A R T I C L E S

Why Does Affect Matter in Organizations?

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Executive Overview

Interest in and research about affect in organizations have expanded dramatically in recent years. This article reviews what we know about affect in organizations, focusing on how employees' moods, emotions, and dispositional affect influence critical organizational outcomes such as job performance, decision making, creativity, turnover, prosocial behavior, teamwork, negotiation, and leadership. This review highlights pervasive and consistent effects, showing the importance of affect in shaping a wide variety of organizational behaviors, the knowledge of which is critical for researchers, managers, and employees.

Why Does Affect Matter in Organizations?

An organizational vignette. . .

I had just mentioned how small a raise I was going to give to Jerry, my top salesperson this year. I could see a subtle wave of anger and frustration wash over his usually calm features. I had been afraid this was going to happen. But what could I do? I was caught in the middle—the CEO wanted to cut our budget by 6%! Jerry's voice had an edge to it, and I could tell that my explanations about the budget were not going to solve this one. Would he explode? Would he blame me? Worse, would he threaten to quit? I could feel the good mood I had started with this morning rapidly disappearing. The insistent brittleness in his voice made me feel defensive and I was starting to get angry myself. I needed to decide what to do next, but I was having trouble remembering the rationale for the raise. I felt like yelling at him. That, I told myself, cannot happen. I need to keep it under control. . .I'm the boss here, remember? He's watching how I act. I need to figure out how I want to deal with his anger—and mine. . .

Affect permeates organizations. It is present in the interdependent relationships we hold with bosses, team members, and subordinates. It is present in deadlines, in group projects, in human resource processes like performance appraisals and selection interviews. Affective processes (more commonly known as emotions) create and sustain work motivation. They lurk behind political behavior; they animate our decisions; they are essential to leadership. Strong affective feelings are present at any time we confront work issues that matter to us and our organizational performance.

In the last 30 years, an "affective revolution" has taken place, in which academics and managers alike have begun to appreciate how an organizational lens that integrates employee affect provides a perspective missing from earlier views (Barsade, Brief, & Spataro, 2003). While much about affect remains difficult to explain, dramatic progress has been made in understanding individuals' affective lives in organizations. In this article, we examine why affect is important to organizational life. We do so by drawing on a range of studies that help identify critical organizational

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outcomes driven by affect and show how understanding feelings can help researchers, managers, and employees themselves explain and predict attitudes and behavior in organizations, from turnover to decision making to leadership. We address the question, "How does research seen through the lens of affect cause us to think differently about the assumptions we make about how employees work?"

Defining Affect in Organizations

We begin by defining a range of terms often used in research on affect in organizations (see Table 1). These terms describe phenomena ranging from discrete emotions (fear, anger, or disgust), to moods (feeling cheerful versus feeling melancholy), to dispositional traits ("He's such a negative person"; "She's always so upbeat!"), to meta-emotional abilities, such as emotional intelligence ("My boss is very good at understanding how the people on our team are feeling"). *Affect* can be thought of as an umbrella term encompassing a broad range of feelings that individuals experience, including *feeling states*, which are in-the-moment, short-term affective experiences, and *feeling traits*, which are more stable tendencies to feel and act in certain ways (Watson & Clark, 1984).[2] Within feeling states there are two established categories: emotions and moods. *Emotions* are elicited by a particular target or cause, often include physiological reactions and action sequences, and are relatively intense and short-lived (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991). In contrast, *moods* are more diffuse, take the form of a general positive (pleasant) or negative (unpleasant) feeling, and tend not to be focused on a specific cause (Frijda, 1986; Tellegen, 1985). There is only one category of feeling trait: *dispositional affect*. This is a personality *trait* referring to a person's relatively stable, underlying tendency to experience positive and negative moods and emotions (Watson & Clark, 1984).

In terms of research approaches, emotions tend

to be assessed and examined differently than moods and dispositional affect. Because emotions are focused on a specific target or cause, they have come to be regarded as *discrete*, and are linked to specific tendencies to act (such as the desire to approach objects in anger and to avoid them in fear; Frijda, 1986). The discrete emotions approach has identified "basic" or primary emotions, including joy, love, anger, fear, sadness, disgust, and surprise, each with a unique set of prototypical antecedents and consequences—though the precise number and identity of discrete emotions are subjects of much debate (see Ekman, 1992; Ortony & Turner, 1990). Moods and dispositional affect, in contrast, tend to be examined through an approach that summarizes the wide variety of possible human affective experiences into a few critical underlying dimensions. Dimensional approaches often arrange affective experience labels (such as "astonished," "enthusiastic," or "grouchy") in a circular graph called an *affective circumplex*, and represent the dimensions as axes on that circumplex (see Figure 1).

The first factor of the circumplex, on the x axis, is "pleasantness," a dimension ranging from high pleasantness to low pleasantness (or unpleasant). The second dimension, on the y axis, is an "activation/energy" dimension, ranging from high to low energy (Russell, 1980). Moods are usually examined based on their hedonic tone—that is, how pleasant (toward happy) or unpleasant (toward sad) the mood is. Dispositional affect can be examined as trait pleasantness (e.g. Staw & Barsade, 1993) or as the combination of the pleasantness and energy dimensions, creating the two independent constructs of positive affectivity (PA) and negative affectivity (NA) (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988; see the dotted lines in Figure 1). For example, individuals characterized by high dispositional NA tend to be distressed, upset, and have a negative view of self over time and across situations, as opposed to the more serene, calm, relaxation shown by people who are low in NA; people high in dispositional PA tend to be cheerful and energetic, and experience positive moods, such as pleasure or well-being, across a variety of situations, as compared to those low in PA who experience more sadness, melancholy, dullness, or

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[2] These affective states and traits differ from *sentiments* or even *attitudes* (e.g., job satisfaction) in that the latter reflect an evaluation of a particular object, and whether that object is evaluated as something that is liked or disliked (Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Weiss, 2002).

Table 1
Translating Affective Terms

Terms Used in Research	Formal Definition	Colloquial Terms
Affect	Umbrella term encompassing a broad range of feelings that individuals experience, including feeling states, such as moods and discrete emotions, and traits, such as trait positive and negative affectivity (all defined below).	"I feel . . ." "She seems to be feeling . . ." "He is usually unemotional . . ."
Discrete Emotions	Emotions are focused on a specific target or cause — generally realized by the perceiver of the emotion; relatively intense and very short-lived. After initial intensity, can sometimes transform into a mood.	For example, love, anger, hate, fear, jealousy, happiness, sadness, grief, rage, aggravation, ecstasy, affection, joy, envy, fright, etc.
Moods	Generally take the form of a global positive (pleasant) or negative (unpleasant) feeling; tend to be diffuse — not focused on a specific cause — and often not realized by the perceiver of the mood; medium duration (from a few moments to as long as a few weeks or more).	Feeling good, bad, negative, positive, cheerful, down, pleasant, irritable, etc.
Dispositional (Trait) Affect	Overall personality tendency to respond to situations in stable, predictable ways. A person's "affective lens" on the world.	"No matter what, he's always _____." "She tends to be in a _____ mood all the time." "He is always so negative."
a) (Trait) Positive Affectivity	Individuals who tend to be cheerful and energetic, and who experience positive moods, such as pleasure or well-being, across a variety of situations as compared to people who tend to be low energy and sluggish or melancholy.	"She's always so energetic and upbeat!" "He's such a downer all the time!"
b) (Trait) Negative Affectivity	Individuals who tend to be distressed and upset, and have a negative view of self over time and across situations, as compared to people who are more calm, serene and relaxed.	"She is always so hostile in her approach." "Why is he always so anxious/nervous?" "I admire his steady calmness and serenity."
Emotional Intelligence	"The ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990: 189).	"My manager is terrible at expressing his emotions." "My teammate is great at knowing how everyone else on the team is feeling." "The CEO is brilliant at dealing with her employees' emotions — a real motivator!"
Emotional Regulation	Individuals' attempts to "influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998a: 275).	"He handles his emotions really well, even under high pressure situations."
Emotional Labor	Requires an employee to "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild, 1983: 7).	She has to put on a smile when dealing with customers, because it's part of the job.
Emotional Contagion	Processes that allow the sharing or transferring of emotions from one individual to other group members; the tendency to mimic the nonverbal behavior of others, to "synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements" with others, and in turn, to "converge emotionally" (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994).	"And when we feel good, it's contagious." (Advertising slogan from Southwest Airlines) "I don't know why, but every time I talk to him I feel really anxious afterwards." "Infectious enthusiasm."
Collective Affect	A "bottom-up" approach to collective affect emphasizes the affective composition of the various affective attributes of the group's members. That is, the degree to which individual level affective characteristics combine, often through emotional contagion, to form group level emotion or mood. A "top-down" approach to collective affect emphasizes the degree to which groups are characterized by emotion norms for feeling and expression.	"Our group has a _____ feel to it." "What a negative group!" "In our group showing positivity is very important."

