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WHEN THE SYMPHONY DOES JAZZ: HOW RESOURCEFULNESS FOSTERS ORGANIZATIONAL RESILIENCE DURING ADVERSITY

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Using a grounded theory study of two prominent performing arts organizations during the COVID-19 pandemic, we develop theory about how organizations respond to adversity over time. Building on research on resilience, resourcefulness, and crisis management, we induce a process model that unpacks the mechanisms and dynamics that enable organizations to act resiliently. We find that organizations approach adversity using two types of resourcefulness. Promotive resourcefulness focuses on opportunities from adversity, which leads to acting resiliently. We show how promotive resourcefulness becomes sustained over time by endogenously producing resources—crisis agency, trust, and hopefulness—which expands an organization's identity and leads to resilient acts. In contrast, preventative resourcefulness focuses on minimizing worst-case outcomes, which leads to a lost organizational identity and relatively weak adversity adjustment. We find that preventative resourcefulness becomes part of cycles that erode trust, limit crisis agency, and generate hopelessness. Additionally, we explain how financial, emotional, and operational updating can shift preventative to promotive resourcefulness, allowing organizations to act resiliently later in a crisis. Our findings unpack critical mechanisms and processes that explain whether and how organizations act resiliently over time.

The COVID-19 pandemic wreaked havoc on our economy and society. Due to high uncertainty and environmental turbulence, the survival of many organizations became an open question. Although this was the first global pandemic since 1918, researchers have long studied how organizations react to major adversity. Scholars have defined a crisis as an event of great magnitude in adversity that has the potential to obstruct reaching a major objective (Hermann, 1963). Crises have an element of surprise, stemming from the uncertainty they cause (Pearson & Clair, 1998). While there are different conceptualizations of crises, the common thread in the literature is that they present a major hazard to an organization that may ultimately lead to serious harm or even organizational death (James, Wooten, & Dushek, 2011).

Despite the potentially devastating impacts of a crisis, it is possible that organizations not only survive a crisis but also emerge stronger because of it (Christianson, Farkas, Sutcliffe, & Weick, 2009). With a world increasingly facing environmental turbulence—natural disasters, geopolitical instability, financial meltdowns, and major shifts in working norms—research on organizational resilience helps to explain why some organizations falter and fail, while others endure or even excel under such trying conditions (Hepfer & Lawrence, 2022).

Scholars have defined organizational resilience as "the maintenance of positive adjustment under challenging conditions" (Vogus & Sutcliffe, 2007: 3418). Given resource constraints that often accompany a crisis, an important way of achieving positive adjustment may focus on how existing resources get used, such as knowledge (Hepfer & Lawrence, 2022), emotions (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004), relational structures and processes (Barton & Kahn, 2019; Stephens, Heaphy, Carmeli, Spreitzer, & Dutton, 2013), human capital (Caza & Milton, 2012), and money (Gittell, Cameron, Lim, & Rivas, 2006). These studies have demonstrated that resources play a critical role for organizational resilience. Yet, one of the biggest challenges in managing crises is that they typically require extra resources at the time an organization is

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least likely able to access them (Eggers, 2020). In addition, some previously available resources may be rendered useless or made unavailable due to adversity. Whether the issue is time, money, labor, or knowledge, crises make accessing resources difficult (Staw, Sandelands, & Dutton, 1981). Given that resources are often depleted during a crisis, an intriguing question arises around how organizations generate resources to navigate a crisis. On this point, resourcefulness research has proposed an avenue to overcome adversity by focusing on what organizations do with the resources already at hand (Sonenshein, 2014; Williams, Zhao, Sonenshein, Ucbasaran, & George, 2021).

The resourcefulness literature has primarily focused on entrepreneurial ventures that survive difficult resource environments, but has suggested that such an approach might be harmful as new ventures grow (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Additionally, recent research has suggested that new but operational ventures not seeking growth might even be harmed by resourcefulness due to setting low standards to address customers' needs (Steffens, Baker, Davidsson, & Senyard, 2023). Although established organizations managing a crisis face uncertainty and resource constraints just as new ventures do, the formers' resourcefulness might differ from that of new firms trying to overcome a liability of newness (Stinchcombe, 1965). On this point, Sonenshein (2014) found that resourcefulness qualitatively shifts when firms grow from a new venture to a more mature one, but this research has not examined adversity. Other research has examined the link between resourcefulness and adversity. Williams and Shepherd (2016a) studied a countrywide natural disaster, finding that resourcefulness enables the population to "build back better" over time. This research has used resourcefulness to explain two historically distinct outcomes of resilience—"bouncing back" and "bouncing forward"—by accessing (Shepherd & Williams, 2014; Williams & Shepherd, 2016b) and developing (Williams & Shepherd, 2018, 2021) community resources. Yet, its focus on how resourcefulness can meet basic survival needs at a population level (e.g., alleviating countrywide suffering) through new venture formation has overlooked organization-level outcomes (e.g., organizations positively adjusting to adversity). What is less clear is how resources get redeployed and reconfigured *within organizations* to achieve resilient outcomes over time. Accordingly, our research seeks to understand how established organizations might differentially respond to adversity in how they deploy, repurpose, and use resources by asking: *How do established organizations use resourcefulness to act resiliently during a crisis?*

To address our research question, we integrate the resourcefulness and the resilience literatures. By drawing from both bodies of research, aided by our empirical investigation, we show how resilience emerges and is achieved by resourcefulness. We situate our study at two prominent performing arts organizations matched on the same adversity (the COVID-19 pandemic) and with similar resource stocks, missions, and local operating environments, including municipal responses to the pandemic. Despite their similarities, each organization responded to the pandemic in different ways, with one strongly adjusting to the crisis from its onset, and the other struggling but then dramatically turning around almost a year into the crisis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Organizational Crises

Research on organizational crises has developed across several different perspectives, leading to theoretical silos (Bundy, Pfarrer, Short, & Coombs, 2017). This body of work can be structured through either an event or a process lens (Williams, Gruber, Sutcliffe, Shepherd, & Zhao, 2017). As an event, a crisis is

> a low-probability, high-impact situation that is perceived by critical stakeholders to threaten the viability of the organization and is characterized by ambiguity of cause, effect, and means of resolution, as well as a belief that decisions must be made swiftly. (Pearson & Clair, 1998: 66)

Some scholars have included additional criteria, such as the rarity of the event, its significance, and the degree to which it impacts key stakeholders (James et al., 2011). Researchers have studied environmental catastrophes such as oil spills (Petriglieri, 2015), and accidents such as aerospace disasters (Weick, 1990), to unpack the processes that cause them. One conclusion is that an organization's actions contribute to bringing about the crisis, such as through mistakes, failed coordination, and collapsed sensemaking. However, in many crises, outside factors play a role—and sometimes a big one, such as in the case of terrorist attacks or a pandemic. This suggests that crises can put organizations into situations in which they have little control or foresight.

Another mainstay of the literature is that crises disrupt normal expectations, triggering sensemaking

(Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). How organizations interpret adversity could shape the crisis itself (an enactment perspective) (Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010). For example, Brockner and James (2008) proposed that employees can interpret a crisis as an opportunity, making a crisis narrative more than descriptive. These interpretations can become a positive self-fulfilling prophecy. Alternatively, if organizations resign to being underequipped to respond to a crisis, that might be exactly how they respond.

A final theme in the literature is the importance of accounting for the longitudinal nature of crises. Process perspectives outline different stages of adversity (Mitroff & Pearson, 1993; Turner, 1976). This view suggests that an organization might manage its resources differently throughout the crisis. Yet, it is less clear what practices allow organizations to repurpose resources that have fixed, typical uses throughout different stages of adversity. It is also critical to understand when and how crises might trigger a major reconfiguration of resources that goes beyond a return to a precrisis state. On this point, resilience research offers promise.

Organizational Resilience

Research on resilience has examined how organizations return to a state of stability following, or achieve a form of growth from, adversity. Sutcliffe and Vogus (2003) proposed that organizational resilience consists of the ability to absorb strain, overcome it, or possibly improve because of it, as well as an ability to bounce back from adverse events. In this regard, the literature has sometimes treated resilience as bouncing back to a preadversity state or bouncing forward to achieve a more positive post-adversity state, even though these are very different outcomes (e.g., Gittell et al., 2006; Sutcliffe & Vogus, 2003; van der Vegt, Essens, Wahlström, & George, 2015). A recent review by Hepfer and Lawrence (2022: 2) characterized the literature as a "fragmentation of observations and insights regarding what leads to organizational resilience, how it manifests in the face of adversity, and the consequences for organizations of different degrees of resilience." One reason for this fragmentation is that empirical studies, which have typically relied on a single case, have usually examined only one of these outcomes (e.g., Carmeli & Markman, 2011), which makes it difficult to understand the extent to which processes and mechanisms vary for different types of resilience (Shepherd & Williams, 2022). Furthermore, questions over what constitutes bouncing back or bouncing forward obscures the continuous nature of positive adjustment. Since crises are longitudinal phenomena, it is possible that the extent of positive adjustment, or even the achievement of any positive adjustment, may vary substantially over the course of a crisis. Accordingly, it is difficult to untangle when a resource reconfiguration leads to survival, and when it might lead to resilience.

Resourcefulness

A resourcefulness perspective explains how entities engage in "a boundary-breaking behavior of creatively bringing resources to bear and deploying them to generate and capture new or unexpected sources of value" (Williams et al., 2021). Resourcefulness emerged from research that focused on how founders "do more with less," such as through bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Although it has primarily been studied in entrepreneurial settings, there is nothing endemic to resourcefulness perspectives that limits them to entrepreneurial settings. At the heart of understanding resourcefulness is clarifying what a resource is and how actors manipulate and combine things in ways that constitute resourcefulness. Feldman's (2004) resourcing perspective reasons that nothing is inherently a resource. Rather, any object (or "potential resource") can become a resource if it is acted upon in ways that make it useful (Feldman & Worline, 2012). In this regard, resourcing provides the foundation for understanding resourcefulness as it offers a conceptual framework for how any object can be transformed, including culture (e.g., Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001), people and their physiology (Heaphy & Dutton, 2008), concepts and practices (Howard-Grenville, 2007), and emotions (Sawyer & Clair, 2022).

Scholars have identified three criteria that constitute resourcefulness (Williams et al., 2021). First, the behavior that turns an object into a resource must break a boundary through using "innovative, creative and often guileful" (Williams et al., 2021: 4) agency to overcome obstacles, such as when startups take on older firms that dominate a market. During a crisis, established firms might become unblinded by conventional ways of acting because of the major disruption of routines that prompts them to transform them in creative ways (Sonenshein, 2016). Second, Williams et al. (2021) stated that resourcefulness necessitates creating, using, or deploying resources. This might mean, for example, identifying seemingly useless objects and putting them to better use to solve problems (Baker & Nelson, 2005), or

taking underutilized resources and finding ways to expand their value. Both actions are helpful during a crisis when previously useful resources might need to be reconstituted in more valuable ways. The third criteria Williams et al. (2021) identified revolves around generating and capturing new or unexpected sources of value. The main way this has been theorized is that resourceful practices yield a result that is difficult to predict from an organization's stock of "resources."

Although the resourcefulness literature has explained how reconfiguring resources helps organizations cope with constraints, it is less clear when or how reconfiguring resources can go beyond mere survival and allow *organizations* to emerge stronger. Are there certain types of resourcefulness that yield resilient outcomes, and, if so, why do they emerge or fail to emerge?

METHODS

Research Context

One of the most impacted industries during the pandemic was performing arts. For the first year, many organizations shut down. Performers could not practice together and patrons could not attend shows. Professionals in this space often have nontransferrable skills, leaving them with few other employment options. Given the industrywide disruption, we reasoned that this would be an ideal context to understand organizational adversity. Within the performing arts, we selected professional orchestras in the United States. These nonprofits receive revenue from ticket sales and philanthropy. We selected this context for three reasons. First, this industry suddenly became dangerous because COVID-19 is primarily an airborne disease. A symphony has many instruments that require the forceful blowing of air to play. It is also impossible for some musicians to wear a mask while playing. Second, most large cities in the United States have a professional orchestra, which allowed for theoretical sampling (Eisenhardt, 1989) by finding similar organizations that primarily differed on a variable of theoretical interest (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). We sampled cases that differed in their initial approach to the pandemic, allowing us to observe real-time variation in crisis management. Third, even though symphonies' main products are artistic performances, they are structured like businesses. For example, they have functional areas in marketing and sales, operations, and customer service. We reasoned that this would help generalize our findings beyond our context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Case Selection and Data

We next selected organizational cases. By August 2020, we identified one of the few orchestras that was playing (via livestreaming) and would soon be the only one in the United States that would be performing in front of a live audience (Fortis, a pseudonym). We selected Fortis as a deviant case to learn how it had opened, unlike its peers. Since data collection started early in the pandemic, we did not know whether Fortis would die, survive, or emerge stronger.

