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Imaginaries and the organised life

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Management

Bayes Business School, City, University of London

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Under the supervision of:

Professor Harry Scarbrough

Professor Laure Cabantous

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ABSTRACT

Organisations and how society organise play a vital role in achieving societal goals, and imaginaries as part of a process to achieving collective objectives. This thesis examines the mobilisation of imaginaries in Organisation and Management Studies (OMS) through a case study of the Big Worm (BW), an elevated highway that has sparked intense discussions and unexpected solutions. I define imaginaries as shared perspectives encompassing values, beliefs, and desires that influence and actualise organisational activities. The central question that follows is: How do imaginaries shape both public and private organisations and how does the interplay of imagination and organised life bring about inertia and changes to their environment? In the first chapter, I conduct a systematic review of 1,071 OMS articles published in top journals, demonstrating that organisational activities, inertias, and changes in organisational forms align with imaginaries-based perspectives. Understanding a formative nature of imaginaries in organisational phenomena then led to the question: How do shared experiences and accumulated knowledge contribute to the formation of imaginaries, and how do they attempt to arrange lives, surroundings, and their actuality? Chapter two examines 590 news clippings, spanning the period from the BW's construction in 1969 to 2013, when the first hearing attempted to define the purpose of the BW, to understand the emergence and development of imaginaries over the decades, culminating in solutions to either maintain ongoing operations and BW's existence, implement an Elevated Park, or demolish the structure. Forty-five years of controversial existence and operation garnered online attention, digital movements, and virtual discussions, which prompted a question on the role of imaginaries to organise online communities and to generate and disseminate impactful knowledge for civil society. Chapter three presents a five-year study of online group netnography, delving into the demolition and Elevated Park proposals. Imaginaries were found to be critical in creating, sustaining, and expanding "virtual bubbles" where participants' knowledge circulated, proposals were refined through their inputs, and online and offline activities organised recommendations based on social expectations. On the in-person confrontation of these solutions raises questions about the persistence of divergences within social imaginaries and why shared subjectivities remain fundamental to effective, civic-centred decision-making. Chapter four investigates the discursive struggles that occurred in nine consecutive official meetings among policymakers attempting to reach a consensus on the future of the BW. These face-to-face meetings initially failed to find common ground due to varying justifications, further deepening divergences regarding the most appropriate adaptation of the elevated highway. Ultimately, an ambivalent decision was made to recognise the BW as a "sui generis" Park. The conclusion chapter recalls all these empirical findings to demonstrate that imaginaries and organised life co-create a voluntary and spontaneous organisation of everyday affairs that emerges by contrasting implicit and explicit dimensions in organising. This interplay, imaginaries and organised life intertwine in routines and ordinary activities, accommodating deep-seated opinions, irreconcilable divergences, and personalised experiences. This ensures civic-centred forms of organising that meet the demands of society.

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This thesis respects the many decades of compulsory relationship with the Big Worm, the discursive struggles between social movements, and the importance of structural changes brought about by the many participants in this social matter. All these interactions lend knowledge and trust to the imaginaries of a better São Paulo, now

borrowed in a thesis that hopefully illuminates a pathway for civic-centred decision-making and less polarised social science and society.

*To Creuza (1920-2007), Irene (1950-2021), Claudia (1970-) and Serena (2019-),
whose presences and memories have inspired a lifetime's work.*

Introduction

In 1969, the introduction of the 'Big Worm' (BW), a 3.6 km elevated expressway, aimed to modernize São Paulo's traffic system and alleviate increasing downtown traffic congestion. However, it soon became evident that this controversial construction was only partially effective in relieving the gridlocks, while also negatively impacting urban living standards (Neves, 2018). In 1989, policymakers made the decision to close the BW during evenings and weekends, prohibiting cars from passing along the expressway, in an effort to reverse its negative impacts and ensure improved traffic flow. Simultaneously, the vacant space attracted spontaneous occupation by city dwellers, transforming the BW into an unconventional leisure area (Barbosa & Marino, 2021; Nakagawa, 2016; von Schönfeld, 2021). In 2010, the strategic development plan for São Paulo acknowledged the problematic nature of the BW's existence and operation, along with the issue of car dependency. Subsequently, legislators proposed a bill in 2013 to convert the BW into an Elevated Park, drawing inspiration from New York's Highline (Machado, 2019). However, during the first official meeting to discuss the Elevated Park proposal, supporters and politicians faced public opposition, skepticism, and a counterproposal advocating for the demolition of the BW (Barbosa & Marino, 2021). The diverse ways in which people engaged with the physical structure were extensively documented in print media, spanning from its initial construction to the recognition of the BW as a distinctive park or leisure area in the absence of car circulation. Over the following decade, these interactions and narratives surrounding the BW surfaced on social media and in public debates, primarily to ascertain the desires of stakeholders and the population's needs regarding the demolition or transformation into an Elevated Park. Within these conversations, the imaginaries associated with the BW played a significant role in articulating collective visions, aspirations, and values through which civil society could develop new relationships with the elevated highway.

The concept of imaginaries plays a critical role in shaping people's interactions with their environment and organizing their relationships with normative public goods. These relationships involve shared visions, implicit desires, and taken-for-granted projections that reflect stakeholders' wants regarding material dispositions and social institutions (Levy & Spicer, 2013). Imaginaries are constituted of subjectivities that, according to Nonaka and Peltokorpi (2006), encompass 'idiosyncratic dreams, values

and wishes' that inspire organisational and managerial activities (Hoedemaekers & Keegan, 2010) and that perpetuate into temporal relations moving from the past to present (Bell et al., 2021, pg. 1) and into the future (Beckert, 2013, pg. 220, 2021, pg. 2). Imaginaries, then, organise and bring about 'alternative realities' – such as the climate change, permaculture and geoengineering movements (Roux-Rosier et al., 2018; Augustine et al., 2019) - that are implicitly possessed, spreadt, apportioned (Do et al., 2019), or simply 'shared'.

In this PhD thesis, the term "imaginaries" is defined as shared subjectivities, encompassing values, projections, understandings, and desires that play a role in situating and actualizing organizational and managerial activities. As such, imaginaries are part of the constitution, construction, or institution of ordinary routines and societal activities, that just as intersubjectivity, ideologies, and collective sensemaking (as briefly discussed on page 181), actively participate in organizing processes and dynamics that involve material disposition in society (Oliveira et al., 2017). Another notable aspect of the notion of imaginaries is the constant flow of values, beliefs, and other shared subjectivities as individuals exchange ideas and ideals. This highlights the relevance, significance, and representativeness of imaginaries in relation to collective will. In other words, organizational and organizing dynamics involve imaginaries that pertain to "what already exists and operates" in society. However, fine-tuning prospective relationships with these imaginaries entails embracing plural expectations, desires, projections, and beliefs. Additionally, it involves activating and transforming these shared subjectivities into empirical counterparts, which manifest as different forms of organizing aligned with utopias, dystopias, ideologies, distant pasts and futures, and so on.

Despite increasing recognition of the pivotal role imaginaries play in organizing and shaping social life in various domains, such as businesses (Beckert, 2010), institutions (Fotaki et al., 2010), cities (Jones & Smith, 2005), and globally (Augustine et al., 2019; Levy & Spicer, 2013), existing theoretical frameworks tend to treat imaginaries as static concepts that organize empirical contexts. These frameworks often rely on psychological and sociological constructs that view imaginaries as a silent dictum or sophisticated framework that illuminates organizational or managerial affairs, while neglecting the tacit dynamism inherent in imaginaries and their relationship with ways of organizing the vastness of societal wills. Therefore, it is crucial to understand

imaginaries across different stages, from creation and construction to multiplication and polarization, and their organized relationships with practices, routines, and materialities. Moreover, it is crucial to comprehend how individuals integrate and relate to their imaginaries, the organizations that become possible among and beyond groups, and the ways in which imaginaries organize lived experiences with respect to their surroundings. In an attempt to illuminate the dynamism at the societal level, this PhD thesis investigates how imaginaries and organized lives co-institute societal action that better relates to their surroundings.

This PhD thesis explores the question of how imaginaries influence organizational studies through a two-fold approach. Firstly, examining the existing literature delves into a theoretical understanding of imaginaries in organizational studies. Subsequently, this knowledge is applied to the empirical analysis of the Big Worm case study. The following sections present the datasets, methods, findings, and contributions to the organizational field derived from the literature review in chapter one, as well as the empirical studies conducted in chapters two, three, and four. In the concluding chapter, further research is proposed to explore the spontaneity of situating and actualizing organizational activities by decoupling and recoupling with imaginaries. This cyclical process, mediated by organized lives that shape reality alongside imaginaries, serves as a foundation for understanding the intricate dynamics between organizational practices and the influence of imaginaries.

Organising shared subjectivities: A taxonomy for mechanisms of imaginaries

In the first chapter, I systematically reviewed imaginaries mobilisation by organisation and management scholars to understand the links between routines and shared values, norms, understandings, and other subjectivities. My review of 1,071 articles in leading journals reveals imaginaries as concepts of universal coverage and, as such, formative of inertia and changes in organisational and managerial activities. In order to organise the vast literature on imaginaries in OMT, I developed a framework highlighting four distinct mechanisms by which imaginaries are formative of collective action. Transformation, conformation, information and reformation as the axis in this framework provide a map to situate the different perspectives on imaginaries in terms of onto-epistemological likenesses and distinctions. The various mechanisms

identified in this literature review exert imaginaries as constituting, instituting and building agencies, entities, social movements, and other forms of organising. These studies depict individuals maintaining, retaining, adapting or employing their shared subjectivities in their everyday routines and material relations. This activity also expects incremental and radical changes to organised lives and settings.

The insight that imaginaries are formative of and present in organisational and managerial activities enlightened the investigative path for the BW's case. It became necessary to understand the imaginaries' constitution with the BW by centring on the historical experience of society with the temporal relations with the Elevated highway. Firstly, I revisited the broadcasted concerns in newspapers - starting with the origin in the late 1960s until the latest contestations in the early 2010s – observing in those recordings the ongoing and potential experiences present in society that culminated in Elevated Park and Demolition possibilities. Secondly, imaginaries as means to form organisational activities motivated by these solutions had to find a social medium, and Facebook, in this particular case, was influential in enabling free flows of knowledge about each prospect. Thirdly, the organisation of reality based on diverse and diverging wills should expect an active distinction of these prospects and an unusual response to organise the different demands. Public hearings, in this instance, were conducive to responding to the BW's conundrum with a 'sui generis' organisation of reality. Finally, I conclude that the interplay between imaginaries and organised life not only 'embody temporal relations from the past that extend into the present and perpetuate to the future' (Bell et al., 2021, pg. 1) and organise activities but opportunely organise society. That means organised lives recall shared experiences, common knowledge and intense debates to reassure solution suitability; however, forms of organising what 'exists and operates' take place regardless of stakeholders' willingness to collaborate.

In the following section, I explain the constitution of imaginaries dealing with an obligatory material relation, a shared experience and knowledge that culminated with organisational landscapes as solutions expected by civil society.

Experiencing constraints and concretising solutions: An introduction to the Big Worm case and the emergence of imaginaries

The primary objective of the second chapter is to provide an overview of the local population's relationship with the Big Worm functionality over decades. My analysis shows that their unavoidable interaction with the elevated expressway led to knowledge accumulation and shared experiences with car traffic and leisure areas. These later functionalities, experienced by the local population and known mainly as the existing and operating elevated highway, enticed possibilities for structural adaptations or radical changes. Thus, the imaginaries involving the BW comprised the Elevated Park and Demolition proposals as real possibilities to overturn the unpleasant BW's presence. This led to intense activism and social movements supportive of both implementations.

My analysis comprised forty-five years of news clippings from the 'Historical archive' of Folha de São Paulo, a reputable local newspaper with a neutral editorial line. Data collection began with archives from 1969, with references to the BW's construction, moving along the years of operation for cars and the rise of a leisure area until the initial public hearings in 2013. The digitalised newspaper provided 509 extracts comprising news reports, opinion columns, specialised articles, cartoons, advertisements, and reader letters, an informative dataset about ongoing and possible relations with the BW. My reading followed a chronological order and closely attempted to understand the imperative relationship of city dwellers with the physical structure. Specifically, the findings show disturbed city dwellers with the BW's operation and existence - uneasy car traffic flows inadequacy, negative impact on living standards and incomplete leisure area - shifted from experiencing to framing possibilities portending its structural discontinuity and obsolescence. On the one hand, collectivities dreamt of reestablishing the 'belle Epoque of Sao Paulo, a time when the BW did not exist or operate relentlessly, and urbanism was avant-garde. On the other, the emergence of a leisure area was comprehensible from the unexpected relation when the elevated highway did not have cars. Following the unsuccessful attempts to fix the physical structure and ease the degradation of local areas, residents, specialists, and politicians considered the Elevated Park and the viable Demolition transformations to the BW.

By adopting a reflexive analysis (Alvesson et al., 2008; Hardy et al., 2001) for 509 references to the local population's engagement with the BW across the decades, I could frame the local population's experiences and knowledge with BW in the inauguration, operation, and legacy phases. During the inauguration stage (1969-1971), the people expressed hopes and doubts about the BW's conception and construction, especially with the structural capacity to meet car-centric needs. Still in this stage, civil society started to experience negative impacts in the vicinity, sporadically reporting its insufficient operation as an incomplete engineering project. Following this stage, the BW's operation for cars (1971-1989) and as a leisure area (1989 – 2014) depicts times of utter dissatisfaction with the structural incapability to alleviate gridlocks. The operation also accounts for the worsening in the living standards because of increased pollution and an unexpected overturn of the BW into a leisure area. Finally, the BW's most recent stage, which involved the city's legacy (2014-onwards), consists of city dwellers evoking pleasant memories of the vicinity before the Big Worm's existence and operation and an accrued knowledge about impromptu recreational space.

In 2013, organised societal representatives formally presented a comprehensive solution to the BW resembling the New Yorker Highline, with a depiction of a novel relationship of society with the elevated expressway. Initially appraised by legislators and politicians, this possibility to turn the city's legacy into an Elevated Park advanced into a bill and public consultation as a legal requirement. During the hearings to present and hopefully approve the BW's Elevated Park, politicians and enthusiasts supportive of the project met a counterproposal to demolish the entire structure. These positionings were extensively explored on social media and further struggled in public meetings. The demolition-or-elevated-park solutions to the city's legacy are representative of imaginaries with the BW, where forms of organising daily life depend on adjusting the physical structure to what the general public wants.

The unbounded knowledge in collective imaginaries: Netnographic immersion into online imagined communities

In the third chapter, I investigate online communities with participants fully invested in bringing into fruition the Elevated Park and Demolition proposals to the BW. As social media was broadly accessible to BW's stakeholders, Facebook hosted virtual

interactions and heated discussions from individuals eager to share individual experiences, particular understandings, and viewpoints through reports, technical studies, creative videos, projections and other digital content. Through posts, participants asynchronously expressed their opinions, elaborated on reasoning, promoted cultural and political events, and evoked thought-provoking discussions about the possibilities of an Elevated Park or the Demolition of the BW. For this study, I adopted a five-year immersive netnography (Kozinets, 2019) for the two most vibrant and expressive online communities dedicated to discussing the Elevated Park proposal and advancing the BW's Demolition. In numbers, the Immersive netnography into both communities comprised accompanying interactions of participation of 12,523 members. Both pages yielded 27,753 unique posts, 236 illustrative vignettes with 136 single-space pages of 12-point source dialogic threads, and 172 pages of reflective fieldnotes with conceptual elaborations on the imaginaries with virtual interactions and knowledge flows as counterparts.

My immersive netnography into these two online communities gave me insights into the city perspectives shared by virtual participants as well as their ideas and ideals to organise and materialise online and offline activities. The virtual interactions provided two crucial insights. The first one regards imaginaries as a source for intention, motifs, and justification for online communities to exist and operationalise the Demolition of BW and the Elevated Park solutions. Because of the shared subjectivities regarded to the population's needs, imaginaries not only bonded like-minded individuals around a matter of common interest and possibilities to the BW but also enabled an intelligible exchange of valuable information with virtual and non-virtual action as counterparts. Demolition and Elevated Park's possible concretisation led to the spontaneous launching of dedicated virtual spaces, membership recruitment, intense articulation of ideas via digital content and a synergistic engagement with illustrations, criticisms and circulating ideas by different participants. The second finding regards Imaginaries as a 'backbone' for knowledge flows and accumulation and as a shared goal driving online and offline organisational activities as Imaginaries with the BW mediated intelligible conversation about the proposals, each solution refined, enriched, and improved from the membership engagement. This study contributes to the understanding of voluntary organisations showing that shared subjectivities sustain unprompted forms of organising. This spontaneous organising enabled by the

imaginaries includes a virtual presence on social media and interaction mediated by digital content and real counterparts – such as demonstrations, petitions, bills, and claims about the virtual legitimacy declared in public hearings.

When consensus fails but dissensus matters: Ambivalent policymaking and the polarization of social imaginaries in an urban renovation

In the fourth chapter, I assess the in-person presentation of the antagonistic propositions of Demolition and Elevated Park, an endeavour to encounter a halfway solution that meets the multiple demands, but that deep-seated divergencies led to dissensus. In this chapter, I analyse public hearings as the event that admitted the presentation of solutions, the interplay of ideas and the confluence of imaginaries. Legislators, mayors, and other public decision-makers launch official encounter to know social volition so that the policymaking aligns with the population's expectations. These formal meetings rely on civil society's maturity to handle controversial issues dialoguing about their will yet dealing with counterproposals and ultimately reaching a comprehensive solution to social dilemmas. With the BW, it was no different. Participants explained their decades of personal experiences with the elevated expressway, shared their opinion about the most proper solution to the case, and attentively listened to the alternative presented by and to the audience. Each discussant found in those hearings a unique opportunity to declare, utter and expose their rationales and political positioning, express their motivations and connect their emotions to the BW's continuous presence and operation. As for Imaginaries, two different layers are fundamental to the public hearings. One regards the capacity for decision-makers to comprehend demands, animate but moderate discussions and deliberate about the ongoing matter with the BW. The other regard the ability of participants to overcome unsettled differences and organise, conjointly, a solution that values civil society's needs.

The public hearings dedicated to solving the BW's dilemma offered means to understand forms of organising originating from divergencies and unsettled issues. My data comprised various data sources: in-person notes from the 1st public hearing and the 2nd Forum of Dialogue, unedited videos of seven audiences and two dialogue forums from 2013 until 2017. The empirical analysis covered official, unedited debates of two Elevated Park discussions during the Strategic Development Plan, three

officially dedicated panels to the BW's affairs, the 1st and 2nd Forums of Dialogue, and two unrelated events to find a solution to the BW. In total, the material comprised 16 hours of video footage and 3.3 hours of uncut audio, altogether amounting to 400 pages of verbatim declarations presented in the hearings. The discursive analysis consisted of understanding the positioning of 124 individual utterances at the microphone as a single manifestation and a contribution to a solution to the BW's conundrum.

The discursive struggle analysis shows that multiple stakeholders may miss the opportunity to meet numerous interests through a 'middle-ground' solution and rely on an ambivalent solution with no immediate, material intervention. Empirically, the BW's "sui generis" park accommodates ongoing divergencies on how the local population should relate to the elevated expressway enabling imaginaries with the BW to consider Elevated Park and Demolition in future events. This analysis shows that public hearings invite participants to insert proposals for policymakers' and stakeholders' evaluation with hopes for unconditional acceptance. As more than one route to the BW is possible, public hearings' participants attempt to interlock their subjectivities to find a consensus-based, halfway solution between Demolition and Elevated Park. Once failing the attempt to reconcile proposals, further consultations polarise proposals, deepen divergencies, and reach a deadlocking stage when the dissensus has been established. Proceeding with a "sui generis" park shows that not only consensus but dissensus matters for policymakers, meaning that ambivalent decision-making can assure democratic aspiration in the public administration. These findings contribute to the understanding that multiple stakeholders, organised to help solve a specific matter, expose shared values, projections and beliefs, expecting decision-makers to assess and proceed from their views. These imaginaries provide a consensus-based solution – e.g. demolishing the BW and implementing a park on the ground - or a dissensus-based route – for instance, the ambivalent decision decree the BW as a 'sui generis' park, a leisure area when cars do not circulate. Thus, consulting multiple stakeholders in controversial matters provides a concrete foundation for decision-making.

Remarks on the organisational unfolding with the interplay of organised lives and imaginaries

The Big Worm's empirical investigation revealed the pervasive role of Imaginaries to organise lives and their surroundings. Shared expectations, beliefs and other subjectivities embraced concrete relations with the BW, and antagonistic proposals, Elevated Park and Demolition possibilities, thoroughly worked on social media and official encounters. Across decades of news clippings, participating in online communities, and expressing will in public hearings presented imaginaries in which organised lives altered the existence and operation of the BW, moving away from the ongoing compulsory relationship to a closer possibility with city dwellers desires. In real and virtual settings, sharing subjectivities featuring the BW was part of an organisational process in which Demolition and Elevated Park solutions were feasible for and by a society invested in solving the controversial matter.

The last chapter conceptualises the interplay of imaginaries and organised life. It shows that forms of organising, implicit in the imaginaries and explicit in settings, unfold with multiple stakeholders' acting on behalf of their shared subjectivities not without consenting for novelties. The literature reviews and empirical analysis depicts that various routes to organise maintenance or alteration of the status quo are envisioned by organised lives under specific conditioning or circumstances. That means imaginaries provide the basis for an ordinary organisation to everyday life as well as solutions but activate proposals and possibilities that guarantee inertia or changes to the environment. The BW's empirical analysis illustrated the interplay of imaginaries and organised life by exposing an experience with the BW that populated the imaginaries, followed by potential conceptual solutions (Elevated Park and Demolition) to the local population. Organised lives, on behalf of these proposals, bring these solutions into light by turning them practised in virtual and in-person discussions. Through the interplay of imaginaries and organised life, the various forms of organising life have defined their patterns in virtual groups, routines presented in newspapers and standardised experiences in public discussions: an endless cycle involving what is implicit (imaginaries) and explicit (facts and events) via organised lives activities.

A similar dynamic is found in the literature review chapter, where I show that abstract, universal concepts spontaneously organise public and private settings. In this chapter,

I show that organisational and management scholars expect imaginaries to form collective action illustrated in joint work, managerial practices, local movements and multinational companies. In these cases, shared subjectivities are pervasive in ordinary activities and unfold forms of organising that transform, conform, inform or reform a reality. However, the structure that rises from the interplay of imaginaries with universal, abstract concepts and organised life entails shifts from scholarly perspectives and, thus, novel applications to empirical investigations. Ultimately, the imaginaries that situate and actualise organisational activities are also the source for a voluntary organisation that unfolds neither by producing nor reproducing ideas and ideals but by suggestively forming a spontaneous form of organising the public and private settings. In other words, the free interplay of imaginaries and organised life comprises radical or incremental changes to organisational routines perceived as universal creeds, beliefs, and desires shared by workers, managers, and stakeholders.

This chapter also concludes that the interplay between imaginaries and organised life leads to a spontaneous emergence of solutions to everyday affairs. That means multiple stakeholders reflect and act to overcome compulsory material relations. That happens when organised lives invested in introducing and welcoming novel references into imaginaries adjust or change shared subjectivities. In this intertwining process, organised lives decouple from imaginaries so they can think of unexplored possibilities to the status quo. These solutions, proposals and opportunities meant to organise different realities entail a combination of perspectives and reconciliation of shared subjectivities that yield potential renewal of material relations and, consequently, forms of organising as a collective motif and socially available counterpart. Such is the case of experience and accrued knowledge from the obligatory coexistence with the BW. In this case, organised lives by the compulsory coexistence with the degraded area entailed Elevated Park and Demolition values and the conjoined work of groups to accomplish them. Regardless of the implementation, their existence and operation in the imaginaries organised the materiality in many forms, mobilised projects across the decades, became information exchanged in virtual groups, and intensively debated in public hearings. Ultimately, the 'sui generis' decision illustrates the spontaneous organisation unfolding from a deadlocking circumstance: a situation in which imaginaries legitimately provide a plurality of values,

dreams and expectations and an all-embracing for diversity awaits a polyvalent resolution. This dynamic exemplifies the voluntary organising that unfolds from imaginaries, with multiple stakeholders voluntarily acting on behalf of their shared subjectivities but whose forms of organising emerge spontaneously and disregarding their particularised proposals.

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Chapter 1 – Organising shared subjectivities: A taxonomy for mechanisms of imaginaries

ABSTRACT

Organisation and management studies (OMS) have increasingly adopted the concept of 'imaginaries' – broadly defined as shared values, framings and beliefs through which actuality happens – to situate and assess organisational activities. Although authorial applications of imaginaries enrich empirical analysis in many ways, the mechanisms through which complex organisations and management manifest remain unknown considering shared subjectivities. In this article, I systematically review imaginaries as they apply to OMS. A systematic analysis of 538 papers (published between 2002 and 2018 in 56 organisation and management ABS journals) revealed imaginaries as formative of actuality in organisational settings and managed in ordinary human activities. My analysis shows that OMS use the concept of imaginaries as (trans/con/in/re)formative of actuality, four different forms subjected to incremental and radical changes. These perspectives rely on universal onto-epistemological assumptions and feature broader mechanisms that authors follow either strictly or as hybrids. That means imaginaries are formative of multi-paradigmatic perspectives for empirical analysis of organisation and management phenomena.

Keywords: imaginaries, organisation and managerial studies, actuality, systematic review, mechanisms, empirical changes

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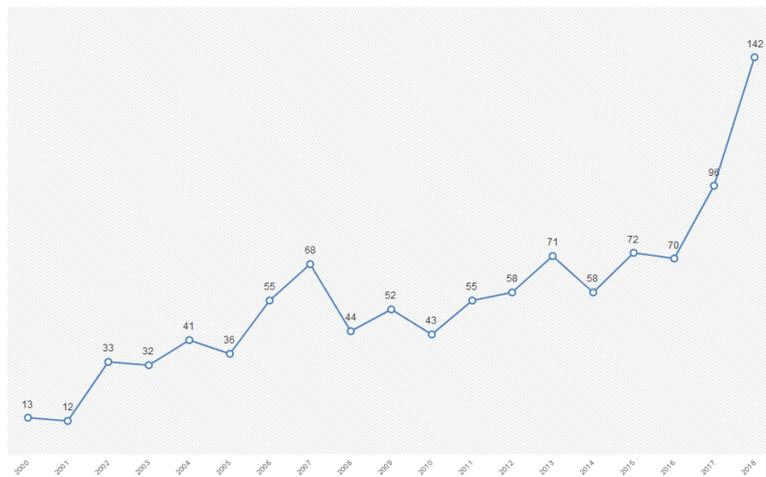
Convenors: Beckert, Jens; Harrington, Brooke; Weber, Claus

Introduction

In everyday usage, 'imaginary' is an adjective that denotes something is imagined and not actual. Employees, for instance, may dream about promotions and pay rises or, perhaps, fantasise about changes in working conditions with no guarantees that what is imaginary will ever come true. These are 'unreal' instances illustrative of imaginative human beings. However, scholars such as Castoriadis, Ricoeur and Taylor use the word as a singular or plural noun – the 'imaginary/ies' – to explain how people grasp the world and assert a comprehensive, total organisation for social activities. Precisely, for Castoriadis (1987, p. 115), imaginaries define social institutions (and an institutionalised society); for Ricoeur (1978, p. 8), imaginaries enable human interpretation of reality (and society as reflective of such interpretation); and for Taylor (2003, Chapter 11), imaginaries provide moral order (and society protective of the ongoing establishment).

In the last 20 years, actualities formed by imaginaries have gained considerable attention and application by organisation and management studies scholars. Figure 1, elaborated from publications in top journals from the field as per appendix A, depicts this growing trend in the adoption of imaginaries to evaluate organisational and managerial phenomena. The figure shows a four-fold increase in the use of imaginaries as a noun in the same top journals in less than two decades, moving from 33 papers in 2002 to 142 articles in 2018. Across these papers, imaginaries assisted in the study of identities (A. D. Brown et al., 2010; Contu et al., 2010; Driver, 2005, 2009a; Fotaki & Harding, 2013); autonomy (Picard & Islam, 2019a); discipline and responsiveness of employees (Contu, 2008; Fleming & Spicer, 2003; Roberts, 2005a); macro analysis of governance, politics and economy (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017a; Munir et al., 2018; Wright et al., 2013a); ecology and climate change (Levy & Spicer, 2013b; Milkoreit, 2017; Prádanos & Pradanos, 2018; Roux-Rosier, Azambuja, Islam, et al., 2018; Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2014); critical assessment of human interaction (Millar & Price, 2018); and the multimodal presentation of organisational phenomena (Oliveira, Islam, Toraldo, et al., 2017; Oliveira et al., 2018).

Figure 1 - Papers applying imaginaries in OMS from 2002 to 2018



The lack of a clear origin in the literature (Adams, Blokker, Doyle, Krummel, & Smith, 2015; Bottici, 2011) establishes imaginaries as a versatile theoretical framework for empirically analysing management and organizational phenomena. That means going beyond simple categorizations (e.g., global warming imaginaries) to delve into perceptions and imagery (S. D. Brown, 2012) that situate and actualise organisational activities. It approaches the concept of imaginaries to other popular conceptualizations such as sense-making (Weick, 2020), social construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), symbolic interactions (Tsoukas, 2018e) that render organizational and managerial activities as the objects of empirical analysis. However, what distinguishes imaginaries from these approaches is its critical focus on tacit elements, such as shared values, beliefs, assumptions, and projections, which underlie explicit manifestations such as signs, symbols, language, and institutional structures. Unique to the Imaginaries is intertwining implicit and explicit dimensions to manage or organize people and settings connecting aims and goals to activities and events. Ultimately, imaginaries can constitute, institute, contextualize organizational and managerial by co-creating implicit and explicit dimensions in either private or public settings.

Despite the increasing sophistication and widespread use of imaginaries in empirical analysis, a notable gap persists in Organizational and Management Studies (OMS) concerning the integrated theorization of shared subjectivities, such as values, dreams, goals, and projections, alongside their objective counterparts, including actions, practices, and routines. Consequently, the limited understanding in OMS results in two tendencies: first, a sociological application of imaginaries that focuses solely on social structures and institutions, lacking interconnectedness with individual

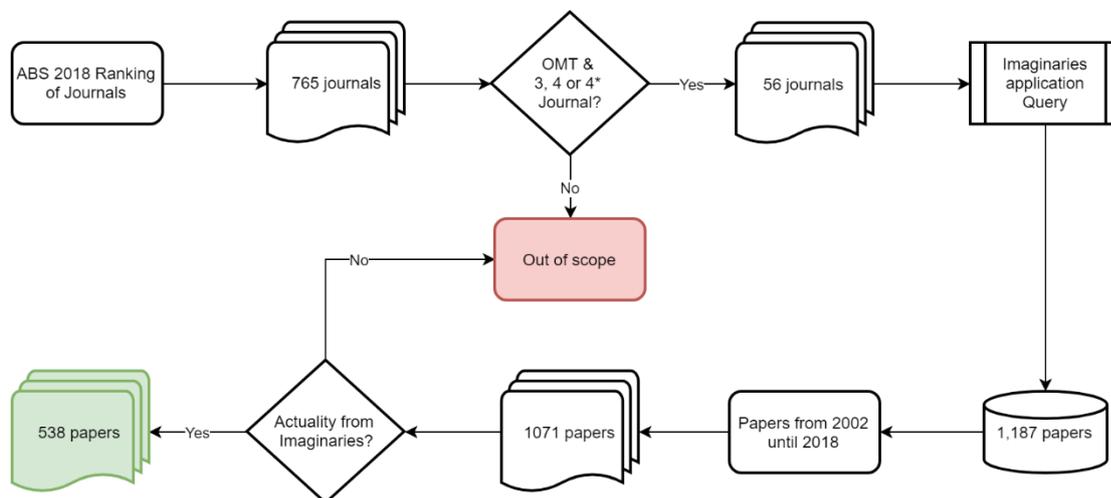
cognition, agency, and experiences. Second, a psychological examination of imaginaries that predominantly delves into tacit and internal dynamics, disregarding the plurality of social imaginaries and their co-creation within organizational processes. This critical gap hampers our understanding of the origins and onto-epistemological roots of imaginaries, which are crucial for advancing them as a comprehensive theoretical framework. Recognizing the persistent shortcomings in OMS, this study investigates: *how imaginaries contribute to the formation of organizational and managerial activities* and *what is the role of imaginaries in explaining inertia and change within organizational contexts*.

The answer to these questions emerges from an extensive investigation of imaginaries, which serve as a unifying conceptual element encompassing objective practices, activities, and routines, as well as subjective elements such as thinking systems, collective values, shared dreams, and projections. The investigation commences with a systematic literature review of top journals in OMS, aiming to identify the instances and methodologies through which authors utilize imaginaries as a critical theoretical framework for analysing organizational and managerial phenomena. Subsequently, the philosophical and sociopsychological origins of these studies are traced, shedding light on the formative perspective adopted by the authors regarding imaginaries. The findings reveal that mechanisms of transformation, conformation, information, and empirical reformation, which are associated with inertia, are followed by changes predicted through incremental or radical shifts in diverse organizational and managerial contexts. These findings are synthesized and presented within a four-by-four matrix, which categorizes different panoramas based on the aforementioned mechanisms and the analytical spectrum ranging from concreteness to abstraction, as well as from inwardness to outwardness in empirical positioning. This framework not only facilitates the comprehension of connections and distinctions between theoretical traditions but also highlights the potential for hybridizations and the introduction of unexplored imaginary perspectives, which are crucial in refining our understanding of imaginaries and the co-creation of organized lives within their immediate environments.

Finding imaginaries in organisational and management literature

The overall strategy of this systematic review was to retrieve from top scientific journals in the field of organisation and management the use of ‘imaginary and imaginaries’ to explain or analyse social phenomena. Following the steps of Tranfield et al. (2003), this literature review emphasised the robustness, rigour and reliability of the papers retrieved for analysis. As summarised in figure 2, the systematic process targeted only organisation and management studies in top journals. Out of 756 journals ranked by ABS (Association of Business Schools) in 2018, articles with three, four or five* star commendations from 56 prominent outlets in the organisation and management field (see in appendix A) were spared to investigate papers to compose the corpus of knowledge. Using the search engine to retrieve papers using the word ‘imaginary’ and ‘imaginaries’, these outlets returned a total of 1,187 scientific articles¹. To maintain the rigour and relevance of the literary corpus, I further restricted the search to papers published between January 2002 – when the term ‘imaginary/ies’ became popular in the social sciences (Adams, Blokker, Doyle, Krummel, & Smith, 2015) – and December 2018, the latest year for collection. The number of articles decreased by one hundred and sixteen, winnowing the selection to 1,071 articles containing the term imaginaries within the text.

Figure 2 - Scope of the literature and review of its application



Instrumentality and shared subjectivities as formative mechanisms

All selected articles were double-checked, first by arranging their details with a bibliographic manager software, and then by uploading them to qualitative data

¹ Publish or Perish (PoP) software largely facilitated the querying task.

analysis (QDA) software to locate and examine the application of imaginaries by organisation and management theorists. The initial finding was that approximately one-half of the papers applied imaginaries not as a concept or noun in itself, but as an adjective qualifying something unreal. For instance, OMS addressed imaginary/ies as mental allegories (e.g., imaginary employers, imaginary data, imaginary adventure) and tropes (e.g., entirely imaginary, deeply imaginary). In both cases, these usages aided in describing an actual organisation but had no importance for the unfolding mechanisms formative of organisational and managerial phenomena.

The other half of the papers, precisely 538 organisational and management studies, mobilised an organisational panorama in which imaginaries aided in the formation of activities and actuality of ordinary affairs. These authors anticipated imaginaries as *shared subjectivities* and as mechanisms instrumental to get people involved in managerial and organisational activities. The instrumentality of imaginaries incorporated forms (Styhre, 2008a), voluntary (re/en)actions conducive to observations of dynamic properties (Faÿ, 2008; Hinds et al., 2011; Kosmala, 2013; Picard & Islam, 2019b), qualities (Baecker, 2006), nature and contents (Bouilloud et al., 2019a; Fotaki, 2006; Klein, 2015), and definite boundaries and dimensions (Dale, 2005; Loacker & Śliwa, 2016; Vidaillet & Vignon, 2010) of organisational and managerial phenomena. This list also includes points-in-perspective (Hinds et al., 2011; Vanheule & Verhaeghe, 2004) and assessments, comparisons and judgement of actual contexts and practices empirically observed and assessed by the authors. In addition, imaginaries' instrumentality benefited communication (P. S. Adler, 2005; Bowen & Power, 2007; Christensen & Kohls, 2003) and allowed for registration, learning (Rizq, 2013; Styhre, 2008b), transaction (Glac & Kim, 2009; Liu, 2014) and criticism (Driver, 2007; Leonard, 2004; Roux-Rosier, Azambuja, & Islam, 2018a) of ideas and ideals.

Besides an instrumental participation to mechanise an organisation of daily affairs, imaginaries also shared subjectivities able to form organisational actuality, meaning onto-epistemologies that situate and actualise organisational activities. Of the systematically reviewed OMS articles, one out of ten – precisely 116 papers from the initial sample — featured imaginaries providing form to organisational phenomena. These papers covered abstract scenarios such as dystopic (Henwood et al., 2016), utopic (Roux-Rosier, Azambuja, & Islam, 2018a), radical (Levy & Spicer, 2013c) and

'post-' momentums (Bouilloud et al., 2019a; Dyer et al., 2010; Kokkinidis, 2015a) such as 'neo' (Alcadipani et al., 2015) and 'future' (Ybema, 2004a) imaginaries. They also comprised socio-mediations in socio-material (Berti et al., 2018a), socio-technical (Jasanoff & Kim, 2009), socio-political (Kerr & Robinson, 2009) and socio-economic (Wright et al., 2013b) imaginaries. Across these cases, actuality became an output from interaction among the social, nonhuman (e.g. material and technical) and conceptual (e.g. politics and economics). For the most tangible possibilities, imaginaries became part of critiques and spatio-temporal positioning, dealing with a spectrum from minutiae of local collectives (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017b; Daniel., 2010) to international, global responses (Wright et al., 2013b).

Onto-epistemology of imaginaries and their formative mechanisms in OMS

Instrumentation and shared subjectivities attributed to imaginaries in OMS certify the conceptual adequacy and analytical possibility for shared subjectivities to form social phenomena. In their entirety, imaginaries become instrumental as well as formative of organisational activities by bearing authorial panoramas to mechanise organisational activities, while taking into consideration the influence of imaginaries on human action. A better grasp of how these mechanisms amalgamate shared ideas and ideals into an organised life and its context demands a return to seminal works – precisely to the onto-epistemologies in which imaginaries are protagonists to situate and actualise organisational activities. In this section, I match canonical expectations and those of social scientists observed in the OMS literature review to ways in which imaginaries are expected to unfold mechanisms formative of organisation and of forms of management in society.

Firstly, it is important to note that the concept of imaginaries has no definite origin, and so seminal works can be found in anthropology, philosophy, the social sciences, and organisation and management theory (Adams, Blokker, Doyle, Krummel, & Smith, 2015; Adams, 2017; Adams & Arnason, 2016; Bottici, 2011; Lash, 2012a; Michelsen, 2015a; Strauss, 2006; Vansina et al., 2012). These fields provide principles for factual and situational happenings as well as specific vocabulary to describe social phenomena. An initial clustering for the various seminal citations followed the article 'Social Imaginaries in Debate' (Adams, Blokker, Doyle, Krummel, & Smith, 2015), a

publication dedicated to disentangle the concept and introduce the intricacies of imaginaries taking on canonical perspectives. Table 1 summarises the onto-epistemic baseline to debate imaginaries, contrasting the various philosophies and the possible science bearing their formative mechanisms of organisation to public and private affairs. This division is also possible for organisations and managerial phenomena, implying therefore an independence from philosophical standpoints, meaning imaginaries as a concept is guided yet unrestricted by the canonical onto-episteme. In table 1, the categories in 'Social Imaginaries in Debate' are complemented by other imaginaries, and their subsequent mechanisms, uncovered by the guiding publication. In other words, the mechanisms unfolding with imaginaries and attributed to management and organisational phenomena remained considerate to the seminal paradigm but provided four taxonomies sharing *formation* as a root to organisational and managerial *situations* and *actuality*.

As summarised in table 1, the categories of *transformation*, *conformation*, *information* and *reformation* cover not only imaginaries in an all-encompassing range of application, but also paradigmatic and application standpoints. Under *transformation*, one finds post-structural (Castoriadis, 1987) and post-modern (Ricoeur, 1978) accounts of social interactions (Adams, 2017) radically changing social organisation. In direct contrast to this category, functional (Taylor, 2003) and mediated (Anderson, 1983a) conformation lead to negotiated and synchronised stability that is changed only incrementally. As one moves to an intimate, inward influence of imaginaries on organised lives, one finds an *information* originating from the psyche (Durand, 1960; Lacan, 2001), performative assemblages (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015) and structuring logics (Laclau, 2005) organising and managing collective behaviour. Moving to an explicit, outward influence of imaginaries on organised lives, one finds *reformation* as a continuous work for 'scapes' (Gaonkar, 2002), intersections (May, 2015) or rebuttals for in-place boundaries.

