EMOTIONAL CAPABILITY, EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, AND RADICAL CHANGE

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I present a multilevel theory of emotion and change, which focuses on attributes of emotional intelligence at the individual level and emotional capability at the organizational level. Emotional intelligence facilitates individual adaptation and change, and emotional capability increases the likelihood for organizations to realize radical change. I also present a mesolevel framework relating emotion-attending behaviors to three dynamics of change: receptivity, mobilization, and learning. These behaviors, which I term *emotional dynamics*, constitute the organization's emotional capability.

In the past decade, change has become a central focus of strategic management research. There is a growing school of thought that internal organizational capabilities, rather than generic positions or tactics, constitute the real source of sustainable competitive advantage. However, theoretical attempts to link large-scale organizational change to changes in intraorganizational processes of thought, feeling, and action have been modest. Change scholars have tended to focus on microcognitive processes at an individual or group level, whereas they have undertheorized linkages with radical organizational change. In a recent review of the literature on managerial and organization cognition, Walsh (1995) concludes that we know very little about the social and emotional bases of change. How do they relate to each other?

In this article I respond to the call to explore the interaction of emotion and strategic action by proposing a model that conceptually links the influence of emotion to three dynamics underpinning radical change: receptivity, mobilization, and learning. Based on the insights of organization theory and the literature on change, I show that these change dynamics critically impact the overall change process and outcome. Focusing on emotion illustrates how attention to microdynamics can generate macro changes. Here, I propose a

link between various change dynamics and emotional processes at both the individual and the organizational levels and use a meso framework to bridge these two levels. Figure 1 summarizes graphically the multilevel relationships that I present in this article.

More specifically, I discuss how various attributes of "emotional intelligence" (Goleman, 1995; Salovey & Mayer, 1990) can facilitate change and social adaptation at the individual level, and how attributes of "emotional capability" can facilitate radical change at the organizational level. Radical (or second-order) change has been defined as a discontinuous change in the basic philosophy of one person—at the individual level—or of the shared identity of members of the organization—at the organizational level (Reger, Gustafson, DeMarie, & Mullane, 1994). This change is analogous to a "paradigm shift" in scientific revolutions (Kuhn, 1970).

At the individual level, Salovey and Mayer define emotional intelligence as "the subset of social intelligence that involves the *ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions*" (1990: 189; emphasis in original). An emotionally intelligent individual is able to recognize and use his or her own and others' emotional states to solve problems and regulate behavior.

At the organizational level, emotional capability refers to an organization's ability to acknowledge, recognize, monitor, discriminate, and attend to its members' emotions, and it is manifested in the organization's norms and routines related to feeling (Schein, 1992). These routines reflect organizational *behaviors* that either express or evoke

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FIGURE 1
A Multilevel Framework
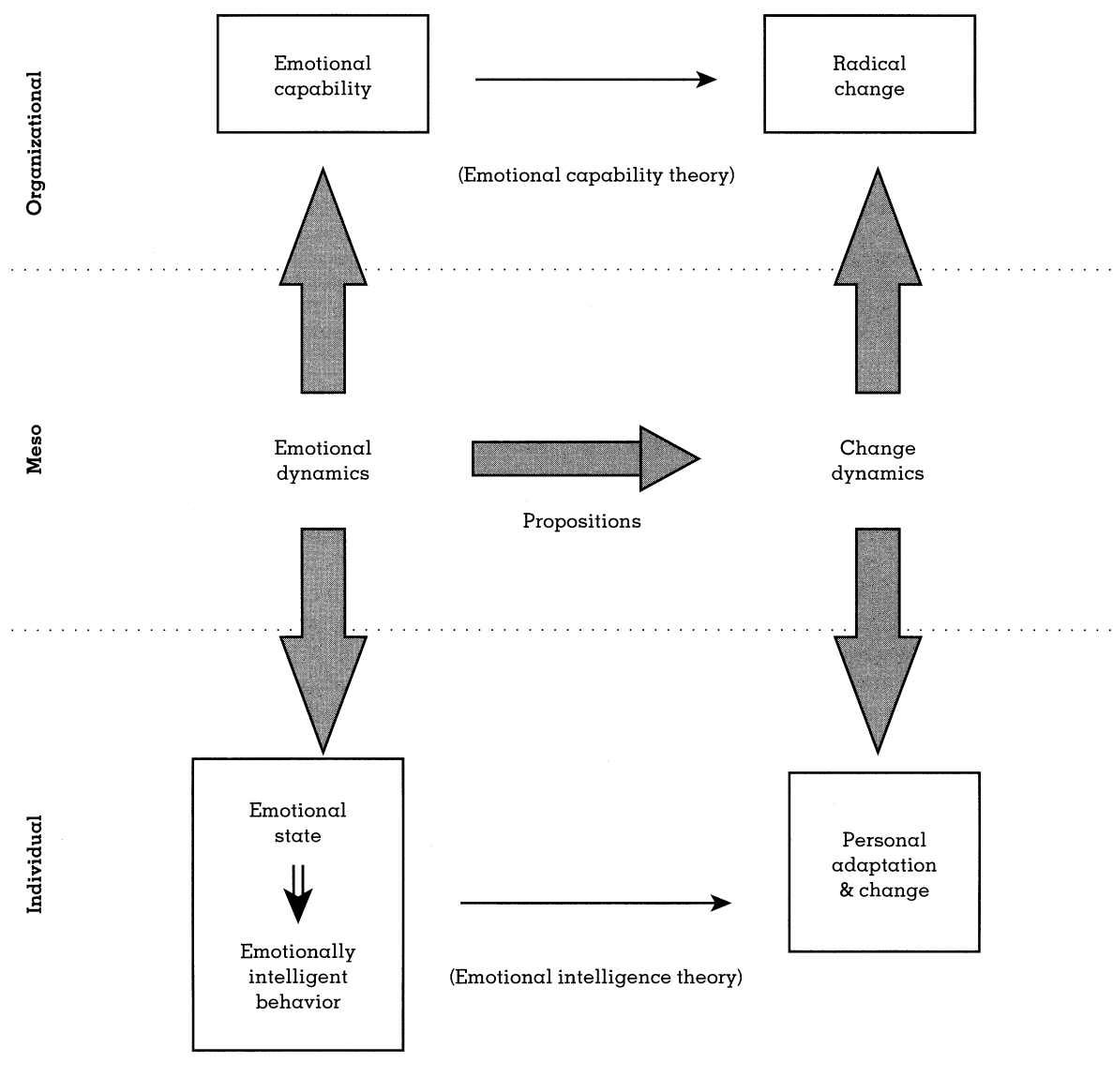
certain specific emotional states, and these behaviors I term *emotional dynamics*. I describe six emotional dynamics to illustrate the emotional capability concept and graphically summarize the relationships between the emotional dynamics and various *change dynamics* in Figure 2. Although these six emotional dynamics constitute the core of emotional capability, they may not be exhaustive. Unlike emotional intelligence, emotional capability is not even partly innate, can be developed over time, and does not necessarily require a large number of emotionally intelligent individuals in influential positions.

I stress that emotional capability[1] represents a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for or-

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[1] Although there are conceptual similarities between emotional intelligence and emotional capability, I deliberately use two different terms to avoid anthropomorphism and to underscore important differences. Emotional intelligence is essentially individual and can be partly innate. Emotional capability manifests itself at the organizational level and refers to acquired and organized behavioral routines.

