aim to show that my approach is systematically developed in reference to established rules and norms within qualitative social science (Steinke 2004, p.187).

In this research project, I specifically addressed this requirement of internal validity (in qualitative research) by engaging with a few cases, so as to allow for more context-sensitive within-case observations (interviews, focus groups, documents). Thus, in accordance with Gerring and Yin, this case study employed multiple sources of evidence (or within-case observations) in order to increase validity in a triangulating fashion (Gerring 2007, p.173; Yin 2003, p.14, p.85; Creswell 2014, p.201). That is why a diverse sampling of interviewees from different organizational levels (leadership and rank-and-file) and layers (core members and outside partners) was employed, to ensure that diverse perspectives on the phenomenon are included (Eisenhardt 2007, p.28). However, in order to further increase validity, subsequent focus groups were conducted, which helped to refine, cross-validate (or contextualize) the preliminary analyzes derived from individual interviews through "respondent validation", i.e. by discussing emerging concepts and inferences from the research with those I studied and to give them opportunity to correct and contest my findings (Bryman 2008, p.377-378). As Steinke (2004) argues, such an approach increases validity through testing the inter-subjectivity and comprehensibility of results in a setting of knowledgeable experts, which in qualitative science are especially those whose perceptions and experiences were the focus of the study (Ibid., p.187). Additionally, program documents were incorporated into the analysis to ensure that

emerging concepts were not only derived from micro-conversations (in interviews and focus groups) conducted for the purpose of this research (and thus being prone to reactivity of findings to the presence of the researcher, Patton 2002, p.567). Thus, the inclusion of program documents produced for another purpose than the research itself, served as a means to allow for observations that were non-reactive to the presence of the researcher and the situation of being researched (Bowen 2009, p.31).

Another important yardstick for the credibility of research is external validity. However, this kind of validity is a general problem for qualitative small-n case studies, because external validity is concerned with the degree to which the findings can be generalized across social settings (Bryman 2008, p.376-377).

In order to increase the external validity of the theoretical concepts derived from within-case observations, they were compared across two cases, as well as to relevant theoretical accounts of CSKPs and their social context in the literature (by incorporating accounts from gray and academic literature concerning CSKPs in the ideal-type model of discursive logics). This iteration between theory and observation on the one hand, and between within-case analysis and cross-case comparison on the other, reduced a threat to validity that is especially salient in inductive, small-n case studies, namely over-generalization of the idiosyncrasies of the case, so as to establish a spurious relevance for a broader population of (unexamined) cases (George and Bennett, p.254, 261; Sartori 1991). I followed Yin's logic of replication, in which significant findings from one single case study should be cross-checked in subsequent comparison, in order to increase external validity (Yin 2003, p.47; Maxwell and Chmiel 2013, p.546).

Finally, in writing up and presenting my research I also aim at increasing what Kvale (1995) called communicative validity, meaning to allow the reader to test the validity of the knowledge claims provided by this research in a kind of dialogue (Ibid., p.17). According to Kvale, "valid knowledge is not merely obtained by approximation to a given social reality; it involves a conversation about the social reality: What is a valid observation is decided through the argumentation of the participants in a discourse" (Ibid.). Thus, in writing up my argument I aimed at maximizing opportunities for the readers to critically develop their own angle on the subject matter, which means that I tried as much as possible to a) describe the story of the cases in their diversity and contradictions, rather than prematurely homogenizing the material and observations into a general, theoretical summary (Flyvbjerg 2008, p.238). And b), by making the constructedness and subjectivity of my research visible, I sought to trigger reflexivity and awareness for the framework and assumptions employed, rather than hiding them behind the

voice of a omniscient narrator (Ibid.; cf. Alvesson 2003, p.25). Concretely, this means that I emphasized rival explanations and contradiction in reporting about the cases (Patton 1999, p.1191) and that I made the research situation and subjective analytical decisions visible in the presentation of results (and in doing so I had to balance the need for reflexivity and transparency with the need of coherence and forward direction of the research narrative, cf. Alvesson 2003, p.25).

4.5 Limitations

There are important limitations of to the validity of the findings and their generalization. Although the comparative case study method is designed to increase external validity and allow for generalization, this study's reliance on mainly narrative accounts of only two, neither typical nor critical cases of CSKPs sets important limits as two what kind of scientifically sound claims can be made.

First, because this study relies on mainly narrative accounts in interviews, focus groups and program documents it cannot make claims concerning the objective performance of the respective CSKP. It can only make claims as to what the interviewees and CSKP organizers and partners give for accounts and their judgements and how these accounts and judgements allow them to construct their CSKP as meaningful. For the same reason, this study can also not evaluate the impact, influence or authority of specific accounts on the actual organization of the CSKP, i.e. it cannot make claims concerning the power relations underlying the meaning-making process in the interactions and conversations of the various CSKP organizers and partners.

Second, because this study relies on investigating only two cases of meaning making in and through CSKPs, the generalizability of the interpretations and claims deduced from the comparison are very limited. Additionally, the two cases chosen are neither typical cases of CSKPs, nor are they very significant or critical cases within the population of CSKPs.

Besides these more general limitations due to fundamental issues of the research design, further limitations result from practical challenges during the empirical research and decisions taken to meet them, that also involved a certain degree of compromise between ideal of rigor on the one hand and issues of feasibility of a project with limited time and resources available.

First, due to time constraints in conducting interviews and focus groups, the logistical necessity to set them up within the short period of a field trip to Malmö and Kiel and the time-

consuming work of transcription, did not allow for a strictly iterative procedure of constant back and forth between data collection, analysis, re-adjustment of categories, further data collection, further analysis and so on, until concepts gradually emerge through multiple iterative research cycles. In retrospect, the initially chosen research strategy of constant comparative analysis seem sub-optimal for a comparative case study with two (initially three) cases, which were furthermore located abroad and as a consequence did not allow for the extensive field research that an iterative research strategy requires. Instead, a more conventional qualitative research strategy would probably have yielded less, but also more focused data and would probably have simplified the processing of the data collected significantly.

Second, but as a consequence of the choice of a constant comparative or iterative research strategy, the focus groups were originally planned to provide an additional source of data that would further sharpen the preliminary concepts produced during the individual interviews by providing a collective dimension of organizational sensemaking in a subsequent cycle of the iterative research project. However, in the end I decided to use the focus groups for validating analytical concepts and preliminary conclusions together with the research subjects, instead of also producing more data to be subsequently analyzed and used to refine and adjust the theoretical arguments. This decision was not taken lightly, as I am still convinced an in-depth analysis of the collective sensemaking in the organization as a whole would have produced major insights. However, at the time of the focus groups I had already generated so much data from analyzing interviews and program documents that, in the light of the scope of a one-man Phd project, it seemed permissible to cut this additional cycle out in order to be able to finish project.

Third, in the same way a subsequent cycle of data collection in Kiel at the end of their initial two-year funding period would have allowed for an important check of initial statements of purpose at the begin of its opencampus project (the time of field research and data collection) against actual achievement after two years. This would also have allowed for a better comparison between opencampus and ISU, which at the time of research was a much more matured initiative than opencampus. However, here as well restrictions in resources and available time did not allow for conducting another cycle of data collection and subsequent analysis more than a year after the actual field research was completed.

Thus, the results presented in the following chapter are limited because of my own research interests and my methodological preferences and the specific choices I made because of them. Accordingly, the results presented should not be read as providing general knowledge about the phenomenon of CSKPs as such, but as providing, theoretically informed patterns

identified through conducting interviews and analyzing documents in respect to two, unique cases of CSKPs. However, yet notwithstanding the significant limitations mentioned above, the results presented in this study are still grounded in rigorous analysis and systematic and transparent reference to evidence in form of interview and document extracts. In this way they produce context-sensitive knowledge about the specific process of meaning making in two cases of CSKPs, which contributes to improving the practice in these two cases specifically, as well as it provides tentative theoretical concepts from comparing two specific cases of CSKPs, which can be used to inform further research and theorizing about other cases of CSKPs.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter first described the overall methodological foundation of this study in qualitative research, then explained how the cases for a explorative, small-n comparative case study were defined and selected in an iterative process of data production and analysis that mainly relied on narrative accounts given by individual CSKP members and partners in semi-structured expert interviews, focus group interviews and in program documents. It showed how this study used rigorous coding methods and other analytical tools in order to increase validity of its interpretations and claims, but also engaged in reflection on the limitations of the approach chosen and the research choices made during the execution of the research and their impact on the results presented in this study.

The following Part IV presents the analysis of the two cases of CSKPs according to the main analytical categories used to (re-)construct meaning making in and through these two CSKPs. In Part V the results are discussed across cases, so as to construct a more general, multi-case narrative out of both. In the final part VI, the conclusion, the interpretations and claims from the discussion will be reconnected to more general accounts of CSKP in the literature, so as to show how and in which way the knowledge produced through this study contributes to our understanding of meaning-making in and through CSKPs.

V Case analysis

This dissertation seeks to understand organizational story-telling or sensemaking in transdisciplinary, cross-sector knowledge partnerships between academic and non-academic organizations. More specifically it explores how individuals in conversation construct their partnership by negotiating their understanding of themselves, their objectives, their relationships and their group identity in relation to a broader social context in which they operate. In the theory chapter I break sensemaking in organizations down into two dimensions for analysis: First, framing, i.e. defining the context of action (epistemic and ethic frames about the situation at hand and the desired future situation) and, second, scripting, or defining the content and extent of action taken by the respective actors. The analysis of the CSKP script(s) is further broken down into four elements—object of value, modes of exchange, roles and positions and organizational identity—in order to allow for a more detailed and nuance analysis of the process of making sense of a cross-sector knowledge partnership.

This chapter will present the analysis of both cases, first the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development (ISU) in Malmö (4.1) and subsequently, the opencampus initiative in Kiel region (4.2). Before the analysis dives deeper into the narrative dimensions and elements of the respective partnership, a brief introduction is given about the main historical genesis of the respective CSKP, its basic organizational set-up and main objectives and activities, so as to give the reader an orienting map of the whole case right at the begin (4.1.1. and 4.2.1). After the basics of each case is mapped out, the findings from each case analysis will be presented in accordance with the major analytical categories. First, the epistemic and ethic frames will be discussed so as to reconstruct the social context of the CSKP from the point of view of the practitioners (4.1.2 and 4.2.2). Then, it will be discussed how the practitioners struggle to define their main object(s) of value (4.1.3/ 4.2.3), their modes of exchange (4.1.4/4.2.4), their roles and positions (4.1.5/4.2.5) and their organizational identity as a group or a CSKP (4.1.6/4.2.6). At the end of each case description a brief conclusion is given about the major findings (4.1.7/4.2.7) which transition to the discussion section of this dissertation (Chapter 5).

5.1 The Institute for Sustainable Urban Development in Malmö

5.1.1 The Institute in a nutshell – origin, structure, objectives and activities

The Institute for Sustainable Urban Development (ISU) was officially founded in 2007 as a joint, collaborative project between Malmö University College (MAH) and Malmö's city administration to facilitate research and planning collaborations between both organizations in respect to furthering the sustainable urban (re-)development of Malmö (e.g. ISU 2013). However, it was a direct successor of a project called "Urban Ecological Knowledge and Development Center in Malmö" (SEKUM), which was established in 2003. SEKUM, in turn, was conceived of as a continuation of the path towards a sustainable city established at the international housing exhibition Bo01 in Western Harbor in 2001-2002 (FF P17, DM P50).

Accordingly, SEKUM's objective was "to promote sustainable urban development from a local, regional and global perspective as well as to increase cooperation between the different parties [i.e. city administration and university]" (SEKUM, 29.09.2003, own translation and to "gradually develop into a powerful hub and platform for cooperation between industry, universities and colleges, public organizations and other organizations" (Ibid.), which would enable the city to get excellent knowledge for their city planning (through commissioned theses and later a "Industrial PhD" in cooperation with MAH), while it would enable the university to increase the level of their applied and externally funded research projects, which would also increase the quality and relevance of Malmö University College's research and training (SEKUM Minutes 19.11.2003). It was furthermore hoped that in the longer term SEKUM would gradually develop into an independently financed think tank for sustainability in theory and practice, which would simultaneously create or support concrete development projects in Malmö as well as excellent (marketable) research and training about sustainable urban development (Ibid.).

In a meeting about SEKUM's long term strategy in 2003 the milestone was set that by the end of the initial start-up period in 2005, SEKUM should have made major leeway towards the long-term goal of being an independently financed organization that maintains itself by attracting external funding, by providing paid-for training courses and study trips (SEKUM Minutes, 28.01.2003) and by receiving membership fees from the private sector organizations included in the network around SEKUM (Fran SEKUM till ISU, 2004). Yet, none of these

funding models materialized within the initial set-up period (2003-2005)—no external income was generated at all, according to the 2003, 2004 and 2005 budgets.

As a consequence, it was decided by university and city administration to transition SEKUM within a new framework of the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development and to shift operations from the initial "joint project" towards a "nationally and internationally leading competence center for sustainability, and a key player for the transformation of urban areas in the region" (SEKUM "From SEKUM to ISU", 2005). Part of this new Institute vision was a significant shift away from the city administration's ideal of a commercially successful incubator on the practice of urban development towards a new focus more in line with the interests of the university: the new organization should "be an institution of learning and research for sustainable urban development" (SEKUM Minutes 06.04.2005), which would be primarily financed through public funds (e.g. from the EU INTERREG Program or the Swedish Ministry of Education) and external research grants (e.g. from the Stockholm-based National Environmental Research Institute, IVL) (SEKUM Minutes 08.09.2005, 23.03.2005). The new institute would then primarily operate as an "intermediary that translates practical knowledge into theory and vice versa" (SEKUM Minutes, 23.05.2005) and a "training center for employees in the city and the university" (SEKUM Minutes 24.08.2005).

Organizationally, however, ISU continued in the same framework that SEKUM operated in, i.e. as a collaborative project between Malmö City and Malmö University (B. Persson, 2010, p.5). This meant that ISU would continue, at least for an undetermined transition period, to remain dependent mainly on project funds from its parent institutions and to continue as a temporary project without a separate legal entity and its own tax number—an arrangement that remained in place until the time of the field research in 2014.

At the same time the original organizational vision of SEKUM, to eventually become an externally funded entity was maintained and continued within the new framework of ISU. Yet, the anticipated increase in funding of the new institute through external sources did not materialize, so ISU continued to work with the "basic budget" provision of 2 million SEK, paid equally by city administration and university. In 2011 this basic budget became complemented by the so-called "Cultural Million", which is provided by the municipal government of Malmö directly, as part of their initiative to found an independent expert "Commission for a socially sustainable Malmö", which was to produce reports and recommendations on how to reduce social inequality (and especially health inequalities) in Malmö (cf. Malmö Commission 2012). Within this initiative, the city council decided to also "complement the mission of the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development with the task of examining the role of culture as a fourth

dimension of sustainable urban development" and allocated 1 million SEK (Malmö City Council Budget 2011, quoted from ISU Annual Report 2013).

Figure 5.1 – Timeline for the Institute of Sustainable Urban Development, Malmö – 1998-2014

1998
Establishment of Malmö University in former shipyards area to transform Malmö into a smart, knowledge city

2001
Bo01 – City of Tomorrow International Housing Exhibition in to create a master plan for transforming former shipyards into sustainable city quarter

2003
Founding **Urban Ecological Knowledge and Development Center (SEKUM)** to develop collaborative networks between university, city administration and other actors for exchanging knowledge on sustainable urban development

2007
Establishing **Institute for Sustainable Urban Development (ISU)** for an initial 5-year funding period as a collaborative project between university and city administration to develop 'sustianbale solutions' in urban development, facilitate research and knowledge exchange on sustainable urban development, and to develop new forms of collaboration between university and city admin (and other actors)

2011
First extension of cooperation agreement and initial funding period for another 3-years (2012-2014) following a in-depth external evaluation by B.Persson (2010)

2014
Second extension of cooperation agreement and funding for another 3 years (2015-2017)

(source: author)

However, as a joint project without legal entity and own tax number, ISU does not have its own budget, staff or organization. Everything is regulated through the temporary joint agreements between Malmö city administration and Malmö University College, written for a period of initially 5 years (until 2011) and then followed by two 3-year agreements (2012-2014, 2015-2017). ISU staffing and accounting is located at the university's department for Innovation and Development (ISU 2013, p.15, DM P25-27), although the department has no influence over the strategic steering and decision-making within ISU: it is an administrative "*paper boss*" (DM P26). It is the ISU Board, consisting of the heads of university and city departments and headed by a chairwoman (linked to the central university administration), which decides on ISU's focus and activities through the joint partnership agreement that was renewed in 2006 for 5 years, and since then on a 3-year basis (cf. B. Persson 2010; C.Persson 2011; ISU 2014).

Until 2014, the ISU Board consisted of four members, two from the city administration—the heads of the city planning department and the environmental department—

113

and two from the university—the head of the Urban Studies department and the university's pro-vice-chancellor (i.e. a representative of the university's central administration), who presides over the board as its chairman (ISU 2013). In 2014, the ISU Board was expanded to include the city's cultural department and the university department for culture, communication and design (K3) and thus consists of six members in total. The chairwoman is the only member linked to a particular department but to the university's central administration in her position as pro-vice-chancellor, which is the position within the university specifically created for organizing and maintaining external relations and cooperation between the university and non-academic organizations (TC P5; FF P5).

The ISU Board is, according to the partnership agreements, the main steering body of ISU (e.g. ISU 2013). It meets approximately once a month (QPI P17) and its function is to develop ISU's overall strategic program, determine which concrete activities and projects should be focused each year and allocate the annual budget (ISU 2013.; KF P11). Another important task of the board members is to "anchor" the institute in their respective department in either city administration or university (ISU 2013).

Since 2013 the heads of departments who together make up the ISU Board are supplemented by four part-time positions, the so-called "ISU boundary agents" (to be expanded to six positions in 2015, so as to include an employee of the newly participating cultural departments in the city administration and university). The boundary agents remain regular employees at their home institutions, but they are employed part-time through ISU funds, meaning part of their normal salary as public servant is now payed through ISU instead of their home departments. This means that ISU pays 30% of their salary, so as to enable them to use a similar amount of their time to anchor ISU in their respective organizations and to form as a boundary-spanning team below the level of heads of departments (ISU 2013, p.14). Their initial task description states that they should "disseminate knowledge, broker and connect people and knowledge with each other", so as to a) clarify ISU's role as an actor within and between Malmö City and Malmö University; b) anchor ISU's role and work in the respective parent organizations; c) link knowledge and practice from the city and the university as they are relevant to ISU and d) develop questions central to ISU (Ibid.).

The only position exclusively linked to ISU is that of the executive director, a part-time position occupied by someone who is neither professionally linked to the university nor the city administration. The ISU 2013 annual plan describes the executive director's responsibilities as: a) to implement the daily work of ISU according to the annual plan as approved by the board, b) to control ISU's budget and c) to supervise the work of the boundary agents (ISU 2013).

ISU's overall organizational structure can be summarized as:

Figure 5.2 – The organizational set-up of ISU 2014
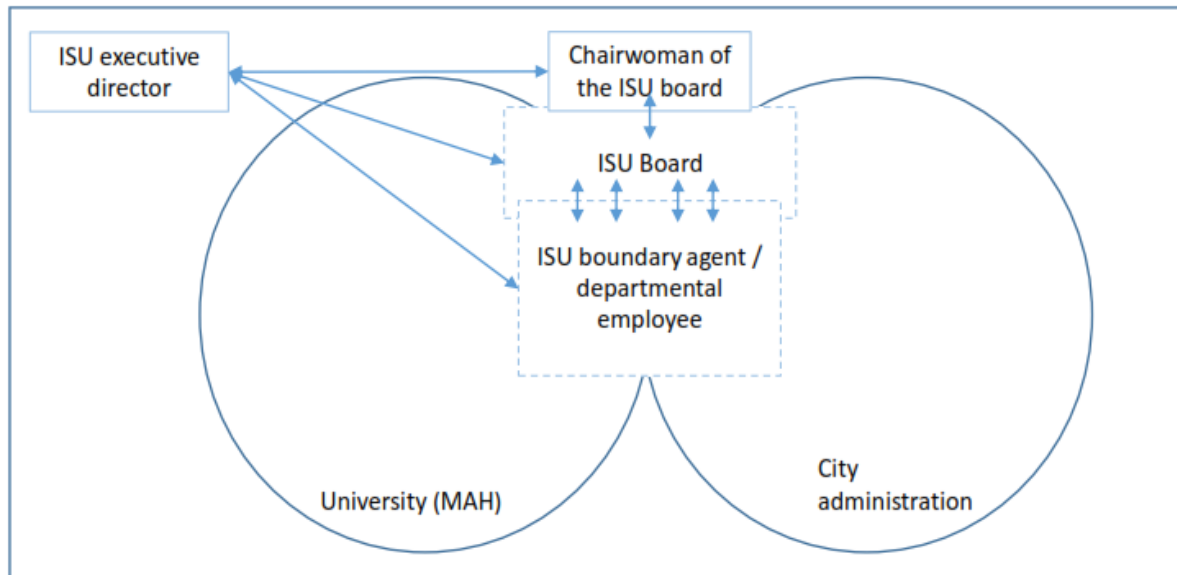
ISU's official organizational targets were set in the initial cooperation agreement between Malmö City and Malmö University in 2006 for an initial period of five years (2007-2011) but then re-instated with every new partnership agreement since then (cf. B. Persson 2010; C. Persson 2011; ISU 2012, 2013, 2014 a, 2014b). They comprised five organizational objectives: First, to work with sustainability analysis of major development areas, transition areas & major strategic projects. Second, to develop sustainable solutions for subject areas such as traffic, integration, construction, green structure. Third, to facilitate the university's development of applied research on sustainable urban development. Fourth, to collect, develop, communicate and exchange knowledge and experiences within the Institute's network. And fifth, to develop new forms of collaboration between Malmö University, Malmö City and other actors (ISU 2014a).

Since 2011, another layer of goals was added, beyond the organizational objectives formulated for ISU. These more general goals are meant to clarify the purpose of ISU's organizational activities. According to them ISU should: a) contribute to the further development of Malmö into a leading knowledge city for sustainable urban development; b) stimulate knowledge development, knowledge sharing and learning for ecologically, socially and economically sustainable development; and c) initiate, operate and study change initiatives

that aim at implementing sustainable urban development (C. Persson, 2011; ISU 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b).

In 2013-2014 these organizational objectives were linked to four main activities or interventions undertaken by ISU: a) the thesis matchmaking program to facilitate research cooperations between the city and students and their supervisors at Malmö university, organized by the boundary agents; b) the Urban Strategic Forum between city and university professionals to facilitate joint working groups and applications, organized by the boundary agents; c) Urban Research Day (conference); Breakfast Seminars and informal Urban Drinks to create networking opportunities and knowledge exchange, organized by the director and the boundary agents and d) support for ongoing planning projects, public events, participate in networks and provide other services for the city and university, mainly organized by the director, but implemented with various and changing contributions from different actors (some contractors).

Besides these major ISU interventions, ISU is also involved in an abundance of tasks and activities, which are all more or less linked to city development projects, university education and research and sustainable urban development in general. For example, the part of the city government's additional project budget (the "Cultural Million") that was not used to pay the salary of the boundary agents was employed in various projects meant to develop culture as "a tool for sustainable urban development" (ISU 2013; FF). Concretely these funds have been distributed among ISU itself and two of its stakeholders—the cultural department at the university and the cultural department of the city—whereby all three finance different projects and events mainly focused on the redevelopment of Norra Sorgenfri, a former industrial area in Malmö undergoing major re-development with an emphasis on creative and cultural industries. But ISU has also been involved, mainly in the person of its executive director, in organizing events and meetings in adjacent partnerships or projects, such as "The Line" (Lijnen), which is organized by the city and focuses on showcasing the "world's most innovative business environment" (Malmö City 2015) and various initiatives, start-up and internet companies connected to innovative, sharing-based economic models located along a pedestrian and cycle path linking Malmö center and Western Harbor (Malmö City 2014a; Listerborn 2017, p.22-27). ISU organized study trips for professionals in city and university to South Africa to learn about their sustainable urban development initiatives and potentially initiate international cooperations (DM P140; TC P35; QBO P42). It guided visiting groups of professionals through the city's various development projects (NN P31), has organized guest lectures at the Malmö University master programs (DM P204), organized conferences for University faculties (e.g. the Migration, Urbanization and Social Change Program, MUSA; DM P208) and has contributed

to the publication and dissemination of prospects, reports and booklets concerning sustainable urban development in Malmö (DM P164).

Taken together, ISU's interventions and activities link to its annual organizational targets, which in turn contribute to its longer-term goals to have a specific impact on the operations of its parent organizations and Malmö as a whole. A model of ISU's theory of change (cf. Weiss 1995)—from activities, to objectives and impacts—could look like this:

Figure 5.3 – ISU's theory of change 2014 – from activities to goals
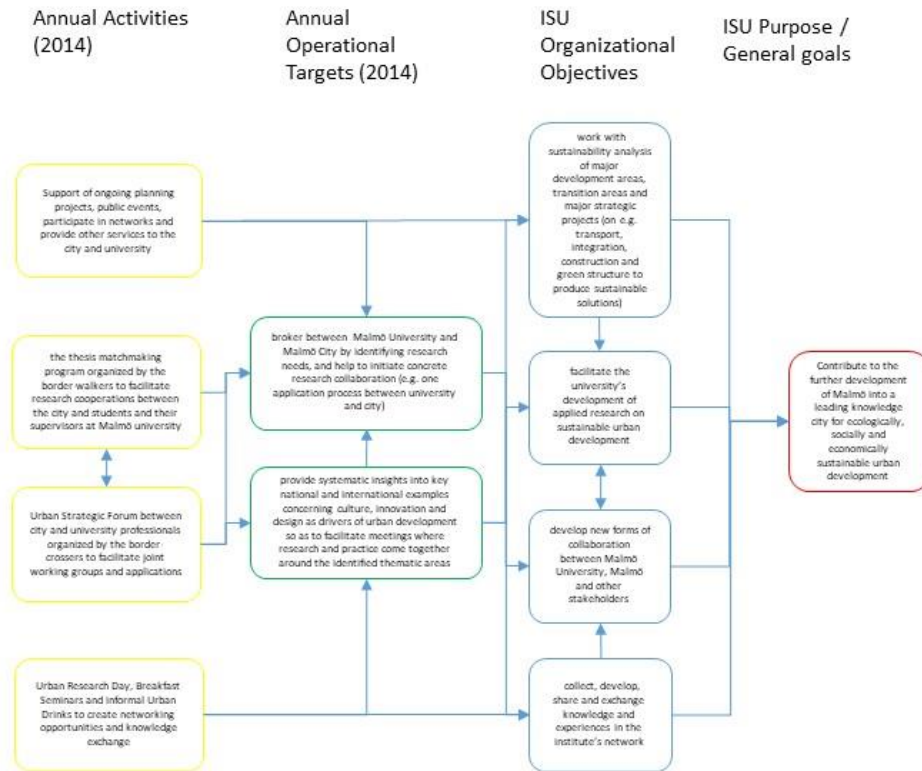
(source: author)

5.1.2 Epistemic and ethical frames – re-connecting Malmö's socio-economic transformation to its social-democratic roots within a redefined idea of sustainability

The epistemic and ethical frames in use to construct the meaningful situation around the Institute for Sustainable Development in which it operates, are describing, on the one hand a situation in which Malmö needs to overcome its historical position as industrial working class city in decline and transform into a sustainable, smart city for the high-skilled, high productive classes of citizen. In this scenario the university in Malmö serves a strategic role in attracting creative classes and contributing to the socio-economic development of Malmö into a place that is competitive within a global knowledge economy. On the other hand, the instrumental development frame is criticized from a more holistic and normative perspective, which emphasizes responsibility and solidarity for each other and the city as a whole. In this scenario, the university-city administration cooperation is seen in terms of re-connecting to Malmö's social-democratic roots instead of subscribing to a neo-liberal development consensus, in which elite factions cooperate and unify to the detriment of the young people and the city as a whole. The interviewees' discussion of the social context reveals a tense and ambiguous oscillation between sustainability and transformation frames to discuss fundamental issues of continuity and change, cooperation and competition, US and Them.

The goal of ISU in 2014, to contribute to the development of Malmö into a leading city for sustainable urban development, is directly linked to Malmö's transformation framing—from a post-industrial city in crisis in the end of the 1990s towards becoming a sustainable, knowledge city in the new millennium. A big part in this transformation was ascribed to the foundation of the Malmö University[5] in 1998 following a request by the city administration to the Swedish government (B. Persson, 2010, p.5). During the 1990s, Malmö faced a deep economic and social crisis with vast numbers of unemployed, civil unrest in its banlieus (cf. Cars and Hagetoft 1999) and the rapid closing down of its traditional manufacturing industries (Dannestam 2004, p.5; Holgersen 2014, p.50). The establishment of the university in the former shipyards of Malmö's central (yet formerly industrial) Western Harbor district was a

---

[5] Malmö University College was not a fully-fledged university until January 2018 (although they used the title of university both in English and Danish for years prior), but a Higher Education Institution, or a "Högskola" (College) which (to some degree) is the Swedish equivalent of a school of applied sciences. However, Malmö University College did already have BA, MA and doctoral programs prior to 2018.

cornerstone in the transformation strategy of the city administration (QBO P11; KF P21; FF P39). In the words of an interviewee from Malmö University:

> "*The university had an important role, it's been instrumental and Malmö's turn from a postindustrial city in decay to a city with aspirations and, you know, a prosperous city, and a knowledge city and so on*" (KB P103).

Furthermore, the city's transformation plan had a strategic focus on sustainable urban development, which was also ingrained in the statutes of the newly founded university. It was to concentrate its research and teaching on the conservation of nature and natural resources and consequently all issues relating to sustainable urban development (SEKUM, 29.09.2003). Thus, with the help of the university, Malmö was to become a "multicultural city of knowledge" that would be "attractive, green, resource and ecologically efficient" (Ibid.) and able to connect well-educated people through excellent education, innovative employment opportunities and high-quality (sustainable) housing (Anderson, 2014, p.16-17). From the beginning, the relationship between the university and city was very close, in which the university had a clear mission to contribute to the city's development in a very collaborative, applied and vocational manner.

Attracting and binding young, resourceful and educated people was an essential element of the city's transformation plan, as Malmö in the 1990s had the reputation of Sweden's ghetto city, with high ethnic diversity, (youth) unemployment and urban segregation (Cars and Hagetoft 1999). So, the university's role was strategic in changing Malmö's image:

> "*It is important for the city to have an university: it attracts young people, people who want to be a part of the city. Many move away of course, but a lot of people stay here in Malmö and will have their life here in Malmö and on a higher educated level and that is important for the city. It is also important for the city to attract young people and transform the city life. So, it was a strategic decision to place this new university in the middle of the city and not on a campus outside the city (...), so the students would be a part of the transformation of (...) the inner city. The central part of the city is kind of a city's face and now we have young people being a part of this setting, the culture of the city center*" (KF P23).

The strategic idea of having a young, collaborative and open university to attract young, talented people as a symbolic group that stands for the transformation of Malmö is linked by another interviewee to the ideas of Richard Florida, whose popular writings about the promise of the young creative class for urban development (2005) made a significant impression on Malmö's policy makers (cf. Malmö City 2006). This interviewee links the idea of Malmö's transformation to a sustainable knowledge city to collaboration, innovation and sharing, but also highlights that these aspects are so attractive because they are associated with successful cities:

"If we want to have a more sustainable city (…) we have to do activities. And that activity could be like: new ideas about doing things better. It could also be research activities or learning activities or knowledge sharing between persons or in different ways. (…) For example, you know this guy Richard Florida…about small and successful cities? He found some factors, why cities are more successful. For example, that has something to do with knowledge and it has something to do with having open platforms, you could say, or open sharing of knowledge; but also something about culture and things like that, so that it is easy to meet each other and to discuss with each other. And then things happen, when you have these open arenas where you people can meet and they are also allowed to meet and share knowledge and things like that" (QBO P50).

Here sustainability and knowledge are linked to a culture of being active, open and approachable. But Malmö's vision of sustainability and communal sharing and openness is linked to the aspiration of making it more attractive to the creative (somewhat wealthy or wealth-generating) classes, so as to increase its competitiveness within a global market and to generate taxes for it to live from:

"*But I think that due to the global world that we live in – and I mean we live of tax money, I am being paid with tax money, we are all paid of tax money – then it is of importance that we have a high tax force in Malmö. It is also important that we have an attractive city and then it is important to brand the university and the city. (…) I think that we contribute to for the creative class to maybe keep an eye on (…) the city and the university and to make it look a little bit interesting and attractive*" (DM P218)

The reference to Richard Florida indicates Malmö's transformation into a smart and sustainable city, but it is also closely linked to the socio-economic discourse in the 1990s about new forms of knowledge and wealth production. This discourse is linked to global trends, such as the digital revolution and globalization, as well as national ones. The economic crisis in Sweden in the 1990s led to reforms in national Swedish research policy from a primarily academic focus to become a governance tool to make Sweden a "knowledge-based economy" (Öquist & Benner 2015, p.246). In 1997 a string of reforms sought to focus Swedish universities on solving concrete social problems in collaboration with social stakeholders and to match their education to the needs of the labor market (Ibid; FF P97-99; KB P13). At the same time, core funding was cut and substituted to a significant degree by external, competitive funding through research council and sectoral funding agencies, such as the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Research (SSR) and the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research (MISTRA). Both are among the largest research funding institutions in Sweden and fund industrial doctorates, applied research centers at universities and collaborative networks between universities,

companies, public agencies and other stakeholders to collaboratively engage in research areas considered of strategic importance for "Sweden's future competitiveness" and its "good living environment", as well as promote opportunities for industrial application of research (SSF, strategiska.se; MISTRA, mistra.org).

These initiatives on relevant or useful knowledge, external funding and stakeholder collaborations in research and education have, according to Öquist and Benner (2014), resulted in Swedish universities developing a very broad spectrum of goals within a single organizational structure, governed by a multitude of individual grant recipients rather than by the academic leadership of the university. This, for them, is a major reason why Sweden has produced considerably less excellent academic research than for example Denmark in the time period from 1990 to 2010 (Öquist & Benner 2014, p.246-247, p.253; cf. Schwaag Serger et al. 2014). The trade-off between producing excellent academic research and education and engaging in projects with the city to contribute to regional economic growth and urban transformation is a central dilemma for Malmö University College. Especially as the university's national reputation grows, the connection to Malmö and its city administration is becoming more problematic, as the close relationship is seen by academics as an impediment to academic quality and reputation. As an interviewee from the university put it:

> "*I think we inherited about 5,000 students from Lund University when we started 15 years ago and we have 25,000 today, so we are the fastest growing university in Sweden. And I think that when this happens, it's rather easy that you lose each other* [i.e. administration and university]*, because the city of Malmö was very much involved in the founding of the university, but (...) of course we are not a university for the city of Malmö, we are just situated in Malmö*" (FF P51).

This idea of being a university located in, but not confined to, Malmö is closely linked with the aspiration to not remain "*an overblown high school*" (SEKUM 2005), but to become a fully-fledged university with supra-regional appeal and reputation.[6] Accordingly some academics speak of increasingly "*mixed feelings*" (KB P118) as to whether the close connection to the city should still be favored and prioritized:

> "*The university should have to do with research and the global phenomenon of city development that should be studied all over the world. We are in Malmö, but to what extent should we really favor this relationship with the city? Does it make us less independent? Is there something we could lose from having these strong ties with the city? I think there is a feeling that we work too closely with the city*

---

[6]   In 2016 (two years after the field research), Malmö University College was promised to be accredited as university by January 2018 (Rychla 2016). It was through the 2016 bill "Collaborating for Knowledge - for society's challenges and strengthened competitiveness" that the Swedish government awarded Malmö University full accreditation by 2018 (Malmö University 2016, p.6)

[administration]. And feel that it is not completely in line with what we as a university should do" (KB P119-121).

This academic describes a dilemma in which the development of the university into a regular, independent research university that is not confined in its research to a middle-sized Swedish city and professionally distanced from the city administration conflicts with the roots of the university in the socio-economic development planning of the city administration and its instrumental role for the development of Malmö. However, an interviewee from the city administration makes the case that the university's applied science approach and embeddedness in the city's transformation process are a way for the young university to challenge more developed universities. This means that the city administrators have to collaborate as a way to support the university to become excellent:

> *"The University of Malmö is a very young university. It is now 15 years old, a bit more. And I mean, we have universities around the world that are 150 years old. So, we have, I would say, a responsibility to be here for this university, for them to use Malmö as a case. (…) The university in itself is a strategic ingredient in the transformation of the city. So, we are happy to have this university here and then we also have to be there for the university, so they can develop as a university and have a high-quality research and education and so on"* (KF P21).

Being a young university in contrast to old and established ones is often linked with an idea of a more collaborative, communal and local approach to academic excellence as opposed to the traditional and conventional approach to science. And so there are also those who speak of the close link between city administrators and University College as a unique quality, as compared to Malmö's nearby rival, Lund, and its old and academically prestigious university:

> *"We have a very young university, which has a huge aim to collaborate and I think that Malmö is kind of unique in regards to all the collaboration processes that are going on within this city. (…) Because the university is only 12 or 14 years old, we have not been an academic city. When I grew up we had Kockum Crane and all the people working at Kockum's biking to the wharf. We didn't have the bridge [to Copenhagen, SM], we didn't have a university. If you were going to study, you had to go to Lund or Stockholm or Copenhagen. It wasn't in your mind that you could stay in Malmö to continue your academic career"* (DM P194).

But the strategy of pushing collaborative and interdisciplinary research agendas is also criticized from point of view of educating and training young professionals. For example, an administrator linked to ISU has concerns about the university's strategy to develop multi-disciplinary education, in which a broad mix of different competences are taught, rather than focusing on in-depth skills and knowledge as it would be taught in more traditional and longer-

standing disciplines, such as architecture, as they are taught in Lund and Stockholm:

> "*The university in Malmö is very new, and it started from a political initiative and it takes time for it to develop. But with all this kind of new universities in Sweden, they have kind of a cross…, or multidisciplinary approach. (…) They don't educate for example architects. They educate planners with a mix of different competencies in their education. So, it's different and it's really good, but it's very challenging to create these kind of new educations and make them work for the labor market and that the labor market understands what it is… to match the needs that the labor market has*" (KT P63-65).

This administrator's concerns as an employer come to the forefront when she highlights that the new and multi-disciplinary education taught at Malmö University might not match the expectations or needs of the labor market. A bit earlier in the interview she already mentioned how in her organization the graduates of more established universities are preferred to the ones graduating from Malmö University:

> "*We have more collaboration with some other universities that have more status in our organization. Like the students: We pick students from Alnarp and Lund, because we think they are more skilled than the students from Malmö University. (…) The students from Malmö University come from a different background, they are not these really high skilled students. But we have (…) a responsibility to try to make this university more skilled by collaborating with them. They need it more than the other students that we collaborate more with today. Because it's our university, the city's own. So, we need to think about it as an investment in the future for our city, that the university can develop*" (KT P56).

Here issues of city administrators' short-term organizational interests are opposed by a plea for responsibility and a role more as mentors for students than employers of high-skilled labor. This is embedded in a perception of the students as serving as a vessel for transferring skills from the administration to the university so as to make it more successful. However, the statement above culminates in a reference to the future of the city as a whole, which is at stake and should supersede the short-term professional self-interest of not wanting to work with less-skilled employees, as this short-term detriment to her organization will be offset by a longer-term benefit for the city as a whole. Yet, that statement about collaboration with Malmö university students as an investment into the future of Malmö is also linked to a sense that the university is "*our university, the city's own*" (KT P56), which might also be read as an administrator's sense of ownership over an university that the administrators established as part of their plan to economically develop the city.

However, at the same time there is an opposing image more frequently used by academics. Here the development framing of the city administration is seen as socially and

culturally unsustainable and it is the task of the academics to gain access to the city administration so as to open it up for criticism. An academic interviewee states that the city's planning culture was (and still is) driven by an economic agenda that is articulated in terms of growth and conducted in concert with big real estate actors "*and not necessarily from the point of view of the people who live in these areas. I mean, talk about sustainability, if it's only about growth then we're talking about something else*" (NIS P102). For the chairwoman of the ISU Board (also an employee of the university, although not an academic), there is a similar sense of critique of the city's planning culture:

> *"Everyone (...) is planning for: 'How can we attract the most interesting people or interesting companies? How to do that?'—by having very attractive housing, a good cultural climate and to have a cultural heart in the middle of the city more or less: a new opera house or a new place for exhibitions, or whatever, and some attractive areas for recreation, nature, of course, some public transport. And that was all. So I'm also asking: 'Who are we developing our cities for, actually?' Because everything aims for attracting a small group of people. But what do we do with the rest? Who are we planning for?"* (FF P175).

For her the political question, 'Who are we developing our cities for?' is critical of an elitist approach that would build 'opera houses' and those things most valued by a small, elite group of people. For her and other academic colleagues collaborating with the city administration means raising such questions, to be the "*killjoys, as you say; people that always remind the politicians or civil servants of the tricky parts, of the more difficult sides, of the dark sides*" (NIS P78). This means opening up the administration for a debate about the dark sides of the shiny transformation story of Malmö.

In more recent years the transformation story has been increasingly criticized as an ideological tool in the hands of a "discourse coalition" (Dannestam 2009) of local strongmen, politicians and businessmen alike who recast their self-serving development agenda as a visionary joint mission (Ibid.). In fact, in Western Harbor, the multi-billion development project that started the Malmö transformation from post-industrial to smart and prosperous knowledge city, but also in other big re-development areas such as Hyllie, the building companies and the city have established joint venture companies to develop the area (NbNb P213).[7] Collaboration in Malmö has accordingly as much as a normative role in the transformation story, as it is also

---

[7] By 2016 the former major of Malmö Ilmar Reepalu, one of the founding fathers of the Malmö transformation plan and the Western harbor redevelopment initiative, was under investigation for corruption, because he accepted an invitation for a safari trip to South Africa from Dan Olofsson, CEO of SIGMA, a company intensively involved in the redevelopment of Western Harbor (also having its headquarters built there as part of the redevelopment). Oloffson was also on the board of the Malmö University during Reepalu's time as mayor. Both were old friends dating back to the 1970s, which is why the court accepted their explanation that the trip was a birthday present among friends and not a bribe for Malmö City contracting SIGMA in many of the city's redevelopment plans. (see The Local Sweden 2006a and 2006b; Dannestam 2009). Since 2014 Ilmar Reepalu is CEO of SIGMA Civil AB.

concretely linked to a way of doing profitable redevelopment business in public-private partnerships between city administration and businesses (cf. Beaten 2012). This criticism also extends to the strong link between city and university, which by some are seeing as "*sitting in each other's lap*" (KB P103) or as a little club of friends, as a former ISU director states about her frustration at the collaboration as practiced through ISU:

> "*it's been like this little club for, yeah, 'we like each other, we know each other', and they are visiting there the same people since ISU started. And they meet in so many other different contexts*" (NbNb P141).

To keep looking at the big picture and to critically reflect on the collaborative link between university and administration as something that indeed benefits Malmö as a whole and not only a small professional class, many ISU participants stress how important it is to include a diverse set of competences (e.g. DM P180; NbNb P143) and perspectives (DQ P114; KT P92) in a public collaboration platform, which opens up the all too cozy professional relationships in Malmö by organizing "*spaces for encounters where consensus is not already the natural goal, but where there is also room for controversy and debate*" (NIS P46).

And indeed, the kind of sustainable urban development that brought Malmö onto the global stage is viewed today quite critically (e.g. Anderberg and Clark 2013; Holgersen and Malm 2015; Pätsch 2015). The transformation plan was concentrated in the former shipyards of the company Kockums in Western Harbor (where Malmö University was initially located in former submarine factory halls) after it was bought and dissolved by its German competitors in the 1990s. The transformation of the former wharf quarter into a new ecologically sustainable "City of Tomorrow" (Persson and Tanner 2005) for young urban professionals and creative classes has raised criticism about rising social inequity and segregation in Malmö, where the Western Harbor project emerged in sharp contrast to the unsolved social problems in other parts of the city (Anderson 2014, p.12). The development was widely criticized as being neoliberal, elitist place plugged into the global scale but segregated from the rest of the city and its 'unwanted people' (Baeten 2012, pp.32-33). As Baeten concludes:

> "It is a new scale of neoliberal places of wealth concentration that is in denial of, and disconnected from, growing social problems in the city of Malmö with its sizeable concentrations of deprivation in certain neighbourhoods. The separation of economic development and social concern (with clear ethnic lines), and the blasé indifference towards real social problems, will inevitable fuel tensions in the city and lead to more segregation, polarisation and sporadic outbursts of violent street protests in the city that was once the cradle of the Swedish social-democratic model" (Ibid., p.40).

Thus, when the critique about Western Harbor as a neoliberal project became louder and people pointed to the problem that some areas and segments of the population have not been included in the transformation of Malmö into a smart and sustainable city, the Malmö City Council responded in 2010 with the appointment of an independent, interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral expert group, the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö or The Malmö Commission for short.[8] It worked for two years and recommended in 2012 a more holistic or in its own words "ethical" approach to sustainability (in opposition to a one-dimensional ecological one as employed in the redevelopment of Western Harbor), "which can explain how the ecological, economic and social aspects of sustainability must be developed as a whole" and thereby placing importance on integration and participation (Malmö Commission 2012, p.5). The report also emphasized that despite the city having undergone a major transformation from an industrial to a knowledge city, which is globally known for its work on ecologically sustainable development and its innovative solutions in this area, Malmö still stands out in national statistics in terms of low levels of education, high child poverty and youth unemployment (Ibid., p.152). The Malmö Commission's recommendations were adopted by the city in its 2012 Comprehensive Plan (Malmö City 2012).

But it also had a profound impact on the collaboration between Malmö University and the administration by proposing a more holistic approach to sustainable urban development that includes important social aspects, such as inequality and segregation (ISU Cooperation agreement 2013-2015). As the city's 2012 Comprehensive Plan states:

> "Planning should be a holistic perspective on the city work for the public space as a democratic arena – through the design and placement of squares, parks, streets and other functions, and by always taking into account aspects such as gender equality, security, health and justice" (own translation, Malmö City 2012, p. 20).

The work of the Malmö Commission and its re-evaluation of social and cultural dimension of Malmö's transformation to a sustainable and smart city, as well as its emphasis of democratization of urban development and reduction of inequality, can also be seen as a reconnection of the transformation story to the social-democratic roots (cf. Baeten 2012 above) and culture of Malmö when the discrepancy between the high-scale development projects in the city center and the poor and marginalized districts around the center became to stark. In general, the interviewees saw the work of the Commission as an inspiration for their own work at ISU (KB P135; FF P183). In and around ISU, there was a sense of a reinvigoration of the

---

[8]   The Commission presented itself as "politically neutral" (Commission flyer 2011) and consisted of 14 commissioners: 5 from Malmö University, 5 from Malmö City administration, 3 from the University Lund, 2 from Stockholm University and 2 from the Regional Council Skane (Malmö Commission 2012).

uniqueness and pioneer character of Malmö's transformation story through the new addition of cultural and social sustainability after the manifold criticism:

> "*The city has very strong aspirations when it comes to sustainable development. It wants to be one of the leading cities in the world in terms of implementing good, high quality measures to increase sustainability. Environmentally, it has been very important, but I also think that social sustainability and economic sustainability are gaining in importance. We have a Malmö Commission, for example, that has worked in trying to identify what we could make to create a more socially sustainable city and I think that is quite unique. And with these aspirations and with the University's aspirations and being a sort of leading place for knowledge about these things*" (KB P105).

Thus, in a way the Malmö Commission's work can be seen as a next chapter in Malmö's transformation story and its cross-sectoral, inter-disciplinary team structure as a continuation of the city's collaborative approach to Malmö's redevelopment, linked with the hope to weather the critique of the more ecologically (and economically) focused transformation and to regain momentum for the transformation project by stressing social, justice and democratic aspects within Malmö's path towards sustainability.

In this way the work of the Commission also contributed directly and indirectly to a change of emphasis within the collaboration between university and the city administration towards the university's cultural and sociological perspectives, and away from the city's more technical and ecological focus on sustainable urban development (DM P55, C.Persson 2011 P119). This also led to a considerable boost to ISU's budget through the "cultural million" in 2011 and led to the inclusion of the city's and university's cultural departments into the ISU partnership in 2013-2014.

In general, for both university academics and city administrators, there is a struggle between short-term organizational and professional concerns and a longer-term perspective which is also linked with ideas of responsibility and solidarity. From the city this is expressed, as above, as mentorship towards the students, as a long-term perspective on "*the future of the city*" and "*our university, the city's own*" (KT P56). This sentiment is also matched by those academics critical of the close connection between university and administration, who still, despite their criticism of "*being in each other's lap*" (KB P103) also speak of both as a "*community of destiny*" (Ibid.) that should be further developed. As Malmö is traditionally seen (and also sees itself) as a working-class underdog and problem city when compared to places of high Swedish culture, education and politics (i.e., Lund and Stockholm; FF P41), there is a sense of Malmö's uniqueness, mission and solidarity linked to its position of a challenger to the (academic) establishment. This sentiment includes an international dimension, where Malmö's

path towards sustainability and collaboration is also seen as a locally embedded, bottom-up, new and innovative alternative to the conventional academic enterprise and its global trajectory:

> *"I think that the relationship between Malmö University and Malmö Municipality is interesting and important. The university should be concerned for the city and the city should be concerned for the university. And that as kind of a local knowledge economy. The tendency otherwise in academia is this globalization and monopolization of knowledge and the big universities setting up branches all over the world. Yeah. So, developing this local knowledge economy, I think, is extremely important"* (NIS P124).

Throughout these statements about Malmö, its transformation and the university's role and position in this process, one begins to get a sense of more strategic and instrumental considerations that emphasize competition with other cities and regions, as well as professional concerns about academic autonomy and disciplinary, in-depth expertise. These instrumental and strategic aspects, however, are linked to normative statements about collaboration in the transformative "*community of destiny*" (cf. KB P103) between administration and university, and their responsibility towards each other as well as towards the young generation and the city as a whole, to ensure Malmö's future well-being and prosperity, even in the face of great challenges and changes originating in the global elsewhere. Within this framing the local mission gains more over-regional, even global stature, when Malmö's unique story of transformation, renewal and local knowledge is linked with a kind of counter narrative opposed to the more established, top-down and globalized academic and urban development discourses. Malmö is positioned here normatively, as much as instrumentally or strategically, as a critical challenger, pioneer and niche market developer who contests the status quo of an academic knowledge economy monopolized by big universities with global reach (as much as it wants to be part of it). Its way in, then, seems to be from the bottom up, in which the niche position of Malmö and its university and their deficits in cultural and academic reputation is re-invented as a strength and a key toward innovation, transformation, youth and renewal. And so, the dictate to collaborate between university and city administration links to the (former) niche of sustainability, that Malmö has found, successfully cultivated and manufactured into a transformation story that sells internationally and is considered Malmö's ticket to the global stage:[9]

> *"In a way Malmö is already on the global map of sustainable urban development, I mean, it is known in other parts of the world that Malmö does a lot in this field.*

---

[9] In 2010 at the Shanghai Expo, Malmö was highlighted as an "Urban Best Practices Area", where specifically Western Harbor was presented as a best practice how to do "Urban Sustainable Development in a Former Industrial City" (Holgersen 2012, p.144).

And that could be developed to a great deal, and I think the university and the city have a very strong mutual interest: 'We should work more closely together' " (KB P73).

Sustainability is the frame that put Malmö on the global map, even into a leadership position, and it is here on the global stage where the interests of university and city administration coalesce, despite their many local differences and diverging short-term organizational interests. Thus, the big picture of Malmö's transformation from old industrial, blue-collar worker city in decline towards a smart, sustainable city attracting high-skilled students is linked to instrumental and strategic ideas of developing into a successful and economically viable city with a secure position in a competitive, global knowledge economy. But it is also linked to Malmö's identity as cultural underdog and its social democratic roots. Collaboration between the city administration and the university is thus often seen as part of Malmö's destiny and path to the future, if it re-connects better with its social-democratic traditions of inclusiveness and equality and, thus, becomes less of instrumental, short-sighted and exclusive cooperation between self-interested organizations, but more of a democratic, self-reflective or self-critical and radically transformative collaboration. However, the ambiguity of the term sustainability seems to make it an ideal frame to discuss and negotiate various contradictions in defining the situation at hand and the desired future situation, as it signifies both continuity and change, competition and cooperation, conflict and consensus and can thus be seen as background for the establishment of a "community of destiny".

In terms of the research question, how individual actors frame their initiative in the context of descriptions of a current situation and a desired future situation (so as to clarify to themselves and others as to why they organize), one can begin to discern that the frames for ISU`s organizational are shifting – over time and between actors. Malmö's re-founding narrative of transformation towards a brighter future as an economically attractive, ecologically sustainable and innovative knowledge city has recently become a focus of criticism for its unintended side-effect of accelerating the city's economic inequality and social disparities. However, as well as the former development framing from an industrial city in decline towards a prosperous knowledge city predicated the necessity of a transformative break from an underdeveloped past, so has the once cherished future ideal of Malmö nowadays become identified by some as a past maldevelopment that needs re-consideration and re-adjustment. It might not be surprising, that the critics of Malmö's transformation as a supposedly elite-driven development project and proponents of a more fundamental break with this recent past are rather to be found on the academic side, while the city's administrators involved in ISU have

mostly a rather positive perspective on past developments and propose rather slight adjustments to ensure the continuation of their urban development project. This conflict between visions of the desired future city (and the framing that is used to construct it) seems to be influenced by the organizational history of the Malmö University College as being founded as part of the city administration's urban development strategy and its requirement to closely collaborate on the administration's vision. The ambiguousness of academic interviewees towards the administration's transformation project (and their place in it), which is articulated in terms of political and academic ideals of a bottom-up, independent and critical standpoint towards social elites, can also be seen as influenced by the growth of the university into a more viable institution that increasingly challenges the administration's supremacy in defining their relationship and the university's position as part of *their* project to transform the city.

5.1.3 Object of value: concrete, short-term results vs. liberation from immediate performance pressures

In terms of defining ISU's central object(s) of value one can identify a major dilemma between definitions of short-term concrete and useful results that ISU is to produce efficiently and a contrasting sense of ISU as a way to liberate the actors from pressures to produce immediate material values, and instead enable them to develop their ability to relate to and learn from each other, so as to prepare the ground for more longer-term and more innovative or radical results to emerge. On the one hand, there is a perception that those more profound and longer-term values would be prevented from occurring if one would focus ISU excessively on producing that which needs to be immediately useful to the respective parties today. However, at the same time producing short-term, concrete values according to the respective individual actors' current definitions of what is useful for them is also seen as a necessary precondition for motivating continuous, step-by-step cooperation between the parties towards the establishment of more profound and longer-term values.

For example, when asked how he would be able to determine that ISU is worthwhile an administrator replied:

> "*It would be, seen from the city, a continuous series of interesting relevant student work, continues connection and personal contacts between civil servants and researchers and it would be an ongoing process with new research and development applications that succeed in getting funding for new projects*" (KF P71).