Table 1 – Application of imaginaries in organisation and management studies

Taxonomy	Collective imaginaries	Formation of actuality	Change in actuality	Seminal work	Paradigm standpoint	Analytical levels
Transformation	Heteronomies Autonomies	& Solidification		Castoriadis (1987)	Structural Radicalism	
	Ideology & Utopias	Sedimentation	Radical	Ricoeur (1978)	Post-modernism	
Meso or Micro						
Conformation	Moral Predications	Normalisation		Taylor (2003)		
	Contingencies	Mediation	Incremental	Anderson (1983)	Structural-functionalism	
Information	Psychodynamic	Realisation		Durand (1960) and Lacan (1977)		
	Performative Assemblages	Enactment	Radical	Jasanoff & Kim (2015)	Interpretivism	Micro
	Logical Bricolages	Consolidation		Laclau (2005) and Bourdieu (1977, 1999)	Structural Radicalism	
Reformation	Geobordering	Landscapes	Incremental	Appadurai (1996) and Gaonkar (2002)	Structural-functionalism on a global scale	
	Matrixial Bordering	Dominance	Radical	(May, 2015)	Matrixial & Intersectional	Macro

In the following four sections, I delve into each formative perspective to explain and contrast the mechanisms through which imaginaries (trans/con/in/re)form organisational and managerial phenomena. Each session is occupied with maintenance and changing dynamics, emphasising onto-epistemological panoramas and useful vocabulary to differentiate each case. These details comprise subtleties that differentiate the mechanics for a particular concept – e.g. *materiality* referring to *solidification* or *crystallization* and *interpretation* regarding *sedimentation* or *analysis*. None of these details relates to postulation but rather to a nuanced vocabulary that enriches the repertoire of empirical observation while admitting the influence of shared subjectivities: situating and actualising organisational activities aligned with imaginaries.

Empirical transformation

The empirical transformation studied with imaginaries expects that organisation and management become actual through a never-ceasing arrangement of ideas and ideals organised by collective (re)actions. This perspective finds imaginaries as an abstract counterpart that becomes present through organisational and managerial work and its output – i.e. norms, laws and practices. While a transformative movement from imaginaries to actuality unfolds a *solidification* and *sedimentation* of shared ideas and ideals, this actuality entails a continuous correspondence with a state of obedience (heteronomy) or acceptable practices (ideology). That is, the empirical assessment of transformation bearing values, beliefs and framings that individuals share comprises the actuality and situation of organisational activities acceptable and for universal adherence and practice.

Contrary to conforming or reforming an organised life, transforming the ways people (re)act based on ideas and ideals takes place via institutions and tenets that alter the surroundings and bring about the actuality as a collective, metamorphic activity. This transformative mechanism observed in collective work and institutions and in public and private entities actualises organised life and its surroundings; that is, activities that undergo the transformation of material dispositions and the way people think and act to possibly conduct the ongoing moments of life and environment experienced by all. Specifically, the organisation and management empirical analysis expects imaginaries to unfold organisational actuality and situational activities expect solidification, when a matter is paramount, and sedimentation, when an interpretation proceeds. As detailed

in the following paragraphs, both actuality and situation change radically in a spark of creativity, which is a momentum of autonomous thinking from ongoing matter or fascination with interpretive diving. The outcome of such transformation is a novel institution and an unseen establishment that situate and actualise organisational activities.

Transformative panoramas find in Castoriadis and Ricoeur opposing mechanisms to *solidify* or *sediment* organisational and managerial phenomena taking on imaginaries. Castoriadis, for instance, understands imaginaries as *magma*, a fluid matter that constantly *solidifies* into laws, norms, institutions, culture and language through collective works. Such concretion emanates from *heteronomy* (Castoriadis, 1987), a state of obedience in which individuals do not object to organising and managing in place, and which goes on uninterrupted by the mutual order, control, coordination and other organisational activities in situ. Overall, mechanisms anticipate that individuals will absorb and keep on solidifying shared values that situate and actualise a state of obedience. Similarly, Ricoeur (1978) provides a transformative panorama led by a *sedimenting* actuality submissive to imaginaries. His approach considers people who think and reflect their ideological representation onto managerial and organisational activities comprehensive to all. Following from this actuality is the organisation of daily routines, narratives and identities that link to ideologies, an ongoing transformation that re-routes from imaginaries shared activities and practices in parallel with universal ideologies.

Further differentiation between the transformative panoramas comes from a direct, contrasting dialogue between Castoriadis and Ricoeur (Adams, 2017, Chapter I) emphasising how and why they mobilise imaginaries in different ways. Castoriadis, departing from a post-structuralist standpoint, use *magma* as a metaphor for shared subjectivities, emphasising that a solidification of this *liquid* is obedience to social institutions and to management and organisation of ordinary affairs. Conversely, Ricoeur advances a post-modernist view in which *pragma*, the root word for practice, is not a matter of common concern but of reproductive actuality. As people practice, they admit ideological structure in their speech, turning it into light acceptable narratives and identities by a society conscious of their possibilities. While mechanism solidifies *matter* and sediments *practice*, empirics of transformation *ideals* apprehend

individuals transforming empirics of organisation and management to match imaginaries.

To what extent does the transforming mechanism change itself and bring novelty to organisational and management theory? First, people hold agency over imaginaries regardless of heteronomy or the continuous reproduction of ideologies. This means that individuals hold their intellect (*nomia*) separate from subjective and objective interplays, breaking free from habit and biased judgments (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 970). Once autonomous to think or amaze themselves with novel possibilities, individuals *transform their current contexts and lives in unprecedented fashion*. That is, a *radical* transformation takes place with the independent thinking of ideas, which includes counterposing heteronomous states (Castoriadis, 1987, p. 320) and ideological instances. From that, newer reality '*presentifies*' (1987, Chapter vi; Michelsen, 2015b, p. 146) with a conscious *fascination* (Ricoeur, 1978, p. 5) for a reordered society (1978, p. 9). Present as utopias (Bloch, 1964; Fotaki et al., 2010) and dystopias, these radical actualities lead individuals to fracture social systems (Holloway, 2010), 'cracks' that are part of mechanisms to transform organisational and managerial contexts profoundly and unprecedentedly.

As shown in table 2, organisation and management scholars applied *sedimentation* and *solidification* as (trans)formative empirical mechanisms. These papers acknowledge a state of heteronomy and reflect on ideologies in workplaces and institutions. These transforming mechanisms continuously turn shared subjectivities into objective management, and organisations also envision radical changes to current social institutions, norms and practices. Such is the shift from empathic responses by healthcare workers to innovative patient-centred care (Fotaki, 2010; Mallett & Wapshott, 2015), and organisations, once free from institutional constraints, solidify alternative, solidary economic regimes (Meira, 2014b). Or they sediment newer practices detrimental to prejudicial ideologies (Mallett & Wapshott, 2015) and fed up with utopias; practices that modify deeply seated values to which individuals and their communities commit (Langdrige, 2006).

Table 2 – Illustrative applications of empirical transformation

Formation of actuality	Authors	Empirical source	Empirical discussion	(Possible) Change of actuality
Solidification	(Abdelnour al., 2017)	etAgency and Institutions in Organisation Studies	Actors, agency and institutions come into being from a generalised system of meaning and action, and both guide intentionality. This understanding means individuals and institutions do not straightforwardly mirroring one another. Institutions, therefore, are rationalised patterns, general principles and cultural schemes that vary across social settings, and where individuals act.	Stability does prevail in institutions and organisations for a while. However, this state does not last long and should not be taken for granted. The institution is fluid and heterogeneous, and within it, one finds competing ideals, knowledge systems and techniques of control. Because of imaginaries, institutions solidify, and for the agency and intention people uphold, they can also renew them.
	(Meira, 2014b)	The capitalist system, contemporary capitalism and the field of organisational studies rest in imaginary significations preserving the capitalist and solidary economy in Brazil	Contemporary capitalism and the field of organisational studies rest in imaginary significations preserving the capitalist and solidary economy in Brazil	Unimagined, liminal forms of organisation are creations that lie outside the capitalist and ongoing organisational structuring. The solidary economy is an exemplary field. Its permanent tension 'erase(s) the threshold between process and structural approaches'. This case shows that one acts autonomously from contemporary capitalism and comes up with a newer type of economy.
	(Fotaki, 2006)	Healthcare institutions in the UK	Imaginaries of economic determinism and positivism underpin undeclared policy objectives behind healthcare provision in industrialised countries. Unspoken policy goals and defensive and unobvious roles in society are reflected in the solidification of policies that mismatch the operational reality of healthcare organisations. Solidification into defensive mechanisms forbids organisational learning and change.	Reflection about the assessment of symbolic and functional patient-relations solidifies more appropriate policies. This achievement comes with 'patient autonomy'. By this, the author means deconstructing the current dysfunctional processes to favour that improved working environments and better care for patients.'
	(Kokkinidis, 2015b)	Workers' collectives in Greece	Workers' shared beliefs frame a pervasive economy leading them to share a repertoire of interorganisational activities that emphasise autonomy and a collective dimension of work. Resistance into a form of organising.	Through autonomous and collective rebuttal activities, a workers' collective fosters novel economic and social interactions. These distinctive forms come into being by nurturing the possibility of a radically different liveable world, which includes newer social, political and economic relations.'

Table 2 – continuation

Sedimentation	(Sparrow e, 2005)	Narratives of leadership selves	of		Narratives serve as an emplotment of one's lived experience, and one's lived experience is a reflection of the ongoing ideology. Identity as a form of imaginary represents a constant and dynamic experience, both actual and fictitious. Leaders, as a form of the imaginary self, narrate leadership from this notion of leadership, always 'travelling in a circle from lived experience to narrative to lived experience.'	The recognition that leadership narratives are based on ideology allows for different versions of self through a dialectic process. Through detachment, one can see narratives of self-version and others'-version. An authentic leadership emerges not only from such detached assessment but also from esteem for other versions of self. Through dialectic, a radical way of practising leadership comes into being.
(Gill et al., 2018)	et	Review of historical method in contemporary organisational studies	of		Historical narratives are linguistic practices that aid the understanding of complexities from the past. Organisational historians construct historical narratives, a process that involves a subjective decision. Careful analysis may conceal ideologies when writing the analysis, and lack of communication with the academic community prevents the assessment of originality in the empirics.	Scholars who use narrative history still can provide greater insight and transparency. Among the suggested processes, disclaiming 'underlying assumptions' and ensuring reflexivity is essential. One's assumptions easily transfer to historical reassessment, and reflexive practice confirms the limitations present in the analysis. Reflexivity, then, allows researchers to step outside ideologies and temporarily create original work.
(Petriglier i et al., 2018)	Company managers enrolled in MBA program	Company managers enrolled in MBA program	in		Different ideologies drive diverse types of identity integration. Being unstable and incoherent, identities adapt to changing narratives, giving selves history and aspirations. It is through identities that individuals appraise experiences, bind into groups and narrate their experience as a 'phantom community'.	Identities are not fixed; they might change according to context. Fascination with a different context drives individual to construe 'portable selves', and through these mobile versions, individuals respond to sedimented actuality with independence, honest and ambivalence.
(Maclean et al., 2014)	Storytelling as narratives of top managers on website of a MNC	Storytelling as narratives of top managers on website of a MNC	as		Invocations of lessons from the past serve as means for ideological sensemaking by multinational executives. Selectively crafted, their storytelling maintains organisational ideology to enforce a sense of familial belonging. In the organisational	Ideology does not remain operating independently; it depends on top managers re-assuring it through the interpolation of other organisational members. Besides their practice to secure commitments, the storytellers either negate counter-narratives or only

ideology, one finds 'clear' links between past and future, which as part of the existing ideology. Thus, organisational ideology 'elicits the ongoing commitment of organisational members.' depends on individuals to refresh and recalibrate it.

Also, imaginaries foment theoretical discussions about transformations considering forms of agency in the empirics (Bouilloud et al., 2019b; De Cock et al., 2013; Komporozos-Athanasiou, 2011; Komporozos-Athanasiou & Fotaki, 2015; Lash, 2012b; Vaara et al., 2016). For instance, Dinerstein (2015, Chapter 2) explores empirical transformation driven by some minorities in Latin America. These individuals live under a state of obedience secured by multiculturalism and bureaucracy. Empirically, civil society organises around shared norms and expects individuals to neglect minor differences in norms, laws and institutions. However, autonomous thought counteracts and resists institutional forces. It does so by acknowledging harmful relations and stating that beliefs about self-management and self-signification are possible even for minorities, a radical transformation of actuality solidified by newer institutions. Welply (2015) explored prejudicial practices from the perspective of school children, taking an existing ideology as a baseline. Minorities subvert controversial school practices, such as 'indifference to differences', with utopic narratives of cosmopolitanism and otherness. From these utopic narratives, an alternative actuality sediments novel self-identity and a sense of community. Therefore, subversive thinking blurs discrimination and stereotypes and incorporates the value of ethnical minorities into current ideology.

Empirical conformation

When conforming to imaginaries, individuals do not blindly live in a state of obedience; instead, they are aware of the value in orders, structures and hierarchies they share and thus avow for the retention and renewal of the establishment. This is a conforming viewpoint that expects an embracing of actuality as a collective desired state and organisations and management in conformity with or conforming to the status quo. Imaginaries not only subject norms, guidelines and schemes to the subjective deliberation of like-minded individuals, but also provide an objective counterpart with ethical elements, moral principles and other civic milestones for individuals' work. Overall, the empirics of conformation admits mechanisms of conformity that explicitly situate and actualise organisational and managerial activities and imply the situating and maintenance of shared subjectivities. Thus, the individual agency held over imaginaries negotiates and mediates necessary maintenance and adjustments to collective milestones considering utterances, dialogues and instruments to modernise the status quo.

Contrary to mechanisms found in the transformation and reformation of organisational phenomena, conformation to what is requires a *normalisation* and *mediation* of moral and ethical principles. This mechanism for situating imaginaries via conversations means subjecting oneself to the making of modernity (Taylor, 1989, 2003) and granting a modernised shape to organisational activities. That is so for imaginaries holding '*benchmarks of legitimacy in our contemporary world — liberty, equality, human rights, democracy — [which share a] stronghold of this modern order and a virtual inability to think beyond beliefs framings*' (2003, Chapter 13). In this way, Taylor shows moral boundaries to collective thinking, limits that cannot go 'beyond beliefs framings'. Such a limitation is reasonable and important, since the limits delineate the structures, norms and institutions working protectively of the public sphere (2003, p. 84). Thus the empirics of conformation do not assure that people will quietly and blindly adhere to a social system, unconsciously investing their lifetimes and resources into an auto-productive system. Rather, conscious people who believe in the social functioning assure the benefits of institutions and governance through works that *normalise* organisational and managerial activities and couple in conformity to imaginaries.

The same applies to mediating objects and places that register and distribute imagined origins beyond the immediate (Anderson, 1983a). This is the case for symbols, signs and language found in maps, books, censuses and museums (1983a, p. 163) that share values and original meanings without an interlocutor. In this way they serve as a conforming mechanism to cognise and pass on imprinted conventionalities, or as an objective *mediation* that spreads values, meanings and designs synchronising the original and destination imaginaries. Organisations and management situate and actualise virtual places under the same regime.

Whether individual-to-individual or individual-to-object-to-individual, the mechanisms that conform imaginaries to the social relations undergo negotiations (Taylor, 2003, Chapter 8) and synchronisations (Anderson, 1983a, p. 188), but hardly impose a collective framing. This freedom to maintain social functioning and fix the 'fissures' incrementally creates much-needed modernisation of social relations. Changes in management and organisation come with willingness and agency to incrementally adjust negotiations and overcome synchronicities, thus bearing an appropriate novelty for society (Steele, 2017). Accretions to imaginaries come with consensuses and re-

interpretations of mediating objects with an ultimate unfolding of organisations and the management of social affairs.

Organisation and management scholars have studied conformity by examining group activities about fundamental, collective guidelines. Table 3 illustrates fundamental values, shared within organisations, that bound ethical practices and organise workers' behaviour (Macklin & Mathison, 2018; Westwood & Johnston, 2012), also considering the mismatch between creeds and the social sphere, economy and society a significant loss for stakeholders (Everett et al., 2018; Miller, 2018). The importance of the negotiation of imaginaries prompted organisational changes and incremented managerial changes through teaching (Macklin & Mathison, 2018) and recognising newer beliefs as necessary renovations to imaginaries (Everett et al., 2018; Miller, 2018; Westwood & Johnston, 2012). Mediation through newspapers and magazines (Hellgren et al., 2002), websites (Riad & Vaara, 2011) and films (Jones & Smith, 2005) synchronised origin and destiny values, attempting to influence the way people acted and reacted in the social realm. Since media are imperfect, newer meaning arises, allowing concepts (Li, 2017) or national identities (Jones & Smith, 2005) to change.

Two exemplary cases from the social sciences, Carnevale, 2013, and Buckler, 2017, conform negotiation and mediation to an organised, thriving society. In the first case, the negotiation of imaginaries served as the basis for comparing bioethical standards between countries. Since the social order is a state to be protected and fostered, the norms and institutions are legitimate representatives of the social interest. Under *la collectivité* (Carnevale, 2013, p. 91), physicians, from a privileged position granted by the media, still had to ponder controversial decisions on social matters. In the second case, the author discusses the spread of imaginaries by transnational companies to ensure different localities conform to fundamental values. Through CSR reporting (Buckler, 2017, pp. 3–22), magazines and websites *mediate* imaginaries, creating a sense of belonging and loyalty in organisations. Corporate social responsibility becomes responsible for the 'formation and continuation of globalised imagined communities worldwide' with a moral obligation to respect peculiarities.

Table 3 – Illustrative applications of empirical conformation

Formation of actuality	Authors	Empirical source	Empirical discussion	(Possible) Change of actuality
Normalisation	(Macklin & Mathison, 2018)	Normative business theories	Traditional approaches such as grand theories and business ethics attempt to embed moral and ethics in business but often fail. These guidelines relate to 'uncluttered universalism', structures that 'soar above the messiness of everyday life', and the imposition of 'dispassionate reason'. Overall, they lack the meaningfulness needed to renew and actualise morals and ethics in practice.	Since business ethicists, academics and practitioners are part of the same community, dialogic methods should be more efficient than frames for installation. Statements by business people affect not only the people at their organisation but also the broader society. Academics should reflexively evaluate 'how moral norms and guides constructed in alternative ways could constrain, sustain, and facilitate practitioners' moral decisions, judgments, and ways of acting'.
	(Everett et al., 2018)	Audit practices in a \$100 million federal government fraud	The Canadian government replaced governmental control based on systems of checks and balances with auditing services. This decision was based on trust that transparency, accountability, ethics and trust in organisations, and shared values within the auditors community, could be more valuable. Rationalism, one of the secularist beliefs shared by auditors, guaranteed individualist and anti-authoritarian ways of acting by contract, leading to failures in oversight and fraud.	Auditors' sacred notions of independence reside on a shared liberal imaginary of 'nation'. Instead of trust and ethics, these imaginaries store values of 'dark, nonfoundational, and non-life-affirming' values. Instead of conforming to their working practices, they set their practice aside of shared values. In the long run, cases of massive fraud put these shared values into question, eventually eliminating separated attitudes. An exit is possible if auditors attempt to integrate their values into society and if their practice promotes equity and ethics in businesses.
	(Westwood & Johnston, 2012)	<i>The Office</i> - BBC sitcom	Organisations as discursive spaces control workers' voices and attitudes. This means that not only organisational norms are imposed on employees, but also expectations about their behaviour in the workplace. Employees conform to organisational norms, meaning that political correctness, internal customs and legalities drive their behaviour.	Dialogues between employees renew inappropriate behaviour still 'valid' by custom and legality. Organisations, in this sense, are at the same time spaces of power exercise and change. Organisational change counts not only on conversation but also on humour to take up the time for the negotiations to change.

(Miller, 2018)	Own religious beliefs, practices and dialogue with believers of many faiths	Religion has been secularised in the field of management facilitated by popular media. Some academics have replaced religion with 'exclusive humanism', imaginaries of the absence of religious belief and rationality as necessary collective framing. As a result, these shared subjectivities become intolerant towards other religious views, especially particular expression in the workplace or academy.	When practitioners and managers reflect upon and dialogue about religion, they may open to moral values and ethics capable of changing organisations. The dialogue, however, requires a humble standpoint so that individual participants consider one another's views. There is no return from secularism but an opportunity of post-secularism. This means new imaginaries may replace older ones, integrating into management research and practice interfaith values and innovative pedagogies and curricula.
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Table 3 – continuation

Mediation	(Li, 2017)	TQM as an institutionalised practice	In the process, of institutionalisation, doing, saying, and meaning move from the micro to the macro level. All three are part of the semiotic process giving signification to institutionalized practices. Imagination, among other mechanisms, help in the connotation of signs. TQM is an example of sign collectively imagined and signified, constructed ideas through histories, traditions, and above all, from a community's imaginary. Mediatization of TQM, for instance, denotes an All-win rationale for those adopting 'it'.	'Often, these imagined signifiers (TQM) are not put into codified rules or well-articulated arguments but, rather, are shared, implied assumptions by those who perceive themselves as part of a community'. The more TQM practices become institutionalised, the more heterogeneous the institutionalisation process becomes. 'Connotational institutionalisation' empty TQM of its denotative meaning and apply a newer imagined meaning, and its execution a mere practice. Myths such as TQM cannot have an ultimate meaning or control 'imagined forms' by other communities.
	(Hellgren et al., 2002)	Merger of Astra (Sweden) and Zeneca (UK)	Multiple motives drive mergers and acquisitions. After the merger between the two companies, relocation of Astra's head office to the UK was issued. Newspaper mediated the business event as a sequence of national issues, framing each corporate's decision into a 'winning' or 'losing' situation.	In need for creating good stories, a journalist may choose 'winners' and 'losers', frame framing the event into the nationalistic discourse of identity. It implies that (imaginary) organisational boundaries do not constrain organisational sense-making processes. Press coverage provides a semiotic system that (re)construct meaning and influence collective imaginaries and different versions of reality.
	(Jones & Smith, 2005)	Published texts on <i>Lord of the Rings</i> (LOTR) film trilogy and New Zealand's film and tourism industries	Hollywood film has long dominated the global market. This industry organises itself through a distributed network of knowledge and creativity and explores remote locations for settings. LOTR represents a landmark in the negotiation between smaller the local industries and Hollywood. To 'tell their own stories', national authenticity required rhetorical moves to turn the movie into a New Zealander collective imaginary. This process counted on national tourism campaigns ensuring rhetorical claims and forging nationalism to the movie, even with Hollywood investment its production.	LOTR became a medium for popular culture and economic success. However, the medium also fosters reflexivity about national identity. In the case of LOTR, national identity limited versions of 'New Zealanders'. With that, minorities such as Maori and women remained unrepresented and voiceless, perpetuating a false notion of national authenticity.

(Riad & Vaara, 2011)	Acquisition of IBM by Lenovo and Anheuser-Busch by InBev	The merger between the multinationals, broadly covered by American media, featured debates with executives and politicians. Through language devices, medias constructs 'us' as national identity, and then pits 'us' against 'them' and collapsed 'organisation' into that a notion of 'nation'. In the acquisition of American companies by Brazilian and Chinese, the nation was mobilised by the threat. Some of the social responses counted on saving 'American icons' and raising the deal as 'national security'. This resulted in Governmental, international investigation and a rise in the offer to close the deal.	The same devices used by media to (re)produce national frames on organisational events fostering cultural differences also serve for resistance. Wit and Irony are reflexive processes employed by media to renegotiate national imaginaries. These devices overturn and resist common sense represented in national and cultural stereotypes.
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Empirical information

Empirical information relates to an individual's compliance with psychoanalytical, logical and performative referents unfolding dutiful activities that organise and micromanage individuals. That is, imaginaries actualise and situate organisational activities, turning explicit, manifested models, schemes and senses collectively implicit, informing an inward relation with organised lives and their surroundings. These relationships established between the imaginaries and the external world are present in '*psychodynamics*', '*performative assemblages*', and '*logical bricolages*' *perspectives: informative* panoramas are concerned with deep-seated and often-unaware subjectivities that deal with ordinary affairs (Dobbernack, 2010; Fotaki et al., 2012). Differentiating information from conformation or transformation of organisational activities entails inward mechanisms provoked by the imaginaries. To inform actuality and situate organisational activities, individuals subject their intimate dynamics, involvements, reasons and justifications to the works of an organisation as an ordinary activity. In common with these different panoramas are attitudes and behaviours exhibited by individuals unaware but still influenced and executing imaginaries as a practical solution to daily affairs.

Unfolding what remains inward into organisational activities is the baseline for an empirical information based on imaginaries. '*Psychodynamics*', '*performative assemblages*', and '*logical bricolages*' *perspectives* clearly distinguish mechanisms that daily situate and actualise organisational and managerial activities. Starting with *psychodynamics*, imaginaries inform the way people organise and manage their activities (A. D. Brown & Starkey, 2000), retaining an inward subjectivity identified with what they (re)present. That means a unconscious or approximate organisational replication of organisational activities different in their individuality but similarly manifested collectively. Some of the mechanisms in *psychodynamics* entail substantiating and filling an *emptied actuality* with symbolic, archetypal organisation and management as part of the psyche (re)acting in collective instances. Primarily addressed by Lacanian psychoanalysis, imaginaries fulfill a 'blank space', encountering and countering what is Real and Symbolic (Lacan, 2001, Chapter 2). Imaginaries inform how individuals constitute and fulfil their identities (Arnaud, 2002; Fotaki & Harding, 2013), acknowledging imaginaries as conscious fantasies, desires or delirium (Gilleard, 2017; Shepherdson, 1997). Still part of psychodynamics are

anthropological archetypes (Durand, 1960, Chapter 1). Imaginaries, in such cases, provide deep-rooted standpoints and schemas (Iranzo, 2001) for collective mimicry. Among such cases, empirical information of 'archetypal matrices', such as ancient and sacred norms, beliefs and creeds shared by people, supplies organisational activities with actuality and situations analogous with earlier models, forms and ways of organising collectively.

As for *performative assemblages*, imaginaries are also a tacit element that actualise and situate organisational activities in society, differing in the ways that inward order, control, standardisation meaningfully cause organisational activity to take place. Performative cases involving imaginaries anticipate individuals will translate their shared subjectivities into collective *enaction*, which means subjecting animate and inanimate aspects of daily affairs to an intermeshed actuality and collective work. Organisational and managerial mechanisms informed by *performative assemblages* enrol human and non-human into the making of the actuality. Imaginaries, in such empirical analysis, constitute the obligatory point of passage for organisational and managerial schemes and routes, an in-practice blueprint that become organisational phenomena. It is important to highlight that people do not act or react but *enact* in the assembling of actuality and the situating of organisational activities. In this way, individuals translate the actual and situational relevance of organisation and management for society (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015a, pp. 17–19), bearing an entanglement between the human, non-human and technological possibilities.

Bricolage is the logical, reasonable structure that orientates the placement of organisations and management based on an inward apprehension of the outer world. In *logical bricolage*, the process is similar, although agency is acknowledged as being among the informative mechanisms. That means a collective '*ensemblist logic*' (Castoriadis, 1987, p. 353) consolidates significations (Laclau, 2005) that frequently approve hegemonic blueprints. As populism goes to 'the people' (Boxenbaum & Rouleau, 2011), the managerial goes to managers. These bricolages become a habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) and imaginaries become a logical framework informing how organisations matter.

Radical empirical changes occur when the flow of imaginaries ceases to inform organisational activities. Instead of continuity, a breach in *psychodynamics*,

performative assemblages or *logical bricolages* allows for changes. That means, admitting imaginaries as a condition necessary to situate and actualise organisational activities with a significance that differs from deep-seated mechanisms, and finding significance in everyday life (Bourdieu, 1999; Hardy et al., 2001). Such are the cases for reflexivity that temporarily overcome identities, acknowledge translational partaking and bring a novel logic to organisational and managerial affairs. All these possibilities deal with sovereign thinking from hegemonic logic (Komporozos-Athanasiou & Fotaki, 2015) and are cognizant of different sorts of alienation (Žižek, 1969, Chapter 14). That also goes to independent discernment apart from informative mechanisms that suspend reproductive cycles, obedience to myths, and blind correspondence to illusions, fantasies and archetypes (Driver, 2009a, 2010, 2014). Overall, radical changes to organisations and managers have an intimate relation to bold judgments that temporarily set aside emptied fulfilment (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Stavrakakis, 2008) but do not neglect performative, logical activities (Gond et al., 2016a; Vandenberghe, 2002).

The number of illustrative cases in table 4 does not represent the number of studies using psychodynamics, more specifically Lacan's imaginary. Several empirical and theoretical papers have discussed the mechanics involving imaginaries in the psychodynamics of identity (Arnaud & Vidaillet, 2018; Contu et al., 2010; Driver, 2008, 2009b; Fotaki et al., 2012). Empirical observation delves into the information of imaginaries from a range of situations: from the small and personal, e.g. the workspace (Lok & Willmott, 2013), up to the grand and global, e.g. national policymaking (Fotaki, 2010). A full review of all accumulated knowledge of psychodynamics in organisation and management is not possible for the current purpose. However, the illustrative cases in table 4 broadly show that media (Blanco-Gracia, 2018a; Bloomfield & Vurdubakis, 2015; Cremin, 2010; Topal, 2009b) and events (Cerdin & Dubouloy, 2004; Hoedemaekers, 2010; Topal, 2009b; Vidaillet & Vignon, 2010) were the sources of the information that actualised into narratives, discourses and working practices. Across these studies, the empirical possibility of change also became apparent with the cessation of information (Hoedemaekers, 2010; Husted & Plesner, 2017a; Steffens et al., 2014), fostered either by managerial practices (Cerdin & Dubouloy, 2004; Vidaillet & Vignon, 2010) or individual organisations (Mumby, 2016).

Table 4 – Illustrative applications of empirical information

Formation of actuality	Authors	Empirical source	Empirical discussion	(Possible) Change of actuality
Psychodynamics (Fulfilment)	Driver, M. (2006)	Literature review of economic and ethical models of CSR	Organisational selves, as ordained egos, inform economic versions for identities. Economic imaginaries provide specific models and awake desires to fulfil egos. As a result, CSR activities become 'simplified, short-sighted and unidimensional'.	When individuals explore discourses, they recognise existing imaginary orders. Then, an authentic, functional and healthy self emerges. Post-egoic, the detached state from the imaginary ego forms a bright ethical and dynamic self, capable of changing organisational narratives of CSR.
	Vidaillet, B., & Vignon, C., (2010).	Masters course in human resources management at a French university	Students attending Master's courses allow organisational imaginaries to be accessed. As students narrate the ordinary organisational life, identities are revealed. Professionals reveal that organisations inform values, and professionals make a 'pact' with these shared subjectivities.	Management education can expose imaginaries in the workplace, modify reified organisational narratives and grant some room for newer action. The change takes place when showing 'breaches, contradictions, repetitions and peculiarities' present in the students' discourses.
	Cerdin, J. L., & Dubouloy, M. (2004)	Expatriates from Singapore, Vietnam, Brazil, India, Nigeria, Gabon, England, Switzerland and the USA	Narratives of personal history and past reveal the success or failure of expatriation projects. Individuals operate on an 'auto-pilot' motivated by economic imaginaries. Moving to a different country meant a 'copy and paste' of imaginaries of mobility, expectations of autonomy and reconstruction of some past. Despite investment and training, expatriation remains an unpredictable investment with illusory fulfilment.	Even before leaving the host country, candidates realise that imaginaries are illusory. Candidates who think freely perceive the power of 'lack' informing their decision. Expatriation tends to remain unpredictable while the organisation attempts to create a successful program. Chances of success increase if organisations allow expatriates to face moving by themselves.
	Hoedemaekers, C. (2010)	Development programs in large public sector organisations in the Netherlands	Contrasting workers' imagined selves with their narratives reveals incoherence and contradictions. Employees work upon themselves to valorise performative managerialism and assume a proactive and entrepreneurial attitude.	Employees realize that imaginary identification is unsustainable. They realise that their imaginary 'is not a coherent or even a fragmented narrative, but an iterative cycle of identification and breakdown'. This possibility creates 'considerable space for resistance and re-signification in identifications'.
Psychodynamics (Archetypal)	Blanco-Gracia, A. (2018)	Time Magazine and Wikipedia	Ancient myths contribute to understanding leadership constructions in times of crisis. Assange and Zuckerberg, antagonistically positioned ideotypes, converge into similar mythical narratives of heroism.	Recognising the construction of myths reveals how predictive leadership roles can become in public imaginaries. Overall, leaders move from one theme to another, always with a clearly defined canon. Otherwise, myths and culture codetermine one another through dialectic.

Table 4 – continuation

Performative Assemblage	Bloomfield, B. P., & Vurdubakis, T. (2015)	Military magazines, official discourses and science fiction movies	The assemblage of economic actors involve 'human beings, technical devices, algorithms and other heterogeneous elements for specific plans 'from which action springs'. Automation of warfare regards the deployment of autonomous robots. Beyond mere artefacts, these robots exercise lethal force bounded by the 'ethical constraints' dictated by the laws of war. Human-robot assemblages enact an 'organisation of production or that of destruction.'	Human-machine inconsequential assemblages and ongoing managerial(ist) re-makings of the modern world cannot conceive human possibilities. The ethical agency, for instance, ought to influence the enactment of symbolism and instrumentality as the assemblage-work takes place. It characterises an ethical breach from which rehearsal of 'moral and philosophical conflicts' changes ingrained beliefs for newer imaginaries, including humanitarian organisations.
Suchman, L. (2005)	Ethnography in a technological multinational company	People involved in innovative products bring in the process of making imaginaries of past and future. The failure of the photocopier created multiple perspectives of research such as 'artificial intelligence, user interface design, human cognition and learning, ethnomethods of machine-in-use, human-machine interaction, and the enterprises of cognitive science and product design themselves'. 'Technoscientific practice, therefore, is contingent' and enacted from shared subjectivities of persons and things.	Recognising the inseparability of human-machine interaction allows comparative and contrastive investigations. The affiliative nature of the object with multiple audiences reveals imaginary attachments for safety. The continuous ramification of objects is also opportune for organisational transformation.	
Topal, C. (2009)	Proceedings of a public hearing conducted by the Alberta Energy and Utilities Board, Canada.	Although portrayed as risk-minimising democratic mechanisms, public hearings serve as mechanisms that manipulate imaginaries of legitimacy. Public hearings are 'steps' through which popular participation, general interest and rational evaluation meet a more significant sensemaking framework.	Close attention to public interest reveals the reinforcement of dominant institutions. Instead of meeting the collective imaginary of the city's benefit, a public hearing serves as a ceremonial artefact to perpetuate corporate power. This is the case because these events partially, and never totally, engage with the popular imaginary. When participants recognise the limitations, these events enact inequality and illegitimacy.	

Table 4 – continuation

Logical Bricolage	Husted, E., & Plesner, U. (2017)	Critical perspective of critical management studies (CMS) in organisation and theoretical frameworks	market studies in cultural studies	Neoliberal capitalism and post-Fordist organisational logics construct meaning and human identity. Brands, for instance, can temporarily stabilise systems of meaning, decline symbolisms, establish loops in reflexivity and articulate newer signification to their own favour. The proximity of brands with everyday life allows efficient communication of capitalist logic that both contests and appropriates any instability and arbitrariness of meaning of ordinary life.	In the same way that brands serve as means to the establishment of dominant logics, they can also consolidate an oppositional meaning. Because a brand needs meaning management and discourse, workers can challenge hegemonic logics revealing contradictions present when corporations try to 'fix' problems after the meaning was appropriated.
	(Husted & Plesner, 2017a)	Political party as organisational space	party in as	After an unsatisfactory result in the elections, but still aiming to establish itself in national politics, the Alternative party adopted an 'open-source politics' strategy. It consisted of organising the party as digital and physical spaces for discussion and of producing political action. Connecting with everyone's imaginary of "There is always an alternative", the party bridged the universal and the particular'. While the physical spaces counted on workers preventing hegemonisation of discourses, the digital space only provided 'conditions for affirming an already fixed meaning since users are deprived of the ability to contribute directly to the submitted proposals'.	Digital platforms restrict speech, allowing only legitimization of and improvement to hegemonic logics already in place. 'While the physical spaces provide conditions for politics, the digital space solidifies the outcome of politics'. However, this process is one of surrendering and people still have the power to change it. Despite that, 'inviting people to evoke and share images of alternative futures' consolidates counter-hegemonic politics.
	Mumby, D. K. (2016)	Ethnographic case study of the work practices of a digital media agency	case study of the work practices of a digital media agency	Managerial discourses can shut down meanings of practice, changing passion for the creative endeavour and hard work and high-quality into business-as-usual. The processes of overdetermination in creative endeavours reiterates hegemonic imaginaries that value the continuity and/or stability of practices instead of socialising the enterprise. The case also deals with the constitution of knowledge in the workplace. The outcome of power dynamics in a workplace is the consolidation of employee identities, especially among newer and less skilled staff.	Both workers and owners, in these creative environments, choose to tinker with the logic in place. Overdetermination arises as a co-constitution of context and entity. This means that founders have the choice to treat workers differently and workers to find another job. However, both choose to enrol in consolidating the dominant logic in place.

Empirical reformation

Empirical reformation bearing shared subjectivities actualises and situates organisational activities outwardly, meaning imaginaries are objects or objectivity that are collectively recognised and contribute to/result in/inform the endless *reshaping* of this subjective part of social living. In such a case, empirical reformation and transformation assimilate, bearing an active involvement between the tacit and explicit dimensions, either transforming or reforming the actuality and situation of organisation and management phenomena. Differing from a transformative perspective where imaginaries actualise and situate organisational activities by solidifying or practicing imaginaries, empirical reformation takes an embodied perspective of imaginaries (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. xviii).

Taking on an embodied understanding of imaginaries means that subjectivities shared with others situate and actualise organisational activities by reforming outwardly. That means imaginaries take part in a sense made about the world and act out a reformation that aligns with values, projections, beliefs and understanding shared by people. Contrary to empirical information, which organises and manages lives and surroundings according to an inward, intimate movement that manifests in society, empirical reformation situates and organises organisational activities with an awareness of the roots of imaginaries. This acknowledgment of imaginaries approximates empirical assessment to an understanding of conformation, somehow explored in landscapes and in the belonging of people to groups and collectives as well as the conjoint understanding of global interests. However, reformation of topics and themes embodied by society entails comparisons of local and global actualities, inter-group situations or transverse experiences made possible by the existence and operation of imaginaries in daily life.

Anticipated from these embodied, objective relations with imaginaries are mechanisms that reform collective perception and that unfold organisational and managerial activities as an outward relation with shared subjectivities. In this category, three perspectives – *geobordering*, *matrixial* and *intersectionality* – illustrate an outward perception and expected reformative relation subjecting organisational and managerial activities to actualisation and situation with the locus and actuality. *Geobordering* offers total landscaping for imaginaries (Gaonkar, 2002), where reforms to organisations and management have global consequences. Reforming these

operating boundaries means envisioning activities that fit imaginaries (Appadurai, 1996) and (re/en)actions contained by the all-embracing limits of landscapes. Empirical studies of people who care about geoborders expect them to endeavour towards conformity of management and organisation to global mechanisms under an objective state of affairs. This perspective intermeshes normalisation and mediation mechanisms, expecting individual reinforcement of shared values, understanding and interests in a context that is fully embracing and often understood as global. Whereas organisational and management inertias reform a global order, increments to the geobordering perspective change the actuality and situation of organisational activities. Mechanisms of re-negotiations of shared values and re-mediation of landscapes adjust all-embracing attitudes and *renovate* global behaviour. In other words, imaginaries incremented by *reforms* expand or contract the limits of human activities, bearing all-reaching and all-embracing benefits with implemented adjustments. In sum, imaginaries that exist and operate on a planetary scale *rearrange* human objectives and reform norms, practices and language to adapt to and address global circumstances, for example, a pandemic or climate change.

The mechanics of *matrixial* and *intersectional* perspectives deal with the embodied imaginaries via scepticism and criticism (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, Chapter viii), respectively, sensing 'borders' and reforming the ongoing accommodation in the global order. *Matrices* that reform organisations and management recharge the predominance of shared subjectivities by turning the (re)production of senses into the embodiment of imaginaries. An impact of matrices is the (re)production of attitudes of exclusion that overlook or deliberately ignore minorities and their imaginaries (May, 2015, p. viii; O'Mahoney et al., 2018). The same goes for reforms that intersect 'sustained and ongoing practice, a way of perceiving and engaging the world that runs against the grain of established (and oppressive) imaginaries.'

Certainly , empirical reforms acknowledge the presence of dominant ideas and their respective inertias, however organised activities that correspond to excluded, oppressed imaginaries inflict *social frictions* that unfold radical changes. That means matrixial and intersectional perspectives unfold organisational and managerial changes with the interaction of two or more embodied imaginaries: a predominant and an anti-thesis. Radical adjustments, as a synthesis from the encounter of the two, unfold as an overpowering dominance of imaginaries in intersections (feminist studies)

or predominance of social matrices (critical theory). That means imaginaries situate and organise organisational activities through the acknowledgment of oppressive and repressive shared values and unfold *frictions* from the resistance, contestation and overturning of the establishment. Simply put, it constitutes a radical reform to organisational and managerial activities that takes on minority subjectivities.

