

# **Emotions and Institutional Work within the organization: the case of a fruit and vegetables wholesaler**

**Sophie Michel**

**EM LYON Business School, Centre OCE**

**Université Paris-Dauphine, Centre MOST**

**Email: [smichel@em-lyon.com](mailto:smichel@em-lyon.com)**

**Michael J. Gill**

**University of Bath, School of Management**

**Abstract:** This paper aims at exploring emotions under fantasmic frames to better understand interactions between organizations and institutions in the context of organizational survival. We use the concept of “fantasmic frames” (Voronov & Vince, 2012) to analyze emotions driven by scripts at field level which are causes and consequences of institutional work. Our exploration of institutional work follows new studies considering these efforts within the organization to maintain (gain or rebuild) its survival (e.g. Washington et al. 2008). This mechanism was analyzed with an in-depth case study of a fruit and vegetables (F&V) wholesaler. This actor and other F&V wholesalers need to re-acquire the importance of their intermediary activity to survive after a disintermediation event during the 1990s. Our findings describe the process of legitimization with a focus on actions driven by emotional and cognitive commitment in field scripts. We describe efforts of maintenance and then disruption of dominant institution to play a larger and more positive role as an intermediary. Our results contribute to refine the concept of fantasmic frames regarding its link with emotions. Moreover it proposes a conceptualization of emotion crossing interests of research concerning institutions and emotions with the literature on institutional work at an individual-organizational level. Last but not least, it provides managerial contributions to deal with the emotional institutional pillar in relation to the combination of cognitive and emotional mechanisms.

**Key words:** Emotions, Fantasmic frames, Institutional Work, Organizational Survival, Mechanism

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## **Introduction**

A growing body of research is beginning to highlight the important role of emotion in sustaining institutions (e.g., Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012). In theorizing that institutions rest on both cognitive and emotional investments, Voronov and Vince (2012) highlighted the importance of *fantasy*. Fantasy is not an escape from reality but rather an integral part of real experiences and a *fantasmic frame* describes how individuals constantly generate unconscious ideas that shape their perception of reality (Vince & Mazen, 2014). This is a central concept in establishing the relationship between emotions and institutions as it suggests that individuals' strong emotional investment in an institutional order occurs when their cognitive frame is supported by their fantasmic frame. This statement was developed by the theoretical work of Voronov and Vince (2012) which has garnered considerable attention and inspired a variety of studies. Nevertheless, there is very little research that explores the role of fantasy and fantasmic frames in generating the emotional investment that supports institutions. To address this deficit, our paper explores this mechanism during organizational survival.

Organizational survival and growth is a core issue of the New Institutional Theory (NIT) (Aldrich et Fiol, 1994). Despite the rich theoretical development and empirical demonstrations, little attention has been paid to the process at an individual-organizational level (Kraatz, 2009). Inspired by Selznick's approach, new studies have recently been developing a micro approach to organizational survival with the institutional work concept (e.g. Washington et al. 2008; Kraatz, 2009). Along the same line of most NI studies which have successfully developed the cognitive dimension, new studies about institutional work at an individual-organizational level have underestimated emotions of actors (Voronov & Vince, 2012). Emotional commitment in scripts, however, can affect actions and consequently the institutional process. Our paper proposes to explore the influence that fantasmic frames have on the process of organizational survival (which, in return, also has an impact on the institutional process) with the research question: **How are emotional dispositions from institutions employed within an organization to cope with a challenge and support survival?**

*“(…) Half a century later it was argued that wholesaling continues to be highly significant despite the fact that “business analysts have been anticipating the wholesaler’s demise for several decades” (Lusch et al., 1993:20)” (Gadde, 2012).*

In this light, we explore wholesalers<sup>1</sup> who act as intermediaries between producers and retailers and for whom the survival issue is of major concern. Wholesalers do not inspire confidence because of their negative image in the society: *“Wholesaling seems to be lumbered with a middle-man image, which appears to imply that we are some species of parasite”* (MacKeown, 2007: 420)<sup>2</sup> thus, their survival is easily threatened by other actors such as manufacturers and retailers. Their disappearance has long been predicted as they appear economically unviable and often unnecessary (Dugot, 2000) but, paradoxically, they still exist (Gadde, 2012).

We can see this paradox with the Fruit & Vegetables (F&V) wholesalers in France. These actors had a central position in distribution until the disintermediation movement from the big food retailers during the 1990s. This process of disintermediation – discrediting the need for intermediaries – jeopardized the survival of many F&V wholesalers. We focus on one particular wholesaler to examine the fantasies at an institutional level and emotions within this organization. Following a literature review, we outline our methodology and describe the empirical setting. We then present our findings and discuss these in light of the extant literature to highlight the crucial role of fantasmic frame in understanding the survival of a particular organization and its impact for the field evolution.

## **1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1.1.DEFINITION OF EMOTIONS**

Emotions are a broad and complex phenomenon which implies a lot of categories and perspectives (Jasper, 2006). Three main approaches on emotions were identified during the literature review and consider three levels to explore the emotional mechanism.

Firstly, psychological approaches consider emotions as internal and irrational reactions (Jasper, 2006). Emotions are physiological reactions to environmental stimulus (e.g. Darwin, 1872) or to internal libido driving (e.g. Freud, 1957 in Jasper, 2006). Emotions are opposed to lucidity by psychologists and as personality or character expression, opposed to external circumstances, by psychoanalysts (Jasper, 2006). This approach underlines emotions **at the**

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<sup>1</sup> Wholesalers are distributors between manufacturers and retailers and considered as intermediaries in the distribution channel structure (Chaplin, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Whereas they were “emporos” during ancient Greek civilization (Beckman & Engle, 1951), they are now considered as the wretch of the distribution with negative effects on the economy (Dugot, 2000).

**individual level** which can be states of humor occurring on a short term basis such as hope according to Jasper (2006) or states of affections such as love or hatred. Creed et al.'s study (2010) for instance, underlines individual emotions such as confusion, passion but also anger and shock which are as important as cognitive influence on institutional change, according to this study.

The sociological approach underline emotions developed through intended actions and social interactions. The interaction view is derived from Goffman's approach (1955, 1967) of emotions as a result of efforts of individuals to manage impression of others about themselves (Hallett, 2003). When others have the right impressions during interactions, then individuals develop positive emotions but if not, negative emotions emerge. Sociological studies from positive and socio-cultural approaches (Hallett, 2003) look at emotional development under interactions through Goffman's approach. This approach goes further internal-external distinction to emphasizing *social stimulus* since emotions depend on interactions with others. Inspired by Goffman's previous development, Hochschild (1983) proposed the concept of *emotional work* which moves away from a psychological irrational view of emotions to look at emotions managed by individuals during interactions.

This orientation leads us to look at emotions established through interactions at a **second level of exploration of emotions**. Studies underline emotions established through interactions and also through a collective process such as trust, compassion toward someone (Jasper, 2006), or fraternal solidarity and rigid idealization of leaders (Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005: 506). Thus, this level emphasizes positive and negative emotions developed by a group of individuals toward insiders and outsiders to explore emotions of organizational members. For instance, Hallett (2003) emphasizes the variation in emotional process between two teams (a day and a night shift) of waiters in a restaurant because of the different kind of interactions within each group. In addition, this study emphasizes spontaneous and managed emotions during interactions in line with the emotional work (Hochschild, 1979). Hochschild's "*pioneering research*" has also been an inspiration for the recent development on emotions (Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005) regarding the cultural dimension of emotions. Through their interactions with others, people bring their emotions into alignment with "*feeling rules*" (Hochschild, 1979). These feelings rule underlining socio-cultural elements of emotions as they define how we interpret and certify our feelings according to cultural norms (Hallett, 2003). Emotions are still studied at an inter-individual level but it opens toward a social – structure level.

