

What Does Managing Emotions in Organizations Mean?

QUY NGUYEN HUY

Strategic Management

INSEAD

Boulevard de Constance

77305 Fontainebleau

FRANCE

Tel: (33) 1 60 72 44 98

Fax: (33) 1 60 74 55 00/01

E-mail: quy.huy@insead.edu

20 April 2009

What Does Managing Emotions in Organizations Mean?

Abstract

In comparison to understanding how individuals manage their own emotions, we know much less about how organizations manage their members' emotions and whether this kind of management is beneficial for members' personal well-being and for organizational effectiveness. I offer a theory of the mechanisms that underlie different approaches to managing emotions in organizations and propose some of the conditions that make managing emotions in organizations adaptive and sustainable. Specifically, I propose four "ideal types" of emotion management in organizations: emotion suppression, emotional labor, bounded emotionality, and emotional capability. Drawing on these perspectives and the emotion-regulating literature, I propose several organizing mechanisms that could facilitate adaptive emotion management in organizations. These include considerate emotional authenticity, which involves allowing for spontaneity of emotional expression so long as it is tempered by sensitivity to others' well-being; emotional offsetting, which involves encouraging individuals and groups to experience contrasting emotional states; emotional channeling of specific emotions toward specific organizational goals; individualized caring, which means adapting generic emotion-management routines to meet specific needs of individuals; pooled local agency to share the responsibility for and workload of emotion management; and alternating periods of comfort to avoid emotional exhaustion. These mechanisms offer possible pathways for scholars to link psychological research about individuals to organizational processes.

The fact that a number of organizations seek to actively manage the emotions of their various stakeholders, including employees, customers, or investors, to increase the organization's resources is well established. In other words, companies commonly work to influence specific emotional states that their stakeholder groups feel or display in order to accumulate more money, hire and retain better employees, and develop a superior reputation. Many service jobs even go so far as to embed an emotional component, as epitomized in the phrase "service with a smile ... a sincere smile" (Hochschild, 1983: 186). Socially desirable emotional displays can help an organization differentiate itself from others and improve its ability to compete for resources. As a result, many organizations implement emotion-management training and control to ensure that their employees reliably "mass produce" appropriate emotional displays (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988; Tsai, 2001). Research has documented how organizations in sectors as diverse as airlines (Hochschild, 1983), information technology (Kunda, 1992; Huy, 2002), bill collection (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991), entertainment (Van Maanen, & Kunda, 1989), hospitals (Locke, 1996), and cosmetics (Martin, Knopoff, & Beckman, 1998) have applied deliberate emotion management practices that govern interactions between members or between members and customers.

As research on managing emotions in organizations grows (Brief & Weiss, 2002), so does the risk of increased confusion stemming from lack of understanding of how different emotion-management phenomena work. This confusion is partly due to different theoretical perspectives. For instance, managing the emotions of individuals draws on an extensive psychology literature about stress-coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and emotional intelligence (cf. Matthews, Zeidner, & Roberts, 2002). By contrast, the knowledge base about managing emotions in organizations comes mainly out of the literature about how companies select, train, and control their employees to display company-desired emotions (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Martin *et al.*, 1998). Although relatively sparse empirical ac-

counts have shed some light on how specific organizations have managed their stakeholders' emotions, there has been insufficient theorizing about management of emotions in organizations in general, especially the conditions under which emotion management can benefit both organizational effectiveness and individuals' well-being.

The literature on emotion management in organizations has been sometimes confusing and at times contradictory about whether emotion management should be practiced in organizations, how it should be practiced, whether it is effective, and whom emotion management benefits. One school of thought maintains that emotions should not play an important role in business life, and, therefore, managers should strive to suppress emotional expression at work (Weber, 1946; Parsons, 1951). By contrast, other researchers described emotions as crucial to organizational effectiveness, in that desirable emotional displays help businesses compete for more revenues (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991). Still other scholars have felt uncomfortable with what they have called the mass commercialization of emotions. They have bemoaned the fact that this kind of forced emotional labor can benefit the organization at the expense of employees' well-being. Hochschild (1983), for example, documented the emergence of the false-self and emotional numbness experienced by flight attendants for the benefit of Delta airlines. She estimated that one-third of all employees in the United States perform emotional labor, and this number could increase as the service sector grows. Other scholars have argued, however, that some specific kind of emotion management can benefit both the individual employees and the organization, as exemplified by Martin and colleagues' (1998) research on "bounded emotionality" practiced at The Body Shop. And, although some scholars from the Human Relations school have asserted that influencing employees' "sentiments" increased their satisfaction and work performance (McGregor, 1960; Herzberg, 1966), others cast strong doubts about the empirical support for these claims (cf. Perrow, 1986).

Thus, there exists the need for a more clearly articulated model of managing emotions in organizations that begins to flesh out the theoretical premises underlying various perspectives on managing emotions in organizations. It needs, as well, to delineate these differing perspectives and to predict how this management will affect both individual members' well-being and organizational effectiveness.

To begin to address these issues, I will start by mapping several theoretical perspectives underlying emotion management in organizations. More specifically, I propose four ideal types of emotion management, each underlaid by different theoretical assumptions about legitimate forms of emotional expressions and how they affect individual members' well-being and organizational effectiveness. Then, drawing on the four ideal types and the emotion-regulating literature, I propose a combination of organizing mechanisms that could facilitate sustainable adaptive emotion management in organizations. I will illustrate my theories with examples from several companies. Hence, the first part of this article will be mainly descriptive, while the second part will be prescriptive. I will propose the beginning of an adaptive model of emotion management in organizations that might open up new angles of research on this issue.

For the purposes of this paper, I view emotion management as adaptive to the extent that it enhances the well-being of at least one entity (the organization or the individual member) without harming the other entity. Before discussing adaptive emotion management in organizations, it seems useful to clarify first what emotion management in organizations means and how it differs from that done by and for a single person (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000).

Here, I draw on Huy's (1999: 325) work to define emotion management in organizations as referring to a set of organizational routines (Nelson & Winter, 1982) that acknowledge, recognize, monitor, discriminate, and attend to its stakeholders' emotions. Stakeholders

include members and other groups outside the organization, such as customers. Routines refer to organization “behavior that is learned, highly patterned, repetitious, or quasi-repetitious, founded in part on tacit knowledge—and the specificity of objectives” (Winter, 2003: 991). Emotion management routines elicit specific patterns of felt or displayed emotional states, which prime distinct cognitive processing and collective group behavior to achieve specific organizational objectives.¹ For example, several airlines apply explicit routines that select, train, monitor, and discipline flight attendants to display pleasant emotions to increase customer satisfaction and loyalty. These companies also aim to influence potential customers’ emotions--and increase sales--with frequent advertising campaigns such as “service with a smile” (Hochschild, 1983).

I argue that companies that use the multidimensional emotion-management routine I lay out here can achieve both individual well-being and organizational effectiveness. The routines I propose are these: Considerate emotional authenticity, which involves allowing for emotional spontaneity so long as it is tempered by sensitivity to others’ well-being; emotional offsetting to encourage individuals and groups to experience contrasting emotional states; emotional channeling of these states toward specific organizational goals; individualized caring, which means adapting generic emotion-management routines to meet specific needs of individuals; pooled local agency to share the workload required to accomplish emotion management; and alternating periods of comfort so an organization’s members do not suffer from emotional exhaustion. These mechanisms are depicted in Figure 1 and constitute some of the possible pathways for scholars to link individual-level research to macro organizational processes.

Insert Figure 1 about here

¹ While Huy’s (1999) definition involves only the management of members’ emotions faced with radical change, I modify his definition here to include members’ experience and display of emotions when members interact with other constituencies. Such a definition allows to integrate works on the emotion management of constituencies other than employees (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989) as well as emotions elicited by organizational events other than radical change such as routine customer service and sales (Tsai, 2001).

Little, if any, research has explicated how various emotion management routines (alternatively called organizing mechanisms or practices) work together to facilitate adaptive emotion management in organizations. And even fewer studies have looked at how positive emotions can work with negative emotions to influence dynamic processes such as organizational learning. If anything, scholars have tended to explore how positive (or negative) emotions lead to positive (or negative) group outcomes (e.g., Staw & Barsade, 1993; Jehn, 1995; Huy, 1999, 2002; Isen, 2002).

Because emotions are inner states, one can ask whether these private states are largely idiosyncratic. In other words, do various individuals feel very different emotions faced with the same event? Or, are there conditions under which many of an organization's members can feel or display similar emotional states when faced with a particular event in the organization? I call the latter phenomenon patterns of emotions in organizations. These patterns can potentially be managed with emotion management routines.

PATTERNS OF EMOTIONS IN ORGANIZATIONS

The very idea that an organization as a legal formal structure could have emotions at all can appear as excessive anthropomorphizing. However, if we construe organizations as cooperative systems, in which individuals with different skills and interests cooperate with one another to achieve shared organizational goals (Barnard, 1968), then an organization's members can feel or display similar emotional states (patterns of emotions) thanks to various social-psychological mechanisms. I explore each in turn.

Patterns of felt emotions

The literature on collective emotions has suggested a number of mechanisms that can create patterns of felt (truly experienced) emotional states (Bartel & Saavedra, 2000; Todderdel, 2000). Faced with an important organizational event, a large number of employees across various work roles can feel shared emotions if they have similar beliefs, which lead to similar

appraisals and ways of feeling (Schein, 1992). Culture, when fully embraced, represents a subtle yet powerful form of control that “acts to inform, guide, and discipline the emotions of organization members” (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989: 56). Certain employees in organizations such as IBM reported feeling more pride when they saw their corporate flag on an office building than when they saw their national flag (Seidenberg, 1975).

Moreover, members who strongly identify themselves with their organization are likely to experience similar emotions when faced with events that enhance or threaten the identity of their organization. For instance, Dutton and Dukerich (1991) described how New York’s Port Authority’ members, who initially identified with professionalism and technical expertise, came to feel frustration that “smelly and dirty” people were defacing their proudly-maintained facilities. Perceived threats (e.g., a hostile takeover or competitive price wars) can particularly increase the need for solidarity among people who believe they are confronting the same situation (Gump & Kulick, 1997).

At the same time, particularly in large organizations inhabited by different groups with different roles, values, and interests (Cyert & March, 1992), dramatic organizational events may not trigger such a coming-together. An organization’s members may not experience the same emotions when faced with the same organizational event. For example, Huy (2002) has documented how different groups of middle managers with different goals and political agendas felt very different kinds of emotions when faced with the same organizational event, in this case radical change in a large information technology company, “Servico.” Certain groups felt enthusiastic because they actively played the role of change agents. Other groups felt angry and fearful because they felt they were the targets of their change-agent colleagues.

Members belonging to a same group can feel the same emotions--a distinct pattern of emotions--when they identify strongly with one another, for synchrony conveys empathy.

And a group's emotional charge, when amplified through mutual interaction, can also promote further group cohesion (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1992). Because emotions can spread through various processes, unconscious and conscious, emotional contagion can also convert individual emotions into group ones (Maitlis & Ozcelik, 2004).

Unconscious emotional contagion occurs through a very fast process of automatic and synchronous nonverbal mimicry and feedback (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1992), a behavior posited to come from an innate human tendency toward mimicking the behavior of others (Wild, Erbs, & Bartels, 2001). By contrast, conscious processes involve cognitive social comparison in which people compare their feelings with those of relevant others in their social environment and then respond according to what seems appropriate for the situation. The recipient uses emotion as a type of social information to understand how he or she should be feeling (Sullins, 1991). Once a group experiences shared emotions toward certain organizational events, these emotions influence the group's cognitive processes (Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Pugh, 2001) and motivate collective action. Emotions that are shared by many members of a group can influence their cognition and behavior even more than emotions felt by single members (Jehn, 1997; Barsade, 2002).

Patterns of displayed emotions

These patterns arise in organizations to the extent that an organization's members feel they must display some emotions and suppress others (Flam, 1990). The former are those perceived to be needed to sustain the image of the organization or those deemed necessary for effective collective action. Thus, emotion can be used as a tool of social influence in a variety of organizational roles, especially in front-line service functions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). For instance, bankers have to display calm to inspire trust and confidence. Different emotional displays are required for Disneyland entertainers or for funeral parlor workers. Organizations select and retain their members based on certain specific emotional habits they want displayed

(Martin *et al.*, 1998). These organizational emotions relate to the performance of particular roles and should not be confused with individual private emotions (Albrow, 1992).

Thus, members do not necessarily experience privately the same emotion they display. They may be required to display or act out a “legitimate” emotion in response to various organizational events, such as the death of the company’s founder. Being part of a group--rather than an individual acting alone--moreover, makes it easier to display such an emotion because group membership boosts people’s feelings of power by making them bolder through anonymity (Barsade & Gibson, 1998). Displaying or acting out emotions—in other words, emotion-related behaviors--can in the long run, become organizational routines that govern what emotions members *should* display or feel in their interactions with other stakeholders—that is, “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1979). Table 1 summarizes some of the mechanisms that give rise to patterns of emotions in organizations. In a large organization, moreover, it can happen that many members belonging to a group can feel similar emotions, although different groups can feel different emotions. Thus, different patterns of emotions can be present at the same time.

