

Thinking dynamics and individual differences: Mouse-tracking analysis of the denominator neglect task

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Abstract

Most decision-making models describing individual differences in heuristics and biases tasks build on the assumption that reasoners produce a first incorrect answer in a quick, automatic way which they may or may not override later and that the advantage of high capacity reasoners arises from this late correction mechanism. To investigate this assumption, we developed a mouse-tracking analysis technique to capture individuals' first answers and subsequent thinking dynamics. Across two denominator neglect task experiments, we observed that individuals initially move the mouse cursor towards the correct answer option in a substantial number of cases suggesting that reasoners may not always produce an incorrect answer first. Furthermore, we observed that, compared to low capacity reasoners, high capacity individuals revise their first answer more frequently if it is incorrect and make fewer changes if it is correct. However, we did not find evidence that high capacity individuals produce correct initial answers more frequently. Consistent with the predictions of previous decision-making models, these results suggest that in the denominator neglect task the capacity-normativity relationship arises after the initial response is formulated. The present work demonstrates how the analysis of mouse trajectories can be utilized to investigate individual differences in decision-making and help us better apprehend the dynamics of thinking behind decision biases.

Keywords: individual differences, process-tracing, reasoning, heuristics and biases, denominator neglect, mouse-tracking

1 Introduction

In the simplest form of the denominator neglect task, participants are asked to choose the larger of two ratios. The fact that individuals often base their answer on the comparison of the numerators instead of comparing the value of the ratios suggests that simple changes in the way this information is presented may influence decisions (Bonner & Newell, 2010). For example, the perceived risk of developing cancer (Yamagishi, 1997) or the willingness to accept health-related risks (Pinto, Martinez & Abellan, 2006) can increase if the

risk probabilities are expressed as a ratio of large numbers compared to an equivalent ratio of small numbers. One central goal of reasoning and decision-making research is to understand why such biases occur and why some individuals are more susceptible to these biases than others (Baron, 2008; Kahneman, 2011). Joining this endeavor, the current research aims to investigate individual differences in susceptibility to biases and the dynamics of cognitive processes underlying those individual differences.

Individual differences in cognitive capacity¹ have been shown to be a powerful predictor of normatively correct responding in a variety of heuristics and biases (HB) tasks. This capacity-normativity relationship has been found in syllogistic reasoning problems (Stanovich & West, 1998; Stanovich & West, 2008; Svedholm-Häkkinen, 2015), framing tasks (Bruine de Bruin, Parker & Fischhoff, 2007; Frederick, 2005; Parker & Fischhoff, 2005; Stanovich & West, 2008), base rate tasks (Stanovich & West, 1998), belief bias (Stanovich & West, 2008) and probability matching tasks (West & Stanovich, 2003). Similarly, people with higher IQ and SAT scores give more correct answers in the denominator neglect task (Kokis, Macpherson, Toplak, West & Stanovich, 2002; Stanovich & West, 2001; Thompson & Johnson, 2014).

¹Building on the literature investigating the capacity-normativity relationship in reasoning (e.g., Stanovich & West, 2001, 2008; Thompson & Johnson, 2014; Thompson, Pennycook, Trippas & Evans, 2017), we define cognitive capacity as a capacity measured by cognitive ability tests. Previous studies used predominantly IQ tests or Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores.

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Kahneman and Frederick (2002) argued that more intelligent individuals show better performance on HB tasks because they use their deliberative processes more efficiently to override the output of the first, incorrect heuristic response. They add that this can occur via two possible paths. High ability reasoners may be more likely to learn the necessary logical rules (commit fewer errors of comprehension) and/or they may be better able to apply the learned rules in a more effective way (commit fewer errors of application).

Stanovich and West (2008) further developed these ideas in their framework and determined three loci from where individual differences can arise. First, if the reasoner does not have the relevant declarative knowledge and procedures (mindware) available to solve an HB task, she will end up with the incorrect answer. Second, even if the reasoner has the necessary mindware available, she has to recognize the need of applying the appropriate strategy; otherwise, she will not override the heuristic response. Finally, even if the reasoner has the sufficient knowledge to solve the problem and detects the need to override the first incorrect response, she will not come to the correct answer if she does not have the sufficient cognitive capacity for the required sustained inhibition and cognitive decoupling.

De Neys and Bonnefon (2013) applied a similar partitioning of the possible causes of the individual differences in thinking biases, using the ‘storage’, ‘monitoring’ and ‘inhibition’ labels to refer to the different loci of individual differences (the ‘whys’). The authors suggested an additional approach to organize the literature and differentiated between early and late divergence between biased and non-biased individuals (the ‘whens’). Interestingly, in their framework, even in the case of early divergence, biased and non-biased reasoners start to go on a different path only after the first intuitive response has been formulated.

