

Distinction Bias: Misprediction and Mischoice Due to Joint Evaluation

Christopher K. Hsee and Jiao Zhang
University of Chicago

This research identifies a new source of failure to make accurate affective predictions or to make experientially optimal choices. When people make predictions or choices, they are often in the joint evaluation (JE) mode; when people actually experience an event, they are often in the single evaluation (SE) mode. The “utility function” of an attribute can vary systematically between SE and JE. When people in JE make predictions or choices for events to be experienced in SE, they often resort to their JE preferences rather than their SE preferences and overpredict the difference that different values of an attribute (e.g., different salaries) will make to their happiness in SE. This overprediction is referred to as the *distinction bias*. The present research also specifies when the distinction bias occurs and when it does not. This research contributes to literatures on experienced utility, affective forecasting, and happiness.

Suppose that a person is faced with two job offers. She finds one job interesting and the other tedious. However, the interesting job will pay her only \$60,000 a year, and the tedious job will pay her \$70,000 a year. The person wants to choose the job that will give her the greatest overall happiness. To make that choice, she tries to predict the difference in happiness between earning \$60,000 a year and earning \$70,000 a year and also predict the difference in happiness between doing the interesting job and doing the tedious job. Is she able to make these predictions accurately? Is she able to choose the job that will indeed bring her the greater overall happiness?

Consider another example. A person currently lives in a 3,000-square-foot (ft²) house that is within walking distance to work. He has the option to move to a 4,000-ft² house for the same price as his current house, but if he moves there, it will take him an hour to drive to work every day. To decide whether to move, he tries to forecast the difference in happiness between living in the 3,000-ft² house and living in the 4,000-ft² house and also to forecast the difference in happiness between being able to walk to work and having to drive an hour to work. Is he able to make these predictions accurately? Is he able to make a decision that will give him the greater overall happiness?

More generally, if people are presented with two alternative values of an attribute, are they able to accurately predict the difference these values will make to their happiness? If people are faced with two options involving a trade-off along two attributes, are they able to choose the option that will bring them the greater overall happiness?

These are fundamental questions about affective forecasting and about choice, and they are among the most enduring and significant questions in psychology. These questions are relevant in a wide range of domains, for example, when people decide which career to pursue, when voters decide which candidate to endorse, when consumers decide which product to purchase, and when policymakers decide which policy to implement.

Traditional economists and decision theorists assume that people know their preferences and that what they choose reveals what is best for them, given the information they have at the time of choice. In reality, this is not the case. In a series of seminal articles, Kahneman and his coauthors (e.g., Kahneman, 2000; Kahneman & Snell, 1990, 1992; Kahneman, Wakker, & Sarin, 1997) have argued that what people predict will make them happy (i.e., *predicted utility*) and what people choose (i.e., *decision utility*) can be systematically different from what actually makes them happy (i.e., *experienced utility*). In other words, people may mispredict and mischoose.

In this article, we outline a theory about misprediction and mischoice. As we explain below, the theory indicates that people are likely to overpredict the experiential difference between having an annual salary of \$60,000 and having an annual salary of \$70,000 and between living in a 3,000-ft² house and living in a 4,000-ft² house, but they are less likely to overpredict the experiential difference between doing an interesting job and doing a tedious job or between being able to walk to work and having to drive to work. Moreover, our theory suggests that if people are given options that entail a trade-off between these two types of factors, they may choose an option that does not generate the greatest happiness. For example, people may choose a tedious \$70,000 job over an interesting \$60,000 job, even if the latter would bring them greater overall happiness.

Misprediction and mischoice may result from a variety of causes. In recent years, many scholars have made significant contributions to the identification of these causes (e.g., Dhar, Nowlis, & Sherman, 1999; Frey & Stutzer, 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Gilbert, Driver-Linn, & Wilson, 2002; Gilbert, Gill, & Wilson, 2002; Gilbert, Pinel, Wilson, Blumberg, & Wheatley, 1998, 2002; Gilbert & Wilson, 2000; Hirt & Markman, 1995; Hsee & Weber, 1997; Kahneman & Snell, 1992; Loewenstein & Schkade, 1999;

Christopher K. Hsee and Jiao Zhang, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Christopher K. Hsee, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, 1101 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. E-mail: chris.hsee@gsb.uchicago.edu

March, 1994; Markman & Hirt, 2002; Novemsky & Ratner, 2003; Nowlis & Simonson, 1997; Prelec & Herrnstein, 1993; Ratner, Kahn, & Kahneman, 1999; Schkade & Kahneman, 1998; Simonson, 1990; Simonson & Nowlis, 2000; Wilson & Gilbert, 2003; Wilson & Schooler, 1991).

For example, when predicting the impact of an event, people may neglect the power of adaptation and rationalization (e.g., Gilbert, Driver-Linn, & Wilson, 2002; Gilbert et al., 1998), may overlook other events that may influence their lives and dilute the impact of the focal event (e.g., Schkade & Kahneman, 1998; Wilson, Wheatley, Meyers, Gilbert, & Axsom, 2000), and may overweight unique features of the event (e.g., Dunn, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2003; Houston & Sherman, 1995; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). People may also hold incorrect beliefs about the dynamics of experiences and make inaccurate predictions (e.g., Kahneman & Snell, 1990, 1992; Novemsky & Ratner, 2003). People may overpredict the importance of external rewards such as income and status and underestimate the importance of activities with intrinsic values such as hobbies and socializing with friends (e.g., Frey & Stutzer, 2003). People may overweight attributes that are easy to articulate and underweight other attributes that are important for experience when asked to analyze reasons during the choice phase (e.g., Wilson & Schooler, 1991). People may also base their decisions on principles (e.g., March, 1994; Prelec & Herrnstein, 1993), on rules and heuristics (e.g., Amir & Ariely, 2003; Ratner et al., 1999; Simonson, 1990), on lay theory of rationality (e.g., Hsee, Zhang, Yu, & Xi, 2003), or on specious payoffs (e.g., Hsee, Yu, Zhang, & Zhang, 2003). Finally, people may be more or less aroused during decision than during experience and therefore make suboptimal choices (e.g., Gilbert, Gill, & Wilson, 2002; Loewenstein, 1996; Read & van Leeuwen, 1998).

In the present research, we explore another potential cause of misprediction and mischoice: joint versus separate evaluation. In the next section we present our general theory. Then we examine its implications for misprediction involving a single attribute and report empirical evidence. After that, we examine the implications of our theory for mischoice involving multiple attributes and report more empirical evidence. In the General Discussion section we (a) delineate the differences of this research from evaluability and other related research, (b) suggest ways to improve prediction and choice, and (c) examine the implications of our work for research on happiness and subjective well-being.

Theory

Briefly speaking, we suggest that the evaluation mode in which choices and predictions are made is often different from the evaluation mode in which experience takes place. Choices and predictions are often made in the *joint evaluation* (JE) mode, in which the choosers or predictors compare multiple options or scenarios. On the other hand, the actual experience typically takes place in the *single evaluation* or *separate evaluation* (SE) mode, in which experiencers face only the option or scenario they or others have chosen for them. Because of the JE/SE difference, people in JE may overpredict the experiential difference between alternatives in SE.

Our analysis in this section is built on the evaluability hypothesis proposed by Hsee (1996) and refined by Hsee, Loewenstein, Blount, and Bazerman (1999). We focus on our current analysis

here, and in the General Discussion section we discuss how it is related to and different from the original evaluability hypothesis.

Let us consider the evaluation of a single attribute. Assume that greater values on the attribute are better. Our central proposition is that the evaluation function of the attribute can be systematically different depending on whether the evaluation is elicited in JE or in SE. In JE, people are presented with alternative values (i.e., alternative levels) of the attribute, and people can easily compare these values and discern their differences (e.g., Kleinmuntz & Schkade, 1993; Tversky, 1969). Through the comparison, people can easily differentiate the desirability of the alternative values. Consequently, the evaluation function in JE will be relatively steep and smooth. This JE function is depicted by the solid line in Figure 1.

In SE, different people are presented with different values of the attribute; each person sees only one value and cannot easily compare it with the alternative values.¹ We propose that for most attributes, people do not have a precise idea of how good or how bad an isolated value is and that people in such a situation will crudely code a value as good if it is positive or above a certain reference point or bad if it is negative or below a certain reference point. In other words, people in SE are generally able to tell whether a value is good or bad but are unable to tell exactly how good or how bad it is.

