A Multi-Level View of Leadership and Emotion: Leading with Emotional Labor

Neal M. Ashkanasy and Ronald H. Humphrey

INTRODUCTION

The idea that emotions play an important role in management and leadership is not really all that new. Mastenbroek (2000), for example, detailed how emotion has been a central feature of organizational management for over 2000 years. In the leadership literature, Redl (1942) was the first to report on the powerful effect of leaders on the emotional makeup of work groups; and emotions are featured in the early theories of leadership and management. For example, Fayol (1916/1949) noted that leaders needed to understand all aspects of their subordinates psyche, including their emotional states. More recently, Weiss and Brief (2001) detailed how emotions at work figured prominently in the early theories of organizational behavior. Today, most theories of leadership, especially charismatic and transformational leadership, have become inherently emotional (e.g., see Shamir & Howell, 1999, on charismatic leadership; and Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000, on transformational leadership). Despite this, and as Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) recently observed, leadership scholars have in general been slow to develop broadly-based theories of leadership that incorporate an emotional dimension.

In fact, it was not until 1995 that interest in emotions and leadership began to receive mainstream attention. This was the year Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) published ‘Emotion in the workplace: a reappraisal.’ Also published in the same year was the best-selling book by Goleman (1995), Emotional intelligence: why it can matter more than IQ. The problem at that point in time, however, continued to be lack of a theoretical foundation for incorporating emotional dimensions into the prevailing theories of leadership. For example, Yukl (1999) noted that contemporary theories of charismatic and transformational leadership tended to focus on dyadic relationships, rather than trying to understand interpersonal processes such as emotion.

This position began to change rapidly in the early years of the 2000s, with the appearance of theoretical models by Ashkanasy and Tse (2000), Barbuto and Burbach (2006), Caruso, Mayer and Salovey (2002), and George (2000). These were followed by a string of empirical studies, especially focusing on the role of emotional intelligence (e.g., see Gardner & Stough, 2002; Wolff, Pescosolido, & Druskat, 2002; Wong & Law, 2002), culminating in a Special Issue of The Leadership Quarterly, guest-edited by Humphrey (2002).

Despite this progress, and as Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) pointed out, the existing theories of leadership continue to emphasize isolated individual characteristics such as emotional intelligence. Ashkanasy and Jordan recommended that scholars need to broaden their perspective to include the influence of leadership at all levels of
organizational analysis, and cited the Five-Level Model of emotion in organizations developed by Ashkanasy (2003a). In this chapter, therefore, and consistent with Ashkanasy and Jordan, we take the Five-Level Model as our initial organizing framework.

The remainder of this chapter is organized in three parts. In Part 1, we provide a broad overview of the field of emotions and leadership based on the Five-Level Model. In Part 2, we deal in more detail with three topics that have garnered a substantial amount of research interest in recent years: (1) Affective Events Theory (AET; Weiss and Cropanzano, 1996) and leaders as mood managers; (2) emotional intelligence and leadership; and (3) leader emotional displays and charisma. In Part 3, and following on from the discussion in Part 2, we extend our arguments to the notion of leading with emotional labor, an emerging area of research that is currently generating considerable excitement among leadership scholars. We conclude this discussion with suggestions for future research in this field.

PART 1: LEADERSHIP AT FIVE LEVELS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

The five levels identified by Ashkanasy (2003a) comprise: (1) within person, (2) between persons (individual differences), (3) interpersonal interactions, (4) group, and (5) organization-wide (Figure 27.1). Ashkanasy (2003b) argued further that all five levels are integrated though a common biological basis in the neurobiology of emotion. Thus, the same processes that drive the experience emotions moment-to-moment at the within-person level (Level 1), are also accessed when considering emotional climate at the organization-wide level of analysis (Level 5).

Level 1 (within person) deals with emotion as experienced by individuals on a moment-to-moment basis. This level thus accounts for the variability of emotions that people experience as they get though the day, managing hassles and uplifts, and includes diurnal variations on emotional states (Clark, Watson, & Leeka, 1989). According to Weiss and Cropanzano (1996), it is the accumulation of emotional states arising from ‘affective events’ in the workplace that ultimately determines attitudes and behavior.

Level 2 of the model covers between-person effects, including individual differences such as emotional intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1997) and trait affectivity (Watson & Tellegen, 1985) as well as more stable attitudinal variables such as job satisfaction (as a between-person variable, see Fisher, 2000) and organizational commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1997).

Level 3 encompasses interpersonal interactions, including facial recognition of emotion (Ekman, 1984, 1999). Also included at this level is the construct of emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983), where (especially) service providers use facial expression to communicate particular emotional states, sometimes with negative consequences for the person engaging in the emotional labor (Grandey, 2003).

Teams and groups are included in Level 4 of the model. Topics at this level include the effect of emotional contagion (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1993) and group mood (George, 1990). Kelly and Barsade (2001), for example, demonstrated the mechanisms for propagation of mood in work teams, and their consequences for group mood and performance. Ashkanasy (2003a) cited Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995) to support the idea that leaders play a key role in determining emotional states at the group level. More recently, Sy, Côté, and Saavedra (2005) demonstrated that this process is facilitated at least in part by emotional contagion.

