The Micro Potential for Social Change: Emotion, Consciousness, and Social Movement Formation*

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Can one explain both the resilience of the status quo and the possibility for resistance from a subordinate position? This paper aims to resolve these seemingly incompatible perspectives. By extending Randall Collins's interaction ritual theory, and synthesizing it with Norbert Wiley's model of the self, this paper suggests how the emotional dynamics between people and within the self can explain social inertia as well as the possibility for resistance and change. Diverging from literature on the sociology of emotions that has been concerned with individual emotional processes, this paper considers the collective level in order to explore how movement action is motivated. The emotional dynamics of subordinate positioning that limit women's options in face-to-face interactions are examined, as are the social processes of developing feminist consciousness and a willingness to participate in resistance work. Pointing toward empirical applications, I conclude by suggesting conditions where resistance is likely.

When considering social change, two realities must be reconciled: social structure is usually reproduced and social change does occasionally happen. A useful theory of social change must be able to explain both actualities. Although central to understanding social movements, this quandary has received little direct attention in the social movements literature. In this paper I attempt to fill this gap and build a theory of consciousness raising and movement participation, in this case feminist resistance. I reveal a new perspective on social movements that avoids many of the problems associated with resource mobilization, new social movements, and cultural approaches to understanding social movements.

In the first half of the paper I explain social inertia, in particular the maintenance of women's subordinate positioning. Randall Collins's interaction ritual theory suggests an emotional motivation for action that offers a base for explaining the resilience of power structures as well as the potential for social change. I combine Collins's interaction ritual theory, work in the sociology of emotions, and Wiley's model of the self to suggest how resistance from a subordinate position is possible. I delineate how the emotional dynamics of subordinate positioning operate to limit women's options in face-to-face interactions in such a way that the status quo is usually reproduced. This theory-building is supported by interviews with women about feminism and feminist activism. In the second half of the paper I build on the first half to explain the emotional dynamics that would likely produce critical consciousness and encourage resistance. At the end, I point toward empirical applications by suggesting social conditions that can provide the emotional dynamics necessary for generating efforts to bring about social change from disadvantaged positions.

EXPLAINING SOCIAL INERTIA: THE EMOTIONAL DYNAMICS
OF SUBORDINATE POSITIONING

Interaction Ritual Theory

Collins (1990) identifies two types of emotions: (1) transient emotions such as joy, embarrassment, fear, and anger, that are dramatic and disruptive of the flow of everyday life; and (2) emotional energy, which is a long-term emotional tone that is durable from situation to situation. Emotional energy is a long-term level of enthusiasm, personal strength, a sense of social connectedness, and/or willingness to initiate interaction (1990). According to Collins's interaction ritual theory, individuals are motivated to maximize their level of emotional energy. People are motivated to feel as high a level of enthusiasm, personal strength, social connectedness, and willingness to initiate interaction as they can. Emotional energy is increased in two ways: It can be built from solidarity experiences based in ritual interaction, or it can be transferred in hierarchical interactions where the more powerful person in the interaction gains emotional energy and the less powerful person loses emotional energy. In general, people are attracted to charismatic people and are repelled by people I will call "energy sinks," who drain the energy of those with whom they interact.

In "Stratification, Emotional Energy, and the Transient Emotions" (1990), Collins lays out the basic model and requirements for the development of emotional energy in solidarity rituals. There must be face-to-face interaction, shared emotion, a shared focus of attention, and a mutual awareness of this focus. This shifts the participants' awareness from themselves to the group. The refocusing of attention on the group sets the stage for further emotional contagion and emotional energy generation. Emotional contagion appears to be non-cognitive and physically based (Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson 1994). Ekman (1992) has demonstrated that information about our emotions is available through minute facial expressions and body language, even when we are motivated to cover our emotional experience. Hatfield et al. (1994) have found that this emotional information, which usually remains below the level of awareness, is the basis for emotional contagion. When one mimics another's micro emotional gestures, she calls up the same emotion in herself that she is witnessing in the other person. People are inclined to mimic the micro gestures of other people, especially people who are energy sinks or charismatic (Hatfield et al. 1994).

There are four products of successful ritual interaction: the transient immediately shared emotion, longer-term feelings of solidarity toward the group, longer-term individually-oriented emotional energy, and an emotional-energy-loaded symbol of the solidarity interaction (Collins 1990). The symbol created in the solidarity interaction can be used to call up the emotional energy experienced in the solidarity interaction, but as Durkheim found ([1912] 1995), the power of the symbol will diminish over time. In order to maintain the power to call up emotional energy, it must be periodically recharged with solidarity experiences. Once the symbol exists, and is well connected to the solidarity of the group, the symbol becomes a shortcut to recreating rituals that will reproduce solidarity and emotional energy. These repeated rituals would continue to recharge the symbol. There are often preexisting symbols of some experience of solidarity that can be used initially by a burgeoning group. Once the group uses the symbol, the significance of the symbol will be modified to represent the specific group interaction.

Not all face-to-face interactions result in emotional contagion and the production of solidarity. Hatfield et al. (1994) have found that disliking someone can prevent emotional contagion, and that an interaction where discord is prominent will result in the emergence of reciprocal emotions. When someone we do not like does poorly, we may experience happiness instead of sharing that person's disappointment. Similarly, if someone is angry with us, we are likely to feel fear or anger toward him or her, rather than catching his or her

anger toward us. In both of these examples, face-to-face interaction does not result in contagion and solidarity because the focus of the people involved is on themselves rather than the group. These interactions are the power interactions Collins describes, where emotional energy is transferred rather than built. In conflict interactions the more powerful person is likely to leave with more emotional energy, and the less powerful person is likely to leave with less.

A person's biography, or chain of interactions over time, teaches an individual that certain interactions are likely to either corrode or build their level of emotional energy (Collins 1988). An individual's past will indicate whether solidarity or power interaction rituals are better sources for emotional energy. People will lean toward the types of inter-action rituals that have been the most successful in the past. The history of experiences determines whether an individual is likely to lean toward solidarity or the exertion of power for their source of emotional energy. When all is well, and one's level of emotional energy is not threatened, this process of seeking some interactions over others tends to happen at a level below consciousness.