For example, most people would find gaining money good and losing money bad, but they would be relatively insensitive to the size of the gain and the size of the loss. Thus, the resulting evaluation function in SE will be close to a step function: steep around zero or a reference point and flat elsewhere. This SE function, originally proposed in Hsee et al. (1999), is depicted by the dotted line in Figure 1.² (More precisely, the slope of the curves in Figure 1 should be steeper in the negative domain than in the positive domain, to reflect loss aversion; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979. However, because loss aversion is not relevant to the thesis we pursue in this article, we omitted it from our figure to keep the graphs simple.)

The difference between the JE and the SE functions, as depicted in Figure 1, has many potential implications. For example, combining the JE/SE difference and the negative-based prominence effect (Willemsen & Keren, 2002), Willemsen and Keren (in press) predicted and showed that negative features exert a greater influence on SE than on JE.

In the present research, we explore the implications of the JE/SE difference depicted in Figure 1 for misprediction and mischoice. We discuss these topics in turn.

¹ Strictly speaking, people make comparisons even in SE, but these comparisons are typically not between explicit alternatives but between the given stimulus and the natural zero point or some implicit norm (for further discussion, see Hsee & Leclerc, 1998).

² Another factor that influences the shape of the SE curve is whether one uses feelings or calculations to make the evaluation. The more one resorts to feelings, the less sensitive the person is to quantitative variations and the closer the evaluation function is to a step function, which is steep around zero (or a reference point) and flat elsewhere. See Hsee and Rottenstreich (2004) for a detailed exposition of this idea and empirical tests.

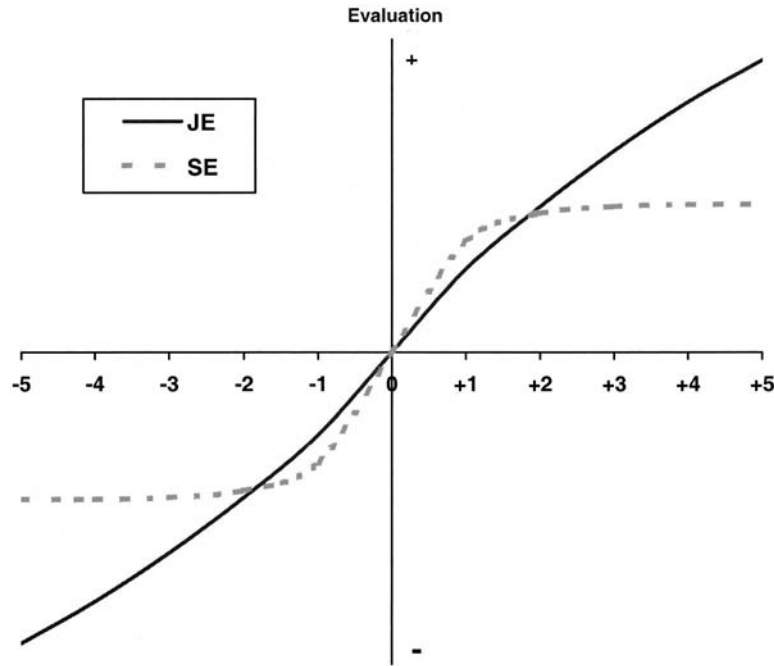


Figure 1. Joint-evaluation (JE) curve and separate-evaluation (SE) curve of a hypothetical attribute. The SE curve is flatter than the JE curve in most regions except around zero (or a reference point). Decision utility and predicted utility usually follow the JE curve, and experienced utility typically follows the SE curve.

Misprediction

Our analysis of JE and SE implies that when people predict how much of a difference two values—for example, two salary levels—will make to their happiness, they are likely to overpredict the difference. We refer to this overprediction effect as the *distinction bias*. Our analysis can also specify when the distinction bias is likely to occur and when it is not. The following is our explanation.

When people predict future experience, especially when they do so before they make a decision, they often compare alternative scenarios or compare the current situation with a future scenario. In other words, the predictors are in JE. On the other hand, when people experience what actually happens, they are in SE. For example, when a realtor takes a home buyer to see different houses on the market, the home buyer will compare these houses and predict whether she will be happier in one house or in another (JE). Even if the realtor shows the home buyer only one house, the home buyer may still engage in JE; she may compare whether she will be happier in the new home or in her current residence. She may say, “The new house has higher ceilings and a bigger kitchen than my current home, and I would feel so much better if I could live in this house.” On the other hand, once a person has purchased a home and lives in it, she is mostly in SE of that home alone. Of course, she might occasionally compare her house with others’ or with what she could have bought (e.g., Kahneman, 1995; Kahneman & Tversky, 1982; Roese, 1997). However, we consider JE–SE as a continuum, and relatively speaking, the home owner is less likely to engage in JE during the experience phase than during the prediction phase.

We do not intend to imply that people always predict experiences in JE. Instead, we mean that in many cases, especially when

people try to make a choice between alternatives, they make predictions in JE. In the present research we focus only on such cases.

We propose that when people in JE make predictions, they are likely to overpredict in some experiences but not in others. Formally, let x_1 and x_2 denote two alternative values of an attribute. The question we want to address is this: Would people in JE overpredict the difference that x_1 and x_2 will make to experience in SE? To answer this question, we only need to compare whether the slope of the JE curve is steeper than the slope of the SE curve around x_1 and x_2 . If the JE curve is steeper than the SE curve in the given region, it implies that people in JE are likely to overpredict. If the JE curve is not steeper than SE, it implies that people in JE are not likely to overpredict. For example, in Figure 1, if $x_1 = +2$ and $x_2 = +4$, then people in JE are likely to overpredict how much of a difference these values will make in SE. On the other hand, if $x_1 = -1$ and $x_2 = +1$, then people in JE are not likely to overpredict how much of a difference these values will make in SE.

Generally speaking, if x_1 and x_2 are merely *quantitatively different*, that is, if x_1 and x_2 have the same valence or are on the same side of a reference point, then people in JE are likely to overpredict the experiential difference these values will create in SE. On the other hand, if x_1 and x_2 are *qualitatively different*, that is, if x_1 and x_2 involve different valences or one is above the reference point and one below, then people in JE are not likely to overpredict the experiential difference these values will create in SE.

We do not preclude the possibility that people in JE would underpredict the experiential difference between alternative values. We suspect that an underprediction may occur if (a) x_1 and x_2

are qualitatively different and (b) x_1 and x_2 are close to each other relative to other values presented in JE. However, we believe that overprediction is more common. The present research focuses on overprediction.

It is important to note that the unit of analysis in this research is difference, not attribute. When we say qualitative versus quantitative, we mean qualitative versus quantitative differences rather than qualitative versus quantitative attributes. A qualitative difference may come from either a qualitative attribute or a quantitative attribute. For example, whether a job provides health insurance is a qualitative attribute, and the difference between a job with health insurance and one without is a qualitative difference. On the other hand, the return from a stock investment is a quantitative attribute, but the difference between a negative return and a positive return is a qualitative difference. In fact, if one knows the average stock return in a given period, say, 11%, and uses it as the neutral reference point, then for that person even the difference between two nominally positive returns, say, 2% and 20%, is a qualitative difference.³

Our analysis provides a simple yet general picture of when people in JE are likely to overpredict and when they are not. For example, people in JE are likely to overpredict the difference in happiness between winning \$2,000 in a casino and winning \$4,000 in a casino, between living in a 3,000-ft² house and living in a 4,000-ft² house, and between earning \$60,000 a year and earning \$70,000 a year. In each example, the difference between the two alternatives is merely quantitative (unless people have acquired a reference that happens to lie between these values). The difference looks salient and distinct in JE, but it actually is inconsequential in SE. This is what we have referred to as the distinction bias.

On the other hand, people in JE are unlikely to overpredict the difference in happiness between winning \$1,000 in a casino and losing \$1,000 in a casino, between doing an interesting job and doing a tedious job, and between being able to walk to work and having to drive an hour to work. In each case, the difference between the two alternatives is qualitative, and even in SE it will make a considerable difference.

In sum, the distinction bias is likely to occur for merely quantitatively different values but unlikely to occur for qualitatively different values. We now report two studies to demonstrate these effects. Study 1 used hypothetical scenarios; Study 2 involved real experiences.

Study 1: Poem Book

Method

Respondents (249 students from a large Midwestern university in the United States) were asked to imagine that their favorite hobby is writing poems and that they had compiled a book of their poems and were trying to sell it on campus. Respondents were assigned to one of five conditions, one for JE and four for SE. Those in the JE condition were asked to consider the following four scenarios and assume that one of these scenarios had actually happened to them:

So far no one has bought your book.

