

Stirring the Hearts of Followers: Charismatic Leadership as the Transferral of Affect

Amir Erez
University of Florida

Vilmos F. Misangyi
University of Delaware

Diane E. Johnson
University of Alabama

Marcie A. LePine
University of Florida

Kent C. Halverson
Air Force Institute of Technology

In 2 studies, the authors found that leader charisma was positively associated with followers' positive affect and negatively associated with followers' negative affect. The authors hypothesized that leaders' positive affect, positive expression, and aroused behavior will mediate these relationships. The results of their lab study suggest that leaders' positive expression and aroused behavior mediated these relationships. A field study showed that firefighters under the command of a charismatic officer were happier than those under the command of a non-charismatic officer and that these relationships were mediated by the leader's positive affect and a tendency to express positivity.

Keywords: charisma, followers, affects, expressiveness, arousal

In the last few decades, considerable evidence has accumulated in support of charismatic leadership theories and the importance of charisma in organizational settings. For example, recent meta-analyses suggest that charismatic leadership behaviors are related to leader effectiveness (DeGroot, Kiker, & Cross, 2000; Fuller, Patterson, Hester, & Stringer, 1996; Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996) as well as subordinates' effectiveness, effort, job satisfaction, and commitment (DeGroot et al., 2000). Despite the growing body of evidence of charismatic leadership's importance, surprisingly little is known about the processes by which charismatic leaders impact their followers (Bass, 1999; House & Aditya, 1997). What little we do know about the processes underlying charismatic leadership primarily concerns the cognitive effects that charismatic leaders have on followers. For example, the effects that charismatic leaders have on followers have been hypothesized to be mediated by the cognitive processes of identification and internalization (Etzioni, 1975; Gardner & Avolio, 1998; House, 1977; Howell, 1988). Indeed, several empirical studies have shown that leaders' rhetoric, vision, and/or communication styles affect

followers' identities or perceptions (e.g., Awamleh & Gardner, 1999; Bono & Judge, 2003; Conger, Kanungo, & Menon, 2000; Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996; Shamir, Arthur, & House, 1994).

As important as cognitive processes are to the charismatic relationship, some researchers have suggested (see Bass, 1988; House, Woycke, & Fodor, 1988; Pescosolido, 2002) that cognitions cannot fully explain these relationships and that emotional processes are essential to the understanding of the charismatic relationship. Indeed, the initial notion of charisma, as an ideal-typical form of authority, was conceptualized as "an emotional form of communal relationship" (Weber, 1947, p. 360). To Weber (1947), "genuine" charisma represents emotional expression unmitigated by cognitive mechanisms, and his examples convey a notion of "genuine" charisma that is entirely emotionally based:

The best example of a (genuinely) charismatic personality is the 'berserk' warrior. Though he creates a frenzied commitment to the battle among his comrades, the ideal-typical berserk warrior does not have a message to those whom he inspires. His effectiveness is due solely to his overtly expressed extreme excitement. This is explicitly stated by Weber, and it is for this reason that he brings berserk warriors as the first, presumably the purest and most obvious, example of genuine charisma . . . where this concept is defined. (Greenfeld, 1985, p. 120)

The "berserk warrior" may not be that desirable in business organizations, and the extreme excitement the "berserk warrior" exhibits, in general, may not necessarily be an attractive quality. Nonetheless, this early conception of charisma is suggestive that the key to understanding the effect that leader charisma has on

Amir Erez and Marcie A. LePine, Warrington College of Business Administration, University of Florida; Vilmos F. Misangyi, Alfred Lerner College of Business and Economics, University of Delaware; Diane E. Johnson, Culverhouse College of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Alabama; Kent C. Halverson, Air Force Institute of Technology.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Amir Erez, Department of Management, Warrington College of Business, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-7165. E-mail: amir.erez@cba.ufl.edu

followers may lie in the process of emotional influence. However, the role of charisma in the transferal of emotions from leaders to followers is conspicuously missing from the literature. In fact, despite the clear emphasis on emotions in early conceptions of charisma, we know of only two studies to date (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Cherulnik, Donley, Wiewel, & Miller, 2001) that attempted to investigate the link between leader charisma and followers' emotions. Thus, the dearth of evidence as to the processes underlying charismatic leadership (House & Aditya, 1997) is most apparent with regard to the role that emotions play in such leadership. The intent of the current set of studies, then, is to investigate and extend our understanding of the emotional side of charisma.

Leader Charisma and Follower Affect

In this study, we propose and test a model suggesting that the charismatic relationship is associated with positive followers' affect rather than negative followers' affect. Three principal characteristics of charismatic leaders—leaders' positive affect, leaders' positive expression, and leaders' aroused behavior—are hypothesized to influence followers' emotions. The first two links in the model, presented in Figure 1, suggest that leaders' charisma is associated with leaders' positive affect and leaders' positive expressiveness and that these characteristics in turn afford the transferal of positive affect to followers. The third link in the model suggests that charismatics tend to exhibit aroused behaviors and this arousal is likely to be transmitted to followers. However, it is not clear whether the consequent arousal of followers will be translated to positive or negative affect, as there are theoretical reasons to hypothesize that either is possible. Thus, our studies treat the first two links in the model as confirmatory, while the last as exploratory.

Before discussing each of these links in more detail, we first posit that, overall, the effect that charismatic leaders have on followers' affect should be more positive than negative. People, in general, like to be around those who make them feel good (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994) and find negative and volatile people aversive (Coynne, 1976; Hatfield et al., 1994). Indeed, in reviewing the happiness literature, Lyubomirsky, King, and Diener (2005) concluded, "Most respondents like happy people much more than they like their less-than-happy peers" (p. 827). Furthermore, charismatic leaders habitually regulate information about themselves in an effort to build their positive images (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Gardner & Avolio, 1998; House, 1977). Indeed, Connelly, Gaddis, and Helton-Fauth (2002) argued that charismatic leaders are well aware of their emotional impact on followers and willingly take advantage of this power. Thus, if charismatics indeed transmit affect to followers, it is likely that they will transmit, on balance, more positive than negative affect. In other words, we believe that charismatic leaders make use of positive affect to affect followers and that it is unlikely they would have any influence on followers if they predominantly transmit negative affect. Therefore, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1: Leader charisma is (a) positively associated with followers' positive affect and (b) negatively related to followers' negative affect.

Charismatic Leaders' Positive Affect and Expressiveness

Although not specifically investigated in the charismatic literature, this literature is clearly suggestive that charismatic leaders experience more positive emotions than do non-charismatic leaders. First, charismatics tend to possess several personality characteristics that are strongly related to positive emotionality. For

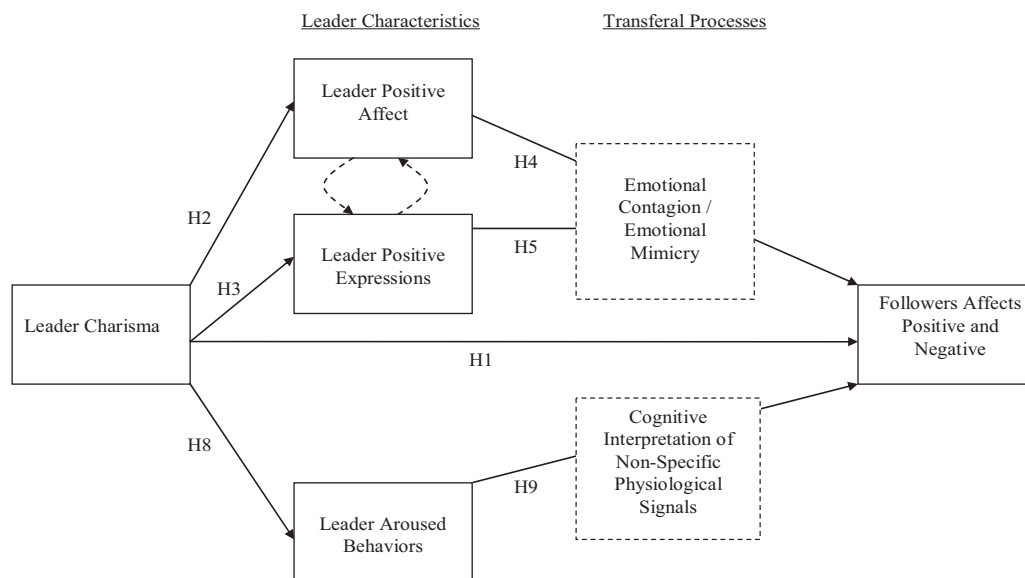


Figure 1. A model of the transferal of affect from charismatic leaders to followers. Items denoted with a dashed line are not tested in the current studies. The relationships between leader charisma (H1), positive affect (H4), positive expression (H5), and aroused behavior (H9) and follower affect are hypothesized to have opposite effects on follower positive affect and follower negative affect. H = hypothesis.