FIGURE 2
How Emotional Dynamics Influence Change Dynamics
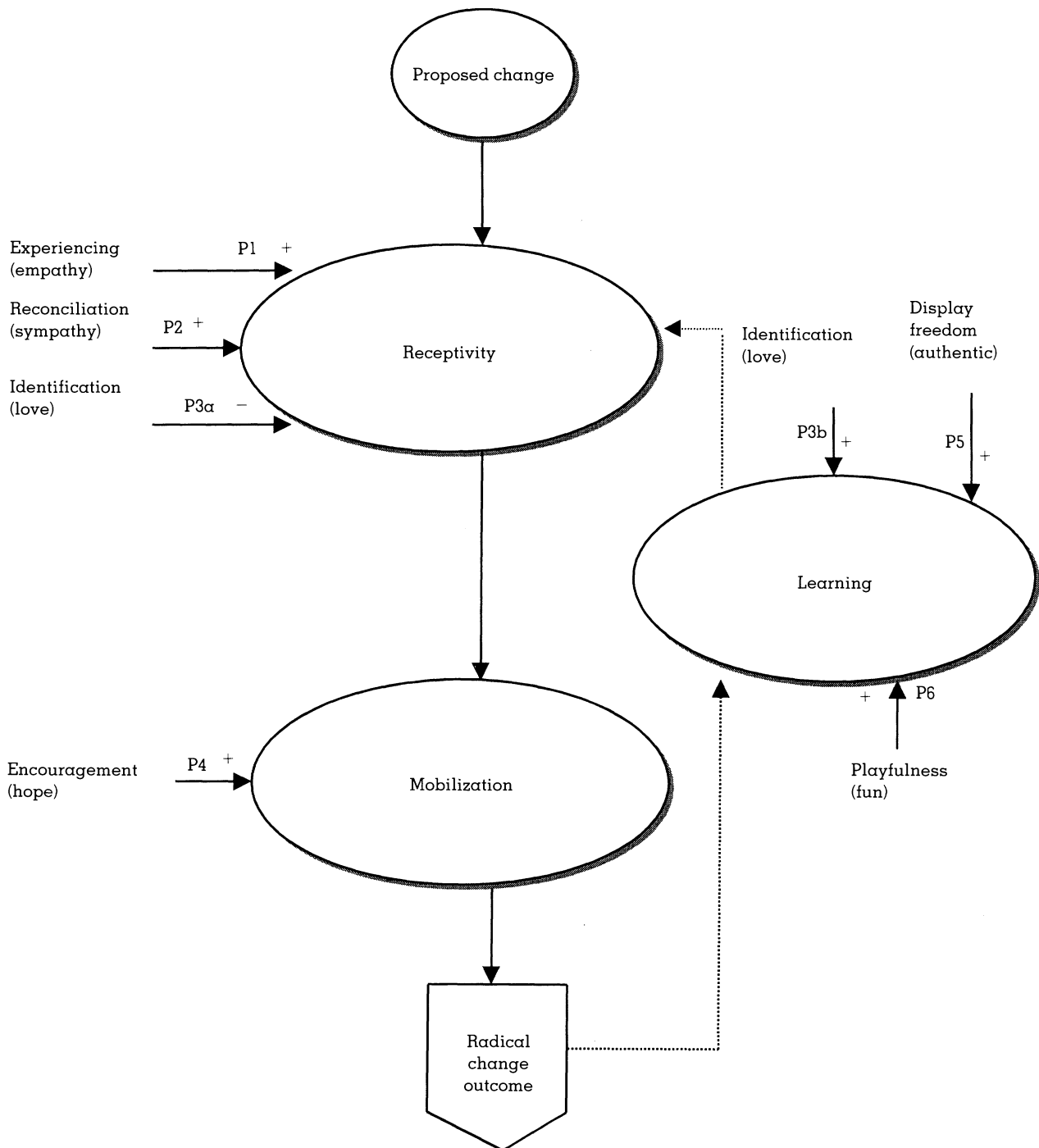
ganizations to realize *radical* change.[2] The model I present here is grounded in a social interactionist perspective (Hochschild, 1979), where I assume that human beings can effect radical change in organizations. The proposed model addresses emotional issues that are engendered by change at the organizational level, as opposed to emotions produced by intragroup conflicts (Jehn, 1997). Finally, development of the model has required eclectic borrowing from disparate literature streams, such as neurology, sociology, psychology, and political science. In concert with more conventional organizational culture and power theories, strategy research, and the prescriptive change literature, I attempt to expose an emotion-based, conceptual foundation for explaining why radical change is so difficult to realize, and how such difficulties might be attenuated.

I organize the article into four distinct parts. First, I define the three change dynamics and show how they can be both cognitive and emotional, individual and organizational. Second, I explain why emotional dynamics are important in the context of radical change. Third, I discuss the multilevel implications of the relationships between emotional dynamics and change dynamics within a mesolevel framework, and I elaborate upon each of the six emotional dynamics that form the core of the proposed emotional capability concept and relate them to change dynamics. Figures 1, 2, and 3 graphically represent the model at different levels of detail. Fourth, I end by discussing implications for future research. The Appendix contains a more elaborate discussion of the nature of emotion both at an individual and an organizational level.

CHANGE DYNAMICS

One can better understand how emotion affects a radical change if the change process is divided into its various components. Based on the interpretation-action models related to the creation of momentum for change, both at the

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[2] Other factors could be involved, such as availability of skills, resources, and time to cope with change pressures (Ledford, Mohrman, Mohrman, & Lawler, 1989); organizational size and diversity (Barker & Duhaime, 1997); appropriate vision or strategy (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991); and executive team characteristics (Boeker, 1997).

individual (Lazarus, 1993) and organizational (Dutton & Duncan, 1987; Dutton & Jackson, 1987) levels, I highlight in this article three critical processual challenges related to the realization of radical change: receptivity, mobilization, and learning. Figure 3 encapsulates the interplay between the three change dynamics and the proposed change and its outcome. I emphasize that these three dynamics may not be exhaustive. My purpose here is to propose some theoretical underpinnings as to why, how, and when emotions play a role in shaping the process of radical change.
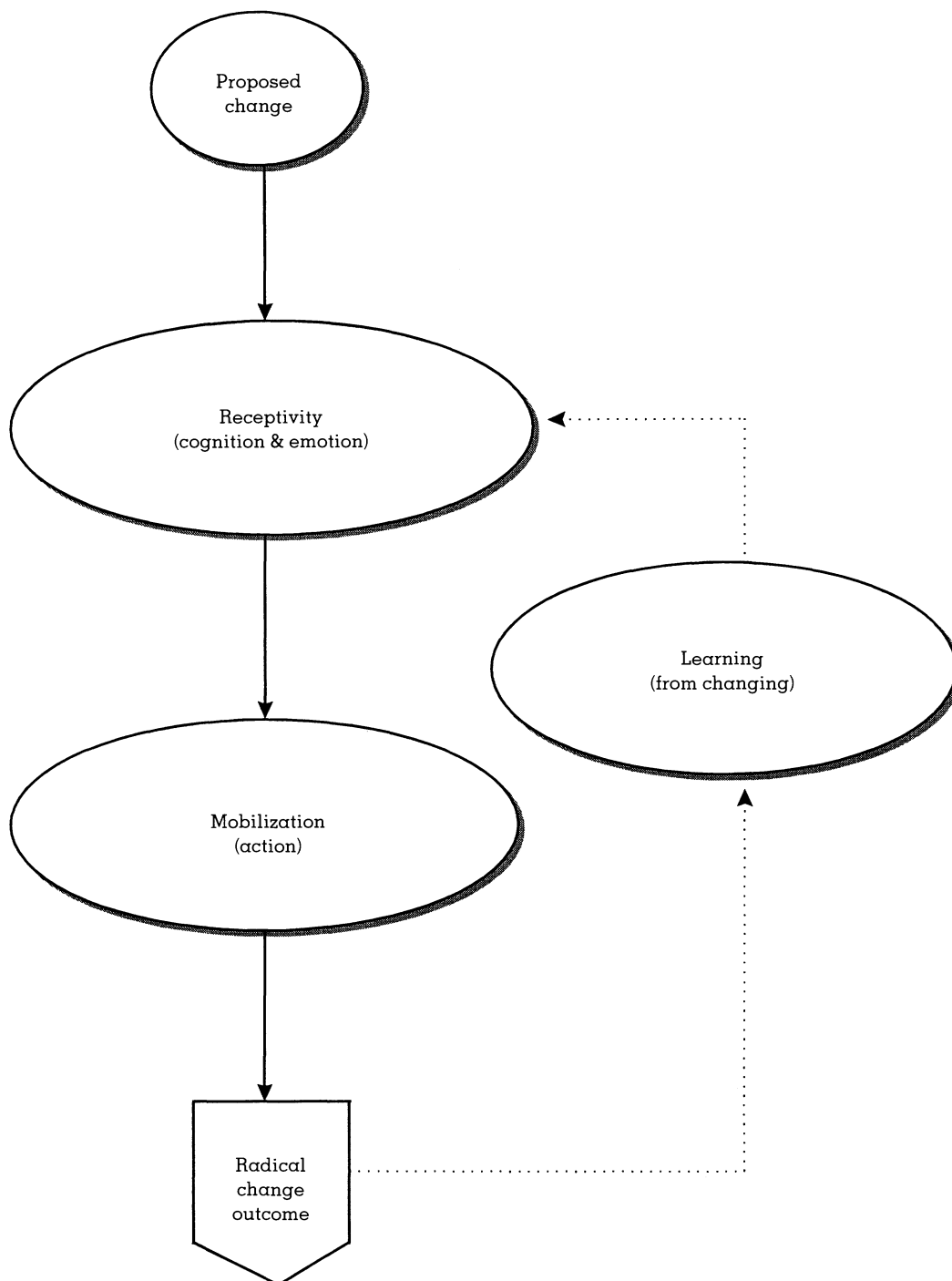
Receptivity

