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Face Coverings Differentially Alter Valence Judgments of Emotional Expressions

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Abstract

Face masks that prevent disease transmission obscure facial expressions, impairing nonverbal communication. We assessed the impact of lower (masks) and upper (sunglasses) face coverings on emotional valence judgments of clearly valenced (fearful, happy) and ambiguously valenced (surprised) expressions, the latter of which have both positive and negative meanings. Masks, but not sunglasses, impaired judgments of clearly valenced expressions compared to faces without coverings. Drift diffusion models revealed that lower, but not upper, face coverings slowed evidence accumulation and affected differences in non-judgment processes (i.e., stimulus encoding, response execution time) for all expressions. Our results confirm mask-interference effects in nonverbal communication. The findings have implications for nonverbal and intergroup communication, and we propose quidance for implementing strategies to overcome mask-related interference.

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The COVID-19 pandemic brought many changes to daily life, including the implementation of stay-at-home orders, social distancing guidelines, and the use of face masks to protect against the spread of disease. Although the days of government lockdowns and stay-at-home orders have largely passed, one change in daily behavior that could persist for some time is the use of face coverings to reduce viral transmission via respiratory droplets. Despite face coverings being highly effective as a preventative measure (for a review, see Howard et al., 2021), there may be unintended downsides to the use of such coverings. Most notably, face coverings occlude visual information, impacting communication through both verbal and nonverbal routes. For instance, masks reduce speech intelligibility (Caniato et al., 2021) and hamper emotion recognition (Carbon, 2020; Carbon & Serrano, 2021; Gori et al., 2021; Kim et al., 2022; Langbehn et al., 2022; Noyes et al., 2021; Roberson et al., 2012).

Indeed, previous research found that face coverings impact viewers' ability to judge emotional facial expressions accurately and effectively. Objects that obscure the face—ranging from a baby's pacifier to burqas or scarves—are known to hinder accurate judgments of emotional expressions (Fischer et al., 2012; Rychlowska et al., 2014). More recently, the coverings worn during the COVID-19 pandemic have been linked to a compromised ability to accurately judge emotion across several different emotional facial expressions (Carbon, 2020; Carbon & Serrano, 2021; Gori et al., 2021; Grundmann et al., 2021; Langbehn et al., 2022), an effect corroborated by lower confidence ratings of the judgments (Carbon, 2020). For instance, Langbehn et al. (2022) recently found that masks impacted judgments for expressions with facial activity predominantly in the lower half of the face, such as happiness and disgust, more severely than other expressions, such as anger and surprise.

Clearly, there are important effects of face coverings on nonverbal communication. However, it is worth noting some limitations of the research to date and opportunities to develop novel insights. Namely, previous research has (1) relied on expression recognition paradigms rather than affective (e.g., valence) judgments, (2) largely failed to compare ecologically valid upper vs. lower face coverings, and (3) focused on the outcome (e.g., emotion classification) rather than the judgment process underlying face covering effects.

Expression recognition and valence judgments

Prior work examining the impact of face masks primarily reports the effects of face coverings on the accuracy of nonverbal communication, assessed via expression recognition of discrete emotion categories (e.g., Carbon, 2020; Carbon & Serrano, 2021; Gori et al., 2021; Kim et al., 2022; Langbehn et al., 2022; Roberson et al., 2012; Ruba & Pollak, 2020). Such an approach relies heavily on the idea that categorical emotions are conveyed through canonical expressions; and, while useful, leveraging affective judgments— rather than assessing category recognition directly— can lend additional insight into the accuracy of interpersonal judgments. For example, valence judgments non-only side-step the question about canonical expressions (Barrett et al., 2019), but they provide critical information about individuals' post-judgment intentions (e.g., approach-avoidance; Krieglmeyer et al., 2010). As such, measuring valence judgments likely better reflects early-stage emotion processing outside of the laboratory than category recognition tasks. That is, it is more important to first detect negative/ aversive signals than it is to correctly categorize or label another's expression of negative emotion. Of course, it is worth noting that, even though valence (positive-negative) and motivational (approach-avoid) dimensions do not correspond perfectly (e.g., fearful and angry faces are both negatively valenced, but convey conflicting motivational signals; Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009; Harmon-Jones & Allen, 1998), it is generally adaptive to approach positive and avoid negative stimuli.

In addition to lending insight into the accuracy of interpersonal judgments, measuring valence (as opposed to recognition of discrete emotion categories) can reveal notable individual differences. For example, valence judgments for expressions that convey clear positive (e.g., happy expressions) and clear negative (e.g., fearful expressions) signals are consistently positive and negative, respectively, but individuals differ in judgments of more emotionally ambiguous expressions (Neta et al., 2009). In other words, in the absence of clarifying context, some individuals tend to judge surprised facial expressions as negative (e.g., nearly stepping on a snake or spider), whereas others tend toward more positive judgments (e.g., finding extra cash in one's wallet). The individual differences in one's tendency to judge ambiguous information as more negative or positive constitute one's

valence bias (Neta et al., 2009), which is temporally stable over periods of weeks to years (Harp et al., 2022; Neta et al., 2009).

As an individual difference measure, the valence bias—and valence judgments, more generally—might also be more sensitive to moderating variables than expression recognition tasks. For example, individuals endorsing higher levels of personality traits linked to negative affectivity (i.e., neuroticism) and lower levels of traits linked to social connectedness (i.e., extraversion) tend to show a more negative valence bias (Brock et al., 2022; Neta & Brock, 2021). As such, the effects of face coverings may vary as a function of these traits.

In addition to influences of personality, attitudes and beliefs—such as one's political orientation—might also moderate the impact of face coverings on valence bias. Indeed, judgments of ambiguous (surprised) expressions are more negative when participants are told that the faces belong to members of the opposing political party, at least in the U.S. (Basyouni et al., 2022). Because masks are likely to activate sociopolitical stereotypes/schema (e.g., Republicans compared to Democrats have more negative attitudes toward masks; Gelfand et al., 2022), valence judgments may vary along ideological lines—despite the absence of any effect on expression recognition (Langbehn et al., 2022).

Another putative moderator is a socioecological factor termed ancestral diversity—representing long-term human migratory patterns which is associated with the degree to which geographic groups (e.g., states) both display and rely on facial signals to convey emotion signals (Niedenthal et al., 2023; Rychlowska et al., 2015). Specifically, individuals from more ancestrally diverse areas (e.g., New York) are likely to display and rely on the expressiveness of clear emotion signals to a greater degree than individuals from areas of relatively lower ancestral diversity (e.g., Tennessee; Niedenthal et al., 2018). As such, the effects of face coverings may be exacerbated for individuals from regions with higher ancestral diversity and mitigated for individuals from regions with lower ancestral diversity. Altogether, measuring valence judgments informs motivational tendencies, provides insight into individual differences in valence bias, and enhances sensitivity for assessing putative moderators in the impact of face masks on nonverbal communication.

