

从经济领域到社会领域：决策中的不确定性*

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摘要 不确定性指个体根据已有信息进行预测的精确程度。文章梳理了来源于经济领域和社会领域的不确定性研究, 发现不确定性普遍引发个体的消极情绪。通过剖析两个领域的不确定性对心理和行为的影响路径, 发现经济决策中的不确定性首先引发注意和记忆的认知资源变化, 促进个体采取灵活的学习策略, 随后影响对奖惩的评估。社会决策中的不确定性首先影响针对他人的预测推断, 进而影响人际互动策略, 随后影响对互动结果的社会学习。最后针对过往研究存在的不足, 提出未来值得研究的方向。

关键词 不确定性 经济领域 社会领域 风险厌恶 模糊厌恶 神经机制

1 引言

受到所掌握的信息和环境因素的限制, 不确定性广泛存在于各种决策之中 (Griffin & Grote, 2020; Shou et al., 2022)。不确定性指个体根据已有信息进行预测的精确程度 (FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019), 包含风险不确定与模糊不确定 (Crone & van Duijvenvoorde, 2021; Knight, 1921)。风险不确定 (risk) 指已知概率的不确定性, 不同结果发生的概率可以明确量化。模糊不确定 (ambiguity) 指个体无法得知不同结果发生的概率, 或者缺乏足够的概率信息。模糊不确定比风险不确定具有更强的不可预测性, 被认为是一种更深程度的不确定 (Furnham & Marks, 2013)。

面对不确定性时, 主观期望效用理论 (subjective

expected utility model) 假设决策者对不同事件发生的概率会赋予主观的判断。个体利用主观概率分布和效用函数, 计算并选择具有最大期望效用的选项 (Savage, 1972)。最大最小化期望效用模型 (maxmin expected utility model) 在此基础上进行扩展, 认为个体存在多个可能的主观概率分布 (Gilboa & Schmeidler, 1989)。该模型有效地量化并区分个体的风险和模糊态度, 得以反映个体寻求或规避风险和模糊的一般行为倾向 (Levy et al., 2010)。

经济和社会领域的不确定性实际是人类需要面对和解决的两大类生存问题。面对经济领域的不确定性, 人需要学会与环境相处, 了解客观规律。面对社会领域的不确定性, 人需要学会和同类相处, 完成大规模合作。经济决策中的不确定性主

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要指与金钱收益或损失有关的概率信息 (Ellsberg, 1961; Monosov, 2020), 考察个体在包含金钱收益和损失的不确定情境中是如何权衡得失, 并做出选择的 (Blankenstein et al., 2018; Crone & van Duijvenvoorde, 2021)。社会决策中的不确定性源于个体和他人之间相互作用的不确定性。具体而言, 社会不确定性 (social uncertainty) 指个人对于自身未来状态和行为的不确定性取决于个体对他人状态和行为的不确定性程度 (FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019; Kappes et al., 2019)。我们身处庞大的社交网络中, 往往需要考虑与他人相关的风险, 而对他人能力或价值的估计某种程度上是一种复杂的概率判断 (Knight, 1921)。“社会脑”假说提出, 当个体发展为群体时, 社会环境变得愈发复杂, 人们进化出特定于社会情境的方式处理信息 (Lockwood et al., 2020), 并且强调了社会因素对大脑发展和功能塑造的重要性 (Atzil et al., 2018)。随着经济领域到社会领域的不确定性研究发展, 有必要探讨人们面对两类不确定性时, 存在哪些相同或特异的心理与神经机制。

本文将剖析经济领域和社会领域不确定性影响的异同。首先总结两个领域的不确定性对情绪变化的影响共性, 然后区分两个领域的不确定性对个体心理和行为的影响路径差异, 并阐述相关的神经机制。最后结合目前的研究现状, 提出未来可行的研究思路。