Evans (2007) developed two hypotheses aiming to provide explanations for the capacity-normativity relationship. According to the *quantity hypothesis*, individuals with higher cognitive ability have a higher propensity to engage in analytic reasoning which makes them more prone to override the first heuristic answer. In contrast, the *quality hypothesis* states that better performance of higher ability individuals arises because they are more likely to come to the normative solution once they are engaged in analytic reasoning.

The common aspect of these approaches is that they all assume a specific pattern that people’s decision-making process follows when solving HB tasks: initially they will produce an incorrect answer, which they may or may not override at a later point.² Consequently, all of these models as-

sume that the capacity-normativity relationship arises late³ in the decision-making process. This late correction mechanism determines whether one changes her mind from the initially produced incorrect response.

However, recent studies using the two-response paradigm (Thompson, Prowse Turner & Pennycook, 2011) challenged the assumption that people always start their thinking with an incorrect response in the HB tasks. In the two-response paradigm, people are asked to provide an initial intuitive answer (along with other measures), after which they are encouraged to take as much time as they need to rethink their response to give the correct answer (for a detailed description, see Thompson et al., 2011). Applying this paradigm to several HB tasks (such as the denominator neglect task, the base rate task, a causal reasoning task, and a categorical syllogism task), Thompson and Johnson (2014) provided evidence that people start their thinking with a correct initial response in a considerable number of cases (see, for additional supporting results: Pennycook & Thompson, 2012; Thompson et al., 2011). Bago and De Neys (2017) found similar results applying time-pressure and cognitive load in the two-response paradigm which further supports the idea that people often have a correct initial response. Szaszi, Szollosi, Palfi and Aczel (2017) employed a thinking aloud procedure to investigate the thinking processes in the Cognitive Reflection Test (CRT), a popular measure showing how HB tasks can trigger an incorrect initial answer. The authors found that in 77% of the trials with correct responses, the respondents did not begin by verbalizing any consideration of the intuitive response, suggesting that they may have started their thinking already with a correct response or with a line of thought leading to the correct response when solving the tasks of the CRT.

Some recent data also question that the capacity-normativity relationship in HB tasks arises from thought processes that occur after the first response is formulated. Thompson and Johnson (2014) found that in three of the four HB tasks investigated in their study, IQ significantly correlated with the normativity of the first answer to a similar extent as with the normativity of the final response, suggesting that IQ is associated with correct first responses. Svedholm-Hakkinen (2015) found that in contrast to the less cognitively abled, the highly skilled reasoners did not show a sign of belief-inhibition (longer reaction times) in the conflict version of the belief bias syllogisms task compared to the non-conflict version of the same task. Szaszi et al. (2017) investigated whether individuals with higher cognitive capacity, as measured by the Berlin Numeracy Test (Cokely, Galesic, Schulz, Ghazal & Garcia-Retamero, 2012), more often start their thinking with a correct intuition or strategy

²Note that due to the focus of the present article, the literature review summarizes only models that make predictions on the temporal dynamics of individual differences in HB tasks.

³In the current paper, we consider any process as late that occurs after a first response was formulated.

in the CRT tasks. Bayes factor analysis revealed that their data were too insensitive to draw conclusions regarding this question.

There are two possible limitations of the previously described studies investigating individuals' first answers in HB tasks. First, as the results are based on self-report measures, it cannot be ruled out that in order to look more socially desirable, individuals do not report their very first (and potentially incorrect) response, but only an answer on which they elaborated more already. Second, a critic can argue that the fact that participants have to provide the initial answer in the two-response paradigm can affect the subsequent reasoning process – even if it does not alter the final answer compared to conditions without interruption (Thompson et al., 2011).

In the current research, we developed a mouse-tracking analysis technique to assess individual differences in people's decision dynamics in HB tasks. An important advantage of this method is that it does not rely on self-reports and that it does not interrupt people's decision process. In our experiments, we recorded participants' mouse movements in a computerized version of the denominator neglect task.

Our goal was twofold. First, we aimed to investigate the assumption that reasoners first produce incorrect answers in HB tasks. Accordingly, we explored the proportion of trials in which individuals moved their mouse initially towards the correct response. Second, we investigated why higher capacity people give more normative answers. Specifically, we tested three explanations: Higher capacity people (1) have a higher likelihood for initially correct answers, (2) are more likely to stay with their initial answer when it is correct, and (3) are more likely to change their mind when their initial answer is incorrect.