So far 80 people have bought your book.

So far 160 people have bought your book.

So far 240 people have bought your book.

The respondents were encouraged to compare these scenarios and then asked to predict how they would feel in each scenario. They indicated their predicted happiness by circling a number on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unhappy*) to 9 (*extremely happy*).

Respondents assigned to each of the four SE conditions were presented with one of the four scenarios, asked to assume that the scenario was what had happened to them, and then asked to indicate their feelings on the same 9-point scale.

Results and Discussion

Before reporting the results, let us first state our predictions. Notice that of the four scenarios, the no-buyer scenario is obviously bad and qualitatively different from the other three scenarios, which are only quantitatively different. These differences are summarized below:

0 buyers] qualitatively different
80 buyers] only quantitatively different
160 buyers] only quantitatively different
240 buyers] only quantitatively different

According to our theory concerning qualitative and quantitative differences, we made the following predictions: First, people in JE would overpredict the difference in happiness between the 80-buyer, the 160-buyer, and the 240-buyer scenarios. Second, people in JE would not (at least were less likely to) overpredict the difference in happiness between the no-buyer and the 80-buyer scenarios.

As summarized in Figure 2, the results accorded with our predictions. Let us first concentrate on the 80-buyer, the 160-buyer, and the 240-buyer scenarios. In JE, people thought that they would be significantly happier in the 240-buyer scenario than in the 160-buyer scenario and significantly happier in the 160-buyer scenario than in the 80-buyer scenario ($M_s = 8.54, 6.26, \text{ and } 3.34$, respectively), $t(49) > 3, p < .001$, in any comparisons. However, in SE, people were virtually equally happy across the three scenarios ($M_s = 7.86, 7.57, \text{ and } 7.14$, respectively), $t(97) < 1, ns$, in any comparisons.

Let us now turn to the no-buyer and the 80-buyer scenarios. Here, people in JE predicted greater happiness in the 80-buyer scenario than in the no-buyer scenario ($M_s = 3.34 \text{ and } 1.66$, respectively), $t(49) = 8.20, p < .001$, and people in SE of the 80-buyer scenario indeed reported greater happiness than people in SE of the no-buyer scenario ($M_s = 7.14 \text{ and } 2.18$, respectively), $t(98) = 16.15, p < .001$. In other words, people in JE did not overpredict the difference in happiness between the no-buyer scenario and the 80-buyer scenario; in fact, they even underpredicted the difference.

³ An attribute may also have multiple reference points; in that case, the difference between values across any of the reference points may be qualitative.

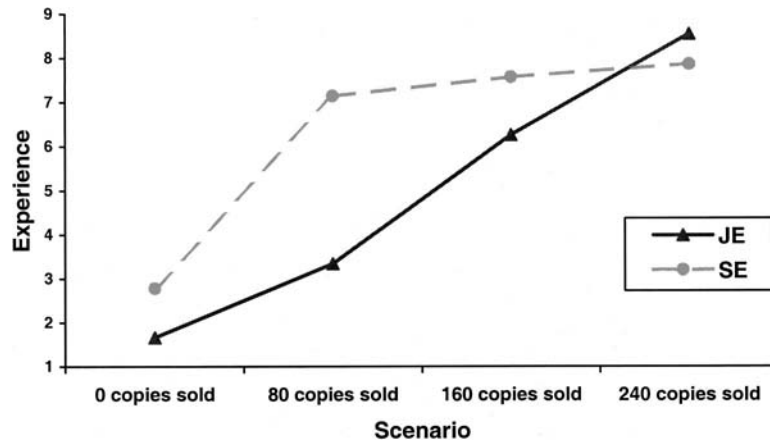


Figure 2. Poem book study: Compared with people in separate evaluation (SE), people in joint evaluation (JE) are more sensitive to the differences between the quantitatively different scenarios (the 80-copy, the 160-copy, and the 240-copy scenarios) but less sensitive to the difference between the qualitatively different scenarios (the 0-copy and the 80-copy scenarios).

Consistent with our theory, Study 1 demonstrates that people in JE overpredict the difference two merely quantitatively different events make on SE, but they do not overpredict the difference two qualitatively different events make on SE.

Study 2: Words

Method

Study 2 was designed to replicate the findings of Study 1. Unlike Study 1, Study 2 entailed real experiences and included symmetrically positive and negative events.

Respondents (360 students from a large Midwestern university in the United States) were assigned to one of nine conditions: one JE-predicted-experience condition, four SE-real-experience conditions, and four SE-predicted-experience conditions. We included the SE-predicted-experience conditions to test whether the expected inconsistency between JE-predicted-experience and SE-real-experiences arises from the difference between JE and SE or from the difference between predicted experience and real experience.

Participants in the JE-predicted-experience condition were asked to suppose that the experimenter would give them one of the following four tasks:

- Read a list of 10 negative words, such as *hatred* and *loss*.
- Read a list of 25 negative words, such as *hatred* and *loss*.
- Read a list of 10 positive words, such as *love* and *win*.
- Read a list of 25 positive words, such as *love* and *win*.

They were asked to compare the four tasks and to predict how they would feel if they had completed each task. In each of the four SE-real-experience conditions, the respondents were told about only one of the four tasks and asked to actually perform the task and indicate their feelings on completion. In each of the four SE-predicted-experience conditions, the respondents were also told about only one of the four tasks and were then asked to predict their feelings after completing the task. In all the conditions, the respondents gave their answers by circling a number on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unhappy*) to 9 (*extremely happy*).

Results and Discussion

We first describe our predictions. When the four tasks are sorted from the most negative to the most positive, the differences between these tasks can be summarized as follows:

- 25 negative words
 - 10 negative words
 - 10 positive words
 - 25 positive words
-] only quantitatively different
-] qualitatively different
-] only quantitatively different

Notice that the difference between the 25-negative-word task and the 10-negative-word task is only a matter of degree. Thus, we predicted that people in JE would overpredict the difference in experience between these two tasks. By the same token, we predicted that people in JE would also overpredict the experiential difference between the 25-positive-word task and the 10-positive-word task. On the other hand, the difference between the 10-negative-word task and the 10-positive-word task is a matter of valence. Thus, we predicted that people in JE were unlikely to overpredict the experiential difference between these two tasks.

The results, which we summarize in Figure 3, support our predictions. Let us first consider the JE-predicted-experience and the SE-real-experience conditions and focus on the 25-negative-word and the 10-negative-word tasks. In the JE-predicted-experience condition, people predicted significantly greater unhappiness from reading 25 negative words than from reading 10 negative words ($M = 3.33$ vs. 4.00), $t(39) = 3.74$, $p < .001$. However, in the SE-real-experience conditions, those who read 25 negative words reported virtually the same degree of unhappiness as those who read 10 negative words ($M = 4.64$ vs. 4.62; $t < 1$, ns).

The same was true for the two positive-word tasks. The JE predictors predicted significantly greater happiness from reading 25 positive words than from reading 10 positive words ($M = 6.73$

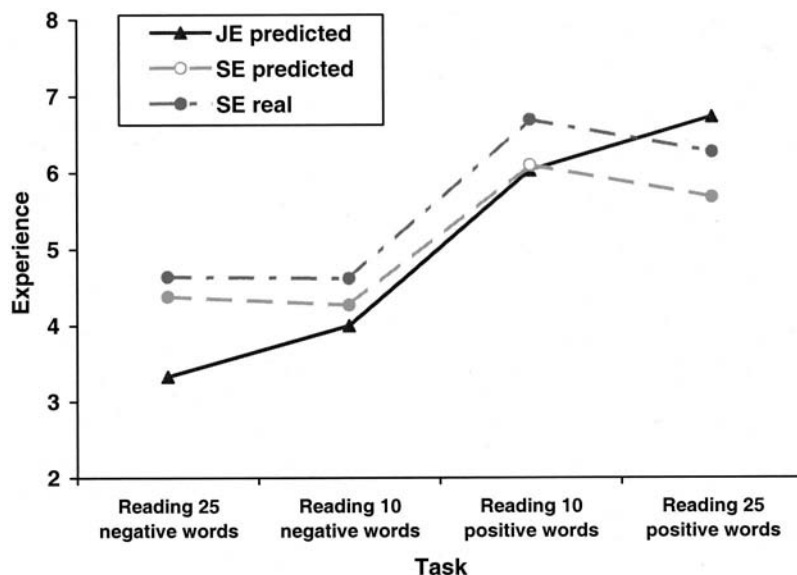


Figure 3. Word study: People in joint evaluation (JE) overpredicted the difference in experience between reading 25 negative words and reading 10 negative words, and between reading 10 positive words and reading 25 positive words (both of which are only quantitatively different). However, people in JE did not overpredict the difference between reading 10 negative words and reading 10 positive words (which are qualitatively different).

vs. 6.03), $t(39) = 4.71, p < .001$. However, the SE real experiencers did not find reading 25 positive words any happier than reading 10 positive words, $t(80) = 1.23, ns$; if anything, the results veered in the opposite direction ($M = 6.27$ for 25 positive words and $M = 6.69$ for 10 positive words).

