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**Research Articles: Behavioral/Cognitive**

## Updating Beliefs Under Perceived Threat

Neil Garrett<sup>a,c</sup>, Ana María González-Garzón<sup>a</sup>, Lucy Foulkes<sup>a</sup>, Liat Levita<sup>b</sup> and Tali Sharot<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Affective Brain Lab, Experimental Psychology, University College London, WC1H 0AP*

<sup>b</sup>*Liat Levita, Department of Psychology, University of Sheffield, S10 2TP*

<sup>c</sup>*Princeton Neuroscience Institute, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey*

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Corresponding authors: Neil Garrett: Email: [ngarrett@princeton.edu](mailto:ngarrett@princeton.edu); Tali Sharot, Email: [t.sharot@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:t.sharot@ucl.ac.uk), Affective Brain Lab, Experimental Psychology, University College London, WC1H 0AP.

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## Updating Beliefs Under Perceived Threat

**Authors:** Neil Garrett<sup>a,c\*</sup>, Ana María González-Garzón<sup>a</sup>, Lucy Foulkes<sup>a</sup>, Liat Levita<sup>b</sup> & Tali Sharot<sup>a\*</sup>

**Affiliations:** <sup>a</sup>Affective Brain Lab, Experimental Psychology, University College London, WC1H 0AP; <sup>b</sup>Liat Levita, Department of Psychology, University of Sheffield, S10 2TP; <sup>c</sup>Princeton Neuroscience Institute, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540.

**\*Corresponding authors:** Neil Garrett: Email: [ngarrett@princeton.edu](mailto:ngarrett@princeton.edu); Tali Sharot, Email: [t.sharot@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:t.sharot@ucl.ac.uk), Affective Brain Lab, Experimental Psychology, University College London, WC1H 0AP.

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31 **Abstract**

32 Humans are better at integrating desirable information into their beliefs than undesirable. This  
33 asymmetry poses an evolutionary puzzle, as it can lead to an underestimation of risk and thus  
34 failure to take precautionary action. Here, we suggest a mechanism that can speak to this  
35 conundrum. In particular, we show that the bias vanishes in response to perceived threat in  
36 the environment. We report that an improvement in participants' tendency to incorporate bad  
37 news into their beliefs is associated with physiological arousal in response to threat indexed  
38 by galvanic skin response and self-reported anxiety. This pattern of results was observed in a  
39 controlled laboratory setting (Experiment I), where perceived threat was manipulated, and in  
40 firefighters on duty (Experiment II), where it naturally varied. Such flexibility in how  
41 individuals integrate information may enhance the likelihood of responding to warnings with  
42 caution in environments rife with threat, while maintaining a positivity bias otherwise, a  
43 strategy that can increase well-being.

44

45 **Significance Statement**

46 The human tendency to be overly optimistic has mystified scholars and lay people for  
47 decades: how could biased beliefs have been selected for over unbiased beliefs? Scholars  
48 have suggested that while the optimism bias can lead to negative outcomes, including  
49 financial collapse and war, it can also facilitate health and productivity. Here, we demonstrate  
50 that a mechanism generating the optimism bias, namely asymmetric information integration,  
51 evaporates under threat. Such flexibility could result in enhanced caution in dangerous  
52 environments while supporting an optimism bias otherwise, potentially increasing well-being.

53

54 **Introduction**

55 Whether a piece of news is good or bad is critical in determining whether it will alter our  
56 beliefs. In particular, people readily incorporate favorable news into their existing beliefs, yet  
57 tend to underweight the strength of unfavorable information (Eil and Rao, 2011; Kuzmanovic  
58 and Rigoux, 2017; Kuzmanovic et al., 2015, 2016; Lefebvre et al., 2017; Mobius et al., 2012;  
59 Sharot et al., 2011; Wiswall and Zafar, 2015). For example, when learning that their risk of  
60 experiencing future aversive events, such as robbery, is higher than they had expected, people  
61 are less likely to integrate these data into prior beliefs relative to a situation in which they  
62 learn that their risk is lower than expected (Sharot et al., 2011). The same pattern emerges  
63 when people receive desirable and undesirable information about their financial prospects  
64 (Wiswall and Zafar, 2015), or feedback about their intellectual abilities (Eil and Rao, 2011;  
65 Mobius et al., 2012), personality (Korn et al., 2012) and physical traits (Eil and Rao, 2011).  
66 This is known as a **valence-dependent learning asymmetry** (Sharot and Garrett, 2016).

67  
68 Incorporating desirable information about the self at a higher rate than undesirable (Korn et  
69 al., 2012) will subsequently lead to overconfidence and optimistically biased predictions  
70 (Sharot et al., 2011). On the upside an optimistic outlook, even when biased, can improve  
71 physical and mental health (Taylor and Brown, 1988), boost motivation (Bandura, 1989),  
72 exploration (Tiger, 1979) and persistence (Sherman, 1980), thus enhancing success and well-  
73 being (for a review, see (Chang, 2001). However, ignoring negative information can result in  
74 faulty assessment and lack of precautionary action leading to, for example, ill preparedness in  
75 the face of natural disasters, and financial market bubbles (Shefrin, 2009) .