The highest level identified by Ashkanasy (2003a) is Level 5: the organization-wide level. Ashkanasy quoted De Rivera (1992), who defined this in terms of ‘an objective group phenomenon that can be palpably sensed – as when one enters a party or a city and feels an attitude of gaiety or depression, openness or fear’ (p. 197).

Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) argued that, ‘To be effective, leaders are required to utilize emotions at each of these levels’ (p. 22), and detail how leadership processes operate at each of the five levels. In the following paragraphs, we provide a summary of their arguments.

Level 1: Within person

The starting point for consideration of emotion at the within-person level is Weiss and Cropanzano’s (1996) Affective Events Theory. In this theory, events in the organizational environment result in affective reactions in employees, resulting in emotions (acute, object-oriented, and short-lived) and moods (diffuse, not object-oriented, and longer-lasting). These moods and emotions in turn shape affective reactions in employees, resulting in emotional states arising from ‘affective events’ in the workplace that ultimately determines attitudes and behavior.

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Despite an implicit assumption in traditional theories of leadership that leaders are somehow more emotionally stable than their subordinates. Indeed, and as Ashton-James and Ashkanasy also pointed out, leaders are themselves likely to be subject to a wider range of internal and external affective events than their subordinates. Ashton-James and Ashkanasy (2008) subsequently identified three categories of events that could have affective consequences for leaders: (1) organizational change events; (2) economic, legal, and political events; and (3) inter-organization negotiation events. Citing Forgas’s (1995) Affect Infusion Model (AIM), Ashton-James and Ashkanasy posited that the resulting affective states (especially mood states) ‘infuse’ the decision-making processes of leaders, ultimately affecting their decision making, with strategic consequences for the organization.

Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) emphasized in particular the role of self-awareness as a central factor in a leader’s role at the within-person level of analysis. They cite research by Sosik and Megerian (1999), who found that leader self-awareness is associated with the leader’s performance and subordinate positive regard. On the other hand, leaders who tend to under- or overestimate their own abilities tend to be poorly regarded as leaders by their subordinates (Yammarino & Atwater, 1997). Leaders who understand their own capabilities and limitations, on the other hand, tend to be regarded more positively.
Ashkanasy and Jordan make the point that leaders who are less self-aware are less likely to be able to respond appropriately to the emotions they are experiencing, and so are more likely to be perceived by their followers to be out of touch with their affective environment. In this instance, the potential exists for the leader’s affective state to be out of sync with their subordinates’ affective states.

A corollary of this is that leaders have a special role as managers of their members’ mood states. This is the topic we take up in more detail in Part 2 of this chapter.

**Level 2: Between persons**

Level 2 in the Five-Level Model focuses on individual differences such as trait affect and emotional intelligence, and attitudinal variables such as job satisfaction and job commitment. Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) suggested that these variables should predict leadership emergence. Personality variables, of course, hark back to the trait theories of leadership, where Stogdill (1974) focused on variables like assertiveness, decisiveness, and dependability, and noted that leaders needed to be responsive to their social environment, but did not specifically identify any particular emotional competence skills.

Indeed, the trait theories of leadership fell into disuse during the period that saw the emergence of behavioral and contingency theories of leadership (see Antonakis, Chapter 20; Yukl, Chapter 21, in this volume). Even charismatic leadership was couched in terms of behaviorism during this period (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Conger, Chapter 7, in this volume). Although House and Howell (1992) explored the values and personality traits of charismatic leaders, many theorists described charisma in terms of transactional/transformational behaviors (Bass, 1990; Bass & Avolio, 1990; Díaz-Sáenz, Chapter 22, in this volume). According to Bass (1990), for example, transformational leadership is characterized by four behaviors: individualized consideration (adapting to the specific needs of subordinates); idealized influence (projecting a vision); intellectual stimulation (challenging assumptions), and inspirational motivation (linking emotions to actions).

Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) make the particular point that leaders, above all, are decision makers, so that, like other members of the species *homo sapiens*, they need to access their emotions to make decisions. They cite, in particular, Damasio’s (1994) work showing that decision making, even at a basic level, requires access to emotional states that Damasio calls ‘somatic markers.’ Since emotional intelligence involves the ability to access emotional information and to incorporate this information in thinking (Mayer & Salovey, 1997), it follows that emotional intelligence should be associated with leadership. In this respect, various researchers (e.g., see Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000, Gardner & Stough, 2002; George, 2000) have postulated that emotional intelligence is especially critical in the instance of transformational leadership skills.

Although there are some strong critics of the role of emotional intelligence in transformational leadership (e.g., Antonakis, 2004; Locke, 2005), research has been generally supportive of the idea that emotional intelligence is linked to transformational leadership (e.g., see Barling, Slater, & Kelloway, 2000; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005; Rosete & Ciarrochi, 2005). More recently, Antonakis, Ashkanasy, and Dasborough (2009), in a debate on the issue, concluded despite their differences that emotion was a critical factor in leadership. We discuss the role of emotional intelligence and leadership in more detail in Part 2 of this chapter.

