Affect and Deliberation: Dual Modes of Thinking in Judgment and Decision Processes

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Characteristics of two information-processing systems (Epstein, 1994):

- Deliberative:
 - analytical
 - Iogical
 - conscious
 - slower
 - fairly recent evolutionary history

- Experiential:
 - affective
 - intuitive and holistic
 - based on our experiences
 - fast
 - less than conscious "We are seized by our emotions"

Choosing in Complex Decision Situations

- <u>Traditional "high reason" view</u> of decision making
 - Deliberation!!
 - But limited capacity to represent, process, and manipulate information

Choosing in Complex Decision Situations

II. <u>An affective view</u>

- Affect guides decisions and perceptions of information (e.g., Damasio, 1994; Loewenstein et al., 2001; Peters & Slovic, 1996, 2000)
- Affect acts as a source of information
 - consideration of <u>possible bad outcomes</u> leads to unpleasant gut feelings — <u>alarms</u>
 - Consideration of <u>possible good outcomes</u> leads to pleasant feelings — <u>beacons of incentive</u>
 - Without affect, information lacks meaning

Affect Is:

- Positive and negative feelings about an object, option, attribute, or event
- Experienced as you consider the object
- e.g., Your feelings about:

sunshine funeral

Affect Influences Perceptions of Likelihood

We are sensitive to <u>possibility</u> rather than <u>probability</u> with strong positive and negative events (Loewenstein et al., 2001; Rottenstreich & Hsee, 2001) How much would you pay to play each lottery?

Certainty

100% chance to win \$200

100% chance to meet and kiss your favorite movie star (affect-rich)

Possibility

- 1% chance to win\$200
- 1% chance to meet and kiss your favorite movie star (affect-rich)

Strong Affect Insensitive to Probability

 The attractiveness of the kiss lottery was not much affected by the probability of winning

(Rottenstreich & Hsee, 2001)



Intuitive Toxicology: Main Results

 Many laypeople are insensitive to different exposures of chemicals that can produce dreaded effects, such as cancer (high affect) Intuitive Toxicology: Main Results

 If large exposures are bad, small exposures are also bad (except medicines)



Street Calculus



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Affective Markers Guide Decision Making

- The markers are thought:
 - to operate covertly
 - to improve the efficiency and quality of decision making
 - to be acquired through experience

(Damasio, 1994; Bechara et al., 1994)

But what if we don't have experience?

Information Presentation and Bringing Meaning to Numbers

- The way information is presented can make a difference to how difficult it is to understand and use.
 - Information is more likely to be used if it is easier to map onto a good/bad scale
 - Reduces cognitive burden
 - Increases affective feelings

Methods to Make Numbers More Meaningful

- Covert affective markers (Damasio, Bechara)
- Comparison of options (Hsee)
 - Joint compared to separate evaluation
- Overt affective markers (Peters, Slovic, Hibbard)
 - Relative Frequency versus Probability
 - Stars (e.g., movie reviews)
 - Affective Categories

Risk Communication

- Probability and Relative Frequency
- Are they the same or different in communicating risk?

e.g., 1% chance

VS.

1 out of 100

Risk Communication

(Slovic et al., 2000)

- Subjects are expert forensic clinicians
- A patient Mr. James Jones has been evaluated for discharge from an acute civil mental health facility where he has been treated for the past several weeks. A psychologist whose professional opinion you respect has done a state-of-the-art assessment of Mr. Jones. Among the conclusions reached in the psychologist's assessment is the following:

Mr. James Jones

Probability condition Patients similar to Mr. Jones are estimated to have 20% probability of committing an act of violence to others during the first several months after discharge

Frequency condition
 Of every 100
 patients similar to
 Mr. Jones, 20 are
 estimated to commit
 an act of violence to
 others during the
 first several months
 after discharge

Question:

If you were working as a supervisor at this mental health facility and received the psychologist's report, would you recommend that Mr. Jones be discharged from the hospital at the present time?



Patient Evaluation

 Before answering, please write a few brief thoughts or images that come to your mind as you think about this question.
 Write anything you wish.

Patient Evaluation

A. 10%

- Very few people are violent
- 10% = 1/10
- Probably won't hurt anyone, though

B. 1 out of 10

- He could be the 1 out of 10
- Some guy going crazy and killing people
- The patient attacking someone
- An act of violence
- There has to be at least 1 in 10. Mr. Jones could very well be that 1



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 Using comparative information to make health plan choices can be difficult

Use overt affective markers?

Complex Data Display



Affective Categories Add Meaning to a Complex Data Display



Could Categorization Alone (the Lines) Impact Choices?



Affective Categories **Influenced Choices** Category lines only did not $(\chi^2(2) = 6.2, p < .05)$ 60% 53% 50% 36% 35% 40% % chose quality-30% maximizing Plans D or G 20% 10% 0% No affective **Affective** Categorylines-only categories categories Affective Categories – Summary of Health Plan Choice Studies (Peters et al., 2003)

- 1. Impact on simple choices.
 - Impact occurs outside of awareness.
- 2. Impact on more complex choices.
 - Generalize to an older adult sample
 - Categories only do not impact choices
 - Individuals low in deliberative ability influenced more
- 3. Direct evidence for an affective mechanism
 - Feelings are faster than thoughts with affective categories
 - Feelings predict choice better than thoughts
- 4. Aids the use of more and more relevant information
 - More information is used in judgments
 - Made judgments more consistent with stated values
 - Stronger for older than younger adults (preliminary data)

Reliance on Feelings Increases with:

- Cognitive load or stress
 - Complexity of task and information
 - Memory demands
 - Time pressure
 - Poor health

Valuation by deliberation

Valuation by feelings Reliance on Feelings Increases with:

Less cognitive efficiency

- older age
- slower processing speed

Valuation by

deliberation

Valuation by feelings

Reliance on Feelings Increases with:

- Affective markers
 - covert affective markers developed through experience (Damasio, 1994)
 - overt affective markers (e.g., affective categories)

Valuation by feelings

Valuation by deliberation

Conclusions

- 1. Affect matters in judgments
 - Perceptions of likelihood and risk
 - Risk communication
- 2. Affect matters in decisions
 - Across the lifespan
 - More for those low compared to high in deliberative ability
- 3. Affect acts as a source of information
- 4. Information presentation can influence affect

Affect simpler than reasons?



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Implications

- 1. Policy makers cannot present "just the facts"
 - every method of data presentation influences choices
 - need thoughtful and defensible choices of data presentation
- 2. Affect may influence people with low deliberative capacity more (older, sicker, under time pressure or cognitive load)
- 3. Numbers are just numbers, but affect provides meaning