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Moving the Hearts and Minds of Followers

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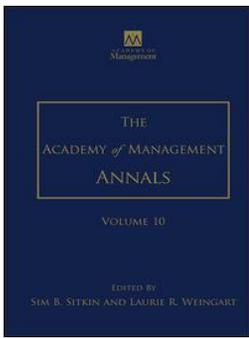
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Leadership and Affect: *Moving the Hearts and Minds of Followers*

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Abstract

We provide an integrative review of the empirical literature on leadership and affect (emotion, mood, and affective dispositions), which is first and foremost a literature on leader displays of affect. We conclude that the influence of leader affective displays can be understood through the mediation paths of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation of affect in combination with the first- and second-stage moderators of these paths. We also conclude that the common yet overly simplistic notion that leader displays of positive affect are more effective than leader displays of negative affect can in important part be attributed to an overreliance on subjective ratings as indicators of leadership effectiveness, whereas behavioral indicators of leadership effectiveness suggest a more contingent view of the effectiveness of positive and negative affective displays. We propose that to bolster and further develop these

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conclusions, we need (a) more research focusing on moderation in dual-path mediation; (b) development of theory about cognitive interpretations following leader affective displays; and (c) more sophisticated models of the difference amongst different affective states to better capture the complexity of their effects. We also outline how evidence regarding the role of follower affect in response to leadership more generally points to the potential for integration of affective and non-affective models of leadership.

Like research in management more generally, the study of leadership has traditionally focused on cognition much more than on affect. As part of a bigger movement towards the study of affect—moods and emotions, as well as affective dispositions (Brief & Weiss, 2002; Van Kleef, Homan, & Cheshin, 2012)—there has been a sharp increase in attention to the role of affect in leadership. Moods and emotions are primary drivers of human motivation, cognition, and behavior, and a distinct influence in social interaction (Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Van Kleef, 2009). For leadership, with its focus on social influence of leaders on followers, this puts the question center-stage of how leaders' and followers' affective states and traits shape leadership effectiveness. From 2000 onwards we have seen a steep rise in the number of studies focusing on this question.

What is dearly missing, however, is an integrative understanding of the insights derived from all these different investigations. There currently is no integrative account of leadership and affect to synthesize the variety of results found in empirical research, and previous reviews of the literature have documented what is out there without much integration or a clear vision of the way forward. This lack of an integrative understanding of the role of affect in leadership may in part be due to the fact that earlier reviews were primarily restricted to work covering main effects—an approach that has produced inconsistent results and an incomplete picture of the role of affect in leadership (cf. Gooty, Connelly, Griffith, & Gupta, 2010; van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, van Kleef, & Damen, 2008; Rajah, Song, & Arvey, 2011). The last few years, however, have increasingly yielded studies capturing more complex moderated and mediated relationships, providing better building blocks for integration of the literature and theory building—especially when we also draw from research on the social functions of emotions outside of the leadership domain (e.g. Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Van Kleef, 2016). In recognition of these developments, we provide a review of empirical research in leadership and affect to advance the field both by integrating the existing knowledge base to a substantially greater degree and by suggesting a research agenda to address key questions that currently are not in the center of attention yet could help move the field towards more integrative theory.

Leadership research revolves around the issue of leadership effectiveness—what makes leaders influential in mobilizing and motivating followers to pursue collective goals? Delineating the field of leadership and affect in relationship to this broader brief, we take research in leadership and affect to refer to the influence of leader affect and/or follower affect in the leadership process. Whereas this could include a wide variety of issues, as a review of empirical research our discussion is shaped by the available evidence. This means that by and large the current review revolves around the issue that has so far dominated the leadership and affect field: the influence of leader affective displays—expressions of leader mood or emotion observable to followers—on leadership effectiveness as indicated by a range of attitudinal and behavioral indicators (“leader” is simply understood as the position taken by a hierarchically higher person in relationship to a hierarchically lower person within the same hierarchy—the “follower”, again a term simply referring to the position in the hierarchical relationship).

The issue here is not that affect displayed by leaders is necessarily qualitatively different in its effects than affect displayed by non-leaders. In fact, we do not know whether this is the case or not, because there is little empirical evidence speaking to this issue (but note that the hierarchical relationship typical of leadership likely brings about asymmetries in the degree to which leaders and followers are influenced by each other’s affective displays). Rather, research in leadership and affect concerns outcomes that are either unique to leadership (e.g. perceptions of leadership effectiveness) or typically not studied in relationship to non-leader affective displays (e.g. performance). In that sense, the field of leadership and affect is not so much defined by the notion that there is something unique about affect in the leadership process (even when there could be). Rather, it is defined by the context of leader–follower relationships and by indicators of leadership effectiveness as dependent variables that invite research questions that tend to be specific to the leadership field and that cannot, or only indirectly, be addressed by evidence from non-leadership studies.

In the following sections, we first set the stage for our review by briefly introducing the study of leadership effectiveness and the concept of affect as captured by moods, emotions, and affective dispositions. We then review the evidence for the main effects of different leader affective displays and their influence on indicators of leadership effectiveness, followed by a review of evidence speaking to moderation in the relationship between leader affective displays and leadership effectiveness. Throughout, we also review the evidence for the proposed mediating processes. We integrate insights from these studies into a conceptual framework, and we end with a research agenda highlighting key questions for future research to further develop this emerging conceptual model.

Foreshadowing things to come, a first key conclusion from our integrative review is that the influence of leader affective displays can be understood

through the mediation paths of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation of affect. Both mediation paths are moderated in the first stage (i.e. determining the extent to which leader affective displays result in emotional contagion and/or cognitive interpretation) as well as in the second stage (i.e. determining the influence of contagion and/or interpretation on leadership effectiveness). To manage expectations, we should note that the current state of the science does not allow us to draw conclusions about all elements of this *contagion-interpretation model* with equal confidence. Indeed, part of what the contagion-interpretation model allows us to do is to identify key areas for future research to develop.

A second key conclusion we advance is that the tendency in the literature to see leader displays of positive affect as more effective than leader displays of negative affect is likely biased by the greater availability of evidence concerning subjective evaluations of leadership effectiveness that tend to favor leader positive affect, whereas evidence concerning behavioral indicators of leadership effectiveness yields a more nuanced picture.

We also propose that to further develop the field of leadership and affect, we need (a) research focusing on moderation in dual-path mediation; (b) development of theory about cognitive interpretations following leader affective displays; and (c) more sophisticated models of the difference amongst different affective states to better capture the complexity of their effects. In addition, we argue that the leadership and affect field needs to develop theory that connects affective displays to other aspects of leadership that may influence follower affect or invite cognitive interpretations of leadership to work towards an integration of affective approaches to leadership with other perspectives on leadership.

Setting the Stage

Leadership Effectiveness: Influence as the Essence of Leadership

There is no leadership without followers. Leadership and its effectiveness are therefore understood first and foremost in terms of leaders' success in mobilizing and motivating followers for collective objectives (e.g. team or organizational goals, mission, or vision; van Knippenberg, 2012; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1994). Such influence can be understood in terms of leadership's impact on follower leadership evaluations (e.g. support for the leader, satisfaction with the leader, perceptions of leadership effectiveness), follower work attitudes and cognitions (e.g. job satisfaction, organizational commitment, turnover intentions), or follower behavior (e.g. task performance, citizenship behavior, creativity). Leadership effectiveness is evidenced in relationships between leader characteristics or behavior and follower leadership evaluations, work attitudes, or behavior.

Importantly, however, the "bottom line" of leadership effectiveness is understood to be behavioral and to lie in follower job performance broadly

defined (i.e. including in-role task performance, but also creativity, citizenship, and the like; Kaiser, Hogan, & Craig, 2008). Conceptually, leadership evaluations and job attitudes can thus perhaps better be seen as potential precursors to (or simply correlates of) the behavioral indicators of effectiveness. In that sense, the study of attitudes and evaluations provides weaker evidence of actual leadership effectiveness than the study of behavioral outcomes. This is no trivial observation because leadership evaluations can for instance also reflect subjective beliefs about effective leadership as much as objective evidence of effectiveness (Lord & Maher, 1991), and job attitudes may only be modestly predictive of job performance (e.g. Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001). A careful evaluation of the evidence should therefore distinguish between behavioral and non-behavioral indicators of leadership effectiveness.

Affect in Organizations: State and Trait

Affect is typically used as an umbrella term to denote a variety of affective phenomena, which include states as well as traits (Brief & Weiss, 2002; Elfenbein, 2007; Frijda, 1986; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Affect as state can be differentiated into moods and emotions. Emotions are discrete feeling states with a relatively clear cause, beginning, and endpoint, and are typically of relatively short duration (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991). Mood, in contrast, is a more low-intensity and diffuse state that can last for more prolonged periods of time and that does not necessarily have a clear cause—indeed, moods may operate “under the radar” without the individual’s conscious awareness (Forgas, 1995; Russell & Barrett, 1999). Whereas emotions can be easily distinguished into different negative and positive emotional states (e.g. anger, fear, disgust, sadness; happiness, pride, enthusiasm), moods typically boil down to two types—positive and negative mood (i.e. feeling good, feeling bad). Even when in principle more fine-grained distinctions between mood states are possible (e.g. a sad vs. an irritated mood), in practice at least in measurement these more fine-grained distinctions are so highly correlated as to collapse into positive and negative affect factors (Watson & Clark, 1997; Watson & Tellegen, 1985).