I would add that over time people come to recognize those who are similarly positioned in their day-to-day interactions: These people come to represent a reference group. The reference group is established through experiences of gaining or losing emotional energy for identification or failing to identify with a particular group. If a little girl is told that she cannot play with the boys because she is a girl, over time her chain of ritual interactions may reveal that it is advantageous to identify as a girl and learn the social rules that pertain to girls. This identification can protect the girl from future experiences of rejection and humiliation associated with not knowing the social expectations for girls. One can gain access to information about one's potential access to emotional energy through identifying with people within one's reference group. The process of identification allows the observer to experience milder effects of others' interactions. This allows the individual to include interactions they have observed as well as experienced in their history of interactions. While race, class, religion, sexual orientation, and other distinctions may prevent women with identifying from all other women, it is likely that women will indeed identify with, and use as references, other women within their particular community.

Because there are different ways of gaining emotional energy, and there are overlapping/competing opportunities for each of these ways, the process of weighing outcomes in terms of emotional energy is complex. A woman may be rewarded with emotional energy for behaving subordinately; in this case she would lose some emotional energy from sub-mitting to subordination while simultaneously gaining more than is lost through reward. Likewise, a woman can be rewarded with emotional energy for experiences of feminist solidarity, but she may lose emotional energy from conflict within her family that results from taking a feminist stance. Either pattern of behavior reflects the greatest *perceived* potential for the woman to maximize her emotional energy based on her history of interactions.

The distribution of emotional energy tends to be a self-sustaining system. People in positions of power are optimally positioned to experience more emotional energy. They gain emotional energy through power rituals where they acquire emotional energy at the expense of those less powerful, as well as through diffusion of emotional energy along chains of solidarity interactions within their advantaged status group. Collins asserts that those in subordinate positions are not only positioned to lose emotional energy in power interactions, they are also influenced by low emotional energy contagion within their status group (Collins 1990). Thus, level of emotional energy is a sensitive indicator of social position. Collins's model explains how the status quo is maintained through the emotional dynamics of interactions between people, but he does not explain how emotions can work

within the self to reinforce or undermine the status quo. In order to explain the flow of emotional energy within the self, I turn to Wiley's model of the self.

The Self and Emotional Energy

Norbert Wiley's model of the self, built by combining Peirce's and Mead's models, can be used to provide a more detailed description of emotional energy dynamics within the self. The self arises from the ability to anticipate the response of others (Mead 1934). As one develops from infancy and begins to be able to consistently predict others' responses to one's behavior, the potential for language and thinking develop as well. Thinking is communication between different parts of the self, the spontaneous "I" and the "me" of the past (Mead 1934). Wiley (1994) adds complexity to Mead's model by combining it with Peirce's concept of the self in the future, the "you." The "I" is a spontaneous consciousness to which one does not have direct access when thinking, although one can attempt to speak to it by speaking to the "you" that will soon become the "I" ("you really shouldn't do that")(Wiley 1994).

The cumulative impact of social experience is stored in the "me." The "me" is comprised of information one has garnered through one's interaction ritual chains, which comes to represent a generalized anticipated response. Mead refers to this as the generalized other. If one is subordinately positioned, one's self, in particular the "me" part, will be filled with information about one's limited options, as well as implications for how to minimize threatening situations associated with one's undesirable identity. While the internal conversation can be made conscious, it continues without conscious effort as one negotiates one's series of day-to-day interactions.

As Collins suggests, emotional energy can be created though solidarity with others; Wiley suggests that the same can happen internally (Wiley 1994). I would add that when the different parts of the self are in agreement there is an undisturbed internal rhythm, and as a result more intrapsychic energy is available. Alternately, when there is internal conflict there is diminished intrapsychic energy. Because the "me" consists of one's interaction ritual chains, conflict between the "I" and the "me" represents a conflict between the immediate interests of the individual and the action most likely to receive favorable response from one's social environment. Thus the state of one's social bonds is reflected in the relationship between the "I" and the "me," as well as between the "I" and what Wiley refers to as "permanent visitors."

Permanent visitors are psychic representations of particularly influential people or concepts in one's life (Wiley 1994). Instead of affecting only the "me," which contains diffuse information about anticipated responses, a particular person in one's life can exert more influence through an individual psychic representation as a permanent visitor. The multiple representations of one's history of interactions mean that one can evaluate one's feelings and actions from multiple positions. The "me" contains information about general social response, thus information about the state of the social bonds in general. The evaluation of a permanent visitor has implications for the state of the social bond with the particular person represented by the permanent visitor. When there is conflict and a perceived threat to the bond between the "I" and the "me," or the "I," "me," and a permanent visitor, there are immediate emotional consequences of a loss of intrapsychic energy.

Emotional Energy as an Indicator of Social Position

Long-term emotional energy reflects a history of interaction. Each interaction contributes to a trend established over many interactions. Continued subordinate positioning lowers

one's level of emotional energy. The quote below is from a woman reflecting on the inter-actions that comprise her gendered experience.

> We are told by society in so many ways that we are less worthy. How does this happen? It happens in multiple subtle ways. We are not called on as often in class. We aren't listened to when we go to the deli counter and say, "may I have a half a pound of ham?" The lady listens to the man instead and gives him what he wants. Those kinds of experiences build up, and you many never really realize that they are happening because they are so subtle. (Sara, a 30-year-old white woman)

If one gains emotional energy in a particular interaction, but has a long history of low emotional energy, one's level of emotional energy will increase, but it will still remain lower than someone who has a history of high levels of emotional energy. One's history of interactions, and therefore level of emotional energy, is more likely than any single inter-action to reflect patterns of macro-level inequality. Because macro-level positioning is indirect, and people's experiences are made up of face-to-face experiences, there is not necessarily a one-to-one relationship between macro-level position and one's level of emo-tional energy. However, we could still anticipate that in general those who are subordi-nately positioned on a macro level will also experience a pattern of day-to-day positioning that will result in diminished levels of emotional energy.

The emotional outcome of an interaction is used as information about whether one should seek out or avoid such interactions in the future. Thus, the individual interacting has access to information about her social position, whether it is made conscious or not. If people have access to information about their social position based on their level of emo-tional energy, why are there so many people who are unaware of their position? The number of women who appear to be complicit in their own oppression has long frustrated feminists. Whether unconsciously coping or consciously desiring, many women appear to willingly participate in plastic surgery, dieting, abusive relationships, and so on. The answer to this apparent paradox is found in the process of subordinate positioning, and how the drive towards maximizing emotional energy becomes manifest despite few promising options.