lethargy (Watson & Tellegen, 1985). Other affective traits that can influence work behavior include people's propensities to feeling emotions strongly (affective intensity; Larsen & Diener, 1987); being prone to catching other people's emotions (emotional contagion; Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994; Doherty, 1997); and how emotionally expressive people tend to be (emotional expressivity; Kring, Smith, & Neale, 1994).

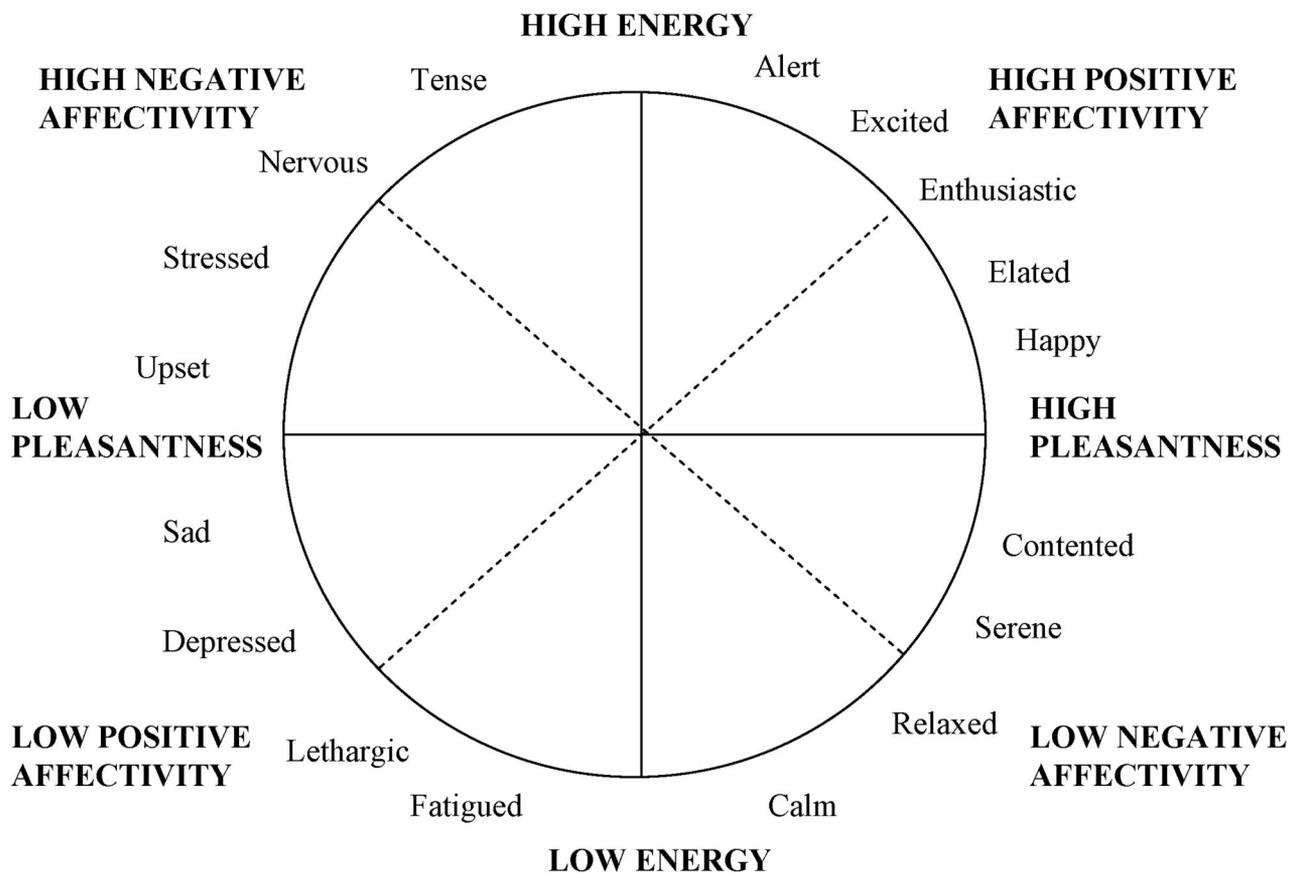## New Ways of Approaching Affect in Organizations

The delineation of affective terms outlined above represents significant progress in a field that has traditionally been characterized by little agreement over the meaning and boundaries of basic constructs. This research progress now makes it possible to examine affective influences on organizational outcomes with greater precision and specificity. While this increasing consistency in definitions has helped, the range of approaches to studying affect in organizations remains broad. We identify three emerging trends in conceiving affect in organizations that take the definitions we have outlined in new directions and will continue to shape research language and focus.

Emotional Intelligence

Recently, there has been significant popular and academic interest in the phenomenon of emotional intelligence (EI), an "ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this infor-

Figure 1
The Circumplex Model of Affect.

Adapted from Feldman Barrett, L., & Russell, J.A. (1998). Independence and bipolarity in the structure of current affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(4), 967–984 and Larsen, R. J., & Diener, E. (1992). Promises and problems with the circumplex model of emotion. In M. S. Clark (Ed.), *Emotion. Review of personality and social psychology* (Vol. 13, pp. 25–59). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

mation to guide one's thinking and actions" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990: 189). The idea behind emotional intelligence in the workplace is that it is a skill through which employees treat emotions as valuable data in navigating a situation. Let's say a sales manager has come up with an amazing idea that will increase corporate revenue by up to 200%, but knows that his boss tends to be irritable and short-tempered in the morning. Having emotional intelligence means that this manager will first recognize and consider this emotional fact about his boss, and despite the stunning nature of his idea—and his own excitement—he will regulate his own emotions, curb his enthusiasm, and wait until the afternoon to approach his boss. It also means understanding how one's own emotions and those of others can facilitate thinking. For example, the head of a product development team who is about to embark on a large-scale development effort senses that the team is generally feeling down and disheartened because some key members of the team have left for a different firm. He knows that he must get his team back into a positive, upbeat mood for the team members to be productively creative in the new project. He arranges to take them on a "brainstorming retreat" of white-water river rafting where they can connect as the newly shaped team, and most importantly, raise their positivity as they embark on this new project. In doing so, this project leader is actively managing his own emotions and those of his team to help meet their goals; he is "using emotions to think intelligently."

Mayer and Salovey's (1997) emotional intelligence model elaborates on this premise and is based on the following four factors: (1) *Perceiving Emotions*: the degree to which people are capable of attending to their emotions, expressing those emotions, and reading the emotions of others; (2) *Using Emotions*: the process of knowing which emotions facilitate cognition effectively and using them to do so; (3) *Understanding Emotions*: the understanding of complicated emotional dynamics, including how emotions can change from one to another (e.g., embarrassment can turn into anger rather than apology); and (4) *Managing Emotions*: the knowledge of how to regulate one's

own and others' emotions to reach goals (see Salovey & Grewal, 2005 for review).