Upper vs. lower coverings and ecological validity

A second limitation of prior research is that much of it has either not included an upper face covering condition (see Carbon, 2020; Carbon & Serrano, 2021; Gori et al., 2021; Grundmann et al., 2021; Langbehn et al., 2022) or they have used less ecologically valid coverings (e.g., randomly allocated windows or "bubbles"; Schyns et al., 2002). Including an upper face covering condition is necessary as both the upper and lower face contain dynamic musculature important for understanding facial displays of emotion (Barrett et al., 2019). Thus, without an upper face covering condition, the effect of lower coverings (masks) may be a result of occluding any part of the face, rather than specifically occluding the features of the lower part of the face.

Although Schyns et al. (2002) and Gibson et al. (2005) used random "bubbles" to examine the spatial location of the necessary features for discriminating facial characteristics (e.g., identity, expression) in both humans and animals, the approach suffers from low ecological validity. That is, the advantage of their approach are its high levels of experimental control, which comes at the cost of using the kinds of face coverings typical outside of the laboratory (e.g., face masks). Certainly, such artificially constrained views of faces rarely, if ever, occur in daily life. Nonetheless, this important foundational research shows that the features that are occluded—either at the top or bottom of the face are important drivers of the effects on the perception of emotion or other facial characteristics (e.g., identity; Schyns et al., 2002). Making use of more ecologically valid face coverings (e.g., face masks, sunglasses) offers the opportunity to examine emotion judgments in a manner more closely resembling life outside of the laboratory (i.e., in the same setting in which our results would be applied; Trafimow & Osman, 2022). Thus, one opportunity to build upon earlier findings is to directly compare the effects of ecologically valid face coverings in the upper (sunglasses) versus lower (masks) halves of the face.¹

¹ Some researchers have, indeed, compared the effects of sunglasses and masks on emotion recognition, but the previously reported effects are pooled across emotional expressions (Roberson et al., 2012) or rely on a basic emotion approach (i.e., categorical response; Kim et al., 2022; Ruba & Pollak, 2020), limiting inferences about expression-specific effects (but see Noyes et al., 2021, which used a "match" vs. "no match" judgment approach and examined recognition by expression).

Mechanisms of the judgment process

A third limitation of prior research is that it has not characterized the mechanisms underlying the impact of face coverings on emotion judgments, by, for example, analyzing response times (RTs). Although a few studies revealed a tendency for masks to slow RTs (e.g., Ziccardi et al., 2021), none have explored how the RT effect manifests in the judgment process. Sequential-sampling models, like the drift-diffusion model (DDM), allow the estimation of parameters that capture various components of the judgment-making process. Specifically, the DDM includes parameters that model the amount of evidence required to reach a judgment (i.e., threshold), the rate of evidence accumulation process (i.e., drift rate), a priori response/judgment biases (i.e., relative starting point), as well as the duration of non-judgment processes like stimulus encoding/sensory input and response execution/motor output time (Voss et al., 2004, 2010, 2015; Voss & Voss, 2007). As such, DDM allows researchers to determine whether—and how!— experimental manipulations affect distinct judgment processes. In other words, the DDM provides insight into the mechanisms by which experimental manipulations, such as the characteristics of various emotional expressions (e.g., clear vs. ambiguous valence) and covering types (e.g., masks vs. sunglasses), and/or person-level variables (e.g., personality traits, political orientation), impact the judgment process. Thus, the DDM provides a more informative analysis than examining judgments and/or RT in isolation (see Johnson et al., 2017 for a primer on DDM in social and personality psychological contexts and a more thorough description of DDM in the Method section).

The present study

Here, we investigate the influence of different face coverings (masks, sunglasses, no coverings) on valence judgments of facial expressions with either clear positive (happy), clear negative (fearful), or ambiguous (surprised) meaning. Although we did not preregister specific predictions about the effects of face coverings on judgments of happy and fearful expressions (which were included as clearly valenced anchors), we expected that face masks would lead to less accurate valence judgments for both of these expressions (see Langbehn et al.,

2022; Roberson et al., 2012). This is especially the case for happy expressions, which contain most of their activity in the lower half of the face (Langbehn et al., 2022). We did, however, preregister the hypothesis that masks (i.e., occluding the bottom half of the face), but not sunglasses (i.e., occluding the top half of the face), will be associated with more negative judgments of surprised facial expressions. This prediction stems from evidence that visual search patterns (i.e., fixating on the mouth vs. the eyes) play a causal role in determining judgments of surprised expressions. Specifically, individuals who make faster fixations to the mouth—a feature that discriminates surprise from fear—tend to judge surprised expressions more positively (Neta et al., 2017). Indeed, fearful and surprised expressions share morphological similarities in the upper half of the face (e.g., widening of the eyes), as evidenced by overlapping facial AUs (i.e., inner/outer brow and upper eyelid raising, AUs 1, 2, and 5; Du & Martinez, 2015), and action in the lower half of the face is helpful for distinguishing between the expressions (Farah et al., 1998). Thus, fixation patterns play a causal role in determining judgments of surprised expressions, meaning that the face coverings worn during the COVID-19 pandemic may make people more likely to judge surprised expressions as negative. We used DDM to further examine how the judgment process varied among experimental conditions. In exploratory analyses, we assessed whether personality traits, political orientation, or ancestral diversity moderated mask-related effects (see Supplemental Material section 2).

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Mturk) and invited to participate in an eligibility screener (US\$0.10), with an opportunity for eligible participants to earn a bonus (US\$1.90). Only workers aged 18 years or older who were free of previous psychological or neurological diagnoses were invited to participate in the bonus. 577 workers completed the screener, 222 were ineligible and 150 were rejected for failing to complete the study within 1.5 hours, leaving 205 final participants (pre-registered target for recruitment: 200).

Table 1. Demographic characteristics.

Demographic	Final sample (n = 146)
Age	M(SD) = 40.87(12.30); range = 18–77 years
Gender	Female (76), Male (69), Prefer not to answer (1)
Race	American Indian or Alaskan Native (1), Asian (19), Black (7), Other (3), White (114), Prefer not to answer (2)
Ethnicity	Latino/Hispanic (6), Not Latino/Hispanic (139), Prefer not to answer (1)

Five participants were removed prior to analysis due to having completed too few trials, and an additional 54 were removed due to inaccurate judgments of the clear valence stimuli (both described below). Demographic characteristics of the final sample (n = 146; pre-registered target for analysis (i.e., after data quality check): 150) are shown in **Table 1**. All participants provided informed consent in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki and all research procedures were approved through the University of Nebraska-Lincoln's Institutional Review Board (Approval #20150114791EP).

Stimuli and measures

One hundred eighty facial expressions from 111 unique identities were selected from the NimStim (25 identities, 44 of 180 expressions; Tottenham et al., 2009), Karolinska Directed Emotional Faces (26 identities, 28 of 180 expressions; Lundqvist et al., 1998), Radboud Faces Database (15 identities, 19 out of 180 expressions; Langner et al., 2010), and Umea (37 identities, 68 out of 180 expressions; Samuelsson et al., 2012) sets, as well as still images taken from a set of dynamic emotional expressions described elsewhere (8 identities, 21 out of 180 expressions; Langbehn et al., 2022). All faces displayed either fearful, happy, or surprised expressions. Face masks and sunglasses were added to each expression in Adobe Photoshop. Each stimulus appeared only once; that is, any individual participant only saw a given expression in a single face covering condition (counterbalanced across participants). See **Figure 1** for sample images from each condition.



