

# Choice Architecture for Human-Computer Interaction

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**Anthony Jameson**

German Research Center for Artificial Intelligence, Germany

**Bettina Berendt**

KU Leuven, Belgium

**Silvia Gabrielli**

CREATE-NET, Italy

**Federica Cena**

University of Torino, Italy

**Cristina Gena**

University of Torino, Italy

**Fabiana Venero**

University of Torino, Italy

**Katharina Reinecke**

University of Michigan, U.S.A.

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## Choice Architecture for Human-Computer Interaction

Anthony Jameson

German Research Center for Artificial Intelligence, Germany  
jameson@dfki.de

Bettina Berendt  
KU Leuven, Belgium  
Bettina.Berendt@cs.kuleuven.be

Silvia Gabrielli  
CREATE-NET, Italy  
silvia.gabrielli@create-net.org

Federica Cena  
University of Torino, Italy  
cena@di.unito.it

Cristina Gena  
University of Torino, Italy  
cgena@di.unito.it

Fabiana Venero  
University of Torino, Italy  
venerof@di.unito.it

Katharina Reinecke  
University of Michigan, U.S.A.  
reinecke@umich.edu



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## Abstract

People in human-computer interaction have learned a great deal about how to persuade and influence users of computing technology. They have much less well-founded knowledge about how to help users choose for themselves. It's time to correct this imbalance. A first step is to organize the vast amount of relevant knowledge that has been built up in psychology and related fields in terms of two comprehensive but easy-to-remember models: The ASPECT model answers the question "How do people make choices?" by describing six *choice patterns* that choosers apply alternately or in combination, based on Attributes, Social influence, Policies, Experience, Consequences, and Trial and error. The ARCADE model answers the question "How can we help people make better choices?" by describing six general high-level *strategies for supporting choice*: Access information and experience, Represent the choice situation, Combine and compute, Advise about processing, Design the domain, and Evaluate on behalf of the chooser. These strategies can be implemented with straightforward interaction design, but for each one there are also specifically relevant technologies. Combining these two models, we can understand virtually all existing and possible approaches to choice support as the application of one or more of the ARCADE strategies to one or more of the ASPECT choice patterns.

After introducing the idea of choice architecture for human-computer interaction and the key ideas of the ASPECT and ARCADE models, we discuss each of the ASPECT patterns in detail and show how the high-level ARCADE strategies can be applied to it to yield specific tactics. We then apply the two models in the domains of online communities and privacy. Most of our examples concern choices *about the use of* computing technology, but the models are equally applicable to everyday choices made *with the help of* computing technology.

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# 1

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## Introduction

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### 1.1 What Is Choice Architecture for HCI?

If you work in human-computer interaction, you are probably a *choice architect*—even if you have been as unaware of that role as Molière’s “bourgeois gentleman” was of having spoken prose all his life.

As Thaler and Sunstein [2008] wrote when introducing the term: “A choice architect has the responsibility for organizing the context in which people make decisions” (p. 3). And users of today’s ever-present computing technology are constantly making small choices and large decisions:

1. Sometimes, the main purpose of an interactive system is to help people make a particular type of choice: Think of e-commerce websites and of apps for helping people choose healthy food.