At the individual level, receptivity denotes a person's willingness to consider change. Analogously, at the organizational level, receptivity refers to organization members' willingness to consider—individually and collectively—proposed changes and to recognize the legitimacy of such proposals. Receptivity is both a state and a process. At any fixed point in time, receptivity denotes an interpretive, attitudinal state (both cognitive and emotional) to accept the need for the proposed change. Receptivity as a process shapes and is shaped by the continuous sensemaking and sensegiving activities conducted among various members of the organization. Individuals seek to develop a meaningful framework to understand the nature of the proposed change and to influence each other toward a preferred redefinition of the organizational reality (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). A proposal for radical change—a fundamental change in identity or basic philosophy—often triggers strong emotional responses, which affect how the change is cognitively construed, as well as the nature of ensuing actions.

Receptivity to change can be characterized by varying gradations of willingness to accept the proposed change, from resigned, passive acceptance to enthusiastic endorsement. Resistance to change represents the alter ego to receptivity and can range from moral outrage, which can translate into such extreme actions as vandalism and sabotage, to quiet cynicism and withdrawal behavior. Some degree of receptivity to change is necessary for mobilization and learning to occur.

FIGURE 3
Change Dynamics Model

Mobilization

At the individual level, mobilization refers to the concrete actions taken by a person in the direction of change. At the organizational level, mobilization refers to the process of rallying and propelling different segments of the organization to undertake joint action and to realize common change goals. The ability to mobilize

hinges on the availability of adequate resources (e.g., finances, time, and human resources), support structures, and systems but, most important, the necessary commitment and skill sets to cooperate during the change process.

Mobilization involves collaborative know-how—that is, the organization-wide capacity to implement change that cuts across departments, individuals, and time (Simonin, 1997) and requires active collaboration among team members that goes beyond simple agreement or compliance. Adherence to the spirit of the change goals, rather than just to the letter, is necessary to overcome unforeseen complications, and this necessitates deep understanding of the change rationale and commitment that minimizes inconsistencies in operationalization (Amason, 1996). Mobilization requires organizational commitment and effort devoted to change actions, which is contingent on adequate receptivity to the proposed change (Dutton & Duncan, 1987). Wide acceptance of the proposed vision accelerates the change process (Larwood, Falbe, Kriger, & Miesing, 1995).

Mobilization during radical change requires significant emotional energy. In contrast to first-order change, such as change in formal structures, which often requires the action of a minority in the dominant coalition, radical change that alters core perspectives and values often necessitates wide mobilization. Noting that the main challenge for organizations is often not a problem of choosing cognitively but of taking organized action, Brunsson asserts that action calls for "irrationality" (1982: 36–42). Strong motivations and commitments promote strong efforts to complete the action in spite of great difficulties.

Radical change often involves major uncertainty; the consequences of different alternatives are difficult to evaluate fully. During such periods, too much analysis may breed increasing doubt and paralysis; warm emotionality has to supersede cold rationality to enable coherent collective action. An important change requires a leap of faith into the unfamiliar (Kanter, 1983), and an emotionally unifying purpose serves to minimize large divergences among groups (Barnard, 1968). Having people committed to realizing a vision is more important for its success than a well-thought-out strategy (Pascale, 1984), because concentration and passionate dedica-

tion are necessary to achieve distinctive competence and success (Miller, 1993).

How does receptivity and mobilization interact? Lazarus's (1993) stress theory clarifies the relationship between an individual's receptivity to change and mobilization. Individuals go through a two-stage appraisal process. Through primary appraisal they evaluate the significance of a new event for their own well-being. If change recipients evaluate the potential consequence as harmful (arousing negative emotions), they are likely to be nonreceptive to the proposed change, but if they construe it as an opportunity or a challenge (positive emotions), they will be better attuned.

Through secondary appraisal individuals evaluate their own resources and capability for dealing with the stressor. Coping responses depend on how individuals construe their ability to respond: if they believe they have adequate resources to deal with this new event, they are likely to respond more actively. Individuals are motivated to act only if they perceive they can bridge the discrepancy between goals and performance (Westen, 1985). Thus, primary appraisal determines the extent to which an individual is receptive to change, whereas secondary appraisal determines the extent to which the individual mobilizes for change.

An analogous process occurs at the organizational level. A proposal for radical change triggers an iterative process called "strategic issue diagnosis," which includes a cognitive and an emotional component (Dutton & Duncan, 1987). Influential organization members are more receptive of major change if they interpret significant implications for the long-term viability of their organization. High receptivity increases the likelihood for mobilization, which results from two major interpretations: (1) the urgency of taking action on the issue as it relates to organizational performance or survival and (2) the feasibility of dealing with the issue, which relates to perception of issue understanding and capability (e.g., availability of adequate resources). The emotional dimension is involved when decision makers make evaluative appraisals about the significance of the change proposal and label it an "opportunity" or a "threat" (Dutton & Jackson, 1987: 82). These "hot" cognitive labels have been called "affective tags" (Fiske & Taylor, 1984).

Learning

Beyond receptivity leading to mobilization, individuals and organizations also can learn from the outcomes of the changes they enact, and learning provides a feedback loop from the outcomes of behavioral change back to receptivity. At the individual level, a person learns by thinking and then acting, using the outcome of action to revise his or her belief system (Kim, 1993; Weick, 1979). Neurologists have discovered that interactions between emotion and cognition are closely intertwined (Damasio, 1994). Emotion provides the primary feedback mechanism that alerts the person that various set goals are not being achieved, and this, in turn, motivates behavior (Westen, 1985). Emotion arouses dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs when a person compares the newly perceived reality with the template of prior expectations and finds there is a negative mismatch—that is, finds that reality is worse than prior expectations. This mismatch stimulates learning and change (Hochschild, 1983). The desire to minimize uncomfortable feelings and maximize positive ones affects information processing (Westen, 1985).

At the organizational level, an analogous process takes place according to the organizational goal-action-outcome-learning feedback framework suggested by Cyert and March (1992). An entity learns when it can be shown that the repertoire of its potential behaviors has evolved through information processing (Huber, 1991). Organizational learning takes place when successful individual learning is transferred to an organization's shared belief system, which includes the subtle interconnections of know-how and know-why that various members have developed among themselves. As old organizational routines are replaced and new ones executed, the shared mental model contains not only the new routines but also knowledge about how the routines fit with each other (Kim, 1993). Organizational learning internalizes and routinizes lessons drawn from a variety of individual and collective experiments (Simonin, 1997). Radical change often involves a collective, interactional, and emergent process of learning and sense-making (Bartunek, 1984; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991).