It is important to note, however, that there is a debate in the emotional intelligence field as to the exact nature of emotional intelligence (see Brackett, Rivers, Shiffman, Lerner, & Salovey, 2006). One group of researchers uses an "abilities" approach based on the four-factor model described above (Mayer & Salovey, 1997), and measures emotional intelligence through performance tests (e.g., the MSCEIT, a computer-based EI test, Mayer, Salovey, Caruso, & Sitarenios, 2003). This approach differs from that of other researchers who take a "mixed model" approach using self-report measures of emotional intelligence.[3] Self-report measures of EI ask respondents for perceptions of their own emotional abilities through ratings on items such as, "I am generally very good at calming someone down when he or she is upset," or "I can tell how people are feeling even if they never tell me." While these self-report measures may indicate respondents' perceptions of emotional self-efficacy (Tett, Fox, & Wang, 2005), there is serious question as to whether respondents can be unbiased about their own emotional skills (Matthews, Roberts, & Zeidner, 2004). One might compare this approach to assessing mathematical skills by asking respondents, "How good are you at solving algebraic equations?" rather than asking the person to actually solve an algebraic equation. There is also serious concern that "mixed model" self-report-based approaches have substantial overlap with other personality measures such as the "Big Five" personality factors leading to issues of construct validity (Brackett, Mayer, & Warner, 2004).[4]

This issue highlights the degree to which emotional intelligence is still a nascent field, both

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[3] This includes researchers who base their self-report assessments on the four-factor EI model, and researchers who expanded the construct to include components outside that model (see Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2000 for a more detailed discussion of these differences).

[4] The Big Five model of personality traits measures the dimensions of extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness, emotional stability (also known as neuroticism) and openness to experience in individuals (McCrae & Costa, 1987). These factors have emerged in a wide variety of studies of personality dimensions and are widely accepted by personality psychologists (Hogan, Hogan, & Roberts, 1996), and have been found to be relevant to a variety of organizational outcomes (Barrick & Mount, 1991).

theoretically and methodologically, currently undergoing its own set of growth crises on a variety of dimensions (see Conte, 2005; Daus & Ashkanasy, 2005), including methodological challenges within the current ability-based tests (Matthews et al., 2004). However, overall there is positive support for the validity of the EI construct and its relationship to a variety of life outcomes, including behavior at work (Mayer, Roberts, & Barsade, forthcoming), and we predict that the construct of emotional intelligence, particularly if deconstructed into its component parts (e.g., the four factors), will ultimately have much to offer to our understanding of organizational life.

Emotion Regulation and Emotional Labor

A second focus has been on the degree to which employees manage or regulate their emotional expression through the facial "mask" they present to others. This perspective first notes that an employee's felt emotions can be distinguished from his or her displayed emotions, which are the facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, and language used to convey feeling (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). Displaying emotions that differ from what we are actually feeling involves *emotional regulation*, which is the attempt to influence which emotions we have, when we have them, and how these emotions are experienced or expressed (Gross, 1998a). It thus includes a broad range of regulatory activities, including, as the introductory vignette suggests, controlling anger when a person feels that it will reflect badly on his or her reputation.

When engaging in *emotional labor*, an organization-specific type of regulation, employees manage their public displays of emotions to comply with normative "display rules" (Ekman, 1973; Hochschild, 1983). Such organizational display rules or emotion norms can be used as a mechanism for increasing performance—such as salespeople keeping an upbeat, enthusiastic expression with customers to encourage purchasing behavior (Pugh, 2001; Totterdell & Holman, 2003); lawyers using an aggressive, angry tone to encourage compliance in adversaries (Pierce, 1995); medical professionals adopting norms of intentional affective neutrality (Smith & Kleinman, 1989); and

bill collectors attempting to calm or browbeat debtors (Sutton, 1991). This is considered to be labor because part of what these employees are being paid to do is regulating their own emotions to produce the appropriate emotional state in others (Hochschild, 1983). Research in this area has also been advanced by accentuating how the organizational context constrains or encourages emotion norms (e.g., employees showing positive emotions only during less busy times in convenience stores or banks; Pugh, 2001; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990).

Emotional labor has also been discussed in terms of "surface acting," when employees show emotions without necessarily feeling them (such as when an irked airline customer service agent forces himself to smile and be friendly as a customer becomes increasingly agitated about lost luggage); and "deep acting," when employees display emotions they have actually worked on feeling (such as if the airline customer service agent actually tries to sympathize with the customer and show emotions aligned with feeling empathy). It was initially theorized that a discrepancy between individuals' emotional display and their underlying feelings (characteristic of surface acting) would cause "emotional dissonance" and contribute to work strain (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). That is, when a customer service agent continuously forces himself to smile despite feeling negative affect such as irritation, the dissonance created may be a source of anxiety, depression, and burnout (Grandey, 2003). However, researchers have also found that for many workers surface acting does not cause strain, particularly if workers are "faking in good faith" and believe the act they are putting on is a legitimate part of the work role (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989: 37; see summary in Côté, 2005). Given these divergent findings, researchers are working to understand the conditions under which emotion regulation in the form of surface acting does result in strain (Côté, 2005), including the role of individual differences and organizational context (Grandey, 2000). One possible clue to this question comes from emotion regulation research suggesting that regulating emotions by anticipating them and engaging in cognitive re-framing (for example, telling oneself

in advance to be objective in a potentially emotionally charged situation) causes less strain than regulating emotions through suppression (for example, attempting to "surface act" cheerful when currently feeling angry) (Gross, 1998b).

Emotional Contagion and Collective Affect

The idea that affect not only occurs intrapsychically but has a strong social component which can influence dyadic and group interactions is a third emerging area of research (Barsade & Gibson, 1998; Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). The process of emotional contagion is a primary mechanism through which emotions are shared and become social, creating collective emotion.

Emotional contagion, characterized as processes that allow the sharing or transferring of emotions from one individual to other group members, often occurs without conscious knowledge (although it can also be consciously induced; Barsade, 2002). This everyday, continuous, automatic process has been described as a tendency to mimic the nonverbal behavior of others, to "synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements" with others, and in turn, to "converge emotionally" (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). Research has suggested this mimicry can be explained by the facial feedback hypothesis, such that individuals who model certain facial displays corresponding to emotions actually begin to experience the same emotions (Larsen & Kasimatis, 1990; Strack, Martin, & Stepper, 1988). The contagion process may be modified by a range of factors, such as the degree to which individuals are good senders and receivers of emotion (Hatfield et al., 1994; Sullins, 1989).

While studies exploring the influence of emotional contagion initially focused primarily on dyadic settings, findings from both lab and field research suggest that contagion also functions at the group level. For example, in one study, contagion occurred and influenced group dynamics both with the deliberate mood induction by the presence of a trained confederate, and within group dynamics without a confederate (Barsade, 2002). Moving to organizational settings, in an in-depth daily tracking of nurse and accountant work groups, collective team mood convergence, a product of contagion, was found to occur, particularly in those with high group cohesion (Totterdell, Kellet, Teuchmann, & Briner, 1998). In a broader study of 70 work teams across 51 different organizational contexts (including product teams, service teams, strategic planning teams, consulting teams, and engineering teams), mood convergence occurred across all dimensions of the affective circumplex (Bartel & Saavedra, 2000). In a recent study of group contagion in a naturalistic team performance setting, not only was contagion shown to occur, but this contagion was stronger for people who had a higher dispositional propensity toward emotional contagion, and also for those who had more collectivistic tendencies toward the team (Ilies, Wagner, & Morgeson, in press).

Why Does Affect Matter in Organizations?

We have laid the groundwork for understanding and answering this question by outlining the parameters of affect as a construct. We now focus on how affect of all sorts influences the thoughts and behaviors of individuals and groups within organizations. We do so by first examining a relationship that has long intrigued researchers: whether employees' feelings influence their work performance. We then examine specific relationships between affect and decision making, creativity, group dynamics, and individual behaviors, such as turnover, helping behavior, negotiation, and leadership. Finally, we draw conclusions from these studies to indicate where we are and what challenges we face in exploring future directions in organizational research.

