



The Upside of Irrationality

The Unexpected Benefits of Defying Logic at Work and at Home

THE SUMMARY IN BRIEF

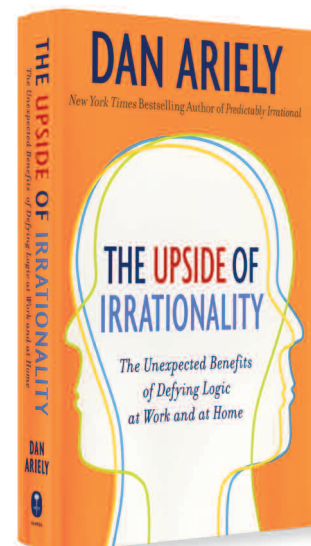
In *The Upside of Irrationality*, social scientist Dan Ariely exposes the surprising negative and positive effects irrationality can have on our lives. Focusing on our behaviors at work and in relationships, he offers new insights and eye-opening truths about what really motivates us on the job, why we often overvalue the things we make, how we learn to love the ones we're with and more.

Drawing on the same type of experimental methods that made his previous book, *Predictably Irrational*, one of the most talked-about bestsellers of the past few years, Ariely uses data from his own original and entertaining experiments to draw arresting conclusions about how — and why — we behave the way we do. From our office attitudes, to our romantic relationships, to our search for purpose in life, Ariely explains how to break through our negative patterns of thought and behavior to make better decisions.

The Upside of Irrationality changes the way we see ourselves at work and at home — and casts our irrational behaviors in a more nuanced light. By showing how our irrational brains can affect our daily decisions, *The Upside of Irrationality* can help us become more aware of the inconvenient facts that often get ignored.

IN THIS SUMMARY, YOU WILL LEARN:

- Why large bonuses can make CEOs less productive.
- How people can be better motivated to do their work.
- Why revenge is so important to us.
- Why there is such a big difference between what we think will make us happy and what *really* makes us happy.



by Dan Ariely

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THE COMPLETE SUMMARY: THE UPSIDE OF IRRATIONALITY

by Dan Ariely

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Introduction

When the designers of modern technologies don't understand our fallibility, they design new and improved systems for stock markets, insurance, education, agriculture or health care that don't take our limitations into account (think "human-incompatible technologies," and they are everywhere). As a consequence, we inevitably end up making mistakes and sometimes fail magnificently.

Behavioral economists want to understand human frailty and find more compassionate, realistic and effective ways for people to avoid temptation, exert more self-control and ultimately reach their long-term goals. As a society, it's extremely beneficial to understand how and when we fail and to design/invent/create new ways to overcome our mistakes. As we gain some understanding about what really drives our behaviors and what steers us astray — from business decisions about bonuses and motivation to the most personal aspects of life, such as dating and happiness — we can gain control over our money, relationships, resources, safety and health, both as individuals and as a society.

This is the real goal of behavioral economics: to try to observe the way we really operate so that we can more readily observe our biases, be more aware of their influences on us and hopefully make better decisions. Although we might never become perfect decision makers, an improved understanding of the multiple irrational forces that influence us could be a useful first step toward making better decisions. And we don't have to stop there. Inventors, companies and policy makers can take the additional steps to redesign our working and living environments in ways that are naturally more compatible with what we can and cannot do.

In the end, this is what behavioral economics is about — figuring out the hidden forces that shape our decisions, across many different domains, and finding solutions to common problems that affect our personal, business and public lives. Once you understand the way our human nature truly operates, you can decide how to apply that knowledge to your professional and personal life. ●

Paying More for Less: Why Big Bonuses Don't Always Work

An experiment was conducted with MIT students to examine the relationship between bonus size and performance when the task was purely mechanical, as opposed to a task that required some mental ability.

The experimental design had four parts, and each participant took part in all four of them. The students were asked to perform the cognitive task (simple math problems) twice: once with the potential of receiving a low bonus and once with the potential of receiving a high bonus. They were also asked to perform the mechanical task (clicking on a keyboard) twice: once with the potential of receiving a low bonus and once with the potential of receiving a high bonus.

What did the experiment reveal? As you might expect, a difference was seen between the effects of bonuses on the two types of tasks. When the job at hand involved only clicking two keys on a keyboard, higher bonuses led to higher performance. However, once the task required even some rudimentary cognitive skills (in the form of simple math problems), the higher incentives led to a negative effect on performance.



