

#### What Should Recommender Systems People Know About the Psychology of Choice and Decision Making?



1st Workshop on Decision Making and Recommendation and Acceptance Issues in Recommender Systems (DEMRA 2011)

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## **A Classical View of Decision Making**









# Words	Usa- bility	\$\$
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#### A More Comprehensive View

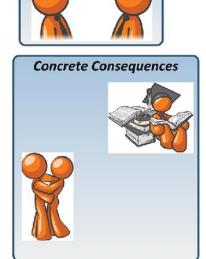
General Policies and Rules
Oxford Dictionaries











Justifiability



#### **Relatively Comprehensive Views of Choice and Decision Making**

Gigerenzer, G. (2007). Gut feelings: The intelligence of the unconscious. London: Penguin.

Johnson, J. G., & Busemeyer, J. R. (2005). Rule-based decision field theory: A dynamic computational model of transitions among decision-making strategies. In T. Betsch & S. Haberstroh (Eds.), *The routines of decision making*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

#### **Collections of Articles That Represent Diverse Points of View**

Koehler, D. J., & Harvey, N. (Eds.) (2004). *Blackwell handbook of judgment and decision making*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Betsch, T., & Haberstroh, S. (Eds.) (2005). The routines of decision making. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Lichtenstein, S., & Slovic, P. (Eds.) (2006). *The construction of preference*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, S. L., & Shanteau, J. (Eds.) (2003). *Emerging perspectives on judgment and decision research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

#### Legend



Here are some results from psychological research



 We're already taking that point into account!



That suggests a question about recommender systems research ...



 That gives me an idea about something that I might do



- Here's what I can read to find out more about this topic
  - In the notes to the slides

## **Mainstream Judgment and Decision Making Research**

#### What Is a Good Choice Process? (1)









- People often want to be able to
   justify a choice to themselves or to
   someone else
- Recommender systems are good at generating explanations
- But could we generate new types of explanation?
  - Justifications that make the user feel good
  - ... or can be used to justify the choice to someone else



Shafir, E., Simonson, I., & Tversky, A. (1993). Reason-based choice. *Cognition, 49,* 11–36. Reprinted in Lichtenstein & Slovic, 2006.

Lerner, J. S., & Tetlock, P. E. (2003). Bridging individual, interpersonal, and institutional approaches to judgment and decision making: The impact of accountability on cognitive bias. In S. L. Schneider & J. Shanteau (Eds.), *Emerging perspectives on judgment and decision research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tintarev, N., & Masthoff, J. (2010). Explanation of recommendations. In F. Ricci, L. Rokach, B. Shapira, & P. B. Kantor (Eds.), *Recommender systems handbook*. Berlin: Springer.

## What Is a Good Choice Process? (2)







RSs can compute tradeoffs well



 How can I shield the user from tradeoffs (while still helping them to make good choices)?



 Leave out options that introduce tradeoffs and are only a bit better



Yates, J. F., Veinott, E. S., & Patalano, A. L. (2003). Hard decisions, bad decisions: On decision quality and decision aiding. In S. L. Schneider & J. Shanteau (Eds.), *Emerging perspectives on judgment and decision research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bettman, J. R., Luce, M. F., & Payne, J. W. (1998). Constructive consumer choice processes. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25, 187–217. Reprinted in Lichtenstein & Slovic, 2006.

#### **Framing Effects**



 How options are formulated can influence choices, even where essentially the same information is presented



"Includes 95% of words needed by tourists"



"Omits 5% of words needed by tourists"



Don't let *framing* differences introduce distortion



Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, 47(2), 263–295.

Hastie, R., & Dawes, R. M. (2010). *Rational choice in an uncertain world.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (Section 12.2)

#### Dependence on Option Set (1)



 The choice between Options A and B can be affected by the presence of an Option C

• Example 1

- Waiter: "Fruit salad or ice cream?"