Insert Table 1 about here

The causes and effects on organizational and personal welfare related to emotions required to be displayed and emotions authentically felt by employees represent a central concern in the literature on emotion management (e.g., Hochschild, 1983; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Martin *et al.*, 1998; Huy, 1999, 2002; Grandey, 2003). To explore the tension between organizational and individual concerns, as well as that between emotions displayed and emotions felt, I infer from this literature a typology of distinct theoretical perspectives on managing emotions in organizations based on two key dimensions: patterns of emotions felt versus emotions displayed, and whether the latter are viewed as related to organizational effectiveness or not. As we will see, the meaning of organizational effectiveness varies according to each perspective.

A TYPOLOGY OF MANAGING PATTERNS OF FELT AND DISPLAYED EMOTIONS IN ORGANIZATIONS

Table 2 depicts four “ideal-types” of emotion management in organizations: emotion suppression, emotional labor, bounded emotionality, and emotional capability. Although ideal types allow us to see distinctive overall patterns, some nuances are lost when we reduce all patterns seen to this schema. Theoretical specifications of ideal types, however, allow theory developers to move beyond the limitations of the current empirical world and identify approaches that may be more effective than those actually observed (Doty & Glick, 1994). Complex phenomena such as emotion management practiced in organizations can be analyzed or synthesized as the juxtaposition and interaction among multiple ideal types (Van de Ven & Poole, 1995). Thus, a typology of ideal types allows me to present clear divergent perspectives on managing emotions in organizations, to identify various theoretical premises underlying each perspective, and to propose a new model of adaptive emotion management that draws on these perspectives. I elaborate each perspective in turn.

Insert Table 2 about here

Emotion suppression: Neither displayed nor felt emotions are related to organizational effectiveness

In the early 1950s, the dominant corporate (“bureaucratic”) model held that organizational effectiveness relied on impersonal administrative rules. In this ideal type, emotions are assumed to interfere with an effective application of administrative rules. Traditional bureaucracies attempt to keep personal and home life separate from work concerns, so that if an employee experiences difficulties balancing personal and work concerns, it is up to the individual to resolve these issues, not the organization. Parsons’s (1951) functionalism asserted that emotions should play no role in the pursuit of task-related goals. Emotions are assumed to impair good decision making. Cartesian rationality holds that emotionality introduces cog-

nitive biases, inappropriate favoritism among personnel, or misallocation of resources on personal pet projects (Bower, 1986). In this perspective, emotions—either felt or displayed—are assumed to be unrelated (or negatively related) to organizational effectiveness, and thus ideally should be banned. Organizations are deemed successful to the extent that they eliminate “all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation” (Weber, 1946: 216). For this reason, I term this perspective “emotion suppression,” in that felt or displayed emotions are largely considered to have no useful, instrumental function in achieving organizational effectiveness, which mainly refers to Weberian technical efficiency. Organizations manage members’ emotions by trying to suppress their expression.

Emotion suppression does not necessary imply that interactions within organizations are always impersonal or unemotional. Displaying a narrow range of emotions can be condoned. Jackall (1988: 128) suggested that managers who wish to succeed in bureaucracies are expected “to mask all emotion and intention behind bland, smiling, and agreeable public faces.” Display of other types of emotions, such as cynicism, is often unwelcome. For example, in a study of a large technology company in the 1990s, Huy (2002: 49) reported that the chief operating officer sent a memo to lower level managers stating that “expressions of cynicism [about change] will not be tolerated. We are in positions of leadership and must display enthusiasm at all times.” Although the emotion-suppression perspective may appear as an anachronistic caricature, it still influences the practice of many managers today.

Emotional labor: Only displayed emotions are related to organizational effectiveness

Starting in the 1980s, empirical research emerged that showed how certain organizations control and manage the mass production of the display of employees’ emotions to achieve organizational goals. An example is how airlines developed systematic training and monitoring procedures to have their employees express positive emotions. The goals here were to enhance the perception of customer service, to attract more customers, and to in-

crease sales—as they say, “service with a smile” (Hochschild, 1983). By contrast, other professions, such as bill collectors, display negative emotions to motivate people to pay their bills (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991).

In this strategy, the focus is on the reliable production of external displays of emotions as necessary for organizational effectiveness. On the other hand, felt emotions, being hidden, are assumed to be less instrumental. This perspective is termed “emotional labor” (Hochschild, 1983). Felt emotions are subservient to displayed emotions and should be worked on and modified if need be—say, through acting—to produce organizationally desirable displays (Grandey, 2003). For example, Mary Kay beauty consultants were told, “You’ve got to fake it until you make it—that is, act enthusiastically and you will become enthusiastic” (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989: 14).

Emotional labor has grown in part thanks to increasing societal expectations regarding norms of “civility” in the workplace. Front-line service employees are expected to smile and act cheerful with customers, as evidenced by passengers asking flight attendants, “Why aren’t you smiling?” (Hochschild, 1983: 127). Another study found that doctors were more appreciated and got more cooperation from patients if they displayed sensitivity and compassion when they announced unpleasant test results to them (Locke, 1996). Socially desirable emotional displays have a commercial value in that they help organizations increase sales, customer cooperation and loyalty, and even organizational commitment from employees (Martin *et al.*, 1998). Emotional labor is subject to management when it is monitored by supervisors or by other colleagues in day-to-day interactions; or by customers who gave feedback on the quality of such interactions. Organizational effectiveness still involves a dominant logic of standardized mass production and bureaucratic control of emotional displays that reflect Weberian technical efficiency. In addition, organizations can juxtapose various ideal types: Delta Airlines can practice emotion suppression when it comes to the relationship between senior

managers and their employees, yet it can apply the emotional labor strategy to interactions between service employees and customers. Thus, different types of emotion management can be applied to different types of work relations.

Studies have identified the personal costs of such commercialization of emotions, especially when emotions displayed are decoupled from emotions felt (Fineman, 1996). Hochschild (1983: 20) described how some flight attendants experienced a loss of their ability to recognize private feelings and the phenomenon of “going robot” (emotional numbness) when felt and displayed emotions diverged. Over time these attendants lost touch with their real self, and a false self emerged. Researchers have also highlighted emotional dissonance--the internal conflict between genuinely felt emotions and emotions required for display--, emotional exhaustion, or emotional phoniness in other organizational settings (Morris & Feldman, 1996). In addition, requiring too much emotional commitment to a company can backfire because it causes employees to overwork, sacrifice their personal and home lives, and experience burnout (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). A better alternative to emotional labor has not been developed within this perspective but is proposed in the next one.

Bounded emotionality: Both displayed and felt emotions are related to organizational effectiveness

In the 1990s, inspired in part by the works of feminist scholars, who argued for allowing workers to display a wide range of emotions to enhance their own well-being as well as that of the organization (Morgen, 1994; Meyerson, 1998), Putnam and Mumby (1993) introduced the concept of “bounded emotionality” as a pragmatic approach to emotion management. Emotional display should be limited to account for another person’s subjectivity, which in turn reflects that individual’s emotional needs and competencies. This approach recognizes that different individuals have different preferred modes and ranges of emotional expressions. Some may need to openly express sadness or anger before calming down, while others may

feel more comfortable with more restrained public expressions.

The bounded emotionality perspective encourages self-disclosure and open discussion of both work-related and personal feelings. Emergent work feelings that are felt should be spontaneously displayed within the intersubjective constraints previously discussed. Emotional spontaneity is valued because it helps improve mutual understanding among members and helps foster feelings of community. Organizational effectiveness is construed as achieving technical efficiency within a larger system of community and interrelatedness (Mumby & Putnam, 1992). Although emotional labor may also be needed, any resulting felt emotions, such as frustration and anxiety, are to be expected and should, within intersubjective constraints, be displayed (Martin *et al.*, 1998). To illustrate, highly aroused bill collectors tempered their emotional displays when dealing with customers but were encouraged to express their natural emotions in “safer” private work places (Sutton, 1991).

In this ideal type, therefore, both displayed and felt emotions are instrumental, and the notion of organizational effectiveness is expanded: Felt emotions that are authentically expressed build a sense of community that facilitates internal work relations. Display of emotions as emotional labor, meanwhile, serves instrumental goals, such as customer service.

Martin and colleagues (1998) found empirical evidence of bounded emotionality practiced at The Body Shop as well as its predicted positive effects on employees and the company. However, they noted that its actual practice fell short of the ideals of bounded emotionality, which require respecting individuals whose values differ. These scholars found that certain individuals who preferred more impersonality and emotional distance were pressured to conform to norms of open emotional expressions and wide sharing of personal concerns at work. They risked losing their authentic self, or they had to leave. As a result, diversity of modes of expression in the company was reduced. This suggests that open display of felt emotions does not always enhance the welfare of companies or that of individual employees.

Moreover, prolonged displays of anxiety, anger, or sadness could depress other colleagues, cause mental depression, and even, some argued, weaken immune systems (Frost, 2003).

This limitation leads scholars to explore the beneficial, adaptive functions of felt emotions on individuals and organizations, which I discuss next.

Emotional capability: Only felt emotions are related to organizational effectiveness

In 1999, Huy proposed the concept of “emotional capability” as a type of organizational emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence has been attracting growing interest thanks to better knowledge on the adaptive role of emotions (Damasio, 1994; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003; Isen, 2003). In this analysis, emotions are no longer being viewed mainly as dysfunctional phenomena and emotion management as a therapeutic measure to restore distressed human beings back to their “normal” selves. Emotions, instead, can be understood to have the potential to energize normal people to surpass themselves and perform in an extraordinary way. Emotions can enable creative thinking, persistence in adversity, and altruistic helping behavior (Fredrickson, 1998).²

As Huy proposed it, emotional capability is manifested in an organization’s routines and it enables that organization to recognize, discriminate, and attend to its members’ emotions. These routines reflect organizational behaviors that elicit certain specific emotional reactions from members of the organization. The theory is that when members share specific emotions, they can enable radical change processes in their organizations. For example, experiencing hope stimulates mobilization for change. Emotional capability, therefore, contrasts with emotional labor in that emotional capability focuses on the beneficial, adaptive effects of felt emotions and pays little attention to emotional display.

Emotional capability, therefore, is hypothesized to increase the ability of organiza-

² The potential benefits of emotions were once researched under general terms such as “sentiments” and “morale” by the Human Relations school (McGregor, 1960; Hertzberg, 1966; Fiedler, 1967; Locke, 1976). See Perrow (1986) for a critique of the claims of this school.

tions to change, learn, and innovate. Such abilities constitute organizational effectiveness in dynamic environments and may be more important than technical efficiency (Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997); the presumption is that emotions prime dynamic processes, such as receptivity and collective mobilization to change. For example, emotion management routines that display empathy are posited to increase receptivity to change; actions that elicit hope increase mobilization (cf. Huy, 1999). These actions can also enhance employees' well-being in that they help re-energize depressed, cynical employees who might have previously experienced continuous organizational underperformance and a string of unsuccessful change attempts (Reichers *et al.*, 1997). Organizational learning and innovation can also enhance members' well-being in that these processes enable members to learn and develop themselves.

Subsequent empirical work (Huy, 2002) has begun to show how emotional capability could be practiced in one organization. That research showed that different groups could implement different emotion management practices depending on the particular groups' interests and competences and, in the aggregate, produced adaptive organizational change. Thus, emotional capability does not require most individual members to be emotionally intelligent.

However, as much as emotional capability holds the promise of enhancing employees' well-being and improving organizational effectiveness, it presents several potential limitations. First, since empirical accounts of emotional capability are rare, we still have to discover what its negative (side) effects are. This lack of empirical validation is exacerbated by many organizations that seem unaware, unable, or unwilling to deploy emotional capability throughout their organizational routines. Second, these routines may be difficult to implement, as emotion management requires specific skills of some members, such as patient listening, tact in responding, sympathetic attending, and other abilities that allow people to attend to others' emotions with sensitivity and care. These skills may be in short supply in many organizations, and it will likely take time and persistent effort to develop them.

Table 3, therefore, summarizes the theoretical assumptions behind the four basic perspectives on emotion management in organizations. These perspectives offer useful insights that represent the evolution of scholarly thinking on this topic over the last half-century.

Insert Table 3 about here

Although it would be unrealistic in one article to try to resolve all the tensions that exist between these various perspectives on emotion management, I will, however, contribute to the exploration of this complex issue by addressing some of the important questions that the previous analysis reveals. First, what does management of collective (or patterns of) emotions involve and how is it different from individual-level emotion management? Although I have partially addressed this question at the beginning of the paper, more elaboration seems warranted. Second, what are some of the factors that can make emotion management acceptable to a large number of organization members on a sustainable basis? My intent is not to provide an exhaustive and definitive answer to these questions, but rather to spark further debate and invite other researchers to devote more attention to this important subject.

To this point, I have mainly provided descriptive theorizing of the different perspectives on emotion management in organizations. In the second part of this paper, I will propose a number of emotion management mechanisms (or routines) that, in aggregate, could foster sustainable, adaptive emotion management in organizations. Because of this aim, my theorizing will have prescriptive undertones. It draws on insights from the four perspectives on emotion management and other literatures. To keep the theorizing more tractable, I will focus on emotion management performed between organization members, and I will not deal with emotional interactions between internal and external stakeholders. Because research in emotion management inside organizations is still relatively young, the following discussion represents speculative theorizing that is subject to future refinement and empirical testing.