Even so, one further distinction may be added here that is relevant to assessing some of the evidence in leadership effectiveness. Affect circumplex models (Larsen, Diener, & Lucas, 2002; Russell, 1980) differentiate affective states along two dimensions. The first and obvious one is valence: positive versus negative affect. The second is arousal: some affective states imply higher physiological arousal (e.g. enthusiasm, anger) than others (e.g. sadness, relaxation). Most, if not all, affective states can be placed somewhere along the circumplex formed by these two orthogonal dimensions of valence and arousal. This is not to say that the effects of affective states can be understood from their valence and arousal alone (e.g. fear and anger both are negative, high-arousal emotions,

but may have markedly different effects), but for some purposes the cruder understanding in terms of valence and/or arousal suffices (Russell & Barrett, 1999).

As a trait, positive and negative affect (or affectivity) refer to the dispositional tendencies towards positive and negative affective states, respectively (Lazarus, 1991; Watson & Clark, 1984). To a certain extent, then, positive affectivity and negative affectivity can be seen as proxies for positive and negative affective states. This observation comes with two important qualifications, however. First, the disposition to experience certain affective states should not be equated with the experience of those states. Affective disposition implies that people with a stronger disposition are more likely to experience such states, not that they always are in such a state. Second, affective dispositions are likely to go hand in hand with certain habitual cognitive and behavioral patterns that both feed into the affect and are caused by it (Watson & Clark, 1984). Whereas affective states may sometimes be little more than the experience of affect, affective traits may thus capture a more complex dynamic. This also implies that positive and negative affect as states may have different effects than as traits (George, 1991) and that trait and state affect may have interactive influences (van Knippenberg, Kooij-De Bode, & van Ginkel, 2010).

Leader Affect and Other Approaches to Leadership

Affect is sometimes so broadly described that it is not clear what still falls under that heading and what does not. For leadership, this is for instance an issue for such concepts as leader liking (e.g. Brown & Keeping, 2005) and evaluatively laden expectations such as optimism (e.g. Chemers, Watson, & May, 2000). Although we recognize that evaluations and expectations may be associated with affect, we believe we should be careful not to equate feeling states with more evaluative judgments (or more generally, to equate concepts with other concepts with which they may covary), and here we therefore limit ourselves to studies that are more unambiguously associated with affect as captured by research on moods, emotions, and trait affect.

We understand (leader) affective displays as observable indicators of the individual's affective state. This includes facial expression, aspects of one's speech such as pitch, volume, and speed, body posture and movement, and verbal expressions of one's affective state. This does not include broader patterns of behavior that could result in the *attribution* of certain affect but do not represent the affect itself (e.g. a leader reporting on a client not accepting an offer could be assumed to be disappointed, but the act of reporting a negative outcome cannot be equated with an affective display; a singing leader could be assumed to be happy, but singing cannot be equated with showing happiness)—again, we should not equate concepts with concepts they may covary

with. Inevitably, there are grey areas here—where one person sees an affective display, another may not. At this stage of this emergent field's development, we are content to leave these complications to future research, however.

That said, the evidence we review varies in how precisely it can speak to the effects of leader affective displays. On the one hand we review evidence that can do so very precisely by studying leader affective displays experimentally and making sure that nothing but the affect displayed varies between experimental conditions. On the other hand, we review evidence that is more ambiguous in this respect, such as data on leader affective traits that can be interpreted as proxies for affective displays but likely also covary with other (unmeasured) behaviors, and evidence from survey measures of affective displays that arguably also covary with other (unmeasured) leader behaviors. The present review thus comes with the caveat that whereas leader affective displays can be conceptually defined with reasonable precision, the evidence often less precisely isolates the effects of affective displays.

A related demarcation of the research field applies to other elements of leadership that could be associated with affect. The clearest example here perhaps is charismatic-transformational leadership, which has been argued to be associated with displays of positive affect (more on this in the review section of this article). The key issue for us here is that neither definitions nor operationalizations of charismatic-transformational leadership include affect (see van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013, for a recent review). Again, we should not equate concepts with other concepts they may covary with, and accordingly, we do not take measures of charismatic-transformational leadership as capturing leader affect. The same holds for other elements of leadership that arguably could go hand in hand with leader affective displays, unless explicit evidence to that effect is included (e.g. enthusiasm might be a typical emotion to accompany a visionary speech, but visionary speaking should not automatically be seen as indicative of the display of enthusiasm).

Leader Affective Displays and Leadership Effectiveness

The Effects of Leader Affective Displays

The study of emotions and moods has a long history in psychology, but for a long time, the focus of this research has by and large been intrapersonal, focusing on how affect influences individuals' cognition and action (Frijda, 1986). This research suggests that our feelings fulfill an important function in that they can signal the need for action, focus attention on issues to approach or avoid, and guide thinking and behavior (Damasio, 1994; Forgas, 1995; Forgas & Bower, 1987; Frijda, 1986; LeDoux, 1996; Schwarz & Clore, 1983; Zajonc, 1980). In that sense, how we feel about something is informative; it provides information that we knowingly or unknowingly use in our judgments,

decisions, and actions (e.g. not accepting a job offer because it “does not feel right”). Affect may thus, consciously and/or unconsciously, inform our judgments, attitudes, and behavior.

It is only relatively recently that research has started to engage with the interpersonal role of affect, recognizing that the influences of affect are not just intrapersonal, but that one person’s affective state may also influence others (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). From a leadership perspective, this raises the question of whether and how leader affect may influence followers. The starting point for the consideration of this question is that, at least to some extent, affective states typically are also observable to others. Facial expressions, body movements, and pitch and tone of voice may all convey how we feel even when we do not outright say so. Such affective displays (i.e. observable indicators of one’s affective state) may influence others in at least two ways (Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Van Kleef, 2009): via an affective path and via a cognitive path.

First, affect may be “contagious”; it may invite similar affect in another person observing the affective display (Elfenbein, 2014). Affective displays may through unconscious mimicry of the physical aspects of the affective display (facial expression, body posture, etc.) engender a similar affective state in the observer of the affective display (Hatfield et al., 1994; Strack, Martin, & Stepper, 1988), and thus also inform the recipient’s judgments, attitudes, and behavior as per the intrapersonal influence of affective states (Forgas, 1995). The translation to leader affective displays is straightforward here. Leader affect may result in emotional contagion, and the affective state thus induced in followers may subsequently influence follower attitudes and behavior, including those attitudes and behaviors that are seen as indicators of leadership effectiveness (e.g. performance, creativity, and citizenship on the behavior side and leadership evaluations and work attitudes on the attitude side).

Second, the notion of affect-as-information (Schwarz & Clore, 1983) also extends to the interpersonal context (Van Kleef, 2009). Observing another person’s affective state may inform us about how that person appraises and responds to things—the interaction partner, the situation, etc. A greeting smile is perhaps one of the more obvious examples of how an affective display may convey social information, but research in negotiation for instance also suggests that one party’s emotional response to a negotiation offer (e.g. anger) may inform the other party about how the offer is received and thus influence subsequent offers (Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004). Affect may also convey more complex social information. People for instance tend to attribute higher status to an angry person than to a sad person, presumably because anger conveys a stronger action-orientation (and thus “action ability”) than sadness (Tiedens, 2001). The translation to leader affective displays is that followers’ cognitive interpretations of leader affect may influence their attitudes and behavior.

Theory and evidence for the role of other's affect in social interaction thus suggest that leader affective displays are worthy of consideration as an influence in leadership effectiveness. Deliberately or unintendedly, leaders may convey how they feel, either in response to particular work events or individuals, or just because they happen to be in a certain mood. Such affective displays may then influence followers. Research in leadership and affect corroborates this proposition, although relationships are less clear-cut than perhaps one would hope for.

In the following sections, we review the empirical evidence concerning leader affective displays. We first consider main effect evidence and then follow up with consideration of evidence speaking to moderation in the relationship between leader affective displays and indicators of leadership effectiveness. Both the main effect evidence and the moderation evidence also speak to mediation in these relationships. Consistent with the broader evidence in the interpersonal effects of emotions, the evidence suggests that leader affective displays may influence outcomes through two pathways: affective contagion and cognitive interpretation. The evidence also suggests that these pathways are contingent on moderating influences, both in terms of the extent to which leader affective displays engender affective contagion and/or cognitive interpretation (i.e. first-stage moderation) and in terms of the effects of contagion and interpretation on outcomes (i.e. second-stage moderation). Presaging these conclusions as they derive from the following review, [Figure 1](#) captures these moderated pathways in a graphic display. Evidence speaking to these pathways will unfold throughout our review.

Main Effect Evidence

The initial guiding idea in research on leader affective displays has been that leaders' displays of positive affect may be motivating either because their

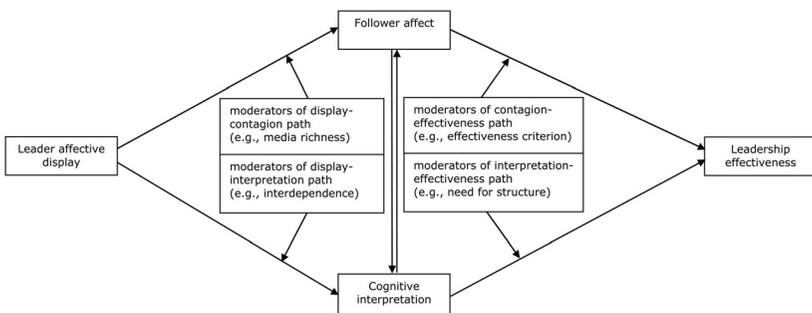


Figure 1 A Contagion-Interpretation Model of Leader Affective Displays and Leadership Effectiveness.

positivity is motivating or because the affect is contagious and engenders positive affective states in followers that are motivating and that guide their subsequent behavior. We first review such “main effect” studies, starting with studies comparing leader displays of positive affect with neutral displays before turning to studies that compared the display of positive affect with the display of negative affect, and other comparisons such as the display of high-arousal affective states with the display of low-arousal affective states. One important conclusion to emerge from this review is that despite the common wisdom that positive affect is more effective, there are also indications of the effectiveness of negative affective displays.