Finally, we compare the two qualitatively different tasks: reading 10 negative words and reading 10 positive words. The JE predictors rather accurately predicted the difference between these tasks for SE real experiencers: $M = 4.00$ and $6.03, t(39) = 5.67, p < .001$ in JE, and $M = 4.62$ and $6.69, t(83) = 5.47, p < .001$ in SE.

These results corroborate our proposition that people in JE tend to exhibit the distinction bias when predicting the impact of merely quantitatively different values and not when predicting the impact of qualitatively different values. Indeed, the JE and SE curves formed by the results of this study (Figure 3) are remarkably similar to the JE and SE curves proposed by our theory (Figure 1).

One may wonder whether the distinction bias could be explained by the fact that the predictors in JE did not do the tasks and had less knowledge about the tasks than the experiencers. The answer is no. As indicated earlier, we also included four SE-predicted-experience conditions. The results are also summarized in Figure 3. As the figure shows, the SE-predicted-experience results are similar to the SE-real-experience results and different from the JE-prediction results. This result reinforces our belief that the inconsistency between predicted experience in JE and real experience in SE is due to the JE/SE difference.

So far, we have discussed the implication of the JE/SE difference for misprediction. Before we move to the next section, about mischoice, we submit an important qualification: According to the evaluability hypothesis (Hsee et al., 1999), the JE/SE difference characterized in Figure 1 applies only to attributes that are not very

easy to evaluate independently. If an attribute is very easy to evaluate independently—in other words, if people have sufficient knowledge about the attribute so that they can easily evaluate the desirability of any of its value in SE—then the SE curve of the attribute will resemble its JE curve, and there will be no JE/SE difference. This proposition is consistent with previous research showing that experts have more stable preferences across situations than novices (e.g., Wilson, Kraft, & Dunn, 1989).

To test the idea that the JE/SE difference will disappear for independently easy-to-evaluate attributes, we ran a study parallel to Study 1 (poem book). The new study was identical to Study 1 except that the key attribute was not how many copies of the book were sold but what grade (A, B, C, or D) a professor assigned to the book. Presumably, students are highly familiar with grades, and grades are an independently easy-to-evaluate attribute. We predicted that the SE result would resemble the JE result. The data confirmed our prediction. In fact, the JE and the SE results were so similar that the two curves virtually coincided with each other.

However, we believe that it is the exception rather than the rule to find an attribute, like grade, that is so independently easy to evaluate that its SE curve will coincide with its JE curve. Most attributes are more or less difficult to evaluate independently, and their JE and SE will differ in the way depicted in Figure 1.

Mischoice

Our theory also yields implications for choice. We suggest above that affective predictions are sometimes made in JE. Here, we suggest that even more often than predictions, choices are made in JE. Choosers typically have multiple options to compare and choose from. On the other hand, experiencers are typically in SE of what they are experiencing. Again, we do not imply that

choosers are always in pure JE and experiencers always in pure SE. However, we consider JE–SE as a continuum and believe that in most situations choosers are closer to JE and experiencers are closer to SE. The present research is concerned with these situations.

Because choosers and experiencers are typically in different evaluation modes, they may also have different utility functions. Figure 1 describes a typical JE curve and a typical SE curve. These curves may also apply to choosers and experiencers. Specifically, choosers' utility function will resemble the JE curve in Figure 1, and experiencers' utility function will resemble the SE curve. In other words, "decision utility" will follow the JE curve, and "experienced utility" will follow the SE curve.

On the basis of this analysis, we predict a potential mischoice, namely, an inconsistency between choice and experience. To show a choice–experience inconsistency, we need at least two options, and these options must involve a trade-off between at least two attributes. Specifically, suppose that two options involve a trade-off along two attributes, as follows:

	Attribute X	Attribute Y
Option A	x_1	y_1
Option B	x_2	y_2

Suppose also that x_1 is worse than x_2 qualitatively, and y_1 is better than y_2 only quantitatively. Then a choice–experience inconsistency may emerge, and its direction is such that choosers will prefer Option A, and experiencers will be happier with Option B.

In the context of the salary/job example we introduced above, the hypothesis implies that people may choose the tedious \$70,000 job but would actually be happier with the interesting \$60,000 job. In the context of the home/commuting example, the hypothesis implies that people may choose the 1-hr-drive-away, 4,000-ft² house, but would actually be happier with the within-walking-distance, 3,000-ft² house. Indeed, in a carefully conducted econometric study, Frey and Stutzer (2003) did secure evidence that people who spend more time commuting are less happy with their lives, even though they have larger homes or higher incomes.

Study 3: Task–Reward

Method

Unlike Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 featured two options, and these options consisted of a trade-off along two attributes. Study 3 was designed to achieve three different objectives. First, it sought to replicate the findings of the first two studies concerning the distinction bias in prediction. Second, it sought to show mischoice of multiattribute options and thereby test our hypothesis about choice–experience inconsistency. Finally, it sought to show that people not only make mispredictions and mischoices for themselves but also make mispredictions and mischoices for other people.

Stimuli. The study involved two options. Each required participants to perform a task and enjoy a reward at the same time. In one option, participants were asked to recall a failure in their lives; in the other, they were asked to recall a success in their lives. The reward for the first task was a 15-g Dove chocolate; the reward for the second was a 5-g Dove chocolate. See summary below:

	Task	Reward
Option A	Recall failure	15-g chocolate
Option B	Recall success	5-g chocolate

We selected these stimuli on the basis of the following considerations. First, the recollection of a success was a positive experience, and the recollection of a failure was a negative experience. Therefore, the two tasks differed in valence or quality. Second, the two rewards—the two chocolates—differed only in degree or quantity.

Subjects and procedures. Participants were 243 students from a large university on the east coast of China. They participated in this study as a class requirement. The study consisted of four between-subject conditions:

Condition 1 (choosers for self): Participants compared both options, chose one, and experienced it.

Condition 2 (choosers for others): Participants compared both options and chose one for other participants (experiencers who did not make a choice).

Condition 3 (experiencers): Participants were given only the negative-task/large-reward option and experienced it.

Condition 4 (experiencers): Participants were given only the positive-task/small-reward option and experienced it.

We describe each condition in greater detail now. In Condition 1, respondents were instructed that their task was to recall and briefly write down a true story in their lives and that in return they could eat a Dove chocolate. (Instructions were in Chinese in all the conditions.) They were told that they could only eat the chocolate while recalling and writing down the event and could not eat it afterward or take it home. They were told that they could choose one of two types of events to recount: either a failure in their lives or a success in their lives. If they chose the former, they could eat a 15-g Dove chocolate, and if they chose the latter, they could eat a 5-g Dove chocolate. They were shown the two types of chocolates. They were then asked to decide which task–reward combination they wanted to choose.

To test whether people would overpredict the impact of either the chocolates or the tasks, we then asked the respondents to separately predict their experience about the tasks and about the chocolates. The task–experience–prediction question asked them to focus on the tasks alone and predict whether they would feel better by doing Task A (recalling and writing down a failure story) or Task B (recalling and writing down a success story). They were asked to indicate their prediction about each task on a 9-point scale ranging from -4 (*extremely unhappy*) to $+4$ (*extremely happy*). The reward–experience–prediction question asked the respondents to focus on the chocolates alone and predict whether they would feel better by eating the 5-g or the 15-g chocolate. They were asked to indicate their prediction about each chocolate on the same 9-point scale described above.

Finally, the respondents were given the chocolate they had chosen and asked to perform the task they had promised to perform. After they had completed the task and eaten the chocolate, they were asked to indicate their overall experience. After that, they were asked two other questions, which assessed their experience about the task and their experience about the chocolate, respectively. Each question asked the respondents to focus on the task alone (the chocolate alone) and indicate how they had felt about performing the task (eating the chocolate). Answers to all the questions were given on the same 9-point rating scale as described above.