**Level 3: Interpersonal relationships**

At Level 3 of the Ashkanasy (2003a) model, the focus is on communication of emotion in interpersonal exchanges. Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) point out that, at its core, leadership is necessarily about managing interpersonal relationships as reflected in, for example, the leader–member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership (see Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995; Anand et al., Chapter 23, in this volume). But they take this a step further and refer to Mumby and Putnam’s (1992) notion of ‘bounded emotionality,’ where organizational life is seen to revolve around the expression and control of emotions in everyday interactions at work. In this respect, Martin, Knopoff, and Beckman (1998) emphasized that effective leadership involves bringing emotional expression and control to the front and centre of leadership effectiveness. Thus, effective leaders regulate relationships with their followers as a means of enhancing their relationships with them.

Leadership also necessarily involves a component of emotional labor, defined by Hochschild (1983), as ‘management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display’ (p. 7). Hochschild refers here to management of the actor’s own feelings, but with the aim of managing others’ impressions towards the actor. We pick up this aspect in more detail later in this chapter, but it is worth noting here that Lewis (2000), in a study of emotional expression in a field setting, found that leader displays of negative
emotions were associated with lower subordinate ratings of leader effectiveness. This is the third and last topic that we discuss in more detail in Part 2 of this chapter.

**Level 4: Groups**

Ashkanasy (2003a) placed leadership specifically at this level of his model, drawing especially on LMX theory. Moreover, as Pescosolido (2002) and Pirola-Merlo, Härtel, Mann, and Hirst (2002) have demonstrated, the leader has a critical role in determining the emotional tone of groups. Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008) cite Kelly and Barsade’s (2001) work on emotional contagion in groups to make the point that individual affective characteristics contribute to the affective composition of groups. More recently, Tse, Dasborough, and Ashkanasy (2008) found in a field study that leader’s LMX contributed to the quality of team members’ exchanges, and that this process was facilitated in teams characterized by a positive affective climate. This fits with the idea of emotional contagion within groups (Barsade, 2002) and, consistent with bounded emotionality theory, this suggests that the leader’s role as a facilitator of group emotions is crucial. Moreover, and as Fitness (2000) found, this fragile relationship can easily break down if the leader engages in unwarranted displays of negative emotions such as anger.

In support of the idea that leader emotions are transferred to team members through emotional contagion, Sy et al. (2005) found in a field experiment that a leader’s positive moods results in positive group affect, and that this in turn leads to higher levels of group task effectiveness and group–member coordination.

Also, working from a follower-centric perspective, Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002, 2005) argued that the way followers attribute manipulative versus sincere intentions to their leaders engenders emotional responses that subsequently determine followers’ attitudes to the leader and the leader’s influence on them. In this respect, Newcombe and Ashkanasy (2002) found in an experimental study that followers’ ratings of LMX were determined by the match between leaders’ facial expression and the message they were conveying in a performance appraisal context.

**Level 5: Organization-wide**

The role of leadership at the organizational level is embedded in the leader’s role in shaping the culture and climate of the organization (Schein, 1992). In this respect, De Rivera (1992) defines emotional climate as ‘an objective group phenomenon that can be palpably sensed (p. 197). Thus, and based on Schein’s notion that an organization’s founder is primarily responsible for its subsequent culture, it is reasonable to conclude that the founder should also help to set the emotional climate that eventually comes to be reflected in a set of deeply embedded values and assumptions.

**In summary of the Five-Level Model**

Thus far in this chapter, we have argued, consistent with Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008), that the role of emotions in leadership can be modeled in terms of five levels of organizational analysis, beginning with within-person processes, and extending to the organization-wide view. Since emotion is a basic human characteristic, it must follow that emotion must lie at the heart of all human organizing activity, including leadership. In Part 2, and as we foreshadowed above, we deal in more detail with three topics of special relevance to the role of emotion in leadership:

- at Level 1, AET and leaders as mood managers
- at Level 2, emotional intelligence and leadership
- spanning Levels 3 and 4, leader emotional displays and charisma

**PART 2: THREE TOPICS OF SPECIAL RELEVANCE TO THE ROLE OF EMOTION IN LEADERSHIP**

**Affective Events Theory and leaders as mood managers**

As noted in Part 1, Affective Events Theory is based on the research showing that individuals have an average mood level, and that workplace events cause individuals to experience increases or decreases in their moods throughout the day (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996; Weiss, Nichols, & Daus, 1999). Scholars are now beginning to apply AET to leadership, arguing that leaders can have a profound influence over the moods that employees feel throughout the day (e.g., see Humphrey, 2002). In some workplaces, managers may be the most important sources of variation
in employees’ moods. One of the best studies on leadership from the AET perspective was done by Pirola-Merlo et al. (2002). These researchers realized that the workplace is often filled with frustrating events, and argued that one of the functions that leaders can perform is to help subordinates cope with these events. In the study they conducted, leaders with facilitative and transformational styles aided subordinates in overcoming the mood-damaging effects of workplace aggressions; moreover, by improving their subordinates’ moods, the leaders were also able to improve subordinate performance.