We chose the denominator neglect task to test these hypotheses, firstly, because as a simple two choice reasoning problem, it is an ideal candidate for mouse-tracking analysis; secondly, because previous studies demonstrated that individual differences robustly arise in this task (e.g., Kokis et al., 2002; Stanovich & West, 2001; Thompson & Johnson, 2014). Our third reason was that the denominator neglect task contains both incongruent and congruent trials which can be used to measure the sensitivity of the mouse-cursor analysis: we expected to find fewer correct initial response and more changes of minds in the incongruent trials (see Bonner & Newell, 2010; Thompson & Johnson, 2014).

The current paper contains two experiments: a mouse-tracking experiment and its replication. Since we had to make several post-hoc changes in the analysis of Experiment 1, we replicated the study to ensure that our findings are robust. As the methods and the analyses were identical for both experiments, we report them conjointly.

2 Methods

2.1 Denominator neglect task

In the denominator neglect task, participants were presented with two ratios and were asked to choose the larger one. Note that in this simple version of the denominator neglect task, we displayed only the ratio pairs but not pictures of trays and the description of the task was also simplified accordingly.⁴ The ratio pairs used in the current study were taken from Experiment 2 of Bonner and Newell (2010). Every ratio pair consisted of a 'small-ratio' and a 'large-ratio'. The denominator of the 'small ratio' was always 10 while the numerator was either 1, 2, or 3. For the 'large ratio', the denominator was always 100 while the numerator changed in a way that the value of the large ratio could differ from the smaller ratio within the range of $-9/100$ and $9/100$. In 27 trials, the large ratio had a higher value (congruent trials), while in the other 27 trials, the value of the small ratio was higher (incongruent trials). It has been argued that, in the incongruent trials, an incorrect heuristic response is triggered based on the comparison of the numerators (e.g., Stanovich & West, 2001; Bonner & Newell, 2010; Thompson & Johnson, 2014). As a result, people (incorrectly) tend to choose the ratio with the higher numerator while neglecting the denominator.

Note that we used both the incongruent and congruent trials to test the sensitivity of our analysis, but used only the incongruent trials to test our main hypotheses, since our interest in the current study was the investigation of thinking dynamics in a task where supposedly the first heuristic answer is incorrect.

2.2 Cognitive capacity measures

We administered an adaptive IQ test (Kovacs & Temesváry, 2016) which applies Raven-like matrices and was adapted to the Hungarian population.⁵ In contrast to classical paper-pencil tests, the adaptive IQ test uses a response item-bank and the items shown to each participant is determined by the individual past performance. The procedure ends when the error range of estimation is smaller than a pre-defined threshold. Participants were also asked to fill out the Berlin Numeracy Test (BNT) which measures numeracy (Cokely et al., 2012).⁶

⁴There are several, more complex versions of the denominator neglect task previously used in the literature. Instead of or along with the ratios, some authors present pictures of trays containing differently colored balls (e.g., Thompson & Johnson, 2014, Bonner & Newell, 2010). In some other studies, instead of using trials of ratios of different values, researchers present pictures of trays representing identical odds of winning (e.g., Epstein & Pacini, 2000).

⁵The test is available at <https://mensa.hu/tesztiras/online-iq-probateszt>.

⁶The BNT has two different formats. The standard format contains four questions while the computer adaptive version of the test applies two or three questions selected on the basis of the individual performance of