The emotional dimension of organizational learning arises from the interaction of affective components of organization receptivity (interpretation) and collective mobilization (action) previously discussed. Dissatisfaction with organizational outcomes can arouse uncomfortable feelings, leading to further assessment and learning. Radical change of core beliefs and values often starts with exposing and challenging deep-rooted assumptions. Single-loop learning occurs when the error is corrected by changing the behavior; double-loop learning requires change in the underlying assumptions, which will then lead to change in behaviors, and this activates strong emotions (Argyris, 1993). Organizational learning and change, therefore, can be facilitated by the enactment of specific emotional dynamics, and this constitutes the subject of the second half of this article.

These change dynamics are analogous at the individual and the organizational levels. Balance is imparted to the change model with the introduction of the feedback learning process. When people take action (i.e., mobilize), they may find that the outcomes of their actions are not as they had hoped. Ideally, under these circumstances, people (1) appraise and learn from such outcomes; (2) grow receptive to alternative courses of action; and (3) remobilize, taking action along a different and more promising course. This continual learning process is necessary, because radical change is by nature risky and unpredictable; the presence of learning dynamics helps to improve the chance of its realization.

Balance is addressed in that mobilization deals with the assumed certainty of the present, whereas learning deals with the perceived uncertainty of the future. Continuous balancing is necessary, because secondary effects of present actions often induce future imbalances. Mobilization may improve current action focus, but it may also reduce the range of search behavior; or it may induce optimism that will evolve into complacency, escalating commitments, and eventual disaster (Miller & Chen, 1996). To counter this pressure toward organizational simplicity, organization members must balance mobilization with learning-from-changing dynamics that introduce variation and adjustment. Effective learning processes capture early mistakes and rectify them before they become insurmountable.

These three change dynamics are influenced by the emotion-attending behaviors I call emotional dynamics, which I describe next.

EMOTIONAL DYNAMICS

Radical Change and Strong Emotional Responses

Why is radical change likely to arouse strong emotional responses? Radical (or second-order) change refers to a fundamental, qualitative change in the firm's philosophy or core perspective/identity, which may also affect the pattern of strategic relationships outside the firm. Core identity has been defined as the central, enduring, and distinctive characteristics of the organization that a large number of members feel proud of and have identified with personally (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). This deep change in core identity often requires concurrent shifts in all other organizational dimensions, such as structure, systems, and personnel, to preserve alignment.

Thus, a radical change is often deep and large scale (Ledford et al., 1989). The change causes not only a major and pervasive redistribution of resources and power, which is already highly upsetting in itself, but, by definition, demands a paradigm shift that challenges members' most basic assumptions about the nature of the organization (Bartunek, 1984; Reger et al., 1994). These assumptions define the domain of socially constructed reality and provide a patterned way of dealing with ambiguous, uncontrollable events (Schein, 1992). Organization members have "emotionally invested" in these nonnegotiable assumptions that shape their cognitive structures for sensemaking and meaning giving. Challenging this source of cognitive and emotional stability is tantamount to attacking core identity and, thus, could trigger strong defense mechanisms, such as anxiety and defensiveness (Schein, 1992).

Advocates of personal construct theory (Kelly, 1955) predict a similar emotional response to radical change. To the extent that the proposed change is perceived as being *in opposition to* esteemed core values, the individual's negative affect can be more intense than the affect aroused by lack of cognitive understanding of the proposed change. Opposing concepts are likely to trigger feelings of anger, threat, or fear

(Festinger, 1957; Reger et al., 1994). If the threat is perceived as benign, challengers of core identity are considered lunatics and are ignored (Nadler & Tushman, 1990). In any event, perceived disagreement on important issues provokes intense emotions (Jehn, 1997), and, unfortunately, these negative emotions tend to spread more rapidly than positive ones[3] (Staw, Sutton, & Pelled, 1994).

The Emotional Dynamics

My focus here is on organizational *behaviors* that seek to address or arouse certain specific emotions triggered by radical change or that are necessary to effect such change. These behaviors, or emotional dynamics, become organizational routines over time. I present exemplars of these emotional dynamics and how they facilitate change in the next section.

These behaviors can, in part, be operationalized by the resources (e.g., people, organized activities, expertise, budget, and time) that an organization devotes to their enactment. The degree of an organization's ability to execute effectively these various emotional dynamics determines its level of emotional capability and, therefore, its likelihood of realizing radical change. Table 1 illustrates that three dynamics are self-directed (i.e., expressing emotions) and three are other directed (evoking emotions). By and large, these emotional dynamics also mirror the behaviors of an "emotionally intelligent" individual; thus, there is relative isomorphism between the individual and the organizational levels.

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[3] One anonymous reviewer has brought to my attention that it may be conceivable that not all instances of radical change evoke strong negative reactions. Sometimes the situation is so desperate and the imperatives to change the organizational identity so clear that a proposed change to core identity may be greeted with *positive* emotions. I agree that such situations exist, and I would expect radical change to be realized relatively smoothly. Such instances, however, seem to be thinly reported in systematic empirical research on radical change in organizations. They do not represent the central focus of this article, in which I aim at exploring and addressing the difficulties of realizing radical change in large organizations.

TABLE 1
Emotional State Expressed or Evoked by Emotional Dynamic

Emotional Dynamic (Organizational-Level Behavior)	Emotional State (Individual Level)
Experiencing	Expresses empathy
Reconciliation	Expresses sympathy
Identification	Expresses love
Encouragement	Evokes hope
Display freedom	Evokes authentic feelings
Playfulness	Evokes fun

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EMOTIONAL DYNAMICS AND CHANGE DYNAMICS

Examination of various works in the literature related to emotion and change reveals six emotional dynamics that act as antecedents to the change dynamics. Figure 2 shows the emotional dynamics that constitute emotional capability and how each construct influences a particular change dynamic. These emotional dynamics constitute only exemplars and are not meant to be exhaustive. Each emotional dynamic expresses or evokes a specific emotion, which can be a state and a process, that is relevant in the context of radical change.

Link Between the Individual and the Organizational Levels: A Mesolevel Framework

In this model I construe organizations as patterns of coordinated activities of interdependent parts, including people. An emotionally capable organization does not necessarily require that most of its members be emotionally intelligent—not even the individuals in influential positions. Indeed, to the extent that people in organizations are trained and encouraged to enact emotion-attending behaviors, the likelihood of realizing radical change is increased. Organizational behaviors are, in part, dependent on what organizations expect, reward, and support, and together these behaviors arouse certain kinds of emotional states in situated contexts that can facilitate or hinder receptivity to change, mobilization, and learning.

A mesolevel theory involves at least two levels of analysis—one relating to the individual or group variables and the other to the organizational variables. These two levels are linked through bridging propositions, and these multilevel propositions aggregate the effects of lower-level variables and relate them to higher-level variables (cf., House, Rousseau, and Thomas-Hunt, 1995). Thus, I treat micro and macro processes jointly, and I examine their interactions to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the behavior in and of organizations.[4]

Figure 1 provides a simplified sketch of the multiple levels of analysis discussed in this article. At the individual level, the model suggests that an individual's emotional intelligence is positively related to the individual's ability to change and adapt personally. At the organizational level, the model suggests that an organization's emotional capability is positively related to its ability to change. The more emotionally capable an organization, the more successful will be its change efforts.

Linking the parallel organizational-level and individual-level models are two meso constructs: (1) emotional dynamics (e.g., reconciliation that expresses sympathy and encouragement that evokes hope) and (2) change dynamics (receptivity, mobilization, and learning). The model suggests that individuals and organizations that enact these emotional dynamics are receptive to change, effective in mobilizing for change, and able to learn from the results of their initial change efforts and, thereby, to adjust their course if necessary. Emotional dynamics and change dynamics are meso constructs because they are equally applicable to individuals and organizations. To use House et al.'s (1995) terminology, emotional dynamics and change dynamics are *isomorphic*.

