

Climate scientists' wide prediction intervals may be more likely but are perceived to be less certain

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3	Climate scientists' wide prediction intervals are more likely but perceived to be less					
4	certain					
5	Erik Løhre ^{1,2} , Marie Juanchich ³ , Miroslav Sirota ³ , Karl Halvor Teigen ^{1,4} , and Theodore G.					
6	Shepherd ⁵					
7	¹ Simula Research Laboratory, Oslo, Norway					
8	² Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, Lillehammer, Norway					
9	³ Department of Psychology, University of Essex, UK					
10	⁴ Department of Psychology, University of Oslo, Norway					
11	⁵ Department of Meteorology, University of Reading, UK					
12						
13	Short title: Wide intervals are perceived as uncertain					
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	Corresponding author: Erik Løhre Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences Postboks 400, 2418 Elverum, Norway Telephone: +47 41 42 01 35 E-mail: erik.lohre@gmail.com					
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26 Abstract (149 words)

27 The use of interval forecasts allows climate scientists to issue predictions with high levels of 28 certainty even for areas fraught with uncertainty, since wide intervals are objectively more 29 likely to capture the truth than narrow intervals. However, wide intervals are also less 30 informative about what the outcome will be than narrow intervals, implying a lack of 31 knowledge or subjective uncertainty in the forecaster. In six experiments, we investigate how 32 lay people perceive the (un)certainty associated with wide and narrow interval forecasts, and 33 find that the preference for accuracy (seeing wide intervals as "objectively" certain) vs. 34 informativeness (seeing wide intervals as indicating "subjective" uncertainty) is influenced by contextual cues (e.g., question formulation). Most importantly, we find that people more 35 36 commonly and intuitively associate wide intervals with uncertainty than with certainty. Our research thus challenges the wisdom of using wide intervals to construct statements of high 37 38 certainty in climate change reports.

39

40 Keywords: uncertainty, intervals, IPCC, climate change, communication

1. Introduction

44 The knowledge of general principles governing the climate system is sufficient to make strong qualitative predictions about climate change. For instance, the Intergovernmental 45 46 Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) leaves little room for doubt when concluding that "continued emissions of greenhouse gases will cause further warming and changes in all 47 48 components of the climate system" (IPCC 2013). In contrast, it is not possible to make precise 49 quantitative predictions of exactly how the climate will change, even under a given forcing 50 scenario (such conditional predictions are typically called projections). Thus, climate 51 scientists generally issue predictions in the form of interval (range) forecasts (e.g., 0.3 to 1.7°C temperature rise¹, 0.26 to 0.55 m sea level rise) rather than point forecasts (e.g., 1.0°C 52 temperature rise). Interval estimates allow a tradeoff between forecast precision and forecast 53 54 certainty, or what Yaniv and Foster (1995) has described as a tradeoff between informativeness and accuracy. If a high degree of certainty (accuracy) is desired, one can 55 56 forecast a wide interval (the rate of sea level rise [during the 21st century] will very likely 57 exceed that observed during 1971 to 2010 [meaning more than a 20 cm rise]). This is 58 commonly done in the IPCC reports when summary statements of high certainty are sought. 59 Alternatively, if a high level of precision (informativeness) is desired, one can forecast a 60 narrower interval with a lower degree of certainty (it is *likely* the sea level will rise between 61 26 and 55 cm).

While a large body of research shows that people often misunderstand the verbal
probability expressions (e.g., "very likely", "unlikely") used by the IPCC (Budescu et al.
2009; Budescu et al. 2012; Budescu et al. 2014; Harris and Corner 2011; Harris et al. 2017;
Harris et al. 2013; Ho et al. 2015; Juanchich and Sirota 2017), few studies have examined

¹ All examples are taken from IPCC, 2013: Summary for policymakers. *Climate change 2013: The physical science basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the fifth assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, T. F. Stocker, and Coauthors, Eds., Cambridge University Press.

how lay people respond to the use of intervals to communicate degrees of (un)certainty in the 66 67 climate change domain (Dieckmann et al. 2015; Dieckmann et al. 2017; Joslyn and LeClerc 2016; Løhre and Teigen 2017). We argue and demonstrate in this paper that the relationship 68 69 between interval width (i.e., forecast precision) and certainty is ambiguous: a wide interval 70 (an imprecise forecast) is "accurate" in the sense that it has a high probability of capturing the 71 actual outcome, but its width also signals greater uncertainty about what the outcome will be, 72 in comparison to a narrow interval (a more precise and hence more informative forecast). This 73 ambiguity makes it important for forecasters to know whether lay people see wide intervals as 74 more (or less) certain than narrow ones, and which of these two perspectives on intervals is 75 more frequent and more intuitively appealing.