2 经济领域和社会领域中不确定性的影响共性

不论面对潜在的金钱损失或与他人互动, 不确定性均会引发个体的消极情绪反应 (Chen et al., 2018; Tsang, 2020)。对不确定性的特定信念进一步调节消极情绪的变化, 当个体相信不确定状态不可避免时会感到焦虑, 而相信不确定状态可以避免时, 焦虑就会伴随愤怒 (Anderson et al., 2016)。并且, 通过干预改善个体对不确定性的消极信念能有效改善其愤怒表达 (Laposa & Fracalanza, 2019)。此外, 个体普遍对不确定性感到厌恶, 希望迫切减少不确定性 (Golman et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2021)。Golman 等人提出, 对不确定性的厌恶可以由信息缺口的理论模型解释。信息缺口 (information gap) 指个体意识到存在特定的不确定性问题。风险决策下的信息缺口源于对最终结果的不确定性, 思考结果的不确定性会引发不适感。模糊决策下的信息缺口还包括

了对不同结果概率的不确定性, 思考缺失的概率信息令人厌恶和想要逃避 (Golman et al., 2021)。

2.1 经济领域中的不确定性与情绪变化

面对经济决策中的不确定性及其潜在的负面后果, 前脑岛 (anteriorinsula, AI) 会参与不确定性厌恶的加工, 对事情的不确定性强度以及负面预期进行表征 (Wu et al., 2021)。不确定性还会引发与情绪相关的生理唤醒。在概率模糊时, 区分潜在结果的价值变得更加困难, 因此身体会产生放大的唤醒反应, 以增强对潜在结果的价值表征 (FeldmanHall et al., 2016)。而外侧前额叶的损伤破坏了生理唤醒和赌博选择之间的关系, 这会使得个体更倾向于寻求风险和模糊 (FeldmanHall et al., 2019)。

针对风险厌恶的神经网络研究发现, 低风险厌恶的老年人表征计划和问题解决的脑区 (如背外侧前额叶) 之间连接性更强, 而高风险厌恶的老年人表征奖惩体验 (如眶额叶) 和伤害避免 (如脑岛) 的脑区之间连接性更强 (Han et al., 2012)。同样地, 关于背侧前扣带皮层 (dorsal anterior cingulate cortex, dACC) 调节模糊决策下适应性行为的研究发现, 左侧 dACC 和右侧前脑岛之间更强的功能连接性与高模糊厌恶相关, 而左侧 dACC 和右侧背外侧前额叶之间更强的功能连通性与低模糊厌恶相关 (Jung et al., 2014)。

2.2 社会领域中的不确定性与情绪变化

社会决策中的不确定性源于潜在负面的人际互动, 比如被同伴欺骗或遭遇冲突同样会引发个体的不确定性厌恶, 并伴随 AI 的激活。当互动对象是人类时, AI 的激活比当互动对象是计算机时更强 (Bellucci et al., 2017)。由于 AI 表征对潜在负面结果的本能警惕 (Xiong et al., 2020), 这意味着当不确定性源于社会互动对象时, 个体可能包含更复杂的情感因素, 引发更强烈的负面情绪。相关实证研究也发现, 相比于随机事件带来的风险, 个体更反感与社会同伴相关的风险 (Fetchnhauer & Dunning, 2012)。并且相比于经济情境中的负面结果 (损失金钱), 社会情境中的负面结果 (人际关系破坏) 会引发个体更强的消极情绪 (FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019)。