How is emotion management in organizations different from that done by a single person?

Research in such diverse organizations as Delta Airlines, which managed emotions related to customer service (Hochschild, 1983); Amway, which managed emotions related to recruiting its members (Pratt & Barnett, 1997); and Servico, which managed emotions related to radical change, suggests that an organization can develop and diffuse a number of different emotion management practices at the same time and selectively direct scarce resources to particularly needy work groups, all to achieve organizational objectives.

In addition, in large organizations such as those described above, different groups of employees can have different group interests and values (Cyert & March, 1992), and hence can experience different emotions when faced with the same event. These group emotions may need to be attended to differently. It can be ineffective, moreover, for all members in one organization to feel the same emotions. Depending on members' task expectations, different groups may need to experience different emotional states. Work groups with creative roles (for instance, product developers) may benefit by experiencing passion or other emotional states conducive to creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Mainemalis, 2001). In contrast, it may be less crucial to arouse creativity-priming emotions among people who work in security or in jobs that demand consistently reliable results (e.g., maintenance of nuclear power plants).

Thus, companies that seek to elicit appropriate emotional states that address both an individual's and an organization's needs can improve the effectiveness of their actions by knowing their employees' personal needs and figuring out how they can be reconciled with organizational goals. For instance, eliciting more fear of organizational death in already change-receptive groups could make them angry. Thus, managing patterns of emotions in organizations does not necessarily involve attending to all stakeholders' emotions with the same level of urgency and with the same amount of effort and resources, be they attention,

training, monitoring, or rewarding.

At the same time, the collective nature of organizations can give the latter an advantage over individuals. Companies need not rely on the emotion-management skill of any single employee. To illustrate, Huy (2002) found that many people can share the task of managing the emotions of one recipient work group. For instance, one group of members (the change agents) in Servico focused on convincing another group of workers that there was an urgent need to radically change the way they had been working. Yet another group of members (the line managers) attended only to emotions related to organizational continuity—e.g., eliciting calm and comfort among the same work group—so that employees could keep attending to the customers. In juxtaposition, the emotion management actions of both the project champions and the line managers allowed the target work group to achieve beneficial adaptation: The group was able to improve the way it served its customers rather than experiencing a decline in customer service because of too much change happening too fast.

This collective yet distributed form of emotion management may help transcend the need for a company to have a large number of “emotionally intelligent” individuals in influential positions who might end up working at cross-purposes. Some fear, as well, that such individuals could use their emotional skills to maximize their personal benefit to the detriment of other colleagues or the company (Jackall, 1988). It is also not realistic to expect most members of an organization to both master a wide range of technical and business skills and to possess such a high level of emotional competence to be able to manage a staff’s emotions.

Table 4 highlights some of the differences between managing emotions at an individual level and managing patterns of emotions in organizations.

Insert Table 4 about here

What are some of the factors that can make emotion management acceptable to organization members on a sustainable basis?

Martin and colleagues (1998) reported that emotion management at The Body Shop, which they examined through the lens of bounded emotionality, seemed to help employees' well-being more than it hurt them. Most employees appreciated being "themselves" at work, sharing their feelings with others who shared similar values, and helping each other both at work and in their personal lives. However, such an environment was alienating to certain new recruits who did not feel comfortable with open sharing of feelings. When these employees quit, the workforce's diversity was reduced. There was also a risk of emotional exploitation, as the organization could take advantage of employees' emotional states to further its productivity, such as by making people who liked the company or their job work longer hours. On balance, however, most employees seemed to prefer their work environment to other alternatives in which expression of feelings is curtailed and employees' emotional needs ignored. In the eyes of many of its employees, The Body Shop's mode of emotion management may not have been perfect, but they had seen no better practical alternative.

At Delta Airlines, by way of contrast, where emotional labor primarily informed the process of emotion management, employees vocalized their dislike of and opposition to such practices to researchers (see Hochschild, 1983: 126-131). So, why was emotion management more acceptable to employees working for The Body Shop compared to those working for Delta Airlines? First, the emotion management practices at The Body Shop seemed more transparent and are practiced by all levels of the company. These practices were discussed openly, understood widely, and practiced voluntarily by many employees, regardless of their status in the company. The Body Shop founder and CEO Anita Roddick appeared authentic to her employees because she practiced what she preached--a more egalitarian work community and freedom of emotional expression. Although managers might use "tear-jerker" pres-

entations featuring pictures of children and poignant music to encourage employees to perform community service (Martin *et al.*, 1998), a large number of employees accepted this approach because they believed it was authentically motivated.

At Delta Airlines, top managers were not required to serve frequently on the company's planes or otherwise step into the shoes of its front-line workers. One can only hypothesize that its flight attendants might have felt less emotional alienation and suffered less burnout if Delta's top managers had understood the operational challenges of these workers and had demonstrated more empathy for them. If they had cared more about these employees' personal well-being, the company may have openly shared information about the negative side effects of emotional acting³ and provided appropriate monitoring, training, and psychological support to restore the emotional well-being of employees who performed emotional labor.

Training and support can help in several ways. First, if actors can learn to modify their internal feelings to match the required display through deep acting, they are less likely to experience emotional exhaustion, which comes from *frequent* surface acting (Grandey, 2003). Second, Delta trained its attendants to perform emotional acting to please customers but did not coach them to recognize and deal with its long-term side effects. Third, a good support environment helps in that happy attendants need to perform surface acting—displaying positive emotions while one does not really feel them—less frequently.

The dysfunctional side-effects of emotional acting inherent in emotional labor led Hochschild (1983) to propose emotional authenticity as key to healthy emotional behaviors. For Hochschild, authenticity is achieved when individuals display their spontaneous feelings and do not try to change them only to achieve the organization's objectives. For example, Hochschild argued, inauthenticity arises when a flight attendant who is upset manages this

³ Suppression of emotional expression tends to consume the cognitive resources of individuals, which considerably reduces task concentration (Gross & John, 1998). Worse, suppressing display of authentic emotions has been found to lead to memory impairment, increased blood pressure, and heart patients' mortality rates, mainly because of the effort devoted to the suppression process itself and not any specific

spontaneous feeling by telling herself that the customer's rude behavior might be caused by his fear of flying, not because of her interaction with him. By trying to reframe the situation that gave rise to her spontaneous emotions, she hurt her authenticity.

But this raises the question of whether there may be conditions under which managing the display of one's emotions and emotion-laden behavior can be adaptive? For instance, in an extreme example, should a policeman who feels angry when a crowd of non-armed people insults, taunts, and dares him to shoot at them draw his gun? Or rather, should he try to reframe his situation as non-life threatening, with his first duty to calm the crowd, to control his anger, and to refrain from drawing his gun to avoid an accidental shooting? In addition, if he displays his genuinely felt anger, instead of calm, could he risk diffusing his anger throughout the crowd--through the process of emotional contagion--and end up exacerbating the crowd's agitation? As a result, Hochschild's conception of spontaneous emotional authenticity should be tempered by the recognition that it can sometimes be beneficial to control one's displayed emotion and behavior that arises out of that emotion.

Also, although Hochschild (1983) described individual-level authenticity, she did not articulate what organization-level authenticity would be. To initiate an exploration of this subject, I first define an organization's actions that create a climate of authenticity as those that express consistency between statements, actions, and feelings in members' interactions.

Employees' opposition to emotion management at Delta Airlines versus acceptance at The Body Shop suggests that authenticity is necessary to sustainable adaptive emotion management. Emotion management is likely to work on a sustained basis if employees perceive it as transparent, consistent, and respectful of them. Otherwise, emotion management appears manipulative, and workers can become angry or cynical and grow to oppose people whom they view as trying to manipulate them (Reichers *et al.*, 1997).

emotion (Richards & Gross, 2000).

Drawing on the bounded emotionality perspective, emotional authenticity does not imply uncensored and insensitive venting of feelings; rather, adaptive expression of true feelings involves intersubjective responsiveness, that is, appropriate timing in communication, sensitivity, and empathy for others so that one individual's feelings can truly be "heard" (Harter, 2002). It can be adaptive sometimes not to express one's true emotions immediately. (Consedine, Magai, & Bonanno, 2002). For instance, refraining from expressing a strong emotion can be beneficial at times when other people feel psychologically fragile (Leventhal & Patrick-Miller, 2000), when levels of emotional arousal are already high within a group, or when prolonging highly unpleasant emotional states can be physiologically toxic to individual colleagues and the group as a whole (Frost, 2003).

Because of these factors, "considerate emotional authenticity" cannot always involve spontaneous emotional expression. Displayed emotions need to be tempered by mindful and caring consideration for both oneself and others' long-term well-being. And although it seems important for individual well-being to be able to display one's true emotions most of the time, this certainly does not mean all of the time. Surface acting has been found to cause emotional exhaustion only if it is done frequently, probably due to the negative effects of emotional dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1996) that accumulate when there is inadequate relief (Grandey, 2003). Training and support measures related to emotional labor, such as those discussed earlier, will likely mitigate any negative effects on members' well-being. Thus, considerate individual-level authenticity means accepting--not denying or repressing--one's spontaneous emotions, but also choosing to display them in a sensitive and respectful way. In addition, individuals need to recognize the potential costs of such effortful regulation of internal feelings and emotional display (Richards & Gross, 2000) and perform compensatory actions at other times (e.g., counseling, support, vacations) to mitigate possible toxicity and restore the authentic self.

For organizations, emotional authenticity refers to an organization-wide deployment of routines (e.g., increasing awareness through systematic training; role modeling; encouraging, counseling, rewarding) that will help members achieve considerate, individual-level emotional authenticity at work. In contrast to the emotion-suppression perspective, achieving emotional authenticity in organizations involves encouraging and legitimizing a wide variety of felt emotions that can be legitimately displayed in members' work interactions.

Emotional authenticity becomes even more important when employees face stressful events. Major organizational events are likely to arouse a wide range of intense emotions, and members are likely to experience emotional dissonance and unhealthy stress if they are allowed to express only a narrow range of emotions. In particular, in organizations in which emotional suppression has been the norm, deliberate emotion management actions to stimulate freedom in expressing emotions are necessary to foster employees' well-being and organizational effectiveness. Research on the technology company Servico (Huy, 2002) and on AT&T (Moses, 1987) suggests that lack of emotion management when employees experience distress can reduce the well-being of both individual members and the organization. Research on the break-up of AT&T in the 1980s, for example, showed how inattention to emotion management resulted not only in depression and other psychological problems among its workers but also in a cynical and hostile working environment that impaired organization competitiveness and innovation (see more detail in Appendix A). Thus, to the extent that events such as massive downsizing cause traumas in members' work and personal lives, it would seem careless and short-sighted for the organization not to provide emotional support to its members, which includes encouraging emotional authenticity, through means such as paid private psychotherapy or other counseling to attend to groups' emotions.

Organizational effectiveness relies in part on the institutionalization of new and better ways of thinking and doing (Argote, McEvily, & Reagans, 2003), but lack of authenticity has

been posited to reduce the quality of such organizational learning (Argyris & Schoen, 1978). Organizational learning depends on learning from both successes and failures. But an organization's culture and reward system may discourage sharing of learning from mistakes (Argyris, 1990), and knowledge gained from failed products has often been instrumental in achieving subsequent successes (Maidique & Zirger, 1988).

Open sharing of failures can be encouraged only in a climate in which a wide range of authentic feelings can be expressed without fear of punishment, embarrassment, or shame. Without that, workers become risk-averse, and discomfort about real or imagined group pressures for conformity can lead to dysfunctional groupthink (Janis, 1972), especially when such discomfort is elicited in the context of uncertainty about appropriate responses and the need to maintain good feelings with other group members (Turner *et al.*, 1992).

Moreover, research on procedural justice (Brockner *et al.*, 1994), as applied to strategic decision-making, suggests that employees are more likely to accept unfavorable decisions if they perceive the process to be fair (Kim & Mauborgne, 1999). A fair process, therefore, involves engaging members in the process of suggesting and debating various alternatives and how to implement them, including emotion management strategies. Then, like judges, managers exert their prerogative to make the final decision but also show clearly that they have carefully considered others' views and explain fully how and why they have incorporated them (or not). And finally, managers lay out clear expectations for realizing the established goals as well as incentives for compliance. As a result of fair process, a large number of employees are likely to accept the decision and to adopt the behaviors conducive to realizing organizational goals even if some individuals may not be enthusiastic about these goals.⁴

In sum, I propose considerate emotional authenticity as an important enabler of adaptive and sustainable emotion management. This leads to the next question: What kinds of

⁴ Appendix B describes how emotional authenticity is different from procedural justice.

emotions should organization members experience to increase their personal well-being and organizational effectiveness? A number of scholars have stressed the benefits of positive emotions (e.g., Fredrickson, 1998; Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003) whereas others have reminded us of the adaptive effects of negative emotions (e.g., Lewin, 1947; Schein, 1996). This tension demonstrates that both positive and negative emotions can provide adaptive benefits. This proposition can be supported by insights from the emotion regulation literature.