George and Bettenhausen (1990) found that leader positive mood predicted prosocial behavior (positively) and turnover (negatively) for sales employees. In a related vein, George (1995) observed a positive relationship between leader positive mood and group performance. For emergent leadership, Day and Crain (1992) observed that emergent leader positive affect predicted group member ratings of leader–member exchange (LMX) (i.e. the quality of the relationship). These studies did not assess whether leader moods resulted in associated affective displays (i.e. leaders rated their own affect, which cannot be equated with expressing the affect in ways observable to followers), and other acts of leadership thus could also account for these relationships to the degree that they are affect-inspired. This is a problem that is not specific to the studies discussed here, but a more general issue in studies assessing leader affect rather than affective displays. Nevertheless, it does not seem to be an unreasonable interpretation that leader affective displays would at least in part underlie these relationships.

Other studies focused on perceptions of charismatic-transformational leadership in studying the effects of leader positive affect. This comes with two important caveats. First, charismatic-transformational leadership is claimed to represent a leader behavioral style and thus cannot be seen as an indicator of leadership effectiveness, but there is an unfortunate tendency to equate the two even so. Second, as argued by van Knippenberg and Sitkin (2013), charismatic-transformational leadership is an invalid concept because it is *defined* as effective leadership, thus rendering the study of its relationship with leadership effectiveness tautological. (Other reasons to discard charismatic-transformational leadership as a valid construct include the fact that there is no theory to explain its proposed multidimensional structure and the fact that all frequently used measures of charismatic-transformational leadership are unable to reliably replicate its proposed dimensional structure and to distinguish it empirically from leadership that is not charismatic-transformational or from leadership evaluations.) Accordingly, we discuss charismatic-transformational leadership here not because we see this as valid evidence, but rather to address the misconception that this stream of research adds to our understanding of leadership and affect and because it also contains

leadership and affect evidence other than that speaking to charismatic-transformational leadership.

Bono and Ilies (2006) manipulated and measured leader displays of positive affect (as compared with the absence of such displays), and showed that these displays were associated with both higher ratings of charismatic leadership and more positive affect among followers (i.e. emotional contagion). In a similar vein, Awamleh and Gardner (1999) found that leaders who smiled (i.e. displayed positive affect) when giving a speech were perceived as more charismatic than leaders who did not smile. Rubin, Munz, and Bommer (2005) showed that leaders higher in positive affectivity were rated as more transformational by their followers. Chi, Chung, and Tsai (2011) found that leader positive affect predicted follower positive affect (i.e. contagion) and ratings of transformational leadership, and these variables in turn mediated the relationship between leader affect and group performance. Adding a complication to the issue here, Erez, Misangyi, Johnson, LePine, and Halverson (2008) studied charismatic leadership as a cause (albeit correlational) rather than a consequence of leader affective displays, and found that charismatic leadership was associated with more positive follower affect mediated by leader displays of positive affect and aroused behavior (i.e. contagion). This essentially implies that leader behavior caused leader behavior: charismatic leadership (a set of behaviors) would cause affective displays (a set of behaviors). This seems a suboptimal model conceptually, regardless of the misgivings about charismatic-transformational leadership.

Ignoring the findings pertaining to charismatic-transformational leadership on grounds outlined by van Knippenberg and Sitkin (2013), these studies provide evidence that leader displays of positive affect may be contagious (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Chi et al., 2011; Erez et al., 2008) and influence performance (Chi et al., 2011). They also provide evidence of the mediating role of contagion (Chi et al., 2011).

Consistent with the common (yet oversimplified) assumption that positive affect has favorable consequences, a number of studies also show negative effects of negative affect or more positive effects of positive than of negative affect. Glomb and Hulin (1997) found across an experimental and a survey study that leaders displaying anger in interaction with subordinates were evaluated less positively. Johnson (2009) experimentally manipulated leader positive versus negative affective displays in delivering a speech and found that positive affective displays resulted in higher follower performance and higher perceptions of charisma than negative affective displays. Follower positive affect mediated effects on charisma ratings, while follower negative affect mediated effects on performance.

As noted above, affect can be distinguished not only by its valence, but also by the level of arousal (activation) associated with it. Arousal level may matter for leadership effectiveness, because higher arousal is associated with a stronger

action-orientation and agency and thus may be a better fit with people's implicit understanding of the leader role (Damen, D. van Knippenberg, & B. van Knippenberg, 2008). Damen, D. van Knippenberg et al. (2008) combined the study of arousal and valence, arguing that it is the combination of positive valence and high arousal that is most likely to lead to attributions of charisma (which, in contrast to the main body of charismatic-transformational leadership research, was understood to reflect a positive leadership evaluation and not leader behavior). Results of a scenario experiment and a cross-sectional survey comparing leader displays of enthusiasm (positive, high arousal), relaxation (positive, low arousal), anger (negative, high arousal), and sadness (negative, low arousal) confirmed the predictions that displays of enthusiasm were associated with stronger attributions of charisma, and that this effect was mediated by both the transfer of arousal and the transfer of positive feelings.

It is not simply the case that leader positive affective displays are always associated with favorable outcomes, and negative displays with unfavorable outcomes, however. There is also evidence of positive effects of negative affect. Sy, Côté, and Saavedra (2005) manipulated leader mood (positive, negative, neutral) by means of emotionally evocative video clips. They found evidence of emotional contagion: groups led by a leader in a positive mood adopted a more positive mood themselves, whereas groups led by a leader in a negative mood experienced a more negative mood themselves. Leader mood also influenced group process: positive mood was associated with better coordination (which was mediated by the group's mood resulting from emotional contagion), whereas negative mood was associated with greater effort. The authors suggested that the latter effect may have been driven by inferences regarding team performance (a cognitive interpretation process), although no direct support for this possibility was obtained. Overall, groups did not differ in performance as a function of leader affect.

Schaumberg and Flynn (2012) found that guilt-prone individuals (i.e. an affective trait) were more likely to emerge as leaders and were evaluated more favorably as leaders because of a perceived greater sense of responsibility (i.e. a cognitive interpretation). Arguably, however, this effect might be driven less by cognitive interpretation of affective displays than by the sense of responsibility leaders display in other ways than through affective display (e.g. verbally, in taking responsibility in their actions, etc.); guilt-proneness may be a proxy for displaying guilt, but it is likely also predictive of other behaviors that may influence follower responses. Melwani, Mueller, and Overbeck (2012) found that both showing compassion (a positive emotion) and showing contempt (a negative emotion) make one more likely to emerge as leader, because observers associate both emotions with intelligence (presumably because the expression of both compassion and contempt suggests superiority to the target of the emotion, which in turns suggests ability and intelligence) and intelligence fits implicit leadership theories—a cognitive

interpretation process. Adding arousal to the equation, Tiedens (2001) suggested that the display of high arousal as compared with low-arousal negative affect may be more effective in that the higher level of arousal is associated with greater competence and status (i.e. a cognitive interpretation process). She found that perceivers associated presidential displays of anger with higher competence and status (but less likeability) than displays of sadness.

In an attempt to make sense of part of the diversity of findings in this literature, Visser, van Knippenberg, Van Kleef, and Wisse (2013) proposed that the effectiveness of leader displays of positive as compared with negative affect is contingent on the leadership effectiveness criterion in question. Based on research on the intrapersonal influence of affect in shaping cognitive processes, they predicted that leader positive affective displays are more likely to inspire creativity, whereas leader negative affective displays are more likely to inspire analytical performance (cf. Schwarz & Bless, 1991). Moreover, based on the same literature they argued that subjective leadership evaluations would follow the valence of affect (cf. Forgas, 1995). Across two experimental studies, they showed that leader displays of happiness resulted in greater follower creativity and more positive leadership evaluations than leader displays of sadness, whereas displays of sadness resulted in greater analytical performance. One aspect of this finding that may also be highlighted here is that for analytical performance leadership evaluations and performance diverged—leadership evaluations were higher with leader displays of happiness, whereas actual performance was higher with leader displays of sadness. This underscores our caveat concerning the validity of subjective ratings as indicators of leadership effectiveness. Effects on creativity and evaluations were mediated by contagion, but this was not the case for effects on analytical performance.

The Need to Consider Contingencies of Leader Affective Display Effects

In sum, then, a first assessment of main effect evidence suggests that leader displays of positive affect (as compared with no affective displays or displays of negative affect) are associated with favorable effects on prosocial behavior, turnover intentions, emergent leadership, leadership evaluations, coordination, and performance. At the same time, however, there is also evidence of beneficial effects of leader displays of negative affect for follower effort, analytical performance, status judgments, and emergent leadership. This state of affairs indicates that the impact of leader emotional displays on leadership effectiveness cannot be easily captured in terms of simple main effects, begging the question of which factors moderate the extent to which displays of positive versus negative affect are more effective.