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The conclusion was clear: Paying people high bonuses can result in high performance when it comes to simple mechanical tasks, but the opposite can happen when you ask them to use their brains — which is usually what companies try to do when they pay executives very high bonuses. If senior vice presidents were paid to lay bricks, motivating them through high bonuses would achieve the desired outcome. But bonuses for people who need to think about mergers and acquisitions or coming up with complicated financial instruments could be far less effective than we tend to think — and there may even be negative consequences to really large bonuses.

The general conclusion is that using money to motivate people can be a double-edged sword. For tasks that require cognitive ability, low to moderate performance-based incentives can help. But when the incentive level is very high, it can command too much attention and thereby distract the person's mind with thoughts about the reward. This can create stress and ultimately reduce the level of performance. ●

The Meaning of Labor: What Legos Can Teach Us About the Joy of Work

An experiment was created that would test people's reactions to small reductions in meaning for a task that did not have much meaning to start with.

One fall day in Boston, a tall mechanical engineering student named Joe entered the student union at Harvard University. On a crowded bulletin board boasting flyers about upcoming concerts, lectures, political events and roommates wanted, he caught sight of a sign reading “Get paid to build Legos!”

Participant #1: Joe

A few days later, at the agreed-upon time, Joe showed up to take part in the experiment. As luck would have it, he was assigned to the meaningful condition. Sean, the research assistant, greeted Joe as he entered the room, directed him to a chair and explained the procedure to him. Sean showed Joe a Lego Bionicle — a small fighting robot — and then told Joe that his task would involve constructing this exact type of Bionicle, made up of 40 pieces. Next, Sean told Joe the rules for payment.

“The basic setup,” he said, “is that you will get paid on a diminishing scale for each Bionicle you assemble. For the first Bionicle, you will receive \$2. After you finish the first one, I will ask you if you want to build

another one, this time for 11 cents less, which is \$1.89. If you say that you want to build another one, I will hand you the next one. This same process will continue in the same way, and for each additional Bionicle you build, you will get 11 cents less, until you decide that you don't want to build any more Bionicles. At that point, you will receive the total amount of money for all the robots you've created. There is no time limit, and you can build Bionicles until the benefits you get no longer outweigh the costs.”

Joe nodded, eager to get started. “And one last thing,” Sean warned. “We use the same Bionicles for all of our participants, so at some point before the next participant shows up, I will have to disassemble all the Bionicles you build and place the parts back in their boxes for the next participant. Everything clear?”

Joe quickly opened the first box of plastic parts, scanned the assembly instructions and began building his first Bionicle. Once Joe started working on the next Bionicle, Sean took the construction that Joe had just finished and placed it in a box below the desk where it was destined to be disassembled for the next participant.

Like a man on a mission, Joe continued building one Bionicle after another, while Sean continued storing them in the box.

Participant #2: Chad

The next person in line turned out to be a young man named Chad. Unlike Joe, Chad was subjected to a procedure called the “Sisyphean” condition. The term was used to describe the condition that the less fortunate among the participants experienced.

Sean explained the terms and conditions of the study to Chad in exactly the same way he had to Joe. Chad grabbed the box, opened it and began assembling the pieces, moving quickly from one to another. He went about the task cheerily, finished the first Bionicle in a few minutes, and handed it to Sean as instructed.

While Chad was putting together the first pieces of his next Bionicle (pay attention, because this is where the two conditions differed), Sean slowly disassembled the first Bionicle, piece by piece, and placed the pieces back into the original box.

“Why are you taking it apart?” Chad asked, looking both puzzled and dismayed.

“This is just the procedure,” Sean explained. “We need to take this one apart in case you want to build another Bionicle.”

Chad returned his attention to the robot he was building, but his energy and excitement about building

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Bionicles was clearly diminished. When Chad finished his second construction, he paused and, after a few seconds, he said he would build another one.

Sean handed Chad the original box (the one Chad had assembled and Sean had disassembled), and Chad got to work. Meanwhile, Sean slowly took apart the second Bionicle Chad has just finished and placed the parts back into the second box.