example, charismatics tend to have high self-esteem (Bass, 1990), a trait which has been shown to be highly related to positive well-being and happiness across cultures (Diener & Diener, 1996). Indeed, Campbell, Chew, and Scratchley (1991) found that the average moods of participants high in self-esteem, recorded over a period of 2 weeks, were much more pleasant than those of participants low in self-esteem. Charismatics also tend to be more Extraverted and less Neurotic (Bono & Judge, 2004), and these Big Five traits have also been shown to be strongly related to happiness (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). In fact, Watson and Clark (1997) have suggested that positive emotionality is core to Extraversion and that extraverts express and experience positive emotions. In contrast, at the core of Neuroticism is the tendency to experience negative emotions, and neurotics tend to experience emotional distress (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Thus, given their dispositions, charismatics should experience more positive and less negative affect than do non-charismatics.

If charismatics tend to be dispositionally happier and generally in more positive affect than are non-charismatics, it follows that they should also display overtly positive behaviors, such as smiling, laughing, and being warm and affable, more so than non-charismatics (Cherulnik et al., 2001; Hatfield et al., 1994). Indeed, Bono and Ilies (2006) found that charismatic leaders expressed more positive emotions in a written vision statement and more behaviors indicating positive emotions, as observed in videotaped speeches. However, there is an additional reason to believe that leader charisma is associated with positive expressiveness: Charismatics manage impressions (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Gardner & Avolio, 1998). Charismatics are considered to be proficient actors who adjust their behaviors to meet audience demands (Bass, 1988; Gardner & Avolio, 1998; House & Howell, 1992; Snyder, 1987). Similar to self-monitors, charismatics are very good at picking up cues from the environment and adapting their behaviors to those cues (Anderson, 1990; Gardner & Avolio, 1998). At the same time, there is evidence to suggest that positive expressions are likely to be more attractive to people and that negative emotions and expressions may be repelling to others. With regard to the former, O'Doherty, Winston, Critchley, Perrett, and Dolan (2003) found (via functional magnetic resonance imaging) that pictures of smiling faces produced more activation in a region of the brain involving stimulus-reward value (e.g., medial orbitofrontal cortex). As to negative emotions, Coyne (1976) found that men who talked with a depressed woman on the phone quickly became aware that she was sad. In turn, they became depressed themselves and refused to talk with her again. Thus, because charismatics are better at picking up cues from their audiences, and since their audiences are likely to respond better to positive expressions, charismatics are more likely to make use of positive expressions to attract followers. Such an argument is consistent with previous treatments of charisma, which suggest that charismatic leaders exhibit specific patterns of non-verbal behavior (Friedman, Prince, Riggio, & DiMatteo, 1980) that portray the leader's enthusiasm, positivity, and confidence (Riggio, 1986).

Interestingly, because charismatic leaders should exhibit more positive facial expressions than do non-charismatics (either because of their natural dispositions or for impression management purposes), they should also naturally experience more positive

emotions. Zajonc (1980) has posited that the link between emotions and facial expressions is bi-directional. In other words, while emotions affect facial expressions—facial expressions also shape emotions. Consistent with this view Laird (1984), for example, found that when participants were asked to contract various facial muscles (for supposed electromyography—a recording of the electrical activity of muscles), forming either smiles or frowns, and then were asked to describe their emotions, they reported emotions consistent with their facial expressions. That is, those in the frown condition were found to be angrier, while those in the smile condition were happier. Many other studies have obtained similar effects (e.g., Cupchik & Leventhal, 1974; Duncan & Laird, 1977; Lanzetta, Cartwright-Smith, & Kleck, 1976; Rhodewalt & Comer, 1979; Zuckerman, Klorman, Larrance, & Spiegel, 1981). Accordingly, charismatics who express more joy (i.e., smiling more) should also naturally experience more positive emotions than do non-charismatics through this biofeedback mechanism.

In short, we hypothesize that whether charismatic leaders are truly more positive (by disposition) or just better at conveying positivity, they exhibit more positive expressions and experience more positive emotions than do non-charismatic leaders:

Hypothesis 2: Leader charisma is associated positively with leader's positive affect.

Hypothesis 3: Leader charisma is associated positively with displays of positive leader expressions.

Emotional Contagion Processes

A growing body of literature, utilizing diverse methods, has shown that affect may be transmitted from person to person through emotional contagion processes—processes through which a person “catches” the emotions of others (see Hatfield et al., 1994). Although most of the studies in this realm of research have been conducted with dyads, several recent studies in the organizational literature showed that emotional contagion effects also apply to groups of individuals (Bartel & Saavedra, 2000; Totterdell, Kellert, Teuchmann, & Briner, 1998). For example, in a laboratory study, Barsade (2002) found that affect contagion occurs in teams. In her study, a confederate was trained to display pleasant and unpleasant affects with different levels of activation. While at the beginning of the experimental session the affective states of team members were randomly distributed, at the end of the session team members' affects converged to resemble that of the confederate.

The purpose of all of these studies was to show that emotional contagion occurs in teams, but none of them particularly investigated the role that central members of the group, such as leaders, play in this process. In fact, Barsade (2002) found in her study that participants did not view the confederate as the group leader and accordingly concluded that any member of the group could potentially transmit emotions to others. However, it is also reasonable to assume that leaders, because of their centrality to the group and group processes, will be in a perfect position to transmit their emotions to other members. Indeed, recently Bono and Ilies (2006) found, in two studies, that leaders who expressed positive emo-

tions positively influenced the affects of followers.¹ Similarly, Sy, Côté, and Saavedra (2005) hypothesized that leaders in a positive affective state would transmit positive affect to other team members, while leaders in a negative affective state would transfer their negative affect. Sy et al. (2005) randomly selected leaders and assigned them to watch either a humorous video clip or a documentary depicting social injustice and aggression. They measured team members' affects, had the leaders interact with other team members for 7 minutes, and then measured team members' affects again. As predicted, after interacting with the leaders, those in the leader positive affect condition reported significantly more positive affect than did those in the leader negative affect condition.²

The emotional contagion literature suggests that one of the main ways by which affect is transmitted occurs through emotional mimicry (Hatfield et al., 1994), most often subconsciously (Davis, 1985). Indeed, Bavelas, Black, Lemery, and Mullet (1987) reported ample evidence suggesting that people imitate others' expressions of such things as pain, laughter, smiling, affection, and embarrassment. Although this mimicry may be partially conscious, as for example when people empathize with others' sadness and express sadness themselves, for the most part people are not aware of their mirroring of the behaviors of others. For instance, it has been observed that in conversation people tend to continuously mimic others' facial expressions and that this mimicry is often instantaneous (Dimberg, 1982; Hatfield et al., 1994; Vaughan & Lanzetta, 1980). Moreover, this motor mimicry can occur at levels so subtle that it produces no observable facial expressions (e.g., Cacioppo, Tassinary, & Fridlund, 1990). For example, Dimberg (1982) measured the facial electromyography activity of participants as they looked at pictures of "happy" and "angry" people and found that happy and angry expressions evoked very different facial electromyography responses. Participants observing happy facial expressions showed increased muscular activity in the cheek muscles (*zygomaticus major*). In contrast, angry faces evoked activity in the brow muscle region (*corrugator supercilii*). Thus, people seem to be able to track the most subtle of moment-to-moment changes in others and mimic them (Hatfield et al., 1994).