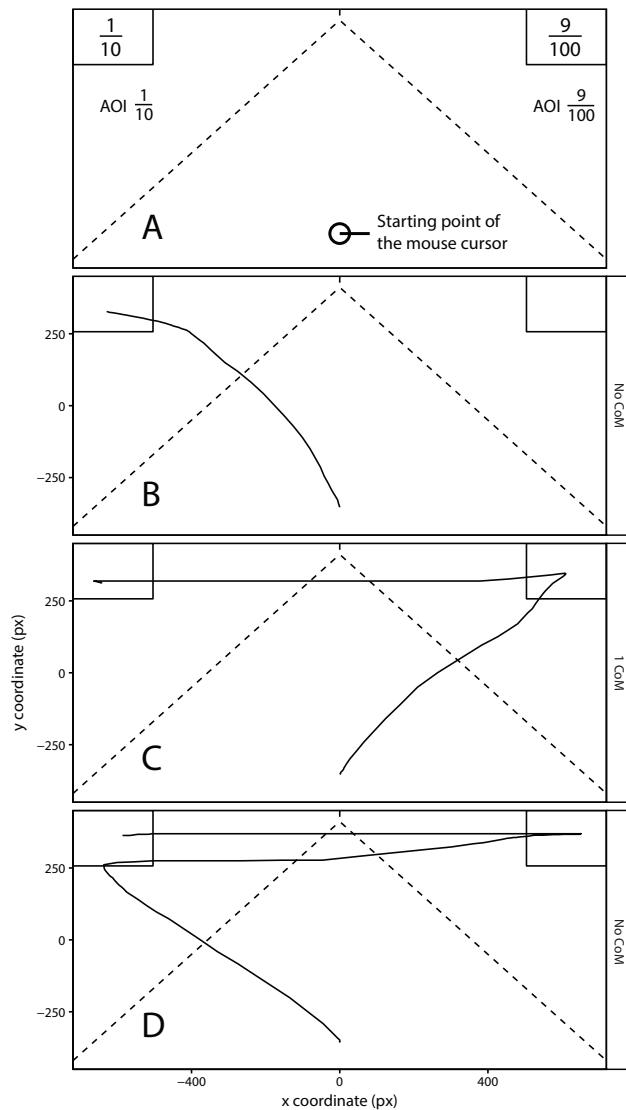


FIGURE 1: **Figure 1A** shows an exemplary ratio pair along with the borders of the corresponding areas of interests (AOIs) and the starting position of the mouse cursor. **Figure 1B**, **1C** and **1D** show three exemplary mouse trajectories. **Figure 1B** depicts a case where the participant moves the mouse-cursor directly to the left option. As the mouse trajectory enters only into the left AOI, here we conclude that there was only one choice commitment towards the left option and there was no Change of Mind (CoM). **Figure 1C** shows a case where ultimately the left option is chosen but the cursor was first moved into the right AOI. Here, we conclude that there were two choice commitments, the first commitment was to the right option which differed from the final answer, consequently we classify this as a CoM trial. **Figure 1D** illustrates a case when the individual moves the mouse cursor first into the left AOI, then to the right AOI and finally again to the left AOI. Here, we conclude that the individual was first committed towards the left option, then towards the right option before finally choosing the left option. We categorize such trials as no CoM, since the first commitment and the final answer were the same.

the participants. In Experiment 1, some participants answered the standard format while other the adaptive version. In Experiment 2, solely the adaptive

2.3 Procedure

The experiments consisted of two sessions, an offline and an online session. For the offline session, participants were invited in groups of 15–20 to a computer test room. The computer screens had a 1440×900 px resolution and the standard mouse-sensitivity settings for Microsoft Windows 8 Enterprise were used (medium mouse speed, acceleration turned on). The experiments were built and run in OpenSesame (Mathôt, Schreij & Theeuwes, 2012). The mousetrap plugin for OpenSesame (Kieslich & Henninger, 2017) was used to record the *x*- and *y*-coordinates of the computer mouse-cursor every 10 ms during the trials. At the beginning of each experiment, participants provided informed consent and read the following instructions: “In the experiment, you will see ratio pairs and your task is to choose the larger value. Use the mouse cursor to indicate your decision.” No information was provided about the mouse-tracking aspect of the experiment. Afterwards, participants completed four practice trials to familiarize themselves with the task. This was followed by the presentation of 54 ratio pairs in a randomized order for each participant. Participants had to click a start button in the bottom center of the screen to start a new trial (after which the mouse-cursor was automatically relocated to a predefined start position in the bottom center of the screen). In each trial, participants were presented with two ratios at the top right and left corner of the computer screen (Figure 1). The left/right position of the ratios was randomized on the trial level. Participants had 3 seconds to make their decision in each trial.⁷ Aside from the mouse movements, the accuracy and response time were recorded in each trial. After the offline session, participants were sent an email containing the information about the online session. Here, they were asked to fill out an online test package containing the cognitive capacity measures. Only participants who completed both the cognitive capacity tests and the denominator neglect task were included in the analysis.

2.4 Measuring dynamics of thinking using mouse-tracking

In a typical mouse-tracking paradigm, participants are asked to choose between two spatially separated options on the screen while the movement of their computer mouse is recorded. It is assumed that, if the decision maker considers choosing one of the choice options, she moves the mouse cursor towards that option (Freeman, Dale & Farmer,

version of the BNT was administered. The adaptive BNT is available at <http://www.riskliteracy.org/>.

⁷We applied a three-second time-pressure to motivate people to start moving the mouse cursor as early as possible. This way, we aimed to make our tool more sensitive to track the first commitments. As we did not want to draw participants’ attention to their mouse movements, we did not instruct them to initiate movement as early as possible (see Scherbaum & Kieslich, in press, for a discussion of different starting procedures in mouse-tracking experiments).