76 The two perspectives on the relationship between interval width and certainty may 77 rely on two forms of certainty (Fox and Ülkümen 2011; Hacking 1975; Kahneman and 78 Tversky 1982). On the one hand, certainty refers to our state of knowledge or belief. Such 79 internal or subjective certainty is often expressed by statements where the subject is a sentient 80 being ("I am 90% certain"), and using subjective terms like being confident, or sure (Fox and 81 Ülkümen 2017; Ülkümen et al. 2016). But certainty can also be used in an external, more 82 objective sense, reflecting variability, predictability and randomness in the outside world. 83 Degrees of certainty are in these contexts often embedded in statements with an impersonal 84 subject ("it is 90% certain"), and are used synonymously with degrees of probability, 85 likelihood, or chance (Juanchich et al. 2017; Løhre and Teigen 2016).

86 With interval predictions, a wider interval allows for a greater degree of objective 87 certainty (more hits and fewer misses). Even if the exact number of hits vs. misses can be 88 assessed only retrospectively, after the outcomes are known, this general relationship can be 89 claimed prospectively on purely logical grounds. Subjective certainty, however, might not 90 increase with interval width. In fact, people may see wide intervals as cueing *un*certainty and 91 lack of knowledge, for two reasons. First, more knowledge about a topic enables one to be 92 more precise in one's statements about it (Yaniv and Foster 1997). Second, conversational 93 norms suggest that people seek to maximize informativeness in communication (Grice 1975). The prediction "The temperature in Oslo will be between -35 and +35°C tomorrow" is true, 94 95 with close to 100% certainty, but is also far too vague to be useful for someone preparing for 96 a visit. A forecaster with higher subjective confidence may make a more precise, informative 97 prediction ("The temperature at noon will be between 15 and 18°C"), which can be seen as 98 conveying more certain expectations about tomorrow's weather.

99 Thus, different concepts of certainty might lead to different views on the implications 100 of wide vs. narrow interval predictions. Those who find a wide interval to be more certain, by 101 being more likely to include the true (actual) values, will in this paper be referred to as 102 showing a *preference for accuracy*. In contrast, those who consider a wide interval to be less 103 certain, by being less informative and expressing lower confidence about expected outcomes, 104 display a *preference for informativeness*.

105 Previous research has found support for both types of preference (or "mindsets"). In 106 line with the informativeness mindset, lay people expect experts to give narrower interval 107 estimates than novices (McKenzie et al. 2008). Recipients of information prefer precise 108 statements (Du et al. 2011; Jørgensen 2016), with narrow intervals occasionally preferred 109 over wide intervals even when the wide interval includes the correct answer while the narrow 110 interval does not (McKenzie and Amin 2002; Yaniv and Foster 1995). Teigen (1990) found 111 that people placed more confidence in precise statements than in vague statements, but also 112 that people chose the more precise statement when asked which statement they would be 113 more skeptical about. Participants in a recent study received high and low probability 114 forecasts made by climate change experts, and completed the forecasts by filling in 115 corresponding intervals (Løhre and Teigen 2017). Some associated high probabilities with

wide intervals, but many did the opposite and assigned *narrow* intervals to high probabilities.
Similar results were obtained when people were given wide and narrow interval forecasts, and
asked to fill in missing probability values. Some participants assumed wide intervals were
more probable, whereas others felt they were *less* probable than narrow intervals.

