



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***DISCERNING GOODNESS OF LEADERS USING THIN-SLICED
JUDGEMENT OF NONVERBAL CUES AMONG LAY MALAYSIAN AND
CHINESE PERCEIVERS***

MADIHA AHMED HASHMI

FBMK 2016 32



**DISCERNING GOODNESS OF LEADERS USING THIN-SLICED
JUDGEMENT OF NONVERBAL CUES AMONG LAY MALAYSIAN AND
CHINESE PERCEIVERS**

By

MADIHA AHMED HASHMI

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

August 2016

COPYRIGHT

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright © Universiti Putra Malaysia



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in
fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**DISCERNING GOODNESS OF LEADERS USING THIN-SLICED
JUDGEMENT OF NONVERBAL CUES AMONG LAY MALAYSIAN AND
CHINESE PERCEIVERS**

By

MADIHA AHMED HASHMI

August 2016

Chairman : Professor Ezhar Bin Tamam, PhD
Faculty : Modern Languages and Communication

The notion of goodness is implicitly central to the discourse relating to person perception. Research indicates that nonverbal cues greatly influence person perception. In addition, ‘thin slice studies’ (brief observation of nonverbal cues) have demonstrated that accurate personality appraisals of unknown others can be made at above than chance levels. To date no study has delved explicitly into the notion of goodness while forming rapid and unreflective inferences about others via nonverbal cues. The purpose of this study was twofold: to explore if accurate thin-sliced judgments of politicians’ goodness could be made by politically naïve audiences – relying solely on nonverbal cues. Also, to understand how lay audiences perceive politicians through their nonverbal demeanor based on thin-sliced snapshots.

Performed in two phases, the study applied a qualitative research design by utilizing focus group interviews. In the first stage, six focus group sessions were conducted - three focus groups comprising of Malaysian students and three focus groups comprising of Chinese students. These focus groups helped uncover the meanings and associations related to ‘goodness’ across the two collectivist cultures. In the second stage, politically naïve participants made impressionistic judgments about select politicians’ perceived goodness – which was established through media reports. Study participants viewed brief glimpses of politicians while delivering speeches and were asked to make snap impressionistic judgments about the target stimuli, with a particular focus on the goodness element, followed by a discussion probing the rationale behind their evaluations.

Focus group participants’ narratives were not entirely consistent across the spectrum. Perceivers were not able to form uniform judgments about all six politicians. That said, it is noteworthy that participants were still able to form fairly accurate impressions of some politicians based on brief glimpses of nonverbal footage. These contradictory findings are discussed and analyzed in the discussion section of this

dissertation. The purpose of this study was also to examine the nonverbal indicators of goodness as articulated by the participants after forming rapid thin sliced judgments. Across all the groups, paralinguistic cues (pace and pause in speech), dynamic cues (gestures and face/eye behavior) and static cues (appearance/features and age) were found to be instrumental in the formation of accurate perceptions of goodness based on thin slices of non-verbal cues. These findings have important implications for the areas of nonverbal behavior, political communication and personality judgment.



Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**TANGGAPAN KEBAIKAN PEMIMPIN MENGGUNAKAN PENILAIAN
THIN-SLICED ISYARAT BUKAN LISAN DALAM KALANGAN
PENERIMA MALAYSIA DAN CINA**

Oleh

MADIHA AHMED HASHMI

Ogos 2016

Pengerusi : Profesor Ezhar Bin Tamam, PhD
Fakulti : Bahasa Moden dan Komunikasi

Gambaran kebaikan bergantung kepada wacana berkaitan persepsi individu. Kajian menunjukkan isyarat bukan lisan sangat mempengaruhi persepsi individu. Tambahan ‘kajian *thin slice*’ (pemerhatian ringkas terhadap isyarat bukan lisan) menunjukkan penilaian personaliti yang tepat mengenai seseorang yang tidak dikenali boleh dibuat melebihi peluang yang ditetapkan. Sehingga kini tiada kajian terperinci dibuat terhadap gambaran kebaikan ketika kesimpulan yang pantas dan tidak reflektif dibuat menerusi isyarat bukan lisan. Kajian ini dijalankan dengan meletakkan sasaran berganda: untuk melihat sama ada khalayak yang naif politik boleh membuat penilaian *thin-sliced* tentang kebaikan yang ditonjolkan oleh ahli politik – dengan hanya bergantung kepada isyarat bukan lisan. Juga, untuk memahami cara khalayak melihat ahli politik melalui sikap bukan lisan berdasarkan gambaran *thin-sliced*.

Dilaksanakan dalam dua fasa, kajian ini dibuat melalui penyelidikan kualitatif dengan menggunakan temu bual kelompok sasaran. Pada tahap pertama, kumpulan perbincangan berfokus (KPB) dilaksanakan – tiga kelompok sasaran yang terdiri daripada pelajar Malaysia dan tiga kelompok sasaran yang terdiri daripada pelajar Cina. Kelompok sasaran ini membantu menjelaskan maksud dan perkaitan ‘kebaikan’ merentasi dua budaya kolektivistik. Pada tahap kedua, peserta yang naif politik membuat penghakiman impresionistik mengenai kebaikan yang terjangka dalam kalangan ahli politik terpilih – yang dilaporkan oleh media. Peserta kajian melihat ahli politik memberi ucapan secara rawak diminta membuat penilaian impresionistik mengenai stimulasi sasaran, dengan memberikan fokus khusus kepada elemen kebaikan, diikuti dengan perbincangan berkaitan rasional di sebalik penilaian.

Naratif peserta kelompok berfokus tidak konsisten sepenuhnya di sepanjang spektrum. Penilai tidak dapat membuat penilaian seragam tentang kesemua enam ahli politik. Namun, didapati bahawa peserta masih mampu membuat gambaran

tepat mengenai beberapa ahli politik berdasarkan pemerhatian rawak secara bukan lisan. Dapatan yang bertentangan ini dibincang dan dianalisa dalam bahagian perbincangan disertasi ini. Kajian ini juga bertujuan untuk mengenalpasti isyarat bukan lisan seperti yang diperkatakan oleh peserta selepas melaksanakan penilaian *thin slice* yang pantas. Berdasarkan kesemua kumpulan, isyarat paralinguistik (kadar dan jeda dalam ucapan), isyarat dinamik (sifat gerakan dan mimik muka/mata) dan isyarat statik (penampilan/ciri-ciri dan usia) adalah instrumental dalam pembentukan tanggapan kebaikan yang tepat berdasarkan isyarat bukan lisan *thin-slice*. Dapatan ini mempunyai implikasi penting terhadap bidang pengajian tingkah laku bukan lisan, komunikasi politik dan penilaian personaliti.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation wouldn't have been possible had I not received the kind of support that I did during my PhD journey. It has been a true privilege to have worked under the supervision of Professor Ezhar Bin Tamam who has been instrumental in shaping and refining this study in its current manicured form. He believed in me from the very outset, encouraging me to realize my potential and has pushed me to produce my best work so far. I hold him in the highest esteem as a scholar of great merit and as a person having immense goodness and goodwill for all his students and peers.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to my committee members, Associate Professor Abdul Muati @ Zamri Ahmad and Dr. Moniza Waheed for their valuable insights, guidance and constructive feedback. Their unwavering support and mentorship meant a great deal and was a source of constant motivation. A special shout out to Dr. Moniza who was not only an academic supervisor but also a friend who was there - always listening with kindness and empathy -- can't thank you enough!

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Steven Eric Krauss who provided independent feedback on my work which greatly strengthened the rigor of my study. And finally, my parents who have given me so much love and inspiration – I am who I am because of you.

I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 24 August 2016 to conduct the final examination of Madiha Ahmed Hashmi on her thesis entitled "Discerning Goodness of Leaders using Thin-Sliced Judgement of Nonverbal Cues among Lay Malaysian and Chinese Perceivers" in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Doctor of Philosophy.