As his first point indicates, a central role in this exchange between administration and university is attributed to the students and educational collaboration and how concrete value produced by students is linked to the establishment of better contacts between researchers and administrators, leading in the longer run to concrete research and development projects being developed and acquiring funding. An academic also mentions how the boundary agents' thesis program, where students pick their thesis topic from a list of themes relevant to the city administrators, is seen as producing low-cost and tailor-made knowledge for the administration's planning practice through the students' work:

> *"I think the goal is from this city official's point of view: they have questions and they believe or know that there is knowledge out there, but it is difficult to assemble, difficult to know how to answer these questions. (…) But there is often a lack of resources, to do something… I mean, probably in terms of hiring researchers, to do this work. So, I think involving students could be very good way dealing with this, because the student knows the subjects, knows the fields rather well and the student has support from someone who is supervising and who knows the field even better. So, indirectly the city gets this knowledge as well. But they don't have to put in a lot of money and… because, that is always the problem, that you don't have the time, that you don't have the resources to gather all the knowledge you would probably need"* (KB P37).

Thus, the thesis program is considered an efficient and low-cost way to produce relevant knowledge for the city administration (and indirectly tap the senior supervisor's knowledge through the students). However, this boundary agent from the university also states that the process did not work as smoothly as anticipated, as many student theses were not ready on their due date (KB P35) and the communication between students and administrators did not work well in every case (KB P31). Also, the quality of papers produced was lacking in some cases and so some of the theses were not directly useful for the administration, which led the chairwoman of ISU to conclude,

> *"that perhaps students can't answer all the questions the departments come with because some of them are rather complicated. So, the next time we will (…) get the researchers involved when we, from the very beginning, can see that this is a question too complicated to be solved by the students. To not disappoint the departments within the city, then we have to bring in the researchers as well"* (FF P74).

However, this endeavor to more substantially bring in the supervisors behind the students connects to the second, more long-term aim of the student thesis program, also mentioned above by the administrator, which is to use the students as a low-threshold and personal way to connect university and city professionals and inspire larger collaborative research projects that could

possibly lead to joint applications for research funds (KB P21; NK P18; DM P71). In a way, the student work is seen as a subtle, indirect way to better engage academics with the practical problems of the city administration via education and training (rather than trying to instigate senior research projects directly).

Several academics and administrators who were involved in the Urban Strategic Forum describe the strategic centrality of educating students for the partnership between university and administration, in order to set up encounters between the institutions on a "*more grassroots level, between students and civil servants*" (NIS P73), to "*use the students as a way to connect*" (NK P104), to create personal connections, "*to simply meet face-to-face*" (DQ P125) so as to show that "*behind every subject there is a person on either side*" (KB P29). The administrator (KF) who mentioned above the continuous network of researchers and administrators as a goal for the cooperation next to establishing a continuous stream of relevant student work, explains the strategic considerations concerning the lower-scale link of both organizations through educational cooperation:

> "*The boundary agents and their work with connecting students to real needs within the departments – it's not the big research programs and projects and so on, I think. It's on the smaller scale. It's a good way of securing relevant and continuous work between the university and the city in a daily perspective*" (KF P82).

Here one can see the contrast between low scale cooperation via education, which is connecting real people and real needs as opposed to big research programs that might be visionary and promising but also less immediately achievable. For him, producing relevance and continuity on a small, but concrete or real scale are the central evaluative criteria for the CSKPs work. But via this program, this administrator also mentions how working with students is seen as a way to indirectly, or in the longer-run, steer senior researchers into the direction of more relevance:

> "*The most important input for us is to be here for the students and researchers but also kind of directing… or well, we cannot direct the researchers, but we can point out for the researchers, which challenges we find important for the city development. So, they would get a better opportunity to, well, direct their research in a relevant direction*" (KF P112).

Interesting here is the strategic dimension of educational, small scale collaboration between researchers and administrators as a softer, more indirect way to influence research, to open up more opportunities for researchers to self-direct towards more relevance. But it also shows how the necessity to produce immediate values for the administration is focused on educative collaboration with students, which in turn might be seen as opening up more space for researchers to enter the collaboration on their own terms, to voluntarily join that which is

continuously going on between students and practitioners at a later point in time. In this way, directing the administrators' pre-occupation with concrete, short-term values for their planning practice onto students' work, might also be seen as a way to reduce the pressure from administrators towards researchers to produce relevant knowledge in the short-term. In this way, the CSKP might produce through education a more harmonious and continuous middle-ground. In this CSKP space the needs of administrators to produce useful results for urgent planning problems are acknowledged, while also allowing researchers to voluntarily or independently engage with broader, more complex questions, which might be a bit removed from the realm of the concrete and short-term. Yet, both opposing objectives or values—short-term provision of solutions and longer-term exploration of problems--can be linked, so KF's hopes, via educating students together.

However, describing the values that are to emerge in the longer-run, equally focusses the debate on how to assess objectives, how to evaluate them. For example, it is frequently stated by academics and administrators alike that ISU should in the longer-run lead to joint funding applications, which is also a prominently stated goals in ISU's programmatic plans since its inception (cf. From SEKUM to ISU, 2005; B.Persson 2010; C.Persson 2011; ISU 2014). However, none of the interviewees could point out a concrete example of how ISU's current or past work has directly or indirectly contributed to this goal. Instead, interviewees argued that ISU is an experimental "*breeding ground*" (NK P33), an initiative that "*prepares the soil*" (DQ P17), or "*plants seeds*" (DM P140) for new innovative ideas and new personal connections to emerge, which then in turn might grow by themselves into concrete projects and funding applications later on. However, it would not be ISU's task and not in its organizational capacity to continuously support endeavors between academics and administrators, or to even take over the lead part in joint projects and funding applications (FF P96). As several of the organizers of the Urban Strategic Forum stated, in which seven cross-organizational working groups were formed on the basis of the student theses commissioned by the administration: Although these working groups would need to be continuously facilitated and supported to ensure that they remain "*alive*" (DQ P108; cf. KT P81) with respect to ISU's limited resources, this is seen as a big challenge:

> "*If the intention with ISU is to develop new projects (…), then ISU should have a kind of venture fund or time fund: 'Well here you get two months to write an application. Here you have a researcher, he can work for one month. And here you've got a couple of urban planners, sit together and write this application and try to develop this idea'. Because there's a problem in finding time for sitting down and developing ideas. And (…) it's also some kind of risk, because maybe you're*

sitting together and you're doing a couple of workshops and then everything ends up in nothing, because lots of ideas won't come together, because they're too complicated and when you go down and analyze it you discover: 'it will not work'" (NK 33).

A more realistic assumption, considering ISU's small labor force and resources, might be that ISU will not be able to "*follow up on the working groups [established at the Urban Strategic forum], they have to live by themselves*" (DM P79). In this respect several interviewees also mention that even though the working groups might not result in concrete projects and applications, they would still consider the Urban Strategic Forum organized by ISU a success, because they contributed to establishing informal, personal connections between researchers and administrators who both got to know that there is someone on these other side who is also working on the same issues (DQ P108; KB P29). As one of the boundary agents from the administration states in respect to working groups established at the Urban Strategic Forum:

> "*I think we should present a meeting place, we should make sure the different perspectives are there, we should make sure that the right people are there for these topics, and to make sure that there's room for actual real discussions and not just short presentations. But really to get into the discussion part, where people have the time to get to know each other, know what they are doing, know how they can elaborate the topic. Yeah. (…) And that's a really valuable result, I think. Even though it won't be anything more than that, but it's really valuable that two actors that are working kind of on the same issue, but from different perspectives, are actually from this knowing that they exist and that they can gain something out of meeting and exchanging ideas*" (KB P88-P92).

Thus, rather than developing concrete joint projects together with the administrators and academics in a goal-directed and efficient (but also costlier or more labor-intensive) process, ISU would establish initial meeting places with enough different perspectives and time for real discussions to allow for more authentic, personal, but also long-term relationships to emerge between professionals from both organizations. As an ISU board member from the university explains:

> "*It is extremely key I think, to have these kinds of open platforms, which are not instrumentally targeted towards funding, towards specific goals, or specific impact criteria, whatever. ISU should be much more open. And it's important because we don't know what will be the issues in two years' time. And we need these platforms where we can come together and not react to other people's preformulated questions and so on, but actually formulate our own questions. ISU should be a space where actually new issues are being articulated, and not only reactions*" (NIS P138).

"Open" here also means to allow for conflicts and debates to emerge, "*for encounters where consensus is not already the natural goal, but where there is also room for controversy and debate*" (NIS P46). For this academic conflict and differences are preconditions for creative and innovative collaboration:

> "*I think that conflict is necessary in order for us to develop a creative collaboration. Because we need to accept that we have different agendas, and that is kind of prerequisite for collaboration. If not, sustainability will just remain an empty signifier that we can fill with whatever. We can keep on talking without knowing that we have different objectives*" (NIS P104).

Another academic formulates a similar standpoint with respect to ISU's ability to enable people from different backgrounds to work together across boundaries in order to cope with increasingly complex social problems:

> "*We see clearly there are very complex problems arising in our society, there are challenges which are very complex and we need to bring together people with very different backgrounds to attack these challenges. You cannot do it inside one scientific discipline, you need to have a broad look. So, the abstract goal is to create the ability between different actors to work together across disciplines and across organizational boundaries, to address whatever challenges there are. I think that is the long-term goal*" (TC P83).

Thus, the longer-term goal of ISU would be to educate people for working across disciplines and organizations, to make them understand their differences (cf. DQ P17-19) and use them as source of creativity and a springboard for concerted action in the face of vast, complex social problems. These statements are in stark contrast to those that focused on the short-term goal of ISU to contribute to the development of funding applications and directly useful or relevant knowledge for the planning practice of the administration. Here instead, the long-term aim to ISU is to allow actors to have the time and room for deeper discussions, to enable them to learn about their differences, and to learn to better tolerate (and appreciate) conflict, to take risks and be able to accept failure. Here again, education of the individual actor figures as a middle-ground between producing concrete results for today's organizational problems, and preparing for tomorrow's unknown challenges. Here, the CSKP's central object of value is skill instead of concrete problem solutions or abstract knowledge. In a way skill can be seen as a bridging concept linking concrete problem solutions and universal knowledge through the image of the knowledgeable and capable individual. When asked what advice she would give a colleague who would like to develop an initiative like ISU, the chairwoman of the board stresses the importance of communicative skills in particular:

> "*It's a little more difficult than one perhaps imagines, to get this public-private,*

university and administration sectors to work together. Everyone says that: "Of course we must do this, this is necessary!" etc. But when it comes to action, it's not that easy as one can imagine. Because we are a bit different in focus, a bit different in ways of expressing ourselves, different priorities etc. And I don't think we understand that thoroughly – I would pinpoint that. Try to listen and try to understand and give it some time and don't be too disappointed if someone just walks out of the room and says: 'I don't understand nothing of this!', and that happens from time to time. Build trust. Try to build trust" (FF P199).

Although the chairwoman's background is in project management (rather than research), she also highlights the fact that it would be a mistake to excessively focus the efforts in cross-organizational collaboration on joint funding applications:

"*ISU is involved today in those discussions: 'Could we be making a new team for applying for funding?', etc. But it's not that. It's what happens afterwards that is the most important thing today. And that's trying to, when the funding is in place, just call the different partners together and say 'Alright, now we got this money, what is going to happen?' – to facilitate that process, because today, you don't have that process. And people get the money, they start working, and six months later people are rather disappointed, because it's not going in the way they thought and no one is really responsible for it. (…) The day you get the money, you have to set expectations. Today, we put all our effort into an application. And then nothing into what happens the day you get the money. And that's a big mistake, I think. (…) Because what happens today is people grab the money and go home and do what they think – I've seen it in so many projects*" (FF P105-107).

For her it is more important for the partnership to develop a longer-term process to not only successfully secure funding (and immediately distribute it among each other), but to indeed work together in collaborative projects, to prevent the attitude she calls 'grabbing the money and going home'. For her, expectations of immediate benefits accruing from collaboration are easily disappointed, and grabbing the money and leaving quickly seems like a rational strategy of individual actors to ensure they do not come home empty handed from the joint project. At the same time, limiting the horizon of collaborations onto the acquisition of funds, will not produce anything else then a short-term, instrumental and individual perspective among collaborators and prevent individuals to more profoundly and continuously engage with each other and to assume individual responsibility for the common project (rather than focus on individual, short-term benefit).

Her statement also highlights the importance of creating a free space for discussion, where people more fundamentally reflect and ask themselves what they should do together and how to really work together in a meaningful way. At another point in the interview she argues, that rather than immediately jumping into the work, actors should be given time to

"define what is going to be done in a more deep and narrow way. And that I think is necessary and that goes for research collaboration as a whole: we don't take the time when we need it" (FF P97).

Producing time and space for free encounters between individuals, is seen by many respondents as a central object of value for ISU. For example, NIS an ISU board member from the cultural department at the university argues, that ISU should enable individuals to resist the dictate of rapidly closing down implementation gaps. She argues:

"there is an increasing expectation that the knowledge we produce should be possible to implement. We are supposed to close this implementation gap, which is often talked about as a problem and I think it is a problem, but also sometimes this gap is also kind of space for creativity and critique. So, closing that gap too rapidly is sometimes not necessarily a good thing" (NIS P45).

There is a strong sense among administrators and academics alike that ISU's core mission is not to facilitate the quick production of projects and applications, but to nurture the organic, longer-term growth of a culture of critical self-reflexivity, mutual learning and experimentation in both organizations and importantly across organizations (cf. SA P75; DQ P114). But many also state, as FF and NIS above, that this involves changing the professional culture, routines and expectations in their parent organizations, so as to allow for their employees to indeed be granted the time to learn. As NK states most clearly:

"I think sustainable urban development is a lot about knowledge and a lot about learning. Lots of unsustainable processes are a result of people just going to work and do as they always do. People are just muddling through, they're following routines and lots of people know that maybe we should work in other ways, but they do not have the time to learn" (NK P60).

Here, one can also see that the normative call to collaborate in innovative ways to find better solutions to complex social problems is in a way a direct rejection of immediate results and quick fixes and refocuses the collaboration onto education as an end in itself. It is linked to the concept of sustained or continuous learning and contrasts to mindless routines, time pressures and headless muddling through practices in the university and city administration. And here the introduction of the boundary agents at both parent organizations is often mentioned as a step into the right direction of enabling professionals to work and learn together across organizations in interdisciplinary teams, to get to know each other in a more personal way and to creatively develop their own way of working together without much professional pressure to quickly produce concrete outcomes. As one boundary agents recalls:

"I think we, when we started this project, the purpose was kind of vague, what we

were supposed to do. So, we developed that purpose ourselves, after trying, discussing, thinking about it a lot in our group. And we have a really interesting collaboration and a good collaboration in this boundary agent group, which I think makes us a very strong entity" (KT P36).

The hope often expressed by the boundary agents and other ISU participants is that in the longer-term all or at least most professionals from both organizations would be some kind of boundary agents and routinely work across sectors and disciplines (KT P138-140; KB P85), get out of the limited horizon of their own office (SA P35) and know each other professionally and personally, so as to be able to just pick up the phone, call each other, meet for coffee and so quite naturally expand their horizons on a daily basis through their close-knit connection (SA P33-35, P55). To give them the freedom to work out their unique way of working together free from professional performance pressures is also linked to the conviction that ISU should introduce a less planned and controlled work environment where people have the time to stroll outside their own office and be open for surprising insights through being connected and confronted with different people and perspectives outside the walls of their own organization and the confines of their narrow-minded professional daily tasks (cf. NN P15; NK P54; SA P91). For example, when asked about how ISU's work would concretely contribute to the development of the collaboration between university and city administration, QBI rejects the idea of too concretely defining its mission and tasks, because an important element of ISU's work is for him to be open for surprise, to allow for a break away from traditional or routine ways of dealing with urban development problems (QBI P88-90). For him the central objective of the CSKP is to create the skill and openness in participating actors and organizations, to engage with other actors outside your own organization and to establish a network with them, to be flexible and critical with your own ways of doings things, so as to not forego better perspectives and approaches by others that could be found out there (Ibid.)

However, those working most closely with ISU, i.e. the executive director and the boundary agents, also frequently express frustration about the simultaneousness of expectations to creatively develop new and innovative modes of collaboration, experimentation and learning and inclusive networks beyond the confines of ISU's parent organizations, while strongly also feeling to not have the "mandate" or professional freedom to do so (KT P99; NbNb P202). As NK, a former ISU employee from the academic side, argues:

"To be harsh, I think ISU has failed to be this bridge between the university and the municipality. I think it's not a bridge, it's—sometimes I get the feeling that (…) it's a trademark. I think the importance to develop sustainability as some kind of trademark for Malmö also has an influence on ISU. That, you know, of course it's

important to do work with sustainable urban development for its own sake. But I think the idea of a sustainable creative city is also an important part of Malmö's trademark. (...) It's becoming important to continue to achieve this kind of trademark. The municipality knows it, the university knows it. Maybe the municipality knows this better than the university" (NK P116+P124).

Here again one can see how the concrete, material but also somewhat superficial value of ISU as a trademark is considered a major obstacle for producing more profound and longer-lasting values. The pre-occupation with the PR-value of ISU for Malmö city is seen as a diversion of its limited, organizational capacity away from what it actually should do, namely to continuously work towards the longer-term and more profound establishment of creative collaboration, instead of using its limited work force and resources for constantly producing the chimera of a well-established, well-endowed and capable institute that does not exist as such (NK P42; NbNb P62). For example, when visiting groups of professionals come to visit Malmö, the executive director is used to guide the tour as head of the independent institute (while in fact she is neither the head of ISU, nor is ISU actually an independent institute) (cf. NN P31; DQ P155; DM P25-P27). ISU also spends much of its project funds to support events of another adjacent project called "The Line" (Lijnen), which is organized by the city and focuses on showcasing the "world's most innovative business environment" (Malmö City 2015) and various initiatives, start-up and internet companies connected to innovative, sharing-based economic models located along a pedestrian and cycle path linking Malmö center and Western Harbor (Malmö City 2014a; Listerborn 2017, p.22-27). Within the high-profile publications and events accompanying "The Line", ISU is mentioned several times as a prominent actor and its persona as a competent institute is highlighted (Malmö City 2014a; 2014b). Another example is how ISU is used as independent publisher, especially of city administration publications, such as publishing a business plan for a former bus garage in the area, which was created by the city administration's cultural department and an outside consultant (and former ISU director) with some of ISU's project funds (NN P31; DM P232). Another example of this flexible use of ISU as a brand or trademark are the "Urban Drinks" events, which ISU hosts in conjunction with other high-profile conferences in Malmö and around (e.g. the International Architecture Festival in Lund in 2013, ISU 2013). A boundary agent expresses her discomfort going to these events, to represent ISU and to raise wrong expectations and make outside audiences believe that ISU is this vast ocean of opportunities for collaboration (KT P34). She feels she is raising the wrong expectations by representing ISU in this way at public events, because she is not really employed by ISU (but by her home department, in part through ISU funds) and because ISU does not have the labor, funds nor the mandate to function as a partner for collaborative

projects outside the confines of its partner organizations (KT P97-99). The executive director who is responsible for organizing these public events (and for running ISU's YouTube channel, Twitter, Facebook page and other outreach activities) is on the other hand aware of ISU's mission to brand Malmö when she states that ISU is valuable for getting the city known among the international creative class and to raise its attractiveness in the eye of this specific audience (DM P218). In ISU's new partnership agreement for 2015-2017 (written in 2014) this task of making Malmö known among target audiences and raising its attractiveness is also officially introduced as part of its list of organizational goals, when it states that ISU should more specifically be used to increase the visibility and profile of what the city administration and university are already doing in the field of sustainable urban development. This is explicitly called a form of marketing and ISU is called a common brand that should be better used in funding application procedures (ISU Cooperation Agreement 2015-2017, p. 7-8). A board member from the administration side sees the purpose of ISU as:

> *"We have to be better in writing applications and knowing where to find money… Because it is easy money now, because everybody is talking about sustainable development projects" (*NN P153).

Although this is a direct value that ISU could provide to the funding applications, events, and publications by its parent organizations, there is a sense that using ISU in this way binds too many resources and dilutes ISU's core mission of create learning networks and cultures in and around its parent organizations. For many, ISU has become a container for all kinds of different university and municipality projects (NK P52). As NK explains, if ISU is about showing off what is already being done in terms of collaboration in the city, it is easier to showcase your own projects through ISU so as to show an outside audience that you are already doing a lot on transdisciplinary urban development for sustainability, rather than going through the risky and bothersome process of developing ISU into "*this midwife*" (NK P48) that brings actors together to enable them to create new projects and innovative forms of collaboration. The danger would then be, according to NIS, that a superficial "meeting culture" and lip-service to popular discourses of sustainability and transdisciplinary collaboration would be used to cover up the inability or unwillingness of ISU's partners to take the necessary decisions for inducing real change (NIS P83; cf. FF P79).

Here one can see how the discussion of the CSKP's object of value is intimately connected to whether it is discussed in terms of epistemic frames emphasizing continuation and the production of immediate and concrete value or more on ethic frames emphasizing transformation and more immaterial, normative values that would only materialize in the future.

However, in both kind of perspectives it is about enabling real people as well as organizations, to solve concrete as well as existential problems, to take urgent as well as profound decisions, to know and act individually through learning together and from each other. Accordingly, the key object of value for the CSKP could be called educational, or its ability to nurture the skill of individuals to learn together. The opposite to this ideal object of value would be for the CSKP to waste labor and resources for the production of quasi-solutions, of fake innovations, façade institutions and non-existent opportunities, so as to uphold the image of concrete value, while actually preventing individuals to use their time and resources to develop the skills necessary to produce real, true or lasting values. Yet, ISU is also used as a trademark or brand to provide legitimacy to other ongoing university and administration projects and, especially in its program documents, it actively raises expectations to contribute directly to the acquisition of (research) funds. This highlights the dilemma of, on the one hand, being expected to invest in the generation and distribution of short-term benefits to ISU's individual partners, who then can grab the value and go home to continue with their respective endeavors. On the other hand, ISU is also expected to 'plant seeds' and prepare the soil for more transformative change to grow in the longer-term and values to be multiplied in a collective future harvest (rather than its individual partners shortsightedly and selfishly consuming its limited capital and resources today).

5.1.4 Modes of exchange: informal and public modes of exchange as alternatives to formal and organizational modes of production

ISU organizes four major exchange and meeting formats. First, a thesis match-making program, in which students produce a master thesis on a topic relevant for the administration, links students with professionals from the administration. This program is connected to a second format, the Urban Strategic Forum, a bi-annual meeting of city and university professionals to discuss current issues in Malmö's urban development and to explore ideas for collaborative projects. A third meeting format is Urban Research Day, the high-profile annual conference in which international experts and the public discuss current issues in sustainable urban development. Finally, the Urban Breakfast/Urban Drinks format allows professionals, students and an interested public to meet, learn about current issues in sustainable urban development and network. In the last section, the goals of some of these meeting formats were discussed, i.e. which values they were supposed to exchange and produce. This section presents the modes of

production and exchange that each of them espouses in a more detailed and focused way. In general, one can see in the description of the various formats, that there is a constructive opposition of informality and publicness of exchange formats which both contrast to the formal, exclusive and isolated modes of production linked to conventional organizations.

Thesis match-making program

The idea of the thesis match-making program is to "match" the institutions, tutors and students with administrators and their research needs so as to produce direct results for the city's planning projects (ISU 2014a). Its objective is to contribute to a more research-based practice and practice-oriented research/education by bringing together the city's need for research with the university's need for relevant topics for theses and practical research (Ibid.). DQ, one of the academic boundary workers, describes it as follows:

> "*For example, I just had three persons from the city planning office, who came and told the students (...) about how they work with an overview plan in general, and how they did it for a certain area (...). And then the students got as an essay, to do their own communication plan for an area, the new port, which hasn't been done yet, and so at the city they were hoping to get some fresh and creative ideas. So they come back to listen to the students presenting*" (DQ P23).

Here one can see a reciprocal exchange, in which the university gets content of their education from the practice of the city administration, while the city administration gets fresh ideas from the students' work. The students get exciting paper topics and extra motivation by having a professional audience instead of merely presenting to fellow students inside the confines of their classroom (DQ P23). Additionally, as was mentioned above, the administration is also interested in influencing the education at Malmö University more directly so as to produce graduates better suited for their own hiring and for employment in Malmö as a whole (cf. KT P56). This program also benefits the administration by involving the students' academic supervisors in the daily work of the administration and giving them better opportunities to conduct their research in an area relevant to the administration (KF P112; KB P37; FF P74; SA P35). However, a similar sentiment of indirectly influencing the other via the lower-threshold exchange format of the theses program (as compared to higher-profile, professional and research-oriented formats) is shared from the academic side, where academics laud the program's involvement of the parent organizations on a more "*grassroots level*" of exchange between students and civil servants (NIS P73), which is linked to hopes of academics to influence the practice of urban planning more directly. Here, organizing the exchange via the

students is considered a better way to "*plant seeds*" (DM P140) for academia into the professional sector:

> "*some ideas, some proposals, some ways of posing questions would be picked up by the municipality, and that would slightly change the focus somehow. I don't believe that I would expect revolutions, but that I would feel that my, perhaps, ideas, or just ways of raising questions would actually slightly change focus. I believe it's just about small things like that*" (NIS P58).

An important aspect of this cooperation via the students and how it would contribute to better working modes between university and administration is the long-term aspect of learning and the ongoing, formalized link through the matchmaking program. As NIS explains:

> "*And what I believe then is a very important task for ISU is to create this culture where people can come together on equal terms, so that no one group feels exploited by the other. So, that if researchers (...) use the people within the city management as food for their research, that they don't just disappear afterwards, but there is some kind of long-term exchange*" (NIS P55).

Thus, the connection between students and civil servants is also linked to ideas of trust and equality between university and municipality, which not only require lower-level cooperation on a more daily basis, but also the establishment of a culture (rather than regulations or structures), which would make people abstain from exploiting each other and from just disappearing after they got what they wanted. So, in the longer term, some hope that the student thesis program will develop into a culture of life-long learning, instead of short-term exploitation. But concretely for her this means that in the intermediate term the thesis match-making program should be expanded into more life-long learning formats in which practitioners in urban development participate and receive training and education from the university. For example, NIS hopes:

> "*that perhaps this point of gravity will slightly move, and perhaps towards training, education and also special courses for practitioners. So, this will be a little bit more kind of implemented. Now it's been more of a kind of informal level, but it will be a little bit more formalized in terms of courses and programs and (...) lifelong learning. And that means that practitioners are invited into the classrooms or into the students' projects in a more active way*" (NIS P161-165).

She hopes accordingly, that ISU's education program will expand and more systematically involve administrators as a next step towards establishing this culture where people come together on equal terms as students and learn together. But she also mentions that for this expansion and continuity to evolve (and finally lead to a culture of life-long learning), one would need less informal and more formally implemented, institutionalized formats. Indeed, concrete results from the thesis match-making program indicate that it may be a viable pathway

to more regular, in-depth cooperation between the administration and the university. In 2013, some 20 student project theses were finalized by about 50 students, predominantly from urban studies. A selection of these theses was presented at the Urban Strategic Forum in October 2013 to instigate discussion among academics and administrators on further collaborative projects on the basis of the thesis program.

Urban Strategic Forum

The Urban Strategic Forum is a bi-annual, formal meeting format between university researchers and city administrators introduced in 2012 to facilitate the identification of common research and planning issues so as to contribute to the development of joint projects and funding proposals (ISU 2012). They are often organized as seminars or lectures to introduce both academics and administrators for example on funding opportunities provided by the EU's Horizon 2020 (DM P91). However, QBI recalls that the Urban Strategic Forums have not been very effective: they were "*like an ordinary meeting and there was nothing that came out of it*" (QBI P70). In contrast, the particular forum in which a selection of student theses was presented was generally lauded (DQ P108; KT P88; KB P51; NIS P40, P76), even called "*the best Forum we had*" (QPI P66). As KT recalls:

> "*I think that the urban strategic forum worked really well. What we did then is that we picked students that had made their thesis from this topic list that we had, and we gathered researchers and civil servants that are interested in these topics, for a common discussion and common joint workshop. After this kind of inspiration from the students, after they presented their results and also inspirations from the research side of this topic and the practical side of this topic, we got together in different working groups and could elaborate common research topics together and how they wanted to proceed in these topics*" (KT P88).

Seven working groups formed on topics such as "*fairer access to the city*" or "*the dense, green and healthy city*" (ISU 2014a). There is a general hope that these working groups will grow gradually and either directly produce cross-organizational projects and funding applications or at least more binding and continuous relationships among researchers and city administrators (KF P29; SA P55). According to ISU's 2013 annual report, the Urban Strategic Forum is a meeting concept that may be conducted in the form of workshops, seminars, round tables or conferences with a specific pre-determined topic or purpose. Some result is expected to be directly produced from the meeting in form of a report, proposal or funding application, but the annual report explicitly states that ISU should not be involved in any kind of project

management as a result of the Urban Strategic Forum. Instead, it should focus on providing a space for dialogue in which professionals from both organizations can discuss a current issue pertaining to their work in "peace and quiet" (ISU 2014a). This is congruent with the executive director's statement that ISU does not follow up on the working groups, which formed at the Urban Strategic Forum organized on the basis of the student theses, but that they have to exist by themselves, because ISU neither has the resources nor the mandate to engage with the group beyond the initiation of informal networks that then should self-organize:

> "*The result of the meeting is that we come with some kind of a deliverance maybe a report some kind of documentation. But what we don't do is project management. So, we will report and the purpose of it is that people should be able in this forum to really put some time off to discuss thoroughly and deeply on a subject without necessarily have to feel that this is now their responsibility. It's more like to discuss and talk about topics, to: 'Ok, you also know about this?', 'Ok, you are interested in this?', 'Aha, you are a researcher! I didn't know' – and then, you know this. The next time that you have something within your work, you know that there are certain people that also face challenges and then you can contact them. You don't have to: 'Ok, we were talking about this, now we have to do something about it', because there is no such budget not in the city and not in the university*" (DM P79-81).

One can see that ISU's limited resources (and by extension the limited resources in university and city administration) and the prerogative for ISU to not engage in managing the project further down the line results in a focus on being an initiator of informal contacts, which organically grow out of an issue-oriented meeting, just because there is no formal pressure or professional responsibility to develop something together. Here it is more about a more personal mode of exchange that can develop because there is no structure given in which people are obliged to operate. On the other hand, the boundary agents planned to organize follow-up meetings in 2014 in order to facilitate further development of the working groups (DQ P110). From the working group on future-oriented urban development, this need for continuous facilitation through ISU is also expressly hoped for, as QBI (ISU board member and academic) states:

> "*We have formed small groups, but it's not working so well (…), because we're so busy. (…) We started to work on it and I tried to make a list in which I identify 50 different institutes [that work on the working group's topic of future-oriented urban development and resilience of cities] so far and now I'm asking a student to continue the work*" (QBI P47-53).

Here one can see the issue of having no time and no additional resources on the side of the individual professionals to self-organize again, that was already mentioned by FF as a general problem of cross-sector projects (FF P97) and by NK as a specific problem of the cooperation

facilitated through ISU, that it has no time budget (or resources) to support the professionals in organizing their collaboration (NK P33). One can also see how students are expected to fill the gap that emerges between the missing capacity in terms of formal project management provided through ISU and the missing capacity of the professionals to continuously self-organize on top of their daily tasks (cf. students as a cheap way to get the knowledge needed by professionals who do not have the time to accumulate it themselves, KB P37). But QBI also suggests how previous attempts to develop deeper cooperations between professionals from either organization failed, or were short-lived, because they depended on formal structures being funded through external grants:

> *"these seven areas (...) are that important that they will last for a longer period of time compared to many of the other objectives or projects that we have started during the last 10 years. They were rather short lived. And they were also short lived, because they were depending on external funding and when the money runs out you cannot employ the people and you have to start new projects. And that is another aspect, we are always running for money, which also influences which kind of activities we can do"* (QBI P66-68).

Thus, the working groups should not require external funding. This is to be achieved not through internal structures and resources, but through the normative framework of the important issues identified at the Urban Strategic Forum, which would allow the professionals on both sides to self-organize over a longer period around these issues. However, as NIS states, it is a "tricky" problem to expect these groups to self-organize in creative and innovative ways, while also ensuring that there is a structure that allows for responsibility to be designated to certain people to continue to organize their working group in the longer term:

> *"So, I believe through the structure, if you can come up with a kind of creative way of defining those kind of crossover tasks, and designate people to take on the responsibility for those tasks, it's like inventing practices that don't really exist... that's the tricky part I think"* (NIS P76).

It is tricky, because, as NIS stated above, trustful and longer-term contacts between organizations depend on some way of formal structure, to ensure that the time is not just wasted on the meetings, or that short-lived cooperation does not just result in one part getting what they want and then disappearing, leaving the other part feeling exploited (cf. NIS P51 above). At the same time, though, formal structures are often seen as something that cannot be provided by the organizations involved, because neither university, city administration, nor ISU have the resources to do so, but also because they do not want formal structures to curb the organic, self-organized growth of informal networks and their potentially surprising and innovative ways of

working together across the boundaries of their home organizations. Instead, it is hoped, that a less formal (and costly) normative or ideational framework would provide the necessary longer-term structure for this self-organizing, informal network, as well as the professional self-interest of the individuals involved would keep them motivated to organize themselves differently in the longer term. As one of the boundary agents argues:

> "*How should they proceed? It might end up in a research project (…), but there are also many little obstacles. Like, that it takes time to build up new relations and it takes time, always, to start things up, especially as collaboration might feel as if it's not absolutely necessary to get your work done. But what I like to think and what I would like to spread is that we have to realize that we can get a much better job done, we can be much better at what we do, if we take help from each other*" (DQ P108).

This boundary agent stresses the dimension of self-interested cooperation between the professionals involved, because each of them wants to get their respective job done and can do so better when able to enlist the help of others. This perspective can be seen as a necessary complement to the above-mentioned normative framework provided by the important and interesting issues identified at the Urban Strategic Forum, which would necessitate individuals to self-organize in a more collaborative mode of exchange, which does not highlight their professional and individual self-interest, but instead appeals to their curiosity and moral responsibility to take interest in the larger, trans-organizational social issues the city faces.

Yet this boundary agent's statement also suggests that this kind of belief needs to spread, that it is not yet commonly accepted among the professionals. These remarks then hint again at the aim to induce a longer-term shift in the professional culture of both organizations, to initiate a "*change process*" (DQ P95) directed at individual professionals, rather than their organizations' leadership or for structural changes to facilitate cooperation and collaboration across sectors:

> "*the idea the board for example wants things to lead to applications. I mean, I know we need resources to be able to do something, so that's important. But my idea or vision would be that one or two of those themes could be continued by sending in some research applications, whereas I think it would be lovely if there are other themes that could continue in other forms. For example, as I said before, just by closer relations between people working with [the urban studies] program and the city planning office. I mean, there are so many, very natural connections that could be or should be better (…). I personally think very much about the very informal parts of becoming wiser, because I have been working in many different sectors and in different companies and I feel, that I have seen so different logics, so different ways regarding what is worth less and what is valuable… And I really think that I and my colleagues here have very much to learn just from having*

closer relations to other practitioners within a field that is very similar to ours (…) and I just think that we both and all would benefit so much from broadening our perspectives" (DQ P112-114).

For this boundary agent from the university, short-term resources to be acquired through funding applications are seen as a necessary perspective introduced by the ISU board (and its constituent department heads), but her vision for the majority of the working groups and her longer-term development goal is for people to become wiser through informal, closer and more personal connections that grow more naturally from the bottom up. For her this also means for people to become more aware of how the different organizational (or artificial) logics separate them and hinder them to learn from each other personally and directly and to find more authentic ways to connect and mutually enlarge one's respective horizon to the benefit of the two parties involved in this exchange, as well as for the collective as a whole ("we both and all would benefit so much").

Urban Research Day

Becoming aware of differences was also an important aspect of the annual Urban Research Day organized by ISU, the university and the city administration in December 2013 with the topic "Culture and Sustainable Urban Development" (ISU 2013; DM P94-P106). This activity is generally seen as a big success, because it made Malmö the center of a well-attended and internationally recognized conference with high-profile guest speakers (NIS P51; DM P100-P102; P140). In this way, it not only created an arena for knowledge transfer and exchange, but also nurtured a sense of re-establishing Malmö as a leading place in the debate about sustainable urban development (DM P267-P273; KB P105).

However, another important aspect of this conference was, according to two ISU board members from the city and the university that it opened up the issue of sustainable urban development for critical discussion (NN 19; NIS P91-P92). NIS explains that on this Urban Research Day with the focus on culture in sustainable urban development brought about some "*really interesting conflicts with the planning department*" (NIS P91) in the city, because ISU organized this event in an open way, inviting critical voices to confront city administrators and their economic growth-focused "*planning culture*" and in this way made visible that people involved in the collaborative process of planning a certain industrial area in Malmö had "*totally different agendas and objectives*" (NIS P98). She concludes that the incident at the Urban Research Day indicates that one of ISU's important tasks is to be "*very open-minded when it*

comes to allowing for different interpretations and inviting different kinds of people into the debate and into this space that ISU is" (NIS P100), because this would allow conflicts and the tension between different agendas and interest to become visible, which in turn is a necessary prerequisite for a truly creative collaboration that goes beyond inconsequential talk (cf. NIS P104 above). But NIS also goes beyond attesting a mere instrumental role of the public conference in bringing about a better basis for innovation, concluding:

> *"Targeting these actors that are not normally included in this process, in that way, ISU has kind of provided a parallel, to a certain extent, to the administrative space provided by the municipality. Or, to the academic spaces provided by the university. So, a kind of middle ground. And inviting non-expected agents into this dialogue, it's become political, I would say"* (NIS P120).

This public and political dimension of ISU's work links to the hope that it would work to link people together that were formerly disconnected by being part of different sectors or organizations and their different logics and in this way, it is akin to the Urban Strategic Forum. But in opposition to the "quiet and peaceful" atmosphere of the internal Urban Strategic Forum, where professionals from university and administration meet to network and develop project ideas together, this space is inherently public and conflictual or, NIS says, political in nature. Another ISU Board member from the city administration's cultural department makes a similar point, when he states:

> *"It was very difficult, because the city planners were there to talk about how they plan the city and some certain areas of the town, for example Norra Sorgenfri, which is the old industrial area and it is supposed to develop into something else. And there were a lot of students from different kinds of programs in Lund and Malmö as well and it was interesting, because it was a lot of questions concerning culture actually. But we [from the cultural department] weren't invited so far, we were in the audience. So, the questions concerning culture were very hard for the city planners to answer, and the mindset of the questioners were that the city planners were more or less evil, planning away with culture when they reconstruct the old areas—the rents go up and gentrification and so on. And that is the reason we are now inside the planning process. And it really concerns people a lot, especially young people, it is a question of democracy actually: What do we do to involve the citizens in a better way in processes concerning planning?"* (NN P19).

The contentious ISU panel was, thus, that those talking to an audience about culture in urban sustainable development were not considered qualified or legitimate to talk about the issue and as a result the cultural departments of the city administration and the university were not only included in the planning process in the industrial area, but also became members of the ISU Board (ISU 2014b). The tense panel on the Urban Research Day also led many in the audience

to consider this debate as highly relevant and important and since ISU was organizing, it sparked interest in its work and in sustainable urban development as a whole (NK P32; DM P104; QPI P70; NN P19). As QPI recalls, this ISU-organized event was successful more generally and important for him individually, because he encountered people and perspectives, he wasn't aware of before:

> *"And also, we had for instance an urban research day (…) I think that was also an important and successful meeting, because new issues were lifted in the discussion, for instance, that I haven't thought about before. And new actors were also involved that I haven't heard before, so it was (…)a meeting where you learned something new (…)."* (QPI P70).

The executive director of ISU was also very satisfied with the Urban Research because ISU managed here to directly link to its more general goals of spreading knowledge about sustainable urban development and involve different audiences in a common learning process:

> "*for me it is a success if we have had a conference for example urban research day and people write to me and say that they have learned so much today hand that they have so much new thoughts and that this is an inspiration to them and they didn't know this and they didn't think about this, to understand that people have learned something new, that you have planted new seeds*" (DM P140).

Inviting different perspectives and unexpected voices into a space that is decidedly more public and controversial in nature managed to challenge not only the 'business as usual' mindset in Malmö's growth-oriented urban planning culture, as NIS stated above, but also inspired audiences and those working for ISU alike as it showed that urban sustainable development is a contested, complex and political issue. The public character in this way could serve as an important antidote to what NIS calls the Malmö meeting culture, with which she means:

> "*that we keep on talking and we deliver—through this deliberative culture—we deliver only quasi solutions, no real change and that we kind of cover up a kind of inability to take necessary decisions by this kind of meeting culture*" (NIS P83).

Uncovering hidden assumptions and biases is seen here as an important aspect of lifting meeting and deliberations to the level of real change and transformation. The public serves a function similar to the informal, personal relations that are to be created through the Urban Strategic Forum's working groups: real people meet face-to-face and overcome their prejudices and conventional ways of thinking. Informal personal networks on the one hand and the public forum on the other are both removed from the conventional organizational space and promise something else over and beyond the superficial muddling-through of the professional's entrenched work life. As a boundary agent from the administration says:

"I can think in my room for as long as I want, I will only have a limited number of ideas, but if I speak to someone else, obviously it broadens my horizon. And this is what I would like to see, this broadening of horizons. Also, just to speak to someone who has a different perspective, looking at the same thing in different ways" (SA P35).

The involvement of the public serves here a critical as well as an instrumental function, because the involvement of the public (and especially students and artists, NN P71; DM P148) is believed to serve not only to unveil own hidden assumptions, but also to collect new and fresh ideas and knowledge (KF P47). As a board member from the city administration states, a good ISU event is one where people planners could pick out new ideas like "*raisins from the cookie*", meaning to select those ideas that are not too "*crazy*", but that they "*never ever could have come up with ourselves*" (NN P67).

For the chairwoman of ISU there is an idea of a public space that is decidedly less political than the one described by NIS above, but rather unpolitical. After criticizing an elitist and narrow-minded planning practice that would build opera houses and focus on the city square as traditional meeting place, the ISU chairwoman suggests the public forum of a market as an ideal place for meetings, where people from different backgrounds meet informally as consumers and producers (rather than as political beings). As FF sums up the critical debate about culture and sustainability at the conference:

"And this is also a question about how you connect with other people—these informal meetings. I saw a very interesting presentation saying that perhaps not the square is the meeting place for this informal or not planned meetings between people, but rather a shopping center. Where a lot of people, different ages and different nationalities meet and look at each other saying: 'Aha, that's the way they're doing it' or handling their children, or eating at restaurants etc. So, I think you have to rethink a bit of what we are doing" (FF P177).

Here she proposes 'the shopping mall' as an ideal for informal, natural exchange that should be developed for real people, who in the buzzling and diverse space of the market can see different ways of doing things, try different cuisines and observe (and learn about) other people living out the private and more authentic aspects of their lives. This is an ideal of a mode of exchange that relies not on formal organizational or political meetings between professionals or citizens, but the (self-organizing) market as a place for self-interested exchanges, for private consumers to come in pursuit of their private interests and consumption needs, and only indirectly—but therefore also more authentically and naturally—engage each other as human beings. But going to market, to collect "*new and fresh ideas*" (NN P71) that would enrich planners' work is also a way to engage with an Other that is potentially less threatening to the ability of the

professional to control and perform, because it brings them in the role of a consumer who is being able to pick and choose from the diverse things at offer, to grab those ideas they like and to go home (cf. FF on grabbing grant money and going home, FF P107). Thus, they can decide what to adopt (or buy), rather than being required to adopt something publicly demanded by a group of citizens, for example.

Urban Drinks and Urban Breakfast

This shopping mall principle of exchange also indirectly legitimizes the more informal meeting formats organized by ISU like Urban Breakfast Seminars and Urban Drinks. Their purpose is to provide meeting spaces for academics, administrators and a broader public of interested parties, where ISU spreads information about sustainable urban development, enables people to network, but also itself gets known among relevant target audiences.

In 2013, ISU organized seven breakfast seminars with a total of about 250 participants (ISU 2014a, p.9). At an event people are invited to mingle and eat breakfast while attending a topical presentation that illustrates a particular aspect of sustainable urban development. The themes are usually broad and depending on the presenter, ranging from topics, such as "The creative economy, cultural entrepreneurship and location marketing" to "The Swedish housing market from a holistic perspective" (Ibid.). According to the 2014 Annual Plan, the breakfast seminar "is a popular meeting place and a place for knowledge acquisition, where the target audience is primarily academic and administrative, but also includes businesses, NGOs and other actors" (ISU 2014b, p.5).

Also, in the debate whether these informal meetings are something ISU focuses on or not, some of the interviewees lauded the informal character of the Urban Breakfasts for their inviting and open character, which attracts a diverse set of people who would normally not meet:

> *"ISU has arranging these breakfasts for some years now and I think that it's created a community of people interested in urban development. And that could be individuals working within some companies or within the departments in the city of Malmö. Within research society, because they are very open and inclusive. Are you interested in these themes and discussions about urban development? Just join us for a breakfast"* (FF P117).

The breakfast seminars are also the longest ISU standing activity. In fact, as FF recalls, it is part of ISU's very beginning:

> *"ISU started slowly with a lot of breakfasts. People have breakfast together and it wasn't organized breakfasts of course but just to get the researchers at Malmö University and people working in the City of Malmö, to bring them together and*

change some experience mainly" (FF P17).

In the 2010 evaluation, the breakfast seminars were lauded several times as an excellent format that should be used more systematically, because it has proven so popular and helped to sharpen ISU's profile as a relevant actor in Malmö (Persson 2010). The evaluation recommends that the seminar format should be expanded as an outreach activity that creates contacts and opportunities to be used for ISU's own development as an institute.

However, many interviewees also criticize the format as too broad and not in line with the interests of the key ISU audiences in the university and the administration. One of the boundary agents from the administration side, for example, compares the breakfast seminar with the urban Strategic Forum format, in order to point out that the former does not contribute to ISU's main mission to facilitate collaboration between administration and university:

> *"Nobody knows who they target, actually. They target anyone that can be interested, kind of? And I don't think this project should be for anyone, I think it should be for the ones that can take a leading role in the collaboration process, the civil servants and the ones from the university that are really interested in collaboration and are making things together. (...) When I get these invitations to the breakfast seminars (...) I don't feel that this is relevant for me, because the topic is so broad, and on a theoretical level, that it could be a student that is interested, it could be a journalist that is interested, but it's not really something that is like targeting the people working within our organization. We haven't even checked what they need, or what is interesting for them"* (KT P88).

Hardly anyone from among the interviewees has regularly attended the drinks and breakfast, because they are too busy (QBO P76; QPI P72). As KT from the city administration states, they do not fit with her professional life:

> *"Like for example the breakfast seminars, I can never go, and no one from my office can ever go, because of the time, because it's not in line with our time schedules, we always have other meetings during that time."* (KT P94).

But the critique that the breakfast seminars are not in line with, nor contribute to, the professional life of the ISU target audiences of academics and administrators goes beyond simple scheduling problems: they are not seen as helpful in *"getting the work done"* (TK P92), they are too much about *"one-way communication"*, too centered around presentations instead of discussions and networking (SA P176-178). Thus, these remarks are recalling what QPI said about the Urban Strategic Forums, which were organized prior to the introduction of the October 2013 forum's workshop and networking format introduced by the boundary agent: presentation-focused formats might be somewhat interesting, but are seen as just another

"ordinary meeting" (QPI P70) after which one goes home to proceed as usual. Indirectly, interviewees highlight what is missing for the Urban Breakfast to be considered not just another meeting but a real meeting space: it shouldn't be about sharing more or less interesting information top-down or one-way, but provide opportunities for more horizontal discussion, exchange and networking (SA P173, TK P92). The boundary agents (DQ, KB, KT and SA) in particular are critical of the exchange format, as they are required to be part of it and represent ISU at these events (ISU 2014b; KT P94; DM P131), but see this as a distraction from what they feel they should actually do with their time, which is to organize the Urban Strategic Forum and the thesis match-making program so as to facilitate collaboration that leads to results and professional networks that are alive and active on their own (SA P239-243). For them the Urban Breakfasts but also the Urban Drinks are more focused on promoting ISU as an organization or a brand, as KB says:

> *"I guess any organization also needs to have some kind of goal which is about making itself known and having people join and participate in different activities and so on. I mean, of course that is a legitimate goal for any organization. It's about branding, and you want people to know about ISU, and be interested in what ISU does"* (KB P75).

But, as KT stated above, this organization and brand building collides with professional practice and even a sense of professionalism as such, because ISU boundary agents feel obliged to pretend to represent ISU although they are employees of the university and administration and because they feel obliged to go to the seminars and make promises to those present that they know they cannot deliver on (KT P97). The concern of professionals not having enough time to go to these events is complemented by concerns about ISU not having enough resources to organize these events, but it just contributes to what NIS called inconsequential meeting culture, were only quasi solutions and quasi exchange is propagated instead of enabling people to work towards changing their practices through critical and personal encounters (cf. NIS P58). As a consequence, many interviewees suggest either substantially changing the format of the Urban Breakfast or scaling it down considerably (SA P239-243; KT P94; TK P39_P42), while others stress the centrality of the Breakfast Seminars to the mission, origin and future development of ISU (cf. FF; DM; NbNb; but also Persson 2010).

A similar divide among the interviewees can be detected when it comes to the Urban Drinks meeting format, which ISU has organized since 2013 and takes place around 6-8 times annually (each drawing around 20-50 visitors), usually in conjunction with a higher profile or more formal event, such as the International Architecture Festival in Lund or the presentation of the final report of the Malmö Commission (ISU 2014a). Urban Drinks are described in ISU's

program documents as "unpretentious events with an after work spirit" (ISU 2014b, p.5). They are meant to facilitate knowledge sharing and networking in an informal meeting place, where researchers, administrators, students, but also entrepreneurs and NGOs can meet and establish new contacts and acquire new insights in a relaxed atmosphere (Ibid; 2014a, p.10). However, as the Urban Breakfast Seminar, they are also supposed to establish ISU "as an attractive venue" (ISU 2014b, p.10).

The Urban Drinks are considered by some of ISU's stakeholders as a core activity of ISU (the 2010 evaluation; Persson 2010), especially when the creation of personal contacts and informal connections is focused upon:

> "*It has been very interesting to see that [the Urban Drinks] been so popular, and if the whole idea of making researchers, students, professors to meet, civil servants, and business—that's where it happens. (…) Because there everyone comes, and it's not so many, maybe 25, 30 each time, but it's always different people. And (…) people don't have badges like you do at the conference, so people just start to talk, and we have like, students, who actually met directors from a department and got a job, and such things. That just happens, because people are really relaxed and just talking. And then suddenly realizing that: 'You're really nice! And we're talking about really interesting things*' " (NbNb P91-93).

Here the idea is that informal meeting places allow for example students to approach directors of departments and that this flattening of hierarchies ensures that a more diverse mix of people attend and surprising things can happen that spontaneously emerge when people find each other on a more human level, rather than as professionals within their organizational function. It is accordingly a good expression of ISU's mission to work as a network facilitator, which enables individuals to leave their organizational badges at home and more authentically and directly engage which each other as equals. It also links to the spontaneous and effortless creation of results associated with the CSKP as a network, because when people are relieved from their organizational straight-jackets, interesting and surprising things 'just happen':

> "*I would like, as I said, this curiosity and meeting each other to be effortless and spontaneous... I would like to see my colleague call someone to say 'Can we have a cup of coffee together?' I think for me that would be the ideal status*" (SA P35).

It might also not be a coincidence that within these two examples, informality, having drinks together, friendship, curiosity and learning (i.e. getting to know the other) associatively links to the ideal of young people (students), having (Urban) drinks, relaxing and just talking to strangers, being curious and oblivious about formality, authority and other conventions that would hold older professionals back from engaging others outside their entrenched professional and private lives. The informal networking situations provided by ISU help to transform the

professional into a young, open, curious person again (who also has plenty of time to spend outside an office), as well as it transforms a young person into a city administrator (because, within the informal setting provided by ISU, she could approach her future employer as an equal). In this way, these two statements can serve anecdotal examples for how ISU activities directly promote transfer between its partners by transforming their usual, conventional modes of exchange by de-professionalizing them, whereby this act of de-professionalization can be linked to ideas of overcoming boundaries and hierarchies so as to work more effortlessly, authentically, as well as efficiently and productively (cf. DM P202).

However, while the informality is lauded because it allows people to leave their professional confines behind to voluntarily and more authentically, horizontally and directly interact (and create useful results almost spontaneously and effortlessly), there are also many voices criticizing the format, again, from a professional perspective. As NK from the university states: *"of course you can (...) go to some Urban Drinks and so but it's not a big part in our daily work"* (NK 104). As a boundary agent from the city administration argues:

> *"But another thing is the urban drinks. It's really quite problematic. Because the idea of the urban drinks is to create an informal way of meeting between the different organizations and that's a good idea, but it's really, really like unclear for me. Because if I go there, as a civil servant in the municipality, I don't have the role (...) to go and represent ISU at these drinks and (...) to make sure that more collaborations are done and link people together. But for me it's really problematic because, first of all, I never know who is gonna come, is it anyone that can be an interesting target for this collaboration project. Usually, its students and students usually want, like, contacts from employers. And you end up supporting them, and that's not bad, but that's not what I see us doing, that's not what I want us to do. It's kind of difficult for me as a civil servant to work like a free agent (...), and make promises of how you can link things together. I can't do that. If someone meets me there and they want me to make sure that their product would be run, my function within my organization is that I can maybe give them a contact, but I can't make anything happen... There are so many things that I can't control, and I don't want to be a person sitting there, promising people..."* (KT P94).

These different quotes indicate that both Urban Drinks and Breakfast Seminars are on the one hand considered at the heart of ISU's mission to provide free spaces for people to connect in a deeper way beyond their organizational identities and professional lives, but are simultaneously critically evaluated in respect to their contribution to the production of tangible results in terms of actual collaboration projects between city and university (e.g. KT P88; SA P167-P180; NK P104). Both are considered right in line with the understanding of ISU as an open networking place for non-professional, i.e. more authentic, personal and open-minded modes of exchange

157

(especially when it includes students), while they both are also frequently mentioned critically as an example of ISU (or those participating in its activities and interventions) investing time, resources and labor into something that dilutes its central mission of facilitating results-oriented exchange relationships between professionals from university and administration.

To conclude this section and link it back to the research question about how the modes of exchange are narrated within the CSKP, on can discern that informality and formality as well as privateness and publicness of the modes of exchange established through ISU's activities and meeting formats seem to be in need to be balanced in order to create a middle-ground space in which those that participate in ISU can meaningfully link two essential sides of what it means to be meaningfully active, i.e. producing and learning. The informality of the market mode of exchange is one side of the ideal type synthesis, while the publicness of the agora forms the other. Taken together both sides focus the initiative on creating forms of congregation, exchange and production that are in one way or the other ideally more meaningful and authentic than those forms of exchange, that are not satisfying individual needs nor help to solve collective problems, but are depicted as being preoccupied with organizing themselves, i.e. modes of exchange, where people meet just for the sake of meeting, or produce something just in order to be busy. The ideal modes of exchange established through CSKP instead should enable real people to more directly and authentically confront each other about their individual needs and collective objectives and to exchange labor, resources and ideas with the aim of improving both dimensions together.

5.1.5 Roles and positions – the facilitator, teacher and mentor as an anti-professional and anti-leader

In this section I will explore more in-depth the part of the research question concerned with the ideal role description for the CSKP actors. Here again is the analysis found a constructive dilemma between professional role understandings on the one hand, emphasizing expertise and authority, and anti-professional role understandings, on the other hand, emphasizing creativity and inclusiveness. Taken together these two roles help to sketch-out an ideal, middle-ground role for the CSKP, which could be described as somebody acting like a facilitator, teacher and mentor.