120 These studies leave open several important questions that we address in the present 121 paper. (1) Is one "mindset" more prevalent than the other? (2) Can contextual and linguistic 122 cues, which are known to change the way people think about probabilities (Løhre and Teigen 123 2016; Nisbett et al. 1983; Reeves and Lockhart 1993; Ülkümen et al. 2016), also influence 124 people's views on the relationship between interval width and certainty? These two questions 125 were investigated in Experiments 1-5, where we manipulated the focus of a question about 126 certainty. We predicted that a question about which of two intervals is "more certain to be 127 correct", would promote reflections about objective certainty, accuracy and the probability of 128 hits and misses, and should accordingly be answered in favour of the wide interval. On the 129 other hand, a question about which interval "conveys more certainty", would make thoughts 130 about informational value and subjective certainty more salient, and induce people to find 131 wide intervals to imply less certainty than narrow ones. (3) A third issue is which mindset 132 people find more intuitive. Experiment 6 investigated people's lay theories about interval 133 width and probability, and asked people to rate how intuitively appealing two statements 134 compatible with the two mindsets were.

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Experiments 1-5: Effects of question type on the perception of wide vs. narrow
 intervals

<Insert Table 1 about here>

140a. Participants

141 The participants in these experiments (total N = 923, see Table 1) were university 142 students from the UK and Norway who volunteered to participate or who received course 143 credits for participation, and Amazon MTurk workers from the US who were paid to 144 complete the questionnaires. Both of these types of convenience samples are typical in 145 psychology experiments, and are often reasonably similar to community samples (Goodman 146 et al. 2013; Paolacci et al. 2010). For the purpose of the current studies, namely to investigate 147 subjective perceptions of interval forecasts of climate change, we would expect that 148 participants from these samples should be at least as well-equipped (if not better) to interpret 149 the information as more representative samples.

150

b. Materials and procedure

151 In all experiments, the participants received interval forecasts of sea level rise and 152 temperature rise by the end of the century from two different teams of climate scientists. One 153 team issued a forecast with a wide interval (e.g., "The temperature will increase between 1.1° 154 Celsius and 6.4° Celsius"), while the other team gave a forecast with a narrower interval (e.g., 155 "The temperature will increase between 2.2° Celsius and 5.4° Celsius"). The participants were 156 asked, in three to four different conditions in the different experiments, to choose which 157 prediction "conveys more uncertainty [certainty]" or which prediction "is more likely [certain, 158 uncertain] to be correct". These questions were formulated to focus on informativeness or on 159 accuracy, respectively. An overview of the questions used in the different experiments is 160 provided in Table 2, and more detailed descriptions of the procedure for each experiment is 161 provided below. The full description of the scenarios, as well as separate statistical analysis of 162 each experiment, can be found in the Supplementary materials (in the Results section, only 163 the overall results are described). Several of the experiments also investigated secondary 164 hypotheses, which are briefly described below, while more detailed descriptions and analyses 165 are provided in the Supplementary materials.

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- 168

<Insert Table 2 about here>

169 1) MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE VARIATIONS IN EXPERIMENTS 1-5

170 In Experiment 1, we manipulated question type and reasons for variability in a 2×2 171 within-subject design. Participants completed a daily survey for 14 days. On the third day, the 172 participants received questions about which interval "is most likely to be correct" and on day 173 6 which interval "conveys most uncertainty". The same questions were repeated on days 9 174 and 11, but here, participants also received an explanation for the variability in the expert 175 forecasts. The variability was explained by referring to temperature rise "in different 176 countries" and sea level rise "in different parts of the world". On day 14 participants rated 177 their belief in climate change by answering four questions taken from Heath and Gifford 178 (2006). For each scenario (temperature and sea level rise), participants could choose one of 179 the two predictions or rate them as equal.

180 Participants in Experiment 2 received the same questions as in Experiment 1, but this 181 was a 2 x 2 design with question type and reason for variability varied between subjects. 182 Hence, participants in different groups received questions either about which interval 183 "conveys most uncertainty" or which interval "is most likely to be correct", and either 184 received an explanation for the variability in estimates or did not receive such an explanation. 185 In Experiment 3, we attempted to control for some potential confounding factors in 186 Experiments 1 and 2. Beside their focus on informativeness or accuracy, the questions used in 187 the first two experiments differed in several respects. First, the term "uncertainty" was used in 188 the informativeness-focus condition and the term "likely" was used in the accuracy-focus 189 condition. These terms were assumed to be associated with different sources of uncertainty, 190 with "uncertainty" being an internal/epistemic term, and "likely" an external/aleatory term