Members of the Thesis Examination Committee were as follows:

Siti Zobidah binti Omar, PhD

Associate Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Md Salleh bin Hj Hassan, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Jusang bin Bolong, PhD

Associate Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Carolyn Calloway-Thomas, PhD

Professor
Indiana University Bloomington
United States
(External Examiner)



ZULKARNAIN ZAINAL, PhD

Professor and Deputy Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 28 September 2016

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

Ezhar Bin Tamam, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Abdul Mua`ti @ Zamri Ahmad, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

Moniza Waheed, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Modern Languages and Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

BUJANG BIN KIM HUAT, PhD

Professor and Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

Declaration by graduate student

I hereby confirm that:

- this thesis is my original work;
- quotations, illustrations and citations have been duly referenced;
- this thesis has not been submitted previously or concurrently for any other degree at any other institutions;
- intellectual property from the thesis and copyright of thesis are fully-owned by Universiti Putra Malaysia, as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- written permission must be obtained from supervisor and the office of Deputy Vice- Chancellor (Research and Innovation) before thesis is published (in the form of written, printed or in electronic form) including books, journals, modules, proceedings, popular writings, seminar papers, manuscripts, posters, reports, lecture notes, learning modules or any other materials as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- there is no plagiarism or data falsification/fabrication in the thesis, and scholarly integrity is upheld as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) and the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012. The thesis has undergone plagiarism detection software.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name and Matric No: Madiha Ahmed Hashmi, GS38395

Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:

- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervision;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) were adhered to.

Signature: _____

Name of
Chairman of
Supervisory
Committee:

Professor Dr. Ezhar Bin Tamam

Signature: _____

Name of
Member of
Supervisory
Committee:

Professor Dr. Abdul Mua`ti @ Zamri Ahmad

Signature: _____

Name of
Member of
Supervisory
Committee:

Dr. Moniza Waheed

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
ABSTRAK	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
APPROVAL	vi
DECLARATION	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Background	1
Problem Statement	4
Research Questions	7
Research Objective	7
Significance of the Study	7
Scope of Limitations of the Study	8
Definition of Terms	9
2 REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	11
Nonverbal Cues and Social Judgments	11
Nonverbal cues in political communication	12
Automaticity of Social Judgments	13
UTT- Unconscious Thought Theory	14
Adaptive Unconscious	14
Central Role of Morality in Social Judgments	15
Morality in the Collectivist Context	19
Accuracy in Social Judgments	19
Fallibility of Human Judgment	21
3 METHODOLOGY	23
Interpretivist Perspective	24
Participants and Site	24
Pilot Focus Group Interview	25
Data Collection: Phase 1	26
Interview Protocols	26
Data Collection: Phase 2	26
Selection of Politicians	27
Thin-Sliced Video clips	29
Analysis of the Data	31
Trustworthiness and Credibility	31
Transferability	32

4	FINDINGS	34
	Question 1: What Constitutes Goodness among Malaysian and Chinese perceivers?	34
	Concern for Others' Welfare	35
	Being Kind and Helpful	35
	Contribution to Society: Policy Initiatives	35
	Contribution to Society: Charity initiatives	37
	Putting Others First: Selfless Disposition	38
	Caring and Supportive Orientation	39
	Goodness – A Subjective Notion	40
	Effective Communication and Goodness	40
	Family Ties and Goodness	41
	Resilience of Spirit and Goodness	42
	Culturally Informed Notions of Goodness	43
	Faith and Goodness	43
	Humility and Goodness	43
	Question 2: How Do Nonverbal Cues Influence Lay Perceptions of Goodness among Malaysian and Chinese perceivers?	44
	Dynamic nonverbal cues	45
	Deciphering Goodness in the Face	45
	Smile	46
	Eye Behavior	49
	Deciphering Goodness in Postures	51
	Static Nonverbal Cues	51
	Deciphering Goodness in Appearance	52
	Paralinguistic Cues	54
	Deciphering Goodness in Vocal Nuances	55
	Question 3: How Do Nonverbal Cues Influence Lay Perceptions of Goodness in Political Leaders among the Malaysian and Chinese perceivers?	56
	Thin-Sliced Perceptions of Imran Khan	59
	Enhancers of Perceived Goodness	59
	Diminishers of Perceived Goodness	63
	Thin-Sliced Perceptions of Jose Mujica	64
	Enhancers of Perceived Goodness	64
	Diminishers of Perceived Goodness	68
	Thin-Sliced Perceptions of Hugo Chavez	69
	Enhancers of Perceived Goodness	70
	Diminishers of Perceived Goodness	71
	Thin-Sliced Perceptions of Ariel Sharon	73
	Diminishers of Perceived Goodness	73
	Thin-Sliced Perceptions of Slobodan Milosevic	76
	Enhancers of Perceived Goodness	77
	Diminishers of Perceived Goodness	79
	Thin-Sliced Perceptions of Hosni Mubarak	80
	Diminishers of Perceived Goodness	80

Enhancers of Perceived Goodness	82
5 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESERACH	84
General Discussion	84
Conclusion	88
Implications and Future Directions	89
REFERENCES	92
APPENDICES	107
BIODATA OF STUDENT	113
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS	114



LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Summary Table on the Background of the Informants	25
2	Themes and Categories (Research Question 1)	34
3	Themes and categories (Research Question 2)	45
4	Themes and Categories (Research Question 3)	57
5	Thin-Sliced Judgments of Malaysian Focus Groups I, II, & III	58
6	Thin-Sliced Judgments of Chinese Focus Groups I, II, & III	59



LIST OF FIGURES

Table		Page
1	Conceptual Framework on the Process of Thin-Sliced Judgments	22
2	Framework Highlighting the Study Findings	89



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

“Nobility and dignity, self-abasement and servility, prudence and understanding, insolence and vulgarity, are reflected in the face and in the attitudes of the body whether still or in motion”

-- Socrates (Xenophon, Memorabilia, III)

Discerning meaning in human communication through nonverbal cues has a long tradition in human history and politics. Cicero in “De oratore” and Quintilian in “Institutiones Oratoriae” showed how gesture, face, gaze and posture are an important part of “Actio” (discourse delivery) (Andre et al., 2010, p. 588). In the realm of politics, Richard Nixon made repeated attempts to eliminate the shifty eye behaviors and nonfluencies that helped reinforce the widespread public perception that he was “Tricky Dicky”. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher spent hours with a voice tutor doing “humming” exercises in order to lower the unpleasantly high pitch of her speaking voice (Leathers, 1992, p. 3).

Studies about the significance of nonverbal cues in communication have been a subject of intense scrutiny among scholars and practitioners. Nonverbal cues mean “perceptible behaviors, such as facial expressions and tones of voice that have the capacity to give insight into the expressor’s attributes or condition” (Hall, Bernieri, & Carney, 2005, p.237). In their seminal study, Mehrabian and Ferris (1967) concluded that 55% of impression formation in our interactions is based on visual cues, 38% is based on vocal cues, and only 7% is based on verbal content of a message. Furthermore, Anderson (1999) asserted that around 60-70% of meaning is gleaned from nonverbal cues as opposed to verbal exchange. Givens (2005) has gone on to claim that the proportion of emotional communication often exceeds 99% in nonverbal exchange as compared to a verbal exchange. Regardless of the differences in the proposed weightages assigned to nonverbal communication, there is a consensus among scholars that nonverbal communication is heavily relied on to make inferences about others (Knapp, 1972; Ellis & Fisher, 1994; Sadler-Smith, 2008).

More recently, scholars of psychology and communication have been examining social judgments, including snap impressions of unknown others formed spontaneously and unconsciously (Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000; Todorov et al., 2005). Social Judgment theory was founded by psychologist Egon Brunswik (1955) and further refined by Hammond and colleagues (Hammond, Stewart, Brehmer, & Steinmann, 1975; Hammond et al., 1977; Brunswik, 1955). Social Judgment Theory entails forming impressions about individuals and making personality judgments based on explicit or implicit cues (Forgas, Williams, & von Hippel, 2003).

Thin slice judgments fall into the category of social judgments that rely on implicit, procedural rather than explicit, declarative knowledge (Ambady, 2010, p. 274).

A brief excerpt of behavior sampled from the behavioral stream, less than five minutes in length (Ambady, Laplante, & Johnson, 2001, p. 90). Malcom Gladwell (2006) in *Small Change* (2006) discusses the concept of thin slices. Thin slices are brief, unobtrusive observations and impressions about one another on certain personality traits are remarkably accurate.