Indeed, I have previously argued that the change dynamics as processes are isomorphic at both the individual and the organizational levels. Similarly, emotional dynamics constitute attributes of an organization's emotional capability and are enacted through a specific set of organizational routines, and, on a smaller scope, they also mirror individual or group behaviors that arouse specific emotional states

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[4] A meso perspective analyzes causal mechanisms at several levels. It views organizations as multilevel social entities. It is possible to accumulate knowledge in a more parsimonious and integrated framework, because certain variables share common properties and relationships at various levels of analysis (House et al., 1995).

conducive to change. The same propositions characterize equally an "emotionally intelligent" person and an "emotionally capable" organization of persons. Moreover, these variables act as "bridges" between the micro and macro levels. The propositions are multilevel within a meso paradigm because they link two meso constructs—change dynamics and emotional dynamics—and the proposed relationships are applicable to both the individual and the organizational levels.

The vertical arrows in Figure 1 depict the multilevel effects. Emotional dynamics induce certain emotional states at the individual level. At the same time, the enactment of emotional dynamics shapes emotional capability at the organizational level (left up-arrow) through the creation of emotional states conducive to emotionally intelligent behaviors (left down-arrow). Similarly, change dynamics characterize the process of personal adaptation at the individual level (right down-arrow), while, at the same time, the multitude of individual adaptation processes shapes the change dynamics that influence the outcome of radical change at the organizational level (right up-arrow).

At least two conditions are necessary for effective enactment of emotional dynamics and change dynamics at the collective level: appropriateness and harmonious integration. It is possible that not every individual or group in a large organization feels the same type of emotion with the same intensity at the same time in response to the same event. As a result, different groups may have different emotional responses, needs, or coping mechanisms that need to be diagnosed and attended to according to the demands of the specific situation.

Too much or too little of a good thing can be equally ineffective. Too long or too much grieving over the abandoned values that a particular subgroup did not care much for anyway breeds cynicism. The same emotional state does not need to exist at the same intensity among all individuals in the organization, nor is it necessary to expend organizational resources evenly on everyone to achieve a particular change objective. An emotionally capable organization understands the relationships between emotion and change, institutionalizes routines that attend to emotions in situated contexts, and selectively devotes appropriate resources to achieving organizationally relevant objectives. Analogous

to emotional intelligence at the individual level, emotional capability incorporates a locally contingent quality: a sense of *appropriateness*.

As with the cognitive perspective, the sum total of emotionally intelligent individuals might produce an emotionally handicapped organization. To the extent that these individuals attempt to use their emotional intelligence as private tools to further their self-interests, each might try to outsmart, or rather to "out feel," the other through emotional manipulation. The net result could well be complete mistrust, cynicism, or alienation at the organizational level. Cooperative actions would suffer as a result, and change for the better would be unlikely. In addition, not all individuals or groups necessarily feel the same emotions or use similar coping mechanisms. As a result, they may not progress at the same pace, and this lack of synchronization could generate unpredictable dynamics.

The range, timing, duration, and pace of situated emotion-focused behaviors need to vary in consequence. Thus, internal *harmonious integration* of emotional dynamics is a necessary condition for the organization's emotional capability in the movement from the individual to the organizational level.

In the remainder of this part, I describe exemplars of emotional dynamics that arouse certain emotional states conducive to change. For reasons of parsimony, the stated multilevel propositions apply both at the individual and the organizational levels; thus, the respective actors are implicit. Because I construe radical change as an iterative process linking three change dynamics (as shown in Figure 3), any emotional dynamic that affects one particular change dynamic will also exert a rippling effect on all the others. For example, since the learning change dynamic is linked to receptivity, which, in turn, is linked to mobilization, the emotional dynamic of experiencing that affects receptivity will also have a subsequent impact on the mobilization and learning change dynamics.

Empathy and the Dynamic of Experiencing

At the individual level, empathy represents a central attribute of emotional intelligence. It is a person's ability to understand someone else's feelings and to re-experience them. Empathy determines the success of social support and is a motivator for altruistic behavior (Salovey &

Mayer, 1990). It is demonstrated, in part, through heedful behaviors related to others' feelings. In turn, others are more likely to be more receptive in considering one's proposal for change as a spirit of sharing is established.

At the organizational level, emotional experiencing refers to the quality of an organization's efforts to identify the variety of emotions aroused during radical change, to accept and internalize them, and to act on a deep level of understanding. These experiencing behaviors can involve organized activities, such as training and coaching all organization members, and especially change agents, to experience the same or other appropriate emotions in response to others' feelings and to communicate or act on this internal experience (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Organization members can be trained on the "ability to accurately 'read' the subtle social cues and signals given by others in order to determine what emotions are being expressed and understanding the perspective of the other individual" (Schmidt, 1997: 10). Demonstration of care and concern for one another constitutes the basis for affect-based trust and is found to lead to better work performance, possibly owing to better coordination under discontinuous conditions (McAllister, 1995). Focus on affective interpersonal cues is essential for quality of decision making and implementation solidarity among team members (Amason, 1996).

These emotion-attending behaviors become salient during radical change, especially for change recipients, because change is "disturbing when it is done to us, exhilarating when it is done by us" (Kanter, 1983: 63). Change agents who have at least partly experienced the recipients' emotions are more aware that their change program can threaten the psychological and social defenses of the change recipients. They are conscious that painful or bad feelings can be projected onto change agents (negative transference; Berg, 1979; Kets de Vries & Miller, 1984).

Even the most sincere change recipients can be ambivalent because of the tension caused by contradictory motives and their discomfort in airing them openly. Their sense of inner self-identity and ego integrity are being challenged. Emotional pain can become harmful if it is denied or derogated as insignificant (Brockner, 1992)—dismissing emotional states as "irrational" or illegitimate can drive change recipients underground. Change resisters then could adopt a facade of rationality by invoking alternate reasons that appear more legitimate. Once underground, this resistance to change is no longer controllable; deeds may be quite different from professed intentions, thus creating serious obstacles for the progress of change.

Acting on this emotional experience implies attending to small details and projecting a sense of honesty, fairness, justice, and respect for those affected by change (Brockner, 1992). The organization can establish anxiety-reduction mechanisms—for example, informal communication structures to foster dialogue and sensemaking during this threatening period. Emotional support structures, such as psychological counseling services, self-help groups, T-groups, and single- and double-loop learning interventions, may help organization members come to grips with the new reality. And emotional release can be effected through displacement of aggression tactics, such as by insulting the objects of anger in safe places or by joking. If these programs are made widely available in the organization (and the more varied they are the better), the more likely it will that the intensity of emotional pain will be attenuated.

Emotional experiencing also translates into sensitivity to the impact of the timing, pacing, and sequencing of the various change actions so that adequate emotional equanimity is maintained among those affected. As mutual respect and emotional sharing set in, organization members will be more likely to open themselves and listen more constructively to a proposed change.

> Proposition 1: The higher the level of emotional experiencing, the higher the level of receptivity to a proposed change will be.

Sympathy and the Dynamic of Reconciliation

At the individual level, sympathy is a less demanding emotional process than empathy, since it refers to the ability of an individual to feel for the general suffering of another, with no direct sharing of that person's experience (Goleman, 1995). Sympathy is a precursor to the development of empathy, but unlike empathy, the person can retain his or her private feelings while understanding those of someone else.

Sympathy is partly demonstrated by conciliatory behaviors.

At the organizational level, emotional reconciliation refers to the process of bringing together two seemingly opposing values people feel strongly about. Genuine efforts expended toward achieving a new synthesis and understanding increase receptivity to proposals for change. Reconciling apparent opposites underlies Albert's (1984) conceptualization of change as a juxtaposition of additions and deletions. The more the proposed change can be framed and accepted by the recipients as an *addition* or an expansion of existing values, the easier it is for them to accept the proposed change, and the more continuity is perceived to exist between the past and the future, the less the change is perceived as radical. However, the portion of the valued elements of the past that must be "deleted" should be mourned to facilitate transition.