But why do people mimic others' facial expressions? Dimberg (1990) suggested that primates in general are pre-wired to respond to emotional faces with a strong autonomic response. For example, Sackett (1966), who studied infant monkeys that were reared in isolation, found that they became extremely agitated the first time they were shown a picture of the face of an angry adult monkey. Researchers also have found that it is very hard for people to learn to associate (in conditional response studies) happy faces with painful experiences (i.e., electric shock). In contrast, it is very easy for participants to learn to associate angry faces with painful experiences (Lanzetta & Orr, 1986; Ohman & Dimberg, 1978; Orr & Lanzetta, 1980). Autonomic response to others' facial expressions has also been identified in infants shortly after birth. Infants mimic experimenters' facial expressions such as sticking out their tongues, pursing their lips, and opening their mouths (Meltzoff, 1988; Reissland, 1988). Mothers, in turn, mimic their infants' facial expressions of emotions, without being aware of it (O'Toole & Dublin, 1968). Thus, it seems that identifying facial expressions in others and mimicking them is a basic, natural, subconscious, communicative act of conveying a rapid non-verbal message to others.

Evidence also suggests that emotional mimicry is not unique to close one-on-one relations. A study by McHugo, Lanzetta, Sulli-

van, Masters, and Englis (1985) showed that Republicans and Democrats alike expressed happiness or anger while watching a television newscast of a speech by Ronald Reagan. Although they may have had very different views (i.e., cognitive) about the speech, both groups mimicked Reagan's facial expressions. A study by Cherulnik et al. (2001) also found that observers of charismatic and non-charismatic leaders tended to mimic charismatic leaders. Observers smiled and exhibited other non-verbal expressions that were similar to those exhibited by charismatic leaders (who themselves exhibited frequent smiling) more so than when watching non-charismatic leaders (who smiled less often).

Such mimicry, in turn, influences individuals' emotions as a result of the physiological biofeedback described earlier. To recap, quite a few studies have shown that when participants pose their faces in a way consistent with certain emotions, they start feeling those emotions. For example, Strack, Martin, and Stepper (1988) asked participants to hold a pen between their teeth without using their lips, in so doing, forming a smile. They were then asked to rate the funniness of a cartoon. Participants in this "smile" condition saw more humor in the cartoons than did those in a condition inhibiting the smile (i.e., holding a pen using their lips). As a result of these and other studies, Hatfield et al. (1994) argued that when people express emotions in their faces, voices, and body movements, others mimic these physical expressions through synchronized communication. In turn, the physical expressions themselves cause similar emotions in the recipients. In this way, if you smile, others around you will smile and feel happy, but if you frown, people around you will frown and feel angry or sad.

Taken as a whole, this foregoing theory and evidence regarding emotional contagion and emotional mimicry lead us to posit the following relationships:

¹ The leaders in the Bono and Ilies (2006) studies were videotaped, however, and did not directly interact with followers. Moreover, the manipulations of leaders' expressed positive emotions were quite strong. In one of their studies, they specifically chose leaders' speeches that were rated either high or low on emotional expressiveness, and in the other study a trained actor delivered the high and low positive emotions speeches. Thus, although this study was informative it is not clear from it whether the findings will hold in naturalistic settings where positive emotions are embedded in other behaviors.

² Several factors, however, make it difficult to conclude from the Sy et al. (2005) study which moods were transferred and how they were transmitted from leaders to followers. First, there was no neutral mood condition in this study. Therefore, the effects of leaders' moods on followers' moods were tested by comparing the "positive affect" and the "negative affect" manipulation groups. It is not clear from the study, then, if the effect found was due to positive mood transfer, negative mood transfer, or both. Second, the documentary that leaders watched in the negative mood condition was apt to cause anger among the participants watching it. Therefore, while the happy emotions caused by the humorous clip were likely to be low in arousal, the anger-inducing manipulation was likely to induce emotions high in arousal. As such, the manipulations of "positive affect leader" and "negative affect leader" may have confounded affect with arousal. That is, the differences found between the positive affect group and the negative affect group may have been a result of an arousal transfer and not of an affect transfer. Thus, while the results of this study are important in suggesting that transfer of emotions occurs between leaders and followers, the nature of this transfer is not completely clear.

Hypothesis 4: Leaders' positive affect is (a) positively related to followers' positive affect and (b) negatively related to followers' negative affect.

Hypothesis 5: Leaders' positive expressions are (a) positively related to followers' positive affect and (b) negatively related to followers' negative affect.

The emotional contagion logic just described also implies that the relationship between leader charisma and follower affect is partially mediated by both the leader's positive affect and expressions:

Hypothesis 6: Leaders' positive affect partially mediates the relationship between leader charisma and followers' (a) positive affect and (b) negative affect.

Hypothesis 7: Leaders' positive expressions partially mediate the relationship between leader charisma and followers' (a) positive affect and (b) negative affect.

Charisma and Aroused Behaviors

Emotions are subjective feelings that are accompanied by physiological states. In other words, all emotions are felt subjectively but are expressed through somatic motor responses and autonomic motor changes. The expression of emotions in the somatic motor system has a communicative function. Therefore, it is usually manifested by very particular muscles that control facial and postural expressions. For example, a spontaneous smile, also known as a Duchenne smile, involves a contraction of the muscles that elevate the angles of the mouth (zygomaticus major). However, it also involves a contraction of the muscles surrounding the eyes (obicularis oculi) that cannot be activated by the force of will. In contrast, a contrived smile involves only the muscles that elevate the angles of the mouth. Therefore, a Duchenne smile conveys the genuine experience of happiness, joy, and laughter, whereas the contrived smile does not convey these same emotions. The expression of emotions in the somatic motor system is therefore specific to particular emotions. Accordingly, and as hypothesized above, the transfer of emotions from charismatic leaders to followers should also be specific and correspond to the particular expressed emotions of the leader.

At the same time, however, all emotions also share some common and general physiological characteristics that are not specific to particular emotions. In fact, the clearest sign of emotions involves alteration in arousal that prepares the organism for action (Kandel, Schwartz, & Jessell, 2000). Changes in arousal entail modifications in the activity of the autonomic motor system that govern smooth muscles, cardiac muscles, and glands throughout the body. Thus, arousal involves an increase or a decrease in heart rate, changes in cutaneous blood flow (blushing or turning pale), sweating, and changes in gastrointestinal activity, all of which can be enacted by many and various emotions. Arousal is not only non-specific to a particular emotion, but it is also slow to decay. Therefore, arousal can be easily transferred (within oneself), subconsciously, from situation to situation and from one kind of emotion to other emotions (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Accordingly, while we can hypothesize that leaders indeed transfer their arousal to followers, it is less clear as to which specific emotions this transferred arousal will be translated to in followers.

There is ample evidence to suggest that charismatic leaders tend to exhibit more aroused behaviors than do non-charismatic leaders.

For example, Friedman and Riggio (1981) described charismatic leaders as having an engaging and captivating tone of voice and animated facial expression. Howell and Frost (1989) found that charismatic leaders, who exhibited extended eye contact, vocal variety, and animated facial expressions, affected satisfaction and performance of followers more than leaders who did not exhibit these types of behaviors. Moreover, Howell and Frost (1989) found that the dynamism and energy of the charismatic leader's image was also created by the leader's alternation between pacing and sitting on the edge of his or her desk and other bodily expressions (i.e., leaning toward the participant). Consequently, Cherulnik et al. (2001) measured charismatic leadership based on the frequency and intensity of positive expressions of affect (smiling), the intensity of all facial expressions in general, and the directness of the leader's gaze. Thus, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 8: Leader charisma is associated positively with displays of aroused leader behaviors.