Enabling emotion regulating processes: emotional offsetting and channeling

Adaptive emotion management at the individual level can be informed by the emotion-regulation literature, which asserts that a prolonged experience of any heightened emotional state of the same valence (pleasant or unpleasant) can lead to eventual underperformance (Gross, 1998; Gross & John, 2002, Bagozzi, 2003). Because emotions reflect how people experience their environment, they can help people to adapt to changing situations: Positive feelings signal a satisfactory state, and negative feelings suggest a problematic environment (Schwartz & Bless, 1991). But too much of even a good thing is bad. For instance, if people maintain their happy feelings only, they may be reluctant to deal with negative stimuli, which can result in less learning (Hirt *et al.*, 1996). Too much joy may distract people and hinder task completion (Parrot & Spackman, 2000). It is sometimes adaptive to reduce an extreme good mood to avoid unrealistic expectations, to concentrate on the work at hand, and reduce the odds of future disappointments.

Conversely, too much prolonged negative emotion, such as sadness, hopelessness, or fear, can cause apathy, depression, and helplessness (Seligman, 1975; Lewis, 2000) and, in the extreme, energize destructive actions of anger and rage against other people (Tangney, 1999; Sarraj, 2002) or weaken one's own immune systems (Frost, 2003). To stave off this kind of reaction to a bad situation, adaptive people cope with prolonged distress by arousing positive emotions in themselves, even for short moments. Temporary positive moods often

function as a psychological resource, helping people deal with unpleasant events (Trope, Ferguson, & Raganathan, 2001).

Thus, decreasing positive emotions and increasing negative emotions at times can be adaptive because this kind of alternating helps maintain internal psychological balance (Feldman Barrett & Gross, 2001). It also helps with social appropriateness in that people who choose to reduce excessive displays of excitement about one's personal successes don't offend less fortunate people. This self-regulation also tempers internally felt hubris. For example, Verbeke and colleagues (2004) found that adaptive salespeople self-regulate the potential negative effects of excessive pride (hubris) and rein in their urges to be boastful and risk offending important customers by eliciting anticipatory negative emotions, such as fear of retribution and anticipated regret. Contrasting emotions, therefore, temper one another and prevent people from becoming excessively optimistic or complacent, or overly pessimistic and depressive, and thus enable sustainable human flourishing (Parrott, 1993). Eliciting contrasting emotional states in alternating sequences helps people act with humility and moderation to achieve long term well-being and growth (Parrott & Spackman, 2000).

In organizations, such emotion regulation can be achieved by two complementary emotion management techniques-- emotional offsetting and emotional channeling.

Emotional offsetting refers to the process whereby organization members experience or elicit among themselves and/or other members *contrasting* discrete emotional states during a certain time period to attain shared organizational goals. For example, within the same day or the same week, employees in one work group experience both specific negative discrete emotions (e.g., fear and sadness) and specific positive discrete emotions (e.g., pride and joy).

Emotional offsetting extends the idea of "emotional ambivalence," which refers to the simultaneous experience of positive and negative emotions regarding an event (Fong &

Tiedens, 2002).⁵ “Ambivalence” can connote confused or equivocal emotional states whereas emotional offsetting denotes deliberateness and clarity in contrasting emotional experiences that are sometimes elicited for adaptive goals. Emotional offsetting differs from emotional ambivalence in at least three ways: Offsetting refers to a deliberate emotion management or regulation process, not just a state of emotional polarity. Second, contrasting discrete emotional states are not necessarily experienced simultaneously, as happens with ambivalence. Instead, they can be felt at different time periods, as the same event can elicit different emotions at different times (Ellsworth & Smith, 1988). Third, emotional offsetting represents mainly an organization-related construct, not an individual one. For instance, fear of organizational decline and death can motivate employees who care about the company to make major changes in the way they work. But also experiencing pride in their ability to contribute to organizational success can energize them to take active steps to reverse the causes of decline, instead of feeling hopeless or paralyzed with fear.

There is partial empirical support for the benefits of emotional offsetting in organizations. Research has found that among business work teams, those that were flexible and who performed better experienced both positive and negative emotions (Losada & Heaphy, 2004). While emphasizing the beneficial effects of more frequent positive experiences than negative ones, these scholars also contend that negative affect can enhance the quality of relationships, to the extent that this negativity is time-bounded, is connected to specific circumstances, and can be remedied (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005). This suggests another complementary process at work, which I call emotional channeling.

Emotional channeling refers to the process whereby an organization’s members under-

⁵ Emotional offsetting differs from Huy’s (2002) concept of emotional balancing of continuity and radical change. In his definition, it is the organizational processes of continuity and radical change that seem contradicting, and not the enabling factors: too much eliciting of emotions related to change created organizational chaos, whereas too much eliciting of emotions related to continuity resulted in organizational inertia. In contrast, emotional offsetting refers to specific contrasting discrete emotions as enabling factors of organizational processes that do not have to be contradicting.

stand the sources and potential effects of different discrete emotional states and elicit specific emotional states to achieve members' shared organizational goals. Such emotional channeling does not rely solely on each individual's emotion-regulating ability, but on a community of practice in which members help one another understand each other's emotional states and their effects, and to regulate or elicit specific discrete emotional states that prime distinct cognitive processing and action that facilitate attainment of shared organizational goals.

According to Mayer and Gaschke (1988), the emotional experience has at least two components: the direct experience of one's emotions and the metaexperience of them that is reflective and contains thoughts and feelings about one's emotional state. For emotional states to serve as input into people's evaluation of their ongoing efforts to adjust and achieve their goals, it helps for people to recognize their feelings clearly (George & Zhou, 2002). Such recognition also involves understanding the sources that elicit various emotions.

According to Ortony, Clore, and Collins' (1988) model of emotion, the discrete emotions that one experiences depend on how a person appraises a situation in terms of personal concerns. Many events in life are multidimensional, and different dimensions of a situation may elicit different discrete emotions (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000).⁶ For example, if people focus on the consequence of an event and construe the consequence as bearing future beneficial (or detrimental) prospects for themselves, people are likely to feel hope (or fear). Alternatively, people could focus on agents' actions rather than on consequences of an event: The basic affective reaction will be to approve or disapprove of the actions of an agent and the related emotions felt being pride, shame, or admiration. People could also focus on aspects of an object: The affective reaction will be to like or dislike the attributes of that object, feeling

⁶ Furthermore, Russel (2003: 158) suggested that one might feel only one emotion at any one time but could perceive many "affective qualities" related to other events. For example, employees may "feel" joyful about an emerging innovative product (current "core affect") and still "perceive" fear about their competitors' aggressive responses that could reduce the innovation's expected benefits (affective quality associated with another dimension).

in these cases emotions such as love or hate.

Thus, understanding the sources or objects of one's emotional states can help one to modify one's emotions. For instance, if one perceives that another person has intentionally caused harm, then that person is likely to feel angry and may seek to retaliate. But if one reappraises the event and concludes the harm was accidental, the person will probably feel sorry and may become more vigilant in the future. Understanding the sources of different emotional states can help people to channel their efforts on issues that matter most to them. As a result, the ability to understand and potentially modify emotions could help an organization's members cope with their (and their colleagues') emotional states in an adaptive way.

Combining emotional offsetting (eliciting *contrasting* discrete emotions) with emotional channeling (knowing the *sources* and *effects* of various discrete emotions and acting on this knowledge) can help an organization's members regulate their emotional states to prime subsequent cognitive processing and action to achieve shared goals. For example, R&D teams may feel frustrated about slow progress but also feel excitement in developing new products and interacting with their colleagues. This can lead to increased cooperation and a greater effort to speed the output. To enhance group emotion-management abilities, organizations can put in place organizational routines that enhance organizational members' awareness and skills about emotion management, through training, monitoring, and rewarding.

As the processes of emotional offsetting and channeling share some similar functions with emotion regulation at the individual level, I call these organization-related emotion-regulating processes. Table 5 highlights some of the key differences between enactment of emotional offsetting and channeling in organizations versus those performed by a person.

Insert Table 5 about here

Appendix C provides an illustration of how emotional offsetting and channeling worked to reverse the fortune of a car manufacturer, Nissan, when it was headed toward

bankruptcy. In this case, two contrasting emotional states--fear and pride-- were channeled onto two different targets: the organization's possible demise and the need to contribute to the organization's success. Combined, fear of organization death plus pride in contributing to organizational success reduced Nissan employees' resistance to disruptive strategic change, restored their self-confidence, and channeled their energy toward producing new products and cutting costs instead of blaming each other for poor business performance. Just as emotional authenticity is believed to aid an organization's ability to learn, adapt, and innovate, so too can the processes of emotional offsetting and channeling.

These regulating processes also facilitated organizational learning inside Nissan. Its middle managers elicited dissatisfaction among work unit managers by pointing out that most factory managers knew how many minutes it took to build a car but had no idea how much it cost, which explained in part the high operating costs of Nissan. But these middle managers, who were championing change and mentored by top managers, also created feelings of safety in work interactions by actively encouraging other employees to challenge the hierarchy and speak up, no matter their age, gender, and citizenship. Safety was also created when line managers cooperated with union leaders in plant closings, and spent a lot of time attending to the details of each worker's voluntary retirement or relocation to a new work location.

Practices similar to emotional offsetting and channeling have taken place in several organizations. Pratt and Barnett (1997) described how Amway recruiting routines involved eliciting conflicting emotions to induce prospects to break from their past behaviors (unlearning) and attach themselves to the new organization (learning). Veteran members elicited positive emotions such as excitement for future dreams designed to channel the recruits toward change, but they also elicited negative emotions such as fear of staying in one's comfort zone, to break the prospective members of their past habits. They also worked to elicit feelings of safety with Amway by conveying warmth and trustworthiness to the prospects.

Similarly, Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) described how managers of a high technology firm, “Tech,” acted deliberately and systematically to foster a culture of creativity and loyalty among the mobile engineers. These managers elicited employees’ passion in their projects and the joy of working like free “artists,” but also created anxiety with tight deadlines that pressured these engineers to work long hours. They also evoked feelings of safety by caring for those who burned out and not laying them off. In return, many employees became emotionally attached to Tech. However, whether these kinds of emotion management fostered members’ long-term well-being seems beyond the scope of these studies.

In sum, based on the four perspectives—emotion suppression, emotional labor, bounded emotionality, emotional capability—plus the emotion regulation literature, I have proposed three processes that could potentially help adaptive emotion management in organizations: considerate emotional authenticity, emotional offsetting, and emotional channeling.

Obviously, the emotion-based processes proposed in this paper are not expected to be exhaustive, and future research can validate the empirical validity of these processes, add nuance, or propose new ones. In the following section, I will reflect on the interaction between emotional authenticity and emotion-regulating processes. I will also explore some additional enabling factors for sustainable adaptive emotion management in organizations.

Interaction between emotional authenticity and emotion regulating in organizations

The idea of emotion regulating on its surface seems contradictory to emotional authenticity, in that organizations seek to elicit emotions that may not be spontaneously or initially felt by their members. For example, before the arrival of Ghosn’s team as described in Appendix C, Nissan employees might have naturally felt anxiety or hopelessness about the desperate state of their company but did not feel individually responsible for their company’s bad situation. Newly arrived executives initiated actions, however, that resulted in individual members feeling dissatisfied with the underperformance of their own business units as well

as feeling renewed pride in their ability to do something to renew the organization themselves. This suggests that adaptive emotion management in organizations does not merely involve dealing with members' spontaneous emotions. Instead, adaptive emotion management may at times require deliberate arousal of new emotional states that increase the human system's adaptive ability.

Emotion regulating in organizational contexts is also distinct from task- or problem-focused coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In the narrow formulation of these means of coping, a task or a problem is assumed to be pre-defined and not modifiable. For example, a student who is worried about passing an important exam can increase his efforts in studying (task-focused coping), meditate (emotion-focused coping), or quit (avoidance coping).

In organizations, however, few organizational challenges are sharply pre-specified and agreed upon. There could be multiple serious and hidden problems that require discovery and collective agreement on how best to deal with them (Cyert & March, 1992). For example, Ghosn's team helped Nissan members identify serious cost and design problems that members might not have initially believed critical to Nissan's renewal. But there could be multiple ways to reduce costs and innovate (equifinality), and these solutions needed to be debated to decide which ones were most appropriate for Nissan (See Appendix C).

Thus, in practice, emotion regulating in organizations could include manifestations of both task- and emotion-focused coping. And these regulating actions can also, by themselves, influence members' emotions directly or indirectly. In Huy's (2002) account of change in a technology firm, many of the emotion-management actions seem direct. Middle managers devoted significant efforts to reduce fear and anger among employees so that they could continue serving the customers, while conveying hope that the radical changes would improve the competitive position of the organization and improve employees' job security.

In the case of Nissan, however, many of the emotional effects seem indirect. The new

practice of creating cross-functional teams to work on organizational challenges, for example, can be viewed as task-focused coping. But this action could also elicit multiple energizing emotions, such as pride in creating a new strategy, excitement to work on innovative projects, hope of improving the company's future and one's career, and attachment to the organization. Although these elicited emotions differ from the initial spontaneous emotions of anxiety, shame, or hopelessness, they still can be viewed as authentic because they are genuinely felt and displayed by organization members. Emotion regulation in organizations can involve eliciting various emotions about distinct organizational concerns that might not have spontaneously emerged in the absence of intervention. And, certain actions can generate both task- and emotion-related effects, and not merely the latter.