In Condition 2, the participants were asked to make a choice for other, unidentified students rather than for themselves. Participants were given the same information about the tasks and chocolates as in Condition 1 and were asked to choose one of the task–reward options for the other students. The participants were told, "Whichever option you choose for them is what they will get. They will not know the existence of the other option," implying the experiencer was in pure SE. They were also told, "Your goal is to choose the option that will give them the greatest happiness." They then made a choice. After that, they were asked to predict the other students' experience with the tasks and with the chocolates separately, just as participants in Condition 1 were asked to predict their own experience with the tasks and with the chocolates separately.

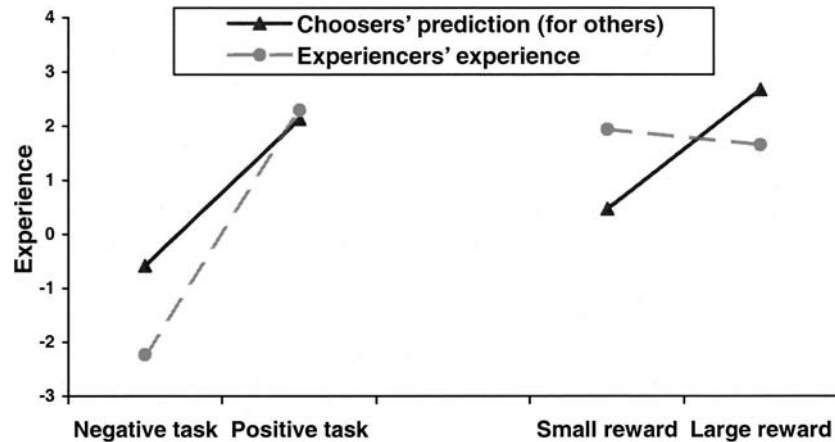


Figure 4. Task-reward study: The left panel shows that choosers (for others) did not overpredict the difference in others' experience between doing the positive task and doing the negative task (which are qualitatively different). The right panel shows that the choosers (for others) overpredicted the difference in others' experience between having the small reward and having the large reward (which are only quantitatively different).

In Condition 3, the participants were not given a choice. They were directly asked to recall and briefly write down a failure story and given a 15-g Dove chocolate to eat while performing the task. After they had completed the task and eaten the chocolate, they were asked to indicate their overall experience. After that, they were asked to indicate their experience about the task and their experience about the chocolate separately, as in Condition 1. All the responses were given on the same 9-point scale as described above. Condition 4 was identical to Condition 3 except that the respondents recalled and wrote down a success story and got only a 5-g Dove chocolate.

Results

We report our results in two parts. We first report whether choosers mispredicted the impact of the tasks and the impact of the rewards. We then report whether choosers failed to make the experientially optimal choice for themselves and for others.

Mispredictions. According to our theory regarding qualitative and quantitative differences, we expected that choosers would not overpredict the impact of the tasks but would overpredict the impact of the chocolates, because the two tasks differed in valence, and the two chocolates differed only in size.

We tested our predictions in two ways. First, we tested whether choosers mispredicted others' experiences. We did so by comparing the predictions of the choosers in Condition 2, who made predictions for others, with the experiences of the experiencers in Conditions 3 and 4. Second, we tested whether choosers mispredicted their own experiences with tasks and chocolates. We did so by comparing the predictions of the choosers in Condition 1, who made predictions for themselves, with their own subsequent experiences. Figure 4 summarizes the results of the first comparison; Figure 5 summarizes the results of the second comparison.

Both sets of results confirmed our predictions. As Figure 4 shows, choosers in Condition 2 did not overpredict the impact of tasks on others' experience. They predicted that experiencers would be happier with the positive task than with the negative task ($M = 2.13$ vs. -0.58), $t(54) = 5.72$, $p < .001$, and the experiencers (those in Conditions 3 and 4) were indeed happier with the positive

task than with the negative task ($M = 2.29$ vs. -2.23), $t(63) = 11.86$, $p < .001$. On the other hand, the choosers grossly overpredicted the impact of the chocolates. They predicted that the larger chocolate would engender greater happiness than the smaller chocolate ($M = 2.67$ vs. 0.47), $t(54) = 6.69$, $p < .001$, but in reality the larger chocolate did not bring any more happiness than the smaller one ($M = 1.65$ vs. 1.94), $t(63) < 1$, *ns*.

Figure 5 shows a similar pattern. The choosers in Condition 1 predicted greater happiness with the positive task than with the negative task ($M = 2.17$ vs. -0.96), $t(50) = 8.39$, $p < .001$, and indeed they were happier with the positive task than with the negative task ($M = 2.56$ vs. -1.29), $t(50) = 7.49$, $p < .001$. On the other hand, the choosers predicted greater happiness with the bigger chocolate than with the smaller one ($M = 2.31$ vs. 1.02), $t(50) = 3.96$, $p < .001$, but in reality the size of chocolate had no significant effect ($M = 1.75$ vs. 1.11), $t(50) = 1.15$, *ns*.⁴

Mischoice. Because choosers overpredicted the impact of the rewards but not the impact of the tasks, we expected a choice-experience inconsistency in the following direction: The choosers would favor the option with the larger reward, but the experiencers would be happier with the option with the positive task.

Figure 6 summarizes the choice data. The left panel shows results for those who chose for themselves (Condition 1). The right panel shows results for those who chose for others (Condition 2). Consistent with our prediction, the majority (65%) of the respon-

⁴ Unlike Conditions 3 and 4, in which the big and small chocolates made no difference in experience, in Condition 1 the big and small chocolates made some difference. This difference occurred perhaps because in Condition 1 the experiencers had been the choosers themselves, had seen both chocolates, and therefore were not in pure SE. This difference may also have resulted from the fact that the experiencers had made predictions during the choice phase, and their predictions may have influenced their subsequent experiences (e.g., Sherman, 1980; Spangenberg & Greenwald, 1999).

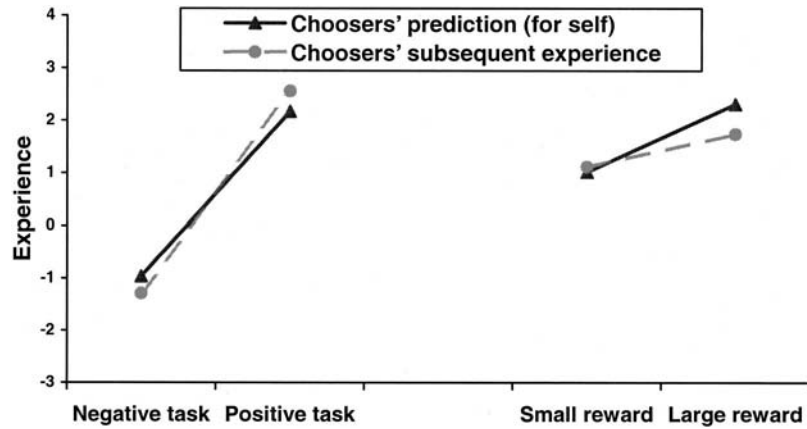


Figure 5. Task-reward study: The left panel shows that choosers (for self) did not overpredict the difference in their own subsequent experience between doing the positive task and doing the negative task. The right panel shows that the choosers (for self) overpredicted the difference in their own subsequent experience between having the small reward and having the large reward.

dents in both conditions chose the negative-task/large-reward option, $\chi^2(1, N = 55) = 5.25, p < .05$, in both conditions.

Figure 7 summarizes the experience data. The left panel is the result of those in Conditions 3 and 4 who did not make a choice and therefore were experiencers in pure SE. The right panel is the result of those in Condition 1, who had made a choice for themselves. In stark contrast with the preference revealed by the choice data, both groups of experiencers were happier with the positive-task/small-reward option than with the negative-task/large-reward option: ($M = 2.41$ vs. -0.71), $t(63) = 7.51, p < .001$, for the pure experiencers; ($M = 2.61$ vs. 0.09), $t(50) = 5.61, p < .001$, for the choosers. The results in the right panel of Figure 7 are particularly noteworthy. These are from people who had made the choice themselves (Condition 1). In the choice phase, most of them opted for the negative-task/large-reward option, but they ended up being less happy than the minority of people who chose the positive-task/small-reward option.⁵

Discussion

Study 3 may be a microcosm of life. In Study 3, most people thought that the bigger chocolate would bring greater happiness and chose to, or asked others to, endure a painful task in order to obtain the bigger chocolate, yet the bigger chocolate did not bring greater happiness. In real life, many people think that more money would bring greater happiness and choose to, or encourage others to, endure hard work in order to obtain more money, yet more money may not bring more happiness. In this section, we discuss the implications of Study 3 for misprediction and mischoice and address several potential alternative explanations.