A large body of research has shown that excitation is easily transferred from situation to situation and from person to person (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Hatfield et al. 1994). For example, Klinnert, Campos, Sorce, Emde, and Sveida (1983) found that people's shrill voices and abrupt angular movements elicited immediate nervous emotional reactions from others. Similarly, the arousal of charismatic leaders, many times expressed by extensive hand movements and loud voices, should be easily transferred to followers. Indeed, Cherulnik et al. (2001) found that observers of charismatic leaders exhibited more intense non-verbal expressions when watching charismatic leaders (who themselves exhibited frequent intense expressions) than when watching non-charismatic leaders.

Given that the arousal of charismatic leaders is transferred to followers, the question relevant to this study then becomes which emotions will accompany this arousal. Schachter's (1964) two factors theory of emotions³ suggests that the "thinking" part of the brain (cerebral cortex) constructs emotions from the non-specific

³ Schachter's theory is an adaptation of the James-Lange theory of emotions. In 1884, William James (1884/1968) rejected the traditional view that emotions are caused by cognitive activity and instead suggested that the cognitive experience of emotions is actually secondary to the physiological expression of emotions. Based on this hypothesis, W. James, together with the Danish psychologist Carl Lange, proposed an alternative view of emotions known as the James-Lange theory. According to this theory, the subjective feeling of emotions occurs after the brain receives signals about physiological changes—an increase or decrease in heart rate, blood pressure, sweating, or gastrointestinal activity. Emotions, then, are cognitive responses to information from the peripheral nervous system. The most significant challenge to the James-Lange theory came from the work of Walter Cannon on animals' responses to intense stimuli. Cannon (1927) suggested that animals react to threats with a general activation of the sympathetic nervous system priming the animal for a fight or flight response. He suggested that this response is in an all-or-none fashion in anticipation for additional actions and expenditure of energy. Thus, Cannon suggested that this all-or-none physiological response to emotionally significant stimuli is too undifferentiated to convey to the brain-specific detailed information to produce a specific emotion for the event. Consequently, the James-Lange theory of emotions was adjusted in significant ways by Schachter (1964), and more recently by Damasio (1994), to accommodate some of Cannon's criticisms.

physiological signals of emotions (i.e., increase in heart rate) it receives from the peripheral nervous system. That is, non-specific information, coming from the physiological responses of the body, is coupled with specific information coming from the senses, from the individual's expectations, and from the social context to produce specific emotions. In the more modern interpretation of Schachter's theory, Damasio (1994) argued that the subjective feeling state of emotions is in fact a story that the brain constructs in an effort to interpret bodily reactions. Thus, modern discussions of emotional states view them as the outcome of a dynamic, ongoing interaction between the physiological sensations of arousal and the conscious interpretations of them.

But how do people interpret the bodily state of arousal and construct a story from it? In a classic study by Schachter and Singer (1962), participants, who were in a neutral affect, were injected with an agent (epinephrine) that caused them to be aroused, and then they were exposed to either a euphoric or an angry person. Participants exposed to the euphoric person misinterpreted their arousal as positive affect, and those who were exposed to the angry person misinterpreted their arousal as negative affect. Schachter and Singer concluded then that arousal demands explanation and that emotions result when people label their arousal according to their expectations and the social contexts they encounter. If this is true, then the arousal sensations in followers caused by the charismatic leader's aroused behavior should have easy and non-ambiguous interpretation. Similar to the euphoric confederate in the Schachter and Singer experiment, the charismatic leader exhibits positive expressions (our Hypothesis 3). Thus, according to this view, the followers' arousal should be interpreted and labeled as positive affect.

However, there are two reasons to believe that followers' arousal may not be automatically translated to positive emotions. First, there is a large body of evidence to suggest that people habitually misinterpret their arousal as one emotion even though their arousal was clearly a result of another emotion. For example, Dutton and Aron (1974) had an attractive female confederate approach men, on either a fear-arousing suspension bridge or a non-fear-arousing bridge, and then asked the men to write a story based on an ambiguous picture. The confederate also gave participants her phone number to call her in order to "find out" the results of the study. Sexual content of stories written by participants and the tendency of these participants to attempt contact with the female confederate, post-experiment, were significantly greater on the fear-arousing bridge than on the non-fear-arousing bridge. Accordingly, Dutton and Aron (1974) concluded that arousal, originally caused by fear, could be subconsciously transferred to sexual feelings. Other researchers have found evidence that arousal caused by disgust can enhance the enjoyment of humor (Cantor, Bryant, & Zillmann, 1974) and music (Cantor & Zillmann, 1973), that physical and sexual arousal can be easily transferred to aggression (Zillmann, 1971), and that arousal caused by anger can be transferred to sexual arousal (Barclay, 1970). Theoretically, in all these cases, people could easily identify their source of arousal (i.e., fear, disgust, physical, anger), but it still influenced their expression of other emotions (i.e., enjoyment, anger, romantic feelings). Accordingly, it is not a given that arousal felt in followers seemingly associated with intense positive expressions of charismatic leaders will always be translated to positive emotions.

Second, there is some evidence to suggest that people, in general, tend to interpret arousal more negatively than positively (Rozin & Royzman, 2001; Taylor, 1991), that is, because arousal is habitually associated with threat in stressful situations. Indeed, when the organism perceives threat, the sympathetic nervous system is rapidly aroused and mobilized into action (Cannon, 1932). In humans, physiological arousal is also regularly associated with anxiety, sadness, and anger (Taylor, 1991). Thus, arousal, even if originally caused by overtly positive expressions, may be interpreted by habitual association as negative. For instance, in replicating Schachter and Singer's (1962) experiment, both Maslach (1979) and Marshall and Zimbardo (1979) showed that aroused participants were more likely to interpret their affects as negative, even when they were exposed to a happy person. That is, even when they were supplied with a "happy" interpretation for their arousal, they were more likely to interpret their arousal as negative.

The above discussion suggests that arousal produced in followers by charismatic leaders' aroused behaviors may be translated to either positive or negative emotions in followers. Therefore, while we hold that the arousal of the leader is associated with follower affect, we do not hypothesize a specific effect. Instead, we examine in an exploratory manner the relationship between leaders' aroused behaviors and followers' affects. At the same time, we maintain that the relationship between leader charisma and follower affect is partially mediated by leaders' aroused behaviors:

Hypothesis 9: Leaders' aroused behaviors partially mediate the relationship between leader charisma and followers' (a) positive affect and (b) negative affect.

Method

We conducted two separate studies to test these hypotheses. Study 1, which was performed in a laboratory setting, explored the hypotheses regarding the relationship between leader charisma and followers' positive and negative affects as well as the mediating effects of leaders' affects and leaders' expressions on this relationship. In Study 2, we conducted a field study involving firefighters and their officers in an attempt to replicate the results found in Study 1. Thus, Study 2 was designed to examine the generalizability of the results found in Study 1.

Study 1: Laboratory Setting

Participants, Design, and Procedure

Two samples of undergraduates enrolled in two different introductory management classes at a southeastern university participated in this study, and all received extra course credit. In the first sample, 386 students participated, ranging in age from 17 to 44 years (median = 20); 58% were women, and 42% were men. Students were solicited to participate in the experiment via a Web site. Of the 729 students who logged on to the Web site, 80 "leaders" were chosen randomly, and 306 of the remaining students signed up to participate as group members. All participants were randomly assigned to 80 groups (with 1 pre-chosen leader per group) of 4 to 5 people per group.