Emotional Energy Seeking from a Subordinate Position

I would complicate Collins's depiction of the dynamics of emotional energy by suggesting that there are situations where people defend their emotional energy resources as an indi-rect route to maximizing their level of emotional energy. When a person is subordinately positioned and loses emotional energy, they can react in three ways: (1) resist the posi-tioning, (2) avoid or minimize such interactions in the future, or (3) continue to participate in these interactions and manage their emotional response to their positioning internally. The last choice minimizes social conflict, but it requires energy-draining work that leads to diminished intrapsychic energy and continued emotional energy-draining interactions. While the last option would seem to be the worst, it is often the most promising option for women.

Many women cannot avoid energy-draining interactions. Women are spread out across all races, classes, religions, and sexual orientations. Most women identify with their male partners, neighborhood, class, religion, or race more than with women as a group. Since many of their primary ties are to men, and they are invested in maintaining these ties while continuing to be emotionally and materially dependent on them, women manage and repress emotions as a price for survival (Jaggar 1989). The gender hierarchy is reinforced in

day-to-day interactions with fathers, brothers, sons, bosses, lovers, husbands, and friends. Since many women are similarly subordinately positioned, they can find themselves in competition with each other for limited emotional energy resources. This competition undermines the political potential they represent as a group, and reinforces the gender hierarchy.

Direct resistance to subordinate positioning can be met with repressive sanctions. Even if resistance does not lead directly to external repressive sanctions, it may result in the loss of the limited source of emotional energy associated with acceptance for assuming a subordinate position. If attempts to improve one's immediate situation are met with responses that result in a further loss of emotional energy, the drive to maximize emotional energy will be manifested as an attempt to minimize the loss of emotional energy. One will seek to avoid interactions that are the most threatening to one's level of emotional energy, and seek interactions that represent the greatest potential gain, even if they entail some level of cost as well. Thibaut and Kelly (1959) point out that one will choose to remain in a relationship as long as rewards or economies of cost compare favorably with other relationships that are available (p. 49). Because the subordinate positioning of women is so pervasive, a woman may well stay in an emotionally draining relationship if her past history of experiences indicates that there are no better opportunities available.

Feeling Rules and Deviant Emotions

Hochschild, in her work *The Managed Heart* (1983), describes feeling rules, which are social norms that dictate how we should feel in a given situation. Hochschild points out that these norms benefit the privileged and reinforce the subordinate positioning of the disadvantaged. I would extend Collins's and Wiley's work and suggest that these norms are learned through one's history of interactions, and that they reside in the "me" or in particular permanent visitors. People are capable of moving potential conflict between experienced emotions and feeling rules within the self by cognitively and physically managing their emotions (Hochschild 1983; Thoits 1985). Hochschild goes on to argue that women in general are positioned to do this emotion management. Women manage their emotions because feelings that result from subordinate positioning often conflict with the expectations for how they "should" feel, and failing to meet expectations can result in further loss of emotional energy.

Thoits (1990) refers to feelings that do not fit norms for emotions as deviant emotions. In protecting their diminished opportunities for emotional energy, women are faced with a conflict between their initial reactions and long-term emotional energy strategies. This conflict produces deviant emotions: "Emotional deviance refers to experiences or displays of affect that differ in quality or degree from what is expected in a given situation" (1985 in 1990:181). She goes on to point out that:

> One might expect lower-status-group members to report deviant affect or non-normative displays more frequently, since more acts of disrespect or injustice may be directed towards less powerful societal members, and negative reactions generally are socially disapproved. (Averill 1978; Sommers 1984b in Thoits 1990:186)

A sexist joke is an example of conflicting positioning that produces deviant emotions. On the occasion when a woman is told a sexist joke, she is placed in a position where contradictory interaction rules are solicited. Insofar as she identifies as a woman, the joke-telling interaction is a direct insult. However, she is simultaneously positioned as an insider or friend by the joke teller (unless the joke is told explicitly to offend), thus the

joke-telling interaction is one of friendly camaraderie. This conflicting positioning is likely to produce feelings that do not meet the emotional expectations for a joke-telling interaction, mild positive feelings. Instead, the woman hearing the sexist joke will experience negative emotions—fear, anger, anxiety, or shame—that are stronger than the emotions expected from a joke-telling interaction. This is experienced below the level of consciousness for women who consciously find sexist jokes funny. The deviant emotions produced in such conflicting positioning must be consciously managed or unconsciously repressed in order to fit the prevailing definition of the situation, or what James Scott refers to as the public transcript, "the self-portrait of dominant elites as they would have themselves seen" (Scott 1990:18). Women are motivated to maintain the public transcript because of the implications it has for the state of their social bonds.

Repression and Management of Deviant Emotions

In order to avoid the social consequences of deviant emotions, women are required to do work that saps emotional energy. Women do not need to be scared into managing conflict internally by immediate outside sanctions. As was discussed above, because of a lack of opportunity for power, women are particularly motivated to preserve social bonds as a source for emotional energy. A social bond is actively maintained on each end. Through one's history of interactions, one learns that certain behavior is likely to threaten social bonds. If one were to feel emotions that would threaten the bond, even if one were alone, one would feel a real threat to the bond and a loss of emotional energy or shame, which is the emotional indicator of a threat to a social bond (Scheff 1990).

The impulsive "I" is likely to respond to social situations based on the desire for positive transient emotions. However the "me," "you," or a permanent visitor may suggest that one's immediate social response represents a potential loss of emotional energy. The motivations that guide us through interactions are usually below the level of awareness; however, conflict tends to highlight motivations. As discussed above, when conflict from subordinate positioning occurs, it results in emotions that are often reciprocal to what would be anticipated. The different parts of the self carry social information that may suggest moving the tension surrounding deviant emotions inward into the self as a less dangerous option than dealing socially with the tension between what is expected and what is actually felt. The incentive to manage emotions internally can happen when the individual is alone or when there is little immediate evidence of external negative sanctions. This behavior is not the result of habit or a fear of people finding out about the deviant emotion, but rather of the real emotional penalties that occur when one understands that one's behavior has threatened one's social bonds.

The woman below is talking about her experience as a feminist, and the disincentive for going public with deviant emotions or speaking out.