Political approaches also considered emotions as embedded in structure (Jasper, 2006) since the emotions of an individual depend on his/her position and experience within the structure. However, they go one step further as they focus on emotions at a social-structure level (Emirbayer and Goldberg, 2005, rather than inter-individual level) and they also underline the impact of emotions *on* structure evolution. They go beyond Hochschild's approach since emotions do not only depend on cultural norms as they contribute to the social structure. Moreover, political approaches of emotions are closer to NIT by underlying a cognitive dimension with emotional foundations. Strategic choices according to Jasper (2006) are made according to emotional *and* cognitive dimensions which should be distinguished from one another but not totally because of their interrelations. Emotion influences cognition according to Jasper (2006) and emotion is a part of habitus along with cognition according to Emirbayer & Goldberg's study (2005). This study underlines Bourdieu's approach to habitus to argue for the emotional part of our reflexivity. Emotions are not separate from reason since "strategies" of actors within the structure are partly driven by emotional dispositions. Owing to the fact that emotions are integrated and constitute habitus beside cognitive dispositions, individual interactions and actions depend not only from cultural-cognitive pressures but also from emotional ones.

Consequently, our literature review identifies a third **transpersonal level** (Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005), that is to say a whole beyond individuals and defined by structure or field being a part of habitus which gives structure to the actors' reflexivity. At this level, emotions are part of institutions as habitus are not only constructed by, and composed of, cognitive elements but also of emotional ones. In other words, the field is made of cognitive and emotional scripts. Voronov & Vince (2012: 66) grasp these emotional scripts with the notion of "*fantasmic frames*" which "*reflect and coordinate our desires*". They give an example from Kellog's study (2009) on surgeons who resist institutional change to reduce work hours because of their fantasy of "*iron man*" strong enough to resist all sorts of deprivation (Voronov & Vince, 2012: 71). Fantasy guides emotional behaviors of actors and consequently their actions of resistance or disruption regarding institutions. Fantasmic frames allow observing emotions shared by actors within the same field. According to Voronov & Vince (2012) these emotions at the field level through fantasy frames are both constraints and resources for actors to act on institutions. For instance, when cognitive and fantasmic frames support one another, individuals can become emotionally motivated to pursue institutional maintenance work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Fantasmic frames are potentially a cornerstone of the growing body of research that explores interactions between organizations

and institutions within the mechanism of emotions. As such, this concept needs to be reinforced by empirical studies to illustrate and clarify its role in prompting institutional work within organizations.

As a result, this third approach reinforces interest to develop NI studies on emotions in addition to enriching its definition. We propose, to define emotions as a part of our rationality along with and inside a cognitive dimension (Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005) appearing on these three levels.

## **1.2. ORGANIZATIONAL SURVIVAL THROUGH COGNITIVE AND EMOTIONAL INVESTMENT**

Organizational survival is an important issue for the new institutional theory (NIT) explained by the concept of legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Without a legitimate status organizations cannot survive, according to Suchman (1995:574) who defines legitimacy as “*a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions*”. This definition was proposed to explore strategy of legitimization to go beyond the passivity of actors. New concepts have been developed in the light of actions including Institutional Work. This concept was proposed by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) as “*the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions*” (: 215). It goes beyond the imagery of heroic individuals who change institutions (Hallett, 2010) of the Institutional Entrepreneurship approach with a focus on *actions* and the. Consequently, institutional work can greatly explore the survival issue looking at “efforts” (Lawrence et al. 2011) made by actors during the legitimization process.

It has been stated by new studies (Washington et al. 2008; Kraatz, 2009) who argued for the need to further develop institutional work at an individual-organizational level. An exploration at this level can provide more details about “*how organization is constituted*” and “*how it incorporates and elaborates institutional pressures*” (Suddaby et al. 2010: 1238). Moreover, this approach is useful to grasp the essence of our survival issue considering particular efforts *within* the organization, as it has been developed by the theoretical contributions of Washington et al. (2008) and Kraatz (2009). For instance, Kraatz (2009) proposes several IW of “institutional leaders” towards both external and internal constituencies which offers this new political perspective to IW. Nevertheless this framework underlines cognitive efforts at the expense of emotional investment on scripts. According to Voronov & Vince’s approach (2012) emotional commitments coupled with cognitive ones have an impact on institutional work intended by actors. As a result, emotions appear as a

mechanism beside cognition to consider actor's capacity and efforts regarding the field evolution.

Consequently, our study of IW within the organization can contribute to a more emotional orientation in addition to provide empirical illustrations to the first theoretical contributions (Washington et al. 2008; Kraatz, 2009). More generally, emotions remain absent from most NI studies despite increasing attention drawn to them elsewhere in organizational research and related social sciences (e.g. Hochschild, 1983; Goodwin, Jasper & Poletta, 2001). Notwithstanding, emotion role has begun to be mentioned by some NI authors in recent years (e.g. Scott, 2008; Creed et al. 2010; Voronov & Vince, 2012) who underline its impact on institutional change and the need for further research on the role of emotions. As our research will focus on this area, the study is motivated by the relationship between emotions and institutions to explore organizations facing a challenge of their activity.

## **2. METHOD AND EMPIRICAL SETTING**

### **2.1.METHOD**

The empirical setting of this research is an in-depth case study of a French fruit and vegetables (F&V) wholesaler. This choice of field is based on the negative image of wholesaling since the industrial period (Dugot, 2000), which posed various challenges to their existence. As stated above their disappearance was predicted more often than their development (Gadde, 2012) but in fact, it is still an important economic sector with 126 000 companies in France<sup>3</sup>. We chose the field of F&V wholesalers<sup>4</sup> mainly because it was challenged by the disintermediation movement of the French food retailing companies. This event threatened 80-90% of their activity and that is why their survival was questioned: [translation] “*Logically, without an important inflexion, the assumption that half of the wholesalers would disappear seemed to be the minimum damage to expect*” (Adrien, 1998: 38)<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, 10 years later, they still exist. As such, French F&V wholesaling provides an opportunity to explore institutional work aimed at achieving organizational survival. In addition, this field represents an opportunity to explore fantasmic frames since it operates on the fantasy of “man to man” relationships based on affection and emotion rather than economic viability.

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<sup>3</sup> CGI, 2010. *Rapport d'activité 2010*, Paris: CGI.

<sup>4</sup> After an explanatory investigation (with 27 interviews of wholesaler experts)

<sup>5</sup> Adrien Stratégie, 1998. *Commerce de Gros: Anticiper les mutations de la filière*, UNCGFL.

To explore these subtle and subjective aspects of the field, we selected one particular French wholesaler, whom we have named “Orchade” for purposes of anonymity. “Orchade” enjoys a leadership position that implies an important role in the field evolution (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Data were gathered on the basis of 36 in-depth interviews carried out within the Orchade group (cf. appendix 1) and supported by second-order data (with more than 200 articles, reports, and surveys etc.). Interviews were transcribed and read several times in order to extract their meanings and to trace out information “*that addressed primary questions such as what, why, who, how, and when*” (Lofland, 1976 in Battilana & Dorado, 2010: 1421). This set of data was then analyzed with NVivo (statistical analysis software), mostly through an inductive method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) questioning intra-organizational antecedents of the means Orchade used to survive and restore its legitimacy. From this first step emerged significant emotional dispositions (such as practices driven by passion for F&V and negative feeling toward catering actors) on which we decided to focus in a second analysis. This following step was supported by complementary interviews of specialists and other actors from the F&V wholesaling field (cf. appendix 1) in order to distinguish between emotional dispositions based on Orchade specificities and fantasmic frames shared by members of the same field. We used these 12 complementary interviews to codify fantasmic frames, after which we explored the influence of fantasmic frames on Orchade members’ efforts to reposition their activity while retaining their identity as wholesalers.