About mispredictions. The misprediction results secured in this study replicate the misprediction results found in Studies 1 and 2. They show that people in JE are rather accurate in predicting the impact of the difference between something good and something bad but inaccurate in predicting the impact of the difference between a small good thing and a large good thing. In other words, the distinction bias occurs for merely quantitatively different values but not for qualitatively different values.

The misprediction results of this study also extend the previous findings in one important direction: In the previous studies, the predictors in JE were not told that the experiencers would be in pure SE and might have thought that the experiencers would also know the alternatives. Thus, what they were predicting may not have been “how I would feel when I experience Option X if I didn’t know about Option Y” but “how I would feel when I experience Option X given that I also know about Option Y.” In this study, the respondents in Condition 2 were asked to make predictions for other people, and they were explicitly told that the others would not know the alternative option, implying that the experiencers were in pure SE. Even so, the predictors overpredicted the impact of the rewards. In this sense, the misprediction found in this study is more dramatic than that demonstrated in the previous studies.

About mischoice. The study reveals two types of mischoices. First, most people fail to choose the experientially optimal option for others. Second, most people fail to choose the experientially optimal option even for themselves. The first finding comes from a comparison between the choices of those who made the choice for others (Condition 2) and the experience of those who did not choose (Conditions 3 and 4). This is a direct test of our theory. The choosers (Condition 2) were in JE, and the experiencers (Conditions 3 and 4) were in pure SE.

This finding has potentially important implications for the extensive economic literature on principals and agents. Agents make decisions for principals. For example, lawyers (agents) make legal decisions for their clients (principals); parents (agents) make marital decisions for their children (principals); policymakers (agents) make policy decisions for their constituents (principals; e.g.,

⁵ Figure 7 reveals another potentially interesting effect: Compared with the experiencers, the choosers seemed happier with the option they had chosen, especially if they had chosen the negative-task/large-reward option. It suggests that people who made the choice themselves may have experienced cognitive dissonance during the experience phase. Brown and Feinberg (2002) have done extensive research on this topic.

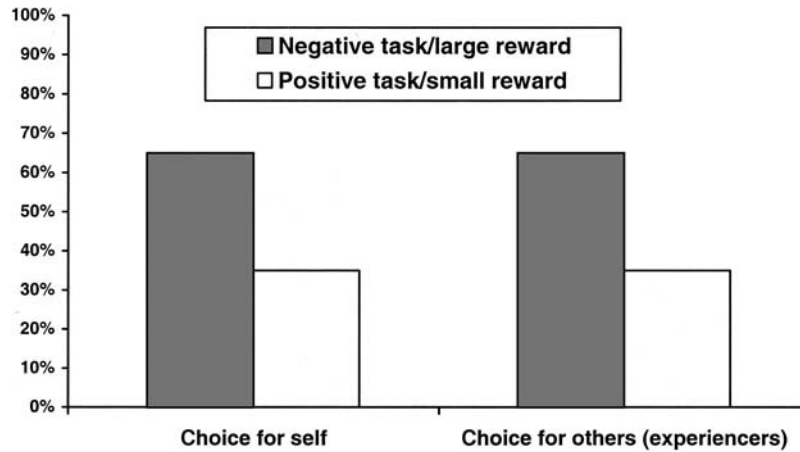


Figure 6. Task–reward study: Most choosers chose the negative-task/large-reward option over the positive-task/small-reward option, regardless of whether they made the choice for themselves or for others (pure experiencers).

Shafir, 2002). The agents are the choosers; the principals are the experiencers. Previous literature has identified various reasons why agents may make poor choices: For example, they have different tastes from the principals; they have ulterior motivations. Our theory and data suggest that even if the agents are well intended and have similar tastes to their principals, they may still make poor choices, because the agents are usually in JE and the principals are usually in SE.

In an article on fairness, Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler (1986) made a similar point about consumers and theorists. They observed that when consumers judge the fairness of an event, they rarely compare it with other events, but when theorists study fairness, they compare alternative scenarios. Consequently, theorists focus too much on factors that seem salient in comparison but have little influence on consumers' fairness judgment.

The second finding—that people make suboptimal choices for themselves—comes from a comparison between the choices of people who made the choices for themselves and their own subsequent experiences (Condition 1). This result is a less direct test of our theory but is nevertheless intriguing. Here, the experiencers

were the choosers themselves, and they had already seen both options when they experienced the chosen option. In this sense, their experience was not in pure SE; they may have had some memory of the foregone option. However, despite the possible memory effect, the respondents were still happier with the positive-task/small-reward option during the experience phase. It suggests that experience is naturally an SE process.

We address a few potential alternative explanations here. First, the choosers had not experienced the task or eaten the chocolate when they made the choice, but the experiencers had done both when they reported their experience and may have acquired more knowledge or developed adaptation. To address this concern, we asked the pure experiencers in Conditions 3 and 4 and the self-choosers in Condition 1 to predict their overall experience right before they started working on the task and eating the chocolate. These are SE predictions. The results were similar to the SE–experience results but in the opposite direction of the choice results: For the pure experiencers, $M = -0.65$ for the negative-task/large-reward option, and $M = 2.52$ for the positive-task/small-reward option; for the self-choosers, $M = 0.24$ for the

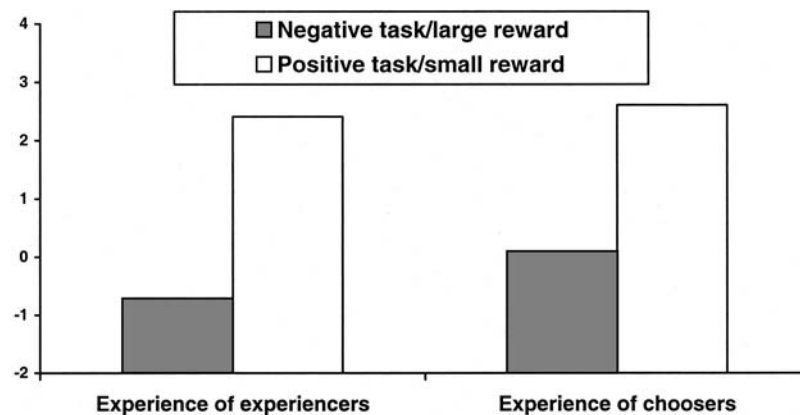


Figure 7. Task–reward study: Both experiencers (who had not made choices) and choosers (who had made choices) were happier with the positive task/small reward than with the negative task/large reward.

negative-task/large-reward option, and $M = 2.44$ for the positive-task/small-reward option. These findings suggest that the choice–experience inconsistency is not a result of differential knowledge or adaptation.

Another potential alternative explanation for choice–experience inconsistency is that the choosers based their decision on considerations other than predicted happiness. This explanation implies that the choosers could have accurately predicted that the positive-task/small-reward option would provide better experience, yet for other reasons they chose the negative-task/large-reward option. If this explanation stands, then there should be an inconsistency between what people predict will provide a better experience and what people choose. To test this explanation, we ran another condition ($N = 33$). It was similar to Condition 2 (choice for others), except that the participants were asked to predict which option would make the other participants happier. What we found is that the prediction result was very similar to the choice result: Most (66%) of the respondents predicted that the negative-task/large-reward option would yield greater happiness than the positive-task/small-reward option. Thus, the choice–experience inconsistency in this study is chiefly a result of JE/SE misprediction, not a result of inconsistency between choice and predicted experience.⁶

Other Evidence for Mischoice

Recently, we replicated the result of the task–reward study using very different stimuli (Hsee & Zhang, 2003). The stimuli were two audiovisual episodes. Each episode consisted of a static image and a concurrent steady noise. The noise in the two episodes differed only in degree of loudness, 72 dB and 78 dB, and the images in the two episodes differed in quality, an ugly adult (in the softer noise episode) and a cute baby (in the louder noise episode):

	Noise	Picture
Episode A	72 dB	ugly adult
Episode B	78 dB	cute baby

As in Study 3, participants in the study were assigned to one of four conditions: choosers for self, choosers for others, pure experiencers of the soft-noise/ugly-picture episode, and pure experiencers of the loud-noise/cute-picture episode. The choosers were presented with samples from each episode and asked to compare the samples before making a choice (JE). The pure experiencers were presented with and experienced only one of the episodes (SE).