Anthropocene imaginaries, shared subjectivities on how and why humans are responsible for the global climate, offer a useful comparison between the geobordering, matrixial and intersectional reformative mechanisms. By taking a *geobordering* perception of the Anthropocene, the possibilities of human activities take place within planetary landscapes; that is, within the limits of or without escape from 'Mother Earth'. Climate change for human well-being expecting incremental modifications should raise global consciousness (Patomaki et al., 2010) and thus the organisational and managerial activities, by renegotiating and remediating a catastrophic landscape (Wittneben et al., 2012). Imaginaries would drive reforming regulatory criteria (Skrimshire, 2019) and ethical stands (Beacham, 2018) as well as embrace alternative activities to meet global standards (Bäckstrand et al., 2015; Roux-Rosier, Azambuja, Islam, et al., 2018). However, matrixial and intersectional perspectives reject the Anthropocene as a 'we are all one' shared value. Instead, the Anthropocene and the domains of planetary borders become top-down organised solutions (Campbell et al., 2018) that disregard differences and minorities. Empirical reform of anthropocenic imaginaries dealing with intersectionality concerns an uneven attribution of responsibilities on the global scale, and a matrixial perspective would delve into the neglect of minority demands by dominant initiatives (Kalonaityte, 2018). In terms of climate change, organisational activities expect *geobordering* increments to overcome the catastrophic situation, the *matrixial* perspective would suggest radical changes based on greater connection with nature, while *intersectionality* would consider the dominant thinking a liability and favour radical reforms to ground models of organisation (Wright et al., 2018).

Table 5 illustrates reform of imaginaries that leads to inertias and changes in organisational and managerial activities. By either owning or taming the boundaries, organisations seek global-scale reforms. Throughout the illustrative application, imaginaries affected the organisation and management of ordinary living, dictated routines in communities (Cutcher, 2014; Pal, 2016) and entire industries (Tischer et

al., 2018), established standards of quality (Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Malik et al., 2017; McCarthy et al., 2018) and restricted employees' behaviour (Priola et al., 2014; Sabadoz & Singer, 2017). Also, opposition to the validity and extension of the dominance of imaginaries created friction that granted the insertion of minority demands into the regulation of organised communities.

Table 5 – Illustrative applications of empirical reformation

Formation of actuality	Authors	Empirical source	Empirical discussion	(Possible) Change of actuality
Geobordering	(Tischer et al., 2018)	Global trading financial products	Financial trading takes place on a global scale with specific relations and indirect routes. Secrecy and trust are values shared by investors and sellers. Document circulation not only describes the transaction but also mediates shared values and beliefs, ensuring a global cohesion and deflection of scrutiny.	Despite all secrecy, access to documents allows scrutinisation of the complex structures and relations in this closed 'non-physical world of global finance'. As 'tourists', the researchers evaluated that sellers have a privileged position in this global bazaar. Before submission of important shared documents, buyers accept the face value, organising a financial bubble.
	Ibarra-Colado, E. (2006)	Conference presentations at the 2003 APROS conference	Peripheral countries in the Americas and Asia contribute irregularly to knowledge creation in the organisational field. Neoliberal and instrumental rationality are shared subjectivities that reinforce the Anglo-Eurocentric vision. Such preference drives homogenization in knowledge creation in organisational studies, characterising peripheral knowledge as imperfect. Colonised imaginaries replicate and falsify organisational knowledge via peripheral scholars and universities influenced by centric realities.	Assuming a perspective of 'otherness' integrates peripheral knowledge into organisational theoretical debates. The Anglo-Eurocentric becomes provincial rather than 'universal narrative' and advancements in the field come from the interplay of integration and polarisation of knowledge. Only by replacing centric shared values with multiple provincialities, can knowledge in organisational studies include political expression and rationalities and further advance knowledge in the field.
	Malik, S., Chapain, C., & Comunian, R. (2017).	Community filmmaking in the UK film sector	For a long time, films functioned as a medium for the global communication and distribution of values. Cultural diversity, the granting of voice to those who are voiceless, finds in films a way to reorganise imaginaries. While mainstream filmmaking erratically contributes to expansion of the diversity landscape, community filmmaking consistently 're-work(s) or re-imagine(s) dominant cultural representations'.	Expanding the landscape of cultural diversity depends on reflective filmmakers. These individuals reshape and reorder established values because they live in cultural diversity: filmmakers bridge understanding and community interactions from the community to films. Beyond the counter-discourse against mainstream media, UK filmmakers invite minorities to 'explore and express something that they want to'. Through this means, minorities share and broadcast their subjectivities.
	(Cutcher, 2014)	Community retail bank	Despite anti-globalisation discourses, Bendigo bank was successful in expanding its operations beyond its original domain. One of the reasons lies in the agency itself, particularly in its enabling or constraining of authenticity, connectivity and control. Globalisation, thus, helps the banking practice to alter borders, focusing on 'spatial imaginaries' where customers can be served far from bank branches. Activism against globalisation arose, and Bendigo Bank used 'anti-globalisation discourses' to raise funds and stewardship. Volunteers pointed out shared values and communal beliefs on the return of profit to communities, while fear of local business failure fostered local participation and a feeling of having control over the bank.	The pride in 'agency' and 'being local' hides a reality that the community bank model is essentially a franchise arrangement with a local finance company 'not different to McDonald's'. Despite the imaginaries of volunteers and local managers, often they were aware of agentic limitations. Evidence of major forces 'behind the free play of local self-assertion' reminded that local agency is indeed spatially and contextually bound.

Table 5 – continuation

Bordering as method	McCarthy, L., Touboulic, A., & Matthews, L. (2018)	Videos produced by Unilever and disseminated on YouTube	Through YouTube videos, Unilever engages in a 'reality crafting strategy' using a corporate sustainable farming imaginary. Instead of showing corporate market-drive values, with these videos and third-party partners Unilever intends to 'empower' local farmers from post-colonial countries.	Behind the 'empowerment' of smallholder farmers lies the instrumentalism of sustainable imaginary to bypass local traders and establish a direct channel with small farmers. Unilever's imagery perpetrates 'colonial relationships of exploitation and power structures but presents this as unproblematic and beneficial for all'. By its empowerment strategy, the company implies 'freedom' as a negative value. However, for small farmers, in their shared values freedom means respect or stop farming.
	Pal, M. (2016)	Farmers from Singur, India	Tata Motors Company and the state government disposed of 12,000 small farm holders. Global imaginaries of modernisation consider employment in industry as improvements to rural areas. As in many Third World countries, modernisation often disregards civil rights.	Thousands of farmers, supported by civil and human rights groups, intellectuals, and artists, self-organised a counter-hegemonic resistance. Strategic silence and protests contrasted neoliberal imaginaries with shared values by the community, which include a different relationship with property, tying it to religion and history. Ultimately, shared imaginaries of communities, when respected and promoted, create a 'politically just and culturally pluralistic society.'
Matrixial and Intersectional	(Priola et al., 2014)	Italian social cooperatives	Despite managerial attempts to give voice to minorities, 'silence, gossip and derogatory comments are common and described as normal'. Imaginaries of organisations as neutral worlds remove personal responsibility from workers to encourage or break the silence. Else, shared values by employers often prohibit openness.	The culture of silence existing in the five organisations studied prevents LGBT employees from constructing a work identity which encompasses their sexual identity and prevents the organisations from achieving their aim of being fully inclusive workplaces. The dominant heterosexual discourse contrasts with 'inclusive and safe space'. Despite managerial efforts of voice mechanisms, informal and ad-hoc practices such as sensitisation of members and stimulus for reflexivity play a stronger role in inclusive policies.
	Sabadoz, C., & Singer, A. (2017)	'Race Together' initiative at Starbucks	Illustrative of 'deliberative management theory's application', 'Race Together' was a failed Starbucks campaign to 'influence the social setting, show reciprocal respect to stakeholders, and to help set new industry norms' in regard to racial matters in America. In practice, customers and employees had their racial imaginaries confronted while buying coffee or discussed in town halls. As a result, the racial matters brought into such circumstances remained unimportant to the broad public.	The failed campaign was neither understandable nor taken for granted as capable of influencing collective imaginaries because employees and customers were encouraged to discuss 'race relations in a low-key way.' Race inhabits a different social imaginary and is only changed through legitimate political engagement and CSR.

Swan, (2017)	E. Coaching websites	Visuals and text on coaching websites draw on popular psychology to discuss feminist matters. Their content fosters a postfeminist attitude and entrepreneurship among this public. Often the shared values on these websites acknowledge women's inequalities and reinforce sorority.	As a multimodal means, coaching websites fail to assess political and economic explanations of women's ordinary life. From this blank slate, the websites 'reinforc(e) cultural ideas about whiteness, neoliberal affect and classed, racialised and gendered psychological capital.'
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Discussion, limitations and conclusion

In this systematic literature review of the application of imaginaries in organisation and management studies, instrumentality and subjectivity shared by individuals situated and actualised organisational activities. This influence of imaginaries on the actuality of organisations and management became clearer in transformation, conformation, information and reformation panoramas, and their respective subcategories, providing formative perspectives and mechanisms for collective activities. Across empirical analyses featuring imaginaries the actuality and situation of organisational and managerial phenomena unfolded from values, projections, creeds and understanding shared by individuals. Furthermore, inertia and change in organisation and management empirical analysis, in either the public or private contexts, unfolded into and from organised lives and their work to organise their surroundings. As explained in earlier sections, formative mechanisms contrasted in the prefixes trans/con/in/re and in radical or incremental changes to managerial and organisational routines. Additionally, the analysis of seminal works in OMS reveals that authors combine multiple dimensions to explain organisational activities unfolding with imaginaries as the guide to social phenomena.

Figure 3 - Multidimensional perspectives provided by imaginaries in OMS

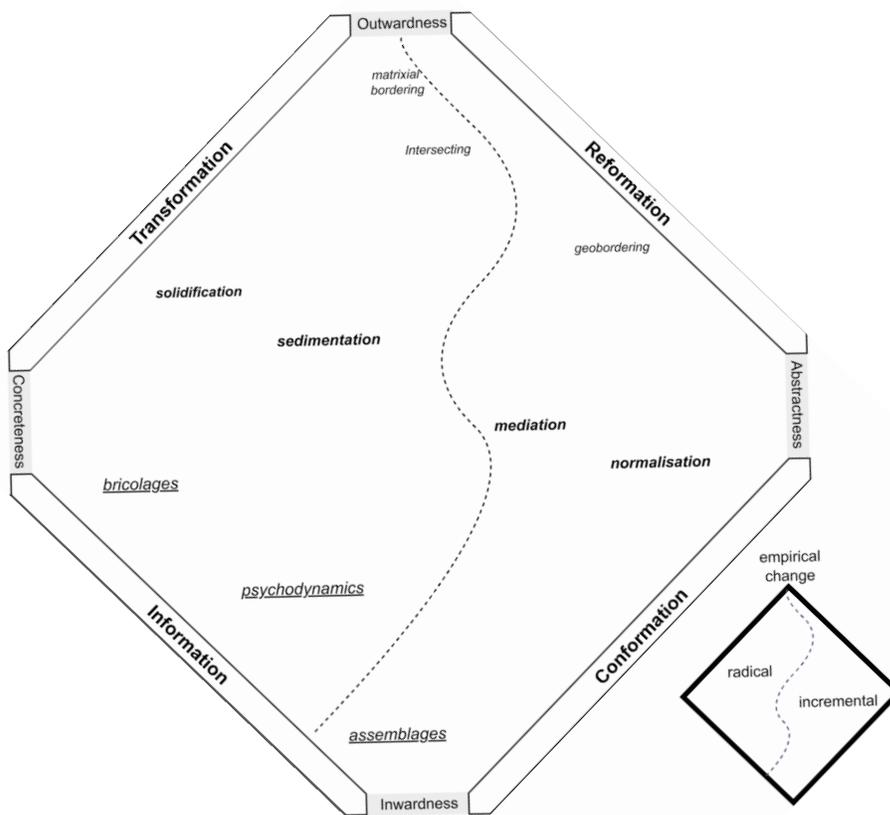


Figure 3 presents a panoramic view of the different perspectives with the horizontal orientation guided by concreteness and abstractness, the vertical guided by inwardness and outwardness, diagonal correspondence to empirical formation, and the dotted line dividing perspectives that unfold radical or incremental changes.

Firstly, focusing on the horizontal axis, the diagram displays perspectives comprising mechanisms that vary in degree from the most concrete to the most abstract mechanisms unfolding organisational activities from imaginaries. On the left, the most concrete observations consider solidifications and bricolages asserting the meaningfulness of structure and materiality to locate and signify imaginaries. At the centre, empirical

transformation and information converge in the importance of interpretation, more precisely to the unfolding of sedimented narratives and psycho and archetypical dynamics. Moving closer to the righthand quadrant, matrixial and intersectionality bordering find in the objectivities importance similar to that encountered by mediation and performative assemblages in objects of common interest. Finally, geobordering and normalization share similar mechanisms based upon abstract values.

Secondly, from a vertical panoramic assessment, the same perspectives approximate in terms of the unfolding of organizational actualities by considering inwardness and outwardness in each individual relationship with imaginaries. At the bottom, the most intrinsic relationship relates to empirical information that recognizes the unfolding of organisational and managerial activities based on intellectual engagement in their intimacy. It is exemplary of these movements' performative assemblage, psychodynamics and logical bricolage which actualise and situate organizational activities. In the middle range of the vertical axis, one finds that the private values transform or conform to public contexts, such as in the cases of solidification, sedimentation, mediation and normalization unfolding into collective work. Reaching the extreme top of this imaginary vertical axis, the most extrinsic and objective relations with the imaginary define the organisational and managerial phenomena relating to imaginaries. In this case, the salient boundaries of the global, matrixial and intersectional imaginaries unfold interactions that actualise and situate organisational activities.

Finally, considering the diagonals and the dotted line in this panoramic view, figure 3 divides perspectives between those expecting radical changes to organisational activities and those expecting incremental changes. To the left, solidification, sedimentation, matrixial, intersectionality, psychodynamics and bricolages predicate different mechanisms to unfold organisational activities, but similarly expect radical changes in empirical analysis. In the right-hand quadrant, assemblages, normalisation, mediation and geobordering unfold different mechanisms but equally expect increments that situate and actualise organisational activities. By paying close attention to the taxonomy, it becomes intuitive that conformation and radicality share no common ground and transformation expects no increments for completeness. The same goes for a matrixial

reformation unsuited to incremental changes just as geobordering expects radical modifications. Overall, the dotted line reinforces the formative taxonomy initially proposed from the systematic literature review.

It is important to highlight that the onto-epistemologies displayed in figure 3 either have a direct application, as illustrated in the previous tables, or rather locate imaginaries as meta-concepts that situate and actualise organisational activities (Hassard & Wolfram Cox, 2013a), similar to organisational images (Burrell, G., Morgan, 1979; Paula, 2016). For these cases, the formative mechanisms explained by imaginaries are transversal to the various perspectives. Thus an organisational image that composes narratives from ideologies and utopias assimilates to interpretations of fantasies (Lacan, 2001; Ricoeur, 1981). It also means that normalisation and mediation finding in local conformity to imaginaries assimilate to global borders nurtured by fast communication (Calhoun et al., 2015b). Or that logical bricolages, heteronomy and social matrices imaged expect that autonomous human beings think and work freely for radical changes (Venn, 2004).

As a consequence of this multidimensional possibility with imaginaries, organisational and managerial theorists turn to hybridisations of and integrations with other traditions to enhance empirical analysis. An unlimited medley of ontologies (Elliott & Robinson, 2012; Levy & Spicer, 2013b; Lok & Willmott, 2014; Roux-Rosier, Azambuja, Islam, et al., 2018; Wright et al., 2013a) and dynamic versatility (Islam, 2012a; Lerner & Le Heron, 2005; Tyler & Cohen, 2010) foresees imaginaries forming empirics in creative ways. That also counts on imaginaries being paired with power (Roberts, 2005b), affection (Fotaki et al., 2017; Thanem & Wallenberg, 2015), fiction (Beckert, 2013b; Smith, 2017), space (Barinaga, 2017; Berti et al., 2018b; Fahy et al., 2014; Lash, 2012b) and visuals (Meyer et al., 2013; Strati & deMontoux, 2002) – just to cite some possibilities. Counterintuitively, the multidimensional perspective limits the capacity of all-embracing concepts to assert how organisation and management work. Also, the unbounded combination of analyses prevents an encapsulation of imaginaries by comprehensive social theory. It remains to say that the imaginaries-approaches displayed in the quadrants of figure 3 are likely to expand, reshape and become a multi-paradigmatic concept.

As anticipated, imaginaries are far from non-integrating perspectives, which it is opportune for organisation and management scholars to explore novel combinations for their empirical analysis. Multimodal perspectives (Oliveira, Islam, Toraldo, et al., 2017) and dynamics in the public sphere (Oliveira et al., 2018) are two assortments crucial to derive learning from public goods and formal hearings. Moving to technology and information, fake news and memes (Valaskivi & Sumiala, 2014) inform organisation and management based on the meaning attached to symbols and images bearing an uncertain intention or potential (Hobson & Modi, 2018). Also suggestive is to grasp 'mindfulness' as managerial practice (Kudesia, 2017) to either substantiate or empty post-modern 'imaginaries'. Thus, (trans/con/in/re)forms of empirical analysis expect other *formulations* to integrate imaginaries into the myriad ways organisations and management go with ordinary lives.

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Chapter 2 – Experiencing constraints and concretising solutions: An introduction to the Big Worm case and to the emergence of imaginaries

ABSTRACT

This chapter introduces the compulsory relationship between the inhabitants of the city of São Paulo, Brazil, and the 'Big Worm', an elevated expressway contested by civil society. This case study comprises forty-five years of facts and events clippings from a major newspaper covering the Big Worm before its construction. My analysis shows that society gradually formed mixed impressions and accumulated knowledge reflected in the way people perceived a mandatory relation with the Big Worm, moving their perspective from 'innovation' to 'operation' and then to 'legacy'. Furthermore, these experiences and knowledge constituted the imaginaries from where elevated park and demolition formed two viable, opposing solutions to the ongoing vehicular traffic. The analysis concludes when imaginaries reach official hearing, more precisely when solutions intend to pave the way for a radical change to the Big Worm. Presenting this case situates inventions and interventions as organisational activities to overcome the rigid and obligatory coexistence of society with the physical structure, conditioning the imaginaries and presented as a collective work to alter the material.

Keywords: imaginaries, collective experience and social knowledge, materiality, public legacy, organised representation

Introduction

In this case study, I introduce a relationship that evolved over time between civil society and an elevated highway named Costa e Silva and then renamed President Joao Goulart, but popularly known as the 'Big Worm' (BW). As seen in appendix B, an independent news agency provided full access to any mention of the Big Worm in its archives before, during and after its structural appearance and its purpose for vehicular traffic. Forty-five years of local news, reports, advertisements and other mentions of the BW revealed an accumulated experience moving from construction (1969–1971), passing by its inauguration (1971) and intensifying during its period of functionality for vehicles (1971–onwards) and that of simultaneous functionality for both vehicles and leisure (1989–onwards). Analysis of this corpus of data revealed *innovation*, *operation* and *legacy* as different phases in the civic relationship with the BW. During the *innovation* phase, a time that dates back to the Big Worm's heyday, the elevated highway was celebrated as a solution to the demands of a car-centric, fast-growing metropolis. The relationship with 'the *innovation*', positively apprehended in the ways stakeholders approached the structural deficiencies, started to decline already during its construction, impacting organised living in the downtown. This sets the BW into the *operation* phase, when a compulsory co-living with a physical structure occurred in controversial ways: as an elevated expressway and as spontaneously organised leisure area. After years of ambivalence regarding its social function, the BW reached its *legacy* phase, where experience and knowledge accumulated across constituted imaginaries of an ideal city with the Big as a particular feature. In recent years, demolition and elevated park have been presented as feasible, legitimate solutions emanated from particular imaginaries, possibilities that situated and actualised organisational activities in official hearings dedicated to resolve the BW conundrum.

Method and data collection

The lack of standardized purposes and the openness for inhabitants to deliberate the appropriate uses for the Big Worm make this unique setting empirically relevant to understand how temporality organizes sociomaterial affordances. Scholars have extensively studied the Big Worm from sociocultural (Neves, 2018), discursive struggles

(Barbosa & Marino, 2021; Machado, 2019), and social learning angles (Belik, 2017; von Schönfeld, 2021), given a broader account for the richness of the Worm's existence and operation in society. This investigative endeavour, differently, focuses on evolving longitudinal relations with the physical structure that point to the emergence of sets of beliefs, collective views, and social values that organize envisioning to the materiality.

My close relation with the structure entails living next to it for nearly fourteen years, which includes driving over and below the expressway, jogging at the top, contemplating street art and observing demographic changes. Over these years, informal conversations with residents, the homeless population, small shop owners, and blue-collar workers reinforced the notion that a plurality of opinions converges into more straightforward ideas over time. Moreover, these insights were lively in public audiences, and online groups participated over the years of a doctoral program opportune to expose, discuss and refine organizational theories, including presentations in academic seminars and international conferences.

This investigation adopts Critical Grounded Theory (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, p. 258) to account for necessary experiences with the Big Worm that remain in the public domain. This scientific approach to the longitudinal analysis (Bansal et al., 2018; Pettigrew, 1990) of social constructions to conceptualized possibilities to the elevated highway, theorizing what is perceived as 'out there' without sophisticated explanation or taking 'what is happening' for granted. Being aware of the critical elementality of Big Worm to the local population means integrating what people elaborate as ideal relations with impartiality while grouping a temporal process to explain implicit and explicit material involvements. The other reason for the affordability of Critical Grounded Theory is the recognition and reincorporation of the Big Worm into dreams, projections, and contestations, a retroductive movement over periods becoming present in discourse, narratives, and generic descriptions that translate unique views over the Big Worm. Ultimately, these critical approaches speculate, glimpse, and envision potentials for the Big Worm in such a plurality that can never be completed yet justifiable as past, present, and future moments with the elevated highway coupled with before, during, and after its continuous existence and operation.

In the impossibility of an ethnographical investigation of decades of established relations with the Big Worm for decades, this longitudinal investigation captures the constitution and influence of imaginaries in news reports, opinions, and press reports. This body of knowledge comprises a comprehensive corpus to understand implicit and explicit relations with the structure. The opposing, multiple views are accessible through this media analysis permitting triangulation (Pettigrew, 1990) to delve into the criticality and reflexivity of relating to public goods in democratic regimes. Furthermore, the analysed data give access to temporal relations constitutive of elevated highway materialities, relations that extend over time, and material affordances envisioned by social polarities (1990, p. 275). Pairing these theorizations with interviews with key subjects, we probe the assumption that binding temporal relations with materiality are shaped, plural viewpoints are collectivized, and the evolving modes of use for the elevated thoroughfare are better discerned as temporal framings of imaginaries.

Data collection, longitudinal analysis of local newspapers, and interview triangulations

The emerging process from this longitudinal analysis (Bansal et al., 2018) of the Big Worm comprises an analysis of news clippings from 1970 – 2014 and the preliminary insights triangulated with interviews conducted between 2018 and 2019. Folha de São Paulo was chosen for news clipping based on the following reasons: it is a reputable and widely read newspaper in Brazil, it maintains an independent editorial stance even during the dictatorship, it embraces opinions from all political spectrums, popular language, and active ombudsman participation. Furthermore, the search engine of the newspaper website offers an Optical Content Reader (OCR) technology to scan its digital archive dating back to 1929, forty years before the Big Worm's construction. With the help of this engine, the first author built a longitudinal corpus of knowledge retrieving local news, generic reports, cartoons, ads, columns, and reader's letters mentioning 'Elevated President Costa Silva,' 'Elevated President João Goulart' and the popular nickname 'Minhocão.' A total of 589 unique vignettes explained one or more events with the physical structure as the protagonist across pieces ranging from the construction period in 1970 until the first public audience to define the Big Worm's finality in 2014. All this material

was read in full, sorted by month and year, and annotated initially conceptualized using a digital notebook (Evernote), that later was transferred in total to a qualitative descriptive analysis software (NVIVO) for further reflexive analysis as summarized in table 6.

Table 6 - Summary empirical analysis from Newspaper clippings

Decades	Folha de Sao Paulo's newspaper	
	<i>Clipping</i>	<i>Empirical Annotation</i>
<i>1970s</i>	159	324
<i>1980s</i>	106	213
<i>1990s</i>	86	183
<i>2000s</i>	70	141
<i>2010-2014</i>	168	346
<i>Total</i>	<i>589</i>	<i>1207</i>

The longitudinal reading helped me to get acquainted with the various appearances of the Big Worm in society. In the 1970s, news clipping encompassed societal encounters with an unseen structure and usages, an innovation that encounters skepticism and sparse criticism given its controversial existence in urban settings. In the late 1970s and across the 1980s, the Big Worm already organize the lifestyle of living in Sao Paulo and close to the structure. News clippings expose the operations and attempt to integrate the structure into the traffic engineering and the impact of experiencing the existence of an elevated highway in a residential area. In the 1990s and 2000s, the empirical focus shifted to discussions about the impact of the Big Worm on urbanism, gentrification, and compensation for dictatorial imposition. Still, in this period, the Big Worm is perceived as a materiality that could afford careless utility when the empirical annotation presents an increasing usage of the Big Worm for megaevents, architectural design, and festivals. From 2010 until 2014, urbanistic interventions in Brazil and overseas explore the

disassembly of big worms, architectural projections for the Big Worm win awards, and the city register records of traffic jams. By the end of this period, the Big Worm's materiality migrates from the street experience to the political arena.

Another pattern in this longitudinal reading was a progressive sense of time implied to the Big Worm, indicating past, present, and future notions that exist and operate with the elevated highway. Already during its construction in 1970, the physical appearance presentify an organization that innovates with a solution for car traffic that simultaneously break away from a city of the past and grounds now a city of the future. Much of this shared sense is understood in the proud announcements of its inauguration and continued advertisements relating to private participation in the moment of construction. Already in this period, concerns with the impact in the neighboring areas and the insufficiency of the elevated expressway to fulfill its promises show attention and first regrets with the present. As the Big Worm becomes fully integrated into daily life, its current operation and existence constantly contrast with situations before its materiality. This past momentum before the Big Worm, before 1971, provided referential images of lost dimensions with the existence and continuous operation of the expressway, clarifying the culprit for the ongoing degradation of neighboring areas, worsening in living standards, and dissatisfaction with the expressway's present delivery of public service for car traffic. It is when attempts to adjust the structural functionalities from the middle 1970s until the end of the 1980s that the grandeur of past and future projects spontaneously become material parts for the Big Worm. Firstly, the newly inaugurated leisure area and changes in the demographic in the 1990s and 2000s feature the Big Worm incorporated into futuristic views for relating with the physical structure. Secondly, the past becomes well defined as a time before the construction, existence, and continuous operation of the Big Worm, retrieving images of a 'Belle Epoque' of Sao Paulo without the Big Worm. Thirdly, the increasing traffic over the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s show images of a road integrated into the city's traffic engineering, even embracing new usages for megaevents, street art, and other concessions while shut for cars. In the 2010s, the future, past, and present imaginary dimensions involving the Big Worm acknowledge the insufficient usefulness of the Big Worm expressed as present, insufficient expressway; ongoing hurdle for rescuing life standards of the past, and partially fulfiller for a carless, futurist

elevated road. In the present imagination, the current limitations are fixable by maintaining the road and current uses. In the past imagination, the remembrances of a pre-existing reality reject any ongoing material possibility expecting its entire demolition. In the future imaginary, the current material affords the inexistence of cars while denying their destruction, thus supportive of an Elevated Park.

Table 7 - Summary of interviews with Big Worm's stakeholders

Affiliation	Elevated Park		Demolition		Irrespective	
	<i>Number of Interviewees</i>	<i>Interview Length (in minutes)</i>	<i>Number of Interviewees</i>	<i>Interview Length (in minutes)</i>	<i>Number of Interviewees</i>	<i>Interview Length (in minutes)</i>
<i>Activists</i>	8	508	3	344		
<i>Politicians</i>	2	121	1	61	5	209
<i>Association members</i>	5	269	5	650		
Total	15	898	9	1055	5	209

While car traffic and leisure area operations were institutionalized across the 1990s, the 2000s and 2010s were when material affordances left the elaboration field to become political discourses. Elevated Park and Demolition, opposing possibilities to the Big Worm, introduced a notion of *legacy* to the structure and so demanding grandeur projects that could materially intervene and reorganize urban life. Empirical annotations end with a public hearing about the implementation of an Elevated Park, Demolition supporters contrasting the possibility with years of contestation against the Big Worm's presence, and some people raising awareness for the importance of the structure to a bigger picture of the city. As posited in this event, future, past, and present imaginary dimensions featuring the Big Worm directly negate one another, constituting from its materiality a pool of vast possibilities for the physical structure.

Finally, I interviewed individuals with direct stakes in Elevated Park, Demolition, or neither of these possibilities. These interviews helped to triangulate the finding that past, present, and future views of the Big Worm not only organized material possibilities in polarized ways but also mobilized society to bring those to fruition. Table 7 summarise conducted interviews with activists, association members, and politicians were held between June 2018 and January 2019 for an average length of one-and-a-half-hour. Each interviewee expressed rationales, reasonings, motivations, and emotions for defending one chosen urban intervention over the other, emphasizing a critical stand before other stakeholders. For instance, supporters of an elevated park connected their views of the city, structural utilization, and activism with a brighter *future* for residents, which means that the Big Worm for the *future* embraced a material affordance for street art, leisure, and cultural in detriment to an already gone past and an undesirable present. In contrast, interviewees favoring demolition offered memories, remembrances, and civic concerns with the present functionality and future possibilities for an elevated park over the structure. For those indifferent to Elevated Park and Demolition, the present meaningless of particularized structure, projected and currently attending car and, spontaneously, leisure users is detrimental to past and future potentialities. For these people, the road is not valuable (Elevated Park) or valueless (Demolition) but a tiny point in a more prominent organization for the city.

Findings

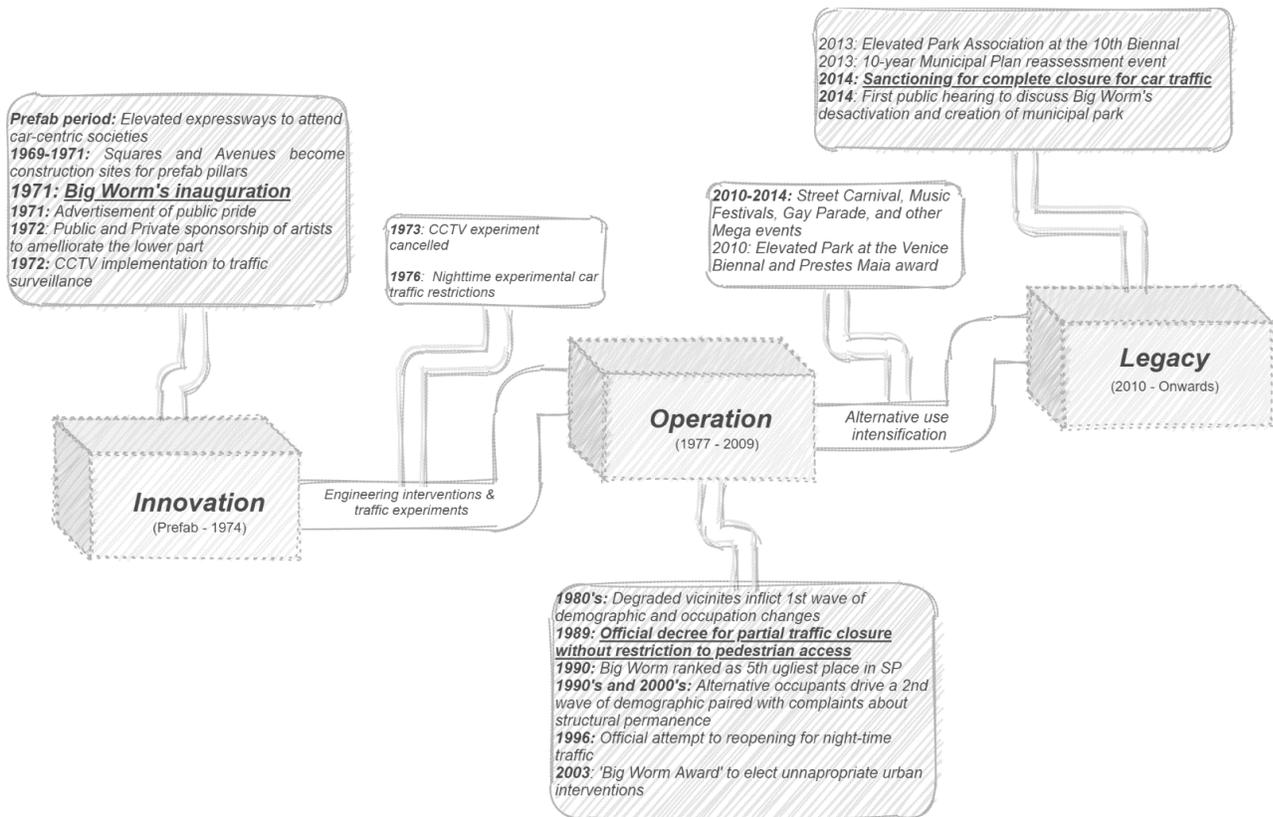
A longitudinal view for the Big Worm: Innovation, Operations and Legacy phases

As summarised in figure 4, in January 1971, city dwellers, local politicians and construction partners demonstrated great optimism in the ability of urban *innovation* to properly serve a car-centric, consumerist society. The construction and inauguration of an elevated highway in the upscale city centre of São Paulo, Brazil, popularly known as the 'Big Worm', brought into structural reality the developmental aspirations of a modern era for the metropolis. Nevertheless, less than one year after its inauguration, the Big Worm revealed its incapacity to serve this expanding municipality. The innovation could not anticipate the twofold growth in car traffic, prevent collisions and casualties, or deal

with flooding and challenging events for the proper functioning of a highway. In response, public initiatives managed the urban *innovation* to secure its worth with measures that included technological implementation and traffic engineering. Experiments to adapt the available infrastructure also included closing the Big Worm to vehicular traffic, an improvised *operation* that emptied the 3.6-kilometre structure of vehicles and incidentally created a leisure area for city dwellers. This alternative existence intensified and diversified throughout the 1990s and 2000s, consolidating the Big Worm's *operation* for leisure when cars did not circulate on it.

Twenty years of leisure occupation, street art, sports and carnival propagated a Big Worm version of a leisure area welcoming interventions similar to the New York City Highline. In parallel, a segment of society discontented with decades of pollution, localised violence and neighbourhood deterioration backed calls for removal of the structure. In the early 2010s, civil society dealt with the Big Worm as a city *legacy* with an obsolete function of roadway for vehicular traffic. The *legacy* received its first formal hearing to communicate and move forward with a compulsory timeframe for closure of the Big Worm and, to public surprise, immediate implementation of a municipal park. In this debut discussion, the Big Worm's *legacy* received considerable attention from local media, participants' display of emotion, and mutual denial of each other's arguments by 'elevated park' activists and 'demolition' advocates.

Figure 4 - Timeline of events involving the Big Worm's existence and operation



Developmental aims in the Big Worm's prefabrication (before 1969)

The Big Worm's conception fits into an age notable for a population boom, authoritarian governments and fast changes in metropolitan landscapes. In massive cities, such as São Paulo, Brazilⁱ, the densest place in the global south and the eighth-largest city globally, the population exponentially increased after waves of migration following the two world wars and national dislocation in the search for jobs. In the industrialised, modernised São Paulo, the city's outskirts accommodated the heavy factories and unplanned 'vilas' for those wanting to live near their workplace. Commuting from São Paulo's suburbs to its centre relied on modest railways and bus lines, a travel to compensate for disordered growth and uneven distribution of public services. At the city's heart, however, the planned neighbourhoods with squares and parks, historical sites and buildings with architectural façades contrasted with life in a suburban and central region. Overall, the excellent living conditions of São Paulo's downtown included easy access to

facilities, plenty of public transportation and exclusive access to services non-existent in the municipal periphery.

Also remarkable for this period is the rise of radical urban interventions to meet the needs of a modernising, fast-paced civil society. Under public pressure, metropolises, such as Tokyo for the 1964 Olympic Gamesⁱⁱ, altered the city's skyline to showcase an intelligent urban modernisation. Elevated expressways were among the urban inventions that offered a fresher, futuristic view and interposed as replacement for the classic, nostalgic view of the city. These structures that crossed the city's centre right next to buildings were designed to improve the movement of vehicles through urban areas and symbolise an epoch of significant influence of the automobile industry on household consumption. That meant prioritising private transportation over public and pushing public administrators to implement roadways for cars to circulate. As with the Japanese bigworms, increasingly crowded São Paulo found the fastest, cheapest and most justifiable solution for constructing an elevated expresswayⁱⁱⁱ. Besides the greater economic feasibility in comparison with construction of tunnels, these 'bigworms' signified a break from an archaic city in a 'developing' country, in some places moving people with animal-drawn trams. Instead, the mentality for embracing a fast-paced city considered elevated structures over parks, rivers, squares and nearby classic architecture and historical sites to the detriment of the city's heritage.

The urban *innovation* labelled the Big Worm (1969–1975)

By the end of 1969, São Paulo's city government had begun to construct one of Brazil's most debated urban icons, the Elevado Costa e Silva, popularly known as 'Minhocão', which translates literally as 'BigWorm'. Its proposed design is an elevated road for lightweight automobiles, absent of traffic lights or crossroads, and connecting the east, centre and west zones via an expressway^{iv}. The pace of construction, thirteen months in total, was unprecedented in any Brazilian public administration and proper to an authoritarian political regime that cared little for popular opinion. The Big Worm's assembly counted on public and private constructors using public squares and historic avenues to prefabricate sustaining pillars and move thousands of tons of concrete around the city centre^v. Nearly one year after placing the first column, São Paulo's public

administration launched the most extensive elevated highway in South America, an inauguration celebrated in a solemn event massively attended by city dwellers. Days after its opening, the following technical accounts give a factual statement of the dimensions and work invested into the Big Worm's construction^{vi}.

"Almost 2,500 men working 24/7 used 680,000 bags of cement that would extend 600 kilometres if lined up. The 10,000 tons of steel and iron necessary [for its construction] correspond to nearly 10,000 Volkswagen Beetles. This construction is considered as important as the ongoing subway works that used modern techniques and national know-how [...]. According to the consortium of engineers, the amount of concrete equates to forty-five buildings of ten floors or ten times the height of Mount Everest."^{vii}

Speed seemed important, so public administrators paid monetary bonuses for an faster conclusion to construction^{viii}, illustrating a satisfactory public-private partnership. Politicians, contractors^{ix}, multinationals and local businesses^x proudly unveiled their participation in this urban *innovation*^{xi} and historical moment. Advertisements emphasised the choice of their products during and after the Big Worm's construction^{xii}, and the physical location became a reference point for shops, restaurants and theatres^{xiii}. A few years after its inauguration, the Big Worm's popularity remained high and longstanding as an impactful solution to the city's traffic problems. International columnists often emphasized the structural benefits and compared the Brazilian version to overseas counterparts, suggesting as a suitable choice the cheap structure that facilitated a fast pace for urban endeavours^{xiv}. Humanist arguments also favoured roads, driveways and highways, arguing that these private cars compensated for inefficient public transport and the facilitated the delivery of a modernised city^{xv}. Defenders of urban *innovation* also used the official name 'Costa e Silva', the then-military president, instead of the nickname 'Big Worm', stating the double meaning as being unfit to the momentous good customs^{xvi}.

Innovation aftermath: Unexpected occurrences and inadequate functionality of the Big Worm (1972–1975)

The fast and reduced cost of the Big Worm could not compensate for the risks of infrastructural shortcomings or side impacts of the completed structure. Only months after the Big Worm's opening, the vehicular traffic doubled, which was unanticipated before construction^{xvii}. The crowding generated two distinct issues. During the day, the constant

traffic jams called into question the *innovation's* capacity to serve the needs of drivers and increase the average speed to cross the city. This situation frequently worsened with the irregular presence of pedestrians and illegal traffic of trucks and buses on the highway^{xviii}. At night, freed from heavy traffic, traffic lights and patrolling, the 3.6 km extension turned into a high-speed race course^{xix}. The results were constant road closures to remove car crashes and a growth in casualties attributed to the inappropriate structural design. As a matter of fact, both situations presented a Big Worm functionally insufficient to meet social demands^{xx} and the delivery of a semi-expressway corresponding to half of the expectations from the urban *innovation*.

Besides the engineering shortcomings, the Big Worm directly and detrimentally affected the urban landscape during and after its inauguration. In the construction period, public squares and nearby boulevards became factories of pillars, altering the area's utility and accelerating the dreadful decline in living conditions in neighbourhoods in the vicinity of the Big Worm^{xxi}. With the completion of construction, the adjacent flats faced an average of 7,000 vehicles a day no more than ten meters away from their living room windows. Moreover, the lower end of the Big Worm was perennially shadowed by thousands of tons of reinforced concrete, pervading the area with exhaust and noise pollution. During the night, the existence of the Big Worm impaired the access to public squares, life with historical buildings and, more, required residents and visitors to contend with uglified surroundings^{xxii}.