76  
77 These apparent costs present a conundrum; why have humans evolved a bias in learning that  
78 leads to systematic errors in judgement? The common answer is that people make errors that  
79 are costly in certain situations, because those errors are advantageous in other situations, and  
80 on balance the benefits outweigh the costs (McKay and Dennett, 2010). There is another  
81 possibility though - that the asymmetry fluctuates in response to environmental demands. For  
82 example, in relatively safe surroundings, where potential harm is low, an asymmetry in  
83 information integration may be prominent leading to biased expectations. Yet in  
84 environments rife with threats, a physiological/psychological response may trigger changes to  
85 how information is integrated leading to more balanced information integration which may be  
86 adaptive in environments where potential costs are high (see Johnson and Fowler, 2011).

87  
88 Because affect provides an internal signal about the external context, it could potentially be  
89 used to adaptively modulate cognitive biases. Specifically, we suggest that the key is a  
90 learning mechanism that is modulated by the two core aspects of affect: valence and arousal.

91 A valence-dependent learning mechanism biases judgements and an arousal-dependent switch  
92 controls the degree and perhaps sign of the bias.

93

94 To test this prediction, we exposed participants to an acute threat manipulation in the lab  
95 (Experiment I) or tested participants in a real-life environment (firefighters tested on call,  
96 Experiment II). After measuring indicators of arousal, stress and anxiety, participants  
97 completed the belief update task (Chowdhury et al., 2014; Garrett and Sharot, 2014; Garrett et  
98 al., 2014; Kappes et al., 2018; Korn et al., 2013; Kuzmanovic et al., 2015, 2016; Moutsiana et  
99 al., 2013, 2015; Sharot et al., 2011, 2012a, 2012b) (**Fig. 1**). Past studies have shown that  
100 participants put more weight on good news (i.e. that a negative life event is less likely to  
101 occur than expected, **Fig. 1a**) compared to bad news (i.e. that a negative event is more likely  
102 to occur than expected, **Fig. 1b**) in altering beliefs in this task. Here we test whether  
103 heightened response to threat abolishes this bias.

104

## 105 **Materials & Methods**

106

### 107 **Experimental Design and Statistical Analysis: Experiment I**

108 **Participants.** Thirty-six participants recruited via the UCL participant pool participated in the  
109 study. Participants gave informed consent and were paid for their participation. The study was  
110 approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University College London. One  
111 participant's responses resulted in only two good news trials (out of a possible 40), which  
112 prevented us from calculating a meaningful information integration parameter (we define how  
113 we calculate information integration parameters below), thus this participant's data had to be  
114 excluded. Two participant's cortisol samples were insufficient for analysis, and samples of six  
115 participants who were suspected to have depression (BDI score greater than 10) were never  
116 sent to be analyzed. Thus, analysis that includes cortisol scores is given for  $n = 27$ . Note,  
117 however, that either excluding those participants all together from all analysis or including  
118 them as done here generated similar results. Each participant was randomly assigned to either  
119 the threat manipulation condition (13 females, 6 males, mean age = 26.37 years,  $SD = 6.58$ )  
120 or the control condition (10 females, 6 males, mean age = 24.94 years,  $SD = 3.82$ ).

121

122 **Manipulation Procedure.** We designed the experiment such that the perceived threat was  
123 unrelated to the information presented in the task. Thus, we could test whether the effect of  
124 perceived threat on information integration was general rather than specific to the source of  
125 the threat itself.

126

127 Participants assigned to the threat manipulation group were told that they would be exposed  
128 to an uncomfortable, stressful, event at the end of the study. Specifically, they were informed  
129 that at the end of the experiment they would be required to deliver a speech on a surprise  
130 topic, which would be recorded on video and judged live by a panel of staff members. They  
131 were shown an adjacent room across a double mirror window where chairs and tables were  
132 already organized for the panel. In addition, participants were presented with six difficult  
133 mathematical problems which they were asked to try and solve in 30 seconds. This  
134 manipulation is a variation of the Trier Social Stress Test (TSST) (Birkett, 2011) with the  
135 main difference between the typical TSST procedure and the one used here being that  
136 participants were threatened by the possibility of a stressful social event, and completed the  
137 main task under threat, but the threat was never executed. Having the participants believe the  
138 stressful event will take place at the end of the task, rather than before, increased the  
139 likelihood that participants' arousal levels remained high throughout the task. Participants  
140 assigned to the control condition were informed that at the end of the experiment they would  
141 be required to write a short essay on a surprise topic, which would not be judged. They were  
142 then presented with six elementary mathematical problems to solve in 30 seconds.

143

144 **Manipulation Check.** We examine if the threat manipulation resulted in the following  
145 psychological and physiological changes, which are typically observed in studies using  
146 variations of TSST (Birkett, 2011).

147

148 1. *Self-Report.* Before and after the induction procedure participants filled out a short-  
149 form of the State scale of the Spielberger State Trait Anxiety Inventory developed by  
150 Marteau and Bekker (Marteau and Bekker, 1992). Participants reported their current  
151 anxiety state according to 6 statements (e.g. I am worried) on a 4-point Likert scale (1  
152 = *not at all* to 4 = *very much*). Possible scores range from 6 to 24 with high scores  
153 indicating high levels of state anxiety.

154 2. *Skin Conductance Level (SCL).* SCL is an index of sympathetic tone which reflects  
155 changes in autonomic arousal. Skin conductance was recorded for 2 minutes pre- and  
156 post-induction whilst participants stared at a fixation cross using disposable  
157 electrodermal gel electrodes (Biopac, EL507) attached to the distal phalanx of the  
158 pointer and middle fingers of the participants' non-dominant hand. Skin conductance  
159 responses were monitored using a MP36R system (BIOPAC Systems, Inc., Goleta,  
160 CA) and analyzed with BIOPAC software *AcqKnowledge*. The difference in mean  
161 SCL in each period were taken as a change in participants' autonomic arousal levels.