Other enabling factors for sustainable adaptive emotion management in organizations

The idea of developing organizational routines to manage people's emotions to achieve business objectives may have implied that it can be relatively easy for organizations, through strong cultures and emotional control, to take over the lives of individuals, manipulate their feelings, and even go so far as to stamp out their individuality. But as Van Maanen and Kunda (1989: 93) pointed out, the story is not always that simple. People derive their social identity from organizational affiliations they carve out and maintain. The better they feel these affiliations are, the better they feel about themselves and about their ability to tackle the world at large. Individuals derive their personal identity from the various ways they influence these affiliations, and they sometimes resist uniformity by doing and feeling something different from people around them. As Goffman (1961: 320) noted, "our sense of a being a person can come from being drawn into a wider social unit; our sense of selfhood can arise from the little ways in which we resist the pull." For emotion management to be accepted by organization members, who simultaneously are—and need to remain—individuals, several enabling conditions seem necessary but not exhaustive: authenticity, individualized caring,

pooled local agency, and alternating periods of comfort.

Authenticity. I already discussed how a climate of organizational authenticity, including considerate emotional authenticity, combined with transparency and fair process, is critically important to sustainable and adaptive emotion management in organizations. Actions that are perceived by recipients as inconsistent, non-transparent and disrespectful of organizational members are likely to be resisted and rejected.

Individualized caring. Although emotional offsetting and channeling aim at establishing specific shared emotions to achieve organizational objectives, this does not imply that managers can change employees' individual emotions at will. Not every individual is likely to feel the same emotional state with the same intensity for the same period of time. The challenge of effective emotion management is that the "emotion influencers" must have a close understanding of each member so that they can adapt their actions to individual members' needs. For instance, Nissan's middle managers created comfort in work interactions by closely attending to the details of each of their workers that needed to be relocated or retired because of plant closings. Huy (2002: 50-1) illustrates how such caring took place in "Servico," a large information technology company:

Every case was different: one service rep. from a small town emotionally told me in a public meeting that she could not move to [Dallas] immediately. In private, she explained to me that she was going through a divorce; another one was worried that her handicapped child could not find a specialized school, so I looked for a job that would suit her needs. Others have sick parents. Relocation is a very emotional thing. We addressed that by offering them paid visits to the new location a few months in advance. The welcoming party appointed sponsors for every family to look after their personal needs, to take them out to dinner the first weeks or to find a baseball team for the kids.

Moreover, the same action can be interpreted differently by different individuals and can arouse very different emotions. A seemingly desirable action to get employees involved in strategy-making projects might make some employees feel needed. In others, however, it might arouse cynicism and exacerbate mistrustful behavior. Perhaps in the past, these people

had felt that their opinions and contributions had not been acknowledged adequately by senior management (Reichers *et al.*, 1997). As happened in British Airways, an action intended to create urgency for change (e.g., announcing low employee productivity and the need for cost reduction) elicited the opposite reaction; it increased opposition to change (Barsoux & Manzoni, 1997). People respond emotionally to the meaning these actions have for them.

The effectiveness of an emotion-eliciting action, therefore, depends to a large extent on how people interpret it, and that subjective interpretation grows out of their particular context and history. This means there is no easy formula for “emotion influencers” to follow. The effectiveness of actions they choose will be dependent on previous actions and events and is tested anew every time it is enacted. This leads us to the next question: Who is more likely to perform emotion management well in organizations?

Pooled local agency. As shown in the belated emotion management at AT&T (Moses, 1987) described in Appendix A, and a more timely one at Servico (Huy, 2002), managers who recognize the importance of emotion management, but who feel they do not possess all the skills and time to do it themselves, could seek assistance from their colleagues, or could hire outside professionals to assist them. As Huy’s (2002) research found, managers with personnel supervisory responsibilities could be made aware of the importance of active and appropriate emotion management practices and how and when to apply them. Operating managers, to the extent that they have been appointed to leadership positions because they have proven to be adept at managing people, are likely to be best placed to manage the emotions of people who report directly to them; they are the ones who should best know their employees’ individual needs and aspirations. Consequently, in large hierarchical organizations, such as “Servico” or Nissan, middle managers who hold direct supervisory responsibility for their employees are more likely to be skilled than top executives at performing emotion management. Huy (2002) found that a number of these line managers, over a long period of socialization

within an organization, have developed deep local knowledge and a personal reservoir of unwritten obligations and favors traded that gives them significant informal leverage (Huy, 2001). They also tended to be trusted (McAllister, 1995), which made them appear more credible and convincing when they communicated with their employees and peers.

Although pooled local agency can emerge spontaneously through individual initiatives, organizations can promote this mutual helping behavior by making members aware that every person in the organization has limited energy and emotion management skills. They can assure them that this condition is normal, and it is even praiseworthy to recognize personal limits and ask for organizational assistance. Moreover, companies can make available resources that are necessary for timely and effective emotion management (e.g., money, personnel, outside psychological help). They can also develop feedback systems to recognize, celebrate, and reward employees who help manage one another's emotions or a group's emotional states to achieve individual well-being and organizational effectiveness.

Institutionalizing emotion management practices through training, coaching, and monitoring of members with personnel responsibility holds the promise of increasing the organization's collective well-being. Emotion management at the organizational level may be more malleable and thus can be developed more easily and faster than that at the individual level. It is still unclear whether individual emotional intelligence can be improved significantly (Salovey *et al.*, 2000). More flexibility exists, however, at the organizational level, in which many members pool their complementary competences to compensate for each other's limitations and to achieve shared goals. This reflects pooled local agency. As Huy's (2002) research shows, within the same workgroup, some members can work to elicit emotions related to change while others focus on eliciting emotions related to continuity. Together they achieve adaptive outcomes.

Alternating periods of comfort. Actions or events eliciting intense emotional “roller

coaster” states, such as fear, pride, and safety, if prolonged, can lead to emotional, cognitive, and behavioral fatigue, not to mention exhaustion.⁷ Martin and colleagues (1998) reported that there were worrying signs of stress among The Body Shop employees who voluntarily practiced both bounded emotionality and emotional labor. Prolonged and excessive emotional demands on organization members can lead to emotional numbness and low sensitivity to new ideas and experimentation (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Some alternating periods of comfort, characterized by low emotional and cognitive efforts, seem necessary for sustained beneficial emotion management.

Comfort refers to feelings of tranquility and is predicted by a sense of certainty about the situation and by the general absence of perceived obstacles and anticipated effort (Ellsworth & Smith, 1988). Comfort motivates people to become more relaxed and take it easy for a while, especially when there is nothing immediately constructive that can be done about a situation.⁸ Organizations can elicit comfort among employees by scheduling some cognitively easy or emotionally calm tasks in work routines and providing calm and restful physical surroundings (Elsbach & Hargadon, 2005).

Comfort can also prime learning and creative thinking. Moments of comfort allow members to detach momentarily from the urgency of their current tasks so that they can engage in the kind of reflective and divergent thinking that allows members to question their routine ways of dealing with issues and imagine other alternatives (Leonard & Swap, 1999; Elsbach & Hargadon, 2005).

⁷ Even if organization members feel (psychological) safety in work interactions, organization learning could still involve intense debate and challenging each other’s perspective, which demands high cognitive efforts and elicits high emotional activation levels.

⁸ Most patients undergoing surgery, for example, cannot do much to ensure that their operation goes well, and it turns out that those who cope by not ruminating about the seriousness of the procedure have fewer complications and are discharged sooner than patients who worry about all the details of their operation and are vigilant to all their symptoms (Cohen & Lazarus, 1983).

Conclusion: Toward a model of adaptive management of emotions in organizations

In Figure 1, I propose the beginning of an adaptive model of managing emotions in organizations. Organizational life teems with many emotion-eliciting events (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), and consequently there are myriad opportunities to employ emotion-management practices and routines (Martin *et al.*, 1998) to generate patterns of felt and displayed emotional states that can be shared by many members and groups in an organization. Given this reality, how should emotion management be used to enhance employee well-being and organizational effectiveness?

Adaptive emotion management may at times require not just reducing the negative effects of “naturally” occurring emotional states but also deliberately arousing new emotional states that increase the human system’s adaptive ability. The regulating process of emotional offsetting of contrasting emotions provides us with one way to think about tempering the potentially dysfunctional effects of either positive or negative emotions alone. The regulating process of emotional channeling reminds us that the focus of these contrasting states determines whether they are adaptive or not.

For emotion management to work and be acceptable to organization members on a sustainable basis, it has to be done with considerate authenticity—spontaneity tempered with sensitivity to others’ long-term well-being--and it has to be individualized and caring. To overcome the limited skills and energy of single members to take on the complex task of emotion management, I proposed pooled local agency. And because prolonged emotional offsetting and channeling can generate emotional tensions that can exhaust both the emotion-helpers and the helped (Frost, 2003), periods of tensions should be alternated with periods of comfort to allow members to rest, recover, and reflect. Because the elements of the model can work in parallel with one another and do not have to be used in some kind of pre-determined sequence, we can construe it as a variance model more than a process model.

The proposed emotion management practices of considerate emotional authenticity, offsetting, channeling, individualized caring, pooled local agency, and alternating periods of comfort can be codified at least in part, refined through accumulative use and experience, and imparted to organization members as additional personnel management practices that enhance organizational effectiveness and members' well-being (Collins & Clark, 2003). Members with personnel responsibilities could be made aware of the importance of these emotion management practices and how and when to apply them with their employees. By doing so, members can co-create a facilitating emotional context, that is, a work environment in which there are a large number of members who understand the reasons and consequences of these deliberate but transparent emotion management routines, not to mention who aspire to experience certain desirable emotions such as pride, hope, or joy for at least some moments at work. This aspiration seems especially desirable in companies where negative emotions prevail and where a climate of hopelessness or cynicism (Reichers *et al.*, 1997) stifles members' focus and energy and saps collective performance (Bruch & Ghoshal, 2002).

My proposed model of management of emotions in organizations could open new avenues for research in the under-explored intersection of emotion management and organizational theory. Many important questions remain: Does the proposed model apply to all kinds of emotions? Because emotional states elicited by work and private lives influence each other and work behaviors (Hersey, 1932), to what extent should organizations expend resources to manage their members' emotions, especially when these are elicited by non-work related events? What are the ethical and legal implications for such emotion management? Where does an organization's responsibility begin and end insofar as the emotions it stirs in its members or customers—including by its advertising campaigns? Are there any specific emotions or emotion-eliciting actions that companies should not be involved with? Is it more dangerous to elicit intense negative emotions such as anger, shame, or fear than to elicit high-

activation positive emotions such as excitement and elation? Although arousing anger can help mobilize members to fight competitors, how can this anger be tempered to prevent extreme or illegal actions? How can members develop their abilities to manage one another's emotions? What monitoring mechanisms should be in place to detect and rectify incompetent or unethical emotion-management attempts? How would differences in organizational or national cultures affect what employees consider acceptable when it comes to managing their emotions? The limited number of emotion-management processes, organizational contexts, and boundary conditions explored so far represent ample opportunities for scholars to contribute to this vastly under-explored area. Below, I suggest a few research methods that can help scholars begin to tackle these questions.

Emotion management in natural work settings--and, more importantly, the organizational consequences of such actions--can be studied in a number of different ways, both objective and subjective. For instance, the level of organizational attention to the development of emotion-management practices may be measured by the proportion of organizational resources allocated to emotion-management activities, including budget, support groups, emotion training, and monitoring.

In addition, the overt nature of emotion management lends itself to outsider and peer observation and assessment (and thus to enhanced construct validity) via triangulation of private interviews, survey methods, company reports, and ethnographic research in natural settings, all of which allow researchers to validate and enrich participants' self-reports (see Huy, 2002). Even though I posit that certain actions are more likely to elicit a specified discrete emotion based on cognitive appraisal influenced by social-psychological assumptions (Ortony *et al.*, 1988), there is also the risk that, depending on the context, different groups could appraise the same action differently and experience different emotions (Hochschild, 1979; Parkinson, 1996). In other words, the effectiveness of each emotion-management action can

be assessed by both the intended emotional state and the resulting behavior or cognitive processing that emotional state is intended to prime (see Figure 2). Similarly, multi-method research, including perceptual survey questionnaires and interviews, can be applied to the study of organizational processes such as organizational learning.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Private emotional states can also be studied through a triangulation of methods that includes self-report accounts and surveys, non-verbal observations, and expressions of such states in support groups or focus groups (Cf. Larsen, & Fredrickson, 1999). A valid measure of discrete emotion requires capturing multiple dimensions such as core affect, cognitive appraisal, and physiological cues (cf. Russell, & Feldman Barrett, 1999; Russel, 2003). Shared emotional states are important to assess as well, as they could serve as mediators of behavior and help predict the direction of organization members' thinking and behavior in regard to facilitating an organizational process. Shared emotional states could act as precursors to other consequential organizational behavior, such as work groups' mobilization, learning from experiments, development of knowledge, and creative initiatives.