3 经济领域和社会领域中不确定性的影响路径

不确定性普遍引发个体的消极情绪, 由此产

生减少不确定性的强烈动机。这与认知闭合理论观点相符,即人们在认知过程中具有对确定性和封闭性的基本需求,渴望捕捉信息并形成明确的判断(Kruglanski & Webster, 1996)。然而,社会领域的不确定性相比经济领域具有一定的独特性(Martinez-Saito & Gorina, 2022),这表现在两个方面。首先在来源上,经济领域的不确定性主要源于结果的不确定性(收益或损失)。而社会领域的不确定性源于社会互动的各个环节(FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019):初始阶段包括对他人的初步预测和推断(他人是否值得信任、是否有能力)。初始评估的不确定性会影响人际互动的不确定性(合作或欺骗),从而导致社会互动结果的不确定性(获得回报或遭遇背叛)。因而,社会不确定性来源更多、更广泛。其次在程度上,社会情境中的不确定性的程度往往比非社会情境更高,高度不确定性被认为是区分社会和非社会环境的一个显著特征(Mitchell, 2009)。本文将进一步剖析经济和社会两大领域中,不确定性对个体心理和行为变化的影响路径。

3.1 经济领域不确定性的影响路径

3.1.1 经济领域的不确定性与注意记忆

面对潜在的损失或收益,与注意和记忆相关的认知资源会发生变化,为应对不确定性提供认知上的准备。不确定性影响个体选择时的注视过程(Stojić et al., 2020)。一方面,不确定性使人们对新信息保持高度警惕(Randles et al., 2018)。当面对不确定的奖励时,人们会扩大自己的注意力广度,关注环境中更多的线索(Walker et al., 2019)。从神经活动的角度看,额下回后部与模糊决策加工有关(Huettel et al., 2006),并负责对任务切换中相关信息的注意(Brass & von Cramon, 2004)。另一方面,不确定性下的物体可能得到优先注意,使得个体产生更丰富或更精细的感觉表征,并对该物体的记忆增强。当奖励的变化程度高,并与某一特定物体相联系时,个体对该物体的识别记忆更准确(Rouhani et al., 2018)。从底层神经的角度看,不确定性可能会增加突触学习和储存信息的能力(Monosov, 2020)。综上,不确定性使得个体对学习和记忆编码的需求变得更大,使其调动更多的认知资源去应对不确定性。

3.1.2 经济领域的不确定性与学习策略

注意相关的认知资源导向不确定性更深层次的

信息加工,包括采取灵活的学习机制和行为策略。在涉及奖惩的经济决策中,风险是学习的一个主要的调节因素。当不确定水平低并且回报是明确可得时,个体将以奖励驱动的方式行动,遵循经典的强化学习机制。而在高度不确定性的情况下,个体需要学习事件的结构以减少不确定性(Martinez-Saito & Gorina, 2022)。进一步,不确定性还会引发个体的探索和利用策略。利用(exploitation)是指个体把注意更多放在已知的回报和确定的结果上。而探索(exploration)意味着个体更多地关注具有高度不确定性的选择(Beesley et al., 2015)。经济决策的目标往往是最大化自身回报,相比社会互动中的不确定性,个体需要对奖惩的概率和收益大小进行更为精细的信息加工,并在此基础上权衡探索和利用策略的比重。相关神经机制研究也表明,相比社会决策,右侧顶内沟更多地参与经济决策中(如彩票情境)不确定性的加工(Fairley et al., 2022),这个区域通常被认为表征计算和概率加工(Huettel et al., 2006; Krain et al., 2006)。而概率和价值的执行判断则与背外侧前额叶和后顶叶皮层有关(Huettel et al., 2005)。

3.1.3 经济领域的不确定性与奖惩评估

奖惩评估是不确定性决策中的重要过程,并且受到情境因素的调节。在老虎机游戏中(经济领域),被试相比损失更看重奖励,导致过度投资。相反,在信任游戏中(社会领域),被试相比回报更看重损失(Lamba et al., 2020),这意味着对两类决策的积极与消极反馈的评估存在不对称性。进一步,个体对结果的归因方式也有差异。如果对方背叛信任或违反规范,个体倾向于认为这是自己对他人行为的判断出现错误,而如果同样的负面结果出现在机器上,个体倾向于认为是运气不好(Trautmann et al., 2008),这意味着人们可能在不确定的经济决策中倾向于外部归因,而在社会决策中倾向于内部归因。经济决策中的奖赏评估与腹侧纹状体、腹内侧前额叶和眶额皮层有关(Bartra et al., 2013; Blankenstein et al., 2017; Tom et al., 2007)。并且,风险决策加工更多涉及与奖赏和冲突检测相关的区域(Wu et al., 2021),如纹状体系统(Hsu et al., 2005)、前扣带回(Poudel et al., 2020)和顶叶皮层(Bach & Dolan, 2012; Huettel et al., 2006)。