162 3. *Cortisol Level.* To measure changes in participants' cortisol levels, saliva samples  
163 were collected using Salivette collection devices, (Salimetrics, UK). Four samples



164 were taken at different time points: before the induction procedure (baseline: t0);  
165 immediately after the induction procedure but prior to undertaking the task (10 min  
166 after the threat/control manipulation: t1); halfway through the task (30min after the  
167 threat/control manipulation: t2); after the task and completion of post experiment  
168 questionnaires (+1hr after the threat/control manipulation: t3). The experiment was  
169 conducted between 2pm and 4pm, restricted to these times to control for the diurnal  
170 cycle of cortisol. Samples were stored at -80°C before being assayed. Analysis of  
171 salivary cortisol was completed by Salimetrics. Intra-assay and inter-assay  
172 coefficients of variation were all below 6.1% ( $M = 1.5\%$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ). Cortisol values  
173 were measured in  $\mu\text{g/dL}$ . Shapiro-Wilk (SW) tests on cortisol levels at each sample  
174 period revealed that these were not normally distributed (one sample SW  $< .01$  for all  
175 four sample intervals). As a result, cortisol values were log transformed. Since  
176 cortisol stress response has a temporal delay (mediated by the slower time scale HPA  
177 axis), it is difficult to precisely align the time of the cortisol response to perceived  
178 levels of threat at different points in the task. Because of this, the main cortisol  
179 measure we use in the manuscript was calculate as the mean difference between  
180 cortisol levels at time periods t1, t2 and t3 from baseline cortisol levels at t0, as done  
181 previously (Lenow et al., 2017; Lighthall et al., 2013; Otto et al., 2013). This measure  
182 represents the average cortisol response throughout the duration of task performance.  
183 Below is the formula we used to derive this index where log cort is the natural log-  
184 transformed cortisol concentrations:

185

$$\log \text{cort } \Delta = \frac{\log \text{cort}_{t1} + \log \text{cort}_{t2} + \log \text{cort}_{t3}}{3} - \log \text{cort}_{t0}$$

186

187 **Behavioral Task.** The task was adopted from past studies (Chowdhury et al., 2014; Garrett  
188 and Sharot, 2014; Garrett et al., 2014; Korn et al., 2013; Moutsiana et al., 2013, 2015; Sharot  
189 et al., 2011, 2012a, 2012b).

190

191 **Stimuli.** Stimuli (80 short descriptions of different negative life events, for example: domestic  
192 burglary, card fraud) were separated into two lists, each containing 40 events. Participants  
193 were randomly assigned one of the two lists of 40 events at the start of the experiment. For  
194 each event the average probability of that event occurring at least once to someone from the  
195 UK within the same age range as the participants was calculated from data compiled from  
196 online resources (including the Office for National Statistics and PubMed). Very rare or very  
197 common events were not included; all event probabilities lay between 10% and 70%. To  
198 ensure that the range of possible overestimation was equal to the range of possible

199 underestimation, participants were told that the range of probabilities lay between 3% and  
200 77% and they were only permitted to enter estimates within this range. Note that differences  
201 between the average probabilities provided to participants and the actual probabilities for the  
202 sample of participants tested cannot explain differences between the two groups, as we  
203 randomly assign participants to either the threat manipulation condition of the control  
204 condition.

205

206 **Behavioral Task (Fig. 1).** Participants completed a practice session comprising 3 trials  
207 before beginning the main experiment. The main experiment comprised 40 trials. On each  
208 trial one of 40 adverse life events were presented for 3s, and participants were asked to  
209 estimate how likely the event was to happen to them in the future. Participants had up to 5s to  
210 respond. If participants had already experienced an event in their lifetime they were instructed  
211 to estimate the likelihood of that event happening to them again in the future. If the  
212 participant failed to respond, that trial was excluded from all subsequent analyses ( $M = 1.31$ ,  
213  $SD = 1.39$ ). Following presentation of a fixation cross (5-10s jittered) participants were then  
214 presented with the base rate of the event in a demographically similar population for 2s  
215 followed by a fixation cross (5-10s jittered). In a second session, immediately after the first,  
216 participants were asked again to provide estimates of their likelihood of encountering the  
217 same events so that we could assess how they updated their estimate in response to the  
218 information presented.

219

220 Note, that studies have shown that the update bias exists both when classifying trials  
221 according to participants' estimates of self-risk and when trials are classified according to  
222 estimates of base rates (Garrett and Sharot, 2014; Kuzmanovic et al., 2015). Thus, we used  
223 the traditional design and analysis here (Sharot et al., 2011). Moreover, multiple past studies  
224 have shown that the amount of update bias does not alter whether participants are asked to  
225 estimate the likelihood of the event happening in the future or the likelihood of the event not  
226 happening in the future (Garrett and Sharot, 2014; Garrett et al., 2014; Sharot et al., 2011).  
227 Thus, scores are not driven by response to high and low numbers, but rather by valence per  
228 se. As this has been established in the past we used the standard version of the task here (i.e.  
229 eliciting estimation of an event happening).