We selected a second organization (Revenite, a pseudonym) using maximum variation sampling (Patton, 1990), based on Revenite's decision to suspend operations for at least a year. Although other professional orchestras also suspended operations, Revenite was one of the most aggressive in closing. This provided maximum contrast to Fortis on a key approach to the crisis. Revenite was also similar to Fortis in ways not central to our research question, such as size, prestige, and revenues. In addition, Fortis and Revenite operated in similar political climates (Republican governors, but in cities with Democratic mayors) and were subject to similar local COVID regulations. Both cities also had devastating employment losses in creative industries (Florida & Seman, 2020), with Fortis's city losing about 30% of its creative employment and about 15% of average monthly earnings. Revenite's city lost about 33% of its creative employment, with average employment earnings down about 17%. Neither of the authors had any prior relationship with Fortis or Revenite.

We conducted 41 interviews (22 at Fortis and 19 at Revenite) from September 2020 until July 2022. Based on Spradley (1979), we started interviews with broad questions and followed up with probes (see Online Appendix). We interviewed management, staff, and musicians. As our findings emerged, we interviewed new informants who could round out our results and returned to informants whose insights we thought would clarify our findings. We also observed 19.5 hours of meetings (16.75 at Fortis and 2.75 at Revenite), conducted a site visit at Revenite, and compiled an archive consisting of 1,095 pages (601 at Fortis and 494 at Revenite), including internal documents, emails, public financial records, press releases, and social media content. Tables 1a, 1b, and 1c provide an overview of the data, including additional details on each informant.[1]

[1] Documents are indicated by $D = n$, observation by $O = n$, and social media by $S = n$. All names are pseudonyms.

TABLE 1A
Overview of Data: Interviews

Name	Gender	Position	No. of Interviews	Organization
Emma	F	Management	3	Fortis
Olivia	F	Management	1	Fortis
Charlotte	F	Management	1	Fortis
Robert	M	Management	1	Fortis
Alejandra	F	Management	1	Fortis
Denise	F	Management	2	Fortis
Madison	F	Staff	1	Fortis
James	M	Staff	1	Fortis
Diana	F	Staff	1	Fortis
Grace	F	Staff	1	Fortis
Nora	F	Staff	1	Fortis
Zoey	F	Staff	1	Fortis
Victoria	F	Staff	1	Fortis
Lily	F	Staff	1	Fortis
Mateo	M	Musician	1	Fortis
Leah	F	Musician	1	Fortis
David	M	Staff	1	Fortis
Thomas	M	Musician	1	Fortis
Steven	M	Musician	1	Fortis
Lucy	F	Management	1	Revenite
Natalie	F	Management	1	Revenite
Claire	F	Management	1	Revenite
Aaliyah	F	Management	1	Revenite
Paul	M	Management	1	Revenite
Naomi	F	Management	3	Revenite
Andrew	M	Management	2	Revenite
Joshua	M	Management	3	Revenite
Edward	M	Management	1	Revenite
Nia	F	Board member	1	Revenite
Mei	F	Musician	1	Revenite
Liu	F	Musician	1	Revenite
Kevin	M	Board member	1	Revenite
Catherine	F	Staff	1	Revenite

Analysis

Our data analysis unfolded in five steps. First, after each interview, we created contact summaries to provide an in-the-moment impression (Miles & Huberman, 1994). We used this information to develop preliminary patterns in the data and to guide additional data collection. This also provided the basis for a timeline of key events we created to identify the sequential structure in the data (Langley, 1999), which was supplemented with raw interview and archival data to ensure accuracy, such as informants' reporting of events or documents with critical dates. We used the timeline as a guide to temporally situate what was unfolding at each organization, and when, which was critical because Revenite appeared to be well behind Fortis in adjusting to the crisis. Archival data were also helpful for comparing key organizational-level outcomes, which we gathered from internal and external reports and documents.

Second, our analysis was iterative, following principles recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984) and coded using techniques consistent with grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). We stayed close to our informants' meaning-making to ground first-order codes by reading the raw data multiple times to identify how informants understood events. For observations, our fieldnotes captured direct quotes from informants. Archival documents often quoted a member or represented the voice of the organization. Social media gave us access to a wider population of musicians than we could interview. These different sources of data were all used to develop first-order codes. Additionally, we used Nvivo to organize codes and examine data across each code and compare codes across organizations and over time. These comparisons helped us interpret how informants understood what each organization was doing during the pandemic. As the pandemic unfolded, new events led us to collect additional data and revise our coding. For example, after the delta variant emerged in July 2021, we conducted additional interviews that helped us refine codes. Eventually, we reached theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in January 2023 and stopped data collection. At this point, additional data no longer yielded substantially new insights. The pandemic had also stabilized.

Third, we started grouping first-order codes into second-order categories to translate informants' meaning-making into substantive theory (Locke, 2000). This allowed for a more theoretically informed comparison across organizations. For the first part of

TABLE 1B
Overview of Data: Documents

Organization	Total Pages	Total No. of Internal Documents and Emails	No. of Internet Resources	No. of Press Releases	No. of Social Media Posts
Fortis	601	30	53	31	2,535
Revenite	494	13	90	10	2,573

TABLE 1C
Overview of Data: Observations

Organization	Observation Number	Observation Type	Description	Duration	Date
Fortis	O-1	Livestreamed performance	Classical series concert	1	10/18/20
	O-2	Meeting	Marketing committee	1.5	10/5/20
	O-3	Meeting	Management group	2.25	10/19/20
	O-4	Meeting	Development committee	2	10/20/20
	O-5	Meeting	Orchestra and negotiating committee	3	11/2/20
	O-6	Meeting	Education and community engagement staff	0.5	11/11/20
	O-7	Meeting	Management group	1.5	11/12/20
	O-8	Meeting	Management group	2	11/19/20
	O-9	Meeting	Management group	2	12/3/20
	O-10	Meeting	Management group	1	12/7/20
	O-11	Meeting	Management group	1	12/10/20
Revenite	O-12	Town Hall	Organization-wide	1.25	1/19/21
	O-13	Town Hall	Organization-wide	1	4/2/21
	O-14	Town Hall	Musicians only	0.25	4/22/21
	O-15	Livestreamed interview	Chairperson of musicians committee	0.25	12/24/21

the pandemic, there were striking differences between our two cases. However, we noticed in the second part of the pandemic that Revenite started to resemble what we earlier saw at Fortis. We returned to the data to code why and how this transition unfolded, which ultimately led us to ground "updating."

Fourth, we used memos and conversations among the authors to further abstract from the second-order categories to derive theoretical constructs that represented the patterns in our data (for coding structure and supporting evidence, see Tables 2–7). It was at this point that we started to interact our aggregate constructs with existing research on resourcefulness and resilience. This involved visually representing the data with provisional models. We cycled through multiple versions of our model using PowerPoint. We constantly referenced extant perspectives to ensure our emergent theorizing would unearth new insights, while staying true to the data.

Finally, we ensured the trustworthiness of our data following principles from Lincoln and Guba (1985). We triangulated interview data with field observations and archival documents to ensure multiple sources of data supported our coding. We established credibility by staying in the field for about two years. We also relied on peer debriefing around major themes in the data. To facilitate transferability, we provide thick descriptions to bring the reader as close to our context as possible, including showing extensive excerpts from the raw data in the manuscript and additional examples for each first-order code in data support tables and the Online Appendix.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Overview

In March 2020, most performing arts organizations shut down, and remained closed for at least nine months. After a two-month pause, Fortis resumed operations with livestreamed home performances in May and June 2020. It then brought musicians back to its concert hall for a July 4 livestreamed show. A month later, it had its first in-person audience and increased the audience size based on local regulations, making it the first major orchestra in the United States to resume a regular season with a live audience (D-99). In contrast, Revenite suspended all performances until July 2020. That June, Revenite furloughed most of its staff and all of its musicians. It announced cancellations through July 2021, which was later extended to September 2021. In January 2021, musicians returned on a part-time basis in exchange for a small stipend before fully returning in September 2021.

Our findings start by describing how Fortis had a provisional orientation to the crisis, embracing uncertainty that empowered members to use promotive resourcefulness. Promotive resourcefulness better uses the resources at hand to create opportunities from adversity. It became sustained through the endogenous generation of resources (additional crisis agency, trust, and hopefulness), which created an expanded organizational identity and led to strong adversity adjustment. In contrast, Revenite members became overwhelmed by uncertainty (categorical orientation), which obstructed initial crisis agency

and limited the organization to preventative resourcefulness, which focuses on avoiding worst-case outcomes (e.g., organizational death). Preventative resourcefulness became sustained by cycles of low trust, limited crisis agency, and hopelessness—which led Revenite to lose its organizational identity. However, Revenite eventually shifted courses when members used financial, emotional, and operational updating. By year two of the crisis, Revenite was following a similar trajectory to Fortis.

Adversity Orientation

Adversity orientation refers to the initial way members perceive and react to a crisis. At Fortis, we find a provisional adversity orientation, defined as beliefs and actions that recognize adversity as not needing to be fully understood in order for a response to be formulated (Table 2). Members (a) embraced uncertainty and (b) focused on more predictable short-term actions. In contrast, Revenite's categorical orientation refers to beliefs and actions that adversity needs to be definitively understood before a response can be mounted. Members had (a) a need for certainty and (b) focused on planning post-adversity versus acting in the short term.

Provisional orientation at Fortis. When the pandemic started, the management team at Fortis recognized that uncertainty was not going to quickly disappear. The organization embraced uncertainty and kept operating despite not fully understanding what they were facing. Emma[M2] stated, "We've sort of abandoned waiting until there's certainty." Echoing this point, Denise[M] said, "You have to learn to live with the uncertainty." Fortis also focused on the short term. This was a dramatic change for an organization used to planning in years. During a staff meeting, Robert[M] described how things were typically done (O-2), "This organization is wired to work planning a year out." In contrast, with the pandemic, he continued, "We did not sit down on March 15th and map out our strategy for the next six months … We felt like we couldn't plan more than a week or two at a time because the rules were changing, and the conditions around the virus." By embracing uncertainty and focusing on short-term action, Fortis set the conditions in place for members to feel in control of the crisis and empowered to act right away.

[2] After each informant's name, we indicate their role: *M* = management, *S* = staff, *MU* = musician, *B* = board member.

Categorical orientation at Revenite. At Revenite, members believed they needed certainty to act, which they deemed impossible. Joshua[M] observed,

> I don't think we had a sense of what the pathway toward restarting the business was going to be … Because we don't know. There's too many unknowns … Not only is there no light at the end of the tunnel, it's like, we don't even know where the tunnel [is] going. We don't know if it's going into an abyss or what.

Without more certainty, Revenite suspended operations. Joshua explained that the decision to close down "was predicated on a bunch of unknowns … We could build a scenario that said, 'Okay, well, we're going to do things at this level of activity,' but we didn't even know if we could do it." Joshua's comment shows the degree to which uncertainty crippled Revenite from the onset of the crisis.

Revenite's management wanted a definitive understanding of the adversity before acting, so they were willing to wait until the pandemic ended. Naomi[M] reasoned that without certainty, all they could do was observe others:

> We have the benefit of them going first. And whether it's COVID protocols or programming … I would say there's actually a huge benefit in not going first in that respect, because I feel like we're going to … make some really educated decisions.

Revenite also adopted a long-term time horizon. Joshua[M] explained that the idea was to gain clarity by going out far enough in time when they could establish certainty. Practically, this meant focusing on a post-pandemic environment as opposed to trying to understand the current environment:

> The whole point of this year is to create the space to figure it out, rather than feeling like we're being driven by the urgency of generating programming revenue in an environment where we don't know that we can do it.

For example, Andrew[M] said that Revenite set a long-term goal of survival, rather than a short-term goal of adjusting to the crisis.

> It's turned into a real long-game for me, as opposed to a series of short goals that add up to a big goal in terms of achieving numbers and growing audience, growing revenue, matching people with our mission and then hoping to inspire people every day … We would be able to control our assets and … fill our time more strategically around how we reemerged and not putting out small fires anymore. It's more like putting out the bonfire.