Figure 1. Sample stimuli from face covering and emotional expression conditions. Happy, fearful, and surprised expressions (top to bottom) without coverings, with masks, or with sunglasses (left to right). NimStim model 01 F is shown here (Tottenham et al., 2009).

Procedure

The task and surveys were hosted on Gorilla Experiment Builder (Anwyl-Irvine et al., 2020), and accessible to participants using a computer (no phones or tablets). Participants first provided informed consent, followed by a brief (4 trial) practice task and a (180 trial) main task. Both the practice and main tasks used a two-alternative forced choice design such that participants judged facial expression images as either positive or negative via keyboard button

press. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two counterbalanced orders for response options (L = Positive & A = Negative; L = Negative & A = Positive). There were 60 fearful, 60 happy, and 60 surprised expressions presented to each subject. Within each expression, equal subsets of trials were shown with a surgical mask, sunglasses, or no face coverings (20 trials each). Each image was presented for 500 ms and preceded by a 1,500 ms fixation cross, consistent with extensive prior work (e.g., Harp et al., 2021; Neta et al., 2013). Failure to respond within 2000 ms resulted in the task advancing to the next trial without recording a response (response) omission), and only the first response was retained for analysis in the event of multiple responses on a single trial. The order of the stimuli was pseudorandomized, such that there was an even number of fearful or happy trials preceding surprise trials in all versions to rule out order or context effects (e.g., Neta et al., 2011). After the task, participants completed the surveys described in the Supplemental Material.

Drift diffusion modeling

The drift-diffusion model (DDM) offers an advantageous framework for decomposing response and response time (RT) data into interpretable parameters. Specifically, it decomposes responses and RTs from tasks with binary judgments into parameters estimated in a quantitative model fit to each individuals' data (Lerche & Voss, 2018; Ratcliff, 1978; Voss et al., 2015). Because the model fits to individuallevel data, the parameter estimates can be averaged across persons and compared between experimental conditions to inform conclusions about how experimental manipulations impact the judicial process; inferences that cannot be made from responses or RTs alone (Johnson et al., 2017; Ratcliff, 1978; Voss et al., 2004, 2010, 2015; Voss & Voss, 2007). For example, the DDM models correct and incorrect responses, the latter of which tend to be removed prior to traditional RT analyses (Johnson et al., 2017). Additionally, the parameters estimated via the DDM provide a more objective measure of cognitive processes than self-report; that is, the DDM is not susceptible to participant biases/motivations (e.g., demand characteristics; Johnson et al., 2017).

There are four primary parameters in the DDM, and each parameter represents a different possible source of variability in the judgment process (Lerche & Voss, 2018). First is the threshold (a), which represents the distance between the lower (0; here, "negative") and upper (a; here, "positive") judgment boundaries. In short, the threshold represents the amount of evidence required to reach a particular judgment in a binary judgment task. Thresholds can vary across persons and experimental conditions. Between-person variability arises due to individual differences in cautiousness, or conservativeness, of judgment- making. Specifically, individuals who emphasize accuracy over speed will show a higher threshold (e.g., older adults often show a higher threshold than younger adults; Ratcliff et al., 2001; Spaniol et al., 2006). On the other hand, thresholds may differ within persons due to experimental manipulations (e.g., instructions to emphasize accuracy over speed would result in a higher, more conservative threshold a; Ratcliff & Rouder, 2000; Wagenmakers et al., 2008). Here, we held the threshold constant across experimental conditions, such that the DDM estimates only a single threshold per participant, given that participants were instructed to respond quickly and accurately for all trials.

Whereas threshold (a) represents the conservativeness of one's judgments, the drift rate (v) represents the speed at which evidence accumulates toward one of the judgment boundaries. There are two characteristics of drift rate that inform the judgment process: (1) the sign and (2) the magnitude. Given that there are both upper and lower judgment boundaries, evidence can accumulate in either the upper (positive-signed drift rate) or lower (negative-signed drift rate) direction. Thus, the sign of the drift indicates whether evidence tends to accumulate toward the upper (positive sign) or lower (negative sign) boundary. The magnitude (i.e., absolute value) of the drift rate indicates the speed of evidence accumulation, where a larger magnitude corresponds with faster accumulation and a smaller magnitude corresponds with slower accumulation. Experimental manipulations common to both cognitive and social psychology paradigms influence drift rates. For example, experimental manipulations which increase difficulty (e.g., judging color dominance in a visual sample with 51.5% [more difficult] vs. 53% dominance [less difficult]) slow the rate of evidence accumulation (i.e., reducing drift rate; Voss et al., 2004).

Similarly, judgments that activate stereotypic associations (e.g., between people of color and violence) impact drift rates in a first-person shooter task (i.e., drift rates are faster for "gun" vs. "non-gun" judgments on non-gun trials with Black compared to White targets; Pleskac et al., 2018). Taken together, we expected to observe slower drift rates for masked faces because, in the case of valence judgments of static faces, obscuring the shape of the mouth, eyebrows, and so forth should hinder stimulus discrimination (and perhaps activate social schemas depending upon one's political orientation; Gelfand et al., 2022).

Third, the DDM models a relative starting point (z_r) . The relative starting point captures whether participants show a judgment bias, such that one judgment requires less evidence. For instance, there might be differences in relative starting points when one judgment is linked to rewards or losses (e.g., Voss et al., 2008). Differences in relative starting point are thought to reflect *a priori* judgment biases rather than the perceptual process captured by drift rate (v). Because our experimental design was balanced and pseudorandomized, such that participants viewed an equal number of positive, negative, and ambiguous expressions, we fixed starting point to the midpoint (i.e., assuming no *a priori* judgment bias) rather than estimating it per condition.

Last, differences in non-judgment processes (d) are modeled. The non-judgment processes represent processes that occur either before (i.e., stimulus encoding/sensory input) or after (i.e., response execution/motor output) the evidence accumulation process that produces a judgment (Lerche et al., 2017; Theisen et al., 2021). As an example, consider again the differences in performance of younger and older adults on basic cognitive (e.g., memory) tasks. Above, we discussed a finding that response cautiousness (i.e., threshold, a) tends to be greater for individuals in older adulthood. Similarly, there is a wellreplicated finding that the duration of non-judgment processes tends to be greater in older than younger adults (for a meta-analysis, see Theisen et al., 2021). The DDM has helped to tease apart whether the slower RTs of older adults on cognitive tasks are attributable to deficits in judgment-related processes (threshold, a or drift, v), nonjudgment processes (e.g., impaired vision, reduced motor capabilities), or some combination of both. Because non-judgment processes, by

definition, exclude the evidence accumulation process, the parameter is sensitive to differences in RT but not accuracy. Thus, the non-judgment parameters can vary without impacting the judgment—or evidence accumulation—process itself. Because masks occlude part of the face that would otherwise be encoded during stimulus encoding/sensory input, we estimated differences in the speed of response execution for each experimental condition (*d*) in the DDM.