230

231 **Memory control.** To test for memory effects participants were asked at the end of the  
232 experiment to provide the actual probability previously presented of each event. Memory  
233 errors were calculated as the absolute difference between the probability previously presented  
234 and the participants' recollection of that statistic:

235

236 **Memory Error** = | *Probability Presented* – *Recollection of Probability Presented* |

237

238 **Other controls.** At the end of experiment, participants also rated stimuli on 6-point scales for  
 239 vividness [for the question “How vividly could you imagine this event?” (1 = *not at all vivid*  
 240 to 6 = *very vividly*)], familiarity [for the question “Regardless if this event has happened to  
 241 you before, how familiar do you feel it is to you from TV, friends, movies, and so on?” (1 =  
 242 *not at all familiar* to 6 = *very familiar*)], prior experience [for the question “Has this event  
 243 happened to you before?” (1 = *never* to 6 = *very often*)], emotional arousal [for the question  
 244 “When you imagine this event, how emotionally arousing do you find the image in your  
 245 mind?” (1 = *not at all arousing* to 6 = *very arousing*)] and negativity [for the question “How  
 246 negative would this event be/is this event for you?” 1 = *not negative at all* to 6 = *very*  
 247 *negative*].

248

249 **Statistical analysis.** Trials were partitioned according to participants’ first estimates into ones  
 250 in which participants received good news [i.e., the probability presented was lower than the  
 251 first estimate of their own probability (**Fig. 1a**)] or bad news [i.e., the probability presented  
 252 was higher (**Fig. 1b**)]. While information can be better or worse than expected, all stimuli are  
 253 negative (i.e. robbery, card fraud), thus comparison is never between positive and negative  
 254 stimuli, but between information that is better or worse than expected.

255

256 Trials for which the estimation error was zero were excluded from subsequent analyses as  
 257 these could not be categorized into either condition ( $M = 0.89$  trials,  $SD = 0.92$ ).

258

259 For each trial an estimation error term was calculated as the difference between the  
 260 probability presented and participants’ first estimate on that trial:

261

262 **Estimation Error** = *Probability Presented* - *First Estimate*

263

264 Update was calculated for each trial such that positive updates indicate a change toward the  
 265 probability presented and negative updates a change away from the probability presented:

266

267 **Update (Good News)** = *First Estimate* – *Second Estimate*

268 **Update (Bad News)** = *Second Estimate* – *First Estimate*

269

270 Formal models suggest that learning from information that disconfirms one’s expectations is  
 271 mediated by a prediction error signal that quantifies a difference between expectation and  
 272 outcome (Sutton and Barto, 1998). We have previously shown that an analogous mechanism

273 underpins belief updating in this task (Sharot et al., 2011). Specifically, the difference  
274 between participants' initial estimations and the information provided (that is, estimation  
275 error = probability presented – first estimate) predicts subsequent updates, as would be  
276 expected from learning models (Sutton and Barto, 1998). Hence, similar to our previous  
277 papers (Garrett et al., 2014; Moutsiana et al., 2013; Sharot et al., 2011), we estimated the  
278 extent to which participants integrated new information into their beliefs by correlating  
279 estimation errors and update scores with one another separately for good and bad news trials  
280 for each participant. This resulted in two Pearson correlation values for each participant: one  
281 for good news trials and one for bad news trials. We denote these Pearson correlation scores  
282 as good news ( $\alpha_G$ ) and bad news ( $\alpha_B$ ) information integration parameters. Shapiro-Wilk tests  
283 were applied to check the values of  $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$  were normally distributed. To check the values  
284 of  $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$  were not at floor or ceiling, we conducted one sample t-tests (separately  $\alpha_G$  and  
285  $\alpha_B$ ) against values of 0 (to test for floor effects) and 1 (to test for ceiling effects).

286

287 To determine whether information integration from good and/or bad news was altered by the  
288 threat manipulation, the resulting information integration parameters were submitted to a 2 by  
289 2 ANOVA with valence (good/bad news) as a repeated-measure and group (threat  
290 manipulation/control) as a between-subjects factor.

291

292 We identified possible confounds to add as covariates to our analysis as follows; first, for  
293 factors that were not task related and therefore did not have a valence component  
294 (specifically: initial self-reported anxiety, initial SCL, initial cortisol and BDI) we conducted  
295 independent sample t-tests (control vs threat manipulation group) for each factor separately to  
296 determine if a group difference existed (**Table 1**). For task related variables that could be  
297 divided by valence (specifically; number of trials, memory scores, ratings on familiarity,  
298 vividness, past experience, negativity, emotional arousal and mean first estimates) we  
299 calculated the difference between mean good news and mean bad news for each participant  
300 for each of these factors. This gives a bias score for each factor for each subject whereby  
301 positive scores indicate a bias towards good news and negative scores indicate a bias towards  
302 bad news. We then conducted a one sample t-test (versus 0) on each of these scores for each  
303 group separately to isolate those factors which had valence effects in either set of participants.  
304 Next we conducted a series of independent sample t-tests to compare the control groups  
305 difference scores to the threat manipulation groups scores for each factor (this is equivalent to  
306 testing for an interaction between valence and group). For all of these tests we applied a  
307 threshold of  $p < 0.05$  and deliberately did not correct for multiple comparisons. This is because  
308 the purpose was to identify all potential confounds; by not correcting we are being more  
309 stringent. Any factor which showed a group effect or a valence effect was added as a

310 covariate. These were: mean first estimates, ratings of vividness, familiarity, past experience  
311 and emotional arousal (**Table 1**).