TABLE 2
Adversity Orientation

Provisional Adversity Orientation (Fortis)	Categorical Adversity Orientation (Revenite)
Second-Order Category: Embracing Uncertainty	**Second-Order Category: Needing Certainty**
First-Order Code: Not Waiting for Certainty	*First-Order Code: Requires Answers to Move Forward*
Charlotte^{M}: "As a full institution, the willingness to go in not knowing, the willingness to entertain uncertainty is also night and day."	Lucy^{M}: "You want to make sure that you can actually maintain the stability of the organization. And again, not knowing how long this will last, I think that is something that we take into consideration."
First-Order Code: Willingness to Try Something Different	*First-Order Code: Looking to Other Organizations for Guidance*
Nora^{S}: "We can't do the full audience performance with the big 100-piece symphony anymore but there are different ways that we can connect people with these world-class musicians and have it be a really meaningful experience still."	Naomi^{M}: "All the power to my colleagues who have been blazing those trails... And so I've been very observant and taking it a lot in."
Second-Order Category: Short-Term Acting	**Second-Order Category: Long-Term Planning**
First-Order Code: Compressed Creative Programming Window	*First-Order Code: Survival as Goal*
Lily^{S}: "The timeline for which we plan concerts has been greatly compressed. Normally, we plan about two years out … But because of the pandemic, we've had to spend most of this past year … adjusting … We're basically kind of a year behind, in terms of that process."	O-13 [Edward^{M} speaking]: "We really want to preserve the institution for the long term … if we use all of the resources to get through the immediate near term and aren't able to re-start, then we would have won the battle but lost the war."
First-Order Code: Compressed Marketing Window	*First-Order Code: Lengthy Decision-Making Process*
Emma^{M}: "Normally, we announce the season in January and then I'm selling it September through May and it's all tied up in a bow … I can promote months at a time. Now … we're getting shows on a monthly basis on very short notice."	Claire^{M}: "We're very far out in our planning. And I think my colleagues and I all sort of share this. We all understand that an orchestra is … like a giant ship, takes a long time to change direction."

Note: Table provides one additional example for each first-order code. For additional data support, please refer to the Online Appendix.

Revenite also used lengthy decision-making to establish predictable outcomes. Andrew continued,

> We're going to have to be very slow and very deliberate about what we do and how we do it … What are the resources we need to turn on the green light, workforce-wise, strategic-wise, what do we need to turn on that green light?

However, by slowing down decision-making, the fast-changing environment had already shifted by the time decisions were made. A categorical need for certainty directed Revenite to focus on slow decision-making about the long term at the expense of understanding its immediate environment.

Promotive Resourcefulness at Fortis

At Fortis, members used resourcefulness to act in ways that treated the pandemic as an opportunity. Drawing on regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997), we theorize promotive resourcefulness (Table 3) as actions that enable opportunities from adversity by repurposing resources, manifested at Fortis through strategically managing costs, expanding employee contributions through learning, and better utilizing content. Regulatory focus theory is a psychological construct based on a person's needs, goals, and outcomes (Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Higgins, 1997). Individuals with a promotion focus desire to succeed and achieve a gain, allowing them to pursue opportunities even if it risks failure. Although this theory is not usually used to describe an organization's approach to events, such as crises (Higgins & Pinelli, 2020), we found its language helpful for describing the type of resourcefulness we found. At Fortis, resourcefulness focused on bold actions to adjust to the crisis in opportunistic ways.

Strategically managing costs. Many orchestras go into debt, and Fortis had run deficits prepandemic. Fortis used the pandemic to bring its cost structure in line with its longer-term revenue outlook, which created a firmer, long-term financial footing. It lowered costs, including reducing musician salaries by 26.5% and staff salaries by 20%, and downsizing around 25% of staff. Nora^{S} noted that the pandemic "fostered in all of us a renewed thinking around making sure that we are using the resources in the most effective way … And I think that is something that will stay [after the pandemic.]" As Nora pointed out, the pandemic triggered ways for how best to use Fortis's financial resources, a rare consideration before the pandemic.

Expanding employee contributions through learning. When Fortis returned to performing concerts, social distancing meant the entire orchestra

TABLE 3
Promotive and Preventative Resourcefulness

Promotive Resourcefulness (Fortis)	Preventative Resourcefulness (Revenite)
Second-Order Category: Strategically Managing Costs	**Second-Order Category: Instituting Financial Austerity**
First-Order Code: Budget Balancing	*First-Order Code: Furloughing Staff and Musicians*
Olivia^{M}: "There's been an overreliance on fundraising … and we end up with a growing debt … this is a reset button for us … We're having to learn to operate within our resources. I think the pandemic has brought an earlier reckoning to the orchestra to have to figure out how to do this."	Kevin^{B}: "On the furlough … We were running out of money … It was not just musicians, it was the staff."
First-Order Code: Maximizing Savings by Finding Work-Arounds when Negotiating Costs	*First-Order Code: Suspending Operations*
Denise^{M}: "For the hall, if we have fewer than 200 people in the hall, we don't have to call it a performance. We can call it a lower-level thing so we can pay less for the hall … We have talked to artists about reductions or in the absence of reductions [whether they] would be willing to do extra performances."	Natalie^{M}: "We were one of the first orchestras in the U.S. to even announce … that we were going to be closed to July of next year."
Second-Order category: Expanding employee contributions through learning	**Second-Order Category: Expanding Employee Contributions for Stability**
First-Order Code: Musicians Learning New Music	*First-Order Code: Maintaining Fundraising with Fewer People while in Hibernation*
Tomas^{MU}: "I've been turned on to a lot of other music that I didn't know … That's something that I value too, is continuing to explore … I am glad to be exploring new repertoire that I didn't otherwise have an opportunity to play."	Paul^{M}: "We had to furlough most of the development team. In 2019, we had 15 … and now we have two. Obviously, a huge change with little to no change in expectation."
First-Order Code: Musicians Enhancing Skills	*First-Order Code: Maintaining Operations with Understaffed Teams*
Mateo^{MU}: "We were playing so far apart. A whole new set of skills had to be developed very quickly … how can I anticipate and how much sound do I need to put so up front it sounds balanced?...That changes weekly actually because every week it's a different."	Natalie^{M}: "We've looked at leveraging our staff, and trying to get a handle on our workflow … and trying to keep things balanced and stable … we're trying to kind of figure out the best way to balance all of the requests."
First-Order Code: Staff Learning New Technical Skills	
Lily^{S}: "We sort of had to really quickly learn how to now do our concerts online, as well, because previously we hadn't been streaming anything.. That was a real learning curve, as well. Definitely for our technical team, but [also] for me."	
Second-Order Category: Better Utilizing Content	
First-Order Code: Creating New Revenue Streams From Content	
D-124 [board meeting packet]: "New revenue opportunities have presented themselves in the form of virtual performance buyouts for corporate employee/client holiday celebrations."	
First-Order Code: Generating Contributed Revenue from Existing Content	
Emma^{M}: "Because we're performing, we've retained a lot of the philanthropic money … We've earned new large gifts from individuals who are just so excited that we're actually performing."	

Note: Table provides one additional example for each first-order code. For additional data support, please refer to the Online Appendix.

could not fit on stage. Fortis used this constraint to expand the value of its talent. One example came from chamber music. A small group of musicians playing this music was thought to be unviable pre-pandemic. Madison^{S} explained

> By definition our subscribers, our donors, our symphony [are] orchestra lovers, we are not a chamber music organization … .There is opportunity through the chamber music to program differently, and in some cases more ambitiously than we typically do in a season where people are expecting a big orchestra and we need to sell a lot of tickets. In some cases, it's been a real opportunity.

Elaborating on this new chamber music capability, Mateo^{MU} observed:

> We would have never had the chance to do that if it wasn't for the pandemic but we were able to do it. We

> found the programming, we found ways to rehearse it and then we played it … The shift to chamber music allowed everyone in the organization to elevate their skills.

Beyond the type of music, musicians expanded skills in coordinating among themselves. One limitation of the pandemic was that conductors could not travel to lead the orchestra. In addition, Fortis's classical conductor (and music director) was stranded in Europe for the first part of the pandemic. Olivia^{M} explained how musicians had to expand their contribution: "We haven't had conductors for most of our performances. [The musicians] had to take leadership roles, suggesting music and doing things in a very different way."

The staff also expanded their technical contributions. As Robert^{M} noted, "The staff has discovered new things that they're capable of doing." For example, Zoey^{S} described solving new challenges around seating:

> We're in the process of figuring out some creative solutions now … We foresee social distancing into our next season … So myself and one of my information technology (IT) cohorts are trying to figure out a better way to make those seating changes … We've all had to really be on our toes and thinking outside of the box this whole season so far.

Better utilizing content. Fortis created new revenue streams, including livestreaming. Before the pandemic, Fortis only streamed one event. Early in the pandemic, it relied on available artistic talent and turned musicians' homes into performance venues. For example, in May 2020, Fortis's musicians paired up with people in their COVID pod (partners, children, or relatives who were musically talented but not necessarily professional musicians). The small group streamed performances from their residences. In contrast to productions that would be planned years in advance, played with only professional musicians, and involve scores of support people, these performances were musician-led with limited staff support. Emma^{M} explained, "It was musicians from their home … Many of them have very musical members of their household too, like professional musician wives and children and things like that." These performances showed that Fortis could produce content people would want to engage with. Robert^{M} explained:

> A lot of orchestras did these videos where all 90 of them were in a little box [on Zoom] and they played Beethoven [Symphony No.] 9 … We thought let's stop trying to recreate something that is only going to be a pale imitation … and let's work within the constraints that we have to make something that feels really good. And you won't sit there thinking, … "I miss sitting in the concert hall and hearing the real orchestra play this." It's, "Wow. This is really neat and I wouldn't have gotten to experience it except for these freakish circumstances where we're all locked at home."

In contrast to other symphonies, Fortis earned revenue from livestream events. Robert explained the reasoning for this:

> We charged money for it because we just set a stake in the ground from the beginning that if it's more than a three or five-minute video, these people didn't spend 20 years practicing their instrument, going to Juilliard, to play for free on the internet.

By August 2020, Fortis returned to its performance hall but maintained livestreaming revenue—which it still does to this day (D-209)—earning two sources of income from the same show. The organization started with small in-person audiences—10 people—and expanded over the course of the next few months to over 450, as city guidelines allowed. Although a sold-out concert of 450 brought in a fraction of what a full-capacity show prepandemic would yield, it reflected Fortis's desire to get the most out of its performances and earn needed revenue.

The livestreaming platform also widened the geographic reach of the organization, turning people who lived far away into customers. Emma^{M} observed, "We've been selling tickets in all 50 states. We've reached like 40 countries. And we're also hearing from people … 'I know the musicians, and I love to watch them.'" Livestreaming also allowed Fortis to reach new donors. Denise^{M} added,

> With our streaming, we have 750 people who had never given to the symphony, contribute to the symphony through our streaming broadcast. Those are 750 relationships that are now ours for the future. Those are ours to cultivate and grow.

By becoming one of the few playing arts organizations, Fortis had a compelling story to present to donors. It turned its ability to perform concerts into a cultural resource that could attract philanthropic support. As Charlotte^{M} explained, "I think we're successful fundraising … because people see us as a [going] concern." Corporate donors were eager to donate, as James^{S} stated, "We're really the only performing arts organization in town that's doing live concerts."

Generativity Cycle at Fortis

Fortis maintained its promotive resourcefulness through an ampliative cycle (Feldman & Worline,

2012), in which crisis agency, trust, and promotive resourcefulness reinforced each other to sustain actively responding to the crisis (Table 4). We label this a generativity cycle because it allowed Fortis to produce dramatically new uses of resources.

High crisis agency fosters promotive resourcefulness. Crisis agency is a psychological resource around how much control members think they have over adversity (Ni, Song, Zheng, Zhu, Zhang, & Xu, 2022; Park & Johnson Avery, 2019). By believing uncertainty was manageable (provisional adversity orientation), Fortis members felt empowered to opportunistically work with existing resources. Thus, high crisis agency from a provisional adversity orientation provided the spark that started Fortis's generativity cycle. It was marked by (a) a can-do attitude, (b) a refusal to give up, and (c) an experimental mindset which prompted members to make the most of their resources. Emma^{M} described: "[we had a] can-do attitude: So, to just say, 'We can't do it,' and throw up our hands, was never an option." Echoing this point, Lily^{S} recalled, "We just had to figure it out and find a way." Fortis members also refused to capitulate to the crisis. Thomas^{MU} believed, "We owe a lot to our management and our musician-elected committees … not just give up on it and say like, 'We can't handle anything at all, we can't take any risks.'" James^{S} recognized that Fortis

> could have very easily just cancelled the season, just like most of our organization or orchestra organizations around the country did. That would have been the easy decision, completely slashed the budget, shut everything down and just say we'll pick it back up when it's over … And they chose not to do that. That was a deliberate decision and they have gone 110% ever since they made that decision [to reopen], and how do we make this work.

Fortis members also approached the pandemic with an experimental mindset, which helped guide resourcefulness into creating new opportunities. For example, Charlotte^{M} described experimenting with virtual educational programming for children:

> We're going to be able to crack the nut of figuring out the technology to keep kids excited … that we're able to figure out how to get past the barriers of technology and inspire kids … If we get the videos right, we may be able to expand our scale. We will be able to expand our scale because we'll be able to serve more schools and students than we did in person.

As Charlotte pointed out, she felt empowered to try new ways of delivering programing to adjust to the pandemic's constraints. Furthermore, she saw this experimentation as part of approaching the crisis more opportunistically, such as by expanding the scale of Fortis's outreach, despite the adversity.