Emotion management, like many other management practices, can help or hurt individuals and organizations depending on how it is used. Because emotion management has been practiced by many organizations already, it seems fruitful to recognize this fact and explore, as fully as possible, the various implications that this has on individuals and organizations. This research is a call to scholars to continue exploring this complex but interesting phenomenon, especially the conditions under which managing people's emotions not only help companies achieve their business objectives but also enhances the welfare of individuals and societies. Only by accomplishing both aims can emotion management in organizations allow the sustainable flourishing of social communities to which we all belong.

Appendix A

When Emotion Management Is Not Done In An Organization

In 1984, AT&T faced a government order to break up its million-person-strong institution into smaller units (Tunstall, 1985). AT&T's employees had been proud of their company's achievements and values, and they could not fully understand or accept the forced break-up of what they considered to be a great American institution. The physical aspect of the massive structural breakup was implemented quickly. However, executives in the post-breakup phase were eager to move on to a new phase and did not pay much attention to the emotion management of their employees. This resulted in lingering widespread emotional stress among employees and caused lasting organizational underperformance for various AT&T offsprings, as the internal report on AT&T employees written by a psychologist revealed:

'We have very "disturbed" managers. Managers who are forced to make work force reduction decisions without any guidance, training, or support are becoming cynical. Or those who really care are being torn apart when making decisions that they are unprepared to make. Open hostility is surfacing as never before and its focus is toward the company rather than toward the competition or the marketplace where such energies can be productively channeled. The amount of suppressed, covert hostility lurking just below the surface in many people is truly frightening. Unfortunately, much of the frustration, anger, and depression are taking its toll on the non-work lives of our people. Frequently, its manifestations are deteriorating physical and psychological health. The impact on managers' health in the future can't be ignored and may be approaching crisis proportions. At the same time, we have noted a marked increase in symptoms of depression among managers we have studied. Today's survivors are often disillusioned, frustrated, bitter, and, most of all, lacking in hope ... One can't help wondering what kinds of managers they will be like in the future as they populate senior levels at AT&T'. (Moses, 1987: 35-36).

Appendix B

How Emotional Authenticity Is Different From Procedural Justice

Emotional authenticity is distinct from procedural justice in many ways. Procedural justice refers to the perceived fairness of the process whereas my definition of emotional authenticity does not involve perceived fairness. Because procedural justice refers to subjective perception of fairness in the process, the latter also assumes interacting parties *share beliefs* about criteria related to procedural fairness. Emotional authenticity does not require these shared beliefs. For these reasons, procedural justice is likely to be less effective in situations in which wide divergences in systems of beliefs exist (e.g., democracy versus theocracy and totalitarianism; gender equality in some religions).

I further hypothesize that procedural justice requires calm or positive emotional states to work. Interacting parties who feel anger or fear each other are unlikely to perceive fairness because emotions influence subsequent cognitive appraisal. Agitated emotions are likely to cue events that validate these negative feelings and increase people's vigilance about the other party (Izard, 1993; Isen, 1999; Loewenstein *et al.*, 2001).

For procedural justice to work, both parties have to believe that each other is sincere (authentic) in what they express. Otherwise, each party will mistrust the other party's expressed intent and try to discover the other party's hidden motives. In this respect, authenticity (including emotional authenticity) can represent a necessary but not sufficient enabling condition for procedural justice.

Conversely, emotional authenticity can be facilitated by perceived fairness but that it is just one among many other enabling factors. Others include: (a) individual preferences in emotional expressions—some persons may feel more or less comfortable to express a broad range of feelings to their colleagues at work (Martin *et al.*, 1998); (b) employees' variance in complying with perceived organizational "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1983): Some people

may feel they should only display a narrow range of “allowed” emotional states, such as enthusiasm and optimism, and avoid displaying other states, such as cynicism and depression.

Moreover, although procedural justice may encompass free expression of people’s true emotional states, the latter has not been the focus of the literature, which tends to be mainly cognitive. For example, Brockner and colleagues (1994) proposed that procedural justice in the context of layoffs can be operationalized through clear and open decision rules based on a logic that is acceptable to organization members, and through the advance notice that gives people time to prepare psychologically and materially for change.

Put differently, theories of emotion have not been integrated extensively to the literature on procedural justice, nor has there been much empirical exploration of the interaction between procedural justice and emotional states. For example, within the procedural justice literature (e.g., Brockner *et al*, 1997; Kim & Mauborgne 1998; Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998), there have been very few empirical studies that explore either the conditions under which employees feel free or less free to express their true emotional states or the interaction between employees’ felt or displayed emotional states and perceived fairness.

Appendix C

Illustrating Emotional Offsetting and Channeling at Nissan⁹

In 1999, Japanese Nissan was a non-innovative and near-bankrupt car manufacturer. French Renault was the only company that decided to invest to rescue Nissan, much to the derision of analysts who commented that “two mules don’t make a racehorse” (Hughes, Barsoux, & Manzoni, 2003). Both organizations were seen to come from countries that have strongly nationalistic cultures, and each nation believes its way is the right way to do things. Yet, by 2002, Nissan became one of the most innovative and profitable car manufacturers in the world. How did this come about?

When Renault’s Carlos Ghosn arrived at Nissan to lead its turnaround, the new top team elicited among Nissan’s workers fearful feelings of imminent organizational death. For example, it kept reminding employees that Nissan’s sales had fallen by 800,000 units, which equaled Mercedes’ worldwide sales; the debt level was so high that additional borrowing would be difficult; and this could be the last rescue attempt. An insider observed that Ghosn painted a credible picture so bleak that recalcitrant unions felt compelled to accept unprecedented massive downsizing and plant closings. But newly arrived French executives also worked to elicit feelings of pride among the same workers. As Ghosn noted, “the biggest challenge when the company has been depressed for a long time is self-confidence. [I had] to help people believe that they are capable of doing a great job.” The French declared that this was an alliance between two equal companies and not an acquisition by a stronger company. The top team formed nine cross-functional teams composed of more than 400 veteran Japanese middle managers who were trusted by their local peers to develop strategy. When he unveiled the renewal strategy to investors, Ghosn credited the strategic recovery plan to these

⁹ I use the example of Nissan and the effects of contrasting emotional states such as fear and pride; dissatisfaction and feeling safe in other unpublished papers. However, the theory of emotional offsetting and emotional channeling is presented in this paper only.

managers. He declared, “the strategy is developed by Nissan people for Nissan people.” These managers were also encouraged to review Nissan’s history for moments of success: They resurrected the old design model that first established Nissan’s reputation in the U.S.--the “Z” car--and made it into a quick win. This boosted workers’ pride and allowed them to regain some self-confidence. In sum, Ghosn’s team reversed the potentially high resistance of Nissan employees to needed change in large part by showing respect for Nissan’s identity and eliciting Nissan employees’ pride.

So, what kind of emotional processes helped convince Japanese Nissan employees to support French executives in their plan to turn around the organization? One could use a “rational-political” perspective (Kotter, 1995) to explain that Nissan employees easily accepted painful radical change because the urgency for change was high. Such an interpretation assumes that many of the 150,000 Nissan employees experienced *individual feelings* of urgency and personal ownership for radical change actions, which would have been unusual for a large organization. Indeed, when the French executives first arrived at Nissan, they discovered that every business unit contended that it was achieving its objective and that the company’s problems lay with *other* units. Many business unit managers did not feel the urgency for change until they experienced contrasting emotions of fear and pride that were channeled onto concrete company problems.

Fear differs from more generalized anxiety in that it has a specific object (Öhman, 2000). Fear is a future-directed emotion and helps people respond to existential threats by helping them focus their personal resources upon the threat, to avoid unwanted dangers, and giving them the extra energy to act (LeDoux, 1995). Over time, the functional value of fear becomes social as well: it keeps people aware of our social values and alerts us to the dangers related to what we cherish (Ben-Ze’ev, 2000). Thus, to the extent that people associate their personal well-being with that of the organization, existential threat to the organization could

be experienced as existential threat to self, which, in turn, arouses fear. Here, the concern is less with one's existential survival but with one's self-esteem, material and emotional well-being shaped by one's social environment. The intense and unpleasant experience of fear primes people to attend to the future.

While fear is elicited by evaluation of an unpleasant future situation, pride emerges from pleasant evaluation of past actions. Pride is pleasure aroused when a person interprets that a positive outcome can be attributed to her specific actions (Lewis, 2000). Pride serves a social communicative function inasmuch as this emotion helps people to convey enhancement of their identity by taking credit for an achievement and their desire for others to adjust their opinions upwards in accordance with the achievement (Parkinson, 1996). The opinions of significant others enhance or validate our pride, and organizations can harness this power to their benefit.

Workers who feel pride are less resistant to radical change because many people in organizations are fearful of receiving negative information about themselves (Ashford & Cummings, 1983), and, when they do receive it, they may try to ignore the message, dismiss it as inaccurate, or attack the credibility of the source (Ilgen, Fisher, & Taylor, 1979). Negative feedback often arouses feelings of discomfort. By restoring "feelings of control" (Jackson & Dutton, 1988) between deliberate actions and positive outcomes, people feel less defensive and helpless. As their self-esteem rises, members grow in confidence and are willing to experiment and learn from both failures and successes (Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1993). And, to the extent that members identify strongly with the organization (Dutton *et al.*, 1994), collective success can be experienced as one's own and elicit pride. As Albert (1984) has noted, a proposed change can be resisted not only because the future is unknown and feared, but because the proud past is under-appreciated.

In sum, to energize Nissan employees, the French team took actions that elicited both

negative and positive emotions, namely fear of organizational decline and death and pride in contributing to organizational success. These emotion-eliciting actions seem to reflect two distinct but interrelated emotional processes at work. First, these actions *channel* Nissan employees' focus and energy toward achieving common adaptive organizational goals, such as cost reduction and product innovation as opposed to inter-unit rivalry and finger-pointing. I conceptualize this process as *emotional channeling*. Emotional channeling is present when the sources/objects of emotions are clear in members' minds (e.g., "organization decline/death" and "contributing to organizational success"). Second, the French team's actions elicited both contrasting positive and negative discrete emotions, such as fear and pride, and not just positive or negative emotions alone. I call this *emotional offsetting*.

References

- Albert, S.
1984 A delete model for successful transitions. In J. Kimberly & R. Quinn (eds.) *Managing organizational transitions*: 149-191. Homewood, IL: Richard Irwin.
- Albrow, M.
1992 Sine Ira & Studio -- or do organizations have feelings? *Organization Studies*, 13: 313-329.
- Argote, L., B. McEvily, and R. Reagans
2003 Managing knowledge in organizations: An integrative framework and review of emerging themes. *Management Science*, 49: 571-582.
- Argyris, C.
1990 *Overcoming organizational defenses*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Argyris, C.
1993 *Knowledge for action. A guide to overcoming barriers to organizational change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Argyris, C., and D. Schoen
1978 *Organizational learning*. Reading, MA: Addison-Westley.
- Ashford, S.J., and L. L. Cummings
1983 Feedback as an individual resource: Personal strategies of creating information. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 32: 370-398.
- Bagozzi, R. P.
2003 Positive and negative emotions in organizations. In Kim S. Cameron, Jane E. Dutton, and Robert E. Quinn (eds.) *Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline*: 12: 176-193. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- Bagozzi, R. P., H. Baumgartner and R. Pieters
1998 Goal-directed emotions. *Cognition and Emotion*, 12: 1-26.
- Barnard, C. I.
1968 *The functions of the executive*. Boston: Harvard University Press. First published in 1938.
- Barsade, S. G.
2002 The ripple effect: Emotional contagion and its influence on group behavior. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 47: 644-675.
- Barsade, S. G., and D. E. Gibson
1998 Group emotion: A view from top and bottom. In M. A. Neale and E. A. Mannix

- (eds.) Research on managing groups and teams: 1: 81-102. Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Barsoux, J-L., and J-F. Manzoni
1997 British Airways (A and B) INSEAD cases 01/98-4740.
- Bartel, C. A., and R. Saavedra
2000 The collective construction of work group moods. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45: 197-231.
- Bartunek, J. M.
1984 Changing interpretive schemes and organizational restructuring: The example of a religious order. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 29: 355-37.
- Ben-Ze'ev, A.
2000 The subtlety of emotions. Cambridge, MA, London: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Bower, J. L.
1986 Managing the resource allocation process. Homestead, IL: Irwin. First published in 1970.
- Brief, A. P., and H. M. Weiss
2002 Organizational behavior: Affect in the workplace. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53: 279-308.
- Brockner, J., M. Konovsky, R. Cooper-Schneider, R. Folger, C. Martin, and R. Bies
1994 Interactive effects of procedural justice and outcome negativity and survivors of job loss. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37: 397-409.
- Brockner, J., P. A. Siegel, J. Daly, T. Tyler, and C. Martin
1997 When trust matters: The moderating effect of outcome favorability. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42: 558-583.
- Brown, S. and K. Eisenhardt
1997 The art of continuous change: Linking complexity theory and time-paced evolution in relentlessly shifting organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42: 1-34.
- Bruch, H., and S. Ghoshal
2002 Beware the busy manager. *Harvard Business Review*, 80: 62-69.
- Cameron, K. S., J. E. Dutton and R. E. Quinn
2003 Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
2004
- Cohen, F., and R. S. Lazarus
1983 Coping and adaptation and health and illness. In D. Mexhamir (ed.) *Handbook of health, health care, and the health profession*: 608-635. New York: Free Press.
- Collins, C., and K. D. Clark
2003 Strategic human resource practices, top management team social networks, and firm

performance: The role of human resource practices in creating organizational competitive advantage. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46: 740-751.