To implement DDM, we used fast-dm (Voss & Voss, 2007) and estimated parameters from our trial-wise data, focusing on drift rate (v). Parameters were estimated using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov method (Lerche et al., 2017; Voss et al., 2004, 2015). As in previous work (Voss et al., 2004), and in line with current guidance in implementing fastdm models (Voss et al., 2015), model fit was assessed for each participant and three participants with a significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov test result (p < .05) were removed due to bad model fit. We selected the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test given our moderate number of trials (i.e., 180 trials), as maximum likelihood optimization is particularly sensitive to outlier RTs and chi-square optimization requires substantially larger numbers of trials (e.g., 1000+ trials; Voss et al., 2015). Although we opted for a trial number closer to the lower boundary needed for precise estimation given our modeled parameters (i.e., threshold, drift, and non-judgment processes) and optimization approach (i.e., Kolmogorov-Smirnov; Lerche et al., 2017), it is possible that some participants experienced fatigue or boredom during the task. Such fatigue or boredom may have contributed to the notable rate of exclusions described above. One additional participant was not analyzed because fast-dm could not generate parameter estimates from the data (i.e., there was no data for some conditions). The resulting parameter estimates from retained participants (n = 142) were analyzed as described in the following section.

Data analysis

Preregistration (https://osf.io/re82d) and de-identified data with analysis scripts (https://osf.io/2wn7r/) are available on the Open Science Framework. All data cleaning, analyses, and visualizations were completed in R (version 4.1.1; R Core Team, 2022) and fast-dm (Voss & Voss, 2007). As in previous work and as specified in our preregistration,

we removed trials with RT either less than 250 milliseconds or greater than three standard deviations from the participant's mean RT and then calculated the percentage of faces in each category (e.g., masked surprised faces) that were judged to be positive or negative. Five participants retained less than 75% of the total number of trials and were thus removed from the analyses. Next, we assessed the accuracy of responses to the clearly valenced stimuli (unmasked fearful and happy faces), removing 54 participants that failed to judge these images with greater than 60% accuracy, as in previous work (Harp et al., 2021; Neta et al., 2019). Notably, the percentage of excluded participants (27%; 54 of 200) was close to our expected rate of exclusion in our pre-registration (25%; 50 of 200). Additionally, others have reported somewhere between 10-50% exclusion rates in online samples (Curran, 2016); thus, our manipulation/data quality check appears to have succeeded.

We took a primarily descriptive approach to data analysis. Given concerns about the null hypothesis significance testing framework (see Trafimow & Marks, 2015), we report descriptive statistics and effect sizes (Cohen's *d*) rather than frequentist inferential values. We analyzed both the percent positive judgments and the DDM parameters (i.e., drift [*v*] and differences in non-judgment processes [*d*]) data by computing descriptive statistics (i.e., means, standard deviation, and skew) for the within-subject effects of expression (fearful, happy, surprised) and covering (mask, none, sunglasses). Plots were completed using ggplot2 (Wickham, 2009). We also describe a more traditional RT analysis and several exploratory moderation analyses, testing for effects of personality, political orientation, and ancestral diversity on percent positive judgments in the Supplemental Material (section 2).

Results

Valence judgments

Histograms of valence judgment data are in **Figure 2**. The bar plot for the percentage of faces judged as positive versus negative is shown in **Figure 3**. Judgments for surprised faces (M(SD) = 79.37(19.38), skew = -1.41) were less negative than judgments for fearful faces (M(SD)

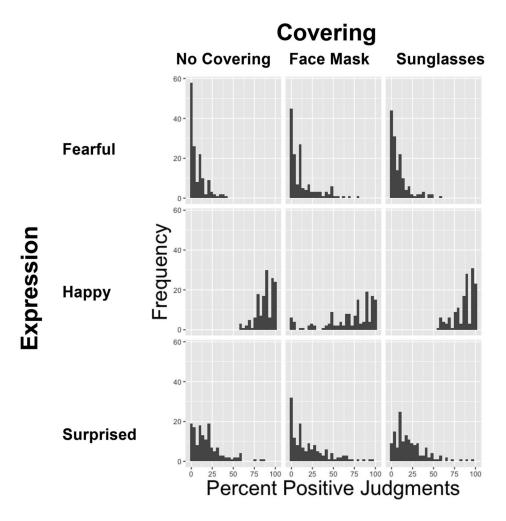


Figure 2. Histogram of the percentage of fearful, happy, and surprised faces with masks, no face coverings, and sunglasses that participants judged to be expressing positive emotions. Frequency values represent a number of participants.

= 90.01(12.98), skew = -2.05; d = 0.59) and more negative than judgments for happy faces (M(SD) = 18.49(20.16), skew = 2.08; d = -3.08). The effect sizes for the main effects of expression were much larger than the effect sizes for the main effects of covering, which were mostly negligible. Compared to faces without coverings (M(SD) = 61.93(37.71), skew = -0.53), masks led to slightly more negative judgments (M(SD) = 65.27(33.90), skew = -0.63; d = 0.09) whereas sunglasses seemingly had no impact (M(SD) = 60.67(36.77), skew = -0.50; d = 0.03). Masks also led to slightly more negative judgments compared to sunglasses (d = 0.13).

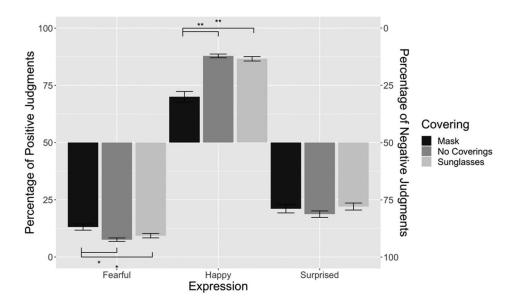


Figure 3. Percentage of positive judgments for each expression and condition. Bars above 50% indicate that >50% of faces were judged positive. Bars below 50% indicate that >50% of faces were judged to be negative. Masks impaired valence judgments for both fearful and happy relative to faces without coverings ($ds \ge 0.39$) and sunglasses ($d \ge 0.26$). Surprised faces without coverings were judged as somewhat more negative than surprised faces with sunglasses (d = 0.19). *** large effect size; ** medium effect size; * small effect size

Next, we examined whether there were interactive effects of expression and covering. Descriptive statistics for each cell of the experimental design (expression x covering) are available in **Table 2**. As shown in Figure 3, our preregistered hypothesis that masked surprised faces is more likely to be judged as negative than surprised faces without masks was not observed. Nonetheless, there were apparent effects of face covering for both fearful and happy faces. Masks led to more inaccurate (i.e., positive) judgments of fearful faces, such that the percentage of negative judgments was greater for no coverings (d = -0.39) and for sunglasses (d = -0.26). Sunglasses did not appear to impact judgments compared to no coverings (d = 0.16). Masks also led to more inaccurate (i.e., negative) judgments of happy faces compared to no coverings (d = 0.75) and sunglasses (d = 0.71). Again, sunglasses did not appear to impact judgments compared to no coverings (d = -0.12). Unexpectedly, masks did not affect judgments of surprised faces (d = -0.12). Sunglasses, however, led to somewhat

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for percent negative judgments.