McColl-Kennedy and Anderson (2002) also found that effective leaders help employees transform their feelings of frustration into an optimistic outlook on the challenging goals facing them. Consistent with the Pirola-Merlo et al. (2002) study, McColl-Kennedy and Anderson established that transformational leaders boosted employees’ optimistic moods, and that this translated into higher performance. More recently, Bono, Foldes, Vinson, and Muros (2007) also found that transformational leadership resulted in employees experiencing more positive emotions throughout the day; moreover, the employees were able to maintain this improved mood during their interactions with customers and with each other. Although not explicitly based on AET, Pescosolido (2002) also argued, consistent with AET, that leaders have much of their influence on subordinates and team members by influencing group members’ moods. He reasoned that the workplace is often ambiguous, and that leaders serve an important function by role modeling the correct emotional response to workplace events. Pescosolido supported his theories in field studies of jazz musicians and sports teams.

It may take considerable skill for leaders to be able to role model the correct emotional response to complex situations; moreover, it may also take considerable judgment to know which mood is best to portray. Although positive moods may normally be best, the actual relationship between moods and performance is complex, and negative moods may be useful in some circumstances (Jordan, Lawrence, & Troth, 2006). George and Zhou (2007) found that creativity was highest when leaders provided a supportive atmosphere and positive moods, but that a combination of both positive and negative moods yielded the best results. In order for leaders to provide a supportive emotional atmosphere and to role model the appropriate emotional responses and moods, leaders need to be good at expressing the emotions they intend to convey. Moreover, and consistent with Ashkanasy and Jordan’s (2008) argument, leaders need also to be self-aware of their own emotional states.

Emotional intelligence and leadership

In our Part 2 discussion of Level 2 of the Five-Level Model, we identified that emotional intelligence (EI) is an individual difference variable that, despite controversy, appears to be critically important for effective leadership. We now address this assertion in more detail.

Salovey and Mayer’s (1990) seminal article defining emotional intelligence sparked considerable interest in this topic among both academics and practitioners. They later revised their original definition of emotional intelligence into a four-branch model (Mayer & Salovey, 1997), and subsequently developed (Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2002) an ability measure called the Mayer–Salovey–Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT). Their revision of this scale (MSCEIT V2.0; Mayer, Salovey, Caruso, & Sitarenios, 2003) is a ‘141-item scale designed to measure the following four branches (specific skills) of EI: (a) perceiving emotions, (b) using emotions to facilitate thought, (c) understanding emotions, and (d) managing emotions’ (p. 99). The MSCEIT uses items that are scored as either right or wrong, based on consensus or expert judgments. In contrast, other scales use either self-reports or peer reports, or a mixed method of rating emotional competencies that includes emotional intelligence constructs and related social skills (Ashkanasy & Daus, 2005). Some examples of scales include the Bar-On EQ-i (Bar-On, 1997), the Emotional Intelligence Scale (EIS; Schutte et al., 1998), the Work Profile Questionnaire – Emotional Intelligence Version (WPQei; Cameron, 2000), the Workgroup Emotional Intelligence Profile (WEIP; Jordan, Ashkanasy, & Härtel, 2002), and the WLEIS (Wong & Law, 2002).

With regard to the general issue of whether emotional intelligence predicts job performance, the evidence is reassuring. In their meta-analysis, van Rooij and Viswesvaran (2004) found that emotional intelligence predicts job performance. A more recent meta-analysis also provides support for the incremental validity of emotional intelligence over and above general mental ability and the Big Five personality factors, and that emotional intelligence correlates 0.28 with job performance (O’Boyle, Humphrey, Pollack, Hawver, & Story, in press). A study by Law, Wong, and Song (2004) found emotional intelligence predicts job performance. They reported that coworker ratings of an employee’s emotional intelligence predicted supervisors’ ratings of employees’ performance after controlling for the Big Five personality measures. Another study by Dulewicz, Higgs, and Slaski (2003) found that emotional intelligence predicted job performance and also correlated with morale and other measures related to well-being/stress.
In a sample of college students, Brackett, Mayer, and Warner (2004) found that emotional intelligence was positively associated with college grade point average (GPA). Moreover, Brackett and his associates also found that students with lower emotional intelligence were more likely to have illegal drug problems, to have problems with their friendships, and to have engaged in other deviant behaviors. In another study of students, Law, Wong, and Song (2004) found that emotional intelligence influenced life satisfaction and, in a second sample of employees, Law and his colleagues also found that emotional intelligence influenced job performance as rated by supervisors.