A first answer to this question that is directly tied to the wide variety of leadership outcomes that have been examined is provided in the analysis of Visser

et al. (2013). Visser and colleagues identified the leadership effectiveness criterion in question as a contingency of the relative effectiveness of leader displays of positive as compared with negative affect. It may be less intuitive to think of the leadership effectiveness criterion (i.e. the dependent variable) as reflecting a value of a moderator variable, but it makes more sense when this is reframed as the task in question (and indeed, Visser et al., 2013, studied this as affective display \times task interactions): creative tasks favor positive affective displays, whereas analytical tasks favor negative affective displays. The evidence also suggests that this moderating role not only holds for creative versus analytical performance, but also for persistence (cf. effort; Sy et al., 2005), which is inspired more strongly by negative rather than positive affect, and for cooperation (cf. prosocial behavior, coordination; George, 1991; Sy et al., 2005) versus competition (Forgas & George, 2001), which are more likely to follow from positive affect versus negative affect, respectively.

This notion of task (or leadership effectiveness criterion) as a contingency of the effectiveness of positive versus negative affective displays is particularly relevant in view of the field's strong reliance on subjective ratings of leadership as the effectiveness criterion. Visser et al. (2013) show that such subjective evaluations favor positive affective displays even when more objective task performance favors negative over positive displays. This seems a particularly important observation in view of what is perhaps the one dominant (albeit overly simplistic) conclusion in many writings about leadership and affect—the suggestion that it is positive affective displays that make leaders effective. A stronger focus on behavioral indicators of leadership effectiveness in future research may thus also qualify this common wisdom in important ways and paint a more nuanced picture of the effectiveness of positive versus negative affective displays. We also revisit this conclusion below when we discuss moderators of the effects of leader affective displays.

At the same time, the evidence suggests that it is not as simple as the one criterion being linked with positive affect and the other with negative affect. Leadership evaluations can follow the valence of affective displays, but may also reflect positive interpretations of negative affective displays (e.g. Melwani et al., 2012; Tiedens, 2001). Part of the issue may be that the evidence of evaluations following the valence of affect seems to derive from studies in which the relationship between leader affective displays and evaluations was mediated by follower affect (i.e. contagion; Chi et al., 2011; Damen, D. van Knippenberg et al., 2008; Johnson, 2009; Visser et al., 2013), whereas positive evaluations following displays of negative affect seem to result from a process of cognitive interpretation of affect (Melwani et al., 2012; cf. Schaumberg & Flynn, 2012). This diverging pattern of mediation evidence is not limited to leadership evaluations; Sy et al. (2005) found a positive effect of leader negative mood on effort that was not mediated by follower mood, and Visser et al. (2013) found a positive effect of leader sadness on analytical performance

that was not mediated by follower emotion—both in a context where positive affect effects were found to be mediated by contagion.

This suggests that whereas the mindsets induced by positive and negative affect may be conducive to different behaviors, there is also a case that the “emotional response” to leader affective displays (i.e. the contagion path) is more likely to result in greater effectiveness of positive over negative affect than the “cognitive response” (i.e. cognitive interpretation of the affective display). One interpretation of this is that first-blush emotional responses are more likely to be consistent with the valence of affect because positive affect is attractive and negative affect is aversive—both as a state to experience oneself and in others. Conversely, more deliberate cognitive interpretations may lead followers to infer more favorable leader traits (e.g. intelligence; Melwani et al., 2012) or motivating information from leader negative affective displays (e.g. the need for improvement; Van Kleef et al., 2009). The evidence speaking to mediation of main effects thus suggests that it is important to identify the moderators of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation processes in understanding the effectiveness of different leader affective displays, because the same affective display may have different effects depending on whether follower responses are predominantly cognitively or affectively driven.

We may also reiterate our caveat regarding variations in the evidence in terms of how unambiguously it can speak to the effects of leader affective displays. The evidence reviewed so far ranges from controlled experimental investigations in which only the affect displayed differed between conditions (e.g. Visser et al., 2013) and studies in which leader traits are taken as proxies for leader affective displays even when they arguably also covary with other leader behaviors. Although for obvious reasons we do not argue for the reduction of the study of leader affective displays to controlled experimental research, it would seem important that empirical investigations that do not isolate the leader behavior that is seen as the “active ingredient” in producing effects through controlled experimental designs build in other elements to that effect in their design. This would for instance include the explicit measurement of leader affective displays in research on leader affective traits, and the inclusion of measures of leader behavior other than affective displays that could be expected to covary with leader affective displays so that these can be controlled for.

Moderation in the Effects of Leader Affective Displays

Research on leader affective displays has advanced both emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation of affective displays as mediating processes in the effects of leader affective displays, even though the majority of studies have focused on contagion (i.e. seen both as an outcome and as a mediating variable) and only a few studies have assessed both processes. This is not to

say, however, that each study of moderation speaks to mediation processes and indeed it is not always unambiguously clear whether a moderation effect should be understood in terms of emotional contagion, cognitive interpretation, or both. Moreover, in the absence of mediating evidence, it is typically not clear whether the moderation should be understood as influencing the impact of leader affective displays on the mediating path (i.e. first-stage moderation) or the effects of the mediating process on the outcome (i.e. second-stage moderation)—or both. In the following, we review this evidence.

A first theme in the moderation evidence is that of the match between leader affective displays and other elements of leadership, where greater effectiveness is found for matching than for mismatching affect. Newcombe and Ashkanasy (2002) experimentally investigated the effects of leader positive versus negative affective displays accompanying positive versus negative feedback. They observed that leaders displaying positive affect were rated more favorably, but also that leaders displaying message-congruent affect were evaluated more favorably (i.e. negative feedback is better accompanied by negative affect than by positive affect). Across four experiments, Venus, Stam, and van Knippenberg (2013) focused on the interaction of the regulatory focus (promotion vs. prevention; Higgins, 1997) of a persuasive message by the leader (a visionary statement, an appeal to values, goal-setting) and leader affective display. Promotion and prevention focus are associated with different emotions in response to success and failure (Higgins, 1987). Enthusiasm is for instance consistent with a promotion focus, whereas agitation is consistent with a prevention focus. This is not simply a matter of valence, however. For instance, frustration too is consistent with a promotion focus (i.e. in response to obstacles to achieving a good outcome). Venus and colleagues experimentally showed that the match between the regulatory focus implied in leader's appeals and the regulatory focus implied by leader affective displays (enthusiasm or frustration for promotion focus; agitation for prevention focus) interacted such that matching emotion and appeal resulted in higher follower performance. This effect was mediated by contagion of the regulatory focus (i.e. which arguably followed from emotional contagion) such that leader affective display influenced follower regulatory focus, which interacted with leader appeal (i.e. second-stage moderation).

A second theme is that of the match (similarity) between leader affective displays and follower affect. Damen, B. van Knippenberg, and D. van Knippenberg (2008) manipulated whether a leader displayed enthusiasm or anger in a speech to instruct and motivate follower performance, and studied follower positive affect as a moderator of the effectiveness of these affective displays compared to the same message without the affective display. They argued that followers would be more open to the leader's appeal if there was a match between the leader's affective display and the follower's affective state, and found that follower positive affect moderated the relationship between

leader affective display and follower performance. Follower performance was higher when the valence of the leader's affective display was more in line with the level of follower positive affect (i.e. enthusiasm for high positive affect, anger for low positive affect). In a related vein, Kant, Skogstad, Torsheim, and Einarsen (2013) found that leader trait anger was more predictive of follower ratings of petty tyranny for followers lower on trait anger. The affective match effect here is that followers higher on trait anger judge the behavior of a dispositionally angry leader less negatively (note, however, that the effect of leader trait anger need not be driven by leader affective displays). These studies provide no mediation evidence and are consistent both with a cognitive interpretation reading—more positive interpretations of leader affect that is congruent with follower affect—as well as an emotional contagion-interpretation—more contagion for affect that the follower is disposed to feel or feeling to a certain extent already.

There are also three studies that are consistent with the notion of a match between leader affect and follower traits when considering the emotions and goals associated with a trait moderator. First, Gaddis, Connelly, and Mumford (2004) found that displays of positive affect were generally associated with higher leadership effectiveness (both rated and in terms of follower performance). However, when leader affect was negative, followers with a prevention goal reported more positive perceptions of leader effectiveness than did followers with a promotion goal. Second, Van Kleef, Homan, Beersma, and van Knippenberg (2010) studied team member agreeableness as a moderator of responses to leader anger versus happiness. They argued and found that happiness is a better match with high agreeableness (i.e. which is associated with a focus on harmony and social relations), whereas anger is a better match with low agreeableness. Moreover, consistent with the notion that a mismatch would evoke stress, this interactive effect was mediated by subjectively experienced workload (i.e. first-stage moderation). Third, also speaking to the notion of affective match by implication, and providing evidence of emotional convergence (cf. contagion), Sy and Choi (2013) looked at extraversion and neuroticism as proxies for leader and follower positive affect and negative affect (but note that there may be alternative interpretations of these relationships), and showed that mood convergence was more likely with greater leader–follower similarity in traits.

A study by Koning and Van Kleef (2015) points to the moderating influence of the extent to which the leader's affective display is seen as appropriate by the follower given the follower's performance. They show that followers are more willing to engage in organizational citizenship behavior (e.g. working overtime) on behalf of a leader when they perceive the leader's expressions of anger or happiness as appropriate in light of their own effort or performance.