The Results

What did the results show? Joe and the other participants in the meaningful condition built an average of 10.6 Bionicles and received an average of \$14.40 for their time. Even after they reached the point where their earnings for each Bionicle were less than \$1 (half of the initial payment), 65 percent of those in the meaningful condition kept on working. In contrast, those in the Sisyphean condition stopped working much sooner. On average, that group built 7.2 Bionicles (68 percent of the number built by the participants in the meaningful condition) and earned an average of \$11.52. Only 20 percent of the participants in the Sisyphean condition constructed Bionicles when the payment was less than \$1 per robot.

In evaluating how the individuals' liking the Legos influenced their persistence in the task, you would expect that the more a participant loved playing with Legos, the more Bionicles he or she would complete. This was generally the case. But it also turned out that the two conditions were very different in terms of the relationship between Legos-love and persistence in the task. In the meaningful condition the correlation was high, but it was practically zero in the Sisyphean condition.

What this analysis says is that if you take people who love something and you place them in meaningful working conditions, the joy they derive from the activity is going to be a major driver in dictating their level of effort.

However, if you take the same people with the same initial passion and desire and place them in meaningless working conditions, you can easily kill any internal joy they might derive from the activity.

The translation of joy into willingness to work seems to depend, to a large degree, on how much meaning we can attribute to our own labor.

The Division and Meaning of Labor

When we take tasks and break them down into smaller parts, we create local efficiencies; each person can become better and better at the small thing he or she

does. But we often don't realize that the division of labor can also exact human cost. As early as 1844, Karl Marx pointed to the importance of what he called "the alienation of labor." For Marx, an alienated laborer is separated from his or her own activities, from the goals of his or her labor, and from the process of production. This makes work an external activity that does not allow the laborer to find identity or meaning in the work.

In today's economy, as we move to jobs that require more imagination, creativity, thinking and round-the-clock engagement, Marx's emphasis on alienation adds an important ingredient to the mix. At the same time, modern IT infrastructure allows us to break projects into very small, discrete parts and assign each person to do only one of the many parts. In so doing, companies run the risk of taking away employees' sense of the big picture, purpose, sense of completion and much of their motivation. ●

The IKEA Effect: Why We Overvalue What We Make

The notion of attachment to the things we make, such as building a beautiful toy chest from IKEA, was deemed worthy of testing to understand the process by which labor begets love. In honor of the inspiration for the study, the overvaluation resulting from labor was called "the IKEA effect." The intent was to find out whether the greater perceived value resulting from the IKEA effect might be based on sentimental attachment ("It's crooked and barely strong enough to hold up my books, but it's my bookshelf!") or on self-delusion ("This bookshelf is easily as nice as the \$500 version at Design Within Reach!").

Research results from an origami experiment showed that amateur origami creators had a substantial bias when evaluating their own work. Non-creators viewed the amateurish art as useless and the professional versions as much, much more exciting. In contrast, the creators saw their own work as almost as good as the experts' origami. It seemed that the difference between creators and non-creators was not in how they viewed the art of origami in general but in the way that the creators came to love and overvalue their own creations.

But investing effort is not enough. It turns out that completion is also a crucial ingredient for attachment. Research into this aspect led to results that implied that investing more effort does, indeed, increase our affection, but only when the effort leads to completion. When the effort is unfruitful, affection for one's work plummets.

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In summary, these initial experiments suggest that once we build something, we do, in fact, view it with more loving eyes. As an old Arabic saying goes, “Even the monkey, in his mother’s eyes, is an antelope.”

According to the reasoning behind the IKEA effect, more effort imbues greater valuation and appreciation. This means that to increase your feelings of pride and ownership in your daily life, you should take a larger part in creating more of the things you use in your daily life.

Labor and Love

The experiments related to the IKEA effect demonstrated four principles of human endeavor:

- The effort that we put into something does not just change the object. It changes us and the way we evaluate that object.
- Greater labor leads to greater love.
- Our overvaluation of the things we make runs so deep that we assume that others share our biased perspective.
- When we cannot complete something into which we have put great effort we don’t feel so attached to it. ●

The Not-Invented-Here Bias: Why ‘My’ Ideas Are Better Than ‘Yours’

Regardless of what we create — a toy box, a new source of electricity, a new mathematical theorem — much of what really matters to us is that it is our creation. As long as we create it, we tend to feel rather certain that it’s more useful and important than similar ideas that other people come up with.