191 (Ülkümen et al. 2016). Second, the two terms differ in their *directionality* (Teigen and Brun 192 1995, 1999). While "uncertain" has a negative directionality (i.e., it points towards the 193 possibility that an outcome might not occur), "likely" has a positive directionality (i.e., it 194 points towards the possibility that an outcome might occur). To better control for the source 195 of uncertainty and directionality of the verbal probabilities used in the question, we used the 196 two terms "uncertain(ty)" and "certain(ty)", which are usually considered as reflecting 197 epistemic uncertainty (Fox and Ülkümen 2011; Teigen and Løhre 2017; Ülkümen et al. 198 2016). The word stem was hence kept constant, while directionality and question type varied 199 between-subjects, with different groups of participants receiving the question about which 200 prediction "conveys more [un]certainty" and which prediction is "more [un]certain to be 201 correct".

In Experiment 4, we removed the (arguably incorrect) "equal" option, so the participants chose between the wide and the narrow interval in each condition. Participants read the same temperature rise and sea level rise vignettes as in previous experiments in one of three conditions: uncertainty conveyed, certainty conveyed, and certain to be correct.

In Experiment 5, we added a third prediction that featured a narrower interval to each vignette, for two reasons: first, to highlight even more strongly that the teams differ in width of prediction intervals; and second, since the intervals in previous experiments were both quite wide, to include a very narrow interval that suggests high precision, but might be "too good to be true". Participants read the sea level and temperature rise scenarios and for each selected one of the three forecasts as the one that conveyed more certainty, conveyed more uncertainty or was more certain to be correct, in three between-subjects conditions.

213

2) SECONDARY HYPOTHESES

In addition to investigating the prevalence of the informativeness and accuracy
mindsets and their associations with different kinds of questions, Experiments 1-5 also

216 addressed some additional hypotheses. In Experiments 1 and 2, we investigated whether the 217 accuracy mindset would be seen as more appropriate (i.e., wide intervals associated with 218 certainty) in contexts where interval width could be related to variability. Predictions 219 concerning a class of multiple outcomes might induce more distributional ("outside view") 220 thinking, with wide intervals reflecting external variability, in contrast to predictions of a 221 singular outcome, where wide intervals are more easily taken to reflect the forecaster's 222 ignorance (Kahneman and Tversky 1982; Kahneman and Lovallo 1993; Nisbett et al. 1983; 223 Reeves and Lockhart 1993). Hence, participants in different conditions in Experiments 1 224 (within-subjects) and 2 (between-subjects) were told that the intervals described temperature 225 rise "in different countries" and sea level rise "in different parts of the world", while no 226 explanation for the variability in the estimate was given in the other conditions.

227 In Experiment 3, we investigated whether perceptions of expertise could be influenced 228 by question type, with the hypothesis that questions highlighting informativeness would lead 229 to a stronger preference for experts giving narrow interval forecasts, as compared to questions 230 highlighting accuracy. Therefore, after selecting the prediction that conveys more 231 (un)certainty/is more (un)certain to be correct, participants in Experiment 3 rated which team 232 seemed more trustworthy, seemed to have most knowledge (about temperature rise or sea 233 level rise), seemed to have the best models (for predicting temperature rise or sea level rise), 234 and which team seemed to be most competent. These ratings were done on scales from 1 235 (definitely the team with the wide interval) to 5 (definitely the team with the narrow interval). 236 Experiment 4 investigated factors that might explain people's preference for narrow 237 intervals: their fluency and the perceived expertise of the speaker. Previous research has 238 found that statements that are more fluent (i.e., easier to process), for example due to 239 repetition or to heightened visibility, are judged as more truthful than less fluent statements 240 (Arkes et al. 1989; Reber and Schwarz 1999). We expected that predictions with narrower

intervals might be easier to process than predictions with wider intervals, and that this
heightened fluency could be a reason why people prefer narrow intervals. Narrow intervals
might also be preferred due to the association between precision and expertise. Hence,
participants in Experiment 4 rated the fluency of the predictions featuring a narrow and a
wide interval, as well as the perceived expertise of the teams (see Supplementary materials for
more details about the rating scales).