Actually I feel that in life it has never been more true than it is now that it is easier to be quiet and pretend that there is no conflict. It's easier just to go along with society. The more I realize what the consequences are every time I open my mouth, the harder it is to speak up. As you grow older you realize these things; you realize that there are a lot of compromises made in life and you realize that when you speak out against something there is always a reaction. No one wants to speak in an environment where they are not heard at all, and I do think that it is in fact not productive to do that sometimes. (Karen, a 23-year-old white woman)

Sometimes, as is the case for the woman above, deviant emotions are close to the surface or even consciously felt. In these instances women must consciously manage their behavior and emotions, and the work of acting or managing is palpable.

On the other end of the spectrum, in some cases even acknowledging that one has experienced deviant emotions, much less the social circumstances that brought about deviant emotions, can result in a further loss of emotional energy because of the more global negative implications for one's social bonds. In the more extreme cases, deviant emotions result in two levels of shame: The first level is the initial experience of deviant emotions; the second level is associated with having experienced the deviant emotion at all. This results in what Scheff refers to as a feeling trap:

> Once ashamed, one can be ashamed of being ashamed, each shame state serving as stimulus for further shame. For this reason . . . it is possible for shame-prone persons to be in a more or less chronic shame state . . . loops of shame like those described above can be so violently painful that one might wish to avoid them at any cost. I propose that, just as normal pride and shame are necessary because they serve as signals for the state of social bonds, unacknowledged shame could be the root cause of chains of threatened bonds, of the transmission of threat from person to person in an ongoing society, and from generation to generation over time. (Scheff 1990:18)

Based on the above discussion of deviant emotions, we could substitute subordinately positioned people, or women in particular, for shame-prone persons. Scheff's theory of feeling traps details how micro interactions in women's lives may lead them to move social conflict inside the self.

Handling deviant emotions internally creates discord between the different parts of the self; the "me" or one or more permanent visitors are in conflict with the "I." When potential social conflict is moved inward there is increased internal disharmony (Wiley 1994) and feeling traps are created between the different parts of the self; this saps the system of energy. Ultimately, many women end up feeling depressed and alienated, symptoms of low emotional energy (Collins 1990). This conclusion is supported by the 2:1 ratio of women to men identified with depressive symptoms (Blazer et al. 1994). With this loss of intrapsychic energy, the different parts of the self lose the ability to communicate with each other. As a result, reflexivity, or the ability to think widely, accurately, and creatively, is diminished (Wiley 1994). Many women are unable to name the source of their negative emotions and low emotional energy because of their diminished capacity for self-reflexivity. They may also focus on the competition for emotional energy resources among women instead of on their shared experience of subordinate positioning. This lack of awareness, born of the intrapsychic tension that diminishes the potential for wide and accurate thinking, serves to protect those who benefit from women's subordinate status. When one removes a potential social conflict by bringing the conflict down within the level of the self, depression and repression result. This represents a decreased potential for questioning the status quo.

There are different processes that make repression possible. Two of the most important are cognitive and physical. Expectations organize our experience and play a central role in what we are aware we are feeling. Operating with a cognitive understanding of feeling rules likely plays a role in what feelings we are consciously aware of experiencing. The repressive process can also be kept under the level of awareness through learning proper bodily comportment, or proper expressive norms (Thoits 1985). Hochschild found that when work is done to maintain the proper expression of emotion, regardless of actual emotion, actual reported sensations were changed (1983). This finding fits with the role of

physicality in emotional contagion that Hatfield et al. (1994) found. Women are taught to move and arrange their bodies in submissive ways. They are taught not to take up room with their bodies or hold eye contact with men with whom they are unfamiliar. They must manipulate the size and shape of their bodies and keep their legs together and head lowered while walking. This physical discipline can play a part in keeping aggressive or hostile deviant emotions below the level of awareness.

Women in particular are required to do emotion management because they maintain close, often primary ties with those who reinforce their subordinate positioning. Dependence on these relationships for material resources and the emotional energy the relationships provide is a roadblock that keeps many women from developing critical consciousness. There is little to no safe room away from the threat of sanctions for insubordination, or threat of lack of solidarity that can accompany a raised consciousness. The woman below is talking about her experience of feeling that she has few options for improving her circumstances:

> We women experience conflict between our identity as women and being successful, which is difficult because there is no answer—either way you're losing. You have these subtle experiences, or sometimes not so subtle experiences and all of that builds up to lowered expectations, which creates a vicious internal cycle. Many women don't try [to resist] because they know they can't win. (Sara, a 30-year-old white woman)

The price of continued emotion management is low emotional energy, depression, and a lack of awareness, which can result in behavior that is complicit in one's subordinate positioning. All of which only serves to reproduce women's subordinate positioning.

THE POTENTIAL TO UNDERMINE INERTIA: THE EMOTIONAL DYNAMICfS OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND RESISTANCE

Developing Collective Identity

If deviant emotions are handled within the self, there is little opportunity to realize that one's experiences are not necessarily a personal problem or inadequacy. When one experiences solidarity in ritual, one's identity expands, and larger social dynamics can be revealed in the process. The development of a collective identity among those participating in a ritual can allow members of the group to see the social dynamics of subordinate positioning that produce deviant emotions. In intense interactions there is a buildup of both emotional energy and a shared mood. During such an experience the "we" of the group becomes more central to one's identity than one's individual experiences. As this shared mood becomes stronger and more dominant, competing feelings are driven out by the main group feeling (Collins 1990). This process allows the immediate experience of solidarity within the group to overwhelm individual concerns for a lack of solidarity with the larger community. The emotional energy from intense solidarity with similarly positioned people can create collective identity. To the extent that women previously identified with other women in general or women within their class or status group, they are primed to develop a collective identity around gender in general or a more specific experience of gender. In some cases women may need to feel an absence of threat or a lack of competition from other women in order for a collective identity to develop.

Since ritual and solidarity are central to the experience of collective identity, collective identity is usually predicated on some earlier experience of collective behavior. Solidarity

emotions stimulated by group action underlie the cognitions that symbolize collective identity. Once formed, collective identity can be used as a tool to recreate solidarity and emotional energy in ritual. As with other symbols, collective identity requires repeated ritual to retain its ability to call up feelings of emotional energy. Durkheim noted that rituals produce boundaries that mark both insiders and outsiders. Therefore, collective identities indicate not only those with whom one has felt solidarity, but also those who are outsiders. Once the collective identity is formed, focusing on outsiders or transgressors of the group will reinforce the collective identity of the group. In the case of gender, women may have to overcome previously formed collective identities that establish other women as outsiders.