With regard to the specific issue of emotional intelligence and leadership, and despite recent criticism, the evidence is also actually quite supportive. Kellett, Humphrey, and Sleeth (2002; 2006) found that emotional intelligence measures predicted leadership emergence, and that some leaders relied more on their emotional skills—especially empathy—whereas others relied on cognitive skills and complex task performance. Coté and Miners (2006) also found that some people relied more on their cognitive skills, whereas others relied less on their cognitive skills and more on their emotional intelligence. The degree to which people rely on cognitive skills or on emotional skills may also depend on the type of task being performed, with work that requires interacting with others requiring more emotional intelligence than does solitary work. Offermann, Bailey, Vasilopoulos, Seal, and Sass (2004) found that cognitive intelligence predicted individual work such as exam performance, but that emotional intelligence was a better predictor of leadership ratings and of team performance. At the highest levels of an organization, or for pre-eminent achievement in most fields, leaders may need to be high in both cognitive intelligence and emotional intelligence. One study of these types of outstanding leaders found that they were high in both IQ and EQ (Aydin, Leblebici, Arslan, Kilic, & Oktem, 2005).

Empathy was part of the original concept of emotional intelligence (Salovey & Mayer, 1990) and remains a key concept in many peer-report- and self-report-based models of emotional intelligences and competencies (e.g., Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee, 2002; Wolff et al., 2002). Salovey and Mayer (1990) defined empathy as ‘the ability to comprehend another’s feelings and to re-experience them oneself’ (pp. 194–195). Kellett et al. (2006) developed a measure of interactive empathy based on the theory that leaders use a more active style of empathy and dynamically create a reciprocal interactive empathic bond with others, rather than just passively receiving others’ emotions. Contrary to simplistic assumptions that empathy is relevant only to relational leadership, Kellett and her colleagues found that interactive empathy predicted task leadership emergence as well as cognitive measures did.

Sy, Tram, and O’Hara (2006) provided evidence that managers high in emotional intelligence do a better job supervising their subordinates. They found in a sample of food service workers that managers high in emotional intelligence helped improve job satisfaction for employees, and that this was especially true for those subordinates low in emotional intelligence. Likewise, Wong and Law (2002) found that satisfaction and performance depends on the emotional intelligence of both leaders and followers, and that leaders can influence both job satisfaction and extra-role performance. In a sample of senior executives, Rosete and Ciarrochi (2005) found that executives with higher MSCEIT scores were rated higher by their superiors on their performance appraisal ratings of achieving business outputs. The executives were also evaluated using a 360 degree assessment measure filled out by their subordinates. The subordinates’ ratings were also positively correlated with the executives’ emotional intelligence. Rosete and Ciarrochi found that these results held up even when controlling for cognitive intelligence and the Big Five personality measures.

**Leader emotional displays and charisma**

The final aspect of the multi-level model we address in this part of the chapter spans Levels 3 (interpersonal) and 4 (groups). Charisma theorists (e.g., see Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Gardner & Avolio, 1998; Conger, Chapter 7, in this volume) have long recognized that charismatic leaders strongly influence their followers’ emotions, although much of this literature has focused on charisma as an attributional phenomenon and on impression management techniques. Scholars in this area have also examined the different methods necessary to express charisma across the different levels of an organization (Waldman & Yammarino, 1999). Scholars are now beginning to focus on how leaders’ emotional displays convey affect from charismatic leaders to followers through emotional contagion processes. Cherulnik, Donley, Wiewel, and Miller (2001) demonstrated that observers displayed more smiles and other emotional displays when watching videotapes of leaders who also displayed these non-verbal emotional expressions. Likewise, Goleman et al.’s (2002) theory of ‘resonance’ is based on emotional contagion; these authors maintain that effective leaders create an emotional resonance that emotionally synchronizes leaders and followers. In addition to
facial expressions, body language, and vocal tone, charismatic leaders may also use emotionally arousing language. For example, they use more emotionally engaging metaphors (Mio, Riggio, Levin, & Reese, 2005). In a series of studies, Bono and Ilies (2006) demonstrated that leaders who were more emotionally expressive were rated higher on charisma, and leaders’ positive emotional expressions influenced followers’ moods. They found these mood effects even when controlling for vision statements and other non-affective characteristics of charismatic speakers.

Emotionally engaging speeches may be more motivational than dry cognitive speeches, and thus may help convince followers to implement leader’s vision statements. Waples and Connelly (2008) found that leaders who used active emotions were better at increasing vision-related performance, and this was true regardless of whether the leader’s emotional valence was positive or negative. Moreover, they found that subordinates (especially those low on emotional competence) rated leaders who used active emotions higher on transformational leadership. Likewise, Newcombe and Ashkanasy (2002) found that the leader’s displayed affect could be more important than the content of the leader’s message in determining follower impressions of the leader. In particular, managers who displayed emotions that were incongruent with the content of their speech were rated poorly on leadership. The study by Newcombe and Ashkanasy also found that leaders who used negative valence emotions could be rated favorably if the emotional valence was consistent with the content of the speech. Thus, both of these studies found that negative emotions could be effective under the right circumstances.