Two studies looked at leader gender as a moderating influence. Lewis (2000) investigated perceptions of male and female leaders' displays of anger and

sadness (as compared with a control condition). She found that for a male leader, anger was more effective than sadness (cf. Tiedens, 2001), though not more effective than no display of affect in terms of the leadership evaluations it elicited. For a female leader, in contrast, affective displays of both anger and sadness were associated with less positive reactions, presumably as a result of negative connotations of female leader emotionality. Providing evidence concerning the contingencies of these gender effects, Schaubroeck and Shao (2012) found that leadership evaluations were more negative in response to male sadness and female anger than to male anger and female sadness to the extent that people make dispositional attributions—and thus perceive a mismatch with the gender prototype (i.e. which would favor male anger and female sadness).

Further evidence regarding the difference between different negative emotions is provided by Madera and Smith (2009), who conducted a scenario experiment in which they compared the effects of leader displays of anger versus sadness after failure contingent on whether or not the leader accepted responsibility for the failure. Leadership evaluations were more positive when the leader accepted responsibility for the failure than when the leader did not, particularly when the leader expressed only anger as compared with sadness or both anger and sadness. Anger displays also resulted in more negative participant affect, which mediated lower evaluations after anger displays (note that the interpretation here is not one in terms of emotional contagion *per se* but in terms of anger elicited by the negative interpretation of a leader not accepting responsibility for failure).

In a study of the contingencies of emotional contagion (i.e. first-stage moderation), Johnson (2008) studied leader positive affect and negative affect in the field and focused on individual differences in follower susceptibility to contagion as a moderator of emotional contagion. She showed that leader affect was more likely to influence follower positive affect (but not negative affect) the higher followers scored on a susceptibility to contagion measure. The fact that susceptibility to contagion moderates contagion effects may not be too surprising because it should be by definition, but it is interesting to note that here too positive affect was more contagious than negative affect (cf. Sy et al., 2005; Visser et al., 2013).

Also studying the contingencies of contagion, Cherulnik, Donley, Wiewel, and Miller (2001) showed that leaders who smiled a lot (i.e. displayed positive affect) invited emotional contagion. In a follow-up study, they found that this effect only replicated for a leader considered to be charismatic (Bill Clinton) but not for a leader considered to be non-charismatic (George Bush Sr.). Many other differences between the two leaders may (also) account for this effect, so this finding should be interpreted with caution, also because of the lack of clarity regarding what charisma as an attribution means conceptually. One possible interpretation is that followers are more open to a leader's

influence—and thus to emotional contagion—when the leader is seen in more positive terms.

Eberly and Fong (2013) focused on two different ways in which followers could feel more involved with a leader's affective display. In a first moderation study, they compared positive versus negative leader affective displays that were either other-focused (gratefulness or anger) or self-focused (pride or guilt), and observed that the valence of the affective display had a stronger effect on follower positivity of emotions and leadership effectiveness perceptions when the leader displayed other-focused emotions as compared with self-focused emotions. A problem is that this design confounds the focus of the emotion with the nature of the emotion (as opposed to, e.g. a comparison of anger focused on self vs. other), but the idea that the cause or target of an emotion matters is a point worth revisiting (as we do below). In a second moderation study, Eberly and Fong looked at follower trait interdependence (i.e. the disposition to emphasize one's relationship with others) and showed in a comparison of leader displays of anger versus happiness that the effect of emotional valence was stronger with higher follower interdependence. In both studies, these moderated effects were mediated (i.e. first-stage moderation) by both emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation (perceived sincerity of the leader's intentions).

Van Kleef et al. (2009) studied the influence of leader positive (happy) versus negative (angry) affective responses to prior team performance on subsequent team performance in an experimental setting. They adopted a social information processing perspective that suggests that careful information processing (cf. cognitive interpretation of affect) occurs to the degree that individuals are motivated to form accurate judgments (i.e. epistemic motivation; Kruglanski, 1989), whereas absent such motivation they may rely more on first-blush responses. They argued and found that teams whose members were higher in personal need for structure (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993), an individual difference variable capturing differences in epistemic motivation, more carefully consider the implications of their leader's affective state and perform better with an angry leader than with a happy leader, because leader anger would suggest a greater need to focus on improving performance than leader happiness (i.e. second-stage moderation of the effects of cognitive interpretation on performance). Conversely, teams that were less disposed to carefully consider information were expected and found to perform better under the happy than the angry leader because the positive group affective tone that resulted from exposure to the leader's positive emotional displays was more motivating than the negative affective tone that resulted from exposure to the leader's negative emotional displays (i.e. second-stage moderation of the effects of emotional contagion on performance). This study thus points to the contingent nature of the processes underlying the effects of leader affective displays on leadership effectiveness, with effects being mediated

by cognitive interpretation when followers were dispositionally high on epistemic motivation and by emotional contagion when they were dispositionally low on epistemic motivation.

Leader Affective Displays: Toward a Moderated Contagion-Interpretation Model

The evidence from research on leader affective displays is clear and consistent on three counts. First, leader affective displays influence leadership effectiveness. Second, the mediating processes involved in the effects of leader affective displays on follower evaluations and behavior can be understood in terms of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation of leader affect. Third, the effects of leader affective displays are contingent on a range of factors, which means that a main effects model cannot accurately capture the intricate nature of the effects (the most obvious example being that the display of positive affect is not always more effective than the display of negative affect; cf. George, 2011). The contingent nature of the effects of affective displays obtains in part because leader affective displays may have different effects via emotional contagion than via cognitive interpretation (cf. Van Kleef, 2014). First-stage moderation is thus important to consider, because the effects of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation are contingent on individual differences and situational characteristics (Van Kleef et al., 2009; Venus et al., 2013; Visser et al., 2013). Second-stage moderation is important to consider too, because the downstream consequences of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation are also modulated by individual differences and situational factors. Tables 1 and 2 provide a brief overview of what we see as the most important evidence upon which to base conclusions about the current state of the science and from which to further advance the field: mediation evidence (Table 1) and moderation evidence (Table 2).

Perhaps the most important conclusion to arise from this review is that the current state of the science suggests that the influence of leader affective displays is mediated by emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation, and moderated both in the first stage and in the second stage. At the same time, we may also note that this conclusion is based on only a modest number of tests of models involving both mediation and moderation, and conclusions regarding first-stage versus second-stage moderation in particular are based on a small evidence base. A key challenge for future research thus is to develop our understanding of these moderating influences more fully and from a more coherent conceptual perspective than the current somewhat eclectic study of moderators.

In this respect, it is also important to note that emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation need not be mutually exclusive. Van Kleef et al. (2009) found evidence of alternative pathways as a function of team members' need for structure, but Eberly and Fong (2013) found moderating

Table 1 An Overview of Mediation Studies, Classified as Contagion, Interpretation, or Dual Pathway Evidence

Leader affect	Mediator(s)	Dependent variable	Authors
<i>Contagion evidence</i>			
Positive/negative/neutral mood	Follower positive affect	Cooperation Effort ^a	Sy et al. (2005)
Positive/negative affect x high/low arousal	Follower affect + follower arousal ^b	Charisma	Damen, D. van Knippenberg et al. (2008)
Positive vs. negative affect	Follower negative affect ^c Follower positive affect	Performance Charisma	Johnson (2009)
Happiness vs. sadness	Follower positive affect Follower positive affect	Leadership effectiveness Creativity Analytical performance	Visser et al. (2013)
Enthusiasm/frustration/agitation	Follower regulatory focus	Performance	Venus et al. (2013)
<i>Interpretation evidence</i>			
Anger vs. happiness	Subjective workload	Team performance	Van Kleef, Homan et al. (2010)
Trait guilt	Responsibility	Leadership evaluation	Schaumberg and Flynn (2012)
Compassion Contempt	Intelligence Intelligence	Emergent leadership	Melwani et al. (2012)
<i>Dual pathway evidence</i>			
Positive affect	Follower positive affect + trans. leadership	Group performance	Chi et al. (2011)
Positive/negative x other-focused/self-focused affect	Follower positive affect + perceived sincerity	Leadership effectiveness	Eberly and Fong (2013); Study 1

Table 1 (Continued)

Leader affect	Mediator(s)	Dependent variable	Authors
Anger vs. happiness	Follower positive affect + perceived sincerity	Leadership effectiveness	Eberly and Fong (2013); Study 2
Anger vs. happiness	Follower positive affect + /performance appraisal	Team performance	Van Kleef et al. (2009)

^aMultiple dependent variables for which a mediator is not repeated implies mediation only obtained for the dependent variable in the same line as the mediator.

^bMultiple mediators listed for one dependent variable connected by a + sign implies multiple mediation paths.

^cMultiple mediators listed for multiple dependent variables and not connected by a + sign implies separate mediation paths for the dependent variable listed in the same line.