## **2.2. THE THREAT OF DISINTERMEDIATION FOR ORCHADE AND THE F&V WHOLESALERS FIELD**

The group Orchade was established one hundred years ago in the F&V distribution. It became a leader in this channel as early as the 1920s by being the first distributor of bananas (exotic and unknown fruits at that time) and by creating the “Full Service Wholesaling” activity for big food retailers during the 1960s (de Guili & Moyrand, 2012<sup>6</sup>). Orchade was the first business to accompany the development of food retailing companies and their new super and hypermarkets. Hundreds of traditional wholesalers followed suit and gave rise to the new field of “full service F&V wholesalers”.

This new field was developing quickly during the 1970s with the growth of the big food retailers and an activity entirely dedicated to them. Orchade lived its best years of growth, according to the CEO of Orchade: “*during this period, we were king*” [translation, interview, 2012]. Historically managed through a decentralized organization, Orchade was composed of

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<sup>6</sup> De Guili, I. & Moyrand, C., 2012. [*Orchade*]: 1912-2012 Histoire d’Entreprises., Lyon: Orchade. « Full service wholesaling » is distinguished from traditional wholesale field because of new kinds of services such as delivery activity and “ordering by phone” with customers.

60 local branches all over France dedicated to the F&V wholesaling activity which represented 80% of Orchade turnover. This activity was conducted through the culture of “F&V particularities” which translated into logic of product priority. That is to say, a commercial dynamic according to F&V opportunities rather than customer needs. Thus, buyers played a key role especially since they also managed selling activity for the one or two main retailing clients<sup>7</sup>. Indeed, full service wholesalers were usually exclusive suppliers to 1 or 2 super/hypermarkets; consequently they made more than 50% of their turnover and developed a “retailing culture” through personal relationships. At that time, these actors had a solid pragmatic legitimacy towards others actors of F&V on account of their essential expertise and risk taking on instable and complex products. Consequently, they were central actors of the F&V channel.

This position lasted a short time as the development of price pressures from the legislation evolution and the standardization of F&V (e.g. new criteria such as homogeneity, resistance and aspect). These evolutions caused a challenge for the full service wholesalers’ pragmatic legitimacy as they lost their centrality within the F&V channel. It also caused a decrease of moral legitimacy as they were ideal suspects of F&V price rising. Therefore F&V wholesalers were no longer needed and their survival was challenged: [Translation]

*“During this period, everyone thought they [wholesalers] were dead meat and some were even pilloried”*  
(Déniel, 2005, LSA, n°1921).

But almost 10 years later the F& V full service wholesaling field still exists with an important change: its members have become the main suppliers of catering actors. This field evolution was supported by new norms, regulations and cultural evolutions on quality (which became more important than price pressures). These new pressures allowed F &V wholesalers to play a key role to guarantee the product (security and taste) and service quality. They have been recognized for that role (e.g. professional assortment) and for becoming the main suppliers of catering actors during the 2000s. Precursor of the full service wholesaling activity, Orchade was also the first to undergo this change in order to survive. It succeeded in repositioning itself (thanks to a new model of homogeneous and sustainable quality) and became a “*war machine for the catering sector*”, moving away from price pressures.

This repositioning however was not spontaneous seeing as efforts were first made to keep their traditional role as a F&V specialist for super/hypermarkets, however, negative price pressures continued and they only achieved a partial role for retailers (for emergency

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<sup>7</sup> The F&V specificities imply a “reactivity logic” and thus, to have the same person to sell products.

activities only). It took almost 20 years to move toward a new activity justification based on quality for catering actors.

*“Before, there was just: “it is expensive” whereas now, it is expensive but the quality is there!”* [Translation, Interview, local member, 2012]

Indeed, Orchade has evolved from one F&V branch which represented 90% of the activity to five national wholesaling branches dedicated to the catering sector with a new model of homogeneous and sustainable quality within each branch of wholesaling. The F&V wholesaling branch remains the most important but as a wholesaler specialist and with a new industrial model of quality service and a specific product expertise for catering actors. Thanks to this repositioning process, Orchade and its 8, 000 employees moved away from negative price pressures and participated in the institutionalization of quality to justify the F&V wholesaling activity. To explore this process, our research focuses on emotional dispositions with individuals’ commitment to fantasmic frames.

### **3. THE SURVIVAL OF ORCHADE: EMOTIONS AND FANTASMIC FRAMES**

#### **3.1. EMOTIONAL INVESTMENT IN FANTASMIC FRAMES FOR MAINTAINING INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS**

The literature review leads to consider emotions as a capacity of investment on fantasmic frames. According to Voronov & Vince’s approach (2012:66), the actors’ capacity to be engaged (invested) or disengaged (disinvested) in fantasy frames, which reflect and coordinate our desires, affects their agency. With the case study Orchade we identify first, the influence of a strong emotional commitment in traditional fantasmic frames during the legitimization process. The first step of this process was done by maintaining traditional logics on product and retailing priority in order to justify Orchade’s activity as a F&V specialist for retailers. Our results emphasize a correlation between this choice and two “fantasmic frames” shared by fruit and vegetables wholesalers.

The first fantasmic frame identified, which is called “retailing fantasy frames”, is linked to the “retailing culture”. This emotional script expresses desires of individuals in this field to underline their centrality for Big Food Retailers (BFR) which is a source of pride in serving retailers and conversely, a disregard for catering actors. For instance, whilst buyers do their job with retailers proudly, they feel denigrated when they have to serve catering actors as it is described by this buyer:

*“I think it was very difficult to live through for some of them who thought to be denigrated. They denigrated themselves. And I would say that there is still scar...”* [Translation, Interview, Orchade local member, 2012]

Orchade members' commitment in this fantasmic frame influenced a first survival process aiming at recovering a critical role for retailers during the 90s. Hence the headquarters develop all sorts of activities (all around the F&V wholesaling one) which serve retailers such as F&V logistic services, seafood and flowers wholesaling, F&V proceeding etc. These actions are described as "*panic interventions*" (Interview, Former co-chairman, Orchade, 2012), but with the intentional purpose of recovering a pragmatic legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) regarding retailing larger interests. In addition, these "panic interventions" provide support to preserve their traditional wholesaling activity for retailers, partly because of Orchade members' commitment in "retailing fantasmic frames". Thanks to this range of activities they have a financial support and a strategic way to occupy the first position as a F&V wholesaler when super/hypermarkets need "emergency services". Consequently, Orchade members aim at maintaining the F&V wholesaling activity under traditional scripts which are partly driven by emotional scripts. For instance, they preserve the personal and friendly relationship which is expressed by emotional attachment: Orchade sellers may launch a commercial activity more to please F&V department managers rather than to be commercially efficient (see the following quotation). Of course they have to examine all types of customers (such as catering actors), but their priority is to keep their role for the retailers whether or not this kind of practice maintain the lack of transparency and negative price pressures<sup>8</sup>.

*"Before a lot of things were done depending on affection, man to man relationships, there was sometimes a big part of irrationality"* [Translation, Interview, Branch director, 2012]

The second fantasmic frame is based on "F&V specificity" which drives behavior through the desire to promote a F&V expertise. Wholesalers are convinced of the fruit and vegetables particularity because of its complexity (with price and quality uncertainties) and fragility. Most interviewees describe it as the culture of "fresh", "complex products" and "reactivity" of wholesalers which leads to a logic of product priority to legitimize their wholesaling activity. Beyond cultural-cognitive aspects, we identify the fantasy that F&V, despite its standardization, remains a product requiring a particular know-how and "feeling" possessed by wholesalers only. This fantasy leads to a particular passion of F&V and the proud to be a F&V expert shared by F&V wholesalers. As the Orchade chairman analyzes:

*"There was a fruit and vegetables passion. What is historically existed is a fruit and vegetables reasoning that leads to a fruit and vegetables passion"* [Translation, Interview, Chairman, 2012]

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<sup>8</sup> Aforementioned in the case description, prices regulations are increasingly constraining for wholesalers and encourage all actors to pay more attention to negative effects of wholesaling.