247 For exploratory purposes, we included in Experiment 5 three measures of individual 248 differences that might be related to the degree of perception of wide intervals as more 249 uncertain and narrow intervals as more certain. Specifically, strong climate change beliefs 250 could explain a preference for wide intervals as certain, since wide intervals can incorporate 251 more extreme climate change values. In addition, people who are more numerate, and people 252 who are able to understand the probability of occurrence of more than one event (i.e., people 253 who correctly assess that the probability of one of two events is greater than the probability of 254 occurrence of each of those events), might be better able to appraise that a wider interval 255 means a greater likelihood to be correct. Hence, we included a climate change belief scale 256 (Heath and Gifford 2006), a numeracy scale (Lipkus et al. 2001), and a disjunction task 257 (adapted from Costello 2009).

258

c. Results

259

1) EFFECTS OF QUESTION FOCUS

260 Participants in Experiments 1-5 received wide and narrow interval forecasts of sea 261 level rise and temperature rise from two different (fictional) teams of climate scientists, and 262 indicated which interval *conveyed more (un)certainty* (question focused on informativeness) 263 or was *more likely [(un)certain] to be correct* (question focused on accuracy).

264

265

<Insert Figures 1, 2, and 3 about here>

Question focus strongly influenced certainty judgments (Figures 1 and 2). Participants largely chose the wide interval as the one that conveyed more uncertainty, and indicated that the narrow interval conveyed more certainty. Responses to questions about which interval was more likely or more certain to be correct were mixed: some experiments showed a small preference for the wide interval, while narrow and wide intervals were seen as equally certain in other experiments.

273 Figure 3 summarizes the overall results (for all experiments with three response 274 options, i.e., all experiments except Experiment 4), with responses coded according to 275 whether wide intervals are seen as more certain (consistent with the accuracy mindset), 276 narrow intervals are seen as more certain (consistent with the informativeness mindset), or both intervals are seen as equally likely. Analysis of Experiments 2, 3 and 5, where question 277 278 focus was varied between-subjects and three response alternatives (wide more certain, narrow 279 more certain, equal/"medium" interval more certain) were provided, showed a clear effect of question focus, $\chi^2(2, N=1080) = 213.373$, p < .001. While wide intervals were clearly 280 281 associated with uncertainty after informativeness-focused questions, more participants 282 associated wide intervals with certainty after accuracy-focused questions. However, even for 283 questions about correctness, where wide intervals should logically be chosen as more certain, 284 only about 40% of the participants did so.

285

2) RESULTS FOR SECONDARY HYPOTHESES

In Experiments 1 and 2, we investigated whether giving people an explanation for variability, for instance by telling them that the forecasts concerned sea level rise "in different parts of the world", would facilitate the accuracy mindset (i.e., would make more people associate wide intervals with certainty). However, this hint about variability did not affect participants' interval choice in either Experiment 1 (p = .150) or Experiment 2 (p = .303).

291 We further examined whether the accuracy and informativeness mindsets led to 292 different inferences about the forecaster. Participants in Experiment 3 rated whether they 293 found teams giving wide or narrow interval forecasts to have more expertise, on scales from 1 294 (definitely the team with the wide interval) to 5 (definitely the team with the narrow interval). 295 The average of the ratings of the experts across scenarios (i.e., an average of the four 296 questions per scenario) were slightly higher in the "conveys more"-conditions (M = 3.50, SD 297 = .73) than in the "to be correct"-conditions (M = 3.29, SD = .87), and this difference was significant, F(1,234) = 3.991, p = .047, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. In other words, the team with narrow 298 299 intervals was rated more positively after informativeness-focused questions, indicating that 300 making one or the other mindset salient can influence how well both the prediction and the 301 communicator is received.

Experiment 4 investigated whether people find narrow intervals easier to process (i.e., more fluent) and more related to expertise than wide intervals. As predicted, participants judged the narrow interval as being easier to process and as reflecting more expertise than the wide interval (see Supplementary materials for more details about these findings).

Finally, in Experiment 5 we set out to investigate individual differences that might be related to the preference for informativeness vs. accuracy. Specifically, we asked participants about their climate change beliefs, and gave them a test measuring numeracy, and a test measuring their understanding of disjunctive probabilities. However, there were no clear correlation patterns between interval choice and any of these three measures across groups, and the experiment did not have enough power to detect differences within each condition.