Thin sliced judgments are intuitive in nature helping us navigate our way through uncertain and ambiguous situations (Ambady et al. 2001; Gladwell, 2006). Such judgments are ubiquitous and are communicated through nonverbal behavior that has been shown to be accurate. Several studies have shown that relatively accurate trait inferences can be made by viewing thin sliced nonverbal video-clips or static pictures of people - in less than 5 seconds and in some cases the time duration has been less than 2 seconds (Albright, Kenney, & Malloy, 1988; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993; Todorov, Mandiosodza, Goren, & Hall, 2005; Naylor, 2007; Naumaan, Vazire, Rentfrow, & Gosling, 2009).

Albright et al. (1988) conducted research on thin slice judgments. Their research is based on self and peer ratings - observers making personality judgments of unacquainted people. Studies conducted in zero acquaintance have shown that unacquainted observations and impressions about one another on certain personality traits are remarkably accurate.

Ambady and Rosenthal (1993) groundbreaking study revealed that teacher effectiveness can be accurately predicted by unacquainted students on various personality dimension scales based on brief nonverbal muted video clips. Further findings showed that deliberation and rational thinking actually diminishes the accuracy of spontaneous split-second judgments (Ambady, 2010).

Todorov et al. (2005) were able to conclude from their findings that people are accurately able to predict election outcomes based on a 1 second exposure of the candidate's face (static picture). Competence proved to be the primary trait in predicting the electoral outcome.

Naylor (2007) conducted a study where they asked raters to evaluate pictures of financial consultants based on their job performance and personality dimensions. The study determined that people are able to evaluate unknown others accurately based on those traits which seem relevant to the domain in question. For instance, financial consultants were rated accurately based on competence, however their personality traits were not as accurately predicted.

Naumaan et al. (2009) did another study to further probe the accuracy of self and peer evaluations of unknown others based on personality dimensions. In their experiment they used two kinds of pictures - static and dynamic. It was found that dynamic pictures were more useful in impression formation since they provide more insights into nonverbal cues.

Darwin (1872) in his seminal work, 'Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals' claimed that human expressions and emotions are universal with respect to certain characteristics of the human face. Cross cultural research done by Izard (1971) and (Ekman & Friesan, 1975) in discerning nonverbal facial communication of emotions concluded and substantiated the claims made by Darwin that that fundamental emotions expressed by facial expressions are universal and hence understood across the cultural divide. These universal nonverbal expressions consist of the following facial expressions: anger, disgust, fear, happiness, surprise, and sadness (Ekman & Friesan, 1975).

Cross cultural studies in rapid impression formation of unknown others further lend credence to previous findings. For example Rule, Ambady, and Adams (2010) demonstrated through their research that there was a cross cultural consensus in ratings among American and Japanese students on personality evaluations of unknown political candidates. Similarly, in Lawson, Lens, Baker, and Myers (2010) study there was remarkable amount of consistency in Indian and Americans' rating of Brazilian and Mexican politicians regarding their electoral outcome. Further, Antonakis and Dalgas, (2009) study revealed that Swiss children and adults could accurately predict the electoral outcome of French parliamentarians based on nonverbal split second visuals. Hence, spontaneous and immediate reactions of universal emotions are often produced prior to the cultural reactions (Hwang & Matsumoto, 2015, p. 50).

The perception of political candidates and the significance of their nonverbal cues have a crucial impact on how people perceive and make evaluative decisions about candidates. The impact of nonverbal cues of political candidates has been found to be more pronounced among lay audiences who have an apathetic, ignorant and indifferent attitude towards political knowledge (Bennet, Ryan, & Flickinger, 2004; Lenz & Lawson, 2010). Kopacz (2006) claims that "where information is scarce, the way a candidate looks, moves, or speaks may provide quick and often reliable cues" (p. 3) - with regard to the domain in which they are being evaluated.

Studies have identified competence as the most important trait which people tend to discern while evaluating politicians (Todorov et al., 2005). Politicians who are evaluated as competent are also perceived to be honest, emotionally stable, dependable and less disorganized (Olivola & Todorov, 2010). Scherer (2012) did a feature on President Obama for TIME magazine. He attributed Obama's popularity to a variety of factors – one of them being his likable persona. Scherer (2012) call attentions to the focus group sessions conducted by David Simas. Simas ran Obama's research team and conducted the largest listening posts in US history. Voters were gathered in rented rooms across the swing states. Among swing voters democrat often elicited *Barack Obama* and republicans would yield words like *old* and *backward*. "Here is the best thing", he said of Obama when he went back to home base. "People trust him." (Simas, as cited in Scherer, 2012, p. 48). Mitt Romney's deputy manager, Gage contended "there was almost nothing that would stick to this guy, because they just like him personally" (Scherer, 2012, p.48).

Accurate, unreflective & rapid trait judgments of nonverbal stimuli in the context of person perception have intrigued communication scholars and psychologists alike. Person perception is broad and includes judgments of others' thoughts, emotions,

personality, status, and intentions. When we encounter another person, we use these perceptions to form impressions of that person and to guide our subsequent interactions (Hartigan, Andrzejewski, & Hill, 2012, p. 483). Nonverbal behavior (appearance as well as style) importantly affects person perception (Rosenberg & McCafferty, 1987, p. 33). Person perception essentially entails two stages of evaluative judgments. The first stage is where snap impressions of individuals are made without any deliberation and effort. This process is spontaneous and unreflective and referred to as an ‘anchoring’ inference. The second stage of person perception involves conscious deliberation. This stage is referred to as an ‘adjustment inference’ in which the anchoring inference level evaluations may be modified (Gilbert & Malone, 1995; Quattrone, 1982). This initial evaluative stage of person perception reflected in thin slice judgments seems to be particularly important for the accurate processing of certain types of social information regarding affect, personality, and interpersonal functioning (Ambady, 2010, p. 274).

An important contribution of person perception literature, particularly for the purpose of this study, is its role in highlighting the significance of morality in intuitive impression formation of unknown others. Person perception studies have shown individuals’ moral characteristics supersede all other personality trait evaluations. Furthermore, scholars assert that these moral judgments are automatic and rapid - made without any deliberation or intention. In addition, most of these studies have concluded that spontaneous personality appraisals in the context of morality transcend cultural boundaries and are universal in nature (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Wojciszke, 1997).

Collectivist cultures place great importance on moral interpretation when it comes to judging others (Wojciszke, 1997). The current study includes collectivist cultures of China and Malaysia which have been identified as embodying collectivist philosophy – characterized by interdependent communal affiliations, harmony and reliance on nonverbal signals to communicate interpersonal information (Kennedy, 2002; Jogulu & Ferkins, 2012; Sueda, 2014).

Problem Statement

Burgeoning literature in communication, psychology and political science suggests that social judgments are made spontaneously, and intuitively. Research scholars have studied many judgments, however the most intriguing are the ones which deal with morality -- more specifically, is a certain person good or bad? (Kihlstrom, 2010). Leathers (1992) explains that “the face communicates evaluative judgments through either pleasant or unpleasant expressions that indicate whether the communicator sees the current object of his or her attention as good or bad” (p. 32).

Dr. Nalini (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Ambady, 2010) was able to demonstrate through her research that students can accurately evaluate teacher effectiveness based on brief glimpses of nonverbal behavior. Whereas Todorov et al. (2005) focused on rapid predictions of political candidates’ winning potential – identifying competence as the key trait predictor of electoral outcomes. While both the scholars have explored the accuracy of intuitive and accurate social judgments about unknown others, they didn’t examine where this notion of effectiveness and

competence is coming from. The researcher would like to argue that before we evaluate the accuracy of traits, such as effectiveness and competence in person perception, there's another element which dominates global impression formation making -- goodness. More specifically, when people are able to intuitively sense that a certain person is good, they might rate that person high on effectiveness or competence traits. Goodwin et al. (2014) postulate that moral character is the first thing that is evaluated in person perception. Moral character in person evaluation holds prime importance "because the goodness of another person's character determines whether they are likely to be harmful or helpful to the self" (Goodwin et al., 2014, p.148).