Group sessions were held over the course of 4 weeks, and each session took about an hour. At the beginning of the session,

participants (including the leaders) first individually answered an affect questionnaire and completed a "Lost in the Wilderness" exercise. The exercise asked participants to imagine that they are lost in an inhospitable environment and then to rank order a list of 14 items that might be helpful for their survival. The participants were then grouped and told that they had 20 minutes to come to a group consensus decision regarding the proper rank ordering of the 14 items. The experimenter then defined *consensus decision*, explained the role of the group leader (ensure a consensus decision within 20 minutes), informed the groups that the sessions would be videotaped, and then left the room. After 20 minutes, the experimenter returned to the room and administered a final package of materials to each participant containing a measure of affect and several questionnaires about the group processes.

Subsequently, a second sample of participants (172 students; ages ranged from 18 to 38 years, median = 20; 54% women, 46% men) was recruited from another introduction to management class to rate the leaders' expressive and aroused behaviors by using the videotapes recorded during the group sessions. Participants arrived to the experimental session in groups of 15–20 and were greeted by an experimenter, different from the one who conducted the original group sessions. The experimenter explained the content of the videotapes, briefly described the "Lost in the Wilderness" exercise, explained to the participants the role of the leader in the group sessions, and then gave the participants about 5 minutes to look over the rating scales and to ask questions. The participants were then shown videos of 4 separate groups; each participant in this second sample rated 4 different group leaders on the positive expressions and aroused behaviors scales. Due to various technical difficulties, only 60 of the 80 group leaders were rated via the videotapes. Thus, for a majority of the ensuing analyses, the association between the observed measures of leader behavior and the dependent variables is based on a total sample size of 60 groups.

Measures

Positive and negative affects. The pre- and post-task positive and negative affects of participants were measured with the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), a 20-item measure of an individual's experienced positive (e.g., proud, excited) and negative (e.g., upset, distressed) affective states. As recommended by Watson et al. (1988), we measured state affect by using short-term instructions (i.e., indicate to what extent you feel this way right now). Participants rated the items by using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). The pre-task coefficient reliability estimates were Positive Affect, $\alpha = .80$; Negative Affect, $\alpha = .74$. For post-task, they were Positive Affect, $\alpha = .85$; Negative Affect, $\alpha = .75$. The correlation between pre-task positive and negative affects was .02 (*ns*), and the correlation between post-task positive and negative affects was $-.02$ (*ns*), indicating that these facets of affect were independent.

Leader charisma. Leader charisma was measured by the Charisma subscale of the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ; Bass & Avolio, 1990). The members of each group were asked to rate the extent to which the MLQ items characterized the designated leader of their groups on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). The coefficient alpha reliability of the scale in this study was $\alpha = .97$. The results of an intraclass correlation

(ICC) analysis, one-way random effects, $ICC(1) = .24$; $ICC(2) = .56$, indicated support for aggregation across raters. Because the MLQ measures charisma as the attribution of group members, we also examined, and found, support for aggregation based on an r_{wg} analysis ($M = .81$; median = .93; see Bliese, 2000, for a review).

Leader-aroused behaviors. As commonly used in observational rating studies (see Brtek & Motowidlo, 2002; Kiker & Motowidlo, 1998; Motowidlo et al., 1992), we developed a behavioral anchored rating scale to measure leader-aroused behaviors. The rating scale was divided into three general areas representing different levels of arousal: high aroused behavior (7 and 6), moderate aroused behavior (5, 4, and 3), and low aroused behavior (2 and 1). Behavioral examples were provided at the top and bottom levels of the scale to help define behaviors representative of those levels. In a separate page describing how to use the scales, the raters were instructed to decide which level best describes the behavior of the leader for each arousal area. They were then instructed to circle the number within that level that best describes the behavior of the leader. According to Ekman (1965), body cues communicate information primarily about the level of arousal but little about the type of affect being experienced. Thus, for example, a high anchor was "the leader tended to talk with his/her hands a lot," while the low end of the scale was anchored with behaviors such as "the leader tended not to use a lot of body movement."

The ratings for leaders' aroused behaviors were obtained from three random raters who evaluated the videotapes. Fundamentally, the best way to evaluate the reliability of behavioral ratings is by calculating ICCs (Judge & Erez, 2007). These ICCs estimate the agreement among raters (Shrout & Fleiss, 1979). In the present study, the interrater reliability estimates were $ICC(1) = .53$, which assesses the reliability for a single rater; and $ICC(2) = .78$, which assesses the interrater reliability of the average rating. These levels of reliability resemble other observational behavioral ratings (see Brtek & Motowidlo, 2002; Motowidlo et al., 1998) and supported aggregation across raters.

Leader positive expressions. Similar to the arousal scale, leaders' positive expressions were measured by three randomly selected video raters (different than the raters used for the behavioral arousal scale) on a scale created for this study. Here again the scale was divided into three general areas representing different levels of positive expressions: high positive expressions (7 and 6), moderate positive expressions (5, 4, and 3), and low positive expressions (2 and 1). Behavioral examples were provided at the top and bottom levels of the scale to help define behaviors representative of those levels. Facial cues carry information primarily about the particular affect being experienced but relatively little information about the intensity of that affect or the level of arousal (Ekman, 1965). Thus, high anchors included "the leader tended to smile a lot," while low anchors were represented by "the leader almost seemed to frown or scowl." The interrater reliability: one-way random effects $ICC(1) = .44$; $ICC(2) = .70$, supported aggregation across raters.

Analysis

The data for this study were hierarchical in structure such that the dependent variables were at the individual level with individuals grouped into teams. Therefore, we used hierarchical linear modeling (HLM; Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992) to analyze these data, as HLM allows for the simultaneous estimation of individual-

and group-level regression equations. At the first level of analysis (i.e., the individual-level model), the specified model for each individual was

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + r_{ij}$$

where Y_{ij} was the post-task affect (e.g., positive or negative) of participant i in group j ; β_{0j} (the intercept) represented the average post-task affect of members of group j ; and r_{ij} represented the individual error term. HLM incorporates a second-level modeling (i.e., group-level model) in which the individual-level intercepts (β_{0j}) are simultaneously regressed on the leader variables:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}W_{1j} + \gamma_{02}W_{2j} + \gamma_{03}W_{3j} + \gamma_{04}W_{4j} + U_{0j}$$

where W represented leader variables (charisma, pre-task positive affect, positive expression, aroused behavior) for group j , γ represented the relationship (i.e., slope) of these leader variables with followers' post-task affect for group j , and U_{0j} represented the group-level error term. The HLM coefficient was standardized by multiplying the standard deviation of the predictor and dividing by the standard deviation of the outcome variable, which converted the coefficient to standard deviation units (Hox, 2002). Such a procedure removes the effects of instrument scaling and allows one to observe the strength of the relationship relative to the variance of the measure.

Results

Our main hypothesis implied that leaders' charisma would influence the affect of the group members such that throughout the task followers' affects would become more homogeneous and would reflect the affect-inducing behaviors of the leader. Thus, we first examined the homogeneity of group members' affects before and after the task by using two methods. First, we estimated "affect agreement" among group members pre- and post-task by using ICC1. In order to find the ICC1 of affect pre- and post-task, we fit four unconditional models in HLM for the pre-task and post-task members' positive and negative affects. The unconditional model is a model without predictors at the second level and can be used to estimate the ICC1 of the first-level coefficients. The ICC1 of the pre-task positive affect was .10 and for the post-task it was .28, indicating that during the task there was an increase in "positive affect agreement" among group members. Similarly, the ICC1 of the pre-task negative affect was .00, indicating no "affect agreement" among group members at the beginning of the task. However, post-task, the ICC1 was .10, indicating an increased "negative affect agreement" among group members. Second, we compared the within-group variance in affect pre- and post-task. A paired-sample t test between pre- and post-task positive affects revealed a significant reduction, $t(79) = 2.22, p < .05$, in the average within-group variance from pre-task ($M = .67, SD = .32$) to post-task ($M = .58, SD = .28$). Likewise, a paired-sample t test between pre- and post-task negative affects revealed a significant reduction in variance, $t(79) = 3.75, p < .01$, from the average within-group variance pre-task ($M = .30, SD = .20$) to post-task ($M = .22, SD = .23$). These combined findings suggest that the homogeneity of positive and negative affects within the groups increased from pre- to post-task. We then tested if the post-task affect of the groups was associated with leaders' variables.