This fantasmic frame is even more important for Orchade members owing to a “F&V leadership” organizational identity. As we described previously, Orchade already became a F&V leader during the 20s (thanks to its precursor position on bananas distribution) before evolving as a full service wholesaler leader for retailers. During the 90s, Orchade members were still comparing the group with other national or international big companies which are not necessarily distributors but which are fruit and vegetables leaders (e.g. Univeg, Dole)<sup>9</sup>. That is why since the 2000s, Orchade members have shared the “F&V leadership” organizational identity with a particular fondness for bananas because of their history with these products. They refuse to give up the bananas ripening activity because of this attachment:

*“Harry was against [the withdrawal from ripening activity] because of sentimental reasons and not rational ones. He has always lived in it. Thus, he cannot appreciate the selling of this historical thing which, for him, was Orchade”* [Translation, interview, Chairman, 2012]

*“It would have been a real heartbreak for shareholders because there was a tradition, a culture and history based on it”* [Translation, interview, buyer, 2012].

This particular organizational identity reinforced their commitment in the F&V fantasmic frames. Consequently the “panic interventions” were also based on this F&V particularity at two different levels. At the headquarters level, members develop other activities upstream of wholesaling such as the planting of bananas, pineapple or tomatoes, F&V importation and above all, the bananas’ ripening activity. These activities are aimed at maintaining Orchade’s legitimacy as a fruit and vegetables expert. At the level of wholesaling local branches, managers maintain traditional logic based on product priority (to sell) and passion for fruit and vegetables in order to survive with retailers. This maintenance is partly linked to another fantasmic frame named “the hero buyer” according to which, just as with the fantasy of the “iron-man” with surgeons in Kellogg’s study (2009), buyers are heroes of the F&V wholesaling activity.

*“The buyer used to be at the heart of the F&V world. There was a buyer mythos, seen almost as an heroic figure, but the role has lost a lot of its aura in the recent years.”* [Translation, interview, Franck, 2012]

This fantasy connects with the one of F&V specificities since buyers inspire respect from others thanks to their particular sense for F&V opportunities, which comes from their passion and their experience of the F&V complexity. Buyers are heroes who lead the commercial dynamic according to product opportunities. In any way, sellers should follow the purchasing

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<sup>9</sup> *“Our savoir-faire was the fruit and vegetables. Orchade strategy was defined according to this fruit and vegetables channel reason, our history. 100 years of history and a human savoir-faire. It was also defined by a sort of admiration and comparison with big companies such as Dole, (...) We were always compared to them and we emphasized our tone of fruit and vegetables”* (Group member, 2012)

dynamic. Local members maintain this dynamic to promote the purchase expertise for retailers. Nevertheless, it also reinforces the focus on price whereas this dimension undermined their role (inasmuch other F&V actors are looking for price decrease by removing intermediaries).

Negative representation correlated with price pressures increased during this first period of survival maintenance. The maintenance of traditional scripts to provide emergency services for super/hypermarkets limited the movement toward a justification on quality pressures. As with the diversification on upstream activities and for retailers maintain negative price pressures (with also commercial regulations on price and coercive pressures of BFR). This maintenance of traditional logic to survive is partially explained by Orchade members' attachment to fantasmic frames shared by F&V wholesalers. Conversely, their evolution toward a new activity justification based on a new role and new logic is partially due to a collective emotional disinvestment in these frames.

### **3.2. A PROCESS OF EMOTIONAL DISENGAGEMENT FOR A DISRUPTION WORK**

#### **3.2.1. A new legitimacy model in disruption with traditional scripts**

After this first survival process, an important change of a legitimacy model occurred during the 2000s and was formalized in 2006 with the “*changing face*” of Orchade. This change proceeded at the group level with the development of new wholesaling activities (in grocery, pastry and deli products) and the sale of all activities which were not related to the full service wholesaling profession. In this way, Orchade members have been moving from a Fruit & Vegetables (F&V) expertise for retailers to a wholesaling expertise for catering actors with 5 national branches of wholesaling including the F&V one. The change of visage also took place within this branch with a new industrial model which disrupts traditional logic of “product, retailing and proximity” to promote new ones about “customers, services priority and homogeneous methods”<sup>10</sup>. This reshaping allowed Orchade members to move away from contradictions<sup>11</sup> and price pressures to give meaningfulness to their wholesaling activity as a quality guarantor for catering actors. This change has started after Franck arrival in 1992.

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, the focus on constant quality by developing practices at a national level (e.g. a national purchase referencing system) is challenging the proximity tradition. Similarly, the new priority on catering actors and selling is in opposition with the retailing culture and product priority logic.

<sup>11</sup> First, contradictions caused by institutional logic evolution of previous diversification which diverge from traditional logic (e.g. the fresh processed F&V shifting from agricultural culture to new industrial logic). Second, new internal contradictions emerged after a conflict between members of ripening and F&V branches since the latter is a competitor of the main client of the first (central purchasing).

Franck is recruited to manage a marginal branch of Orchade in the frozen wholesaling activity which was created to serve BFR but was confronted to the disintermediation during the 80s. This branch was barely surviving with the catering sector until Franck's arrival. Thanks to his experience in the food-processing industry, Franck challenged members' practices within this branch which were based on the F&V model (with an agricultural culture). He set up new industrial methods in order to make them more suitable for the frozen wholesaling field (e.g. food safety; national purchasing) and to ensure a robust service quality for catering actors. This challenging model is even more natural that Franck had never been "*immersed in the fruit and vegetables world*" (interview, 2012). Our analysis shows an emotional disengagement from F&V wholesaling fantasmic frames which can be found with Franck's description of traditional scripts with irony (first quotation) and keeps his distance from the lack of consideration of F&V wholesalers (second quotation):

*"The term "track" is clearly specific to agriculture and it is a word which is used to "trace something back"... This type of words we used... That was most surprising to me when I arrived to Orchade, such as: downstream and upstream. It is like skiing." [Laugh]*

*"I am less affected than these other guys such as Bernard [a competitor]. He often talks to me about it. We can see that fruit and vegetables wholesalers have been marked by this sort of ostracism".*

In part owing to his emotional disengagement from fantasmic frames described previously and his discover of Orchade through its success in a wholesaling activity, Franck sees Orchade meaningfulness differently. Orchade's future depends on wholesaling service competences for catering actors whereas other directors do not pay attention to catering actors and have difficulties giving up other F&V activities even though they are restricting it more and more.

Moreover, his capacity to challenge dominant ideas is also based on an important cognitive investment on F&V scripts. Indeed, beside his analysis of the emotional commitment of members such as bananas for the shareholders, Franck is able to describe precisely traditional cultures and logic (e.g. to explain the tradition of proximity with retailers and of purchase dynamic). This cognitive investment has been useful to set up a model which remains consistent with the F&V wholesaling field evolution. It has also been essential to convince internal members of the disadvantages of the first model by underlying contradictions across traditional practices. Counterexamples about past failures give insights on the importance of simultaneously emotional disengagement and cognitive investment for disruptive work:

- The last F&V branch director succeeded in creating a collective thinking across local branches which could have eased the collective action. Nevertheless, he was responsible of traditional practices maintenance which slowed down the new legitimacy model. His

failure is explained by his attachment to retailing and his “fear” of the consequences of a withdrawal from retail (interview, Franck, 2012).

- His predecessor did not have this emotional investment and was the first to attempt disruption using industrial logic. Notwithstanding, he ordered radical changes without explanation of the contradictions and led to anger and resistance from local managers (interview, ex co-chairman, 2012). His lack of understanding of traditional scripts and his lack of implication of local managers in the cognitive process can explain this failure<sup>12</sup>.