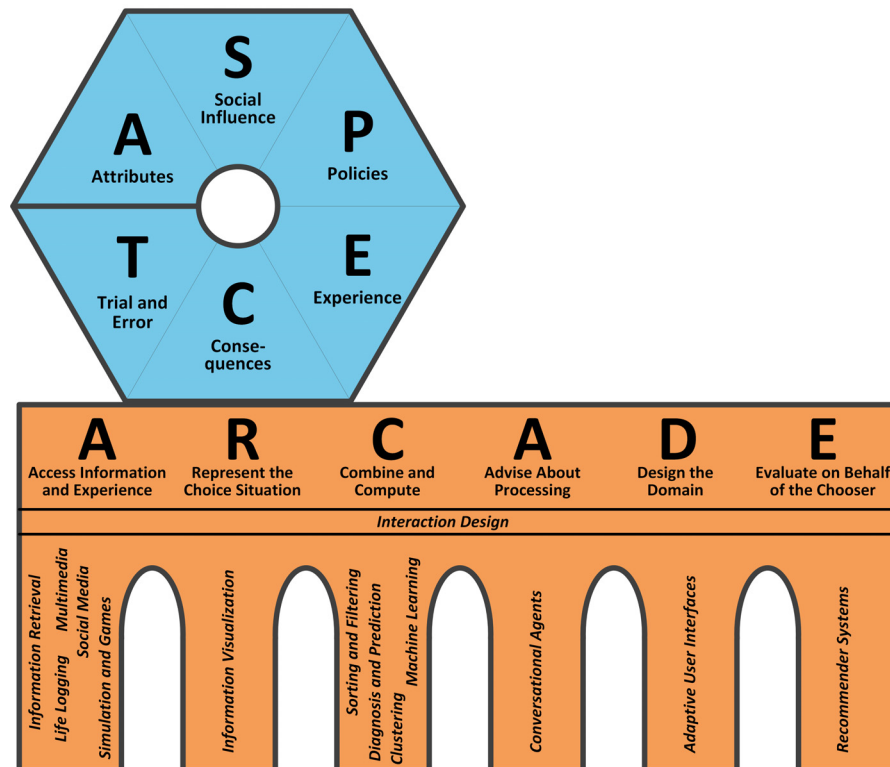
2. Even if the main purpose is different—as with a navigation system that helps you follow a route from one place to another—the user often has choices to make about details—such as which of the several proposed routes to follow. Helping people make these “microchoices” (2.1) better is one (often not obvious) way of enhancing the user experience.

3. Finally, just about any interactive system, regardless of its purpose, requires its users to make some choices about how to operate the system: Which of these two text entry methods should I use to enter text right now? How might I configure this application so as to make it more convenient to use? And might I be better off using some other application instead of this one?

In all of these cases, the fact that the choice is “up to the user” does not release the designers from their responsibility as choice architects to “organize the context” so that users can easily make choices that they will ultimately find satisfactory. But fulfilling this responsibility is easier said than done, if we want to go beyond reliance on designer intuition and familiar design patterns. Good choice architecture for human-computer interaction (HCI) must ultimately be based on a solid understanding of two complex topics:

- The psychology of choice and decision making: How do people go about making choices in their everyday lives, with or without computing technology?
- Strategies and technologies for supporting everyday choice: What are the general ways in which it’s possible to help people make better choices; and how can these be applied in the context of—and with the help of—today’s interactive computing technology?

This publication aims to equip readers with a coherent understanding of both of these topics, along with an ability to pursue them in more depth by following up on the references. Figure 1.1 gives a preview of the two complementary models that we call the ASPECT and the ARCADE models after their two acronyms: The letters in ASPECT stand for the six *choice patterns* that we introduce to cover the phenomena of everyday choice and decision making. The letters in ARCADE stand for the six high-level *choice support strategies* that we have distilled from previous research and practice.



**Figure 1.1:** High-level overview of the ASPECT and ARCADE models of choice patterns and choice support strategies.

## 1.2 Hasn't It Already Been Done?

The idea of combining psychology and computing technology to help people make better choices is not new. So why does the HCI field need a new conception of choice architecture? We will explain by first introducing two general conceptual distinctions and then considering in turn several related lines of research and practice.

### 1.2.1 Preferential vs. Nonpreferential Choice

Many of the “choices” that have received the most attention in the HCI field are *nonpreferential* choices: A user wants to choose the steps (e.g., clicks on particular icons) that are required to achieve a particular goal, such as turning on change-tracking mode in his<sup>1</sup> word processing application. With nonpreferential choices, the question is not what the chooser *prefers* to do but rather what she *has* to do if she wants to achieve a particular goal.

With *preferential choice*—for example, “Shall I turn on change tracking or simply use the commenting functionality to recommend changes to my coauthors?”—a user can prefer one option over another one even though neither one is objectively right or wrong. A preferential choice can be influenced by factors such as the value that the chooser assigns to particular anticipated consequences, the policies the chooser wants to follow, and social expectations that the chooser wants to conform to—a multifaceted set of considerations that will be discussed in connection with the six ASPECT choice patterns.