2011; Koop & Johnson, 2011; Koop, 2013; Spivey, Grosjean & Knoblich, 2005; Travers, Rolison & Feeney, 2016). To assess the temporal development of participants' choice commitments, we developed a mouse-tracking analysis using the areas of interest (AOI) technique (see Palfi, Kieslich, Szaszi, Wulff & Aczel, 2018, for a detailed description of the method and a comparison with other methods).⁸ The main idea behind this technique is that one can explore a reasoner's first and subsequent choice commitments by creating AOIs surrounding the choice options (see Figure 1A) and analyzing the order in which the AOIs were visited by the mouse cursor in each trial (for similar approaches, see Travers et al., 2016, and Gürçay & Baron, 2017).⁹ In the current study, we used the reasoner's initial commitment (i.e., first AOI around one of the choice options visited by the participant's mouse cursor) as a proxy for the participant's first answer. If this first commitment differed from the individual's final answer, we classified the trial as a Change of Mind (CoM) trial (e.g., in Figure 1C). Note, that to categorize a trial as a CoM trial, it was necessary that the first and final answer differed (as is the case in Figure 1C but not in Figure 1D). This was done as we were specifically interested in changes between the first commitment and the final response – and not in potential additional changes happening in between.

2.5 Analysis

Analyses were performed using the statistical programming language R (R Core Team, 2016). Mouse movements were processed and analyzed using the mousetrap R package (Kieslich, Wulff, Henninger, Haslbeck & Schulte-Mecklenbeck, 2016). In the analyses, choices and responses were predicted in linear mixed models using the lme4 package (Bates, Maechler, Bolker & Walker, 2015), specifying a random intercept for each participant (the tested models are available in the Supplementary Analysis Code). For response times, we used a linear mixed model and *p*-values were obtained with the lmerTest package (Kuznetsova, Brockhoff & Christensen, 2017); for dichotomous outcomes (choices, correct first answers, changes of mind), we used a generalized linear mixed model with a binomial link function.

⁸One advantage of the AOI technique is that it can identify the initial answers even if reasoners make more than one choice commitment in a trial. For a discussion on why this is an important characteristic of the analysis see the Supplementary Information.

⁹We determined the size of the AOIs by applying and adjusting Freeman's (2014) maximum deviation based technique to the task setup (especially the button positions) used in the current study. The detailed calculation can be found in Supplementary Preparation code (see also Palfi et al., 2018). Employing this method, the two AOIs overlapped slightly at the top of the screen. The common area was split symmetrically; the left part of it was allocated to the area of the left button and the right part of it to the area of the right button (see Figure 1A).

2.6 Participants

Experiment 1: Participants were recruited from a local university subject pool in Hungary and received course credit in exchange for participation. 109 undergraduate students provided answers on the cognitive capacity tests and the denominator neglect task. The participants who provided only 0 or 1 (out of 27) correct answers in one of the conditions of the denominator neglect task (8 participants) and those participants who obtained (for university students) unrealistically low scores on the IQ test (<85, 4 participants) were excluded as these patterns indicated that the participants were unmotivated to follow the instructions. Furthermore, the trials on which participants failed to respond within the 3 second time limit were omitted from the analyses (4% of trials). 97 participants were included in the final analyses (88% female, mean age = 20.95 years, *SD* = 1.75; all Hungarian native speakers).

Experiment 2: Participants were recruited from the same local subject pool excluding those who participated in Experiment 1. From the 143 participants that completed the cognitive capacity measures and the denominator neglect task, 10 and 4 participants were excluded respectively employing the same exclusion criteria (and 4% of trials were excluded as they exceeded the 3 seconds time limit). The remaining 129 participants were included in our final analyses (53% female, mean age = 20.27 years, *SD* = 1.55; all Hungarian native speakers).

3 Results

Table 1 summarizes several aspects of participants' responses: accuracy of the first answer, accuracy of the final answer, CoMs, and response times in both the congruent and in the incongruent conditions. While the accuracy of the final answer was significantly higher in congruent compared to incongruent trials, the difference was only small on a descriptive level. However, participants took significantly longer to respond in incongruent trials. The mouse-tracking method showed the expected pattern regarding the effect of congruency: there was a substantially lower percentage of correct first answers in incongruent compared to congruent trials. Likewise, there were more CoMs in incongruent compared to congruent trials. As can be seen in Table 2, all differences were statistically significant.