The Positive Side

Like many findings in behavioral economics, this, too, can be both useful and detrimental. On the positive side, if you understand the sense of ownership and pride that stems from investing time and energy in projects and ideas, you can inspire yourself and others to be more committed to and interested in the tasks at hand. It doesn’t take much to increase a sense of ownership. Next time you unpack a manufactured item, look at the inspection tag and you might find someone’s name proudly displayed on it.

There’s a negative side to this, of course. For example, someone who understands how to manipulate another person’s desire for ownership can lead an unsuspecting victim into doing something for him or her. Once we

are addicted to our own ideas, it is less likely that we will be flexible when necessary (“staying the course” is inadvisable in many cases). We run the risk of dismissing others’ ideas that might simply be better than our own.

Like many other aspects of our interesting and curious nature, our tendency to overvalue what we create is a mixed bag of good and bad. Our task is to figure out how we can get the most good and the least bad out of ourselves. ●

The Case of Revenge: What Makes Us Seek Justice?

Revenge is one of the deepest-seated instincts we have. Throughout history, oceans of blood have been spilled and an endless number of lives ruined in an effort to settle scores — even when nothing good could possibly come of it.

It turns out that the threat of revenge — even at great personal expense — can serve as an effective enforcement mechanism that supports social cooperation and order. Overall, the threat of vengeance can have a certain efficacy.

What, exactly, are the mechanics and motivations underlying this primal urge? Under what circumstances do people want to take revenge? What drives us to spend our own time, money and energy — and even take risks — just to make another party suffer?

‘Yours Is a Very Bad Hotel’

If you search for Tom Farmer and Shane Atchison on the Internet, you will find an amusing presentation called “Yours Is a Very Bad Hotel,” an interesting PowerPoint act of comeuppance against the management of the Doubletree Club hotel in Houston.

One cold night in 2001, the two businessmen showed up at the hotel, where they had guaranteed and confirmed reservations. Sadly, upon arrival, they were told that the hotel was overbooked and that there was only one room available, but it was off limits due to air-conditioning and plumbing problems. Though the news was obviously annoying, what really irritated Farmer and Atchison was the nonchalant attitude of Mike, the clerk.

Since Mike was the service representative, they felt it was his job to demonstrate some compassion, and when he didn’t, they got mad and got even. Like all good consultants, they prepared a PowerPoint presentation. Theirs described the sequence of events — complete with humorous quotes from “Night Clerk Mike.” They included the calculated potential income that his incom-

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petence would cost the hotel chain, along with the likelihood that they would never return to the Doubletree Club hotel.

The businessmen e-mailed the file to the general manager of the Doubletree Club hotel and to their clients in Houston. After that, the presentation enjoyed viral fame on the Internet. In the end, Doubletree offered to make amends with Farmer and Atchison. The two asked only that Doubletree fix the customer service problem, which it reportedly did. ●

On Adaptation: Why We Get Used to Things (but Not All Things and Not Always)

To get a better view of the wonders of adaptation, let's consider the way our visual system functions. If you've ever gone to a matinee and walked from the dark movie theater to the sunny parking lot, the first moment outside is one of stunning brightness, but then your eyes adjust relatively quickly.

Our ability to adapt to light is just one example of our general adaptive skills. The same process takes place when we first encounter a new smell, texture, temperature or background noise. Initially, we are very aware of these sensations. But as time passes, we pay less and less attention to them until, at some point, we adapt and they become almost unnoticeable.

The bottom line is that we have only a limited amount of attention with which to observe and learn about the world around us — and adaptation is a very important novelty filter that helps us focus our limited attention on things that are changing and might therefore pose either opportunities or danger. Adaptation allows us to attend to the important changes among the millions that occur around us all the time and ignore the unimportant ones.

What Can Pain Teach Us About Adaptation?

Another kind of adaptation is called hedonic adaptation. This has to do with the way we respond to painful or pleasurable experiences. For instance, try this thought experiment. Shut your eyes and think about what would happen if you were badly injured in a car accident that paralyzed you from the waist down. You see yourself in a wheelchair, no longer able to walk or run. You think that many of your future possibilities will no longer be open to you. In imagining such a thing, you probably think that the loss of your legs will make you miserable for as long as you live.

It turns out that we are very good at conceiving the future but we can't foresee how we will adapt to it. It's difficult to imagine that, over time, you might get used to the changes in your lifestyle, adapt to your injury and find that it's not as terrible as you once thought. It's even harder to imagine discovering new and unexpected joys in your new situation.