Sy et al. (2005) also examined whether leaders’ moods were contagious to group members and influenced performance. They found that leaders’ mood influenced whether group members were in a positive or negative mood, and that leaders who were in positive moods had group members who performed better in terms of coordination and effort required to achieve the tasks. De Hoogh et al. (2005) also found that charismatic leaders can be more effective in the workplace; in their study, charismatic leaders were able to be more effective by improving their subordinates’ work attitudes.

Although many leaders may wish to be charismatic, individuals differ in their ability to be charismatic and in their ability to display emotions. Groves (2005) examined leaders in 64 organizations, and found that the leaders’ emotional expressiveness determined whether the leaders were perceived as charismatic. People lacking in emotional expressiveness may also be less likely to gain leadership positions, and this may be true even for task leaders. Kellett et al. (2006) found that the ability to express emotions had a direct positive effect on task leadership emergence. In addition, the ability to express emotions had indirect effects through empathy on both relations leadership and task leadership. The direct effects for expressing emotions to task leadership suggest that task leaders may sometimes be effective by expressing tough, non-empathetic emotions. They also found a stronger effect of empathy on task leadership emergence; however, so it is possible that even task leaders spend most of their communication time expressing positive emotions, and only use negative emotional expressions when they must express a negative message, such as communicating a negative assessment of performance (as in the Newcombe and Ashkanasy, 2002, study).

In summary of the three topics

In this part of the chapter, we examined in more detail processes at Levels 1–4 of the Five-Level Model. The first topic we addressed was the role of leaders as mood managers with the framework of AET (Level 1). We concluded that an essential component of good leadership is the ability of leaders to be in touch with and to express the emotions they are feeling to their group members. We then turned our attention to the role of emotional intelligence in leadership (Level 2), and concluded that the vast majority of empirical research supports the view that emotional intelligence is positively related to good leadership. Indeed, this conclusion also flows from our discussion of leaders as mood managers, in that emotional intelligence involves the ability both to perceive and to manage the emotional states of self and others (Mayer & Salovey, 1997). In our
third topic, we spanned Levels 3 and 4 in a discussion of the role of emotion as a driver of charismatic and transformational leadership. Consistent with our findings regarding AET and emotional intelligence, we concluded that the leader’s ability to be emotionally expressive is a key ingredient of such leadership. Part 3 takes this line of argument to the next step – the role of emotional labor in leadership.

PART 3: LEADING WITH EMOTIONAL LABOR

In the final part of this chapter, we follow up our discussion of leader emotional displays with the proposition that leadership, of necessity, involves an element of emotional labor. Thus, because leadership scholars now recognize that one of the key roles of leaders is to manage the moods and emotions of their followers, leadership researchers have begun to examine the methods that people actually use to manage both their own and others’ emotions.

Scholars who study charisma were among the first to recognize the important role that emotions play in relationships between followers and leaders (for a discussion of the different forms of charisma, and how they vary from weak to strong, see Bratton, Grint, & Nelson, 2005; Conger, Chapter 7, in this volume). Although many leaders try to be charismatic, it is difficult to create charismatic relationships between leaders and followers and most leaders are generally not considered to be charismatic. Establishing charismatic relationships with subordinates may be difficult because leaders need to balance their downward displays of relationship leadership to their subordinates with their need to perform task duties while looking upward to their superiors (Cowsill & Grint, 2008). Likewise, the literature on emotional labor has documented that putting on the appropriate emotional displays while at work is not a simple process. In addition, the emotional labor literature has documented that expressing emotions at work may produce a variety of psychological effects on the actor, ranging from feelings of inauthenticity and stress to increased identification and well-being (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Lee, 2008; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Pugh, 2001; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Van Dijk & Kirk-Brown, 2006). Moreover, the emotional labor literature, as well as the related literature on emotion regulation, has categorized a number of techniques that people can use to help them both feel and express the appropriate emotions.

Thus, applying the concepts from research on emotional labor may prove beneficial to leadership researchers (Humphrey, 2005, 2008).

As previously mentioned, researchers have provided strong evidence that there is emotional contagion from leaders to followers (Barsade, 2002; Bono & Ilies, 2006; Cherulnik et al., 2001; Sy et al., 2005). Humphrey (2005, 2006, 2008; see also Humphrey, Pollack, & Hawver, 2008) argued that leaders can use emotional labor processes to take control of the emotional contagion process. He suggested that, by using emotional labor techniques, leaders can both gain control of their own emotions and use emotional contagion to influence the emotions and moods of their coworkers and subordinates. It may take considerable skill for leaders to use emotional labor. For example, Jones, Kane, Russo, and Walmsley (2008) examined leader emotional labor and emotional contagion, and found that the degree to which emotional contagion occurred depended upon the subordinates’ perceptions of the leaders.