		Covering: M(SD) [skew]		
		No covering	Mask	Sunglasses
Expression	Fearful	92.42(9.21) [–1.45]	86.91(16.49) [–1.68]	90.68(11.63) [–1.99]
	Нарру	12.11(9.77) [0.85]	29.98(28.16) [1.09]	13.39(11.66) [0.93]
	Surprised	81.27(17.19) [–1.52]	78.90(22.04) [–1.24]	77.94(18.55) [–1.47]

less negative judgments of the surprised expressions (d = 0.19) compared to no coverings, though the effect was quite small. There was no meaningful difference between judgments of surprised expressions with masks versus sunglasses (d = 0.05).

Reaction times

Histograms of reaction times are shown in **Figure 4** and statistical analyses are available in the Supplementary Material section 1. In brief, masks slowed RTs compared to sunglasses and faces without coverings, and this pattern was evident for each emotional expression. Thus, masks slowed valence judgments.

Drift rate (v)

To understand the mechanisms through which face masks impacted the judgment process, we submitted responses and RTs to DDM to assess the impacts of masks on drift rate (i.e., the rate of evidence accumulation toward a judgment boundary). The drift rate varied across the three expressions. Drift rates showed greater evidence accumulation toward the "negative" (lower) judgment boundary for fearful (M(SD) = -3.06(1.69), skew = -0.77) than surprised expressions (M(SD) = -1.95(1.53), skew = -0.02; d = -0.68), although evidence tended to accumulate toward the lower boundary (i.e., "negative" judgment) for both expressions. On the other hand, the average drift rate for happy expressions was positive (M(SD) = 2.36(1.72), skew = -0.75), indicating that evidence tended to accumulate toward the upper boundary (i.e., "positive" judgment). The differences

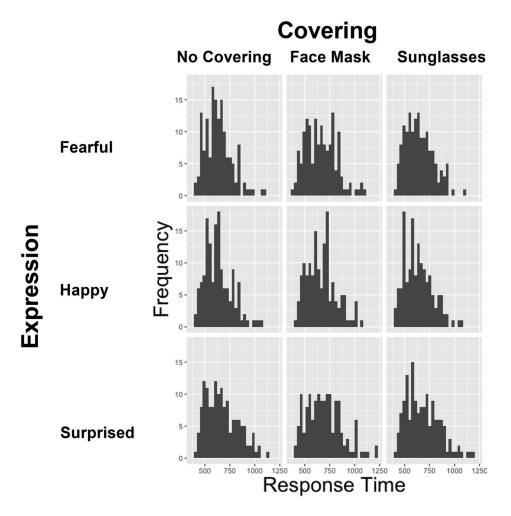


Figure 4. Histogram of mean response times for fearful, happy, and surprised faces with masks, no face coverings, and sunglasses. Frequency values represent the number of participants.

in drift rates for happy compared to fearful (d = 3.18) and surprised expressions (d = 2.64) were large.

Next, we examined the effects of face coverings for each expression (**Figure 5**). Descriptive statistics for each cell of the experimental design of expression and covering are available in **Table 3**. For fearful expressions, masks tended to slow drift rate compared to no coverings (d = 0.41) and sunglasses (d = 0.23). Sunglasses, however, did not slow drift rates relative to no coverings (d = -0.17). For the happy expressions, masks slowed drift rates compared to no coverings (d = -0.17).

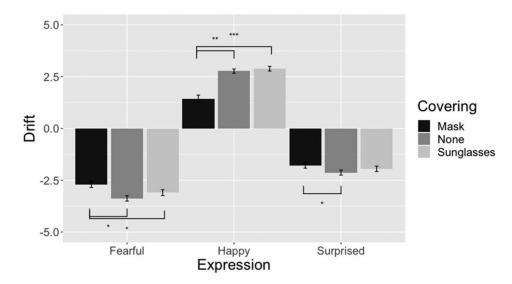


Figure 5. Drift rates for each expression and condition. Larger absolute values of drift indicate faster evidence accumulation toward either the upper (i.e., "positive" judgment) or lower boundary (i.e., "negative" judgment). Masks slowed drift rates relative to faces without coverings or with sunglasses. *** large effect size; ** medium effect size; * small effect size.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for drift rates (*v*).

		Co	Covering: M(SD) [skew]		
		No covering	Mask	Sunglasses	
Expression	Fearful	-3.38(1.55) [-0.95]	-2.70(1.77) [-0.57]	-3.10(1.69) [-1.08]	
	Нарру	2.77(1.21) [0.18]	1.43(2.08) [–0.59]	2.88(1.35) [0.60]	
	Surprised	-2.13(1.44) [0.07]	-1.78(1.62) [0.02]	-1.95(1.53) [-0.23]	

-0.77) and sunglasses (M(SD) = 2.88(1.35), d = -0.81). Sunglasses did not impact the drift rate for the happy expressions (d = -0.09) compared to no coverings. For surprised expressions, masks tended to slow drift rate compared to no coverings (d = 0.23). There was no effect of sunglasses on surprised expressions compared to no coverings (d = -0.12) or masks (d = 0.11).

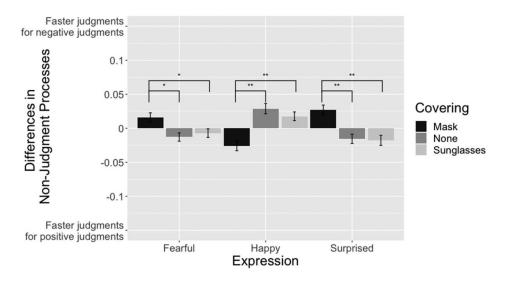


Figure 6. Differences in non-judgment processes (d; e.g., response execution) for each expression and condition. Positive values indicate that response execution is faster for judgments linked to the upper threshold (i.e., positive judgment) than for judgments linked to the lower threshold. Masks resulted in a reversal of the sign of the differences in non-judgment processes for all three expressions. Erroneous judgments for fearful and happy expressions, as well as "positive" judgments for surprised expressions, were faster than responses for the alternative judgment. *** large effect size; ** medium effect size; * small effect size.

Non-judgment processes (d)

Differences in the duration of non-judgment processes (i.e., stimulus encoding/sensory input and response execution/motor output) are plotted in **Figure 6**. Descriptive statistics for each cell of the experimental design of expression and covering are available in **Table 4**. Note that plotted values indicate the *difference* in non-judgment time, such that positive values of *d* indicate that non-judgment processes are faster for judgments linked to the upper threshold (i.e., "positive" judgment) than for judgments linked to the lower threshold.

Masks significantly impacted differences in nonjudgment time. Fearful and surprised expressions with either no coverings or sunglasses had positive-signed estimates, meaning that stimulus encoding and motor execution were faster for judgments linked to the lower threshold (i.e., "negative" judgment) than the upper ("positive") threshold. Masks reversed the effect, such that both fearful ($ds \ge 1$)

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for differences in non-judgment processes (*d*).