Consedine, N. S., C. Magai and G. A. Bonanno

2002 Moderators of the emotion inhibition-health relationship: A review and research agenda. *Review of General Psychology*, 6: 204-228.

Crossan, M. M., and I. Berdrow

2003 Organizational learning and strategic renewal. *Strategic Management Journal*, 24: 1087-1105.

Csikszentmihalyi, M.

1997 *Finding flow: The psychology of engagement with everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.

Cyert, R. M., and J. G. March

1992 *A behavioral theory of the firm*. Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers. First published in 1963.

Damasio, A.R.

1994 *Descartes' error emotion, reason, and the human brain*. New York: Putnam's Sons.

Doty, D. H. K, and W. H. Glick

1994 Typologies as a unique form of theory building: Toward improved understanding and modelling. *Academy of Management Review*, 19: 230-251.

Dutton, J. E., and J. M. Dukerich

1991 Keeping an eye on the mirror: Image and identity in organizational adaptation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34: 517-554.

Dutton, J. E., J. M. Dukerich and C. V. Harquail

1994 Organizational images and member identification. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39: 239-263.

Edmonson, A.

1999 Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44: 350-383.

Ellsworth, P. C., and C. A. Smith

1988 Shades of joy: Patterns of appraisal differentiating pleasant emotions. In Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Limited (ed.) *Cognition and Emotion*, 2: 301-331.

Elsbach, K. D., and A. B. Hargadon

2005 Enhancing managerial creativity through “mind-less” work: An extension to the “job characteristics model”. University of California: Davis. Working Paper.

Feldman Barrett, L., and J. J. Gross

2001 Emotional intelligence: A process model of emotion representation and regulation. In T. J. Mayne and G. A. Bonanno (eds.) *Emotions: Current issues and future directions*: 286-310. New York: Guilford.

- Fiedler, F. E.
1967 A theory of leadership effectiveness. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fineman, S.
1996 Emotion and organizing. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W.R. Nord (eds.) Handbook of Organization Studies. London: Sage.
- Flam, H.
1990a Emotional `man': I. The emotional man and the problem of collective action. *International Sociology*, 5: 39-56.
- Flam, H.
1990b Emotional `man': II. Corporate actors as emotion-motivated emotion managers. *International Sociology*, 5: 225-234.
- Folkman, S., and J. T. Moskowitz
2000 Positive affect and the other side of coping. *American Psychologist*. 55: 647-654.
- Fong, C. T., and L. Z. Tiedens
2002 Dueling experiences and dual ambivalences: Emotional and motivational ambivalence of women in high status positions. *Motivation and Emotion*, 26: 105-121.
- Fredrickson, B. L.
1998 What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology*, 2: 300-319.
- Fredrickson, B. L.
2001 The role of positive emotions in positive psychology. *American Psychologist*, 56: 218-226.
- Fredrickson, B. L., and M. Losada
2005 Positive affect and the complex dynamics of human flourishing. University of Michigan and Universidade Catolica de Brasilia. Working Paper.
- Frost, P. J. 2003
Toxic emotions at work: How compassionate managers handle pain and conflict. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- George, J. M., and J. Zhou
2002 Understanding when bad moods foster creativity and good ones don't: The role of context and clarity of feelings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87: 687-697.
- Ghosn, C.
2003 Turnaround: How Carlos Ghosn rescued Nissan. New York, HarperCollins Publishers.
- Goffman, E.
1961 Encounters. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Goleman, D.

- 1995 Emotional intelligence. New York: Bantam.
- Grandey, A.
2003 When “the show must go on”: Surface acting and deep acting as determinants of emotional exhaustion and peer-rated service delivery. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46: 86-96.
- Gross, J. J.
1998 Antecedent and response focused emotions regulation: Divergent consequences for experience, expression and physiology. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74: 224-237.
- Gross, J. J., and O. P. John
1998 Mapping the domain of expressivity: Multimethod evidence for a hierarchical model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74: 170-191.
- Gross, J. J., & and O. P. John
2002 Wise emotion regulation. In Lisa Feldman Barrett & Peter Salovey (eds.) *The wisdom in feeling: Psychological processes in emotional intelligence. Emotions and social behavior*: 297-319. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Grove, A.
1996 Only the paranoid survive: How to exploit the crisis points that challenge every company and career. London: HarperCollins.
- Gump, B. B., and J. A. Kulick
1997 Stress, affiliation, and emotional contagion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72: 305-319.
- Harter, S.
2002 Authenticity. In C. R. Snyder and Shane J. Lopez (eds.) *Handbook of positive psychology*: 27: 382-394. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hatfield, E., J. T. Cacioppo and R. L. Rapson
1992 Primitive emotional contagion. In M.S. Clark (ed.). *Review of personality and social psychology: Emotion and social behavior*: 25-59. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hersey, R. B.
1932 Workers’ emotions in shop and home: A study of individual workers from the psychological and physiological standpoint. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Herzberg, F.
1966 Work and the nature of man. N. York: Crowell.
- Hirt, E. R., H. E. McDonald and R. J. Melton
1996 Processing goals and the affect-performance link: Mood as main effect or mood as input? In L. L. Martin & A. Tesser (eds.) *Striving and feeling: Interactions among goals, affect, and self-regulation*: 303-328. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Hochschild, A. R.
1979 Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85: 551-575.
- Hochschild, A. R.
1983 *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hughes, K, J-L. Barsoux and J-F. Manzoni
2003 Nissan's U-turn: 1999-2001: Condensed version of redesigning Nissan. INSEAD case.
- Huy, Q.
1999 Emotional capability, emotional intelligence, and radical change. *Academy of Management Review*, 24: 325-345.
- Huy, Q
2001 In praise of middle managers. *Harvard Business Review*, 79: 72-79.
- Huy, Q.
2002 Emotional balancing of organizational continuity and radical change: The contribution of middle managers. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 47: 31-69.
- Ilgen, D. R., C. D. Fisher and M. S. Taylor
1979 Consequences of individual feedback on behaviour in organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 64: 349-371.
- Isen, A. M.
1999a On the relationship between affect and creative problem solving. In S. W. Russ (ed.) *Affect, creative experiences, and psychological adjustment*: 3-17. Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel.
- Isen, A. M.
1999b Positive affect. In T. Dalgleish, and M. J. Power (eds.) *Handbook of cognition and emotion*: 25: 521-539. John Wiley & Sons.
- Isen, A. M.
2000 Positive affect and decision making. In M. Lewis & J.M. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions*, 417-435. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Isen, A. M.
2002 A role for neuropsychology in understanding the facilitating influence of positive affect on social behavior and cognitive processes. In C. R. Snyder and Shane J. Lopez (eds.) *Handbook of positive psychology*: 38: 528-540. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Isen, A. M.
2003 Positive affect and decision making. In M. Lewis and J. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions* (3rd ed.) New York: Guilford Press.

- Isen, A. M., K. Daubman and G. P. Nowicki
1987 Positive affect facilitates creative problem solving. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52: 1122-1131.
- Izard, C. E.
1993 Organizational and motivational functions of discrete emotions. In M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland (eds.) *Handbook of emotions*: 631-641. New York: Guilford Press.
- Jackall, R.
1988 *Moral mazes: The world of corporate managers*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, S. E., and J. E. Dutton
1988 Discerning threats and opportunities. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 33: 370-387.
- Janis, I. L.
1972 *Victims of groupthink*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Jehn, K.
1995 A multimethod examination of the benefits and detriments of intragroup conflict. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40: 256-282.
- Jehn, K.
1997 A qualitative analysis of conflict types and dimensions in organizational groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42: 530-557.
- Kelly, J. R., and S. G. Barsade
2001 Mood and emotions in small groups and work teams. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 86: 99-130.
- Kim, W.C., and R. Mauborgne
1998 Procedural justice, strategic decision making, and the knowledge economy. *Strategic Management Journal*, 19: 323-338.
- Kim, C., and R. Mauborgne
1999 Strategy, value innovation, and the knowledge economy. *Sloan Management Review*, Spring: 41-54.
- Kotter, J. P.
1995 Leading change: Why transformation efforts fail. *Harvard Business Review*, 73: 59-67.
- Kunda, G.
1992 *Engineering culture: Control and commitment in a high-tech corporation*. Philadelphia, PA, US: Temple University Press.
- Larsen, R. J., and B. L. Fredrickson

- 1999 Measurement issues in emotion research. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, and N. Schwarz (eds.) *Well-being: Foundations of hedonic psychology*, 40-60. New York: Russell-Sage.
- Lawrence, T. B., M. K. Mauws, and B. Dyck
2005 The politics of organizational learning: Integrating power into the 4I framework. *Academy of Management Review*, 30: 180-191.
- Lazarus, R. S.
1991 *Emotion & adaptation*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lazarus, R., and S. Folkman
1984 *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer.
- LeDoux, J. E.
1995 Emotion: Clue from the brain. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 46: 209-235.
- Leonard, D., and W. Swap
1999 *When sparks fly. Igniting creativity in groups*. Boston: Harvard Business Review School Press.
- Leventhal, H., and L. Patrick-Miller
2000 Emotions and physical illness: Causes and indicators of vulnerability. In M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions* (2nd Edition): 33: 523-537. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Lewin, K.
1947 Group decision and social change. In T.N. Newcomb and E.L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*. Troy, MO: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Lewis, M.
2000 Self-conscious emotions: Embarrassment, pride, shame, and guilt. In Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions*: 39: 623-636. Guilford Press, New York, London.
- Locke, K.
1996 A funny thing happened! The management of consumer emotions in service encounters. *Organization Science*, 7: 40-81.
- Losada, M., and E. Heaphy
2004 The role of positivity and connectivity in the performance of business teams: A nonlinear dynamics model. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47: 740-765.
- Loewenstein, G. F., E. U. Weber, C. K. Hsee, and N. Welch
2001 Risk as feelings. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127: 267- 286.
- Maidique, M. A., and B. J. Zirger
1988 *Innovation: A cross-disciplinary perspective*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Mainemelis, C.

- 2001 When the muse takes it all: a model for the experience of timelessness in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 26: 548-565.
- Maitlis, S., and H. Ozcelik
- 2004 Toxic decision processes: A study of emotion and organizational decision making. *Organization Science*, 15: 375-393.
- Martin, J., K. Knopoff and C. Beckman
- 1998 An alternative to bureaucratic impersonality and emotional labor: Bounded emotionality at The Body Shop. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 43: 429-469.
- Matthews, G., M. Zeidner and R. D. Roberts
- 2002 Emotional intelligence, coping, and adaptation. In G. Matthews, M. Zeidner and R. D. Roberts (eds.) *Emotional intelligence: Science and myth*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mayer, J. D., and Y. N. Gaschke
- 1988 The experience and meta-experience of mood. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 55: 102-111.
- McAllister, D. J.
- 1995 Affect -and cognition- based trust as foundations for interpersonal cooperation in organizations. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38: 24-59.
- McGregor, D. M.
- 1960 *The human side of enterprise*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Meyerson, D. E.
- 1998 Feeling stressed and burned out: A feminist reading and re-visioning of stressed-based emotions within medicine and organizational science. *Organizational Science*, 9: 103-118.
- Mishra, A. K., and G. M. Spreitzer
- 1998 Explaining how survivors respond to downsizing: The roles of trust, empowerment, justice and work redesign. *Academy of Management Review*, 23: 567-588.
- Morgen, S.
- 1994 Personalizing personnel decisions in feminist organizational theory and practice. *Human Relations*, 47: 665-683.
- Morris J. A., and D. D. Feldman
- 1996 The dimensions, antecedents and consequences of emotional labor. *Academy of Management Review*, 21: 986-1010.
- Moses, J. L.
- 1987 A psychologist assesses today's AT&T managers. *Teleconnect*, March: 32-36.
- Mumby, D. K., and L. L. Putnam
- 1992 The politics of emotions: A feminist reading of bounded rationality. *Academy of Management Review*, 17: 465-86.