Leader Charisma and Follower Affect

The results of the analysis regarding the relationship between leader charisma and follower affect are represented in Table 1 (see First HLM Model) and indicate that leaders' charisma is positively associated with group members' post-task positive affect. Participants in a group that had a charismatic leader had a significantly higher positive affect at the end of the task, on average, than did participants with a non-charismatic leader, supporting Hypothesis 1a. The results of the same analysis but with followers' negative affect as the dependent variable are also reported in Table 1 and show that leaders' charisma is negatively associated with the post-task negative affect of group members, supporting Hypothesis 1b.

Leader's Affects and Expressions as Intervening Variables

To assess our mediation hypotheses (Hypotheses 2–9) regarding the intervening variables of leaders' affects and expressions, we performed a path analysis in which each variable was regressed on the set of variables preceding it in the hypothesized hierarchy (Darlington, 1990). As Figure 2 shows (results of this study are bolded), leaders' charisma was not related to leaders' positive affect, thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported. Leaders' charisma was significantly and positively related to leaders' positive expression and aroused behavior, however, thus supporting Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 8, respectively.⁴

Second, by using HLM, we examined the effects of leaders' positive affect, positive expression, aroused behavior, and charisma on followers' post-task positive affect. As Table 1 shows, leaders' positive affect and positive expression were positively related to followers' positive affect, supporting Hypothesis 4a and Hypothesis 5a, respectively (see Table 1, Second HLM Model). In addition, our exploratory examination revealed that leaders' aroused behavior was negatively related to followers' positive affect. In contrast to our hypotheses, none of the leaders' variables were related to followers' negative affect, disconfirming Hypothesis 4b and Hypothesis 5b. Because we found significant relationships only between the process variables and followers' positive affect, we tested mediation only with regard to followers' positive affect. By using Goodman's (1960) version of the Sobel (1982) test for mediation, we found that the path of leader charisma through leaders' positive affect was not significant ($Z = 0.93, ns$), thus Hypothesis 6a was not supported. In contrast, the paths of leader charisma through leaders' positive expression ($Z = 1.92, p < .05$) and aroused behavior ($Z = 2.27, p < .05$) were statistically significant, supporting Hypothesis 7a and Hypothesis 9a, respectively.

⁴ The simple regression coefficients reported in Figure 2 between leader charisma and leader's positive affect, positive expression, and aroused behavior are equivalent to correlations. The correlations from leader positive affect to positive expression and to aroused behavior were $r = .07 (ns)$ and $r = .20 (ns)$, respectively. The correlation between positive expression and aroused behavior was $r = .41 (p < .01)$.

Table 1
Leader Influence on Followers' Post-Task Affect, Study 1

| Model | Follower post-task positive affect (β_0) | | Follower post-task negative affect (β_0) | |
|---|--|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Raw coefficients | Standardized coefficients | Raw coefficients | Standardized coefficients |
| First HLM model | | | | |
| 1. Intercept, γ_{00} | 12.04** | | 6.30** | |
| 2. Leader charisma, γ_{01} | .06* | .16 | -.01* | -.08 |
| Second HLM model | | | | |
| 1. Intercept, γ_{00} | 9.81** | | 6.24** | |
| 2. Leader charisma, γ_{01} | .06* | .16 | -.01 | |
| 3. Leader positive affect, γ_{02} | .14** | .15 | .00 | |
| 4. Leader positive expressions, γ_{03} | .84** | .22 | -.05 | |
| 5. Leader aroused behaviors, γ_{04} | -.94** | -.32 | -.06 | |

Note. β_0 represents first level intercept coefficient; γ s represent second level coefficients. HLM = hierarchical linear modeling.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Study 2: A Field Study of Firefighters

Participants, Design, and Procedure

The population from which the sample was drawn for Study 2 was a major southeastern U.S. metropolitan fire department, from which we sampled three of the four districts. Each district consisted of at least three fire stations dispersed within relatively close physical proximity of each other and were adequately sized to meet the fire protection requirements in each station's zone of responsibility. In those districts with more than three stations, a convenience sample was taken based on location. The total sample size across all fire stations was 264, consisting of 216 firefighters and 48 officers (and thus 48 groups). The average age within the sample was 34.4 years; 95% of the participants were men and 5% were women; and 74.5% were White, 13.7% were Hispanic, 10.4% were African American, 0.9% were Asian, and 0.5% were Other Ethnicities.

A fire station contains from one to five fire engines or other similar fire protection vehicles—the mix of vehicles depends on

the types of structures (i.e., buildings) existing in the area of responsibility. Each fire fighting vehicle is led by an officer, who is responsible for supervising from three to five firefighters or paramedics assigned to that vehicle. The firefighter duty schedule is based on 24-hour shifts, which rotate among three teams such that each team resides at their station for the duration of their 24-hour shift and then has 48 hours of off-duty between shifts. When on-duty, the team essentially lives together in relatively close quarters where they eat family-style meals and spend free time in recreation or exercise rooms. The typical day can involve dozens of calls such as personal injuries, vehicular accidents, fire alarm activations, and fires. Inherent in each of these daily events is some degree of personal risk for the firefighters, from minor injury to possible death. Consequently, firefighters rely heavily on teamwork among their fellow firefighters to reduce or manage this risk.

The firefighters were visited personally by one of the researchers in their stations for the administration of a paper survey, and the researcher returned to each station as many times as necessary to administer the survey to each firefighter. Participants were told

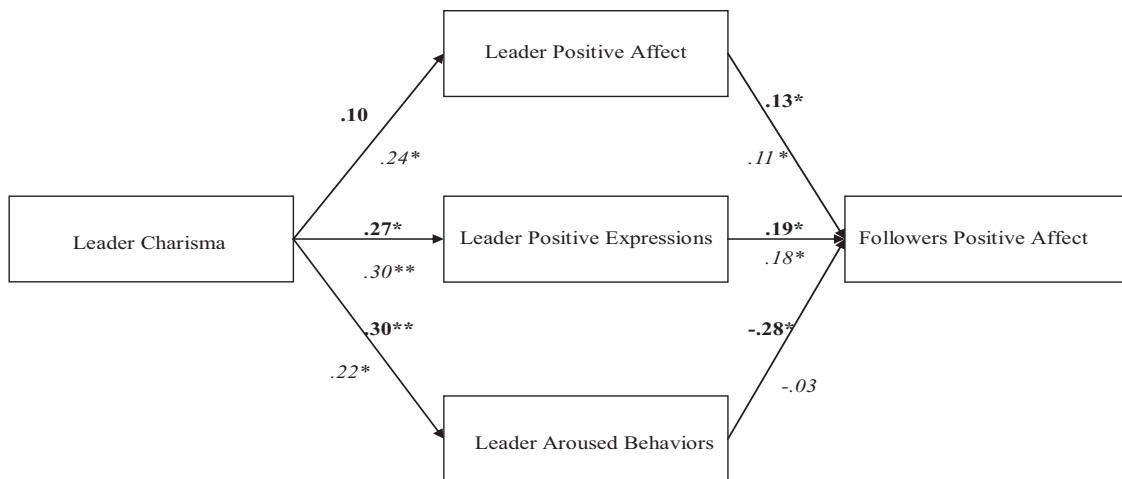


Figure 2. Path analysis of the relationships between leader charisma and follower positive affect through leader positive affect, positive expression, and aroused behavior. Study 1 results are above the lines in bold, and Study 2 results are below the lines in italics.

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that the purpose of the survey was to learn about leadership and personality differences.