Covering: M(SD) [skew] No covering Mask Sunglasses Expression Fearful -0.01(0.07)0.02(0.08) -0.01(0.08)[-0.17][0.06][-0.68]Нарру 0.03(0.09) -0.03(0.09)0.02(0.08) [0.37][0.18][0.30]Surprised 0.03(0.08) -0.02(0.09)-0.02(0.08)[0.17][1.02] [-0.49]

0.30) and surprised ($ds \ge 0.51$) expressions with masks had *negative*-signed estimates, meaning that stimulus encoding and motor execution were faster for judgments linked to the upper threshold (i.e., "positive" judgment) than the lower threshold. Happy expressions showed the inverse pattern; those with no coverings or sunglasses showed a negative-signed estimate (faster for "positive" judgments) but those with masks showed a positive-signed estimate (faster for "negative" judgments; $ds \ge 0.54$). The effect sizes for fearful expressions were small, whereas the effect sizes for surprised and happy expressions were medium. There were no meaningful effects of sunglasses on non-judgment processes for any of the expressions. In sum, masks resulted in faster erroneous judgments for the fearful and happy expressions, and faster "positive" judgments for the surprised expressions, compared to faces without coverings or with sunglasses.

Discussion

In this study, we assessed the impact of upper and lower face coverings on valence judgments of three different emotional expressions. We also submitted response and RT data to drift-diffusion modeling (DDM) to explore the underlying mechanisms of face-covering interference. Our pre-registered hypothesis that surprised faces are judged as more negative when face masks occluded the mouth—a distinguishing characteristic from fearful expressions—was not supported. Face masks did, however, lead to more positive judgments of fearful expressions and more negative judgments of happy expressions.

Face masks also resulted in impairments in the evidence accumulation and non-judgment processes (e.g., stimulus encoding/sensory input). This pattern is consistent with prior research showing that masks impede communication of these expressions that convey relatively clear valence, and shed light on the mechanisms through which the impediment manifests. We discuss how masks impacted the judgment (i.e., slowed evidence accumulation) and non-judgment processes, with specific guidance on strategies that hold promise for overcoming mask-induced interference.

Face coverings impact valence judgments

Building upon recent evidence that face coverings impair people's ability to recognize discrete emotional facial expressions (Carbon, 2020, 2020; Fischer et al., 2012; Gori et al., 2021; Grundmann et al., 2021; Kim et al., 2022; Langbehn et al., 2022; Noyes et al., 2021; Roberson et al., 2012; Ruba & Pollak, 2020; Rychlowska et al., 2014), our results provide a novel contribution by extending this work to show an impairment of basic valence judgments. Given our use of dimensional valence judgments rather than discrete emotion category recognition, we provide novel evidence that masks interfere not only with recognition accuracy but also with a more fundamental component of affective experience and judgments (Russell, 2003). As such, the findings have implications for how masks may impact interpersonal interactions via the relationship between valence judgments and motivational action tendencies (e.g., to approach-avoid). For instance, participants were more than twice as likely to judge a smiling face as negative when the target was wearing a mask as opposed to no covering or sunglasses (see Table 2), corresponding to a large effect size. Such misjudgments could have negative consequences for real-world social encounters. For instance, individuals may misinterpret a passerby's friendly smile as a threat or, conversely, fail to adequately interpret another's expression of fear and overlook a potential threat in the immediate environment. In other words, both misjudgments threaten adverse consequences (e.g., lost social opportunities, and increased vulnerability to threats). Relatedly, others report that masks influence judgments other than valence. For instance, masks lead people to judge expressions conveying negative

valence as more trustworthy and likeable when masked than unmasked (Grundmann et al., 2021). Thus, face masks pose challenges to nonverbal communication, making faces that convey positive meaning look less positive, but also making faces that convey negative meaning look less negative.

Unexpectedly, face masks did not meaningfully impact valence judgments of surprised expressions. Given that faster fixations on the mouth are associated with more positive judgments of surprise (Neta et al., 2017; Neta & Dodd, 2018), we expected face masks would lead to more negative judgments of surprise expressions. One possible explanation for our results is that morphological similarities between fearful and surprised expressions led participants to judge surprise as more negative regardless of face coverings, perhaps due to confusing the expressions with each other. Such a pattern resembles the exacerbated interference of masks for other perceptually similar faces (e.g., happiness and disgust; Barrett et al., 2019) seen in prior work (Langbehn et al., 2022). Indeed, the group average for the percentage of negative judgments for surprised expressions without face coverings surpassed 75% in these data, which is noticeably higher than the approximately 50% group average in other samples (Neta & Brock, 2021). Additionally, it could be that face masks create a situational context prompting more negative judgments of ambiguity. That is, even surprised faces without coverings might have been judged as more negative, given that masks on temporally proximal faces could suggest the possibility of disease exposure and create a threatening context (Neta et al., 2011). Lastly, occluding the mouth slowed RTs (see Supplemental Material section 1). The putative negativity we predicted for masked surprised expressions may have conflicted with the tendency for slower responses to be linked to more positive judgments of surprise (Neta & Tong, 2016); in other words, the effects may have canceled each other out.

Face masks impact both judgment and nonjudgment processes

To characterize the mechanisms through which face coverings influence the judgment process, we fit DDMs to the response and RT data. Given that both masks and sunglasses occlude visual cues from the face, we expected faster evidence accumulation (i.e., larger magnitude

drift rate) for expressions without coverings compared to expressions with coverings. However, sunglasses did not meaningfully impact drift rates relative to faces without coverings, perhaps because the distinguishing characteristic between surprised and fearful as well as the most notable characteristic of happy expressions—the mouth—remained visible in the sunglasses condition. It could also be that the greater impact of masks relative to sunglasses is due to the distribution of AUs in the lower (eighteen AUs) and upper face (twelve AUs; Ekman & Friesen, 1978), or that sunglasses are more familiar and thus had a smaller impact than masks.

Masks, on the other hand, impacted drift rates for each expression, though the degree of interference varied. Specifically, masks slowed evidence accumulation for the happy and fearful faces compared to those without coverings or with sunglasses (consistent with effects in valence judgments and RTs; see Supplemental Material section 1), whereas the effect of masks for surprised faces was smaller. One interpretation of the range in effect sizes on drift rates is that masks made stimulus discrimination more difficult for the clear expressions (Voss et al., 2004), but that the ambiguity inherent to surprised expressions superseded the impact of masks on evidence accumulation. In other words, surprised expressions—regardless of coverings—tended to have slower absolute drift relative to the clearly valenced expressions, perhaps resulting in a near-floor effect and lessening the impact of additional interference by masks or other coverings on evidence accumulation (at least in valence judgment tasks). Fortunately, there are methods for offsetting differences in evidence accumulation (e.g., instructions to emphasize accuracy and thus increasing the amount of evidence needed to reach a judgment threshold; Johnson et al., 2017), suggesting that the effects of masks might be overcome with sufficient experience or tailored interventions.

Additionally, we found that face masks induced differences in non-judgment processes—that is, the stimulus encoding/sensory input and response execution/motor output processes that precede or follow, respectively, the evidence accumulation process (Lerche & Voss, 2018). Masks reversed the sign of the differences in non-judgment processes across all three emotional expressions, such that judgments were faster for the inaccurate response for fearful and happy faces. Because of the inherent ambiguity to surprised expressions, there is

no accurate response per se; however, masks still induced a reversal of the sign of the differences in non-judgments processes, such that judgments were faster for the less frequent "positive" judgments for faces with masks relative to those without coverings. Sunglasses had no such effect on the sign of the differences in non-judgment processes relative to faces without coverings. Because of the reduced amount of available visual information in masked faces, we expect that the effect is more likely to be driven by accelerated, yet deficient, stimulus encoding/sensory input prior to the initiation of the evidence accumulation process, rather than differences in the speed of motor execution that follow evidence accumulation.