To some extent the major protagonists of ISU are the professional and her counterpart of the anti-professional in its various forms, who are positioned opposite each other in a tense but also mutually constitutive relationship. The professional is spoken of as having a narrow perspective (SA P35; NIS P100-P102) being pre-occupied with daily muddling through (NK P54, P60-P62), driven or even circumscribed by her respective organization's work culture and daily routines (DQ P17); sitting in a lonely office, unable to connect to others and formulate innovative approaches to the complex, real world problems out there with them (TK P66; TC P83); who only pays lip-service to collaboration when it has direct benefits—so as to 'grab the money' (resources, reputation, knowledge, labor, etc.) and go home and go on with business as usual (cf. FF P107). The anti-professional appears to be someone who is creative, inspired and inspiring; someone who does not work on things because she is obliged to by her organization. Instead she is someone who overcomes various social, cultural and organizational barriers erected between her and others; who is able to connect with real people, their needs and knowledge authentically; who can communicate and work with them in informal, non-exploitative, non-oppressive ways; someone who is able to stroll around beyond those barriers that normally separate real people from each other (cf. NK P54); who takes the time to listen, to build trust, is patient and understanding, tolerant of differences and appreciative of others' different point of view, differing interests and their unique and legitimate needs (FF P97; cf. NK P35; KT P54). As TC puts it, for such a person:

> "*a crucial competence is the ability of (…) getting people together… To be able to do that, you don't need a person that sits in the office and doing plans, schemes and things like that. You need someone who can actually work together with other actors in building networks*" (TC P79).

The ideal protagonist for working in and through ISU is thus someone who is not confined by his professional identity and who sits alone in his office to produce plans and schemes, but someone who gets out, connects to people, connects people with each other and inspires them to work together.

She works within a frame that is in direct contrast to the closed spaces and time limits that characterize the organizational or professional lifes of conventional academics and administrators. The informal space the anti-professional occupies is instead characterized by playfulness (cf. DM P148; SA P91), experimentation (DQ P23; KF P41; NIS P11; TC P21), effortless creation (SA P24-35), critical but open and appreciative dialogue (FF P199; NIS P100) and conscious communion (FF P117; KB P103). Yet, the anti-professional is highly productive, although her higher rate of productivity is defined in contrast to those criteria that

would be applied to her counterpart, the professional: instead of producing more of the same *"quasi-solutions"* (NIS P83) and quick fixes (cf. NK P60; NIS P80), she builds networks, lasting relationships, mutual trust, direct dialogue, and solidarity and in so doing enables people to go beyond the confines of their respective identity, their schemata, plans and fantasies, to meet out there, where it counts and where *"things happen"* (cf. NbNb P93 above). Instead of being singled out, confined and controlled by deadlines, the highly productive anti-professional has the freedom to enable others to reach higher levels of quality in their respective work, and she improves their ability to critically and consciously work together towards more substantial, innovative and longer-lasting, i.e. real, change. The anti-professional can do this, because she is not singled out, confined or even atomized through quantitative performance criteria individually applied to her and her work. That is why she does not waste her and others' time in *"just another meeting"* (QPI P70), does not appropriate their time, labor and resources to validate her own plans, schemes, opinions or prejudices and instead strolls around, meets people where they really are themselves, spends her time having *"fika"* (Swedish version of water-cooler conversations, NK P54) and, thus, spends her own labor and resources connecting to others, supporting others, listening to others and selflessly enabling others to work together and link up their very own, unique perspectives, skills and knowledge (QPI P25).

This ideal role for those working in and through ISU could be described as broker or facilitator, someone who works as a "*midwife*" (NK P48) at the birth of other people's babies, someone who inspires people to work on a project together without having her own project (NK P12), someone that knows who knows (rather than being knowledgeable about the issues) and works on making others work together (rather than working on something distinctly her own) (DM P57). She leads without being a boss (DM P172), she inspires commitment from others without having (the authority) to oblige them (Ibid.). She plants seeds for others to bring in the fruits (DM P140; cf. KF P96; cf. NIS P58). She keeps the initiative anchored to the parent organizations, keeps them close and in control (cf. QPI P9, P96; KF P77), while at the same time moving their joint venture forward in innovative and surprising ways (NIS P80; QPI P88-P90).

This role can be associated with female characteristics and especially those of a selfless mother and is best exemplified with respect to ISU's executive director and her position vis-à-vis the ISU Board, as well as the boundary agents. As an academic member of the ISU Board describes why they chose to replace the former director (also a female) with the current one:

> *"You can also see how ISU was working depending on who has been the director of ISU. For example, the first we had—the woman with the background in the municipality who was also a traffic planner—she was very much involved in*

building ISU as a sort of independent institution and also trying to build all these procedures and reports on procedures (...). So, what we got was an institute that was more or less independent of these networks [that exist between university and administration]. It had a life of its own. And all the things that we started in ISU and SEKUM with all the close connections between all of us, it was suddenly after all these years very divided. But on the other hand, we had an organization that from an organizational point of view was working quite well, but no one knew... Even I, who was sitting in the board, did not know what was going on. (...) So, now we have a director with more broker competences (...). She has a very good competence to work in networks, to connect different people with each other and so on (...). But on the other hand, you lack another kind of competence. Her competence is brokering and not research and she is not really an expert of the municipality either, that's why the boundary agents are a good idea, because we can complement her competences with their competences" (QPI P96-98).

This quote refers to a former executive director who acted much like a professional who engages in his own project-building, inserting himself, his plans, structures and procedures in-between and cutting off those informal and organically grown, horizontal connections between professionals of the partner organizations that he should actually have nurtured (while also reducing the board's ability to know and control the initiative). The new director is instead good at brokering and maintain social relations, because she is neither an academic nor an administrator. Her competence is to create social gatherings (like the Urban Drinks), to invite interesting and relevant people and to create a neutral, non-threatening but also relaxing and comfortable space for those who matter (i.e. professionals in the ISU Board, the boundary agents and beyond) to meet and fill it with their personality, expertise and interests (DM P89). As FF, the chairwoman of the board states:

"And ISU is I think regarded by (...), us [the university] and the City of Malmö [the administration], who are the founders, as a rather neutral arena. So, if we often say: 'Let's leave this to ISU' and by that, I think, we are at the same time saying, that this is a question of common interest and no one has the leading part, not the university, nor the city (...) and we have an equal say in what we are going to do together. And I think that's an important role for ISU: to be this arena where we can meet and work together (...) and [as the board] make up an action plan for what is going to be done. (...) Then, ISU has to find the people that can do whatever is going to be done and then we can leave the result to the different organizations (...). So, when we have a discussion in the board and say 'Let's leave it to ISU!', [the director] is always present, so she knows exactly what we think and how we look at things. And then she together with the boundary agents or other people— researchers or people in different departments of the city—are involved and say: 'Let's see how can we do this together!' " (FF P29-P37).

This quote also sheds light on board's difficulty in assuming a leadership position with respect to ISU, when their perspective is to have it as their common, neutral meeting and "*breeding ground*" (NK P 33; KB P55; P89; NIS P 120) and leave things of common interest to ISU, where neither the city or the university would take the role of "*the leading part*". At the same time, leaving things of common interest to ISU suggests that ISU would be more than a neutral arena, but would simultaneously be an entity of its own that could take over and take the lead on the issues of common interest to the heads of departments. This, however, is in stark contrast to those statements especially by members of the board that ISU should not be run as an organization and not be headed by a director, who acts like a leader and organization builder and develops her own projects in and through ISU. It also exemplifies the issue of mixed messages and unclear leadership emanating from the board, whose harmonious communion and collaboration on the level of heads of department seems to be reliant on externalizing leadership and decision-making responsibility for implementing their visionary plans and schemes to the executive director and the boundary agents.

Beyond the board there are concerns about mixed messages and vague leadership style. For example, the executive director stated concerning the board's idea to develop the position of the "boundary agent" within ISU:

> "*I did not take part in bringing forward the boundary agent concept. It was put in my lap and I had to take care of it, but I didn't like the framework, or the lack of framework, I should say. But I should just take care of it and I should just fix it. The board was like: 'But you are the director, you should do this'—'Yes, but what did you want?' And nobody was there either. Because there were three workshops being done and after this, it came out that ISU should have boundary agents and we should put one million [SEK] aside and they should work 30% with ISU and it should also be financed by the city and the university. And that was it. And then everybody says: 'No, I wasn't there, I didn't say this' (...) But I should just fix it and then the boundary agents, that have been assigned, also come to me and ask: 'What are we gonna do?'—'I don't know what you should do'*" (DM P237).

This problem concerning a strategic decision of the board that subsequently no one took responsibility for, so as to 'leave it to ISU'—meaning its director and the boundary agents—is also linked to another, related problem within ISU. This is the position of the executive director, especially vis-à-vis the boundary agents, the board and its chairman. According to the 2013 annual plan, the executive director is responsible for leading the work of the boundary agents (ISU 2014b, p.14). However, as one of the boundary agents states:

> "*When we started this project, the purpose was kind of vague, what we [the boundary agents] were supposed to do. So, we developed that purpose ourselves,*

after trying, discussing, thinking about it a lot in our group. And we have a really interesting collaboration and a good collaboration in this boundary agent group, which I think makes us a very strong entity. The group is very strong, and [the executive director] is kind of lonely because she is the only one sitting, working in ISU" (KT P36).

This statement about the executive director being lonely and the only one sitting inside ISU is remarkable when compared to the reasoning of QPI above that the board chose this particular director for her ability to connect to people and to broker between the departments. It also shows a sentiment of connection and communion between the boundary agents (mirroring the communion within the board), which is constructed against the opposite of a lonely and weak persona of an executive director, sitting inside ISU, unable to act and implement her ideas. In this way the executive director's role is comparable to the lonely professional, sitting inside the confines of his office, unable to work with others out there on things that really matter. Instead, the executive director seems to serve as an anti-thesis for the professionals of the two parent organizations, both the heads of department (gathered in the board) and the lower rank employees at the department (gathered in the boundary agent team). Vis-à-vis the lonely and weak director inside ISU, they seem to feel strong, enabled to go beyond the confines of their professional offices and meet in a neutral, common ground that enables them to connect in a more authentic and personal way and develop their collaboration, just because of the vague leadership and directionality emanating from ISU itself. This boundary agent also describes how their cross-organizational team does not feel closely linked to ISU as an organization, but rather in opposition to it:

> *"We have a very special position as boundary agents, because we are not employed by ISU, we are employed by some of the organizations that are in the board. And my nearest boss (...) is in the board. So, that means that the board, our bosses, are kind of protecting us from [the ISU chairman of the board], you can say and from [the executive director], when we get attacked from inside of the board, and from [the executive director]. So, we have, like, a really strange position. I mean this project and my boss is there [she points at her home department on a drawing of ISU and its position vis-à-vis the parent organizations], and he's more my boss still than for example [the executive director]. [The executive director] is kind of... –she doesn't have a real clear mandate for her to work as a leader—so, she's in a really tough situation. So, I can say that we, the boundary agents, are kind of [at] the same level as [the executive director] sometimes, and not always, but kind of. So that's how I see it"* (KT P127).

The whole dilemma of the director's position as being the prime person responsible for leading ISU but without the mandate to lead (as this remains with the departments represented in the

board and through the boundary agents), is expressed by her as follows:

"I would like to become better in how to lead without being a boss. Because I have to lead, but when you are not somebody's boss it is extremely difficult to lead and to get the person to do something that you want them to do when you are not their boss and you actually don't have anything to say about them, but it is a part of your work task to lead" (DM P172).

This statement shows the dilemma of the facilitator in general and the executive director of ISU in particular. But it also sheds another light on the ISU board member's comments above that the new director was hired also as a consequence of ISU's former director's organization building that cut off the organically grown and close connections between the parent organizations and gave the ISU board member a feeling that he did not know anymore what ISU was doing (QPI P96). It also resonates with KT's statement that, on hearing about the implementation of the boundary agents' team, her departmental boss exclaimed: "'*Oh, it's so good! (…) It's good to get a better focus on what ISU could bring to us*' " (KT P85). Seen in this light, the implementation of the boundary agents gave the heads of the departments in the city and university a better sense of ownership and control with respect to ISU, and this seems at least partly due to the boundary agents' contribution to weakening the position of ISU's executive director and ISU's viability as an organization as well as ISU's ability to appropriate resources from the parent organizations for its own projects and organization building, rather than contributing to their viability. In this sense, the implementation of the boundary agent program had also very concrete financial aspects to it as well, as NN, a former member of the ISU board, explains:

"I'm interested in why, for example we have these boundary agents. I think it is a very interesting thing that we have them, but I think a lot of money is going to pay for these boundary agents. And the boundary agent thing is a good thing, because they meet each other and they are connecting and for them personally and their careers and their networking, it is brilliant. But then I must ask: 'Why is this?' Because they have so little money to do stuff, that most of the money in ISU goes to salaries and that there is no working money. (…) And of course, some money needs to be used for salaries, but that is a lot of the ISU budget actually going back to the departments. So, [the executive director] doesn't have very much to do stuff with" (NN P33).

This resonates with the director's statement that, since the implementation of the boundary agent program, 1 million SEK of the 2 million SEK annual budget goes directly to the departments' payroll of their own employees, so that she cannot use this money to hire the people needed to help her do her manifold tasks concerning running ISU and its activities (cf.

KT P128). One of the boundary agents links the decreased budget for the director with her status within ISU (without, however, connecting the decrease in the director's budget with her own position being paid through ISU funds) (KT P144-150). These kind of calls for investing in the position of the director are in contrast to the statements about the director (and by extension ISU) needing to be a neutral platform, where the concept of neutrality not only associatively links to not-having-an-own-position but also to the fear of creating a competitor. It also indicates an attitude towards ISU (and especially the position of its director) that it should create assets for someone else without costs, rather than appropriating resources without producing anything of relevance (and thus recalling the idea of the facilitator enabling those around him to create effortlessly, cf. SA P24-33):

> "*I think we are valuable because we are neutral. We are not the city and we are not the university so therefore we are not dangerous or a [competitor]. We are just a neutral platform and we give away so much for free. We are like a consultant they don't have to pay*" (DM P166).

Although here the director talks about ISU when she links neutrality and a non-threatening role of ISU vis-à-vis its parent organizations with the role of a consultant that does not get paid for her work, she also describes more specifically her own role within ISU. As another recent ISU board member expresses:

> "*For the long run I don't see how you can have this one person who is employed for 80% or 100%. I think if we work more to get this external funding than we could have project managers and so on that could work together with [the executive director] on these kinds of issues. Because now it's like, [the executive director] does everything. She's at the urban drinks seminar and then she goes to a meeting with some kind of project and then she comes to the board meeting—she does everything. And then she updates the website, and I think it's… 'No, we need something else!'* " (TK P128).

Interestingly, here the call for investing in the position of the director is linked to external funds and thus upholding the prerogative that ISU should not strain the resources of its parent organizations, but instead attract resources from elsewhere or create assets effortlessly (i.e. without prior investment). However, her outcry that 'we need something else' links the issue of the weak position of the director and her breathless activities to the issues often linked to the downsides of the professional roles—having no time, muddling through, being overburdened with tasks and expectation, being confined by organizational cultures and hierarchies—as well as it links back to the issue of leadership and what it means to be leader without the mandate to build her own organization. When asked about how she thinks the position of the director could be improved, the director is quick to answer:

"To have, like, an organization number[10] and organization: 'I'm the director and you are working under me! As simple as that. You are employed here at this institute and I am your boss' " (DM P182).

Within this statement the difficult relationship between the director and the boundary agents is hinted at, but in a more general sense it also connects to the problem of defining the role and authority of the director vis-à-vis the ISU Board and its chairwoman. As a board member critically assesses:

"when we describe [the director's] role, you can see that she's responsible for the financial aspects, she's responsible for leading the organization or... all the activities, in relation to the goals of ISU. But in my experience there are no clear lines between the board and the role of [the director]. Because I think [the director] goes to [the chairwoman of the board] a lot, to get feedback and to get like approval of some aspects. And I think it's quite difficult because, like, we don't know who has the leading part here. And I think some aspects that we discus in the board should be issues that [the director] should handle on her own. That's my opinion. So, I think we need to separate those two more, and let [the director] manage more things on her own in order to make the work move smoothly and to get the flow. I think it's not necessary to have [the director] and the board meet so often, and have the discussions there in the board and require the director to get approvals. I think it's better if she can make her own network and find her own and be more responsible" (TK P20).

This board member's analysis is shared by many others, most of whom work outside the board. Among those outside the board, that is the director and the boundary agents, there is a significant sense of frustration about working with ISU. The two boundary agents from the city administration were particularly frustrated and admitted that they considered stopping the work with ISU at one point recently:

"I was considering if I want to continue already. This is mainly where I felt there was no common picture. We—as in [the director] as one unit, the steering board as one unit, the boundary agents as one unit—have no common idea, vision, what do we want to do with ISU, how do we get there? Everyone has their own ideas, and being questioned: 'Why do you do this?', or: 'No, you can't do that!' I mean, we four boundary agents, I would say, that we are quite tight. We have been discussing a lot and meeting a lot and developing. Because when we first got the job, it was very open, we didn't get a clear job description. So, we've been discussing a lot, what is it that we want to do actually. And I think we managed to get a good understanding of what do we want and where do we want it to lead us. At least that's what I think. But then we're being questioned without any good reason, or...

---

[10] Having an organization number means to have a legal entity as an organization. ISU, although it is called an institute, is run as a project via the University and its organization, i.e. tax, number.

well that's not right. It has happened that from the steering committee's side suddenly it's like: 'No, this is not at all what you're supposed to do!' And then we do not get an explanation what it is they expect from us" (SA P404).

This statement—together with those of the director indicating that she was not involved In creating the boundary agent program, but it was put in her lap and she was told to fix it without any specific instruction how to do so, cf. DM P273)—shows the dilemma of the facilitator, who is in a weak position, expected to create something new and surprising out of the blue, i.e. without prior investment, adequate mandate/authority or specific instructions, while at the same time being made responsible if he does not deliver up to (never openly or concretely articulated) expectations.

This dilemma also links to the juxtaposition of the professional with the anti-professional. However, within the position described above the anti-professional is not lauded for her broad mindset and her ability to be visionary, to go beyond the practice of muddling through, having or taking the time to engage in open, inclusive and authentic dialogue outside the confines of her office. Instead we get a sense of the dark side of the anti-professional and how the sense of communion, harmony and empowerment through de-professionalization also implies a complementary sense of dis-empowerment among those made responsible to implement the visionary (i.e. vague) talk at the end and to deliver results. The words of the ISU chairwoman of the board, when she describes the harmonious congregation of the heads of department in the ISU Board under the slogan of "Let's leave this to ISU" (FF P30) can then also be interpreted as her and those at her level being able to recast themselves as visionaries and to establish their communion among each other by refusing to do their job and their ability to evade responsibility for this (through transferring it onto the lower level of their organization) (cf. NIS and her criticism of avoiding decisions through a deliberative culture, NIS P83). The role of the professional in this sense more clearly appears as the natural role of the lower-rank members of an organization, i.e. those who are obliged to get the job done ("Let's see how we can do it", FF P37), but without clear instructions or openly articulated expectations (i.e. leadership), nor the resources and autonomy they would need to do their job. The professional thus becomes frustrated by a sense of constant "muddling through", while those anti-professionals "up there" drink coffee and engage in visionary talk, just because they are able to delegate decision-making, labor, costs and responsibility for potential failure onto someone else. The former ISU director describes this communion and vision on the higher level of heads of departments, while she juxtaposes this with the conflict and frustration she sensed in workshops among lower-level employees:

"We had many different kinds of workshops, and some of them raised kind of frustration, because it became very clear that the needs were so different from the university and the city. Not only the needs, but also the possibility to meet the other part's needs. So, it became so clear, everything, and that was very interesting and clarifying. But then we had other workshops, where it was much easier to see. 'What do we want, how do we get there' –and so on. And it depended a lot on which level: If you had like a workshop with people, like a researcher and civil servant, there the frustration became very clear. And if you had workshops with the principle [of the university] and politicians and directors from the city [administration], it was very easy. Everyone was like: 'Yes, yes, this we want to do. No problem, let's do it, yes, yes!' (…). Because on a strategy level, it's quite easy: We both want Malmö to be the most sustainable city in the whole world and we want to cooperate to make that possible. And we want research from the university to be implemented in the city, and we want the practice to be something that the researcher can look upon and so on. No problem, easy to agree upon. But then, how do we do this, very concretely? Then it's very complicated" (NbNb P71-73).

Yet, this opposition between those who have the power and luxury to engage in harmonious, visionary dialogue on the strategic level with those who are obliged to make it work in reality, does not only apply to vertical differentiation between roles and positions. It also applies to horizontal juxtaposition between those who have the luxury to not be held accountable and those who have to run things. As one of the boundary agents differentiates her idea of work with that of the director of ISU:

"I think we have different views of how we should work on ISU and we have different takes on it, and it's been quite difficult to make those two different ways of seeing ISU's role to work together. (…) I think [the executive director], her view is that ISU should be very open, in a very broad sense, and ISU should be like the Mediterranean, all kinds of collaborations, like, her view is, for me: 'I'm like a mediator for everything that has to do with sustainability of urban...'" (KT P31-34).

She continues to argue that for her as a civil servant (but also as an ISU boundary agent) employed by her city department, it is difficult to be at these events and "*represent ISU*" (KT P94) and to be this kind of "*free agent*" who floats around and can "*make promises of how I can link things together*" (KT P98). She concludes:

"I can't do that. If someone meets me [at the Urban drinks] and they want me to make sure that their product would be run, my function within my organization is that I can maybe give them a contact, but I can't like, make anything happen. I can't ... there are so many things that I can't control, and I don't want to be a person sitting there promising people... and then it is like: 'Oh, but sorry, I have no mandate to do this and I can't…' It's like… it creates the wrong expectations, I think" (KT P98-99).

168

One can see that professional identities conflict with being a facilitator, especially when one does not only want to talk creatively and fantasize about what could be possible, but also wants to be able to back these promises up, or to concretely follow them up, so as to retain a sense of honesty and congruence. Here the role of the professional is as someone who knows his limitations and what he can—and more importantly what he cannot—control, who is in a sense more pessimistic and realistic than the anti-professional, who goes around and makes promises to people that she cannot (and need not) fulfill.

Here a sense of responsibility and honesty is linked to the role of the professional, as opposed to the irresponsibility and fantasies of the facilitator and creative anti-professional, who creates shiny visions, a superficial sense of communion built on wrong expectations, if not checked and grounded by the pessimistic realism of the professional. At the same time the professional needs the social, creative, outgoing, spontaneous and visionary attitude of the anti-professional in order to overcome the dark side of their existence—isolation, bureaucracy, routine, quasi-solutions, breathless, narrow-minded muddling through, instrumental/ exploitative attitudes, etc. DM expresses this reciprocal relationship with respect to the roles of artists and planners that ISU brings together:

> "*You have to build trust and then be able to bring people together that are from completely different work environments and to have them talking and to increase an understanding. We took all the developers to the different art communities that are within a certain area of the city that is going to be re-generated and maybe at the first meeting there were some developers (…) that were like: 'Artists are just like grown-up children. They have their day-care, they sit with glue and paint and they don't make money and they just want to live like babies'—to say stuff like that, openly. And then you bring them together and you see that this person is actually changing his or her mind, that: 'Ok, this is not a day-care for grown-ups, this is grown-up people working and it is interesting and it is fascinating and they are building stuff and they don't sit with glue and silky paper' "* (DM P148).

Here it is about bringing the professional and anti-professional (artists, young creatives) together so as to enable both sides to overcome their antagonism and to make them see that behind the prejudicial stereotypical role, there is a real grown-up person, working and building, doing interesting things. The role of the broker/ facilitator then is to bring both sides together and to create and environment in which they can change their mind and overcome prejudice and see the world from the perspective of the other. However, it also implies an antagonism of

money/power and art/creativity, which the interviewee pessimistically evaluates as persistent. The area in Malmö in which ISU brings developers and local artists together, Norra Sorgenfri,

> "*is going to be gentrified, we can't deny that. It is a process that is very difficult to fight against. But to at least work with it in a new way, so that the cultural entrepreneurs and artists at least have a say and they are in the process from a very early beginning*" (DM P150).

NN, from the city administration's cultural department, who is involving artists in the area through ISU funds, expresses this involvement of artists in the redevelopment of Norra Sorgenfri as a good way to more creatively implement the developers' ideas:

> "*It is a very good idea, to ask artists to make the seats and the lamps and, you know, things that have to be there anyway, but they don't have to be the standard lamp, the standard bench, this standard seat. So, yes, ideas like that and (...) you can change the concept of development (...) with the help and good ideas from these workshops that ISU organizes*" (NN P65).

This recalls his other statements about always liking to have students involved in the workshops, because they come up with fresh ideas that the developers can pick from (NN P61; P67). But the area will be gentrified and those things that have to be there anyway will be predetermined by the planners, one should not "expect revolutions", like NIS states, but be content with having changed minds a little bit (NIS P58), having made marginal voices at least heard, and having involved local artists in the development/ gentrification process.

Here the professional is reproduced in the role of the mentor, promoter or teacher to those artists, students and other groups of people (e.g. citizens) who might lack the power, money and in-depth expertise of the professional, but whose labor, ideas, creativity, authenticity and ability to (informally) socialize and communicate is valuable and needs to be cultivated, promoted and eventually harvested (or made useful/profitable) by the professional. However, the mentor-protégé or teacher-student role pair can be extended to describe other kind of relationships and differential evaluations of subject positions as well: The creative, multi-disciplinary student needs to be trained and transformed into an employable person with skills really demanded in the labor market (KT P56, P65), the local artists and civil society need to be reconciled with (or better included in) the irrevocable reality of gentrification (DM P150; FF P123), researchers need to be directed into making more relevant research (KF P112); administrators need to be made aware about their instrumental and one-dimensionally growth-oriented planning practice (NIS P102).

With respect of the research question's interest in discussions of roles and positions within the CSKP, the analysis found, that the CSKP's idealized role of the facilitator, teacher

and mentor implies an indirect claim to leadership and authority over the other by motivating them to join-in the network and contribute, rather than espousing a direct claim to authority and leadership and forcing others to do something they do not want to do (like a boss in a traditional, hierarchical organization). In this way, the ideal role of the CSKP actor can be endowed with neutrality and inclusiveness towards others and yet steer the group towards desired outcomes, because he enables others to voluntarily and creatively join-in and to fill the carefully cut-out implementation gaps with their own ideas and activities and exclaim "*Let's see how we can do this together*" (FF P37). The middle-way persona in between a professional expert and a creative amateur (or anti-professional) is in this way an open-minded facilitator/teacher/mentor, i.e. someone who can contribute his knowledge about what is with others' ideas about what could be: e.g. he knows there needs to be a bench, but it he also knows it does not need to be the standard bench and can then involve artists, students, citizens and other non-professionals to meaningfully contribute. In this way, the ideal CSKP actor can at the same time delimit and open-up spaces for inclusive but also goal-directed action and, thus, lead without being a boss of a hierarchical organization, by virtue of bringing people together in a network, or prepare for them a breeding ground and facilitate their dialogue, ideas and results like a midwife.

5.1.6 Organizational identity – linking short-term project with long-term network through a partial, temporary and somewhat dysfunctional organization

Having discussed more in detail the parts of the research question focusing on contextual framing, the goals/objects of value, modes of exchange/activities and roles within the CSKP, I now turn to a discussion of the overall identity of the CSKP. This section addresses the question, what kind of identity the CSKP has and what kind of organizational ideal is it based on. As with the other aspects of organizing a CSKP, the analysis cannot provide a clear-cut answer to this question, but instead shows certain tendencies and positions taken in the conversations with the interviewees. One perspective on the CSKP is to describe it in terms of a temporary, bilateral project. Another perspective, which is more concerned with desired future states of the CSKP, emphasizes its network character. A position in between those two could be summarized as describing the CSKP as a somewhat incomplete, temporary even dysfunctional organization, that is expected to serve as a flexible umbrella to adjacent projects and at the same time as a catalyst for the longer-term self-organization of work relationships and professional networks across the CSKP partner organizations (and beyond).

As stated in the introduction, as a joint project without a legal entity or its own organizational, i.e. tax, number, ISU does not have its own budget, staff or office. ISU staffing and accounting is located at the university's Department for Innovation and Development (ISU 2013, p.15, DM P25-27). The department does not have any influence on steering and decision-making within ISU, but is more or less an administrative "*paper boss*" (DM P26), while ISU is run through annual plans adopted by the ISU board and implemented by the executive director and the boundary agents.

The advantage of such a bilateral project structure is often perceived to lie in its simplicity, flexibility and responsiveness, which allows ISU to adapt its activities to the current and changing needs of the departments, so as to seize on emerging opportunities for bilateral collaboration in a timely manner (B.Persson 2010, p. 19; C.Persson 2011, p.15; ISU 2014; KT P171). At the same time, the annual project plans developed by the heads of departments on the board guarantee that ISU is kept close to the operations of the participating departments in the city administration and university. As one of the ISU board members from the city administration argues:

> "*You of course always have to try to deliver good and relevant results and also have very big ears of what do your mother organizations want and what logic do they have and what's on their agendas. You have to be like one of those toys that the smallest children have, that they can push and then it rises again automatically and they get to blow from the other side and it rises again. You have to be like that*" (KF P69).

This quote shows how ISU is compared to a toy on the one hand, but also associatively linked with a child vis-à-vis its mother or parent organizations. This statement hints at the expectation of high degrees of control over ISU and how it is obliged to conform to the partners' different and changing needs, while being flexible and robust, so as to absorb their pushing and pulling in different directions. However, another ISU member uses the metaphor of parent organizations to their child, ISU, differently: "*I think, having ISU together as a child… (He laughs)… It could really be something where we put in our aspirations and it could be given a more important role.*" (KB P105). Both statements taken together describe the dilemma that ISU should be a willful toy in the hands of the partner organizations, but at the same time be given a more important role and potentially more freedom to rise and grow and become something that stands for itself and embodies their common aspirations, despite being pushed and pulled constantly in opposing directions by its partners. This dilemma between having a flexible and controllable project on the one hand, while also having a robust and resilient organization on the other, is further explained by the same board member:

"And to illustrate the question before what is dangerous for a cross-border organization like this, is if it becomes like this.[11] And it was like this before when [the former executive director] was head of ISU. (...) It has its own staff and very much (...) an idea of promoting itself. And I have worked on this type of organization before and I didn't think that was strange, because you have to do that. When you are a group of people, you have to work with you own identity, so it's natural. But it very fast becomes a risk to become an irritation for the mother organizations. (...) This is a very important question, I think: How do you secure the commitment of the mother organizations and support from the mother organizations and at the same time, develop the inner life of this organization that it can keep the people that are working here and it gets a known profile and momentum?" (KF P77).

This recalls QPI, another board member's remarks that when the former director was managing ISU, they had an organization, which, from an organizational point of view, was working quite well, while at the same time this well managed organization led to a cut-off of the organically growing, bilateral connections between the ISU parent organizations and *"no one—even I, who was sitting in the board—knew what was going on. And then we changed the director, so now we have a director with more broker competences"* (QPI P96). Often interviewees pointed to a version of the figure below when explaining the difference between ISU as it was run before and how it should be run now:

Figure 5.4 – Differing internal and external understandings of ISU structure

Internal organization: ISU as dependent bilateral but also invisible project for the facilitation of collaborations between its mother organizations:

University   ISU   City

External appearance: ISU as high profile, independent institute for sustainable urban development located in between and on par with both organization:

University   ISU   City
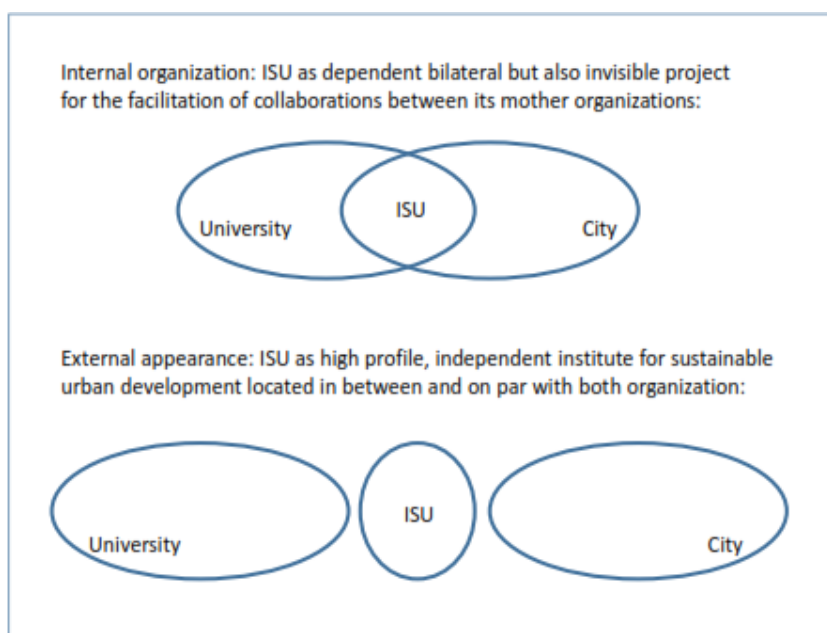
(Source: author, based on interviews and B.Persson 2010, p.20)

---

[11] He points at his drawing of ISU being a free-standing balloon in between university and city administration, cf. Figure 4.1.4 below.

Many interviewees (as also B. Persson in his evaluation, 2010) point out that the first image in the figure above represents the way ISU should work and the latter shows what should not happen, namely the emergence of an organization detached from its mother organizations and located in between both, blocking their direct interaction or competing with them (KF, QPI, QBO, NK). However, despite these reservations about the emergence of an in-between, autonomous organization, this is what is indirectly also expected from ISU, when one takes the above statement seriously, that ISU should have a public profile and an inner organizational life, too. Thus, these two models represent visually the dilemma of ISU being expected to be run as an internal project and with the capacity of an autonomous institute.

What in the first quote by this interviewee was expressed in terms of balancing the push and pull from different parent organizations and to rise back up again, might then as well be understood in terms of a contradictory expectation: to fulfill the leadership's needs for control and flexible utilization of ISU as an internal project (so as to ensure their continuous commitment; cf. the first image in the figure above), while also expecting it to develop a visible and high profile institute with its own corporate identity and a long-term strategy, so as to generate the direction and momentum necessary for the development of an independent organizational life of ISU (the second image in the figure above).

Another metaphorical image of ISU that expresses this dilemma slightly differently is that of ISU as a "floating arena":

> *"I tried to find some sort of metaphor to describe the role of ISU and maybe it's sort of a floating arena for meetings, and an arena for collaboration and knowledge building or something like that. I think floating is an important concept, because it is moving in between this different networks, trying to navigate and to identify important aspects and since everything is changing all the time, so… that's why it is so important to find some sort of focus or objectives that are stable over time." [Interviewer: Has ISU managed to do so?] "Well, it has managed to be floating [He laughs]. And also, to be an arena"* (QPI P58-P60).

On the one hand, this member of the board expresses this contradictory image of ISU as being both free-floating and providing a stable ground over time. This contradiction is then linked to the image of ISU as an arena. Again, this recalls the earlier comparison of ISU as a toy that is being pushed around, since an arena is also linked to play and conflict, in which the conflict and competition between two or more parties is performed in the secure setting of games hosted in the arena, rather than occurring in a more complex, unbound and somewhat less secured and regulated setting of real life. The image of the arena might also be linked to ISU's need to supply its partner organizations with an outwardly impressive monument representing their

cooperation, while at the same time, internally it can be flexibly filled with whatever purpose or lend itself to all kinds of performances. Thus, while ISU's outward appearance would provide the initiative with a high profile, the internal character of ISU would be less defined by this profile or mission, but rather by its function as neutral meeting space or arena for the university and city departments. As an interviewee from the city administration (and ISU Board) states:

> "*You could say the main organization or mother organizations, they want, they need this organization between, and they want it to be effective and have a high profile, but not too effective and not too high profile. Because suddenly it might be competing with the mother organizations, so it's a balance, always a balance for these types of cross board organizations*" (KF P65).

Thus, by keeping ISU a project, the partners (represented on the board) also ensure control and the ability to question, recalibrate and adjust aims and goals through temporary and bilateral project agreements and part-time employment contracts of departmental employees (rather than having an independently endowed institute with its own employees), while still enjoying the benefits of a (seemingly) effective organization that can be used to enhance the profile of the mother organizations endeavors, activities, events–much in the way of a façade, or the above mentioned arena, as an monument that is impressive but essentially empty and fillable with all kinds of events, activities and performances. It is interesting in this respect also to recall the executive director's statement about ISU being so valuable to the parent organizations, because it is not dangerous or a competitor, but instead is a neutral platform, which also gives away so much for free that it could be considered a "*consultant firm they don't have to pay*" (DM P164-166). In this statement the CSKP is lauded for not having a vision, or own position, but by being neutral and having an instrumental position vis-à-vis its partners, which is further enhanced by emphasizing how ISU is cost-neutral, even creates value for free. The chairwoman of the board also speaks of ISU as a neutral arena, which, however, is an image that is linked to efficient increase of the value of those issues placed into it for further development:

> "*I think we regard ISU as a neutral arena for discussions and innovation and development of different areas by that saying that none of us is owning the question so let's leave it to ISU. And we have an equal say in what we are going to do together and I think that's an important part or important role for ISU to be this arena where we can meet and work together (...) Then ISU has to find the people that can do whatever is going to be done and then we can leave the result to different organizations depending on who took the initiative and how it's most dependent on the results but it's a way of marking that this is an interesting question we have to do something together to solve it or to elevate. And nor the university nor the city has the ownership so that's what I mean with a neutral arena*" (FF P31-35).

This passage was already discussed in context of the ISU board's ambiguous sense of leadership. In this discussion about ISU's identity, it helps to further explore the dilemma of ISU being expected to be flexible and stable, to have a high profile while also being neutral. In the statement, ISU, as a neutral arena, can be understood an instrument for refining and developing the partners' initial and undefined questions of common interest. However, while it is described as neutral arena, it seems to be simultaneously endowed with some degree of organizational autonomy (in the way it is left to ISU how to deal with pre-defined questions of common concern).

To describe ISU as a neutral arena can mean two things. First, in a more direct sense, it means that it is a neutral space in which heads of departments from both parent organizations (the core stakeholders) meet as equals to discuss issues of common interest, free from the pressures and organizational routines that exist outside the arena in their home organizations and society at large (cf. arena as place for playful encounter vs. office as the place of lonely work). However, in another sense, ISU is itself a neutral organization towards the ideas put into it by the leadership from both parent organizations, as well as it is a (cost-neutral) *"playground"* (SA P91) and laboratory of experimenting (TC P11, P21) for those on top, or, metaphorically speaking, for those placed high up in the stands of the arena. Another quote from FF makes this clearer:

> *"We have a discussion within the board saying let's do it like this. And [the director] is always present so she knows exactly what we think and how we look at things. And then she together with the boundary agents or other people, researchers or people in different departments of the city are involved and say: Let's see how we can do this together"* (FF, P37).

Thus, things can be left to ISU when it is about to flesh out and implement the initial ideas of the board. ISU then—from the top-down perspective of the board—seems to function more as a neutral instrument for implementation of the vague but interesting ideas of the board members, i.e. heads of city departments and faculties. ISU will find people *"to do whatever is going to be done"* (FF P35), which corresponds with the statement of leaving things to ISU: It is free to choose how to implement, refine and develop the fundamental ideas suggested by the board.

In this respect, the metaphor of ISU as an arena also implies hierarchical differences and links those at the top of the ISU hierarchy with a more passive position of spectatorship in the arena, while those in its rank and file are considered active, implementing and further developing the issues put into the arena according to the expectations of the higher-level audience. Who is the active in the center of the arena and who is a spectator on the tribune

seems to correspond to those working in the arena for their livelihood, and those occasionally visiting it and paying for it (or for the ticket to the stands). In other words, the metaphor of ISU as arena might be interpreted to describe the free-floating (and visionary) attitude of the ISU leadership, while also capturing the sense of frustration among ISU's rank and file, (i.e. those that get paid through ISU) of having to implement, ground or stabilize those airy visions, while not having been given proper resources, time and direction to prepare appropriately, nor the freedom to fail. In this respect, whether leadership can leave it to ISU is as well an indicator for the question whether ISU is worthwhile:

> *"We have a lot of discussions between each other saying: 'Can we leave this to ISU or not, or is this a question for ISU?' And as long as we say: 'You can leave it to ISU and it is a question for ISU', I suppose we think it's kind of important topics that ISU is working with or questions that ISU is discussing. Because all of us have a lot of alternatives to ISU, if it was for that. If we wouldn't find what ISU is doing rather important, and if we wouldn't have good discussions etc., then we could say: 'No, let's leave ISU and try to find something new and better or whatever'* " (FF P49).

As long as there is a feeling that ISU is useful, as long as you can leave something in its hands and see it properly developed there, it is considered worthy of support. The other important part of this equation is the statement that the board needs to have the feeling of good discussion with respect to ISU topics. Here again we have the issue that ISU is understood as an internal, exclusive and neutral arena (or network) for the leadership of the partners to meet and discuss their respective projects, while at the same time it is understood as an organization that takes over, refines and raises the profile of the vague project ideas of the board and transforms the respective projects into something more concrete (individually) and more coherent (synthesizing the multitude of individual projects into a whole). There is also an explicit threat that everyone in the leadership has alternative forums and that "Let's leave it to ISU" as an indicator for its importance, could become a "Let's leave ISU" once the board members and department heads do not have the feeling that it is a productive arena for their visionary discussions. Metaphorically speaking, when the show in the ISU arena is no longer interesting, or when the ISU toy is broken, then those in power can move on to other venues, other toys.

However, ISU as a temporary organization that could or even should be dissolved and replaced, is a theme that also figures prominently in the talk of the boundary agents about its organizational identity. However, for the boundary agents, ISU is seen as a catalyst organization, one that facilitates close cooperation between professionals from its parent organizations. When it has achieved this, it should dissolve. Thus, rather than the ideal of a

well-controlled and flexible internal project of the parent organizations, here the anti-organizational identity of ISU is constructed in respect to the image of a temporary catalyst, ideally leading towards informal and self-organizing professional relationships in a kind of community of practice. As SA, a boundary agent, explains:

> "I'm a bit hesitant to even call it an organization, because ideally, I think, it shouldn't be an individual organization. If it were fully integrated you wouldn't see it as an organization as such. For me there is no institute in that way. I would like to see—of course, this is optimistic and idealistic—but I would like to see that this is one thing where it interconnects: people interconnect, work interconnects and knowledge interconnects. And the danger I think with ISU is, if it's an individual organization. Then it becomes much more difficult and you try to connect people to the institute, to draw them into the institute, whereas I think ideally, you wouldn't need the institute, you could get people to work together in a natural process, or… an effortless process maybe. (…) I would like my colleagues to interweave. This is how I see it. Like, that I know what they're doing, they know of course what we're doing, they see this natural contact point, we share a common curiosity, kind of, and ability to discuss and learn more from each other" (SA P24-35).

In this statement one can also see how on the other side of the spectrum, the ideal of ISU as a network—just like the ideal of ISU as a project—is similarly opposed to the image of ISU as an organization. Here, the institute should not be a monolithic organization, inserting itself into the natural flow of exchange and interconnections and cutting those flows off, but instead be a natural contact point and place where the flows can be facilitated, accelerated and consolidated.

These characterizations of ISU as a network of professionals, rather than its own organization with a director, was discussed in the previous section in the context of the conflictual relationship between the boundary agents and the executive director. But with respect to ISU's organizational identity conflict, the director can also be seen as embodying the unwanted characteristics of ISU-as-organization more generally, when, for example her work style and position are described as neither "*strongly anchored in the University, nor in the city. She is to some extend free-floating*" (KB P129); or she is described as acting like ISU would be a *"Mediterranean"* of opportunities in sustainable urban development and making promises she cannot deliver on rather than focusing on facilitating bilateral relationships between professionals from both parent organizations (KB P34) or when her position is described as *"lonely inside of ISU"* (P36). The ideal of ISU as a network is linked to the four boundary agents, their ISU-related work and their team identity, which is constructed in opposition to the director, when for example they describe their mission as "*shrinking the distance between the parent organizations*" (KB P55) (cf. the lonely, free-floating director, not anchored to any

parent organization). Their vision is that in the longer-term there would be more tight-knit teams of boundary agents–just like them–in both organizations, rather than a separate organization called ISU (KB P91; SA P24). The issues currently linked with and to some degree outsourced to ISU–collaboration across organizational boundaries in order to make Malmö more sustainable–would be more embedded within the values of the parent organization as such so that they would perceive every employee as a kind of boundary agent and allow them to spend a substantial amount of their work time outside the confines of their office, to explore ways on how they can work together in order to push for a more sustainable Malmö (KB P91, P97; SA P24). As one of the boundary agents from the university states:

> "*I see ISU and all the activities that ISU does as instruments to make people to get together and talk, to establish links and mutual interests and even friendships and that those connections in themselves should work in the future. So, one of the goals of ISU should be, I don't know if that would happen, but to make itself superfluous in a way, that it shouldn't have to be, because connections are already there. I am not saying that this would happen, because maybe you don't ever reach that point, but that should be the goal, I think*" (KB P85).

Here one can see the link between projects (activities) on the one hand and the network (congregation, communication, friendship) on the other, and how both are intimately connected through their opposition to the antonymic image of the formal, bureaucratic, vertically integrated and exclusive organization. And the boundary agents thereby see themselves as a step into the right direction because, unlike ISU as organization, embodied by the director, the kind of ISU that is personified through the boundary agents,

> "*has become a stronger notion. That ISU is Us, and not Them [he laughs], so to speak. While ISU before only existed of [the director] and some other people that didn't have a strong anchoring in either the city or the university and everyone could see this ISU to be Them in a stronger sense than today*" (KB P133).

Here, as in other related statements, the fraternization of the boundary agents (as argued in the previous section) occur through the direct opposition of their Us against the Other of the lonely, free-floating director. However, the director also explains that in times of conflict between researchers and administrators, this 'ISU is Us' perspective can quickly revert to an 'ISU is Them' attitude again:

> "*When I'm having one new researcher and one new practitioner and we are going to work together, that is difficult, because they have such different work cultures. So, it can take some time and sometimes the practitioner can be offended by the way*

the academics speak and that is very problematic. And I am in between. So, sometimes it becomes like: 'You can't work with ISU!' But it is because then we are seen as the university from the city's side. We are never just the university or just the city, we are always both. But if it's a conflict then we are the university or the city" (DQ P234).

Here one can get a further glimpse of ISU's identity dilemma: If something positive occurs through ISU, like the boundary agent program and their activities (the Urban strategic forum 2013), it can or should be appropriated by the individuals working with (and through) ISU or the partner organizations (then 'ISU is Us'), while when collaboration fails or conflict between the parties emerges this can easily be attributed to ISU (then 'You cannot work with ISU') as well. This dynamic of appropriation of the positive from and projection (or externalization) of the negative onto ISU adds a new dimension to ISU's identity dilemma. To some degree it does seem to serve as the symbolic anti-thesis in order to contribute to the production of a positive self-image among those working with and through ISU. Against the temporary, incomplete, somewhat boundary-less and dysfunctional organization of ISU, they emerge as those who harmoniously, creatively and communally work together in stable, personal networks and on meaningful projects. But if they do not live up to this positive self-image, then ISU is there as well to absorb the negative repercussions of failure: then 'ISU is Them' and 'You can't work with ISU'.

However, this process of appropriating the positive from and projecting the negative onto ISU does not only occur on a symbolic level. In the previous section it was discussed how some interviewees see the creation of the boundary agents as a way to further weaken the position of the director and the integrity of ISU as a viable organization, that has for example funds to actually do something, instead of being a shell of an organization whose resources are appropriated and re-distributed to the respective departments (in terms of project funding and most notably salaries for departmental employees, i.e. the boundary agents; cf. DM P130-133; NbNb P186; NN P146; TK P27). As one boundary agent remarks on the reaction of her head of department when she started her position with ISU, with the installation of the boundary agents there has been a better sense in her department about what ISU can actually "*bring to us*" (KT P85). Securing commitment of the parent organization through a sense of ownership of the initiative by the departments and anchoring ISU to the departments through the boundary agent program (cf. QPI P98) can accordingly also be seen as a way to "neutralize" ISU as an autonomous entity with an own (that is non-neutral) identity: Since ISU cannot use funds to build up an independent organization around a strong position of the director, it remains readily available for utilization as a free consultancy and service provider to the parent organizations,

or as container for projects no one wants to assume responsibility for, as well as a neutral, i.e. empty container to externalize the conflict between the partners onto. For ISU, not being considered a legitimately separate organization brings those working within ISU the difficult situation of not having the mandate or authority to reject certain projects or to reject certain claims and ideas what ISU is or should be. As the director remarks about the inability of the board to decide and agree on a stable, longer-term route for ISU:

> "*Wanting to change ISU, wanting to say that ISU should work with this and this. And there are certain things that we can't work with. (...) Just a lot of time being spent on discussion on, like, the institute or how the city works or how the university works or: 'How should we work? What should we work with? Why is it like this, why don't we do it like that?' Just a lot of explanations*" (DM P237).

She specifically refers to the recent introduction of the boundary agent program and how nobody knew what to do, because of ISU being such a complex organization with unclear decision-making processes and a lack of thematic framework. However, her remarks also exemplify how the lack of framework and lack of concrete boundaries as to what ISU stands for also opens up possibilities for a continuous conversation among the board members how they should work together (as well as it also did lead to a continuous conversation and eventually strong sense of group identity among the cross-organizational team members of the boundary agent team). ISU's weak identity could thus also be seen as an instrument of the partner organizations to congregate and have self-reflective, maybe even critical discussions about who they are, what they work with and how they can or cannot work together. For the director, this conversation is frustrating as it petrifies ISU as an organization and prevents it from moving forward. But at the same time one can see that this constant self-referential debate in the ISU arena enables the different partners to stay in conversation, to get to know each other better and to form friendships and communities across organizations.

However, organizationally this weak identity as an institute means that ISU is often criticized as being governed in an ad-hoc way without clearly formulated organizational boundaries and a committed long-term vision (KT P69, P74, P85; NbNb P48). There is a long-standing and widespread sentiment that ISU lacks a clear profile, that it is a "*container*" or "*archipelago*" of projects by the heads of departments on the ISU Board, who use ISU to address their short-term issues and departmental interests instead of building a long-term vision and focus for the organizational profile of the institute (NK P42; NK 110). In 2010, an outside evaluator of ISU concluded in his report:

> "*There is also a strong belief that the ISU's profile has been too fuzzy. It has not been sufficiently clear what ISU stands for and what role it should play. Some say*

that this is linked to ISU having become too inward-looking. The institute has marketed itself badly. Another factor may be that the concept of an institute creates expectations for something bigger than what you can live up to (my opinion)" (C. Persson 2011; p.9 - own translation).

In this statement, the evaluator raises the fundamental organizational issue ISU still faces in 2013, the time of the field research, as being run as an internal collaborative project, while simultaneously presenting itself to outside audiences as an autonomous institute with a focus on advancing sustainable urban development. The disadvantage of this is, as the evaluator states, too high or even false expectations about what ISU can or should do, resulting in a fuzzy profile, thematic inconsistencies and organizational overstretch. An interviewee expresses this problem in terms of the danger of engaging in too many different projects that produce nothing of relevance:

> "*I mean, sustainable urban development, it's a huge area and I think it's important for ISU to have a red thread in what we are doing, because it's easy that you try to work with everything within this area and then nothing will be done of relevance. I think, since we are such a small organization, we are very dependent on other people within the city or in the university or somewhere around and then you have to be very... you have to choose with uttermost care what you are going to do, because otherwise I think you will lose track. (...) You have to be very strict on what you're doing. So, you have to learn to say: 'No, ISU can't do this. We are focusing on these questions and will be doing so for another year', or something like that*" (FF P79-81).

Thus, in developing its profile, a thematic focus on sustainable urban development would be necessary, which would mean being strict to those wanting to bring their projects into ISU or through ISU to others. This kind of approach would be necessary for developing a clearer profile as a thematic institute. The other way around, if ISU were not a temporary project but could operate as an institute, it would be easier to develop such a focus, to reject some demands and expectations by being able to say more clearly what ISU stands for in terms of sustainable urban development and build a more limited, yet more directed and capable organization (NbNb P202, cf. p. below). However, such an approach is opposed to the idea of ISU as available, flexible project that can be used by the parent organizations to endow their activities with a value-added in terms of resources and meaning. But such an understanding would be equally opposed to ISU working as an open, inclusive and flexible meeting place for networking among potential collaborators and their project ideas and accordingly, when asked how exactly ISU could better manage expectations, the same interviewee answers:

> "*I don't think you can manage the expectations, actually, because people see us*

as a kind of a meeting place—'Can't this be something for ISU?', etc.—not realizing that the personal resources are very short. And so, we have a discussion within the board almost every meeting saying: 'Are we doing the right things and how does this new task connect to the others? Is it something ISU should be doing or is it something we could leave to other partners?" (FF P85).

Here managing external expectations (and saying 'no' to external audiences or stakeholders) is seen as running counter to ISU's image as a meeting place. Thus, rather than confronting outside partners and rejecting their ideas, the Board would internally argue whether this is something ISU should engage in, and if not, transfer (or divert) it to other partners. In any case, here in the latter statement, emphasis is placed in avoiding rejection so as to not threaten ISU's (beneficial) image as an open, inclusive meeting place. However, in the other statement by the chairwoman above, being strict and saying no was simultaneously seen as a necessary requirement of ISU being able to navigate the vast thematic field of sustainable urban development efficiently. One can see in these two related statements the ambiguity between ISU as an institute or issue organization and ISU as a fuzzy, open meeting place for projects and the different strategies linked to it vis-à-vis external partners and their expectations: The organization would be strict and also reclusive, yet, gain profile and direction, while the meeting place would not manage external expectation, yet rely on its network to transfer project ideas that do not fit to other partners, so as to not lose focus and concentrate on what ISU should actually stand for. However, governing ISU in such a way would also require the board to discuss and reflect on ISU's mission (are we doing the right thing? FF P85) in almost every meeting. Thus, rather than providing strict, clear leadership associated with an efficiently forward-moving issue organization, ISU as an inclusive meeting place instead involves the actors in constant questioning of what their core is, what holds their network together and whether they are doing the right thing and thus, stalls their forward movement.

At the same time, the problem of inconsistently labeling a collaborative project as an institute and raising expectations can also be positively understood in the sense that through the institute label you appear (in the eyes of external audiences especially) to have something bigger, more attractive, capable and qualitatively different (the institute) than what you actually paid for (a project). For example, ISU figures as an independent, neutral host or additional guest for workshops, network events and conferences organized by the university or city administration (cf. ISU 2014) and is included as a separate entity in university or city administration projects or administrative publications (DM P164). When ISU disseminates information about urban development projects in Malmö, it appears to come from a more independent source than if it were issued by the city administration itself. Thus, it might not be

an accident or necessarily a sign of weak leadership that ISU remains a hybrid between project and organization, as the confusion emerging from the blurred boundaries produces not only costs, but also benefits or what a psychologist would call "secondary gains", i.e. short-term, but concrete benefits that accrue from not overcoming a conflict, contradiction or problem.[12] These short-term benefits then could be exactly considered the concrete value ISU "*can bring to us*" (KT P85)—e.g. in the form of extra project funds, extra employee salaries, a higher profile for departmental activities and events. In this way, departments remain committed to ISU (cf. KF P77) and the parent organizations stay in continuous conversation with each other as to what to do with ISU—their child, toy or arena—which is the kind of free-floating conversations that ISU should facilitate in order to strengthen personal, professional and cross-organizational networks. However, this kind of arrangement also ensures ISU's continuous stagnation as an organization, as the former ISU director poignantly explains:

> "*Now it's always like: I represent both the city and the university in every situation. But to do that you need the mandate, which you never have. And to do that, you need to know: 'What can I say, what can I not say? What is our agenda in this question?', for example. But you never know, because you never meet the directors or the politicians. It's an impossible way of acting. And people contact ISU all the time, because they want to know, for example: 'Is the city working with this and this right now?' – 'Maybe, I don't know…'. If you represent yourself, you are someone that can kind of talk from yourself as well. Then you have an organization, where you can actually push certain issues and certain areas where it can be difficult to be a department, for example. But if you really want to, like, stress some issues or specific topics then it's much easier to do that if you have an organization, which is a bit more free to act, because now it's more like, we have something within the organizations, but the mandate is very weak and it's very difficult to actually make a difference, to actually go out and do the things that we should do, but we can't do it because we don't have the mandate*" (NbNb P202).