Measures

Positive and negative affects. In this study, because of the ongoing relationship between leaders and followers, we conceptualized and measured followers' affective states over a longer period of time than in Study 1. Thus, instead of measuring affect per se, we measured level of happiness over "the last 4–5 weeks." Respondents' (followers and leaders) levels of happiness were assessed by using the Affect Balance Scale (Bradburn, 1969), a widely used measure of subjective well-being (see Larsen, Diener, & Emmons, 1986). The Affect Balance Scale asks participants to report how they have felt on each of 19 adjectives describing hedonic states (e.g., sad, happy, pleased, hopeless) in the last 4 to 5 weeks, using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). The Affect Balance Scale is composed of two subscales, the Positive Affect Scale and the Negative Affect Scale, which have been found to vary independently across persons (Diener & Emmons, 1984). In this study, the coefficient alpha reliability estimate for the Positive Affect Scale subscale was $\alpha = .91$, and for the Negative Affect Scale subscale, it was $\alpha = .81$. The correlation between positive and negative affects was $-.44$ ($p < .01$). This correlation is very similar to the correlations reported by Diener and Emmons (1984) for average daily reports of positive and negative affects over a period of several weeks.

Leader charisma. Leader charisma was measured by the same MLQ Charisma subscale used in Study 1. The coefficient alpha reliability of the scale in this study was $\alpha = .96$. The results of an ICC analysis: one-way random analysis of variance, $ICC(1) = .24$; $ICC(2) = .50$, and an r_{wg} analysis ($M = .89$; median = $.97$) indicated support for aggregation across raters.

Leader positive expression and aroused behavior. In this study, we were specifically interested in the relationship between leaders' characteristics and followers' happiness over a period of time (the last 4–5 weeks), thus, we also had to measure leaders' expressiveness and aroused behavior over this period of time. Assuming that people that have the dispositions to behave in certain ways will tend to exhibit these types of behaviors, especially over an extended period of time, we conceptualized these

leader behaviors as the tendencies to exhibit them. In other words, we measured the behavioral tendencies to exhibit expressive and arousal behaviors as dispositions. Leaders' tendencies to display positive expressions were measured in this study by using the Positive Affect subscale of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988). According to Watson (2000), those who score high on this positive affectivity scale tend to exhibit positive types of behaviors frequently. As recommended by Watson et al. (1988), we measured trait-Positive Affect by using long-term instructions (i.e., indicate to what extent do you generally feel this way). Participants were asked to report their feelings on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Three items representing arousal were deleted from this scale (excited, enthusiastic, and active). The coefficient alpha reliability estimate for the seven-item scale was $\alpha = .81$.

While there is an ongoing debate about the structure of affect, both supporters of the bipolar model, who perceive affect as consisting of valence and arousal dimensions (see Russell & Carroll, 1999), and supporters of the PANA model (Watson & Tellegen, 1985), who perceive affect as consisting of positive affectivity and negative affectivity dimensions, agree that arousal is an important component of affectivity. Both camps also use eight similar adjectives to represent arousal in their respective models (i.e., excited, hostile, irritable, enthusiastic, jittery, nervous, active, upset). Accordingly, assuming that the arousal tendencies measured by these adjectives are associated with aroused behavior, we used these adjectives as items to measure leaders' aroused behaviors. Leaders were asked to report on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) how they felt in general by using these items (for analysis, negative items were reversed). The coefficient alpha reliability estimate for the eight-item scale was $\alpha = .70$.

Results

In this study, we tested the same models as described in Study 1, first examining the relationship between officer charisma and firefighters' positive and negative affects. Table 2 (see First HLM Model) shows that leader charisma was positively associated with followers' positive affect ($\beta_{0j} = .22, p < .05$) confirming Hypothesis 1a. Hypothesis 1b was not supported, however, as charisma was not related to negative affect ($B = -.09, ns$). Here again, to

Table 2
Leader Influence on Followers' Post-Task Affect, Study 2

| Model | Follower positive affect (β_0) | | Follower negative affect (β_0) | |
|---|--|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Raw coefficients | Standardized coefficients | Raw coefficients | Standardized coefficients |
| First HLM model | | | | |
| 1. Intercept, γ_{00} | 3.14* | | 1.81* | |
| 2. Leader charisma, γ_{01} | .17* | .22 | -.09 | |
| Second HLM model | | | | |
| 1. Intercept, γ_{00} | 3.12** | | 1.85** | |
| 2. Leader charisma, γ_{01} | .18* | .22 | -.10* | -.11 |
| 3. Leader positive affect, γ_{02} | .16* | .11 | -.08* | -.11 |
| 4. Leader positive expressions, γ_{03} | .17* | .17 | -.02 | |
| 5. Leader aroused behaviors, γ_{04} | -.03 | | .05 | |

Note. β_0 represents first level intercept coefficient; γ s represent second level coefficients. HLM = hierarchical linear modeling.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

assess our mediation hypotheses (Hypotheses 2–9) regarding the intervening variables of leaders' affects, positive expressions, and aroused behaviors, we performed a path analysis similar to that conducted for Study 1. As Figure 2 shows (results of Study 2 are italicized), leaders' charisma was significantly related to leaders' positive affect, positive expressiveness, and arousal, confirming Hypothesis 2, Hypothesis 3, and Hypothesis 8.⁵

Second, by using HLM, we examined the relationship between followers' positive affect and leaders' positive affect, positive expression, arousal, and charisma. Table 2 shows that leaders' positive affect and positive expressiveness were positively related to followers' positive affect, confirming Hypothesis 4a and Hypothesis 5a (see Table 2, Second HLM Model). Unlike in Study 1, in this study leaders' arousal was not related to followers' positive affect. Interestingly, when the three process variables were included in the regression, the relationship between leaders' charisma and followers' negative affect became significant, indicating that charismatic leaders reduced followers' negative affect, consistent with Hypothesis 1b. In addition, leaders' positive affect was also negatively and significantly related to followers' negative affect, supporting Hypothesis 4b. However, none of the other leaders' variables (positive expressiveness and arousal) were related to followers' negative affect. Here again, by using Goodman's (1960) version of the Sobel (1982) test for mediation, we found that the path from leader charisma through leader positive affect to followers' positive affect was significant ($Z = 2.01, p < .05$), confirming Hypothesis 6a. The path of leader charisma through leaders' positive expressiveness ($Z = 1.89, p < .05$) was also significant, confirming Hypothesis 7a. In contrast, the path from charisma to leaders' arousal ($Z = .28, ns$) was not statistically significant, not supporting Hypothesis 9a. The path from leader charisma to followers' negative affect through leaders' positive affect was also significant ($Z = 1.82, p < .05$), indicating mediation and supporting Hypothesis 6b.

Discussion

The results of Studies 1 and 2 support the contention that one of the ways by which charismatic leaders "touch" followers is by enhancing followers' positive affective states. In Study 1 (lab study involving college students), we found that leader charisma was positively associated with the positive affect of followers and negatively associated with the negative affect of followers. Study 2 showed, in a field setting, that firefighters under the command of charismatic officers reported a higher level of positive affect than did followers of non-charismatic officers. Charisma in this second study was also negatively associated with the negative affect of followers, although this result was found only when other leader variables were included in the model. These results add an important new dimension to charisma theory. One of the most fundamental goals of individuals is to be happy (Diener et al., 1999). Indeed, arguably no other question has occupied both Western and Eastern thought as the question of what makes people happy. For example, in Book 4 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle (ca. 350 BC/1934) asserts that happiness is the supreme good from which all other acts are derived. Our study clearly suggests that charismatic leaders make people feel happy. Thus, it is not surprising that people like to be around charismatic leaders and comply with their influence.