### 1.2.2 Persuasion vs. Choice Support

It is also worthwhile to distinguish between two goals that a choice architect can have when attempting to influence a person’s choices: *persuasion* versus *choice support*. It is true that neither of these concepts is easy to define crisply and that there are multiple equally reasonable alternative definitions for each concept. Still, there is an important high-level difference between them:

- We will use the term *persuasion* when the goal of the choice architect is to increase the likelihood that the chooser will choose a particular option (e.g., fruit salad instead of cake); or choose an option from some particular class (e.g., fruits and vegetables); or adopt a particular goal (e.g., eat in a more health-conscious way).

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<sup>1</sup>To avoid clumsy formulations like “him or her” when using personal pronouns in a generic way, we will alternate between the masculine and feminine forms on an example-by-example basis.



- One possible definition of *choice support* runs as follows: The goal is to help the chooser make the choice in such a way that, from some relevant perspective, the chooser will be satisfied with the choice. One candidate for a “relevant perspective” is: “after learning about the consequences of the choice and taking the time to reflect on all important aspects of it”. But other definitions can be argued for. In fact, a first step toward getting better at supporting choice is to understand better what constitutes a “good choice” from the point of view of the chooser (see the discussion in 3.6 below).

These two goals of persuasion and choice support can be pursued simultaneously in various ways. Sometimes, persuasion is used even when the top-level goal is that of choice support. A doctor who tries to persuade a patient to stop smoking presumably believes that the patient will ultimately approve of this choice from some relevant perspective. And in fact maybe the patient has arrived at this conclusion himself and begged the doctor to “persuade” him to perform the specific actions required to stop smoking.

Conversely, even if your top-level goal is to induce a chooser  $C$  to choose a particular option  $O$  that is in your own interest—for example, the option of buying your software application—adopting choice support as a subgoal can be a good strategy, for either of two reasons:

- You are convinced that  $C$ , given high-quality, unbiased choice support, will conclude for herself that  $O$  is her best option.
- There are various specific ways of executing  $O$  (e.g., various ways of using your software application); and you think that by helping  $C$  to choose the specific ways that are best for her, you will increase the likelihood that she will find it attractive to execute  $O$ .

Because of these and other interrelationships, techniques for persuasion and choice support can be compared to the black and white keys on the piano (Jameson, 2013): There are some tunes that you can play on just the black keys or on just the white keys; but if you know

how to use all of the keys together, your range of possibilities is vastly increased.

### 1.2.3 Thaler and Sunstein’s Conception of Choice Architecture

Thaler and Sunstein [2008], who coined the term *choice architecture*, present a synthesis of psychological research (chaps. 1–4) that overlaps at many points with the synthesis in our newer ASPECT model, along with six “principles of good choice architecture” (chap. 5), captured with the acronym NUDGES, which suggest how to help people make better choices in everyday life. The remaining 13 chapters of this stimulating and influential book discuss in detail how their principles can be applied in a variety of areas of life, such as personal finance and health.

The relevance of this work for the HCI field is somewhat limited by the fact that Thaler and Sunstein do not devote particular attention to computing technology, either as a means for supporting everyday choice or as a domain in which choices need to be made. Also, as is understandable for a best-selling book, the synthesis of psychological research and the NUDGES principles do not have the clearly articulated structure and explicit grounding in previous literature that is required in a solid foundation for HCI researchers and practitioners. Work that has built on Thaler and Sunstein’s conception (e.g., Johnson et al. [2012]) has begun in both of these respects to make the idea of choice architecture more relevant to HCI, but there are still many gaps for the present work to fill.

It is instructive to relate the concept of a *nudge*, which lies at the center of Thaler and Sunstein’s conception of choice architecture, to the two conceptual distinctions just introduced above. On close inspection, we can see that the term *nudge* has several different meanings even in these authors’ own book:

1. It often refers to a mild form of persuasion intended to bias a person’s choice in the direction of a particular option while still being largely compatible with the goal of choice support in that the suggested option seems to be at least reasonably good for the

chooser and in any case the chooser is not compelled to choose it.<sup>2</sup> One of the types of nudge that they suggest (see, e.g., chaps. 5, 6, and 11)—the careful design of default options (cf. 6.2 below)—clearly illustrates this interpretation of the concept of a nudge.