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3. Experiment 6: Is it more intuitive to associate wide intervals with uncertainty than with certainty?
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Experiments 1-5 demonstrated that different question focus promotes different views about the relationship between certainty and interval width. However, the fact that only about 40% endorsed wide intervals as "more certain to be correct", indicates that it is more common to associate wide intervals with (subjective) uncertainty than with (objective) certainty. This raises the possibility that the lay view about the relationship between interval width and certainty is more in line with the informativeness mindset than with the accuracy mindset.

321 In support of this idea, research on confidence intervals has repeatedly shown that 322 people produce intervals that are too narrow for the assigned degree of certainty (Moore et al. 323 2016). This consistent overprecision (Moore and Healy 2008) is very hard to eliminate and 324 suggests that the preference for informativeness may be a dominant intuitive response. 325 Studies showing that recipients of information in general prefer narrow intervals illustrate a 326 similar point (Du et al. 2011; Jørgensen 2016; McKenzie and Amin 2002; Yaniv and Foster 327 1995), as does the preliminary finding that people with higher numeracy can (sometimes) 328 better appreciate the trade-off between precision and certainty than those with lower 329 numeracy (Løhre and Teigen 2017). Hence, we ran Experiment 6 to test the hypothesis of an 330 intuitive preference for informativeness among lay people.

331

a. Materials and procedure

The opening paragraph of the survey in Experiment 6 explained that climate scientists sometimes use intervals when giving their predictions of future outcomes, and presented two predictions concerning the expected sea level rise in the Oslo fjord. One of the predictions contained a wide interval (minimum 20 and maximum 60 cm sea level rise) and the other prediction contained a narrow interval (minimum 30 and maximum 50 cm sea level rise). Participants (students at the University of Oslo, N = 105, see Table 1) were randomly assigned to either the wide condition, where it was pointed out that one prediction is wider

than the other, or to the narrow condition, where it was pointed out that one prediction isnarrower than the other.

341 The text then explained that there are two different ways that one can think about the 342 relationship between interval width and uncertainty, using the following formulation in the 343 wide condition:

344 "- On the one hand, WIDE intervals indicate that it is MORE UNCERTAIN what the
345 outcome will be (the sea level could rise by anything from 20 to 60 cm, compared to 30 to
346 50 cm for the narrow interval)

On the other hand, it is MORE CERTAIN that projections using WIDE intervals will be
correct (the forecast is correct if the sea level rises by anything from 20 to 60 cm,

compared to 30 to 50 cm for the narrow interval)"

350 In other words, the accuracy mindset (seeing the wide interval as more certain to be 351 correct) and the informativeness mindset (seeing the wide interval as indicating that it is more 352 uncertain what the outcome will be) were explained to the participants. In the narrow 353 condition, the text explained that narrow intervals could be seen as indicating that it is more 354 certain what the outcome will be, or that it is more uncertain that predictions using narrow 355 intervals will be correct. The order of the statements was counterbalanced in both conditions. 356 After reading the description of the different ways of thinking about intervals and 357 uncertainty, participants were asked to rate how intuitive, natural, appealing, logical, and 358 complicated they found the two ways of thinking, on scales from 1 (not intuitive/natural etc.

at all) to 7 (very intuitive/natural etc.). Next, the participants were given tests of numeracy

360 (Cokely et al. 2012; Schwartz et al. 1997) and cognitive reflection (Frederick 2005) to see

361 whether individual differences in these abilities were related to a preference for

362 informativeness or accuracy. Finally, participants were asked if they had already seen or

363 responded to the cognitive reflection test online or in other experiments.

Insert Figures 4 and 5 about here>
b. Results
Figures 4 and 5 display the ratings of the different mindsets for both wide and narrow intervals, and show that the view that wide intervals convey uncertainty was judged as more intuitive, natural, appealing, logical, and less complicated than the view that wide intervals

372 more "intuitively appealing". We also computed an average difference score to measure the

are more certain to be correct. For simplicity we refer to this combination of attributes as

degree to which one "mindset" was judged as more intuitively appealing than the other, by

taking the "wide = uncertain" and "narrow = certain" ratings, which are in line with the
informativeness mindset, and subtracting the corresponding "wide = certain" and "narrow =

376 uncertain" ratings, which are in line with the accuracy mindset.² Thus, positive difference

377 scores indicate that the informativeness mindset is seen as more intuitively appealing than the

accuracy mindset. The average difference score for the five items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$) did

not differ between conditions, F(1,103) = .144, p = .706, $\eta^2_p = .001$. More interestingly, the

average difference score across conditions was positive, M = .42, SD = 1.32, and differed

381 significantly from 0, t(104) = 3.290, p = .001, 95% CI [.17, .68]. Hence, participants overall

382 judged the informativeness mindset as more intuitively appealing than the accuracy mindset.