Applications and future directions

Masks induced deficits in the evidence accumulation and the stimulus encoding process, highlighting a need for compensatory strategies to maintain effective nonverbal communication. Judgments of faces ordinarily occur on remarkably fast timescales (Bar et al., 2006; Willis & Todorov, 2006), and even a relatively small delay between the actual and expected time for a facial expression to convey meaning to another might strain communication. Indeed, the slowed evidence accumulation resulting from masks may contribute to communication strains, such as reduced feelings of interpersonal closeness caused by mask-wearing (i.e., trustworthiness, likability; Grundmann et al., 2021). That said, erroneous judgments (e.g., interpreting your neighbor's smile as a scowl) likely cause significantly more strain than a delayed response. Thus, there is a need for methods to reduce such erroneous judgments. One method for overcoming undesirable mask-related interference is instructing individuals to modulate their own response cautiousness (i.e., increasing the distance of the judgment threshold, a) to help counteract fast errors. Such a strategy may be particularly important to implement in contexts where individuals experience challenges with nonverbal communication (e.g., among individuals with social anxiety disorder, autism spectrum disorders; Kleberg et al., 2017; Pazhoohi et al., 2021; Saint & Moscovitch, 2021).

A more intractable aspect of mask interference is the effect on non-judgment processes (i.e., stimulus encoding/sensory input and response execution/motor output time). We expect the effect is

primarily due to reduced information and faster stimulus encoding for faces with masks. Because it is unclear how one might facilitate or enhance stimulus encoding without altering the stimulus itself (e.g., removing the mask), it may be challenging to mitigate differences in non-judgment processes from the perceiver's viewpoint. That said, depending on the duration of widespread mask use, people (expressers) may begin to show adaptive changes like expressing more with the upper half of the face or using more body language to convey emotion (e.g., posture; Dael et al., 2012; Mheidly et al., 2020). Because either strategy should enrich the information conveyed by the expresser, it could offset the mask-related differences in non-judgment processes among perceivers. Future work could inform the degree to which expresser-generated strategies impact the judgment process in perceivers (e.g., by experimentally manipulating expression intensity). Alternatively, it could be that the differences in non-judgment processes are attributable to prior experience. In fact, the lack of meaningful effect sizes for the sunglasses, which also obscure facial information and could plausibly affect stimulus encoding/sensory input, suggests that extensive experience may mitigate differences in nonjudgment processes. Longitudinal studies would be best suited to answer such a question. Thus, there remain questions for future research that could inform which kind of strategies are the most appropriate solutions (e.g., expresser-generated strategies vs. manipulating experience-dependent processes).

Conclusion

The present findings make a novel contribution to the literature on facial expressions of emotion by leveraging valence judgments, rather than expression recognition, to further characterize the impacts of ecologically valid face coverings. We found that masks led to more erroneous judgments of faces conveying clear valence and slowed RTs compared to faces without coverings. Drift diffusion modeling suggests that a slowed rate of evidence accumulation coupled with differences in non-judgment processing (e.g., stimulus encoding/sensory input) underlie mask-related interference. This work provides future directions for research and applied settings aimed at mitigating these

effects (e.g., instructing perceivers to exercise caution and prioritize accuracy in interactions, instructing expressers to emphasize upper facial signals), which may be particularly beneficial for some individuals (e.g., social anxiety and autism spectrum disorders).

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Data are available on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/2wn7r/)

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Supplemental material follows.



1. Analysis of response times. Overall, RTs were longer for surprised faces (M(SD) = 682.63(167.16), skew = 0.63) than both fearful (M(SD) = 647.45(141.80), skew = 0.63; d = -0.21) and happy faces (M(SD) = 644.57(140.89), skew = 0.66; d = -0.23), evidencing the ambiguity of surprise expressions. RTs for happy and fearful faces did not meaningfully differ (d = 0.02). The impacts of coverings were less pronounced; RTs for judgments of faces with masks (M(SD) = 673.19(158.15), skew = 0.61) were somewhat slower than faces without coverings (M(SD) = 646.71(144.46), skew = 0.74; d = 0.17), but did not meaningfully differ from RTs for faces with sunglasses (M(SD) = 654.75(150.17), skew = 0.71; d = 0.12). The difference in RTs for faces with sunglasses did not meaningfully differ from RTs for faces without coverings (d = -0.05).

Next, we examined whether the effects of face coverings might differ for the various expressions (**Figure S1**). RTs for faces with masks were slower than faces without coverings for each expression; however, the effect size was negligible for both fearful (d = 0.16) and surprise (d = 0.13) and remained in the small range for the happy faces (d = 0.22). The pattern of effects for faces with masks and faces with sunglasses is similar in that the effect was negligible for both fearful (d = 0.09) and surprised (d = 0.07) faces, whereas it was more than doubled for the happy faces (d = 0.20). The greater impact of face masks on RTs for happy expressions relative to both faces without coverings and faces with sunglasses is likely attributable to the diagnostic feature of happy expressions being in the lower half of the face, whereas the fearful and surprised expressions have more distributed diagnostic features (e.g., eyebrow raising). Sunglasses had no meaningful effects on RT relative to faces without coverings for any of the emotional expressions (ds < .10).

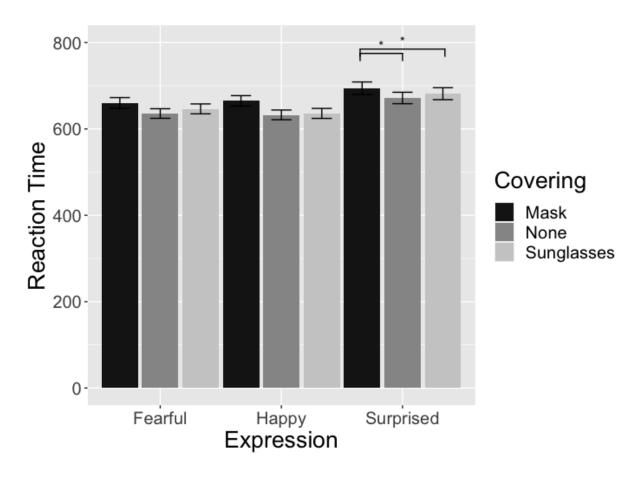


Figure S1. RTs for each expression and condition. *** = large effect size, ** medium effect size, * small effect size

2. Exploratory analyses.

Neuroticism and extraversion. The neuroticism and extraversion subscales of the NEO-FFI (McRae & Costa, 1991) were administered to assess these two personality traits. Previous work has shown these indices to be reliable (e.g., Neta & Brock, 2021), and reliability for both neuroticism (a = 0.92) and extraversion (a = 0.90) was good to excellent in the present sample.

Political orientation. Political orientation was assessed using a two-part party identification measure developed by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center (American National Election studies; www.electionstudies.org). Specifically, participants were

asked to identify whether they think of themselves as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or something else. Those who did not select the Republican or the Democrat option were then prompted with a 7-point Likert scale and a slider to indicate whether they identified more closely with the Republican or the Democrat party.