Conversely, Franck’s cognitive investment and emotional non-attachment in scripts made him able to produce a *collective* effort of emotional disengagement embedded in a strong cognitive one.

### **3.2.2. From an individual to a collective commitment in script evolution**

First, he convinced members of the headquarters to challenge their previous F&V leadership identity and construct wholesaling competencies to ensure the quality for catering. It was necessary to convince decision makers (shareholders and other directors)<sup>13</sup> but also to convince members within local branches since no change had been done until this collective cognitive investment. Indeed, the changing face of Orchade formalized in 2006 did not impact practices within the F&V branch.

When Franck took the temporary management of the F& V branch, he discovered<sup>14</sup> a gap between external representations of the branch (as a “war machine of quality service” for catering actors) and practices on traditional logics within local branches (and resources belonging to past logic and to their orientation toward retailers) which slowed down their development and goal achievement for flawless quality for catering actors (see the first quotation). In the second quotation we can see a sort of contradiction between a cognitive investment in logic contradictions justifying the need to change, and on the other side, an emotional barrier. According to our analysis, this lack of change is mostly due to their commitment in fantasmic frames and to *the fear* of radical changes with a disruption work.

*“I got myself back on track with the fruit and vegetables branch and I saw there was a big problem (...) I realized that training, history and belief, everything was made to think that we were doing retailing and at the*

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<sup>12</sup> *He was not a F&V passionate”* as well as his divergence on the organizational-ideal view since “*he was not like them, he was not a member of the family*” (Interview, ex cochairman, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> This change is not easy to organize since the withdrawal from F&V activities is difficult to accept because of their history in the F&V field and their particular attachment in the bananas distribution.

<sup>14</sup> Owing to the unexpected departure of the previous manager in 2007, Franck has no other choice but to manage the branch. Thanks to the distance owing to his chairman position and his background as frozen FSW manager he discovered contradictions between traditional practices and the new model.

*same time, it was blocking the development with the catering sector... the choice of people, the methods, the culture, the way of thinking, of buying. Everything was retailing.” [Translation, Interview, Franck, 2012]*

*“I told them: ‘Guys you are telling me that we are heading straight for disaster.’ [They answered:] ‘Yes it is true but we are not giving up everything’. It was a sort of fear and at the same time, they described all their problems, present and future, where the conclusion should imposed itself naturally” [Interview, Franck, 2012]*

Consequently, Franck intervened within the F&V wholesaling branch in 2007 to convince local members to go beyond this fear and giving up traditional methods for a new industrial model. His intervention occurred in the same way he did at the beginning of 2000s with headquarters members. Franck used rational and organized discourse on the need to give a *structure* to their branch, *applying industrial methods* and to have a *customer priority* in opposition to traditional ways, to orient a collective cognitive investment toward both negative effects of their first legitimacy model and positive effects of the new “industrial” model. This discourse is based on symbols, such as the unexpected success of the frozen wholesaling branch, which challenge negative representations toward the catering sector (and even generate positive emotions)<sup>15</sup> and justify quite naturally their new legitimacy path.

His discourse was also based on his knowledge about the F&V scripts to convince them that their model was more in line with BFR desires than with F&V specificities and in contradictions with new pressures (e.g. the product logic driving the commercial activity harms the quality purpose for catering actors)<sup>16</sup>. He pointed out more suitable pressures to justify an industrial model such as certifications and hygiene requests with collective catering rather than proximity pressures with independent catering. The same process was used in headquarters which suffered from internal and external misalignment due to the first series of diversifications and external evolutions (e.g. internal conflicts increased between employees of the wholesaling and the ripening activities<sup>17</sup>).

Then, his discourse was supported by an external expertise (a strategy consultancy company). This analysis emphasized institutional environmental changes which make it more difficult to maintain their leadership in F&V activities (e.g. new regulations in ripening) and more easier to become a wholesaler expert. The second analysis confirmed the potential of an

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<sup>15</sup> This success was unexpected and encouraged the group to develop another wholesaling branch in grocery products for the catering sector in 2002 which had a similar success. Franck’s intervention also relies on an important organizational value with “trust and respect in men”.

<sup>16</sup> “*The big confusion is that the organization was set up for retail and not for the catering sector. The guys were saying: ‘No, it is not that we are set for retail, it is that we are organized for the fruit and vegetables.’ And our job was to say: Your model is not set up for fruit and vegetables but it is for retail (...)*” (Interview, Franck, 2012). In addition, he used his knowledge of schemas of other fields from his past experience (e.g. food-processing industry) to disrupt traditional schemas of the F&V field.

<sup>17</sup> The ripening activity is mostly dedicated to central purchasing of BFR who are in competition with the wholesaling local branches when these latter continue to serve super/hypermarkets. Members of Orchade ripening branches complained more and more as a result of BFR’s increasing dissatisfaction.

industrial model to guarantee the service quality and negative effects of traditional methods within the F&V branch. Finally, he recruited other managers who have never been immersed in the F&V world (e.g. a new F&V branch director with a past experience in a wholesaling group of industrial supply) to support his efforts in triggering a collective engagement on the “game rules” with catering actors and negative impact of traditional logic on the future of a wholesaler leader. Indeed, his discourse - and other efforts previously described - took place by a rounding up all local managers to analyze the problem and find a solution together (see the following quotation). Consequently, it takes a collective process of emotional disengagement with a clear view on the evolution of cognitive pressures (toward quality services) to set up a model based on the industrialization & professionalization of the activity.

*“I told them: “guys, you are in big trouble. I made diagnoses for them. I made them think about it.”*  
[Translation, Interview, Franck, 2012]

### **3.3. PRACTICES IN DISRUPTION WITH THE DOMINANT FANTASMIC FRAMES**

Orchade new legitimacy, based on positive institutional pressures on quality, has been set up after a collective emotional disengagement in fantasmic frames and lead to practices under “professionalization” which reinforce this disruption works.

This model reflects first, the professionalization of the customers’ relationships which implies an emotional disengagement toward “retailing fantasmic frame” and a stronger cognitive investment in pressures with catering actors. To ensure the quality expertise, salespeople and buyers need to be less influenced by their own emotions and they have to offer service more in accordance with actual customer needs. That is why they integrated new “objective criteria” and common selling methods across local branches which go beyond the subjectivity and intimate relationships. These new practices contrast with traditional ones characterized by personal relationship with customers or producers in which practices were driven by spontaneous emotions. This decrease of emotional importance is counterbalanced by much more knowledge of salesmen about catering rules (culture, practices...) and culinary art. Indeed they have increasingly more tools made by Orchade marketing department to inform them about catering evolution and a new culinary advisor is recruited to share his culinary knowledge through formal training and punctual local interventions.

*“We are more professional, we are trained and our job as salesmen is more professional. Before it was our field relationship and product expertise which were important but now, it is not enough. It is not sufficient to be nice, likable, and responsive but we have to be the partner of our customer.”* [Interview, local member, 2012]

Second, the professionalization of their product expertise implies disengagement toward passion of F&V and a better cognitive investment for products tailored for catering actors (e.g. improving F&V knowledge of salesmen rather than only of buyers). The purchasing

activity depends less on the F&V passion and friendship with producers since according to this salesperson:

*“Wholesalers are more professional today. [They are] fruit and vegetables professional but, it is not their passion any more, they no longer have this fruit and vegetables passion”* [Interview, local member, 2012]

The training of salesmen concerns also product characteristics in such a way that F&V knowledge is no longer a buyer’s exclusive right. It helps the selling dynamic in which purchasing depends much more on the salesmen’s knowledge about F&V characteristics needed for the catering sector than on the buyers’ F&V passion and feeling of opportunities. To sum up, we see emotion replaces by more knowledge to promote quality expertise.