Promotive resourcefulness fosters high trust. Promotive resourcefulness created trust at Fortis due to the ability ascribed to management (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Observing promotive resourcefulness helped Fortis navigate the crisis and led members to trust management more.

Olivia^{M} reflected on why the organization was adapting so well to the pandemic:

> We have an amazing leader who led the way and just knows that you can't cut your way to help … The musicians of this orchestra are exceptional in terms of their willingness to trust me to get into conversations and trust management … . The extraordinary work that the operations team and musicians and Robert have done to figure out the safety, a way to … get the orchestra on stage. First of all, safely, all the adaptations that they were willing to make to go out there and fight, and fight with the city to get the permits, the permission, the support to actually do it … the right study of how orchestra musicians can work safely … .I think it's just out there with a proactive [mindset], but also the courage, because we could fail at any moment … we can wipe out the orchestra.

Olivia attributed Fortis's promotive resourcefulness—from bringing the musicians back to play to figuring out safety—to Robert's (the CEO's) trustworthiness (especially competence). Accordingly, promotive resourcefulness helped generate not only useful actions but also additional trust, which sustained members' active efforts to manage the crisis.

High trust fosters crisis agency. Completing the cycle, high trust created additional crisis agency, which further empowered members. Because members trusted management, they could take risks despite the uncertainty and danger during the pandemic. Robert^{M} explained that "We didn't have to work through any kind of trust issues … We could just start talking about what we were going to do right away." As Robert explained, trust made collaborating between the musicians and management smoother, which empowered everyone to act. Steven^{MU} noted:

> There's a trust, where a lot of workers just don't have that trust. There's that old-school union-versus-labor-management dispute … it's not that way with us here … Every one of us spent literally dozens and dozens of hours reading anything that we could find, that would help us make good decisions as to what we were going to do.

As Steven recognized, due to the high trust, the musicians wanted the organization to succeed and

TABLE 4
Resourcing Cycles

Generative Cycle (Fortis)	Preservational Cycle (Revenite)
Second-Order Category: High Crisis Agency Fosters Promotive Resourcefulness *First-Order Code: Organization's Can-Do Attitude* Denise^{M}: "Everybody is focused on looking for opportunity." *First-Order Code: Not Giving Up* Alejandra^{M}: "Something [Robert] said early on really resonated with me was that if we're going to be calling ourselves arts administrators or management of an orchestra, if we're not doing everything we can to get our orchestra playing and out there in the community, providing music for this community, we need to quit. Why are we here?" *First-Order Code: Experimental Mindset* Olivia^{M}: "We've had to totally change our pitch … that still appeal to … companies." **Second-Order Category: Promotive Resourcefulness Fosters High Trust** *First-Order Code: Employees Consider Organization's Actions to be Competent* Mateo^{MU}: "The way management has figured this out is really admirable and it works." *First-Order Code: Management using Creativity Fosters Confidence* Emma^{M}: "[Robert^{M}] his whole background is music … So, for him, it was exciting … It's not just full orchestra that has the great music." **Second-Order Category: High Trust Fosters Crisis Agency** *First-Order Code: Good Relationship with Union Prepandemic* Emma^{M}: "We're fortunate to have such a good relationship with our musicians." *First-Order Code: Willingness between Management and Musicians to Collaborate* Charlotte^{M}: "It's rare to have this … willing[ness] to work together between orchestra musician and management."	**Second-Order Category: Low Crisis Agency Fosters Preventative Resourcefulness** *First-Order Code: Limited Choices during Pandemic* Joshua^{M}: "It did not seem viable to try to continue doing anything." *First-Order Code: Boxed in by Shutting Down* Nia^{B}: "When the lockdown occurred, there was no revenue … We had to make the terrible decision to furlough our musicians, the conducting staff and the vast majority of the staff … So we went silent, and we went silent for a year." *First-Order Code: Reluctance to Experiment* Paul^{M}: "We definitely rely on structure. I think that's one of the challenges we're seeing right now." **Second-Order Category: Preventative Resourcefulness Fosters Low Trust** *First-Order Code: Furloughs Harm Musician-Management Relationship* Edward^{M}: "That relationship [with musicians] has been strained to the hilt." *First-Order Code: Difficulties Reaching Union Agreement* Naomi^{M}: "We were doing contract negotiations with the musicians which were really hard. … I think it was a very humbling experience." **Second-Order Category: Low Trust Limits Crisis Agency** *First-Order Code: Limited Collaboration makes Action Difficult* Joshua^{M}: "The absence of an actual functioning collective bargaining agreement created a lot of barriers to understanding how we could work together." *First-Order Code: Restricted to Formalized Communication Channels* Naomi^{M}: "Communications became very formal only with the leadership."
Hopefulness Cycle (Fortis) **Second-Order Category: Promotive Resourcefulness Shapes Hopefulness** *First-Order Code: Crisis Actions make Employees More Satisfied* Thomas^{MU}: "There's so many good things happening [at Fortis]." *First-Order Code: Better Communication between Musicians and Staff* David^{S}: "We're going to come out on the other side of this being closer." **Second-Order Category: Hopefulness Shapes Promotive Resourcefulness** *Hopeful Despite Challenges* Emma^{M}: "We kind of held on to hope the whole time." *Believes Continued Effort will be Fruitful* Denise^{M}: "Today I'm going to fix something … make it better."	**Hopelessness Cycle (Revenite)** **Second-Order Category: Preventative Resourcefulness Shapes Hopelessness** *First-Order Code: Regrets* Joshua^{M}: "I felt a degree of shame, frankly." *First-Order Code: Worries about Future of the Organization* Nia^{B}: "Do you think that it's fun to be chair of a board where you have a lot of bleak future?" **Second-Order Category: Hopelessness Shapes Preventative Resourcefulness** *Cannot Adequately Fundraise without Programming* Naomi^{M}: "There's a certain home last stretch of fundraising, that is not possible unless we have activity with our musicians." *Cannot Sustain Organization without Ticket Sales* Natalie^{M}: "Shut off the ticket sales … there's no way we could afford our operating expense budget."

Note: Table provides one additional example for each first-order code. For additional data support, please refer to the Online Appendix.

felt like they could act to help respond to the crisis. Lily^{S} offered another example, noting that she trusted management to the extent that she was no longer worried about making a mistake, "It definitely did take a lot of adjustment, just mentally, to not constantly feel like I was doing something wrong." Later, she pointed out how this trust provided the foundation for feeling agentic to work through hard problems:

> Even when we thought that it was a problem that we could never figure out, we somehow did and tried it … Robert, our CEO, was really great at keeping us moving along and pushing us, nicely, when we were feeling like we were at a bit of a roadblock … Some orchestras just haven't tried to do much of anything.

Hopefulness Cycle at Fortis

A second ampliative cycle (Table 4) at Fortis captures how hopefulness and promotive resourcefulness recursively relate to provide emotional resources to keep adapting to adversity.

Promotive resourcefulness shapes hopefulness. Due to promotive resourcefulness helping Fortis, employees started feeling more hopeful about the future. Hopefulness is a belief in the possibility of a favorable outcome and an important means of coping with adversity's emotional challenges (Lazarus, 1999). Denise^{M} experienced hope from seeing colleagues act resourcefully to meet challenges: "I have had periods of delight where I have been pleased to see how much people in the organization have risen to the challenge." Members also started linking their resourcefulness and future. Charlotte^{M} observed that, "I think that the morale is up … We're proud of ourselves." She later suggested that promotive resourcefulness fueled hope, noting:

> I actually feel like we're making progress and doing some cool things … I think we're stronger in our music and wellness initiatives and our connections with complete communities …. I think the community part we're actually going to be in one case stronger because … we're in ICUs [intensive care units] and we were never in that, [it's] really important. And we've got national attention for that … education and community are critical during the pandemic.

Hopefulness shapes promotive resourcefulness. Hopefulness motivated members to keep using promotive resourcefulness, reasoning that they had a positive future through sustained resourcefulness. Emma^{M} observed, "We have the same tools as everyone else at that point and the same limitations as everyone else. Yet, we started doing ticketed performances and earning money when no one else was earning money. I feel good about that." Emma went on to attribute promotive resourcefulness to hopefulness, which she described as "good energy and optimistic energy." She noted that this energy allowed Fortis to opportunistically approach the crisis:

> It's a very rigid industry and the blow up was hard- … but it forced us to realize there were things we could do quickly … I'm still seeing a little bit of that increased flexibility that just would've been unheard of pre-COVID … So I think it's great honestly.

Indeed, hope was so strong that Robert^{M} concluded that the organization was actually doing better: "I feel better about the organization on almost all fronts since this started. I think we'll come out of it healthier."

Preventative Resourcefulness at Revenite

Revenite's early response to the pandemic was very different compared to what transpired at Fortis. Borrowing again from regulatory focus theory, Revenite used preventative resourcefulness (see Table 3). A preventative regulatory focus involves a person worrying about avoiding negative outcomes and meeting a minimum goal (Higgins, 1997). When applied at the organizational level to Revenite, it meant the organization focused on escaping organizational death by surviving. Resourcefulness was defensively used for financial austerity and maximizing the output of Revenite's few remaining employees to stabilize the organization.

Instituting financial austerity. With no performances, Revenite's finances had become dire by June 2020. Joshua^{M} claimed that the organization had no choice other than to furlough musicians and most staff:

> We had no choice, but to go in and just say, "Okay, we've got to do an act of mass furloughs, so that the staff can then take the time to figure out how we're going to put it all back together and get on the other side of this pandemic."

Revenite reduced operating expenses to about 25% of prepandemic levels (D-152) and directed its remaining personnel to preserve the organization with a hope of eventually bringing it back.

Expanding employee contributions for stability. Employees' expanded contributions helped maintain core tasks, but with fewer staff. For example, even though the development department dramatically shrank, it had strong donations. Edward^{M} explained,

> We set a fundraising record between August 1 and December 31 [2020]. For the first five months of our fiscal year we raised more money than we've ever raised in our history. We did it with three people doing the fundraising … There were 14 people in development when the pandemic hit.

Another area where remaining employees expanded contributions came from doing work tasks previously performed by furloughed staff. Claire^{M} described, "Everybody pretty much … will pitch in where they can." Lucy^{M} shared an example from marketing: "I've been a bit more resourceful … We don't have a graphic design team or a website update team anymore, so I've learned to update our website … .Literally my job description [is] expanding." These increased contributions focused on using a limited workforce to cover existing tasks.

Preservational Cycle at Revenite

We find a cycle at Revenite that sustained preventative resourcefulness, but diminished crisis agency and trust (see Table 4). We label this cycle preservational because it allowed Revenite to sustain itself, but at the expense of a stronger crisis response.

Low crisis agency fosters preventative resourcefulness. At Revenite, a categorical adversity orientation led uncertainty to overwhelm employees and limit their crisis agency. Limited crisis agency, in turn, focused actions on surviving with preventative resourcefulness. Low crisis agency was manifested by (a) the belief in limited choices, (b) the constraints of Revenite's early decision to shut down, and (c) a reluctance to experiment. Because the organization's categorical orientation required certainty before opening, employees felt they had few choices to respond, narrowing their repertoire of resourceful actions to help the organization survive. Naomi^{M} said, "It didn't seem like there was really any choice if we wanted to have an organization on the other side of whenever we could open up. And that was devastating." Elaborating on her point, Edward^{M} acknowledged: "We looked at our options and said, we can't sustain the payroll … Even if we could afford to … pay everybody a third of what they were making, it would have been almost impossible to do that."

Revenite's management concluded that its only realistic path was to suspend operations until conditions improved. It became frozen by being an orchestra without a symphony, which further stripped away agency. In an ominous parallel to Weick's (1993) analysis of Mann Gulch firefighters, Revenite dropped its musicians. As Joshua^{M} put it, "I'm working to sustain a thing that has no inherent meaning other than its own survival. That's a really weird place to be … Our mission is to perform orchestral music … It's sort of like you can't do one without the other." As Joshua implied, he thought it was impossible to adjust to the pandemic without the orchestra.

Members of Revenite also had a belief that the organization did not have the capacity to experiment. Naomi^{M} said that the organization did not want to have "to learn through trial and error." Edward^{M} also ruled out experimenting because the organization did not feel empowered to do anything because of its business model, "The idea of trying to continue mounting concerts or presenting some kind of normalcy or pivoting to virtual content just didn't work for us because [of] our business model." Indeed, the organization passed on opportunities to experiment early in the pandemic with virtual programing, like Fortis did. Aaliyah^{M} noted,

> To livestream and to do those on other activities, those are expensive activities. And you want to make sure that you can actually maintain the stability of the organization. And again, not knowing how long this will last, I think that is something that we take into consideration.