In a way ISU's dilemma being organized as a low-cost, flexible project, which also should have the profile of an autonomous institute, and the long-term aim of facilitating a professional network and collaborative culture recalls what C.Persson already stated in his 2011 evaluation of ISU: ISU creates expectations that it cannot live up to (C. Persson 2011, p.9), especially in the way it is expected to simultaneously satisfy the parent organizations' expectation of retaining high degree of control and securing a steady flow of short-term, cost-efficient benefits

---

[12]   Secondary gain is used to explain ambivalent behavior of patients towards their disease, as they derive interpersonal or social advantage from their illness, conflicts or problems and are thus (subconsciously) opposed to being treated effectively or to solving them (Fishbain et al 1995, p.6). For example, a secondary gain is the attention someone receives while being sick, or retaining access to a drug by remaining sick (van Egmond 2003).

(ISU as project), while simultaneously constituting a high-profile, independent institute (ISU as organization) and a self-organizing professional network (ISU as network) on the other. ISU's organizational identity could accordingly be described as a dysfunctional hybrid of an internal project and neutral meeting place on the one hand, and an independent issue organization on the other. However, this ambiguity—although the source of much frustration of people working within ISU—might as well be key in preparing the ground for the establishment of a network between academics and city administrators to develop in the longer term, as both sides receive direct benefits from ISU's appearance as institute (brand, funds, salaries), yet, do not have to cope with a hard to control, independent organization. At the same time the constant need to come together to 'fix' an dysfunctional ISU and figure out a way to make it work by working together might help to solidify a cross-organizational network.

5.1.7 Conclusion

This study's central research question asked how individuals engaged in CSKPs make sense of their partnership. It was further broken down into questions about the frames and scripts employed, as well as the boundaries negotiated within their organizational sensemaking.

The analysis of the Institute for Sustainable Development in Malmö shows how those that organize it together constantly carved its meaning out of antagonistic or contradictory images, or what in this study was called organizational dilemmas. This became apparent in the interviewees' discussion of the epistemic and ethical frames so as to determine the broader social and historical context of the initiative. Here it was simultaneously constructed as part of a transformation story, which describes something like a heroic leap forward, away from the industrial city in decline and towards the modern, smart and sustainable city. However, ISU is also positioned critically against a supposedly one-dimensional elitist, ecological-economic development frame and emphasizes instead to work for a reconnection of Malmö's transformation with its social-democratic roots. A more holistic understanding of sustainability serves here as an ambiguous and contested middle-ground concept to allow for meaningful discussion of the relationship between continuity and change in Malmö's transformation story.

In terms of the initiative's ideal object of value, the analysis found that there is a comparable antagonism between conceptions of more instrumental, immediately useful and material values to be created for the respective partners (club goods) on the one hand and conceptions that emphasize in contrast the development of more normative, non-material and

long-term collective values (common good). The ambiguous and contested middle-ground in between these opposing conceptions of ISU's object(s) of value could be called education and individual skill development, which is ideally positioned as an object that is valuable for both, the production of concrete results for development practice in the short term and also for the creation of more abstract knowledge in the longer term.

The modes of exchange that are discussed in respect to the Institute are both directed against supposedly outdated and unproductive modes of exchange as they prevail in the conventional organization, where people meet for meetings' sake and produce in order to be busy. The more authentic modes of exchange and production proposed by the initiative instead emphasize on the one hand the informality and privateness of market arrangements where real people satisfy their personal needs, and the publicness of the agora, where citizens meet to solve their urgent collective problems. A middle-ground construction for the initiative are its workshop and meeting formats, like the Urban Strategic Forum (as market) or the Urban Research Day (as agora), where people meet for co-working and deliberation voluntarily and thus more authentically link to individual as well as collective needs than is possible at the meso-level of the organization.

The ideal ISU role is also carved out from two opposing roles, so as to emerge as a somewhat ambiguous but also more authentic role in the middle of two less authentic extremes. These are on the one hand, the organized professional with his expertise and authority, who functions well within his sector and organization, but who is simultaneously isolated from meaningfully engaging with others outside of his entrenched professional life world. Opposed to this is the creative, horizontally and informally linked amateur or anti-professional, who connects with others in creative talk at drinks and other social events, yet, who also is superficial, a master of none, promising things outside of her control. The ideal middle-ground persona of the initiative than is one that could be described in terms of a wise teacher, mentor and facilitator, someone who knows 'what is', but also engages with others about their ideas about 'what could be', someone who simultaneously opens up and delimits the space for collective action, so as to make it more inclusive for others to join while keeping momentum and goal-directedness and in this way, is able to lead without being a leader.

In terms of its organizational identity, the analysis found that there is a constructive antagonism between an understanding of ISU as short-term, tightly controlled and efficiently run project, on the one hand, delivering all kinds of immediate value-added for the resources invested by its parent organizations. On the other hand, ISU is understood as an informal network or a community of practice, in which a culture of sharing, deliberating and co-working

is practices across organizations and sectors. The middle-ground CSKP identity that can be carved out of these extremes is that of a temporary, partial and somewhat dysfunctional organization. It provides a meaningful organizational façade, brand or umbrella for projects and relationships, while it at the same time does not establish an own organizational identity and firm organizational boundaries that would close it off towards an outside. It this way it remains a neutral, common ground, accessible meeting place and open platform.

The following table summarizes the major findings. It shows the antagonism between competing versions of the potential meaning of epistemic and ethical frames, object(s) of value, modes of exchanges, roles and position, and CSKP identities. It does so in the form of suggesting a simple (and ideal-typical) thesis/anti-thesis dualism to describe the extreme or marginal versions of what the various organizational elements could mean for ISU. It then suggests a potential synthesis that presents itself as balancing out and connecting those two extreme and marginal possibilities of thesis and anti-thesis in a supposedly more authentic, but also more dilemmatic or ambivalent middle-ground construction:

Table 5.5 – Summary of findings concerning ISU

Sensemaking elements	Institute for Sustainable Urban Development
Epistemic and ethical frames	• Thesis: transformation and technological/ecological leap forward • Anti-thesis: re-evolution and re-connecting to (socio-democratic) roots • Synthesis: sustainable development
Object(s) of value	• Thesis: concrete, short-term value for organizational practice • Anti-thesis: abstract, long-term value for individual/collective (well)being • Synthesis: skill and community development for immediate, instrumental value and long-term normative value
Modes of exchange	• Thesis: market arrangements to satisfy individual needs • Anti-thesis: agora arrangements to solve collective problems • Synthesis: co-working and net-working formats
Roles and Positions	• Thesis: the organized professional and expert in his field • Anti-thesis: the communal amateur (anti-professional) and flaneur in-between fields • Synthesis: facilitator, mentor and teacher producing synergies over and above fields
CSKP identity	• Thesis: short-term, top-down controlled project • Anti-thesis: long-term, bottom-up transformative movement • Synthesis: partially closed, (dys-)functional network organization

(Source: author)

5.2 opencampus in Kiel

5.2.1. opencampus in a nutshell – origin, structure, objectives and activities

In February 2013, the German foundation Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft (SVDW) published a call for applications for its regional education cluster contest, which would award €250,000 funding for the winning initiatives in the period of 2013-15. Winning this competition in October 2013 marked the start for opencampus, which presented itself in its contest application as "*an independent, regional education cluster that is supported by partners from higher education, business and civil society*".[13] Its objective is to offer cooperative, practice-focused and innovative learning formats (such as service learning) and workspaces (such as a co-working space) to enable students in the region to create their own, individual educational and career path by complementing the different programs of the three higher education institutions (Christian-Albrecht University Kiel—CAU, the Applied Science School Kiel and the Muthesius Art and Design School, Kiel), while at the same time the opencampus education program would be better linked to the regional economy and in this way contribute to keeping high-skilled labor in the region (Opencampus 2013).

Yet despite its inauguration in late 2013, the opencampus project is built on the foundation and activities of a Campus Business Box e.V. (CBB), a student initiative founded in 2009 that cooperates with the Science Center (WiZe). The WiZe is simultaneously an office building in, as well as the management unit of the Kiel Science Park, located close to the biggest university in the region, the CAU. The Science Park, where CBB is also located, is a joint venture by CAU, the City of Kiel and a real estate company and is advertised as an innovative area that offers companies knowledge and technology transfer with the university.[14] Campus Business Box fits the profile of the Science Park and Science Center, which is constructed around offering local business partners access to the university and its students (XL P74, P115). CBB was founded in 2009 as a student initiative by about 35 students[15] under the leadership of a recent CAU graduate (IC P13). Its organizational mission was from the beginning to offer students alternative, extracurricular educational formats beyond those offered by the university's official curriculum. CBB was and still is organized as a non-profit association (e.V.)

---

[13]   https://opencampus.sh/ueber-uns/ Accessed: 06.2018
[14]   http://www.wissenschaftspark-kiel.de/wissenschaftszentrum/leistungen/, accessed 28.03.2017
[15]   @cbbox, 22.06.2009; https://twitter.com/cbbox/status/2277706720

using an office in the WiZe building free of charge (JT P15; GT P88).

One of CBB's first initiatives was a voluntary workshop series called "IT Academy" during the summer break of 2009. It organized approximately 13 students from diverse backgrounds in interdisciplinary project teams that used new team-based learning methods, such as model canvas (EN P13-P15), to train the students in developing or prototyping their own start-up idea.[16] From then on, CBB organized various extracurricular workshops, lectures and network events to support business and start-up oriented students during the course of their studies, as well as to promote better connections between the students to the regional economy and society at large. For example, since 2010 they organize a strategy workshop called "InnovationCamp" together with a regional business partners who teach students how to formulate and promote their innovative business idea (cf. GI P72). In 2012, CBB brought its service and business-oriented project workshop formats also together with the local non-profit landscape in and around Kiel, when they started a voluntary service learning course "Wissen schafft Gutes" (Science, or knowledge, creates good).[17] In 2013 CBB also managed to anchor this particular service learning format via the CAU's Office for Key Qualifications (Zentrum für Schlüsselqualifikationen, ZfS) in the university's curriculum, so that from then on interested students would earn university course credit for participating in CBB's program.

But CBB also intensified its cooperation with other major institutions and initiatives in the region. For example, in 2011/12 CBB created a digital service platform called Stu.Jo at the behest of the region's high-profile Regional Development Committee (REK 2013, p.201). StuJo is an internet-based placement service where local businesses and organizations can advertise jobs, internships, etc., in order to "bring students and regional employers closer together by organizing a more efficient matching between demand in and supply of skilled labor" (IW Consult 2013, p.71-72).

Thus, when the SVDW's education cluster competition was published in 2013, CBB was already engaged in various projects and cooperations with local partners. Applying as opencampus with a broad range of local organizations signing a letter of intent and eventually winning the competition in late 2013 is seen by the CBB team and its close partner the WiZe as a further step to formalize the partner network around CBB (IC P45), to streamline its various activities into an organizational framework which also strengthens its compatibility with the university curriculum (JT P53). It is also hoped that the higher profile from winning the

---

[16] Https://twitter.com/cbbox - 03.08.2009

[17] The title is a play of words indicating knowledge/science (in German 'Wissen' and 'Wissenschaft') does ('schafft') good, to indicate the link between knowledge creation and the creation of that which is (socially) good or desirable.

prestigious nationwide competition will enable CBB to better connect to institutional partners and muster (financial) support in the longer run, i.e. after the two-year seeding period funded by the prize money (IC P47).

Figure 5.6 – Timeline CBB/opencampus

2009
Founding of Campus Business Box e.V.

2009-2013
Participated in various projects offering students extra-curricular workshops, network events and training programs in entrepreneurship and start-up development, such as "IT-Academy" (2009-2011) or "Innovation Camp"

2011/2012
Establishing StuJo (Student Jobs), a internet job and internship placement platform to link local businesses and students

2012
Establishing Wissen Schafft Gutes (Science does good), a ECTS credited service-learning seminar linked to CAU and Nette Kieler e.V

2013 (October)
Winner in the Education-Cluster Competition by the SVWD aiming at establishing better link between regional training programs and employment market needs. Acquiring 250.000 € seed money for a two year starting up phase of opencampus.

2011-2013 Regional Development Konzept
A high-profile policy roundtable of various business promotion and government agencies comes together to analyze the current state of the region, devise a strategy for the development of the regional economy until 2025 and cooperatively implement this strategy through task groups supporting one or more flagship initiatives. Opencampus was selected as a flagship project in September 2013.

(Source: Author)

The constellation of the formal partner network around opencampus is noteworthy. Although the SVDW application speaks of a "*broad network*" of 19 partners (including CBB) and emphasizes its close relationships with the city administration, as well as business and civil society partners (opencampus 2013), it is interesting that next to the three institutions of higher education (and two other education-related public agencies), many partners are public and private business promotion agencies, such as KiWi GmbH, Kiel Region GmbH, Kitz GmbH and WiZE GmbH and business associations in Kiel, Plön, Mittelholstein, Rendsburg-

190

Eckernförde and the IHK (Chamber of Commerce and Industry[18]) (opencampus 2013). Together these business network organizations or agencies constitute half of opencampus' partners. This list of economically focused partners is complemented by the employment agency in Kiel (Arbeitsagentur), which is also the task group leader on the policy issue of "*attracting and retaining high-skilled labor*" within the regional development planning process (REK 2013, as mentioned in 4.1.2). As such, it is an important partner for CBB, as it has the responsibility to more closely follow and support the Regional Development Concept (REK) 'flagship' initiative opencampus and serve as a liaison between the REK process and its policy roundtable and opencampus (REK 2013).

Next to these employment, business promotion agencies and business associations (10 of the 19 partners), there are two civil society organizations. One—Netter Kieler e.V., a bureau for the promotion of voluntary work—is a longer-term project partner of CBB in their service learning course "*Wissen schafft Gutes*" that has not been involved directly in the planning and implementation of opencampus (TC P90-P92). The other civil society organization, Norkolleg Rendsburg, is a cultural center outside of Kiel and had very minimal involvement with opencampus in the project's first year (IC P232).

The three institutions of higher education are all formal partners, but a closer look at the actual involvement reveals that it is middle management of the administration and individual academics who are actively involved in opencampus, for example the aforementioned Office for Key Qualifications (ZfS) at the CAU, whose department head is a long-term collaborator with CBB in getting their workshops, camps and seminars accredited at the CAU. While the Applied Science School Kiel is involved in opencampus with their central officer for knowledge and technology transfer, the equivalent offices at CAU that are similarly close to the central administration and its strategic planning are not systematically or regularly involved, but instead seem to observe opencampus from a distance (XE P50). This, according to the CBB core team, is probably due to a recent change of the university president and a lack of clarity in terms of the university's overall strategy (IC P217; JT P124; cf. EN P81; XG P50). The Muthesius School of Art and Design is, according to them, the least involved, which they credit to its small size, as it would offer them "*less formal opportunities to open their structure*" (IC P217). But here as well previous CBB activities and workshops led to the establishment of a good personal relationship to one professor from Muthesius (IC P113).

---

[18] The IHK is a regionally organized, general association of businesses, which every local business has to be part of per law.

Although opencampus' application for the SVDW laid down a detailed organizational structure how the partner network of opencampus would be organized through the strategic steering group consisting of a select group of closer or more important partners and an operational partner council (Opencampus 2013, p.5), the reality as of 2014 was that most of the organization and program implementation were organized in the informal and bilateral organizational style that CBB practiced since 2009. This meant that the two heads of CBB were running operations with the occasional, ad-hoc and bilateral cooperation with an external partner on a concrete project or technical aspect of opencampus activities.

Taken together, the organizational structure around opencampus can be described as a complex pattern of bilateral links between CBB and its 19 partners, some of which are more closely connected to CBB's operations than others, while others are indirectly linked to CBB via another partner: The Christian-Albrecht University for example is linked to opencampus via its Office for Key Qualifications, or the IHK (Chamber of Commerce and Industry), which is linked to opencampus (and signed the letter of intent) through its involvement in the process around the regional development report (REK) organized mainly by the Kiel Region GmbH (who is also a partner of opencampus). Thus, opencampus was, at least in the early stages of its implementation in 2014, organized by CBB as a set of bi-lateral, direct relations rather than a coherent partner network, although the small team hoped that CBB's position as control center and interface between the partners would make way for a more concerted and decentralized organization of opencampus by the partner network by the end of 2015 (IC P9; JT P97).

Figure 5.7 – opencampus partnership network

(source: author)

192
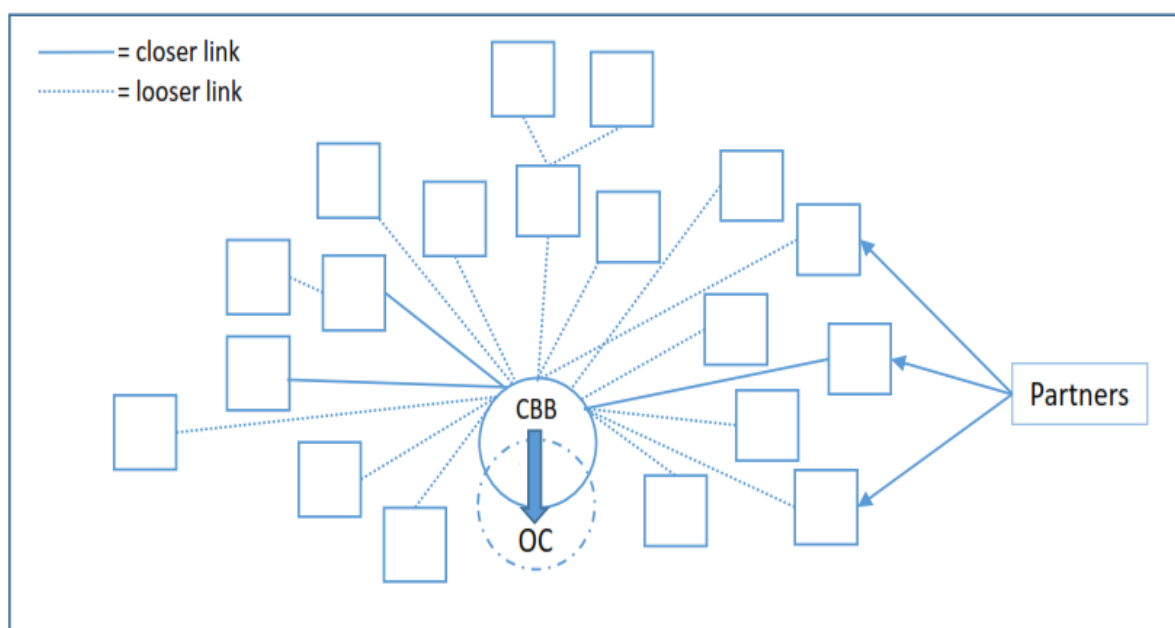
When it comes to the central purpose, goals, organizational objectives, annual targets, thematic areas and activities, opencampus has a relatively lean 'theory of change' (when compared with ISU in Malmö). This has to do with its rather short institutional history and the fact that there is not as much organizational 'paper trail' due to the fact that before 2013 it was an informal student group. The first programmatic paper produced was the 2013 application document for the SVDW Bildungscluster contest (Opencampus 2013), which itself reads more as a broad introduction of the potential of opencampus than a detailed description of its program. Since the SVDW funding is prize money, it does not come with the reporting and auditing requirements linked to a project grant, but is a two-part lump-sum payment with no strings attached. This is why there is only one other, even leaner document, a short flyer that opencampus produced for the SDVW 2014 convention for prize winners to present their developments (opencampus 2014). Due to this lack of available documentation, in contrast to ISU, opencampus' goals, objectives, annual targets and activities have been reconstructed primarily from interviews.

A central longer-term and broader social goal which is often formulated with respect to opencampus is the hope that it would contribute to increased economic attractiveness and innovation in the region (which is often seen specifically as the problem of a decrease in high-skilled workers in the region, cf. REK, p.198; FG2 P52; JT P77; GT P117; HL P17, P64). Two major intermediate goals for opencampus to reach the longer-term goal of an attractive and innovative region are: 1) to increase students' employability and their ability to be self-employed (as entrepreneurs creating their own start-up business) and 2) to help increase systematic and innovative cooperation between academic, business and political actors to improve the education system and especially better link higher education to the region's socio-economic needs. When asked about the organizational objectives of opencampus, two major lines of answers could be identified among the interviewees:

First, a set of activities aimed at developing opencampus' organizational capacity, its internet infra-structure and corporate design, which in turn is linked to establishing its first set of courses and making them available to the interested students. Second, developing online and offline networking spaces—StuJo.net, the opencampus co-working space and the opencampus partner network—were also considered important activities, although they might not have the same urgency for initiating the opencampus project, but instead figure as those elements that secure its long-term viability.

Figure 5.8 – opencampus' theory of change
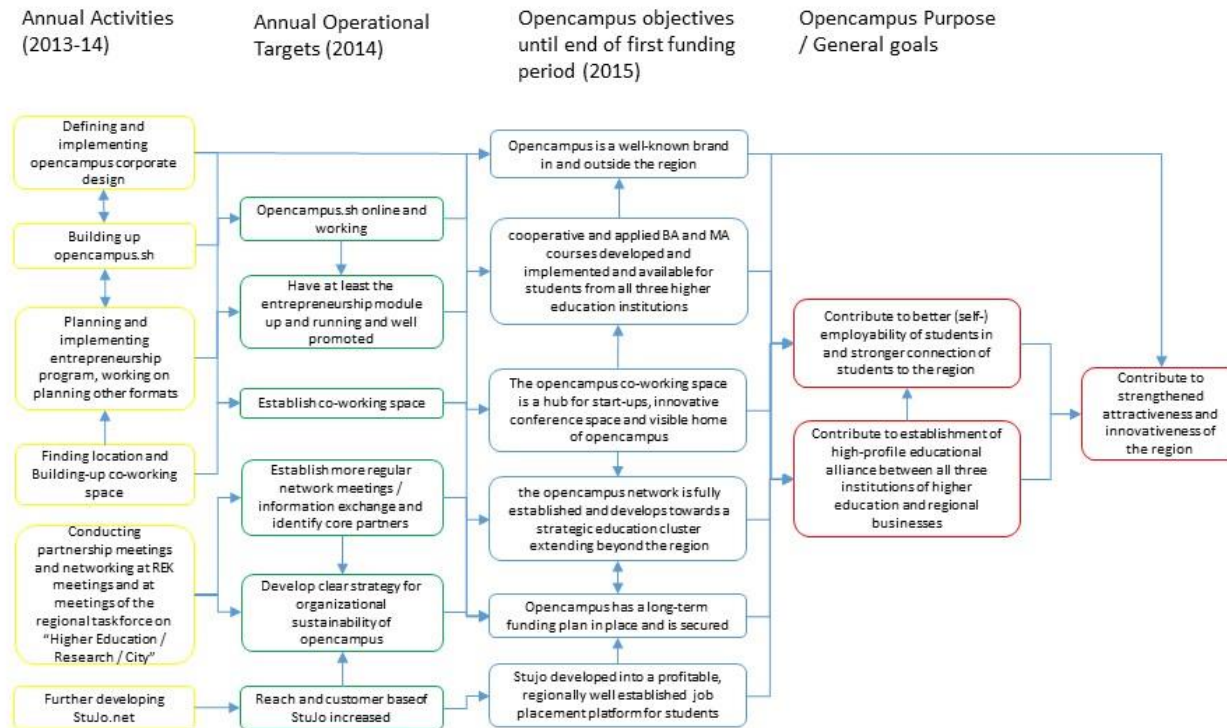
(Source: author)

5.2.2 Epistemic and ethical frames – reinventing Kiel region as regional innovation system

The dominant framing of opencampus' current context is that of region under pressure from demographic and economic changes happening in and around it. This framing commands a sense of urgency among opencampus partners that especially those more powerful organizations in the opencampus partnership network, who are identified with the regional status quo, need to open-up, grant access to and cooperate in creative ways with others in their regional environment, so as to adapt to the realities of a more individualized, digital and clustered society (which is situated opposed to the organized, industrial, sectoral differentiated society of times past).

On a more immediate and concrete level, this problem of a region confronted with socio-economic changes is often described in terms of a steadily growing lack of high-skilled workers for local businesses, especially in more technical fields, which is projected to further increase, according to the 2012 Regional Development Report (REK 2012, p.87). Here the competition for experts in informatics, mathematics and business science with more metropolitan regions, especially Hamburg and Berlin, is seen as an important issue (opencampus 2013; IW Consult 2013, p.132). As an interviewee states:

> *"It's really aggravating that we have good universities and good graduates, but we don't manage to keep them here. (…) And that we already have this lack of skilled labor can be seen in fewer applicants for the available jobs, and that you have to take the B or C candidate, because the A candidate has gone elsewhere. That's why we have to move out of our usual behavioral patterns" (QM P102).*

This is accentuated by a sense of an increasing mismatch with respect to the high numbers of humanities graduates in the region, who are "*trained locally but are not taken over by the economy*" (TH P63). But as a 2012 study states, it is exactly this group of students that tends to stay in the region: 60% of the graduates in the social sciences remain after their education, compared for example to only about 30% of those with a business degree (Wolf and Niebuhr 2012, p.46; opencampus 2013). This undersupply of graduates with business or technical degrees combined with an oversupply of graduates from social sciences is thus an important contextual factor for the urgent sense for transformation and reform in the region. On the one hand, it fuels the idea of reforming social science education in such a way that it would supply graduates with the practical and business relevant skills required by the labor market. As an

opencampus partner states:

> *"[In the humanities] they educate people, from whom we have to assume that they lack the skills that are important for the economy. (...) So, we need a different approach to make those students and their talents attractive candidates for the regional economy"* (TH P63).

At the same time, this problem is, according to other opencampus partners, also due to a conventional perspective in the established businesses, who would have to learn to open themselves to candidates with unusual educational profiles and realize:

> "*that maybe a pre-historian can do a good job somewhere in my company when he has learned to do proper statistics. That they open themselves up for skills beyond the strict disciplinary education and understand that this can also be useful"* (JT P65-66).

An interesting conflict emerges between these two different perspectives on the same problem: Are social sciences or humanities graduates (and by extension the university educating them) ill-equipped for the labor market? In this case, universities would have to reconsider their approach to education (cf. TH P97). Or, is this problem (at least partly) due to businesses having too narrow a perspective on the ability and skills of such graduates (or maybe even prejudices against them; cf. QJT P65-P66)? The obvious and indeed often cited answer among the interviewees is that both are true and the key for better regional development is to shrink the distance between the academic and economic sectors and that actors from both fields should adopt the perspective of the other a bit more and adapt to the other's needs and culture (opencampus 2013), so as to create a win-win situation not only for themselves and their partnership, but for the region as a whole (which notably includes the next generation, or future workers/entrepreneurs and members of the regional community; Ibid.). A high-profile policy roundtable headed by the government-owned Kiel Region GmbH (one of opencampus' official partners)[1] and constituted by various government, policy and business support agencies came to a conclusion, which in a more general sense reiterates that local businesses need to be made aware of the potential of students from the regional universities (without, however, explicitly referencing the social science in this context) (REK 2013). After a two-year process to develop cooperative strategies for the future (economic) development of the region until 2025 (REK 2013, p.5), the panel produced a Regional Development Plan (REK) in 2013 that recommended (among many other things) that one of the task groups founded in the process—the task group on "attracting and holding skilled labor", headed by Kiel's employment agency— should support and promote opencampus as a "flagship project" (Ibid., p.201), because it would open up the regional universities to interested businesses, grant them better access to the students and

allow them to get "a more transparent view on the potential of high skilled graduates in the region" (Ibid.)

This image of overcoming the distance and antagonism by adopting cultural aspects from the other sector extends to the notion that both sectors are merging into a quadruple-helix (Leydesdorff 2012) kind of socio-economic-political knowledge society, in which the old, siloed sectors gradually transform into a more efficient, innovative, service-oriented and profitable knowledge society (JT P77). In this kind of boundary-less future society, university graduates would be able to choose their own "educational path" (opencampus 2013) on the basis of a more customer-oriented educational program and universities would get a better sense of their responsibility to educate and train students for the regional socio-economic community (cf. JT P153). Companies at the same time would adopt a more learning-oriented culture and engage more actively in the training of students, as well as they would change their recruitment and production modes in order to better compete in a digitalized, social knowledge economy (IW Consult 2013, p.93; opencampus 2013, p.14).

More specifically, opencampus then is often thought of as helping those with a broad set of soft, social science or humanities skills (rather than hard, technical MINT skills) to get acquainted with the "*entrepreneurship spirit and to think of founding their own start-up*" (VG P82). That is why development of an interdisciplinary start-up and entrepreneurship culture in and around the regional universities is seen as a key ingredient in the structural and economic transformation of the Kiel region (EN P34; HL P97):

> *"When the theme of start-ups is blossoming in Kiel and has a good image, then this is good for the city, in the sense that one says: 'Boy, something is happening there'. When it's about private business start-ups, then Kiel is seen as a place for founders. When it's going in the direction of public benefits and sustainability, then that is good for the social climate and the people take care about the common good. That's something that will rub off on our image" (QM P108).*

Thus, this interviewees speaks of better social climate, people that take care of the common good in connection with start-up businesses and founders, which also indirectly valued as something necessary for a region that is experiencing a structural change from an industry-based economy with a special emphasis on motor manufacturing and shipbuilding to an economy in which the creative industries, clusters of start-ups and the service sector become more dominant[19] and important for the image of a young, creative and livable region (JT P39,

---

[19]   According to the statistical office for Schleswig-Holstein, more than 7% of the jobs (about 14,000) in the manufacturing sector were lost between 2000 and 2013. However, during the same period 73,000 jobs were created in the service sector, although these were generally less well-paid than comparable jobs in the manufacturing industries (Ibid.). This trend increases the already high share of people employed in the service industries (85.5 %

P192; EN P34). The regional institutions of higher education are seen as key in several ways: by attracting young people to the region and training them, but also by being an increasingly important driver of the creative economy, as well as one of the biggest regional employers in times where industrial jobs are lost (LN P 64; IW Consult 2013, p.3-4). They are also considered "thought leaders" (LN P86) for social change and an increasingly important social center for the regional community.

This perception is mirrored in the funding programs of the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) in which the concept of "regional innovation systems" plays an increasing role, especially for structurally disadvantaged regions (BMBF 2017), but also at the national level. According to the high-profile expert council of Angela Merkel and its report "Dialog about Germany's Future" (2012), high-skilled, innovative-minded students consider innovation and creativity lacking in Germany (Ibid, p.69). In order to attract and retain such high skilled students, the expert council recommends that the German government more closely focuses on coordinating the establishment of networks between business and science and internationalizing university education (Ibid.). Thus, also within the funding and policy-making sphere in Germany, the opening of institutions of higher education through cooperation is often seen as a solution to a looming *Fachkräftemangel* (lack of specialized workforce) in Germany (Mergner & Bosse 2018, p.63; Koppel & Plünnecke 2009). So, for example the BMBF links the opening of higher education institutions to partnerships with other sectors with the objective of "securing the supply of skilled labor in the long term" (BMBF 2017), so as to strengthen Germany's international competitiveness in the "most competitive and most dynamic science-based economy of the world," the EU. (Bundestag 2006; cf. Mergner & Bosse 2018, p.63). Similar to the discourse in Sweden, in Germany universities are seen as "motors for innovation" (Wanka 2017) and cooperation and transfer are increasingly pushed by the BMBF (e.g. through its €550 million funding program "Innovative University") and other funders as a "third core mission" of the university, which is to gain equal footing with research and education (BMBF 2016, p.3). As Minister for Education and Research Wanka stated in 2017 in connection with the funding program "innovative university", regional cooperation and transfer are hoped to become assets in building a specific profile for and improving the reputation of applied science schools and medium and small universities (Wanka 2017).

The "education cluster" funding contest of the Stifterverband, that opencampus was a winner of, follows a very similar path when they state in their 2013 annual report that their

---

in 2010) compared to the total amount of labor employed, which is projected to increase further (IW Consult 2013, p. 23; Lorenz 2015).

initiative aims at supporting a stronger "interlocking of science and economy", because this is seen as an increasingly important factor of success for regional economic development (SVDW 2013). Especially in economically underdeveloped regions, there is a need for innovative and cooperative approaches between universities, business and regional governments that are visible beyond the region so as to attract and retain young, high-skilled labor in times of demographic change (Ibid.).

This makes it worthwhile to look more closely at the cluster concept, which became popular in Germany as a way to indicate institutional reform, sector excellence and interdisciplinary cooperation. It is especially used within the discourse on university reform and here pushed specifically by the high-profile German national research foundation, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), which creates so-called "Clusters of Excellence" within German higher education, so as to enable German research to compete especially with elite universities in the United States and the United Kingdom (Kehm 2015). The origin of this concept goes back to the work of Michael Porter, and his article "Clusters and the new economics of competition" (1998), in which he develops the concept of a cluster to explain the observed competitive advantages of companies in similar technological or economic fields that are located in close proximity and engage in extensive collaborative projects (such as later in Silicon Valley around Stanford University). This advantage, he argues, comes predominantly from increased productivity and innovation and the spinning off of new companies from existing ones (Ibid.). Another aspect of the business cluster is that it furthers personal connections and the emergence of business communities that multiply available resources and competences and create new capacities through sharing through formal and informal transfer relationships (ibid.).

The concept of clusters has gained broad appeal well beyond the business sphere, leading to the establishment of something called a regional or sectoral 'cluster' as an image-building strategy (Kehm 2015, p.238-239), as it is synonymous with collaboration, synergies, innovation, competitiveness and excellence (Cumbers and MacKinnon 2004). A region that can call itself home to business, research or other "clusters", thus becomes a "regional innovation system" (Doloreux & Parto 2005). Within the Kiel region (as elsewhere), a research or educational cluster such as opencampus is a matter of high prestige and is marketed as a unique, innovative selling point for the region. For example, the region's interdisciplinary Exzellenzcluster "The Future Ocean" is claimed to be unparalleled in Germany, as it includes the art school in marine research activities (opencampus 2013 P144). Since 2011, there has been a cooperation agreement between the city's three institutions of higher education, which

is also linked to the high-profile, regional policy panel or commission called "Higher Education/Research/City Commission" that includes the IHK and the city of Kiel administration, and aims at "better inter-linking of the existing competences, bringing higher education and economic practice closer together and to further an innovation and investment friendly climate" (IW Consult 2013, p.14). As several participants in the focus group agreed, the Kiel region is especially dependent on regional innovation—"*if it doesn't want to fall further behind*" horsepower —and regional innovation in turn depends on cooperation and in particular bringing people into the organization "*that think completely different*" (FG1 P43; cf. HL P17) than yourself, as this creates an "*innovative mindset*" and a regional innovation culture in which lifelong learning and cooperation are fundamental aspects (FG 1 P41-43). One interviewee from the applied science school and opencampus partner is even more explicit:

> "*When we have these great economic and social challenges in the region, like aging of the society, new service industries, academization of service jobs (...), then we need adequate educational channels, research fields and projects with results. Then we cannot wait for academic partners and their demarcation problems, we need the cooperation and this opening. We always try to get over the walls, but we also could demolish them. Well, that's the noble objective, but for now I only speak of small doors*" (HL P71).

Here another regional aspect becomes visible, the competition and conflicts between the biggest, oldest and most respected university in the Kiel region, the Christian Albrecht University (CAU) and other actors in the region (including notably the newer and less academically respected applied science school), who want the former to be open and accessible, to be more responsive to the needs of actors in its environment and take up its responsibility for the region:

> "*The CAU has to understand that it is its responsibility to adjust their study programs, so that it is also about usable/exploitable knowledge. (...) [We need] more willingness by the university to support such a cooperative system, to advertise it, to say: 'We think that this is good and important. (...) We as the university feel that this is our responsibility to the region'*" (TH P147).

The CAU is the only fully-fledged university in Schleswig-Holstein and, with over 20,000 enrolled students, a major player in educating skilled labor and supplying the region with an institution of higher education with supra-regional relevance. But it is also seen as an increasingly important economic actor in a region that has gradually lost its blue-collar industries and aims at re-inventing itself as a location for innovative, creative service industries (Opencampus 2013; IW Consult 2012). Thus, as a university of its size, resources and supra-regional reputation, CAU has become simultaneously an object of desire for those adjacent to it and criticized for its lack of openness, regional responsibility and cooperation in making the

Kiel region an integrated regional innovation system (cf. JT P143; IC P225; IW Consult 2013, p.28-29;). This is most clear in the study about Kiel as a location for research, innovation and creativity by IW Consult, which recommends that the regional universities, and especially the CAU, focus on improving (at least the regional recognition of) their practice orientation and practice relevance in the region, in order to intensify cooperation with the regional economy (IW Consult 2013, p.67). This, the study is careful to add, should not be interpreted as a general criticism of the university's academic focus, because "especially for the CAU it is of vital importance to perform on national and international level in respect to its fields of research" (Ibid.). But being better at transferring that level of research to the regional businesses would be essential for mastering the structural change of the economy (Ibid.).

Transfer as a concept is hereby closely linked to a decrease in external barriers or opening of boundaries between partners (cf. opencampus 2013; JT P91; HL P35), which in turn is seen as well as complemented by a process of mutual, internal adaptation of one self to the needs, practices and culture of the other (cf. EN P34; JTDI P121; TC P51). A good example for this flattening of external barriers between partners from different sectors is the discussion about how opencampus links social, nonprofit organizations with businesses and public institutions involved in the initiative. An opencampus partner from a civil society organization hopes that opencampus will change the culture of businesses and other institutions to adopt the concept of corporate social responsibility. In other words, an objective of opencampus for her is that civil society organizations are taken more seriously as partners and employers, especially by the regional employment agency IHK, which she hopes to gain better access to through the opencampus network (TC P30). For her, opencampus means:

> "*that there are no barriers among the partners, so one can say: 'I have an idea!' and I have a contact at the IHK, for example, which helps me to implement a project together, or enables me to have easier access to the economy, without me needing to feel like a beggar. That's also often the problem that non-profit organizations feel like a solicitant*" (TC P49).

Improving transfer is accordingly linked to creating a future in which less established, marginalized voices or less powerful partners are considered as equal. Such equality within the opencampus network would in turn enable the more established partners to "*expand their horizon*", or learn about alternatives to their routine ways of operating and people beyond their existing network who might be essential for their work (JT P71). But as the opencampus partner from WiZe (Science center) states with respect to the need of nonprofit organizations to adapt, learn from the other and creatively change their own practices:

"Well, in this whole area of corporate social responsibility we have a huge learning process in front of us, on all sides, because I do believe that a nonprofit organization hasn't developed much fantasy how to get support from students or businesses beyond the we-need-money-approach – for example through ideas or through their engagement, when they give their time. I have the feeling that a lot of nonprofit organizations are only beginning to develop some creativity and look: 'How can I make this useful for me? How can I barter?' What can a kindergarten offer other people, when they want some people at the weekend to help them renovate? They can ... also say: 'We can also offer something. So, what could we offer?' In this respect the people are still very narrow (...) and they do not know enough about what they actually can expect from each other and what the other needs. That's the classic, when you talk with a non-profit about such a topic, they say: 'Great, we need a new homepage (...) there we need a professional. Young people who study, they can do such things!' But the students are deadly unnerved by this attitude, because this is not the only thing they can bring in and some also cannot program. (...) But for something more substantial, content-related, they lack the fantasy. They lack the experience to go new ways" (JT P153).

This statement shows how the concept of social corporate responsibility is creatively used to introduce a criticism of the nonprofit sector as being too focused on getting money and other contributions, without letting the other in more substantially and engaging with them and their ideas and ways of doing things more profoundly (and in this way also misjudging or stereotyping the other). She then links this critique to a suggestion that nonprofit organizations should start to think about what they can (and should) offer others in return, i.e. to see themselves in a reciprocal relationship of barter or trade, in which they cannot simply ask for donations but need to be more creative, by thinking about the other's needs and how they can satisfy them (for example offer students more substantial projects better tailored to their interests and skills). Transfer and equality between partners are thus also linked to the call of adopting a more reciprocal, exchange-based relationship, which means thinking of yourself and the other as two sides of a customer-provider kind of relationship. From this transformed perspective of oneself and the other, then, one could generate more creative ways to cooperate more profoundly and effectively.

This two-fold process of "*demolishing*" (HL P69) (obsolete) organizational and sectoral barriers, while simultaneously learning from the other and adapting to the other is furthermore embedded in the frame of a regional or communal needing to "go new ways", to transform in the face of vast societal, demographic and technological changes happening elsewhere in the world and forcing the regional community of destiny to more closely connect and adapt to each other in order to become innovative, creative and compete—as a region and individually—with

other more powerful regions (e.g. the metropolitan regions of Copenhagen, Hamburg and Berlin; cf. EN P52; GT P39; JTDI P119; QM P89).

In terms of the research question about which frames are employed to determine the coordinates for openacampus between a current and a desired future situation, the opencampus initiative can be seen as being constructed through an epistemic framing of a current situation marked by closed organizational walls or boundaries, unproductive demarcation issues and social differences linked to a functionally differentiated modern (and industrial) regional society. The desired future situation is then simultaneously described in terms of a post-modern, digital era of the entrepreneurship minded individuals working in clusters of start-ups, while it also recalls pre-modern characteristics of a less functionally and sectorally differentiated sharing and cooperating community. In this way it enables the opencampus partners to negotiate their relationships and activities as something that contributes to a meaningfully come back of the currently marginalized regional society through facilitating its leap into a post-modern, digital community.

5.2.3 Object of value – from instrumental services to a new knowledge economy

In terms of defining the initiative's central object(s) of value, the analysis found that accounts of opencampus emphasize the necessity to produce immediate values, products and services for its organizational and corporate partners, so as to motivate them to enter into a self-sustaining, virtuous circle towards a more radical transformation of their modes of value creation and exchange. Thus, a short-term definition of opencampus object(s) of value is more in accordance with it being a service provider to universities and business partners producing immediate value-added for them, while in the longer-term opencampus would stand for a radical redefinition or re-evaluation of the regional modes of value creation as more individual than corporate, more communal and entrepreneurial than organized.

Concretely, this means for example, that the overall mission to make the region more attractive for high-skilled labor and more open for socio-economic innovation is linked to more specific opencampus objectives that focus on increasing the (self) employability of students in the region, as well as providing complementary collaborative and practice-oriented courses to the existing educational programs at the universities. Within the programmatic texts of opencampus, these objectives are bolstered through the adoption of a critical, student-centered perspective on the region's existing educational system. The opencampus project description

for the SVDW contest provides a clear statement of purpose in its preamble:

> "*Our mission as opencampus is to work together in order to help students find their personal educational path and enable them to develop it successfully for themselves and the region*" (Opencampus 2013, p.1).

The application explains further that opencampus aims to complement the conventional curricular education offered by the universities so that students can develop a "highly individualized" approach to organizing their own career (Ibid, p.3). However, in order to do this, the opencampus partners would have to take their project name literally:

> "*In our cluster we do not know boundaries. We ground our activities in the interests of the students. Our concept is called opencampus, because we're convinced that in the future an open mindset is of central importance for regions, businesses and universities*" (Ibid.).

Enabling the students to create their own, individual education means overcoming boundaries between businesses and universities to develop an open mindset of cooperation that is student- (or customer-) oriented. Accordingly, opencampus would approach the issue more from the student's perspective towards the present state of university education that does not sufficiently meet her interest in more practical knowledge and more cooperative learning formats (IC P49; VG P38). Practical knowledge and cooperative learning are considered in opposition to traditional academic and theoretical knowledge, and its top-down organization by professors, which leaves university graduates ill-equipped for "*taking their career in their own hands*" (opencampus 2013, p.3). Instead of devising top-down, blueprint solutions out of the academic "*armchair*" (Ibid.), the CBB team presents itself as being better in touch with the core recipients of education, the students, and their ideas concerning the kind of curricular and extracurricular programs that get them motivated and engaged with the region during their study and afterwards (opencampus 2013, p.2). In this way, CBB (and its opencampus project) stands for a "*bottom-up approach*" (Ibid, p.2) that puts the students, their ideas and needs center stage. CBB and opencampus would accordingly be better suited to "*recognize opportunities*" so as to "*change priorities*" in the education of young people, which notably includes showing them "*alternatives to an academic career*" (Ibid, p.3). In this way opencampus emphasizes the non-academic, socially embedded, problem-oriented and entrepreneurial education beyond the university as a kind of vantage point from which the university's conventional modes of knowledge production and transmission are criticized. CBB/opencampus' objectives are instead to allow for more practical experience beyond conventional academic education, support work in interdisciplinary teams, strengthen the students' sense of social responsibility

and reinforce a "culture of innovation" at the university.[20] The focus on innovation is another point of distinction for CBB in the way it highlights its opposition to the conventional and theoretical. The SDVW application emphasizes CBB's experience in concrete and innovative learning methods, such as service learning, cooperative trainee programs and co-working spaces (Ibid, p.2). Its educational program is also positioned in opposition to the conventional curriculum offered by the university, "*which has to adhere to academic norms and regulations*" (Ibid, p.3). CBB and its opencampus project instead do not accept limitations, or boundaries, but stand for *"an open mindset"* (Ibid, p.3). Similarly, CBB described itself in 2009 as "*an initiative to promote interdisciplinary, practice-oriented training for students and creative entrepreneurship*".[21]

However, mainstreaming CBB's extra-curricular training program into the university curriculum is also seen and promoted as a " *low-cost complement to the university's offer in educational courses*" (IC P225). Thus, congruent with the objective to mainstream CBB via opencampus into the conventional academic curricular program, the contest application also states that opencampus uses "*the structures of the higher education institutions as our departing point, we support and complement the existing educational programs*" (Opencampus 2013, p.4). Opencampus would "*function as a service provider*" for regional actors, linking all three, separate institutions of higher education in Kiel in order to "*help them to re-align and strengthen demand and supply in terms of practical education*" (Ibid., p.4). Its educational program for the students would thereby function as a useful complement to the curricular courses offered by the university, which would not be able to offer the kind of diverse courses CBB and its opencampus could provide because the universities have to adhere to academic norms and regulations (Ibid, p.3). One CBB partner at the ZfS (the CAU's office for key qualifications) similarly values the contribution of CBB to the CAU's educational program, because entrepreneurship is an increasingly important area of interest for students. But he states that there is not much leeway for students to follow their entrepreneurial aspirations at the university and to develop their creativity, which is why the alternative educational courses, as offered through CBB are important for the CAU's overall educational portfolio (VG P87).

Thus, in the first part of the contest application, a more radical and reformist stance is adopted, whereby the perspective of the students is highlighted, but in a next step this more radical stance is linked to and contained by a less radical position of providing complementary services that add on to the existing offers of its partner institutions and organizations. An

---

[20] CBB self-portrayal @ http://www.einfachgutelehre.uni-kiel.de/7377-2/; accessed 27.03.2017
[21] CBB self-portayal @ https://twitter.com/cbbox; accessed 28.03.2017

opencampus participant from a business promotion agency in Kiel formulates his expectation that opencampus needs to deliver a useful product in the short-term and not just talk about a long-term, visionary development project:

> "*That's my problem: I have an informational event and introduce such things—that's all nice and well. But when an entrepreneur cannot take something away, immediately and now and can implement it, then he will not come a second time. So, he needs a contact, which he can call the next morning: 'We have this problem; solve that task for me' or whatever (…). If that doesn't happen, when it's like: 'Let's talk about it, what can come from it', or: 'Let us develop it together' — and [opencampus] goes a bit into that direction—then you have to tell an entrepreneur why he should spend labor on it. And you need to tell that also to a person in the city administration or on any other level. And when there is no concrete benefit visible, then I say: 'Ok, I support it with pleasure, do a bit of advertising for it and beat the drums a bit…' But when there is a problem to which opencampus offers a concrete solution, then I get engaged. We are full of people in this world, who have an idea and then try to generate a market for it. But from my point of view that's the wrong way*" (JTDI P119).

He stresses the need for opencampus to offer a concrete and immediately useful solution to an existing problem so as to show to its partners that it is worthwhile to actively engage and invest labor. The opposite image he constructs is that of a more visionary, collaborative opencampus, which tries to engage its partners into more radical but also longer-term change on a systemic level (creating a new market rather than a better product for an existing market).

In the above statement one can see again the ambivalence of opencampus in terms of simultaneously figuring as an agent of change that radically transforms education and the institutions linked to it, as well as presenting itself as a useful extension of the existing framework and a service provider that fulfills an existing demand. The first aspect might be interpreted in terms of gaining a higher profile, while the later aspect can be understood as assuming simultaneously a non-threatening position towards its cooperation partners (in terms of assuring them that opencampus will not appropriate their resources for its own development project, but rather contributing to their well-being through offering immediately useful, complementary services, tools or products). Producing a high profile of a radical game changer to an outside audience (while positioning itself internally as a directly useful service provider to its partners' existing organizational portfolio) is also seen as an important promotional value-added opencampus can and should provide to its partners for their individual benefit, and to the region as a whole (GT P132). Here reaching especially young entrepreneurs is seen as another indicator for opencampus to gain visibility and brand recognition, because drawing in people linked with start-ups would strengthen its public appearance (and that of its associated partners)

with audiences where the persona of the young entrepreneur has high esteem and recruiting and retaining young creative entrepreneurs is seen as a crucial building block for the region's future prosperity and economic development (KT P97, P103; HL P153). A key metaphor is for opencampus to serve as a "*lighthouse*" (QM P62; IW Consult 2013) or "*flagship project*" (REK 2013) for the region, to draw in those free-floating creatives at home in the global networks, which so far have seemed to bypass the Kiel region, but also to shine a positive light on the many innovative projects going on in and around the regional universities. For the universities but also for political actors linked to opencampus (such as the city of Kiel and its subsidiaries like the employment agency), one crucial, anticipated benefit for their involvement in opencampus is, that their ongoing projects will gain more visibility and recognition through opencampus:

> *"I am quite confident that a project such as opencampus has a public relations effect, to make those connections between the different actors from the economy, the university, the city a bit more visible; those connections that already exist between what the university does and those issues of social relevance. The university does have a social role and has to position itself in respect to certain issues. And here opencampus could generate a bit more consciousness in the public"* (VG P62).

This actor from the CAU hopes that being part of opencampus will increase the public image of his university as open and responsive to regional concerns and issues (GT P117, P121; IC P225). The public relations problem of the CAU, seen by the public as a self-absorbed institution that does not take regional issues into account, forms a direct incentive for the university to be part of opencampus and to be able to point at their involvement, in order to show their critics in the region that indeed they are contributing, opening up and taking their social responsibility seriously.

Thus, establishing a corporate design and building a webpage for opencampus serve as concrete benefits for the partner institutions, and are simultaneously crucial in motivating partner organizations to contribute to its long-term development and become active members of its network (JTDI P67). It ensures that opencampus indeed scales up CBB activities to reach a broader audience as well as drawing the right kind of target population (young entrepreneurs) into its orbit, so as to further boost its image and increase its value for partners.

But there are also concerns that that the public relations effect of opencampus will wear off and this important first phase of gaining visibility and recognition will become a short-term, individual end, rather than a means for long-term collaborative development towards a real cultural shift (FG1 P41; FG1 P42). As the partner from the applied science college states:

"There is the risk for such a small movement that it has an alibi function, and people say: 'Now, we do something together', but nothing actually changes for the decision-makers. It is only used as an argument, when it is convenient to say: 'We are working together' but otherwise one is not imbued with it or permeated by it. Then such a project is only there for when the question comes: 'Do you work together in the region with all the important players?', to say: 'Yes, yes, we do opencampus'. That is especially happily done in politics that a rabbit is pulled out of the top hat to say: 'Here, please! (…). And then the rabbit disappears again as quickly as it was produced'" (HL P74).

The risk for opencampus expressed here is that it remains a short-term or limited public relations stunt and quick-fix alibi for those partners involved, when it does not involve decision-makers and those who claim to support it to take its values seriously for their own work and organizations, to let opencampus permeate their organization and imbue it with its collaborative work style and values. The risk that opencampus' vision of "not accepting any boundaries" (opencampus 2013) remains an empty slogan for its partner organizations is also expressed by the head of CBB:

"That's the standard case, to have the general manager or executive director come. But ideally, we would be able to better connect to the skilled laborers in the departments. That means that ideally, opencampus permeates the company a bit. That's very ambitious. But that would be wonderful. And I think this would be much fun for the people in the departments, to get out and to do something together with the students in a workshop, and ideally, to even profit from it themselves" (IC P73).

Here one can get a sense that the issue of opencampus offering valuable, short-term benefits to its partners is linked to the fact that it needs to convince those decision-makers in the upper parts of their partner organizations to support it. This is done by promising and delivering quick services (such as direct access to the students for recruitment purposes) and especially emphasizing the public relations value that opencampus holds for them. Again, akin to the lighthouse function of opencampus for the region, here opencampus serves as an access point (cf. channel, XL P74, or "door-opener" HL P69) for reaching students, the sought-after future work force. Opencampus is in this way seen as a new interface between the regional economy and students, to convince them that they could be successful in the region. According to a CBB team member it would be a good indicator for concrete success of the opencampus initiative, if it could highlight the opportunities students would have in the region, so they would not emigrate to Hamburg immediately after their graduation,

"because they do not know the alternatives. When our program shows them alternatives, that they have opportunities here regionally and also with smaller

businesses, that they maybe even have the potential to become self-employed with their own idea, than we would have achieved something" (GT P39).

But as the various statements indicate, the public relations function of opencampus needs to be a means for its more ambitious long-term aim of establishing a cooperative culture across organizations, in which education and work/entrepreneurship are more substantially linked across those functionally differentiated institutions that so far are specialized in either one of these areas (education being located at the university and entrepreneurship/work associated with the business sector). However, one question is, whether opencampus and CBB can manage to penetrate the established organizations or whether it remains a PR slogan and a short-lived, public relations tool, through which the bigger, more established partners (which are also those deemed especially important for the viability of CBB as an organization and opencampus as a network) pacify critics and polish their public image instead of opening up their boundaries, sharing their assets and allowing opencampus to directly affect their organizational base in form of their skilled workers, to draw them out of the confines of their home organization and bring them together with students and start-up entrepreneurs within a kind of lifelong learning program.