Nevertheless, this professionalization doesn’t mean a complete forgoing of emotions since it is still a way to conduct their activity and legitimize their role. The professionalization aforementioned describes the lesser use of *spontaneous* emotions but we also observe more *managed emotions* (Hallett, 2003) in order to prove their reliability and win trust of new catering customers. As the F&V branch director said: *“Today affection is still important in commerce but it is one thing in addition to factual things”* (interview, 2012). Salesmen intentionally keep positive emotions because of the challenge for them to win the trust and respect from a new customer base. Chefs’ confidence given to salesmen is particularly important since they do not have F&V knowledge as important as retailing managers. Feeling rules have changed to give more space to knowledge and play the role of expert:

*“With catering, we are much more on trust basis [than with retailers]. The relationship with salesmen is decisive. If we create a trustful environment it is a good point for us! They need more advice, more explanations because they are less [product] experts than retailers thus; they are much more in need of our recommendations”* [Translation, Interview, Quality manager, 2012]

The culinary advisor plays a role to construct this confidence by giving some key to sellers to be less uncomfortable during interactions with the catering actors and to develop the trust of their customers<sup>18</sup>. He also takes part in new positive emotions of Orchade members toward catering actors in contrast with the previous *“contempt”* for the catering sector (interview, local member, 2012). While previously buyers for the retailing sector were honored, henceforth it is the turn of salesmen for the catering sector to be glamorized and to feel proud.

To sum up, emotions have not disappeared and are still a component of their activity. Nevertheless, emotions are less spontaneous and along with a better knowledge of institutional logic regarding catering actors. These new practices, owing to the new legitimacy

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<sup>18</sup> *The message I deliver to salesmen is the following: if they do not completely master the product, they need to speak about it with enough confidence so as to obtain the customer’s trust. The customer should perceive that he is speaking to a professional [...] So my role is to relieve them from their doubts and give them more confidence”* (Culinary advisor, 2012)

model as a robust quality guarantor, are cause and effect of evolution in emotional attachment in fantasmic frames. Indeed, these practices are the consequence of a collective cognitive investment and emotional disengagement of Orchade members in traditional scripts. In return, it challenges these scripts and stimulates new feeling rules such as positive emotions toward catering actors and the desire to pursue wholesaling competencies. Consequently, Orchade survival has been a process of 20 year in which the meaningfulness as a quality guarantor has been constructed - after an emotional disengagement and a cognitive investment - by stepping aside from traditional logic in order to use and promote new quality pressures.

#### **4. DISCUSSION**

According to Carr (2001: 422), “*rationality has become so endogenous to our modeling of the change process that it is all too easy to overlook emotion and emotionality*”. His claim for more consideration of emotions in organizational studies is, from now on, extended to NIT which has been excessively developing the cultural-cognitive dimension (Voronov and Vince, 2012). Our case study responds to these comments by looking at Orchade legitimacy process to survive. Emotions have been interpreted as a mechanism beside cognition to give meaningfulness to an organization, that is to say having a purpose and play a larger and more positive role to justify its existence (e.g. as a quality guarantor in our case study). First, we will present our contribution to clarify the concept of emotions at a macro level of institutions, embedded within the cognitive-cultural pillar. Then, we will discuss our contribution to explore the concept of emotions as a mechanism for legitimization and organizational survival. At last, we will open the discussion about emotions as “means” by suggesting several tracks for further research.

##### **4.1. CONTRIBUTION TO EXPLORE EMOTIONS AT AN INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL**

As stated in the first part, emotions are a vast phenomenon grasped with psychological, sociological or political approaches (Jasper, 2006). Regarding this range of approaches and the emergence of NI studies about emotions, it is not surprising to notice a lack of consensus about the meaning of emotions and the heterogeneity of research orientations. We suggest getting back at Jasper’s (2006) approach and distinction between emotions as *ends* and as *means*. Jasper (2006) defines emotions as ends when it is a *personal purpose* pursued by individuals as opposed to emotions as means which are used to influence the *actions of others*. This distinction open to two distinct orientations of research which NI could study:

regarding emotions as means during actions of institutional work and emotions as ends which drive institutional work purpose.

We provide in our paper insights of emotions as ends with the concept of fantasmic frames (Voronov and Vince, 2012; Vince & Mazen, 2014). We interpret fantasmic frames of emotions *as ends* since they define goals/intentions through “*desires*” which lead our actions. Our study offers three examples of these “*fantasmic frames*” proposed by Voronov & Vince (2012) (cf. Appendix 1) with “*feeling rules*” (Hochschild, 1979) which define feelings to adopt according to cultural norms. For instance, the retailing fantasmic frame drives behaviors on friendship and affections toward stores managers. This attachment is connected to, and cannot be distinctly separated from the “retailing culture”<sup>19</sup>. With the identification of F&V wholesaling fantasmic frames, this study illustrates the role of emotions at a transpersonal level as proposed by political approaches, arguing for emotions embedded in scripts of the *field* (Emirbayer & Goldberg, 2005).

This review has two implications. First, it points out the importance for NI studies to take into account the emotional part of the cultural institutional pillar of Scott (2001). Scott (2008) or Creed et al. (2010) suggest emotions as another institutional pillar aside the cognitive one. However, to separate emotion from cognition can be difficult considering that they are intertwined (Jasper, 2006) as we can see with Orchade case study in which, despite our focus on emotions, our findings head towards cultural-cognitive connections. As a result, our research reinforces studies which argue for emotional and cognitive interdependence (e.g. Jasper, 2006; Voronov & Vince, 2012) and the need to analyze emotional forces within the cultural-cognitive pillar. This consideration could enrich the understanding of institutionalization and also, encourage the use of emotions by managers to handle their institutional environment and not only for people management.

Secondly, our study provides an empirical illustration of Voronov & Vince’s concept of “fantasmic frames” (2012) to give insight about how this concept can be materialized. Whilst Fantasmic frames appears as a central concept in Voronov & Vince’s study (2012) in establishing the relationship between emotions and institutions, our paper contributes to illustrate individuals’ strong emotional investment in an institutional order occurs when their cognitive frame is supported by their fantasmic frame. For instance, we connected the fantasy of centrality for retailing with individual emotions (e.g. whilst buyers do their job with retailers proudly, they feel denigrated when they have to serve catering actors). In addition,

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<sup>19</sup> Other illustrations could be provided such as feeling rules (pride and admiration) under the “*heroic buyer*” which are linked both to the F&V and retailing culture.

we suggest refining this concept with the component of feeling rules which allow to connecting more explicitly emotional forces in fantasmic frames with cultural norms (Hallett, 2003).

Thus, we address in our paper the absence of empirical papers exploring the role of fantasy and fantasmic frames in generating the emotional investment that supports institutions and refines this concept of fantasmic frames. This refinement seems important considering the potential of this concept to become a cornerstone for NI studies on emotions regarding the two research orientations with Jasper's definition (2006). Fantasmic frames can become a central concept to bring emotions "as ends" out of the shadow of institutions. Our research promotes this concept as essential/important to explore the emotional attachment at an individual level which is driven by scripts and which explain the type of actions with institutional work. A comparative case study could be useful to refine the fantasmic frames identify with the F&V wholesaling field and its link with the emotional commitment that supports institutional work.

## **4.2.CONTRIBUTION ABOUT ACTIONS- INSTITUTION AND EMOTIONAL COMMITMENT**

### **4.2.1. Emotions as a mechanism for institutional work**

In addition, we provide in our paper an illustration of Voronov & Vince's framework to explain institutional work efforts according to emotional commitment in these fantasmic frames. Our findings corroborate Voronov & Vince (2012)'s proposition of an IW of maintenance because of a strong cognitive and emotional investment (e.g. Orchade members' strong commitment in traditional fantasmic frames led them to intentionally maintain traditional logics to restore Orchade legitimacy as an F&V specialist). It also corroborates propositions about an IW of disruption caused by a strong cognitive investment combined with a low emotional one. We show in our study the importance of the collective emotional disengagement (which made easier the implementation of new logics on services & industrialization which challenge traditional frames<sup>20</sup>) for a disruption work, but also of a strong cognitive investment. Past failures of the two former branch directors (due to an excess of emotions in one case and on the other case by a lack of cognitive investment) and Franck's success illustrate the necessity of both cognitive and emotional capacities.