Affect and Performance

The dominant hypothesis about employee emotions in the 20th century was that happy workers ought to be productive workers (Staw, Bell, & Clausen, 1986). Up until the 1980s, however, "happiness" was often measured using attitudinal measures such as job satisfaction, and the results were decidedly modest.[5] Recently, measures that

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[5] Recent meta-analyses indicate that job satisfaction and performance are correlated in the range of .17 (Iaffaldano & Muchinsky, 1985) to .30

more directly measure happiness—those focusing on state and trait positive affect—have been used to examine this critical relationship. These studies have produced more compelling results. Indeed, a comprehensive meta-analysis indicated that an individual's tendency to experience positive emotions and moods is associated with increases in a variety of work performance measures, including more positive supervisory evaluations, higher income, enhanced negotiating ability, and performing discretionary acts for the benefit of the organization (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005).

Most studies of affect and work-related performance have examined employees' dispositional affect (see Staw & Cohen-Charash, 2005 for a review). For example, an experimental study focusing on managerial performance found that dispositional positive affect was a significant predictor of decision-making effectiveness, interpersonal performance, and ratings of managerial potential (Staw & Barsade, 1993). Longitudinal field research has indicated that employees who tend to meet work obstacles in a positive mood (using both state and trait measures) tend to reap more favorable outcomes—including more favorable supervisor evaluations and higher pay 18 months after the initial measure of positive emotions—than their more negative counterparts (Staw, Sutton, & Pelled, 1994). Within the sales domain, salespeople's general positive affect toward their customers was found to significantly predict sales performance (Sharma & Levy, 2003). Overall, research shows a consistent, strong relationship between trait positive affect measures and various measures of work performance. This relationship has held in experimental, cross-sectional, and longitudinal studies, even after controlling for possible confounding variables and using both objective and subjective ratings (see review in Cropanzano & Wright, 2001).

When examining the influence of mood on performance, researchers have found emotional

(Judge et al., 2001). A problem with using an attitudinal measure such as job satisfaction as a proxy for happiness, however, is that much of job satisfaction also involves a cognitive component—how employees think or feel *about* work, whether they like it or not, which is different from the experience of affect *at work* (Brief & Weiss, 2002; George, 1989), which is how an employee actually feels while on the job and their emotional approach to life and work.

contagion to be a useful mechanism for understanding performance outcomes. For example, the positive mood of bank tellers was found to lead to positive emotional contagion among their customers, which was then positively associated with customer evaluations of service quality (Pugh, 2001). In a cleverly done coder observation study of emotional contagion within 220 employee-customer encounters in coffee shops, behavioral mimicry, an underlying mechanism of emotional contagion, was shown to occur (the strength of the employees' smiles predicted customers' smiles during the purchase encounter, even above the degree of smiling the customers came into the coffee shop with). This emotional contagion also predicted customers' satisfaction with the encounter (Barger & Grandey, 2006). Similarly, a study involving a short-term affect measure (though not quite a measure of mood) found that in a sample of shoe salespeople, engaging in affectively positive behaviors with customers such as greeting, smiling, and eye contact was found to correlate with customers' in-store positive mood, which was then related to the amount of time the customers spent in the store and their reported willingness to come and shop there again (Tsai & Huang, 2002).

This effect of emotional contagion has also been found at the group level. For example, in a simulated managerial group decision-making task, the degree to which individuals within the group experienced positive contagion predicted how positively other group members rated their performance (Barsade, 2002). In the same study, looking at more collective outcomes, the degree to which groups experienced positive versus negative contagion led to less conflict and greater cooperation in the way money was allocated in the salary decision-making task. Groups in which positive emotional contagion occurred allocated the pot of money more evenly among the group members, as compared to groups in which negative emotional contagion occurred. In a study of the influence of the contagion of mood of a group leader on group members, the positive mood of the leader positively influenced group members at both the individual and collective level with the opposite for leader negative mood. The leader's positive mood

also had a subsequent influence on group coordination and effort (Sy, Côté, & Saavedra, 2005).

Relatedly, while we have been focused on emotional contagion as a transient state, one's personality trait propensity toward emotional contagion has also begun to be linked to work outcomes. For example, it has been related to positive salesperson performance, but also to a greater likelihood of burnout (Verbeke, 1997), and greater vulnerability to emotional exhaustion when faced with dealing with death and dying among oncology care providers (LeBlanc, Bakker, Peeters, Van-Heesch, & Schaufeli, 2001).

It is not clear whether dispositional affect or mood has a stronger influence on performance, although there are theories which integrate the two (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). There have been more studies examining dispositional affect, but this may be because dispositional affect is more easily measured than mood, and much easier than measuring discrete emotions. In an empirical test of state versus trait affective measures, a study of public sector employees showed that trait measures (using a measure of positive psychological well-being) related to supervisor performance ratings beyond the effects of mood. A replication of the study with social welfare counselors repeated the trait findings, but also found that negative mood was predictive of performance while controlling for trait measures. Thus, both types of affect mattered in accounting for performance (Wright, Cropanzano, & Meyer, 2004). It has been argued that the link between employees' more short-lived feeling states (e.g. moods and emotions) and performance measures such as supervisory ratings are inconsistent because of the time lag problem: employees' moods and emotions may be fleeting and short-term, while performance measures used tend to reflect longer periods of evaluation (usually six months to one year; Wright & Staw, 1999). As we review below, when performance is measured in more time-delimited ways (such as through effective decision making, creativity, or prosocial behaviors), the results for positive mood are quite compelling. We encourage more research examining the influence of mood, and especially discrete emotions, on performance (see Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2001).

Last, a more recent line of research examines whether an employee's emotional intelligence leads to increased job performance, with most studies to date finding results with overall emotional intelligence and the sub-factor of emotional recognition/perception (see Mayer et al., forthcoming for a comprehensive review of the influence of emotional intelligence on work outcomes). Emotional intelligence has been found to positively influence performance on problem solving tasks (Lam & Kirby, 2002; Lyons & Schneider, 2005); and in a variety of managerial simulations, including problem analysis in a managerial in-box exercise, a layoff decision-making task, and a simulated claims adjustment task (Day & Carroll, 2004; Feyerham & Rice, 2002; Matsumoto et al., 2004). There have some field studies tying emotional intelligence with performance, mainly within the domain of emotion perception skills. A recent meta-analysis reported a positive relationship with greater emotion perception (emotion recognition accuracy) and better work outcomes in occupations as diverse as physicians, medical interns, human service workers, foreign service officers, principals, public service interns, school teachers, business executives, clinicians and business managers (Elfenbein, Foo, White, & Tan, in press). There are significantly fewer field studies looking at emotional intelligence more broadly than emotional perception. One such recent empirical examination studied 44 analysts and clerical employees from the finance department of a Fortune 500 insurance company and found that the employees with higher emotional intelligence ability scores (which varied by which of the four factors was being examined) received greater merit increases and were employed at a higher rank in the company. Employees with higher emotional intelligence were also rated by both their supervisors and teammates as having better social skills than employees with lower emotional intelligence ability scores (Lopes et al., 2000).

Overall, however, within field settings, the research evidence tying emotional intelligence abilities to work performance is still in its beginning phases and has not yet lived up to the claims of its popular press fame. One possibility may be that the measures for this construct need to be im-

proved, or that outcome variables need to be chosen more carefully. Another likely possibility is that cognitive intelligence or other personality variables (Gohm, Corser, & Dalsky, 2005; Rubin, Munz, & Bommer, 2005) are particularly important in organizational settings and may interact with emotional intelligence in a way that then influences performance. For example, one recent study made exactly this point and found that among staff members in a public university, the influence of high emotional intelligence on performance was more pronounced for employees who had lower cognitive intelligence scores (Côté & Miners, 2006). Finally, it may be that the field has not sufficiently considered the links between the subcomponents of emotional intelligence, taking into account the entire "EI profile," rather than the skills separately. For example, if there are two managers who are both high in ability to read others' emotions, but one is better than the other in regulating her own emotions or those of others, the latter manager may well be more successful at her job.