A key to connect the short-term and instrumental goals of opencampus as a service provider to its partner-clients, with the more visionary, long-term goals of opencampus as a more radical and normative force for transforming academic education and economic production, is to be able to deliver non-threatening change, i.e. that does not challenge existing positions and does not appropriate resources of the partners without offering immediate value. This ambivalence between changing the status quo while protecting those interests linked to it is well expressed in the statements of the representative of the applied science school and his vision for opencampus:

> "*Every breaking-up of boundaries requires the ability to compromise. You have to give things away, open things, which you cannot control anymore. Thus, losing control is always linked to opening structures. Open means to get out of the existing structures, or to even abolish them (…). And an open campus means that this opening must be beneficial to everyone involved and that, of course, everyone should profit from it in terms of their self-perception and external image. When this opening is at the cost of the partners, you would have to find strong reasons for it. A dramatic example: In opencampus it would be discussed that it's better to only have one college. If then in the dissolution of all kinds of power structures…—something like this doesn't work like baking pretzels: There will be brawls, it will get down to the bones, it will be about resources, positions, about power of departments and of single individuals. That's totally unforeseeable. But then it would be very imaginable that some partners in the consortium say: 'No,*

this is it for me' " (HL P158).

Thus, opencampus is as much about opening existing structures and giving away control as it is about gain and strengthening existing positions, access to resources (especially future labor force) and the power of departments or partner institutions. Opening means giving away control, while getting something back in return. This might explain how opencampus positions itself simultaneously an anti-boundary movement and a provider of tailored services that fill the gaps in its partners' portfolios. Accordingly, when looking at opencampus' goals to change education and the institutions linked with it, so as to contribute to the transformation of the region, it seems important to link the concept of systemic transformation with the concept of individual growth. This puts opencampus in an instrumental (and non-threatening) position vis-à-vis its partner organizations.

Another issue surfaces within his statement: opening boundaries should mean decentralization, not centralization. It should not mean that only one single entity remains, but it should create more, equal partners that have to compromise with each other, instead of retreating behind their organizational walls or dictating conditions to other because they are in a more formidable position. This, then, is also a position that is linked to the perspective of the applied science school vis-à-vis the CAU. His fear of having 'only one college' left might also be interpreted as a fear that CAU might take over opencampus and use it to further marginalize the smaller schools in the region. It might also be linked more generally to the position of those partners in the network that consider themselves in a less powerful position as opposed to the "*monolithic institutions*" and their "*formalistic demands*" (JT P15), namely that opencampus offers them a space within which they can step up to the more powerful actors and confront them on a more equal footing, as it includes the normative idea of changing the status quo associated with the more powerful actors, while those rather marginalized ones assume a position as outside agents of change.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the above statement highlights the individual growth objectives of opencampus, i.e. HL's statement about the importance of the ability to compromise. This echoes other participants' statements about the importance of individuals and organizations participating in opencampus to communicate clearly and transparently with each other, to approach each other openly and respectfully despite differences in culture or power. Importantly, in the above statement this ability to compromise is linked to giving away control, opening structures, allowing others access and engaging with them in a non-hierarchical or non-centralized decision-making processes. In this context, the ability to compromise can also be understood as the ability to compromise one's own organizational integrity, i.e. to risk

weakening, harming or undermining one's own standards, in order to profit from the expanded opportunities that the opencampus network offers by letting others in. The skill to compromise one's own integrity as a necessary element for making profits through the network can also be understood as a call for a more risk-taking, pragmatic and entrepreneurial mindset and entrepreneurial (communicative) culture in academic, government and nonprofit organizations (cf. WS1 FG1 JT P41 above). JT for example frequently criticizes the "*very unwieldy*" CAU and IHK as being unapproachable to outside partners (JT P73). Concretely, she contrasts her problematic communication with the CAU with her communication with companies, who are unproblematic, quick and clear (Ibid.) and hopes that opencampus can increase the CAU's trust towards the other organizations in the opencampus network, because more trust would improve their ability to cooperate and communicate (Ibid.). To increase trust and communication in the network, which is here aimed at opening the unwieldy CAU (but at another point also at the "*monolithic*" IHK, JT P15), is simultaneously linked to the clear and uncomplicated communication of businesspeople, who serve as an ideal of a trustful and less formal way of exchange and communication. Their ability to communicate clearly also means in very concrete terms an economic reduction in workload, because one would not need to spend so much time in figuring out the right, formal way to address people at other institutions, but could communicate "*shortly and briefly*", or even "*flippantly*" without having to fear that this could be perceived as disrespectful or unprofessional (JT P73).

Here again it might be important for opencampus to be associatively linked to the culture of youthful entrepreneurs, who are not 'begging' for rents (like nonprofits with their give-us-money approach), but creating assets out of unexpected, surprising ideas; who share limited resources in informal, i.e. more efficient and effective ways. In this way, informality and the abolishment of boundaries through opencampus become synonymous with a culture of transformative entrepreneurship. Some of its partners might hope to use this (and related concepts such as corporate/academic social responsibility, social entrepreneurship, etc.) as a normative concept to improve their external negotiating position vis-à-vis other more established or powerful actors in the network (and beyond). At the same time the entrepreneurial yet radically horizontal and communal spirit of the start-up culture, as readily packaged and serviced by opencampus, promises to provide one's internal organization with the short-term supply of ideas and resources and a self-sustaining momentum for essentially non-threatening change, i.e. change as a low-risk, low-cost, positive-sum game rather than a high-risk, costly game that involves a redistribution of power and potentially involves loss of resources and privileged positions.

Thus, in conclusion, when it comes to the second research question about the character of opencampus central object(s) of value, one can see how its promise to produce concrete, tailor-made services and material values complementing the partner organizations' existing portfolios (such as better access to graduates, better access to external funding, a high-profile brand) is seen as a necessary step in a gradually, synergetic movement towards more profound, regional change. The hope is that the constant flow of ever greater concrete values for the immediate partners will create a virtuous, synergetic and expanding circle of value creation, which will lead to ever more trust in cooperation as ever more synergies from cooperation materialize. In this way, it is hoped, opencampus paves a step-by-step, easy-to-follow way for its conventional academic and business partners towards a more radical transformation of their organization. This change involves for opencampus as well a gradual, cultural transformation towards more entrepreneurship ideas of value as something fluidly and communally produced, shared and consumed within a plus-sum game, which is an image positioned in opposition to supposedly obsolete, corporate conceptions of value, as something collectively produced but individually consumed in a zero-sum game.

5.2.4 Modes of exchange – opencampus developing new modes of exchange as sharing, co-learning and co-working

In order to gradually build momentum towards accomplishing the more regional and long-term goal of making Kiel region more innovative and attractive to high-skilled labor, opencampus mainly engages in four interrelated sets of activities: First, it works on establishing its collaborative and practice focused educational modules and program. Second, it works on making its job and internship placement webpage, Stu.Jo.net into a central hub between regional employers and students. Third, it works on establishing the co-working space "starter kitchen" as a concrete, offline meeting space for co-production and synergetic exchange. Fourth, it works on developing opencampus into a regional brand that is capable to endow the various activities and relationships accumulated under the opencampus umbrella with an identity and meaning. At the basis of all of these learning, meeting, production and exchange formats is the hope to establish a back-bone of technologies and infra-structures that enable the opencampus partners, target groups and external audiences to self-organize and gradually scale-up their co-working, communication and interaction through evermore cooperative synergies and in this way establish opencampus eventually as a new way of joint learning, exchanging and producing

(rather than a separate organizations with a specific function of either learning or producing).

Planning and implementing entrepreneurship modules as a prototype of opencampus program

A key output of opencampus is to deliver on its central promise to produce an integrated opencampus educational program, which would link universities and businesses through offering innovative, practice- and problem-based course formats in line with the interests and needs of especially entrepreneurship-minded students (opencampus 2013). Originally, a basic idea with this embedding of CBB's extracurricular courses in the university is linked to CBB's original mission to support students' professional and career development, in particular entrepreneurial students trying to found their own start-up while studying, as those students have:

> "*problems to do their studies at the same time. So, when we can offer them some opportunities how to include their entrepreneurial interests into their study, they would have it easier*" (IC P67).

The idea is that these students could develop and implement their start-up idea with the help of CBB and in the end "*get 20 ECTS for it. That would be a cool thing*" (IC P140).

According to the opencampus application form, opencampus would develop and implement an integrated course structure within the two years funded through the prize money. This opencampus program would be based on modules that fit into broader programs and link to specific themes relevant for students and the region alike. The four themes that form the broader opencampus training agenda are: Entrepreneurship, Social Entrepreneurship, Service Learning and Enterprise Learning (opencampus 2013, p.6). These four themes are linked to four programs: Entrepreneurship, IT Offensive, Design Thinking and a fourth to be developed later on the basis of experiences made with the first three and in accordance with the needs of students and universities as identified by the opencampus initiators (opencampus 2013, p.6). Modules are then the actual workshops and courses. The initial SVDW application gives three examples: a) the established service learning seminar called "Wissen schafft Gutes" (Knowledge/ Science creates good), b) a yet to be established course in project management, which nevertheless would follow CBB's extracurricular InnovationCamp and c) another prospective course module that would give students insights into and establish contact with existing start-ups (opencampus 2013, p.8).

At the time of the interviews (January-February 2014), the central and most labor-intensive task of the CBB core team was to develop the entrepreneurship and IT modules and

get them accredited with the CAU's Center for Key Qualifications (ZfS). Concerning the complicated structure developed for the opencampus application, with its nesting of modules into programs and themes, an opencampus partner stated:

> "*I have the concern that we have too many modules and dissipate our efforts; that in the end we do not have any tangible results. I have already said, that I need something tangible (...). That is still missing and we have February and they say: 'We are developing it' (...) But two years are not long and we do not have that much money. So maybe we should approach this with two speeds; that we pick one module out and really push it, so that it is visible. And the other will be developed one after another. So that we have a highlight and can use it and call the press. That's really important to present it in the media. And only afterwards the next module comes*" (QM P61-62).

This partner from a business promotion agency accordingly emphasizes the need to produce something tangible, something he can show and use in his work that could be used to call the press and promote opencampus. Although the core CBB team is working exactly in the suggested way to deliver a tangible output and focuses on bringing the entrepreneurship program off the ground, they have April as a realistic due date, so as be ready for the 2014 summer semester, despite acknowledging that it should have been ready the previous winter semester (i.e. October 2013) (IC P145). However, they also approach the issue of the courses less from a promotional perspective (although this is not entirely unimportant for them, cf. IC P84) than from the perspective of the developing opencampus as an organization, meaning to develop the courses as a kind of internal structure, which would link the previously individual and isolated activities of CBB into a programmatic and infrastructural framework (i.e. internet-based course platform, IC P121). This, it is hoped, would allow the core team of CBB to involve the students and the partners more substantially and transfer more responsibility to them for running the courses (IC P147). Simultaneously, this means that those at CBB see themselves in a "steering function", meaning that they would support people from the partner network to come with their ideas and advise partners how to implement them within the existing process and the module and course structure of opencampus (IC P167). But this process would also depend on their partners to commit and take over responsibility for the content of the courses, to provide course ideas and lecturers (IC P147).

The founder compares this with his experience in their only accredited seminar, the service learning seminar "Wissen schafft Gutes", where he and his team are still responsible for daily organization and teaching and running the course. It is a course they have already accredited, as well as established a partner network around. Yet, the core team from CBB expressed that they are still too involved in the daily task of running the course, which was

initially hoped to be largely self-organized by 2014 (IC P121). Their experience with the service seminar, however, links to the challenge within opencampus to involve the partners in committing to contribute in the development of the courses, rather than, as the partner from the promotional agency stated, waiting for a tangible and ready-made product delivered to them without their prior investment and efforts.

This problem of the CBB core team expecting partners and participants to take an more active role in the generation of central opencampus course content, while the partners expect tangible results before they become more active, links to the hope of JT that opencampus partners would become more creative in the way they perceive the exchanges between themselves and others (cf. JT statements about nonprofits needing to get away from the one-way, give-us-your-money approach to their exchange with businesses, JT P153 and see above). It also links to CBB's perspective on trying to build a structure for their partners to not just send the CEO of the company to present their company to students so as to reach out to potential future high-skilled labor, but to creatively engage with the students, open up their company in more substantial ways and allow their workers to spend their work time to develop opencampus workshops together with students (see above IC P73).

But as the perspectives of the partners from the business promotion agencies reveals, there is a pervasive idea that opencampus is an instrument to better deliver ready-made, tangible services and products to them, rather than a way for them to get involved more substantially in the development of learning and workshop formats, where the return on investment is not clear or measurable (which is also a perspective acknowledged by the CBB core team [IC P249; JT P63] and even strategically adopted in their programmatic application text, Opencampus 2013). Among the core opencampus team, there is the hope that the gain in reputation through the SVDW prize, the programmatic integration of their isolated activities into the framework of accredited opencampus courses, as well as the creation of the internet-based IT infrastructure and the development of a co-working space that would serve as a real-world address and location for opencampus—that all these structural organization-building and up-scaling activities would allow CBB to outsource responsibility for the development and implementation of their workshops and courses to their network of partners. Thus, in a way, their hope linked to opencampus is quite similar to that of the partner organization, only in the opposite direction: that opencampus would serve as channel to deliver resources, labor and ideas from the partners to fuel their CBB operations and maintain their activities, while allowing them to save resources and labor in the long run. The hope is to make CBB's initial investment in developing and implementing the educational program pay off later, by having established a framework that

makes the educational program more easily "reproducible" for an increasingly self-organized network of partners and student participants (IC P15).

At the same time opencampus would need to make sure that, whatever they do in terms of course offerings, they do not get into competition with the universities, because that would ruin their relationship with them (IC P215). Rather than replacing their academic partners' educational offerings, it would be strategically important to choose topics that fill a gap in their curriculum and fit between the courses that already exist at the CAU and the college for applied science (Ibid.). Yet, being a complementary course service provider in between those two actors is another challenge, as one could end up being dragged into their competition, as the founder of CBB states:

> "*When we offer a certificate with the CAU for studying our courses, which simultaneously is offered at the applied science college in equivalent form, the CAU would certainly not like that*" (IC P215).

So, when providing a unifying service to both, opencampus still needs to design it in a way that does not threaten the university's organizational identity (by becoming something that can equally be acquire in one or the other organization).

However, the question is whether the position of opencampus as a service provider is only a strategic and temporary necessity until the infrastructure is built, a committed and enthusiastic network of partners is developed and tangible services and products are delivered that prove the viability of the project and inspire or motivate the partners to commit more substantial resources. This in turn would transform the network into a self-sustaining, prime carrier of opencampus and the CBB core team (and especially its industrious founder) would then accordingly be relieved from running the everyday organization and have less pressure and responsibility to deliver opencampus outputs, but could concentrate on steering and leading the process. On the other hand, there is the concern that CBB would now not only have to produce more impressive outputs in terms of courses for a larger number of partners with more substantially different needs, but that at the same time they would have the added workload to maintain and run the network, while their hopes that the network would be self-organizing in the longer-term and take over more responsibility to produce the outputs expected from opencampus as a project, would not materialize, like it did not (yet) with the service learning seminar they established two years ago. Within this constellation, however, there is the hope that the digital platform, once established, would make it easier for partners to see how they can contribute, as well as enable the network to self-organize and take over a substantial amount of labor from the CBB team in the organization of the courses, as well as in organizing,

motivating and maintaining the opencampus network.

Another motivating factor for partners to contribute more actively to the course development within opencampus is the experience they have with CBB's usage of teaching methods with the reputation of being innovative, problem-based and solution-, service- or product development-oriented. As one employee of a regional office for the support of digital economy and partner in the IT Academy recalls, he was impressed that CBB used the same new methods he had heard of and wanted to use himself:

> *"I was really curious about CBB, because I realized that they work with the tools I wanted to work with myself, like the Business Model Canvas by Osterwalder (...) That was a very new instrument back then, and it is still really fascinating. And so, we held a couple of workshops with CBB and then continued to do things together. CBB is a really great thing and that is why I always talk about it and push their activities high up our agenda"* (EN P13-17).

In this way, CBB, with its background as a self-organized student organization, its critique of conventional university education, its focus on entrepreneurship training and its utilization of new teaching methods of interest to local professionals helped to establish their image as a change-maker and innovative force within the region's struggle to "*not fall further behind*" (FG1 HL P) and to get stuck with the image of a 'economically underdeveloped' region. Fittingly, the best-selling *Business Model Canvas* states on the front cover: "You're holding a handbook for visionaries, game-changers, and challengers striving to defy outmoded business models and design tomorrow's enterprise" (Osterwalder & Pigneur, 2014), which is a promotional text that does seem to represent what opencampus promises to do with the normative frame of transforming regional education and business through entrepreneurship ideas and methods. At the same time, one can hear the enthusiasm of a partner in the above statement, who sees this new and fascinating approach he has only heard about in his field used and taught by CBB. In this way, CBB has made something commanding the reputation of innovative business creation tangible for the partners, which in turn helps them to promote it within their field and motivates them to participate more actively (next to a genuine interest in learning a new method, this is presumably also attractive to him to a some degree because being involved in game-changing workshops using an innovative method well-known in his professional field also gives him an opportunity to promote himself and his activities within his organization).

StuJo.net: a concrete deliverable for the partners, but a marginal activity for opencampus

Perhaps the CBB activity that best exemplifies the issue of producing something innovative for its partners in terms of a ready-to-use technological product is StuJo.net. StuJo is an Internet-based placement service where local businesses and organizations can advertise jobs, internships, etc., and in this way hopefully "bring students and regional employers closer together by organizing a more efficient matching between demand in and supply of skilled labor" (IW Consult 2013, p.71-72). It was developed by a small group of student assistants for CBB in 2011-2013, potentially on behest of the high-profile development round table that also issued the Regional Development Concept (REK 2013, p.201). The REK report mentioned it as a central activity of their flagship project opencampus, because it would provide interested companies direct access to students as well as it would make the regional companies and businesses more visible to high-skilled graduates in the regional educational institutions (Ibid.). In so doing, StuJo.net serves basically as an online blackboard, where organizations and businesses can also post thesis topics relating to their business or field (Opencampus 2013, p.7). It is a service demanded by some of the opencampus partners and it fulfills their criteria of getting something tangible and immediately useful through opencampus. At the same time, it has no programmatic significance for the core CBB team in developing opencampus, although it is also briefly mentioned within the opencampus SVDW application. On the StuJo.net webpage, however, no indication is given that it is part of the opencampus project.[22] Internally, it the responsibility of two IT students with student work contracts, while the core CBB team concentrates on other things more central to the development of opencampus (i.e. organizing the development and accreditation of their course program). At the same time, however, StuJo.net is hoped to deliver the core team of CBB a potentially easy way to generate income, once the internet-based job-matching platform is fully established and known to a broader customer base in the region, who would pay for the service it provides and, in so doing, contribute to the long-term financial sustainability of CBB and opencampus (IC P93-P95; JT P118, P122; EN P63).

In this way, StuJo.net exemplifies several issues linked to establishing opencampus that also show up in other activities and relate to other aspects of its organizational development. It is, like the service learning seminar, a product developed by CBB before opencampus was on their agenda and "*dragged into it*" (IC P84). This, on the one hand, would contribute to opencampus "*having a bit blurry boundaries*" (Ibid.). On the other hand, both enable CBB to

---

[22] https://cau.stujo.net/impressum ; last accessed: 28.06.2018

deliver on promised project results of opencampus, while StuJo.net specifically does not only have the role of producing the tangible output demanded by the opencampus partners directly, but also figures as a low-cost instrument for CBB to generate income via an internet-based platform, which would supply them with a steady funding, without having to rely on its partners (because regional companies, as a third party, would pay fees; JT 118). Thus, there is a hope that this digital tool would relieve CBB from the workload to develop a sustainable income, while also removing them from the awkward position of having to approach their partners for funding (FG1 HLP53). But StuJo.net also symbolizes the conceptual inclusion of ideas originating from the institutional environment of the opencampus network partners, which at least for those also engaged in the REK process was important, as they emphasized in their final report on StuJo.net to show they had influence on the successful opencampus project. This in turn might also increase the standing of opencampus among those influential policy actors involved in the REK process, and further transport the initiative to a higher level within regional politics and thus, indirectly, contribute to continuous funding of the initiative through regional government agencies and development funds (EN P59; IC P95; FG1 P47). However, this outside-in conception of StuJo.net and its instrumental role for the core team to serve them as a financing tool that is not otherwise programmatically linked to what they perceive as their central mission to develop and implement cross-sector, cross-organizational learning formats in the region and changing the mindset of their partner organizations does also to some degree explain StuJo's marginal importance for the CBB team.

Co-working space "Starterkitchen"

Another project both similar to, and radically different from, StuJo.net is the opencampus co-working space "starterkitchen" (which by the time of the field work was in the development phase and not yet operative). It is similar to StuJo.net inasmuch it is also conceived of as a way to generate funding for opencampus that would bypass their partner network, as companies and individuals (again, third parties) would pay a fee for having a desk, an office or an event location there (JT P93). Similarly, it would serve as a tangible and concrete output that could be shown off and advertised by opencampus partners. Yet, while having this instrumental role similar to StuJo.net, the co-working space also fits much more fundamentally into the organizational development of opencampus as well as into its normative program as being a change-maker contributing to a cultural shift towards more collaborative and inclusive modes of learning and working. Organizationally, it would serve as the real-world, offline home address of

opencampus and in so doing contribute to the development of its organizational identity. But it would also provide a real, offline space where the opencampus network could meet (and indeed began to meet once it was established in summer 2014; field notes), and would accordingly serve as a catalyst for the development of the network's identity as well. It would similarly give opencampus courses a separate address not linked to any one college, but at a neutral location, which would make it easier for them to bring people together (JT P89; TH P119). More normatively or programmatically, it would also link to CBB's central vision to serve students as a vehicle to wrest space (and resources) from the institutional environment for them to self-govern and creatively co-develop as they see fit (cf. IC P140). At the same time, it would be acceptable to those institutional partners careful about investing too much into opencampus, because a co-working space could be produced with relatively low investment on their part, in this case by handing over an abandoned warehouse to the students to develop according to their ideas (and through utilization of their labor and time, as well as SDVW prize money). The emergence of such a co-working space would enable the organizational partners in the opencampus network to point to something concrete that was done with respect to the high-profile policy issue of needing to facilitate the development of creative clusters of young entrepreneurs and start-ups near the universities so as to provide the kind of professional environment associated with innovation, high-skilled labor and future prosperity (cf. IW Consult 2013, p.118, p.137). It would be a real-world example for interested parties to visit and see concretely how the vaunted young entrepreneurs are working as part of opencampus (cf. JT P91; IC p156; KT P118-P124), but it might as well serve as a concrete example for more conventional organizations, businesses and opencampus partners to experience the informal, sharing and co-working way of these young entrepreneurs firsthand and subsequently be more open to try this collaborative way of working in their organizations and companies as well. As the CBB mentor at WiZe states:

> *"A successful co-working space is a lively space, meaning that there are real people working and doing projects together, exchange and get to know each other, and that it is not an isolated workplace by the students for the students, but…that always sounds stupid—but, that it is a low-threshold meeting place, where I can catalyze encounters between students and corporations, which can take place in a very informal framework there and from there develop further more far-reaching effects"* (JT P91).

For her, such a co-working space could serve as a concrete place for creating and subsequently transporting new, informal ways of working into the companies, so that the normative vision of opencampus develops further beyond the student body. Similarly, another partner formulates

this hope of the co-working space as a channel for transporting values:

> "*Opencampus is about interlocking. There are for example these co-working areas (...), where I could imagine a whole set of cooperation activities, but most importantly: 'How do we get companies to let their employees partake there for a limited amount of time? Because they are the linking pin of the company, who is also the transporter of values and expectations to these young people. It would be important, that this happens in immediate contact*" (TH P119).

Thus, the co-working space links several dimensions, both instrumental and more programmatic ones together in a way StuJo.net does not. At the same time, though, it would require the companies to commit their workforce in a more substantial way and allow it to participate in opencampus (while StuJo.net is a peripheral, instrumental tool to channel the workforce towards their company without requiring anything in return beyond a small fee). And especially the more normative hopes linked to opencampus to work as a channel and "catalyst" (JT P91) for transporting and creating values that are infused into the organizations that use it, as well as into the students, is very much linked to developing the co-working space as an inclusive, informal and horizontal space for personal encounters.

The concept of co-working then can be understood as a concept that is familiar and highly attractive to the opencampus partners, although it is not yet established in Kiel. Developing a co-working space from the SVDW prize money can proof its viability as an initiative and furthermore stands tangibly for its central image of a new way of organizing education and entrepreneurship in the region. But co-working as a practice also stands for a more horizontal, informal and creative process of working, in which individuals work alongside each other and without being organized (and putting resources or labor into organizing themselves) create synergies almost effortlessly just by the virtue of working in close proximity to each other. In this way the co-working space also espouses what could be called opencampus central ideological promise of offering benefits out of synergies without demanding prior investment of labor and resources into organization building. Once established through external money and student labor the infra-structure of the co-working space would enable opencampus partners and users to link their individual projects together in a voluntary, bilateral, easy-to-use and low-cost way—comparable to the online market places of StuJo.net and opencampus.sh.

Not surprisingly, then, building the co-working space became the next priority for the CBB core team, after they established their entrepreneurship program during the summer break of 2014 (field notes). They and a handful of dedicated students renovated a former factory hall between the WiZe (and also part of the science park project it manages) and the CAU (field notes). It subsequently served as a home address for opencampus events (e.g. for one of the

focus groups of this study), opencampus courses and opencampus network meeting for their partners, but it also attracted some local start-ups to set up shop in their co-working space (field notes).

Developing opencampus' corporate design and establishing opencampus as a brand

But for CBB, opencampus is also a brand or platform through which they can advertise their existing projects (like their service learning seminar) on a much bigger scale (IC P84). It serves the double function of making CBB projects included in or developed for opencampus known to students (Ibid.; GT P33), but also making the work that students are to perform in these courses visible to opencampus' partners and their audiences (IC P84; KT P103). Having opencampus established as a brand with a unified corporate design and a central webpage is also an important deliverable for its partners, who do not initially benefit directly from opencampus other than in reputational gains (JT P97; GT P119). With a clear opencampus corporate design, a visible, digital 'business card' (opencampus.sh) as well as a real-world address of the co-working space (starterkitchen), they can use the opencampus brand for their own outreach, present themselves to their audiences as being part of the "*cultural shift that is so desperately needed in the region*" (EN P46;L cf. HL P109) by linking themselves to a prize-winning, prestigious and innovative but also tangible project by referring to its webpage (HL P158; IC P161; QM P62). In this way, the corporate design and visibility of opencampus on the internet but also offline is understood to serve as a common framework for strengthening the identity of the partners as members of a real, tangible network and their motivation to contribute to its development in tangible ways (W-EN P50). There is a strong sense of gaining public recognition and a clear and recognized corporate identity for opencampus as a first building block to initiate a virtuous cycle of mutually reinforcing exchanges, benefits and synergies that build its further organizational sustainability and network stability (IC P84).

As JTDI and HL have argued, partners need something tangible that solves a problem for them before they would get really involved (JTDI P199) and this expectation of something tangible directly delivered through opencampus is often directly linked to the reputational gain it already has delivered through winning the prestigious national competition for innovative educational clusters by the SVDW (JT P97; LA P92; KT P103). Building a brand and a brand identity (Markenidentität) is also frequently mentioned in opencampus' programmatic texts as a central activity (Opencampus 2013, 2014). This process of branding is also often seen as part of the regional location marketing (Standortmarketing, Opencampus 2013). HL for example

mentions, how the opencampus brand should be used more pro-actively by the applied science school and other partners to further acquire external funds for their education and research (FG2-HL P50). Also, the Regional Development Concept (REK), which was accompanied by a high-profile selection of representatives from the city government, higher education institutions and regional employment and business promotion agencies, frequently highlights in its final report that opencampus is a flagship and lighthouse initiative for the region and should be further promoted (REK 2013). Other opencampus partners explain how the opencampus initiative became attractive for the REK policy table, who "*now that the regional development report was finished, sat around and did not know anymore what they should do together*" (JT P173). So, after the report was completed they "*were desperately searching for new fields of action*" and decided to select "flagship projects"—with opencampus among them—for the main thematic policy fields identified in their report and to accompany them as a new function of their steering committee (JT P173, P175; REK 2013). In this way, opencampus would be useful to them because it "*nurtures their talk and allows them to continue to sit together around a table*" (JT P183). In a way, opencampus would provide them with the concrete benefit of being a higher profile project that they could dock onto, so as to keep their own meeting place going. By assuming a kind of mentorship role for 'their' flagship opencampus, and by stating in the REK report that opencampus took up their idea of the job placement platform Stu.Jo[23], the more policy-oriented round table of the REK process also emphasizes their relevance and capability to deal with the problems identified in the region. However, as the interviewee above states, this is also seen as more of an appropriation of opencampus for their own political/ organizational agenda than an accurate description of their contribution to opencampus. At the same time, this group of policy-oriented actors around the REK is an important forum for opencampus to engage, so as to make its own organizational viability a more urgent topic in regional politics and to acquire funding or find potential regional funders or partners linked to funding opportunities (cf. JTDI P121; QM P50). With respect to the appropriation of the opencampus brand through the REK policy table, but also HL's ideas of the opencampus partners to appropriate the brand for their individual funding applications, one could see that the virtuous cycle narrative linked to the brand development is also linked to the hope of opencampus insiders that they could nurture their activities through attracting external funds, and via opencampus to nurture their own positions and activities (cf. HL P).

---

[23] However, by the time the opencampus project was conceived, Stu.Jo.net had already been run by CBB for at least two years. Thus, Stu.jo.net is probably not a result of a direct influence of the actors of the REK process on the opencampus initiative.

Thus, to summarize this part on the research question about the modes of exchange discussed within the conversations about the CSKP, opencampus can be seen as centering around modes of exchange through branding, creating course programs and online and offline infrastructure for self-organization and co-working. Through these formats, it promises modes of exchanges that are positioned in opposition to the conventional way of organizing education and for-profit or nonprofit work in the region. They can also be seen as technologies that promise to overcome a collective action dilemma inherent in organizing exchanges in networks, where one party would wait for the other to deliver something tangible and directly useful first before becoming active themselves. Being able to claim that one utilizes an innovative exchange technology that radically reduces transaction and communication costs and creates synergies through cooperation to occur instantaneously and almost without effort and prior investment in turn can motivate partners to get more actively involved. At the same time, there is the hope that the establishment of online and offline exchange and production technologies, as well as the increased usage and reach of the brand of the innovative, new force that is opencampus, will enable the network of partners behind opencampus to maintain their internal exchanges as voluntary and redistributive (instead of committed and contributive) by acquiring external resources (through third parties paying for Stu.Jo, renting co-working space and local politics and regional development organizations paying for the opencampus brand). With this kind of constant flow of resources from the outside into the opencampus network the collective action dilemma of producing value-added through exchanges in a network would not exactly be overcome, but internal exchange would appear to be a positive sum game through a constant influx of fresh resources from the outside being channeled via opencampus to its partners and users.

5.2.5 Roles and positions: the young entrepreneur and his mentor as symbiotic couple for gradual plus sum change

In terms of the research question's focus on descriptions of roles and positions within the CSKP, the central role for opencampus could be summarized as that of the young, creative start-up entrepreneur, who is positioned against the organized professionals associated especially with organizations from the academic, public and nonprofit sectors. The ideal opencampus persona is someone who demolishes sectoral walls and breaks organizational barriers in order to better produce viable solutions for today's complex social challenges:

> *"opencampus is a barrier-breaker (…). It gives an example that it has advantages to break open these structures. That is how one has to see it. Society and economy do not wait for the academics and their boundaries to adjust themselves to tackle the big economic and social challenges"* (HL P69-71).

By contrast, the academics, but also professionals working for business promotion agencies, public institutions and nonprofits (cf. JT P153) emerge as those who lack the will to overcome *"their demarcation problems"* (HL P71) or those who don't have the experience and creativity leave the old and *"go new ways"* (JT P157). Being positioned against *"armchair"* academics for example (opencampus 2013, p.3) and their outdated approach to education serves as an anti-thesis to the way in which those within opencampus transform education (but also business, administrative and nonprofit work) so that it better fits to individual (the student's) and collective needs (regional socio-economic development). The ideal of the entrepreneurial counter-professional in opencampus describes someone who does not seek rents or resources in order to secure a better position, stay among and talk to his own kind (cf. JT P183). The opencampus entrepreneur would instead *"bring in people with a radically different perspective from their own organization, to make innovation possible, to set trends and not sleep through them"* (FG1 P43). He would not sit and talk with like-minded professionals around a table, but rather go out, create vast and variegated networks and good contacts by *"just starting"* (IC P45) and creating things, by stirring things up (cf. opencampus 2013). opencampus then would create free spaces for those with the *"entrepreneurship spirit"* (VG P82), who like to take their education (or their career) into their own hands and use it for something other than obtaining an academic title or employment for its own sake (cf. opencampus 2013; cf. GT P39).

The free space that opencampus represents would enable the professionals organized around opencampus to co-work in the same style as the young entrepreneurs, i.e. *"that the partners from the different sectors in the Kiel region meet each other without the usual political pressure to position themselves and outside the usual bargaining situations"* and openly engage with each other and learn from each other (FG2-HL P58). This recalls JT's statement about how she hopes that through opencampus, nonprofit actors would get more entrepreneurially minded, i.e. to not see themselves as rent-seekers approaching businesses and public institutions with their usual *"we-need-money-approach"* (JT P153), but instead learn to perceive themselves as someone who can and also has to offer something in a kind of creative barter and cooperation relationship (Ibid.). When IC explains the central idea of entrepreneurship, he emphasizes the opposition to the theoretical and conventional (IC P62). For example, when education is concerned, a more entrepreneurship-oriented course would not be lecture-based,

but instead be problem-oriented, project-based, held in a workshop style and consist of "*making a lot simply yourself, experiencing a lot yourself, experimenting*" (Ibid.).

This entrepreneurship culture of experimenting and coming together to try out new things is also often linked with a non-hierarchical or flat and informal communication and personal relationships. When asked about how she hopes that opencampus would impact on her own work, JT emphasizes that she hopes that it would create a more direct, less formal and more personal way of communicating with her professional contacts. A more trustful style would mean for JT a more friendship-like relationship, where

> "*one does not have to write a formal letter but can send an email: 'Hi, is that possible?'. And that's also an economic reduction of work (...) when communication becomes more trustful, meaning shorter, and I do not have to weigh every word very carefully, for example when I can be more informal and say: 'Could you just…'* " (JT P73).

Interesting here is also that in her two examples she would ask her imaginary counterpart in an informal style whether something is possible or they could just do something, emphasizing again the doing focus of the entrepreneur, who does not waste time on formalities, letters, talk and lectures, but instead makes things possible.

Another opencampus partner uses the image of a love relationship when he explains how he hopes opencampus would impact on the relationship between the partners:

> "*We want to decrease inhibition thresholds (…) and we say: we have to open up more and work together. (…) it is like in a love relationship, this giving and taking. That's the right approach, I think. When we could get this approach more rooted on all levels through opencampus, than we all win. And the beautiful thing is: they [CBB] come from the outside, they are not contaminated, they can talk relatively openly to everyone. They see everything more easy-going, because they have not experienced over years how one party kicked another one into their shinbones*" (QM P45-50).

Here again the young and easygoing CBB entrepreneur is contrasted with the less innocent, less reciprocal, inhibited and elder opencampus partner, who looks back at a history of competition and conflict with the other partners. The young people at CBB are fresh and clean (and importantly also somewhat naïve, as they have not yet experienced the darker sides of regional relationships), they come from the outside and stand for the opportunity to rekindle, renew or transform the contaminated relationships between the regional partners into something more akin to reciprocal love (instead of the old, dysfunctional marriage where partners do not talk to each other, do not practice reciprocal giving and taking, but kick each other's shinbones).

No one within the opencampus initiative embodies the role of the young, dynamic

entrepreneur better than the CBB founder. He is simultaneously an outsider and very well connected, i.e. he can connect (real) people and do things with them, exactly because he is not confined to any organization or institutional logic:

> "*The network of relationships that [the founder] (…) has built helps to integrate many people, enables them to find it good and to make things possible. That is an important resource. At the same time, that they [CBB] can act very flexibly… I mean, [the founder] has the opportunity to do things, because he does not have to care about certain limitations you have when you are located in the public sector. I mean, you have to take care of politics, the sensitivities of partners. He does not have to take care of that very much and when he can keep that, that would be a great thing. I mean at the moment this project has a lot of good will and that is decisive, because besides that and connections and ideas, there are not many resources*" (EN P75).

Here the informal character of the entrepreneur's network (as a network of personal relationships) is emphasized and the way it enables him to involve people while also staying flexible and independent from politics and organizational or institutional logics of a certain sector. This is contrasted with the limitations of the public sector professional, who is somewhat contained within the logic of his field and cannot reach out to real people beyond his field in the same way the entrepreneur can, who operates outside politics and as a consequence is intimately connected to people, can involve and inspire them and generate a lot of good will from them although (or just because) he does not care about their usual sectoral or organizational sensitivities.

Indeed, the CBB founder inspires a great deal of trust and good will and creates believers among the partners, in the sense that many network partners do not exactly know what he and CBB are up to, but they trust that it will be amazing:

> "*I have no doubts. I know [the founder of CBB] for a while now, who is an essential pillar of opencampus, a very active guy. Great things will come from this. I am not worried. The worst that could happen is, that it all fizzles out again. But as I know the network here and especially [the founder], who I see at the center of all of this, I am very sure that really good things will come from this. Even though I cannot exactly say what it is, I believe, how the topic is taken up and pushed forward, that's really good*" (MI P64).

Like this partner, there is a widespread sense that partners are "*not so super close to opencampus, but I do a lot with [the founder of CBB]*" (MI P15; cf. EN P17). So, when asked about why they joined the initiative, many partners refer to a personal meeting and or long-standing personal contact to the founder as the major reason or at least the initial starting point (e.g. EN P13; MI P35; TU P47). There is also a strong sense among the partners that it is the

ability of the founder to connect with people, which is essential for their involvement and an important resource of CBB: "*From our viewpoint it's the contacts, which [the founder] has established to great extent that benefit us time and again. This is a really important aspect*" (VG P101). At the same time, when asked about CBB's major resources, his personality and managerial capabilities are referred to as central for the success of opencampus. As a partner from a business promotion association states:

> "*Such things always live from the people doing them. And when [the founder] comes here it is a whole different thing as if somebody else would do it. He just as a different way, a different kind of charisma to sell those things*" (JT P121).

This last statement also refers to the fact that the founder, perceived as young, energetic and entrepreneurial, in a way personifies the project (and the student target group linked to it) or figures as the prototype of the final product—the student entrepreneur—and thus also helps them to 'sell opencampus' to their audiences (cf. QM P77), by inviting him to their events and projects (EN P17). Thus, the central opencampus role of the creative, well-connected and productive student entrepreneur is strongly linked to CBB's founder, who is generally admired for his great ideas (KT P105; JT P143), professionalism (EN P69), personal network (EN P75; VG P101) and charisma (JT P121). When asked about the resources that opencampus relies on, one of the partners answered that the main assets of opencampus are its

> "*unbelievably many ideational resources, especially from [the CBB founder's] side; unbelievably much know-how in respect to wanting to change things, or the knowledge that one can change things, that one can achieve something based on the experience made in the past. When you talk with [the founder], then ideas just flow. This is due to experience but also the will to change. That is the most important resource*" (GT P88).

Here one can see just how much opencampus is identified with the persona and role of the CBB founder and his will to change things, his ability to inspire others through his ideas: because he believes he can change things, others start to believe that too. But as much as he is perceived to be forward-looking and willing to change things (and recalling the somewhat naïve outsider who is not entangled and entrenched in organizational logics and past experiences of competition and conflict, cf. QM P45-50 above), he also has the know-how and experience (or also proven record of accomplishments with CBB) that is necessary to engender trust that opencampus is not just inspirational talk but can really change something (cf. JTDI P119). But like his informal network−which keeps him flexible or independent from the inhibitions of professional or organizational life *because* he is connected on a personal level−in the same way his experience, knowledge and know-how do not confine him to repeating the conventional and

established, *because* it is paired with his will to change, his creativity and his ability to implement change. In the words of JT above, when she spoke about nonprofits having a problem connecting to businesses because of their obsolete "we-need-money-approach" (JT P157), the CBB founder embodies the kind of attributes she wishes the nonprofit actors participating in opencampus would develop: the will and "*experience to go new ways*" (Ibid.). His confidence to be able to change things and his proven track record inspires trust in him and opencampus, that it indeed is something new and worthwhile.

But it is also hoped (by a student entrepreneur) that through opencampus CBB will gain more organizational weight vis-à-vis the "*bureaucratic apparatus*" so that the game-changing ideas of especially the founder do not "*get stuck*" there so often anymore (KT P105). A similar but slightly different perspective comes from the head of a regional business support agency, who states:

> "*What's good is: [the founder of CBB] and his team are all very creative minds with lots of HP [horsepower]. It's really fun when you work with them because they are so unconventional. And I think that this style also goes down well with businessmen. But as always with a lot of horsepower: It has to get onto the ground*" (QM P77)

Getting CBB onto the ground as an organization and linking it better to its local institutional context, while maintaining its creativity, unconventionality and credibility as a challenger of established institutions is a constant theme with respect to CBB and especially focused on its long-term financial and organizational viability (IC P47; JT P53; EN P59). It is here where the partners re-cast their role as that of a mentor, someone who supports the CBB to keep their freshness and originality, while also making them compatible with the more formal and institutional actors.

In a way the partner and supporter of opencampus herself becomes a bridge-builder, but also protector of CBB's ability to remain independent from its partners and their 'formalistic' ways of organizing, or to retain its student-driven, quick and flexible project-focused way of working, while simultaneously linking to the partners in a more institutionalized way:

> "*Campus Business Box is a relatively young institution and we have to succeed in raising awareness about this institution much more. There must be a sense of responsibility established at the big institutions, like IHK, the business promotion agencies, the WiZe. These are all good anchors, but the risk is also… that's ambivalent: They have to win over the big institutions, but they also have to keep this freshness, this flexibility, and that's what they have over there at [CBB]. That is why it should not get superimposed by traditional institutions, but it still needs to be institutionally anchored (…). They need to manage this ambivalence*" (LN

P96).

This statement expresses quite well the dilemma the facilitator faces in being both flexible, fresh and forward-driving, while also being anchored to the institutionalized context. The key for this partner is to help raise awareness among the professional or institutional actors in the opencampus network that they act responsibly, restrain themselves and not overpower or superimpose opencampus and thwart its fragile but original character and forward-leading momentum.

In other words, the institutional professional needs to develop a kind of mentor role vis-à-vis opencampus. Linking opencampus to its institutional environment while simultaneously not threatening its uniqueness recalls hopes among CBB's institutional partners to create through opencampus opportunities and "*free spaces*" for students to be creative or innovative (VG P82; cf. JT P15) by enabling to develop their own business or social service project while also getting credit for it and in this way enabling them to be linked to the credit system of the university, while retaining their ability to do their own thing. But as CBB understands itself as a creator and protector of a free space for students to experiment and autonomously develop their own (business) ideas, CBB's partner at WiZe also defines her role in opencampus as an older mentor or facilitator, who organizes the opencampus network for them, so as to give the young CBB project team the space and time they need to focus on implementing their ideas:

> "*I understand myself as a facilitator who establishes these protected, free spaces (…), which I think the operative core team needs to implement their ideas, and also to get in-between when one of these monolithic organizations such as the IHK or whoever comes with formalistic demands*" (JT P15-17).

Here we see the narrative of the free and protected space for young, creative students repeated in the context of how to make opencampus work. At the same time this statement constructs opencampus as a free space where ideas can be implemented as opposed to the monolithic organization in which bureaucratic, formalistic constraints prevent the emergence and implementation of (innovative) ideas. The opencampus partner from WiZe sees herself as a facilitator, buffer and mentor, someone who can help the young core team of opencampus to manage the balancing act between retaining autonomy from and achieving integration into the larger organizational landscape surrounding them.

For her, the facilitator and the young entrepreneur are linked through mutual honesty, which creates trust andenables the opencampus actors, who adopt the mentor role vis-a-vis these young entrepreneurs to also open up to each other, to communicate more clearly and work together more effectively and efficiently in new, reinvigorated ways. In this way the mentor

role has some qualities of parenting an infant together, and through caring for it also reinvigorating a problematic relationship, being able to forgive past incidents of in-fighting (cf. shinbone kicking above) and to leave entrenched ways of communicating behind. When asked about what she hopes opencampus will achieve, she contrasts the open way of communication of entrepreneurs with the inaccessibility and unwieldiness of public institutions and organizations and ends with the hope that opencampus could produce sense of transparency and openness through engendering trust:

> *"I never have a problem in the direct contact with businesses. I find that totally unproblematic. I find that you can talk to businesses always very, very quickly and clearly. I find, that these organization are all a bit more inaccessible, and that starts with the business promotion agencies and ends with the IHK. But also, the higher education institutions, they are always of an immense unwieldiness. They are almost not manageable. And here opencampus could have a positive… I believe that one can create trust between network partners and this trust will just improve the whole cooperation and collaboration and communication"* (JT P75).

Here again one can see how opencampus is connected to the persona of the entrepreneur or businessman and his openness, accessibility, efficiency and clarity and all this engenders trust. Honesty is another character trait of the ideal opencampus actor, which links to the honest and self-interested, but also self-critical thinking of the businessman, who wants to learn from his mistakes in order to improve his performance or product, rather than disguising his shortcomings:

> *"For me it is immensely important (…) that one is really honest. I find it totally legitimate to admit that something did not quite work the way one originally intended. Not in the sense of: 'Mea culpa!', but: 'Here, I want to continue and not make this mistake anymore'. I find that in many evaluations for example, I mean, when they are not meant honestly, then it becomes spurious. I find we should try to treat each other honestly and to be honest and say: That worked and that did not"* (JT P193).

Again, the organizational practice of evaluations is associated in her experience with dishonesty and spuriousness. Opposed to the formal exercise of the evaluations is for her again the informal dialogue between partners who know and communicate openly what they did well and what they did not, not in order to distribute guilt, but because they want to continue to work together, learn and improve their product, i.e. opencampus. One can see how the persona of the student entrepreneur brings an ideal of behavior that is opposed to that of the organized, somewhat inauthentic professional: it is honest, transparent, personal and focused on practice rather than spurious talk, scapegoating and disguising mistakes. One can also see how the entrepreneur's

thinking and doing are constructed as a counter-image of professionalism in opposition to the academic and bureaucratic way of organizing, i.e. de-personalized and dishonest or ineffectual. The entrepreneur spirit opencampus promotes instead is openly, honestly and confidently self-interested, radically practice-oriented, i.e. more personal-authentic but also more communal in his way of learning, doing and knowing.

All in all, when focusing on the research question's interest in the roles and positions narratively constructed when discussing the CSKP, what emerges as the ideal roles within opencampus, are those of a young, prodigious student-entrepreneur and her elder mentor, who profits from the younger's creative pioneering spirit, innocence and naïve believe to be able to change things, as much as the young entrepreneur profits from the mentoring, guidance and protection of her older companion. The role of the mentor and facilitator is to be a promoter and protector of those free spirited, innovative pioneers and entrepreneurs. The mentor ensures that the younger pioneer gets his horse power onto the ground, without getting stuck there, he ensures that the pioneer is anchored to the conventional organizational environment, without losing their unique and fresh way of doing things and their forward momentum. That is why the role of the mentor is crucial for a transformative initiative such as opencampus, because she enables the whole system or network to be brought forward by the pioneers, rather than for it to bring the pioneers down, or to slow them down to its level of inertia.

The mentor enables the student entrepreneur to act free from professional demarcation politics and protects him from their formalistic demands. But by that very same act the mentor's position is strengthened by the student entrepreneur's ability to showcase a way of organizing that works beyond the conventions of the traditional hierarchies in established institutions. The hope is that, by becoming united in the role of mentors (or caring parents) to the student entrepreneurs, professionals from different organizational or sectoral backgrounds can come together across those boundaries that usually have separated them and find a more authentic, personal and family-like way of relating to each other.

5.2.6 Organizational identity – opencampus as networked organization in between short-term project and long-term movement

In respect to the research question's focus on the organizational identity of the CSKP, the analysis found, that opencampus is, on the one hand, described as a complementary service provision project for the regional universities and other institutional actors, complementing and

extending their organizational operations beyond their traditional organizational boundaries (flexibly and quickly filling a gap in their portfolio so to speak, cf. Opencampus 2013). However, this identity as service provision project is then, on the other hand, linked with a fundamentally different image of opencampus as a radical, bottom-up, student-driven, outsider or somewhat anti-establishment movement and network for transforming the established, organized status quo in the region (Ibid.). The linking of these two somewhat conflictual identities makes opencampus attractive for its more institutional partners, because it allows them to associate their organization and mission with a young, innovative 'game-changer' that is so desirable within the context of the discourses on how to re-establish (or re-invent) the region as a regional innovation system (i.e. to be part of the change movement), without having to fear they participate in an initiative that is spinning out of control, threatening their organizational integrity and/ or consuming their resources without proper and (more-or-less) immediate return on investment for their individual operations.

For CBB, being at the boundary between service provider and somewhat revolutionary (student) movement is a PR asset as much as a strategic position. It seems to be part of CBB's ambition to become a proper organization, to 'mainstream' via opencampus its educational activities into the academic curricula and link itself better to the established institutional settings and structures in the region, so as to become more stable, sustainable as an organization but also to gain more weight vis-à-vis the establishment and to be better able to create, capture or defend spaces for the students in which they can freely experiment, govern themselves and do what they want together with like-minded people in and beyond the campus (while also getting ECTS for and/or careers with it, cf. IC P140). At the same time this aspect of transforming CBB through opencampus into a more conventional (and better endowed) organization in in conflict with CBB's important image as creative, personal, practical, money-independent network of individuals that would show a way to work and produce knowledge, skills and products without the red tape, costs, formalities, conflicts and competitions prevalent in the professional, functionally differentiated and corporate-organized world.

Yet, for CBB, organization building was a central incentive for developing opencampus for the SVDW contest. Three aspects of the contest were especially intriguing, according to the core member from the WiZe: First, it was a close fit with activities already undertaken through CBB, and thus, complying with the expectations of the SVDW initiative would not require them much extra effort (JT P51; cf. IC P43-P45). Second, it offered the opportunity "*to establish a closer connection [to] and more responsibility from other partners, through a codification of the partnership and a contract*" (JT P53). Third, it offered to alleviate the financial pressures on

CBB, "*juggling for years with an extremely thin financial endowment*" (Ibid.). With the prize money they would be able to say "*the things we want to do, now we have the money for them*" (Ibid.)

When asked about the SVDW contest and whether it had any influence on the direction the opencampus initiative was going, one of the core members from CBB stated that the objective behind the SVDW contest was more about bringing businesses onto the university campus, to make them better known among the students (IC P41). However, the CBB team chose not to emphasize this, but rather continue to focus on supporting students in their education. So, they took the opportunity offered by the SVDW contest, but infused it with their own experiences und fit it to their purposes, rather than uncritically accepting the SVDW contest objectives (IC P43). At the same time, the large, formal network of 18 partners around opencampus would probably not have been developed without the requirements of the SVDW contest. As the CBB founder stated, CBB would probably have continued to use their

> "*good, personal contacts to the partners and just start. Whether this new formal network is a better approach remains to be seen. Maybe it doesn't make a difference*" (IC P45).

But despite this skepticism, organizing opencampus as a formal network features prominently in CBB's contest application. There they state that the organizational structure of opencampus would essentially consist of two working groups: "*A steering group which is responsible for strategic decisions and convenes bi-annually, as well as an operative partner council ["Partnerrunde"], which meets bi-annually as well*" (Opencampus 2013, p.5). The steering group would consist of a representative for each: the Research Center (WiZE; as the leading partner), the Kiel Region GmbH (the link to the REK initiative as well as to two partner districts outside of Kiel), the CBB (as operator of opencampus) and a representative of the committee "Higher education/Research/City" [24], which was founded as part of the cooperation agreement between the three institutions of higher education, city administration and the local chapter of the chamber of industry and commerce (IHK).

However, in reality this formal decision-making structure (at least in the first year of opencampus) has not been implemented. As the founder of CBB states:

> "*The management with the partners is problematic, because 19 partners are just a whole lot. To meet with every partner, like every 3 months is just time-wise not doable. And about this we do not have a good approach here. Just that in April [2014] we have another partner meeting, but that is then also half a year overdue*"

---

[24] Ausschuss Hochschule/Wissenschaft/Stadt

(IC P159).

So, it is the operational core team at CBB, consisting of the founder and one part-time employee, and complemented by their contact at WiZe, who run the whole opencampus operation, meaning: "*Planning and implementation of all possible activities that happen within opencampus. And all organizational aspects of the association [CBB], accounting, project initiation, personnel, everything*" (IC P5). On the one hand, this structure is considered necessary for the initial development phase, to have CBB as an "*operational control center*" (JT P97) and everybody knows who is responsible and who they can go to (Ibid.). This is because CBB has a very limited amount of time for producing important first project results (i.e. planning and implementing first course programs of opencampus) and so it is seen as important to have clear responsibilities at least for the initiation phase (Ibid.). On the other hand, the core team of CBB carry almost all of the enormous workload of simultaneously having to produce project results and organize the administration of the project and the partner network around it. However, it is his aim that CBB would cease to be this central position in the long term:

> "*At the moment everything concerning opencampus goes via us and that is necessary in the beginning. But in the long term we need to build channels that go passed us, so that, ideally, we can lose this interface*" (IC P9)

However, having to establish and maintain the rather large formal network of partners is seen as being in conflict with CBB's initial focus on quick project results, as it would potentially consume more of their attention and resources. Another partner explains this balancing act in terms of a double mission, to manage the opencampus network, so as to keep partners tight and involved (TC P117), but also to focus on producing project results, so as to make a convincing case for the partners to invest more in opencampus:

> "*The partners need to always get once more informed about what you do. Even when you just did the public relations work, you realize, it still falls into oblivion. They have to hear it once more and again and again (…). The value added that opencampus offers needs to be made concrete and that always anew. And it has to be communicated anew, otherwise it remains too far away*" (LN P106).

However, as the CBB founder stated above, this expectation to maintain the opencampus partner network potentially conflicts with them being able to just start and do things (IC P45) and so this newly added dimension of formal network management is also seen as a threat to the unique and personal or informal way in which CBB worked and produced impressive results without much resources before opencampus.

Yet, the founder and head of CBB also sees opencampus as an important next step to have

more of a long-term conceptual framework for the manifold activities of CBB, to work in a more structured way rather than in the rather ad-hoc, student association style of CBB, and most importantly to use the network of more formal (and resourceful) partners to make their work at CBB more reproducible and viable in the long term (IC P15). To use opencampus as a project to scale up and stabilize organizational operations of CBB and to make it more structurally stable is also congruent with the objectives of the SVDW education cluster contest, which financed opencampus with €250,000 for the initial period of two years (2014-2015). This funding was essentially meant as seed money to scale up local initiatives and isolated activities within the collaborative structure of a regional "Bildungscluster" (SVDW 2013). The prize money first and foremost allowed the CBB to create more positions temporarily so as to start implementing the ideas and activities behind opencampus (Opencampus 2014). But winning the prize also gave a great boost to CBB's credibility and enhanced the stance of their activities into a being a regional flagship project (REK 2013, p.201). At the same time, one could argue that being independently funded through the prize money also increased the pressure on CBB to be the primary force to deliver on opencampus aims, while the formal partners (as they did not have to invest in opencampus) could take a more passive and risk-free position (TC P115).