Yet, numerous studies have shown that we adapt more quickly and to a larger degree than we imagine.

Faulty Predictions

In the end, although we can accurately predict what will happen when we walk from a dark movie theater to a sunny parking lot, we do a relatively poor job anticipating either the extent or the speed of hedonic adaptation. We usually get it wrong on both counts. In the long term, we don't end up being as happy as we thought we'd be when good things happen to us, and nor do we end up as sad as we expect when bad things occur.

Our reason for our difficulty in predicting the extent of our hedonic adaptation is that when making predictions, we usually forget to take into account the fact that life goes on and that, in time, other events (both positive and negative) will influence our sense of well-being. ●

Hot or Not? Adaptation, Assortative Mating and the Beauty Market

To learn more about how people adapt to their own less-than-perfect looks, two ingenious young men, James Hong and Jim Young, helped to run a study using their Web site, HOT or NOT (www.hotornot.com). Upon entering the site, you're greeted with photos of a man or woman of almost any age (18 years of age or older only). Above the photo floats a box with a scale from 1 (NOT) to 10 (HOT). Once you've rated the picture, a new photo of a different person appears, as well as the average rating of the person you just rated.

Hong and Young provided us with the ratings and dating information of 16,550 HOT or NOT members during a 10-day period.

The data showed that the less hot individuals were, in fact, very aware of their own level of (un)attractiveness. Though this awareness did not influence how they perceived or judged the attractiveness of others (as shown by their hotness ratings), it did affect the choices they made about whom they asked to meet.

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Our Own Physical Attractiveness

The data from HOT or NOT and from other experiments showed that people do adapt to their own physical attractiveness by putting less emphasis on their partner's looks and learn to love other attributes such as kindness and sense of humor.

Simply put, less attractive people learn to view non-physical attributes as more important. ●

When a Market Fails

Basically, when a product doesn't work well for us, it misses the intended mark. One such example is online dating sites that try to reduce humans to a set of descriptive words too often fail to make real matches. More generally, companies disappoint when they don't translate what they're offering into something compatible with the way we think.

Take computers, for example. Most of us just want a computer that is reliable, runs fast and can help us do the thing we want to do. We couldn't care less about the amount of RAM, processor speed or bus speed (of course, some people really care about these things), but that's the way manufacturers describe their computers, not really helping us understand how the experience with a particular computer will feel. (The same goes for car insurance, annuities, etc.)

So how can markets be made more efficient and effective? Here's an example of social loans: Let's say you need to scrounge together money for a car. Many companies have now set up social lending structures that allow families and friends to borrow and lend from each other, which cuts the middlemen (banks) out of the equation, reduces the risk of nonpayment and provides better interest rates to both the lender and borrower. The companies that manage these loans take no risk and deal with the logistics of the loan behind the scenes. Everyone but the banks benefits.

The bottom line is this: Even when markets are not working for us, we are not utterly helpless. We can try to solve a problem by figuring out how a market is not providing the help we expect from it and take some steps to alleviate the problem (lending money to relatives, etc.). We can also try to solve the problem more generally and come up with products that are designed with an eye for meeting the needs of prospective customers. Sadly, but also happily, the opportunities for such improved products and services are everywhere. ●

On Empathy and Emotion: Why We Respond to One Person Who Needs Help but Not to Many

Many results show that we are called to action only by individual, personalized suffering and are numbed when a crisis outgrows our ability to imagine it. If this is the case, what hope do we have of getting ourselves (or our politicians) to solve large-scale humanitarian problems? Clearly, we cannot simply trust that we will all do the right thing when the next disaster inevitably takes place.

Once we realize that the sheer size of a crisis causes us to care less rather than more, we can try to change the way we think about and approach human problems. For example, the next time a huge earthquake flattens a city and you hear about thousands of people killed, try to think specifically about helping one suffering person — a little girl who dreams of becoming a doctor, a teenage boy with a big smile and a talent for soccer, or a hard-working grandmother struggling to raise her deceased daughter's child. Once we imagine the problem this way, our emotions are activated and we can decide what steps to take.