While many of the preceding studies have used quantitative task output as their measure of performance, the direction of emotions research has been to examine a variety of other outcome variables that may also be considered measures of "performance," depending on the task context. These include effective decision making, creativity, turnover, prosocial behaviors, and leadership. We turn to these variables next.

Affect and Decision Making

The influence of affect on decision making has been an area of active debate focused on whether positive or negative affect leads to better outcomes. Support for the influence of positive emotions on decision making comes from a variety of domains. Alice Isen and her colleagues, in a voluminous research stream, have consistently shown that positive mood inductions lead to better, more efficient decision making, including decision making requiring more careful, systematic, and thorough processing (see Isen, 2001; Isen & Labroo, 2003 for reviews). For example, in one study in a hospital setting, Estrada, Isen, and Young (1997) induced positive affect in practicing

physicians by providing a small gift of candy. The physicians then had to read a description of a patient and think aloud (which was recorded and rated by outside coders) as they tried to determine the correct diagnosis. It was found that while the positive affect-induced doctors considered as many diagnoses as doctors who did not undergo the positive mood induction (received no candy), the positive affect-induced doctors came to the correct solution significantly earlier than control participants, and were less likely to incorrectly anchor on an incorrect hypothesis. This study suggests that positive affect can facilitate the thorough, efficient, and flexible use of new information, which increases decision effectiveness.

However, studies have also found that negative affect can lead to more effective decision making. One set of studies shows that negative affect leads to more concentrated, detailed, and analytic processing (see Schwarz, Bless, & Bohner, 1991 for a review) while positive affect can lead to the opposite (Melton, 1995; Mackie & Worth, 1989). A set of studies in the clinical literature shows a "depressive realism effect" in which people who are depressed (trait affect) have more accurate judgments than nondepressed people (Alloy & Abramson, 1988). Finally, the "mood-as-input" model (Martin, Ward, Achee, & Wyer, 1993) predicts that negative affect will lead to more effortful processing. The rationale for this is that people use their moods as indications of the state of their environment. Thus, negative moods serve as a signal to people that something is wrong, so that active cognitive processing will continue as people try to solve the problem, whereas positive mood signals that all is well and people should not continue to analyze.

Addressing this debate within the organizational domain, Staw and Barsade (1993) directly tackled the question of whether positive versus negative affect contributes to effective decision making. In a managerial simulation with MBA students, they offered competing hypotheses as to whether high versus low trait positive affect participants would do better in decision making on a managerial simulation scored by outside raters. They found a salutary influence of positive affect on a gamut of detailed, effortful decision making

tasks, including: greater decision making accuracy; greater amount of additional information requested before making decisions; greater use of quantitative indices in the decision making, and greater recognition of situational contingencies. They thus concluded that positive affect led to better decision making than negative affect. Positive affect has also been linked to deeper analytic processing and efficiency in decision making. In a study of graduating university students seeking employment, those with higher trait positive affectivity had more clarity about their job search (integrating information more deeply and efficiently), which then led them to look for a job more intensely and ultimately led to more interviews and job offers (while trait negative affectivity was not found to be associated with job search clarity; Côté, Saks, & Zikic, 2006). A recent meta-analysis showed that the preponderance of evidence indicates that positive emotions are better for myriad facets of decision making (see Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). Overall, it may be that positive mood allows people to better process at a level most appropriate to the situation at hand. Thus, when more heuristic, quick answers are needed, people in positive moods can respond with an appropriate decision making strategy; if the task requires deeper, more analytic processing, people who are in a good mood recognize this necessity and can do so as well (Isen, 2004).

There has been less examination of the influence of discrete emotions on decision making. However, a qualitative study of three British professional symphony orchestras offered an interesting model of how multiple negative emotions such as fear, anxiety, shame, embarrassment, humiliation, anger, and pity influenced decision making (Maitlis & Ozcelik, 2004). The authors effectively used qualitative techniques to capture these phenomena. It would be significantly more difficult to capture the same dynamics quantitatively; this is likely one of the reasons there has been less research of discrete emotions conducted in organizations and particularly the interaction of multiple discrete emotions (Maitlis & Ozcelik, 2004).

Affect and Creativity

A very similar set of competing arguments as were presented in the decision-making literature have been made for the influence of positive versus negative affect states and traits on creativity (see James, Brodersen, & Jacob, 2004 for a review). Positive affect has been proposed to positively influence creativity by leading to a state in which more cognitive material—more variety in the elements that are considered—is available for processing. Then, once those elements are available, positive affect leads to a more complex, flexible thinking, allowing a broader choice of elements to come together and an increased chance that people will in fact put together all of the cognitive elements that have become available (see Isen, 1999; Frederickson, 1998). There is strong support for this theory in laboratory studies of induced positive affect and creativity, with myriad studies showing that when people are in more positive moods, they are more creative (see Isen, 1999 for a review of this literature). This support has recently been extended to studies within organizations. In the first longitudinal study of daily work creativity, a study examined self-reports, other-ratings, and daily diary data from 222 employees in seven companies over the length of an entire project, directly addressing the question of whether negative versus positive affect would enhance creativity (Amabile, Barsade, Mueller, & Staw, 2005). This study found a strong linear relationship between greater positive mood and creativity in organizations. Also, the influence of positive affect on creativity lasted up to two days after the positive mood had been felt. Another recent field study, conducted in the knitwear industry, also found facilitative effects for positive mood on creative performance work by showing that positive but not negative moods mediated the relationship between the support employees get for creative work and their actual creative performance (Madjar, Oldham, & Pratt, 2002). Overall, most research support is for a positive relationship between positive affect and creativity.[6]

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[6] While most evidence points to a strong positive relationship between positive affect and creativity, it is important to note that there have been some indications that the influence of negative affect on creativity should

Affect and Turnover/Absence

Turnover and absence from work are critical organizational variables, since the cost of replacing employees and lost employee time is extremely high (see Cascio, 1991; Shaw, Delery, Jenkins, & Gupta, 1998). Several studies have linked affect to these variables. In general, studies support the idea that positive affectivity (both state and trait) is associated with reduced absence and intention to turnover, and that negative affectivity (both state and trait) is associated with increased absence, intention to turnover, and actual turnover (George & Jones, 1996; Pelled & Xin, 1999; Thoresen, Kaplan, & Barsky, 2003). Paying attention to the differing effects of positive and negative affect is, however, important. For example, in one study, the experience of positive moods (measured as how employees felt "during the past week") caused employees to be absent less, but the experience of negative moods had no effect on their absence behavior (George, 1989: 321).

Another study on the differential influence of positive and negative affect found an answer to a question that has long puzzled researchers: why does job dissatisfaction result in turnover intentions for some workers, but not for others? Studies find that workers who are dispositionally higher in positive affect are *more* likely to leave their jobs if they are dissatisfied than are people who are characterized by low positive affect (Judge, 1993; Shaw, 1999). One reason behind this relationship is that for low positive affect individuals, the impetus to quit is small because they do not expect a new job to be more satisfying. Conversely, high trait positive affect individuals are more likely to be willing to change their situations when they are dissatisfied. Furthermore, the relationship between job satisfaction and the intent to turnover is strongest among people who feel that their values are not being met at work *and* tend to

experience high positive moods. This could be because they feel higher self-efficacy in their skills and ability to find a new job that will meet their values (George & Jones, 1996).