Before the SVDW funding for opencampus, CBB finances were more closely linked to producing concrete project results as it was primarily financed through participation in specific projects, such as the EU INTERREG project "spice - a Danish-German Entrepreneurship Network," for which they developed and implemented an entrepreneurship camp (IW Consult 2012, p.73; KT P131).[25] And although CBB, according to its founder, would be quite well positioned in terms of project financing (and has a good network in this respect so future projects would likely materialize as well), a concern is that CBB is caught up in this "*project structure*" (IC 100; QM P66). To gain a bit more financial independence, it would need "*a foundation of a full-time position that can be distributed among two people*" (IC P95). This would be especially important for acquiring EU project funds, as they usually demand co-financing (Ibid.). As CBB has no core financing, but only occasional project funds, they have major problems to organize the required resources to co-finance EU funding (Ibid.). And here the partner network with the higher profile institutions has an important role to play, as the head of CBB explains:

> "*We have to start to collect money maybe through a kind of association supporting us financially, plus a little bit of funds from the city government or the communes. When it comes to project funds, we have a good network, but we need a basis from*

---

[25] http://spice-network.eu/partners/

which we can co-finance other things. Co-financing is real big shit for us" (IC P95).
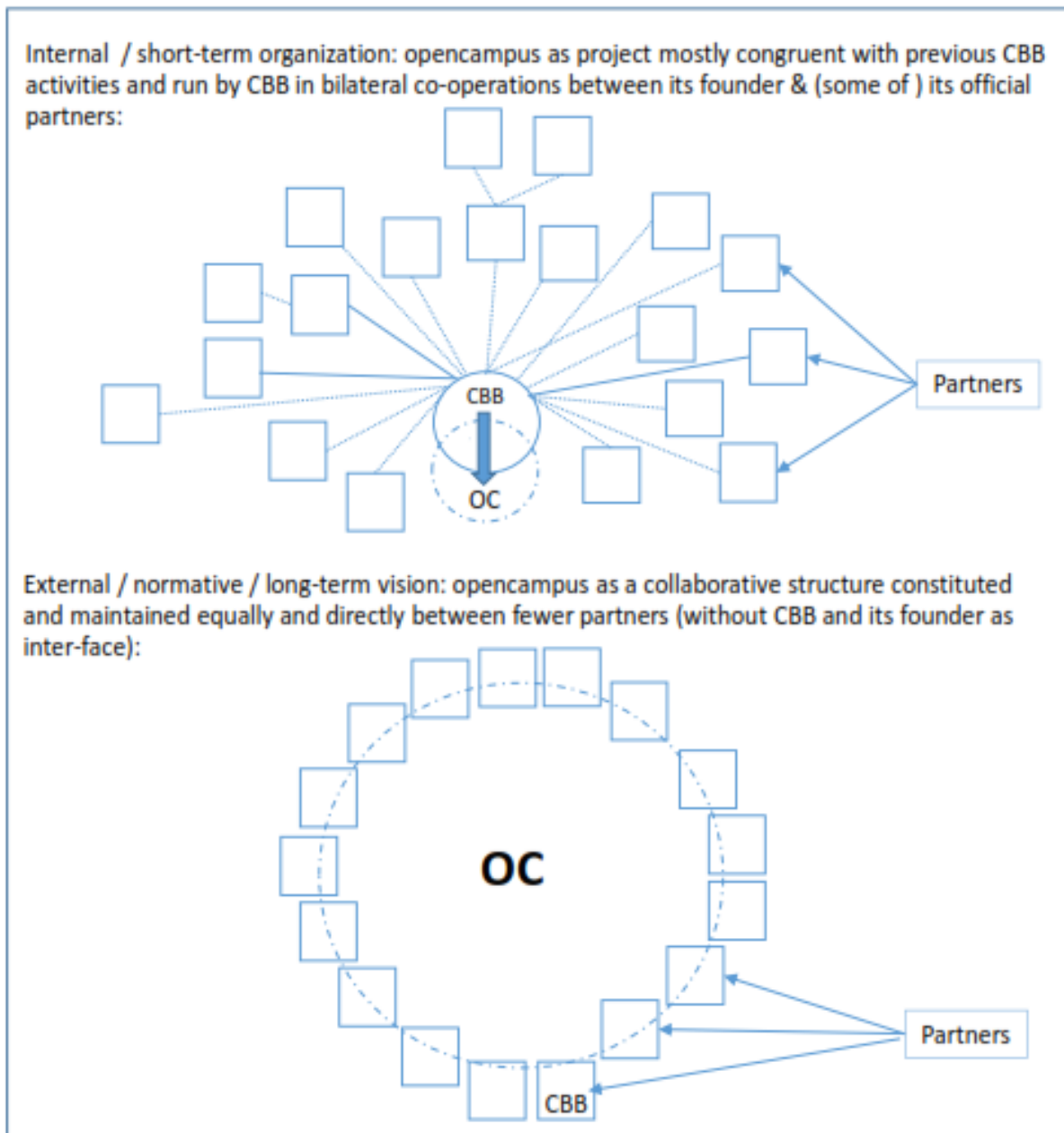
Thus, opencampus and the SVDW seed money are seen as a way to implement a long-term (infra-) structure for CBB that is independent of temporary project funds, and indeed can be used to co-finance future project applications (TH P142). In order to get to this financial independence and a stable structure, the core team of CBB hopes to use opencampus and the network of partners around it to establish four different avenues: First, (and the preferred one according to IC, P95) is to further develop its internet job platform StuJo.net,[26] (cf. Section 4.2.4), which means that the partner organizations use it more and promote it, so that it becomes a well-established service platform that regional employers would pay a fee for (JT P122; TH P142). A second avenue would be to rent out places for co-working, workshops and conferences at the "starterkitchen"[27] the multi-functional co-working and conference space that would be established in 2014 by CBB (on WiZe premises) with SVDW funds (opencampus 2014). A third option would be to use the formal network as a germ cell for establishing an opencampus support association (Förderverein), which would collect money from businesses and interested sponsors (IC P95; EN P81; TH P142). And finally, to use the clout of the formal network to negotiate with the regional and city government to secure some basic financing of CBB organizational structure and opencampus infrastructure (IC P95; opencampus 2014).

Thus, the hope is that the opencampus as project should transform into a network, which in various ways provides the support framework that CBB needs to establish itself better as an organization. At the same time this function of opencampus as an instrument for CBB's organization building conflicts with the identity of opencampus as a service provision project that concretely contributes to its partners' organization-building or maintenance. It seems then that only if opencampus succeeds to retain its character as a cheap, risk-free and quick service or product delivery project for its partners it has a chance to build enough support from its partner organizations to eventually develop into a (self-organizing) movement or network of organizations. And once it transformed from a temporary project into a stable network, then CBB eventually would be able to move away from being the central opencampus motor, central network organizer and distributer of project results to the partners, but instead re-locate to the receiving end of the opencampus network, just like the other partners.

---

[26] https://stujo.net/
[27] https://starterkitchen.de/

Figure 5.9 – Internal, informal and personal organization of opencampus vs. long-term vision or external image of opencampus as strong network of institutional actors

Internal / short-term organization: opencampus as project mostly congruent with previous CBB activities and run by CBB in bilateral co-operations between its founder & (some of) its official partners:

CBB

OC

Partners

External / normative / long-term vision: opencampus as a collaborative structure constituted and maintained equally and directly between fewer partners (without CBB and its founder as inter-face):

OC

CBB

Partners

(Source: author)

Thus, opencampus as a network is considered an instrument to access and transfer assets or resources between partners (e.g. IC P9; XL P115) and figures here simultaneously as an important resource for (e.g. in terms of the personal network of the CBB founder), as well as a concrete output of opencampus activities (e.g. enabling the partners to more easily and informally access or approach the students as well as each other; TC P49; IC P224; but also as a brand signaling a region-wide collaborative effort to transform and innovate education; cf. IC

P43; EN P52; GT P121; JT P97). In this way, opencampus as a network is simultaneously considered a more normative, aspirational and longer-term outcome in the form of a network culture of sharing and innovative, cooperative forms of working and learning across organizations in a more horizontal, project-based and problem-centered mode (as opposed to the conventional, functionally and organizationally differentiated way of working). At the same time this normative network identity of the initiative is an immediate project result in the way it creates a brand and promotional value-added for the partners to use, as they are associated with being part of a movement for the socio-economic rejuvenation and invigoration of the region, and also linked to the group of young, creative (social-) entrepreneurs and their informal, networked and communal start-up and sharing culture/ economy, which is so highly esteemed in the national development discourses (pushed and honored by funding institutions such as SVDW, BMBF and others).

In a related way, the opencampus network also figures as a belief (or hope) to have found a new, effortless way of organizing, which would minimize investment and responsibility for the individual (and concrete) actors within the network, while maximizing returns through its innovative and more efficient modes of exchange and production (cf. JT P71-73 and her statement about efficiency gains through informalization). This is especially apparent when the network aspects of opencampus are linked to internet-based platforms (and communication or organization infrastructure such as opencampus.sh and StuJo.net), where the technology would minimize the network's organizational costs and not only make it easier and cheaper for people in the network to actively and personally contribute, but also enable the partner network to outsource the financing of their activities to third parties, by attracting outsiders to pay for access to the internet-based forms of exchange and communication produced by the opencampus initiative. At the same time, having the opencampus network also means for its organizational partners to gain access to a highly valuable resource—the students, who are not only considered cheap labor and a source of ideas and energy (JT P153), but also a highly priced symbolic resource in the form of the persona of the young, high-skilled, innovative entrepreneur (cf. JTDI P121; XL P48).

However, in the same way that the network idea promises easy access to material and symbolic resources and an effortless organization of activities, it also perpetuates the problem of commitment within the opencampus initiative, where it figures as a way to avoid personal responsibility and concrete investment by enabling partners to point to others in the network or to the network as such, rather than actively committing themselves directly and investing labor or capital as input to the network (e.g. JTDI P 119; FG1 P48). In this way, the network ideal of

risk-free and effortless organizing might be interpreted as much as a strategy to attract potential contributors with the promise of minimal investment and maximum return, while it simultaneously can be seen as creating wrong expectations among partners that the network itself produces results and sustains itself without anyone specific actor assuming responsibility for it and injecting resources into it. In this context, a fundamental fault-line of internal (CBB) and external (partner) perspective on what the network is and how it should work becomes apparent: for CBB building the network structure would enable them to outsource responsibility for producing opencampus outputs (especially the courses) to its partners. However, for the partners, the prior existence of concrete outputs is often seen as a precondition for taking a more active part in the network, and to function as a node, distributer and multiplier in the network, diffusing or transferring the outputs further and profiting from that activity. In this way both sides, CBB and its partners, see themselves rather not as being a producer or source for the network, which then emerges as an ideal of a self-organized, somewhat self-maintaining entity, technology or mechanism, which furthermore generates surplus resources for the initiators to harvest. At the same time, this ideal also perpetuates a collective action dilemma, where every partner expects others in the network to produce, while assuming themselves the position of the receiver. In order to break this dilemma, opencampus is often described as an instrument to access external labor and capital, which can then be used to maintain opencampus as well as generating added value to be distributed through the network to its partners and in this manner keeping the network alive. This hope is for example expressed when there is talk about the SDVW "seeding money" and how it enables CBB to produce initial results that later can also be monetized vis-à-vis third parties like StuJo.net, or the opencampus brand that can be used as capital in further funding applications (HL P109, P118; P153; FG2 P36). It is also expressed in the hope of developing new technologies of self-organization or cost-free organization, i.e. to create online and offline co-working and co-learning spaces where people can essentially work, learn and exchange in a networked, i.e. self-organized way (and ideally pay for having access to these spaces in one way or another). Thus, part of the network identity of opencampus is the idea of externalizing organization costs and internalizing third-party assets as a principal means to develop and maintain the opencampus network.

But for an opencampus partner from a business promotion agency and personal contact to the CBB founder there is another way to overcome the action dilemma in a network. For him it is crucial for CBB to quickly identify strategically important actors within the network, so as to find a specific actor who takes a carrying or leading role, in particular financing opencampus' organizational structure:

"When we look at these public projects, then they have basic funding for only a short amount of time. For opencampus it is limited to two years. And afterwards you need a structure, a responsible managing and funding organization, who carries it on. That is a great challenge, to find this one. Otherwise, it all will remain a straw-fire and the whole lot of labor that CBB now invests will just fizzle out. I saw this with many projects in the past (...) and in this direction I have great concerns" (EN P59).

For him that would be a "power promoter", a concept he borrows from the innovation management literature and which describes, according to him, a powerful actor who says: *"'I want this!', and can push the project further"* (EN P90). For him that would concretely mean engaging two opencampus partners more concretely, the CAU as the most important institution of higher education in the region and the IHK, the most influential business promotion organization in the region (EN P94). But as he and others in the opencampus network state, although these partners would be essential for drawing others into the process by their sheer organizational weight (e.g. TC P28-30; KT P51), it is especially the visible and active commitment of these partners that is considered missing (FG1 P50; FG1 P48). However, the CAU has taken a more distant and passive position towards the opencampus initiative (e.g. FG1 P50), and the IHK head of the education and training division states that his organization could only contribute to opencampus in an "ideational", i.e. non-material, way, by promoting the opencampus initiative among its members, who, however, would need to see concrete benefits from opencampus in order to support it more substantially (FG1 P48). Here again, it is the collective action dilemma that comes to the forefront: in order to substantially contribute to the project, the power promoter-to-be wants to see substance first; however, to create that substance opencampus would need prior investment or active contributions from the partner.

Although at least initially this dilemma is solved through the external SVDW money, it is not at all clear that opencampus will be able to secure funding beyond this period (cf. EN P59 above), which might be seen not as accidental, but an inherent problem of the network organization. Because the expectations raised through the network structure around a project are essentially based on the promise to provide risk-free and investment-free benefits to the CSKP partner organizations, one cannot assume that in a more mature state of the initiative this pattern would be easily reversible. The fear is, on the other hand, among core CBB members (and close partners) that opencampus would remain an only temporary project to transfer (mostly external SVDW) resources and values to an otherwise uncommitted and unengaged bunch of organizations, which only formed as a pro-forma network in order to access the funding (and other short-term individual gains, e.g. reputational gains) and dissolves the second

there are no external or third-party resources to be injected into the network and distributed through the network to its members. That is why developing technologies that would minimize the costs, labor and risks of organizing, while also figuring as major results, services or products third parties would be attracted to and pay for, are an essential part of the conversation of opencampus' viability as a network. Renting out the co-working space to third parties, making third parties pay for CBB organization building via StuJo.net and making the regional government fund opencampus, because it is such a valuable regional brand seem to the core team around CBB as more realistic avenues for securing opencampus financially in the long run than the initial hope that the opencampus network would sustain itself.

It is the challenge for opencampus to overcome the crucial but also dangerous phase in the beginning where CBB has to work many different battlegrounds in the hope of producing results quickly (product/service provision), establishing and maintaining the network simultaneously (network development), while also considering long-term strategic planning for CBB's organizational viability (organizational development). Ideally, all three elements would mutually reinforce each other in and through opencampus, which as a network would anchor CBB in the organizational environment (and allow them to access the resources of their formal and better endowed partners) so as to build up CBB as a more organized and institutionalized entity, while opencampus as a project would enable them to scale up their activities, produce concrete outputs and motivate its partners to assume responsibility and invest. Practically, however, the different dimensions of opencampus, or its different identities as project, network and organization produce many ambivalences and contradictions which to manage is a formidable task for the small core team around the CBB founder.

5.2.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, when considering the different parts of the broader research question about the sensemaking in a CSKP, the analysis found, that the sensemaking process in and around opencampus is comparable to the one of ISU inasmuch it is similarly propelled by the productive juxtaposition of antagonisms, contradictions and dilemmas for which the opencampus organizers and partners try to formulate pragmatic, but essentially contested and ambiguous solutions. Yet, at the same time making sense of opencampus exhibits quite different characteristics and nuances.

For example, the leap forward for the opencampus initiative is formulated in context of entering into a post-modern, digital and clustered start-up economy of self-organizing entrepreneurs, which is opposed to the image of industrially organized and functionally divided modern-day society with its monolithic organizations and sectoral differentiations. Simultaneously though, the frame for the desired future situation also exhibits traits of rather pre-modern, more communal and undifferentiated ways of learning and producing. In this way opencampus positions itself right in between an ideal past and an ideal future, by re-establishing community through modernizing it.

This vision is linked to expectations that opencampus should produce immediate and concrete values considered useful by its partners and to be consumed by them individually. However, at the same time opencampus is expected to more radically transform the very definition, production and consumption of values in accordance with the more individualized as well as communalized ways of knowing, producing and consuming in the post-modern and digital sharing economy. The way opencampus is supposed to link the present state of its partners demanding tailor-made value-added according to their current preferences, to the future state of establishing a radically different market, is through instigating a positive sum game or virtuous circle of cooperation. In this circle initially provided benefits lead to more cooperation, which leads to more synergies being generated and more cooperation following as a result, so as to gradually and organically leading towards ever more transformation. This transformation then is understood in terms of growth and prosperity (rather than radically and rapturous change understood as zero-sum game and redistribution of values).

A central position within this positive sum game is the employment of innovative modes of learning, exchanging and producing that opencampus enables, It does so through developing concrete technologies and infrastructures (with the resources of the SVDW) that minimize transaction costs for cooperation beyond organizational boundaries (for example its service learning and entrepreneurship learning education courses, its digital exchange platforms— Stujo.net and opencampus.sh—and its co-working space). The establishment and provision of these methods and technologies is hoped to help overcoming the initial collective action dilemma of exchange-based and networked ways of production. This dilemma can be described as consisting of the promise of creating value out of synergies alone, which potentially leads to a situation where each partner waits for the other one to contribute first. At the same time opencampus as a brand, a set of online and offline infrastructure, and innovative teaching methods is also seen as valuable tool-box to be sold by CBB and its partners to external customers. In this way they hope to consistently channel various streams of external resources

into the network and through the network to each other, and to retain the character of a positive sum network through successfully establishing a third-parties-pay principle.

The central role of the opencampus initiative is the highly productive and creative (i.e. innovative) young entrepreneur and start-up founder, who gets out of the comfort zone, and connects with others out there on a personal and informal level by just-doing-it together. The entrepreneur in this way receives characteristics of a pioneer who operates at the frontier to the unknown digital territory with its tribes of digital natives. She is a charismatic and fascinating adventurer who gets out into the unknown and reclaims new fertile grounds from the wilderness and brings back new innovations from the unknown cultures on the other side of the frontier. She is constructed in opposition to the entrenched and obsolete organizational professional, who rather seeks rents, comfortably sits in his professional armchair and engages in complicated, formal talk in unproductive meetings in order to maintain his own position. Most importantly though, the role of the young, prodigious entrepreneur is intimately connected to the role of the benevolent mentor, who links her to the conventional society so as to endow her with the resources she needs for her expeditions, while also ensuring that her entrepreneurship spirit and her discoveries are harnessed by conventional society. At the same time the mentor also operates as buffer or protector, ensuring that the pioneering spirit of the entrepreneur is not squashed by the formalistic demands of the conventional society and she retains her uniqueness and freshness, and her somewhat naïve but also contagious believe to be able to change things, to be able to make new discoveries.

The organizational identity of opencampus is in some ways comparable to the role of the mentor, inasmuch it is supposed to become an organizational framework enabling the young start-up of CBB to gain a stronger, more institutionalized stature without squashing its pioneering spirit as unconventional, un-organized and transformative movement. Opencampus in this way is construed as a short-term service provision project, which provides its partners with quick return-on-investments, so as to garner their support and contributions. At the same time opencampus is construed as more radical movement and informal network of game-changers. This image is a direct benefit to its individual partners in terms of promotional value-added (because they appear as part of a radical movement). At the same time the opposing image of the obedient service provider ensures the partners that they will not be involved in a risky and vague development project which absorbs their resources in order to involve them in a venture that might get out of control and threaten their organizational integrity. The middle ground identity opencampus tries to construe between the servility of a short-term project and the radicalism of the social movement is that of a networked organization, in which CBB

initially produces project results and organizational infrastructure until the network can self-organize on the basis of a secured and constant influx of external resources. The hope is that in the intermediate term CBB can then move from being the control center and interface in the middle of the network, fueling and organizing it, onto a position at the receiving end of the opencampus network, where also the other partners are located.

To summarize the major findings from opencampus (in comparison from those of ISU from section 5.1.7):

Table 5.10 – Summary of findings concerning opencampus

Sensemaking elements	opencampus	Institute for Sustainable Urban Development
Epistemic and ethical frames	• Thesis: transformation and technological leap forward • Anti-thesis: reinvigorating communal bounds/roots • Synthesis: digital-social renewal of regional economy/community	• Thesis: transformation and technological/ecological leap forward • Anti-thesis: re-evolution and re-connecting to (socio-democratic) roots • Synthesis: sustainable development
Object(s) of value	• Thesis: concrete, short-term value for individual partners • Anti-thesis: abstract, long-term and collective value for region • Synthesis: producing virtuous circle of immediate benefits triggering more substantial contributions resulting in more benefits, etc.	• Thesis: concrete, short-term value for organizational practice • Anti-thesis: abstract, long-term value for individual/collective (well)being • Synthesis: skill and community development for immediate, instrumental value and long-term normative value
Modes of exchange	• Thesis: networked ways of producing, sharing • Anti-thesis: free-riding, exploitation, collective action dilemma • Synthesis: positive-sum-exchange through (digital) sharing technology/programs and establishment of third-party-pays principle	• Thesis: market arrangements to satisfy individual needs • Anti-thesis: agora arrangements to solve collective problems • Synthesis: co-working and net-working formats

Roles and Positions	• Thesis: the organized/conventional professional • Anti-thesis: the young socio-digital entrepreneur (alter-professional) • Synthesis: mentor/prodigy couple	• Thesis: the organized professional and expert in his field • Anti-thesis: the communal amateur (anti-professional) and flaneur in-between fields • Synthesis: facilitator, mentor and teacher producing synergies over and above fields
CSKP identity	• Thesis: short-term service provision project • Anti-thesis: long-term, bottom-up transformative movement • Synthesis: temporary network facilitation organization using external funds for building hardware (infrastructure) and software (programs) for subsequent use by the network to self-organize	• Thesis: short-term, top-down controlled project • Anti-thesis: long-term, bottom-up transformative movement • Synthesis: partially closed, (dys)functional network organization

(Source: author)

VI Discussion: Organizing a CSKP as process of narrative boundary-making

This study explored how individuals engaged in a cross-sector knowledge partnership (CSKP) make sense of their partnership. More specifically it focused on analyzing sensemaking, i.e. organizational story-telling as a unit of analysis to investigate how in and through the CSKP arena: crucial joint objects of value are defined, central modes of exchanging these objects are described, specific roles and positions are formed and all of these elements allow the individuals involved to negotiate the CSKP's organizational identity in reference to broader epistemological and ethical frames.

My empirical findings highlight that the rational view on CSKPs so prominent in current research can be meaningfully complemented by a research approach that investigates organizational story-telling in and through CSKPs. It shows that in both cases studied neither actor's roles, central objectives, activities and organizational identities are fixed, but rather situated in communication and as such subject to constant negotiations and contestations.

This chapter synthesizes the main findings from the two case studies in an ideal-typical model that highlights similarities and differences in the way both CSKPs are made meaningful by those organizing them. The first section distills the main findings from the investigation into the epistemological and ethical frames in use in the conversations about the spatial and temporal context of the CSKPs. This section also highlights the importance of a social/normative antagonism between continuity and transformation for the CSKPs and how the actors involved in organizing the CSKP struggle to make sense of this opposing binary by defining a third way, which could be called sustainability synthesis (5.1). The second section zooms into the narrative elements explored in the empirical part and discusses more detail the contested nature of the CSKPs joint objects of value, modes of exchange and the roles and positions they imply, while also showing how in respect to each of these elements the CSKP protagonists struggle to make sense of what they do by formulating a meaningful, working syntheses (5.2). At the end of this section, I summarize the discussion of the respective narrative elements of the two CSKPs to explore the CSKP's overall organizational identity as a whole. I argue that the identity of the CSKPs studied oscillates between the different logics of project delivery and network building and culminates into a contested narrative of the CSKP as a network organization. In accordance with the research aim to contribute to a better understanding of the meso level of organizational

sensemaking, the last section (5.3), sketches out a pathway towards a middle-range theoretical account of sensemaking in and through CSKPs and highlight the advantages of focusing empirical research on CSKPs on the aspect of narrating (and thereby constructing, contesting, breaking down and erecting) boundaries.

6.1 Epistemic and ethical frames: the antagonism between continuity vs. transformation and the struggle for formulating sustainability as a third way

Both initiatives are clearly embedded in a regional development framing that links a positive self-image as a regional community of destiny with narratives of momentary deficiency or a lack of resources, which needs to be acquired through a concerted, collaborative effort in order to enable the region or city to thrive. The actors within the CSKP are understood as collaborators-to-be who need to overcome their usual "*demarcation problems*"(HL P71) in order for them and the region as a whole to not "*fall further behind*" (FG1 P43) in the competition with outside actors, places and forces (e.g. socio-economic globalization). This prerogative to cooperate is simultaneously enhanced by a bottom-up, empowerment narrative of needing to join forces locally to challenge the power out there, i.e. to stand up against being dominated from other actors, regions or cities beyond the control of the local community of destiny. Local cooperation and unity are thus mirrored by the urgency to compete with external others. Cooperation is also seen as a building a competitive advantage in the "*local knowledge economy*" (NIS P124), which can serve as an entry ticket (or niche) onto the global market. Alternatively, this joining of local forces can be seen as a way to fend off a hostile take-over or draining of the region's resources by national, international or global monopolies and power centers.

However, this binary between a cooperative local community of destiny and an external opposition is brittle. In Malmö, the administration is critiqued for selling out the city under the banner of sustainable urban development, which is used as an "*empty signifier*" (NIS P104) to mask a neo-liberal policy agenda of growth and gentrification. In Kiel, on the other hand, the large supra-regionally operating university, CAU, is critiqued for lacking a sense of local responsibility and for not caring about the prosperity of those around its island of success and prosperity. Both organizations are in this respect seen as producing islands of success linked to a globalized flow of prosperity but disconnected from those locals on the other side of the fence.

Here one can sense that the narrative of the local, communal challengers of the "global" status quo is also aimed at powerful organizations in the region, who are seen as playing to global, rather than local interests so as to promote themselves rather than their (local) community as a whole. This story-line aims at instilling a sense of responsibility in them so as to open their boundaries and let those in close proximity in, grant unheard local voices and interests access to and influence on their internal operations, or to re-distribute their concentrated material and symbolic assets to the benefit of the regional community as a whole. Supra-regional players or initiatives, such as the CAU in Kiel or the city administration's high-profile redevelopment initiative in Malmö's Western Harbor (and the kind of urban sustainable development it stands for) in some sense are seen to be in need of socialization, culturalization or localization, so that the surrounding region shares in their success and does not fall further behind, or remains segregated and marginalized.

This means as well that those supposedly powerful actors associated with the status quo in the region are criticized for the way they operate. Malmö's administration is sometimes called a "*little club of friends*" (NbNb P141) that masks with its internal deliberative culture an unwillingness to open up to outside voices in the region. They are accordingly urged to let themselves and their traditional and conventional beliefs be scrutinized and challenged and to re-adjust their planning practice. The CAU in Kiel is criticized indirectly for their conventional academic outlook and their lack of interest in getting into dialogue with outside players in order to reform their academic practice. In both cases, those who challenge the local imbalance of power arm themselves with supposedly universal, innovative concepts and ideas (culture as a fourth dimension of sustainability, and practice-oriented education/start-up business culture and social entrepreneurship/corporate social responsibility). These concepts signal innovation and reinvigoration and highlight the importance of unusual, marginalized or excluded parties, voices or interests (as these are essential for renewal and change). These frames of regional renewal potentially help to produce a moral high ground linked to change, innovation and transformation. They might help those espousing them to assume a leading position within a coalition of change or assuming the position of representatives of a progressive social movement against the conventional, exclusive, unjust or inefficient institutions and their obsolete and self-interested ways of organizing for example urban planning or academic education.

However, the antagonism of the old and established vs. the new and coming is embedded and contained in the narrative of a local community of destiny, which equally highlights the factual significance of the existing status quo and the importance of those powerful players

associated with it to become part of the movement. The narrative frame of transformation and change is, thus, linked to a frame of preservation and continuity and the radical moment of antagonism of the new vanguard of change towards the old establishment is transformed into an urgent appeal towards the establishment to open their gates and let the reformers in, to co-operate with them. Letting the reformers in is part of an appeal to the self-interest of the powerful to adapt, renew and ultimately survive in a world that has changed with the help of the reformers. In other words, the powerful established forces that control the current situation need to include and cater to the reformers and visionaries, cease a significant degree of control and change their ways of organizing, in order to prepare for the powerful wave of change that is coming, that does not care about existing structures and would just sweep the locally powerful away if they remain rigid and inflexibly try to preserve their ways of doing, knowing and being.

This paradoxical synthesis between continuity and power as something to be preserved on the one hand, and transformation and empowerment of new actors and ideas on the other, could be called the framing of sustainability. In the sustainability frame the antagonism between establishment and challenger, conservative and progressive principles, current realities and future utopias is supposedly dissolved and transformed into a holistic synthesis aimed at integrating different parties and their particular interests so as to produce solidarity in a community of destiny that needs to gently, organically (rather than radically and revolutionarily) transform in order to preserve itself. It also links the epistemic framing of a somewhat deficient current or modern situation simultaneously to frames of a desired and idealized premodern situation of communal roots and regional reciprocity, as well as it links to a future situation that is post-modern and described in terms of an absence of obsolete functional differentiation between organizations and an empowered status of individuals, who then can freely collaborate with each other as they will be finally liberated from sectoral or organizational cages.

In both cases this aspect of telling the CSKP story could also be called to simultaneously "*anchor*" (ISU 2013; XL P93; KB P129) the CSKP to existing positions and practices so as to get the "*horsepower* [of the initiative] *onto the ground*" (QM P77) and to accordingly be able to use it for providing forward movement for the collective partners of the CSKP (and by extension the region) as a whole. Both initiatives, thus, link in paradoxical ways a technological leap forward with a normative dimension of re-connecting to communal roots. In case of ISU in Malmö it is the economic, ecologic and technologic transformation of Malmö—from a former industrial city in decline to a sustainable and smart city—which is seen to be in need of getting re-connected to the city's social-democratic, communal culture. This program is then

expressed in ISU's task to push forward "*culture as the fourth dimension of sustainability*" (ISU Annual Report 2013). In respect to opencampus in Kiel the paradoxical middle-ground between a technological leap forward and a normative reconnection to the regional or local roots is expressed in the concepts such as service learning, social entrepreneurship, corporate responsibility, and sharing economy, which are used by opencampus and its partners to construct a narrative third-way for their initiative, which enables them to meaningfully link continuity and change, preservation and transformation, norms and technologies.

The sustainability frame and its promise to provide the conversations in the CSKP with a unifying common ground can thus be considered a crucial third-way construction in between the thesis of continuity and preservation and the antithesis of transformation and change. It aims at reducing the antagonistic opposition of different actors in a CSKP, makes the boundary between opposing parties and their frames permeable. It simultaneously can help us to see that conservatism and progressivism are not fixed to certain actors, institutions or sectors, but can better be understood as normative frames that need to be combined in order for the CSKP to produce a somewhat realist vision, that also links a necessary sense of urgency to a sense of tolerating delay, failure, misunderstanding, or in short, patience (cf. FF P97), as well as it joins a sense of solidarity among the partners with the element of retaining a significant degree of skeptical difference or reflective distance between them. Strategically it can also be assumed to produce the possibility for balancing the motivating, normative appeal of transformation that is necessary for enlisting (especially powerful institutions or those marked as such) for cooperation, with the rather non-threatening approach of preservation and catering to existing positions and interests (rather than abolishing, replacing or up-rooting them).

Schematically this could be expressed as such:

Figure 6.1 – Continuity, transformation and sustainability

Interpretative schemes	Ethical frames - what should the situation be?
Epistemic frames - What is the situation?	

Transformation

Sustainability

Continuity
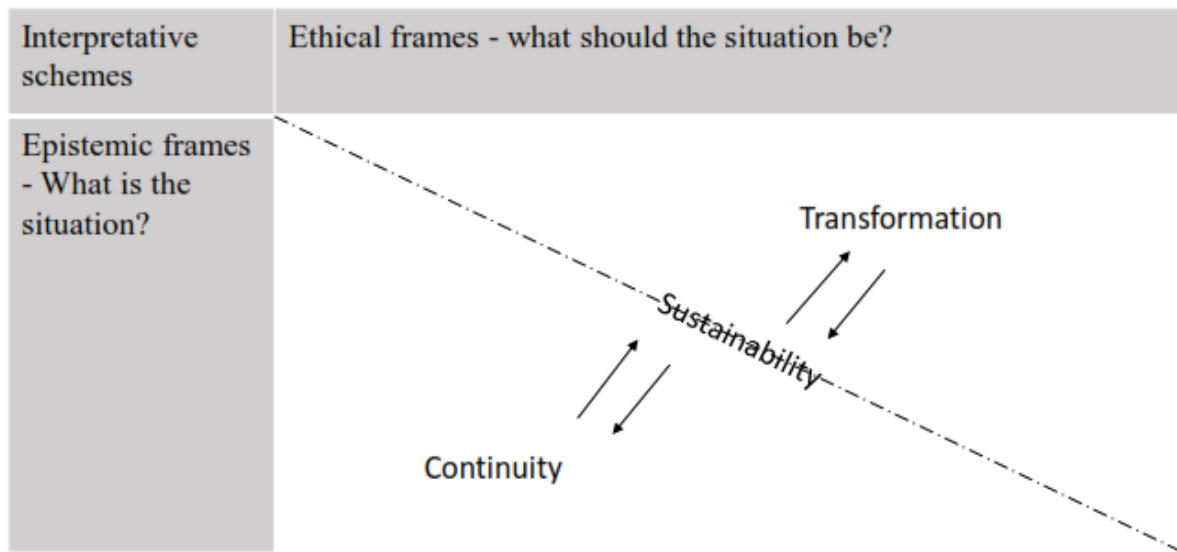
6.2 The organizational scripts in use for making sense of the CSKP

In this section, I discuss the organizational scripts found in the two CSKPs studied, i.e. the way the interviewees constructed specific characterizations of their joint objects of value, the modes in which they are to be exchanged, the roles and positions necessary for (or resulting from) these exchanges and the overall CSKP identity emerging from them.

In terms of the objects of value, the analysis found that in both cases (but to different degrees and with different emphasis) there is a wide-spread sense among the CSKP participants that instrumental accounts of knowledge on the one hand, and more critical accounts of knowledge on the other, could be reconciled in a practical learning approach, which would enable the CSKP participants to create immediate, material values and club goods now (such as infrastructure, skills, research/teaching programs, brand) as building blocks for producing more long-term, abstract norms and common goods for the region as a whole.

In terms of the modes of exchange both cases show a tendency towards accounts that high-light co-working and/or net-working formats as more authentic middle-ground constructs between market focused forms of exchange (tailored to individual and material needs) on the

one hand, and agora focused forms of exchange (through which collective action dilemmas and collective, social-political problems can be solved) on the other.

The roles and positions in both CSKPs depict some tendency to characterize the organizational professional and expert as being located at one end of the spectrum or roles, while the anti-professional, charismatic leader and organizational entrepreneur is located at the other end. The ideal role for the CSKP actor in the middle is that of a facilitator, teacher and mentor.

As a result the ideal-typical CSKP identity that emerges from describing how objects and subjects interact in and through the CSKP, can be described as that of a temporary, catalyzing network organization, which is figuratively located in-between a CSKP identity as a short-lived, flexible service-provision project to the partner organizations, or as a transformative social movement.

6.2.1 The joint object(s) of value exchanged in and produced through a CSKP: Instrumental and critical knowledge fused into practical learning

The analysis of joint knowledge-related objects of value in the two CSKPs reveals that both focus simultaneously on producing useful, instrumental knowledge promising short-term results and individual benefits to the respective parties. At the same time, there are also claims to produce critical knowledge characterized by its opposition to dictates of short-term productivity and in their stead being aimed more at the long-run and a holistic, normative vision (cf. state of the art section above).

Both of these types of knowledge can be associated with the broader social frames discussed in the previous section. Instrumental, productive or useful knowledge is in line with the frame of continuity and the preservation of the status quo. Normative or critical knowledge can, on the other hand, be linked to a transformative frame of breaking away from existing or entrenched ways of knowing so as to enter uncharted territory where true innovation lies.

In the Malmö case, instrumental knowledge is often linked with knowing how to plan cross-sector projects with which one can apply successfully for external funds. This understanding of knowledge as instrumental skills or know-how can also be seen in Kiel. Here one understanding of the CSKP's purpose is to infuse entrepreneurship skills and knowledge into the academic education provided, especially in the social sciences, which are often seen as not preparing the students to be successful, competitive candidates with the necessary skills for

the regional economy. Similarly, the CSKP in Malmö is seen as a channel (by administrators) to infuse the academic education provided by the university with the technical skills and knowledge needed in the employment market, but which are considered lacking due the university's focus on "multi-disciplinary" (KT P63) education at the cost of more in-depth disciplinary approaches. In Kiel it is simultaneously about the infusion of practice-relevant skills and technical knowledge into the social science education specifically, which is seen as producing graduates unfit (and to some extent) useless to the regional employment market and the regional businesses competing for high-skilled labor in times of an accelerating regional "*Fachkräftemangel*" (lack of specialized workforce).

At the same time, the characterization of knowledge as an instrumental object of value also refers to the aspect of "getting known," i.e. to create external awareness for the activities of the CSKP or its partner organizations, through the public relations value the CSKP creates. In Kiel, the public relations value of the opencampus initiative stems from winning a prestigious prize by a German science foundation for its teaching program and being nationally recognized as an educational cluster, thus furnishing its local endeavors with a label that commands high levels of prestige (due to the excellence cluster initiatives by the German research funding organization DFG). Many of its partners say that an important value of opencampus is to make the region's abundance of resources and existing projects and initiatives better known regionally and nationally (cf. the metaphor of opencampus being a lighthouse project, REK 2012). But it also refers to opencampus' supposed credibility and reach within the highly valued target group of students, i.e. future high-skilled labor and entrepreneurs. In Malmö, the ISU project, which poses as an "Institute" is considered useful by many of its participants, because it attaches the label of sustainability to university and city administration projects, as well as serving as a scientific, i.e. neutral or objective outlet for publications and host for public events by the city administration. This public relations value of increased visibility can be seen as closely linked to the assumed prestige of science and the neutrality it symbolizes, as well as the link to cutting-edge knowledge and future high-skilled labor it promises.

But the other way around, a CSKP can also serve as a tool to transfer legitimacy and prestige to academic institutions that are, such as Malmö university or the applied science school in Kiel, positioned at the margins of a global academic market that is characterized as being ruled by few, highly esteemed (and well- endowed) research universities. Here the cooperation with local, non-academic stakeholders through a CSKP serves to credibly formulate arguments of a "comparative advantage" and "market niche" that younger academic institutions with less prestigious reputations (as well as disadvantaged regions) can use in

competition with the disciplinary excellence of more established urban research centers and traditional research universities.

In terms of both instrumental objects of value – skills and prestige or know-how and getting known – the CSKP is referred to with the metaphor of a channel, access point, gate opener or trading zone. These concepts highlight the importance of transfer of (knowledge-related) resources among the partners, as well as it emphasizes the dimension of transferring external resources and prestige via the CSKP into the partner network.

However, in both initiatives the analysis found that there is also a strong opposition to this short-term, instrumental characterization of the CSKP's joint object of value. This characterization of knowledge and knowledge-related objects of value could be called critical and self-reflective knowledge. It is not aimed at getting things done and getting things known quickly, but rather calls for the critical reflection on existing modes of organizing knowledge or unearthing the hidden or unconscious prejudices underlying conventional ways of getting things done quickly. The CSKP should provide knowledge by opening up closed institutions and professional circles with their idiosyncratic modes of knowledge production and reproduction. Critical knowledge is aimed at transforming organizations and organizational cultures in the longer term. It provides a radically different outlook on knowledge production when compared to instrumental knowledge and its focus on producing short-term, useful knowledge meant to strengthen existing organizations through the provision of resources, services and products tailored to their specific needs. Instead, it calls for critically reflecting on the breathless productivity and short-sighted muddling through of organizational professionals under constant and increasing performance pressures. The aim then would be, to halt the mindless machine, so as to enable individuals to get to know themselves and the others surrounding them on a deeper, more authentic and personal level so as to become "wiser" (DQ P112) instead of smarter or more productive. This idea of knowledge highlights self-reflexivity and getting to know the blind spots of one's own position and limits of one's field of expertise, which simultaneously raises awareness and appreciation of others' ways of knowing, their perspectives, interests and needs.

In the context of these more critical and self-reflective characterizations of the CSKP's joint object of value, the metaphor for the CSKP's role in knowledge production is understood in terms of providing a "neutral arena" (FF P29) or a safe place in which the partners (but importantly also external and usually excluded or marginalized people) can meet and openly interact, because they are relieved from their usual professional identities, demarcation issues and performance pressures. This place is thus not only characterized as informal and detached

from the usual hierarchies. It is also a somewhat timeless place, where people can take a break and look around to see the overall picture. It is a place of outward stagnation and inverted growth, meaning individual and spiritual growth, which provides the opposite image to the CSKP as the channel for allowing for ever-faster transactions in order to raise productivity and gain momentum in the race for a competitive advantage.

This critical characterization of knowledge also serves to propagate a local, more authentic and bottom-up knowledge production that is collaborative and responsive to the needs of real people in the immediate vicinity. By forming more authentic bonds through the CSKP, members can together challenge the global knowledge economy and its standardized, mass-produced and homogenous (or inauthentic) knowledge with radically different and innovative ideas, born out of the uniqueness of the local place and the authentic knowledge it nurtures when cultivated appropriately.
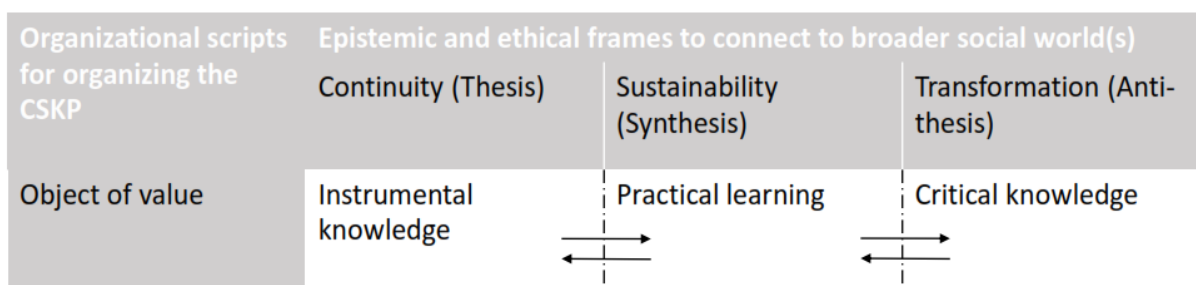
However, the cross-case comparison reveals that the CSKPs in question struggle to formulate a synthesis of these opposing characterizations of their joint object of value. This narrative construction of the CSKP's alternative third way in between more instrumental or critical forms of knowledge could be called "practical learning" (cf. opencampus 2013). It is embedded in a practical real-world context and not detached from people's existing needs, problems and interests. Embedding research and education into the real world is considered not only the source of productivity gains but also the germ cell of a self-reflexive practice, which allows the protagonists to critically reflect on their blind spots, hidden assumptions and underlying values of their actions. This is because practical learning is not aimed at the production of objective, scientific knowledge (or professional academics), which would be detached from the political, socio-economic and normative realities of life (cf. state of the art section, Fischer 2003, p.210-215). The key for this ideal rendition of the CSKP's joint object of value is a process-oriented concept of learning as opposed to the more static concept of knowledge. Both CSKPs have a strong focus on education and training that provides the practical skills needed by professionals to do a better job in a more interconnected and complex but also personalized (or post-organizational) world, because it teaches them how to learn from each other and from others beyond the partnership, to be aware of the fundamental changes that have occurred outside the their realm of expertise. Learning in this respect means as well changing professionals' mindsets and enabling them to identify with students, inasmuch the former need to understand that their professional knowledge is incomplete and limited and they, accordingly, need to learn from others and their different perspectives. Key for this is an idealization of the student's approach to knowledge, as marked by humility, curiosity, sharing,

creativity, improvisation/playfulness and trust. It is embodied in the metaphors of both CSKPs as "*planting seeds*" (DM P140), "*broadening horizons*" (JT P71; HL P48; SA P35), changing narrow "*mindsets*" (FG 1 P41-43) and enabling people to see "*that behind every subject is a real person*" (KB P29).

The emphasis on practice and learning in the ideal of a synthesizing CSKP also provides a prospective narrative remedy for potential conflict, misunderstandings and failure. Knowledge needs to be put to test in the real, social world to determine its true value: it needs to help professionals to do a better job, students to be successful in their careers or citizens to secure a more socially, economically and ecologically just city. However, actively and consciously testing one's knowledge in the real world vis-à-vis fellow individuals also implies raising awareness about the unavoidability of failure, frustration and conflict. Here, the CSKPs' educational program is to enable people to accept differences and to keep calm when conflict and misunderstanding emerge, or to perceive them as opportunities for improvement and growth, rather than threats to one's integrity.

The model introduced above could be visualized as follows:

Figure 6.2 – Instrumental knowledge, critical knowledge and practical learning

Organizational scripts for organizing the CSKP	Epistemic and ethical frames to connect to broader social world(s)		
	Continuity (Thesis)	Sustainability (Synthesis)	Transformation (Anti-thesis)
Object of value	Instrumental knowledge	Practical learning	Critical knowledge

(source: author)

6.2.2 Modes of exchange in and through a CSKP

In respect to the research question's aspect of clarifying the modes of exchange narrated within stories about the CSKP, the analysis found tendencies in both cases, in which the modes of exchange are either conceptualized in respect to a conflict between market forms of exchange (cooperation between self-interested producers/consumers)and political forms of exchange in an agora for the purpose of advancing the polity as a whole (collaboration between self-less citizens).

In Kiel this is expressed by the way the CSKP aims at transferring entrepreneurship principles into university education (and civil society), while granting businesses access to future high-skilled labor and teaching them about the importance of social and critical knowledge, learning and sharing. Through this exchange, both sides are better off and acquire resources and assets from the other that complement their own portfolio or help them to improve their services and products. In Malmö, the cross-sector teaching program serves a similar purpose by creating a marketplace between administration and university that is assumed to help the university to raise its profile and improve its education and research through increased access to the city's urban development practice, while at the same time it delivers cost-efficient, tailor-made knowledge to the city's administration dealing with urban development problems. Both CSKPs are seen as channels for transferring technical knowledge and professional attitudes into universities, so as to complement a deficient academic system of knowledge production, as well as sharing academic resources and assets (prestige, tailor-made problem solutions and high-skilled labor) with the non-academic partners.

The market mode of exchange is also characterized by informality and a disregard for authority and hierarchies, as is expressed in interviewees' descriptions of the businessman's direct, cost-efficient and uncomplicated way of communicating (in contrast to the unwieldiness of communicating with university actors or public institutions), their clear or honest way of expressing their self-interest, etc. In Malmö this is expressed through positive evaluations of meeting formats (especially Urban Drinks) that enable participants to stroll around a diverse display of potentially interesting "*crazy ideas*" (NN P67) they would never have come up with themselves, to approach others they do not usually come into contact with directly with their own ideas and interests in a relaxed atmosphere of bartering, coffee drinking, exchanging information and getting entertained. In Kiel this mode of exchange is also expressed in descriptions of digital technology and its ability to create market spaces between its different parties (StuJO.de and opencampus.sh), which shrinks the distance between them, connects them directly and makes the exchange across demarcations of organizations, rank or social position almost "*effortless*" (SA P35).

The CSKP interventions work here as providing a marketplace or "*shopping center*" (FF P177) where different people meet as equals, satisfying their needs and almost as a by-product learning about others and exchanging with them. Because the encounters are private and based on people satisfying their individual, personal needs, they are also more authentic. In this metaphorical marketplace people compete and cooperate to various degrees to produce and transfer concrete resources, services and goods for individual and immediate consumption. This

idea is for example expressed in the descriptions of the CSKP in Kiel needing to deliver services and products in demand in an existing market in order to solicit cooperation from their partners, rather than engaging the partners in collaborating for a visionary but vague development project with uncertain benefits. It is also expressed in the way interviewees in Malmö were careful to point out that the CSKP should not become a competitor to existing organizations, but rather remain a neutral "meeting place" (QBI P102) and "trading zone" (cf. Cuevas-Garcia 2016, p.90; Galison 1997, p.803).

In terms of exchanging knowledge-related objects of value, this mode could also be called the multi-disciplinary mode following Aboelela (2007) and his observation of cross-sector cooperation being often conducted as "parallel play", in which two or more actors deal with the same question or common problem, but remain in their distinct disciplinary or sectoral paradigms or deal with different but related questions (p.340; cf. Choi and Pak 2006, p.351; see state of the art section above). It is a principle in commercial, medical and military CSKPs, in which inputs and resources are collected from different disciplines and sectors without striving for their synthesis, but are kept distinct and autonomous (Alvargonzalez 2011, p.392; Bernstein 2015, p.6).

In contrast, an opposing image of the CSKP and the modes of exchange it would need to establish is that of the ideal-typical agora. Similar to the marketplace, the agora is a place where CSKP members and partners meet as equals, leaving their normal professional identities and "*demarcation issues*" (HL P71) outside. But here they do not congregate to transfer goods to be individually consumed. Instead, they meet as citizens exchanging ideas about the overall direction of the polity or region, to ponder questions like "*Who are we developing our cities for?*" (FF P175). This mode of exchange is essentially public and not aimed at harmoniously trading goods and resources, but is about promoting public debate, an open exchange of ideas. It is about making profound decisions that go beyond one's own short-term self-interest and a prefabricated consensus in terms of the lowest common denominator of self-interest and business-as-usual. Accordingly, this mode of exchange could also be called collaborative, inasmuch as it is aimed at a partnership that is more than the sum of its individual parts, but demonstrates that the participants will to work together for something that is bigger than their immediate self-interest and group interest.

In this mode, conflict and collaboration are two sides of the same trajectory towards progress and change. Conflict as an important precondition of change is accordingly held in higher value for its ability to clarify different positions, different needs and to open up spaces for exchange between the partners that are not immediately contained and tamed by prerogative

of profit maximization and productivity. Disagreement and difference are here not only seen as preconditions to the creation of something truly new and innovative, but also as a precondition for broadening one's own horizon. Essential for this creative conflict seems to be the public forum (for ISU, the public conference), where partners are confronted with unusual perspectives and voices usually excluded from the comfort zone of the "*little club of friends*" (NbNb P141) and their non-confrontational, internal transfer of useful objects of value among club members.

In the transformative frame, there is a moment of de-professionalization through politicization, where individuals congregate as citizens (rather than academics, administrators or entrepreneurs) in order to reach a consensus benefiting the polity as a whole (notably also including those normally excluded from more technocratic, apolitical modes of decision-making). In terms of exchanging knowledge-related objects of value, this mode could be called transdisciplinary. Transdisciplinarity, as was argued in the state-of-the-art section, can be used as a moral and ethical critique of the standard configuration of knowledge in disciplines serving the instrumental rationality of productivity, growth and control (Bernstein 2015, p.6). This mode then is similar to what was described as a critical CSKP in state-of-the-art section above. This mode of exchange, it was argued, emphasizes the common quest towards ways of knowing that transcend existing (and somewhat dysfunctional or obsolete) disciplinary and organizational boundaries. As Alvagonzalez describes it, transdisciplinarity is about providing holistic frameworks that subordinate disciplines under the prerogative to formulate knowledge about whole systems (p.394). It is transcendental as well as transgressive in the way it is aimed at pushing the boundaries between disciplines and organizations in order to provide holistic solutions to complex, or wicked life-world problems (Ibid., p.394-395). In its holistic trajectory, transdisciplinarity is inherently political in nature, as it takes values, norms and power structures into account in order to solve complex social problems and promote the common good (Ibid. p.400). In both CSKPs, one can detect traces of this ethical-critical transdiciplinarity perspective, in the way participants stress their opposition to the conventional, inauthentic and obsolete ways of organizing economy, politics and society in both regions, for example when FF and NIS speaks of politicians and city planners doing their same old growth oriented, modern-day planning under the slogan of sustainability without even noticing, or HL arguing that opencampus needs to be platform where organizational representatives can leave their demarcation issues and organizational competition behind, meet as equal citizens, take the long-term and collective view so as to openly and creatively discuss fundamental and innovative solutions for the region as a whole.
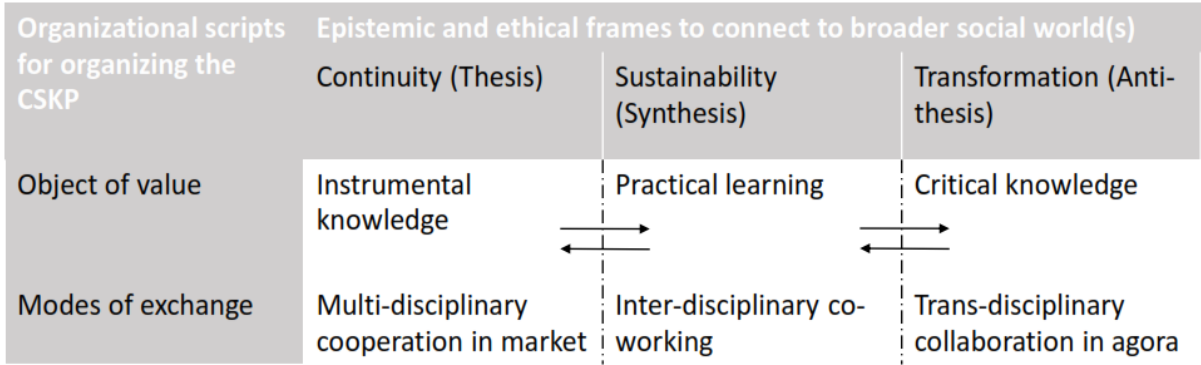
However, these opposing characterizations of the modes of exchange as market and agora related can find common ground in what could be called the synthesizing mode of co-working. Its metaphorical place would be accordingly the co-working space. The CSKP as a co-working space would here combine both elements of exchange previously discussed within the ideal-type of instrumental cooperation and critical collaboration. It does so in a way that the concrete, individual needs of its partners are served in the short term, through cooperation and transfer, while simultaneously continuous co-working holds the promise to gradually, organically transform the way that partners organize themselves. It does so by gradually and painlessly infusing new working styles and values, which seems to be an essentially non-threatening, non-radical, cultural and evolutionary version of change (as opposed to radical, political conception prevalent in the transformative transdisciplinary mode of collaboration). The necessary normative element of CSKPs, to be a game-changer and a progressive anti-organization (that does things differently and better than the conventional organizations), is thus made digestible or even contained or tamed through discourses of useful service provision and direct transfer of tailor-made objects of value to the consuming partner organizations. At the same time, partners would be gently "nudged" through their consumption into the direction of change and progress, rather than being forced to change now in radical ways (which might rather deter them from participating in the CSKP) (cf. Sunstein 2014 on nudging). The voluntary and open co-working spaces and formats provided by the CSKP are designed in such a way that the CSKP's partners can attend but also, importantly, can retreat from them—to give them the sense that they are always in control and could subsequently "pick the raisins from the crazy cookie" (NN P67) of public debate while leaving more threatening concepts, ideas and claims behind.