There was no significant correlation with the average difference score for either the cognitive reflection test (r = .01, p = .958) or numeracy (r = .09, p = .355). However, people with higher cognitive reflection and numeracy perceived *both* mindsets as more intuitive, as shown by positive correlations between CRT and the informativeness (r = .20, p = .040) and accuracy mindsets (r = .21, p = .037), and between numeracy and the informativeness (r = .20

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² The only exception was for the ratings of how complicated the participants found the two ways of thinking. Here the "wide = uncertain" ratings were subtracted from the "wide = certain" ratings, and the "narrow = certain" ratings were subtracted from the "narrow = uncertain" ratings.

388 .24, p = .014) and accuracy mindsets (r = .14, p = .161). Hence, higher scores on these 389 measures indicate a tendency to find it intuitive to use intervals to express both certainty and 390 uncertainty.

391

4. General Discussion

393 The experiments reported in this paper fill a gap in the literature about climate change 394 communication (Moser 2010; Pidgeon and Fischhoff 2011) by investigating lay perceptions 395 of the relationship between interval width (forecast precision) and certainty. We found 396 evidence of two alternative ways of thinking. Overall, independent of question focus, 45% of our participants³ perceived narrow intervals as giving more certain knowledge about what the 397 398 outcome will be, in line with what we have called a *preference for informativeness*; while 399 26% of the participants perceived that wide intervals have a higher certainty of capturing the 400 true value, displaying a *preference for accuracy*. These two opposite "mindsets" can be made 401 more or less salient by drawing attention to different types of uncertainty. Questions about 402 which interval conveys more (un)certainty (i.e., focusing more on subjective uncertainty) led 403 to a consistent preference for informativeness, while questions about which interval is more 404 certain/likely to be correct (i.e., focusing more on objective certainty) led to a response 405 pattern more in line with the accuracy mindset.

406 Questions focused on informativeness led to a clearer response pattern (wide intervals 407 seen as uncertain and narrow ones as certain) than did questions focused on accuracy. It is 408 somewhat puzzling that people were so divided in their answers to the question about which 409 interval is more likely/certain to be correct. Logically, wider intervals are objectively more 410 likely to capture the outcome value that will occur, as they cover both central (likely) and 411 more peripheral (unlikely) values. Our results indicate that (perhaps for good reasons) people

³ These percentages are based on all experiments with three response alternatives (wide more certain, narrow more certain, equal), i.e., Experiments 1, 2, 3, and 5.

412 would like to know more precisely what the expected values are, and hence find it more 413 intuitive to adopt the informativeness than the accuracy mindset, as shown in Experiment 6. 414 Although the generalizability of the results should be investigated in non-western samples, we 415 find it noteworthy that they are replicated in two different languages (Norwegian vs. English), 416 in three different countries (Norway, UK, USA), and with both student and MTurk samples. 417 Note also that our participants should be more educated and arguably more knowledgeable 418 about these topics than more representative samples. Hence, one might expect an even 419 stronger preference for informativeness in a more representative sample.

These results have important theoretical implications, particularly for the literature on overprecision (Moore et al. 2016). The intuitive preference for informativeness means that wide intervals are usually associated with uncertainty, and as a result, people may not understand or agree that they should widen their intervals to increase their certainty. This can be said to strengthen the conversational norms/informativeness account of overprecision (Kaesler et al. 2016; Yaniv and Foster 1995, 1997).