The greater the frequency of the interactions that produce solidarity and emotional energy, the greater the potential for creating enduring relationships that one is willing to take risks to preserve (Lawler and Thye 1999). Frequency ensures that increasingly sub- stantial proportions of one's interactions are represented by group membership. As mem- bers in the group come to count on group membership and group interaction as a source for emotional energy, they become increasingly interdependent on each other. This mutual dependence reinforces collective identity and leads to long-term group cohesion and sta- bility (Lawler and Thye 1999).

Legitimizing Deviant Emotions

Collective identity provides a meta perspective on one's self. By moving the identity toward the group and away from the self, one is able to look back at one's self from the position of the group. When collective identity is formed around previously repressed deviant emotion, the meta perspective provided by collective identity can allow room for the legitimization of these emotions. When one can see one's self from a meta perspective, one can come to see one's own experience as part of a larger pattern rather than an indi- vidual experience of fear, inadequacy, lack of fulfillment, depression, or unhappiness. In solidarity, deviant emotions come to represent less of a threat to one's social bonds because the deviant emotions themselves have come to be associated with new sources for solidar- ity and emotional energy formed in collective identity.

Subcultural membership, at the price of limited solidarity with the dominant culture, may be attractive because it ends the energy drain of managing or repressing deviant emotions, while providing new sources for emotional energy. The legitimization of deviant emotions based in collective identity can end the energy drain associated with bringing social conflict into the self. The past loss of emotional energy from maintaining social bonds is balanced against new bonds that require less management or repression of emo- tion. Legitimization of previously repressed or managed emotions can also create new feeling norms. These new norms can permit a greater amount of emotional energy by lessening the conflict between the "I," the "me," and/or permanent visitors.

Ending internal conflict loosens up intrapsychic energy and allows for consciousness and awareness by creating open and balanced communication between the different parts of the self, rather than a critical "me" or permanent visitor dominating internal conversa- tion. Increased awareness can reveal the social dynamics of oppression and subordination that create deviant emotions, as well as the powerlessness of any one individual to counter the patterns of subordinate positioning on their own. By accurately assessing their indi- vidual powerlessness, women can come to see other women as political and emotional allies. Solidarity that produces collective identity and results in a new social perspective can change the shame of diminished position within the larger society into self-reflexive

awareness and pride for solidarity with a subculture, and turn fear and competition into anger and a sense of injustice.

Developing a Sense of Injustice

When an individual who is subordinately positioned turns social conflict inside instead of handling it on a social interaction level, it is the result of a history that indicates that she is powerless to change the conditions of her environment. Because of her diminished options, she can control only herself and how she chooses to interact. As a result, the conflict is moved within the self and she will blame herself for any negative experience associated with the conflict. Through experiencing solidarity and collective identity, personal problems are revealed as social patterns, and the blame for energy loss is placed on the environment instead of the self.

This is the fundamental shift in worldview that is required for the development of a sense of injustice (Snow et al. 1986). By placing the blame on the environment, conflict is moved out of the self and anger can be consciously experienced. The conscious experience of anger, without an interactional opportunity to dispel it at its source, will develop into a sense of injustice (Scher and Heise 1993). As William Gamson notes (1995), injustice has a crucial moral and emotional component, over and above a cognitive judgment of what is fair. The negative experiences associated with subordinate positioning are the emotional fuel that lead to the building of a sense of injustice about one's social experience, with or without exposure to a preexisting critical discourse. A sense of injustice is crucial for developing a critical perspective.

Developing Critical Consciousness

A sense of injustice can have political implications if it develops into critical consciousness. In order to move from shared and normalized deviant emotions to critical consciousness, there needs to be a perceived lessening of threat from the dominant culture and an opportunity for awareness. The decreased threat can either be an external factor, or it can be constructed through group experience. If a group is able to sustain regular ritual, alienation and sanctions from the broader culture represent less of a threat to participants' emotional energy levels. This shifting balance in terms of what these individuals need from the dominant culture allows members to articulate their deviant emotions in a critical and global way. It allows them to generate new cognitive frames for interpreting their experience.

Creating internal harmony between the different parts of the self promotes awareness. The generalized other is regulative but also allows for self-reflexivity by providing an internal-looking lens (Wiley 1994). Incorporating experiences of solidarity around deviant emotions into one's "me," or generalized other means that new things can be seen about one's self. Without including relevant information in the generalized other, particular information about the self is likely to go unnoticed or unnamable (Wiley 1994:51). Since people are looking to maximize emotional energy, the generalized other or permanent visitor that represents the greatest potential gain of emotional energy will take precedence in guiding choices for interacting and behavior. In order to create consciousness, collective identity based in deviant emotion and emotional energy have to be strong enough to change the generalized other so that the balance of rewards shifts, and new thoughts can be thought without threat to the internal solidarity of the self.

The closer one is to consciously experiencing deviant emotions and understanding that they are shared across a social group with whom one identifies, the closer one is to expe-

riencing critical consciousness. All that remains is a frame transformation (Snow et al. 1986), or the process of creating a cognitive and political narrative of the emotional experience. A frame transformation occurs when there is a shift in worldview such that things that are familiar are imbued with entirely new meaning (Snow et al. 1986).

People can use the repertoire of symbols available to them to name their experience, think creatively about their position, and produce consciousness. Scheff defines creativity as a new solution to a new problem (1990:157), and as he points out, the example of language demonstrates that everyone has the ability to be creative. With enough training and the security of strong social bonds, humans are capable of both creating and interpreting sentences that have never previously been uttered (Scheff 1990). I am arguing that women, with enough solidarity between similarly positioned individuals to free up blocked intrapsychic energy, have the same capacity to use creativity in naming and interpreting feelings that were previously repressed. Women's movements provide many illustrations of this process. Women in the abolitionist movement were able to co-opt and transform symbols from that movement for the suffrage movement, and the same was true for second-wave feminist movements that spun off civil rights and new left movements (Buechler 1990).

Maintaining Critical Consciousness

It requires a lot of cognitive work to maintain critical consciousness in the face of dominant culture. The woman below is describing how she maintains her feminist consciousness.