- Diner: "Ice cream"

Waiter: "We also have chocolate cake"

- Diner: "I'll take the fruit salad"



The following articles describe not only some of the phenomena in question but also ways of modeling them computationally in a parsimonious way:

Roe, R. M., Busemeyer, J. R., & Townsend, J. T. (2001). Multialternative decision field theory: A dynamic connectionist model of decision making. *Psychological Review*, *108*(2), 370–392.

Busemeyer, J. R., & Johnson, J. G. (2004). Computational models of decision making. In D. J. Koehler & N. Harvey (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of judgment and decision making*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

#### Dependence on Option Set (2)



- Example 2
  - \$50: Print-only subscription to "Economist"
  - \$100: Electronic-only subscription
  - \$100: Electronic and print subscription



 How can a RS avoid distorting influences of this type?



- Eliminate dominated options
- Present options in more than one context
- ...

#### Multiattribute Choice Strategies (1)



- People seldom do weighted adding
  - Instead: lexicographic, elimination
     by aspects, satisficing ...
  - Typical: Use simple strategy to winnow;
     then more effortful strategy



 One function of RSs is to winnow many options down to a few



Payne, J. W., Bettman, J. R., & Johnson, E. J. (1993). *The adaptive decision maker.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bettman, J. R., Luce, M. F., & Payne, J. W. (1998). Constructive consumer choice processes. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25, 187–217. Reprinted in Lichtenstein & Slovic, 2006.

#### **Multiattribute Choice Strategies (2)**



- Help the user to do things like:
  - ... rule out all items with an undesirable property (elimination by aspects)
  - ... filter or sort options in a lexicographic way
- Formulate explanations of recommendations in terms of such a strategy
  - ... (regardless of whether the strategy was used by the system)





#### **Collections of Articles About Temporal Aspects of Choice**

Loewenstein, G., & Elster, J. (Eds.) (1992). *Choice over time*. New York: Sage.

Loewenstein, G., Read, D., & Baumeister, R. (Eds.) (2003). Time and decision. New York: Sage.

#### **Time Discounting**



 Preferring a smaller, sooner benefit to a larger, later one is often justifiable

. . .

 ... but people often overdo it, especially when it's "very soon"



 How can we help users avoid this bias?

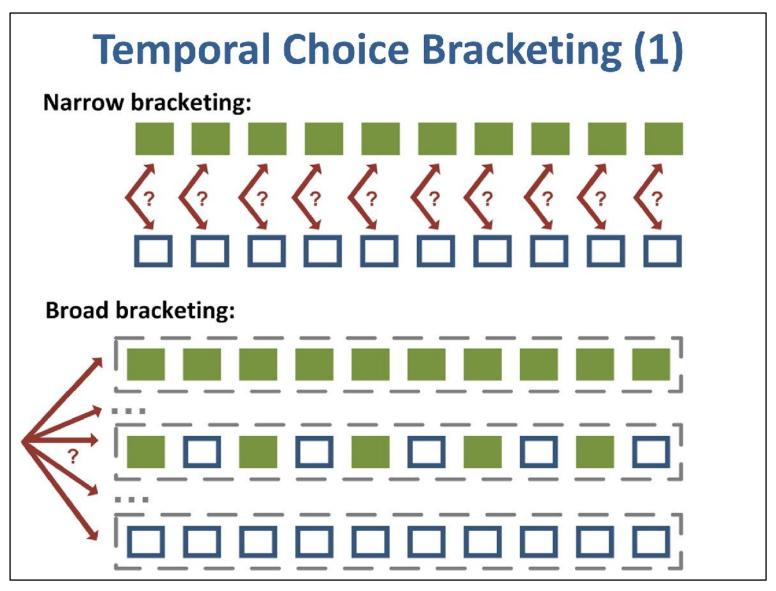


- Get them to choose early and commit themselves
- Make later consequences more salient



Read, D. (2004). Intertemporal choice. In D. J. Koehler & N. Harvey (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of judgment and decision making*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Rachlin, H. (2000). The science of self-control. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.