Public administrators and civil society devoted time, thought and work to safeguard the Big Worm as *innovation*. Their efforts included a positive attitude that disregarded criticisms of the structural inefficiencies and minimised the impacts of the Big Worm in everyday life. Defendants of the *innovation* instead claimed that road structures such as the Big Worm^{xxiii} carry with them a transitory problem that is resolved when the whole network operates^{xxiv}. The Big Worm remained iconic in commercial slogans and an attractive geographic reference for small and medium-sized firms. While private efforts to alleviate the Big Worm's rough lower part adorned the supporting pillars with colourful paintings^{xxv}, public initiatives allowed for bus terminals^{xxvi}, parking lots, street fairs^{xxvii} and playgrounds in the spaces between the columns. Urbanist endeavours also counted on

revitalising neighbourhoods suffering from Big Worm–related pollution by embellishing the areas with boulevards and gardens^{xxviii}.

Innovative interventions and experiments with the physical structure

Also as part of the public efforts to make the expressway work^{xxix}, those responsible for traffic management started to pay closer attention to incidents and experimented with new possibilities for the Big Worm's functionalities. In large part, the problems stemmed from insufficient traffic flow because of structural hurdles. The primary intervention used state-of-the-art technology to quickly spot and resolve ordinary incidents, such as minor collisions and illegal crossings of the highway by pedestrians^{xxx}. It also included motorized patrolling to retrieve damaged cars^{xxxi} or remove children and beggars from the Big Worm^{xxxii}. These efforts, however, could not cope with a structural design that had few exits, a deteriorating road surface^{xxxiii}, drainage system failings^{xxxiv} and severe accidents precisely because of the absence of traffic signs^{xxxv}. In 1973, the highway department discontinued the deployment of CCTV surveillance, leaving a significant loss to the public treasury^{xxxvi}. In December 1976, after years of remedial measures, traffic engineers experimented with restricting night-time use of the Big Worm by vehicles^{xxxvii}. With no high-speed circulation of cars, casualties from accidents became zero, testifying that measures carried on by public managers flagged the people's welfare as the appropriate *raison d'être* for the Big Worm's structural functioning.

Overall, the Big Worm's *innovation* phase reconciled unexpected complications with ad hoc interventions to meet social demands with a functional material existence. The implementation and discontinuation of CCTV monitoring, urbanism, and critical resistance to elevated highways are illustrative of a structure that still requires fine-tuning. Experiments that implement urban *innovation* count on the cooperation and comprehension of a population that absorbs the presence of the new entity and is acquainted with its uninterrupted functionality. The Big Worm's *innovation* phase ended with unreliable, palliative measures to either make the existing structure work or facilitate a practical *operation* of the structure for the whole of civil society.

A Big Worm under *operation*: Drawbacks and alternative usefulness (1977–2009)

Under *operation* is a phase of the Big Worm that requires the local populace to coexist with concreteness and to adapt their routines and activities to the existent living conditions. An *operating* Big Worm moves away from innovation^{xxxviii} to an incomplete project^{xxxix} that awaits other bigworms to form a network in which the Big Worm efficiently functions to ameliorate the city's traffic problems^{xi}. That includes adaptations of purposefulness; for instance, reconsidering the original target to facilitate the circulation of lightweight vehicles to utilise the structure for public mass transportation^{xii}. Underlying the *operational* phase is an idea that the Big Worm is practical and functional for society, either for traffic flow or with another purpose than as an expressway for cars. A conditioned living with the material combined with openness to alternative uses allowed leisure to be part of the Big Worm's *operation*. That means a spontaneous, alternative organisation that arises in civil society, taking on the material conditioning yet operating the physical structure in both the old and a new fashion.

Big Worm drawbacks and some alternatives under *operation*

While drivers had barely experienced a fully operational expressway, long-time residents, traditional shops and local neighbourhoods had felt the worst impact of the Big Worm's existence and operation for cars. Reports, newspaper articles, technical analyses, and open discussions written by various columnists,^{xlii} experts^{xliii}, architects^{xliiv}, politicians and the public described worsened conditions of everyday life imposed by the structure's existence. Living next to the Big Worm meant being affected by air and noise pollution and crossing underneath the concrete structure was a bleak, unpleasant local experience^{xlv}. The perennial overshadowing of buildings, historic avenues, public squares and small businesses combined with scarce police patrolling increased the sense of danger. The frequency of visits by customers to traditional shops plummeted, and owners moved their businesses away to locations where they would have higher patronage. Murals on the pillars were obscured by deposits of soot^{xlvi}, ceding space to irregular advertising, graffiti tagging and worsening visual pollution^{xlvii}. Both above and below the structure, the hostile reality provoked the exodus of older residents and local businesses

^{xlviii}. Much of this diaspora belonged to the wealthier class of society whose departure caused retail sale and rental prices to plummet, and the exiting residents were not replaced by a similar tenant profile^{xlix}. In some cases, 'not being by the Big Worm' became a real estate catchphrase for quality for flats on the market^l.

The unpleasant living experience predicated by the Big Worm's *operation* for cars and its concreteness soaked into the social imaginary^{li}. Journalists and local artists reminded of the Big Worm's odd, conditioned co-living experience in a significant repertoire of critiques, ranging from pop culture and carnival marches^{lii} to passionate chronicles^{liii}, fiction^{liv} and general literature^{lv}. Whereas some theatrical pieces represented the Big Worm as an influence of the capital^{lvi}, some art exhibitions explored distinctive looks of a structure empty of cars^{lvii}. By the 1980s, street artists communicated political and social messages via their graffiti on the pillars, an intervention that was not regarded as art but instead fought with anti-tagging paint^{lviii} and resistance to the establishment of an 'under-the-roadway museum'. Musicians, writers and street artists shared a concrete sense of the Big Worm, a status quo portrayed in TV soap operas, newspaper columns, lyrics and advertisements.

Demographic changes also took place in the Big Worm's surroundings. The flats emptied by the exodus of the upper-class became residencies for low-income families attracted by lower rental prices and the opportunity to live in the city's heart regardless of the impacts of the elevated expressway – the occupation of the area by this new demographic reorganized the local life, causing high-end shops^{lix} to be replaced by popular ones^{lx}. The shadow projected by the reinforced concrete also offered shelter to the homeless population. The poorest layers of society found in the Big Worm's atria a possibility for street housing, a crucial roof during the economic downturn and significant unemployment rates of the 1980s. From then onwards, the 'islands' on the lower part sheltered hundreds of individuals and even entire families, for whom noise and pollution were better conditions than exposure to weather and urban violence^{lxi}.

Car traffic and spontaneous leisure under *operation*

The palliative, experiential measure to close the expressway to night-time traffic implemented in 1976 continued through the 1980s. Along with the success of the

measure in reducing the number of casualties from traffic accidents, residents testified as to the improvement in their living conditions, especially regarding air and noise pollution^{lxii}. This experimental measure became a permanent intervention in 1989, when public administrators officially decreed the closure every weeknight, all day Sunday and during public holidays^{lxiii}. There was no restriction of pedestrian traffic on the Big Worm's emptied 3.6 kilometres, so the population immediately occupied the top of the structure and incidentally extended its functionality for local leisure^{lxiv}. Since the official closure to vehicles, the expressway has also served for public services testing^{lxv}, as a movie setting^{lxvi} and for photo shoots^{lxvii}. The Big Worm has served as a location for small^{lxviii} and large public events^{lxix} and has become an accessible, free-of-charge space for society^{lxx}. Thus sharing the day-to-day operation of the Big Worm for cars with people has resulted in an alternative usefulness^{lxxi} requiring neither construction nor planning^{lxxii}.

In 1996, a change in public administration brought back managers who leaned towards the Big Worm's usefulness for car traffic. They testified and worked against the traffic restriction and denied that there had been significant improvements in living conditions as a result of the diminished traffic flow. Public organisations were requested to measure the 'real' impact of the Big Worm on the surrounding neighbourhoods, measuring decibel levels inside nearby flats both with and without car traffic^{lxxiii}. To back up the whole operation of the Big Worm for cars, public administrators presented projects to wall off the entire structure^{lxxiv}. They also attempted to convince that reopening the Big Worm for night-time traffic could increase frequency of 'good' pedestrian traffic in the area and curb crime rates^{lxxv}. However, attempts to re-establish the Big Worm for car traffic faced fierce resistance from residents^{lxxvi} and legislators^{lxxvii}. These people represented parts of the population who had experienced the positive outcomes of the closure of the roadway to traffic and considered any benefit from lifted restrictions as lowering the quality of coexistence with the Big Worm.

'Alternatives' under operation in the vicinity of the Big Worm

Despite initiatives to modernise sidewalks, fix infiltrations in the Big Worm's 'ceiling'^{lxxviii} and remove the homeless population^{lxxix}, the area directly beneath the structure remained 'challenging' throughout the 1990s, 2000s and early 2010s. Nevertheless, the atria

between the pillars remained shared by homeless residents, street artists and local commuters^{lxxx}, refreshing the dismal local experience. Street artists that debuted a rebellious, open-air museum in the underspace^{lxxxii} moved from unlawful practice to celebrated intervention^{lxxxii}, with inscriptions, drawings, paintings and photographs projected towards the blind gables. Alternative groups and LGBTQIA minorities^{lxxxiii} also played an essential role in the demographic change that started in the 1980s and continued through the decades. Their unique demands fostered trendy restaurants, funky bars and discos that brought colour to the run-down, grimy surroundings but were juxtaposed against the simpler lifestyle of low-key households.

This alternative wave operating beneath the Big Worm and in the surrounding area also reached the structure's upper side. Leisure on the Big Worm was celebrated in bank advertisements and bike rides sponsored by insurance companies^{lxxxiv}. On the Big Worm's tarmac, creative painters and theatre actors found a stage to express their art and ideas. Film screenings in the blind gables^{lxxxv}, artificial lawns, living rooms and improvised swimming pools^{lxxxvi} also enriched the alternative possibilities for the Big Worm. In the early 2010s, megaevents such as the Gay Pride Parade^{lxxxvii}, food courts^{lxxxviii} and music festivals^{lxxxix} suggested a relationship replacing a lowbrow occupation^{xc} with a cult for fashion^{xc} that involved the Big Worm. This trend drove urbanists to consider alternatives as a 'creative response to serious environmental and social challenges that allowed for a 'reorganization ... [of] the perception of the São Paulo landscape'. Under this line of thinking, New York's Highline^{xcii} inspired projects for an elevated park^{xciii} presented at the Venice Biennale^{xciv} and resulted in the awarding of first prize in an architectural competition^{xcv}.

The whole Big Worm operation brought into question

Not all parts of society were convinced that the damage brought about by the structural existence and continuous operation could be overcome with the alternative utility of the Big Worm. Those affected in the vicinity of the upper and lower parts of the structure considered the Big Worm a total disaster^{xcvi} with impacts only repairable by bringing down the elevated highway. Urbanists, experts and academics described the Big Worm as a poorly executed^{xcvii} and lousy example for ongoing projects in the city^{xcviii}. The poor

taste^{xcix} that gained the Big Worm the fifth position as the ugliest place in the town^c later became an awarding joke^{ci} for most harmful urban intervention^{cii}. Proposals countering the reopening of the structure to car traffic in the 1990s^{ciii} considered removing the Big Worm, an idea that remained alive for the following decades. Through the 2000s, national and international architectural firms^{civ} and urban planners^{cv} presented projects to revitalise the still degraded surroundings by removing the Big Worm and heavily investing in urbanism^{cvi}. Some successful cases from Boston^{cvii} and Seoul^{cviii} recalled that radical intervention could replace elevated roads with parks on the ground^{cix} or even restore diminished river courses.

The Big Worm as a city's *legacy*: Emergence and consolidation of imaginaries for a public structure (2012–onwards)

Four and a half decades after the traffic innovation and twenty-five years after its spontaneous occupation as a leisure area, the Big Worm became a city's *legacy*. Unlike the previous stages, the consolidated operation for cars and pedestrians seems socially inadequate and opens a formal path. The intensified alternative usefulness in the early 2010s^{cx} became perceptible in the frequent appearance of consumers, fancy buildings, restaurants and shops^{cxii} along with collective movements faithful to the idea of finding an alternative solution to the Big Worm. These shared experiences and know-how gave rise to the Big Worm Park Association^{cxiii}; an activist group invested in solving the social problems of the structure with an elevated park^{cxiii}. Their proposal found a political route in 2013 through the reassessment of the city's Master Plan^{cxiv}, a legislative event that receives public inputs to direct the following ten years' of public investments. The Big Worm's existence and operation were brought into question by legislators and participants^{cxv} whose verdict was for its uselessness for car traffic^{cxvi}. The guidelines from this meeting included permanent discontinuation of the structure's operation for vehicular traffic within ten years.

After the mayor sanctioned the city's master plan, two routes opened for the city's *legacy*: the demolition of the Big Worm or the implementation of an elevated park^{cxvii}. Both possibilities heated up the real estate market, escalated the number of ventures^{cxviii}, increased the value of each square metre of property^{cxix}, and gentrified nearby

neighbourhoods benefiting from implementation of a park or demolition. At the end of 2014, and after mayoral sanctioning of a city without the Big Worm's ordinary operation for cars, legislators advertised the first public hearing to consult on how to proceed with the city's *legacy*. Entitled 'Gradual Deactivation of the Road' and 'Creation of the Big Worm Municipal Park'^{CXX}, the meeting was fiercely resisted and criticised by participants against using the structure as a park. The following news item describes the environment shared by demolition advocates eagerly opposing the surprised park enthusiasts – contrary positionings representing imaginaries embracing the Big Worm's legacy.

"... hanging placards of 'We are against the Big Worm Park' or 'We want the demolition of the Big Worm', an opposing group surprised activists for a permanent leisure area in a public hearing today.

'Those who advocate demolition are the ones co-living with the Big Worm, while those who stand for a park only go there on weekends,' said a resident and pro-demolition advocate. Defenders of the park were astonished to know that people "prefer the noise of cars to sound amplifiers". Nevertheless, the pro-demolition activist was applauded by almost half of a crowded auditorium with an audience that, on average, appeared to be twice the age of park enthusiasts.

"I can't understand how people can be worse than cars," reported one of the enthusiasts for a park, shocked. [...] Our association dedicated to implementing a park participated in the city's Strategic Plan and faced no opposition to this idea." Another elevated park activist said that activism [for the park] gave a valuable gift to São Paulo: the possibility of gradually ceasing the operation of cars on the Big Worm.'

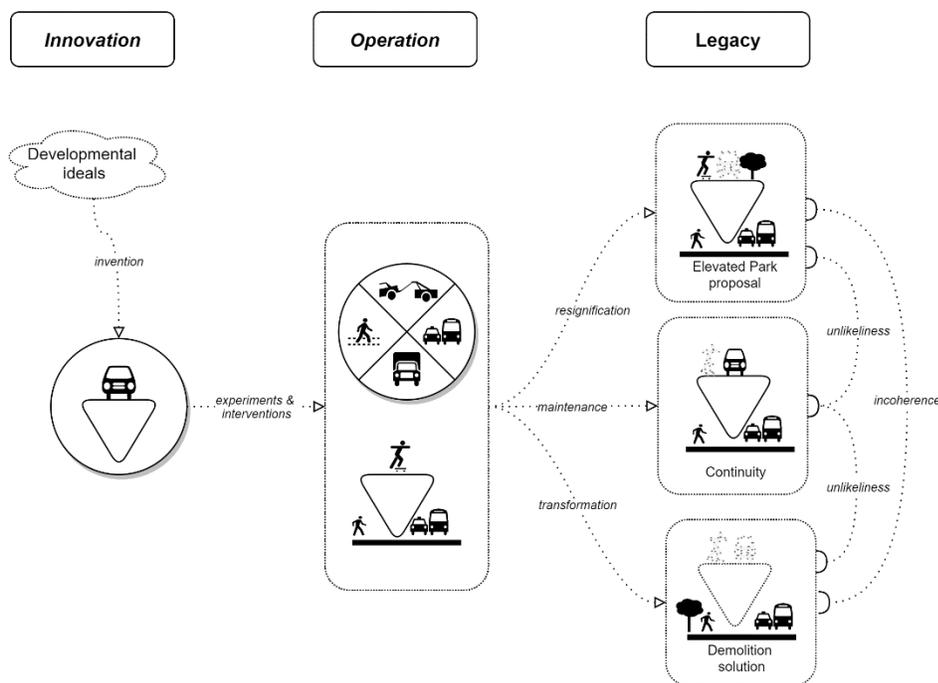
The emergence of imaginaries and of concrete organisation of life in the city
The three phases of the Big Worm reveal that views and demands on the composition of a city evolve as relations are established with the public structure. Across time, the uniqueness and immutability of the material allow for interventions and inventions that apply to its structural existence and operation. However, if the materiality does not change, people do organise their lives around possibilities. In the Big Worm phases, society curbed shortcomings of the innovation, found alternative usefulness in operational

periods or stood up for the city's legacy. The acquired experience and accumulated knowledge subjected to the Big Worm's existence and operation populated the imaginaries. Along with the current physical placement, the shared subjectivities for the Big Worm envisioned the following scenarios and their suitable solutions to the *legacy*:

- A structural demolition that ceases the impacts on society over the decades;
- Implementing a leisure area permanently as a progressive resolution; or
- Upholding the current road functionalities and the developmental status quo.

Respectively, these positionings relate to demolition, elevated park and the status quo, solutions that form part of the imaginaries involving the Big Worm and driving forces that organise social activities.

Figure 5 – Innovation, operation and legacy phases leading to the emergence of imaginaries



The *innovation* starts with developmental ideals, an *operation* that deals with ordinary and alternative structural uses, and the *legacy* that welcomes solutions from imaginaries all dealing with the material. Figure 5 illustrates how society is conditioned by the Big Worm's existence and operation, but ponders elevated park, demolition or the continuity of the status quo as actual possibilities. The totality of the experience and knowledge acquired from the *innovation* are followed by mixed impressions of a Big Worm under *operation*

and constitute imaginaries that signify, maintain or transform the city's legacy with proposals. In this final stage, the subjected object becomes a mutual reference used by disparate solutions. While these possibilities share an inadequate structure that needs adjustments, the proposals are mutually exclusive and deny the logic vocalised by the representative of each. That is, the actualisation of one solution renders the others unlikely or incoherent, all activities organised by lives invested in destining the *legacy* to the best possible scenario.

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Chapter 3 – Digital organizing and collective imaginaries: a netnographic immersion into virtual groups

ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of Imaginaries in organizing virtual groups and their contribution to knowledge generation and flow in digital spaces. While previous research has focused on goal-oriented and structured dialogues, the significance of Imaginaries in mobilizing like-minded individuals on Social Media platforms for dialogue and organization has been overlooked. Employing an Immersive Netnography approach, the study analyzes five years of virtual interactions within two online communities dedicated to proposing multi-millionaire solutions for a public structure in Sao Paulo, Brazil. The findings highlight Imaginaries as a fundamental aspect in facilitating the emergence and engagement of virtual groups, as well as supporting comprehension and knowledge acquisition through digital content. The organizing process, characterized by synergistic engagement, reinforces the importance of these groups in developing viable solutions for everyday challenges, while also positioning online communities as representatives of collective Imaginaries. The discussion section delves into the role of Imaginaries as a foundational element in organizing knowledge flows and sustaining the vibrant presence of online groups in addressing pressing societal issues.

Keywords: online communities, imaginaries, digital organization, virtual dialogues, social media, netnography

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Introduction

Digital organization of virtual spaces have gained increased recognition among organizational scholars (Beverungen et al., 2015; Maaranen & Tienari, 2020; Pignot, 2023). These forms include virtual groups, online communities and digital collectives (Barrett et al., 2016; Faraj et al., 2016; R. V. Kozinets, 2019; Safadi et al., 2021) that generate and disseminate information (Haefliger et al., 2011) with the capacity to address pressing social issues (Fotaki & Daskalaki, 2021; R. V. Kozinets, 2019; Safadi et al., 2021). Our understanding of how these organizations form and sustain over time, as well as the dynamic interchange of information among these groups, still lack theorization. Organizational literature also overlooks the importance of digital platforms to host and instrumentalize virtual dialogues that organize and circulate ideas dealing with outstanding matters in society. It is critical then to investigate the organization of virtual dynamics and the mobilization of civil society to organize digital boundaries that generate, proliferate, sustain, and review proposals dealing with critical public issues.

Building upon research on dialogical exchanges in virtual teams (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015; Tsoukas, 2018), our proposed framework introduces the notion of imaginaries (Bell et al., 2021; Jasanoff & Kim, 2015; Komporozos-Athanasίου & Fotaki, 2015) as a core element in solution-oriented online groups. Within the context of digital platforms and social media, online communities, as a subset of alternative forms of organization in virtual spaces, represent voluntary groups characterized by dynamic idea exchange and member-driven organization (Faraj et al., 2011, 2016; Reischauer & Mair, 2018; Yan et al., 2016). Imaginaries provide them with both shared aims, goals, dreams, and aspirations that address common issues (Alacovska & Kärreman, 2022; Fotaki et al., 2020) as well as tacit objectives and flexible adjustments that are crucial to integrate diverse, contentious, or even conflicting perspectives to address complex problems (Augustine et al., 2019; Bell et al., 2021). This article investigates *how digital organization progresses from imaginaries to adjusted responses to challenging issues in society*. We approach this question by tracking texts and audiovisual posts as artifacts that carry meanings, enable virtual interactions and facilitate ideas exchanging (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015, p. 598; Dennis et al., 2008; Tsoukas, 2009, p. 943) as organized efforts to approach imaginaries to the resolution of ongoing, complex problems in society.

This study makes a significant contribution to the literature on organizational dynamics by providing insights into the impact of imaginaries on shaping virtual presence and fostering sustained dialogical flows that manifest in digital forms of organization. Firstly, our investigation incorporates the interplay between the implicit and explicit circulation of ideas (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka & Krogh, 2009), which engenders a unique organizational process that emerges organically and spontaneously in virtual groups. This process evolves as these groups adapt their imaginaries to accommodate the perspectives of diverse stakeholders, ultimately resulting in interventions that resonate with a multiplicity of ideas (Greenwood & Wolfram Cox, 2023; Gruzd et al., 2011; C. Taylor, 2004). Secondly, our empirical analysis of online communities underscores the significance of imaginaries in the formation of digital organizations (S. Taylor & Spicer, 2007), wherein both textual and audio-visual artifacts serve as manifestations of collective will, both implicitly and explicitly (Acquisti & Gross, 2006; Anderson, 1991; Schinoff & Byron, 2022). Thirdly, our research highlights the pivotal role of information sharing in maintaining social relevance, as digital organizations embrace external contributions and scrutiny of their imaginaries, thereby facilitating the generation and dissemination of dynamic knowledge that aligns shared convictions and virtual routines (Saldanha et al., 2022). Ultimately, this study emphasizes the potential for organizing multiple viewpoints aligned with imaginaries, enabling meaningful engagement with shared meaning in digital content and proposing solutions that include a diversity of wills.

The subsequent sections of this paper explore the concept of digital organizing within imagined online communities, highlighting the significance of textual and visual artifacts in facilitating dialogical engagement. Drawing upon this conceptual framework, our study introduces and empirically investigates virtual groups hosted on Facebook with the primary aim of gathering society's input and designing a multimillion-dollar solution for a contentious public structure in São Paulo, Brazil. Employing an immersive netnography approach, we closely examine the virtual communities that support the proposals for an Elevated Park and Demolition. Our investigation reveals how these communities organize their virtual space and leverage affordances to align their imaginaries and reach communal and coherent agreements regarding the Big Worm (the public structure in question). Through a synthesis of the organizational process, we observe how imaginaries serve as intermediaries,

facilitating the launch of groups and their respective ideas, the inclusion of like-minded members who contribute their own ideas, and the necessary adjustments made to the imaginaries and original solutions to better reflect societal expectations. In the ensuing discussion section, we delve further into the permeability of imaginaries, enabling the mobilization of virtual affordances to address non-digital issues. Moreover, we explore the vital flexibility of imaginaries to accommodate diverse meanings and civic predispositions, which in turn shapes the virtual boundaries in accordance with societal will.

Organizing online imagined communities' activities

Apart from serving as a platform for entertainment, social media platforms are increasingly being utilized to organize user experiences and as a means for individuals to express and disseminate a wide range of interests (Rolland & O'Keefe Bazzoni, 2009; Schiemer et al., 2019). It is fairly easy and inexpensive to start fan pages, threads and hashtags that can shift into 'virtual devices' that channelize social will while allowing communication, collaboration and instant connection among like-minded individuals (Berdychevsky & Nimrod, 2015; R. V. Kozinets, 2019; Phua & Ahn, 2016). As the endurance of an online presence increase, social media host 'digital tribes' (Gutiérrez-Martín et al., 2010) — segments of society united by some common interest that organize into an imagined community (Acquisti & Gross, 2006) located in the virtual realm (Clemens, 2005; Faraj et al., 2011). Hence, online imagined communities (Kavoura, 2014) profit from digital platforms to host and foster groups' common purpose, a virtual space that facilitate collaboration to solve pressing issues in society.

The concept of an imagined gathering of like-minded individuals aligns with Anderson's (1983) notion of an *"[a] political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members [...] will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of communion"* (1983, p. 6). Imagined communities possess unique characteristics that reinforce social identity, tribalism, and psychological effects through the utilization of objects, symbols, and technological means (Boland et al., 2007; Funk, 2013; Kavoura, 2014). In the digital realm, imagined online communities rely on virtual artefacts (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015; Kallinikos, 1995; Kallinikos et al., 2013) provide individuals with a sense of belonging to causes, facilitating

communication and synchronization among members who adopt metaphorical analogies in their communication (Bellehumeur et al., 2017; Blanco-Gracia, 2020). Whether drawing upon imaginary aspirations from the past (Bell et al., 2021) or future (Beckert, 2021), online imagined communities rely on the tacit dimension both to mobilize members as well as to constitute the group identity as a self-contained existence, in which the circulation, and sustenance of information (Ivaturi & Chua, 2019) establish organizational boundaries (Yuqing Ren et al., 2007) for routinary activities in the virtual sphere (O'Mahony & Lakhani, 2011).

Digital platforms offer a space for these online imagined communities to be, meaning a host for shared aspirations and tools for virtual interactions. Organizing the voluntary membership and exploration of societal issues becomes an imaginative construction entailing a sense of belonging, shared understanding, and a collective commitment causes that matter (R. V. Kozinets, 2019). In this digital organization, participants are part of an οἶκος, or Oikos, constituting the smallest societal structure in which independent members serve and are served by their group (Krajewski & Iurascu, 2018, Chapter 6). Besides the principle 'my [virtual] house, my [virtual] rules' be predominant, the sense of belonging reach the emotions (Castelló & Lopez-Berzosa, 2023) leading to a personal identification and genuine problem-solving engagement. Thus, the digital organization of these imagined online communities require neither formal coordination nor supervision to work out resolutions to complex scenarios or social issues. Instead, it is the enthusiasm and shared commitment that grant vibrancy and relevance of these virtual groups to intensively share their purposes within and beyond the organizational digital boundaries.

Virtual group dialogues mediated by digital artifacts

"When the old distinction between subject and object collapses, the traditional lineage between humans and control, on the one hand, and instruments, tools, and execution, on the other, no longer automatically applies. Then, if not sooner, one must concede to things their own independence, at least at the level of the chains of associations that contain them." (Krajewski & Iurascu, 2018)

The relevance and reinforcement of organizational boundaries in imagined virtual communities depend on the sharing and circulation of individual interests for

assessment by others. Imaginaries serve not only as a digital glue for organizing communities but also adapt to digital tools and platforms, influencing norms, language, techniques, and governing structures (Gasparin & Neyland, 2022; Roux-Rosier et al., 2018; S. Taylor & Spicer, 2007). Familiarity with language, symbols, and content within imagined online communities facilitates dialogues and ensures the spread of imaginaries through signs, symbols, texts, and audio-visual artifacts (Castelló et al., 2021; Höllerer et al., 2018). Virtual dialogues in these communities revolve around synchronizing meanings on pressing issues and participants' positioning in relation to collective concerns (Nyberg et al., 2020). Through digital content, such as synthesis, analogies, metaphors, and detailed descriptions, horizons of organizational activities are created (Laura Toraldo et al., 2019; Oliveira et al., 2017). These digital organizations rely on the exchange and circulation of information facilitated by mediated virtual dialogues involving both community members and non-members.

Imaginaries play a vital role within these dialogues, serving as a digital glue that binds participants together, shapes shared representations, and enables comprehension and engagement. Online groups on social media platforms offer an immersive experience, bringing together peers from different geographical locations to collectively explore everyday matters (Costello et al., 2017; R. V. Kozinets, 2018). With minimal to no moderation, participants engage in conversations, strengthen collective bonds, and organize ideas through various forms of digital content. These include texts, audios, images, videos, likes, dislikes, and emojis (Bailey et al., 2012). Throughout this process, participants silently interact with digital representations that represent or substitute physical objects, processes, or people (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015).

When encountering and engaging with digital content, recipients have the autonomy to interpret it according to their specific contexts. This implies that members of online communities actively decode and reinterpret the intended meanings conveyed in digital content, resulting in their unique representations during virtual interactions. These interactions can take various forms, including replies, likes, and sharing. This asynchronous dialogue, facilitated by textual and audio-visual representations, occurs as community participants navigate through common themes, engage in detailed discussions, explore subtopics, and occasionally veer off into unrelated areas (Massa & O'Mahony, 2021). The postings, replies, and digital interactions within these

communities contribute to a diverse and authoritative content landscape characterized by qualities such as ambivalence, indeterminacy, malleability, and incompleteness (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015, p. 611). This reflects the dynamic nature of the interactions and the ongoing evolution of interpretations within the community.

This dialogical process initiates a dynamic back-and-forth interaction, driven by the meaningful agendas set by participants based on their predispositions. Through this process, participants engage in questioning, discussing, and further refining topics of common interest. The intensity of the dialogue contributes to the vibrancy of the online community, marked by the continuous movement of meanings and the ongoing redefinition of objectives over time. These shifts in attention, actions, and interests collectively shape the dynamics and evolution of the online community.

Online communities committed to imagine and organize another reality:
the Big Worm case

This study focuses on two Facebook-hosted online communities (OCs) that are dedicated to addressing the issues surrounding the "Big Worm," an elevated highway in Sao Paulo, Brazil (Barbosa & Marino, 2021; Nakagawa, 2016; Oliveira et al., 2017). Built in the 1960s, the 3.6-km bridge failed to effectively redistribute car traffic and instead resulted in air, visual, and sound pollution in the surrounding areas, as well as a significant socio-economic divide. Over the years, local administrations implemented restrictions on car traffic during certain times, but the space remained largely underutilized except for leisure seekers who occupied it temporarily when traffic was limited. In the early 2010s, a group of urbanists proposed the creation of the Big Worm Park, an elevated park similar to the New York Highline, as a solution to the issues posed by the bridge. This proposal sparked controversy and generated public interest, leading to discussions among local residents, politicians, and academics regarding the future of the Big Worm. Amidst the ongoing debate between proponents of the park and those advocating for the demolition of the bridge, intense participation and engagement occurred online, particularly on social media platforms.

The Facebook fan pages hosting the rival groups advocating for Demolition or Elevated Park solutions played a crucial role in facilitating public participation and fostering a deeper understanding of the proposals. These social media groups provided an open platform for individuals to contribute their support, enthusiasm,

curiosity, and even criticism, thereby enriching the community's knowledge and informing decision-making for each respective scenario. Participants actively engaged with one another by sharing their individual experiences, perspectives, and viewpoints, while also disseminating public news reports, technical studies, creative videos, and 2-D and 3-D projections. Furthermore, the content shared on these platforms extended beyond the immediate discussions, encompassing the promotion of cultural and political events that held direct or indirect relevance to the ongoing debates within each community. As participants joined the conversations, the imaginaries associated with either the Park or Demolition solutions evolved, transcending geographical boundaries and participants' backgrounds. Importantly, the online community spaces served as a means to organize and communicate ideas offline, influencing public policies, raising awareness among local government officials about the need for structural adaptations, and ultimately contributing to the establishment of either Demolition or Elevated Park as viable resolutions for the fifty-year-old structure.

Data collection and Immersive netnography into the online communities

The significance of Social Media in shaping the discussion surrounding the Big Worm issue was initially evident in public hearings and later affirmed by the moderators of the Facebook pages dedicated to the rival communities. Recognizing the relevance, activity, interactivity, diversity, and richness of data available from different groups, the first author opted to conduct an Immersive Netnography (Costello et al., 2017; R. Kozinets, 2019) on these two online communities. The selection of these specific communities was driven by the research question, which sought to understand the dynamics between Imaginaries and the generation and flow of knowledge within groups characterized by intense virtual interaction. Facebook was chosen over other platforms such as Twitter and Instagram due to its ability to provide a community-like experience for users. While these alternative platforms offered a significant amount of information, only Facebook allowed for the exchange of ideas and facilitated a community experience through the option to join specific groups. The chosen online communities had the largest number of followers, engaged in lengthy discussions, and did not impose any bureaucratic barriers for the first and third netnographers to become members. It is worth mentioning that both netnographers also conducted face-to-face interviews with the co-moderators of these online communities in late 2018 and early 2019, during which it was confirmed that Facebook served as the

popular and primary channel for discussing the concepts of Demolition or Park with the broader society.

The Facebook fan pages hosted two opposing groups, one advocating for the demolition of the Big Worm and the other supporting the creation of an elevated park, allowing society to actively participate and gain a better understanding of the proposed solutions. These online communities provided an open platform for social inputs, where participants could express their support, enthusiasm, curiosity, or even criticism, contributing to the community's collective knowledge and decision-making process. The interactions among participants involved the exchange of ideas, sharing of individual experiences, perspectives, and viewpoints, as well as the dissemination of public news reports, technical studies, creative videos, and visual projections in both 2-D and 3-D formats. Furthermore, cultural and political events with direct or indirect relevance to the discussions were also promoted within the communities' online spaces. The imaginaries associated with each group, whether focused on the Demolition or Elevated Park solution, evolved and developed as more participants joined the conversations, transcending geographical boundaries and individual backgrounds. The online communities served as a platform to organize and communicate ideas that would later extend beyond the digital realm, influencing public policies, raising awareness among the local government regarding necessary structural changes, and ultimately contributing to the establishment of either the Demolition or Elevated Park as viable resolutions for the fifty-year-old bridge.

Our immersive Netnography of the selected Park and Demolition OCs commenced from their inception in 2013 and 2014, respectively, and spanned until December 2018, the year when the Big Worm was officially designated as a sui generis park. The research approach involved a chronological exploration of the online communities' fan pages, while occasionally revisiting previous periods to gain a comprehensive understanding. The first author adopted a careful approach, paying close attention to the spontaneous organization of virtual interactions within the groups. To facilitate analysis, the entire pages were transferred to a Qualitative Data Analysis software, enabling the researchers to navigate through different topics, sub-topics, and off-topics in reference to each proposal. Simultaneously, reflective fieldnotes were maintained in a physical notebook, annotating essential facts, personal impressions, and observations in a chronological order to identify organizational patterns in each group.

These netfield notes, written individually in English by the first and third netnographers, are confidential but accessible for consultation under a Non-Disclosure Agreement. They encompass critical summaries, synthesized insights, sketches, and ongoing theoretical reflections, serving as valuable resources for cross-checking concepts and maintaining a reflexive stance throughout the study.

Table 8 - Netnography statistics

Webpages	Members	Webpage Foundation	Posts (2013 - 2018)	Illustrative Single Posts	Reflexive fieldnotes
Park supporters	10,656	Sep-13	11,763	131	73
Disassemble advocates	1,867	Aug-14	15,285	105	99

Table 8 provides an overview of the extensive data collected during the study, highlighting the comprehensive nature of the immersion. The interactions of 12,523 participants in the OCs were analyzed, resulting in a total of 27,753 individual posts comprising 12-point text across 685 single-spaced pages. Among these, 236 illustrative vignettes, capturing micro sociological patterns, were identified and documented, totaling 12-point text across 136 single-spaced pages. Additionally, 172 pages of reflexive net fieldnotes were generated throughout the five-year immersion, concluding with the designation of the Big Worm as a sui generis park, an event that marked the end of further discussions on both the Park and Demolition concepts.

Stringent ethical standards were strictly adhered to in order to ensure the privacy of the OCs' participants (R. V. Kozinets, 2018, Chapter 14). Measures such as cloaking names, places, and dates were employed where necessary. All characters and factual details were fully anonymized or mischaracterized, using fictitious names and avoiding any potential exacerbation of phenomena or inaccurate analysis. As the immersion ended, the first author cross-checked their annotations with the third author, confirming that the observed micro-sociological patterns in both the Elevated Park and Demolition communities were consistent in terms of knowledge generation and flow within the community.

Finding – Virtual Interactions in Online Communities: Fostering Knowledge Creation, Convergence of Ideas, and Synergistic Engagement with Digital Content

Our findings demonstrate that digital organization in social media is anchored in the imaginaries of online communities. These imaginaries expose shared concerns, embrace diverse perspectives, and ultimately contribute to the development of a body of knowledge that aligns with contemporary solutions to pressing social issues.

Figure 6 - Imaginaries in the digital organization of virtual interactions and solution development

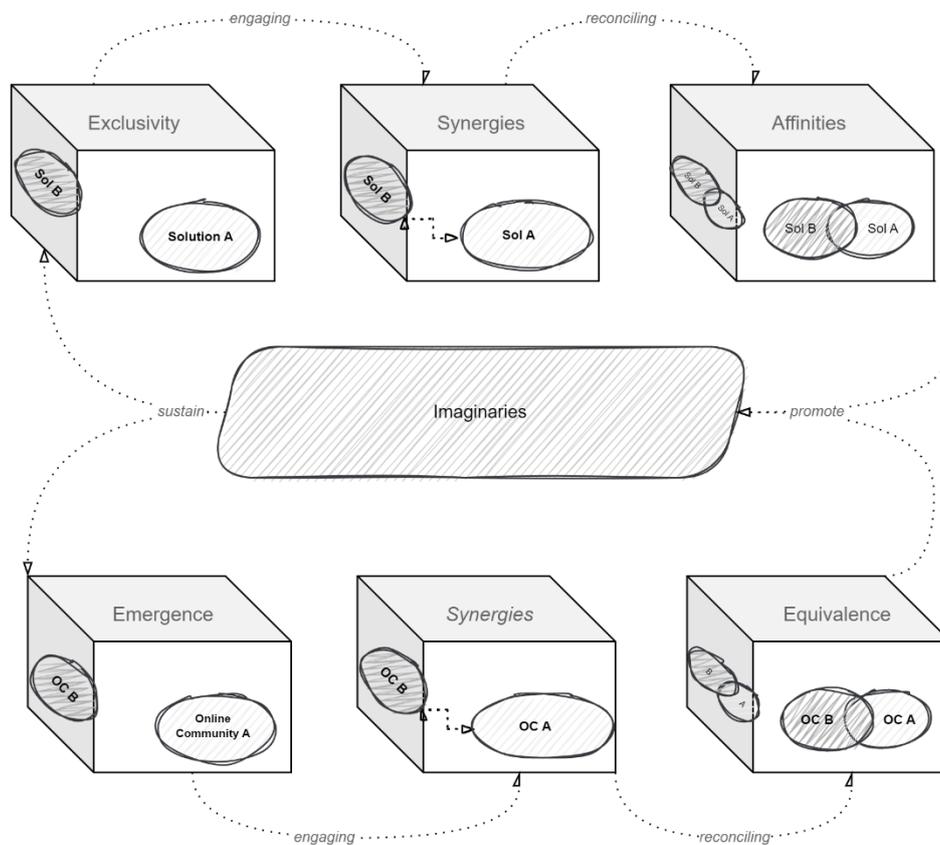


Figure 6 illustrates a digital organization process involving online communities, their proposals (Elevated Park and Demolition), and the role of imaginaries. The initial phase of this process is driven by shared dreams, common projections, and collective expectations, which contribute to the emergence of online groups and the development of exclusive solutions for the Big Worm issue.

Subsequently, like-minded individuals engage in intense virtual dialogues, deepening their understanding of each proposal. The free mobility across virtual groups allows

for a synergistic engagement with digital content, leading to the exploration of different predispositions and perspectives when evaluating the original solutions.

Through the reconciliation of diverse ideas, proposals, and experiences, the Elevated Park and Demolition solutions reveal shared affinities with social awareness and equivalence in terms of their importance to addressing the Big Worm issue. This mutual importance emphasizes the significance of these groups and their outputs, as they promote imaginaries that transcend organizational boundaries and consider the broader social will, inclusive of different and even opposing viewpoints.

In the following section, we delve into the detailed process of the online communities, starting with their inauguration and subsequent growth in membership. Through intense virtual dialogues and synergistic engagement with digital content, participants shape and reshape the meanings of the Demolition and Elevated Park proposals for the Big Worm. The dynamic body of knowledge, comprising posts, comments, articles, and other forms of communication, serves as a platform for exchanging insights, experiences, and understandings. As individuals interact with these digital artifacts, their perspectives and ideas are constantly evolving, leading to adjusted solutions that reflect a collective will for policymaking. These solutions embrace the concept of an Elevated Park while considering Demolition as one potential approach to the Big Worm issue. The aim is to promote general well-being, even if it means deviating from the original proposals presented by each group.