With regard to handling additions, Schein (1992) observes that it is unlikely that one can initiate cultural change by dismissing a basic constituent assumption as wrong. A new synthesis has to be found that will retain both the old and the new. This establishes a form of partial stability to allow change to occur. Cultural change and personal transformation are codependent and are akin to religious conversion; the shift to new values is mediated by the bridging role of metaphor, "when for an instant a parallel is seen between the familiar and the unfamiliar experiences" (Westley, 1990: 289–292). A cultural graft articulates and incorporates some positive elements of the old culture with the new assumptions.

This new synthesis, subsuming the proposed change as an addition, has to be accepted as meaningful by the organization's members. A process of reconciliation that bridges feelings about new and old values has to be conducted. Emotional conversations between change agents and their targets to co-construct a new meaning gradually increase understanding and receptivity to seemingly controversial change proposals.

Beyond addition, change may also require deletion of certain cherished values, so the unfreezing technique (Lewin, 1951) may be helpful. Mourning of these past, abandoned values has to be organized (Albert, 1984). Thus, one of the first steps toward achieving full emotional reconciliation is adequate grieving. Tichy and Ul-

rich (1984) prescribe a model of organizational change inspired by the work of Bridges (1980) on individual change. "Endings" come first, followed by "neutral zones," and finally "new beginnings."

The outcome of change is most critical in the neutral zone, when "individuals feel disconnected from people and things of the past and emotionally unconnected with the present" (Bridges, 1986: 249). This second phase is marked by disorientation (the past is no longer appropriate, but the future direction is not yet clear) and frightening disintegration (everything is collapsing). At the extreme, letting go of all the attributes of the organizational identity is equivalent to death and nothingness.

Passage from one phase to another is not automatic. Managing actively the transition between the ending phase and the neutral zone is important. In order to pass through this phase successfully, organization members need sufficient time to reflect on the past and to develop new perspectives for the future. They have to come to terms with such issues as what went wrong and why it needs changing now, and they need to think about new beginnings.

The mourning period is curvilinear, and the time allotted should be adequate—neither too long nor too short. The organization has to encourage shared meaning construction about the proposal for change, and it should help people find their new roles in the new order and provide them with the means to develop newly required competencies. Inclusion of all members should be encouraged, and mistakes and losses openly acknowledged (Bridges, 1984). Emotional release heals as it leads to greater awareness of repressed feelings and gradually brings resolution and renewed receptivity. Change agents who rush the rest of the organization through this meditative mourning phase risk a backlash (Moses, 1987), for denying the emotional impact of the pain and bypassing the catharsis and mourning phase may lead to an organization paralyzed by survivor sickness and devoid of creative energy (Noer, 1993).

In summary, when organization members perceive change as an addition, reconciliation processes increase their receptivity to the extent that they can jointly develop a meaningful bridge. When they perceive change as a deletion, receptivity is more likely to increase if members are allocated adequate time and re-

sources to work through their emotional grief. In juxtaposition, the effectiveness of various reconciliation processes hinges on an artful combination of activities addressing various addition and deletion components that can coexist in a proposed radical change.

> *Proposition 2: The higher the level of emotional reconciliation, the higher the level of receptivity to a proposed change will be.*

Love and the Dynamic of Identification

At the individual level, the ability to love is a sign of emotional intelligence; the process whereby emotions are accepted and reciprocated is attunement, and this process begins early between parents and children (Goleman, 1995).

At the organizational level, the emotional dynamic of identification refers to the collective behavior whereby organization members express their deep attachment to salient organization characteristics (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). These organization characteristics can include a number of dimensions, such as core values, beliefs, myths, leaders, or any other element that is deemed meaningful to particular individuals or groups. Identifying is analogous to "falling in love"—that is, to the extent that one's expectations are fulfilled and reciprocated, the initial attraction ripens into a deep and abiding attachment. This identification process is both cognitive and affective (Ashforth, 1998: 9).

Members in a collectivity stay together because there are mutual benefits; among the most important of these are the emotional bonds that develop over time in relation to self-identified and shared organization characteristics. Individuals will be motivated to identify more strongly when their organization identities evoke positive affect, and to disengage if they produce negative affect (Harquail, 1998). Identification aggregates personal feelings of attachment toward the organization and translates into such attachment behaviors as loyalty, defense of the organization's name and reputation even outside work boundaries, or abstention from demanding immediate compensation for extra efforts. Indeed, emotional bonds have been found to determine, in part, work structure

and to influence the organization's norms and standards (Berg, 1979; Van Mannen & Kunda, 1989).

Identification with salient organization characteristics shaping organization identity supplies the stable structures to contain anxiety—a commonly shared emotion (Jaques, 1974). Anxiety is "an emotion without a defined object" (Hochschild, 1983: 209) and serves as a signal for the avoidance of a dangerous situation. Proposed major changes to identity can arouse intense anxiety, especially when a meaningful new identity is not present or not yet proven. The stronger the significance of the current identity, the more intense the emotions. Moreover, the more members positively value that identity and evaluate the proposed change as incongruent with it, the more negative their emotional reaction will be (Harquail, 1998). Group behavior can exhibit childlike characteristics when members are facing uncomfortable situations (Bion, 1959). In order to build a strong team spirit, they unconsciously activate splitting defenses by idealizing the qualities of the team members while projecting undesirable characteristics onto people outside the team. Humans tend to avoid, dismiss, and deny warnings that increase anxiety and fear by practicing selective attention and various forms of information distortion; this is known as "defensive avoidance" (Janis & Mann, 1977).

Thus, paradoxical as it may seem, change requires a certain level of stability: emotional equanimity—a state of evenness of mind—has to be present. In order to maintain a sense of identity, individuals have to feel a basic level of security and comfort, which is achieved by being strongly attached to symbolic objects that bridge a person's internal and external worlds (Winnicot, 1965). In the same way, a strong organizational culture allows its members to affirm their sense of identity and personal security within it. Therefore, proposed major changes tend to be perceived as highly threatening to at least some elements of their personal core identity. Proud identification with an organization is separate from attachment to power and prestige and partly explains the slow rate of change in established institutions (Bartunek, 1984; Chandler, 1990). Receptivity to proposed change is less likely to be achieved quickly or easily, and more time and resources will be needed to increase receptivity.

Proposition 3a: The higher the level of identification with the organization, the lower the level of receptivity will be to any proposed change perceived to threaten the organization's identity; thus, more resources will be required to increase receptivity.

Emotional identification often translates into resilient loyalty to the organization. Employees who experience positive identification are more likely to stay longer with the organization. Influential members may delay leaving an organization not out of material self-interest but from a more altruistic concern that the organization might go from bad to worse if they leave (Hirschman, 1970). Some members may postpone exit and suffer in silence, hoping that the situation will soon improve.

Organizations with a high turnover rate, however, have difficulty accumulating learning, since their experience base is eroding continually. This happens because much of the organization know-how and know-why is tacit and involves understanding and operationalization of the subtle interconnections between routines that have been developed among various members (Kim, 1993). The organizational memory contains idiosyncratic knowledge shared among veteran members; this collective yet distributed memory enables revisions to existing routines and the addition of new ones, thereby enabling organizational learning.

To the extent that radical change does not require a complete destruction of the past involving organizational memory and distinctive competence, veteran members who remain loyal to the organization can help operationalize new knowledge faster. Emotionality does not always impair cognitive processing and group performance.

Proposition 3b: To the extent that radical change does not require a complete destruction of the past, the stronger the level of identification with the organization and the longer the organization members' tenure, the higher their level of learning will be.

Hope and the Dynamic of Encouragement

At the individual level, hope is another attribute of emotional intelligence, referring to the belief that one has both the will and the way to accomplish one's goals, whatever they may be. Snyder et al. (1991) have found that hope sets apart the academic achievements of students of equivalent intellectual aptitude. It buffers people against apathy and depression, and it strengthens their capacity to withstand defeat and persist in adversity (Goleman, 1995). Brockner suggests that most of us are motivated by the "psychology of hope: the expectation and wish that our future work situation will be better than (or at least as good as) the present one" (1992: 26).