Preventative resourcefulness fosters low trust. At Revenite, preventative resourcefulness weakened trust through undermining benevolence (Mayer et al., 1995). Deep cost-cutting harmed already tenuous relationships with musicians. In describing financial austerity, Naomi^{M} said, "The musicians, they felt cast aside and uncared-for." She later concluded, "There's a lot of trust to be rebuilt internally in the organization." After the damage done from the furloughs, it became even harder to reach an agreement with the musicians over a new union contract. Joshua^{M} said, "[The furloughs] also created a, to my mind, a real sense of a feeling of victimization on the part of the musicians. So, that to me was probably the hardest piece of damage." In fact, Mei^{MU} felt that managerial decision-making completely undermined trust, and bordered on the unethical:

> You feel like you're being shut down and your management is being deceitful and not honest with the public, and benefiting themselves, without any regard to their musicians, their product essentially … There have just been several incidents along the way that have left me feeling like I just can't work for this organization anymore. They're making decisions that are not in line with my values and my ethics; very, in my opinion, unethical decisions.

Low trust limits crisis agency. Low trust between Revenite's management and musicians led musicians to feel unagentic. Broken communication barriers seeded additional mistrust and left musicians feeling like powerless outsiders. Claire^{M} observed, "[Musicians] don't, in a lot of cases, they just do not have the information [they need] being communicated to them. So that's certainly a challenge … I can't communicate with them in any official capacity." Given the lack of communication, musicians were uninformed, which further eroded trust and minimized their engagement to adjust to the pandemic. Liu^{MU} noted, "I didn't know what they were doing. I don't think many of us knew what they were doing … .It just became a quiet building and a quiet group from the management." Moreover, musicians felt like they did not have a voice in helping Revenite adjust to the adversity. Mei^{MU} stated that she felt powerless, individually and collectively:

> It was just so frustrating and demoralizing … not feeling like we are being heard or have a voice … Here we are, basically unemployed. We see all of our colleagues around the country playing and making things happen and taking initiative and management really trying to advocate for something to be happening with what they would and keep everyone safe at the same time. Yeah, so it just kind of felt like we were stuck. We just didn't have any choice.

Hopelessness Cycle at Revenite

A second cycle (Table 4) at Revenite captures how hopelessness and preventative resourcefulness are a recursive cycle that mutually reinforce each other to sap away the emotional resources needed for stronger adversity adjustment.

Preventative resourcefulness shapes hopelessness. Preventative resourcefulness kept Revenite alive but left people feeling hopeless, with the sense that conditions would not improve. Members had worries about the future and regrets about their choices, such as deep cost-cutting. Andrew^{M} "lost a lot of confidence because I feel like I owe the people that have been furloughed and my customers … It's shaking my confidence to the core." As Andrew suggested, the financial austerity of preventative resourcefulness made him less hopeful about Revenite. Furloughed employees lost hope too, as they no longer could contribute to Revenite. Liu^{MU} remarked, "The fact that they were not having us work … It didn't appear they were trying to do anything like other orchestras were." Beyond regrets, members expressed grave concerns about the future due to Revenite's response to the crisis. Mei^{MU} bluntly stated, "I think this organization is in a very, very perilous position right now."

Hopelessness shapes preventative resourcefulness. Members of Revenite's feelings of hopelessness reinforced the need to use preventative resourcefulness to survive. Members lost any sense that they could have a bright future and therefore would just focus on surviving. Natalie^{M} observed,

> Just to look at the financial picture … It makes me concerned for what the future looks like … We can't operate for three years with no revenue, we won't be around. So yeah, I have great concern for the future- … There's still a lot of unknown about the future and unknown about the future, causes people's confidence levels to drop.

Catherine's^{S} confidence had dropped so low from hopelessness that she saw survival as the only option:

> I was anticipating the worst or just having to shut down … I was full on anticipating getting fired and never working there again … and then I probably won't be asked back because if they come back at all, it's going to be a way smaller core of people to save money.

Stronger Adjustment at Fortis via an Expanded Organizational Identity

Promotive resourcefulness shaped how members of Fortis constructed an expanded organizational identity (Table 5), which facilitated stronger adversity adjustment (Table 6).

Expanding organizational identity at Fortis. As members observed resourceful actions creating opportunities from adversity, they started to construct a broader organizational identity—artistically and operationally—which we define as "the socially constructed tensions that simultaneously stretch identity while holding it together" (Kreiner et al., 2015: 982). Fortis played chamber music to stay within social-distancing guidelines. When members enacted these changes, they interpreted their artistic identity more expansively. Emma^{M} said, "It was quite shocking when this all happened to imagine pivoting to a completely small ensemble chamber music type of performance." This meant deviating from the previously central and enduring features of its artistic identity that musicians, management, and patrons knew, and introducing new compositions performed by smaller ensembles.

Fortis also expanded its identity into a global arts organization. Lily^{S} said, "We're now doing our concerts, all of our programs are streamed. Suddenly anybody worldwide can watch Fortis … All of those

TABLE 5
Resourcefulness and Organizational Identity

Expanding Organizational Identity (Fortis)	Losing Organizational Identity (Revenite)
Second-Order Category: Expanded Artistic Identity *First-Order Code: Doing Chamber Music Concerts* Mateo^{MU}: "We have not really functioned as a symphony orchestra … it was all this chamber music." *First-Order Code: Growing Geographic Reach* Nora^{S}: "[Livestreaming] enabled us both to continue to connect with our audience … nationally and internationally."	**Second-Order Category: Dropping Music-Making Identity** *First-Order Code: Absence of Musicians* Claire^{M}: "[With no musicians, there is] the sense that … we are not there for what makes us... Why we have this building and exist?" *First-Order Code: Musicians Creating Distinct Organization* D-166 [musician newsletter]: "Despite … our jobs and salaries … put on hold indefinitely … we will continue to perform as the Musicians of the Revenite Symphony."
Second-Order Category: Expanded Operational Identity *First-Order Code: Distributed Decision-Making* Olivia^{M}: "It's been really great to watch what my team has come up with. It's nice. There's a lot rising up. It's not all top-down." *First-Order Code: Quick Decision-Making* Charlotte^{M}: "We are so much more nimble, like almost on the exact end of the scale, in terms of the ability to be nimble as a full institution."	

Note: Table provides one additional example for each first-order code. For additional data support, please refer to the Online Appendix.

things have really helped to increase the profile of the orchestra." Denise^{M} went further, arguing that Fortis could no longer be a local symphony that only performs in person.

> We are going to thrive in the future, not just survive … Because we don't want to just be playing classical music in a dark hall. We want to be affecting the lives of our community …. It is a lot easier to have conversations about change now, because people understand that staying the same isn't going to work.

Another change in the organization's identity focused on operations. It went from centralized decision-making and long-range planning to valuing distributed and quick decision-making. Lily^{S} stated, "I would say before … everything [was] very planned and detailed … The pandemic, we would have been [like] a jazz ensemble. Now I would say we're still pretty jazzy." Supporting this point, Emma^{M} added, "We've been creative in how we apply … rules … There is a lot more fluidity between some jobs than there was previously." For example, historically management set the musical repertoire with minimal musician input. This allowed Fortis to focus on the most marketable performances. However, during the pandemic, Fortis became more inclusive of musicians' viewpoints. This led to the organization, as Olivia^{M} put it, being "much more flexible … just in doing things as they come along … that's pretty crazy."

Metaphorically, Fortis's identity changed from that of symphony—with carefully scripted performances involving clear division of labor and long-range planning—to one better described as a jazz ensemble. Olivia^{M} described embracing a jazzy identity:

> We are much more like a jazz [ensemble] … that's much more who we've become … Leadership has come from the admin and staff side and the musician side … We've combined different kinds of music and programs that you would never do before, and it's just very, very different … we're much more flexible, yeah, just in doing things as they come along. … I would say that as a large organization, we're operating more like a small organization.

Increased impact. One surprising outcome of Fortis's response to the pandemic was to more substantially address diversity. Prior to the pandemic, Fortis had a diversity, equity, and inclusion plan but had done little to enact it. The plan was captured in a small section of its mission statement: "The mission of Fortis is to inspire and engage a large and diverse audience." A few months into the pandemic, George Floyd was murdered. Despite its own adverse circumstances, Fortis deepened impact in the diversity, equity, and inclusion area, changing its mission statement to include that Fortis

> pledges to continue and grow initiatives to improve equity, inclusivity, and diversity with refreshed and renewed commitment at every level of our organization. This includes race, ethnicity, cultural experiences, gender identity and expression, sexual orientation, age, socioeconomic status, physical and mental ability, education, and religion.

As discussed above, the big orchestral selections traditionally played needed to be replaced with ones

using fewer musicians on stage. Instead of replacing these pieces with other White, male composers, Lily^{S} explained that because "we were going to have to reprogram things anyway," we wanted to "to increase the diversity of the composers." Additionally, social-distancing requirements in the audience meant that there were fewer tickets to sell, which allowed Fortis to play lesser-known (and more diverse) composers. As Emma^{M} explained:

> It's really difficult because we have real financial pressures, and we have to program things that sell tickets. And so it's like this push–pull of wanting to represent equitably, but also we need to earn money- … People are enjoying the work and see, our audiences tend to think new work that they haven't heard of is going to be terrible. It's just, unfortunately, a stereotype … Now people are being exposed to new work and really liking it because it's really great.

Although the national conversation on race prompted organizations to bolster diversity, resourcefulness enabled Fortis to enact its expanded identity and increase impact. Lily^{S} observed:

> We've been very experimental in some of the things, some of the types of music that we've tried … In normal years, unless the music director or the artistic head really wanted to do that sort of program as an artistic statement, that's not the kind of thing that we would do, unless the music director was really interested. I don't think we would have felt confident that we could fill out three performances or do really well, in terms of sales, with three performances, here in this market. Yeah, absolutely, we've been able to be more creative and take chances [during the pandemic].

Such extensive changes normally take many years to implement due to long planning cycles, but the pandemic sped up this transformation to a matter of months. Nora^{S} talked about how the pandemic facilitated this transformation to achieve greater impact.

> Because of the pandemic we had to completely redo our entire season … [which] happened to coincide with a lot of the protests that were happening around Black Lives Matter … It's always been something that we have been aware of, it's just sometimes when you're doing your standard thing day to day it can be hard to just find the time to incorporate that and it's always a priority but it can just be hard to do sometimes. But just the timing of when it happened it made everybody think about it anew and it was the case that it was kind of having to redo everything from scratch gave us the freedom to do that for this season. … We had this opportunity to start afresh.

This focus on equity and diversity continued throughout the rest of 2022, with Robert^{M} pushing for more changes (D-139) "We need to be more reflective of the diversity of our community in what we choose to play on the stage." By the end of the 2021–2022 season, 72% of Fortis's classical concerts had musical pieces composed by underrepresented (Black, Latin American, and women) composers, compared to 0.5% prepandemic.

A second area in which Fortis increased its impact was around community outreach. Prepandemic, musicians would visit schools to encourage students to pursue a career in music. Fortis would also bus students to concerts at its performance hall. Fortis considered both options too risky during the pandemic. Instead, the organization shifted to virtual programing, which allowed it to impact more people and at a deeper level. Grace^{S} pointed out that musicians

> can't possibly get to more than one or two schools in a day … whereas virtually, they can do four schools in a day in just four hours … for like 200 kids instead of 20 kids in the classroom, and it feels less risky for the kid, because they're not being judged, they're on mute … We can get to scale a lot, we can do much more activity virtually … Our programming will very much stay and we'll be using a lot of these elements in the future … It's helping develop the pipeline of kids … even without the resources to take private lessons and do everything.

Surprisingly, the organization had not thought of doing community outreach virtually before the pandemic. Diana^{S} noted:

> It just has never risen up as a priority. That has definitely been … a way of being resourceful. Because this one video, for example, if one of our musicians is doing a video on how to hold the bow correctly, that can be replayed, and it could be given to the kids who weren't able to attend that virtual lesson, or it can be reused by the teacher, if there's a lot of different uses for it. So, it's really an opportunity to get to scale.

Employee resilience. Employees at Fortis became more personally resilient, viewing themselves as more capable of handling adversity. Lily^{S} described how handling work challenges gave her "so much experience and personal career growth through this … I feel like I've risen to that challenge, so I feel very confident in my ability to handle whatever is thrown at me." By successfully navigating her own personal work challenges, she gained confidence to handle future adversity.