Several studies on person perception in social judgments have concluded that morality is a dominant element in impression formation (Goodwin et al., 2014; Brambilla et al., 2011; Brambilla et al., 2012; Wojciszke, 2005; Parzuchowski & Wojciszke, 2014). However, existing literature on morality is too broad and vague -- falling short in explicitly exploring as to how people understand, interpret and discern morality in others. In instances where researchers have attempted to study this ambiguous terrain, scholars have often either conflated traits such as warmth and sociability with moral character, or have chosen to define moral character in very broad terms (Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998; Fisk, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Goodwin et al., 2014). This study sets out to explore this intriguing phenomenon -- that has been cited as the most paramount component in forming impressions about others, by first acquiring clarity on the concept of 'goodness'. The fundamental notion of goodness is intrinsically important and functionally pertinent for all human beings in order to survive and make sense of the world. Even though we tend to evaluate others and make inferences of goodness on a daily basis, this concept which is at the core of morality has scarcely received any attention in scholarly discourse. Related literature in person perception has assumed goodness to be a sub component of morality (Wojciszke, 1994) -- without every really delving into the notion of goodness per se. This dissertation will explore the notion of goodness holistically by first understanding the meaning of goodness as interpreted by the study participants, probing the nonverbal dimensions associated with goodness (cues that communicate goodness to others), examining if accurate thin sliced judgments of goodness can be made by lay perceivers and also uncovering the thought process involved in thin sliced judgments pertaining to goodness.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no qualitative study (nor quantitative for that matter) has explicitly delved into the notion of goodness -- how it's understood and perceived in others and if it can be discerned rapidly via nonverbal cues across cultures. To address this gap, the first phase of this study would entail generating themes, concepts, and ideas related to goodness. Once we're able to understand the notion of 'goodness' as interpreted by the participants of the study, we would be better equipped to approach the next phase of the study -- discerning goodness in thin slices of nonverbal behavior. By exclusively delving into the notion of goodness, this study attempts to generate new knowledge on goodness - providing rich interpretations about the phenomenon that should result in a nuanced understanding of how goodness is perceived and discerned in others.

Literature on social judgments has demonstrated that lay audiences are able to nonverbally decode and make fairly accurate person evaluations regarding teacher effectiveness, perceived competence of congressional candidates, intelligence, etc. (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993; Todorov et al., 2005; Olivola & Todorov, 2010; Zebrowitz & Rhodes, 2004). To date no study has attempted to examine if lay audiences are able to discern goodness of political candidates in brief slices of nonverbal behavior across cultures. This gap in literature is to be addressed in the 2nd and final stage of the study, where laypersons will be asked to evaluate 6 political leaders (whom they have no prior knowledge of) using the 'thin sliced impression formation paradigm' to determine if accurate and spontaneous personality judgments about a politician's goodness can be deduced via nonverbal cues.

In-addition to the above mentioned studies, almost all studies relating to thin-sliced social judgments/impression formation have been conducted quantitatively. In most of these studies participants are required to rate unknown others (i.e., teachers, politicians, etc...) by viewing thin-slices (brief glimpse) of their nonverbal (muted sound clips, or pictures) behavior. These ratings are subjected to statistical analysis on the basis of which conclusions are drawn. There is absolutely no discussion as to: how these participants arrive at these fairly accurate judgments? What cues are they relying on to make these judgments? There seems to be no qualitative understanding about these evaluations utilizing the thin sliced paradigm. This methodological gap coupled with my own curiosity provided the impetus to employ a qualitative design to a thin-sliced paradigm by focusing on the concept of 'goodness' and exploring how people (laypersons) make social judgments about unknown others based on their nonverbal cues. By tapping into this unexplored process, the study should be able to contribute to a holistic and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Braun and Clarke (2013) observe that by employing a qualitative design, we would be able to produce rich, in-depth and detailed data which will allow us to make claims. They further explain that qualitative approach "allows us to retain focus on people's own framing around issues, and their own terms of reference, rather than having it pre-framed by the researcher (e.g. items in a questionnaire) (p. 24)

Studies have indicated that rapid and fairly accurate impression formation of unknown others often transcends cultural boundaries. Naïve evaluators hailing from different cultural backgrounds often are in agreement on basic personality trait judgments pertaining to dominance, attractiveness, predicting electoral outcomes, competence etc. (Rule et al., 2010; Lawson et al., 2010; Antonakis & Dalgas, 2009; Poutvaara, Jordahl, & Berrgren, 2009) This study intends to extend previous research with regard to the universality of appearance based judgments, with a particular focus on perceived goodness -- probing it in a different cultural context. As stated earlier, in one study, Indian and American participants hailing from two different continents were able to come to the same conclusion about Mexican and Brazilian politicians' perceived competence. It would be interesting to see if Malaysian and Chinese participants might also be able to form similar rapid cross cultural impressions of select politicians' perceived goodness - given that collectivist cultures have greater propensity to rely on nonverbal cues to decode information (Sueda, 2014).

While we have substantial body of research claiming that fairly accurate personality appraisals can be made via nonverbal cues using a thin sliced methodology, what is lacking however, is a serious discourse about the notion of goodness in the context of person perception. If we're able to define and discern goodness in others - not only will that benefit us enormously in terms of managing our relationships in the workplace, family and friends, but also, it can have tremendous public policy implications. If we're able to accurately discern goodness in others, we would be making effective decisions regarding who we elect in public offices, how we train our police officers, the kind of people we hire in our institutions, etc.

Research Questions

Specifically, this study posed the following research questions:

1. What constitutes goodness among the Malaysian and Chinese perceivers?
2. How do nonverbal cues influence lay perceptions of goodness among the Malaysian and Chinese perceivers?
3. How do nonverbal cues influence lay perceptions of goodness in political leaders among the Malaysian and Chinese perceivers?

Research Objectives

General Objectives

The aims of this study are twofold:

1. To explore the extent to which lay audiences are able to make accurate thin-sliced judgments of politicians' goodness – relying solely on nonverbal cues.
2. To understand how lay audiences perceive politicians through their nonverbal demeanor based on thin-sliced snapshots.

Specific Objectives

1. To determine how goodness is perceived among the Malaysian and Chinese perceivers
2. To determine how nonverbal cues influence perceptions surrounding the notion of goodness
3. To determine how nonverbal cues influence layperson's perceptions about politician's goodness

Significance of the Study

Prior work on thin sliced paradigm has almost exclusively relied on quantitative methods – making broad claims about accuracy without delving into the process. This study will be the first of its kind to explore thin sliced paradigm qualitatively. This methodological variation has attempted to extend research on thin sliced studies by not just asking whether people are able to make accurate judgments about

unknown others but attempts to delve deeper -- allowing the participants to articulate their thought process for the first time when making such evaluative judgments.

In a bid to understand the notion of goodness, the study has attempted to delineate 'goodness' from morality – generating novel literature on goodness. A qualitative inquiry into the notion of goodness has produced rich interpretations about the phenomenon that should result in a nuanced understanding with regard to how goodness is perceived and discerned in others.

This dissertation study provides valuable insights to the literature of cross cultural consensus in thin-sliced social judgments. Studies relating to cross cultural consensus have primarily relied on quantitative designs to carry out their research. In the context of this study, focus group discussions have facilitated in gaining a nuanced understanding -- as to how Chinese and Malaysian participants perceive goodness in thin-slices of nonverbal cues based on their own cultural orientations. Are these two collectivists nationalities relying on the same cues in making social judgments or are they observing something different? Their responses to these questions within the focus group setting helped illuminate and “unearth individual and group narratives” (Hesse-Biber, & Leavy, 2006) that facilitated in gaining insight into cross cultural narratives pertaining to goodness.

This study cuts across disciplinary boundaries and is not only relevant to the field of communication but also the political science discipline - owing to the political communication element embedded in the scope of the study. The study findings pertaining to how the politically unsophisticated (laypersons) perceive politicians based on thin-sliced impressions will result in an increased understanding of: how politically unengaged audiences form impressions of leaders and what kind of nonverbal cues do they focus on when making these judgments – providing invaluable insights to the student of politics and communication. In addition to the field of communication and political science, the study findings also have great amount of relevance for the discipline of social psychology since the conceptual framework primarily borrows concepts originating from the field of psychology – such as thin sliced paradigm and person perception.

The study findings should help increase awareness about the importance of acquiring nonverbal skills in order to form sound social judgements – potentially changing the discourse in decisionmaking in the realm of politics, leadership selection and other applied settings.

Scope of Limitations of the Study

This study has its share of limitations as is the case with any type of research endeavor. Firstly, due to a relatively small sample size the findings of the study ought to be interpreted with caution. Since this is a qualitative study no broad claims of generalization can be made. That said, the purpose and aim of a qualitative study is not to generalize but to understand and describe a phenomenon holistically from the participants' viewpoint – which is what this study has strived to achieve. It is up to the reader to decide on the transferability of the findings to a similar setting or context.