In this instance Humphrey (2005, 2006, 2008; see also Humphrey et al., 2008) was the first researcher to apply the emotional labor perspective to leadership systematically, and he coined the phrase ‘leading with emotional labor.’ With the exception of Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) and Mann (1997), all of the research on emotional labor prior to 2005 examined emotional labor among service workers. Brotheridge and Grandey were the first to include a sample of managers in their study of emotional labor in five occupations. They found that managers performed emotional labor as often as did sales staff and customer services personnel. Mann in a study of British managers demonstrated similarly that emotional labor effects were prevalent at all levels of organizational communication. Now researchers are beginning to apply emotional labor concepts to leadership. For example, Humphrey (2005) theorized that leaders who use emotional labor would be more likely to be perceived as transformational. Consistent with this, Epitropaki (2006) found that leaders who used emotional labor were perceived higher on transformational leadership.

The theory of emotional labor was first devised by Hochschild (1983). She argued that organizations often require their front-line service employees to express certain emotions as part of their job duties. The most frequent type of emotional labor may consist of ‘service with a smile’ interactions between employees and customers (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Pugh, 2001; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Van Dijk & Kirk-Brown, 2006). Depending upon the occupation, however, service workers may also be required to express a wide range of other emotions: even unpleasant emotions like anger, irritation, or sadness.
Emotional labor may work in part by emotional contagion processes (Pugh, 2001), and may improve task effectiveness by increasing predictability and helping interpersonal interactions run more smoothly (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Humphrey et al. (2008) classified the type of emotional labor performed by service workers into three categories: (1) customer service jobs; (2) caring professions; and (3) social control jobs. In the first category, standard customer service jobs, employees are usually required to express mostly pleasant emotions, such as smiling and acting friendly. Although these are normally pleasant emotions to express, the repetitive nature of expressing these emotions, along with the hectic work pace, may make it hard for employees to express these emotions in a convincing and authentic way all day long. In the second category, caring professions, nurses and healthcare workers, social workers, childcare workers, and so forth, employees sometimes have to express sympathy for sick patients or clients with long-standing personal problems. Thus, employees in these occupations may routinely have to express emotions such as sadness and sympathy, which are normally associated with traumatic events that most people only infrequently experience. In the third category, social control agents, such as bouncers, policemen, and bill collectors, may have to display irritation or even anger. As Sutton (1991) illustrated in his study of bill collectors, expressing just the right amount of irritation can be difficult to do.

According to Humphrey and his colleagues (2008), leaders have to use all three types of emotional labor while managing their subordinates, and have to use considerably more judgment about which type of emotional labor to use. Leaders must act cheerful and enthusiastic to perk up bored service workers, they must express sympathy and support to frustrated subordinates, and they must display stern disapproval to misbehaving subordinates. Moreover, they have to use considerable judgment about which emotions to portray; for example, should they express sympathy for the personal problems that cause an employee to be tardy, or react with firm disapproval, or some mixture? Consequently, performing emotional labor may be more challenging for leaders than for most service employees.

According to Hochschild (1983), service workers perform emotional labor by either using surface acting, in which they change their outward emotional expressions but not their actual feelings, or deep acting, in which they first try to summon up the appropriate feelings, and then let these generated feelings animate their outward displays. Both of these forms can create feelings of inauthenticity and emotional dissonance, and considerable research has examined the extent to which these feelings can create stress, burnout, feelings of depersonalization, and other negative psychological consequences (Bono & Vey, 2005; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Bryant, & Cox, 2006; Van Dijk & Kirk-Brown, 2006).

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argued that service workers can perform emotional labor in a third way: namely, by expressing genuine and spontaneous emotions that naturally comply with the organization’s display rules. For example, emergency care workers may truly feel sorrow upon seeing an injured child, and thus have no need to fake their emotional displays or expend energy in summoning up feelings of sympathy. Glomb and Tews (2004), as well as Diefendorff, Croyde, and Gosserand (2005), found support for the presence of this third type of emotional labor, and demonstrated that it is an effective form of emotional labor. In particular, customers respond better to genuine emotional displays that are consistent with emotional display rules (Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006).

Leaders who use surface acting may not always be revealing their true intentions. Because leaders have more influence than do subordinates, this lack of authenticity can pose serious ethical problems. Hunt, Gardner, and Fischer (2008) have explored the implications of performing the three types of emotional labor for leaders, and have developed a typology that relates these types of emotional labor to authentic leadership. They theorized that the effectiveness of leaders’ emotional labor depends on the distance between leaders and followers (distance is conceptualized in terms of physical distance, social distance, and frequency of interaction). In addition, they theorized that the effectiveness of leaders’ emotional labor also depends upon whether their emotional displays comply with organizational display rules. Thus, leaders who display genuine emotions that are contrary to social expectations may be perceived as authentic but yet generate unfavorable impressions. Although we may intuitively assume that leaders have more freedom than service workers to choose their emotional expressions, the degree to which leaders have autonomy and can create their own emotional display rules varies greatly by type of leader position (Humphrey et al., 2008). Moreover, Hunt and his coauthors argue that leader distance influences the mix of emotional labor strategies used by the different types of leaders. According to their typology, the distance between leaders and followers interacts with the type of emotional labor used to influence followers’ perceptions of leader authenticity and follower trust in the leader. Gardner, Fischer, and Hunt (2009) also explored the ethical issues relating to leaders’ use of surface acting and deep acting, and demonstrated how genuine emotional
expression is more consistent with authentic leadership theory. Like Humphrey and his colleagues (Humphrey, 2008; Humphrey et al., 2008), Hunt et al. (2008) examined how performing the three different types of emotional labor influenced leader-felt authenticity and leader well-being.