> I personally feel like there is a constant dialogue in my brain. That I try to consciously think thoughts that reinforce the values I want myself to have concerning my own body and my image to other people. That isn't easy because the outside world gives a lot of feedback. In the end I feel the only answer is to constantly do this self-work . . . I'm trying to see the long term versus the short term. What's easiest versus what's best. (Lauren, a 28-year-old African American woman)

Maintaining a feminist consciousness is demanding; like managing emotions internally, it entails the delayed gratification of sacrificing short-term transient emotions for higher long-term levels of emotional energy. Even with the development of feminist consciousness, feminists are still denied direct access to maximizing their emotional energy; when interacting outside feminist circles, their subordinate position remains despite their feminist consciousness. However, unlike women who are repressing deviant emotions associated with subordinate positioning, if feminist consciousness is developed and intrapsychic energy is released, it is likely that the long-term strategy of maintaining feminist consciousness will lead toward social action that may result in improved social position. Ending the cycle of repression will return the conflict inherent in women's subordinate positioning back to the social level, rather than maintaining the conflict inside, which causes women to suffer from diminished intrapsychic energy and depression.

Because the continued need for emotional energy is high, we can assume that once collective identity and critical consciousness are formed, one will continue to seek out the company of the group with whom one shares collective identity. The feminist below describes the importance of continued contact with other feminists.

> I do seek out women-centric social activities, and while I say social activities they are often very political. Right now I work with five women and I find that very supportive. It validates my experience. It is very nice. If I didn't have that readily available, I would seek it out in my life. (Sue, a 35-year-old white woman)

Once consciousness is raised, one will lose the protection of repression for dealing with subordinate positioning. If one does not have the power to change the situation and one does not repress, it could quickly lead to a depressive spiral. Creating continued opportunities for ritual and emotional energy are crucial for those who have raised consciousness.

Participating in Subversive Activity

The development of critical consciousness does not necessarily lead to participation in subversive activity. Maintaining a critical stance in the face of dominant culture requires large amounts of cognitive work and therefore takes large amounts of emotional energy in its own right, but subversive activity requires far more. Participation in feminist activity represents a larger social risk. The feminist below is describing what she sees as the inherent connection between subversive action and social and emotional risk.

> To me what it means to be feminist is staying true to my beliefs about hierarchy and putting myself on the line. Verbalizing my feelings in not so pleasant circumstances. It requires investment and sacrifice, because when a person protests against patriarchy and domination in their everyday life there is always some level of backlash that needs to be dealt with that is not always pleasant. (Rachel, a 29-year-old white woman)

Fear, anxiety, and shame undermine potential participation in subversive activity. They are the result of feeling overwhelmed with negative expectations. Fear followed with high emotional energy manifests itself as anger, which is the temporary energy to overcome an obstacle (Collins 1990). I would suggest that anger implies some level of expectation for success or hope, although not complete confidence because, as Collins (1990) states, "truly powerful persons do not become angry in a sense, because they do not need to; they get their way without it" (p. 43). Shame or fear with low emotional energy results in feelings of depression or acceptance of impotence. Anger with low emotional energy likewise turns into feelings of depression. Alternately, anger with high emotional energy produces anticipation of initiation of successful interactions or what I would call hope—high expectations. Women who have developed a sense of injustice and critical consciousness may still be overwhelmed with fear, or they may be angry and cynical. Neither of these will lead to resistance action.

Hope is required to inspire subversive action. Hope is the anticipation that struggle will produce positive results rather than making the situation worse. It is based in both emotional circumstances and the cognitive assessment of the risk involved in participation. If participation is perceived to represent little risk to solidarity and carry a great likelihood of success, then large amounts of emotional energy are not needed to create the hope necessary for action. Alternately, large amounts of emotional energy can create the hope necessary for subversive activity despite realistic appraisals of potentially deadly risk. High levels of emotional energy allow the environment to be reframed so that essentially anything can be framed as a victory, even participation in a struggle regardless of consequences. This is a crucial step in connecting subversive action to social change. There must be a critical mass of people involved in a movement to create social change, but in order to build that critical mass there must be those who participate when there is little realistic expectation for success.

Collins (1990) states that high emotional energy is experienced as "solidarity feelings, moral sentiment, the enthusiasm of pitching oneself into a situation, or being carried along by it" (p. 31). I would add that high emotional energy is a feeling of positive expectations

Hope
(anticipation of
initiation—high
expectations)

Anger
(temporary energy
to overcome an obstacle)

+ ee

- ee

+ ee

Shame/Fear
(reaction to an
overwhelming
obstacle/situation)

- ee

Feeling of Impotence
(depression—
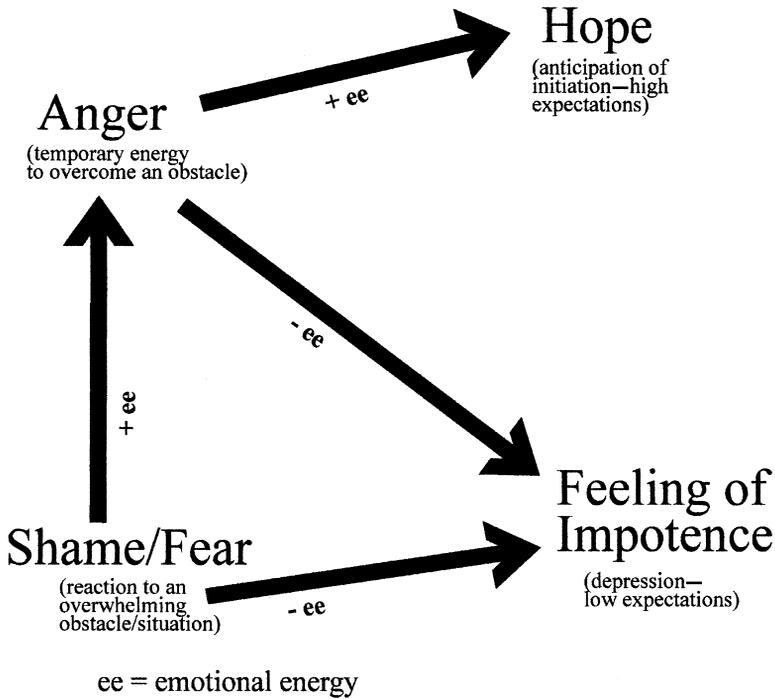low expectations)

ee = emotional energy

Figure 1. The Emotional Requirements for Subversive Action

for future interactions, or a feeling of hope. In terms of Wiley's model of the self, when there is hope other parts of the self tell the "you," "you can do it!" Collins also states that low emotional energy results in feelings of "depression, alienation, and embarrassment" (p. 31). I would also add that low emotional energy is a feeling of impotence, or low expectations for future interactions. Other parts of the self are telling the "you," "you will probably fail." In order for someone to be motivated to act on his or her critical consciousness, there must be enough emotional energy to produce hope.