OCs inauguration and further participation backed by collective imaginaries

The establishment of both OCs on Social Media begins with the introduction of captivating projects. In the case of the Big Worm, members-initiated discussions on the Elevated Park and Demolition concepts as potential solutions, presenting them as abstract suggestions that could yield remarkable outcomes through societal engagement. As depicted in Table 9, the founders of the virtual space provided comprehensive descriptions of the possibilities associated with the Park and Demolition, emphasizing the importance of engaging the "population" for endorsement and subsequent enhancements.

Table 9 - Initial grounding of Virtual Spaces with OCs Imaginaries

Elevated Park	Demolition of Elevated structure
<p><i>Motivate and raise awareness of the town's population for participation in the creation, design, and realization of the Big Worm Park.</i></p>	<p><i>(...)</i></p> <p><i>While some argue for the construction of a suspended park, in line with what is seen on the High Line, in NY, for example, others defend that the road should be demolished.</i></p> <p><i>This group wants to articulate and gather arguments for those who defend the downfall of the road structure. The definition of what will happen to the Big Worm depends on the pressures and articulations of civil society. No other way can guide governmental decisions and build a participatory and exciting debate for the city.</i></p> <p><i>We will discuss and articulate so that a symbol of political oppression vanishes for good!</i></p>

The concepts of 'Realization of the Big Worm Park' and 'the downfall of the road structure' serve as the foundation for the online groups, establishing clear boundaries for the activities of the OCs and the shared Imaginaries within the groups. Building upon these initial boundaries, the actions of 'participation in creation, design, and realization' and 'articulate and gather arguments' indicate a virtual interaction aimed at generating knowledge and expanding and refining the original scope. Consequently, the notions of 'realization' and 'vanishes [the Big Worm] for good!' represent both a fixed outcome resulting from collective imagination and a collective goal to actively achieve it.

Both the Elevated Park and Demolition projects were intentionally presented in a straightforward manner, avoiding complex or convoluted language. This approach resonated effectively on the chosen social media platform, Facebook, attracting a significant number of participants eager to contribute to the development of these concepts. Clickactivists and enthusiasts joined both groups, emphasizing the importance of the cause or the urbanist opportunity presented by the Big Worm. The

inclusivity and open-mindedness within the groups allowed for the introduction of the OCs to friends and other social media communities interested in the Big Worm affairs. Posts discussing urbanist issues, architectural and engineering technicalities, political considerations, and urban design further substantiated the possibilities of Demolition or Park and set the overall tone for the Big Worm's challenges. Enthusiasts shared original ideas in detailed posts, showcasing what could be achieved, while advocates ensured that each project aligned with societal demands for the area. The dynamic interactions between enthusiasts and advocates fostered strong communal bonds, creating a welcoming environment for additional participants to join and contribute.

Membership in both OCs experienced significant growth through a spontaneous process of referencing the groups to friends and acquaintances, creating a snowball effect. This growth was facilitated by the use of backtracking technologies such as @s and #s to mention individuals outside the community and redirect their attention to the original posts within the Park and Demolition OCs. While this activity garnered appreciation from participants who thanked the posters, it also occasionally resulted in complaints from individuals who felt their desire to participate in the groups had been breached. Nevertheless, this snowballing process led to an exponential increase in participation immediately after the establishment of both OCs, contributing to the diversification of the participants involved. The growing number of members, reaching milestones like "We are more than 10,000 members!" as highlighted by an active member, further demonstrated the relevance and legitimacy of the OCs within society. This influx of participants brought new perspectives, motivations, and references, contributing to a rich and varied discourse in posts related to the possibilities of Demolition and Elevated Park.

OCs imaginaries as means for communication and co-establishment of conceptual knowledge

After the induction and expansion of membership in the OCs, members actively engage in dialogues by sharing relevant information and advancing the concepts of Park or Demolition. This process involves refining arguments, enriching information, and exchanging ideas, which are captured through the registration of digital content within each virtual space. Posts, whether explicitly or implicitly, reflect the OCs' Imaginaries and serve as a framework for participants to express their opinions,

arguments, projections, and individual proposals. The concepts of Park and Demolition, as the foundational ideas known to participants, become central references in textual and audio-visual communications, shaping the discussions within the OCs. The content's connection to the OCs' Imaginaries allows participants to communicate in various styles, ranging from *precise and clear* to *indirect and loosely coupled*, or even *tangential and incongruent* posts. Table 10 provides a summary of the diverse possibilities found within both OCs, including the range of information and language choices employed by the participants.

Table 10 - Summary of content relatedness with collective imaginaries and source of shared knowledge

Precise and clear	Indirect and loosely coupled	Tangential and Incongruent
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imperative messages calling for engagement and communion • Discussions and 3rd-party contents with insightful, clearly connected information • Artistic and playful texts dealing with community ideals and ideologies • Pictures, photographs, recordings and footages directly connected to the BW projects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metaphors, analogies, opinions and personal experiences with implied connection with other causes • News, Studies, Reports and other 3rd-party sources considered relevant or insightful • Artistic and playful interpretations with the the Big Worm possibilities • Recorded material assuming relation with the BW causes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unintelligible, disconnected and incongruent information, data and opinions • News, Studies and Reports with tangential or unrelated topics and themes • Promotion of parties and events, poetry and recorded material without apparent connection to shared causes.

In the OCs, *precise and clear* posts were characterized by their direct connection to the Park or Demolition projects, employing persuasive and imperative language. Notably, there were posts providing instructions for both online and offline actions, such as participating in demonstrations, signing petitions, attending public meetings, and recruiting new members. These posts aimed to rally support and engagement without veering off-topic or inviting digressive responses. As an example, the thread began with an allegorical picture conveying a sense of duty, followed by straightforward instructions to print and sign a petition, with an expectation of prompt and focused responses from the participants.

Park advocate A – Print it out, sign it off and let us know it



8 likes

Park advocate B – (replies) *Done it!*

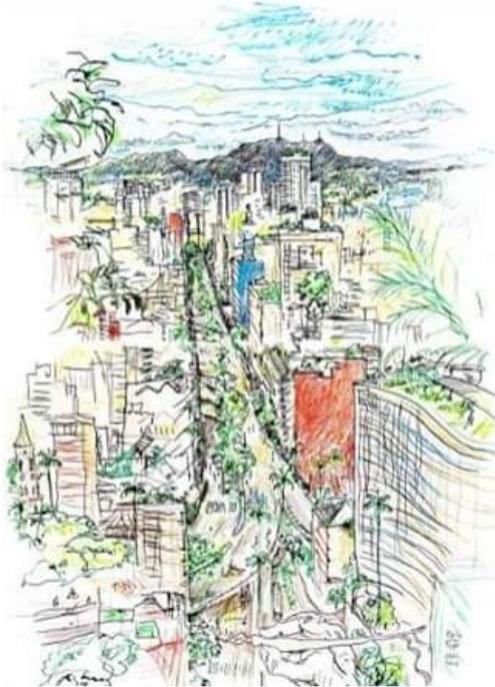
Park advocate C – (replies) *Yes!*

Park advocate D – (replies) *Got as many signatures as possible, mate.*

Park advocate E – (replies) *I've printed several pages and distribute to colleagues. Many people have a specific question. How do I handle this?*

Precise and clear content in the OCs also encompassed posts that straightforwardly acknowledged and embraced the founding OC imaginaries. These posts, regardless of whether they were written in the first or third person, required no further interpretation or explanation of their relevance to the Demolition or Park concepts. For instance, illustrative posts depicted the greening of the area, walking paths, and the enhancement of facades, either with a Park on top or after a Demolition. Each post carried explicit and unambiguous implications for the area, and the subsequent virtual interactions aligned with the initial prompts, such as receiving a significant number of likes, positive comments, or sharing the post on one's own social media account.

Park aficionado – And here is the park!
Demolition aficionado – Do you like it?



81 likes
14 comments



80 likes
25 shares
43 comments

In addition to the *precise and clear* posts, there were also posts that had an *indirect and loosely related* content to the Park or Demolition concepts. These posts required interpretation by the OC participants, as they made metaphorical connections between the OC imaginaries and other successful urban revamping projects, such as the New Yorker Highline, Promenade Plantée in Paris, or Templehoff Airport in Berlin. By using these references, participants could expand on the topics and engage in further discussions. They had the opportunity to ask questions or share new information, thus enriching the initial post and opening up (un)foreseeable alternatives within the Park or Demolition concepts. The virtual dialogue between the poster and the replier in the following thread exemplifies how the discussion around the Big Worm Park drew similarities to the HighLine project and sparked conversations about gentrification and media coverage.

Park advocate – (sharing positive news coverage regarding Big Worm Park)

Sceptic – *I'm afraid of this headline. The creation of a park should not be alien to the economic interests existing in it. This magazine also supports hygienist and excluding mentality. (...) A better city must be better for all, including those who are excluded, not only for an elite who thinks they will have a High Line Park and no longer a "ceiling for beggars."*

Park advocate - *Dear colleague, the analogy with the HighLine is a simpler form for people to visualize the output, something that is already a successful reality in another country...*

Sceptic – *I know mate, talking to a supportive politician about it I even changed some of my convictions. Perhaps, a mixed proposal with demolition and park is the best possibility. Better to remain calm.*

Park advocate – *Our celebration is that the broad media coverage with this surrealist version of the Big Worm Park. The path to the park or to its dismantling is exceedingly long. There will be technical, economic, sociological, and political discussions.*

Sceptic – *Ok, I feel better now.*

During the course of the conversation, both advocates and skeptics engaged in sharing vital information through *indirect and loosely related* content, relating it back to the founding concepts of the OCs. This can be observed in the parallel drawn between the NY Highline and the possibilities for the Brazilian context, as well as the comparison with successful bridge disassembles in other countries and in Brazil. Through this interaction, not only was the original meaning expanded, but the collective knowledge also considered the potential benefits and side-effects of implementation. Similarly, the OCs' imaginaries directed the interpretation of indirect and loose news, highlighting the interests and goals of the OCs. In the following thread, participants from both OCs interacted with the headline stating that only 7% of São Paulo citizens approved the demolition of the Big Worm. In each case, the participants disambiguated the statement, aligning the meaning with the goals and aspirations of the OCs.

'Only 7% of São Paulo citizens approve Big Worm's demolition'

Park supporter - "For 53% of respondents, the Big Worm should continue as it is, for cars only." – sad emoji

Park enthusiast – Why are you sad? You should go happily nuts!

Park supporter - Most people don't want park, my friend.

Park enthusiast – Sorry mate, but you should read it calmly. Those 53% who want it to stay as it is what to keep it as a road for cars. The city's Master Plan says the Big Worm will end, full stop. The most important thing here is that the 23% want the BW to become a Park, and only 7% want it down! We are already winning!!!

Park supporter - I think it's great that the BW will no longer exist, but the reality is that the population of São Paulo or most, let's say this way, prefers BW for the circulation of cars than as a Park. This population mentality embarrasses me

Demolition supporter – # Only 7% support the overthrow of the BW; # 53% prefer the BW as ism with cars.; # In the city of SP as a whole, 23% support the park; # In the Central Region, only 17% support the later project.

Demolition supporter – An arduous path to clarify to the population ... people did not even realize that it will be deactivated, anyway. Curious that part of the text says, "most of the approval for the demolition is among the most educated and the richest ". If that doesn't change, defending demolition will become synonymous of 'bourgeois'... Living in Brazil is quite tiresome...

Demolition supporter – Taking this Research into account, I see that our fight will be complicated! This survey consulted the population as a whole, and not those who live nearby the structure, that is, this survey was aimed at favouring those who travel by car.

Demolition supporter – Carcracy!

Demolition supporter – Carcracy, for sure!

In addition to the various types of content relatedness discussed earlier, there can also be instances of *tangential and incongruent* content within the virtual spaces of the OCs. This type of content may initially seem "out of scope" in relation to the OCs' conceptual aims, yet it can still evoke an emotional connection among the participants. Tangential and incongruent content may also be inaccessible to some participants, resulting in little or no interaction with the material. In these cases, the posters often employ language playfulness, artistic references, or share facts and events that may be difficult for OC members to assimilate. Poetic expressions, anecdotal illustrations, and artistic works proposing layers of meaning that diverge from the OCs' focus can be considered incongruent with the overall interaction and discussion taking place within the OCs.

Park enthusiast -



(78 likes)

Park advocate A - Beautiful

Park advocate B - It is blooming

Park advocate C - Breaking the asphalt

The previous illustration highlights the presence of pastiche within the OCs, demonstrating a strong interconnection between posts and the OCs' imaginaries. Even though the artwork may not directly relate to implementing a Park project, OC members recognize its significance and respond with likes, expressions of joy, or predictions of encouragement. While comments such as 'Beautiful' and 'It is blooming' are positive and delightful, the phrase 'breaking the asphalt' indicates resistance to the rival cause. Other instances of *tangential or incongruent* content include discussions about outdoor activities like pet walks, corporate events, or arts and sports in the Big Worm area, as well as posts addressing issues such as degraded infrastructure, heavy traffic, public and private corruption, and increasing crime rates. These posts reflect individual sentiments of satisfaction, anger, and skepticism, and contribute to the overall process of content relatedness, gradually shaping the OCs' imaginaries and fostering the amalgamation of knowledge reflected in the posts.

Synergistic engagement with posts as the inner workings on OCs shared knowledge and boundaries

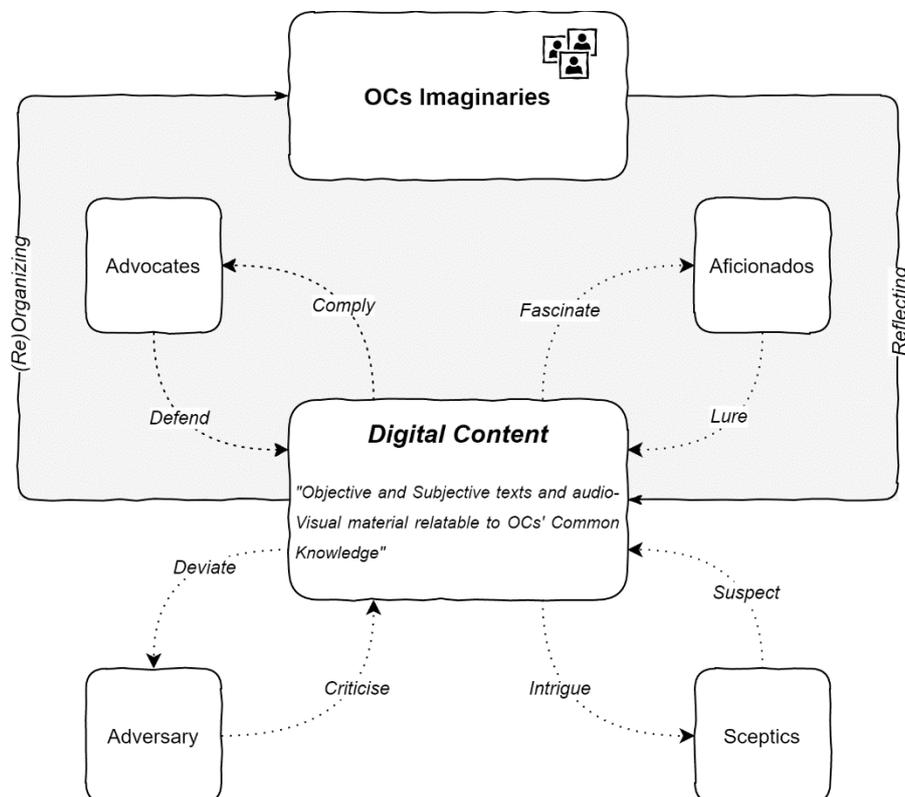
OCs participants actively contribute to the body of knowledge by registering their intentions and relating their content to the community's imaginaries in both objective and subjective ways. The concepts expressed in texts and audio-visual recordings reflect participants' understanding of what is important to share and contribute to the OCs. This collective knowledge is shaped through a synergistic engagement between

the established concepts of the Park or Demolition and the participants' individual perspectives, including their sense of duty (advocates), enthusiasm (aficionados), skepticism (sceptics), or disbelief (adversaries).

The explicit nature of participants' responses, whether through posts or replies, is an integral part of this synergistic engagement, as depicted in Figure 7. It represents the inner workings of uncoordinated and spontaneous collective engagement, which in turn shapes and reshapes the boundaries and knowledge of the OCs. Through this synergistic engagement, the content undergoes changes that adapt and reinforce present concepts, aligning them with collective interests.

The different dispositions of participants towards the content contribute to the formation of a body of knowledge that encompasses valid and invalid possibilities, aligning with the OCs' overall participation. In summary, the spontaneous dispositions towards and the digital registration of content in the OCs serve to organize and reshape the body of knowledge, reflecting what participants perceive as possible from their unique point of view.

Figure 7 - Synergistic engagement with OCs imaginaries and its referred content



In the OCs, participants exhibit various dispositions, including advocacy, aficionadoship, skepticism, and adversarial positions, which not only shape the types of interactions but also contribute to advancing knowledge within these spaces. Participants with an advocacy disposition align themselves with the contents that resonate with their preferences and actively defend the conceptual values, beliefs, and representations understood from the digital content. This advocacy is manifested through posts, comments, likes, and other forms of virtual interactions expressing an alignment with the solution originally envisioned by the group. Advocates often display a defensive predilection, highlighting their judgments through likes, comments, and replies that they perceive as in line with the OCs' conceptual framework.

Advocates not only defend the concepts but also counter-criticize adversarial positions and challenge skeptical arguments, presenting them as flawed or opinionated. On the other hand, participants with an aficionados disposition contribute by offering new perspectives and facets to the known concepts, suggesting valid and innovative information that enriches the body of knowledge within the OCs. It is through the aficionados' disposition that the OCs' imaginaries can be renewed, adjusted, and expanded, as they explore possibilities through artistic language, computerized projections, hand drawings, sketches, and other forms of speculative projections. The aficionados' contributions contribute to the evolution and growth of the OCs' collective understanding.

Advocate – (no subtitles)



Ten likes

Aficionado – (no subtitles)



Twenty-one likes

The exchange of ideas between participants with advocacy and aficionados dispositions extends beyond aesthetic improvements. These participants use suggestions, questions, polls, artistic references, and metaphors to engage the audience and draw attention to specific aspects of the projects. In the provided thread, Aficionado 1 introduces the idea of incorporating organic fairs and cultural events as

a progressive step towards implementing the concept of an Elevated Park. This intriguing content captures the interest of Aficionado 2, who responds by drawing analogies to European street fairs. The advocacy participant then defends both dispositions, highlighting the value of these suggestions and aligning them with the OCs' objectives. This exchange of ideas and perspectives fosters a dynamic and collaborative environment within the OCs, contributing to the exploration and refinement of the proposed concepts.

Aficionado 1 - *I think tomorrow we will have a lot more people circulating due to the 'organic fair' followed by 'a cultural event.' [...] I think this is a positive sign, people are occupying the space, in their own way and style! I see that this can be an excellent opportunity for open dialogue on the issues involving the Big Worm. Taking advantage of this moment of leisure and entertainment to engage with relevant information about the situation of the park (pros and cons) can be an exciting approach. Moreover, of course, engage more people, involve more opinions, put the spice of diversity, and the importance of the meeting. [...] The Park tomorrow is all mine, all yours, it's ours!*

Advocate - *Huge success [picture of people in the area]*

Adversary - *No! It's turning [the Big Worm] into a mess*

Aficionado 2 - *[a picture of similar organic fair in Europe]*

Adversary - *Event without authorization of the prefecture*

Advocate - *No need for authorization!! And it went super ok, everyone sold [their products], no fuss and plenty of space for everyone. [...]*

Aficionado - *Yes, colleague, replicating the organic fair changes the entire scenery. I lived in [place A] when the organic fair began there. It brought a good vibe to the surroundings.*

Advocate - *True, my friend. I also lived in [place B] for a while... I felt the same when I attended the Big Worm organic product's fair... People will soon understand that it's not just about the event, but about connecting, interacting...*

The presence of participants with adversary and skeptic dispositions within the OCs brings forth contrasting viewpoints and criticism towards the proposals shared in digital content. These individuals express their opposition to the ideas being presented. For example, one participant voices their disagreement by stating, "No! It's turning [the Big Worm] into a mess." In another instance, suggestions to implement a New York Highline-like concept in the Big Worm are met with resistance and discredit from skeptics. The critical perspectives of adversaries and skeptics serve as a

counterbalance within the community, challenging the proposed concepts and prompting further discussion and reflection. Their presence ensures that a range of viewpoints are considered and evaluated, contributing to a more robust and comprehensive exploration of the OCs' imaginaries.

***Advocate 1** - We observe [an argument among those] in defence for the demolition of a nostalgic essence. For them, demolition refers precisely to how much better this territory was before the Big Worm's presence. In the case of the New Yorker high line, the desire to change the place does not seem to come from nostalgia, but in a dormant desire for transformation*

[poetic passage]

***Adversary** - Precisely, the New Yorker High line was not a residential area, and the structure did not cross the building facades, but their behinds. The context is so campy that mimic it in here is a mistake. Even in your way to justify it. Besides the structural similarity, they have very little in common. A formal analysis would not stand.*

***Advocate 2** - But, interestingly, today, we have a higher mood for non-idealized realities. Thus, transforming discarded things brings out creative realization rather than choosing 'something new.' By 'something new' I see as consumerism. I hope I made myself clear...*

***Adversary** - I disagree with your premise. Any reality can be idealized, and they all start from something and rule out something else. Design, quality, and property need discussion, and we are not even near it. No wonder we have this violent, brutal city. Furthermore, the 'new' [for me] is consuming the project of others as a colonized, or worse, as another had proposed, to make a garden roof over this existing monstrosity!!!!*

***Advocate 2** – Adversary A, thank you for your attention. It's great to exchange ideas. I see this area as an opportunity to actualize into a Park, a 'strange' leisure space. Spaces like this are challenging to get in SP. [...]*

***Sceptic** - I think if it is to keep it would have to be something very ordained, [...] The architecture of the avenue asks for perspective and freedom. The Big Worm's design is quite heavy. Taking advantage of it only as ideological philosophy is to bury centuries of empirical analysis in favour of a Platonism with novelty varnish; for me, a self-deceptive [...], selfish, [...] simplistic [...] thinking.*

Indeed, the interplay between advocates, aficionados, skeptics, and adversaries reflects individual preferences and inclinations towards the proposals shared in digital content. These dispositions shape the dynamics of meaning-making within the OCs, as participants engage in discussions, debates, and exchanges to establish and negotiate the significance of the content. This synergistic engagement between different dispositions contributes to the vibrancy and evolution of the OCs' imaginaries over time.

The incremental changes to the OCs' imaginaries can be observed through trends in the texts and audio-visual registrations. As participants interact and share their perspectives, certain themes, ideas, and conceptual directions may gain prominence or evolve. These incremental changes are reflected in the content produced and shared within the OCs, as new insights, arguments, and proposals emerge, and existing ones are refined or challenged.

The collective engagement and ongoing dialogue within the OCs create a dynamic environment where the imaginaries are continually shaped and redefined. The diverse dispositions towards the content contribute to this process, fostering a rich exchange of ideas and perspectives that propel the evolution of the OCs' collective knowledge and understanding.

Implicit and explicit increments to original proposals: reconciliation of park and demolition in the imaginaries

***Sceptic** - I'm beginning to spy on the discussion here with the position that I wanted a suspended park in the city. Anyone to convince me counterwise? (5 likes)*

***Aficionado** - It seems to me that the current use that the population makes as a leisure area, meetings, culture, etc..., is more interesting*

than if there was a suspended park ... constructing a park would be a completely elitist space: [list of examples]. (2 likes)

Sceptic - *So what we're arguing about isn't exactly having a park suspended or not, is gentrification, right? (1 like)*

Aficionado - *Hitchhiking in @Sceptic B's speech, we should: dismantle most of the BW and keep 1 km. [series of project details']. (4 like)*

Aficionado - *@Sceptic, we all want more public parks in SP. We advocate the overthrow of Minhocão for specific reasons. However, we also want a playful, cultural SP with public spaces, street festivals such as #HypeinSP, #BWwithculture, among others. We reject the creation of a suspended park but why? Because we want [a list of positive experiences]. The BW is already an engineering aberration. If we were Berliners and not locals, we would probably also be claiming the overthrow of the 'Wall', rather than trying to "resignifying it". (8 likes)*

Sceptic - *@Aficionado, I think you convinced me. Really. (4 likes)*

As participants with different dispositions engaged in discussions, they continuously reevaluated and refined their understanding of the Elevated Park project, leading to the exploration of new perspectives over time. Initially, there was a strong desire to replicate the success of the NY HighLine on the Big Worm's structure, but as the discussions evolved, participants began to question the feasibility and appropriateness of such an approach. Gradually, there was a shift in collective perspective towards embracing the existing state of the area and envisioning it as a unique and imperfect park in its own right.

Mentions of the NY HighLine declined significantly, indicating a departure from the initial fascination with replicating a pre-existing model. Instead, participants expressed pride and appreciation for the current state of the park, highlighting the importance of artistic interventions, safety improvements, and innovative uses of the space to ensure its continued operation. This shift in focus revealed a willingness to move away from grandiose plans and multi-million-dollar investments, and instead prioritize the organic and sustainable development of the leisure area.

By aligning their imaginaries with the ongoing activities and inherent characteristics of the Big Worm, participants demonstrated a preference for a park that embraces its imperfections and operates within the existing context. This shift in perspective also suggested a potential openness to the eventual demolition of the structure, as it would no longer be necessary to invest significant resources in implementing a large-scale project.

Table 11 - Explicit modification in the original project after dialogues among OC participants

Foundation version	Six months later	Latest version
<p>(...)</p> <p>This section group is to articulate and gather arguments for those who defend the fall of the road structure. The definition of what will happen to Minhocão depends on the pressures and articulations of civil society (...)</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>This group is to articulate and gather arguments about the future use of road structure. The definition of what will happen to Minhocão depends on the pressures and articulations of civil society. Only in this way to guide government decisions and build a participatory and interesting debate for the city.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>This group is to articulate and gather arguments about the future use of road structure. The definition of what will happen to Minhocão depends on the pressures and articulations of civil society. Only in this way to guide government decisions and build a participatory and interesting debate for the city. (...)</p> <p>What have we achieved? (list of public meetings, encounters,</p>	<p>(...)</p> <p>This group is to articulate and gather arguments about the future use of road structure. The definition of what will happen to Minhocão depends on the pressures and articulations of civil society. Only in this way to guide government decisions and build a participatory and interesting debate for the city.</p>	<p>(...)</p> <p>This group is to articulate and gather arguments about the future use of road structure. The definition of what will happen to Minhocão depends on the pressures and articulations of civil society. Only in this way to guide government decisions and build a participatory and interesting debate for the city.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>What have we achieved? (list of public meetings, encounters, and dialogues)</p>

and dialogues)		
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The discourse surrounding the demolition of the Big Worm structure within the Demolition community underwent significant changes as a result of ongoing dialogues. Initially, the prevailing ideas centered around advocating for the disassembly of the structure. However, as the discussions progressed, there was a noticeable shift towards considering alternative uses for the Big Worm, including the incorporation of leisure activities. This transition is clearly evident in the transformation of the group's focus from "arguments for those who defend the fall of the road structure" to "arguments about the future use of the road structure" presented in the table 11. The community actively organized public meetings, passed bills, and engaged in dialogues with the civil community to facilitate this shift. It is crucial to acknowledge that this shift towards envisioning the future of the road involved a reconciliation with the possibility of a park instead of a complete demolition. This change in perspective, which occurred over a span of six months, emerged through the synergistic engagement with the digital content shared within the virtual group. Subsequent messages within the community predominantly emphasized the importance of adaptive reuse, creative interventions, and the exploration of the Big Worm as a symbol of urban possibilities.

Discussion

The five-year netnographic examination of two online communities uncovered the emergence of digital organization on Facebook, serving as a catalyst for generating solutions to pressing issues. These platforms facilitated the flow of knowledge, encompassing advocacy, aficionadoship, skepticism, and adversarial positions, which contributed to aligning societal desires and knowledge with proposals regarding the Big Worm. Notably, the process of organizing digital discussions and formulating solutions operated without coordination, supervision, or fixed terms. Surprisingly, this lack of structure proved advantageous, ensuring the representativity of these virtual communities while fostering a virtuous cycle of participation. In doing so, these communities sustained and promoted imaginaries centered around the potential of the Big Worm.

The digital organization spontaneously encountered in these virtual groups was pivotal to convene with like-minded individuals, shift their ideas and ideals to, sharing their individual viewpoints, opinions, and experiences through written posts and audio-

visual recordings., turning the heterogeneity of membership into an unlocker for proposals to get closer to social will and move beyond the original organizational boundaries of OCs. That was possible by an exponential expansion that free-to-participate virtual space could grant to diverse voices uniquely contribute to the Elevated Park or Demolition with points of view, interpretations, and specific understanding. Furthermore, the free flow of participants and and their contributions identified the

The incremental changes, triggered by synergistic engagement with digital contents and culminating in reviewed Elevated Park and Demolition solutions, were also responsible to provide with better motifs to keep the vibrancy of each virtual groups. Participating in each group implied participating in a grandeur project with social impact and posting information, asking question and sharing arts as explicit representation of imaginaries for other participants to validate, forwards and adaptation over time. Imaginaries as a backbone for exchanging ideas, meaning a cognitive device to recognize whether meaning is precise and clear, loosely related or tangential to the proposals, embodied adaptations and modifications, showing a façade of dynamism in the imaginaries. That is perceptible in the evolution of the OCs' interest and knowledge sharing of both communities, that required no explanation of the purpose of those groups to exists and the importance of Elevated Park or Demolition of the Big Worm to participants.

Organizing virtual sociality based on the Imaginaries

Acknowledging the significance of OCs Imaginaries within virtual sociality provides a foundational understanding for the establishment of knowledge in online communities. Firstly, the existing literature on OCs recognizes the implicit basis for knowledge generation, wherein members have the means to navigate, express, and diverge in their interpretations of digital content. OCs Imaginaries facilitate the convergence of diverse understandings brought forth by participants, resulting in the formation of a collective and valid body of knowledge documented in textual and audio-visual recordings. Moreover, it elucidates the potential for organizing voluntary and unsupervised social interactions (Faraj et al., 2016, p. 4; Schiemer et al., 2019).

OCs Imaginaries, as an element free from ownership and shared by participants, serve as a structural core for content sharing and collective purpose. They contribute to the

controlled expansion of knowledge by building upon existing knowledge and facilitating the exchange of ideas within the boundaries set by OCs Imaginaries. Overall, OCs Imaginaries play a crucial role in the accumulation of knowledge among participants and provide a tangible, intelligible, and traceable framework for non-members (typically traditional organizations) to comprehend and engage with.

This study also highlights the potential of Social Media platforms to serve as self-regulated and coordinated environments for organizing online communities (Ballantyne et al., 2017), leading to the advancement of knowledge. It explains why spontaneous groups thrive in digital spaces, independent of external intervention, financial incentives, or explicit rewards for participation (Murray & O'Mahony, 2007; O'Mahony & Ferraro, 2007). In fact, OCs are increasingly prevalent on social media, connecting individuals with shared interests and a desire to engage in meaningful dialogues.

Within these virtual groups, bodies of knowledge are formed, refined, expanded, and shared among participants, challenging prevailing assumptions and offering novel insights to society. Engaging in discussions within OCs not only reflects the spontaneous organization of civil society but also transforms information into valuable knowledge endorsed by the community. Consequently, this knowledge flows outward, informing and influencing managerial activities and shaping general policies.

Overall, the study underscores the significance of Social Media platforms as facilitators of self-organized knowledge exchange within OCs. It highlights the transformative potential of these virtual communities in generating valuable information, adjusting conceptual attributes, and contributing to broader societal knowledge.

Instrumentality of virtual dialogues to organize and represent imaginaries
In this Netnographic study (Kozinets, 2019), the importance of instrumentality in OCs dialogues is examined, highlighting how the exchange of messages within these communities provides valuable solutions to predetermined public needs. It is observed that when society itself takes on the role of beneficiary and problem solver, it leads to even greater possibilities compared to limited participation. That is such for the flow of information within OCs occurs organically and free from material constraints, meaning that the absence of immediate rewards or administrative oversight, enable an intense, genuine and authentic reformulation of ideas and constant actualization of a body of

knowledge, that is what truly matters for civil society. That means dialogues are important to highlight and discard meaningfulness in digital content, and orientate the community to work the real value of present solutions.

Lastly, within OCs, unprompted creativity coexists with inherent legitimacy. The collective purposiveness of the community continuously reorganizes, allowing for the establishment of communal purposes that are accessible and evident in the shared posts. This ensures that the ideas generated within OCs are not only creative but also aligned with the shared goals and values of the community. Our study then emphasizes the instrumental role of OCs in providing insightful solutions to public needs. By removing external constraints and fostering voluntary participation, OCs enable society to collectively shape and refine knowledge, filter out unfeasible possibilities, and establish communal purposes in a continuous and dynamic manner.

The Internet, particularly Social Media platforms, plays a critical role in facilitating the exchange of ideas. These digital platforms serve as dedicated yet public virtual arenas where participants can communicate and express their opinions and understanding through a wide range of textual and audio-visual artifacts (Bailey et al., 2012). The spontaneous formation, composition, and governance of OCs by society have led to increased participation in the public sphere, as the enriched dialogues and outputs of these communities become accessible to public agents and businesses, ultimately influencing the organization of public life (O'Mahony & Lakhani, 2011).

By granting public agents and businesses the opportunity to participate in important debates within OCs, different voices and points of view can be merged to coestablish projects or concepts that reflect the implicit coherence and alignment of collective imaginaries (Gilleard, 2018; Levy & Spicer, 2013; Oliveira et al., 2017). This merging of perspectives helps create a more inclusive and reflective approach to decision-making, ensuring that the resulting outcomes are representative of the diverse range of voices within society.

Overall, the Internet, particularly Social Media platforms, serves as a powerful tool for fostering dialogue, collaboration, and the coestablishment of projects and concepts that incorporate the collective imaginaries of participants. It enables the convergence of different viewpoints and promotes a more inclusive and reflective process of knowledge generation and decision-making.

Future research on dialogical dynamics influences into Common Knowledge and OCs Imaginaries

Despite recognizing the significance of Imaginaries and synergistic engagement in virtual dialogues, further investigation is needed to fully understand their implications. The observed significant changes within OCs were found to be incremental and dependent on the participant ecology, which was shaped by the shared imaginaries of a better present. Within this framework, potential deviations or threats were often silenced or ruled out by OC participants. However, it is important to explore the extent to which tangential and incongruent possibilities remain as part of shared knowledge and whether they persist as interesting but silenced possibilities within the context of synergistic engagement.

Moreover, attention should be given to the continuous emergence of details that contribute to the collective representation. There are numerous themes and topics, such as health, education, leisure, sport, politics, and ethics, that can be attached to these collective representations. Investigating the connection between these details can shed light on whether they represent unfolding orders of real possibilities or are individual efforts to introduce novel elements that align with the values, customs, and language of the communities involved. By delving deeper into these aspects, future research can provide a more comprehensive understanding of how imaginaries and synergistic engagement shape collective representations, as well as the dynamics of incorporating and silencing tangential possibilities and the role of details in maintaining group cohesion.

Exploring these potential research inquiries will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the dialogical dynamics within OCs. By considering the implicit role of Imaginaries in message exchange, future literature can uncover hidden purposes, conflicts of interest, deliberate interventions that may impede spontaneity and voluntary participation in OC organizations, and more. There is still ample room for investigating the influence of signs and symbols as powerful artifacts that can shape OC dynamics, including potential issues related to vested interests, impartial moderation, and imbalances in technical, social, cultural, or financial capital. These investigations can shed light on deliberate attempts to manipulate collective imagination, steering it towards private instrumentalities and potentially diverting the

public usefulness of OCs. By examining these dimensions, we can gain a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics at play within OCs and their implications for society.

Conclusion

As the Internet has increasingly connected people from diverse geographical locations, collective imaginaries have emerged as a means of organizing and interconnecting individuals in digital spaces. Within these online communities (OCs), intensive dialogues and knowledge sharing take place, focusing on topics, concepts, and projects that aim to benefit society. OCs are established to facilitate the pursuit of their goals, with society actively participating in dialogues and the development of innovative projects to address significant challenges. Alternative representations of everyday struggles serve as points of reference and common ground in these dialogues. Texts and audio-visual recordings play multiple roles, fostering unity among members, facilitating dialogue, and capturing essential knowledge about project nuances and attributes. Posts within OCs prompt participants to engage and respond, shaping the collective meaning and ensuring that projects align with the collective will. OCs are characterized by projects and concepts that emerge from collective imaginaries, with accumulated knowledge being the result of synergistic engagement among participants and the (re)organization of shared knowledge through message exchange. OCs serve as virtual bridges through which information flows, and the attributes and nuances of projects and concepts are shaped and refined within and beyond the boundaries of the community.

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Chapter 4 – When consensus fails but dissensus matters: Ambivalent Policymaking and the Polarisation of social imaginaries in an urban renovation

ABSTRACT

Alignment with public expectations is crucial in democratic policymaking, highlighting the vital role of mini-publics in articulating social will and public demands. In these mini-publics, participants engage in discussions, share their worldviews, and strive to shape an ideal public life, known as social imaginaries, to inform comprehensive and precise public policies. However, mini-publics can sometimes result in divergent perspectives and imagined polarisations, leading policymakers away from transparent, unambiguous decision-making. This study empirically examines a series of mini-publics within the context of a significant urban renovation project in São Paulo, Brazil, which reveals opposing views with comparable public benefits regarding the controversial fate of an elevated highway. The social imaginaries associated with this structure demonstrate instances where proposals emerge, fragment public opinion, contribute to divergence, and sustain ambivalent policymaking as a way forward. We explore mini-publics as “bridges” between imaginaries and deliberation centred on civic engagement, which may lead to consensus or dissensus regarding the most appropriate solution for controversial policymaking.

Keywords: mini-publics, participatory deliberation, social imaginaries, dissensus, discursive engagement, policymaking

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Introduction

In recent years, scholars and practitioners have increasingly focused on mini-publics potential as effective organisational structures to foster collaborative efforts in response to civic demands (Ansell & Gash, 2007; Fung, 2015; Papadopoulos & Warin, 2007). A central theme in the discourse surrounding public consultation is the pursuit of well-balanced and efficient deliberations (Emerson et al., 2012; Mansbridge et al., 2010; Sintomer & De Maillard, 2007), which involves considering ideas and proposals emerging from society. By reflecting society's aspirations, mini-publics serve as instruments for policymaking based on cooperation between policymakers and civil society (Bryson et al., 2013; Hendriks, 2019; Mansbridge et al., 2010). These events, also known as public hearings, mini-juries, or forums of dialogue (Fung, 2006), aim to achieve civic-centred policymaking (Fung, 2005; Gastil et al., 2010), with notable cases in localised budgeting (Avritzer, 2006; Handley & Howell-Moroney, 2010), urban development (Koch, 2013) and sustainable natural resource management (Stasiukynas et al., 2018)

The instrumentality of mini-publics lies in their ability to serve as a platform for civil society, enabling the expression of ideas, shared concerns, and engagement in discussions for potential improvements, as well as collective envisioning of new possibilities (Calhoun et al., 2015; Fung, 2006, p. 68; Taylor, 2003). These events allow multiple stakeholders to express their worldviews, collective wills, desires, volitions, dreams, and general expectations, known as social imaginaries, with the expectation that these inputs will shape policymaking. Through the participation of civil society representatives, legislators, and policymakers, mini-publics facilitate the exposure and debate of these imaginaries (Taylor, 2003), leading to practical solutions that enhance existing public structures or envision new ones. This exchange of ideas occurs through dialogue, negotiation, and the presentation of societal perspectives on common interest themes, ultimately aiming for a convergence of wills that translates into common goals and policymaking informed by civic perspectives (Steele, 2017). The ultimate goal of mini-publics is then to facilitate interactions that form a solid foundation for civic-oriented deliberations, ensuring interventions that benefit neighbourhoods, cities, broader regions, nations, or even the global community (Bryson et al., 2014).

While mini-publics provide an opportunity for policymaking that emphasises civic engagement, it is crucial to acknowledge the diversity of social imaginaries and the challenges associated with achieving convergence. Despite efforts to engage in discussions and negotiations to reach a consensus that addresses various societal perspectives (Davis & West, 2009, p. 614), deepening divergences may persist. Furthermore, attempts to address dissent through prolonged or reorganised public consultations can be resource-intensive, laborious, and may even exacerbate polarisations and social conflicts, potentially neglecting specific interests (Alnes, 2017; Jacobs, 2014; Keegan & Boselie, 2006). It is essential to recognise that while consensus is a desirable outcome incorporating public participation into policymaking, dissensus is also possible within mini-publics. Therefore, a legitimate and civic-centred deliberation process should consider both consensus and dissensus as possible outcomes when bringing society into severe discussions about public services and structures. Specifically, it is crucial to know *how social imaginaries contribute to the emergence, development, and persistence of consensus and dissensus within mini-publics and how these possibilities are incorporated into civic-centred policymaking.*

In order to investigate the emergence of civic-centred policymaking in the face of dissensus and the lack of convergence in proposals supported by social imaginaries, we will analyse a series of hearings. One prominent case providing insights into this matter is the 'Minhocão' (or 'the Big Worm' in English), a contentious elevated highway downtown (Barbosa & Marino, 2021; Belik, 2016; Oliveira et al., 2017). A bill was introduced to transform it into a park similar to New York's Highline. However, what initially aimed to foster consensus for downtown revitalisation quickly turned into a heated debate, leading to additional hearings and deep polarisation between those advocating for an above-ground park and those supporting the immediate demolition of the structure. The declaration of the Big Worm as a *sui generis* park, a leisure area accessible during non-vehicular traffic hours, allowed the public administration to acknowledge and incorporate arguments from both proposals. Despite dissensus, this decision demonstrated policymakers' ability to reconcile public demands with policymaking.