Read, D., Loewenstein, G., & Rabin, M. (1999). Choice bracketing. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty,* 19, 171–197. Reprinted in Lichtenstein & Slovic, 2006.

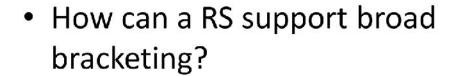
#### **Temporal Choice Bracketing (2)**



- Broad bracketing often has advantages
- You have fewer decisions to make
- You can take into account
  - ... considerations that apply only to sequences of choices
    - variety; outcomes getting better over time
  - ... predictable changes in the chooser over time
    - increase in skill; change in tastes
  - ... (for group recommenders) Overall fairness

## **Temporal Choice Bracketing (3)**







- Present each option as a sequence of choices
  - ... and take into account the different evaluation criteria for sequences



 This strategy is already applied in some group recommenders

# **How to Choose Without Deciding**

#### Role of Emotion (1)



- The tendency to choose an option can be influenced by the emotions it evokes (affect heuristic, somatic marker hypothesis)
- Affective responses can be helpful, efficient signals



 How can a RS enable emotions to perform their function?



 Present options in such a way that relevant emotions can be evoked



Damasio, A. R. (1994). *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason and the human brain.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Slovic, P., Finucane, M., Peters, E., & MacGregor, D. G. (2002). The affect heuristic. In T. Gilovich, D. Griffin, & D. Kahneman (Eds.), *Heuristics and biases: The psychology of intuitive judgment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, Press.

#### **Role of Emotion (2)**



 But affective responses can also distort and mislead



 How can such distortions be compensated for?



 Avoid stimuli that evoke irrelevant affect

#### Forms of Social Influence (1)



- There are various reasons why people are influenced by **social examples** 
  - You can *learn* from their experience
  - You want to identify with their group
  - There are practical benefits to conformity



- Collaborative filtering systems automate learning from social examples
  - People like you choose





Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (2010). *Predicting and changing behavior: The reasoned action approach.* New York: Taylor & Francis. (Chapter 4)

March, J. G. (1994). *A primer on decision making: How decisions happen.* New York: The Free Press.

## Forms of Social Influence (2)



- But we could try to support identification
  - "Cool machos choose



- And we could help users achieve the practical benefits of conformity
  - "Most of the people you will want to share with use ""

#### Forms of Social Influence (3)



- Other people sometimes have expectations that the chooser wants to take into account
  - People can *reward or punish* you if you don't conform
  - The expectations may be *legitimate*



- Let's try to support these goals
  - "Your company wants you to use



#### **Repetition of Previous Choices (1)**



- For various reasons, people often just choose the same option they have chosen the past
  - They have formed a *habit*, which is triggered by a situation
  - They want to be consistent with their previous choices, even if these were partly arbitrary (arbitrary coherence)
  - They have acquired skill or tastes
     that favor the previously chosen option



#### **Habits**

Wood, W., & Neal, D. T. (2007). A new look at habits and the habit-goal interface. *Psychological Review*, 114(4), 843–863.

Verplanken, B., Myrbakk, V., & Rudi, E. (2005). The measurement of habit. In T. Betsch & S. Haberstroh (Eds.), *The routines of decision making*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Johnson, J. G., & Busemeyer, J. R. (2005). Rule-based decision field theory: A dynamic computational model of transitions among decision-making strategies. In T. Betsch & S. Haberstroh (Eds.), *The routines of decision making*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

#### **Arbitrary Coherence**

Ariely, D., Loewenstein, G., & Prelec, D. (2003). Coherent arbitrariness: Stable demand curves without stable preferences. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *118*, 73–105. Reprinted in Lichtenstein & Slovic, 2006.