In many ways, it is very sad that the only effective way to get people to respond to suffering is through an emotional appeal, rather than through an objective reading of massive need. The upside is that when our emotions are awakened, we can be tremendously caring. Once we attach an individual face to suffering, we're much more willing to help and, to a degree, that is far beyond what economists would expect from rational, selfish, maximizing agents. ●

The Long-Term Effects of Short-Term Emotions: Why We Shouldn't Act on Our Negative Feelings

For better or worse, emotions are fleeting. A traffic jam may annoy, a gift may please and a stubbed toe will send us into a bout of cursing, but we don't stay annoyed, happy or upset for very long. However, if we react impulsively in response to what we're feeling, we may live to regret our behavior for a long time. If we send a furious e-mail to the boss, say something awful to someone we love or buy something we know we can't afford, we may regret what we've done as soon as the impulse wears off.

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Emotional Influences

Since it's impossible to avoid either relevant or irrelevant emotional influences altogether, is there anything we can do to keep social and romantic relationships from deteriorating? One simple piece of advice is to pick partners who would make an emotional downward spiral less likely. But how do you do this? Of course, you can avail yourself of hundreds of compatibility tests, from astrological to statistical, but all you need is a river, a canoe and two paddles.

Whenever I go canoeing, I see couples arguing as they unintentionally run aground or get hung up on a rock. Canoeing looks easier than it is, and that may be why it quickly brings couples to the brink of battle. Arguments occur far less frequently when meeting a couple for drinks or going to their home for dinner, and it isn't just because they are trying to be on their best behavior (after all, why wouldn't a couple also try to be on good behavior on the river?). It might have to do with the well-established patterns of behavior people have for their normal, day-to-day activities (arguing vehemently at the table in front of strangers is pretty much a no-no in most families).

When There's No Clear Protocol

But when you're on a river, the situation is largely new. There isn't a clear protocol. There's also a fuzzy kind of division of labor between the front and back (or bow and stern, if you want to be technical). This context offers plenty of opportunities to establish and observe fresh patterns of behavior. And because the river is unpredictable, and canoes tend to drift and turn in ways you don't anticipate (much like life, which is full of new and surprising stresses and roadblocks), there is a lot of potential to create new behavioral patterns.

So if you're half of a couple, what happens when you go canoeing? Do you or your partner start blaming each other every time the canoe seems to misbehave? Do you get into a huge battle that ends with one or both of you jumping overboard, swimming to shore and not speaking for an hour? Or, when you hit a rock, do you work together trying to figure out who should do what and get along as best you can?

This means that before committing to any long-term relationship you should first explore your joint behavior in environments that don't have well-defined social protocols. It also means that it is worthwhile to keep an eye open for deteriorating patterns of behavior.

When we observe early-warning signs, we should take swift action to correct an undesirable course before the unfortunate patterns of dealing with each other fully develop. ●

Lessons From Our Irrationalities: Why We Need to Test Everything

We humans are fond of the notion that we are objective, rational and logical. We take pride in the "fact" that we make decisions based on reason. When we decide to invest our money, buy a home, choose schools for our kids or pick a medical treatment, we usually assume that the choices we make are the right ones.

This is sometimes true, but it is also the case that our cognitive biases often lead us astray, particularly when we have to make big, difficult, painful choices.

Know Your Limitations

Just as we use seat belts to protect ourselves from accidents and wear coats to keep the chill off our backs, we need to know our limitations when it comes to our ability to think and reason — particularly when making important decisions as individuals, business executives and public officials.

One of the best ways to discover our mistakes and the different ways to overcome them is by running experiments, gathering and scrutinizing data, comparing the effect of the experimental and control conditions, and seeing what's there.

Doubt your intuition and run your own experiments in an effort to make better decisions. Ask questions. Explore. Turn over rocks. Question your behavior, that of your company, employees and other businesses, and that of agencies, politicians and governments. By doing so, we may all discover ways to overcome some of our limitations, and that's the great hope of social science.

These are only the first steps of exploring our irrational side, and the journey ahead is long and exciting. ●

RECOMMENDED READING LIST

If you liked *The Upside of Irrationality*, you'll also like:

1. ***Winning* by Jack Welch with Suzy Welch.** Welch addresses his own management techniques honed during his tenure as CEO of General Electric.
2. ***A Whole New Mind* by Daniel H. Pink.** Right-brained individuals are leading the talent pack. Learn the six essential aptitudes you'll need to excel.
3. ***Executive Presence* by Harrison Monarth.** What is the difference between executives that exude confidence and those that draw skepticism from others? Monarth reveals the knowledge you need to have the edge.