- Nelson, R. R., and S. G. Winter
1982 An evolutionary theory of economic change. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Öhman, A.
2000 Fear and anxiety: Evolutionary, cognitive, and clinical perspectives. In M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions* (2nd Edition): 36: 573-593. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Ortony, A., G. L. Clore and A. Collins
1988 The cognitive structure of emotions. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Parkinson, B.
1996 Emotions are social. *British Journal of Psychology*, 87: 663-683.
- Parrott, W. G.
1993 Beyond hedonism: motives for inhibiting good moods and maintaining bad moods. In D. M. Wegner and J. W. Pennebaker (eds.) *Handbook of mental control*: 278-305. Egnlewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Parrott, W. G., and M. P. Spackman
2000 Emotion and memory. In M. Lewis and J. J. M. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions*. (2nd edition): 476-490. New York: Guilford.
- Parsons, T.
1951 The Social System. New York: Free Press.
- Perrow, C.
1986 Complex organizations. Third edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Peterson, C., S. F. Maier and M. E. P. Seligman
1993 Learned Helplessness: A theory for the age of personal control. Oxford University Press.
- Pratt, M. G., and C. K. Barnett
1997 Emotions and unlearning in Amway recruiting techniques. *Management Learning*, 28: 65-88.
- Pugh, S. D.
2001 Service with a smile: Emotional contagion in the service encounter. *Academy of Management Journal*. 44: 1018-1027.
- Putnam, L., and D. K. Mumby
1993 Organizations, emotion and the myth of rationality. In S. Fineman (ed.) *Emotion in organizations*. London: Sage.
- Rafaeli, A., and R. I. Sutton
1989 The expression of emotion in organizational life. In L. L. Cummings and B. M. Staw (eds.) *Research in Organizational Behavior*: 11: 1-42. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

- Rafaeli, A., and R. I. Sutton
 1991 Emotional contrast strategies as means of social influence: Lessons from criminal interrogators and bill collectors. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34: 749-775.
- Reichers, A. E., J. P. Wanous and J. T. Austin
 1997 Understanding and managing cynicism about organizational change. *Academy of Management Executive*, 11: 48-59.
- Richards, J. M., and J. J. Gross
 2000 Emotion regulation and memory: The cognitive costs of keeping one's cool. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79: 410-424.
- Russel, J. A.
 2003 Core affect and the psychological construction of emotion. *Psychological Review*, 110: 145-172.
- Russell, J. A., and L. Feldman Barrett
 1999 Core affect, prototypical emotional episodes, and other things called emotion: Dissecting the elephant. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 76: 805-819.
- Salovey, P., and J. D. Mayer
 1990 Emotional intelligence. *Imagination, cognition and personality*, 9: 185-211.
- Salovey, P., B. T. Bedell, J. B. Detweiler and J. D. Mayer
 2000 Current directions in emotional intelligence research. In M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland-Jones (eds.) *Handbook of emotions* (2nd Edition): 504-520. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Sarraj, E.
 2002) Why we blow ourselves up. *Time Europe*, April 8: 28.
- Schein, E. H.
 1992 *Organizational culture and leadership* (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Schein, E. H.
 1996 Kurt Lewin's change theory in the field and in the classroom: Notes toward a model of managed learning. *Systems Practice*, 9: 27-47.
- Schwarz, N.
 1990 Feelings as information: informational and motivational functions of affective states. *Handbook of motivation and cognition: foundations of social behavior* (vol. 2): 15: 527-561. The Guilford Press, New York.
- Schwarz, N., and H. Bless
 1991 Happy and mindless, but sad and smart? The impact of affective states on analytic reasoning. In J. Forgas (ed.) *Emotion and social judgment*: 55-71. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Seidenberg, R.

- 1975 Corporate wives—corporate casualties? New York, Doubleday: Anchor.
- Seligman, M.E.P.
 1975 Helplessness: on depression, development and death. New York, NY: W.H. Freeman/Times Books/Henry Holt & Co.
- Sinclair, R. C., and M. M. Mark
 1992 The influence of mood state on judgment and action: Effects on persuasion, categorization, social justice, person perception, and judgmental accuracy. In L. L. Martin and A. Tesser (eds.) *The construction of social judgments*: 165-193. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Staw, B. M., and J. Ross
 1987 Understanding escalating situations: Antecedents, prototypes, and solutions. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (eds.) *Research in Organizational Behavior*: 9. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Staw, B. M., and S. G. Barsade
 1993 Affect and managerial performance: A test of the sadder-but-wiser vs. happier-and-smarter hypotheses. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38: 304-331.
- Sullins, E. S.
 1991 Emotional contagion revisited: Effects of social comparison and expressive style on mood convergence. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, 17: 166-174.
- Sutton, R.
 1991 Maintaining norms about expressed emotions: The case of bill collectors. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36: 245-268.
- Sutton, R. I., and A. Rafaeli
 1988 Untangling the relationships between displayed emotions and organizational sales. *Academy of Management Journal*, 31: 461-487.
- Tangney, J. P.
 1999 The self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride. In T. Dalgleish, and M. J. Power (eds.) *Handbook of cognition and emotion*: 26: 541-568. John Wiley & Sons.
- Totterdell, P.
 2000 Catching moods and hitting runs: Mood linkage and subjective performance in professional sport teams. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85: 848-859.
- Trope, Y., S. Ferguson and R. Ragunathan
 2001 Mood as a resource in processing self-relevant information. In J. P. Forgas (ed.) *The handbook of affect and social cognition*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tsai, W-C.
 2001 Determinants and consequences of employee displayed positive emotions. *Journal of Management*, 27: 497-512.

- Tunstall, B.
1985 Breakup of the Bell system: A case study in cultural transformation. In Killman *et al.* (eds.) *Gaining Control of Corporate Culture*: 148-163. London: Jossey-Bass.
- Turner, M. E., P. Probasco, A. R. Pratkanis, and C. Lee
1992 Threat, cohesion, and group effectiveness: Testing a social identity maintenance perspective on groupthink. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63: 781-796.
- Van de Ven, A. H., and M. S. Poole
1995 Explaining development and change in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 20: 510-540.
- Van Maanen, J., and G. Kunda
1989 Real feelings: Emotional expression and organizational culture. In L. L. Cummings & B. M. Staw (eds.) *Research in Organizational Behavior*: 11: 43-104. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Verbeke, W., F. Belschak, and R. Baggozi
2004 The adaptive consequences of pride in personal selling. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 32(4): 386-402.
- Weber, M.
1946 *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. Trans. by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, H. M., and R. Cropanzano
1996 Affective events theory: A theoretical discussion of the structure, causes and consequences of affective experiences at work. In L. L. Cummings and B. M. Staw (eds.) *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 18: 1-74. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Wild, B., M. Erbs and M. Bartels
2001 Are emotions contagious? Evoked emotions while viewing emotionally expressive faces: Quality, quantity, time course and gender differences. *Psychiatry Research*, 102: 109-124.
- Winter, S. G.
2003 Understanding dynamic capabilities. *Strategic Management Journal*, 24: 991-995.

Table 1

Mechanisms That Can Create Patterns of Emotions in Organizations

	Mechanisms
Patterns of Felt Emotions	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Organizational culture2. Identification with an organization as a whole3. Salient issues (e.g., threats)4. Group identification and cohesion, as distinct from other groups5. Unconscious emotional contagion6. Conscious emotional contagion
Patterns of Displayed Emotions	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Rules imposed on an organization's members on the kinds of emotions they should display2. Job requirements3. Individual anonymity functioning within a group

Table 2

Ideal Types of Emotion Management in Organizations

Patterns of Emotions	Displayed emotions <i>less</i> related to organizational effectiveness	Displayed emotions <i>more</i> related to organizational effectiveness
Felt emotions <i>less</i> related to organizational effectiveness	Emotion suppression	Emotional labor
Felt emotions <i>more</i> related to organizational effectiveness	Emotional capability	Bounded emotionality

Table 3

**Ideal Types of Emotion Management in Organizations:
Theoretical Underpinnings**

	Emotion Sup- pression	Emotional Labor	Bounded Emo- tionality	Emotional Ca- pability
Rationale/goal	Actively suppress emotional expression inside the organization	Influence customers	Allow the organization to recognize, discriminate, attend to its members' emotions	Allow the organization to recognize, discriminate, attend to its members' emotions
What does organizational effectiveness mean?	Technical efficiency	Technical efficiency	Interrelated community & technical efficiency	Able to change, learn, innovate
What makes an organization effective?	1-Impersonal 2-Standardized processes 3-Personal issues not allowed at work 4-Private life adapted to work life	1-Impersonal 2-Standardized processes 3-Personal issues not allowed at work 4-Private life adapted to work life	1-Mutual understanding among employees improves work 2-Work and non-work emotions matter to business	1-High receptivity to change, organizational learning, and collective mobilization
How do emotions affect an organization's effectiveness?	Felt or displayed, emotions are bad for business. They promote bias, favoritism, misallocation of resources	Displayed emotions influence perception of quality of interactions with stakeholders	Felt and displayed emotions are good for business. They create cooperative work relations inside the organization and influence customers	Felt emotions energize organizational processes such as organizational learning and change
How do emotions affect individual employee's well-being?	Not relevant	1- False self 2-Emotional dissonance 3-Exhaustion	1- Personal authenticity 2-Enjoy freedom of expression at work	1-Energizing 2-Promotes personal growth 3-Personal authenticity

Table 4
Individual-Level Emotion Management versus
Managing Patterns of Emotions in Organizations: Key Differences

	Individuals	Organizations
Nature of felt emotional states	Emotions are felt by one person in different moments or simultaneously	<p>1-Felt emotions can be shared by all or most organization members, or</p> <p>2-A large number of members of a group feel similar emotions (that is, group emotions), or</p> <p>3- Different groups in the same organization feel different emotions</p>
Process of emotion management	Individuals draw on their own personal resources to recognize, distinguish, or modify their own or others' emotional states	<p>1- Different members elicit different emotions among different groups using different emotion management practices</p> <p>2- Emotional competence is aggregated: Many members can contribute different elements of the collective emotional competence</p> <p>3- Collective emotional competence can be developed through organization-supported training, coaching, monitoring, and rewarding</p> <p>4- Emotion management routines are applied contingent on organizational goals, task expectations, and group and personal needs</p> <p>5- Sustainability requires authenticity, transparency, and fair process</p>

Table 5

**Emotional Offsetting and Channeling in Organizations versus
Emotion Regulating at the Individual Level: Key Differences**

	Individual Emotion Regulating	Emotional Offsetting and Channeling in Organizations
Nature of felt emotional states	Contrasting emotions felt by one person in different moments or simultaneously are channeled (by that individual) onto the same or different targets	<p>1- The same contrasting and channeled emotions are felt by many members of an organization or a work group or,</p> <p>2- In a given group, some members can feel only either positive or negative emotions that are channeled onto different targets (contrasting & channeled emotions thus exist only at the group level) or,</p> <p>3- Different work groups in the same organization can feel different kinds of contrasting emotional states that are channeled onto different targets (e.g., one work group experiences fear of organization death and pride in contributing to organizational success; another group experiences passion and fun in creative work and frustration in slow production of creative output)</p>
Process of emotion management	Self-regulation	<p>1- Emotion regulating routines that recognize, distinguish, and elicit contrasting emotional states and that channel them onto different organization goals are diffused and practiced by a large number of members</p> <p>2- These activities can be distributed among various members (e.g., one attend only to eliciting positive emotions; another member elicits only negative emotions)</p> <p>3- Emotion regulating competence is aggregated: Members can complement each other in various emotion regulating abilities and assist one another; does not rely on any single member's emotion regulating competence</p>

Figure 1

Model of Adaptive Management of Emotions in Organizations

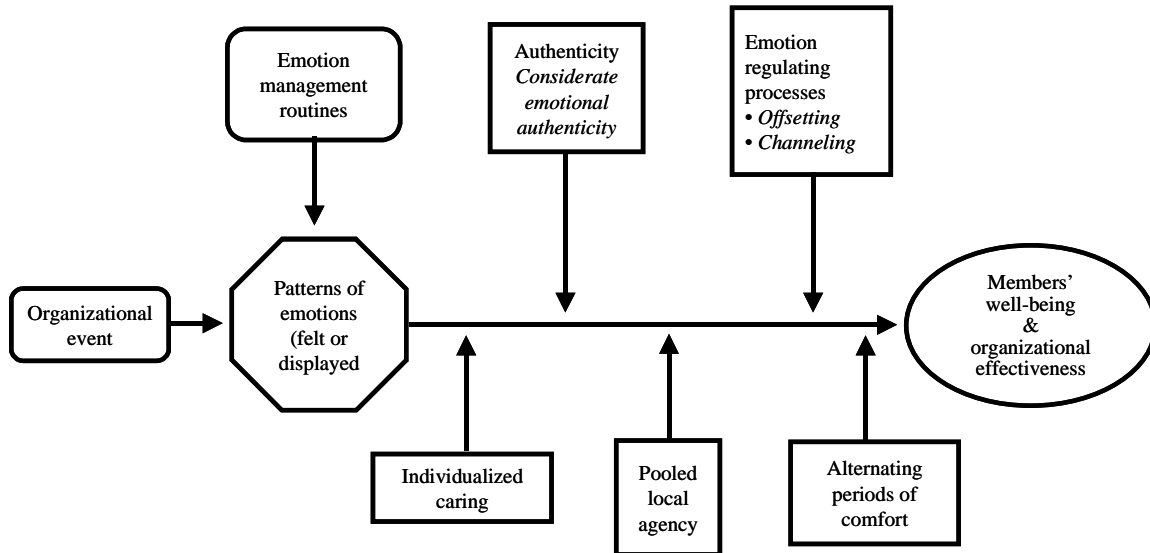


Figure 2

How emotions mediate emotion eliciting actions and expected behavior