In terms of exchanging knowledge-related objects of value, this mode is rather inter-disciplinary, and a middle ground between the parallel play in multi-disciplinarity and the more substantial organizational integration proposed within transdisciplinarity (cf. Alvargonzalez 2011, p.388). In this way interdisciplinarity involves some limited degree of coordination but does not deny the autonomy or independence of each discipline or sector involved (Ibid.). It is a less threatening prospect for potential participants in the CSKP (and accordingly lowers the hurdles for engagement), as their participation is not aimed at leading towards centralization and somewhat involuntary collaboration, e.g. opencampus as initiative transcending and centralizing education programs of the three independent high schools in the region within one, supra-organizational education program. Interdisciplinary, instead promises higher degrees of cooperation and reciprocity in a decidedly unpolitical, common-market area, which only

requires minimal degrees of regulation and coordination, while promising significantly easier acquisition of resources, services and products and ensuring higher degrees of productivity and transfer for all involved. The co-working formats in both CSKPs (especially the Urban Strategic Forum of ISU and the starterkitchen of opencampus) can both be seen in terms of technologies that promise to overcome costly organization building and formal regulation as traditional modes of dealing with collective action dilemmas and ensuring effective and efficient value production and transfer. The alternatively proposed interdisciplinary net-working or co-working arrangements, so this narrative goes, would allow for more informal, horizontal and voluntary labor organization resulting in more authentic, innovative and synergetic modes of exchange.

The complemented ideal-typical model of the CSKP organizational script could be visualized as:

Figure 6.3. – Multi-disciplinary club, trans-disciplinary collaboration and inter-disciplinary co-working

Organizational scripts for organizing the CSKP	Epistemic and ethical frames to connect to broader social world(s)		
	Continuity (Thesis)	Sustainability (Synthesis)	Transformation (Anti-thesis)
Object of value	Instrumental knowledge	Practical learning	Critical knowledge
Modes of exchange	Multi-disciplinary cooperation in market	Inter-disciplinary co-working	Trans-disciplinary collaboration in agora

(source: author)

6.2.3 Roles in and through a CSKP

In respect to the central research question's focus on roles and positions narratively constructed within conversations about the CSKP, the analysis found that in each CSKP there are several significant roles central to organizing its activities. On the conservative side of the narrative spectrum, the prevalent roles could be summarized as professional, while the more typical roles on the transformative side of the spectrum could be summarized as anti-professional activist or alter-professional entrepreneurs. At the boundary between both worlds, which the idealized CSKP would occupy, one can alternatively find role prescriptions that are synthesizing in

nature, so as to pacify potential conflict between the more conservative and progressive roles. Thus, the ideal role synthesis for a CSKP could be described as being constructed around facilitatorand mentorsaround as well as student entrepreneurs.

Professionals are highly productive experts, deeply embedded in their respective organization, discipline or sector. They know exactly what to do and how to work in order to attain the results expected within their field of expertise, to collect the rewards and to subordinate other potential objectives and activities as instruments towards this goal. For the professional academic this means for example to excel in their publications, for the business person to deliver services and products in demand in their market, for the administrator to efficiently fulfil the tasks delegated to them by their bosses or organizations and for the civil society professional to contribute to his or her cause or organization gaining in social relevance.

On the other end of the spectrum of roles and positions constructed within conversations about the CSKP is the role of a visionary and charismatic activist. He or she is someone, who personifies the identity of the CSKP and can represent it to both partners and external audiences in a convincing way. She inspires those who work inside the CSKP, gives them a feeling of corporate identity, while she also inspires trust in the partners that "*good things will come from this*" (MI P64) even though they do not know exactly what "this" is about. In other words, she creates a group of believers and activists around the CSKP, who support it, even if they do not directly benefit. The activist leader is also strict in managing the various conflicting expectations of the partners and audiences around the CSKP and able to decide what issues to take on and which ones to reject in order to navigate the endless sea of possibilities efficiently and to provide forward movement to the CSKP.

On the other hand, the CSKP activist is seen, from the point of view of the professional as potentially irresponsible anti-professional, who involves the partners' employees or resources in their own idealistic CSKP projects or vaguely defined development projects and in so doing distracting professionals from doing their actual jobs by co-opting them in building his own organization instead of selflessly facilitating win-win situations between their parent organizations. From the point of view of the activists, however, the professionals can be described as short-sighted and self-interested, more or less free riders, those who, for example "*grab the money and go*" back home to the confines of their parent organizations (FF P107) instead of contributing or investing to the common cause.

The ideal-typical role of a person working inside the CSKP can be summarized with the concept of the facilitator-entrepreneur. someone who is fluent in the different languages of the sectors, thematic areas or disciplines, understands the interests and needs of the different parties

involved and is able to link supply and demand together in a way that creates benefits or profits out of existing resources in the network of partners. The facilitator-entrepreneur is a role that espouses a counter-professional persona of someone who is self-employed and profit-generating, rather than employed and rent-seeking; someone who is not restraint by the organizational boundaries, but who nevertheless remains responsive to organizational interests and operates as a kind of flexible free-lance service provider who fills gaps in their ability to acquire resources or transfer values. An ideal CSKP facilitator would be someone who leads without being a boss (cf. DM P172), i.e. someone who brokers between partners so as to fulfill their individual, short-term interests, but also creates a constituency for something else over and beyond the respective partner's limited horizons of self-interest. Thus, in opposition to the charismatic activist, the facilitator does not drag others into their own project, but brokers common ground between their projects, which then mutually fertilize each other so as to give birth to a new, qualitatively different, common project or joint venture. This role is expressed in NK's statement that those working for ISU struggle with being expected to be this "*midwife*" (NK P48) for other people's projects.

The facilitator-entrepreneur, then, creates collaborative transformation almost as a side product of instrumental cooperation, by producing and increasing synergetic effects between the partners and thus creating resources out of nothing, to be employed for further developing their joint venture (which the more it grows will also increasingly maintain itself while also generating benefits or resources for the parent organizations, and in this way pay interest on their initial investments). This is the idea again of effortless and non-threatening change that, due to the facilitator-entrepreneurs ingenuity and energy, can be achieved without additional investment by the partners, or building a competing organization, simply out of the synergies created through the exchange itself (or the highly creative and industrious, almost self-sacrificing work of those individuals responsible for organizing the CSKP, e.g. DM, IC, and the boundary agents KT, KB DQ). However, the facilitator does not use these synergetic surpluses to build his own organization or movement, but when the higher state of the partnership is brought about by the facilitator, he retreats and lets things "*live by themselves*" (DM P79), as much as he also lets the partners collect the spoils, prestige or capitalize on the innovations created through the partnership. Reversely, she fixes the problems created elsewhere in the CSKP, closes the gaps between expectations and reality and is available for the partners and their individual issues, so as to keep them close and active. The facilitator-entrepreneur is highly knowledgeable about the partners interests and needs and can fulfill their individual, short-term demands. But he also personifies the joint venture as a whole and

charismatically represents what it is that brings them together on the visionary, transformative dimension, for example, at partners' events or projects. The ideal-typical synthesis of entrepreneur and activist is maybe best expressed in the interviewees recurring expectation that those working for the CSKP should steer the CSKP forward, while simultaneously keeping it "flexible" to the partners changing needs and expectations, or keeping it "anchored" to the partners, while not allowing the CSKP to "superimposed" (XL P96) by their individual interests and cultures.

The helper roles within a CSKP could be said to form a harmonious and complementary role pair (as opposed to the more antagonistic role pairs of professionals vs. activists), i.e. the pair of mentor and student. Both initiatives studied show that the role of the student is central for organizing both CSKPs. On the one hand, they allow for a low-threshold entrance point for creating cross-organizational links between partners, because working with students and working together through students is less susceptible to performance criteria that would measure the performance of a CSKP according to how it contributes to immediately useful, high-quality knowledge for its partners. When students are concerned, the focus is more on the long term, and pressures to deliver high-quality outcomes are a bit more relaxed, since the focus is more on learning than on knowledge. On the other hand, the focus on students suggests a more inclusive role of a teacher or mentor among the professionals from the different partner organizations. This role enables them to leave their usual organizational role behind and identify with other actors from across the spectrum on the basis of both being similarly mentors to the students. This personal mentor role lends itself well to appealing to the participants to be responsible, patient and to invest together in a longer-term future for the sake of the young people, rather than to aim for short-term, individual benefits for their careers or organization. It emphasizes a selfless, supportive elder on the one hand and an assiduous younger, eager to please the elder and to learn from them, but also challenging them. Taken together, this role pair gives the CSKP a family-like partnership character, where expectations about quick performance, needs for control and the reality of competition are balanced out with elements of mutual care, trust and selfless encouragement and a long-term view on generational bonds and future development. This dynamic was observed for example within ISU's Urban Forum, where a formal partnership meeting was conducted around student thesis presentations, which helped professionals find and establish relationships with each other through the students, because it established an atmosphere of learning, relieved them from professional pressures of instant, high-quality results and it activated the unifying role of both academics and administrators being mentors to these students and young professionals. The mentor persona was also

important for the administrative partners within ISU vis-à-vis Malmö University and its students, to feel the responsibility to participate in cooperation (although it might not be directly conducive to their organizational tasks), so as to develop the university in the long term and to equip the students with the skills and technical knowledge they need to start their career. With respect to opencampus, another aspect of the role set mentor-student became obvious: the incentive of the mentor to be associated with talented, young students, to be known as the one supporting them. The young, creative, but also industrious and market-compliant crowd of the student entrepreneur was especially well personified by the CBB founder (e.g. JT; QM; EN). And indeed, the mentor role seems to implicitly suggest authority on the part of the elder and a superior, yet benevolently used position of power of the mentor towards the protégé. This role understanding might be strategically used to instill in the CSKP partners a sense of control and security when participating in a CSKP initiative that calls for them to invest time and labor into something that may not pay off for them and their organization (at least in the short-term). Activating the mentor role (and employing students for that matter) might thus be useful for CSKPs to get partners to contribute, open up and to adopt an altruistic persona more conducive to non-opportunistic collaboration, while still—implicitly—allowing them to feel in charge and enter the situation from a position of superiority and generosity.

However, the analysis also suggests that for CSKP partners to begin to perceive themselves as mentors, or even as something akin to a parental relationship, there must be also a pervasive sense of the CSKP as a regional "*community of destiny*" (KB P103). For ISU this is the story of Malmö transforming from a stagnating, somewhat obsolete and dying industrial city to a young, vibrant, sustainable city, where sustainability is linked to a generational shift towards new, post-modern and innovative modes of production and culture, symbolized by the talented, informal, and creative students (cf. Florida 2005). For opencampus the community of destiny is established in quite similar terms, without the focus on (ecological) sustainability, but with a stronger focus on (social, digital) entrepreneurship. In both cases there seems to be a necessary element of existential urgency linked to demographic and structural changes in the region, and a sense of having to act together in order to ensure the future prosperity of the region. The symbolic value of the student here seems to lie in its ability to suggest intergenerational change and transformation as well as supra-generational continuity.

Here the central position of students in the CSKP also has symbolic value, as they represent those who are young, developing and learning but also those who are creative, dynamic and agents of change. Student entrepreneurs pose an ideal counter-image to the old, conventional, entrenched organizations and their professionals that the CSKP to some extent is

positioned against. As such, they provide immediately useful value to the CSKP (and by extension to the partners involved) in terms of allowing them to associate with youthfulness, creativity and change. Having direct access to the highly sought-after resource of future high-skilled labor can boost the partners' sales and marketing directly or transfer legitimacy to their operations. But students also promise to provide cheap labor as well as their attributes of learning, experimenting, playing, their spontaneity and informality can help the professionals to interact with each other in a more informal way, thereby overcoming professional fault lines, differences in authority or rank and engaging each other more directly, authentically and also cost-efficiently (cf. JT and her association of informality with saving time and energy in communicating with partners).

The ideal-typical model of the CSKP script might accordingly be extended as such:

Figure 6.4 –Professionals and activists, and facilitators//mentors and students entrepreneurs

Organizational scripts for organizing the CSKP	Epistemic and ethical frames to connect to broader social world(s)		
	Continuity (Thesis)	Sustainability (Synthesis)	Transformation (Anti-thesis)
Object of value	Instrumental knowledge	Practical learning	Critical knowledge
Modes of exchange	Multi-disciplinary cooperation in market	Inter-disciplinary co-working	Trans-disciplinary collaboration in agora
Roles and positions	Professional	Facilitator and mentor / entrepreneur and student	activist (anti-professional)

(source: author)

6.2.4 Organizational identities: service provision project vs. social movement, or network organization

With respect to the CSKPs' overall organizational identity (i.e. the sum of its object of value, the modes of their exchange and the roles and positions derived from this exchange) the analysis found an equivalent set of dilemmas and contradictions: On the one hand, there are perspectives (relying more on epistemic frames of continuity, instrumental knowledge and professional

roles) that tend to describe the CSKP as a temporary, voluntary and flexible project and service provider. On the other hand, there are also accounts (tending towards transformation) that tend to describe it as a long-term, binding and forward-oriented joint issue or social movement organization. In the struggle to define common ground for these opposing organizational narratives, the actors in the CSKPs then formulate perspectives that could be summarized in an ideal-typical version of the CSKP as a network organization.

The CSKP as a joint project and service provider is a flexible and temporary organization without clear boundaries vis-à-vis its partners. It is complementary to their existing operations and non-threatening to their organizational integrity, because it is weak, not well endowed and does not have an infrastructure independent of its partners. It is marked by high degrees of control by its partners and is obliged to conform to the partners changing needs quickly, efficiently and effectively. In this kind of CSKP the partners retain also tight control over the various parts over their involvement, and in so doing minimize their risks and investments, while maximizing short-term, concrete benefits.

This flexible CSKP, identified not by a vision, but by its instrumental position vis-à-vis its partners, can also be used as an "*container*" (NK P52) in which the partners' ideas can be dumped into for further development or an "*empty signifier*" (NIS P104), which can be used to raise the profile of whatever the partners momentarily do, while keeping organizational costs as low as possible. Thus, the narrative of partners trying to remain in tight control of the CSKP and demanding quick results useful for their organizations can here also be seen as one side of a coin, whose other side speaks of the partners' reluctance to commit and provide the necessary organizational (infra-) structure, efficient coordination and clearly defined roles, tasks and responsibilities the CSKP would need to strive and develop into an autonomous organization. Here the potential short-term project character of a CSKP might be attractive to partners who do not want to create a CSKP that gains too much of a public profile and is less controllable, while also less reversible once it has established itself as a publicly known issue organization. The CSKP as a project and service provider instead is a more temporally limited and internal organization, which does also not threaten to distract the partners' employees or re-direct their loyalty (and labor) towards the partnership itself. Instead, the temporary, internal project ensures that professionals from either side of the partner spectrum continuously meet as representatives of their respective organization. Their linkages would be bilateral rather than transcending their normal professional identities to re-group them under a common cause that potentially weakens their primary affiliation with their respective organization and its mission. This kind of arrangement of bilateral encounters between representatives from different

organizations, where each one acts according to the prerogative of "*what the CSKP can bring us*" (KT P85) seems better served within a project that requires the different partners to meet regularly to ensure its availability for whatever is currently seen as the most promising or urgent course of action for satisfying their respective professional and organizational needs (as opposed to a more autonomous organization with its own leadership, infrastructure and positions).

However, at the same time, there are many voices stating that it is important for the CSKP to be more than an opportunistic, bilateral and internal cooperation for the quick provision of useful services and products to the different professionals and organizations involved. Here, the analysis of both cases found that the CSKP identity is seen as needing to simultaneously represent what is of common concern to them, give it a higher profile and endow this communality with a long-term vision and forward movement. These aspects, then, would be better served within a CSKP that is understood as an independent (joint) issue organization or social movement organization. Such a CSKP also promises more efficient vertical integration as it can more clearly distinguish itself from the partner organizations and provide those working with it the necessary amount of autonomy, independent corporate identity and organizational infrastructure they need to develop the CSKP and its vision further. This kind of joint issue organization enables the partners to connect to broader social discourses such as sustainable urban development and regional socio-economic development. It provides the CSKP but also its respective partners with a normative orientation for what they are doing together as a group and a critical understanding of how it contributes to the improvement of society as a whole and in the longer term.

This kind of social movement organization is seen not as something that merely enables the professionals involved in the CSKP to peek over the walls of their organization and temporarily relieve them from its regulations, bureaucracy apparatus and other confines, but instead it has the "noble objective" of demolishing such organizational walls all together. Such a CSKP would be seen as a way to deconstruct conventional bureaucratic or capitalist organizations, so as to create a free space for the individuals to "think outside the box" (cf. JT, SA and HL about broadening horizons and opening mind-sets) to leave the performance pressures of their organizational selves and the narrow practice of muddling through behind and congregate freely and authentically around the issues that really matter for the advancement of society or the region as a whole.

This transformative identity is crucial for the CSKP's ability to position itself as a progressive force and alternative to the obsolete, hierarchical and vertically integrated modern-

day organizations and their conventional "silo" cultures (cf. Bernstein 2015) and demarcation problems. The CSKP here is seen as an agent of change, a catalyst that embodies the values of a collaborative and communal culture that in the longer term would replace its formal partner organizations. It enables individuals to connect in a way that their conventional organizational role expectations would have prohibited. Those horizontal, direct, more informal and authentic relationships between individuals promise thereby to make the inauthentic, traditional and obsolete partner organization superfluous and to replace them with a more communal way of organizing for social change.

That is why, in both CSKP there were also voices that expressed the fear that such a joint issue or social movement organization holds the potential for "mission creep" (cf. Gonzalez 2013), that is, to centralize and appropriate more and more of the partners' resources for something that does not serve their individual interests (but its own organization building). In this way it threatens the individual integrity of the partner organizations and their ability to control their degree of involvement. In the same way the emerging issue organization also threatens to usurp and cut off partners' bilateral relations, and to monopolize them under the roof of a new, supposedly more relevant, organization. At the very least, such an organization would consume resources, labor and time for its own development, and maybe even appropriate them from its partners, instead of providing resources to them.

Thus, the analysis of both CSKPs found that in both cases the is something like a narrative antagonism between building the initiative as a viable, relevant and high-profile social movement organization on the one hand and as a low-risk project maximizing short-term benefits and bilateral cooperation opportunities for its partners on the other. This antagonism, then, is believed to be reconcilable through a synthesizing concept of the CSKP as something that could be described as a network organization. The ideal of the CSKP as a network organization promises, on the one hand to CSKP partners that their individual risks and investments are minimized, while on the other hand it promises to link the respective members up with the internal stream of exchanging club goods. But it also promises direct reputational benefits by becoming part of an organized effort to tackle broader social problems in a meaningful and publicly recognizable way. Thus, while the CSKP forms as a visionary issue organization and connects to broader narratives of social renewal and innovation, internally it is thought of as a self-organizing network of individuals who cooperate to reduce workloads and pool resources through work on short-term bilateral projects. The CSKP organization is here seen as (temporary) catalyst to the network and its external façade (cf. the institute label of ISU). In this way, it is expected to produce the culture, technology or infrastructure needed

for professionals to more effectively work together across organizational boundaries, while it fuels this development by providing a public brand to the network. This public brand enables the respective network partners to endow their individual position with the clout of a social movement which is hoped to help them in attracting positive attention, useful ideas, high-skilled labor, external funds or other kind of resources they lack. The longer-term vision of the CSKP as a network is that the CSKP as an organization would successfully make "*itself superfluous*" (KB P85), that in the longer term there is no need for a project or organization (and no additional labor or funding that goes with it) that actively links the CSKP network partners and produces results. The CSKP would become an self-organizing network of cooperating individuals, while externally it would retain recognition as a collective, collaborative effort. This kind of CSKP would not be threatening to become a competing organization itself and not threaten to provide external parties with access to the CSKP partners' inner operations or their organizational resources.

The idea of the CSKP as a self-sustaining network with a strong public brand in the long run is also linked to the hope to create specific and controllable access points across organizations, to the public or target groups. These access points are professional co-working events and programs, public events and networking meet-ups. They establish direct, professional as well as personal contacts between individuals who were formerly divided by the boundaries of their respective, monolithic and formal organizations. Importantly, though, these access points are seen as only temporarily or partial complements to the partner organization's operations and structure, not as their longer-term replacement. This organization of networks between and around the partner organizations is, thus, rather framed in terms of instrumental formats and technologies provided by the CSKP and complementing the current partner organizations, making them more efficient, effective and relevant and ultimately contributing to their survival, rather than threatening their integrity.

The CSKP as both a network and (at least the shell of) an organization raises expectations of a continuous stream of quick and concrete benefits for its partners at low risk and for lowest costs, as sustained and substantial investments into organization building are not necessary. That is why the CSKP as a network organization emphasizes brand development. Brand development ensures that the initiative is publicly recognized as relevant, while it substitutes for the costly and risky development of an organizational infrastructure that might become too autonomous, too enduring and irreversible, or, in other words, out of control. Both external images of the CSKPs studied link to official, regional stories of transformation and help present the CSKP towards an outside regional and extra-regional audience. In this way it

provides the CSKP partners with a transformative frame they can use to make their cooperation meaningful beyond the short-term, self-interested production and distribution of useful products and services for the individual consumption of its members. Such a high-profile brand can also add value to the partners' other projects, build their reputation through usage of the brand in their own activities and allows easy promotion of the CSKP with external audiences.

Thus, the brand and outward façade of the CSKP as a visionary issue organization enables the loose network behind the CSKP to attract public attention and access to relevant audiences, while the internal identity of the CSKP as a flexible services provision tool for its network of club members, promises the partners to remain in control and to not get involved in something that might appropriate their resources or might grant others outside irrevocable access to their inner workings. In this way the middle-ground construction of the CSKP as network organization combines the element of being able to open boundaries with the element of being able to control access. It elevates its members concerns, interest and positions, e.g. gives its members' voice a longer reach (e.g. the CSKP as a platform from which to speak), or enables them to spot new trends and collect (not too) "*crazy ideas*" (NN P67) out there (the CSKP as look-out). However, the crucial process of overcoming, or opening boundaries and getting into contact with people and ideas out there is simultaneously conceptualized as something temporal or partial, which can be used when convenient, but also revoked when necessary. For this ability to revoke access and control the process of gradual and partial opening of boundaries is then ultimately linked with the endeavors of partners to curtail the CSKP's independence and to keep it in the tight control of a temporary, joint project. In this way the CSKP functions like a gatekeeper that allows its partner network to exchange with the external audiences in the unified and elevated version of an issue organization, while also shielding them and their internal network of partners from wholesale and irrevocable access to their inner workings, and from public pressure and scrutiny leaking in (by treating the CSKP as an internal project and preventing it from indeed becoming an autonomous issue organization). This conceptualization of the CSKP as linking project and organization in flexible and controllable ways takes away a lot of the fear, that participating in it would compromise its partners' organizational efficiency and sovereignty by wasting resources and inviting unwanted outside scrutiny and criticism into their organization. Yet, the element of public deliberation necessary for generating new and fresh ideas is not foregone either, but it is framed in a way that leaves the partners in a position to pick and choose from these ideas and take only those they like with them, while those ideas (or demands) they do not like can be left outside.

In this ideal-type, the (partial and temporary) deconstruction of organizational boundaries through the CSKP goes hand in hand with the ideal that horizontal, informal and also more direct and authentic relationships between individuals can emerge organically and self-organize. Vertical coordination as in a conventional organization would not be necessary in this kind of CSKP because it puts the creative, productive and self-managed individual center stage of the CSKP network (the facilitator and facilitating technologies). In this way it promises to reduce coordination costs and investment requirements on the part of the partner organizations concerning the CSKPs, still promises immediate results, while alleviating the fear that the CSKP would develop into a competing organization (or generate political pressure). Thus, the CSKP as an assortment of individual projects on the inside, and as visionary issue organization on the outside, promises to combine the best aspects of project and organization in the middle ground concept of a self-organizing network of highly visionary and productive individuals.

However, as attractive as this promise is to those asked to participate in the CSKP, it creates new demands on those asked to organize it and to deliver on the promise of effortless results, resource-free organization and risk-free change (especially when the hopes for attracting external funds to pay for the CSKP do not materialize as was the case with ISU's predecessor SEKUM). These expectations might end up producing an unsustainable situation for those working inside the CSKP and raise unrealistic expectations for them to make the CSKP work for the partners, while denying them the resources, autonomy and authority to build up the organizational structure they would need to run it efficiently. In this way, they could end up being caught in a kind of organizational limbo, where neither the anticipated development of a self-sustaining network materializes (as it continuously depends on them maintaining communication and producing low-cost, effort-free results for the partners), while also the emergence of a viable organization is thwarted (to not threaten the CSKP's partners ability to receive low-cost, low-risk benefits and remain in control of their involvement). Thus, in the end, the individuals responsible for running the CSKP might not be able to rely on the network or their own organization to produce benefits, sustain the effort and move the issues important to the CSKP forward, but instead remain continuously responsible for running projects, organization and network themselves and burn out on the simultaneousness of high (but not clearly articulated) expectations, lack of organizational infrastructure and a lack of recognition for their work (because benefits surface at the endpoints of the network, the partners of the CSKP, and can be claimed by them).

Accordingly, the CSKP as a network collides with the prerogative to create a vertically

integrated and efficient issue organization that would relieve its individual workers from some of their work in supplying them with some structure and leadership they can rely on. In the CSKP as a network, the necessity of organizational development and investment might be de-emphasized by idealizing how horizontal relationships and individual productivity gains allow direct, more efficient and lower-cost flows to emerge effortlessly between network members and link their issues, projects and individual understandings into a coherent whole without a centralized body or organization being required (and paid for by the partners). But it might also collide with the expectation of quick and concrete results from the CSKP, as maintaining the network binds a lot of the CSKPs resources on communication, while potential benefits from the network developed and maintained by the CSKP materialize elsewhere and cannot be clearly traced back to its efforts.

Yet, the CSKP as a somewhat dysfunctional network organization might be considered by some as well-enough suited for ensuring that horizontal networks stay alive and expand to the direct benefit of the partner organizations. This is because a dysfunctional CSKP does not manage to close its boundaries, to form an organization that is separate from and potentially competes with the partner organizations. At the same time, a dysfunctional CSKP forces the partners to congregate to continuously fix it, indirectly renewing and potentially even strengthening their bonds, while they remain "parent organizations" in control of a somewhat "sick child", which still offers them many secondary benefits, precisely because it is organizationally weak and somewhat dysfunctional (e.g. their ability to re-direct CSKP funds to pay for salaries of their employees, cf. ISU's boundary agents).

This aspect of the sensemaking-process in and through the CSKP's studied can be summarized as:

Figure 6.5. – Flexible service provision project, social movement/issue organization, network organization

Organizational scripts for organizing the CSKP	Epistemic and ethical frames to connect to broader social world(s)		
	Continuity (Thesis)	Sustainability (Synthesis)	Transformation (Anti-thesis)
Object of value	Instrumental knowledge	Practical learning	Critical knowledge
Modes of exchange	Multi-disciplinary cooperation in market	Inter-disciplinary co-working	Trans-disciplinary collaboration in agora
Roles and positions	Professionals	Facilitator and mentor / entrepreneur and student	activists (anti-professionals)
Organizational identity	Flexible service provision project	Network organization	Social movement, issue organization

(source: author)

6.3. Boundary-making in and through a CSKP: organizational dilemmas, repertoires and constructive fuzziness

The above ideal-typical model of epistemic/ethical frames and organizational scripts in use within the two CSKPs studied is not meant to provide an exhaustive account on the processes of sensemaking possible in CSKPs in general. Nor does it suggest that the model depicts the exact reality of the two CSKPs studied, or even prevalent forms of sensemaking found in them. Instead, it is used as a tool to exemplify certain positions taken, to summarize and simplify them, so as to make the empirical findings useful for enhancing our understanding about crucial mechanisms and the overall process of sensemaking as it occurs in CSKPs.

In this way the model above can provide a set of hypotheses, or a sensitizing lens, that reduces complexity and orders assumptions derived from the empirical investigation in a meaningful way, so as to lay the basis for a fruitful and theoretically relevant discussion of my

findings (Swedberg 2005). More specifically, it helps me to develop the framework for a middle-range theory for organizing knowledge production in and through CSKPs. This middle-range theoretical conception of CSKPs highlights the significance of ongoing processes of narrative boundary-making between the individuals involved in organizing a CSKP. It allows for a more in-depth investigation how they differentiate, separate but also link the different repertoires of meaning available in order to tell to themselves and others what objects, modes, roles and organizational identities of a CSKP mean. However, it is important to note that such an ideal-typical model must necessarily remain schematic. The model does not try to accurately define the conditions and expressions of every possible form of how frames and scripts can become salient within sensemaking in and through CSKPs.

Devising such an ideal-typical model for the purpose of analysis has a long tradition in the study of organizations. The approach goes back as far as Max Weber's organization theory of bureaucracies and his attempt to create a theoretical model of the perfect, i.e. ideal-type bureaucracy (Babbie 2007, p.343). Max Weber explains his concept of "*Idealtypus*" modeling as part of a research procedure in which certain elements of reality are accentuated and arranged in a unified model (Weber 1949, p.90). However, he also explains that "in its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopia. Social research faces the task of determining in each individual case, the extent to which this ideal-construct approximates to or diverges from reality" (Ibid). In this way they serve as an abstract model that aids scientific inquiry by allowing the researcher to develop broader categories, discuss the boundaries, links and relationships between the types and gauge the distance and complications between concrete observations and their pure, or ideal-type, representation within the theoretical model (Doty and Glick 1994; Thornton et al. 2012, p.52-53). Thus, the ideal-typical model supplies a systematic yet decidedly un-real and thus contestable theoretical formulation of assumptions concerning defining characteristics of the real-world cases investigated, and in this way serves as a conceptual catalyst for further investigation and theorizing of the empirical phenomenon of CSKPs (Gollnick 2013, p.50).

This means that in reality none of the three ideal-typical distinctions between a CSKP defined above in terms of either continuity, transformation or sustainability are discrete and supply meaning to a CSKP in either way or the other. Rather than continuity, transformation and sustainability to depict internally coherent and closed systems of meaning they should be understood as flexible, overlapping and contradictory "repertoires of meaning" (Ullrich 1999; Wetherell and Potter 1988) that those engaged in the CSKP can refer to in order to develop a meaningful story about their unique CSKP, to endow their position and perspective with the

necessary coherence and normative weight to convince themselves and others of the meaningfulness of their actions.

The results of this exploratory investigation into sensemaking in and through CSKPs suggest that the process of organizing a CSKP can be analyzed by focusing an investigation on exploring the antagonisms, dilemmas and contradictions that are inherent in the heterogeneous conversations in and around a CSKP about its meaning. Thereby it is the dynamic, communicative process of navigating the boundary between different possible organizational scripts and their repertoires of meaning that takes center stage in researching sensemaking in and through CSKPs. This means that rather than trying to formulate essential characteristics of a certain ideal-type CSKPs (and a stereotypical equation of them with certain actors or sectors), such a research approach instead explores the process of drawing boundaries, i.e. separating and linking different meanings of the CSKP and how it helps individuals to make sense of their actions to themselves and others (cf. Latour 1984). Sensemaking as boundary-making can then be understood as an ongoing process and struggle between individuals about how to define the boundary between different visions of what their situation is and should be, what the character of the joint object of value is (that is to be exchanged in order to preserve or transform certain aspects of the situation), what modes of exchange it presupposes, which roles and positions are connected to this exchange and how this all results in an overall identity for the CSKP as a whole.

The analysis of the two CSKPs in question found that the specific narrative elements that could be identified and distinguished when studying the collective sensemaking process in a CSKP can not necessarily be attributed to certain groups of professionals, sectoral logics or organizational prerogatives. Instead, it showed that different aspects of different scripts are emphasized depending on the situation. For example, the same individual struggles to navigate the different, contradicting aspects of what it means to be involved in a CSKP, e.g. the ISU boundary agents and their struggle to be organizational professionals and partners to the CSKP as well as visionary facilitators advancing the normative vision of the CSKP. Furthermore, it showed that the usage of more instrumental or more critical conceptualizations of the knowledge-related objects of value does not so much depend on the professional affiliation of the person to one or another sector (e.g. opencampus using entrepreneurship concepts to criticize "conventional" academic education and "conventional" business models – or academics and administrators equally lauding ISU's success in revealing the administration's instrumental approach to sustainable urban development at its annual conference.

Instead, it shows how the CSKPs under study can be understood and approached as

arenas for organizational sensemaking between individuals who continuously strive for synthesis as much as they strive to distinguish themselves and their position from others. However, it showed as well that the ongoing process of meaning-making and drawing, re-drawing and contestation of conceptual boundaries makes it difficult for those involved in a CSKP to develop and maintain a coherent synthesis. Yet, the analysis also showed that the difficulty of defining clearly what the CSKP is for everyone involved is not necessarily a failure of those organizing the CSKP or a major flaw of CSKPs in general. It can alternatively be understood as an expression of their utility as an arena for reflection about one's own and others' categories, norms and understandings. In fact, the difficulty of formulating a binding vision of the CSKP and the resulting fuzziness of the CSKP can very well provide organizational flexibility and secondary gains but also necessitate regular meetings and sometimes frustratingly repetitive reflections or as DM expressed it: "*a lot of time being spent on discussion on, like, how the institute or how the city works or how the university works or: 'How should we work? What should we work with? Why is it like this, why don't we do it like that?'* " (DM P237).

In order to more systematically investigate the ambivalences and unstable boundaries of a CSKP, the initial results from is explorative study suggest that in order to work towards a middle-rang theory of sensemaking in CSKPs, research should more systematically study the process by which actors create partial and permeable conceptual boundaries in their communication about:

a) the knowledge that is to be produced within or through CSKP on a continuum ranging from instrumental knowledge via practical learning to critical knowledge;

b) the modes of exchanging knowledge or knowledge-related joint objects of value on a continuum ranging from multi-disciplinary cooperation via inter-disciplinary co-working to trans-disciplinary collaboration;

c) the roles and positions taken or ascribed in this exchange on a continuum ranging from a role-set of brokers and professionals via facilitators and mentors/students to that of leaders and activists;

d) the organizational identity of the partnership that brackets objects, modes of exchange and roles on a continuum from service provision project(s) via network organization to social movement/joint issue organization.

This suggestion of focusing analyses of CSKP on the aspect of boundary-making as a process of sensemaking in and through CSKPs links this study to previous work in organizational studies on boundaries between organizations (cf. Star and Griesemer 1989; Kimble 2010) and boundary objects exchanged between organizations (cf. Carlile 2002, 2004). However, in contrast to

previous research, this study does not treat the boundary between organizations as a fixed reality in organizing CSKPs, but rather suggests treating the boundary as an analytical lens to explore the ambiguities and contradictions involved in organizing CSKPs. This treatment would approach boundary-making as an ongoing and contested process. In so doing, it is more in line with constructivist ontologies in social science and better suited for exploratory, inductive approaches to the empirical investigation of CSKPs. It suggests that categories used to describe the CSKP—sector, knowledge and partnership—do not have stable boundaries and a fixed, essential meaning, but are rather constructed through ongoing interaction and communication. To focus CSKP research on exploring the process of boundary-making between categories and how individuals use this process to construct an organizational narrative that enables them to make sense of what they and others are doing in and through a CSKP can promote a better understanding of how individuals at least partially and in specific situations are able to formulate inclusive and pragmatic accounts of their CSKP.

However, in this study on two CSKPs, these attempts to find a pragmatic synthesis or common ground for the CSKP were not found to be unproblematic or to provide durable solutions to the problem of difference and integration (i.e. boundaries). In fact, in both cases the sustainability synthesis that promises to overcome the contradictions and antagonisms between continuity and transformation seems more difficult to achieve, which is expressed in contradictory images, such as "being anchored and forward-moving at the same time", "being leaderless in leading the way", "providing short-term cooperative gains for individual consumption, while also embodying the long-term visionary collaborative effort of the group as a whole"—to name just a few of the fundamental organizational dilemmas posed by the synthesis script constructed from the two cases. In fact, the findings of this study suggest that overcoming an antagonism poses organizational dilemmas as much as solving or overcoming organizational dilemmas produces antagonism. Accordingly, organizing a CSKP might be best approached as an ambivalent balancing act or as strategically utilization of partial and temporary combinations of the frames and scripts identified. In constructing out of the empirical data the three ideal-typical repertoires of meaning I called continuity, transformation and sustainability (and the characterization of value objects, modes of exchange, roles and organizational identities they help to construct) , this study can contribute to further exploration how individual actors in a CSKP draw, demolish and re-draw narrative boundaries so as to separate and link each other together by telling each other the story of their cross-sector knowledge partnership.

VII Conclusion

This chapter draws together the main contributions of this study and sketches out a pathway towards a middle-range theory of boundary-making as a process of sensemaking, that focuses on how actors telling each other the story of their initiative do so by drawing conceptual boundaries in respect to crucial narrative elements, i.e. the CSKPs joint objects of value, modes of exchanging it, roles and positions linked to these exchanges and the group relationships and identities forged (7.1.). Subsequently some avenues for further research of CSKPs are suggested (7.2) and some concrete recommendations for the practice of organizing CSKPs are proposed (7.3).

The study's central research question was explorative in nature: How do individuals engaged in CSKPs make sense of their partnership? It aimed at the meso-level of studying cross-sector knowledge partnerships, so as to work on producing a link between grand, normative theories as to why CSKPs are necessary, on the one hand, and very narrow evaluations of how successful CSKPs should be organized and implemented on the other. Furthermore, it targeted the specific process of organizational sensemaking or story-telling, in which situated agents are assumed to link communicatively who they are and what they do to each other in their specific organizational arena, as well as they link it to broader social world(s) beyond their immediate situation. In order to research this, I developed an analytical program that focuses on re-constructing individuals' epistemic and ethical frames (as that narrative elements they use in order to tell each other about their current situation as well as the desired future state of affairs) and their organizational script (as the narrative element they use in order to tell each other how to get from here to there). The basic analytical concept of an organizational script was then further broken down into four elements that individuals in CSKPs struggle to clarify: 1) their joint objects of value, 2) their modes of exchange, 3) their roles and positions and 4) their relationships and group, or organizational, identity.

Through conducting a qualitative, constant comparative analysis of two local CSKPs in Malmö and Kiel, this study developed a whole set of middle-range theoretical concepts concerning frames and scripts in use in the two CSKPs under investigation that can be useful for further studies into transdisciplinary, interdisciplinary or multi-disciplinary knowledge partnerships between university and non-academic partners. The study furthermore suggests

specifically focusing on the mechanism of boundary-making within the sensemaking approach to organizational studies in general, and in the subfield of researching cross-sector knowledge partnerships in particular.

7.1 Main contributions

This study shows that CSKPs can be analyzed as boundary arenas for communicatively organizing differences and common ground in cross-sector knowledge production. Conversing about what separates and links individuals together in such partnerships enables them to reduce equivocality, while simultaneously maintaining a crucial degree of ambiguity, so as to be able to establish their individual agency within a meaningful, collective endeavor. This study proposes boundary-making in this context as a metaphor for describing and researching the narrative struggle of individuals engaged in CSKPs to balance differences (or antagonisms) and to transform them into organizable dilemmas, so as to continuously be able to develop and re-develop their common ground together. This study identified four crucial antagonisms and dilemmas with respect to the different narrative elements investigated in the sensemaking process within the two CSKPs under study.

First, in both CSKPs, the participants struggled to develop a meaningful synthesis between the opposing frames of continuity and transformation, i.e. preserving the status quo and interests as well as established, and accepted ways of doing and knowing connected to it, while also challenging it and arguing in favor of implementing new concepts and practices so as to not "fall further behind", meaning to not be left behind by a world that is radically changing and demanding new ideas and complex solutions to wicked problems. To bring those two opposing frames together, the two CSKPs struggle to define a middle-ground concept, which, in the framework of this research was called sustainability. Sustainability is here not understood in the conventional sense of providing the CSKP participants with a definitive socio-ecological or ideological meaning. Sustainability within the context of this study on boundary-making in and through CSKPs, is rather used as a generic or sensitizing concept denoting a dilemmatic synthesis. Its exact meaning is constructed by the participants in the conversation in respect to each other and their specific situation, as well as the broader social worlds they are affiliated to or identify with. In respect to opencampus the concept of sustainability for example links the

element of catering to established demands, expectations and interests in the region, while it also allows the CSKP to adopt the critical and normative stance of a "game changer" that is constructed as radical alternative to the conventional and obsolete, "armchair" ways of doing of especially those powerful regional actors, who are simultaneously courted through the former continuity frame that signified acceptance and expansion of the existing status quo. In respect to ISU in Malmö the concept of sustainability rather denotes a paradoxical link of Malmö's transformation story as "leaping forward" into the bright future of a smart and sustainable city, while it also allows the CSKP to formulate a critical position vis-à-vis the ecological-technocratic and growth-oriented transformation discourse of an regional elite coalition that builds opera houses for themselves instead of shopping malls for the people. In the case of Malmö then, sustainability is used to argue in favor of reconnecting Malmö's transformation to its social-democratic roots as anti-elitist, worker city. Thus, within this study sustainability is understood as a concept denoting a paradoxical, dilemmatic middle ground between preserving and transforming the status quo, as two equally important trajectories for organizing their CSKP.

Second, and linked to this, is the narrative process of defining the CSKPs joint object(s) of value. The study found that in both CSKPs the participants formulated an antagonism between, on the one hand, producing immediately, useful club goods for individual consumption by partners of the CSKP, and on the other, the production of long-term, abstract and common goods benefiting the regional collective as a whole. Within both CSKPs, I found that this antagonism between two equally significant goals enables the CSKP participants to focus on formulating a dynamic middle-ground around concepts such as learning, skill development, technology and infrastructure development and the production of other resources that would have immediate value for the respective partners, as much as they could be seen as means towards or resources for the realization of more abstract, collective or common values later on.

Third, is the narrative process of defining a synthesis between the two opposing elements of cooperative, market-style modes of exchange for the immediate satisfaction of individual needs and collaborative agora-style modes of exchange for solving collective problems. The synthesis that both CSKPs formulated was constructed around the concepts of co-working and networking, which are again middle-ground concepts signifying the desire of the CSKP participants to define modes of exchange that would simultaneously serve their immediate, individual interests, as much as the common, long-term good.

Fourth, in terms of roles and positions narratively constructed in the respective CSKP, the study found that the participants employed a fundamental antagonism between, on the one hand, experts and professionals, who were deeply embedded or even entrenched in their respective functional field or organization, and anti-professional or alter-professional activists and entrepreneurs, who transgress the boundaries between fields but are also suspected to be superficial, up-rooted or up-rooting and exploiting differences for their own gain (i.e. the former ISU director, appropriating labor and resources from the partner organizations to build her own organization or the suspicion of opencampus partners that instead of serving established demands opencampus would try to create their own market). The ideal CSKP roles constructed between those opposing ones, could be best described as that of a facilitator-teacher-mentor, i.e. someone who is professionally embedded in one or more functional fields relevant to the CSKP, while she is also able to connect to others beyond her area of expertise and authority, in order to teach them and learn with them, and to broker mutual gains as much as she facilitates collective synergies. The ideal equivalent to this central protagonist in a CSKP is accordingly the role of the student entrepreneur or learner who is young, creative, informal, continuously learning and becoming, but who also signifies change, innovation and renewal.

Fifth and finally, this study identified another interplay between narrative antagonism and dilemmatic synthesis when it comes to the CSKP participants' conversation about their organizational relationships or organizational identity as a whole. Here the analysis found that there are accounts that could be summarized as emphasizing the short-term, top-down and strictly controlled character of the CSKP as a project, while opposing accounts emphasize the long-term, bottom-up and radical character of the CSKP as a social movement or issue organization. The construction of common ground can then be described linking these opposing accounts in a conceptualization of the CSKP as a somewhat partial and temporary network organization. As such the CSKP is construed as combining the advantages of a unified and clearly distinguishable organization (especially in terms of brand recognition), while it simultaneously promises to not appropriate resources from the CSKP partners for its own organization building, or to shift allegiance of their employees, customers and audiences onto the CSKP (as it is construed as only a temporary and partial organization facilitating the development of relationships, resources, revenue streams and infrastructure and once these are established it would voluntarily cease to exist so that the network can use the established relationships, structures and resources for organizing itself). The network dimension of the CSKP in this way suggests a somewhat non-political alternative to an organization or a social

movement, as it centers on highly productive individuals who connect with other individuals for bilateral projects instead of forming their own organization or a radical movement.

These findings about frames and scripts of organizational sensemaking in and around the two CSKPs studied are constructed as a multi-case narrative (Abbot 1992, p.72), so as to demonstrate common narratives across both of the cases studied. This means that in accordance to Yin's replication logic in case studies (Yin 2003, p.47), the external validity of these findings is increased, but it does not mean that they provide general knowledge about sensemaking in CSKPs. The findings of this study are rather to be understood and used as theoretical concepts and hypotheses suggesting certain avenues for further research and analysis instead of being inherently or objectively meaningful themselves beyond the concrete and unique reality of the two regional CSKPs analyzed. This means that one of the most significant contributions of this study is the analytical approach it provides for researching CSKPs, which, as well as the tentative findings deduced from the analysis of the two CSKPs under study, can be used in further research of sensemaking in and through CSKPs as hypotheses or sensitizing concepts. Thus, rather than providing definitive knowledge on CSKPs, this study provides a new set of analytical tools for prospective scholar, who can adapt and use them to gain a different angle for his own exploration of other cases of cross-sector knowledge partnerships.

7.2 Avenues for further research into CSKPs

This study introduces the concept of narrative boundary-making into the sensemaking literature in organizational studies, as well as it introduces an analytical framework for studying the process of narrative boundary-making in and through cross-sector knowledge partnerships in particular. However, more work is required to understand boundary-making as a narrative process of making sense of knowledge production in and through CSKPs. Conceptually, this means more work on bringing the sensemaking approach in organizational studies together with the methodological approach of discursive psychology as developed by Wetherell, Potter, Edley and others. Here it is especially worthwhile to focus the sensemaking approach more systematically on researching ideological dilemmas and how they allow individuals to establish their agency through continuously conversing about dealing with them, and where to draw the line through them, so as to define 'what the story is' and 'what to do about it' (cf. Weick et al. 2005). Cuevas Garcia's (2016) work on the transdisciplinary self shows an avenue into combining the sensemaking approach in organizational studies with discursive psychology.

However, his study is focused on the level of individuals, while the present study targeted the meso-level of organizational sensemaking, i.e. the dynamic process of constructing a transdisciplinary collective rather than a transdisciplinary self. It thus complements Cuevas Garcia's work. In this way this study could pave the way towards a more systemic integration of group psychological methodology into organizational studies in general (and here especially the sensemaking approach) and into the study of CSKPs in particular (following in the footsteps of e.g. Maitlis et al. 2013; Simão 2015; Chater and Lowenstein 2016;). A worthwhile next step, for example, would be to integrate Michael White's (2010) approach in his work on narrative therapy, in which he worked out a detailed analytical framework and investigative method to investigate how people develop ceremonies and cognitive maps to orient themselves and connect to others (White 2010). Another example is Gavazzi and Fox (Gavazzi and Fox 2014, 2015; Gavazzi 2015), who use their background in family and marriage therapy to approach partnerships between university and the regional community surrounding it. A further important avenue for future research on the issue of CSKPs is the integration of theoretical concepts and methods of cultural psychology and specifically the sub-field of narrative liminality, i.e. the study of boundary-making, border and liminality construction in and through transdisciplinary cross-sector partnerships between universities and non-academic partners. For example, Picione and Valsiner (2017) highlight the psychological significance of semiotic borders, demarking separation, differentiation, distinction-making, connection, articulation and relation-enabling. They argue that the border is a narrative tool which enables actors in organizations to maintain stability and induce transformation at the same time by way of creating an ambiguous and instable "liminal space" (akin to this study's concept of a boundary arena), that can induce creativity and can lead to novelty and the creation of new narrative forms (Ibid.). In a related work Picione and Freda (2015) approach the border as a semiotic concept that allows individuals to positions themselves to others and the world by creating a dynamic boundary in terms of necessity, obligation, willingness, possibility, permission, and ability. Future studies on cross-sector knowledge partnerships and transdisciplinarity would certainly benefit a lot from more systematically integrating these and related concepts and approaches from psychology. At the same time this would allow for CSKPs to become recognized as case for analyzing not only transdisciplinarity, but as critical case for individuals to organize their professional selves and work relationships in late-modern, increasingly digitalized and globalized knowledge societies. This in turn could also elevate the research on CSKPs as a field for more systematically advancing sensemaking as an approach in organization studies.

Another, more delicate issue is the problem of power for research in organizing CSKPs. This study loosely followed Bruno Latour's conceptualization of power as something that emerges through discourse, rather than something that is external to it and used to distort or influence the discursive meaning-making processes (Latour 1984). However, this study could not fully address the question of power or, as Edley (2001) called it, the identification of "winning arguments" within the conversation. To do so would have called for additional research e.g. on funding and expenditure, on strategic decisions concerning the CSKP, or on impact of the CSKPs on their social/organizational environment, which would have been beyond the study's focus on the internal sensemaking process within a CSKPs.

That does not mean that issues of power were entirely absent from the analysis. Issues of power surfaced within this analysis as what could be called narratives of deficiency and empowerment. For example, the regional community of fate was constructed as something authentic and unique in opposition to a supposedly hegemonic and homogenic global system out there, while it simultaneously hoped to reform itself according to winning models out there, to catch-up and leap forward so as to join the global establishment, to plug into its global streams of resources and innovations and to cease being a left-aside and left-behind community.

At the same time, issues of power were also part of the internal conversation among CSKP participants, when they mentioned issues of leadership, responsibility for and solidarity with each other. Leadership was then often talked about as deficiency or a lack, when it was mentioned with respect to those CSKP participants considered to be in positions of power (i.e. the heads of departments in the ISU board, the opencampus participants from the dominant university in the region, CAU, or the influential trade association, IHK). By the same operation it was then transferred to those traditionally not associated with positions of power, but who modeled themselves in this manner as challengers of the (outdated) status quo, and a vanguard of reformers and innovators, who should be entrusted and endowed with resources and positions by the old regional elite, if it did not want be swept away by the wind of change coming from the outside. Progress and innovation in this way are concepts used by those who style themselves as challengers to an obsolete (and soon to be obliterated) regional status quo, and who appeal to the self-interest, sense of responsibility and solidarity in their audience to collaborate and engage with them onto a new course. Further work would be required to focus more specifically on these narratives of power, by bringing together concepts such as leadership, progress, responsibility, deficiency and solidarity, and engaging in a broader research program that could trace the real-life impacts of these narrative elements on actual decisions taken, goods produced, positions acquired and funds distributed.

7.3 Recommendations for the practice of organizing CSKPs

The analytical approach used in this study can be utilized by CSKPs in formative evaluations and strategic workshops. It can engage the organizations to be evaluated or reformed with the aspect of organizational story-telling and enable them to clarify joint objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and positions and organizational identity. This approach can sensitize practitioners to highly abstract concepts (such as transdisciplinarity, knowledge, sectors, partnership) that are linked to the imagery and metaphors they use in daily sensemaking to tell a meaningful personal-professional life story to themselves and others. For example, abstract terms such as project, organization and network, can be understood as different metaphors for working together, suggesting different time horizons for producing value, different roles, modes of exchange/ relationships and group identities. And also the other narrative elements identified in this study, can be used to trigger reflexive processes in CSKPs, where it could help people to go beyond (or beneath) the normative-strategic level "*where it's easy to agree*" (NbNb P73), and to creatively tackle nitty-gritty of getting organized. In this way, the study's proposition to look more closely on narrative constructions of joint objects of value, modes of exchange, roles and position as well as group relationships/identity as part of a CSKP's story can help practitioners to critically as well as playfully engage with important aspects of them organizing themselves and to gain a new perspective on the question why and how they organize each other in and through their CSKP. Such a focus can then be a useful complement to formative evaluation approaches that already engage in some way or another in story-telling, such as Caroline Weiss' theory of change approach (Weiss 1995; Anderson 2006), or the most significant change approach such as developed by Dart and Davies (Dart and Davies 2003, Davies and Dart 2005). This study's conceptual tools for facilitating narrative deliberation can also be used as a specific tool in the 'art of hosting' approach to organizing workshops and strategic conferences for organizations, community initiatives, and cross-sector partnerships (cf. Dumas 2010, Quick and Sandfort 2014).

Here also the study's suggestion to more systematically focus on the construction of boundaries (or the process of boundary-making) in transdisciplinary CSKPs, and here specifically to work out antagonisms and dilemmas could be used in formative evaluations of CSKps specifically to sensitize CSKP participants for importance of balancing unity and difference, continuity and change, professionalism and activism, market modes of exchange and agora modes of exchange, leadership and mentorship, and other aspects that have proven significant within the sensemaking processes of the two CSKPs studied. These generic concepts

could be used by other CSKPs to induce reflection about what separates and links them specifically, what their unique boundary area or common ground could be.

On a more concrete level, other CSKPs could take inspiration from ISU and opencampus and their specific way of dealing with antagonisms and dilemmas. For example, the way in which both of them developed either boundary workplaces (such as opencampus co-working space) or boundary-spanning teams (such as the ISU boundary agents). They could also strategically focus on the student-mentor role pair, which in both CSKPs under study proved suitable for propagating modes of exchange and professional identities that allowed (some of the) CSKP members to adopt attitudes more conducive to boundary-spanning, cross-sector work. Students in this respect can be strategically and symbolically significant for a CSKP, because they allow for a low-threshold entrance point for collaboration between partners, as working with students and working together through students is less susceptible to the usual performance criteria that would measure the performance of a CSKP (and the professionals linked to it) according to how it contributes to immediately useful, high-quality knowledge for its respective partners and their different organizational demands. When students are concerned, the focus is more on the long term, and pressures to deliver high-quality outcomes are a bit more relaxed, since the focus is more on learning than on knowledge. Simultaneously, the focus on students can be used by those organizing the CSKP to activate the more inclusive role of a mentor, teacher or facilitator among the professionals from the different partner organizations. This role enables them to leave their usual organizational role behind and identify with other actors from across the spectrum on the basis of both being similarly mentors to the students. The strategic usefulness of students in a CSKP is also strongly linked to their symbolic value, as those who are young, developing and learning but also as those who are agents of change, creative, dynamic and whose horizontal, informal youth culture is an ideal counter-image to the old, conventional, functionally differentiated organizations and their entrenched professionals that the CSKP to some extent is positioned against.

This study showed that there is a lot to learn from a narrative approach to studying CSKPs. There, too, is a lot it can offer to those who try to create a meaningful story about why and how they engage in cross-sector partnerships for knowledge production. Its value does not lie in proposing a coherent, definitive theory of CSKPs, but a diverse set of middle-range conceptual tools to be adapted and used within reflecting what it could mean to engage in and through a CSKP with each other. It will have to prove its worth through helping others—future researchers and organizers of cross-sector knowledge partnerships—to make better sense of what they do.

VIII Literature

Aboelela, S. W., Larson, E., Bakken, S., Carrasquillo, O., Formicola, A., Glied, S. A., Haas, J. and Gebbie, K. M. (2007). Defining interdisciplinary research: Conclusions from a critical review of the literature. *Health Services Research*, *42*, 329–346.

Abbott, A. (1992). What do cases do? Some notes on activity in sociological analysis. In: Ragin, C. C. & Becker, H. S. (1992) (Eds.). *What is a case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 53-82.

Abbott, A. D. (2004). *Methods of discovery: Heuristics for the social sciences*. WW Norton & Company New York, London.

Alvargonzález, D. (2011). Multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, and the sciences. *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, *25*(4), 387–403.

Alvesson, M. & Kärreman, D. (2000). Varieties of discourse: On the study of organizations through discourse analysis. *Human Relations*, *53*(9), 1125–1149.

Alvesson, M. (2003). Beyond neopositivists, romantics, and localists: A reflexive approach to interviews in organizational research. *Academy of Management Review*, 28(1), 13–33.