Beyond an increased sense of capabilities, employees at Fortis developed stronger coping skills. Victoria^{S} reflected, "Before I thought I was very sensitive to stress and I would break down a lot

TABLE 6
Adversity Adjustment

Stronger Adversity Adjustment (Fortis)	Weaker Adversity Adjustment (Revenite)
Second-Order Category: Increased Impact *First-Order Code: Diverse Programming* Emma^{M}: "I would say every program we do, we committed to programming a work by an underrepresented artist." *First-Order Code: Increased Community Outreach* Charlotte^{M}: "We're doing some work that we never would have done … videos that might serve music teachers who aren't able to bring their kids to the hall can take advantage of … whatever we develop now will be a resource that will be valuable that extends beyond this year."	**Second-Order Category: Decreased Impact** *First-Order Code: Not Fulfilling Community Mission to Play Music* Mei^{MU}: "Many opportunities were lost. I think there was a great opportunity there to show leadership, to give action to these words that the symphony kind of throws out there. 'We are Revenite Symphony … [city] needs an orchestra. We're very much this integrated part of the community.'" *First-Order Code: Limited Engagement with Diversity Initiatives* Joshua^{M}: "We're not in a position right now to make the changes that are … going to be actionable movements toward racial equity and inclusion. We're shutting down what we do."
Second-Order Category: Employee Resilience *First-Order Code: Increased Capability to Handle Adversity* Emma^{M}: "I've been given a great opportunity to be in a leadership role through this and learn so much from it. And I can only imagine through the rest of my career, it *will serve me well to have gone through it."* *First-Order Code: Stronger Coping Skills* Zoey^{S}: "It's one of those situations where you didn't know that you could do something until you were put into that situation and prove to yourself … that you could do it."	**Second-Order Category: Employee Burnout** *First-Order Code: Few Staff Around* Andrew^{M}: "I'm constantly questioning what I'm deciding and is that I'm doing it with nobody … . Without having … people that we collaborated every day … We're all just still plugging a lot of holes." *First-Order Code: Overwhelmed Employees* Naomi^{M}: "It's exhausting. So it's kind of desolate. I hope we can all figure out a little bit more economy of energy going into 2021."
Second-Order Category: Improved Performance *First-Order Code: Healthier Balance Sheet* Robert^{M}: "I feel more certain about the economic picture for this current year than I did for the previous two years that I was here … We were able to take this as an opportunity to get things more into balance." *First-Order Code: Performed Full Season* Lily^{S}: "During the pandemic, because we're one of the only orchestras … that has been able to present a full season and has been performing consistently."	**Second-Order Category: Poor Performance** *First-Order Code: Decreased Ticket Sales* Joshua^{M}: "In practical terms, we lost audience … don't have as many season ticket holders. We don't have as many people buying tickets as we did." *First-Order Code: Turnover Challenges* Aaliyah^{M}: "Some of [the musicians] have gone on and do other things much, like some of the staff … has gone on to do other things because they had just arrived … some of them have pivoted, some have jumped into different areas or different career paths."

Note: Table provides one additional example for each first-order code. For additional data support, please refer to the Online Appendix.

more easily than I do now … .for me personally, that's been very surprising. I'm like, 'Oh, okay I can handle this.' As Victoria remarked, handling the adversity in her work built her capabilities to manage stressful situations in the future.

Improved performance. By the end of year two of the pandemic, Fortis was on stronger footing. Fortis went from a 7.1 million USD loss prepandemic to a 2.7 million USD profit by 2022, while growing revenues from 26.3 million USD to 32.6 million USD. Reflecting on this progress, Denise^{M} said, "We have actually reduced the debt of our organization so that we are on slightly better financial ground." Furthermore, Denise pointed out that due to stronger cash flows, Fortis was able to pay off a large pension liability that had haunted its balance sheet for years, "We're going to be able to take that extra money and pay off that frozen pension plan and wipe this huge risk off of our balance sheet … That's one of those things that we're actually coming out of this stronger." Part of this increased financial performance came from returning ticket sales. As Emma^{M} pointed out,

> Attendance for the concerts has continued to be strong. We're basically meeting the max kind of potential in the hall that we can safely do. So that's been going well. The livestreams are selling really well. So on the public interest side, it's strong.

Fortis was also able to play a full schedule of performances in September through May 2021 and again in 2022, with Emma pointing out: "We were the only U.S. orchestra, we might be the only orchestra in the world … to finish an entire regular season with

in-person audiences … Then there were all orchestras that did virtual, but not without [audiences]."

Weaker Adjustment at Revenite via a Lost Organizational Identity

Losing organizational identity at Revenite. As Revenite's resourceful practices focused on avoiding organizational death, members started to perceive the loss of its identity. This went beyond contracting their own identity (e.g., Kreiner et al., 2015) as the organization's identity essentially disappeared. First, there was the challenge of being a symphony without an orchestra, as Joshua^{M} reflected, "The orchestra … is why the institution exists … You can't reemerge without the thing that your identity is built around." Since there was no music playing and no musicians, Mei^{MU} reported a lost identity: "Revenite wouldn't exist without musicians."

Second, the furloughed musicians set up their own entity, leading to a competing identity that further eroded Revenite's. A musician newsletter made the musicians' identity claim:

> We have achieved many firsts under the auspices of our identity as the Musicians of the Revenite Symphony. We relaunched our updated website, released our first newsletter, announced the opening of our Financial Aid Fund, and held our first concert in the new [name of] series. (D-163)

Musicians made the competing identity explicit to the public:

> The Musicians of the Revenite Symphony consists of the professional musicians who are normally full-time employees of the Revenite Symphony. The Revenite Symphony has furloughed all musicians of the orchestra, so the Musicians are independently run and do not represent the Revenite Symphony. (D-154)

Decreased impact. Revenite survived, but its impact diminished and its staff burned out (Table 6). Without an orchestra, the organization suspended concerts and substantially decreased community engagement. Lucy^{M} wondered, "How do we stay present in our community? How do we offer our materials and our organization as a resource to families and schools and teachers, but not have our musicians as one of the main resources we're offering?" Going even further, Andrew^{M} offered a fairly sober assessment of Revenite: "We lost music. We lost the community. We've lost serving the community in the core of what we do. We lost our mission. Our mission became reemerging, our mission wasn't serving the public music." As Andrew noted, Revenite shifted its focus to simply surviving the pandemic.

In contrast to Fortis, which used the pandemic to deepen its focus on equity, Revenite made no progress in this area during the furlough, despite increased attention to the issue. Joshua^{M} pointed out, "We're a large institution and so the idea that somehow we could rebuild everything through an equity centered lens was not practicable … I don't feel like we have made progress on it because it's been so hard just to figure out how to put things back together again."

Employee burnout. Remaining members of Revenite felt burned out. They had many decisions to make and few colleagues to assist with the process. Joshua recognized, "There was this kind of fatigue of trying to keep up with decision-making, communicating, and setting up these new systems for managing all these mass things." With such a small group of staff around, it was taxing on remaining staff. Paul^{M} said, "I feel like we're doing the best we can under a really, really tough situation. [We're] working almost nonstop." Or, as Claire^{M} bluntly put it, "I also think everybody is pretty burned out."

Many members of Revenite joined because of its mission. Without concerts, Claire noted, members struggled to derive work meaning, which contributed to their feelings of burnout:

> It's just very hard, when that's what you're used to doing. And that's what invigorates your work … To constantly never be having the satisfaction of having a concert. And how do you find other ways to sort of feel fulfilled in your work is a challenge … The financial analysis or whatever, that is not fulfilling obviously, in the same way as pulling off a great concert and seeing people happy … It would be really nice to have a concert.

Poor performance. Without an orchestra, ticket sales dramatically decreased the first year of the pandemic and were zero by year two. Revenue substantially decreased, although the organization squeezed out a profit because of donations coupled with severe cost-cuts. Joshua^{M} explained,

> It's been a struggle all year … So much of what we do is built on a base of subscribers, season ticket holders. That base was seriously eroded by the pandemic … When the foundation of what you're doing is that loyalty model and you don't have as much loyalty, it affects the overall outcome.

Another indicator of performance difficulties was around staffing the organization. Eight of Revenite's musicians resigned from the organization during the pandemic—a sizable loss of hard-to-recruit talent.

Shift to Promotive Resourcefulness at Revenite

As our study continued, we observed a dramatic turnaround at Revenite. It started with successfully obtaining a government grant. With preventative resourcefulness also contributing to additional funds (fundraising and cost-cutting), Revenite's financial circumstances changed. Even more importantly, the meaning it ascribed to its circumstances changed. We use updating (Table 7) to explain this shift and show how it transformed Revenite's trajectory from surviving to resiling by fostering hopefulness and a new identity (see Online Appendix for data support).

Updating. Managers at Revenite started using updating to shift their understanding of the adversity. Updating is a process of revising past sensemaking based on new cues (Christianson, 2019). First, Revenite used financial updating, defined as revising perceptions about an organization's fiscal standing. Revenite's cash position was stronger, which prompted changes in how members of the organization made meaning of those circumstances. Edward^{M} observed that due to financial management, Revenite could now afford to bring musicians back on a stipend: "We focused our time on fundraising and set a record actually for fundraising … and then we were able to bring the musicians back on a stipend." Reemploying the musicians was off the table only months before, but management changed the way they constructed the meaning of those circumstances. Most importantly, they felt able to negotiate with the musicians. Naomi^{M} said:

> It came down to finances and just being able to fund what would have been an honorable contract to get us out of this and back working to the level that everyone was expecting and the level that would generate the revenue to keep the organization going.

Second, by believing they were on firmer footing to negotiate, management reengaged the musicians, which helped them notice their suffering. Beforehand, the lack of belief that they had anything financially viable to offer musicians blocked communications between management and the musicians. A reopened pathway for communication led to emotional updating, defined as revisions in understanding others' or one's own feelings. Even though the musicians had been suffering since their furloughs, managers initially did not fully process these cues. They focused on what felt like the more existential problem of organizational survival. Additionally, the furloughs interfered with direct contact with the musicians. Indeed, Joshua^{M} expressed surprise when learning more details about the pain musicians faced: "Another thing that was surprising … is just how personally damaging it felt to people to be furloughed." However, when preventative resourcefulness provided enough resources to open up negotiations on returning the musicians, the extent of their suffering became clearer to management. Naomi^{M} explained:

> How resilient we are going to be able to be is how we define things like a value of sustainability and making sure people have the energy to work, the health, and the boundaries and that we're compassionate with each other … I … only feel more compassionate towards the individual … The whole experience of negotiating with a furloughed party and coming back from that has shifted my own ability. I think that we will be able to get through more things together if that's where we start the conversation, as an understanding of the life that we all have outside.

Naomi noted that the negotiation helped update her emotional perspective with compassion. She noted that the organization's resilience would account for not just the organization's needs, but also now the needs of employees outside of work. She explained how new feelings of guilt motivated her to turn around the organization:

> There was a lot of guilt. But I knew I wasn't going to be very productive if I kept that mindset … I really tried to as quickly as I could pivot my mindset to a place of motivation and commitment and kind of just, honestly, taking on a sense of duty, very strong duty to be a part of the team to figure this out … so these people could get their jobs back.

Claire^{M} also used the musicians' suffering to become "creative," foreshadowing a shift from the defensive preventative resourcefulness to the opportunistic promotive resourcefulness. She said, "The concept that our musicians are really hurting, and having to make pretty significant life choices … we need to sort of think beyond what we were used to and get creative."

While financial updating provided enough semblance of stability to attend to other cues, and emotional updating provided the motivation to take action, it was the third form of updating—operational updating—that helped managers understand how to

TABLE 7
Explaining Revenite's Shift from Preventative to Promotive Resourcefulness

Updating (Revenite)
Second-Order Category: Financial Updating
First-Order Code: Incorporating Earned Revenue into Budget
Claire^{M}: "Now we're in a place across the organization, I feel, where we have to do something as soon as possible in whatever way is possible. So that shift is what we've been looking at and building these new [financial] models for, is there's now an urgency and understanding that, how we return to any sort of content for people is important. We know that sort of all the big, these big contracts, this full house expectations in sales that were what was supposed to be happening this fall, those might have to wait, but what are the alternatives?"
First-Order Code: Flexible Financial Planning
Kevin^{B}: "We had to come up with scenarios that would allow us to put restart plans in place, such that we could dial up and dial down, based on what actually happens."
Second-Order Category: Emotional Updating
First-Order Code: Empathizing with Musicians
Naomi^{M}: "Living through the furlough, living through negotiations, living through not being able to engage with our patrons, it had devastating impact. There's musicians that are not coming back because like, 'I don't want to be a musician anymore.' There's staff that did not come back. I have two members on my staff, my entire team was furloughed, but when it came time to be able to hire people back there were two very long 12–20 year veteran staff members on my department who were like, 'I'm moving on in life.' And so I think there's a really devastating impact."
First-Order Code: Personal Sadness over Loss
Kevin^{B}: "It was difficult. It was very, very, difficult. First, when we had to vote as a board to furlough the musicians, and staff as well. It's easy to say business is business, and it was a very important business decision that we had to take, but you cannot walk past the personal emotions. You just cannot do it. That was challenging. Seeing my friends go without paychecks for a year and a half was difficult, very, very difficult. Then going through the restart, the renegotiation, it was a challenging negotiation … Personally, it was difficult for me. It was difficult for everybody on the board, but I think because I had some personal friendships that were unique, it was difficult."
Second-Order Category: Operational Updating
First-Order Code: Musicians networking with members of other orchestras
Liu^{MU}: "There are other orchestras in the United States and that everybody seemed to be doing this collaboration, this video collaboration … Other orchestras were already trying to figure out how to perform together.. they were just really proactive and I remember feeling … it was really up to the musicians to keep ourselves out there for the community."
First-Order Code: Management Observing Musicians' Resourcefulness to Operate Independently
Kevin^{B}: "The board felt very positively about what the musicians did through the summer, when the Musicians of the Revenite Symphony went around and did small performances … They kept themselves out there, they kept themselves current, kept practicing. They kept doing their thing. I learned the resilience of that group of musicians."