At the organizational level, the emotional dynamic of encouragement refers to the organization's ability to instill hope among all of its members during a radical change effort. Hope propels people into taking actions that could improve their lot, it fuels their persistence, and, thus, it sustains mobilization efforts. One means of engendering hope is by establishing change goals that are meaningful for all members. Successful leaders emotionally inspire followers through communication of vivid images that give flesh to a captivating vision so as to motivate them to pursue ambitious goals. When people believe that their actions will lead to positive results, they will be more likely to initiate difficult and uncertain tasks: optimism promotes persistence (Staw et al., 1994). Other encouragements can include symbolic actions, such as frequent dialogue between change leaders and organization members, attention demonstrated through allocation of quality time and organizational resources, or such uplifting ritual devices as rousing speeches and reward ceremonies to celebrate partial success.

The prescriptive and autobiographical literature on strategic change suggests that mobilization can be achieved via charismatic or transformational leadership (e.g., Nadler & Tushman, 1990; Tichy & Ulrich, 1984). During periods of turmoil, people crave a charismatic leader capable of fulfilling their emotional need for psychological safety—they crave assurance of a safe path to the future (Conger, 1989). The followers' anxieties are projected onto the leader in exchange for hope (Kets de Vries, 1990). In turn, these leaders often use intense emotional expressivity to capture their audience (Goleman, 1995). Starbuck, Greve, and Hedberg (1978) contend that the most important work for top managers is "managing ideology"—not "strate-

gy making." Managers can shape an ideological setting that encourages enthusiasm, nurtures courage, reveals opportunities, and, thus, brings new hope and life to their organization.

> Proposition 4: The higher the level of encouragement, the higher the level of mobilization to a proposed change will be.

Authenticity and the Dynamic of Display Freedom

At the individual level, emotional authenticity refers to a person's ability to acknowledge, express, and be sincere about his or her feelings. It is an attribute of emotional intelligence. Individuals who lose this ability bury their real self, and a false self emerges (Hochschild, 1983). The term *alexithymia* refers to psychiatric patients who are unable to appraise and express their emotions (Salovey & Mayer, 1990).

At the organizational level, the emotional dynamic of display freedom refers to the organization's ability to facilitate the variety of authentic emotions that legitimately can be displayed (and felt) in the organization during a radical change process.[5] The converse is an alexithymic organization, which controls the types or intensity of emotions that can be expressed and felt through the oppressive use of culture and power. Whatever the type organization, power can be subtly coercive when the organization exerts influence on sensemaking and meaning interpretation (Lukes, 1974). Values and preferences are shaped so that organization members cannot visualize any better alternative than the status quo, and learning and exploration of alternatives are bounded. The organization maintains order partly through emotional underpinnings such as fear, guilt, or embarrassment. Also, a failure to engage play-acting skills and to display representative emotions is read as an act of insubordination or a sign of incompetence in strong cultures (Flam, 1993). As a result, employees privately may feel trapped and fearful. In front of powerful persons, individuals are likely to restrict the range of displayed emotions to mainly positive expressions

(Morris & Feldman, 1996), since negative displays could be interpreted as cynicism or detachment (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). Such restricted emotional sharing and expression limit the high level of learning required during periods of radical change.

A body of research does exist that associates negative emotional display with poor group performance (cf., Jehn, 1997). This form of control might be viable in a slow, evolutionary change environment, since it might facilitate first-order change—speeding up execution by muting doubting critics. However, the collective learning necessary during radical change could be impaired by this type of control.

Duck (1993) suggests that the content of emotions (negative versus positive) is not as important as how leaders deal with them. Leaders who deny emotionality in the workplace will also block the emergence of new ideas from the base of the organization at a time when creativity and contextual knowledge are most needed to realize radical change. Organization members should be encouraged to express their full range of emotions, without fear of reprisal. As their capacity to make sense breaks down, disenchantment and hurt should be allowed expression, and the leadership should deal with it in an open and honest fashion (Bridges, 1984).

Controlling the variety of emotions expressed in the organization during discontinuous transition periods may well lead to emotional acting, risk aversion, cynicism, and covert resistance to the proposed change. Cynical members might withhold the tacit knowledge necessary for organizational learning. The more covert the resistance, the more chaotic the change process will be, as resisters become indistinguishable from friends or the loyal opposition.

Members who are forced to continually enact a narrow range of prescribed emotions are likely to experience emotional dissonance, which reflects the internal conflict generated between genuinely felt emotions and emotions required to be displayed. This, in turn, can result in emotional exhaustion, leading to burnout, which Morris and Feldman (1996) define as a state of depleted energy caused by excessive emotional demands made on individuals. The resulting emotional numbness alleviates stress by reducing access to feelings—the central means of interpreting the world around us

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[5] Display freedom represents a specific organizational behavior distinct from emotional experiencing or reconciliation, although all imply acceptance of organization members' emotions and attention to them.

(Hochschild, 1983)—and leads to low sensitivity to new ideas and experimentation.

This situation can degenerate into a vicious cycle. As the workload pressure increases because of burnout or downsizing, more and more employees will become tired from trying to compensate for work not done, which further reduces the self-reflection time that is necessary for deep learning. This frustrating state could be interpreted as a failure in change that depresses further efforts at collective learning and change.

> Proposition 5: *The higher the level of freedom for organization members to display authentic emotions during radical change, the higher the level of learning will be.*

Fun and the Dynamic of Playfulness

At the individual level, fun as an emotional state and process relates to the motivated search for pleasant experiences and aesthetic appreciation, and this constitutes another trait of emotional intelligence (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). Intrinsic motivation is one of the necessary preconditions for creativity, for it distinguishes what an individual can do from what he or she will do (Amabile, 1988). From a neurophysiological perspective, a feeling of elation permits the rapid generation of multiple images so that the associative process is richer; a happy person indulges more often in creative and exploratory behavior. In contrast, sadness slows image evocation (Damasio, 1994).

At the organizational level, the dynamic of playfulness refers to the ability of an organization to create a context that encourages experimentation and that tolerates mistakes during radical change. A relatively safe and protective work environment has to be created to allow experimentation and to test new organization identities without premature lock-in (Ashforth, 1998). Yet, work-oriented organizations tend to have a low tolerance for play, associating playful work with nonserious activities.

During radical change, if organization members perceive a major threat and see a risk of serious loss associated with any possible action, stress may instill in them a paralyzing fear. If it is no longer realistic to hope that a better solution is feasible, decision makers will terminate their search and lapse into the defensive avoidance mode (Janis & Mann, 1977): cognitive closure has

set in. Action may still occur as decision makers choose what seems to be the least objectionable course of action and proceed to exaggerate its positive consequences and minimize its negative ones. Or decision makers may simply decide to procrastinate and shift decision-making responsibility to others (Lebow, 1981). At best, they will pursue their prior course of action in an incremental and satisficing manner.

To counter this tendency toward fear and paralysis, Weick and Westley (1996) argue that humor facilitates organizational learning. Laughter represents a form of emotional release that comes from the juxtaposition of paradoxes. Playfulness allows safe experimentation and, like jokes, institutionalizes disorder within order, expression of taboo issues within a legitimate form, and surfacing of the repressed without extreme discomfort. Emotional playfulness induces a state of relative emotional equanimity to juggle tensions between foolishness and cold rationality.

Playful moments in a process, thus, are enacted to foster learning and creativity. Playfulness, which influences and is influenced by the perceived feasibility of unfettered experimentation, increases the likelihood of collective learning. Playful organizations induce playful activities that legitimize random, uncensored trial and error. As unfettered experimentation becomes feasible, creativity emerges from playful actions (Starbuck et al., 1978). However, in situations where there is perception of limited or no possible playful experiments, because of fear of undue risk (e.g., nuclear war accident) or resource constraint, it is more likely that decision makers are going to be affected by cognitive closure. Resource availability and context, therefore, moderate this relationship.