Amey, M. J., Eddy, P. L. & Ozaki, C. C. (2007). Demands for partnership and collaboration in higher education: A model. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 2007(139), 5–14.

Anderberg, S. & Clark, E. (2013). Green sustainable Öresund region - or eco-branding Copenhagen and Malmö? In: Vojnovic, I. (Ed.) (2013). Sustainability: a global urban context. Michigan State University Press, 591 – 610.

Anderson, T. (2014). Malmö: A city in transition. *Cities*, 39, 10–20.

Anderson, A. A. (2006). *The Community Builder's approach to Theory of Change: A practical guide to theory development*. Aspen: Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change.

Ankrah, S. & Omar, A.-T. (2015). Universities-industry collaboration: A systematic review. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, *31*(3), 387–408.

Aula, P. & Mantere, S. (2013). Making and breaking sense: an inquiry into the reputation change. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *26*(2), 340–352.

Babbie, E. (2007). *The practice of social research*. 11th Edition. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth,

Barbour, R.S. (2013). Analyising Focus Groups. In: Flick, U. (Ed.).(2013). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage

Barnett, D. C. (2016). *The Primacy of Resistance: Anarchism, Foucault, and the Art of Not Being Governed*. (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Western Ontario)

Bastalich, W. (2010). Knowledge economy and research innovation. *Studies in Higher Education*, *35*(7), 845–857.

Basu, S., Jongerden, J. & Ruivenkamp, G. (2017). Beyond the dichotomy of instrumentality and non-instrumentality of knowledge production: The case of generation challenge programme. *Science and Public Policy* (2017).

Baeten, G. (2012). *Normalising neoliberal planning: the case of Malmö, Sweden*. In: Taşan-Kok, T. & Baeten, G. (Eds.). (2012). Contradictions of neoliberal planning: Cities, policies, and politics. Dordrecht: Springer, 21–42.

Bekkers, R., & Freitas, I. M. B. (2008). Analysing knowledge transfer channels between universities and industry: To what degree do sectors also matter?. *Research policy*, *37*(10), 1837-1853.

Benford, R. D. & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*(1), 611–639.

Benner, D. (2012). *Bildung und Kompetenz. Studien zur Bildungstheorie, systematischen Didaktik und Bildungsforschung*. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh GmbH & Co. KG

Berg, M., & Lidskog, R. (2018). Deliberative democracy meets democratised science: a deliberative systems approach to global environmental governance. *Environmental Politics*, 27(1), 1-20.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Doubleday

Bernstein, J. H. (2015). Transdisciplinarity: A review of its origins, development, and current issues. *Journal of Research Practice,* Vol 11, Issue 1, Article R1

Bévort, F. & Suddaby, R. (2016). Scripting professional identities: how individuals make sense of contradictory institutional logics. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 3(1), 17–38.

Billig, M.; Condor, S.; Edwards, D.; Gane, E.; Middleton, D.; Radley, A.(1988). *Ideological dilemmas: A social psychology of everyday thinking*. London: Sage.

Bingham, C. B. & Kahl, S. J. (2013). The process of schema emergence: Assimilation, deconstruction, unitization and the plurality of analogies. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56(1), 14–34.

Bingham, C., Biesta, G. & Ranciere, J. (2010). *Jacques Ranciere: education, truth, emancipation*. Continuum International Publishing Group.

Bird, A. (2007). What is scientific progress? *Noûs*, *41*(1), 64–89.

Blamey, A. A., MacMillan, F., Fitzsimons, C. F., Shaw, R. & Mutrie, N. (2013). Using programme theory to strengthen research protocol and intervention design within an RCT of a walking intervention. *Evaluation*, 19(1), 5–23.

Boradkar, P. (2010). Design as problem solving. In: Frodeman, R., Klein, J. T. & Pacheco, R. C. D. S. (Eds.). (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 273-287.

Böhm, A. (2004). Theoretical Coding: Text Analysis in Grounded Theory. In: Jenner, B., Flick, U., von Kardoff, E. & Steinke, I. (Eds.). (2004). *A companion to qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Boltanski, L. & Chiapello, E. (2005). The new spirit of capitalism. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *18*(3), 161–188.

Bowen, G. A. (2006). Grounded theory and sensitizing concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *5*(3), 12–23.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40.

Bornmann, L. (2013). What is societal impact of research and how can it be assessed? A literature survey. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, *64*(2), 217–233.

Blaikie, N. (2014). Approaches to social enquiry: Advancing knowledge. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Blumer, H. (1954). What is wrong with social theory? *American Sociological Review*, *19*(1), 3–10.

BMBF (2016). *Innovative Hochschule - Eine Förderinitiative von Bund und Ländern*. Berlin. Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) - Referat Neue Instrumente und Programme der Innovationsförderung

BMBF (2017). Neues Förderprogramm für regionalen Strukturwandel. https://www.bmbf.de/de/neues-foerderprogramm-fuer-regionalen-strukturwandel-4598.html. Accessed: 27.03.2017

Bradbury-Jones, C., Taylor, J. & Herber, O. (2014). How theory is used and articulated in qualitative research: Development of a new typology. *Social Science \& Medicine*, *120*, 135–141.

Bringle, R.; Games, R. & Malloy, E. (1999). *Colleges and universities as citizens: Issues and perspectives*. In: Bringle, R.; Games, R. & Malloy, E. (1999). (Ed.). Colleges and universities as citizens (pp.1-16). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon

Brinkmann, S. (2013). *Qualitative interviewing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, A. D., Stacey, P. & Nandhakumar, J. (2008). Making sense of sensemaking narratives. *Human Relations*, 61(8), 1035–1062.

Bruce, C. (2007). Questions arising about emergence, data collection, and its interaction with analysis in a grounded theory study. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *6*(1), 51-68.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, *18*(1), 1–21.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bundestag (2006). Die Lissabon Strategie. Ausarbeitung WD 206/06 Available at: https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/412428/f594813fcab0430692ffc80ca9f82df9/wd-11-205-06-pdf-data.pdf

Burawoy, M. (2005). For public sociology. *American Sociological Review*, *70*(1), 4–28.

Burawoy, M. (2015). *Public sociology: öffentliche Soziologie gegen Marktfundamentalismus und globale Ungleichheit*. Beltz: Juventa.

Burr, V. (2015). *Social constructionism*. London: Routledge.

Calhoun, C. (2006). The university and the public good. *Thesis Eleven*, 84(1), 7–43.

Calloni, M., Felt, U., Gorski, A., Grunwald, A., Markus, E., Rip, A. (2009). Challenging Futures of Science in Society. Emerging Trends and cutting-edge issues.

Cars, G. and Hagetoft, J. (1999). *Case Study Report: Malmö-Rosengard. Evaluation of Local Socio-Economic Strategies in Disadvantaged Urban Areas*. Stockholm: KTH.

Carayannis, E. G. & Campbell, D. F. (2012). Mode 3 knowledge production in quadruple helix innovation systems. In *Mode 3 Knowledge Production in Quadruple Helix Innovation Systems* (pp. 1–63). Dordrecht: Springer.

Carlile, P. R. (2002). A pragmatic view of knowledge and boundaries: Boundary objects in new product development. *Organization Science*, *13*(4), 442–455.

Carlile, P. R. (2004). Transferring, translating, and transforming: An integrative framework for managing knowledge across boundaries. *Organization Science*, *15*(5), 555–568.

Carolan, M. S. (2006). Science, expertise, and the democratization of the decision-making process. *Society and Natural Resources*, 19(7), 661-668.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In: Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.) *Strategies for qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp.249-291.

Charmaz (2014). *Constructing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage

Chater, N., & Loewenstein, G. (2016). The under-appreciated drive for sensemaking. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 126, 137-154.

Chilvers, J., and Kearns, M.(2016). Science, democracy and emergent publics. In: Chilvers, J., and Kearns, M.(Eds.). (2016). *Remaking participation: science, environment and emergent publics*. Routledge, London and New York. pp. 1–28

Choi, B. C. & Pak, A. W. (2006). Multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity in health research, services, education and policy: 1. Definitions, objectives, and evidence of effectiveness. *Clinical and Investigative Medicine*, *29*(6), 351.

Clarke, A. (1991). Social Worlds/ Arenas Theory as Organizational Theory. In: Strauss, A.L. & Maines, D.R. (Eds.). (1991). *Social organization and social process. Essays in honor of Anselm Strauss*. New York: de Gruyter, pp.119-158.

Clarke, A. (1998). *Disciplining reproduction: modernity, American life sciences, and "The Problems of Sex"*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarke, A. E. (2003). Situational analyses: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction*, *26*(4), 553–576.

Clarke, A. (2005). *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*. London: Sage.

Clarke, A. E. & Star, S. L. (2008). The social worlds framework: A theory/methods package. *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, *3*, 113–137.

Clegg, S. R., Hardy, C., & Nord, W. R. (2006). *Handbook of organization studies*. London. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: complementary research strategies*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Cooke, P. (2001). Regional innovation systems, clusters, and the knowledge economy. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *10*(4), 945–974.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. London: Sage Publications.

Cornelissen, J. P. & Werner, M. D. (2014). Putting framing in perspective: A review of framing and frame analysis across the management and organizational literature. *Academy of Management Annals*, *8*(1), 181–235.

Cornes, R. & Sandler, T. (1996). *The theory of externalities, public goods, and club goods*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell J.W. (2014). *Research Design – Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed methods Approaches*. London: Sage.

Cuevas Garcia, C. A. (2016). *Sensemaking and self-making in interdisciplinarity: an analysis of dilemmatic discourses of expertise*. (Doctoral thesis)

Cumbers, A., & MacKinnon, D. (2004). Introduction: clusters in urban and regional development. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 41, Nr. 5/6, May 2004

Czarniawska, B. (1998). *A narrative approach to organization studies* (Vol. 43). London: Sage Publications.

Dannestam, T. (2009). Stadspolitik i Malmö. Politikens meningsskapande och materialitet. *Lund Political Studies* 155.

Darbellay, F. (2015). Rethinking inter-and transdisciplinarity: Undisciplined knowledge and the emergence of a new thought style. *Futures*, *65*, 163–174.

Dart, J., & Davies, R. (2003). A dialogical, story-based evaluation tool: The most significant change technique. *American Journal of Evaluation*, *24*(2), 137-155.

Davies, B., Gottsche, M. & Bansel, P. (2006). The rise and fall of the neo-liberal university. *European Journal of Education*, *41*(2), 305–319.

Davies, R., & Dart, J. (2005). The 'most significant change' (MSC) technique. *A guide to its use*.

De Beauvoir, S. (2012). *The second sex*. London: Vintage.

De Fina, A. (2009). Narratives in interview—The case of accounts: For an interactional approach to narrative genres. *Narrative Inquiry*, 19(2), 233–258.

Dentoni, D. & Bitzer, V. (2015). The role (s) of universities in dealing with global wicked problems through multi-stakeholder initiatives. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 106, 68–78.

Deneulin, S. & Townsend, N. (2007). Public goods, global public goods and the common good. *International Journal of Social Economics*, *34*(1/2), 19–36.

Denzin, N. K. (2005). Indians in the park. *Qualitative Research*, *5*(1), 9–33.

Deutscher, P. (2005). *On Asking the Wrong Question: In Science, Is the Subject Sexed?*. In: Gutting, G. (Eds.) (2005). Continetal Approaches to Science (pp. 265-282). Cambridge University Press.

Doberneck, D. M., Glass, C. R. & Schweitzer, J. (2010). From Rhetoric to Reality: A Typology of Publically Engaged Scholarship. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, *14*(4), 5–35.

Doloreux, D. & Parto, S. (2005). Regional innovation systems: Current discourse and unresolved issues. *Technology in Society*, 27(2), 133–153.

Douglas, H. (2014). Pure science and the problem of progress. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, *46*, 55–63.

Doty, D. H., & Glick, W. H. (1994). Typologies as a unique form of theory building: Toward improved understanding and modeling. *Academy of management review*, 19(2), 230-251.

Dubb, S. & Howard, T. (2007). Linking colleges to communities: Engaging the university for community development. *College Park, MD: The Democracy Collaborative at the University of Maryland.*

Dumas, C. (2010). Hosting Conversations for Effective Action. *Journal of Knowledge Globalization*, *3*(1).

Eden and Huxham (2006). Researching Organizations using Action Research. In: Clegg, S. (Ed.). (2006). *The Sage handbook of organization studies*. London: Sage Publications.

Edley, Nigel (2001). *Analysing masculinity: Interpretive repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions*. In: Wetherell, M; Taylor, S. & Yates, S. (Eds.). Discourse as data. A guide for analysis (pp.189-228). The Open University: Sage

Eisenhardt, K. M. & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(1), 25–32.

Enders, J. (2014). The academic arms race: International rankings and global competition for world-class universities. *The Institutional Development of Business Schools*, 155–175.

Etzkowitz, H. & Leydesdorff, L. (2000). The dynamics of innovation: from National Systems and "Mode 2" to a Triple Helix of university-industry-government relations. *Research Policy*, *29*(2), 109–123.

Etzkowitz, H., Webster, A., Gebhardt, C. & Terra, B. R. C. (2000). The future of the university and the university of the future: evolution of ivory tower to entrepreneurial paradigm. *Research Policy*, *29*(2), 313–330.

EU Council (2009). The Lund Declaration. In *Swedish Presidency Research Conference in Lund: New Worlds-New Solutions Lund*.

Evans, G. L. (2013). A novice researcher's first walk through the maze of grounded theory. *Grounded Theory Review*, *12*(1).

Fairclough, I. and Fairclough, N. (2012). Political Discourse Analysis. A Method for Advanced Students. London and New York: Routledge

Feldman, M. P. & Florida, R. (1994). The geographic sources of innovation: technological infrastructure and product innovation in the United States. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *84*(2), 210–229

Fischer, F. (2000). *Citizens, experts, and the environment: The politics of local knowledge*. Duke University Press.

Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practices*. Oxford University Press.

Fischer, F., & Mandell, A. (2009). Michael Polanyi's republic of science: the tacit dimension. *Science as Culture*, 18(1), 23-46.

Fishbain, D. A., Rosomoff, H. L., Cutler, R. B. & Rosomoff, R. S. (1995). Secondary gain concept: a review of the scientific evidence. *The Clinical Journal of Pain*.

Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Florida, R. (2005). Cities and the creative class. London: Routledge.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219–245.

Fraenkel, E. (2011). *Deutschland und die westlichen Demokratien* (Vol. 3529). München: UTB.

Fram, S. M. (2013). The constant comparative analysis method outside of grounded theory. *The Qualitative Report*, *18*(1), 1.

Freire, P. (2008). *Pädagogik der Autonomie: notwendiges Wissen für die Bildungspraxis* (Vol. 3). Waxmann Verlag.

Frechtling, J. A. (2015). Logic Models. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences,2 (12)*, p. 299-305. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.10549-5

Frodeman, R. (2011). Interdisciplinary research and academic sustainability: managing knowledge in an age of accountability. *Environmental Conservation*, *38*(2), 105–112.

Frodeman, R., Klein, J. T. & Pacheco, R. C. D. S. (2017). The Oxford handbook of interdisciplinarity. Oxford University Press.

Funtowicz, S. O., & Ravetz, J. R. (1993). Science for the post-normal age. *Futures*, 25(7), 739-755.

Galison, P. (1997). *Image and logic: A material culture of microphysics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gasper, D. (2010). *Interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity Diverse purposes of research: theory-oriented, situation-oriented, policy-oriented.* In: Thomson, P. & Walker, M. (Eds.). (2010). The Routledge Doctoral Student's Companion (pp. 70-85). London: Routledge.

Gavazzi, S. M., Fox, M. & Martin, J. (2014). Understanding campus and community relationships through marriage and family metaphors: A town-gown typology. *Innovative Higher Education*, 39(5), 361–374.

Gavazzi, S. M. & Fox, M. (2015). A Tale of Three Cities: Piloting a Measure of Effort and Comfort Levels within Town-Gown Relationships. *Innovative Higher Education,* 40(3), 189–199.

Gavazzi, S. M. (2015). For Better and for Worse: Understanding Optimal Campus-Community Relationships through the Lens of Marriage. *Metropolitan Universities*, 26(1), 147–154.

Gaventa, J., & Cornwall, A. (2008). *Power and knowledge*. In Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (Eds.9 (2008). The SAGE handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice, 2, 172-189.

Gephart Jr, R. P. (1993). The textual approach: Risk and blame in disaster sensemaking. *Academy of Management Journal*, *36*(6), 1465–1514.

Geels, F. W. (2007). Feelings of Discontent and the Promise of Middle Range Theory for STS. *Science, Technology & Human Values*, *32*(6), 627–651.

Geertz, C. (1983). "From the native's point of view": On the nature of anthropological understanding. In: Geertz, C. (Ed.). (1983). *Local knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 55-70.

George, G., Zahra, S. A. & Wood Jr, D. R. (2002). The effects of business-university alliances on innovative output and financial performance: a study of publicly traded biotechnology companies. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *17*(6), 577–609.

George, A.L. & Bennet, a. (2005). *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Ma: MIT Press

Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research – Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gibbert, M. & Ruigrok, W. (2010). The "'what'"and "'how'"of case study rigor: Three strategies based on published work. Organizational Research Methods, 13(4), 710–737.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration* (Vol. 349). Univ of California Press.

Giddens, A. (1993). New Rules of Sociological Method. *Stanford University Press*.

Ginev, D. (2013). Scrutinizing scientism from a hermeneutic point of view. *Social Epistemology*, 27(1), 68–89.

Gioia, D. A. & Poole, P. P. (1984). Scripts in organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, *9*(3), 449–459.

Giroux, D., Karmis, D. & Rouillard, C. (2015). Between the managerial and the democratic university: Governance structure and academic freedom as sites of political struggle. *Studies in Social Justice*, *9*(2).

Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (2017). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Routledge.

Glaser, V. L., Fast, N. J., Harmon, D. J. & Green Jr, S. E. (2016). Institutional frame switching: How institutional logics shape individual action. In *How Institutions Matter!* (pp. 35–69). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA, US: Harvard University Press.

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order: American Sociological Association, 1982 presidential address. American sociological review, 48(1), 1-17.

Goldkuhl, G. & Cronholm, S. (2010). Adding theoretical grounding to grounded theory: Toward multi-grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *9*(2), 187–205.

Gollnick, G. (2013). *Geben ohne Kalkül*. *Geben ohne Kalkül* (pp. 49–76). Dordrecht, NL: Springer.

Gonzales, L. D. (2013). Faculty sensemaking and mission creep: Interrogating institutionalized ways of knowing and doing legitimacy. *The Review of Higher Education*, 36(2), 179-209.

Gooday, G. (2012). "Vague and artificial": The historically elusive distinction between pure and applied science. *Isis*, *103*(3), 546–554.

Gordon, U., 2008. *Anarchy alive!: Anti-authoritarian politics from practice to theory*. London: Pluto Press

Greenwood, D. J. & Levin, M. (2006). *Introduction to action research: Social research for social change*. SAGE publications.

Grünbaum, N. N. (2007). Identification of ambiguity in the case study research typology: what is a unit of analysis? *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, *10*(1), 78–97.

Grunwald, A. (2015). Transformative Wissenschaft-eine neue Ordnung im Wissenschaftsbetrieb?. GAIA-Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society, 24(1), 17-20.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. In: Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.) (2005). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 4, 97-128.

Gutting, G. (Eds.). (2005). *Continetal Approaches to Science*. Cambridge University Press.

Gur-Ze'ev, I. (1998). Toward a nonrepressive critical pedagogy. *Educational Theory*, 48(4), 463-486.

Habermas, J. (2015). *Knowledge and human interests*. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Hajer, M. A. & Wagenaar, H. (2003). *Deliberative policy analysis: understanding governance in the network society*. Cambridge University Press.

Harding, A., Burtscher, C., Laske, S. & Scott, A. (2012). *Bright satanic mills: Universities, regional development and the knowledge economy*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Hardy, C., Phillips, N. & Lawrence, T. B. (2003). Resources, knowledge and influence: The organizational effects of interorganizational collaboration. *Journal of Management Studies*, *40*(2), 321–347.

Hayes, D. (2017). *Beyond the therapeutic university*. In: Hayes, D. (ed.) (2017). Beyond McDonaldization. London: Routledge

Hedström, P. & Ylikoski, P. (2014). Analytical sociology and rational-choice theory. *Analytical Sociology: Actions and Networks*, 57–70.

Helfferich, C. (2005). *Die Qualität qualitativer Daten*. Manual Für Die Durchführung Qualitativer Interviews, 2, 152–153.

Helfferich, C. (2014). Leitfaden und Experteninterviews. In: Baur, N. & Blasius, J. (Eds.).(2014). *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer

Heinrichs, H., Kuhn, K. & Newig, J. (2011). *Nachhaltige Gesellschaft: welche Rolle für Partizipation und Kooperation?* Springer-Verlag.

Herman, L. & Vervaeck, B. (2005). *Handbook of narrative analysis*. University of Nebraska Press.

Hjørland, B. (2013). Theories of Knowledge Organization-Theories of Knowledge. *Knowledge Organization*, *40*(3).

Holgersen, S. (2012). Exploring urban development in Malmö City through discourses on change. In: Jacobsen, K. & Sjöberg, K. (Eds.). (2012). Pondering on methods – A variety of methodological concerns. Lund: Lund University.

Holgersen, S. (2014). The Rise (and Fall?) of Post-Industrial Malmö. Investigations of city-crisis dialectics. Lund: Lund University.

Holgersen, S. & Malm, A. (2015). "Green fix" as crisis management. Or, in which world is Malmö the world's greenest city? Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 97(4), 275–290.

Hollway, W. & Jefferson, T. (2000). *Doing qualitative research differently: Free association, narrative and the interview method*. London: Sage.

Hong, W. & Su, Y.-S. (2013). The effect of institutional proximity in non-local university-industry collaborations: An analysis based on Chinese patent data. *Research Policy*, *42*(2), 454–464.

Honneth, A. (2005). *Bisected Rationality: The Frankfurt School's Critique of Science*. In: Gutting, G. (Ed.) (2005). Continental Philosophy of Science. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Ibáñez-Carrasco, F. & Riaño-Alcalá, P. (2011). Organizing community-based research knowledge between universities and communities: lessons learned. *Community Development Journal*, *46*(1), 72–88.

ISU (2012). Strategiskt Basdokument 2012. Malmö: ISU – Institutet för Hållbar Stadsutveckling.

ISU (2013). Årsrapport 2013. Malmö: ISU – Institutet för Hållbar Stadsutveckling.

ISU (2014a). Verksamhetsplan 2014. Malmö: ISU – Institutet för Hållbar Stadsutveckling.

ISU (2014b). 2015—2017. Malmö: ISU – Institutet för Hållbar Stadsutveckling.

IW Consult (2013). *Kiel – Standort für Wissenschaft, Innovation und Kreativität. Studie zur Untersuchung der regionalen Bedeutung der Kieler Hochschulen*. Kiel: IW Consult.

Jasanoff, S. (1996). Beyond epistemology: relativism and engagement in the politics of science. *Social Studies of Science*, 26(2), 393–418.

Jasanoff, S. (2003). Technologies of humility: citizen participation in governing science. *Minerva*, 41(3), 223–244.

Jasanoff, S. (2004). *States of knowledge: the co-production of science and the social order*. London: Routledge.

Jasanoff, S. (2012). *Science and public reason*. London: Routledge.

Jörke, D. (2011). Bürgerbeteiligung in der Postdemokratie. *Aus Politik Und Zeitgeschichte*, *61*, 1–2.

Kalleberg (2010). The Ethos of Science and the Ethos of Democracy. In: Calhoun, C. (Ed.). (2010). *Robert K. Merton. Sociology of Science and Sociology as Science*. New York: Columbia University Press

Kamberelis, G. & Dimitriadis, G. (2013). *Focus groups*. London: Routledge.

Katambwe, J., & Taylor, J. R. (2006). *Modes of organizational integration*. In: Cooren, F.; Taylor, J.R. & van every, E.J. (Eds.) (2006). Communication as organizing: Empirical and theoretical explorations in the dynamic of text and conversation. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 55-77.

Keck, M. & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Movement Society*. In: Meyer, D.S. & Tarrow, S. (Eds). The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 217–238.

Kehm, B. M. (2015). Higher education as a field of study and research in Europe. *European Journal of Education*, 50(1), 60–74.

Kidd, P. S. & Parshall, M. B. (2000). Getting the focus and the group: enhancing analytical rigor in focus group research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10(3), 293–308.

Kimble, C., Grenier, C. & Goglio-Primard, K. (2010). Innovation and knowledge sharing across professional boundaries: Political interplay between boundary objects and brokers. *International Journal of Information Management*, *30*(5), 437–444.

Kitcher, P. (2011*). Science in a Democratic Society*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Press.

Koka, B. R. & Prescott, J. E. (2002). Strategic alliances as social capital: A multidimensional view. *Strategic Management Journal*, *23*(9), 795–816.

Koppel, O., & Plünnecke, A. (2009). *Fachkräftemangel in Deutschland: Bildungsökonomische Analyse, politische Handlungsempfehlungen, Wachstums- und Fiskaleffekte*. Köln: Deutscher Instituts-Verlag

Knorr-Cetina, K. D. (2013). *The manufacture of knowledge: An essay on the constructivist and contextual nature of science*. Elsevier.

Krueger, R. A. & Casey, M. A. (2002). Designing and conducting focus group interviews. Social Analysis, Selected Tools and Techniques", Krueger, RA, MA Casey, J. Donner, S. Kirsch and JN Maack, 4–23.

Krueger, R. A. & Casey, M. A. (2002). Focus Group Intervieweing. In: Newcomer, K. E., Hatry, H. P. & Wholey, J. S. (Eds.). (2015). *Handbook of practical program evaluation*. London: John Wiley & Sons.

Kuhn, T. S. (2012). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kumar, T. V. & Dahiya, B. (2017). Smart Economy in Smart Cities. In *Smart Economy in Smart Cities* (pp. 3–76). Dordrecht: Springer.

Kvale, S. (1995). The social construction of validity. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(1), 19–40.

Labianca, G., Gray, B. & Brass, D. J. (2000). A grounded model of organizational schema change during empowerment. *Organization Science*, *11*(2), 235–257.

Lang, D. J., Wiek, A., Bergmann, M., Stauffacher, M., Martens, P., Moll, P., Swiling, M., Thomas, C. J. (2012). Transdisciplinary research in sustainability science: practice, principles, and challenges. *Sustainability Science*, 7(1), 25–43.

Latour, B. (1984). The powers of association. *The Sociological Review*, *32*(S1), 264–280.

Lawrence, T., Suddaby, R. & Leca, B. (2011). Institutional work: Refocusing institutional studies of organization. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *20*(1), 52–58.

Leach, M., Gaventa, J. & Oswald, K. (2016). Engaged Excellence-Full issue.

Lee, A. M. (1976). Presidential address: Sociology for whom? *American Sociological Review*, 925–936.

Leydesdorff, L. (2010). The knowledge-based economy and the triple helix model. *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, *44*(1), 365–417.

Leydesdorff, L. (2012). The Triple Helix, Quadruple Helix,…, and an N-tuple of helices: Explanatory models for analyzing the knowledge-based economy? *Journal of the Knowledge Economy*, *3*(1), 25–35.

Lindblom, C. E., & Cohen, D. K. (1979). *Usable knowledge: Social science and social problem solving* (Vol. 21). New York: Yale University Press.

Listerborn, C. (2017). The flagship concept of the '4th urban environment'. Branding and visioning in Malmö, Sweden. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 18, 1, 11-33.

Longino, H. E. (2015). The social dimensions of scientific knowledge. In: Zalta, N.E. (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*.

Longino, H. E. (2018). *Essential tensions—phase two: Feminist, philosophical, and social studies of science*. In: Antony, L., and Witt, C. (Eds.). (2018). A Mind of One's Own. Boulder: Westview Press, 93-109.

Lorenz, C. (2012). If you're so smart, why are you under surveillance? Universities, neoliberalism, and new public management. *Critical Inquiry*, *38*(3), 599–629.

Lorenz, T. (2015). Jobstreichungen : Wirtschaftsentwicklung in SH: Die Industrie verlässt das Land. In: *SHZ* (10.02.2015). https://www.shz.de/regionales/schleswig-holstein/wirtschaft/wirtschaftsentwicklung-in-sh-die-industrie-verlaesst-das-land-id8931511.html. Accessed: 27.03.2017.

Lotz-Sisitka, H., Wals, A. E., Kronlid, D., & McGarry, D. (2015). Transformative, transgressive social learning: Rethinking higher education pedagogy in times of systemic global dysfunction. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 16, 73-80.

Lounsbury, M. & Boxenbaum, E. (2013). Institutional logics in action. In: Institutional Logics in Action, Part A (pp. 3–22). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Loyal, S. (2003). *The Sociology of Anthony Giddens.* London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press Ltd.

Lynd, R. S. (2015). *Knowledge for what: The place of social science in American culture*. Princeton University Press.

Malmö Commission (2012). Malmö's path towards a sustainable future: Health, welfare and justice. Malmö: Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö.

Malmö City (2006). Områdesfakta för Malmö 2006.

Malmö City (2012). Översiktsplan 2012.

Malmö City (2014a). The Line. Konferens Rapport. Malmö: Malmö City.

Malmö City (2014b). The Line. Atlas. Malmö: Malmö City.

Malmö City (2015). THE LINE - Världens mest innovativa stråk & företagsmiljö?" https://malmo.se/Stadsplanering--trafik/Stadsplanering--visioner/Malmos-stadsmiljo/Linjen---kultur--och-upplevelsestrak-i-det-fjarde-stadsrummet.html Accessed: 05.06.2018

Malmö University (2016). Malmö University 2018 - Diversity, creativity and social commitment. Background document and road map for presentation to the Swedish government. Malmö: Malmö University, December 2016

Maasen, S. & Weingart, P. (2005). *Democratization of expertise?: exploring novel forms of scientific advice in political decision-making* (Vol. 24). Dordrecht: Springer.

Maassen, P. (2017). The university's governance paradox. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 71(3), 290-298.

Maitlis, S., Vogus, T. J., & Lawrence, T. B. (2013). Sensemaking and emotion in organizations. *Organizational Psychology Review*, 3(3), 222-247.

Maitlis, S. & Christianson, M. (2014). Sensemaking in organizations: Taking stock and moving forward. *Academy of Management Annals*, *8*(1), 57–125.

Marom, L. (2016). A new immigrant experience of navigating multiculturalism and Indigenous content in teacher education. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, *46*(4), 23.

Marginson, S. (2006). Putting "public"back into the public university. *Thesis Eleven*, 84(1), 44–59.

Martin, B., & Whitley, R. (2010). *The UK Research Assessment Exercise: A case of regulatory capture?* In: Whitley, R.; Gläser, J. & Engwall, L. (Eds.).(2010). Reconfiguring knowledge production: Changing authority relationships in the sciences and their consequences for intellectual innovation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 51-80.

Maurrasse, D. J. (2002). Higher education-community partnerships: Assessing progress in the field. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *31*(1), 131–139.

Maxwell, J.A. & Chmiel, M. (2013). Generalization in and from Qualitative Analysis. In: Flick, U. (Ed.).(2013). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Mayring, P. (2002). *Einführung in die Qualitative Sozialforschung*. Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Studium.

McGregor, S. L. & Volckmann, R. (2011). *Transversity: Transdisciplinary approaches in higher education*. Integral Publishers.

McKelvey, M. & Holmén, M. (2010). *Learning to compete in European universities: From social institution to knowledge business*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

McPherson, C. M. & Sauder, M. (2013). Logics in action: Managing institutional complexity in a drug court. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *58*(2), 165–196.

Meehan, A. (2013). Rescuing Habermas' Knowledge Constitutive Interests. *Meteorite*, 1001, 25.

Menz, F. (1999). Who am I gonna do this with?': Self-organization, ambiguity and decision-making in a business enterprise. *Discourse \& Society*, *10*(1), 101–128.

Merelman, Richard M. "Technological cultures and liberal democracy in the United States." Science, technology, & human values 25.2 (2000): 167-194.

Mergner, J. & Bosse, E. (2018). *Parallelen und Unterschiede im Umgang mit der politischen Forderung nach Öffnung der Hochschulen am Beispiel des Qualitätspakt Lehre*. In: Buß, I., Erbsland, M., Rahn, P. & Pohlenz, P. (Eds.). (2018). Öffnung von Hochschulen. Impulse zur Weiterentwicklung von Studienangeboten. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Merkel (2012). *Dialog zu Deutschlands Zukunft. Ergebnisbericht des Expertendialogs der Bundeskanzlerin 2011/2012. Kurzfassung*. Berlin: Presse und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung.

Merton, R. K. (1949). *On sociological theories of the middle range [1949]*.

Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social theory and social structure*. Simon and Schuster.

Minguillo, D. (2010). Toward a new way of mapping scientific fields: Authors' competence for publishing in scholarly journals. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, *61*(4), 772–786.

Mizrachi, N., Shuval, J. T. & Gross, S. (2005). Boundary at work: alternative medicine in biomedical settings. *Sociology of Health \& Illness*, *27*(1), 20–43.

Morgan, D. L. (1988). *Focus groups as qualitative research*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Morgan, D. L. (1996). Focus groups. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22(1), 129–152.

Moodie, J. R. (2014). Resistant to Change? An Analysis of the European Commission's Response to External Challenge and Criticism of its Expert Group System? The European Commission's justifications for democratising expertise. *Expertise and Democracy*, 293.

Moore, K., Kleinman, D. L., Hess, D. & Frickel, S. (2011). Science and neoliberal globalization: a political sociological approach. *Theory and Society*, *40*(5), 505–532.

Morley, L. (2016). Troubling intra-actions: gender, neo-liberalism and research in the global academy. *Journal of Education Policy*, *31*(1), 28–45.

Muno W. (2009) Fallstudien und die vergleichende Methode. In: Pickel S., Pickel G., Lauth HJ., Jahn D. (Eds). (2009). *Methoden der vergleichenden Politik- und Sozialwissenschaf*t. Wiesbaden: Springer VS

Neuendorf, K. A. (2016). *The content analysis guidebook*. London: Sage.

Newberg, J. A. & Dunn, R. L. (2002). Keeping secrets in the campus lab: Law, values and rules of engagement for industry-university R&D partnerships. *American Business Law Journal*, *39*(2), 187–240.

Newman, G., Wiggins, A., Crall, A., Graham, E., Newman, S., & Crowston, K. (2012). The future of citizen science: emerging technologies and shifting paradigms. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment, 10(6), 298-304.

Newman, S. (2010). Voluntary servitude reconsidered: Radical politics and the problem of self-domination. *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, (1).

Newton, K. & Norris, P. (2000). Confidence in public institutions. *Disaffected Democracies. What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries*.

Niiniluoto, I. (2002). Scientific progress. In Zalta, E. N. (Ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Accessible at http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/scientific-progress/.

Norgaard, R. B. (2006). *Development betrayed: The end of progress and a co-evolutionary revisioning of the future*. London: Routledge.

Normand, R. (2016). The New Spirit of Managerialism. In *The Changing Epistemic Governance of European Education* (pp. 161–197). Springer.

Norris, P. (1999). *Critical citizens: Global support for democratic government*. OUP Oxford.

Nowotny, H., & Scott, P. Gibbons (2001), Rethinking science. Knowledge and the public in the age of uncertainty. Polity Press_ Cambridge.

Nowotny, H., Scott, P., & Gibbons, M. (2003). Introduction: 'Mode 2' Revisited: The New Production of Knowledge. *Minerva, 41(3)*, 179-194.

Nullmeier, F. (2005). *Knowledge and decision-making*. In: Democratization of Expertise? In: Maasen, S. & Weingart, P. (2005). Democratization of expertise?: exploring novel forms of scientific advice in political decision-making (Vol. 24). Dordrecht: Springer. (pp. 123-134).

O'Brien, L., Marzano, M. & White, R. M. (2013). "Participatory interdisciplinarity": Towards the integration of disciplinary diversity with stakeholder engagement for new models of knowledge production. *Science and Public Policy*, *40*(1), 51–61.

O'Byrne, D. J. (2003). *The dimensions of global citizenship: Political identity beyond the nation-state*. Routledge.

Ocasio, W., Loewenstein, J. & Nigam, A. (2015). How streams of communication reproduce and change institutional logics: the role of categories. *Academy of Management Review*, *40*(1), 28–48.

O'Connor, M. K., Netting, F. E. & Thomas, M. L. (2008). Grounded theory: Managing the challenge for those facing institutional review board oversight. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(1), 28–45.

Öquist, G. & Benner, M. (2015). Why are some nations more successful than others in research impact? A comparison between Denmark and Sweden. In: Welpe, M.I.; Wollersheim, J.; Ringelhan, S. & Osterloh, m. (Eds.) (2015). Incentives and performance – Governance of Research Organizations (pp. 241–257). Cham: Springer.

OECD (2007). *Higher Education and Regions: Globally Competitive, Locally Engaged*. Paris and Washington, D.C.: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development 2007.

Oels, A. (2003). *Evaluating stakeholder participation in the transition to sustainable development*. Lit Verlag.

Olsen, J. P. (2007). *The institutional dynamics of the European university*. Springer.

Olsen, J. P. & Maassen, P. (2007). European debates on the knowledge institution: The modernization of the university at the European level. In *University dynamics and European integration* (pp. 3–22). Springer.

Opencampus (2013). *Opencampus – Think. Create. Support.—Region. Hochschule. Unternehmen*. Bewerbung für den Bildungsclusterwettbewerb des Stifterverbands für die deutsche Wissenschaft. 08.05.2013

Opencampus (2014). *Werde einzig, nicht artig. Innovativ. Preisgekrönt. Praktisch.*-Zwischenbericht für den Stifterverband der Deutschen Wirtschaft e.v.

Osborne, T. (2003). Against "creativity": a philistine rant. *Economy and Society,* 32(4), 507–525.

Osborne, T. (2004). On mediators: intellectuals and the ideas trade in the knowledge society. *Economy and Society*, 33(4), 430–447.

Osborne, P. (2015). Problematizing disciplinarity, transdisciplinary problematics. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *32*(5-6), 3–35.

Osterwalder, A. & Pigneur, Y. (2014). *Business model generation: a handbook for visionaries, game changers, and challengers*. John Wiley & Sons.

Ottoson, J. M. (2009). Knowledge-for-action theories in evaluation: Knowledge utilization, diffusion, implementation, transfer, and translation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, *2009*(124), 7–20.

Palmberger, M., & Gingrich, A. (January 01, 2014). Qualitative Comparative Practices: Dimensions, Cases and Strategies. In: Flick, U. (Ed.).(2013). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage, 94-108.

Pätsch, S. (2015). Putting Malmö on the Map-Studying the city's transformation and the effects of its efforts in place marketing through a spatial analysis.

Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health Services Research*, 34(5 Pt 2), 1189.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oak, CA: Sage Publications.

Perkmannn, M., Tartari, V., McKelvey, M., Autio, E., Brostro, M, A., D'Este, P., et al. (2013). Academic engagement and commercialisation: A review of the literature on university—industry relations. *Research Policy*, 42, 423—442.

Persson, B., & Tanner, R. G. (2005). *Sustainable city of tomorrow: Bo01--experiences of a Swedish housing exposition*. Stockholm: Formas

Persson, B. (2010). ISU – Institutet för hållbar stadsutveckling - Utvärdering av verksamhetens tre första år. Lund: Larki Lund.

Persson, C. (2011). Institutet för hållbar stadsutveckling - Förslag till framtida verksamhet. Malmö: ISU – Institutet för Hållbar Stadsutveckling.

Perry, B. & May, T. (2010). Urban knowledge exchange: devilish dichotomies and active intermediation. *International Journal of Knowledge-Based Development*, *1*(1-2), 6–24.

Petrovic, J. E., & Rolstad, K. (2017). Educating for autonomy: Reading Rousseau and Freire toward a philosophy of unschooling. *Policy Futures in Education*, 15(7-8), 817-833.

Pettibone, L., Vohland, K., & Ziegler, D. (2017). Understanding the (inter) disciplinary and institutional diversity of citizen science: A survey of current practice in Germany and Austria. PloS one, 12(6).

Picione, R. D. L., & Freda, M. F. (2016). Borders and modal articulations. Semiotic constructs of sensemaking processes enabling a fecund dialogue between cultural psychology and clinical psychology. *Integrative psychological and behavioral science*, *50*(1), 29-43.

Picione, R. D. L., & Valsiner, J. (2017). Psychological functions of semiotic borders in sensemaking: Liminality of narrative processes. *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 13(3), 532.

Pohlmann, A. (2016.). *Situatedness of Social Practices. Three Case-Studies About the contextuality of renewable Energy Production. Unpublished Dissertation*.

Polanyi, M. (2000). The republic of science: Its political and economic theory. *Minerva, 38*(1), 1-21

Poole, P. P., Gray, B. & Gioia, D. A. (1990). Organizational script development through interactive accommodation. *Group \& Organization Studies*, *15*(2), 212–232.

Porter, M. E. (1998). Clusters and the new economics of competition. *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 78

Potter, J., Stringer, P., & Wetherell, M. (1984). *Social texts and context: Literature and social psychology*. London: Routledge

Potter, J. (1996) Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: theoretical background. In: Richardson, J.T.E. (Ed.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and Social Sciences*. Leicester: British Psychological Society, 125-140

Potter, J. (2012). How to study experience. *Discourse & Society*, *23*(5), 576–588.

Powers, J. B. (2003). Commercializing academic research: Resource effects on performance of university technology transfer. The Journal of Higher Education, 74(1), 26-50.

Primeri, E. & Reale, E. (2015). *The Transformation of University Institutional and Organizational Boundaries: Organizational Boundaries*. Springer.

Przyborski, A. & Wohlrab-Sahr, M. (2014). Forschungsdesigns für die Qualitative Sozialforschung. In: Baur, N. & Blasius, J. (Eds.).(2014). *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Putnam, L. L. (1983). *The interpretive perspective: An alternative to functionalism. Communication and organizations: An interpretive approach*. In: Putnam, L.L. & Pacanowsky, M.E. (Eds.) (1983). Communication and organization. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 31-54.

Putnam, L.L. & Boys, S. (2006). Revisiting Metaphors for Organizational Communication. In: Clegg, S. (Ed.). (2006). *The Sage handbook of organization studies*. London: Sage Publications.

Quick, K., & Sandfort, J. (2014). Learning to facilitate deliberation: practicing the art of hosting. *Critical Policy Studies*, *8*(3), 300-322.

Ragin, C. C. & Becker, H. S. (1992) (Eds.). *What is a case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ramsay, P. (2017). Is Prevent a safe space? *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*.

Ranga, M. & Etzkowitz, H. (2013). Triple Helix systems: an analytical framework for innovation policy and practice in the Knowledge Society. *Industry and Higher Education*, 27(4), 237–262.

Rapley, T. J. (2001). The art (fulness) of open-ended interviewing: some considerations on analysing interviews. *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), 303–323.

Rapley, T. (2013). Sampling Strategies in Qualitative Research. In: Flick, U. (Ed.).(2013). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage

Rauschmayer, F., Omann, I., & Frühmann, J. (2012). Needs, capabilities and quality of life: refocusing sustainable development. In: Rauschmayer, F., Omann, I., & Frühmann, J. (2012). *Sustainable Development* (pp. 23-46). London: Routledge.

Reason, P. & Bradbury, H. (2001). *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*. London: Sage.

REK (2012). *Regionales Entwicklungskonzept für die Kiel Region – Kurzfassung Gesamtbericht*. Kiel: Kiel GmbH.

Reynolds, J., & Wetherell, M. (2003). The discursive climate of singleness: The consequences for women's negotiation of a single identity. *Feminism & Psychology*, 13(4), 489-510.

Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in interview-based qualitative research: A theoretical and practical guide. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11(1), 25–41.

Rogers, S., Booth, M. & Eveline, J. (2003). The politics of disciplinary advantage. *History of Intellectual Culture*, *3*(1), 1–20.

Rowland, R. C. (1991). On generic categorization. Communication Theory, 1(2), 128-144.

Ryan, G. W. & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Techniques to identify themes. *Field Methods*, 15(1), 85–109.

Rychla, L. (2016). Malmö University to be accredited with official university status. Greater CPH Post, 23rd June 2016.

Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Sartori, G. (1991). Comparing and miscomparing. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *3*(3), 243–257.

Saunders, B., Kitzinger, J. & Kitzinger, C. (2015a). Anonymising interview data: Challenges and compromise in practice. *Qualitative Research*, 15(5), 616–632.

Saunders, B., Kitzinger, J. & Kitzinger, C. (2015b). Participant anonymity in the internet age: from theory to practice. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 12(2), 125–137.

Schneidewind, U. (2009). *Nachhaltige Wissenschaft. Plädoyer Für Einen Klimawandel Im Deutschen Wissenschafts-Und Hochschulsystem.* Marburg: Metropolis.

Schneidewind, U., & Singer-Brodowski, M. (2013). Transformative Wissenschaft. *Klimawandel im deutschen Wissenschafts-und Hochschulsystem. Marburg: Metropolis*.

Schneidewind, U., Singer-Brodowski, M., Augenstein, K. & Stelzer, F. (2016). *Pledge for a transformative science: A conceptual framework*.

Seaman, J. (2008). Adopting a grounded theory approach to cultural-historical research: Conflicting methodologies or complementary methods? *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 7(1), 1-17.

SEKUM (2003a) Minutes, 28.01.2003

SEKUM (2003b). Verksamhet – Stadsekologiskt Kunskaps och Utvecklingscentrum i Malmö (SEKUM). Internal Memo, 29.09.2003.

SEKUM (2003c). Minnesantekningar fran SEKUMs visionsdag, 19.11.2003. Internal meeting notes, 19.11.2003.

SEKUM (2003d). Verksamhetsplan och Budgetunderlag 2003.

SEKUM (2004a). Fran Sekum till ISU.

SEKUM (2004b). Verksamhetsplan och Budgetunderlag 2004.

SEKUM (2005a). Minnesantekningar fran SEKUM, 31.3.2005. Internal meeting notes.

SEKUM (2005b). Minnesantekningar fran SEKUM, 06.04.2005

SEKUM (2005c). Verksamhetsplan och Budgetunderlag 2005.

Shuval, J. T. & Mizrachi, N. (2004). Changing Boundaries: Modes Of Coexistence Of Alternative And Biomedicine. *Qualitative Health Research*, *14*(5), pp. 675–690.

Simão, L. M. (2015). The temporality of tradition: some horizons for the semiotic-cultural constructivism in psychology. In: L. M. Simão, D. Guimarães, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *Temporality: culture in the flow of human experience* (1st ed., Vol. 1, pp. 457–477). Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.

Simeone, L. (2016). *Design Moves: translational processes and academic entrepreneurship in design labs*.

Sjöström, J., Eilks, I., & Zuin, V. G. (2016). Towards eco-reflexive science education. *Science & Education, 25*(3-4), 321-341.

Soule, S. A. (2004). *Diffusion Processes within and across Movements. The Blackwell companion to social movements*. In. Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A. & Kriesi, H. (2004). The Blackwell companion to social movements. Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp.294-310.

Smith, J. (2004). Transnational Processes and Movements. In: Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A. & Kriesi, H. (2004). The Blackwell companion to social movements. Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp.311-336.

Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. *International social movement research*, 1(1), 197-217.

Snow, D., Benford, R., McCammon, H., Hewitt, L. & Fitzgerald, S. (2014). The Emergence, Development, and Future of the Framing Perspective: 25+ Years Since "Frame Alignment." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *19*(1), 23–46.

Stake, R.E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In: Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Star, S. L., & Griesemer, J. R. (1989). Institutional ecology,translations' and boundary objects: Amateurs and professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39. *Social studies of science*, 19(3), 387-420.

Starbuck, W. H. (2006). *The production of knowledge: The challenge of social science research*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Steinke, I. (2004). Quality Criteria in Qualitative research. In: Jenner, B., Flick, U., von Kardoff, E. & Steinke, I. (Eds.). (2004). *A companion to qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Stewart, D. W., Shamdasani, P. N. & Rook, D. W. (2009). Group depth interviews: Focus group research. In: Bickman, L. & Rog, D.J. (Eds). *The Sage Handbook of Applied Social Research Methods*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 589–617.

Strauss, A. L. (1978). A social world perspective. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, *1*(1), 119–128.

Strauss, A. L. (2017). *Continual permutations of action*. London: Routledge.

Stringer, E. T. (2013). *Action research*. Sage Publications.

Strohschneider, P. (2014). Zur Politik der Transformativen Wissenschaft. In *Die Verfassung des Politischen* (pp. 175–192). Springer.

Suddaby, R. & Greenwood, R. (2005). Rhetorical strategies of legitimacy. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *50*(1), 35–67

Suddaby, R. (2006). From the editors: What grounded theory is not. *Academy of Management Journal*, *49*(4), 633–642.

Suddaby, R. (2014). Editor's comments: Why theory? *Academy of Management Review,* Vol. 39, No.4, 1-5.

Sunstein, C. R. (2014). Nudging: A very short guide. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 37(4), 583-588.

SVDW (2013). *Ziel 2020 – Bericht 12-13*. Essen: Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft e.V.

Swedberg, R. (2005). *Economic versus Sociological Approaches to Organization Theory.* In: Tsoukas, H. and Knudsen, C. (Eds.). (2005). The Oxford Handbook of Organization Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.373-391

Swyngedouw, E. (2005). Governance innovation and the citizen: the Janus face of governance-beyond-the-state. *Urban Studies*, *42*(11), 1991–2006.

Swyngedouw, E. (2011). *Designing the post-political city and the insurgent polis*. Bedford.

Tannen, D. (1993). *What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations*. In: Tannen, D. (Ed.). (1993). Framing in Discourse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 14–56

Taylor, J. R. & Van Every, E. J. (2000). *The Emergent Organization. Communication as Site and Surface*.

Taylor, J. R. & Van Every, E. J. (2010). *The situated organization: Case studies in the pragmatics of communication research*. Routledge.

Tilly, C. (2010). *Mechanisms of the middle range*. In: Calhoun, C. (Ed.) (2010). Robert K. Merton: sociology of science and sociology as science. New York: Columbia University Press.

The Local Sweden (2006a). Malmö politician's bribe trial starts. Available at: https://www.thelocal.se/20060814/4597

The Local Sweden (2006b). Reepalu freed over bribe charges. Available at https://www.thelocal.se/20060829/4724

Thompson, J. B. (1989). *Social theory of modern societies: Anthony Giddens and his critics*. Cambridge University Press.

Thornberg, R. (2012). Informed grounded theory. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, *56*(3), 243–259.

Thornton, P. (2004). *Markets from Culture: Institutional Logics and Organizational decisions in Higher Education Publishing*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Thornton, P.H., Ocasio, W. and Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The Institutional Logics Perspective. A new Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process*. Oxfrod, New York: Oxford University Press.

Torugsa, N. & O'Donohue, W. (2016). Progress in innovation and knowledge management research: From incremental to transformative innovation. *Journal of Business Research*, *69*(5), 1610–1614.

Trakman, L. (2008). Modelling university governance. *Higher Education Quarterly*, *62*(1-2), 63–83.

Ullrich, C. G. (1999). Deutungsmusteranalyse und diskursives Interview. *Zeitschrift Für Soziologie*, *28*(6), 429–447.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse \& Society*, *4*(2), 249–283.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). *Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity*. In: Wodak, R. & meyer, M. (2001). Methods of critical discourse analysis. London, thousand Oaks, New Dehli: Sage Publications, pp. 95-120.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse, context and cognition. *Discourse Studies*, *8*(1), 159–177.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2014). Discourse, cognition, society. *The Discourse Studies Reader: Main Currents in Theory and Analysis*, 388.

Van Egmond, J. J. (2003). Multiple Meanings of Secondary Gain. The American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 63, 2, 137-147.

Viale, R. & Etzkowitz, H. (2005). Third academic revolution: polyvalent knowledge; the DNA of the triple helix. In: *Fifth Triple Helix Conference* (pp. 18–21).

Visvanathan, S. (2005). Knowledge, justice and democracy. In: Leach, M., Scoones, I. and Wynne, B.(Eds.). (2005) Science and Citizens: Globalization and the Challenge of Engagement. London: Zed Books.

Vogl, S. (2014). Gruuppendiskussion. In: Baur, N. & Blasius, J. (Eds.).(2014). *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer

WBGU (2011). Welt im Wandel – Gesellschaftsvertrag für eine große Transfromation. Hauptgutachten. Available at: https://www.wbgu.de/fileadmin/user_upload/wbgu.de/templates/dateien/veroeffentlichungen/hauptgutachten/jg2011/wbgu_jg2011.pdf

Wachhaus, T. A. (2012). Anarchy as a model for network governance. *Public Administration Review*, *72*(1), 33–42.

Wanka, J. (2017). *Wir brauchen Hochschulen als Innovationsmotoren*. https://www.bmbf.de/de/akademische-kernaufgabe-4406.html. Accessed 29.05.2018.

Weber, M. (1949). The Methodology of the Social Sciences.

Weber, K. (2005). A toolkit for analyzing corporate cultural toolkits. *Poetics*, 33(3-4), 227-252.

Weerts, D. J. (2008). The University and Urban Revival: Out of the Ivory Tower and into the Streets (review). *The Review of Higher Education*, *31*(4), 523–524.

Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations* (Vol. 3). Sage.

Weick, K. E. (2012). Organized sensemaking: A commentary on processes of interpretive work. *Human Relations*, *65*(1), 141–153.

Weick, K. E., Sutcliffe, K. M. & Obstfeld, D. (2005). Organizing and the process of sensemaking. *Organization Science*, *16*(4), 409–421.

Weiss, C. H. (1995). Nothing as practical as good theory: Exploring theory-based evaluation for comprehensive community initiatives for children and families. *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods, and Contexts*, 65–92.

Wetherell, M. & Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretative repertoires. *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*.

White, M. (2010). *Landkarten der narrative Therapie*. Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-Systeme Verlag und Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH.

Wiek, A., Farioli, F., Fukushi, K. & Yarime, M. (2012). Sustainability science: bridging the gap between science and society. *Sustainability Science*, 7, 1–4.

Wilkinson, S. (1998). Focus groups in feminist research: Power, interaction, and the co-construction of meaning. *Women's studies international forum*, (Vol. 21, pp. 111–125).

Wilkinson, C. A. (2012). Partnership perspectives: exploring strategies for the development of successful campus and community collaborations.

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for critical discourse analysis*. Sage.

Wolff, S. (2004). Analysis of Documents and Records. In: Jenner, B., Flick, U., von Kardoff, E. & Steinke, I. (Eds.). (2004). *A companion to qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Wolf, A. & Niebuhr, A. (2012). *Arbeitsmarkteintritt Kieler Universitätsabsolventen - Analyse des Erwerbseintritts und der frühen Erwerbsphase der Absolventen der Christian-Albrechts-Universität (CAU) zu Kiel im Zeitraum 1998–2010*. Kiel: IAB Nord

Yarime, M., Trencher, G., Mino, T., Scholz, R. W., Olsson, L., Ness, B., Frantzeskaki, N. & Rotmans, J. (2012). Establishing sustainability science in higher education institutions: towards an integration of academic development, institutionalization, and stakeholder collaborations. *Sustainability Science*, 7(1), 101–113.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Case Study Research: Design and Methods, volume 5 of Applied Social Research Methods Series. *The Qualitative Report*, *13*(4).

Yin, R. K. (2010). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. Guilford Press.

Young, I. (2008). *Mental models: Aligning design strategy with human behavior*. Rosenfeld Media.

Zuber-Skerritt, O. D. (2011). *Action leadership: Towards a participatory paradigm*. Springer Science & Business Media.