3.2 社会领域不确定性的影响路径

3.2.1 社会领域的不确定性与预测推断

与经济决策不同的是,当不确定性源于他人时,人们首先要利用过去的知识和情境线索迅速缩小对他人的预测。比如,通过评估他人的外在特征和所处的环境形成初始的印象(是否友善、是否有能力)(FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019)。在初始评估阶段,不确定性促使人们形成对他人的快速、自动的初始分类,针对他人最初的印象与随后获得的信息相结合,从而将其归类到不同的社会群体中(Fiske & Neuberg, 1990)。不确定性认同理论表明,对他人进行社会分类可以有效地减少不确定性,进而影响与他人互动的方式(Hogg, 2021)。

此外,人们还可以通过推断他人的意图和动机来减少不确定性。他人行为背后的动机不仅是隐藏的,并且往往是动态变化的。研究发现,当助人者面临更高程度的帮助成本不确定性时,受益者推断其助人行为背后的善意意图会增加(Xiong et al., 2020),这一推断过程激活了负责心理理论加工的背内侧前额叶(Cole et al., 2019)。社会情境中的不确定性和不可预测性更为突出(Martinez-Saito & Gorina, 2022),心理理论有助于个体更好地理解对方决策背后的意图。

3.2.2 社会领域的不确定性与人际互动

社会领域的不确定性进一步影响人际互动策略。比如,结果不确定性会减少亲社会行为,而影响不确定性会增加亲社会行为(Kappes et al., 2018)。对于结果不确定,人们往往低估自身的决策给他人带来的负面结果,从而有可能表现得更加自私(Haisley & Weber, 2010)。而对于影响

不确定性,人们会考虑自身行为是否会对他人造成潜在的有害影响,从而谨慎行事。此外,人们倾向于使用认知捷径和启发式的信息处理策略来应对不确定的社会情境。比如,合作收益结果的不确定性将导致个体使用“社会启发式”(social heuristics)策略,并普遍增加了合作行为(van den Berg et al., 2021)。

然而,社会决策中的不确定性需要区分社会偏好和风险偏好的作用。研究发现,社会偏好(帮助意愿)和风险偏好(承担风险意愿)对风险助人行为的影响是独立且可分离的。哌甲酯改变的多巴胺浓度影响了帮助决策,并通过选择性地改变风险偏好而非社会偏好来增加风险助人行为,揭示了个体在处理风险和社会后果时的神经生物学差异(Gross et al., 2021)。

有趣的是,经济领域的不确定性态度会影响社会互动下的不确定性应对方式。个体的合作或信任的程度与其模糊态度有关,而与风险态度无关。对于越包容模糊性的个体而言,他们在高度不确定性的社会互动中会对他人有着更积极的预期,表现出更强的合作意愿和亲社会行为(Vives & FeldmanHall, 2018)。

3.2.3 社会领域的不确定性与社会学习

为了应对不确定性,对人际互动结果进行评估与学习是必不可少的,经济决策需要个体从涉及自身的奖励或惩罚中进行学习,而社会决策需要个体从涉及他人的社会反馈中进行学习。获得人际互动的反馈后,个体可以不断地整合新的反馈信息