Our study also further extends charismatic leadership theory by examining how this emotional aspect of charismatic influence happens. Specifically, we examined the role that leader affect, positive expressiveness, and arousal have in these relationships. In both studies, we found that followers of leaders with positive affect had high positive affect themselves, and in Study 2, we found that followers of such leaders also had reduced levels of negative affect. This result gives credence to Sy et al.'s (2005) findings that happier leaders spread their positive affect to their followers. In addition, the results of Study 2 indicated that part of the influence of leader charisma on follower happiness operates through the leaders' affective states (see Figure 2). In other words, charismatic leaders are happier and spread their positive affect to their followers. Charisma, then, not only makes followers happy, it also makes the charismatic leader happy, and this happiness is contagious.

As hypothesized, charismatic leaders (in Study 1) exhibited more positive expressions such as smiling and being warm to followers and less negative expressions such as frowning and scowling than did non-charismatic leaders. Charismatics (in Study 2) were also more likely to have the general tendencies to experience positive affectivity. In turn, these positive tendencies and behaviors were related to followers' positive affect in both studies, suggesting that this type of leader expressiveness partially mediates the relationship between leader charisma and follower affect (see Figure 2). The finding that charismatic leaders tend to exhibit positive expressions is not new (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Chelunlik et al., 2001; Friedman et al., 1980; Riggio, 1986). Similarly, that positive expressions tend to influence observers' affects has also been previously found (see Hatfield et al., 1994). However, to our knowledge, our study is the first to put these two empirical findings together and show that positive expressions mediate the relationship between leader charisma and follower affect. Conventionally, charismatic leadership scholars emphasize the importance of being positive from a cognitive standpoint: Charismatic leaders express a positive message and vision to followers that instills hope and optimism and encourages followers to accomplish goals and to pursue a course of action set by the leader (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Our study therefore extends this body of literature by showing, in another fundamental way, that charismatics are positive—emotionally—and that this type of positivity enhances followers' positive affect.

However, organizationally, why is it so important to enhance followers' positive affect? The spread of positive affect from leaders to followers is very likely a constructive phenomenon from an organizational point of view. For example, a growing body of research shows that people in a positive affective state think better (Isen, 2000), make better decisions (Estrada, Isen, & Young, 1997; Staw & Barsade, 1993), are more creative (Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki, 1987), are more motivated (Erez & Isen, 2002), and in general perform better on a variety of tasks (see Isen, 1999). People in a positive affective state also tend to be more cooperative

⁵ The simple regression coefficients reported in Figure 2 between leader charisma and leader's positive affect, positive expression, and aroused behavior are equivalent to correlations. The correlations from leader positive affect to positive expression and to aroused behavior were $r = .48$ ($p < .01$) and $r = .27$ ($p < .05$), respectively. The correlation between positive expression and aroused behavior was $r = .39$ ($p < .01$).

(Carnevale & Isen, 1986) and helpful (Isen, 1970; Isen & Levin, 1972) and exhibit more prosocial behaviors in groups (George, 1990). In turn, this range of positive-type behaviors should lead to favorable organizational outcomes. Although less is known about the influence of negative affect, some evidence exists that negative affect impairs cognitive functioning. Ellis and his colleagues found that compared with those in a neutral affective state, individuals induced with negative affect exhibited more selective processing (Varner & Ellis, 1998), did not learn and recall as well (Ellis, Moore, Varner, & Ottaway, 1997), and were impaired in their abilities to comprehend and use prior knowledge (Ellis, Varner, Becker, & Ottaway, 1995). Negative affect may also reduce motivation, as people with negative affect or depressed individuals have lower energy levels, are less active, and are more prone to learned helplessness (Seligman, 1991). Thus, there are grounds to believe that when leaders induce positive affect and reduce negative affect in their followers, they are indirectly increasing the effectiveness of their followers and their organizations.

As to the leaders' aroused behaviors, while in Study 2 leaders' arousal did not mediate the relationship between leaders' charisma and followers' positive affect, this mediating link was significant in Study 1 (see Figure 2). The results of both studies showed that charismatic leaders exhibited more aroused behaviors than did non-charismatic leaders, such as talking with their hands and being loud. However, the results of Study 1 suggest that the tendency toward this type of behavior backfired in that the aroused leader behaviors were negatively related to followers' positive affect. With regard to leadership theory, this result is surprising because the conventional wisdom in the leadership literature is that being highly expressive is a good leadership practice (e.g., Chermulnik et al., 2001). However, the psychological literature raises doubts about the role of arousal as a constructive phenomenon. For example, it has been known for close to a century now (Yerkes & Dodson, 1908) that arousal has a curvilinear relationship with performance and that, at high levels, arousal is detrimental to functioning. Arousal is also slow to decay, people are often unaware that they are aroused, and it easily transfers from situation to situation (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Potentially then, arousal in followers induced by a leader's arousal could linger and thus have unintended and perhaps detrimental consequences (i.e., aggressiveness). Yet, there have been almost no investigations of arousal in the organizational literature. While our results certainly do not suggest that aroused leaders can invoke aggressiveness among followers, they do suggest that the issue of arousal should not be ignored. Clearly more future research in this area is much needed, but preliminarily, the results of Study 1 may have important implications for the practice of leadership. Leaders who intend to spread positive affect among followers should exhibit positive behaviors—but take care with their aroused behaviors—because the aroused behaviors may lead to counterproductive results.

Our findings also appear to suggest that charismatic leaders partially create the conditions that enhance their influence on followers. We contend that by spreading positive affect to followers, charismatics not only enhance individuals' affects but also create a "positive environment." In fact, in Study 1 we had some means of performing a post hoc examination of this proposition. Participants in this study reported their level of satisfaction with their groups, and this measure was aggregated to the group level.⁶ Leader charisma was significantly correlated with group mean

satisfaction ($r = .47, p < .01$) indicating that members of groups with charismatic leaders were happier with their groups than were those in groups with non-charismatic leaders. These findings suggest that, as the DeGroot et al. (2000) meta-analysis suggests, charisma may have important implications for groups and not only for individuals. However, as is the case in many other studies, this study also raises more questions than it answers. For example, investigating factors regarding the structure and composition of the group may be essential to understanding how and at what pace affect spreads from a leader to group members. In other words, will a more cohesive group be more or less affected by a charismatic leader? How does the centrality of the leader in the group affect her or his ability to infect the group? These questions and others may open many avenues for future research.

As with any study, ours have their limitations. First, we did not consider all the processes described in Figure 1 (emotional mimicry, cognitive interpretation of non-specific physical signals). Given the complexity of these processes and the number of surveys participants needed to complete in the laboratory and field studies, we needed to balance comprehensiveness with feasibility. Therefore, we assessed what we believed to be the most important processes to preliminarily test the validity of the model presented in Figure 1. Clearly, future research is necessary to investigate these other processes that could explain how leaders' affects, expressions, and arousal levels influence followers' affects. Second, ambiguity of causal direction may also be an issue in our study. We cannot rule out the possibility that followers' affects drove followers' evaluations of leader charisma. Two factors may reduce this concern though. First, charisma was an aggregated score that was operationalized at a second level of analysis, whereas follower affect was not aggregated and served as a first-level variable. Second, the leader process variables were not evaluated by followers but by independent raters. Thus, a causal direction from follower affect to the mediating variables and charisma is not likely. However, we also note that because of the possibility of recursive relationships between leader charisma and follower affect, we were careful about describing our results and tests of mediation in non-causal language (e.g., L. R. James & Brett, 1984). Clearly the current set of studies represents merely the initial steps in investigating the emotional side of the charismatic relationship. Nevertheless, based on our findings and previous research, it appears that charismatic leaders not only make followers feel good about themselves and their future but that they make followers feel good, period.

⁶ The "satisfaction with the group" measure was based on LePine and Van Dyne's (1998) five-item, seven-point faces scale. The items asked participants to select the face that best expressed how they felt about their work team, the members of the team, the quality of interaction among team members, the information they got from team members, and the influence they had with their team. Coefficient alpha reliability estimate was $\alpha = .87$.

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