3.1 Exploring the dynamics of thinking: accuracy of first and final answers

Since our interest in the current study was the investigation of thinking dynamics in a task where supposedly the first heuristic answer is incorrect, in the subsequent analyses we

TABLE 1: Descriptive statistics of accuracy of the final and the first answer, changes of mind, and response times in experiment 1 and 2.

	Accuracy of first response (%)		Accuracy of final response (%)		Change of mind (%)		Response time (ms)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Experiment 1 Congruent	73	44	85	36	20	40	1479	495
Experiment 1 Incongruent	45	50	84	37	45	50	1625	498
Experiment 2 Congruent	69	46	85	36	26	44	1567	477
Experiment 2 Incongruent	43	50	85	35	49	50	1695	469

Note. Means and standard deviations are calculated based on the trial level values (ignoring participants).

TABLE 2: Results of (generalized) linear mixed models for different predicted variables in Experiment 1 and 2 with congruency as a predictor.

Predicted variable	Experiment	Estimate (<i>OR/b</i>)	95% CIs	Test statistic (<i>z/t</i>)	<i>p</i>
Accuracy of first response	1	3.80	[2.81, 5.14]	8.67	< .001
	2	3.30	[2.62, 4.16]	10.07	< .001
Accuracy of final response	1	2.16	[1.33, 3.54]	3.08	.002
	2	2.23	[1.28, 3.86]	2.84	.004
Changes of mind (CoM)	1	0.29	[0.23, 0.36]	-10.66	< .001
	2	0.34	[0.28, 0.41]	-11.26	< .001
Response time (RT)	1	-152.99	[-181.78, -124.20]	-10.42	< .001
	2	-129.78	[-155.67, -103.89]	-9.83	< .001

Note. The estimates represent the change in the estimate in the congruent condition compared to the incongruent condition in a (generalized) linear mixed model on the trial level specifying a random intercept and random slope per participant. For RT, unstandardized coefficient estimates (*b*) and *t*-values are reported; for all other variables, odds Ratios (*OR*) and *z*-values are reported.

analyzed only the incongruent trials. Table 3 shows the number of correct and incorrect final responses in the incongruent trials based on what the participant’s first commitment was. As expected, in many trials, participants started to move the mouse towards the incorrect answer first; they mostly ended up changing their mind and choosing the correct answer in the end. Still, several trials with an initially incorrect response resulted in incorrect final responses. However, there were also several trials in which an individual’s first answer was the correct response and where this also corresponded to the final answer. If the initial response was correct, participants changed their mind only in a small number of cases and provided an incorrect final response.

3.2 Dynamics of the capacity-normativity relationship

To explore whether cognitive capacity predicts individual differences in this task, we first investigated whether higher capacity people gave more normative responses in the incon-

TABLE 3: Percent of trials (in the incongruent condition) per experiment classified based on the correctness of the initial and final response.

Expt.		Correct initial response	Incorrect initial response
1	Correct final response	42%	42%
	Incorrect final response	3%	13%
2	Correct final response	40%	45%
	Incorrect final response	3%	11%

gruent trials of the denominator neglect task. We calculated composite scores from the IQ and the BNT¹⁰ scores and

¹⁰In Experiment 1, the majority of the participants (73) filled out the adaptive version of the BNT while 24 participants completed the standard four-question format of the BNT. The performance of the ‘standard’ group was calculated as if they had filled out the adaptive version of the BNT.

TABLE 4: Results of generalized linear mixed models using the cognitive capacity score to predict the correctness of the initial and final response in the incongruent condition in Experiment 1 and 2. (All models are generalized linear mixed models with a binomial link function.)

Predicted variable	Expt.	OR	95% CI	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>
Correctness of final response	1	1.43	[1.13, 1.81]	3.01	.003
	2	1.58	[1.30, 1.93]	4.62	< .001
Correctness of initial response	1	1.05	[0.93, 1.18]	0.80	.424
	2	0.98	[0.90, 1.07]	-0.45	.656

used these as an indicator for an individual’s general cognitive capacity. These composite scores were calculated as the sum of the *z*-transformed IQ and the BNT scores. Then we regressed the accuracy of the final answer on the composite score in a generalized linear-mixed model. As expected, the composite score predicted overall normative accuracy in both experiments, as the odds of accurate answers increased with increasing composite scores (Table 4).

In addition, we investigated whether the composite scores predicted the accuracy of participants’ first commitments. The analysis revealed no significant effect of the composite score in either of the experiments (Table 4).