Table 2 An Overview of the Moderation Evidence, Classified as Leadership Match, Affect (Proxy) Match, or Other

Leader affect	Moderator	Dependent variable	Authors
<i>Leadership match</i>			
Positive affect	Clinton vs. Bush	Positive affect	Cherulnik et al. (2001)
Positive vs. negative affect	Positive vs. negative feedback	Leadership evaluations	Newcombe and Ashkanasy (2002)
Anger/sadness/control	Leader gender	Leadership evaluations	Lewis (2000)
Anger vs. sadness	Accepting responsibility	Leadership evaluations	Madera and Smith (2009)
Anger vs. sadness	Leader gender × follower dispositional attributions	Leadership evaluations	Schaubroeck and Shao (2012)
Enthusiasm/frustration/agitation	Message regulatory focus	Leadership evaluations	Venus et al. (2013)
<i>Affect match</i>			
Enthusiasm vs. anger	Follower positive affect	Performance	Damen, B. van Knippenberg et al. (2008)
Trait anger	Follower trait anger	Petty tyranny	Kant et al. (2013)
Extraversion	Extraversion similarity	Mood	Sy and Choi (2013)
Neuroticism	Neuroticism similarity	convergence	
<i>Other</i>			
Positive vs. negative affect	Follower regulatory focus	Leadership effectiveness	Gaddis et al. (2004)
Positive affect	Contagion susceptibility	Follower positive affect	Johnson (2008)
Negative affect			
Anger vs. happiness	Follower need for structure	Team performance	Van Kleef et al. (2009)
Anger vs. happiness	Follower agreeableness	Team performance	Van Kleef, Homan et al. (2010)
Happiness vs. sadness	Creativity vs. analytical performance	Leadership effectiveness	Visser et al. (2013)
Anger vs. happiness	Interdependence	Leadership effectiveness	Eberly and Fong (2013)
Anger vs. happiness	appropriateness	Citizenship behavior	Koning and Van Kleef (2015)

evidence that interdependence made both paths more likely simultaneously. Together with the main effect study by Chi et al. (2011), these are in fact the only studies testing both emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation paths. Looking forward it would thus also be important to more systematically assess the dual pathways of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation, and to develop a more integrative theory of the contingencies of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation processes.

The above conclusions are grounded in the available evidence in leadership and affect, and the current evidence supports the contagion-interpretation model shown in Figure 1, although the evidence base is richer for some aspects than for others. Even so, there are still many question marks in the study of leader affective displays, and thus also surrounding the contagion-interpretation model that emerges from an integration of the available evidence. In many ways, the model captures the contours of what a strong theory of leader affective displays could be when the field develops further rather than representing a well-developed framework. In that sense, even when the basic conclusions as currently captured in the model stand, an equally important outcome of our integration of the evidence is to identify a research agenda to develop the contagion-interpretation model towards conceptual maturity. In the following section, we identify key challenges in the further development of the contagion-interpretation model as well as some potential ways forward in addressing these challenges.

Research Agenda: Key Challenges and Potential Ways Forward

We see the most important ways forward in developing the contagion-interpretation model falling in roughly three categories: (1) developing our understanding of the mediation paths further by considering them as mutually influencing pathways, (2) further development of moderation models towards more integrative theory of first- and second-stage moderation, and (3) more nuanced treatment of affect to understand interpretation and effectiveness effects beyond the valence and arousal associated with affective states. As probably the most obvious additional way forward, we identify the study of (4) the determinants of leader affective displays to develop our understanding of what makes leaders effectively use their affect.

Mutually influencing pathways. In developing the contagion-interpretation model, a first observation is that contagion and interpretation processes may also influence each other. The notion of the cognitive interpretation of other's affect has its origins in the notion of the cognitive interpretation of own affect (Van Kleef, 2009). It is thus not unreasonable to suggest that follower affect engendered through emotional contagion may also influence cognitive interpretations—resulting in more affect-congruent judgments (i.e.

affect infusion; Forgas, 1995). Conversely, appraisal theories of emotion suggest that it is the cognitive interpretation of the situation that gives rise to affective states (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991). This would suggest that follower affect may also follow from cognitive interpretation. That is, cognitive interpretation may give rise to follower affect that is not the result of contagion in the sense of mimicry of nonverbal expressions of affect, but rather of the interpretation of the implications of the affective display (e.g. understanding the reasons for the other's anger may lead one to get angry oneself; Elfenbein, 2014; Manstead & Fischer, 2001).

One implication of this is that it provides yet another argument why it would be good for future research on leader affective displays to consider both cognitive interpretation and emotional contagion as mediating processes simultaneously (rather than focusing on only one of the two or disregarding mediation altogether, as was done in most past research). Another implication is that leadership effects on follower affect need not reflect a process of contagion—at least not in the traditional sense involving mimicry and afferent feedback (Hatfield et al., 1994). Follower affect may also follow from cognitive interpretation processes and need not mirror leader affect (e.g. an angry leader may inspire fear; a disappointed leader may evoke shame or guilt). It would thus also make sense to consider mediation models in which cognitive interpretation influences affective responses and in which affective responses influence cognitive interpretation.

Further development of moderation models. It is clear from our review that only a modest number of studies have focused on moderation of the effects of leader affective displays. In addition, these studies have clearly not been guided by a unifying conceptual framework, resulting in a rather eclectic collection of moderators identified. Moreover, for a number of these moderators it is not clear which mediating process they moderate (nor whether this concerns first- or second-stage moderation). As noted above, there is a need for research that assesses both contagion and interpretation paths and that uses theory to specify where moderation occurs. Here, we consider some of the factors that could be incorporated in such a theoretical perspective, drawing on the broader literature on the interpersonal effects of emotions (see Van Kleef, 2016).

Cognitive interpretation of leader affect is a form of social information processing, and a first element to consider more broadly is the social information processing perspective that also inspired Van Kleef et al. (2009) focus on need for structure. There is broad-ranging research in social information processing to suggest that epistemic motivation (i.e. the motivation to reach accurate judgments and decisions; Kruglanski, 1989) and the ability to process information are positively related to the extent to which people process social information (Chaiken & Trope, 1999). Epistemic motivation as well as processing ability is captured by a variety of dispositional and situational variables (cf. Kruglanski,

1989). There are for instance a number of related trait conceptualizations capturing epistemic motivation—need for closure (Kruglanski, 1989; Van Kleef et al., 2004), need for structure (Kruglanski, 1989; Van Kleef et al., 2009), need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982), and learning goal orientation (Dweck, 1999). Situational influences may also increase epistemic motivation, for instance holding someone accountable for the way a task is performed (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). In a similar vein, processing ability may be reflected by traits (e.g. emotional intelligence; Mayer & Salovey, 1997), but is also influenced by situational factors such as interfering noise (Kruglanski, 1989), time pressure (Van Kleef et al., 2004), or cognitive load (Van Kleef, Van den Berg, & Heerdink, 2015). As the study by Van Kleef et al. (2009) shows, influences conducive to (social) information processing may function as a second-stage moderator, influencing the extent to which available “cues” (i.e. own affect, cognitive interpretations) are used as basis of future action. This is consistent with evidence from other fields that affective responses tend to take precedence over cognitive responses (Zajonc, 1980), unless heightened information processing motivation leads more deliberated judgments to dominate affective reactions (cf. Chaiken & Trope, 1999; Forgas, 1995; Van Kleef, 2009). We envision epistemic motivation and processing ability as important moderators of cognitive interpretation in a more developed model of the effects of leader affective displays.

Consistent with the notion that affect is largely transmitted by nonverbal communication (i.e. facial expressions, body posture and movements, tone of voice, etc.), the mimicry of nonverbal affective behavior is core to the process of contagion—at least in its original understanding as the outcome of an automatic mimicry process (Hatfield et al., 1994; cf. Elfenbein, 2014). Accordingly, emotional contagion relies on the exposure to these nonverbal cues. Therefore, the extent to which nonverbal affective cues are observable by the follower should moderate emotional contagion processes. In part this may reflect such issues as whether or not the other is facing the individual (Howard & Gengler, 2001), but in part this is also a matter of the medium of communication used. Media-richness theory (Daft & Lengel, 1984) describes how communication media vary in the richness of information they are able to convey. A written message can only convey information verbally, a phone conversation can also convey voice, video conferencing adds image but of lower quality than face-to-face communication—all of which speak to the richness of information conveyed. When we understand media-richness to also include variations in face-to-face communication settings in terms of the observability of affective displays (cf. Howard & Gengler, 2001), we can propose that leader affective displays are more likely to engender emotional contagion processes the richer the medium of communication (or put differently, the greater the observability of leader affect). Richer communication may also help cognitive interpretation. Arguably, however, cognitive

interpretation is less contingent on media richness in that a verbal statement of affect may already be sufficient to engender a cognitive interpretation process (cf. Van Kleef et al., 2004) even when in the absence of explicit verbal statements of affect richer media may make it easier to recognize the affect that would invite cognitive interpretation. These notions are so fundamental to the process of emotional contagion that a more developed contagion-interpretation model would benefit from incorporating them in a treatment of first-stage moderators of emotional contagion.

Another key element in the consideration of first-stage moderation concerns aspects of the leader–follower relationship. Interpersonal liking and shared group membership as well as a position of lower power and dependency may invite more careful attention to leader affective displays (cf. cognitive interpretation) and more openness to emotional contagion. Initial evidence to that effect is found in the study by Eberly and Fong (2013) who found that greater interdependence between leader and follower resulted in stronger contagion and interpretation paths. A focus on the leader–follower relationship is also consistent with evidence that interpersonal liking is conducive to emotional contagion (Howard & Gengler, 2001), that shared group membership makes one more carefully consider other’s communication (van Knippenberg, 1999), and that a position of lower power and dependency makes one more attentive to the higher-power other (Fiske, 1993). Attention to the leader–follower relationship would also align well with research on LMX, which captures the quality of the relationship between leader and follower (Day & Crain, 1992), and leader–follower demographic (dis)similarity (e.g. Tsui & O’Reilly, 1989). A more open question is how different elements of the relationship may differ in the extent to which they are conducive to contagion or interpretation.

The previous paragraphs capture sets of moderators that we can confidently advance as likely elements of a more developed contagion-interpretation model as part of its first-stage moderation theory (i.e. theory about the influences moderating the extent to which leader affective displays lead to emotional contagion or cognitive interpretation): motivation and ability, observability of affective displays, and the leader–follower relationship. Three studies have also identified second-stage moderators (i.e. influences that moderate the influence of contagion or interpretation on leadership effectiveness): task requirements (Visser et al., 2013; cf. Forgas & George, 2001; Sy et al., 2005), personal need for structure (Van Kleef et al., 2009), and regulatory focus of leader persuasive appeals (Venus et al., 2013).