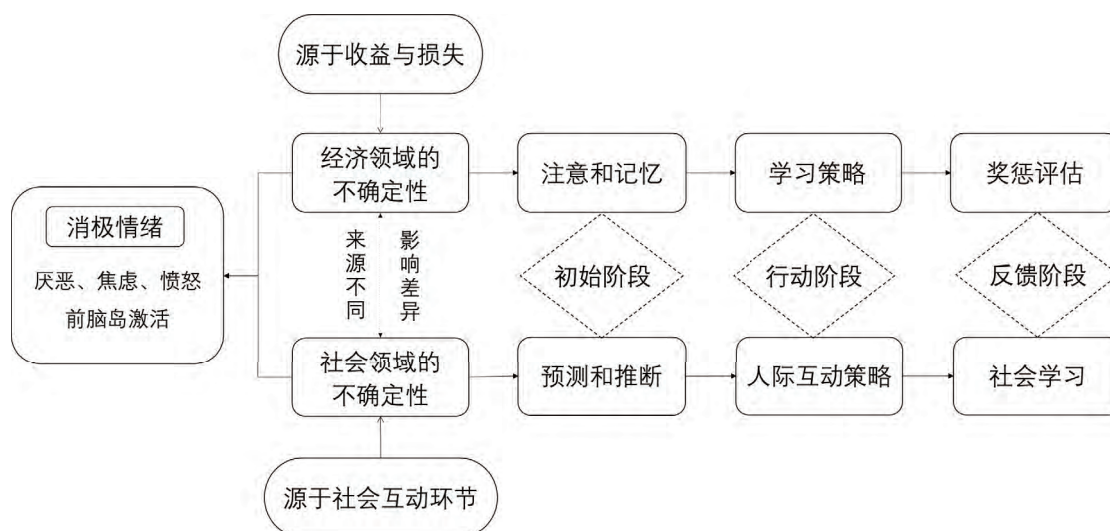


图1 经济领域与社会领域中不确定性的影响路径

和已有的先验信息,形成对他人态度和行为更准确的预期。这个过程被称为社会学习,有助于减少长期社会交往中的不确定性(FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019)。研究发现,焦虑的个体往往在不确定的社会环境中表现出学习困难(Aylward et al., 2019)。相比于健康组被试,焦虑组被试普遍在剥削型同伴身上投入更多金钱,对负面的社会信息学习更慢且效果更差(Lamba et al., 2020)。对不确定性的强烈厌恶会抑制高焦虑个体的探索行为,从而限制其从环境中获取信息(FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019)。在社会学习过程中,纹状体系统起着关键的作用(Martinez-Saito & Gorina, 2022),该系统编码了与自我和他人行为相关的奖励信息(Báez-Mendoza & Schultz, 2013),对社会奖赏较为敏感。

4 总结与展望

本文系统地梳理了经济领域和社会领域中不确定性决策研究,阐述了不确定性对情绪变化的影响共性,即普遍引发个体的消极情绪;进一步区分了经济领域和社会领域中的不确定性对心理和行为的影响路径差异,及其背后的认知神经机制(图1)。

不确定性影响个体在经济决策和社会决策中采取不同的认知策略和行动方式,在一定程度上支持了“社会脑”假说.Lockwood等人提出的社会脑信息加工层次表明,从目标到执行过程的差异有助于理解特定行为的产生(Lockwood et al., 2020)。个体减少不确定性使未来的状态和结果变得可预测,但具体目标导向不同。经济决策中,个体需要准确预测奖惩事件的发生,以减少潜在损失,实现自身收益最大化。社会决策中,个体需要准确预测他人的动机与行为,实现互动双方的社会回报最大化,继而实现人际关系的价值最大化。区别于非社会领域,对关系的建立和维持是人处于社会群体中的重要需求(Atzil et al., 2018)。而在执行机制上,应对社会领域的不确定性需要更复杂的认知过程,其中被认为具有社会特异性的心理理论有助于个体理解他人的情感状态(Adolphs, 2009),从而有效地应对源于他人的不确定性。结合目前的研究现状,未来的研究可以从以下四个方面展开:

4.1 区分风险和模糊态度的影响

过往不确定性研究较少严格区分风险态度和模糊态度。然而,个体的风险态度和模糊态度时常是独立的,存在不同的影响因素和作用机制(Blankenstein et al., 2017; Levy et al., 2010)。一方面,两种态度存在不同的年龄发展轨迹(Blankenstein et al., 2021)。个体一生中累积暴露的应激源与模糊态度有关(但与风险态度无关),意味着过往应激经历中与不确定情景有关的消极结果,可能会使个体对未知的潜在结果更悲观,并表现为更强的模糊厌恶(Raio et al., 2022)。另一方面,风险决策和模糊决策加工均存在特异性神经机制。风险决策与腹外侧前额叶皮层、双侧中央前回和顶叶皮层更强的激活有关(Blankenstein et al., 2018)。而模糊决策与背侧前额叶皮层的关系更为紧密(Krain et al., 2006; Poudel et al., 2020)。因而,未来研究者需要在更多的研究领域(特别是社会领域)中区分两种态度的差异。

4.2 探索不确定性的益处及相关神经机制

过往研究主要关注不确定性的负面影响,然而适当地增加不确定性可以使个体的思维更灵活、更具有创造力(Griffin & Grote, 2020)。“潘多拉效应”认为人们具有解决不确定性的内在欲望。当人们面对不确定的事情时会产生强烈的好奇心,即使他们预期会有消极的后果,也会采取行动来解决不确定性(Hsee & Ruan, 2016)。类似地,“动机-不确定性效应”表明人们会投入更多的时间、金钱和精力来追求一个不确定的奖励,而不是一个期望价值相对更高的确定的奖励。并且当人们更关注追求奖励的过程、而不是奖励本身时,不确定性会带来积极感受(如兴奋感),从而增加动机(Shen et al., 2015)。综上,在某些时刻,不确定性可能引发好奇等积极感受,激发探索和学习(Golman et al., 2021; Lamnina & Chase, 2019)。未来研究可以进一步探索不确定性的正面效应及其神经机制。

4.3 借鉴经济领域的经典范式和模型研究社会领域的不确定性

社会领域的不确定性研究还在起步阶段,缺乏成熟的实验范式和计算模型。一个较为可行的方法是借鉴和改编经济领域的经典范式,将其用于研究社会领域的不确定性。社会互动中,我们时常需要考虑为他人的付出和相应的回报,然而有时成本和收益是不确定的。通过设置概率信息(风险情境)

和隐藏部分概率信息（模糊情境），得以进一步考察个体在面对不确定的人际互动中的表现。比如，已有研究通过操控助人行为的成本不确定性（确定的成本，已知概率的风险成本，未知概率的模糊成本）以探讨助人意图的感知（Xiong et al., 2020）。其次，将计算模型应用于量化社会不确定性是未来研究趋势（Kappes et al., 2019），比如借鉴贝叶斯理论框架描述个体对他人行为的预测以及信念更新（Diaconescu et al., 2014），应用最大最小化期望效用模型量化社会不确定性中的风险态度和模糊态度的影响（Vives & FeldmanHall, 2018）。

4.4 不确定性的影响在经济领域和社会领域的迁移与泛化

前人研究较少直接对比经济领域和社会领域的不确定性，存在任务差异较大且被试群体不同的问题。未来研究可以考虑采用同一批被试，关注两种不确定性类型的直接对比效应。已有研究表明，不同类型的不确定性对风险规避的影响不同，对于彩票类型的风险，恐惧增加了个体的风险规避，而愤怒则降低了风险规避。而在基于双人互动的决策风险中，则出现了相反的模式（Kugler et al., 2012）。并且，个体对彩票类型的不确定态度在一定程度上可以预测其在人际互动中的不确定态度（Vives & FeldmanHall, 2018）。在直接对比的新视角下，通过分离不同的认知过程，得以考察不确定性对两类决策的特定认知过程的影响差异与交互作用，并关注不确定性的影响是否可以从经济决策迁移并泛化至社会决策中。同时，通过设置相应的非社会对照条件（Lockwood et al., 2020），进一步探讨社会不确定性是否由专门的社会信息系统编码（FeldmanHall & Shenhav, 2019）。这有助于我们更好地理解不确定性对于“社会脑”发展的作用。