Affect and Prosocial Behavior

Prosocial behaviors are those undertaken to benefit or help another individual, group, or organization (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986). It is well established in the social psychological literature that positive mood is associated with helping behavior in general (Isen, Clark, & Schwartz, 1976; Salovey, Mayer, & Rosenhan, 1991).[7] Research has also been directed at the more specific question of whether an employee's positive mood will enhance prosocial organizational behaviors. Researchers have found that employees who experience positive moods at work are more likely to engage in prosocial behavior both in terms of what their job requires (such as superior customer service) and aspects that go beyond their job description (such as helping peers, or engaging in altruism—George, 1991). In these studies, more proximal positive moods have been shown to have an effect, while dispositional affect appears to have less of an effect. In one study, employees' positive mood predicted prosocial behaviors such as altruism and helping, while dispositional affect (measured as PA) had no effect (George, 1991). That is, unlike turnover or absenteeism, these helping behaviors appear to be more affected by aspects of the immediate situation rather than an individual's relatively stable tendency to experience positive affect.

Prosocial behavior has also been linked to moods expressed by group leaders. A study of sales associates in 37 retail stores examined whether a group leader's positive mood contributed to the extent to which the group engaged in prosocial behavior and reduced the group's voluntary turnover rate. The findings were affirmative (George

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at least be considered. For example, there is some support for the influence of negative emotions on creativity from studies of affective illness (e.g., depression and manic-depression; Jamison, 1993; see Feist, 1999 for a review). There is also organizational evidence from a field study based on the "mood-as-input" model. In this cross-sectional study in a large manufacturing organization, there was a positive relationship between negative affect and creativity when both recognition and rewards for creativity, and clarity of feelings (ability to recognize one's own feelings) are high (George & Zhou, 2002).

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[7] However, under the rubric of "motivated cognitive processing theory" which indicates that people want to maintain their positive moods and on average avoid situations which would reduce their positive emotions (Clark & Isen, 1982; Forgas, 1991), there is evidence that people in positive moods are more prone to help if helping does not negatively influence their positive mood (Isen & Simmonds, 1978; Forest et al., 1979). But see Parrott (1993) for an additional perspective.

& Bettenhausen, 1990). It was posited that leaders who experience high levels of positive mood at work would tend to feel "active, excited, enthusiastic, peppy, and strong," and this enthusiasm for the work task would "rub off" on group members, producing an increased incidence of prosocial behaviors (George & Bettenhausen, 1990: 701). The logic behind this emotional connection to prosocial behaviors is that positive mood leaders would be more likely to encourage and notice positive behaviors performed by the group and positively reinforce the group. This study suggests the power of the leader's mood in shaping group members' perceptions of the group *and* their behavior toward each other.

Overall, there is strong support for the idea that positive emotions make prosocial behaviors more likely. Some studies also suggest a corollary: that negative emotions make anti-social behaviors more likely. One study argued that discrete negative emotions produced by environments that are perceived as unjust or stressful increase the frequency of anti-social or deviant organizational behaviors (Spector & Fox, 2002). This approach suggests that in organizational environments (or groups) that encourage positive affective states, employees are more likely to engage in prosocial, supportive, and cooperative behaviors. The opposite is predicted in organizational environments that foster employees' negative emotions (see Frost, 2004).

Affect and Negotiation and Conflict Resolution

Conflict is an inherent part of organizational life and frequently causes strong emotional responses in the conflicting groups and individuals. Negotiation is the primary means by which organization members manage their conflict (Allred, Mallozzi, & Matsui, 1997). After many years of either ignoring emotions or emphasizing practical advice to show neutral emotions and use the proverbial "poker face" (Gibson & Schroeder, 2002), negotiation scholars have begun to recognize the importance of emotions and how emotions influence the negotiation process (see Barry, Fulmer, & Van Kleef, 2004; Thompson, Nadler, & Kim, 1999 for reviews). The results of these studies generally show that positive moods help to resolve conflict

(Lyubromirsky et al., 2005). Negotiators in a positive mood (usually induced in experimental settings) tend to be more cooperative and less likely to engage in conflict, and in some cases, come to agreements that enhance joint gains more frequently (Baron, 1990; Barsade, 2002). Positive mood induces individuals to adopt more innovative problem-solving strategies, suggesting that these negotiators will be more likely to come to integrative ("win-win") agreements (Carnevale & Isen, 1986). Positive mood in a negotiator is likely to create more positive feelings in his or her counterpart, and liking between negotiators has been linked to added flexibility in the negotiation when opponents know each other (Druckman & Broome, 1991). Positive mood is also related to persistence and increased confidence levels in negotiators, which have been associated with increased outcomes (Kumar, 1997). Last, a face-to-face negotiation study showed that negotiators can be easily and effectively instructed in how to be emotionally strategic in the emotions they display (an interesting result in its own right). It also showed that positive negotiator emotional display (as compared to neutral or negative displays) led to a desire by negotiating partners to want to continue doing business with the positive negotiator. The positive negotiator was also better able to close a deal in a distributive (win-lose) setting, even through increased concessions from the other party (Kopelman, Rosette, & Thompson, 2006).

Currently, the findings for feeling and displaying negative emotions in a negotiation are typically the inverse of the findings regarding the feeling and display of positive moods and emotions. For example, negotiators in a generally negative mood were more competitive and received poorer outcomes (Forgas, 1998). However, research examining negative moods in conflict management and negotiation are also more likely to examine discrete emotions, which can offer more nuanced insights. For example, one study examining the discrete emotions of anger and compassion found that negotiators who felt high anger and low compassion for their counterpart achieved fewer joint gains in their negotiations (Allred et al., 1997). The study also found that

those negotiators' discrete emotions of anger and compassion influenced their negotiations more than their generalized positive or negative moods did. There have also been results showing positive effects of anger, finding that a negotiator facing an angry counterpart is more likely to concede than a negotiator facing a happy counterpart. However, these effects occurred under high time pressure and when the negotiator who faced the angry counterpart had lower power, and in a computer-mediated setting (Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004). Computer-mediated settings are clearly important to organizational life (e.g., in the use of e-mail), but it is critical to see how the effects of anger operate in face-to-face negotiations as well.

Last, looking at emotional intelligence skills, emotional perception has been shown to influence individual negotiator outcomes in a variety of sometimes contradictory ways. More consistently, they have been shown to increase the integrative outcomes of negotiating dyads (Elfenbein et al., in press; Foo, Elfenbein, Tan, & Aik, 2004). Emotion understanding skill was shown to positively influence how one's negotiation partner felt about his/her negotiation outcome, above and beyond the amount of money that negotiation partner received and his/her trait positive affect (Mueller & Curhan, in press).

Collective Affect and Team Behavior

The role of affect has long been an implicit factor in studies of groups, for example, in studies of group cohesiveness (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995) and the progression of group development (Tuckman, 1965; Wheelan, 1994). However, there are few studies examining how affect operates as an *explicit* factor within team development, behavior, and outcomes. This is surprising given that in the process of getting work accomplished, groups offer a prime place for intense interactions involving individuals with their own emotional histories, emotional agendas, and affective personalities confronting positive and negative group events. Of the studies that have been conducted, however, there is very promising evidence for the influence of emotion on group outcomes.

One way to conceptualize group emotion and its outcomes is a "bottom-up" approach where group emotion is defined by the affective composition of the various affective attributes of the group's members (Barsade & Gibson, 1998). For example, a group's affective tone, the "consistent or homogenous affective reactions within a group" measured by the group's mean level of positive affect, was found in retail sales groups to be positively related to higher levels of customer service and lower absenteeism (George, 1995).

A different way of looking at group emotion is through affective diversity, or the degree of difference in affective traits that exists between group members. Affective diversity has been shown to influence group outcomes. In a sample of 239 top managers in 62 U.S. corporations, the greater the degree of trait affective diversity on the senior management team, the greater the conflict in the team, the less cooperation and the poorer the firm financial performance (Barsade, Ward, Turner, & Sonnenfeld, 2000). There are a few studies that examined the effect of discrete emotions in groups, such as group envy, which was found to be directly associated with decreased group performance. It was also associated with more absenteeism, less group satisfaction, and poorer group performance via the mechanisms of increased social loafing, decreased cohesion, and decreased feelings of group potency (Duffy & Shaw, 2000).