312

313 To explore whether differences in information integration related to any of the specific  
314 physiological and psychological changes, we constructed a general linear model (GLM) with  
315  $\alpha$  entered as the dependent variable and changes in SCL, self-report anxiety and cortisol as  
316 independent variables. This was done separately for information integration parameters for  
317 good ( $\alpha_G$ ) and bad ( $\alpha_B$ ) news. To control for general changes in information integration and  
318 allow us to detect valence-specific effects, we entered information integration parameters for  
319 good news ( $\alpha_G$ ) as a covariate when estimating information integration parameters for bad  
320 news ( $\alpha_B$ ) and vice versa (Moutsiana et al., 2013). In addition, following the same selection  
321 procedure outlined above we controlled for any variable where there was a significant  
322 ( $p < 0.05$ ) difference between groups, between types of information (i.e. valence) or a  
323 group\*valence interaction, by including these in the GLM as covariates.

324

325 For  $\alpha_B$  the formula for the regression in full therefore is as follows:

326

327  $\alpha_B = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Change in SCL} + \beta_2 * \text{Change in Self-report} + \beta_3 * \text{Change in Cortisol} +$   
328  $\beta_4 * \text{Mean Initial Estimate} + \beta_5 * \text{Initial Self-report anxiety} + \beta_6 * \text{Mean Bad News Vividness}$   
329  $\text{Rating} + \beta_7 * \text{Mean Bad News Familiarity Rating} + \beta_8 * \text{Mean Prior Experience Bad News}$   
330  $\text{Rating} + \beta_9 * \text{Mean Emotional Arousal Bad News Rating} + \beta_{10} * \alpha_G$

331

332 For ( $\alpha_G$ ) the formula for this was as follows:

333

334  $\alpha_G = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Change in SCL} + \beta_2 * \text{Change in Self-report} + \beta_3 * \text{Change in Cortisol} +$   
335  $\beta_4 * \text{Mean Initial Estimate} + \beta_5 * \text{Initial Self-report anxiety} + \beta_6 * \text{Mean Good News Vividness}$   
336  $\text{Rating} + \beta_7 * \text{Mean Good News Familiarity Rating} + \beta_8 * \text{Mean Prior Experience Good News}$   
337  $\text{Rating} + \beta_9 * \text{Mean Emotional Arousal Good News Rating} + \beta_{10} * \alpha_B$

338

339 Finally, we reran the analysis above this time controlling for within-subject covariates at the  
340 within-subject level and between-subject factors at the between-subject level. Specifically, for  
341 each participant we computed an alternative set of information integration parameters – one  
342 for good news ( $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ) and one for bad news ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) - by carrying out a series of partial  
343 correlations in which absolute estimation error and update were the two variables of interest.  
344 Within-subject covariates - identified as above (first estimate, vividness, familiarity, past  
345 experience and emotional arousal) - were controlled for on a trial by trial basis. We examined  
346 whether these alternative information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) related to

347 change in self report and/or change in SCL controlling for any additional between subject  
 348 confounds as above (initial self-report anxiety ratings and information integration for good  
 349 news). This was done by entering alternative information integration parameters for bad news  
 350 ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) as the dependent variable into 2 GLMs as follows:

351

$$352 \quad \alpha_{B\_partial} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Change in Self-report} + \beta_2 * \text{Initial Self-report anxiety} + \beta_3 * \alpha_{G\_partial}$$

$$353 \quad \alpha_{B\_partial} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Change in SCL} + \beta_2 * \text{Initial Self-report} + \beta_3 * \alpha_{G\_partial}$$

354

355 We then examined the significance of the regression weights in each GLM for change in Self  
 356 Report and change in SCL. To visualize the effect of each of these (Fig. 4) we generated two  
 357 partial regression plots. These are scatterplots of the residuals of the dependent variable  
 358 ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) and the independent variable (either Change in Self-report or Change in SCL) when  
 359 these are regressed on the rest of the independent variables (Initial Self report and  $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ).

360

361 We ran the equivalent analysis for good news ( $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ) as follows:

362

$$363 \quad \alpha_{G\_partial} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Change in Self-report} + \beta_2 * \text{Initial Self-report} + \beta_3 * \alpha_{B\_partial}$$

$$364 \quad \alpha_{G\_partial} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Change in SCL} + \beta_2 * \text{Initial Self-report} + \beta_3 * \alpha_{B\_partial}$$

365

## 366 **Experimental Design and Statistical Analysis: Experiment II**

367

368 **Participants.** Thirty-three operational staff stationed across seventeen fire stations within the  
 369 South Metro Fire and Rescue Authority of the State of Colorado in the United States  
 370 participated in the study. Five of these participants failed to complete the study leaving 28  
 371 participants (1 female, 27 males, mean age = 43.15 years,  $SD = 9.87$ ). A link to an online  
 372 version of the experiment was sent by email to operational staff inviting them to participate in  
 373 the study whilst on duty. Employees were given 18 days to attempt the experiment. They  
 374 were permitted to take the experiment once in this time period and were explicitly requested  
 375 to do so whilst on shift (i.e. in the station between calls). Participation in the experiment was  
 376 anonymous, voluntary and unpaid.

377

378 **Task, stimuli and control variables.** An online version of the task used in Experiment I was  
 379 designed using Qualtrics Survey Software (Qualtrics, Provo, UT). The task began by asking  
 380 basic demographic questions (age, gender, marital status, level of education and number of  
 381 children) and some questions pertaining to their work (including how long they had worked in  
 382 the service, how many people they supervised, number of emergency they went on, what their

383 rank in the service was) and social environment (social support at work and outside, and  
384 stress experienced at home).