> Proposition 6: *The higher the level of playfulness, the higher the likelihood of learning will be.*

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Potential Contributions to Multilevel Theory Research

Until recently, there has been relatively little study of behavior in organizational contexts and its effect on macro phenomena (House et al., 1995). The proposed multilevel emotional capability theory here suggests how micro theories of

emotion and organizational behavior can be relevant at the macro strategy level, and how micro forces can result in macro effects. General social-psychological theories are enhanced through their link to strategic implementation issues. The meso perspective I adopt in this article proposes additional insights over and above what can be contributed by microlevel or macrolevel theories by articulating how some of the variables interact at the micro and macro levels. These interactions span at least two levels: the individual (through emotional intelligence theory) and the organizational (through emotional capability theory).

This article illustrates one possible way to build a multilevel theory. As depicted in Figure 1, both macro-organizational and microindividual phenomena are specified within the same framework. The framework defines two meso variables at the intersection of these two levels to couple the macro and micro variables through bridging propositions. Beyond coupling the macrolevels and microlevels, the stated propositions apply at both the individual and organizational levels. The proposed theory deserves further scrutiny to map out the boundaries of the suggested meso processes regarding isomorphisms, discontinuities, and interlevel relationships (see House et al., 1995, for elaboration). Future empirical studies will help to identify the applicability and limitations of this multilevel claim in more clearly articulated contexts.

Extending Research on Emotion and Change

There are concerns among researchers as to whether emotions can be studied with rigor. Traditional research on emotion tends to focus on personal affective disposition or specific types of emotion, such as joy or anxiety, or to split them into positive or negative groups; another stream emphasizes emotional expressions (Hochschild, 1983; Staw et al., 1994). Reliability and validity of introspective self-report data are difficult to establish, because it is relatively arduous to check the veracity of such reports. This has forced a number of researchers to focus on expressed emotions, because they are easier to study and observe than internal feelings (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). The emotional capability model advances the concept of emotional dynamics, such as reconciliation or playfulness, as emotion-arousing *behaviors* that need to be

activated to facilitate the realization of radical change.

In order to test the propositions, one can operationalize emotional dynamics in both objective and subjective terms. For instance, emotional experiencing and encouragement can be measured by the proportion of organizational resources allocated to emotion-attending activities, such as budget, specialized support groups, emotion training, or executive time. Emotional identification can be measured with the turnover rate of workers past a certain level of tenure and with various measures of culture. And emotional reconciliation can be measured by observing the time organization members spend in the grieving process, by directly recording or asking them about the time they spend together in order to develop a cultural graft, and so on.

The overt nature of the emotion-focused behavioral interactions lends itself more easily to outsider and peer observation and assessment via private interviews, survey methods, and ethnographic research in natural settings. Receptivity to the proposed change can be measured by the time it takes to convince organization members to participate constructively in accepting the proposed change. The proposed constructs lend themselves to multimethod research and triangulation, thus enhancing validity and reliability.

The precise boundaries of this theory remain to be mapped. Most of the propositions are speculative and need to be tested empirically. At this stage, it is unclear which of the six suggested emotional dynamics are preeminent in which contexts, whether some may naturally cohere with others in certain parsimonious configurations, or what the moderating and mediating factors are. Certain emotional dynamics may provoke undesirable effects in other cultural settings. In future research scholars could start to explore the effectiveness of various emotional dynamics in different situations, as well as their unintended side-effects.

In this article I have presented a multilevel theory of emotion and change. At the individual level, researchers have found emotional intelligence to facilitate social adaptation and learning. At the organizational level, I have proposed an analogous concept, defining it as emotional capability. Drawing on the insights of a wide variety of literatures, I have attempted to fill part of the gap in our understanding of large-

scale strategic change by explaining why radical changes are arduous and how such challenges might be addressed by theorists and practitioners. Organizations that are emotionally capable are more likely to realize deep changes. Emotional capability represents a necessary, although not sufficient, antecedent for radical change.

Those with a resource-based view of the firm have focused strategic management thinking on an organization's internal capabilities. Sustainability of competitive advantage requires resources that are idiosyncratic and not easily transferable or replicable—there is value in tacitness (Grant, 1991). Emotional capability constitutes one dimension of the organization's internal capacity, which is difficult to imitate because it is embedded in the idiosyncratic social web of organizational interactions. It is difficult to imagine an internal capability that is more tacit and idiosyncratic than the emotional energy of loyal members. Emotional capability taps the organization's emotional energy, which represents one of the most poorly understood and underexploited internal capabilities.

For too long, emotional energy has been treated as irrational or nefarious to sound organizing. This article exposes an alternative view: far from being an impediment to learning and change, emotional capability theory predicts that well-channeled emotional dynamics can lead to the realization of radical, or second-order, change. Unattended, suppressed, or disdained emotional energy can frustrate the careers of many change agents. For firms faced with an increasingly dynamic environment, emotional energy represents a largely unexploited, yet ready, resource. Well tapped, it will enable organizations to realize strategic stretch.

APPENDIX
EMOTION AND RADICAL CHANGE

The Individual Nature of Emotion and Its Relation to Change

Salovey and Mayer define emotions as

> organized responses, crossing the boundaries of many psychological subsystems, including the physiological, cognitive, motivational, and experiential systems. Emotions typically arise in response to an event, either internal or external, that has a positively or negatively valenced

meaning for the individual. Emotions can be distinguished from the closely related concept of mood in that emotions are shorter and generally more intense (1990: 186).

The root of the word emotion is *motere*, the Latin verb to move, suggesting that emotion triggers an impulse to act. Emotion is dualistic inasmuch as it reflects an innate character related to physiological and psychodynamic processes, as well as social structures. Thus, the same physiological arousal can be assigned different emotional labels, such as "joy" or "fury," depending on the cognitive evaluation of the socially embedded situation (Schachter & Singer, 1962).

I concentrate mainly on the social-interactional aspects of emotion. The interactional model contends that social factors enter not just "before and after but interactively during the experience of emotion."[6] In this interactional perspective, "social factors enter into the very formulation of emotions, through codification, management, and expression" (Hochschild, 1983: 207).

From recent neurological research on emotion and feelings and from the works of certain psychologists and sociologists, it appears that there is an emerging consensus on the following ideas. Emotion is essential to sensible, "rational" choice in the *social* domain. It allows humans to face uncertainty and to set long-term goals; it permits choice among incommensurable alternatives, such as values, to visualize a desirable future, to speed up decision making, and to make the leap of faith into the unknowable (Damasio, 1994; Westen, 1985; Zajonc, 1980). Emotions provide the bridge between rational and nonrational processes (Damasio, 1994). They reflect the individual's sense of self-relevance of a perceived situation and facilitate social adaptation and individual change (Hochschild, 1983).

The Organizational Nature of Emotion and Its Relation to Change

Organizational feelings are distinct from personal feelings to the extent that corporate actors

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[6] For example, a man can become "violently angry when insulted. What, in his cultural milieu, constitutes an insult? As his anger rises, does he really codify the reality to which he responds? Does some feature of the social context aid or inhibit him in doing this? Simultaneous to his outburst, does he react with shame or with pride at the anger?" (Hochschild, 1979: 212).

are required to display some emotions and to suppress others (Flam, 1990). The former are specific emotions deemed necessary for effective collective *action*. Certain representative emotions have to be displayed to sustain the image of the organization. For instance, bankers have to display reserve and discretion, and they must inspire trust and confidence.

Emotion can be used effectively as a tool of social influence in a variety of organizational roles, especially in front-line service functions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). For example, different feeling rules can be prescribed for Disneyland entertainers or funeral parlor workers. Organizations impose certain specific emotional habits in the selection and retention of their members. These organizational emotions belong to the performance of particular roles and should not be confused with individual emotions (Albrow, 1992).

Thus, organization members can either share the same authentic emotion or be required to display or act out a "legitimate" emotion in response to certain organizational events, such as the sudden death of the company's founder, which may trigger a radical change in the philosophy of the firm. These feeling rules and displaying or acting out of emotions all can be subsumed under emotional *behaviors*. Organizations are repositories of shared emotions that are also enacted in terms of visible emotion-attending behaviors. These behaviors become organizational routines that enact cultural norms related to feelings about change (Schein, 1992).

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