Note: Table provides one additional example for each first-order code. For additional data support, please refer to the Online Appendix.

resume operations. Operational updating involves revising beliefs about how to adjust to adversity. Managers observed the musicians' promotive resourcefulness and recognized that the organization could similarly act. Musicians, while operating as the Musicians of Revenite, mimicked other orchestras who had resumed operations, including Fortis. A social media post by the Musicians of Revenite stated: "Bravo to the Fortis Symphony … on the success of their streaming series! … Fortis has found a way to gain revenue during the pandemic with socially distanced concerts live from [the hall]" (S-244). Musicians used their own personal networks to learn from members of other orchestras, with one musician explaining, "The whole orchestra really contacted friends and other orchestras for ideas and we brought them all back to our group" (O-15).

With new information about how to successfully operate, the Musicians of Revenite used promotive resourcefulness to operate independently of Revenite. One musician summarized:

> When faced with a … a long work stoppage that included basically a season-long furlough, [the musicians] had to learn some new skills and think in terms of creating a different alternative to what we were facing. The challenge was bringing our audience along with us in the short term and in the long term … We created our own concert series … We used the concerts to raise money for a relief fund in a way that was completely different than any other orchestra in the country. We put cash in the pockets of our musicians when it was most needed. We also built a framework of 10 committees of musicians and essentially we became our own orchestra management during the furlough … .I think the biggest thing we can do is to

> find even more ways to connect with our communities. (O-15)

The above quote shows how musicians used promotive resourcefulness to hold concerts and raise money, as well as increase community impact, which foreshadows what we will later describe at Revenite. The musicians also recognized the importance of acting in the short term.

As the musicians operated independently, Revenite management started to notice their operations and began to see a pathway for reuniting with the musicians. Joshua^{M} remarked:

> The musicians immediately understood based on what they saw their peers doing that they had to come up with some way to stay engaged with our audience from home … I think you saw that kind of resourcefulness and people producing their own content and coming up with creative ideas and I think there's some very specific creative ideas that certain people did where I just thought, "Wow, that's really resourceful." … Let's credit them for having to be the most resourceful because they had to be completely self-organized once they were furloughed. They organized a concert series. They put together their own fundraising campaign, they organized into multiple committees and essentially self-actualized as the Musicians of the Revenite Symphony in a way that I have to say is pretty awesome.

As Joshua explained, the musicians acted in promotively resourceful ways by redefining the meaning of a performance and creating a structure to continue performing.

Promotive resourcefulness. By believing they were better financially, recognizing the pain of furloughs, and seeing new operational possibilities, managers started to modify their resourcefulness. They replaced financial austerity (preventative resourcefulness) with strategically managing costs (promotive resourcefulness) and expanded employee contributions shifted from a focus on stability to more learning and creative based actions.

Instead of continuing with furloughs, Revenite rehired most staff and all musicians on a modest stipend. Claire^{M} remarked, "In terms of financial modeling as part of the creativity … what could we offer? If we can't have our regular salaries for them in place, what can we do?" The sense of trying to do something beyond a shutdown was a departure from earlier in the pandemic. Revenite's management also shifted from treating musicians as a cost center to treating them as a valuable resource that could generate more resources. For Joshua^{M}, bringing back the musicians

> was a logical decision to make because it was going to help from a business continuity standpoint. It would help us to be able to raise more money if we could work with our musicians on that, so that we're not fundraising separately … It would enable us to stay present and visible in the community … and also it would create a way for our musicians to be able to work together under the aegis of Revenite … . It's not perfect, but it's better than doing nothing.

As Joshua pointed out, the organization started to see that spending money on the musicians might actually help contribute to the bottom line.

Another shift from preventative to promotive resourcefulness came from expanded employee contributions. Like Fortis, Revenite held concerts with new music to fit into pandemic constraints, which required musicians to learn new pieces. An annual report (D-126) stated that "between May and June 2021, Revenite Symphony musicians welcomed the community back to the [hall] with six Summer Chamber Music Series concerts, all free and open to the public." Beyond playing different music, promotive resourcefulness included the use of "alternative services," which radically expanded the role of musicians and required them to engage in new creative activities, such as education or the organization's diversity and equity efforts (D-61). Naomi^{M} came to recognize that

> the musicians come with more to the table than they give themselves credit for. And so even that alternative services list that I've talked about, we want their whole self to come to this organization … We're going to have to be incredibly resourceful going into these first few months … [we've] got to just try to make it work with what we have.

Hopefulness. Hopelessness turned into hopefulness at Revenite when members started to see promotive resourcefulness yield progress. Instead of survival concerns, members felt hopeful about the future. Andrew^{M} said, "Now that we've hired the musicians back, we have something to talk about … We're going to be able to start inspiring people again." Naomi^{M} reflected on the possibilities from alternative services, expressing hope: "There's a lot of ideas, which I'm actually really excited about that I hope we can … We're all thinking about, 'Okay, what can we do now?'" This sense of hope and focus on what they could do now is a sharp contrast to earlier in the crisis. We found hope had increased throughout the organization, including with musicians on social media, with one posting (S-2): "I look forward to more #StepsForward that bring our Revenite Symphony not only back, but in a

position to lead the way for other orchestras!" The newfound sense of hope was also discussed in a musician newsletter (D-98): "There's no way to sugarcoat it. The year 2020 was not a good one for the Revenite Symphony or its musicians. But with the beginning of a new year, there are hopeful signs of a brighter future." Members of Revenite started to use hope as a springboard to engage in more promotive resourcefulness. Paul^{M} reflected, "This is a real moment … we could have an impact on our institution that really in normal times could take five to 10 years or longer to institute some of the changes we have the opportunity to make now in a really short period of time … That's really exciting."

Expanding organizational identity. Promotive resourcefulness, fueled by hopefulness, allowed Revenite to act in more expansive ways, which shaped a broader organizational identity. That is, through actions, members started to construct Revenite's identity more expansively. Like Fortis, it started playing chamber music at first, and then started adding to its repertoire to build on its prepandemic artistic identity. In describing the artistic aspects of the organization's 2022–2023 season, Naomi^{M} said, "I feel like it's an extension of where we were. I feel like we picked up where we left off … We're back on that trajectory that we really were trying to set."

Beyond an expanded artistic identity, Revenite now saw itself as an organization more fully connected to the community. Andrew^{M} noted that the pandemic

> did give us a chance to reinvent ourselves and I think we're coming out of it with a brand new, fresh perspective on how we want to serve the community. How … we want to listen more, how we want to be more reflective of the diversity of our community.

Naomi described Revenite's new community focus going forward: "I think that we want to be more impactful and more relevant to the community … We need to help the community heal when we come out of this, when we can start playing again." Indeed, in a press release (D-68), Revenite discussed its resilience in the context of overcoming a great challenge. It constructed the organization's identity as a community healer.

> None of us could have imagined the year that we have all just experienced. As we reemerge together from the pandemic, the Revenite Symphony looks forward to helping our community heal and celebrating our orchestra's rich history of resilience, artistic vibrancy and community service. We are … looking to the future with great anticipation as we devote ourselves to becoming an even more community-focused organization.

Stronger adjustment to adversity. During the second half of the pandemic, Revenite exhibited stronger adjustment to the pandemic, financially, operationally, and in terms of impact. Revenue increased in the year ending July 2022 to 28.3 million USD, compared to 9.8 million USD the prior year and 24.7 million USD before the pandemic. The orchestra returned for a full salary and put on a full program of concerts. Beyond financial and operational metrics, Revenite executed on its broadened identity around community. Although it did not change its mission like Fortis did, it performed programing to meet its community's needs. Edward^{M} noted,

> We decided, even with the stipend, that we weren't going to try to monetize any of that work. That we were instead going to redirect that work … into focusing on helping the community heal from the psychological and emotional damage that the whole pandemic [wrought] on the community.

He noted that diversity needs to be prioritized to help the city:

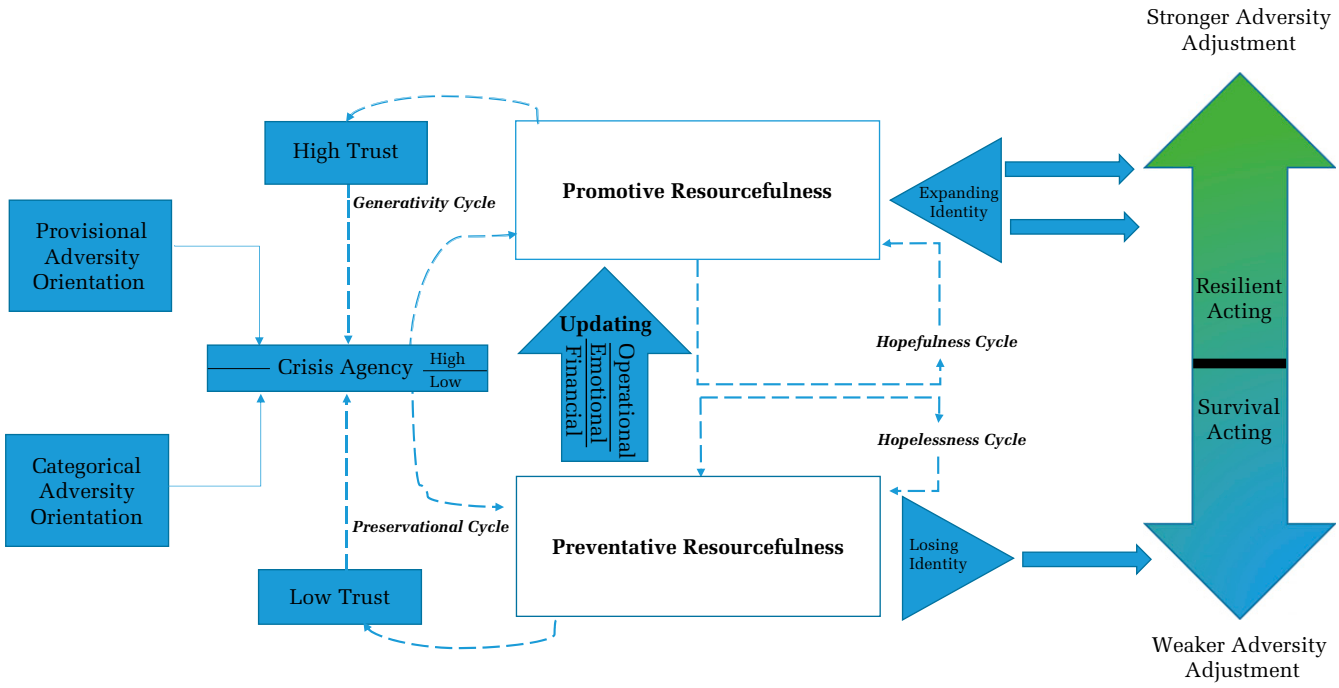
> By the year 2040, [the city] will be a minority-majority city … We can wait to really implement these changes. It's not just about what the institution looks like in terms of its ethnic and racial diversity, but it's also about what are we doing in the community?

Accordingly, Revenite increased its percentage of classical concerts with musical pieces composed by underrepresented (Black, Latin American, and women) composers to 57% in 2022–2023 (versus 0% in 2018–2019), and boosted education and community programs from 17 in 2019 to 21 by 2022.

A PROCESS MODEL OF ADVERSITY ADJUSTMENT USING RESOURCEFULNESS

As we moved between our data and existing research, we theorized how resourcefulness shapes responses to adversity. One pathway, derived from our analysis of Fortis, theorizes how organizations start strongly in adjusting to adversity. Organizations that use a provisional adversity orientation create crisis agency. By empowering action despite uncertainty, employees feel they have control over adversity, which enables resourcefulness to be promotive—that is, focusing on repurposing resources in opportunistic ways. Promotive resourcefulness becomes sustained

FIGURE 1
A Process Model of Adversity Adjustment Using Resourcefulness



through two ampliative cycles: (a) a generativity cycle that mutually increases trust and crisis agency, and (b) a cycle that fosters hopefulness. As members observe ongoing promotive resourcefulness, they expand their organizational identity and strongly adjust to the adversity (denoted by top arrow in Figure 1, from expanding identity to adversity adjustment).

A second pathway comes from our analysis of Revenite's initial response. A categorical adversity orientation cripples organizations with uncertainty, which diminishes crisis agency. With limited agency, members focus on surviving through preventative resourcefulness, which is sustained through two cycles: (a) a preservational cycle that decreases trust and crisis agency, and (b) a hopelessness cycle. As members use preventative resourcefulness, they start to construct a lost identity. The organization, although surviving, only weakly adjusts to the adversity, enacting the scaled down version of who it thinks it must become (Figure 1, bottom).