Secondly, Although only those participants were selected for the study who were reasonably proficient in English, some nuances might have been missed during the focus groups sessions given that non-native speakers of English at times struggle to articulate their thought process with confidence and clarity. To reduce their language anxiety the moderator of the focus group encouraged the reticent participants to cross talk in their own language, where the more fluent members of the group helped translate the exchange.

Thirdly, the sample size included Malaysians of all ethnicities – Malays, Chinese and Indians. It might be argued that all these 3 groups may not be representative of a homogenous Malaysian Identity. However, since these various multiethnic groups have been living in close proximity as members of one nation, an assumption of ‘enculturation’ was made to account for the selection of all ethnic groups which supposedly subscribed to the same national ethos.

The selection of only male political leaders to be shown in the thin-sliced clip can be construed as a possible limitation of the study. The rationale behind this decision lay in the fact it was relatively easier to find male leaders who met the criteria of goodness (philanthropic disposition/social welfare policies) and the opposite of goodness (human rights violation and war crime allegations) as compared to female leaders. Exclusion of female leaders as subjects of the study inhibits the researcher in making firmer claims about the study findings. A natural extension of this study would be to include female political leaders as well in order to acquire a more nuanced perspective concerning thin-sliced judgments and perceptions.

Definition of Terms

1. **Thin Slices:** Making rapid inferences about others based on quick nonverbal snapshots (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992)
2. **Lay Audiences:** People/Participants who are making judgements about unknown others
3. **Politically Naive Audiences:** Participants making rapid evaluations of politicians of which they have no prior knowledge/information about.
4. **Person perception:** Judgment or interpretation of the internal states and traits of others (Hartigan, Andrzejewski, & Hill, 2012, p.483)
5. **Social judgements:** Judgement based on a variety of sources of information, or cues (Doherty & Kurz, 1996, p.125)
6. **Ecological Theory of Social Perception:** Making dispositional inferences about others through their nonverbal behavior provides opportunity and has adaptive value for both the encoder and the deceiver (Zebrowitz & Collins, 1997).
7. **Unconscious Thought Theory:** Efficient and spontaneous social judgements can be made without any conscious mental effort (Dijksterhuis, & Nordgren, 2006).
8. **Adaptive Unconscious:** Mental processes that are inaccessible to consciousness but that influence judgments, feelings, or behavior (Wilson, 2002, p. 23).

9. **Social Intuitionest Model:** Moral judgment is caused by quick moral intuitions, and is followed (when needed) by slow, ex-post facto moral reasoning (Haidt, 2001, p. 817).
10. **Functionalist Hypothesis:** People make moral evaluation of others in order to identify if the other person's behavior can benefit or harm them (Brambilla et al., 2011).



REFERENCES

- Albright, L., Kenny, D. A., & Malloy, T. E. (1988). Consensus in personality judgments at zero acquaintance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 55(3), 387-395. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.55.3.387
- Ambady, N., & Rosenthal, R. (1992). Thin slices of expressive behavior as predictors of interpersonal consequences – a meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin* 111(2), 256-274. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.111.2.256
- Ambady, N., & Rosenthal, R. (1993). Half a minute: Predicting teacher effectiveness from thin slices of nonverbal behavior and physical attractiveness. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 64(3), 431-441. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.64.3.431
- Ambady, N., Hallahan, M., Rosenthal, R. (1995). On judging and being judged accurately in zero acquaintance situations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(3), 518-529. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.69.3.518>
- Ambady, N., Hallahan, M., & Connor, B. (1999). Accuracy of judgments of sexual orientation from thin slices of behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(3), 538-547. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.77.3.538
- Ambady, N., Bernieri, F. J., & Richeson, J. A. (2000). Toward a histology of social behavior: Judgmental accuracy from thin slices of the behavioral stream. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 32, 201-271. doi: 10.1016/S0065-2601(00)80006-4
- Ambady, N., Laplante, D., & Johnson, E. (2001). Thin slice judgments as a measure of interpersonal sensitivity. In J. A. Hall & F. J. Bernieri (Eds.), *Interpersonal sensitivity: theory and measurement* (pp. 89-101). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. doi :10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198529620.003.0006
- Ambady, N., Krabbenhoft, M. A., Hogan, D. (2006). The 30 sec scale: using thin slice judgments to evaluate sales effectiveness. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 16, 4-13. doi: 10.1207/s15327663jcp1601_2
- Ambady, N. (2010). The perils of pondering: Intuition and thin slice judgments. *Psychological Inquiry*, 21(4), 271-278. doi: 10.1080/1047840X.2010.524882
- Ambady, N., & Weisbuch, M. (2010). Nonverbal Behavior. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp. 464-497). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Anderson, P. A. (1999). *Nonverbal communication forms and functions*. Mountain view, CA: Mayfield.
- Antonakis, J., & Dalgas, O. (2009). Predicting elections: Child's play! *Science*, 323, 1183. doi: 10.1126/science.1167748.

- Andre, E., Bevacqua, E., Heylen, D., Niewiadomski, R., Pelachaud, C., Peters, C., Poggi, I., & Rehm, M. (2011). Non-verbal Persuasion and Communication in an Affective Agent. In C. Pelachaud, P. Petta, & R. Cowie (Eds.), *Emotion-oriented Systems* (pp. 585-608). London: Springer Verlag. doi: 10.1007/978-3-642-15184-2_30.
- Argyle, M., Salte, V., Nicholson, H., Williams, M., & Burgess, P. (1970). The communication of inferior and superior attitudes by verbal and nonverbal signals. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9, 222-231. doi : 10.1111/j.2044-8260.1970.tb00668.x
- Ash, T. G. (1999, March, 29). The new Adolph Hitler. *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/time/1999/03/29/hitler.html>
- Azar, B. (1998). Split-second evaluations shape our moods, actions. *Monitor*, 29(9), p. 13.
- Barbour, R. (2007). *Doing focus groups*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi & Singapore: Sage.
- Bargh, J. A. (1994). The four horsemen of automaticity: Awareness, intention, efficiency, and control in social cognition. In R. S. Wyer & T. K. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of social cognition* (Eds.), Basic processes (pp. 1-40). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bargh, J. A. (1997). The automaticity of everyday life. In R. S. Wyer Jr. (Ed.), *Advances in social cognition* (pp. 1-61). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Barnes, M.L., & Sternberg, R.J. (1989). Social intelligence and decoding of nonverbal cues. *Intelligence*, 13, 263-287. doi: 10.1016/0160-2896(89)90022-6
- BBC. (2006, March, 11). The charges against Milosevic. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1402790.stm>
- Bennet, S. E., Rhine, S. L., & Flickinger, R. S. (2004). The things they cared about: change and continuity in Americans' attention to different news stories, 1989-2002. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 9, 75-99. doi: 10.1177/1081180X03259240
- Bente, G., Senokozlieva, M., Pennig, S., Al-Issa, A., & Fischer, O. (2008). Deciphering the secret code: A new methodology for the cross-cultural analysis of nonverbal behavior. *Behavior Research Methods*, 40, 269-277. doi: 10.3758/BRM.40.1.269
- Berry, D.S., & McArthur, L.Z. (1986). Perceiving character in faces: The impact of age-related craniofacial changes on social perception. *Psychological Bulletin*, 100, 3-18.
- Bourcier, N., & Legrand, C. (2014, May, 27). Uruguay's José Mujica: the 'humble' leader with grand ideas. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/27/jose-mujica-uruguay-maverick-president>