A key issue for the development of theory about second-stage moderation of the interpretation path is that there currently is no theory to capture which cognitive interpretations should be considered. Research has studied a variety of interpretations seemingly without an overarching guiding logic (e.g. performance appraisals, Van Kleef et al., 2009; leader intelligence,

Melwani et al., 2012; leader sincerity, Eberly & Fong, 2013). To develop theory about second-stage moderation in cognitive interpretation processes, it would thus be important to first develop theory about what would be relevant interpretations to consider and what their effects would be. We believe that such interpretations should at least include (1) interpretations regarding relevant characteristics of the leader (e.g. leader intelligence), (2) interpretations of leaders' evaluations of followers' behavior (e.g. performance appraisals), and (3) interpretations of leaders' evaluations of followers themselves (e.g. liking). Future research will have to develop theory and evidence speaking to which interpretations are relevant in which contexts, and potentially about which types of interpretations to add to this list of three.

The research reviewed in the previous section has also identified a series of moderators that one way or the other speak to the match between leader affect and other elements of the leadership situation for which it is not so clear in which path(s) of the contagion-interpretation model moderation takes place. This includes evidence concerning the extent to which the affect displayed matches the leader's message (Newcombe & Ashkanasy, 2002) or other elements of the leader's behavior (Madera & Smith, 2009), the extent to which the leader's affect matches gender stereotypes (Lewis, 2000; Schaubroeck & Shao, 2012), and the match between leader affect and follower affect or affect-related traits (Damen, B. van Knippenberg et al., 2008; Gaddis et al., 2004; Kant et al., 2013; Sy & Choi, 2013; Van Kleef, Homan et al., 2010). For none of these findings is it self-evident which mediation path(s) is (are) followed.

Moderation by follower affective trait or state can for instance be understood in terms of affect-congruent processing—greater ease of processing information that is consistent with one's affective state or disposition (Rusting, 1998). This arguably would include processing of affect, which would fit the notion of cognitive interpretation. Moderation by affective traits could also reflect greater openness to contagion, however, because the trait might capture one's openness to experiencing the affect displayed by the leader. In a related vein, affect-message congruence would fit this understanding of easier processing of affect-congruent information after contagion (cf. Venus et al., 2013), but it would also fit a cognitive interpretation perspective where interpretations differ as a function of the extent to which the affective display “makes sense” vis-à-vis other aspects of leadership (e.g. a leader displaying happiness after failure presumably would be less positively evaluated than a leader displaying disappointment). Clearly, addressing these issues requires further research.

One issue that is highlighted in this respect as a challenge for future research is the development of more comprehensive theory about cognitive interpretations to also speak to how situational influences may influence the content of the interpretation of affect. Some of the findings discussed here can be understood in terms of how socially appropriate the affect is within the

context (cf. Koning & Van Kleef, 2015)—some affect seems more appropriate given the leader's or followers' behavior than other affect (e.g. negative versus positive affect accompanying performance feedback, anger after failure with versus without accepting responsibility). The notion of situational appropriateness is consistent with the concept of display rules (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987)—a normative understanding of which emotions are appropriate to show—even when display rules so far have been mainly linked to service work. Theory about cognitive interpretation would thus also capture this notion of situational appropriateness in identifying moderating influences (Van Kleef et al., 2012). Although “situational” might not be the best adjective here unless leader characteristics are also understood as part of the situation, the notion of (situational) appropriateness may also be relevant to understand observed leader gender differences, in that leader gender may influence the perceived appropriateness of affective displays.

The issue of developing cognitive interpretation theory is probably not limited to situational appropriateness, however. The situation may also influence the confidence with which one interprets the affective display. The situation may be more or less informative about what caused the leader's affect—is it a cause integral to the situation or is the affect incidental (i.e. caused by irrelevant factors outside of the focal situation (Lerner, Small, & Loewenstein, 2004; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2010)? Integral affect would be more informative about situation-relevant issues than incidental affect and would thus presumably more readily result in cognitive interpretation from which individuals would derive conclusions with some confidence. One element here could be previous affective displays as a moderating influence. For instance, frequent positive affective displays would seem to be more acceptable than frequent negative affective displays. It would also seem plausible that followers become more likely to draw personality inferences about the leader (e.g. attributing the leader's affective displays to his or her character) and less likely to draw situational inferences (e.g. attributing the leader's affective displays to their own performance) to the degree that the leader more frequently expresses a particular emotion.

The notion of situational appropriateness may not be limited to developing our understanding of the cognitive interpretation path. It might also help develop an understanding of the evidence that positive leader affect seems more contagious than negative leader affect. One interpretation is that in terms of display rules (Matsumoto, 1990). In many cultures there is a general societal display rule favoring positive emotions over negative emotions, and this potentially makes it easier and more “natural” to mimic positive affect than negative affect.

More nuanced treatment of affect. Our understanding of the affect displayed itself also would benefit from further development. Most research is

limited to conceptualizations in terms of leader positive and/or negative affect, with a few exceptions in terms of arousal level, implied regulatory focus, or more specific linkages between discrete emotions and implications for cognitive interpretation. Clearly, however, no matter how helpful differentiation in terms of valence and arousal may be, there is more to emotions than valence and arousal. For instance, disappointment and guilt are both negative, low-arousal emotions, but their expressions have been shown to have opposite effects in negotiation (i.e. expressions of disappointment tend to elicit concessions, whereas expressions of guilt invite exploitation; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2006). More attention to the nature of emotions beyond valence and arousal would thus be important to understand cognitive interpretations as well as the consequences of emotional contagion. In this respect, the distinction between moods and emotions is also worthy of further exploration. The cause of the affect tends to be more clear for emotions than for moods and emotions tend to be more intense and more bounded in time than moods (Russell & Barrett, 1999), which may render them more salient. Related to our observations regarding integral versus incidental affect, then, it would also be worth considering whether emotions may be more conducive to cognitive interpretation than moods.

When it comes to nuances in the treatment of affect, we should note that affect and emotions are a burgeoning research area outside of research in leadership and research in organizational behavior more generally, ranging from research in social psychology to research in cognitive neuroscience (see Van Kleef, 2016). We should therefore be cautious not to let the leadership and affect field become a field developing in splendid isolation. Rather, research in leadership and affect would do well to integrate insights from other fields as they emerge to fully benefit from the greater research volume generated outside the more narrowly defined leadership and affect literature.

Determinants of leader affective displays. A final issue we raise here as important is currently not reviewed for lack of relevant research: the determinants of effective leader affective displays. Given the evidence that leader affective displays matter but are not all equally effective, a relevant question is what determines leaders' effective affective displays. We emphasize the notion of effective displays here because there are some obvious answers to the question of what causes leader affective displays per se: affective dispositions (e.g. leaders high on positive affectivity would be more likely to display positive affect) and value-laden events (e.g. success or failure in important matters). These answers are not necessarily informative about the effective *use* of affective displays, however. For the latter question, emotional intelligence may be a relevant factor. Emotional intelligence is understood to include the ability to understand and manage emotions and may thus be particularly relevant in this respect (cf. Côté & Hideg, 2011). Surprisingly, however, given claims that

emotional intelligence is good for leadership effectiveness, direct evidence that it influences the effective management of affective displays in the context of leader–follower relations does not seem available (e.g. Walter, Cole, & Humphrey, 2011). The effective use of emotional displays presumably is not only determined by dispositions but can potentially also be trained or developed through experience. Future research exploring both dispositional and situational determinants of leader affective displays would be important also in addressing the question of how these affective display mechanisms can be leveraged in practice.

Non-Affective Leadership and Follower Affect

The most obvious focus in research on leadership and affect perhaps is that on leader affective displays. Even so, the role of follower affect in “non-affective” leadership—leadership that does not involve the display of affect, at least not as part of its conceptualization and operationalization (which is not to say that it may not be *correlated* with affective displays)—is also part of the broader field of leadership and affect. Indeed, there is empirical evidence that non-affective leadership may influence follower affect and that follower affect may moderate the effects of non-affective leadership or influence leadership.

Consideration of such influences is particularly important because it may set the stage for the integration of affective and non-affective models of leadership. For instance, when affective and non-affective leadership influence the same mediating mechanisms or outcomes, this begs the question of whether these influences are additive or interactive. If these influences are interactive—that is, if the effect of leader affective displays are stronger or weaker in combination with non-affective leadership—this would point to the potential for integration of models of leader affective displays and non-affective leadership. Similar observations hold for evidence regarding the role of follower affect in moderating the influence of non-affective leadership; this too may point to parallels between affective and non-affective leadership that may provide building blocks for the integration of different perspectives into broader-ranging models of leadership. Accordingly, in the following we review evidence concerning the role of follower affect in non-affective leadership, noting that for reasons outlined before we disregard research findings revolving around charismatic-transformational leadership (cf. van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013).

Empirical evidence regarding the influence of non-affective leadership on follower affect and regarding the moderating role of follower affect can roughly be divided into research on leader fairness and research on an eclectic set of other elements of leadership. Because as a body of evidence this research draws from a variety of traditions that do not focus on leader affective displays, it is not necessarily obvious how these different approaches would be

integrated into one broader-ranging leadership framework. Speculating about ways this could be achieved goes beyond the scope of the present review (i.e. it would require a much broader review of the leader fairness literature as well as of the other literatures referenced below). We therefore present the following review to put the question of integration on the research agenda, not to answer it.