2. Other forms of nudge that they propose—such as structuring complex choices, giving informative feedback, and helping people to “map” information onto concepts that are meaningful for them—can be useful approaches to supporting preferential choice that do not necessarily involve bias toward any particular option. We will be discussing these forms of choice support (along with many others) at many points in the present publication, relating them to the ASPECT and ARCADE models.
3. Finally, several of the forms of nudge can be seen as approaches to supporting *nonpreferential* choice. Under the category “Expect error”, the authors present ideas, which will look familiar to readers from the HCI field, about how to help people to avoid doing the objectively wrong thing (e.g., forgetting to attach a document to an email message). Their examples of the nudges in the previous category likewise sometimes concern nonpreferential choice.

The existence of these very different meanings limits the usefulness of the term *nudge* as a way of communicating about tactics for choice support and persuasion. In particular, we may be inclined to agree readily that “people could use a nudge” when we think of the broad meaning that includes any sort of intervention to support or influence choices; but when doing so we can be interpreted as having accepted, in the narrow meaning of the term, a vision of a world in which people’s choice processes are constantly being intentionally biased in subtle ways, often without their awareness.

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<sup>2</sup>They write: A nudge is “any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people’s behavior in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives” (p. 6).

#### 1.2.4 Persuasive Technology

When HCI people hear the idea of “helping people make better choices”, they often think of persuasive technology: a line of research and practice which was introduced mainly by B. J. Fogg (2003) and which has since become widely represented both in the research literature and in practical systems and interface design methodologies. Like the present publication, Fogg’s seminal book systematically combines research from psychology with a framework for making use of the research results in interactive computing technology. Many others have expanded and fleshed out Fogg’s framework, and persuasive technology constitutes an important part of a choice architecture for HCI.

A limitation is that persuasive technology focuses squarely on persuasion, as opposed to choice support, as a way of influencing people’s choices. It therefore does not provide direct guidance to choice architects who are pursuing the goal of choice support. For this purpose, we need to exploit and organize (in the ASPECT and ARCADE models) a vast amount of literature on choice and choice support that is seldom taken into account in the persuasive technology area.

Paradoxically, our inclusion of concepts and research results that are not oriented toward persuasion may well provide new ideas even to readers who are interested exclusively in persuasion. The reason is that just about every tactic that is designed with the goal of supporting choice can also be (mis)applied in an intentionally biased way (4.7.1). In the present work, we will focus our attention almost entirely on choice support efforts that are not characterized by intentional bias; readers more interested in persuasion will find it easy enough to work out biased versions of any new ideas that they acquire here.

#### 1.2.5 Recommender Systems

A major computing paradigm that can be seen as supporting everyday nonpreferential choice is that of *recommender systems* (see, e.g., Jannach et al., 2011; Ricci et al., 2011). These systems aim to support and influence users’ choices concerning products to buy, documents to read, and a variety of other types of item. As we will see in Section 4,

recommender systems essentially implement one of the six ARCADE strategies for choice support, *Evaluate on Behalf of the Chooser*: They typically apply any of a variety of algorithms to predict how satisfied a given chooser would be with particular options. In some cases, an algorithm of this sort can be seen as realizing a variant of one of the six ASPECT choice patterns. For example, some variants of the popular paradigm of *collaborative filtering* (see, e.g., Ekstrand et al., 2011) can be seen as automating a variant of the socially based choice pattern (3.3.4; Section 8), since they make use of information about choices or evaluations made by people who are similar to the current chooser.

### 1.2.6 Other Contributing Technologies

There are a number of other areas of computer science which, like persuasive technology and recommender systems, contribute techniques that can be used as part of a choice architecture. A number of these are discussed in Section 4 in connection with the ARCADE strategies, which help to explain how they fit into the picture.

## 1.3 Preview of the Rest of This Publication

Section 2 introduces the several types of choice problem that will yield most of the examples for the present publication. Section 3 offers a compact but broad overview of how people make everyday choices, introducing the ASPECT model. Section 4 introduces the other major part of our conceptual framework, the six high-level ARCADE strategies, giving initial examples of their application and discussing the most important technologies that can be used to realize these strategies. Each of the subsequent six major sections looks at one of the ASPECT choice patterns in more depth, summarizing key ideas from psychological research and discussing how the ARCADE strategies can be applied to support choosing according to the pattern. In the final two main sections, we illustrate how the ASPECT and ARCADE models can help to enhance understanding of choice processes in two important contexts: online communities and privacy, respectively. The final brief section

lists several directions in which the foundation laid in this work can be extended in future work.

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