426 Climate scientists may choose to give wide intervals in order to present predictions 427 with high certainty. Yet, our results show that wide intervals are a stronger signal of 428 (subjective) uncertainty than of (objective) certainty, and the use of wide intervals may 429 therefore undermine trust in climate scientists and their predictions. Although language that 430 accentuates the accuracy mindset may make wide intervals more acceptable to the public (see 431 Experiment 3), our results suggest that many recipients will still prefer narrow intervals, as 432 suggested by 25% of the participants given accuracy-focused questions in our experiments 433 (see Figure 3). Note, however, that in the current experiments, the participants only received 434 intervals, and were asked about their perceptions of (un)certainty. In statements from the 435 IPCC, intervals are often accompanied by verbal or numerical probability statements (e.g., 436 "During the last interglacial period, the Greenland ice sheet very likely contributed between

1.4 and 4.3 m to higher global mean sea level") (IPCC 2013). A recent study showed that
explicitly mentioning the high certainty of wide intervals can counteract the tendency of lay
people to see such intervals as uncertain, with most people stating that a wide interval with
90% probability was more certain than a narrow interval with 50% probability (Teigen et al.
2018).

442 Nevertheless, the current evidence gives reason to be skeptical about the use of wide 443 intervals to achieve high certainty in statements about climate change. However, presenting a 444 precise interval along with a statement about the low certainty of such an interval is arguably 445 not a much better option. One compromise solution would be to provide two intervals rather 446 than one: a narrow (informative) interval paired with a wide (confident) interval, to satisfy 447 both camps of readers. The drawback is that presenting two intervals simultaneously adds 448 complexity to the communication of an already complex topic. Using graphical 449 representations could be useful to simultaneously communicate informativeness and accuracy 450 in a relatively simple way (Spiegelhalter et al. 2011). In any case, communicators should be 451 aware that the current practice of claiming to be very certain about a very wide interval will to 452 many readers sound like a contradiction in terms, which might damage rather than strengthen 453 the public's belief in climate science.

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Tables

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Table 1. Demographics for the samples used in the different experiments.

Experiment no.	n	Sample	Mean age (SD)	Female	Male
1	81	University of Essex students	24.0 (6.5)	80.2%	19.8%
2	201	Amazon Mechanical Turk	37.9 (12.0)	51.7%	48.3%
3 238 Amazon Mechanical Turk		37.7 (11.2)	47.9%	52.1%	
4	302	Amazon Mechanical Turk	34.6 (10.4)	44.4%	55.6%
5 10		University of Essex, snowball sampling	28.0 (13.1)	36.6%	62.4%
6	105	University of Oslo students	23.1 (4.9)	76.2%	23.8%

586 587 Table 2. Overview of questions, response options and design used in the different experiments regarding interval predictions of climate change outcomes.

Experiment	Question(s)/ statements	Question(s)/statements	Response options	Design
no.	focused on informativeness:	focused on accuracy: "Which		
	"Which interval conveys"	interval is"		
1	"most uncertainty"	" most likely to be correct"	Wide, narrow, equal	Within-subjects
2	" most uncertainty"	" most likely to be correct"	Wide, narrow, equal	Between-subjects
3	" more uncertainty"	" more certain to be	Wide, narrow, equal	Between-subjects
	" more certainty"	correct"		
		" more uncertain to be		
		correct"		
4	" more uncertainty"	" more certain to be	Wide, narrow	Between-subjects
	" more certainty"	correct"		
5	" more uncertainty"	" more certain to be	Wide, "medium",	Between-subjects
	" more certainty"	correct"	narrow	
6	"Wide intervals indicate that it	"It is more certain that	Ratings of the	Within-subjects
	is more uncertain what the	projections using wide	intuitive appeal of	
	outcome will be"	intervals will be correct"	both statements	
	"Narrow intervals indicate that	"It is more uncertain that		
	it is more certain what the	projections using narrow		
	outcome will be"	intervals will be correct"		



593 Figure 1. Choices of which interval conveys more certainty and uncertainty.594



598 Figure 2. Choices of which interval is more certain/likely and more uncertain to be correct.





Figure 3. Overall preference for wide vs. narrow intervals as "more certain" for all
experiments with three response options (Experiments 1, 2, 3, and 5).





611 Figure 4. Mean perceptions of two ways of thinking about wide intervals (wide is certain vs.

- 612 wide is uncertain) in Experiment 6, error bars +/- 1 SEM.



618 Figure 5. Mean perceptions of two ways of thinking about narrow intervals (narrow is

619 uncertain vs. narrow is certain) in Experiment 6, error bars +/- 1 SEM.