Ariely, D. (2008). *Predictably irrational*. New York: HarperCollins. (Chapter 2)

## **Repetition of Previous Choices (2)**



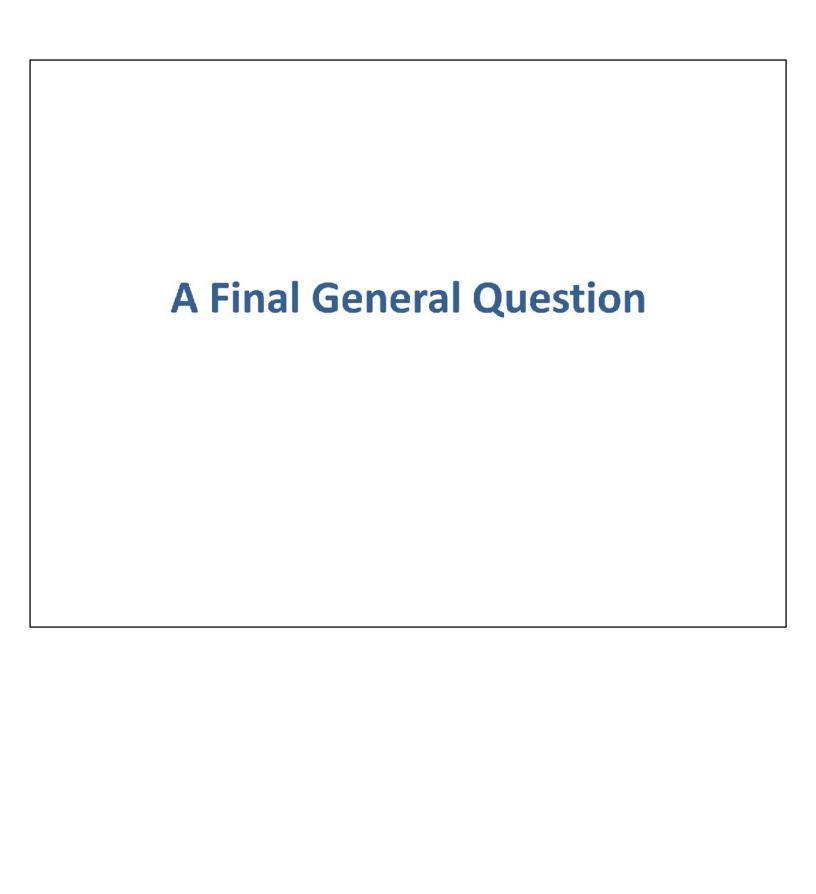
 Content-based recommendation can efficiently propose choices similar to those from the past



 Is it realistic to interpret a user's previous choices as independent pieces of evidence about their "preferences"?



 Should a RS take into account the possible domino effect of its recommendation?



#### What Are Preferences, Anyway? (1)



- The term "preferences" has several meanings, including these:
  - Specific preferences: "I prefer the Oxford English-French dictionary to the Collins English-French dictionary"
  - General preferences: "Whenever I have the choice, I choose an Oxford dictionary"
  - -Forced choice general preferences: "I don't really care about the publisher, but if you make me choose one publisher for all my dictionaries, I'll choose Oxford"



The confusion caused by the many meanings of the term *preferences* goes largely unnoticed in the literature, even in the following collection, which offers numerous perspectives on preferences:

Lichtenstein, S., & Slovic, P. (Eds.) (2006). *The construction of preference.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

## What Are Preferences, Anyway? (2)



- General preferences play a less dominant role in choice than is commonly assumed
  - Construction of preference: People can arrive at a specific preference in many different ways, often with different results for different ways



 Don't assume that you can predict people's specific preferences by forcing them to specify general preferences

## What Are Preferences, Anyway? (3)



- Try to avoid the term preference altogether, using more specific terms
  - For a specific preference: a choice made in a particular situation
  - For a general preference: A policy, rule, or attitude