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<sup>20</sup> It was followed by a capacity to be emotionally invested in new scripts since Orchade members could not have a close relationship with catering actors and win their trust if they continued to be "contemptuous" of them.

This last review allows qualification of the main explication of disruptive work because of a cognitive disinvestment (e.g. Di Maggio, 1988; Seo & Creed, 2002; Greenwood et al. 2002). As suggested by Voronov & Vince (2012) the awareness of emotional commitment provides a statement quite opposite in which the weak emotional commitment is the most important to keep distance from traditional scripts and conduct a disruptive work. Whilst most studies explain the capacity of disruptive work with the knowledge of other schemas, our paper emphasizes the importance of being aware of schemas within the field (in addition to schemas from fields) and also being detached emotionally to become a “knowledgeable actor” (Sewell, 1992).

Last but not least, our research completes Voronov & Vince’s model by displaying the movement for spontaneous to managed emotions beside increasing cognitive efforts during and as consequences of the disruptive work sheds light to link between emotions and cognition for actions on institutions. The more emotions are linked to cognitive process, the less spontaneous they are and more controlled the emotional work is. We do not pretend to provide a new statement regarding studies on emotional work; nevertheless we provide insights about the connection of this dynamic at the individual level with fantasmic frames at a transpersonal level and its consequence for institutional work.

#### **4.2.2. An extension for exploring efforts at an individual-organizational level**

Moreover, our paper offers these insights regarding institutional work for the process of organizational survival maintenance (Washington et al. 2008). We shed light Voronov & Vince’s model interest (2012) to explore emotions during another context. Our research extends this model to explore institutional work at an individual-organizational level (Kraatz, 2009) for the organizational survival. This extension of Voronov & Vince’s model seems all the more important that legitimacy is particularly important with a challenged activity (Leca, 2006) and it depends on “confidence” (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Leca, 2006)<sup>21</sup> which is part of emotions according to Jasper’s framework (2006).

In return, our research also participates to implement emotions in this new literature. Whilst organizational survival has been well developed (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008), efforts within organizations toward internal constituencies are a new orientation of NI studies (Washington et al. 2008; Kraatz, 2009). Our research contributes to this orientation with the description of Franck’s efforts to convince Orchade members and generate a collective

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<sup>21</sup> Regarding the F&V wholesalers evolution toward catering, these actors could hesitate relying upon wholesalers and finally refuse to work with them (Leca, 2006 :71)

investment in field evolutions and thus, underlines the importance of these efforts toward internal members and not only external constituencies as argued by Kraatz (2009). In addition to provide an empirical illustration to complete previous studies of Washington et al (2008) and Kraatz (2009), our research adds the emotional mechanism. Indeed, our case study gives insights into the collective emotional investment needed to enable the legitimacy rebuilding. This approach provides a better articulation between “*how organization is constituted*” and “*how it incorporates and elaborates institutional pressures*” (Suddaby et al. 2010: 1238) by implementing the emotional mechanism from individual commitment to field scripts. It also encourages managers to consider their legitimacy process beyond external constituencies to consider organizational members and be aware of emotional commitment (in scripts) effects on their actions.

#### **4.3. OPENING TO EMOTIONS AS “MEANS” AND ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY WORK**

Despite an in-depth case study giving details on micro individuals, the demonstration of this collective process is still limited to observing inter-individual interactions. Our research proposes a connection between individual emotional commitment (e.g. with proud, passion, contempt) and emotions at a transpersonal level, but the inter-individual level remains absent. We justify this absence considering this level more suitable to exploration emotions as “means” (Jasper, 2006) which correspond to the second research path. Our paper does not concern this second orientation, but it opens to it. Political approaches develop a collective perspective of emotions, shared by a group of actors (e.g. Crawford 2000 Goodwin et al 2001, Jasper 1998 etc.), through the *collective identity* of a group which leads *positive* emotions between insiders and negative ones toward outsiders (Jasper, 2006).

First, our study opens to an exploration of collective emotions through the identity work. Creed et al. (2010) look at the construction of identity as an institutional work and emotions as a part of individuals’ identity which can influence their agency. To go further, our research suggests opening this statement at a collective level regarding the organizational identity. For instance, we explained a more important commitment in the F&V fantasmic frame owing to a “F&V leadership” organizational identity. Franck’s efforts to decrease emotional attachment to F&V passion and retailers, for instance, were based on an identity change from a F&V to a wholesaler leadership identity. Thus, our study gives a glimpse of the interdependence between identity change and the collective emotional disengagement in fantasmic frames.

Carr (2001) underlines the importance of considering emotions through organizational identity which is based on an ideal pattern of the organization that is to say, a “*fantasy that is*

*seldom achieved*” (Carr, 2001: 427). He describes a “seduction” relationship between an individual and an organization<sup>22</sup> and hence, difficulties for organizational changes since it implies a process of “grievance and dislodgment of Identity” to paraphrase Carr (2001). Carr emphasizes a process of grievance and identity dislodgement due to emotions which puts into perspective the duration of Orchade legitimization which took more than 20 years. In addition to underline these difficulties and the grievance process (which explained Franck’s efforts), we add the connection to attachment in fantasmic frames (e.g. the reject of the former director radical changes which mixes Fantasy and organizational identity in the footnote:<sup>12</sup>). Indeed, our study suggests connecting this emotional grievance to fantasmic frames influence embedded in organizational identity. Thus, we encourage further research to explore the emotional disengagement capacity in relation both with emotional scripts and with the organizational-ideal.

Secondly, our research opens an exploration of emotions as means regarding collective positive and negative emotions used to make this process easier. Our paper is limited but suggests the development of positive emotions of F&V branch members toward catering actors with their adherence to the collective identity as a wholesaler leader and the increasing success in wholesaling activities. This success triggered a “collective effervescence” (Sewell, 1996) which does not appear in this paper and can lead to further research about positive emotions used as a *mean* to influence the actions of others. For this purpose, our findings suggest to explore this phenomenon through symbolic resources<sup>23</sup>. According to Jasper (2006:25), emotions can be used as means to influence cognitive understandings of individuals “*by drawing attention to symbolic events or character*”. Emotions can be used as symbols through discourse, identity (organizational-ideal) and other symbolic mediums as stated by previous NI studies (e.g. Scully & Creed, 2005; Creed et al. 2010; Voronov & Vince, 2012<sup>24</sup>) to produce a collective action. A future research could use the discursive efforts of Franck’s to explore the emotional part of symbolic resources. Especially, our research suggests a connection of this emotional part with fantasmic frames.

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<sup>22</sup>In which process “deep-seated, largely unconscious intimately connected to the development of an identity and have emotional content” and more change would be difficult.

<sup>23</sup> We see this kind of use during Franck’s discourse partly based on the frozen wholesaling branch success which is becoming a symbolic event.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Voronov & Vince (2012) underline emotional resonance of discursive resources. Emirbayer & Goldberg (2005) underline the use of a historical emotional link between a leader and others to lead a collective action. Scully & Creed’s approach of symbolic resources includes empathy and affinity (2005).

To conclude, our research provides insight about the mechanism of emotion during the process of organizational survival. It also brings emotions at the level of institutions with the concept of fantasmic frames connected to individual commitment. This approach of emotions encourages managers to consider emotions as a mechanism of their own reflexivity and not only as a way of managing people. Of course, this research is still a work-in-progress with several limitations which have been stated earlier. The main limits are linked first to the data collected, which would need to be completed for a better understanding and illustration of emotional resources; second to the specificity of the empirical setting observed; third to the use of one single case study, which does not allow us to compare emotional commitments of actors in the same field; fourth to the focus on the relationship between individual emotions and fantasmic frames and the lack of attention being paid to the intermediary level of emotions with interactions. An extensive analysis of the Institutional Leadership role during the process of emotional commitment can help overcome this last limit. Broadly speaking, further research might remove some of these limits and explore deeper interactions between organizations and institutions with the mechanism of emotion.