- Brambilla, M., Rusconi, P., Sacchi, S., & Cherubini, P. (2011). Looking for honesty: The primary role of morality (vs. sociability and competence) in information gathering. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*, 135–143. doi:10.1002/ejsp.744
- Brambilla, M., Rusconi, P., Sacchi, S., Cherubini, P., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2012). You want to give a good impression? Be honest! Moral traits dominate group impression formation. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 51*, 149–166. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02011.x
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. London: Sage.
- Boller, P. F., Jr. (1985). *Presidential campaigns*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bond, C. F., & DePaulo, B. M. (2006). Accuracy of deception judgments. *Personality and Social Psychology Review 10*(3), 214-234. doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_2
- Borkenau, P., Mauer, N., Riemann, R., Spinath, F. M., & Angleitner A.(2004). Thin slices of behavior as cues of personality and intelligence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86*(4), 599-614. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.86.4.599
- Brunswick, E. (1955). Representative design and probabilistic theory in a functional psychology. *Psychological Bulletin, 62*(3), 193-217. doi: 10.1037/h0047470
- Buchholz, E. S., & Mandel, J. K. (2000). Reaching for Virtue, Stumbling on Sin: Concepts of Good and Evil in a Postmodern Era. *Journal of Religion and Health, 39*(2), 123-142. doi: 10.1023/A:1004614532165
- Burgoon, J. K. (1994). Nonverbal Signals. In M. L. Knapp & G. R. Miller (Ed), *Handbook of interpersonal communication* (pp. 344-390). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Burgoon, J. K., Segrin, C., & Dunbar, N. E. (2002). Nonverbal communication and social influence. In J. P. Dillard & M. Pfau (Eds.), *Persuasion: developments in theory and practice* (pp. 445-476). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Carre, J. M., McCormick, C.M., & Mondloch, C. J. (2009). Facial Structure Is a Reliable Cue of Aggressive Behavior. *Psychological Science 20*(10), 1194-8. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02423.x.
- Carton, J. S., Kessler, E. A., & Pape, C. L. (1999). Nonverbal decoding skills and relationship well-being in adults. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior, 23*, 91–100. doi: 10.1023/A:1021339410262

- CFI. (2014, May, 8). José Mujica: At Long Last – A Politician to Admire. Retrieved from <http://cfi.co/latinamerica/2014/05/jose-mujica-at-long-last-a-politician-to-admire/>
- COHA. (2014, May, 16). A Conversation with Uruguay’s Extraordinary José Mujica. Retrieved from <http://www.coha.org/a-conversation-with-the-extraordinary-jose-mujica/>
- CNN. (2006, March, 11). Milosevic's war crimes trial a 4-year marathon. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/europe/03/11/milosevic.trial/>
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into practice*, 39(3), 124-130. doi: 10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the BIAS Map. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 61–149). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Darwin, C. (1872). *The expression of the emotions in man and animals*. London: John Murray.
- Davids, N., & Waghid, Y. (2016). *Ethical dimensions of muslim education*. Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-29317-2
- Davis, M. (1995). Presidential body politics. Movement analysis of debates and press conferences. *Semiotica*, 106(3), 205-244. doi: 10.1515/semi.1995.106.3-4.205,
- Degroot, T., Gooty, J. (2009). Can nonverbal cues be used to make meaningful attributions in employment interviews? *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 24(2), 179-192. doi: 10.1007/s10869-009-9098-0
- Delp, P., Thesen, A., Motiwalla, J., & Seshardi, N. (1977). *Systems tools for project planning*. Bloomington, Indiana: International Development Institute.
- DePaulo, B.M. & Friedman, H.S. (1998). Nonverbal Communication. In D. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) *Handbook of social psychology*, (pp. 3-40). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp.1–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dickinson, E. (2011, February, 4). Anatomy of a dictatorship: Hosni Mubarak. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/04/anatomy_of_a_dictatorship_hosni_mubarak

- Dijksterhuis, A. (2004). Think different: The merits of unconscious thought in preference development and decision making. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 8, 586-598. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.586
- Dijksterhuis, A., & Nordgren, L. F. (2006). A theory of unconscious thought. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 1, 95-109. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-6916.2006.00007.x
- Dijksterhuis, A., & van Olden, Z. (2006). On the benefits of thinking unconsciously: Unconscious thought can increase post-choice satisfaction. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42, 627-631. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2005.10.008
- Dimberg, U. (1997). Psychophysiological reactions to facial expressions. In U. Segerstrale & P. Molnar (Eds.), *Nonverbal communication: Where nature meets culture* (pp. 27-60). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Doherty, M. E., & Kurz, E. M. (1996) Social Judgment Theory. *Thinking & Reasoning*, 2(2/3), 109-140, doi: 10.1080/135467896394474
- Dugan, A. (2013, April, 12). Special Briefing: Chavez's Legacy and Venezuela's Future. *Gallup World*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/161756/special-briefing-chavez-legacy-venezuela-future.aspx>
- Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1975). *Unmasking the face. A guide to recognizing emotions from facial clues*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall
- Ellis, D. G., & Fisher, B. A. (1994). *Small group decision making*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Fein, J. (2011, February, 3). Mubarak: Modern day pharaoh of Egypt. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/judie-fein/mubarak-modern-day-pharaoh_b_816944.html
- Fern, Edward F. (2001) *Advanced Focus Group Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Fernandez, B. (2014, June, 8). Uruguay's Mujica: New global role model? *Al-Jazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/uruguay-mujica-new-global-role-m-20146871239650936.html>
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 11, 77-83. doi:10.1016/j.tics.2006.11.005
- Forero, J. (2005, June, 1). Opposition to US makes Chavez a hero to many. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from

http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/01/international/americas/01letter.html?_r=0

- Foreign Policy. (2013). Jose Mujica. Retrieved from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/2013_global_thinkers/public/mujica
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/2013_global_thinkers/public/mujica
- Forgas, J.P. Williams, K.D. & Von Hippel, W. (2003). *Social judgments: Explicit and implicit processes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Funders, D. C. (1995). On the accuracy of personality judgment: a realistic approach. *Psychological Review* 102(4), 652-670. doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.102.4.652
- Galloway, C. (1968). Nonverbal communication. *Theory into Practice*, 7(5), 172-175. doi: 10.1080/00405846809542151
- Gibson, J. J. (1986). *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Gilbert, D. T., & Malone, P. S. (1995). The correspondence bias. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 21-38. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.117.1.21
- Givens, D. B. (2005). *The nonverbal dictionary of gestures, signs, and body language cues*. Spokane, WA: Center for Nonverbal Studies Press.
- Gladwell, M. (2006). *Blink: The power of thinking without thinking*. New York: Penguin Group.
- Goethals, G. R. (2005). Nonverbal behavior and political leadership. In R.E. Riggio & R.S. Feldman (Eds.), *Applications of nonverbal communication*. (pp. 95-115). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Gonzalez-Vallejo, C., Lassiter, G. D., Bellezza, F. S., & Lindberg, M. J. (2008). "Save angels perhaps": A critical examination of unconscious thought theory and the deliberation-without-attention effect. *Review of General Psychology*, 12, 282-296. doi: 10.1037/a0013134
- Goodwin, G. P., Piazza, J., & Rozin, P. (2014). Moral character predominates in person perception and evaluation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106, 148-68. doi:10.1037/a0034726
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York : Aldine De Gruyter
- Gray, H. M. (2008). To what extent, and under what conditions, are first impressions valid? In N. Ambady, & J. Skowronski (Eds.), *First impressions* (pp. 106-128). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Guardiola-Rivera, O. (2013, March, 5). Hugo Chávez kept his promise to the people of Venezuela. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/05/hugo-chavez-people-venezuelan-president>

- Guerrero, L. K., & Floyd, K. (2006). *Nonverbal communication in close relationships*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Haidt, J. (2001). The emotional dog and its rational tail: A social intuitionist approach to moral judgment. *Psychological Review*, 108, 814-834. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.108.4.814
- Haidt, J., & Bjorklund, F. (2008). Social intuitionists answer six questions about moral psychology. In W. Sinnott-Armstrong (Eds.), *Moral psychology: The cognitive science of morality: Intuition and diversity* (pp. 181-217). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hall, J. A., Andrzejewski, S., & Yopchick, J. (2009). Psychosocial correlates of interpersonal sensitivity: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 33, 149-180. doi: 10.1007/s10919-009-0070-5
- Hall, J. A., Bernieri, F. J., & Carney, D. R. (2005). Nonverbal behavior and interpersonal sensitivity. In J. A. Harrigan, R. Rosenthal & K. R. Scherer (Eds.), *The new handbook of methods in nonverbal behavior research* (pp. 237-281). New York: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198529620.001.0001
- Hamid, M. (2012, March, 22). A Kennedy for Pakistan? *The New York Review of Books*. Retrieved from <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2012/mar/22/kennedy-pakistan-imran-khan/>
- Hammond, K. R., Stewart, T. R., Brehmer, R. B., & Steinmann, D. O. (1975). Social judgment theory. In M. Kaplan & S. Schwartz (Eds.), *Human judgment and decision processes*. (pp. 271-312). New York: Academic Press.
- Hammond, K. R., Rohrbaugh, J., Mumpower, J., & Adelman, L. (1977). Social judgment theory: Applications in policy formation. In M. Kaplan & S. Schwartz (Eds.), *Human judgment and decision processes in applied settings*. (pp. 1-29). New York: Academic Press.
- Hartigan, D. B., Andrzejewski, S. A., & Hill, K. M. (2012). The Effectiveness of Training to Improve Person Perception Accuracy: A Meta-Analysis. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 34(6), 483-498. doi:10.1080/01973533.2012.728122
- Hernandez, V. (2012, November, 15). Jose Mujica: The world's 'poorest' president. *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20243493>
- Harvey, M., & Holmes, C. A. (2012). Nominal group technique: an effective method for obtaining group consensus. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 18(2), 188-194. doi: 10.1111/j.1440-172X.2012.02017.x.