Because the noises in the two episodes differed only quantitatively, and the images differed qualitatively, we expected the noises to exert a greater impact on choice than on experience. The results confirmed our expectation and are very similar to those in Study 3. Both the choosers for self and the choosers for others preferred the soft-noise/ugly-picture option, but both the pure experiencers who had not seen both options and people who had seen both options and made a choice for themselves were happier with the loud-noise/cute-picture option.

This study was a strategic replication of Study 3. The two studies used very different attributes: One used positive and negative life events, and one used pleasant and unpleasant pictures. One used small and large chocolates, and one used loud and soft

noises. Despite these differences, the two studies revealed the same pattern of choice–experience inconsistency.

General Discussion

When people predict the experiential impact of alternative values or choose between alternative options, they are in JE, but people who eventually experience the value or the option are usually in SE. The present research shows that JE and SE can lead to systematically different results. Generally speaking, the utility function of an attribute is flatter in SE than in JE, except around the reference point. When people in JE make predictions or choices, they do not spontaneously adjust for this difference; instead, they project their preferences in JE onto their predictions and choices for experiences in SE. As a result, they overweight differences that seem distinct in JE but are actually inconsequential in SE.

The present research contributes to the existing affective forecasting literature by identifying evaluation mode as a source for overprediction. Furthermore, our research not only accounts for overprediction but also specifies when people do not overpredict. Finally, our research extends the misprediction findings to something that has a behavioral consequence—mischoice.

In the remainder of the article, we first discuss the relationship between the present research and several other lines of research we recently conducted. Then we discuss ways to improve prediction and reduce choice–experience inconsistency. Finally, we discuss the implications of this work for research on subjective well-being.

Relationship With Evaluability

The JE/SE analysis we present in this article builds on the evaluability hypothesis proposed by Hsee (1996, 1998, 2000) and Hsee et al. (1999). In fact, the shape of the SE evaluation function depicted in Figure 1 is adapted from Hsee et al. (1999). The evaluability hypothesis was developed to explain preference reversals between JE and SE (e.g., Bazerman, Loewenstein, & White, 1992; González-Vallejo & Moran, 2001; Hsee, 1996, 1998; Kahneman, Ritov, & Schkade, 1999; Moore, 1999; Nowlis & Simonson, 1997; Shafir, 2002; Sunstein, Kahneman, Schkade, & Ritov, 2002). In a typical JE/SE reversal study reported by Hsee (1996), for example, two job candidates for a computer-programming position were evaluated in either JE or SE. The two candidates involved a trade-off along two attributes—experience in a special computer language and grade point average (GPA). In JE, people were willing to pay more for the more experienced candidate; but in SE, people were willing to pay more for the higher GPA candidate. According to the evaluability hypothesis,

⁶ There may be another potential alternative explanation. Suppose that most people prefer the negative-task/large-reward option but their preference is very weak, and that a few people prefer the positive-task/small-reward option and their preference is strong. Then most people would choose the negative-task/large-reward option, but the mean experience ratings may be higher for the other option. However, this explanation is not likely for this study. First, there is no reason to believe that those who prefer the negative-task/large-reward option have a weaker preference than those who prefer the positive-task/small-reward option. Second, this explanation is inconsistent with the finding that people in JE overpredicted the impact of the reward but did not overpredict the impact of the tasks.

GPA is independently easier to evaluate for student respondents than is programming experience. Thus, in SE, the respondents based their judgment on GPA. In JE, the respondents could directly compare the two candidates' experience levels. The comparison made the experience attribute easier to evaluate and hence gave it more weight. (For information on other theories of preference reversals, see, e.g., Fischer, Carmon, Ariely, & Zauberman, 1999; Irwin, 1994; Mellers, Chang, Birnbaum, & Ordóñez, 1992; Nowlis & Simonson, 1997; Tversky, Sattath, & Slovic, 1988. For a review, see Hsee, Zhang, & Chen, in press.)

The original evaluability hypothesis focuses on the difference between independently easy-to-evaluate attributes and independently difficult-to-evaluate attributes. The present research assumes that most attributes are neither impossible to evaluate independently nor perfectly easy to evaluate independently. If an attribute were impossible to evaluate independently, its SE curve would be flat in all regions. If an attribute were perfectly easy to evaluate independently, its SE curve would collapse with its JE curve. For most attributes, which lie between these two extreme cases, the SE curve is flatter than the JE curve in most regions, except around the reference point. This is the case we depict in Figure 1 and study in this article.

The present research extends the evaluability and JE/SE reversal research in several important directions. First, the original evaluability hypothesis posits that whether or not an attribute has a greater impact on JE than on SE depends on whether the attribute is independently difficult to evaluate. The present research shows that whether or not an attribute has a greater impact on JE than on SE depends on whether the values of the attribute under consideration involve a quantitative difference or a qualitative difference. As Study 1 and Study 2 show, even for the same attribute, values in different regions could have either greater impact in JE than in SE or similar impact between JE and SE, depending on whether these values are quantitatively different or qualitatively different. The concepts of quantitative/qualitative differences add greater specificity and operationalism to the original evaluability hypothesis.

Second, the original evaluability and JE/SE research was not concerned about affective forecasting and did not ask respondents in JE to predict their or other people's feelings in SE. Therefore, the responses of people in JE, though different from those of people in SE, could not be considered biased. The present research is concerned about affective forecasting and asks people in JE to predict their or other people's feelings in SE. Therefore, the predictions of people in JE, which are different from the experiences of people in SE, can be considered biased. This bias has not been demonstrated in the original JE/SE literature.

Finally, the present research extends JE/SE reversal to choice–experience inconsistency. We believe that choice–experience inconsistency is a more important finding than a mere JE/SE reversal. To appreciate this point, let us consider a distinction Kahneman (1994) and others (see also Hammond, 1996; Sen, 1993; Hsee et al., in press) have drawn between internal inconsistency and substantive inconsistency of decisions. *Internal inconsistencies* refer to findings that normatively inconsequential manipulations can change people's preferences; they show that preferences are labile. *Substantive inconsistencies* refer to findings that people fail to choose what is best for them; they show that decisions are suboptimal. The JE/SE reversal, as documented in

the existing literature, is an internal inconsistency. The choice–experience inconsistency, as studied in the present research, is a substantive inconsistency.

Relationship With Lay Rationalism and Medium Maximization

So far, we have focused on distinction bias as the main cause of choice–experience inconsistency. Here, we mention two other related lines of research we recently conducted: lay rationalism and medium maximization. *Lay rationalism* (Hsee, Zhang, et al., 2003) refers to a tendency to overweight attributes that appear rationalistic, such as quantity and economic value, and downplay attributes that appear subjective. For example, when participants were asked whether they would choose a small chocolate in the shape of a heart or a large chocolate in the shape of a cockroach, most opted for the large one. However, when asked which they would enjoy more, most favored the small one.

Medium maximization (Hsee, Yu, et al., 2003) refers to a tendency to focus on specious immediate payoffs rather than the ultimate consequence of one's action. For example, when participants were asked to choose between a short task that would award 60 points and a long task that would award 100 points and told that the points had no other use except that with 60 points they could receive a vanilla ice cream and with 100 points they could receive a pistachio ice cream (of equal amount), most chose the long task. However, when asked which type of ice cream they preferred, most favored the one corresponding to the short task (vanilla).

In theory, distinction bias is orthogonal to lay rationalism and medium maximization. Distinction bias is about failure to make accurate predictions and is a result of the JE/SE difference. Lay rationalism and medium maximization are about failure to follow predictions and are not due to the JE/SE difference. In reality, however, these three factors can simultaneously lead to a choice–experience inconsistency. For example, suppose that a person chooses a tedious job that pays \$70,000 a year over an interesting job that pays \$60,000 a year and that her long-term happiness would actually be higher if she chose the lower paying job. Her decision to choose the higher paying job may result from three possible causes: First, she overpredicts the difference in happiness between the two salaries—an example of distinction bias. Second, she finds it more “rational” to base her choice on salary than on interest—a manifestation of lay rationalism. Finally, she focuses on the immediate payoff rather than the ultimate experiential consequences of her choice—an instance of medium maximization.

Ways to Improve Predictions and Decisions

The following story, from Hsee (2000), suggests a choice–experience inconsistency due to the distinction bias and provides a context in which to explore possible remedies. A person was shopping for a pair of high-end speakers in an audio store. He was particularly interested in one of two equally expensive models. He found the appearance of one model very attractive and compatible with his furniture and the appearance of the other model ugly and incompatible with his furniture. A salesperson encouraged him to compare the sound quality of the two models in a soundproof audition room. Through careful comparisons he found the sound

quality of the ugly model slightly but distinctively better, and he bought the ugly model. But soon after he had brought the speakers home, he became so annoyed with their appearance that he relegated these speakers to the basement.