Finally, we aimed to assess whether higher capacity individuals give more accurate final answers either because they make fewer changes when their initial answer is correct or because they are more likely to change their mind when their initial answer is incorrect – or both. Accordingly, we built a generalized linear mixed model testing whether the composite score predicted the number of CoMs when the initial answer was correct, and another model testing the relationship of composite score and CoMs when the initial answer was incorrect. As can be seen in Table 5, the analyses in both experiments revealed a significant main effect of the composite score on CoMs: higher capacity people made more normative CoMs and less non-normative CoMs.

4 Discussion

In two experiments, we aimed to explore the dynamics of people’s decision-making to better understand why some individuals are more susceptible to biased thinking than others. We applied a novel mouse-tracking analysis technique to track people’s first answer and thinking dynamics in reasoning situations without interrupting the reasoning process or relying on self-report measures. Using this method, we investigated the assumption that reasoners initially produce an

The numeracy scores of the standard and adaptive group did not differ significantly ($M_{\text{adaptive}} = 2.23, SD_{\text{adaptive}} = 1.12; M_{\text{standard}} = 2.21, SD_{\text{standard}} = 1.22$), $t(36.84) = -0.09, p = .93$.

TABLE 5: Results of generalized linear mixed models using the cognitive capacity score to predict the occurrence of a change of mind depending on the correctness of the initial answer in the incongruent condition in Experiment 1 and 2. (All models are generalized linear mixed models with a binomial link function.)

Initial answer	Experiment	OR	95% CI	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>
Incorrect	1	1.45	[1.11, 1.90]	2.75	.006
	2	1.77	[1.42, 2.20]	5.06	< .001
Correct	1	0.67	[0.47, 0.95]	-2.28	.023
	2	0.70	[0.53, 0.93]	-2.43	.015

incorrect answer in HB tasks. We observed that even in the incongruent trials of the denominator neglect task individuals move the mouse cursor first toward the correct response option in a substantial number of cases. This finding provides converging evidence with the result of recent studies using different methods (such as two response paradigms or thinking aloud protocols; see e.g., Bago & De Neys, 2017; Szaszi et al., 2017; Thompson & Johnson, 2014; Thompson et al., 2017) that people sometimes produce correct initial responses in HB tasks and that not everyone begins with a commitment to the incorrect response.

This finding suggests that models describing processes and individual differences in HB tasks need to explain and integrate the existence of the correct first responses. Bago and De Neys (2017) proposed that neither the classic default-interventionist (corrective) dual process theory nor the classic parallel dual process models can account for this pattern and that such results are most aligned with a hybrid-model.¹¹ Their hybrid model suggests that several initial, intuitive responses (correct and/or incorrect) can be generated simultaneously, and their absolute strength will determine which of them will be used as the first answer. If the strength of the correct alternative is stronger, peoples’ first answer will be correct (for an alternative hybrid model, see Pennycook, Fugelsang & Koehler, 2015). Note, however, that we cannot differentiate between the hybrid, default or parallel dual process models based on our results, since we cannot test one crucial element: which answer was generated by intuition and which by deliberation. Future research is needed to address this issue.

Travers et al. (2016) applied a similar mouse-tracking analysis to investigate the time-course of conflict in the CRT. In their paradigm, 4 different response options were presented to the participants and the authors analyzed the

¹¹For a detailed discussion on the comparison of dual-process models in light of a correct, intuitive first answer in HB tasks, see Bago and De Neys (2017).

mouse trajectories to determine the sequence in which reasoners considered the response options. According to the model supported by their experiment, participants move the mouse-cursor towards the incorrect ‘heuristic’ option before choosing the correct option. Based on this result, the authors concluded that the CRT tasks automatically trigger a heuristic response which has to be suppressed in order to respond correctly. One might be tempted to infer that these results contradict our findings, but note that their results do not imply that reasoners never start with the correct response. Similarly, our findings do not indicate that the participants never had an incorrect first answer. The data suggests that although in the majority of incongruent trials individuals move the mouse cursor towards the incorrect response, sometimes they are first committed to the correct response.