The subsequent sections of this chapter are structured as follows. Firstly, we establish the contextual framework for our study by situating it within the existing literature on mini-publics in public administration. We underscore mini-publics' significance as

platforms for civil society to engage with their social imaginaries in policymaking, irrespective of whether consensus or dissensus is achieved. Next, we conduct a comprehensive analysis of the case study of the Big Worm, focusing on its regional demographic and socioeconomic impacts intertwined with the social imaginaries associated with the physical structure. Additionally, we outline the methodology employed for discursive analysis to observe the evolution of these imaginaries, ranging from *inserting* potential solutions into the public discussion to the *interlocking* of newer ideas to support these proposals and finally to the *deadlocking* momentum preceding policymaking that either progress from consensus or dissensus perceptible while running mini-publics. Lastly, this chapter discusses the implications of social imaginaries in mini-publics as facilitators of societal inputs and as instrumental for policymakers and decision-makers in navigating the diverse perspectives without a predetermined outcome of consensus or dissensus. This study demonstrates that mini-publics serve as valuable instruments for gaining insights into ongoing issues, highlighting the equal importance of consensus and dissensus in advancing civic-centred policymaking and fostering innovative solutions incorporating diverse perspectives.

Mini publics as means for collaborative and democratic policymaking

Over time, there has been a significant shift in civic involvement in policymaking, transitioning from limited engagement during authoritarian regimes to an active role as solution providers in the current democratic era (Cooper et al., 2006; Stoker, 2006). The collaboration between the public sector and civil society has surpassed the economic and utilitarian understanding of the public sector, where third-party entities such as NGOs, associations, and private partnerships represented and provided solutions for a services-oriented society (Carpini et al., 2004).

In recent years, there has been a rise in the engagement of a highly interested and well-informed society in public affairs, coupled with policymakers' recognition of the importance of trustworthy and timely information regarding public sentiment (Bryson et al., 2014, p. 194) Public administrators have shifted their approach to working faithfully and collaboratively with civil society representatives, moving away from the traditional roles of "paternalists" or "solution providers" and instead focusing on efficient resource allocation (Bohman & Rehg, 1997). In this context, mini-publics have also transformed from ritualistic and consultative events to active platforms for direct

communication between the general populace and policymakers (B. Adams, 2004; Johnston et al., 2013).

On the one hand, mini-publics serve as a platform for developing and communicating societal demands. On the other hand, hosting these events reassures the public of policymakers' commitment to democratic principles even before the deliberation takes place (Wallmeier et al., 2019). Involving a more comprehensive range of society, who are the beneficiaries of the policies, in the decision-making process ensures that problems are addressed with the knowledge and input of those directly affected, leading to efficient and legitimate public policies. The democratic qualities of mini-publics are also evident in the solutions that emerge from diverse corners of society, where individuals are free to express their opinions, desires, and interests (Ansell et al., 2017).

This inclusive participation, which influences policymakers, encompasses critical engagement capable of challenging coordinated actions (Dryzek & Tucker, 2008; Hendriks, 2019), non-democratic intentions (Jacobs, 2014), unilateral decision-making (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011), manipulated consensus (MacDonald, 2015), and favouritism towards specific ideas (Papadopoulos & Warin, 2007; Sintomer & De Maillard, 2007), among other anti-democratic tendencies. The genuine (Baldwin, 2019; Font & Blanco, 2007; Moore & O'Doherty, 2014), fluid (Cohen, 1989), and pluralistic (Özdemir & Tasan-Kok, 2019) information that circulates within mini-publics guides policymakers in developing "middle-way" solutions (Ober, 2013) that integrate public demands into well-informed and comprehensive representations of the public will.

Projecting imaginaries through mini-publics and integrating them into policymaking

Mini-publics play an increasingly significant role in enabling participants to express their public demands becoming events in which participants share experiences and understanding, reveal popular expectations, and remind participants of desired public life. As defined by Taylor (2003), these are social imaginaries that depict an ordinary sense of how public life should be organised and exist. Imaginaries are then implicitly underling proposals put forth in these forums. Any statements supporting solutions reassure imaginaries as part of participatory processes (Steele, 2017) that strengthen

democratic institutions (Carnevale, 2013) and that ensure public order and social well-being (Calhoun et al., 2015).

The instrumental role of mini-public expects a dialectic process of self- and other-understanding (S. Adams et al., 2015, p. 24), meaning that imaginaries intertwine and become a common aspiration for those genuinely engaging in dialogues. These commonalities reached through public participation are constitutive of social imaginaries converging different points of view into one route for policymaking. That is, social imaginaries are a blend of shared values, ideologies, collective traditions, and communal memories (Gratton et al., 2007, p. 30) that are prior and necessary for comprehensive policymaking concerning plural interests and aware of public volition as a whole.

The allocation of public resources and time to formalise mini-public engagements affirms their significance to policymakers (Meynhardt & Fröhlich, 2019). Policymakers recognise the value of shared interactions and information retrieval as fundamental elements for effective policymaking. Mini-publics play a dual role: they provide a platform for the population to disclose, discuss, and negotiate their visions of an idealised public life, and they serve as a mechanism to gather input from society in order to achieve civic-centred policymaking. Despite being referred to as “mini,” these events are instrumental in amplifying the voices of civil society participants, who speak on behalf of the social imaginaries of those who are not present but whose interests are staked in the subsequent deliberation process (Bryson et al., 2013). Participants express versions of social imaginaries that represent different segments of society. In return, they expect their proposals to be appreciated, evaluated, and considered by legislators, policymakers, and fellow participants to advance social welfare as a collective goal.

The integration of diverse experiences and volitions into policymaking relies on the incorporation of social imaginaries, which involves adapting and synthesising multiple inputs to propose improvements to the public sphere (Gilleard, 2018; Taylor, 2003, Chapter 8). Mini-publics play a crucial role in facilitating the evolution of social imaginaries by providing a platform for detailed requests, critical perspectives, and alternative thinking to be included in policy proposals. While mini-publics aim for the convergence and synthesis of imaginaries, where different perspectives come

together to form a collective vision of the future, it is essential to acknowledge that discussions within mini-publics can also lead to contestations (Levy & Spicer, 2013) and the emergence of alternative proposals (Roux-Rosier et al., 2018). These contestations challenge nostalgic or postalgic, classic or modern, and traditional or sophisticated possibilities for public structures (Oliveira et al., 2017). The perpetual discord and disagreement arising from these discussions (Fournier et al., 2011) are informative of societal will, as even the controversy contributes to the discourse within mini-publics (Deetz, 1996). Thus, dissensus and conflict are seen as beneficial and valuable aspects of stakeholders' engagement (Castelló & Lopez-Berzosa, 2023), an expected outcome from mini-publics (Alnes, 2017; Keegan & Boselie, 2006).

In summary, mini-publics involve sharing imaginaries that seek a middle-ground and inclusive proposal to meet public interests. However, diverse and equally valid social imaginaries and public views often hinder a comprehensive solution. Despite the challenges of finding consensus, mini-publics can still facilitate civic-centred deliberations, even in situations of dissensus.

Method and data

Case selection: The 'Big Worm', a sui generis public good

The elevated highway known as Elevado João Goulart, formerly named Costa e Silva and popularly referred to as 'Minhocão' or 'Big Worm,' is situated in the heart of São Paulo, Brazil (Oliveira et al., 2017). Constructed during a period of dictatorship that disregarded public opinion, this structure has become ingrained in the imaginations of city residents, urban planners, politicians, business owners, and architects (Pilis, 2015). In the current democratic era, the public and urban planners have been actively involved in proposing alterations to the highway, which entails redefining its significance beyond its original car-oriented purpose.

The construction and ongoing existence of the Big Worm exemplify the challenges many local governments worldwide face in aligning public infrastructure with evolving social needs and demands (Fung, 2007). Originally conceived with a car-centric perspective, the controversial 2.6-mile structure was built in the late 1960s, cutting through the planned downtown area of São Paulo, the largest city in the southern hemisphere. However, soon after its inauguration, it became evident that the elevated highway failed to alleviate traffic congestion in the bustling city centre and had

significant demographic and socioeconomic impacts on the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The proximity of the Big Worm, situated merely seven meters away from apartment windows, subjected residents to a perpetual view of the concrete structure through which vehicles continuously circulated day and night. Additionally, the close proximity to the ground created a permanent shadow over the area underneath, exacerbating pollution levels, impeding sound dissipation, and hindering the growth of vegetation that could have provided some relief to affected residents and local businesses. These conditions had a detrimental impact on the quality of life for those living and working near the highway.

The construction of the Minhocão had a significant and immediate impact on the demographics and socioeconomics of the surrounding region (Neves, 2018). Initially, the harsh conditions and degradation caused by the elevated highway led to an exodus of upper-class residents who abandoned their flats in the area. This resulted in a decrease in real estate prices and rental values. However, amidst the air, visual, and noise pollution, low-income families saw an opportunity to move to a region with better access to public services and abundant job opportunities.

Recognising the inhumane conditions created by the structure but unable to remove it, the local public administration implemented a significant change to the functioning of the Big Worm in the late 1980s. Initially, vehicular traffic was prohibited at night, and this restriction was extended to weekends as well. Consequently, previously unused, the upper part of the structure quickly became a gathering place for homeless individuals seeking shelter and leisure seekers. Since then, the community has utilised the upper part of the Minhocão for various recreational activities (Nakagawa, 2016). In 2014, a group of citizens, with the backing of local legislators, put forth a bill advocating for the rapid transformation of the Big Worm into a park. The bill included provisions for imposing monthly fines in case of failure to meet the specified deadlines (see Appendix D for details). The project received approval from the mayor, but it required the participation of council members to invite relevant stakeholders to examine the bill and ensure that public hearings were adequately advertised in newspapers and official social media channels.

Research design

This study's first author examined the interplay between the ambivalent decision to turn the Big Worm into a sui generis park and the progression of social imaginaries by admitting ideas and interaction around shared idiosyncrasies and leading to convergence versus divergence of solutions presented in these mini-publics. The use of public hearings as a research method is justified for several reasons. Firstly, mini-publics such as public hearings and dialogue forums, which are sponsored and led by policymakers, serve as formal communication channels between society and decision-makers. They play a vital role in democratic governance, acting as a 'bridge' between societal volition and civic-centred policymaking. Secondly, public hearings provide an indicator of the maturity of issues of common interest. Conversations among participants during these hearings often reveal the presence of diverse perspectives, arguments, and emotional tones. Lastly, public hearings involve moderators responsible for facilitating productive dialogues among public representatives, ensuring that the discussions remain constructive and focused. These characteristics of public hearings are essential, as they reflect the societal willingness to collaborate, nurture, and develop solutions that align with the community's desires.

The research design in this study incorporates collaborative policymaking, which involves the exchange of ideas during public hearings and using official documentation. The official documents supporting the final decree, including the conversations held with society, should accurately reflect the ongoing relationship between civil society and their views on the matter. The transcriptions of the official, formal public hearings serve as a basis for explanations and reasoning behind the decrees and vetoes, making them crucial for civic-centred policymaking. In summary, mini-publics provide a platform for participants to express their social imaginaries and engage in dynamic dialogues about ideas and ideals. At the same time, public managers have the opportunity to familiarise themselves with this information, which is essential for making critical decisions that impact society as a whole.

Data collection

Dynamics of official meetings: In-person attendance, official video footage and audio recordings

The research implementation commenced with the active participation of the first author in the initial public hearing and forum of dialogue, which served as a means to

acquaint oneself with the event, themes, and topics (Watson & Watson, 2012). These public gatherings were officially advertised in mainstream newspapers and the legislative website, attracting public attendance at the city hall for constructive discussions. Sponsored by city legislators, the public event allowed public members to express their viewpoints regarding the Big Worm and its significance in the local context. The first hearing, attended by the first author, provided valuable insights into the diverse types of participants and the dynamics of the event. Moderated by council members and invited guests, the first and second meetings followed a structured format wherein pre-registered participants were given a chance to speak, introduce themselves, disclose any affiliations, and contribute to matters of common interest (Mansbridge et al., 2010). Participants were allotted a maximum of ten minutes to share their thoughts on the Big Worm, while guests, specialists, and politicians enjoyed exemption from this time constraint. The oral exchanges were enriched with the use of audio-visual aids, and informal conversations occurred both during and outside of the recorded sessions, with moderators occasionally present during these interactions, thereby replicating the dynamics of the first public hearing in the second forum.

The contentious debate surrounding the future of the Big Worm prompted moderators to announce additional rounds of public consultations. Leveraging the citizens' constitutional right to access public information², the first author gained access to all mentions of the Big Worm in public hearings, extending beyond those personally attended, through the small chamber's website. Over four years, from 2014 to 2017, nine events organised by city legislators were conducted, comprising four public hearings, two forums of dialogue, and three unrelated events that touched upon the Big Worm matter, including the Strategic Development Plan. A trove of sixteen hours of unedited video footage was obtained from public servants and provided to the first author on a CD-ROM. Furthermore, a third party supplied three and a half hours of uncut audio from the first forum, which needed to be added to the official website's records. By compiling all transcripts, the body of data amounted to nineteen hours of unedited public hearings and four hundred pages of single-spaced, 12-point-font text. Additionally, the official website furnished 149 pages of official documentation

² Law No. 12,527, sanctioned on 18 November 2011

supporting the mayor's decree, encompassing the first and last hearings in 2017. To meticulously examine the content of these materials, the first author employed qualitative data analysis (QDA) software, compiling the unedited transcriptions, videos, audio recordings, and official documents (Hassard et al., 2018).

The overall strategy for coding and analysis of utterances

The coding and analysis of the public hearing transcriptions followed a general strategy where each utterance was treated as a vector of influence concerning the Big Worm and the collective discourses representing the public's will. Inductive analysis was deemed appropriate given the mini-public nature, where participants' perspectives on ideal structures evolve over time. All preceding events leading up to the mayor's decree were considered equally significant in comprehending recurring themes, diverse rationales, and how suggestions were articulated in the speeches. The first author deliberately maintained a neutral stance and abstained from advocating for any specific outcome, such as a park, demolition, or any other solution. This unbiased perspective was applied to the coding and analysis process. By adopting this approach, the inquiry focused on the dialogical dynamics that unfolded within the mini-publics, ultimately leading to consensus or dissensus, both of which profoundly influence policymaking. After recognising the importance of public participation and the necessity for neutrality in achieving a civic-centred outcome, the analysis commenced with the initial mention of changes to the Big Worm, traversed through multiple official meetings, and culminated in the mayor's decree establishing a sui generis park on the structure.

Content analysis of public hearings utterances

The analysis commenced by systematically observing and examining the statements made during the public hearings, focusing on understanding participants' positions, the content of their utterances, and the overall tone of their speech. This dialogical analysis began with mentioning an elevated park at the Big Worm during the Strategic Development Plan. It proceeded chronologically through subsequent meetings until the final gathering. This process determined that out of the active participants, 124 individuals identified themselves as either pro-park activists, demolition advocates, or neutral observers, assuming different roles such as association members, regular citizens, politicians, and experts (refer to Appendix C for details).

Furthermore, the analysis uncovered the origin of the elevated park idea, which emerged during the city's Strategic Plan, as well as its opposing viewpoint. This demolition concept surfaced during the third public encounter, contrasting proposals brought by the participants while discussing possibilities for the Big Worm. These initial positions and justifications were subsequently reiterated, adjusted, and refined in the participants' utterances, particularly during the forums of dialogue, where the park and demolition options were discussed as viable alternatives within the car-free imaginaries introduced in the Strategic Development Plan.

Former council member B representative – *As Rapporteur of the Strategic Director Plan... I understand that the elevated Park must be a starting point for the law to be passed in the legislature after ample discussion with society, which can contemplate the various opinions. In my opinion, we must overcome the polarisation [...] and start a stage of elaboration of projects that consider all the arguments [...]*

Council member A – *It has been four years of debate. Next speaker.*

As the analysis progressed, it became apparent that the recurring debates surrounding the park and demolition options became secondary to the more significant battle of motifs and justifications. Over time, claims of superiority, mutual accusations, and even boycotts of public hearings emerged as participants sought to defend their preferred solution over the other. This dynamic was particularly evident in the eighth and final hearing. As illustrated in the previous extract, the consultations reached a point where they ceased to be productive, with no further fruitful discussions or studies deemed necessary before the mayor sanctions the 'sui generis' park. The contentious nature of the debates and the lack of consensus led to the decision to move forward with the park, thus concluding the analysis.

Discursive coding and patterns in speeches before decision-making

The face-to-face interactions provided participants an unstructured and open opportunity to express their visions for the city and personal demands to the legislators. The first author conducted a detailed assessment and coding of these utterances, following the guidelines outlined by Saldaña (2013), to comprehensively understand the recurring themes and their subtle nuances. The themes and topics raised by the participants aimed to ground their theories of a better city while justifying

the practicality and utility of their proposals in relation concerning purpose (Corley & Gioia, 2011).

Within the first ten pages of transcriptions, over one hundred codes were identified, representing various topics associated with the Big Worm solutions as perceived by society. The first author grouped related codes to organise and categorise these themes. For example, codes related to ‘aesthetics’, ‘urban furniture and structure’, and ‘identity’ were grouped under the ‘URBANISM’ category while coding ‘investments’, ‘costs’, and ‘maintenance’ as ‘ECONOMICS’. Similarly, codes related to ‘public hearings’, ‘decision process’, and ‘public participation’ were grouped under ‘POLITICS’, and so on.

Table 12 provides a synthesis of these topics, presenting their frequency and evolution across ten different utterances brought by advocates of both demolition and the elevated park. The participants highlighted in the table, comprising three pro-demolition and two pro-park advocates, represent the most vocal participants who elaborated on their rationales, tone, and temporal considerations. The table showcases the range of rationales, temporality, and behaviour expressed by these participants in both public encounters, as they openly defended or supported demolition and the park. It also reveals a subtle shift in the tone used by demolition supporters, which becomes more positive, and by park supporters, which becomes more negative, when comparing the first and second public events.

Table 12 - Comparison of rationales, temporality, and tone in public hearing speeches

		1st Debate		2nd Debate	
		Pro-Demolition (n=3)	Pro- Park (n=5)	Pro-Demolition (n=2)	Pro-Park (n=3)
Temporalit	Negative	1.606	45	1.508	448
	Positive	-	1.682	337	1.411
Temporality	Future	164	288	564	420
	Past	133	128	70	269
	Present	1.309	468	1.167	1.185
Rationales	Civil rights	412	20	626	405
	Urbanism	766	-	459	738
	Politics	376	327	114	212

	Economics	119	-	91	312
	Environment	108	117	712	170

The first author carefully observed and grouped participants based on their transparent and open positions when expressing their rationales, temporality, and tone at the microphone. This included individuals who advocated for either the demolition or the elevated park solutions, providing reasons to support their choice and emphasising the superiority of their preferred solution or highlighting the benefits of the respective proposal. By personally attending the first and second debates and later reviewing recordings of the events, the first author was able to observe and compare the conduct of participants as they shared their opinions.

The word counts presented in Table 12, sorted by code, demonstrate the variation in the tone used in the speeches, which can be categorised as negative, neutral, or positive to support either the park or demolition. These patterns in tone and conduct were also evident in illustrative vignettes included in the following section. For instance, a negative tone was often conveyed through threatening language, profanity, blame, or any content displaying a strongly negative attitude towards other solutions or participants. Examples of negative utterances include statements such as “The Big Worm is a ‘little monster’”, “[I] wanted to destroy this dictatorship symbol”, or “it would be cheaper for the prefecture to detonate this s***”. On the other hand, a neutral tone was characterised by polite or unaffected utterances commonly found in requests, opinions, or details unrelated to the proposals. For instance, a statement like “as far as parks are concerned, this is an important and challenging issue” reflects a neutral tone. Utterances made with a positive tone often sought approval from the audience, such as “Removing the Big Worm and making a linear park is the best idea of all!” or “Dismantling is much superior to the leisure area since...”.

In addition to the positive, negative, and neutral tones, participants also engaged dialectically with arguments presented in the current and previous events, allowing for a nuanced understanding of their positions on the issue. This disposition to engage with ideas and ideals expressed by participants involved the *(de)construction*, *(re)affirmation* and *nurturing* of nuances and details brought to the podium.

Table 13 provides a word count for the dialectic engagement with proposals, highlighting the use of constructive, affirmative, and nurturing reasoning. Discussants with clear preferences and bystanders actively *constructed* an engagement with suggestions and structured ideas and ideals supporting the elevated park or structural demolition solutions. Utterances such as “I am convinced that the past cannot come back [yet]. We can preserve [BW’s] memory, reveal histories, add value...” and “I wonder if this park would be erected for us” exemplify the construction of ideas from scratch.

An affirmative engagement with proposals *confirms* previous rationales and emphasises the correctness of an idea. For instance, statements like “If we demolish the Big Worm, we are sure that we will get it 100% right” or “Since they are deciding that it is going to be a park, we will take ours too” demonstrate a causal relation in the participants’ thinking and actions.

Lastly, a *nurturing* engagement with proposals involves opening ideas for further development, as illustrated by passages such as “... the proposal is a ‘program’ and part of ‘that’ is to implement a park...” or “older people wanted its demolition. [...] We can’t be afraid of that! We can’t be scared to rescue the centre of São Paulo.” In both cases, these utterances nurture further dialogue with society, promoting the exchange of ideas and perspectives.

Table 13 - Comparison of attitudes between participants in the public hearing

		1st Debate		2nd Debate	
		Pro-Demolition (n=2)	Pro-Park (n=2)	Pro-Demolition (n=3)	Pro-Park (n=3)
Engaging with	Constructing	92	243	26	-
	Affirming	-	223	-	680
	Nurturing	304	238	597	55

The coding of utterances in these mini-publics grounded Elevated Park and Demolition as emerging solutions and groups invested in their realisation. Notably, these groups posed their respective solutions employing rhetorical approaches to persuade both the audience and policymakers of the difference and superiority of each possibility. As

shown in Table 12, participants used a variety of rationale to convey the need and higher legitimacy for one solution over the other, with significant differences in tones and temporal placement, positioning to identify the opposing solutions from the same imaginary involving the Big Worm. Table 13, however, illustrates an inherent dynamic among both groups. Those constructing and affirming the goodness of an Elevated Park to the Big Worm in the first event started to nurture this idea in the second event. Those favouring demolition attended the meeting nurturing the idea of disassembling to contrast with the idea for a park. This idea's construction and intense nurturing continued from the second event onwards. These initial insertion of ideas and interlock of various values and justifications became integral parts of an evolving imaginary with the Big Worm, with each solution trying to best align with the public demand as effective, civic-centred policymaking.

The discussions within the mini-publics had a significant impact on imaginaries and the deliberative process. This led to a progression from proposing solutions like the Elevated Park or Demolition as ideal options for better urban living, resulting in a sustained divergence of opinions during the public consultation. The inputs from the mini-publics were highly valued and resulted in the official designation of the Big Worm as a *sui generis* park. This process highlights the evolution of civic-centred policymaking in line with changing imaginaries and the recognition that divergence is an integral part of democratic decision-making, where different perspectives are considered under both consensus and dissensus.

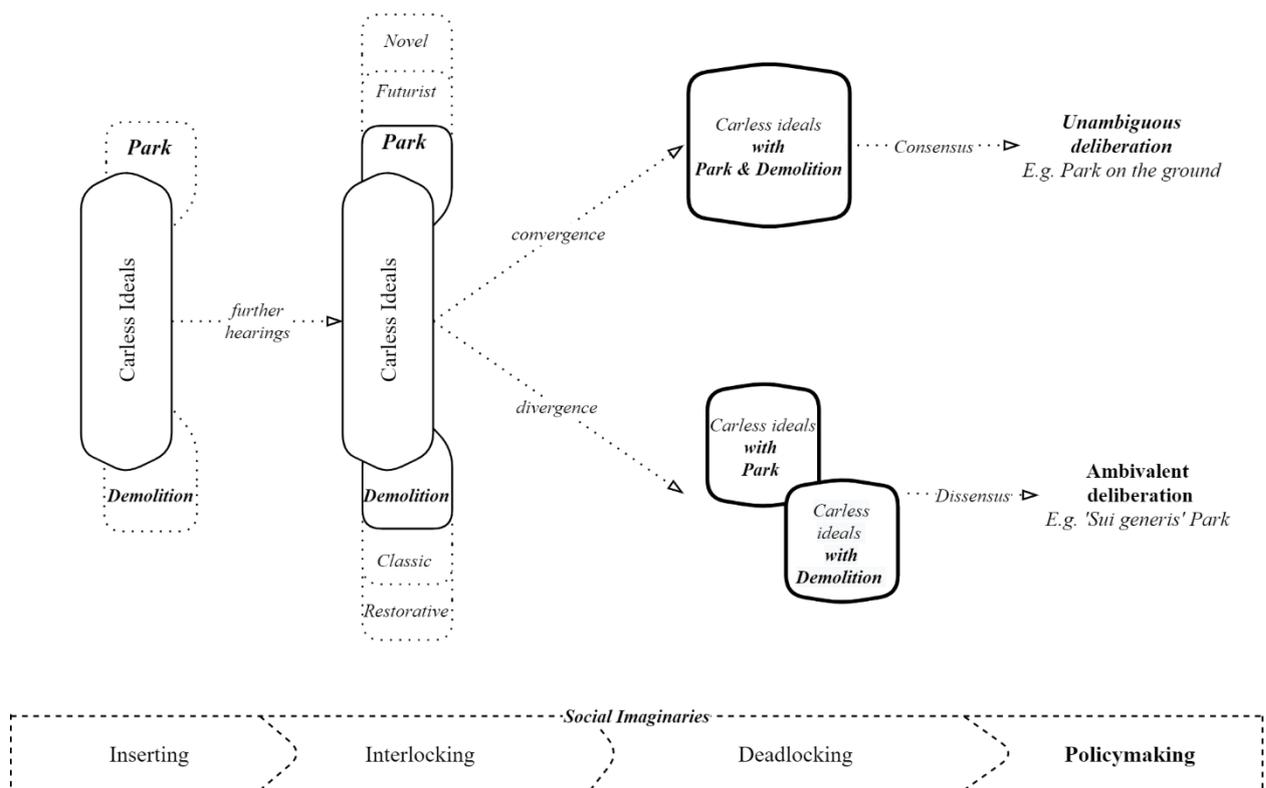
Findings

Participants in mini-publics presented Elevated Park and Demolition as ideal solutions for the Big Worm, driven by their visions of better city life. However, these proposals proved incompatible, leading to a lack of consensus and an increasing divergence of opinions. As a result, policymakers had to navigate the complexities of dissensus and find a responsive approach that could accommodate societal will.

Figure 8 synthesises mini-publics dealing with imaginaries, solutions presented by participants based on consensus and dissensus on what to do with the Big Worm, and the quality of each deliberation bearing civic-centred policymaking. Initially, Elevated Park and Demolition were *inserted* as Solutions for imaginaries of a car-free city. Participants brought forth their exclusive perspectives, projections, and values,

validating and distinguishing each solution while *interlocking* these idiosyncrasies into a carless ideal featuring the Big Worm. As the discussions and negotiations progressed, the conflicting answers involving imaginaries became entrenched, leading to passionate advocacy, claims of citizen-centric superiority, and a diminishing interest in further dialogue. This *deadlocking* stage reveals that competing visions can no longer reconcile deep polarisation and become a consensus. Ultimately, the established dissensus calls for an ambivalent decree that recognised the Big Worm as a sui generis park in striking contrast to the proposal for a Park on the ground.

Figure 8 - Interweaving social imaginaries and policymaking through mini-publics



Policymaking as a result of mini-publics dealing with social imaginaries reveals that civic-centred deliberation occurs on both consensus and dissensus possibility to accommodate a deepening polarisation within society, restore accountability for the public good, and provide flexibility for future investments that could align with either of the contradictory proposals. By acknowledging and addressing the dissensus surrounding the Big Worm, policymakers aimed to navigate the complex terrain of divergent viewpoints, ultimately striving to find a balanced approach that could serve the broader interests of the Sao Paulo population.

Inserting proposals for imaginaries of a better city with lesser cars

In 2013, the executive and public legislative powers of São Paulo organised a series of public hearings as part of the Strategic Development Plan. These hearings are held every ten years to gather input and shape the vision for an ideal city, providing a framework for future administrations. Participation in these events is open to all. It encourages diverse perspectives, encompassing both specific local actions and broader aspirations for the city. The participants in these hearings represent various backgrounds and affiliations, including ordinary residents, members of civil organisations, former politicians, urbanists, and businesspeople. This reflects the significant challenge of engaging with the diverse population of São Paulo, a city with fourteen million inhabitants.

Inserting an Elevated Park into carless ideals for Sao Paulo

In the diverse context of the public hearings, participants expressed their proposals, and one of these proposals focused on the Big Worm, driven by the vision of a city with reduced reliance on cars. The idea involved transforming the elevated highway into an Elevated park, inspired by projects like the NY Highline. This audacious and previously unthinkable solution aimed to reimagine the 3.6 km structure as a park that would contribute to limiting vehicle usage and align with the societal imaginary of a city prioritising people over cars. The proposal sought to adapt the Big Worm to the changing aspirations for a more pedestrian-friendly and sustainable urban environment.

The vignette portrays mini-publics as a platform for participants to present their ideas to policymakers and advocate for immediate implementation. In this exchange between mini-public participants and legislators, one can observe a formal introduction of one's affiliation, the matter at hand, and a viable path to its realisation. In response, the legislator acknowledges the importance of addressing the intervention on the Big Worm and highlights the significance of societal participation in the deliberative process. However, the same legislator reminds the participant of the necessary steps for concretising the represented will of society by this specific participant.

***BWPE:** We have an association that advocates the transformation of Elevate Costa and Silva into a linear municipal park. For this, we formally requested the inclusion of this park in ... the planned parks. ... we requested during the hearings, and we do not know if this happened or not.*

***Council Member:** As far as parks are concerned, this is an important and challenging issue. The master plan has limitations to propose parks as ZEPAM. (...) Neither the master plan nor the Small Chamber can deploy parks. This issue must be tackled by the executive power and society.*

In procedural terms, this pivotal moment of introducing the concept of an Elevated Park into the green agenda signifies the initial step in advocating for its formal implementation and securing public investment. It highlights the intention to include the Big Worm as a potential addition to the city's future park network. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the realisation of the Elevated Park would entail allocating public funds originally designated for the green belt of Sao Paulo, a controversial option for scarce funds primarily intended at mitigating climate change, preserving biodiversity, safeguarding fauna, flora, and freshwater springs in the city, and stringently regulating urban expansion.

Despite initial resistance, the proposal for an Elevated Park persisted and gained traction within the public discourse. Subsequent interactions revealed a legislator who shared a passion for parks and urban mobility, emphasising the importance of perceiving the city as a unified entity and aligning transportation with urban needs. This legislator advocated reconciled alternatives to accommodate the evolving activities and promote a less car-dependent urban blueprint. The support from another council member, who recognised the concept of an Elevated Park on the Big Worm as a significant symbol, further underscored the significance of mini-publics in driving city changes. It highlighted that not all plans and policies are explicitly outlined but rather reflect the collective vision and aspirations of the city.

Integrating the idea for an Elevated Park into social imaginaries highlights the collaborative nature of mini-publics, as they foster partnerships between participants and legislators. This passage emphasises the importance of a successful collaboration between civil society and the public sector in transforming the concept of an Elevated Park on the Big Worm into a specific topic for public consultation. It enables the collection of local population views to develop a robust solution aligned with the collective vision.

With legislative support, a significant step was taken with the signing of a bill (see appendix B) that established a deadline for closing vehicular traffic on the Big Worm and imposed monthly fines for noncompliance in implementing the Elevated Park. This legislation, which designated the Big Worm as a park and required immediate investment or risk facing fines, underwent two additional rounds of public consultation before the mayor's final decree. This process demonstrates the importance of public

engagement and multiple opportunities for input and feedback in shaping the transformation of the Big Worm into an Elevated Park.

Inserting the Demolition as part of carless ideals for Sao Paulo

During the first dedicated public hearing focused on the Big Worm, participants reacted with scepticism and strong opposition to the idea of an Elevated Park. Rather than embracing the novel proposal, they expressed disbelief and voiced their preference for demolishing the structure. For these participants, the mini-public became an opportunity to advocate for removing the Big Worm from the city's landscape, aligning with their vision of a town with fewer burdens.

The initial mini-public brought to the forefront the strong opposition from advocates of demolition, who vehemently rejected the concept of an Elevated Park. They expressed concerns and negative emotions regarding large-scale projects, criticising the perceived negligence of public administrators in prioritising the well-being of city residents. The objections raised during the mini-public were intertwined with grievances about the lack of communication between the public sector and the community and the ongoing disregard for the adverse conditions caused by the Big Worm. Participants emphasised that creating a park would not address the visual, noise, and air pollution issues associated with the Big Worm. They argued that the situation would have been significantly better if the structure had never been built in the first place. To counter the notion of the structure's permanence, participants evoked its historical and cultural origins in mega-projects implemented during the military dictatorship era (1964-1985), asserting that its continued existence symbolised past injustices. The proposal for demolition represented the idea of liberating a beautiful São Paulo that had been buried under the Big Worm, reflecting a social imaginary that came to life with the removal of the structure.

The interlocking of views, perspectives, and values into car-free social imaginaries

Interlocking Park AND Demolition into a solution for imaginaries featuring the Big Worm

Alongside the emergence of proposals aligning with public guidelines for a vehicle-free space and the general discontentment with the Big Worm, the mini-publics interlocked solutions attending all needs. Such is the case of a Park on the ground.

***Bystander:** ... removing the Big Worm and making a linear park is the best idea of all.... Still, this bill is awful... self-financing... forced implementation 'in a heartbeat'... What about the city's legacy? (Applause) [Park and demolition] are two consistent positions. This House, in the past, would decide it without our participation. Today is a unique opportunity...*

During the heated debates between the Elevated Park and Demolition supporters, a participant emerged with an unambiguous solution: demolishing the Big Worm and implementing a park on the ground. The audience applauded this participant, who scrutinised both arguments, acknowledged the importance of public hearings in achieving democratic goals, and emphasised the need for policymakers to act as attentive listeners rather than proponents of a specific agenda. However, despite its potential to bridge the gap between the opposing viewpoints and become a middle-ground solution for the Big Worm, this proposed solution has yet to progress further.

Bystander experts, architects, and scholars were invited to contribute to the debate, offering their expertise, insights, and technical details. Their involvement served to embody and elucidate the initial proposals, further distinguishing and clarifying them. As a result, the participation of these knowledgeable individuals enriched the social imaginaries surrounding the Big Worm, allowing for a more nuanced and mature approach to policymaking.

It is crucial to highlight those participants claiming a neutral stance that emphasised their concerns regarding the prioritisation of interests and the limited representation of a few residents, questioning whether their perspectives truly reflected the concerns and well-being of civil society. This critique underscores the need for a more inclusive decision-making process that considers the broader community's diverse voices and interests.

Interlocking Park OR Demolition Solution into Imaginaries

In addition to the attempts made to find a convergence between the proponents of the Elevated Park and Demolition by suggesting a Park on the Ground, a legislator who sponsored the first hearing and had a personal stake in the park proposed resolving the impasse through a ballot. However, this idea of settling a majority vote did not progress further. Instead, it was decided that further debates and discussions would be held to seek a consensus on either solution and ultimately determine the fate of the Big Worm.

Two forums of dialogue and additional hearings were organised to facilitate these discussions. Various stakeholders, including specialists from the executive power, legislators, NGO leaders, urbanism scholars, physicians, traffic engineers, and interested residents, participated in these meetings to gain a deeper understanding of the proposals and contribute their perspectives to the ongoing conversation. The *interlocking* of communitarian values, localised attitudes, and prospective visions further emphasised the significance of each solution for the car-free ideals.

In these forums, participants substantiated their explanations, provided elaborations on the park and demolition solutions, and defended the expected consequences for the neighbouring areas and the city as a whole. The contributions of experts and bystanders brought forth unique perspectives and details that re-examined and renewed the city's imaginaries with each proposed change. As a result, *interlocking* the newer information with the presented proposals made them more robust, coherent, and promising in addressing the public's needs and aspirations.

Scholar: ...São Paulo suffered an urbanism blackout erasing a beautiful, entrepreneurial, and welcoming city...downtown investment hit the ceiling imposed by the Big Worm... older people wanted its demolition at least 40 years ago. We have won the right. We can't be afraid of that! We can't be scared to rescue the centre of São Paulo to itself.

Activist: ...I also find the Big Worm a 'little monster', and wanted to destroy this dictatorship symbol. But, after having travelled, studied and worked with revitalisation, I am convinced that the past cannot come back. We can preserve its memory, reveal histories, add values, but there's no way back. Time and place, people, problems and present values are different.

Throughout the preceding excerpts, participants actively interlocked their perceptions, viewpoints, and rationales to present compelling visions for the city. One side suggested "erasing" the Big Worm through demolition. At the same time, the other advocated for "preserving" it by transforming it into a park. In the case of demolition, an academic revisited the city's history, portraying the structure as an impediment to

progress and emphasising the need for urgent action. Conversely, proponents of preserving the structure focused on “preserving its memory” while embracing the notion of “no way back” and the potential to “add value” to the Big Worm.

An assertion made by a traffic engineering expert that “The Big Worm is not essential to vehicle traffic” became a favourable viewpoint for both demolition and park advocates, as it undermined the argument for maintaining the structure solely for transportation purposes. Gradually, the participation of neutral individuals shifted the original proposals, positioning the Minhocão as a pivotal point of transformation necessary to achieve the ideal city. In some instances, participants went so far as to reveal and invite others to consider the proposal’s programming and underlying social imaginary foundation.

***Architect:** ... the proposal is a ‘program’, and part of ‘that’ is to implement a park where people walk, cycle, and lay on the beach, just like our central park. If people notice, it’s just like the Ipanema boardwalk.... I invite everyone to build it collectively. Because of the problems raised regarding making a particular imaginary of what and how it must be... I’m not drawing a solution; I’m illustrating it with images...*

***BWDA:** Remove it, and we will revitalise the centre, change the adjacent neighbourhoods visually, develop the city, and end the conflicts and health problems. Dismantling is much superior to the leisure area since it develops the downtown area, improves life quality, and integrates people of all ages and social classes... Compared to afforestation, the cost is lesser, and there’s no need for maintenance.*

In the statements “rescue the centre of São Paulo to itself” and “proposal is a program,” both the park and demolition proponents conveyed a sense of openness and dynamism within their idealised city visions. The interlocking of newer values was facilitated by visually compelling projections and intricate statements that captivated participants, often diverting their attention from their immediate surroundings. Visual predictions showcased illustrations of trees and swimming pools replacing the asphalt. In contrast, others depicted radical transformations of the adjacent neighbourhoods, removing existing buildings to recreate the beauty of the pre-Big Worm era.

Both the park and demolition projects embraced a notion of continuous “programming” or “revitalisation,” allowing for multiple reasons, sensations, and perspectives. Park enthusiasts emphasised concepts such as modernisation, civic rights, and futurism. At the same time, demolition advocates promoted traditional, resident-focused, and nostalgic values. These social imaginaries often flirted with financial returns to capture the attention of public administration. For example, the implementation of a park was justified by the potential to “attract tourists to visit the Brazilian Highline.” At the same

time, demolition proponents highlighted the benefits of recycling and reselling tons of concrete scrap.

Furthermore, creative interlocking of possibilities included installing angled mirrors on nearby facades to reflect sunlight into shadowed shops or creating holes in the Big Worm structure to allow light to penetrate. These imaginative ideas aimed to address practical issues and enhance the overall experience and impact of the proposed interventions.

***BWPE:** ... the Big Worm is an urban scar, a product of the dictatorship. Everyone knows that. But I think we must have the ability to transform that. Taking it down will not bring back the 1930s... The German parliament was rebuilt... Why is that? It wasn't to keep the Nazi flame burning but to remember the past and fix it forever in history.*

***BWDA:** I am not against park enthusiasts! I think everyone deserves what one looks for, but understand that if we demolish the Big Worm, we are sure that we will get it 100% correct. We will end the existing problems for those who live there - air pollution, noise pollution, the requalification of the centre, and real estate valorisation.*

The proposals of 'Requalification of the centre and real estate valorisation' and 'fix it forever' demonstrate how the Big Worm is intertwined with the potential for revitalising and enhancing neighbourhoods by implementing these solutions. In addition, negative perspectives were interlocked with the proposals, highlighting concerns such as 'discrimination,' 'conservatism,' and 'fear of change' to underscore the drawbacks associated with each bid. The interplay between these viewpoints, along with the elevated park and demolition proposals, resulted in a divergence from achieving consensus for a ground-level park and instead consolidated differing perspectives throughout the remaining mini-publics.