There is also a "top-down" approach in which collectively held norms—implicit or explicit—about appropriate emotions to express or hold in the group and/or organization, shape the type of emotions that are allowed and expressed in the group context (see Barsade & Gibson, 1998; Kelly & Barsade, 2001, for reviews). There has been much research examining emotion norms within an emotional labor perspective (e.g., see reviews by Grandey, 2000; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989), but significantly less examining the influence of "affective culture." Affective culture can be thought of as normative systems which include display rules about expressed emotions at the collective level, prescribing the appropriateness or inappropriateness of particular emotional expressions in the organization (Barsade, Brief, & Spataro, 2003; Barsade & O'Neill, 2004). Overall, while we

would predict that the influence of affective culture on group and individual dynamics would be a powerful one, of the many areas we have examined showing the influence of collective affect on workplace outcomes, this is currently one of the least studied and most open for development.

Affect and Leadership

We conclude with a critical—but complex—process within organizations, the process of leadership. It has become increasingly apparent that emotions permeate the leadership process, both in terms of the emotions leaders feel and express, and the emotions followers feel toward their leaders (see George, 2000). Leaders must substantially regulate their own emotions. For example, they often must express a positive or upbeat mood about the future, while suppressing expressions of anxiety or sadness that might de-motivate followers. They must also manage the emotions of others, for example, by understanding and empathizing with employees' emotions about change so that change efforts will be accepted (Huy, 2002). While the notion of emotions as critical to the leadership process is not new (see, for example, Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Wasielewski, 1985), recent advances in emotions research and emotional intelligence in particular have sparked an increase in the study of leadership and emotion.

In terms of positive affectivity and leadership, the work cited above on prosocial behavior, creativity, and decision making suggest that PA should contribute to leader effectiveness. There is some empirical support for this connection. In a simulated managerial setting, high trait positive affect MBA students were rated by their peers and outside observers as being better leaders (Staw & Barsade, 1993). Trait positive affectivity was related to leader-follower liking and perceived similarity in a simulated interview setting (Fox & Spector, 2000), and in a lab study, leaders in positive versus negative moods had groups who performed better in their task, expending less unnecessary effort and more coordination in completing the task (Sy, Côté, & Saavedra, 2005). Testing this within organizations, in a customer

service field setting, leaders' positive moods were found to be associated with higher performance of the leader's group (George, 1995).

Transformational leadership is a setting in which the importance of emotions in leadership effectiveness has been specifically emphasized (Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000).[8] For example, a recent study examining the effects of emotional intelligence and personality traits on transformational leadership behavior found that leaders with high trait positive affectivity were more likely to be rated as engaging in transformational leadership behaviors. As might be expected, trait PA was not a significant predictor of transactional or contingent reward behavior (Rubin, Munz, & Bommer, 2005). This study also found an intriguing interaction: the researchers focused on ability to read others emotions (using the DANVA test) as a particularly important dimension of emotional intelligence that should relate to transformational leadership behavior. But as they predicted—and found—the leadership personality trait of extraversion (being outgoing and deriving energy from other people) moderated this relationship. Specifically, while extraversion alone did not have a direct effect on transformational leadership behavior, extraversion combined with emotion recognition skills did have an effect. Thus, high extraversion provided a clear benefit to leaders who *also* possess the ability to accurately recognize emotion. Conversely, leaders who "possessed low extraversion and high emotion recognition abilities did not seem to reap the benefits of their emotion recognition ability" (Rubin, Munz, & Bommer, 2005: 854). These findings point to an important characteristic of emotional intelligence that we referred to earlier: it does not operate separately, but rather in conjunction with other abilities and personality traits.

While leadership researchers have emphasized the critical place of followers in determining lead-

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[8] Transformational leadership is characterized by a leader's ability to articulate a shared vision of the future, intellectually stimulate employees, motivate colleagues and followers to look beyond their own interests and towards group interests, and provide individual consideration and support for followers (Bass, 1998; Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Transformational leadership has been contrasted with transactional leadership, which is based on motivating followers by emphasizing reward and exchange relationships.

ership style and shaping leadership behavior, much less work has focused on *followers'* emotions in response to leadership. Several researchers emphasize that leader effectiveness is at least partially defined by the satisfaction and emotional liking of followers (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Dasborough & Ashkanasy, 2002). There is also evidence that followers are influenced by leaders' displays of emotions. As noted above, leaders' expressions of positive emotions are thought to arouse positive emotions in others through the mechanism of emotional contagion, where the positive, upbeat emotions of the leader are emulated by followers, resulting in positive outcomes (George & Bettenhausen, 1990; Hatfield et al., 1994).

Laboratory studies have also examined the effects of leader displays of negative emotions and found more complex results. Following a contagion argument, leader displays of negative emotions could cause followers to similarly feel and display negative emotions, potentially hindering morale and motivation. Leader expressions of negative emotions such as sadness and anger, for example, have been shown to influence how employees view the leader, reducing their perceptions of leader effectiveness (Lewis, 2000). However, recent studies also show that a leader expressing anger may increase perceptions of the leader's power, while a leader expressing sadness may decrease those perceptions (Tiedens, 2001). Displays of negative emotion by the leader may also focus followers' attention on situations that require attention. For example, a leader's anger about an issue of discrimination or fairness may direct resources to solving the problem (George, 2000).

Leadership and emotion studies are also just beginning to examine the more detailed processes and interactions involved in a leaders' management of their teams' emotional responses (e.g., Huy, 2002). A recent model examines how leaders can "set the emotional tone" of a group and use emotional skills to focus group members on goals. In order to do this, the emergent leader of a group must first empathize and identify the collective emotional state of a group and also understand the aspects of the situation that are causing this emo-

tional state. The leader must then craft a response to the situation that takes into account the emotional tone, and communicates that response effectively (Pescosolido, 2002).

Overall, work in emotions and leadership is emerging as a very exciting area that will enhance our knowledge of what leadership means and how leaders can be effective, but it is also an area in which work needs to be done to sharpen constructs more effectively so that our understanding of the intersection of these two domains can be better understood.

Conclusions

This article offers a review of "what we know" about emotions in organizations at the present time. The review, albeit not exhaustive, indicates that the study of affect in organizations is a vibrant and growing area. It is characterized by a wide breadth of approaches, developing measures, and refinement of variables and outcomes. Organization researchers are increasingly recognizing that affect is inherent to the human experience, and thus inherent to any situation in which humans interact with each other and their environment, including at work. We draw the following conclusions from this wide range of studies.

Affect influences critical organizational variables

This article has identified a range of ways that affect is critical to explaining outcomes that concern managers in organizations. We have outlined effects on performance, decision making, turnover, prosocial behavior, negotiation and conflict resolution behavior, group dynamics, and leadership. These are discrete categories that help us to group variables as scientific studies have conceived them, but it is our view that affect permeates virtually every aspect of organizational life, even those areas that have been traditionally thought of as the exclusive province of cognitive behavior, such as decision making and task performance. The evidence is overwhelming that experiencing and expressing positive emotions and moods tends to enhance performance at individual, group, and organizational levels. As a recent meta-analysis has shown, positive affect is fundamentally linked with an individual's "active in-

volvement with goal pursuits and with the environment" (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005: 804). This desire to develop new goals and engage with them is linked with confidence, optimism, self-efficacy, likability, activity, energy, flexibility, and coping with challenges and stress, among other abilities and behaviors. The evidence is compelling that feeling and expressing positive affect is critical to success in organizations and in life.