Ancestral diversity. A socioecological factor called ancestral diversity, which refers to the ancestral diversity of a geographical region derived from human migration patterns, is thought to contribute to cultural differences in emotional behaviors (Niedenthal et al., 2018). Location data at the state-level was used to assign ancestral diversity values to individuals in the present data.

Table S1. Descriptive statistics for personality, political orientation, and ancestral diversity measures.

Measure	M(SD) in sample	Range in sample
Neuroticism	1.71(0.89)	0-4
Extraversion	1.84(0.76)	0.42-3.83
Political	72 Democrats, 51 Republicans,	
Orientation	23 Neither (excluded from analysis)	
Ancestral Diversity	24.89(8.25)	10-40
	(4 missing values for Alaska/Hawaii	
	residents)	

Results. Exploratory analyses of personality, political orientation, and ancestral diversity revealed interactions only with political orientation and is thus the only analysis reported in detail here. Notably, this analysis was conducted on a subset (n = 123) of the final sample due to 23 participants identifying as neither Democrat nor Republican (4 on the slider scale of 1-7). Specifically, comparing between political orientation for each expression x covering condition revealed several between-party effects of interest. The largest between-party effect was observed for judgments of happy faces with masks (d = -0.54), which Republicans tended to judge as more

negative than Democrats (see **Figure S2**). Though a smaller effect, Republicans also tended to judge surprised faces with masks as more negative compared to Democrats (d = -0.23). There was a negligible difference between the parties for the fearful faces with masks (d = -0.03). Unexpectedly, Republicans judged fearful faces without coverings less accurately (more positively) than Democrats (d = 0.28). The parties did not differ on judgments of happy or surprised faces without coverings (ds < -0.13). And Republicans judged fearful and happy faces with sunglasses less accurately than Democrats ($d_{Fearful} = 0.26$, $d_{Happy} = -0.29$), but did not differ for judgments of surprised faces with sunglasses ($d_{Surprised} = -0.05$).

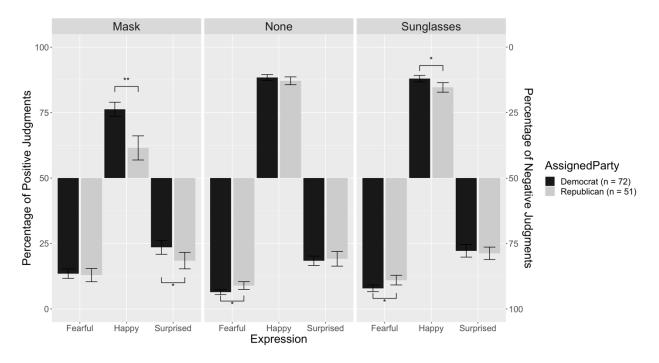


Figure S2. Percentage of negative judgments for each expression and covering condition for both Democrats (left; n = 72 and Republicans (right; n = 51). Happy faces with masks were judged as more negative by Republicans than Democrats (d = -0.54). *** = large effect size, ** medium effect size, * small effect size

Additionally, we examined effects of face coverings for each expression *within* political orientations. Within Democrats, judgments of fearful faces with masks were less accurate (less negative/more positive) than those without coverings (d = -0.54) and with sunglasses (d = -0.41). There was a negligible difference in judgments for fearful faces without coverings versus those with sunglasses (d = -0.15). Similarly, within Democrats, judgments for happy faces with masks were less accurate (more negative/less positive) than those without coverings (d = 0.63) and with sunglasses (d = 0.62). There was a negligible difference in judgments for happy faces without coverings versus those with sunglasses (d = 0.04). On the other hand, surprised faces without coverings tended to be judged as more negative than those with masks (d = -0.26) or sunglasses (d = -0.20), and differences in judgments for the latter two were negligible (d = -0.06).

Within Republicans, the effects for fearful faces were similar to Democrats: judgments for fearful faces with masks were less accurate than those without coverings (d = -0.25) but not compared to those with sunglasses (d = -0.12). There was a negligible difference in judgments for fearful faces without coverings versus fearful faces with sunglasses (d = -0.17). Similarly, judgments of happy faces with masks were less accurate (more negative/less positive) than both those without coverings (d = 0.92) and with sunglasses (d = 0.84). Happy faces with sunglasses were judged less accurately than happy faces without coverings (d = 0.21), though to a *much* smaller degree than the effects of masks. The differences among surprised faces were negligible (ds < 0.14). Given the numerous comparisons, we caution readers in over interpreting the small between-party or within-party effects, and we suggest that the medium-sized between-party and large within-party (Republican, specifically) effect for happy faces with masks, relative to those without coverings or with sunglasses, as the most notable finding from the exploratory analyses (**Figure S2**).

Political Orientation Moderates Mask-Related Judgments

We found that political orientation moderated the effect of face coverings on valence judgments, with Republicans judging masked happy faces as more negative. Mask-wearing is highly politicized in the U.S. (Gelfand et al., 2022), and our findings revealed that the extent of mask-related interference depends on one's political orientation. One implication is that, as political tension in the U.S. continues to rise and impact public health (Gostin, 2018), face masks may increase the frequency of miscommunication and exacerbate intergroup conflicts. In fact, individuals already tend to judge political outgroup members' ambiguous expressions as more negative (Basyouni et al., 2022), which could be further driven by the uncertainty added by masks (Grundmann et al., 2021). Given that people infer traits from others' appearance (e.g., political orientation; Jahoda, 1954) and these inferences guide behavior (e.g., voting, electoral success; Olivola et al., 2012), masks may serve as a relatively novel cue that now activates political stereotypes. Though speculative, masked faces might have activated political stereotypes here, exacerbating negativity among Republicans for masked happy faces. Of course, it also important to note that the sample size is relatively small for detecting three-way interactions, and thus future research should aim to replicate the effect.

Further, it is notable that the personality and ancestral diversity analyses did not moderate the face covering effects. Though exploratory, we expected variation in the effects of face coverings among those scoring higher or lower in neuroticism and extraversion, as well as those from more ancestrally diverse regions that would more heavily rely on nonverbal expressions of emotions. Previous findings have suggested that individuals with higher levels of extraversion judge emotional ambiguity in a more positive light (Neta & Brock, 2021), whereas those with

higher levels of neuroticism tend to judge emotional ambiguity in a more negative light (Brock et al., 2022). Though it is possible that there is no interaction of personality with the effects of masks, we feel it may be more likely that the present study was simply under-powered to detect such individual differences. Indeed, previous research linking personality to valence judgments of emotionally ambiguous signals has typically had sample sizes upwards of ten times that of the present study (Brock et al., 2022; Neta & Brock, 2021). The same could be true of the lack of an effect of ancestral diversity; though, to the best of our knowledge, the present study represents the first effort to examine ancestral diversity in the context of valence judgments of surprised facial expressions. Thus, it could be that there is no true relationship, even at the population level. Future work should continue to explore effects of personality traits and ancestral diversity on emotion-related (e.g., expression recognition) or person-related judgments (e.g., trustworthiness), and also make use of larger samples.