A third pathway, also derived from Revenite, shows how organizations can change resourcefulness. Financial updating creates a greater sense of stability, making it possible to notice other cues, including the emotional consequences of adversity on employees. These emotional cues motivate managers to adjust to the adversity to attend to the needs of employees. Believing that the organization is more financially stable also activates managers to seek out operational ideas about how to adjust to become stronger. Accordingly, updating provides a shift in focus (moving beyond survival), increase in motivation (attending to employees' needs), and more expansive repertoire of responses (by observing others) to shift resourcefulness to promotive. Furthermore, even though promotive resourcefulness originated from updating in the midst of a crisis, similar processes and outcomes unfold afterward—namely generating hopefulness, expanding an organizational identity, and acting resiliently. Yet, this type of resilient action qualitatively differs from the first path: trust issues may never fully resolve, the organization's expanded identity might be less robust (for Revenite, it was not encoded in an updated mission), and resilient actions only occur for part of the crisis. Accordingly, this third pathway may yield weaker (but still strong) adversity adjustment compared to the first pathway (Figure 1, bottom arrow from expanding identity to adversity adjustment).

DISCUSSION

Contributions

Our research makes three contributions to the organizational resilience literature. First, we explain how such resilience is accomplished over time through resourcefulness. We theorize how an initial adversity orientation shapes crisis agency, which, in turn, influences resourcefulness type (promotive or preventative), ultimately impacting adversity adjustment. Although scholars have examined resourcefulness as a mechanism for adversity adjustment (e.g., Browder, Seyb, Forgues, & Aldrich, 2023; Williams and Shepherd, 2016a), we explain how resourcefulness emerges, shifts over time, and leads to different degrees of adversity adjustment. Thus, resilience may not best be characterized as bouncing forward or bouncing backward—a feature of the literature that has led to fragmentation (Hepfer & Lawrence, 2022). Instead, building on Shepherd and Williams (2022), we show that not only do different types of organizations respond to the same adversity in varied ways, but similar organizations also do. We spotlight mutable organizational processes to explain these resilient acts. Our theorizing proposes that organizations can act resiliently, but it is misleading to label them as resilient given the possibility of changes—a reminder that theorizing requires stamping out nouns and replacing them with verbs (Weick, 1979).

Second, we theorize how acting resiliently depends on the endogenous creation of resources (Dutton & Glynn, 2008). Scholars have suggested that resources are a critical part of achieving resilience, such as by using slack financial resources (Gittell et al., 2006) or developing cognitive capability endowments (Williams & Shepherd, 2016b). Our study deepens understanding over the mechanisms that explain resilient actions through *endogenous* resource creation. We theorize two ampliative cycles (Feldman & Worline, 2012) that power adversity adjustment. They use a previously resourced framework as the basis of a new resource (e.g., Quinn & Worline, 2008). Initial responses to adversity can activate an ampliative cycle that unlocks additional resources to respond to a crisis. Trust, crisis agency, and hopefulness get recursively generated and fuel sustained promotive resourcefulness. This builds on research about how "gain spirals" can arise over time as an important part of resourcing (Hobfoll, 2011) by linking it to resilience research.

We also theorized how endogenous resourcefulness expands an organization's identity, which creates a new resource to guide a more enduring positive adjustment. This identity allows members to envision an improved version of itself and coalesce around new central, enduring, and distinctive features (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Scholars who have examined identity, resourcefulness, and resilience have focused on congruence between a firm's founder's *social* identity and organizational practices (Powell & Baker, 2014). In the resilience literature, identity has been studied at the *individual* level, with a focus on how it fosters post-traumatic growth after injury (Maitlis, 2020). Building on this research, we examined identity at the *organizational* level and proposed that it is shaped by resourcefulness, and explained the nature of adversity adjustment in each organization. This spotlights how the intersection of organizational resilience and resourcefulness serves as more than a way to adjust to adversity, also instituting deeper changes that may have lasting effects through identity (Glynn, 2000). Accordingly, achieving resilience is not simply about certain actions. Rather, it is about changing the possibilities for who an organization can become (Carlsen, 2006).

A focus on endogenous resourcefulness also points to the role of employees in achieving resilience. Prior research has often assumed that resilience requires centralized power and authority (e.g., van den Berg et al., 2022) and prioritized leadership before and during a crisis as a key explanation for adversity adjustment (Williams et al., 2017). However, we find crisis agency among employees as critical for explaining the resourcefulness that enables resilient acts. For example, it was musicians, and not managers, at Revenite who created a resource around how to reopen that guided management in finally resuming operations. Furthermore, we found that strongly adjusting to adversity involved ordinary members of organizations working with each other and stakeholders such as the community, whereas weaker responses involved disconnecting among organizational members and management and the community. Such relational mechanisms are being introduced into resilience theorizing (e.g., Olekalns, Caza, & Vogus, 2020; Stoverink, Kirkman, Mistry, & Rosen, 2020), but, with very few recent exceptions (e.g., Barton & Sutcliffe, 2023), there is limited empirical research. Our findings show how interrelating among employees and managers is critical for the strongest forms of adjustment.

Third, our theory also suggests that resourcefulness may be more robust in fueling resilient acts than scholars have realized. Perspectives such as threat-opportunity (e.g., Staw et al., 1981) portray the resource contraction process as fairly deterministic,

creating a downward spiral for organizations that constrict resources during duress. Yet, through updating, it is possible to break this cycle, suggesting that even when making potentially fatalistic decisions early in a crisis, organizations can still act resiliently. By linking updating to resilience, we explain how adversity adjustment can shift over time, and, in particular, become stronger.

Resourcefulness. Our study contributes to resourcefulness research in three ways. First, it theorizes two types of resourcefulness—promotive and preventative—that integrate with the social-psychologically orientated regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997). Promotive resourcefulness builds on existing research that has portrayed resourcefulness as helpful not only for survival but also for capitalizing on opportunities with strong degrees of agency (Sarasvathy, 2001; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). Some prior research has suggested that when market demand drops, organizations frame situations as "worst-case" scenarios to motivate action (Shepherd & Williams, 2022). Yet, we find that more opportunistic framing led to a major organizational transformation. Our introduction of mechanisms around adversity orientation, trust, hopefulness, and organizational identity explain how the opportunity-focused repurposing of resources is fueled under trying conditions. In contrast, preventative resourcefulness shows how organizational members might be directed by their interpretations of a crisis to focus on the repurposing of resources with the more focused goal of avoiding organizational death. However, by envisioning a worst-case scenario, employees became stripped of their agency and struggled to more strongly adjust to the crisis. More generally, by explicitly contrasting resourcefulness types, we show that resourcefulness is shaped by sociocognitive and affective mechanisms that both create conditions for resourcefulness and help determine its nature. Furthermore, although regulatory focus often operates as a psychological construct, or sparingly at the teams level, our study shows how these concepts might have utility in understanding organizational actions (Ahn, Cho, & Cho, 2021). Indeed, our research shows how it is possible to shift from a promotion to a prevention focus, a key interest of scholars who have usually treated regulatory focus as fixed (Johnson, Smith, Wallace, Hill, & Baron, 2015).

Second, by taking a historical view of resourcefulness, our findings help answer scholars' call to focus on resourcefulness over time by understanding how cognitions shape its practices (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010) and the different outcomes resourcefulness influences. For example, promotive and preventative resourcefulness provide a new avenue for research which proposes that firms have different capabilities for managing their portfolio of resources (e.g., Sirmon, Hitt, & Ireland, 2007), and ultimately using them to positively change, even under constraints (e.g., Ganz, 2005). In addition, which resourcefulness type an organization exhibits may have less to do with the adversity than it does with adversity orientation and crisis agency. A provisional orientation empowers a shorter-term focus to experiment (e.g., Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997), which develops a sense of control over crisis and promotive resourcefulness. In contrast, a categorical orientation inhibits crisis agency. These findings build on research on agency (e.g., Garud & Karnøe, 2003) by showing how incremental adjustments to resources help organizations adapt and eventually innovate, but waiting for a more favorable environment might come at the expense of perceived agency needed to create that very favorable environment.

Third, we unpack limitations of resourcefulness. Although preventative resourcefulness fosters survival, it leads to burnout (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). Accordingly, we explained how the type of resourcefulness impacts employees' psychological states, and can sap away valuable psychological resources, creating an intriguing situation in which resourcefulness creates more value for some resources while undermining others. At the organizational level, our findings add to evidence of an upper boundary for resourcefulness (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Steffens et al., 2023), showing harm with preventative resourcefulness around impact. Our study also suggests that the limitations of resourcefulness are not just tied to a firm's lifecycle (Senyard, Baker, & Davidsson, 2009) or its frequency (Baker & Nelson, 2005), but also to its qualitative nature.

Future Directions and Limitations

Our study opens up several avenues for future research. First, we examined a crisis that unfolded across an industry and identified how resilience can become collectively achieved. Fortis was a trailblazer in its industry and members of Revenite observed Fortis's responses, which shaped its musicians' promotive resourcefulness as well as, through updating, the organization's eventual stronger adversity adjustment. Our findings suggest that collective knowledge transfer might create "resilience contagion" in an organization (e.g., from musicians to management) and among organizations within an industry (e.g., from Fortis to Revenite). Indeed, although symphonies were under strong

pressures during the pandemic, none of the top 20 symphonies in the United States folded, which might be due to learning from Fortis. Scholars have studied population-level resilience in which new ventures bolster an entire community (e.g., Williams & Shepherd, 2016a), but the prospect of one (part of an) organization carving out a pathway for resilience for other entities is something scholars can address more fully in the future. Scholars should also consider potential downsides of resilience contagion. For example, Fortis's expansion of its market boundaries for programming and donations might have infringed upon other orchestras' home markets, making it harder for them to adjust to the adversity. This raises the question of whether adversity adjustment is a zero-sum game. Although this was not the focus of our study, we did find that Revenite was waiting to learn from other organizations and that members of different orchestras talked with each other about how best to address the crisis. Such knowledge diffusion, and the desire to help competitors, may suggest resilience contagion and nonzero-sum competition (Sonenshein, Nault, & Obodaru, 2017).

Second, our study raises the possibility that acting resiliently is something that can appear, change, and disappear over time, suggesting the need for longitudinal research. One of the challenges in studying resilience is that it is difficult to predict when a crisis first unfolds. At the other end of the spectrum, it is not clear what will happen to organizations in the future. Indeed, had we ended data collection one year into the adversity, we might have concluded that Revenite did not act resiliently. Until there is organizational death, there is the possibility that surviving can turn into resiling if scholars take a longer-term view of adversity (and vice versa). Such an approach is critical because organizations deal with the aftermath of a crisis long after it appears to have ended (Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010). It also triggers a question scholars should address: What is a suitable time period for studying adversity adjustment?

Third, it would be helpful to examine additional organizations to learn whether there are other mechanisms that explain differences in resilient acts over time. Our data hint that a provisional orientation might yield stronger forms of resilience, but more research is needed. In addition, while we found that it is possible to shift from surviving to resiling using updating, understanding how updating more fully functions, as well as when it fails to lead to a shift in resourcefulness type, could yield some promising research. For example, might updating provide space for a relational pause that allows an environment of low trust to reset (Barton & Kahn, 2019)? Furthermore, we did not examine a possible shift from promotive to preventative resourcefulness, and a move from achieving resilience to merely surviving (or dying). Questions such as what might enable an organization with a strong adjustment to adversity to suddenly falter are also worth investigating—such as whether it comes from the erosion of resourcefulness, or a shift in its type.

Practical Implications

Although practitioners often spotlight leadership for resilience (Jacobides, 2020), our study shows that the resourceful actions of employees plays a critical role in adversity adjustment. Trust and crisis agency empower employees to act promotively resourcefully. Interestingly, we also find that employees, even without these preconditions, can act in promotively resourceful ways outside the auspices of management. This points to the untapped value of employees who find ways of navigating adversity even if leaders are thwarted from doing the same.

Additionally, a common approach to adversity is to radically cut costs until times improve. This tactic allowed Revenite to continue operating during the crisis, but it inflicted suffering on employees and missed opportunities for more positive adjustment to the adversity. Our study proposes that taking a more promotive approach to resourcefulness will yield better organizational and employee outcomes. Indeed, business history is littered with examples of slow organizational deaths from ongoing cost-cutting, when more promotive responses to adversity might yield more enduring and transformational results.

Finally, our study finds that early approaches to a crisis have dramatic effects, such as a provisional orientation. Yet, managers are often told to project certainty and engage in long-term planning. However, these aspects of a categorical orientation led to weaker forms of positive adjustment. Instead, our study suggests that focusing on the short term and embracing uncertainty can endogenously produce resources needed to act resiliently.

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