It is particularly ironic that while positive affect has been found to show greater influence on workplace outcomes, it has been studied significantly less than negative affect (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005; Thoresen et al., 2003). A rationale for why positive affect has been found to have a relatively stronger effect on these outcomes could be that positive affect has been shown to consistently be related more strongly than negative affect to socially related processes (McIntyre, Watson, Clark, & Cross, 1991; Watson, Clark, McIntyre, & Hamaker, 1992), which are particularly critical to effective organizational interactions. Negative affect, on the other hand, is more strongly related to non-social intrapsychic outcomes, such as stress and burnout (Watson et al., 1988). Thus both sets of emotions serve a role in important outcomes, but in different arenas.

The influence of negative affect is complex

Conclusions about the meaning and influence of negative affect on organizational life are far more complex. The history of reactions to negative employee affect has tended to be simplistic: managers ought to avoid negative affect in their employees and suppress negative affect in themselves (see Stearns & Stearns, 1986). Given the power of positive affect identified above, this approach is understandable. However, current research has helped us to appreciate more of the complexity of negative affective responses, allowing us to be more nuanced in our approach. First, we must acknowledge that the evidence for the deleterious effects of individual negative affect is substantial, particularly since they tend to be strongly felt by employees (Miner, Glomb, & Hulin, 2005). Negative affective expressions can poison organizational cultures (Aquino, Douglas, & Martinko, 2004), negatively influence perceptions of leaders

(Lewis, 2000), and potentially lead to aggression or violence (Fox & Spector, 1999). However, negative emotions (especially anger) may also draw our attention to situations of unfairness and injustice (George, 2000), enhance perceptions of power (Tiedens, 2001), and enhance negotiating outcomes (Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004). Research and practice should be directed to the important questions of, "Under what conditions can negative affective responses lead to positive organizational outcomes?" To do so, it would be helpful for emotion scholars to focus on examining the various discrete negative emotions, as the outcomes that will come from angry versus anxious versus sad employees, for example, are likely going to be very different.

Constructs and methods are advancing

No longer is there a "one size fits all" way to measure work-related affect, such as using general attitudinal measures like job satisfaction. Drawing from and contributing to the robust literature of affect in psychology, our understanding of affect has been both expanded and refined via the study of discrete emotions, the affective circumplex, emotional labor, emotional contagion, and emotional intelligence. Methods are becoming more varied and sophisticated to match the variety and complexity of the phenomena, so that in addition to surveys, methods include controlled mood inductions, diary studies, daily experience sampling research, coding of behavior in-situ and video coding.

Future Directions

While much current work is being directed to refining the variables and relationships we have examined above, we also anticipate new approaches to studying affect. First, extant studies of affect assume that most important affective experiences arise through face-to-face interactions, and that most of emotional communication occurs through facial, or at least auditory communication, with very little occurring through text (Mehrabian, 1972). However, the impact of an entirely text-based technology on emotions must be explored. Significant communication in organizations now takes place through

synchronous (e.g., instant messaging) or asynchronous (e.g., e-mail) text-based means, which removes critical nonverbal sources of emotion and tone. How can emotions be best conveyed via these media? What is the effect of conveying emotionally charged messages via text, when these messages are more likely to be misconstrued? How must we re-think emotional contagion and other social processes in an organizational world in which many meetings take place online? Indeed, a recent study examining e-mail versus face-to-face communication suggests that individuals tend to be overconfident in their ability to accurately convey the emotions they wish via e-mail, particularly when they are trying to be sarcastic or humorous (Kruger, Epley, Parker, & Ng, 2005). The use of emoticons (:-)) may be somewhat helpful in this regard, but are also open to substantial misinterpretation or may be perceived as unprofessional in the business context. Video conferencing, also increasing in its use, has more cues, but is also not yet the same as interacting face to face, particularly in group situations. Given that these technologies continue to grow as a primary means of communication within the business world, it is crucial that we understand how the interpretation and communication of affect occurs in these contexts.

Second, research on affect has primarily focused on *conscious* feelings and expressions, those moods and emotions we are aware of and can possibly trace to their source and are thus amenable to regulation. However, there is also substantial developing research on affective processes existing at a level *below* consciousness: emotions existing at the subconscious or unconscious level that nonetheless have an impact on our conscious feelings and behavior. Subconscious affective processes include the automatic mimicry of others' emotions characterizing emotional contagion, as we have discussed earlier (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994), and automatic emotion regulation (Mauss, Evers, Wilhelm, & Gross, 2006). These processes also include our "emotional unconscious," which can be explained as an individual being consciously aware of his or her current emotional state, but not being aware of the source of that state, which may come from a current or past

experience (Kihlstrom, 1999). That is, rather than being consciously driven, individuals' current emotions may be reflections of their "implicit memory" of past events, which may create moods that are out of our awareness (e.g., Singer & Salovey, 1988) and implicit perceptions and emotions (see Kihlstrom, 1999, for a review).

Much of this future work will likely need to consider that people do not walk into organizations as *tabula rasa*, but rather have life and work experiences that may shape current behavior—either consciously or unconsciously. People may not always be aware of this, as is exemplified in the phenomenon of transference, where "representations of significant others, stored in memory, are activated and used in new social encounters on the basis of a new person's resemblance to a given significant other" (Berk & Andersen, 2000: 546; also known as the "You vaguely remind me of that kid in elementary school who I hated, and I don't like you much either" phenomenon–Kelly & Barsade, 2001: 109). Such inquiry may well spark new research on long-ignored constructs such as transference, ego defensive routines, and attachment relationships and their effect on individuals' behaviors in organizations. The benefit now is our ability to conduct rigorous empirical research to better help us understand how these phenomena occur (Glassman & Andersen, 1999; Westen & Gabbard, 2002).

Last, the research findings we cite for negotiation and social influence suggest that affect can be used strategically: individuals can "put on" particular emotional expressions in order to influence others (Gibson & Schroeder, 2002; Kopelman et al., 2006). However, the emotion labor literature has also emphasized that there is a cost to masking authentic emotions—by acting like we're feeling something we actually aren't, we may experience emotional dissonance and lose touch with our authentic selves (see Hochschild, 1983). This research suggests that employees would be better off if they could engage in *less* emotion regulation and that employees need organizations where they can express themselves more authentically (Erickson & Wharton, 1997). There is a paradox, however, in the assumption that authenticity is the desired state for employees. We know that authenticity in

our feeling and expression of affect is desirable; however, we also know that regulating emotions is often essential: in order for managers to be encouraging, inspiring, and motivating to their employees (despite having a bad day, for example) they *must* engage in regulation in order to be effective. Part of the job is to be strategic with our emotions; indeed, emotional regulation of self and others is an important part of emotional intelligence construct (Mayer & Salovey, 1997). The question is, at what point do individuals "over-regulate" their emotions? What is the point at which regulated emotion is too far removed from authenticity? Current studies of the differing antecedents of surface and deep acting (e.g., Grandey, 2000) may hold a clue to these questions, but more work remains. Thus, the paradox we need to explore is that authenticity may be desirable, but regulation is essential to meeting personal and organizational goals.

To that end, we would like to see researchers explore to what degree and under what conditions individuals in organizations can and should express their authentic emotions, and how an organization's affective culture and the national culture in which it is embedded may influence these processes. We also urge researchers to explore the ethical implications of being inauthentic as part of the work role. Is emotional labor, which involves regulating and changing emotions to fit work requirements, something that organizations should be able to expect from their employees as a necessary part of the job? We are inclined to think that this is acceptable as long as employees know what they have signed up for, and that this emotional labor has logical performance outcomes favorable to the company (see Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989), but could see opposing views to this and encourage a thorough discussion of this issue within the field.

Why does affect matter in organizations? The state of the literature shows that affect matters because employees are not isolated "emotional islands." Rather, they bring all of themselves to work, including their traits, moods, and emotions, and their affective experiences and expressions influence others. Thus, an understanding of how these affective experiences and expressions oper-

ate and influence organizational outcomes is an essential piece in understanding how work is done and how to do it better.

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