We investigated another important aspect of individual differences in the HB tasks: the time point at which the capacity-normativity relationship arises. In contrast to Thompson and Johnson (2014), we did not find evidence for the idea that the high capacity reasoners produce more correct first answers.¹² Instead, we found that differences in performance between high and low capacity people arise after the first response is formulated. This finding is in line with the predictions of previous frameworks (De Neys & Bonnefon, 2013; Evans, 2007; Kahneman & Frederick, 2002; Stanovich & West, 2008). We observed that deliberation after the first response benefited higher capacity people in two ways: they changed their mind more often after an incorrect first response, and they changed their first response less often if it was correct. To our knowledge, this is the first empirical study showing that the latter effect also contributes to the capacity-normativity relationship.¹³

Further research needs to investigate the exact role of previously identified causal mechanisms such as differences in the storage, monitoring ability, inhibition of the first response (De Neys & Bonnefon, 2013), feeling of conflict (Pennycook, Fugelsang & Koehler, 2015), qualitative versus quantitative differences in deliberation (Evans, 2007) or answer verification (Szollosi, Bago, Szaszi & Aczel, 2017) which potentially drive the advantage of these late processes.

We think that the AOI mouse-tracking analysis technique can provide an additional way to test important questions

¹²The present study differs in several ways from Thompson and Johnson’s (2014) study, which makes it difficult to identify what caused the discrepancy in the findings. First of all, we used a mouse-tracking measure to track peoples’ first answers. Additionally, we employed different measures to estimate the participants’ cognitive capacity, and used a version of the denominator neglect task which did not include pictures of trays. Finally, we applied a different statistical analysis approach.

¹³However, it is worth highlighting that this effect is relatively small. In the present studies, participants made incorrect CoMs only in 3% of the trials in both study 1 and 2. Bago and De Neys (2017) found in 4 experiments that in 2%-6% of the trials participants changed from correct to the incorrect answer in the base rate and syllogisms tasks, while Szaszi et al. (2017) observed that the same value was 0.2% in the CRT tasks.

in the reasoning literature and has some important advantage in tracking the first answer. First, in contrast to studies where participants are aware that the process of their thinking is tracked, mouse-tracking is much less obtrusive and might therefore decrease the likelihood that participants try to deliberately hide their dynamics of thinking. This is especially important if participants are not confident about their intuitions or strive to appear more competent. Secondly, the AOI mouse-tracking technique can assess the initial response without interrupting the decision process. Therefore, mouse-tracking based methods can be especially useful and sensitive tools to track individuals first commitments and choice tendencies.

A key underlying assumption of the employed mouse-tracking paradigm is that, if a choice option (i.e., response) is activated in the reasoners mind, she will move the mouse towards the activated option.¹⁴ However, a critic might argue that we cannot exclude unequivocally that the reasoners deliberately suppressed an activated heuristic answer before they started to move their mouse cursor. Although we accept this possibility as a limitation of our findings, we argue that our paradigm appeared to be at least to some degree sensitive to initial responses, given that the reasoners were more likely to first move the mouse towards the incorrect response option in incongruent than in congruent trials.

Three more issues need to be considered in relation to our findings. First, similar to previous research investigating the capacity-normativity relationship, we cannot make conclusions on which component of cognitive capacity caused the observed effects in our study. Second, it also remains for future research to explore what effect cognitive style has on the dynamics of thinking in HB tasks. Finally, since previous studies suggested that HB tasks are not as homogenous as previously thought (Aczel, Bago, Szollosi, Foldes & Lukacs, 2015), future studies should explore how the present findings generalize to other tasks or even to other versions of the denominator neglect task. Although the present results indicate that more accurate responding of higher capacity individuals in the denominator neglect task generally arises from either the override of the first response if it was incorrect or the less frequent change of the first response if it was correct, it is safe to hypothesize that the model supported in this paper is not going to work everywhere.¹⁵ In some contexts, some individuals give biased answers because they produce quick incorrect responses, while in other cases the biased answer is rather the results of a lack of deliberate thinking. Future research needs to create a taxonomy and determine the personality and task features which lead one

¹⁴Or at least will be more likely to move the mouse towards the activated option than towards the non-activated one.

¹⁵For example, the default-interventionist (corrective) view wasn’t supported in the domain of moral judgments (Gürçay & Baron, 2017; Koop, 2013).

or the other type of bias to dominate.

In the present research, we studied how individuals differ in their ability to provide normative responses and tested some of the key predictions of the models describing individual differences in HB tasks. Using a novel mouse-tracking analysis technique (based on AOIs), we consistently found that individuals produce both correct and incorrect first answers in the denominator neglect task. Furthermore, the capacity-normativity relationship seemed to arise late in the decision-making process in line with the predictions of several decision-making models; that is, we did not find evidence that higher capacity individuals had more correct initial answers but observed that reasoners corrected their first answer more often if it was incorrect. Moreover, we observed that high capacity individuals made fewer changes after correct first answers. Our study showcases how mouse-trajectory analysis can be utilized to investigate individual differences in decision-making and its results can help better apprehend the time-course of thinking and individual differences in HB tasks.

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