Leadership's Influence on Follower Affect

Leaders are an important source of experiences of fairness or unfairness of treatment (van Knippenberg, De Cremer, & van Knippenberg, 2007). Especially the experience of unfair treatment can be expected to be tied in with affective responses, and a number of studies focused on leader fairness as an influence on follower emotions. De Cremer and Alberts (2004) found in an experimental study that leader procedural fairness (whether or not voice was given to followers) interacted with followers' need to belong, such that follower emotions were more positive under conditions of voice, but only for individuals with a higher need to belong, presumably because voice is understood to assert one's group belongingness and thus caters primarily to the needs of those with a high need to belong. De Cremer (2007) studied the interactive effect of distributive fairness and autocratic leadership and found that follower affect was more negative under conditions of autocratic leadership and low distributive fairness (i.e. distributive fairness or non-autocratic leadership could "compensate" for the unpleasantness of the other aspect of leadership). De Cremer and Wubben (2010) compared responses to pre-decision voice and post-decision voice (i.e. the latter arguably is at best symbolic and at worst misleading, because the decision has already been made) as a function of leader confidence and found that post-decision voice resulted in more negative affect, but only when leader confidence was high. In an interesting counterpoint to these studies pointing to the negative affective influence of unfairness, Barclay, Skarlicki, and Pugh (2005) demonstrated that the relationship between outcome favorability and follower negative affect was more pronounced when either procedural or leader interactional fairness was high rather than low. Barclay and colleagues argued that this occurs because when either procedural or interactional justice is low, followers attribute the cause of their low outcomes to external sources (i.e. to the procedures or their leader) instead of to themselves.

The study of non-affective leadership influences is not limited to leader fairness. Naidoo and Lord (2008) manipulated leader speech imagery and found that imagery resulted in higher positive affect, which partially mediated the effect of imagery on leadership evaluations. De Cremer (2006) found higher positive affect when autocratic leadership was combined with leader self-sacrifice (i.e. rather than leader self-benefiting behavior). Madjar, Oldham, and

Pratt (2002) found that supportive leadership resulted in positive follower mood and thus was conducive to creativity. Atwater and Carmeli (2009) showed that LMX (i.e. reflecting the quality of the leader–follower relationship) led to high-arousal positive affect (i.e. feelings of energy), which mediated relationships with involvement in creative work. Zhou, Ma, Cheng, and Xia (2014) found that authentic leadership predicted innovation through positive but not negative emotions. Also focusing on authentic leadership, Rego, Sousa, Marques, and Pina e Cunha (2014) observed that authentic leadership predicted employees' positive affect, which in turn predicted employees' hope and creativity.

Follower Affect as Moderator of Leadership Effects

There is also some evidence that follower affect may moderate responses to leadership, and here too leader fairness plays a core role. Skarlicki, Folger, and Tesluk (1999) found that follower negative affectivity moderates responses to leader interactional fairness, contingent on organizational distributive fairness, in predicting follower retaliatory behavior. Retaliatory behavior was higher for followers high in negative affectivity confronted with both low interactional and distributive fairness. Tepper, Duffy, Henle, and Lambert (2006) observed that the relationship between leader procedural fairness and leader evaluations is stronger for followers who are high in negative affectivity. Conversely, Harvey, Stoner, Hochwarter, and Kacmar (2007) found that followers higher in positive affectivity were better able to cope with abusive supervision (arguably a form of leadership with linkages to leader interactional fairness). George and Zhou (2007) show that creativity was higher when followers experienced both positive and negative moods at work under the condition of supportive leadership.

Follower Affect as Influence on Leadership

More recent and in even less supply, there is also some evidence that follower affect may influence leader affect. Tee, Ashkanasy, and Paulsen (2013) show that follower mood influences leader mood (i.e. contagion; cf. Dasborough, Ashkanasy, Tee, & Tse, 2009). This is also consistent with the Sy and Choi (2013) findings of convergence of affect. Even though these findings suggest that follower affect may influence leader affect just as leader affect shapes follower affect, there are reasons to believe that the impact of follower affect on leader affect is weaker than the other way around. Generally speaking, lower-power individuals tend to be more strongly influenced by others' emotional expressions than higher-power individuals (Keltner, Van Kleef, Chen, & Kraus, 2008), both in terms of emotional contagion (Anderson, Keltner, & John, 2003; Van Kleef et al., 2008) and in terms of cognitive interpretation (Van Kleef et al., 2004). Clearly, then, more research is needed

to develop a fuller understanding of follower affective influences on leaders and their downstream consequences.

Further Integration and Extensions

The evidence of non-affective leadership influences on follower affect begs the question of whether leader affective displays and non-affective leadership may interact in influencing leadership effectiveness. For instance, leader displays of positive affect stimulate follower creativity through their impact on follower positive affect (Visser et al., 2013) and supportive leadership stimulates follower creativity through its influence on follower positive affect (Madjar et al., 2002). This begs the question whether these two leadership influences have independent (i.e. additive) or interactive effects on creativity, and if the latter, whether the one is more effective in combination with the other or rather the one substitutes for the other such that there are “diminishing returns” on the one act of leadership when the other element of leadership is also enacted. To the degree that the combination of affective and non-affective leader influences follows a compensatory model (cf. Cote & Miners, 2006), leaders who are less apt to enact particular non-affective behaviors may be able to compensate for this deficit by showing affective displays that are conducive to follower performance, and the reverse might also hold.

Evidence of such enhancing or compensatory effects would set the stage for the integration of affective and non-affective models of leadership. This would be important for at least two reasons. First, it would advance the field towards more integrative, broader-ranging theories of leadership (cf. van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). Second, it would seem that leader affective displays are more likely to be combined with other acts of leadership than to stand alone. Integration of affective and non-affective models of leadership would thus advance our understanding of how the observed effects of leader affective displays can be interpreted in the context of the other acts of leadership they accompany, even when the focus is not on such interactive effects.

It is also interesting to note that evidence of moderation by follower affect is consistent with a process similar to the match between leader affective displays and follower affect reviewed earlier. Unfairness elicits negative affect, and there is evidence that its effects are stronger for individuals more disposed to experience negative affect. In a related vein, positive affect was found to buffer against the negative effects of such experiences that could presumably invite negative affect. The current evidence does not allow us to draw strong conclusions in this regard, but here too there seem to be clear opportunities for the integration of affective and non-affective models of leadership.

Extending this line of reasoning, we may also ask whether non-affective leadership that influences cognitive interpretations may interact with leader affective displays that influence cognitive interpretations. For instance, if displays of

contempt or compassion lead to attributions of intelligence to the leader (Melwani et al., 2012), do non-affective actions that convey intelligence (e.g. intellectual successes) interact with the display of contempt or compassion? Again, this is an open question, but this question too is indicative of the scope for integration of the contagion-interpretation model with non-affective models of leadership through a focus on the mediating variables that may be influenced both by leader affective displays and non-affective leadership—that is, follower affect and cognitive interpretations of leadership.

Clearly, the study of upward affective influence (i.e. follower affect to leadership) is just emerging, but it invites a more dynamic study of these processes where follower affect and leader affect may co-evolve over time (cf. the notion of emergent states in team research; Marks, Mathieu, & Zaccaro, 2001). One implication of this could be that affective processes in leadership can to a certain extent be self-sustaining when the mutual influence between leader and followers helps sustain a certain mood—and the evidence discussed in the previous suggests that the initial spark need not be affective (e.g. experienced unfairness might trigger a sustained negative mood). Again, future research will have to speak to these issues.

Conclusions

Research in leadership and affect is maturing, but clearly not mature yet. There is enough theory and evidence to integrate the main body of research—research on leader affective displays as influence on leadership effectiveness—into the contagion-interpretation model captured in [Figure 1](#). The key take-away for future research from this integrative conceptual model is to focus on the dual mediation paths of emotional contagion and cognitive interpretation (i.e. rather than focusing on only one of the paths or ignoring mediation), and moreover to include a focus on the first-stage and/or second-stage moderators of these paths (i.e. rather than studying main effects of leader affective displays). This is important because theory and evidence suggest that the effects of leader affective displays should be seen as moderated effects rather than main effects and moreover that the effects of a given affective display may depend on the strength of the contagion path relative to the interpretation path. The most salient deviation from conventional wisdom in this respect is that negative affect can be more effective than positive affect. The current overreliance in research on leadership and affect on subjective ratings as indicators of leadership effectiveness seems to have biased conclusions in favor of a presumed superiority of positive affective displays, but the more important behavioral evidence paints a more nuanced picture.

Even when these conclusions are well-grounded in theory and evidence, the contagion-interpretation model clearly is work in progress. Accordingly, we believe that the conclusions we advance regarding key questions for future

research are as important as our proposed conceptual integration in the contagion-interpretation model. These future directions include a more integrative conceptual treatment of first- and second-stage moderation of the contagion and interpretation paths, development of theory about what would be the key cognitive interpretations to focus on, and development of theory about the affect displayed that moves beyond valence and arousal to capture effects more specific to a particular affective state. Importantly, these directions also include the integration of affective and non-affective models of leadership through the study of potential interactive effects of leader affective displays and non-affective aspects of leadership. Such integrative efforts are important both because they provide a better understanding of the influence of the other aspects of leadership that affective displays would typically accompany and because they can move the leadership field away from its currently conceptually fragmented state towards more broad-ranging and integrative theories of leadership.

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