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## APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SUMMARY

### 1 Interviews of Orchade members

Numbers of interviews	Pseudonyms	Function	Date	Time
4	Franck	CEO / Chairman of the board	22/04/2011	127 min
			06/04/2012	125 min
			20/06/2012	80 min
			31/01/2014	50 min
1	Guy	Fruit & Vegetables Branch Manager until 2007	06/07/2012	203 min
1	David	Corporate IS Manager	15/02/2012	130 min
2	Marc	Fruit & Vegetables Branch Manager since 2008	05/03/2011*	-
			15/02/2012	116 min
1	G�rard	Finance Director & Executive board member	05/03/2012	84 min
1	Jean	Ex-Co-Chairman	20/06/2012	153 min
1	Hugo	Fruit & vegetables purchasing director	07/02/2012	113 min
1	Jeremy	Marketing Manager of the Fruit & Vegetables Branch	05/03/2012	93 min
1	Laurent	Culinary Advisor of the Fruit & Vegetables Branch	25/03/2013	104 min
1	Mathieu	Corporate Quality assurance manager	07/02/2012	91 min
1	Pierre	Ex Marketing Manager of the Fruit & Vegetables Branch	20/06/2012	93 min
2	Alexandre	Corporate Logistics Director & Executive board member		
			06/04/2012	137 min
1	Sabrina	Ex Marketing Manager of the Frozen products	05/07/2012	
2	Veronique	Corporate HR director	03/05/2011*	-
			15/02/2012	74 min
<b>Regional Branch 1 "Toulouse"</b>				
1	Regional Manager 1	Director of a fruit & vegetables regional branch	17/09/2012	90 min
1	Sales Department 1	salesman of sea-food products for retailers	7/11/2012	128 min
1	Sales Department 2	F&V Salesman for retailers	7/11/2012	122 min
1	Purchasing Department 1	Purchasing Manager	28/09/2012	66 min
1	Sales Department 3	Flowers & plants sales rep. for retailers	06/11/2012	115 min
1	Logistic 1	Warehouse manager	06/11/2012	122 min
1	Sales Department 4	F&V Sales manager	28/09/2012	125 min
<b>Local Branch 2 "Rodez"</b>				
1	Regional Manager 2	Director of a fruit & vegetables regional branch	16/08/2012	150 min

1	Purchasing Department 2	Purchasing Manager	21/09/2012	150 min
1	Sales Department 5	F&V Sales manager for catering actors	03/10/2012	125 min
1	Sales Department 6	F&V Telesales Manager	12/10/2012	106 min
1	Logistic 2	Logistics Manager	09/12/2012	120 min
1	Logistic 3	Delivery Manager	26/10/2012	90 min
1	Quality Manager	Regional Quality Manager	21/09/2012	124 min
<b>Toulouse &amp; Rodez</b>				
1	Regional Manager 3	Ex Regional Manager of Toulouse and Rodez branches	17/09/2012	125 min
1	Finance Manager	Regional Finance and Administration Manager	17/09/2012	148 min
<b>36 interviews</b>	<b>31 participants</b>		<b>61, 32 hours</b>	

Additional interviews:

Numbers of interviews	Position	Function	Date	Time
1	F&V Specialist 1	Management Consultant for a firm specialized in the food processing industry	21/11/2012	168 min
2	F&V Specialist 2	Two representatives of Interfel, the Inter-branch Association of the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable industry	11/07/2012	130 min
1	F&V Specialist 3	Lawyer of a legal office dedicated to F&V actors	21/12/2012	101 min
1	Wholesaler 1	Director of a fruit & vegetables wholesaling group and member of the F&V wholesaling association "Caupona"	03/05/2012	133 min
1	Wholesaler 2	Director of a fruit & vegetables wholesaling group	05/07/2012	30 min
1	Wholesaler 3	Director of a F&V Group and member of the fruit & vegetables wholesaling association "Caupona"	28/01/2014	60 min
1	Supplier 1	Supplier of processed fruits	19/11/2012	80 min
1	Supplier 2	Sales representative of a processed F&V supplier and ex director of the F&V wholesaling association Caupona	15/06/2012	118 min
1	Customer 1	Store Manager for a major retailer	05/03/2013	95 min
1	Customer 2	F&V Department Manager for a major retailer	28/05/2014	77 min
1	Customer 3	Head Chef for a local high and middle school	27/05/2014	60 min
<b>12 interviews with 13 participants</b>			<b>17, 53 hours</b>	

**APPENDIX 2: FANTASMIC FRAMES**

<b>Fantasy Frames</b>	<b>Examples [with translations]</b>
<p><b>BFR fantasy frames</b> Desire to underline their centrality for BFR (dignity feeling) and the contempt for catering actors</p>	<p><i>“I talk about my local managers who lived Orchade history and are committed retailers”</i> (interview, Orchade local member, 2012)  <i>“We discovered a clientele [catering actors] that we despised/disesteemed”</i> (interview, Orchade chairman, 2012)  <i>“I’m going to tell you the truth, I think we consider them [catering actors] with a bit of contempt and scorn saying they were small customers that were not very interesting”</i> (interview, Orchade local member, 2012)</p>
<p><i>Relationship priority with friendly manner</i></p>	<p><i>“Before there were a lot of things done by affection, man to man relationships, there was sometimes a big part of irrationality”</i> (interview, F&amp;V director, 2012)</p>
<p><b>Commitment in F&amp;V specificity fantasy frame</b> The desire to reflect an image of F&amp;V specialist because of passion and professional pride with F&amp;V particularities.</p>	<p><i>“There is a F&amp;V passion. What historically existed is a F&amp;V reasoning that leads to a F&amp;V passion (...) But we cannot do this job without a product passion because it is a difficult and time-consuming job, thus passion should go up along the hierarchy, until the branch director”</i> (interview, chairman, 2012).  <i>“Harry was against [the withdrawal from ripening activity] because of sentimental reasons and not rational ones. He has always lived in it. Thus, he cannot appreciate the selling of this historical thing which, for him, was Orchade”</i> (interview, chairman, 2012).  <i>“I think it would have been a real heartbreak for the shareholders [to stop F&amp;V processing activities] because there was a tradition, a culture and history based on it”</i> (interview, Orchade local member, 2012).</p>
<p><i>Purchase centrality with heroes</i></p>	<p><i>“It is clear that for 10-15 [buyers] it is a terrible trauma because they were quite the heroes of the branch and one day, they thought that they were denigrated”</i> [talking about new catering activity] (interview, chairman, 2012).  <i>“Not the intuition but the love of this job, the love of these products”</i> (Interview, Orchade local member, 2012)</p>
<p><b>F&amp;V passion disinvestment</b></p>	<p><i>“Wholesalers are more professional today. (...) but it is not any more their passion, they no longer have this fruit and vegetables passion”</i> (interview, Orchade local member, 2012).</p>
<p><b>Relationship disinvestment</b></p>	<p><i>“Now, it is not enough. It is not sufficient to be nice, likeable, and responsive but we have to be the partner of our customer”</i> (interview, local member, 2012).  <i>“I’m seeking a professional relationship with my client (...) whereas some of [competitors] have relationship based on affinity, friendship with all the aspects it may involve -which are sometimes forbidden...”</i> (interview, local director, 2012)  <i>“Today affection is still important in commerce but it is one thing in addition to factual things.”</i> (interview, F&amp;V branch director, 2012)</p>