385

386 After providing this information, participants read task instructions on screen at their own  
387 pace and then undertook a practice session comprising 3 practice trials. As in Experiment I,  
388 stimuli (80 short descriptions of different negative life events; the majority of these were the  
389 same as those used in Experiment I but 18 events were exchanged with alternative negative  
390 life events) were separated into two lists, each containing 40 negative life events. Participants  
391 were randomly assigned one of the two lists of 40 events at the start of the experiment. The  
392 task was the same as in Experiment I, except that there was only one fixation cross displayed  
393 in each session (for 1s) after participants submitted estimates (i.e. in the first session, unlike in  
394 Experiment I, a second fixation cross was not displayed after base rate presentation).  
395 Furthermore, mindful of the firefighters' unpredictable time constraints, memory for the  
396 information given and subjective ratings (past experience with the event and negativity) were  
397 elicited for half the stimuli and participants completed a short version of the state scale of the  
398 self-report at the beginning of the study (Chlan et al., 2003), without providing physiological  
399 measures of autonomic arousal.

400

401 Statistical analysis: Linear regressions were performed using ordinary least squares  
402 implemented using SPSS version 25 for bad news and good news separately, with  $\alpha$  entered  
403 as the dependent variable and self-reported state anxiety as the independent variable. To rule  
404 out potential confounds we followed a similar procedure as in Experiment I. Specifically, we  
405 separately tested whether a range of potential confounding factors had valence effects. These  
406 factors were: mean first estimates, memory scores, ratings of negativity, ratings of past  
407 experience and number of trials. We did this by calculating the difference between mean good  
408 news and mean bad news for each participant for each of these factors. This gives a bias score  
409 for each factor for each subject whereby positive scores indicate a bias towards good news  
410 and negative scores indicate a bias towards bad news. We then conducted a one sample t-test  
411 (versus 0) on each of these scores to identify factors which had valence effects. We used a  
412 threshold of  $p < 0.05$  and deliberately did not correct for multiple comparisons. This is because  
413 the purpose was to identify all potential confounds; by not correcting we are being more  
414 stringent. Any factor which showed a valence effect was then added as a covariate. These  
415 were mean first estimates, ratings of past experience and number of trials (**Table 3**).

416

417 To test for a relationship between anxiety and the asymmetry within the firefighters (i.e.  
418 preferential updating for bad news over good) we calculated an information integration bias  
419 score for each participant. This is simply the difference between  $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$ . A score of 0

420 indicates no bias in information integration in either direction whilst positive scores indicate  
 421 greater information integration for good news relative to bad news and negative scores the  
 422 opposite. We then examined whether the information integration bias related to self-reported  
 423 anxiety as follows:

424  
 425 Information Integration Bias Score ( $\alpha_G - \alpha_B$ ) =  $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ \*Self-Reported Anxiety +  $\beta_2$ \*Mean  
 426 Initial Estimate +  $\beta_3$ \*Mean Prior Experience Bias Score (Mean Prior Experience Bad News  
 427 Rating - Mean Prior Experience Good News Rating) +  $\beta_4$ \*Number of Trials Bias Score  
 428 (Number of Good News Trials - Number of Bad News Trials)

429  
 430 Next we ran a GLM for each of the two sets of information integration parameters ( $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$ )  
 431 separately. To ensure effects were valence specific rather than reflecting general changes in  
 432 information integration, good news ( $\alpha_G$ ) was also added as a covariate when examining  
 433 information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_B$ ) and vice versa when examining  
 434 information integration for good news.

435  
 436 For bad news information integration parameter ( $\alpha_B$ ), the formula for the regression in full  
 437 therefore is as follows:

438  
 439  $\alpha_B = \beta_0 + \beta_1$ \*Self-Reported Anxiety +  $\beta_2$ \*Mean Initial Estimate +  $\beta_3$ \*Mean Prior  
 440 Experience Bad News Rating +  $\beta_4$ \*Number of Bad News Trials +  $\beta_5$ \* $\alpha_G$

441  
 442 For good news information integration parameter ( $\alpha_G$ ), the formula for the regression in full  
 443 therefore is as follows:

444  
 445  $\alpha_G = \beta_0 + \beta_1$ \*Self-Reported Anxiety +  $\beta_2$ \*Mean Initial Estimate +  $\beta_3$ \*Mean Prior  
 446 Experience Good News Rating +  $\beta_4$ \*Number of Good News Trials +  $\beta_5$ \* $\alpha_B$

447  
 448 Finally, we reran the analysis above this time controlling for within-subject covariates at the  
 449 within-subject level and between-subject factors at the between-subject level. Specifically, for  
 450 each participant we computed an alternative set of information integration parameters – one  
 451 for good news ( $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ) and one for bad news ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) - by carrying out a series of partial  
 452 correlations in which absolute estimation error and update were the two variables of interest.  
 453 Within-subject covariates (first estimates), were controlled for on a trial by trial basis (note it  
 454 was not possible to control for past experience on a trial by trial basis here because  
 455 participants in this study completed ratings only for a subset of events). We then examined  
 456 whether these alternative information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) related to  
 457 self-reported anxiety, controlling for additional between subject covariates (number of bad



458 news trials and information integration for good news) at the between subject level. This was  
 459 done by entering alternative information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ ) as the  
 460 dependent variable into a GLM as follows:

461

$$462 \alpha_{B\_partial} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Self-Reported Anxiety} + \beta_2 * \text{Number of Bad News Trials} + \beta_3 * \alpha_{G\_partial}$$

463

464 We then examined the significance of the regression weight for Self-Reported Anxiety.

465

466 We ran the same analysis for information integration parameters for good news ( $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ) as  
 467 follows:

468

$$469 \alpha_{G\_partial} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \text{Self-Reported Anxiety} + \beta_2 * \text{Number of Good News Trials} + \beta_3 * \alpha_{B\_partial}$$

470

471 To visualize the effect of each of these (Fig. 5) we generated two partial regression plots.

472 These are scatterplots of the residuals of the dependent variable ( $\alpha_{B\_partial}$  or  $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ) and the

473 independent variable of interest (Self-Reported Anxiety) when these are regressed on the rest

474 of the independent variables (Number of Bad News Trials and  $\alpha_{G\_partial}$  when examining

475  $\alpha_{B\_partial}$ , Number of Good News Trials and  $\alpha_{B\_partial}$  when examining  $\alpha_{G\_partial}$ ).

476

## 477 **Results**

478

### 479 **Experiment I**

480 **Threat manipulation was successful.** Subjective self-reports of anxiety and physiological

481 measures of skin conductance level (SCL) and cortisol showed that the manipulation was

482 effective. Specifically, following the manipulation, self-report anxiety (**Fig. 2a**) and SCL

483 (**Fig. 2b**) showed an increase relative to before (baseline), which was greater in the threat

484 manipulation group relative to controls (self-reported anxiety:  $t(33) = 4.16, p < .001$ ; SCL:

485  $t(33) = 3.32, p = .002$ , independent sample t-test). There were no baseline ( $t_0$ ) differences in

486 cortisol levels between the two groups ( $t(25) = -.89, p = 0.38$ ). Mean cortisol levels (averaged

487 across  $t_1, t_2$  and  $t_3$ ) relative to baseline ( $t_0$ ) showed a trend towards being higher in the threat

488 manipulation group relative to controls ( $t(25) = 1.90, p = .07$ ). This effect was driven by a

489 reduction in cortisol levels over time in the control group (main effect of time at  $t_1, t_2$  and  $t_3$

490 relative to baseline:  $F(2,26) = 17.19, p < .001$ , repeated measures ANOVA) - an effect

491 previously observed when participants become familiar with a novel experiment context

492 (Stones et al., 1999) - but an absence of this common reduction in the threat manipulation

493 group (main effect of time:  $F(2,22) = 1.00, p > .25$ ; **Fig. 2c**). Across participants, these

494 measures were correlated with each other (self-report & SCL:  $r(33) = .39, p = .02$ ; SCL &

495 cortisol:  $r(25) = .47, p = .01$ ; trend for cortisol & self-report:  $r(25) = .33, p = .09$ ). To control  
496 for the diurnal cycle of cortisol, each participant undertook the experiment between 2pm and  
497 4pm.

498

499 **Threat eliminates asymmetric information integration.** Our results show that the acute  
500 threat manipulation eliminated the well-established asymmetry in information integration  
501 (Garrett et al., 2014; Moutsiana et al., 2013; Sharot et al., 2011). Specifically, the two sets of  
502 information integration parameters ( $\alpha_G, \alpha_B$ ) were entered into a group (control/threat) by  
503 valence (good news/bad news) ANOVA controlling for possible confounds (see **Methods**).  
504 The analysis revealed a group by valence interaction ( $F(1,27) = 7.56, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .22$ ),  
505 which also remained if estimation errors were controlled for ( $F(1,26) = 7.88, p = .01$ ) (Garrett  
506 and Sharot, 2017) and if the difference between number of good and bad news trials are  
507 controlled for ( $F(1,26) = 6.97, p = .01$ ).

508

509 Post hoc tests revealed that the group by valence interaction was the result of asymmetric  
510 information integration in the control group, such that the information integration parameter  
511 was larger for good news than bad ( $t(15) = 3.34, p = .004$ , paired sample t-test), but absent in  
512 the threat manipulation group ( $t(18) = .92, p > .25$ , paired sample t-test; **Fig. 3**). Participants  
513 in the threat manipulation group were more likely to effectively integrate bad news into their  
514 beliefs relative to those in the control group (significant difference in bad news information  
515 integration parameters  $\alpha_B$ :  $t(33) = 2.44, p = .02$ , independent sample t-test), whilst  
516 information integration parameters for good news ( $\alpha_G$ ) did not differ between groups ( $t(33) =$   
517  $.611, p > .250$ , independent sample t-test). There were no floor or ceiling effects for  $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$   
518 in the threat manipulation or control group (all at  $p < .001$ , one sample t-tests versus 0 and 1  
519 respectively) and participants first estimates were not significantly different from the  
520 information provided ( $t(34) = -0.45, p = .65$ , one sample t-test versus 0 on the difference  
521 between participants' first estimates and the information provided).

522

523 Past studies show that asymmetric information integration in this task is not associated with  
524 an asymmetry in memory (Moutsiana et al., 2013; Sharot et al., 2011, 2012a, 2012b). In fact,  
525 asymmetry in information integration is observed even when the second estimate is elicited  
526 immediately after information is on screen (Kuzmanovic et al., 2015, 2016; Kuzmanovic and  
527 Rigoux, 2017). Here, we submitted memory scores to a group (threat manipulation/control)  
528 by valence (good news/bad news) ANOVA (see **Methods** for details). This did not reveal a  
529 main effect of valence ( $F(1,33) = 1.24, p > .25$ ), or a main effect of group ( $F(1,33) = 1.03, p >$   
530  $.25$ ) or an interaction ( $F(1,33) = .62, p > .25$ ). This suggests that valence dependent changes

531 in information integration across groups cannot be attributed to memory or  
532 encoding/attention.