This story implies a choice–experience inconsistency: The person chose to buy the better sounding/ugly-looking model, but he would probably have been happier had he bought the worse sounding/good-looking model. This example also supports our theory: The subtle difference in sound quality was only a matter of degree and probably would make no difference in SE experience, but the difference seemed distinct in JE and apparently dictated his choice. This is a classic distinction bias.

How could we minimize the choice–experience inconsistency? To reduce choice–experience inconsistency, choosers not only need to predict their future experiences before making a choice but also need to simulate SE in making predictions. The closer the prediction is to SE, the more accurate it will be.

To illustrate, consider three possible ways the salesperson could have asked the speaker buyer to predict his preference for two sets of speakers:

1. The salesperson puts the two sets of speakers side by side and allows the buyer to easily compare their sound with the push of a button on a remote control. The salesperson asks the buyer, “Compare them carefully. Which set do you enjoy more?” This method is very similar to what the salesperson actually did in the example.

2. The same as above, except that the salesperson gives different instructions: “Focus on one set of speakers first. Study it carefully and think about how much you enjoy it. Write down your overall impression. After that, focus on the other set. Study it carefully and think about how much you enjoy it. Write down your overall impression.”

3. The salesperson puts the two sets of speakers in different rooms and prevents the buyer from making direct comparisons. The salesperson first leads the buyer to one room and tells the buyer, “Focus on this set of speakers. Study it carefully and think about how much you enjoy it. Write down your overall impression.” The salesperson then sends the buyer away for a cup of tea. Afterward, the salesperson leads the buyer to the other room and repeats the procedure for the other pair of speakers.

Of the three cases, the first is closest to JE, and the last is closest to SE. Specifically, in the first case, both the presentation of the stimuli and the process of prediction are in JE. In the second case, the presentation of the stimuli is still in JE, but the process of prediction is closer to SE. In the last case, both the presentation of the stimuli and the process of prediction are in SE.

We surmise that in the first case, the buyer is least likely to make the correct prediction and least likely to choose the model that will give him the best consumption experience and that in the last case, he is most likely to do so. Unfortunately, the common practice is much more similar to the first case than to the last case. Before making decisions, people either spontaneously engage in, or are encouraged by friends and professionals to engage in, direct comparisons of the choice alternatives. In fact, even decision experts encourage people to do so (e.g., Janis & Mann, 1977). In stark contrast with the traditional view, our advice is to refrain from direct comparison. To make a good prediction and a good choice for something that is to be consumed in SE, people should simulate SE in prediction and in choice.

Of course, we do not mean that people should always avoid JE during choice. Instead, we mean that people should align the evaluation mode of choice with the evaluation mode of consumption. Thus, if the consumption will take place in JE, people should engage in JE in choice. For example, suppose that a person is buying a dress that she will wear to a party, where people will naturally compare each others’ dresses. Then she should engage in JE when she makes her purchase decision. If she does not engage in JE and instead she decides whether to buy a particular dress based on how good the dress looks by itself rather than how good the dress looks in comparison with other dresses, then she may fail to buy the dress that would give her the greatest happiness at the party.

Another situation in which one should conduct JE in choice is when the objective of the choice is to maximize some other value than consumption experience, and JE is more likely than SE to identify the option that would maximize that value. For example, suppose that a person working in the admissions office of a college wants to recruit students who have the greatest academic potential. In this case, JE of all applicants is more likely than SE to identify such students, and the person should adopt JE. Generally speaking, if the purpose of one’s decision is to maximize consumption experience, and the consumption will take place in SE, then the decision maker should simulate SE when making the decision.

Implications for Happiness Research

For most people, the pursuit of subjective well-being, or broadly defined happiness, is an ultimate goal of life. In recent years, both psychologists and economists have made significant contributions to the understanding of happiness (e.g., Argyle, 1987; Diener, 2000; Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, in press; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Diener, Tamir, Kim-Prieto, Scollon, & Diener, 2003; Easterlin, 1974, 2001; Frank, 1997; Frey & Stutzer, 2000, 2002a, 2002b; Kahneman, 2000; Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 1999; Myers, 1993; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Scitovsky, 1976; Seligman, 2002; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Strack, Argyle, & Schwarz, 1991).

Among other things, the literature has documented three robust findings: First, virtually everyone prefers more money to less money. Second, across generations, when individuals’ wealth has steadily increased, happiness has not. Finally, at a given time in a given society, wealthy people are happier than less wealthy people, but the correlation is small. These findings, especially the latter two, have received various explanations, including adaptation and rising aspirations (e.g., Brickman, Coates, & Janoff-Bulman, 1978; Diener et al., 1999, 2003; Easterlin, 2001; Frederick & Loewenstein, 1999; van Praag, 2003).

We offer an additional, and not necessarily alternative, explanation for these findings. First, why do people prefer more money to less money? When choosing whether to have more or less wealth, they are in JE of different wealth scenarios, and so their evaluation curve resembles the generally steeper JE curve in Figure 1. More wealth is obviously better.

Second, why has happiness not increased across generations when wealth has? For example, why is the happiness of the average person in the 1990s similar to the happiness of the average person in the 1970s, even though the person in the 1990s possesses more wealth than the person in the 1970s? According to our

theory, when people report their happiness, they are mostly in SE of their states, including their financial states, and they do not spontaneously compare across generations. Thus, the wealth-to-happiness function resembles our SE curve in Figure 1. Except at very low wealth levels, the evaluation curve is largely flat. (Even if some people do compare their wealth with the wealth of a previous generation, this effect will be a constant and will not make a later generation happier than a previous generation. For example, suppose that some people in the 1990s compared their wealth with that of people in the 1970s and felt happy. Then some people in the 1970s would also have compared their wealth with that of people in the 1950s and also felt happy. Such comparisons, if any, would not make people in the 1990s happier than people in the 1970s.)

Finally, why at a given time in a given society are wealthy people somewhat happier than less wealthy people? That is because at a given time within a given society people may occasionally compare themselves with each other, and therefore their happiness has an element of JE. (For example, people may say, "I feel awful, because my neighbor recently bought a global positioning system for his new Jaguar, but I do not even have enough money to fix the muffler of my old Dodge.") However, we believe that in most situations, people do not engage in such comparisons; instead, they mostly mind their own states and experience their own lives as in SE. This probably is why, even at a given time and within a given society, the correlation between wealth and happiness is rather small.

In a recent article, van Praag (2003) made an insightful distinction between a virtual welfare (happiness) function and a true welfare (happiness) function. The *virtual welfare function* represents people's evaluations of different fictitious income levels. The *true welfare function* represents people's evaluations of their own income levels. According to van Praag, the virtual welfare function is generally steeper than the true welfare function. This proposition is consistent with ours. In our terms, the virtual welfare function represents JE of alternative income levels and resembles the steeper JE curve in Figure 1, and the true welfare function represents SE of people's own incomes and therefore resembles the flatter SE curve in Figure 1. van Praag made another important argument: The virtual welfare function reflects how individuals evaluate different income levels when making a decision and describes the decision utility of incomes. In contrast, the true welfare function reflects how individuals experience their incomes in reality and describes the experienced utility of incomes. This analysis corroborates our assertion that decisions are based on JE of alternative scenarios, and experiences reflect SE of actual outcomes.

Happiness researchers have also tried to determine what factors affect happiness and what factors do not. For example, Easterlin (2003) recently observed that factors such as whether a person is in good or poor health and whether a person is married or widowed have greater effects on happiness than material factors such as income and home size (see also Frey & Stutzer, 2003; McLanahan & Sorensen, 1984; Myers, 1993). These effects may be multiply determined. One likely explanation is differential adaptation: It is more difficult to adapt to poor health or widowhood than to wealth (Easterlin, 2003). Another potential explanation is our analysis on qualitative and quantitative differences. Differences such as whether a person is in good or poor health and whether a person is

married or divorced are qualitative and have significant impact on happiness. On the other hand, differences such as whether a person earns \$60,000 or \$70,000 a year and whether a person lives in a 3,000- or 4,000-ft² home—as long as these differences do not cross a reference point—are merely quantitative and have less impact on happiness. More importantly, our theory suggests that in making decisions, people are more likely to overestimate the impact of factors such as income and home size than to overestimate the impact of factors such as health and marriage. We hope that our theory can help people make better predictions and happier choices.

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