Surface acting may also be more stressful for leaders than deep acting or genuine emotional expression. Humphrey et al. (2008) argued that leaders have to be able to portray optimism, hope, and confidence even when facing the same confidence-shattering events that may be demoralizing their subordinates; thus, leaders may have to use surface acting to portray confidence, or, even better, use deep-acting techniques and emotion regulation strategies to bolster their own confidence. Their theories are based in part on the work being done on positive leadership and psychological capital (e.g., Hannah & Luthans, 2008). Although research suggests that those who use deep acting and genuine emotional expression may perform better and have better psychological reactions, the effects of emotional labor on leaders is likely to be complex, with both positive and negative effects. Recent research suggests that leaders’ emotive awareness may influence whether they find performing emotional labor to be stressful or not (Jones, Visio, Wilberding, & King, 2008). This is an area that still needs considerable research.

There is also a need to examine individual differences in leaders’ use of the three types of emotional labor, as well as individual differences in how skillfully they use the techniques. Some exciting research has begun to examine whether there are different types of emotional laborers in terms of their use of the three strategies. Jordan, Soutar, and Kiffin-Petersen (2008) found that only 4% were ‘chameleons’, who were high in all three types of emotional labor, and that only 28% were ‘empathists’, high in deep acting and genuine emotional expression.

Finally, there is a need to see how leading with emotional labor relates to emotion regulation strategies. Mikolajczak, Tran, and Brotheridge (2008) have classified a variety of emotional regulation strategies in addition to the three emotional labor strategies. Together, these expanded strategies could help leaders who use emotional labor to control both their own emotional reactions and to influence the moods, emotions, and performance of their followers.

**In summary of leading with emotional labor**

In this, the final part of our chapter, we have argued that emotional labor, which was originally intended to apply in service interactions, applies also to leadership. This line of argument flows on from our earlier discussion of the Five-Level Model and the three additional topics. The message from Part 2 is that good leaders are self-aware and able to manage their own emotions and the emotional states of their group members; that leaders need to have high emotional intelligence; and that this ability is a central ingredient of charismatic and transformational leadership. In Part 3, we took this line a step further and proposed that good leadership therefore involves active emotional labor. Thus, leaders need to be able to manage their own emotional expressions and to use their emotional expressivity and understanding (aka emotional intelligence) to manage the mood states of their group members. We argued further that this is also the essence of charismatic and transformational leadership.

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

In this chapter, we have presented the view that emotions and leadership are intimately bound concepts, and that understanding leadership therefore requires an understanding of the role emotion plays at all levels of organizational functioning. We addressed this in three parts. In Part 1, drawing upon Ashkanasy (2003a) and Ashkanasy and Jordan (2008), we described how leadership and emotion are linked at five levels of organizational analysis, going from affective events and within-person emotional fluctuations, to individual differences and emotion communication in interpersonal relationships, and then to consideration of emotion in groups and the organization as a whole. In Part 2, we dealt in detail with three topics that arose from Part 1: leaders as managers of members’ mood states, emotional intelligence, and the emotional underpinnings of charismatic and transformational leadership. In Part 3, we took this line a step further, arguing that good leadership necessarily incorporates emotional labor.

Before concluding, however, we note that there are some boundaries to our analysis. The first of these is that research has shown that there can be cross-cultural differences in perceptions and effects of expressed emotions (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002). The second boundary is that we have considered only the positive side of emotional intelligence and leadership. Both constructs, however, have a ‘dark side.’ Fineman (2004), for example, has argued that emotional intelligence, especially once promulgated by top management, can become a manipulative device. In addition, Conger (1990) described how charismatic and
transformational leadership can also be used for manipulative purposes. Consistent with Bass, Avolio, and Atwater (1996) and Gardner et al. (2009), we have restricted our analysis to 'authentic leadership,' where emotional expressions are genuine and not contrived for manipulative purposes. As such, discussion of 'pseudo-transformational leadership' and its effects is beyond the scope of our analysis in this chapter. Suffice to say this is not the kind of leadership we would regard as either 'good' or 'effective.'

To conclude, we have argued in this chapter that understanding emotions, ability to express emotions, and emotional awareness are all components that contribute to leadership effectiveness. We have also stressed that both leadership and emotion are holistic phenomena that extend across all five levels of organizational understanding. Finally, we have argued that leadership, of necessity, involves emotional labor, and suggested some ideas for future research in this respect. We hope these ideas will help to improve our understanding of leadership and encourage our readers to extend this line of research.

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