    To counter repressive forces and create hope, there must be ongoing or repeated ritual (face-to-face interaction, mutual focus of attention, and emotional contagion that result in a build up of solidarity and emotional energy) and the ability to call on past experiences that can be framed to represent the potential for success. Snow et al. (1986) discuss the importance of frame alignment for building collective identity around a movement; I would suggest that the ability to bridge frames of past success to potential resistance work is also central for creating hope in burgeoning movements. Once created, feelings of anticipation and hope, when supported with regular interaction ritual, become a feedback loop of high emotional energy. Such ritual offers alternatives to the dominant culture for forming community and making meaning for one's life; it creates and supports community by producing moral solidarity and high emotional energy.

    Singing and dancing contribute to the euphoric moods that rituals, at their most successful, create. These are affirmations of participants' identities and beliefs, as well as of their power. As Durkheim sensed, collective rituals and gatherings suggest that you are participating in something bigger than you: you are part of history, or

you are morally sanctioned, or you truly belong to a group. The emotions of rituals reinforce cognitive and moral visions as well. (Jasper 1997:197)

Moral solidarity transforms the group itself into a sacred object or a source of emotional energy, and therefore it builds community within the group (Durkheim 1995). The experience of solidarity can transform feelings of shame, depression, and anger into feelings of hope and willingness to initiate resistance activity. In weighing opportunities for maximizing emotional energy against risks to emotional energy, the experience of group solidarity can create enough emotional energy to inspire people to willingly take risks for the purpose of creating change. Consciousness and the willingness to take risks for change happen in groups of two or more with access to enough emotional energy to create hope.

Failure when hopes are raised is a profound threat for any movement, but especially for nascent ones. As was discussed above, past interactions are important for motivating choices for behavior; this impact is felt through an anticipation of a self in the future. The "me" of the past communicates not only with the spontaneous "I" of the moment, but also the "you" of the future. The "you" plays an important role in one's emotional experience, because anticipation frames the gain, loss, or maintenance of emotional energy in any situation. An anticipation of emotional energy gain from an interaction will make the experience of loss, if experienced, more profound (Kemper 1990). An unanticipated loss represents a potentially greater loss of emotional energy by suggesting the instability of sources for emotional energy established through one's interaction history. Thus, in order to maintain hope and emotional energy after an act of resistance, the act must be experienced as a success regardless of any sort of objective measure of impact.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND RESISTANCE

Despite the stability of the status quo, past evidence suggests resistance and change can happen. As I have detailed above, the fault lines for change are at the micro rather than macro level, although macro-level changes and opportunities can indirectly affect micro conditions. The loophole in the perpetuation of the status quo is the drain on emotional energy caused by internalizing conflict associated with deviant emotions, which are the product of subordinate positioning. Solidarity among similarly positioned individuals offers emotional energy while ending the energy drain of managing deviant emotions. Participating in resistance movements may offer the greatest potential for subordinately positioned individuals to maximize their emotional energy, even at the cost of losing solidarity with the larger society. In order for the emotional energy scales to be tipped so that participation in resistance is more attractive than the rewards of submitting to the status quo, ritual interaction must outweigh the emotional energy awarded for participation in the status quo. Certain circumstances are likely to make this possible: (1) access to emotional energy through membership in other privileged status groups; (2) structural level changes; (3) intense interaction ritual experiences; (4) the failure of the status quo to adequately reward; (5) the availability of charismatic leaders; and/or (6) intergenerational movement ties. In the following sections I will specify conditions that are likely to result in increased emotional energy and thus conditions that represent subversive potential.

Redirecting Emotional Energy

There are two types of subordinate positioning: subordinate positioning on a macro structural level and subordinate positioning within the interaction order. Positioning in the

interaction order may not directly reflect macro trends in positioning. Even those who are subordinately positioned on a macro level may have emotional energy resources that would be unanticipated from a purely macro structural perspective. Emotional energy resources drawn from other parts of one's life may be channeled toward social change in another part of one's life where one experiences the effects of being associated with a category of people who are disadvantaged on a macro level. Or emotional resources from another part of one's life may be channeled to work for change in a part of one's life where one experiences subordinate positioning within the interaction order as well as on a macro level.

Most women who have rallied around public feminist causes have been white, educated, and middle- to upper-middle class. An emotional energy based model can explain this history. White middle-to-upper class women are likely to benefit from access to high levels of emotional energy in other parts in their lives. They share many of the emotional energy advantages of belonging to white and sometimes higher-class status groups. They may also benefit from being on the more powerful end of power interactions with other women, or even lower-class or minority men. It is likely that the most significant source of deviant emotions and drain on their emotional energy resources comes from their position as women; there are few to no other movements that are competing for their emotional energy resources. Women of color or other women struggling with interacting subordinate statuses would experience deviant emotions that overlap but differ from more affluent white women's. Hence their consciousness-raising would focus on different emotional dynamics, and once raised their movement goals would be different from those found in white middle-class feminist movements. In order to have an inclusive movement there would have to be a way to create solidarity between women who experience a wide range of emotional conditions that reflect the very diverse contexts for gender oppression.

Structural Level Change

The improvement of circumstances, either at the individual level or group level, can spark resistance. When conditions for a group improve, often periods of protest and resistance follow (Turner and Killian 1997). We can look to the first and second waves of feminism and see that both followed a period of women gaining more access to education and new opportunities for work. As women assumed roles that were new, there were inconsistencies between their new professional status and status in the home, authority at work and authority at home (Buechler 1990). This sort of conflict is very likely to produce new deviant emotions, which are the foundation of a raised critical consciousness. New jobs also meant less financial dependence on men, thus a lessening of potential threat for resisting. Finally, access to professional jobs meant increased opportunities to be on the more powerful end of power interactions, which represents new emotional energy resources. There was also increased opportunity for solidarity with similarly positioned women as women were entering predominantly women's professions (Chafetz, Dworkin, and Swanson 1990). These new sources for emotional energy represented new opportunities for awareness and resistance.

Intense Interaction Ritual

There is also the possibility that those who do not have conducive macro structural conditions can build solidarity and emotional energy through successful ritual interactions with other similarly subordinately positioned individuals. Emotional energy is not only transferred, it can be built from the raw materials of successful interaction rituals. This

requires access to interaction rituals, rituals where the deviant emotions are the focus of the interaction. While power relations do not strictly determine the opportunities for this sort of interaction, these interactions are not easily come by.