- Hasselton, M. G., & Funder, D. C. (2004). The evolution of accuracy and bias in social judgement. In M. Scaller, J. A. Simpson, & D. T. Kenrick (Eds.), *Evolution and social psychology*. (pp. 1-31). California: Psychology Press.
- Hecht, M. A, & Ambady, N. (1999). Nonverbal communication and psychology: Past and future. *NJ Journal of Communication* 7(2), 156-170. doi:10.1080/15456879909367364
- Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications
- Hitchens, C. (2006, January, 5). What Sharon did. *Slate*. Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/fighting_words/2006/01/what_sharon_did.html
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Human Rights Watch*. (2006, December, 14). Weighing the evidence. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/node/11081/section/4>
- Human Rights Watch*. (2014, January, 11). Israel: Ariel Sharon's troubling legacy. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/01/11/israel-ariel-sharon-s-troubling-legacy>
- Hume, D. (1960). *An enquiry concerning the principles of morals*. La Salle, IL: Open Court. (Original work published 1777)
- Izard, C. E. (1971). *The face of emotion*. New York: Appleton
- Johnson, O. A. (1996). *Moral knowledge*. Springer, Netherlands. doi: 10.1007/978-94-011-9317-7
- Jogulu, U., & Ferkins, L. (2012). Leadership and culture in Asia: the case of Malaysia. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 18(4), 531-549. doi: 10.1080/13602381.2012.690301
- Kennedy, J.C. (2002). Leadership in Malaysia: Traditional values, international outlook. *Academy of Management Executives*, 16(3), 15–26. doi: 10.5465/AME.2002.8540292
- Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking fast and slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Keller, M.C., Nesse, R.M. (2005). Is low mood an adaptation? Evidence for subtypes with symptoms that match precipitants. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 86, 27-35. doi: 10.1016/j.jad.2004.12.005
- Kenyon, Peter. (2011, February, 11). Egypt's Mubarak: A cautious heavy handed ruler. *NPR*. Retrieved from

<http://www.npr.org/2011/02/11/133665161/egypts-mubarak-a-cautious-heavy-handed-ruler>

- Kihlstrom, J.F. (2010). *An Introduction to social cognition*. Paper presented at the Berkeley Social Ontology Group, University of California, Berkeley. Retrieved from http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~kihlstrm/BSOG2010_IntroSocCog.htm
- Kitzinger, J., & Barbour, R. (1999). Introduction: the challenge and promise of focus groups. In R. S. Barbour, & J. Kitzinger (Eds.), *Developing focus group research: politics, theory and practice* (pp. 1-225). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Klockseim, J. (2011). Perspective-neutral intrinsic value. *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly*, 92(3), 323-337. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0114.2011.01399.x
- Knapp, M. L. (1972). *Nonverbal communication in human interaction*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Knapp, M. L., & Hall, J. A., & Horgan, T. G. (2013). *Nonverbal Communication in human interaction*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Kokkoris, M. D., Kuhnen, U., & Yan, S. (2013). *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, 13(1/2), 129-143. doi: 10.1163/15685373-12342088
- Kraus, S. (1988). *Televised presidential debates and public policy*. Hillsdale, New Jersey. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Krauss, S. E., & Ismail, I. A. (2010). PhD student's experiences of thesis supervision in Malaysia: Managing relationships in the midst of Institutional change. *The Qualitative Report*, 15(4), 802-822. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR15-4/krauss.pdf>
- Kopacz, M. A. (2006). Nonverbal communication as a persuasion tool: current status and future directions. *Rocky Mountain Communication Review*, 3, 1-19.
- Kraus, S. (1996). Winners of the first 1960 televised presidential debate between Kennedy and Nixon. *Journal of Communication*, 46, 78-94. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1996.tb01507.x
- Ladkin and Taylor (2010). Enacting the 'true self': Towards a theory of embodied authentic leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 21, 64-74. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2009.10.005>
- Lawson, C., Lenz, G. S., Baker, A., & Myers, M. (2010). Looking Like a Winner: Candidate Appearance and Electoral Success in New Democracies. *World Politics*, 62(4), 561-593. doi: 10.1017/S0043887110000195
- Leathers, D. G. (1975). *Nonverbal communication systems*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

- Leathers, D. G. (1992). *Successful nonverbal communication*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lu, CH. (2015). The Chinese way of goodness. Education as cultivation in Chinese culture. In S. Hsu, Y. Wu (Eds.), *Education as cultivation in Chinese culture*. (pp. 45-61). doi: 10.1007/978-981-287-224-1_3
- Mason, J. (2007). *Qualitative Researching*. London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Masoud, T. (2012, June, 6). Hosni Mubarak's brutal legacy. *Newsweek*. Retrieved from <http://www.newsweek.com/hosni-mubaraks-brutal-legacy-65121>
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design*. An interactive approach. Thousand oaks, CA: Sage.
- McArthur, L. Z., & Baron, R. M. (1983). Toward an ecological theory of social perception. *Psychological Review*, 90, 215-238. doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.90.3.215
- McCain, M. (2014, April, 23). Jose Mujica. *Time*. Retrieved from <http://time.com/70869/jose-mujica-2014-time-100/>
- Mehrabian, A., Ferris, S. R. (1967). Inference of attitudes from nonverbal communication in two channels. *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 31(3), 248-252. doi: 10.1037/h0024648.
- Mehrabian, A. and Wiener, M. (1967). Decoding of inconsistent communications, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 6, 109-114. doi: 10.1037/h0024532
- Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study application in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mishra, P. (2012, August, 16). Imran Khan Must Be Doing Something Right. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/19/magazine/pakistans-imran-khan-must-be-doing-something-right.html?pagewanted=all>
- Moll, J., Zahn, R., Oliveira-Souza R de., Krueger, F., & Grafman, J. (2005). The neural basis of human moral cognition. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 6(10), 799-809. doi: doi:10.1038/nrn1768
- Moore, G. E. (1959). *Principia Ethica*. Cambridge, England: University Press.
- Myers, D. G. (2010). Intuition's power and perils. *Psychological Inquiry*, 21(4), 371-377. doi: 10.1080/1047840X.2010.524469

- Myers, G., & Macnaghten, P. (1999). Can focus groups be analyzed as talks? In R. S. Barbour, & J. Kitzinger (Eds.), *Developing focus group research: politics, theory and practice* (pp. 1-225). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Nagel, F., Maurer, M., & Reinemann, C. (2012). Is there a visual dominance in political communication? How verbal, visual, and vocal communication shape viewer's impressions of political candidates. *Journal of Communication*, 62(5), 833-850. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01670.x
- Naumann, L. P., Vazire, S., Rentfrow, P. J., & Gosling, S. D. (2009). Personality Judgments Based on Physical Appearance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35, 1661-1671. doi: 10.1177/0146167209346309.
- Naylor, R. W. (2007). Nonverbal cues-based first impressions: Impression formation through exposure to static images. *Marketing Letters* 8(3), 165-179. doi: 10.1007/s11002-007-9010-5.
- Nielson, J. M. (1990). *Feminist research methods*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- O'Connor, M. K., Netting, F. E., & Thomas, M. L. (2008). *Grounded theory: Managing the challenge for those facing institutional review board oversight*. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(1), 28-45. doi: 10.1177/1077800407308907
- Olivola, C.Y., Todorov, A. (2010). Elected in 100 milliseconds: appearance based trait inferences and voting. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 34(2), 83-110. doi: 10.1007/s10919-009-0082-1
- Patterson, M. L., Foster, J. L., & Bellmer, C. D. (2001). Another look at accuracy and confidence in social judgments. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 25, 207-219. doi: 10.1023/A:1010675210696
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Pertras, J. (2013, March, 21). The legacy of Hugo Chavez. *Al Ahram Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/1926/20/The-legacy-of-Hugo-Chavez.aspx>
- Parzuchowski, M., & Wojciszke, B. (2014). Hand over Heart Primes Moral Judgments and Behavior. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 38, 145-165. doi:10.1007/s10919-013-0170-0
- Porter, J. (2013). Be careful how you ask! Using focus groups and nominal group technique to explore the barriers to learning. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 36, 33-51. doi: 10.1080/1743727X.2012.675554
- Poutvaara, P., Jordahl, H., & Berggren, N. (2009). Faces of politicians: Babyfacedness predicts inferred competence but not electoral success. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 1132-1135. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2009.06.007