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From the Economic Domain to the Social Domain: Uncertainty in Decision-Making

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Abstract Due to the limitation of information and environmental factors, uncertainty widely exists in various kinds of decision-making. Uncertainty refers to the degree of precision with which individuals can make predictions based on available information. In the economic domain, uncertainty revolves around probabilistic information regarding monetary gains or losses and investigates individuals' choices in the face of uncertain financial outcomes. While research on uncertainty in the economic domain is well-established, recent efforts have focused on understanding uncertainty in the social domain. Social interactions often involve numerous uncertain decisions due to challenges in understanding others' intentions and behaviors. Social uncertainty reflects the degree to which individuals' uncertainty about their own future states and actions is influenced by uncertainty about others' states and actions. Uncertainty in both the economic and social domains presents distinct categories of challenges that humans encounter and endeavor to resolve. The "social brain" hypothesis posits that individuals may employ different cognitive and neural mechanisms when processing social information in contrast to non-social information. Hence, it is crucial to investigate the shared and distinctive psychological and neural mechanisms individuals employ when confronted with uncertainty in these separate domains.

This paper will first introduce the fundamental theory of uncertainty research, which categorizes uncertainty into risk uncertainty and ambiguity uncertainty based on the availability of existing information. Risk uncertainty involves explicit probabilities associated with potential outcomes, whereas ambiguity uncertainty involves unknown probabilities associated with potential outcomes. Additionally, important models such as the Subjective Expected Utility Model and the Max-min Expected Utility Model help quantify individuals' cognitive processes in response to uncertainty, with the latter effectively distinguishing and quantifying individuals' attitudes towards risk and ambiguity. Subsequently, this paper will expound upon the shared impacts of uncertainty in the economic and social domains on emotional responses. Faced with uncertainty, individuals tend to exhibit a degree of aversion and often seek to avoid or reduce uncertainty. Furthermore, uncertainty aversion has been correlated with activation in the anterior insula. The distinct influence of uncertainty in the economic and social domains on individual psychology and behavior will be discussed, along with the underlying cognitive and neural mechanisms. Through comparing and analyzing the differences between uncertainty in the economic domain and the social domain, it shows that social uncertainty encompasses broader and more complex sources compared to the economic domain. Uncertainty in economic decision-making initially triggers changes in attention and cognitive resources, and facilitates the adoption of corresponding learning mechanisms and behavioral strategies. Ultimately, it influences the evaluation of economic outcomes in terms of rewards and punishments. Conversely, uncertainty in social decision-making affects the initial assessments of others, subsequently influencing interaction strategies, and involving feedback and social learning derived from the outcomes of social interactions.

Regarding the differences in the impact pathways of uncertainty within these two domains, we further integrate them into three stages: the initial stage, the action stage, and the feedback stage. Overall, individuals exhibit distinct cognitive strategies and behavioral patterns across these three stages of economic and social decision-making under the influence of uncertainty, which supports the "social brain" hypothesis to some extent. Individuals aim to reduce uncertainty to make future states and outcomes more predictable. But the specific goals and execution processes differ between the economic and social domains. The "social brain" hypothesis contributes to a better understanding of the differences in the impact of uncertainty in these two domains.

In conclusion, this paper summarizes the limitations of the current study and provides some recommendations for future research. Future research should explore the differential impact of risk and ambiguity attitudes, examine the benefits of uncertainty and related neural mechanisms, draw insights from classical paradigms and models within the economic domain to study uncertainty within the social domain, and investigate the transferability and generalizability of uncertainty effects between the economic and social domains.

Key words uncertainty, economic domain, social domain, risk aversion, ambiguity aversion, neural mechanism