Deadlocking of proposals and ambivalent policymaking

As the public consultations progressed, the interlocking of solutions deepened the differentiation between Demolition and Elevated Park proposals, leading to a *deadlock* in the momentum of the recommendations within the mini-publics. That means the idea of a ground-level park, a suggestion of convergence between both possibilities, was not followed up by the audience and policymakers. The *deadlocking* for a solution that would need consensus among other participants would require an active engagement with such an idea, so concrete steps become a viable solution for the Big Worm, a situation that did not progress. Instead, Elevated Park and Demolition proposals certified their differences. They reached a *deadlocking* indicating that the imaginaries associated with the Big Worm provided two distinct, valid possibilities for policymaking.

Bystander: ...an elitist park, for rich, socially exclusive people, at the service of real estate speculation and at the interests of large construction companies that want a suspended garden, to what it seems, to raise the value of the square meterage and to have more profit in the condos... I wonder if this park would be erected for us.

The previous vignette highlights the role of a bystander in further deepening the polarisation between the Elevated Park and Demolition proposals during a moment of deadlock. This participant raises critical questions regarding the social benefits claimed by the Elevated Park proposal, particularly *concerning* its intervention in the Big Worm. Furthermore, concerns are expressed about the potential neglect of low-income residents and the homeless population, which *both proposals overlook*. These concerns are met with counterarguments defending each solution. Suggestions are made to mitigate potential gentrification effects through measures such as “social rent” or allocating parts of the revitalised city specifically for low-income residents. However, neither of these proposals directly addresses the needs of the most vulnerable population nor provide a comprehensive counterargument demonstrating how urban improvements could benefit all city dwellers inclusively.

Bystander: ... they said that this is already a park. But this is not a park! You close any street in São Paulo, and it turns into a park....

BWDA: ...And you take away the vehicles on Saturdays; the park will settle on Saturdays. We don't want that... So, we'd like you to leave it as it is...the cars running...

BWPE: ...defend the continued presence of cars?!...there is something else behind it, a huge social bias... can't understand the logic of keeping the cars in the Big Worm to maintain peace, security, relieve from pollution and all that.

BWPE: ... disabling the BW to traffic and returning it to the use of people is a necessary measure. Any other finality hides a deep hygienist and profound prejudice to the use of public spaces.

Under the state of dissensus, social imaginaries play a significant role in supporting either the proposal for a ‘programmed’ park or the arguments put forth by demolition advocates. These social imaginaries contribute to the deadlock by reinforcing pre-existing beliefs and values. The previous excerpts exemplify some of the conflicts arising from these social imaginaries. Participants engage in passionate discussions, with some deeply immersed in the idea of an already existing park and making accusations regarding hygiene concerns and a preference for cars over people. These contrasting perspectives and entrenched beliefs intensified for one possibility over another and towards the democratic process, as exemplified in the following exchange between participants and politicians.

BWDA: ... our politicians must have the courage to solve it... it would be cheaper for the prefecture to detonate this s****.

BWDA : ... [elevated park project] is an unbearable speculation theory... the speed and interest that this bill has taken force here — God knows why ... there is electoral interest implied here.

***BWDA:** ... Sunday I'll begin to pull the Big Worm to pieces. Each one of us will show up with a sledgehammer. Since they are taking a decision that it is going to be a park, we will take ours too; we will start taking down the Minhocão.*

***Council Member:** So, I know that politicians do not deserve much of our reverence, but every generalisation is dumb... I think we are doing well; these forums have modified the initial visions that we all had about the topic. Nowadays, there is no more of the same initial support for the bill. Councilmembers, like myself, are already withdrawing their support for the bill. I said this, and it is public.*

The previous passage highlights the intensification of the deadlock stage, where personal experiences and strong convictions pushed for a definitive resolution: the demolition of the Big Worm. Participants expressed their imaginaries associated with the Big Worm, which not only emphasised the divergence between the Demolition and Elevated Park proposals but also called into question the credibility, trustworthiness, and validity of public consultations and the capacity of politicians to address the controversy. The deadlock stage made it evident that the imaginaries associated with the Big Worm demanded validation and recognition from the audience for both the Demolition and Elevated Park proposals. This is evident in the passionate accusations of “fighting the oppression,” “pillage,” and “opportunism” used to assert the superiority of one proposal over the other. Such impassioned statements escalated significantly, with participants expressing concerns about biases in the suggested mini-publics, intentional delays in decision-making, and outrage over policymakers’ neglect of input from city residents. Consequently, the proposals associated with the imaginaries involving the Big Worm elaborated on the aims of a carless city but with divergent demands embraced by the Demolition and Elevated Park possibilities. In summary, the social imaginaries underlying the ideal of public life viewed the proposals as an all-or-nothing path, with political decision-making seen as the ultimate platform to fulfil their expectations.

The final two hearings occurred outside the Small Chamber, one near the Minhocão and the other underneath it. These hearings showed that participants did not intend to engage in further discussion or negotiation but sought to reaffirm their stance on securing civil rights to shape the city’s destiny. Aggressive statements were made against the judicial process, with some advocating for an equal response through demonstration mobs. Only one council member attended The last hearing underneath the Big Worm. It lacked the presence of specialists, experts, or new ideas. Bystanders emphasised the importance of guaranteeing a series of public hearings, and they believed that the development of each proposal relied on their behind-the-scenes efforts. However, it was acknowledged that neither of the recommendations had

garnered support from the entire society. In the concluding remarks, a former council member, who advocated for the original bill, highlighted the bill's extensive history and emphasised the need for further public consultation on the controversy. However, a fellow politician countered this viewpoint, arguing, "Years of mini-publics have passed by. It is time to bring the Big Worm to closure."

An ambivalent deliberation accommodating dissensus on what to do with the Big Worm

As the meetings drew to a close, despite the ongoing dissensus, the bill received legislative approval. The bill's final version included the option of demolition, causing a few policymakers who had initially supported the bill to withdraw their authorisation. However, during executive deliberations, the Big Worm was officially recognised as a park, and the decision to demolish it was vetoed, albeit with several ambiguous limitations. First, the deliberation established a unique status for Big Worm Park, justifying it as not being a conventional park with natural elements such as trees, lawns, gardens, or wildlife. Second, it acknowledged the park's existence as long as the structure remained open to people and restricted to vehicular traffic. Other vetoes included the immediate restoration of the park, the establishment of a permanent council, and the imposition of fines. Essentially, this ambivalent policymaking recognised the value of the proposal and the social imaginaries that supported an elevated park, allowing future administrations to decide whether to implement it or reopen the discussion for a further public inquiry.

Discussion

Returning to the research question, *how social imaginaries contribute to the emergence, development, and persistence of consensus and dissensus within mini-publics and how these possibilities are incorporated into civic-centred policymaking*, we found that mini-publics enable ideals to follow consensus and dissensus routes. While the proposals out of convergence of ideas led to a Park on the Ground, deepened divergence resulted in clear, substantiated proposals for either Elevated Park of Demolition. Whereas the convergence was not carried further by mini-public participants, divergence was, and an ambivalent deliberation recognized the distinctiveness on each proposal coupled with carless ideals, that in the multiplicity of solution constitute social imaginaries.

As shown in the figure 8, mini-public enable inserting ideas into social imaginaries, and solutions targeting policymaking organize the status quo with civic participation. Moving from a social imaginaries to policymaking starts with participants reveal and committing their wills for public scrutiny, as these ideas receive societal support justified by well-being, solutions become tangible for a multiplicity of stakeholders.

Mini-publics provide a platform for *inserting* solutions in public discussions, enabling comprehensive development and exploration of civic-centered policymaking. Policymakers strive to assure participants of their inclusivity, recognizing that interactions can unpredictably converge into an all-embracing solution or diverge into multiple valuable answers to public issues. The *interlocking* of various opinions, perspectives, and personal experiences among participants facilitates the process of public consultation, leading to the emergence of consensus or dissensus. In the case of the Big Worm, the proposal for a "park on the ground" offered a middle-ground solution by considering all inputs. Similarly, Elevated Park and Demolition became middle-ground solutions themselves by reconciling non-negotiable elements that differentiated the possibilities. The point of saturation in public consultation and civic-centered deliberation resulted in a *deadlocking* momentum where no clear consensus or dissensus could be reached based on the available information from mini-publics. To address this, an ambivalent policymaking approach was taken, decreeing the Big Worm as a 'sui generis park.' This approach acknowledged the potential and validity of both possibilities without immediately implementing any of the routes. By complying with public consultation, this ambivalent policymaking reinforced the notion that all inputs and interests presented in mini-publics hold significance.

Policies formulated based on information derived from mini-publics, which guarantee equal conditions, facilitate the comprehensive disclosure of different social imaginaries. This process engenders a dynamic exchange as participants express and publicly represent their desires. Moreover, the development of middle-ground solutions (Chen, 2014; Ober, 2013) can occur at various stages, not solely as a result of participant interactions within mini-publics. Proposals that garner unanimous or polarized support possess inherent value, as hearings represent the collective will of the populace, albeit with potential undemocratic qualities. For example, a univocal proposal may be misrepresented as being endorsed by the entire society, disregarding the fact that only a few individuals have access to or influence over the hearings,

resulting in suboptimal policymaking. Conversely, polarization can arise at earlier stages without automatically leading to a deadlock. These observations warrant further investigation, particularly the identification of a goldilocks or 'sweet spot' where polyvalent policymaking emerges, as well as the necessary adaptations for mini-publics to continue functioning despite deadlocks and dissensus.

Social imaginaries play a crucial role in sustaining a series of mini-publics that seek to address the utilization of a public structure through broader societal involvement. This participatory process undergoes continuous modifications facilitated by social participation, ultimately leading to the development of civic-centered policymaking. Mini-publics serve as instrumental platforms that foster and organize diverse ideas, allowing participants to contribute, interlock their views, and even reach deadlocks. Collectively, these interactions form the foundation for civic-centered and valuable public consultations (Meynhardt & Fröhlich, 2019).

Furthermore, the *modus operandi* of policymaking that emerges from engagement with social imaginaries during hearings deserves special attention. In the case of the Big Worm, the implementation of ambivalent policymaking nullified immediate effects and postponed the final decision to future public administrations. This approach was a positive response to the growing polarization that had influenced controversial decision-making in the public administration. Although it may initially appear authoritarian to remove control from society, in this context, it allowed for flexibility in future consultations when dissensus was not present. Such circumstances warrant further investigation, particularly in deliberations that aim to reconcile accountability with democracy by attaching decisions to public participation.

Conclusion

In this study examining the interplay of social imaginaries and mini-publics, we conducted an analysis to understand how diverse expectations shape policymaking. Despite the persuasive influence of certain representations that may lead participants to favor a unilateral deliberation, policymakers chose an ambivalent policymaking approach that took into account both perspectives. Subsequently, control over the controversy and the final decision was returned to the local public administration, allowing them to consider the knowledge value inherent in dissensus. In essence,

policymakers acknowledged the significance of dualism as a legitimate outcome arising from public consultation.

This study reaffirms the significance of mini-publics as a democratic tool that enables a participative society to express ideas and develop proposals. It emphasizes the crucial role of policymakers and policymaking in appropriately responding to the expressed desires of the public. The findings indicate that solutions were generated through the progression of social imaginaries during the course of public hearings. These solutions then evolved either into polyvalent policymaking or fragmented proposals that received enthusiastic support from representatives of society.

More specifically, the spontaneous and genuine proposals presented at public hearings incorporated a collective spirit that gained coherence and strength as participants attached unexpected values and unique viewpoints to them. When social imaginaries converge in mini-publics, such as in the hypothetical acceptance of a "park on the ground," clear policymaking aligned with the public's will is achieved through deliberation. Conversely, when there is dissensus among social imaginaries, accommodating the differences becomes essential to avoid suboptimal decision-making and excessive utilization of public resources. In such cases, ambivalent policymaking ensures temporary social benefits, restores accountability to public administrators, and defers the ultimate decision to a less turbulent future period.

Despite potential limitations and various criticisms, mini-publics continue to hold significant value as instruments for addressing societal needs. These hosted meetings provide a platform for intense and authentic exchanges, allowing ideas to be refined through negotiation and a commitment to finding middle-ground solutions. They effectively address complex public demands, whether they lead to consensus or evolve into dissensus. In both cases, mini-publics facilitate the development of efficient, legitimate, and democratic-oriented solutions.

Public encounters within mini-publics uphold democratic principles and assume responsibility for crafting polyvalent public policies that take into account the social imaginaries of participants. This holds true even when perpetual dissensus is the outcome. By considering the diverse perspectives and engaging in meaningful deliberation, mini-publics contribute to the advancement of democratic ideals and the formulation of policies that meet the complex needs of society.

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Conclusion

This concluding chapter delves into the interaction between imaginaries and organised life in order to ensure that organisational activities effectively address everyday demands. I propose that organised lives mediate between the implicit and explicit dimensions, engaging in activities and embodying forms of organising. These organised lives are central in the ongoing cycle of tacit and explicit dynamics, drawing upon concepts and solutions from imaginaries (tacit) to provide motives and justifications for their organisational efforts (explicit). However, due to the inherent differences between the events and facts that emerge from organised lives and the original imaginaries themselves (explicit), organisational phenomena take shape and allow for the identification of organised lives, whose knowledge and experiences accumulated from these events and facts contribute to the constitution of imaginaries (tacit) – as summarised in Figure 9.

This perpetual cycle is exemplified by examining this thesis's literature review and empirical chapters. Each chapter is scrutinised in terms of the actions carried out by organised lives concerning imaginaries, encompassing both abstract concepts and concrete solutions derived from them to organise the surrounding environment. The revisiting of each chapter illustrates how imaginaries and organised lives intricately cycle contexts, transitioning from objective routines and practices to the emergence of spontaneous and voluntary events and facts and vice versa. This framework reveals that imaginaries situate and actualise organisational activities by guiding, directing, and establishing routines and practices to fulfil shared subjectivities. However, the inherent disparity between reality and imaginaries leads to unpredictable events and facts that respond to a spontaneous, voluntary organisation of everyday life that deviates from dreams, values, projections and other shared subjectivities.

This chapter then compares implicit and explicit dimensions involving imaginaries and other traditional theoretical frameworks to highlight the distinctiveness of imaginaries in evaluating organisational and managerial phenomena. I demonstrate that a critical aspect of imaginaries is their capacity to explore the informal and unforeseen forms of organising that emerge voluntarily and through self-initiation. This perspective underscores the interconnected nature of imaginaries and organised activities, suggesting that the analysis of control, order, standardisation, and other organisational

aspects stems from collective subjectivities, including inferences and preferences during empirical examinations. To address this theoretical limitation, I propose self-assessment and open disclosure of one's analytical position as impartial/neutral or partial when dealing with imaginaries. I provided an example of the benefit of neutrality while I assessed Demolition or Elevated Park solutions across the empirical analysis of the Big Worm case.

Finally, the last section explores 'holonomies,' 'imaginarisms,' and 'synchronicities' as new avenues to understand organisational and managerial phenomena through the lens of imaginaries and organised lives. Each of these perspectives expands upon the implicit-explicit cycle by considering external and internal influences on the routines and practices that exist in everyday life but have yet to be thoroughly examined concerning imaginaries and organised lives. These three possibilities can enhance our understanding of organisational spontaneity and managerial voluntarism, enabling us to better comprehend the dynamics of maintaining or altering the status quo of living in society.

The Role of Imaginaries in the Organisation of Public and private life

In the preceding chapters, organised lives have engaged with imaginaries in their daily routines and ordinary events. The literature review and empirical studies emphasise the significance of the tacit dimension (Hadjimichael & Tsoukas, 2019; Nonaka & Krogh, 2009), where imaginaries provide abstract and concrete concepts that apply to everyday life. Lives organised around these concepts integrate their daily experiences and accumulated knowledge into both universal (Sanders, 1982; Shotter & Tsoukas, 2014) and particular (Tsoukas, 2018d) imaginaries, thereby transforming collective thoughts into potential frameworks for organising everyday affairs. This circular process involves organised life drawing upon reality (Polanyi & Sen, 2009, p. 29) to acquire knowledge and experiences that constitute imaginaries (Adams, Blokker, Doyle, Krummel, Smith, et al., 2015; Tsoukas, 2018c, p. 22), as well as solutions and concepts for everyday matters. Consequently, individuals who are motivated by their preferences are prompted to actualise proposals and solutions based on shared desires, dreams, and projections, in an effort to bridge the gap between reality and the imaginary. As these concrete solutions and abstract concepts originate from imaginaries, which inherently differ from reality, events and facts unfold (Bohm, 2006, p. 12) as voluntary and spontaneous forms of organising that shape the surrounding

environment and lives associated with imaginaries. An illustrative example of this is the case of Elevated Park and Demolition as concrete solutions that emerge from imaginaries, influencing and transforming the routines that organise and manage empirical contexts.

Figure 9 - Tacit and explicit dimensions intertwined by organised lives

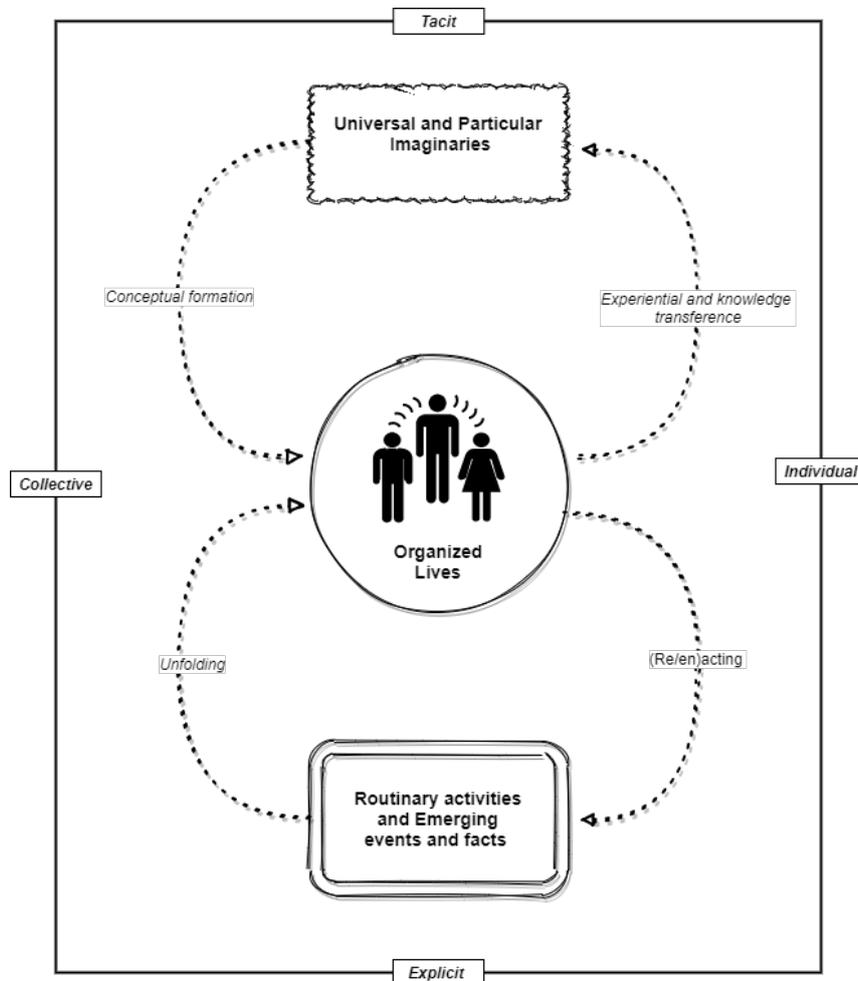


Figure 9 illustrates this circular dynamic wherein imaginaries and organised life inextricably intertwine tacit and explicit dimensions, resulting in the organisation and management of situations and the emergence of an actualised version of organised life. Imaginaries guide organised lives, imbuing them with vitality to actualise and situate organisational activities while aligning subjective experiences and knowledge with shared values, beliefs, institutions, and norms (Petriglieri et al., 2019). The tacit dimension is accomplished through accumulating and integrating collective experiences and knowledge, contributing to imaginaries' formation through like-minded individuals' input. Moreover, grounded in shared experiences and knowledge, imaginaries shape (im)possibilities and propose concrete or abstract solutions for

organised lives. Organised lives actively engaging with their imaginaries formalise solutions for themselves and others and harness their energy, known as “elan vital” (Polanyi & Sen, 2009, p. 46; Tsoukas, 2018b, p. 9), by (re)acting or enacting solutions within both public and private contexts. This highlights the bottom part of the figure 9 where the explicit dimension is a counterpart to the imaginaries, indicating the latter as the purpose for routines and voluntary activities, the motif for unexpected events and a tacit identification for organised lives.

The integration of the tacit and explicit dimensions, as explored by Hadjimichael and Tsoukas (2019) and Nonaka and Krogh (2009), has been examined in the literature review on imaginaries and supported by empirical studies involving the Big Worm (Barbosa & Marino, 2021; Oliveira, Islam, & Toraldo, 2017). In the initial chapter of this study, an analysis of organisational and managerial articles unveiled the role of universal imaginaries in establishing relational connections among individuals, contexts, and material realities (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011; Munro, 2005). These universal imaginaries introduced abstract and general concepts aimed at organising both public and private contexts, serving as tacit dimensions forming a comprehensive organisational framework that various actors embrace. Consequently, organisations adopting these abstract and general concepts undergo incremental and radical changes in their daily routines, breaking away from inertia and substantially changing activities representative of organised lives. Such changes disrupt the productive functioning of organised lives (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992), leading to shifts in routines and activities to align the latter with newer realities rejuvenated by adjusted shared subjectivities.

The empirical studies provided insights into the manifestation of imaginaries and organised lives, showcasing inertia and changes in daily routines and events in response to the physical structure known as the Big Worm. These studies examined the challenges posed by the Big Worm and explored concrete solutions to address them, namely the proposals for an Elevated Park and Demolition.

In the second chapter, an extensive analysis of five decades of news coverage on the Big Worm provided a comprehensive understanding of its profound impact on urban daily life. Throughout its construction, inauguration, and subsequent years of operation, the Big Worm left negative and positive impressions on the São Paulo,

Brazil residents. These impressions, shaped by experiences and accumulated knowledge of heavy car traffic and the emergence of a spontaneous leisure area, formed the basis of imaginaries associated with the Big Worm. Within these imaginaries, proposals for Demolition, Elevated Park, or maintaining the status quo emerged as distinct perspectives on addressing the presence and functioning of the Big Worm. These proposals reflected particularities and considerations of the collective as they grappled with the public's perception of the Big Worm as a societal entity.

In the concluding section of the second chapter, particular emphasis was placed on the voluntary organisation of these three representations—Elevated Park, Demolition, and the maintenance of the status quo—culminating in presentations at public hearings. These mini-publics provided a platform for individuals to express their diverse imaginaries associated with the Big Worm and hoped that their preferred solution could be concretised through policymaking. Participants, motivated by their visions of how daily life should be organised with the Big Worm, actively engaged in these hearings, fully aware that the realisation of their preferred solution was not guaranteed. Nevertheless, they remained hopeful that the varied representations within the mini-publics would contribute to a broader recognition of the different imaginaries embodied by the proposals for Elevated Park and Demolition.

The empirical studies conducted in the third and fourth chapters focus on the proactive and determined actions of organised lives concerning the Demolition and Elevated Park proposals, aiming to align them with the collective will so they become policymaking. These chapters offer valuable insights into the spontaneous organisation of online communities and mini-publics, where individuals are deeply committed to refining and advocating for each possibility and facilitating the intuitive alignment of solutions and policymaking through public engagement with imaginaries surrounding the Big Worm. Participants in virtual and face-to-face meetings draw upon their imaginaries to further develop and enhance their proposals, hoping to foster broader participation and deliberation that recognises one proposal's significance, legitimacy, and supremacy over the other.

In the third chapter, a thorough exploration of social media communities through netnographic immersion (Kozinets, 2018; Villegas, 2018) sheds light on the virtual

interactions of civil society aimed at advancing conceptual solutions for the Big Worm. The selected virtual communities revealed a strong commitment among members towards the proposals of an elevated park and demolition. These members engaged in extensive discussions, sharing various ideas and actively recruiting new participants to join the dialogue surrounding the conceptual solutions. The effectiveness of these interactions relied on dialogical fluency and interactive intelligibility, which involved the sharing of concrete and valuable possibilities for members to work on (Faraj et al., 2016) and the pursuit of meaningful and tangible collective goals (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015). Through text, audio, video, and virtual interactions, such as emojis and likes, the proposals of Elevated Park and Demolition took on animated and representative forms of organisation, shaping the understanding and interpretation of both concepts among virtual group members and subsequently within society at large. The purposeful generation and exchange of knowledge led to a (re)organisation of the public structure and its functionalities, providing a foundation for an alternative coexistence between organised lives guided by particular imaginaries and the Big Worm.

In the physical, non-virtual setting, individuals whose lives were guided by specific elements within the imaginaries took their political stance, expressing their conceptual preference during official public meetings. The fourth chapter presents an empirical analysis of a series of mini-publics, namely public hearings and dialogue forums, revealing the evolution of imaginaries as participants shared their ideas and ideals targeting policymaking (Liu et al., 2012; Topal, 2009a). Elevated Park and Demolition proposals presented in these meetings sought endorsement from public administrators, and the space and time allocated for offering these possibilities also witnessed participants supporting and rejecting these solutions (Fung, 2015), deepening polarisation (Keegan & Boselie, 2006; Rhodes et al., 2020) on what is the most appropriate form of organising life with the Big Worm. Consequently, these official meetings transformed from platforms for debating ideas into arenas of conflicting arguments, emotional narratives, and rhetorical appeals. Overall, individuals whose lives were shaped by particular imaginaries advocated for organisational changes to the daily routines in the city, despite the unpredictable demands arising from different segments of society regarding the same structure.

Four years and nine official public meetings later, legislators and public administrators ceased their search for a consensus, a paradoxical situation considering the presence of two valid and appropriate organising proposals put forward by the city's stakeholders (Chia, 2003, p. 220; Tsoukas, 2018a, p. 84). Instead, an ambiguous decree was issued, declaring the Big Worm as a 'sui generis' park, allowing its use as an elevated leisure area while prohibiting car circulation on the structure. This decision resulted in organisational inertia, maintaining the Big Worm's functionality and physical existence. However, it also left the door open for a future decision when polarisation would be less prominent regarding the timing and allocation of public resources for the Big Worm. This open-ended resolution acknowledged the importance of organised lives influenced by specific imaginaries in the policymaking process, particularly in recognising their legitimate and representative demands concerning the allocation of public resources for public organisations (Spicer, 2014).

Subjective organisation as a conceptual formation of public and private activities and a brief differentiation with the unfolding dynamics attributed to the imaginaries

The subjective organisation refers to how individual perceptions, beliefs, and interpretations influence both public and private activities. It encompasses the personal experiences and perspectives that shape how individuals organise their lives and engage with their surroundings. On the other hand, imaginaries encompass a broader spectrum of subjective constructs, including individual perspectives, shared social constructions, and collective representations of reality. While subjective organisation deals with a perception corresponding to organisational phenomena, imaginaries involve the collective vision of multiple individuals influencing yet not translating into organising or organisational dynamics.

Imaginaries provide a theoretical framework beyond individual subjectivity to guide social behaviour and elucidate organisational and managerial phenomena by mobilising shared beliefs, values, projections, and other subjective elements into action. The contextual organisation that emerges from the interplay of implicit and explicit dimensions within structured lives is inherently uncertain and imprecise, yielding outcomes unique to imaginaries and distinct from other theoretical perspectives. For example, traditional lenses such as intersubjective approaches,

which explore shared meanings and understandings among individuals (Picard & Islam, 2019c; Weick, 1993), (de)constructionist perspectives that analyse the construction and deconstruction of organisational realities (Hassard & Wolfram Cox, 2013b), and social psychology perspectives that delve into the social processes influencing group behaviour (Cassell et al., 2018, Chapter 8), all aim to explain collective behaviour, attitudes, and activities. These lenses' intertwining of implicit and explicit elements elucidates a collective psyche that manifests as organisational dynamics and the formalised structuring of daily life.

Similarly to imaginaries, these theoretical lenses approach social phenomena by anticipating organisation and managerial activities as the output from individuals, whether conscious or unconscious of organisational possibilities, who control, predict and standardise patterns (Tsoukas, 2018b) in private and public contexts. Consequently, they scrutinise organised lives and their contexts, expecting organisations to arise and continually undergo (re)production (Gond et al., 2016b; O'Doherty, 2005) from participants who invest their working selves and participatory work by adhering to sets of rules, guidelines, and directions with minimum or no deviation from shared expectations. These non-positivist approaches implicitly expect organisational and managerial phenomena to unfold according to a particular *modus operandi* and become comprehended by other like-minded theorists, even without familiarity with imaginaries. In the literature review in chapter one, I illustrate that by turning several panoramas explicit, and emphasising that implicit to organisational and managerial phenomena is to convey scientific discoveries about forms of organising and managing influenced by imaginaries. Figure 3 in this chapter brings together patterns of expected organisational and managerial phenomena, relying on organised lives to situate and actualise their activities.

While imaginaries, as a conceptual apparatus, remain an implicit dimension influencing explicit organising and managing activities, the analysis and framing of social phenomena are intrinsically different from other theoretical lenses. For instance, imaginaries expect spontaneous, voluntary organising, rather than tacit (re)production of organisational images, to proceed from organised lives. That places imaginaries as dynamic and adaptable dimensions, and solutions and concepts elaborated from them as practical proxies but not the actual or situational organisation of everyday demands. That is clear in the Elevated Park and Demolition proposals evolving as possible ways

of organising societal relations with the Big Worm, forms of organising influenced by decades of experiences and open discussions in online communities and mini-publics.

The imperfect and spontaneous organisation created by organised lives driven by imaginaries contrasts static images and rigid organisational functionalities. While shared creeds, values, norms, projections, and other models for an organised living may resemble images, their purpose is to replace chaos (Tsoukas, 2018c) and perceived disorder (Massa & O'Mahony, 2021) with shared ideas and ideals of organisation in everyday affairs. Thus, the analytical framework of imaginaries envisions a dynamic interplay between imaginaries and organised lives, where individuals actively work to adjust and adapt their activities to perfect their surroundings. As a result, ordinary daily activities simultaneously (re)produce a partially completed or incomplete organisation that aligns with shared subjectivities. This continuous organisation emerges from the engagement of imaginaries and organised lives, where individuals sense and reason towards completeness, setting themselves apart from collective cognitive mapping or sense-making (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014; Marshall & Rollinson, 2004). They continue to imagine and (re/en)act to shape organised lives and their surroundings.

Figure 9 illustrates the differentiation between imaginaries and actuality by incorporating the mediation of organised lives to ground concrete and abstract solutions. It highlights the opposing nature of events and facts versus the experiential knowledge that constitutes imaginaries yet emerges from voluntary events. This positioning places the organisation in a perpetual cycle of spontaneity, imperfection, incompleteness, and incongruence with the original imaginaries. It implies that organisational phenomena reproduce ontologies or represent epistemes to manage everyday affairs. Imaginaries serve as theoretical lenses that provide meaning, motivation, reason, and purpose to organisational and managerial activities while imbuing organised lives with direction and sense. This line of thinking distinguishes imaginaries from ideologies (Alvesson, 1985, 1991) and schematic models (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) by conceptualising imaginaries and (re/en)actions as collectively executed, while considering the organisation as a specific event or fact applicable to everyday issues.

Another notable distinction between imaginaries and other approaches incorporating subjectivities in organisational science lies in the emergence of spontaneous and unpredictable forms of organisation in everyday life. As depicted in Figure 3, the formative mechanisms that contextualise and actualise organisational activities also contribute to the "coherence" of corporate "becoming" (Shotter, 2006). This implies that the influence of imaginaries on organised lives entails undergoing rites of passage and liminal stages (Laura Toraldo et al., 2019; Meira, 2014a; Shortt, 2015) in their journey towards "completeness" (Costas & Taheri, 2012), where nostalgias (Ylijoki, 2005), postalgias (Ybema, 2004b), and dreams (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015b) transform into organisational activities.

This phenomenon becomes evident in demonstrations favouring and against the elevated park and demolition proposals and in artistic works that express a new way of coexisting with the Big Worm. Architectural, engineering and urbanistic interventions also play a role by proposing concrete and specific solutions or exploring the feasibility of the proposals' impact. These examples bridge the gap between concrete and abstract solutions, actively cultivated by individuals internally and externally, driven by their desire to establish unconventional forms of organisation through collective activities. Thus, organisation unfolds within public and private contexts, traversing conceptual realms that situate and actualise organisational activities while expecting spontaneous and unpredictable modes of shaping an environment that aligns with shared subjectivities.

Empirical analysis of imaginaries: Analytical limitations and new frontiers for organisational science

By juxtaposing imaginaries with other analytical frameworks, a broader and more contextually versatile perspective emerges, allowing for a reflexive empirical examination of ordinary activities. This examination unveils organising trends, fashions, and fads (Abrahamson, 2021; Scarbrough, 2003) and reveals the interconnectedness of human activities and everyday events (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2013). In order to investigate the interplay between imaginaries, regular events, and organised life activities, a deep familiarity and engagement with empirical research become necessary. Through this proximity to the practical context, the hows and whys of organised lives, influenced by collective imaginaries, unfold. When the researcher

becomes genuinely involved, they develop a nuanced understanding and actively support the archetypal organisations operating within imaginaries, addressing the immediate challenges public and private entities face. This intimate engagement with organised lives through universal or specific imaginaries provides access to subcultures and communal activities that might otherwise be perceived as occasional or imperceptible as organisational phenomena. Ultimately, only through empirical involvement with universal and specific imaginaries can one fully comprehend and appreciate the connection between internal values, institutions, norms, and external (re/en)actions enacted publicly or privately.

It is essential to recognise that scholarship on imaginaries, which considers shared and sharing subjectivities involving all stakeholders, must include the investigators' perspectives. Given the necessary engagement with shared subjectivities, which is essential for empirical contrast and comparison with existing scientific knowledge, organisational findings cannot be purely logical or analytical. Instead, the analysis should be accompanied by explicit claims of independent assessment of shared values, projections, creeds, and understandings, or a disclosure of any potential biases or partiality before presenting proposals derived from imaginaries. What remains constant in the investigation of imaginaries and organised lives is the acknowledgement that organisational and managerial findings are presented from a partial or neutral standpoint (Dallyn, 2014), rejecting naivety and solipsism (Healey & Hodgkinson, 2014; Howell, 2013, p. 222). It is considered appropriate within the realm of organisational and managerial science to intertwine the empirical context with the perspectives of the investigator, recognising the dynamic interaction between the context being studied and the researcher's own engagement with the imaginaries under investigation.

To show clearly that imaginaries require a deep dive into empirical analysis but a practical commitment with a clear standpoint, both the literature review and the empirical studies in this thesis explicitly opted for a neutral stance before the generalised, specific solutions and their respective imaginaries. That means that the empirical analyst, conscious of the multiple routes to organise daily affairs and in the face of a polarised circumstance, gave equal weight to the ethical-moral basis and did not judge any actions, reactions or enactments by society. That meant that the intentional and potential social benefit had a higher significance than opting for an

elevated park or demolition of the Big Worm. By assuming this neutral standpoint, I refrained from understanding a specific organisation or management of daily affairs and criticising particular points such as the power of capital, the configuration of networks or the deliberate direction of public opinion. Also, my admission to a neutral standpoint overlooked inconsistencies in stories, intentional exclusions and social injustices. Some noticeable gains from a partial perspective while analysing imaginaries are the organisation that manifests from contestation (Levy & Spicer, 2013a), alternatives (Roux-Rosier, Azambuja, & Islam, 2018b) and intersectionality (Dann, 2016), giving to the 'subaltern' imaginaries a voice and a chance to organise for themselves and others (Islam, 2012b; Spivak, 2010).

A neutral standpoint before the proposals for the fate of the Big Worm also permitted inquiry into the imaginaries and organised lives that communicate and trigger ordinary organisation via public encounters. Considering both demolition and elevated park as valid options for the Big Worm required observing peripheral attitudes and collective behaviour to comprehend the immanence of organisational phenomena. Such is the case of speeches with emotional appeal and aggressive verbal exchanges, usually kept outside the official transcripts. These (re/en)actions intensify as the opposing proposals of elevated park and demolition are presented to the public, clarifying that political statements, side conversations and radical attitudes sum to the discursive power of participants in the public discussion. Calling off public meetings and deciding to keep the status quo regarding the operation of the Big Worm illustrates an environmental organisation that considers both tacit and explicit elements. In sum, empirical studies precluded by a neutral standpoint before imaginaries highlight organisational inertia and change necessary for an ongoing polarised society.

Some other achievements by scientifically positioning neutrality while assessing imaginaries in the context of situating and actualising organisational activities. In this thesis, I demonstrate that organisation and management not only emerge in opposition to chaos but also in harmony with polarisation and social divisions. The review of news articles and the netnography conducted on online communities explored a public structure known as the Big Worm, which inspired conceptual solutions capable of both tearing apart and mending the social fabric. By familiarising myself with the desires, fantasies, and projections of enthusiasts of the elevated park and demolition possibilities, I could understand why certain viewpoints were deemed workable while

others were marginalised by civil society. Abandoning a nostalgic quest to preserve classical downtown landscapes and refraining from drawing analogies with the New York Highline are notable conceptual adjustments closely tied to the public's participation in social imaginaries. Taking these considerations into account, the general population embodied their own expectations. It actively worked towards the concrete reorganisation of the Big Worm, embracing realistic and feasible features of the structure.

Holonomy: The organisation prevailing over tacit and explicit dimensions

Adopting a neutral and partial standpoint when examining imaginaries and organised lives implies that pre-existing imaginary constructs influence organisational inertia and change. Neutrality or partiality towards imaginaries highlights the existence of mutually exclusive forms of organising, even though both choices may pertain to the same organisational fact.

Considering organisation as a worldview rather than a referential image means that people actively engage in the ongoing process of becoming, constituting and instituting explicit human activities, events, and implicit shared subjectivities and constructs. This holistic perspective of organisation, referred to as holonomy (Chayko, 2003, p. 267), anticipates a material and immaterial ordering of the whole (holos), operating freely (nomia) within daily life. *"Holonomy does not completely deny the relevance of analysis (...). In fact, 'the law of the whole' will typically encompass the description of aspects loosening from each other, allowing for relative autonomy in limited contexts (as well as the description of interactions between these aspects in a system of heteronomy). However, any form of relative autonomy (and heteronomy) is ultimately constrained by holonomy, revealing that within a broad enough context, such forms are merely aspects (...) rather than separate and disjoint entities interacting with each other"* (Bohm, 2013, Chapter 5). Future studies could explore whether organisations can exist with total independence from imaginaries. Whether organisational phenomena unfold or enfold, holonomies lend to organisational science a different view on the shared meaning and the power of virtual dialoguing (Bohm, 2006; Kornum & Mühlbacher, 2013). Shared values, beliefs, norms and projections can be understood as holonomic assumptions and formative concepts as continuous variance in the symbolic meaning of (re/en)acting. Furthermore, philosophical, sociological, psychological and other humanities fields could elaborate on organisational

holonomies, considering imaginaries as vehicles for an unsynchronised, unlocated organisation in everyday affairs (Baralou & Tsoukas, 2015).

Imaginarisms: The nesting of life organised by imaginaries in other shared subjectivities

According to Webster's Dictionary, the suffix "*-ism*" is associated with distinctive doctrines and theories that lead to action, practice, or a consistent process. "*-isms*" also adhere to a system or class of principles and give behavioural characteristics to a specified person or thing, imparting a state, condition, or property that is distinct from other sets of values. In this sense, "*imaginarisms*" could refer to enduring paradigms promoting rigid and unchanging observation of activities. An observer of organised lives from the perspective of *imaginarisms* would subject sets of beliefs, creeds, and norms to scrutiny through ordinary human activities. Further investigation of imaginariism and organised lives within the context of *imaginarisms* should explore enduring repetitions within totalitarian systems characterised by conditions of narrow escape and resistance to organisational change.

Future studies on *imaginarisms* could inquire into the doctrine of values, projections and creeds that become shared and subsume or impede other shared subjectivities from manifesting. In practical terms, imaginariism relates to the catechism of forms of organising and managing daily affairs that are detrimental to the unprompted, voluntarist solutions provided by and for society. Such a new venue may resonate with organisational strategists, behaviourists, institutional theorists, and studies involving society in adopting technology and innovation.

Management and organisation of asynchronicity between organised lives and imaginaries

In the realm of management, integrating imaginaries and organised lives into daily affairs presents an intriguing avenue for future inquiry. Exploring the concept of "asynchronicity" within management and organisation entails a deliberate and potential alignment of objectives and goals with shared principles, understandings, and subjectivities among individuals. This approach acknowledges that managers can access diverse elements and harness the power of imaginaries and organised lives in their decision-making and actions. When incorporating imaginaries into the asynchronous management of organised lives, it becomes pertinent to consider the

individuals who represent these imaginaries and how they integrate shared values, beliefs, projections, and other elements, either comprehensively or partially.