- Quattrone, G. A. (1982). Overattribution and unit formation: When behavior engulfs the person. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42, 593-607. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.42.4.593
- Reel, M., & Smith, J. Y. (2006, December, 11). A Chilean dictator's dark legacy. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/10/AR2006121000302.html>
- Rosenberg, S. H., & McCafferty, P. (1987). The image and the vote manipulating voter's preferences. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, 31 – 47. doi: 10.1086/269012
- Rosip, J. C., & Hall, J. A. (2004). Knowledge of nonverbal cues, gender, and nonverbal decoding accuracy. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 28(4), pp 267-286. doi:10.1007/s10919-004-4159-6
- Rule, N. O., Ambady, N., Adams, R. B. Jr., Ozono, H., Nakashima, S., Yoshikawa, S., & Watabe, M. (2010). Polling the face: prediction and consensus across cultures. *Journal of Personality & Psychology*, 98, 1-15. doi: 10.1037/a0017673.
- Rule, N. O., Krendl, A. C., Ivcevic, Z., & Ambady, N. (2013). Accuracy and Consensus in Judgments of Trustworthiness From Faces: Behavioral and Neural Correlates. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(3), 409-426. doi: 10.1037/a0031050
- Sapir, E. A. (1949). *Communication. In selected writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture, and personality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Sadler-Smith E. (2007). The role of intuition in collective learning and the development of shared meaning. *Advances in Developing Human Resources* 10(4), 494-508. doi: 10.1177/1523422308320065
- Schmid Mast, M., Hall, J. A., Murphy, N. A., & Colvin, C. R. (2003). Judging assertiveness. *Facta Universitatis* 2(10), 731-744.
- Scherer, M. (2012, December 31). The President: Barack Obama. *Time*, 180(27), 40-61.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content of values: Theoretical advances and empirical test in 20 countries. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 1 – 65). New York: Academic Press.
- Shlaim, A. (2014, January, 13). 'Man of peace'? Ariel Sharon was the champion of violent solutions. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/13/ariel-sharon-no-man-of-peace-israel>

- Smith, K.D., Türk Smith, S. & Christopher, J.C. (2007). What defines the good person? Cross-cultural comparisons of experts' models with lay prototypes. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 38, 333-360.
- Spain, J. S., Eaton, L. G., & Funder, D. C. (2001). Perspective on personality: The relative accuracy of self versus others for the prediction of emotion and behavior. *Journal of Personality*, 68(5), 837-867. doi: 10.1111/1467-6494.00118
- Stork, J. (2012, June, 2010). Mubarak convicted, but abuses continue in Egypt. *Human Rights Watch*. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/06/10/mubarak-convicted-abuses-continue-egypt>
- Sueda, K. (2014). Negotiating multiple identities: Shame and pride among Japanese returnees. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Win8/Downloads/9789812870070-c2.
- Sullivan, D. G., and Masters. R. D. (1988). Happy warriors: Leaders' facial displays, viewers' emotions, and political support. *American Journal of Political Science* 32, 345-68. doi: 10.2307/2111127.
- The Economist*. (2011, November, 9). Imran Khan: Likeable, sincere and perhaps a bit naïve. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2011/11/imran-khan>
- The Economist*. (2012, March, 17). Banyan: Pakistan's savior? Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/topics/imran-khan>
- The Economist*. (2014, January, 11). Farewell to the bulldozer. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/blogs/pomegranate/2014/01/ariel-sharon>
- The Times of India*. (2012, June, 28). Zardari has abysmally low approval rating in Pakistan: Survey. Retrieved from <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/Zardari-has-abysmally-low-approval-rating-in-Pakistan-Survey/articleshow/14444475.cms?referral=PM>
- Todorov, A., Mandisodza, AN., Goren, AN., Hall, CC. (2005). Inferences of competence from faces predict election outcomes. *Science* 308(5728):1623-162. doi: 10.1126/science.1110589.
- Traynor, I. (2006, March, 13). Slobodan Milosevic. Ruthless manipulator of Serbian nationalism who became the most dangerous man in Europe. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/mar/13/guardianobituaries.warcrimes>
- UN. (2006, March, 12). Indicted genocide suspect Slobodan Milosevic died of heart attack – UN. Retrieved from

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=17773&Cr=Milosevic&Cr1=>

- Van Damme, S., Crombez, G., & Spence, C. (2009). Is visual dominance modulated by the threat value of visual and auditory stimulus? *Experimental Brain Research* 193(2), 197-204. doi: 10.1007/s00221-008-1608-1.
- Van Maanen, J. (1979). Reclaiming qualitative methods for organizational research: A preface. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), 520-526. doi: 10.2307/2392358
- Walker, L. J., & Pitts, R. C. (1998). Naturalistic conceptions of moral maturity. *Developmental Psychology*, 34(3), 403-419. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.34.3.403>
- Waterton, C., & Wyne, B. (1999). Can focus groups access community views? In R. S. Barbour, & J. Kitzinger (Eds.), *Developing focus group research: politics, theory and practice* (pp. 1-225). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Willis, J., & Todorov, A. (2006). First impression: Making up your mind after a 100-Ms exposure to a face. *Psychological Science*, 17, 592-598. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01750
- Wilson, T.D. (2002). *Strangers to Ourselves: Discovering the Adaptive Unconscious*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wilson, T. D. (2003). Knowing when to ask: Introspection and the adaptive unconscious. *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 10(9), 131-140.
- Winston, J. S., Strange, B. A., O'Doherty, J., and Dolan, R. J. (2002). Automatic and Intentional Brain Responses during Evaluation of Trustworthiness of Faces. *Nature Neuroscience*, 5 (3), 277-83. doi: 10.1038/nn816
- Wojciszke, B. (1994). Multiple meanings of behavior: Construing actions in terms of competence and morality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(2), 222-232.
- Wojciszke, B. (1997). Parallels between competence- versus morality-related traits and individualistic versus collectivistic values. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27(3), 245 - 256. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199705)27:3<245::AID-EJSP819>3.0.CO;2-H
- Wojciszke, B., Bazinska, R., & Jaworski, M. (1998). On the dominance of moral categories in impression formation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 1251-1263. doi:10.1177/01461672982412001
- Wojciszke, B. (2005). Morality and competence in person and self perception. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 16, 155-188. doi:10.1080/10463280500229619.

Waroquier, L., Marchiori, D., Klein, O., & Cleeremans, A. (2010). Is it better to think unconsciously or to trust your first impression? A reassessment of Unconscious Thought Theory. *Social, Psychological and Personality Science* 1(2), 111-118. doi: 10.1177/1948550609356597

Zebrowitz, L. A., & Collins, M. A. (1997). Accurate social perception at zero acquaintance: The affordances of a Gibsonian approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 1, 204–233. doi: 10.1207/s15327957pspr0103_2

Zebrowitz, L.A. & Rhodes, G. (2004). Sensitivity to ‘bad genes’ and the anomalous face overgeneralization effect: Accuracy, cue validity, and cue utilization in judging intelligence and health. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 28, 167-185. doi: 10.1023/B:JONB.0000039648.30935.1b.

Zebrowitz, L.A., Bronstad, P.M., & Lee, H.K. (2007). The contribution of face familiarity to ingroup favoritism and stereotyping. *Social Cognition*, 25, 306-338. doi: 10.1521/soco.2007.25.2.306