Groups that are focused on the women themselves and their emotions hold the greatest potential for raised consciousness. The confessional support-group atmosphere of 1970s consciousness-raising groups, woman-centric new-age goddess religions, and artistic communities represent potential for raised feminist consciousness. In artistic communities in particular individuals make themselves emotionally vulnerable to do their work, so there is an increased likelihood that deviant emotions will surface, become the focus of interaction, and possibly a source of solidarity. Musical communities may be particularly important for this because of the ritual opportunities inherent in musical performance, especially folk music where people traditionally sing and write about their experiences.

Close female friendships have played an important role in sustaining the women's movement (Taylor 1990) and building feminist consciousness. If such relationships play a role of primary importance in women's lives, they can provide the safe space and solidarity necessary for developing a feminist consciousness. The exchange of letters between Antoinette Brown Blackwell and Lucy Stone in the late-nineteenth century demonstrates how a close friendship allowed these women to explore their experiences as women. This led to the surfacing of deviant emotions, a sense of injustice, the development of a feminist consciousness, and ultimately specific acts of feminist resistance (Gring-Pemble 1998).

There are many cases of strong ties between similarly subordinately positioned individuals that do not result in raised consciousness or participation in resistance activity. In some situations subordinately positioned individuals are monitored too closely to allow for extensive solidarity outside of the sight of those who are dominant. While some amounts of interaction ritual will build solidarity and emotional energy, this increase in emotional energy is always balanced against the potential threat represented by lack of solidarity with the larger society. The circumstances that allow the least opportunity for solidarity-building are likely the ones that carry the harshest penalties for insubordination, and thus the toughest standards for maintaining solidarity with the larger community. While such strict gender expectations produce intense deviant emotions, there is little opportunity for the development of community that could lead to resistance. In some cases where there is some opportunity for solidarity, but not enough emotional energy resources to produce critical consciousness or resistance activity, the process may not result in critical consciousness, much less organized resistance. In such circumstances, feminine solidarity may stall out at a mere acknowledgement of deviant emotions followed by support to attempt to change emotions so that they are in line with the dominant transcript. In these cases the group may act as a support group for encouraging members to be more successful in assuming their subordinate positions; it may reinforce the dominant hierarchy rather than challenge it. 1950s feminine solidarity is an example of this dynamic; rather than acting as a foundation for consciousness raising and resistance, it reinforced the dominant hierarchy and thus was an obstacle to feminist mobilization.

Lack of Reward

Most of the benefits that are awarded to women for assuming a subordinate position are transferred through sexual attention or relationships with men. Fear of stigma and promise of increased emotional energy motivate some women to capitalize on sexuality and romanticism for material and emotional provisions. Women who do not or cannot conform to dominant ideals of beauty, or who prefer sexual and love relationships with other women, are not likely to be rewarded to the same extent for assuming a subordinate position. In

resisting they may have less to lose. This is a complex example because certainly not all stigmatized women gain critical consciousness or participate in resistance movements. They still need community and solidarity to offset even limited rewards from the dominant culture. The limited rewards, however, may make subcultural community more attractive because the dominant society offers little benefit and many drains on emotional energy. The case of lesbian women is more complex than that of heterosexual women, in that sexual identity is not necessarily readily apparent. Many lesbian women can benefit materially and socially from their ability to attract men in casual or public interaction, or, on the contrary, fending off sexual advances from men may be a drain on emotional energy.

Charismatic Leaders

Someone who is not well rewarded by the dominant system and therefore has little reason to repress, and who has access to lots of emotional energy from another source, could become a charismatic leader. A charismatic leader emerges as a symbol of a high solidarity ritual. In becoming a symbol of the experience, they are repositories of high emotional energy, which enables them to bring emotional energy to situations that have little. Their history of interaction ritual chains suggests the fruitfulness of investing emotional energy to create solidarity within a group where they will ultimately benefit from the emotional energy built up in group ritual. Through emotional energy incentives, those who have already developed a raised consciousness can spread the experience of consciousness raising. They can bring it to those who have not developed a critical consciousness by instrumentally creating intense rituals to legitimize deviant emotions and build collective identity.

Intergenerational Subculture

For girls born to feminist mothers, critical consciousness and feminist resistance comes at little cost to solidarity and emotional energy. It is likely that feminist mothers are integrated into communities where there are few, if any, immediate sanctions for feminist identification and activity. In these circumstances, subordinate positioning is experienced indirectly at the macro level or in interactions outside the safety of one's community. Either way the "me" and permanent visitors of women with feminist mothers are not likely to contain a history of interactions that discourage one from recognizing and acting on the deviant emotions associated with subordinate positioning. Verta Taylor (1990) has noted the role that daughters of suffragists played in maintaining a feminist movement between the first and second waves. Similarly, many young women involved in third-wave feminism have second-wave feminist mothers (Rosenberg and Garofalo 1998). These women may fight to maintain feminist space in politically harsh times because a loss of feminist community represents a loss of solidarity and emotional energy.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the role of emotions in motivating behavior bridges the apparent gap in explaining both the institutional inertia and the potential for change. Deviant emotions are the fundamental building block of critical consciousness. Emotional energy resources are required to capitalize on deviant emotions and turn them into critical consciousness and a willingness to participate in resistance. The potential for interaction ritual among similarly subordinately positioned individuals is the opportunity that must be exploited in order for subordinately positioned individuals to create change without the benefits of macro level structural changes or advantages. Because deviant emotions are the basis, and all women

have access to these, there is radical potential inherent in subordinate positioning. It is not a potential that can easily be exploited, as we know from the durability of the status quo, but it is omnipresent. The micro foundation of macro structure (Collins 1982) explains the imperfect stability of the structure.

While I have used the case of gender to illustrate the micro emotional processes that are the foundation of social change, this model could be modified and applied to any subordinately positioned group. Many of the specific emotional dynamics will be different because of the frequency and intimacy of day-to-day interaction between women and those who benefit from their subordinate positioning. However, the process of weighing benefit and detriment to levels of emotional energy would determine the process of developing critical consciousness and willingness to participate in resistance activity in other movements as well. The processes detailed above could similarly be used to map racial, class, sexuality, and labor struggles, among others.

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