Future investigations can further explore the implications of asynchronicity in management, specifically examining its impact on coordination, control, supervision, and other organisational activities. It is crucial to consider how technological tools can shape collective perceptions and enable the management of multiple contexts concurrently. Furthermore, research on multi-party conventions can shed light on the managerial skill of bridging diverse predispositions without necessitating an alignment with the values of particular groups. These future inquiries into ultramodern management and organisation, with a specific emphasis on asynchronicity and the integration of imaginaries and organised lives, hold the potential to enhance our comprehension of the intricate dynamics and opportunities inherent in management practices and their interaction with society.

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Appendix

Appendix A - Journals from ABS and number of papers

Journal	Papers since 2002
Academy of Management Annals	5
The Academy of Management Annals	1
Academy of Management Journal	17
Academy of Management Perspectives	5
Academy of Management Review	41
Administrative Science Quarterly	15
British Journal of Management	16
Business & Society	11
Business Ethics Quarterly	28
Business Strategy & the Environment	0
California Management Review	2
European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology	4
European Management Review	5
Family Business Review	1
Gender, Work and Organisation	0
Global Strategy Journal	1
Group and Organisation Management	1
Harvard Business Review	2
Human Performance	1
Human Relations	77
Human Resource Management	0
Human Resource Management Journal	1
Human Resource Management Review	2
International Journal of Human Resource Management	8
International Journal of Management Reviews	4

Journal of Business Ethics	120
Journal of Conflict Resolution	5
Journal of Human Resources	0
Journal of Management	7
Journal of Management Inquiry	26
Journal of Management Studies	35
Journal of Managerial Psychology	9
Journal of Occupational & Organisational Psychology	0
Journal of Organisational Behavior	6
Journal of Vocational Behavior	14
Leadership Quarterly	14
The Leadership Quarterly	3
Long Range Planning	6
Management and Organisation Review	6
Management Learning	44
MIT Sloan Management Review	4
New Technology, Work and Employment	3
Organisation	172
Organisation Science	20
Organisation Studies	138
Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes	15
Organisational Research Methods	17
Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin	57
Psychology of Women Quarterly	13
Research in Organisational Behavior	5
Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal	5
Strategic Management Journal	9
Strategic Organisation	1
Work & Occupations	0
Work & Stress	0

The Big Worm case study was composed of news clippings from the Folha de São Paulo, a renowned newspaper with an independent editorial perspective on governmental regimes. Its historical collection was digitalized since 1929, forty years before the appearance of the Minhocão, and the artificial intelligence of the search engine recognises images as words. So, first, I searched for the word 'Minhocão' in the 'Historical archive' website, which returned along with local news, ads of men's garments and mentions of an amusement park ride. Then I looked for information that only included the nickname. The results revealed that some events and facts involving the nickname also involved official naming for the Big Worm. Finally, two months of news clippings concerning the Big Worm or its variations returned reports, cartoons, advertisements, opinion columns, articles or letters from readers, all of which were compiled to Evernote and then to NVivo. A total of 590 unique notes, distributed between the 1970s and 2010s, as shown in figure 9, were read in full and are available for verification, if necessary.

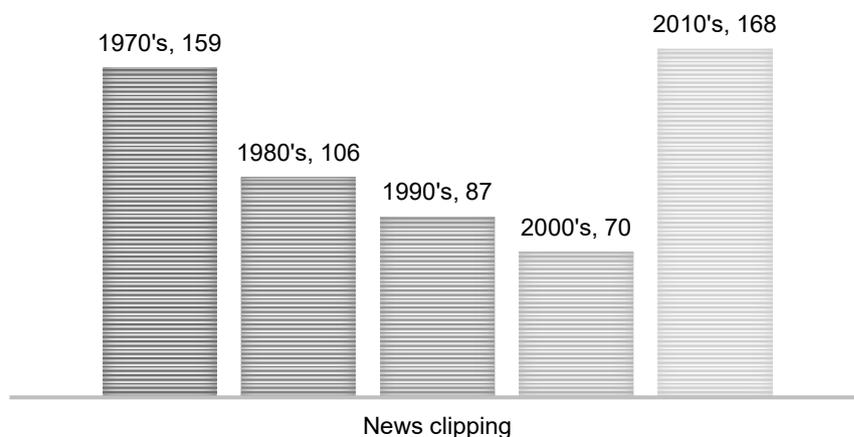


Figure 10 – 45 years' of Big Worm news clippings

Figure 10 integrates the data collected, its codification, and finally, the information concerning the relationship between the Minhocão and the city of São Paulo. The analysis was made chronologically, starting from the structure's inexistence, to reporting on its being an ideal structure for vehicular traffic, to reports on its construction as problematic for the central region. Three detailed stages with corresponding facts and events follow in dedicated sections and subsections. The first part, comprising the innovation stage, covers the developmental predicaments that led

to an accelerated construction of the elevated expressway, including a controversial architectural design and an unpredictable impact on society. It follows that public pride lasted long in this innovation stage followed by ad hoc intervention and experiments to guarantee the promised improvement in traffic flow. In more recent codifications, news reports about the Minhocão started to cover not only its operation for vehicle traffic, but also as an alternative location for leisure for society. In this period, reports about the Minhocão consider not only its daily operation, but also its functional (in)usefulness for a city less dependent on private vehicles.

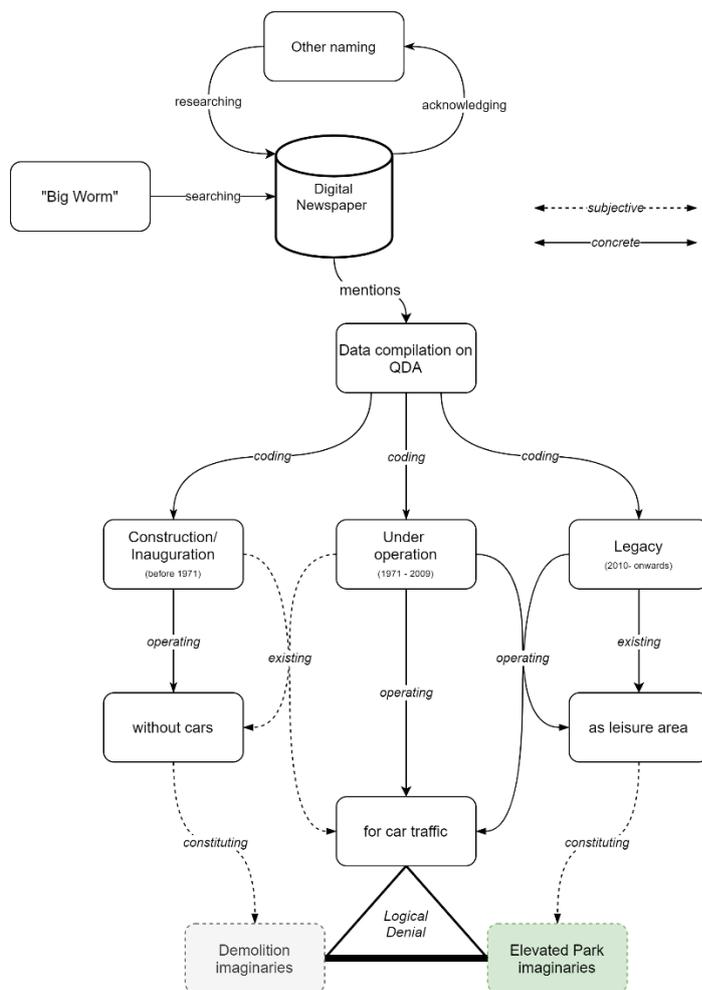


Figure 11 - Data collection and coding

The Minhocão's legacy to the city implies the existence of public spaces for leisure as well as the memory of a better city without its physical presence. In other words, the leisure area subjected to the existence of the structure contrasts with the city geographically free of the physical structure. These conditions reported by and for civil

society constitute ideas and ideals of the Minhocão modified as a park or demolished, imaginaries in direct logical negation to the existing physical structure operational for car traffic.

Notes

- i. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=8079&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4190283&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9440c9fdfe4a42820f68e7fa3fae185d>
- ii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3958&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4336186&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b7c91d871da1978cc832c0faeced6493>
- iii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3622&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4429359&origin=search&originURL=&pd=d98538afb6fd52396d3b9bc76e79a5a2>
- iv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3704&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4348865&origin=search&originURL=&pd=c557893dca45f64ae0f5b04f2150d81c>
- v. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3828&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4375082&origin=search&originURL=&pd=8710514573e2b51058349754d50e3ce1>
- vi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/issuePrint.do?key=p-4351094&issuelId=3724>
- vii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/issuePrint.do?key=p-4626060&issuelId=3890>
- viii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3915&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4629380&origin=search&originURL=&pd=fc128a9c597706cac8e04731c78e5853>
- ix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5296&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4381777&origin=search&originURL=&pd=cdbbbfab7561fa1e155c88b5e842239d>
- x. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4449&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4358460&origin=search&originURL=&pd=fe10014d43a7ba5e2901281d3ce27141>

- xi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4113&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4356990&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1f9a88e38930bc75de9a2836b2949661>
- xii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3915&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4629380&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=fc128a9c597706cac8e04731c78e5853>
- xiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4195&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4376595&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e2d7339cc6e4410d29cf5bad8bd661c9>
- xiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4016&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4340400&origem=search&originURL=&pd=5934491385c8681cad81a3d3beb26a6>
- xv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4561&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4376814&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5ae1a59e4aadebd96efec923b2fc037a>
- xvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=3936&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4334097&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=fb5c5cf787d4f82bf88390a6295c538b>
- xvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4016&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4340400&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5934491385c8681cad8a1a3d3beb26a6>
- xviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4640&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4390582&origem=search&originURL=&pd=650b0b202dbfb302141add3b3a31f038>
- xix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4130&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4361392&origem=search&originURL=&pd=0a814575222914c3b4498db97bdd31cd>
- xx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4144&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4364572&origem=search&originURL=&pd=ed86632e94d63ee799962732fc9b291>
- xxi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4039&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4345848&origem=search&originURL=&pd=a4aa268912dafa512b300e6285ef7377>

- xxii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5176&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4355959&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=412b7f2be5f17cc9928efe12b71bf99a>
- xxiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4697&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4393318&origin=search&originURL=&pd=7c84a4d8f9ad55b45314ee5eed0f06ff>
- xxiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5901&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4245385&origin=search&originURL=&pd=dcc45fdbf95600c8a519e3c9581b2c59>
- xxv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6074&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4330343&origin=search&originURL=&pd=654dce89be13918ad43172e8f6476b4b>
- xxvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6834&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4226404&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bd90633c2d96fc3c461fcadf0d545959>
- xxvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5220&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4360972&origin=search&originURL=&pd=bc6f517acb9c06391cfc7e2c21ca0db1>
- xxviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5065&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4345137&origin=search&originURL=&pd=f69e8754bbd5624db9732f1033c033335>
- xxix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5062&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4344788&origin=search&originURL=&pd=adf1d3adedb8e86eb9cf42cdcca0345f>
- xxx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6938&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4241052&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f6db9f057c64bf37120f08ecdfcce571>
- xxxi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10085&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4166130&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bd9366afe39cb34b0530451a6bca738d>
- xxxii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9605&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4296747&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1d33cbb726b72b10a82e8a6696094425>

- xxxiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9605&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4296747&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1d33cbb726b72b10a82e8a6696094425>
- xxxiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9014&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4044579&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f3d8c5cff9d8ea4ce34a2c257c173b31>
- xxxv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10541&keyword=Minhao%20cao&anchor=4082888&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=16a8e8bf8add6af454ab54f693ea50f2>
- xxxvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6094&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4223873&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=8e1223ab427e9764093998c3293e9b96>
- xxxvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10465&keyword=Minhao%20cao&anchor=711886&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b5e6ac841893fd7c986d677e2272a0b8>
- xxxviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=4687&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4340336&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=578ce7334fd26413936ae970bd2925ab>
- xxxix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6080&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4331275&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9b8ba03e09788f512f04feb2d27e1dbf>
- xl. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10397&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4170668&origem=search&originURL=&pd=403d2856282e93ca81f4edaed6144b6a>
- xli. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6906&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4235949&origem=search&originURL=&pd=b2504d3d3d3d89c7555443f1ddda1273ac>
- xlii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9150&keyword=%22minhacao%22&anchor=4152578&origem=search&originURL=&pd=462d420067cb974d0a6febd829dc9913>
- xliii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10705&keyword=Minhao%20cao&anchor=4097949&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3edd6a7b4f6387e55f37ba94f6f5338a>

- xliv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9473&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4290909&origin=search&originURL=&pd=4da56cfb9e3dd9f87e6382164dc5ac58>
- xlv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9473&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4290909&origin=search&originURL=&pd=4da56cfb9e3dd9f87e6382164dc5ac58>
- xlvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9448&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4147775&origin=search&originURL=&pd=9d7e4e9210e394b778c4fff2135b6c08>
- xlvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5790&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4232776&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3f3d6bfff881f513747de431ad6320b>
- xlviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10910&keyword=Minhoca&anchor=4086722&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=365e0b372a7b17ba658dc640d8d470fd>
- xlix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5985&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4324475&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cb93ed9c5b7ac772ee49bf7983012653>
- i. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=7407&keyword=Minhoca&anchor=4322350&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c2835ab63f2691ddafc303b57147fd71>
- li. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=8715&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4312811&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b6f78e169d5bd7101cd585dcd4d141b5>
- lii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9520&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4283948&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=4026826419aed9f20b42a24ad4f8825f>
- liii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10998&keyword=Minhoca&anchor=4910381&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=32e1ab2c9f32e35a267978c8cac1006f>
- liv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9541&keyword=%22minhoca%22&anchor=4150556&origin=search&originURL=&pd=594eb4a8d39660eec28a0b2c3b4187c8>

- lv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=7027&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4257860&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=05bf105febbfcc7ad7d859ff16073d03>
- lvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9823&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4155020&origin=search&originURL=&pd=f64c5af9c08cef235b2cf127a5000b52>
- lvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11281&keyword=minhocoes&anchor=4912698&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a8032a3766b88f99dd622484978d9545>
- lviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9524&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4285982&origin=search&originURL=&pd=f61956fdf5669624379f5af3849e4732>
- lix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9530&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4289445&origin=search&originURL=&pd=dcc627598bf30a7c23a8861f7114545f>
- lx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11327&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4896198&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=2879a10fed055bb4387f7b0aa366c48a>
- lxi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11394&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4898117&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=2b1d3bc51a1ce26d1680be8da4bb96c7>
- lxii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11004&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4910962&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1d7e65140bbfc6d7ca9b081ad1f4f5ea>
- lxiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10517&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4082777&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=ebbc4b3f644498c274060ad92f64d7cb>
- lxiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6074&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4330343&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=654dce89be13918ad43172e8f6476b4b>
- lxv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10792&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4092894&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b22edf6dbe6fb3c589aedf5be562d66d>

- lxvi. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10977&keyword=MINH
OCAO&anchor=4905736&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=7d9aaaa3ecdaa
efe95d35f4eb9c65fb7](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10977&keyword=MINH
OCAO&anchor=4905736&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=7d9aaaa3ecdaa
efe95d35f4eb9c65fb7)
- lxvii. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10933&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4054516&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c356b435814973c7
710d119269bd8aa5](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10933&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4054516&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c356b435814973c7
710d119269bd8aa5)
- lxviii. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10933&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4054516&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c356b435814973c7
710d119269bd8aa5](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10933&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4054516&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c356b435814973c7
710d119269bd8aa5)
- lxix. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13001&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=534546&origem=busca&originURL=](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13001&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=534546&origem=busca&originURL=)
- lxx. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13128&keyword=Minhocao&a
nchor=4729469&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=6b56227466b855fae7c72
d6b3f1aaab7](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13128&keyword=Minhocao&a
nchor=4729469&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=6b56227466b855fae7c72
d6b3f1aaab7)
- lxxi. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13001&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=534573&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=ee231a047f633a2b8
0a0fbcd02e1c152](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13001&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=534573&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=ee231a047f633a2b8
0a0fbcd02e1c152)
- lxxii. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13113&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=480166&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=653abfb2949f7e80b
adf31a78c7fb6ad](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13113&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=480166&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=653abfb2949f7e80b
adf31a78c7fb6ad)
- lxxiii. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13164&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4740170&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=885ff299bf285facb
35e42463f76a9b2](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13164&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4740170&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=885ff299bf285facb
35e42463f76a9b2)
- lxxiv. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12333&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=5680683&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=44ac1d18363a3d2
50bfe0a5186200208](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12333&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=5680683&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=44ac1d18363a3d2
50bfe0a5186200208)
- lxxv. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17891&keyword=%22
minhocao%22&anchor=5679917&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bcf5232
98576b6ad22ee7d6684052d6d](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17891&keyword=%22
minhocao%22&anchor=5679917&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bcf5232
98576b6ad22ee7d6684052d6d)
- lxxvi. [https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10979&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4905903&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5e03e1eacf5d5d18
b5d8cb2f6a3aa930](https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10979&keyword=Minho
cao&anchor=4905903&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5e03e1eacf5d5d18
b5d8cb2f6a3aa930)

- lxxvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13563&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5586253&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=863549ac662179cb6f2d749992d975b8>
- lxxviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=16316&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5669968&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=04ed4922b72a8868b5d8f70354dab952>
- lxxix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13824&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5689712&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=96d171f38fe8e1681c77b46db9ef25c8>
- lxxx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=14725&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=708027&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=55e2cbd80ccf8ff475ceefecd3156c22>
- lxxxi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13274&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4742180&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=104fe5a0ddb08b4e8409ad1dd2d76532>
- lxxxii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17541&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5677233&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9d22feb71c764f917b7cba222282bb7>
- lxxxiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17779&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5865713&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9b4988517575204b92292d250038ca82>
- lxxxiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12657&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=482522&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bae5823d79567096db3098ce7c580f45>
- lxxxv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15355&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=130384&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cf392b4711b78b6bff7fa4f0e0887754>
- lxxxvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=16330&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5670028&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=04fe16f587160cb0d14d5aaca40e4dd6>
- lxxxvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19016&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5744308&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f0d49a3d1faf3c7c5678d1f708c73875>

- lxxxviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15792&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5258538&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cc892f43d78baa9841908650a2c298f>
- lxxxix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19077&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5759366&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=2c6a9f362c9052ef39c0b83993b07731>
- xc. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19653&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5899638&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=40a306ed87cccd626f5116360b4fb836>
- xc. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19178&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5797921&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cd683c00e4e2b6086b4a9d424c0661d0>
- xcii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19128&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5786687&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c98fa6b36f5a80ae77b896401d1f408b>
- xciii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19100&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5777343&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=065d9d6c05d8e685f8c59f82307155d3>
- xciv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19184&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5798655&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a4365d908a127f6cc2416c0b51cacd49>
- xcv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19156&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5793470&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=513050bf7e84a2e27177bc6440884c69>
- xcvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18820&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5714792&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=d9bf7390a32ca73981ec5997d5d07534>
- xcvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17751&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5865503&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e5d8993a824f67aefe50349d204eedd5>
- xcviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18304&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5843234&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e1cc67f9a75a7c03a7d495fc25a3df8e>

- xcix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18304&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5843234&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e1cc67f9a75a7c03a7d495fc25a3df8e>
- c. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19693&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5906180&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=930a40a6057582b40681f3dd461358a3>
- ci. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12433&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4957062&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b0ad0cf893f2c5b1425a9803f28957f1>
- cii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18385&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5795201&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f95fd34bead68c41225d7ffeb165fd29>
- ciii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15738&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5949968&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9cb8e76c4b87f5660510fea94c5abec6>
- civ. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10998&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4910381&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=32e1ab2c9f32e35a267978c8cac1006f>
- cv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=14573&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5655643&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=dbc86a3b4687d1241deb46eb81958a3e>
- cvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15738&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5949968&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9cb8e76c4b87f5660510fea94c5abec6>
- cvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13158&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4743729&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=98747c2b5101014229ad528e90f9a6fa>
- cviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13044&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=484749&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=4a65898f2cb23f6eff5acd63fec28a3d>
- cix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18875&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5721996&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a22d3db1c7766d868a3b74dc9fe0d106>

- cx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11773&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4759803&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5ac0c881ba185eef7e664f39f4794467>
- cx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15784&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5956945&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3f5faf0ab7a93d1e731e7bd1b6857957>
- cxii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18939&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5733221&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=91715cdbed8f79df9df4b0ba97317e92>
- cxiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15784&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5956945&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3f5faf0ab7a93d1e731e7bd1b6857957>
- cxiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19902&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5945711&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=70ada252161735867b289bfa3b57ccde>
- cxv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19878&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5940689&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=686fccb5ad01aadcdf669df1ed8c1dfd>
- cxvi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19750&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5912897&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=6987a9b0cc7482c539c21045b6dafd98>
- cxvii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19789&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5919620&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=fea9e83971329f795cd1a99a5ea712e3>
- cxviii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19110&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5781351&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=dc1657711de58aa58c88e1e5e21059db>
- cxix. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19110&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5781351&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=dc1657711de58aa58c88e1e5e21059db>
- cxx. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19949&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5954748&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a9c101df8bb3fe72a6c3af3209d9079b>

- cxxi. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19949&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5954748&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a9c101df8bb3fe72a6c3af3209d9079b>
- cxxii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19968&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5958620&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=574a3008a87c71096554c8311a3eb7b1>
- cxxiii. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19968&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5958620&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=574a3008a87c71096554c8311a3eb7b1>
- cxxiv. <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19976&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5959653&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=299c0949ba9b1b357ebccd9faa6564c3>

Appendix C - Stated positions across public encounters

#	Type	Strategic Development Plan April-14	Strategic Development Plan April-14	Public Encounter 1 September-14	Public Encounter 2 December-14	Forum of Dialogue 1 April-15	Forum of Dialogue 2 May-15	Unrelated Public Hearing September-15	Public Encounter 3 April-17	Public Encounter 4 October-17
1				□	□	⊕	□		□	□
2				□	□	●	□		•	●
3				●	□	⊕	□		•	•
4				●	●	●	●		•	●
5				•	□	⊕	•	•	•	•
6				□	●	●	•	•	•	•
7				●	●	●	●		•	•
8				•	⊕	□	•		•	•
9		●		•	⊕	□	•	•	•	•
10		●		•	⊕	□	●	•	•	•
11				•	⊕	□	•		•	•
12				•	●	□	•		•	•
13				●	●	●	•		•	•
14			●	•	•	●	•		●	●
15				•	•	•	●		•	•
16				●	•	•	•		•	•
17			□	•	⊕	•	•		•	•
18			□	•	□	•	⊕		•	•
19				•	□	•	⊕		•	•
20				•		•	•	•	•	•
21				•		•	•	•	•	•
22				•		•	•	•	•	•
23				●		•	•	•	•	•
24				●		•	□		•	•
25				□		•	⊕		•	•
26				•		•		□	•	•
27				●					•	•
28				⊕					•	•
29				□					•	•
30		□							•	•
31									•	•
32									•	•
33									•	•
34									•	•
35									•	•
36									•	•

Opinion	□ Bystander	× Demolition Advocate	≡ Park Enthusiast	<empty> Unrelated
Affiliation	● Associated	• Ordinary Citizen	□ Politician	⊕ Expert

Proposed Bill, February 2014	Substitute to the Bill, November 2014	Decree, February 2018
<p>Article 1: The Big Worm Municipal Park is created in the area of the highway Costa e Silva.</p>	<p>Article 1: The Big Worm Municipal Park is created in the highway João Goulart area.</p>	<p>Article 1: The Big Worm Municipal Park is created in the area of João Goulart.</p>
<p>Article 2: The implementation of the Big Worm Park will be gradual, with the progressive increase of traffic restriction, according to the following schedule:</p>	<p>Article 2: The implementation of the Big Worm Park will be gradual, with the progressive increase of traffic restriction, according to the following schedule:</p>	<p>Article 2: The implementation of the Big Worm Park will be gradual, with the progressive increase of the restriction of traffic, according to the following schedule:</p>
<p>I: Up to 90 days from the sanction of the law: extend the closing for traffic on Saturdays.</p>	<p>I: In up to 30 days from the sanction of the law: extend the closing for traffic on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.</p>	<p>I: In up to 30 days from the sanction of the law: extend the closing for traffic on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.</p>
<p>II: Up to 270 days from the sanction of the law: extending the closure to transit during the school holidays.</p>	<p>II: In up to 90 days from the penalty of the law: restrict the operating hours for motor vehicle traffic on weekdays for the hours of 7:00 to 8pm.</p>	<p>II: In up to 90 days from the penalty of the law: restrict the operating hours for motor vehicle traffic on weekdays from the hours of 7:00 to 8pm.</p>
<p>III: Up to 720 days from the penalty of the law: restrict the operating hours for motor vehicle traffic on</p>	<p>III: In up to 180 days from the sanction of the law: extending the</p>	<p>III: (vetoed)</p>

weekdays, except holidays and school holidays, for the hours of 7:00 to 8pm.	closure to transit during the school holidays of July And January.	
IV: Up to 1080 days from the sanction of the law: restrict the direction of the operation of the high Costa and Silva for vehicle traffic, allowing only the transit neighborhood-center in the morning and neighborhood center in the evening period, in the schedules and days foreseen in the bill		
V: Up to 1440 days from the sanction of the law: complete deactivation of the high coast and Silva and definitive implantation of the park.		
	Single paragraph: The Executive is authorized to carry out pilot projects for evaluation of impacts, in periods less than those foreseen in the schedule.	Single paragraph: The Executive is authorized to carry out pilot projects for assessing impacts, in periods less than those planned in the schedule.
Article 3: The Municipal public power, in the form of current legislation, will encourage cultural, sporting and leisure activities in the high Costa and Silva, by the community and civil society	Article 3: The Municipal public power, in the form of current legislation, will encourage cultural, sporting and leisure	Article 3: The Municipal public power, in the form of current legislation, will encourage cultural, sporting and leisure activities in the high João Goulart, on the part of the

<p>entities, as well as to ensure the appropriate conditions of on-the-spot security during closing times for traffic during periods in which it is closed for vehicle transit.</p>	<p>activities in João Goulart's high space, by the Community and civil society entities, as well as to ensure the appropriate conditions of On-site security during closing hours to vehicle traffic, as well as develop sustainability actions to preserve and enlarge the green area on site.</p>	<p>Community and civil society entities, as well as ensuring the appropriate safety conditions in place during closing hours to vehicle traffic, as well as develop sustainability actions designed to preserve and enlarge the green area on site.</p>
<p>Article 4: The Big Worm Park will have democratic and participatory management through the Horizontal Manager board as well as popular social control.</p>	<p>Article 4: It is incumbent on the executive branch to present a project of urban intervention-PIU, by decree or by a specific law, considering the local peculiarities, and:</p>	<p>Article 4: It is incumbent upon the executive branch to present a project of urban intervention-PIU, by decree or by a specific law, considering the local peculiarities, and:</p>
	<p>I: The democratic and participatory management, in accordance with the legislation in force, of the steps of elaboration, implementation, and evaluation of the PIU,</p>	<p>I: A democratic and participatory management, in accordance with the legislation in force, of the steps of elaboration, implementation, and evaluation of the PIU, listened to the Municipal Council of Urban Policy: CMPU;</p>

	listened to the Municipal Council of Urban Policy: CMPU;	
	II: The following assumptions of the destination of the area provided for in the single paragraph of art. 375 of the Municipal Strategic Director's plan:	II: The following assumptions of destination of the area provided for in the single paragraph of art. 375 of the Municipal Strategic Director's plan:
	III: The adoption of urbanistic instruments for control and capture of property valuation arising from the interventions promoted; By the public power in the area of impact of this law.	III: The adoption of urbanistic instruments for control and capture of property valuation arising from the interventions promoted by the public authorities in the area of impact of this law.
	Article 5: The Big Worm Park will have democratic and participatory management through the managing board as well as popular social control.	Article 5: The Big Worm Park will have democratic and participatory management by the managing board as well as popular social control.
	1: The Management Council of the Big Worm Park will have a	1: (vetoed)

	<p>permanent character and deliberate, consultative, regulatory or supervisory functions, according to the list of its competences defined in accordance with the terms of art. 10 of Law No. 15,910, of 27 November 2013.</p>	
	<p>2: The Executive branch will undertake, within 90 days of the enactment of this law, the election to the Management Council of the Big Worm Park.</p>	<p>2: (vetoed)</p>
<p>Article 5: Failure to comply with the obligations and deadlines in this law will entail the monthly transfer of R\$100,000.00 (one hundred thousand reais) of the Municipal advertising appropriations section linked to the Executive Communications Secretariat to head the deployment of parks of the Municipal Secretariat of Green and Environment.</p>	<p>Article 6: Failure to comply with the obligations and deadlines in this law will entail the monthly transfer of R \$100,000.00 (one hundred thousand reais) of the municipality's advertising budget item linked to the Executive Communications Secretariat to head the</p>	<p>Article 6: (vetoed)</p>

	deployment of parks of the Municipal Secretariat of Green and Environment.	
Article 6: The expenditure arising from the implementation of this Act will be carried out on account of the budgetary appropriations themselves, supplemented if necessary.	Article 7: The expenditure arising from the implementation of this Act will be carried out on account of the budgetary appropriations themselves, supplemented if necessary.	Article 7: The expenditure arising from the implementation of this Act will be carried out on account of the budgetary appropriations themselves, supplemented if necessary.
Article 7: The executive branch shall regulate this law within thirty days.	Article 8: The executive branch will regulate this law within thirty days.	Article 8: (vetoed)

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- ¹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=8079&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4190283&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9440c9fdfe4a42820f68e7fa3fae185d>
- ² <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3958&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4336186&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b7c91d871da1978cc832c0faeced6493>
- ³ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3622&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4429359&origem=search&originURL=&pd=d98538afb6fd52396d3b9cb76e79a5a2>
- ⁴ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3704&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4348865&origem=search&originURL=&pd=c557893dca45f64ae0f5b04215f0d81c>
- ⁵ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3828&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4375082&origem=search&originURL=&pd=8710514573e2b51058349754d50e3ce1>
- ⁶ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/issuePrint.do?key=p-4351094&issueId=3724>
- ⁷ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/issuePrint.do?key=p-4626060&issueId=3890>
- ⁸ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4113&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4356990&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1f9a88e38930bc75de9a2836b2949661>
- ⁹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3915&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4629380&origem=search&originURL=&pd=fc128a9c597706cac8e04731c78e5853>
- ¹⁰ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=5296&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4381777&origem=search&originURL=&pd=cbdbfbaf7561fa1e155c88b5e842239d>
- ¹¹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4449&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4358460&origem=search&originURL=&pd=fe10014d43a7ba5e2901281d3ce27141>
- ¹² <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3915&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4629380&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=fc128a9c597706cac8e04731c78e5853>
- ¹³ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4195&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4376595&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e2d7339cc6e4410d29cf5bad8bd661c9>
- ¹⁴ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4016&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4340400&origem=search&originURL=&pd=5934491385c8681cad81a3d3beb26a6>
- ¹⁵ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4561&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4376814&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5ae1a59e4aaedbd9efec923b2fc037a>
- ¹⁶ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=3936&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4334097&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=fb5c5cf787d4f82bf88390a6295c538b>
- ¹⁷ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4016&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4340400&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5934491385c8681cad81a3d3beb26a6>
- ¹⁸ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4640&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4390582&origem=search&originURL=&pd=650b0b202dbf302141add3b3a31f038>
- ¹⁹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4130&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4361392&origem=search&originURL=&pd=0a814575222914c3b4498db97bdd31cd>
- ²⁰ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4039&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4345848&origem=search&originURL=&pd=a4aa268912dafa512b300e6285ef7377>
- ²¹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=5176&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4355959&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=412b7f2be5f17cc9928efe12b71bf99a>
- ²² <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4697&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4393318&origem=search&originURL=&pd=7c84a4d8f9ad55b45314ee5eed0f06ff>
- ²³ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=6074&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4330343&origem=search&originURL=&pd=654dce89be13918ad43172e8f6476b4b>
- ²⁴ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=5901&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4245385&origem=search&originURL=&pd=dcc45dfbf95600c8a519e3c9581b2c59>
- ²⁵ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=5220&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4360972&origem=search&originURL=&pd=bc6f517ac9c06391cfc7e2c21ca0db1>
- ²⁶ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=5065&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4345137&origem=search&originURL=&pd=f69e8754bbd5624db9732f1033c033335>
- ²⁷ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=5062&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4344788&origem=search&originURL=&pd=adf1d3adedb8e86eb9cf42cdcca0345f>
- ²⁸ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=6938&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4241052&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f6db9f057c64bf37120f08ecdffce571>
- ²⁹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=10085&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4166130&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bd9366afe39cb34b0530451a6bca738d>
- ³⁰ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=9605&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4296747&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1d33cbb726b72b10a82e8a6696094425>
- ³¹ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=9605&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4296747&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1d33cbb726b72b10a82e8a6696094425>
- ³² <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=9014&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4044579&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f3d8c5c99d8e4ce34a2c257c173b31>
- ³³ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=10541&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4082888&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=16a8e8bf8add6af454ab54f693ea50f2>
- ³⁴ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=6094&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4223873&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=8e1223ab427e9764093998c3293e9b96>
- ³⁵ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=10465&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=711886&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b5e6ac841893fd7c986d677e2272a0b8>
- ³⁶ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=4687&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4340336&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=578ce7334fd26413936ae970bd2925ab>
- ³⁷ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=6080&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4331275&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9b8ba03e09788f512f04feb2d27e1dbf>
- ³⁸ <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitord?numero=10397&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4170668&origem=search&originURL=&pd=403d2856282e93ca81f4edaed6144b6a>

xxxx <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6906&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4235949&origem=search&originURL=&pd=b2504d3d3d89c7555443f1ddda1273ac>

xi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9150&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4152578&origem=search&originURL=&pd=462d420067cb974d0a6feb829dc9913>

xii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10705&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4097949&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3edd6a7b4f6387e55f37ba94f6f5338a>

xiii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9473&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4290909&origem=search&originURL=&pd=4da56cfb9e3dd9f87e6382164dc5ac58>

xiv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9473&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4290909&origem=search&originURL=&pd=4da56cfb9e3dd9f87e6382164dc5ac58>

xv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9448&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4147775&origem=search&originURL=&pd=9d7e4e9210e394b778c4ff2135b6c08>

xvi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5790&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4232776&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3f3d6bfff881f513747de431ad6320b>

xvii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10910&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4086722&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=365e0b372a7b17ba658dc640d84470fd>

xviii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=5985&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4324475&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cb93ced9c5b7ac772ee49bf7983012653>

xix <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=7407&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4322350&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c2835ab63f2691ddafc303b57147fd71>

l <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9520&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4283948&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=4026826419aed9f20b42a24ad4f825f>

li <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10998&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4910381&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=32e1ab2c9f32e35a267978c8ac1006f>

lii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9541&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4150556&origem=search&originURL=&pd=594eb4a8d39660eec28a0b2c3b4187c8>

liii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=7027&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4257860&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=05bf105febbfcc7ad7d859ff16073d03>

liv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9823&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4155020&origem=search&originURL=&pd=f64c5af9c08cef235b2cf127a5000b52>

lv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11281&keyword=minhocoes&anchor=4912698&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a8032a3766b88f9dd622484978d9545>

lvi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9524&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4285982&origem=search&originURL=&pd=f61956fd5669624379f5af38494732>

lvii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=9530&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4289445&origem=search&originURL=&pd=dcc62759bf30a7c23a8861f7114545f>

lviii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11327&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4896198&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=2879a10fed055bb43877b0aa366c48a>

lix <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11394&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4898117&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=2b1d3bc51a1ce26d1680be8da4bb96c7>

lx <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11004&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4910962&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=1d7e65140bbcf6d7ca9b081ad114f5ea>

lxi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10517&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4082777&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=ebbc4b3f644498c274060ad92f64d7cb>

lxii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=6074&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4330343&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=654dce89be13918ad43172e8f6476b4b>

lxiii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10792&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4092894&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b22edf6dbe6fb3c589aedf5be562d66d>

lxiv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10977&keyword=MINHOCao&anchor=4905736&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=7d9aaaa3ecd4aef95d35f4eb9c65fb7>

lxv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12333&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=5680683&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=44ac1d18363a3d250bfe0a5186200208>

lxvi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17891&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5679917&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bcf523298576b6ad22ee7d6684052d6d>

lxvii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10979&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4905903&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5e03e1eacfd5d518b5d8cb2f6a3aa930>

lxviii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13563&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5586253&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=863549ac662179cb6f2d749992d975b8>

lxix <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=16316&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5669968&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=04ed4922b72a8868b5d8f70354dab952>

lxx <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13824&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5689712&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=96d171f38fe0e1681c77b46b9ef25c8>

lxxi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10933&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4054516&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c356b435814973c7710d119269bd8aa5>

lxxii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10933&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4054516&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c356b435814973c7710d119269bd8aa5>

lxxiii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13001&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=534546&origem=busca&originURL=>

lxxiv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13128&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4729469&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=6b56227466b855fae7c72d6b3f1aabb7>

lxxv <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13001&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=534573&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=ee231a047f633a2b80a0fbc02e1c152>

lxxvi <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13113&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=480166&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=653abfb29497e80badf31a78c7fb6ad>

lxxvii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13164&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4740170&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=885ff299bf285facb35e42463f76a9b2>

lxxviii <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=14725&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=708027&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=55e2cbd80ccf8ff475c0efedc3156c22>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13274&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=4742180&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=104fe5a0ddb08b4e8409ad1dd2d76532>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17541&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5677233&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9d22febe71c764f917b7cba222282bb7>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17779&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5865713&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9b4988517575204b92292d250038ca82>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12657&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=482522&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=bae5823d79567096db3098ce7c580f45>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15355&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=130384&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cf392b4711b78b6bff7fa40e0887754>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=16330&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5670028&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=04fe16f587160cb0d14d5aaca40e4dd6>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19077&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5759366&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=2c6a9f362c9052ef39c0b83993b07731>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19653&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5899638&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=40a306ed87cccd626f5116360b4fb836>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19178&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5797921&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=cd683c00e4e2b086b4a9d424c0661d0>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19128&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5786687&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=c98fa6b36f5a80ae77b896401d1f408b>

^{xxxx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19100&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5777343&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=065d9d6c05d8e685f8c59f82307155d3>

^{xx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19184&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5798655&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a4365d908a127f6cc2416c0b51cacc49>

^{xx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19156&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5793470&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=513050bf7e84a2e27177bc6440884c69>

^{xx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18820&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5714792&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=d9bf7390a32ca73981ec5997d5d07534>

^{xx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=17751&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5865503&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e5d8993a824f67aefe50349d204eedd5>

^{xxv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18304&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5843234&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e1cc67f9a75a7c03a7d495fc25a3df8e>

^{xxv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18304&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5843234&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=e1cc67f9a75a7c03a7d495fc25a3df8e>

^{xxv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19693&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5906180&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=930a40a6057582b40681f3dd461358a3>

^{xxv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=12433&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4957062&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=b0ad0cf8932c5b1425a9803f28957f1>

^{xxvii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18385&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5795201&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=f95fd34bead68ca11225d7f7eb165fd29>

^{xxviii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15738&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5949968&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9cb8e76c4b87f5660510fea94c5abec6>

^x <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=10998&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4910381&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=32e1ab2c9f32e35a267978c8cac1006f>

^x <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15738&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5949968&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=9cb8e76c4b87f5660510fea94c5abec6>

^x <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=14573&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5655643&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=dbc86a3b4687d1241deb46eb81958a3e>

^{xii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13158&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4743729&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=98747c2b5101014229ad528e90f9a6fa>

^{xiv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=13044&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=484749&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=4a65898f2cb23f6eff5acd63fec28a3d>

^{xv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18875&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5721996&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a22d3db1c7766d868a3b74dc9fd0106>

^{xvi} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=11773&keyword=Minhocao&anchor=4759803&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=5ac0c881ba185eef7e664f39f4794467>

^{xvii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15784&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5956945&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3f5faf0ab7a93d1e731e7bd1b6857957>

^{xviii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=18939&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5733221&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=91715cdbed8f79df9df4b0ba97317e92>

^{xix} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=15784&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5956945&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=3f5faf0ab7a93d1e731e7bd1b6857957>

^{xx} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19902&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5945711&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=70ada252161735867b289bfa3b57ccde>

^{xxi} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19878&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5940689&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=686fccb5ad01aadcdf669df1ed8c1dfd>

^{xxii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19750&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5912897&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=6987a9b0cc7482c539c21045b6dafd98>

^{xxiii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19789&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5919620&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=fea9e83971329f795cd1a99a5ea712e3>

^{xxiv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19110&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5781351&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=dc1657711de58aa58c88e1e5e21059db>

^{xxv} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19949&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5954748&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a9c101df8bb3fe72a6c3af3209d9079b>

^{xxvi} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19949&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5954748&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=a9c101df8bb3fe72a6c3af3209d9079b>

^{xxvii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19968&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5958620&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=574a3008a87c71096554c8311a3eb7b1>

^{xxviii} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19968&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5958620&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=574a3008a87c71096554c8311a3eb7b1>

^{xxix} <https://acervo.folha.com.br/leitor.do?numero=19976&keyword=%22minhocao%22&anchor=5959653&origem=busca&originURL=&pd=299c0949ba9b1b357ebccdf9aa6564c3>