533

534 Conducting an ANOVA on participants' first estimates with valence (good/bad news) as a  
535 repeated factor and group (threat/control) as a between participant factor revealed no main  
536 effect of group ( $F(1,33) = 1.18, p > .25$ ), the obvious main effect of valence (as trials are  
537 binned into good and bad according to first estimates,  $F(1,33) = 278.08, p < .001$ ) and a group  
538 by valence interaction ( $F(1,33) = 6.71, p = .014$ ). The interaction was characterized by the  
539 threat group providing lower first estimates than controls for stimuli which will subsequently  
540 be categorized as good news ( $t(33) = -2.30, p = .028$ ) but no significant difference for trials  
541 that will be subsequently categorized as bad news ( $t(33) = 1.59, p = .123$ ). Controlling for the  
542 difference between first estimates on good and bad news trials in the main ANOVA looking  
543 at information integration parameters did not alter the results ( $F(1,26) = 5.43, p = .028$ ).

544

545 **What therefore could account for the selective fluctuations in information integration of**  
546 **bad news?** To examine which of the changes to the psychological and physiological  
547 measures (SCL, cortisol level, self-report) could *independently* explain alterations in  
548 information integration of bad news, we ran a General Linear Model (GLM) in which  
549 information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_B$ ) were entered as the dependent variable  
550 and changes in self report, SCL, and cortisol as independent variables (all entered together in  
551 one regression). To ensure that effects were valence-specific and could not be accounted for  
552 by general changes to information integration, information integration parameters for good  
553 news ( $\alpha_G$ ) were added as a covariate as done before (Moutsiana et al., 2013) [note that the  
554 same pattern of results pertains if we omit this covariate (self-reported anxiety:  $F(1,17) =$   
555  $4.75, p = 0.04$ , SCL:  $F(1,17) = 8.81, p = .009$ )]. We also controlled for all other possible  
556 confounds (see **Methods**). The analysis revealed that changes in self-reported anxiety  
557 ( $F(1,16) = 6.90, p = .02, b_i = .03, \eta_p^2 = .030$ ) and change in physiological stress indicated by  
558 SCL ( $F(1,16) = 4.99, p = .04, b_i = .05, \eta_p^2 = .24$ ) explained the variance in information  
559 integration parameters for bad news, each of which remained significant if estimation errors  
560 were also controlled for (self-reported stress:  $F(1,15) = 4.61, p = .048$ , SCL:  $F(1,15) = 4.67, p$   
561  $= .047$ ) (Garrett and Sharot, 2017). In other words, participants who showed the greatest  
562 increase in SCL (which reflects the sympathetic component of the autonomic nervous system  
563 stress response (Bechara et al., 1996; Figner and Murphy, 2011) and self-reported anxiety  
564 were most likely to change their beliefs in proportion to the difference between their first  
565 estimates and the bad news received. Change in cortisol (which is suggested to reflect the  
566 hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis (Gunnar and Quevedo, 2007) component of the  
567 stress response) did not relate to information integration for bad news ( $F(1,16) = .46, p > .25$ ,

568  $b_i = -.04, \eta_p^2 = .03$ ). The null result for cortisol may indicate either that the increase in bad  
569 news information integration is not associated specifically with cortisol level increase, or a  
570 Type II error. Ratings of emotional arousal, familiarity and information integration  
571 parameters for good news ( $\alpha_G$ ) were also significant predictors in the regression (see **Table 2**  
572 for parameter estimates of covariates).

573

574 For completeness we repeated the analysis on information integration parameters for good  
575 news,  $\alpha_G$  (including information integration parameters for bad news,  $\alpha_B$ , and all possible  
576 covariates mentioned above) and found no significant effects (change in self report:  $F(1,16) =$   
577  $.47, p > .25, b_i = -.01$ ; change in SCL:  $F(1,16) = .61, p > .25, b_i = .03$ ; change in cortisol:  
578  $F(1,16) = .72, p > .25, b_i = .07$ ).

579

580 Finally, we examined whether the same results are observed when controlling for within-  
581 subject covariates at the within-subject level and between-subject factors at the between-  
582 subject level. Specifically, for each participant we computed an alternative set of information  
583 integration parameters by correlating absolute estimation error and update controlling for the  
584 same within-subject covariates as above (first estimate, vividness, familiarity, past experience  
585 and emotional arousal) but controlling for them on a trial by trial basis. We then examined  
586 whether these alternative information integration parameters for bad news related to changes  
587 in self-reported anxiety and/or changes in SCL (additional between subject factors - initial  
588 self-report and the alternative information integration parameters for good news - were also  
589 entered as control variables). Indeed, both effects were significant using this approach  
590 (change in self report:  $F(1,31) = 10.57, p = .003, b_i = .05$ ; change in SCL:  $F(1,31) = 4.51, p =$   
591  $.04, b_i = .08$ , **Fig. 4a, b**), while the equivalent analysis on information integration parameters  
592 from good news was not (change in self report:  $F(1,31) = .001, p > .25, b_i = -.001$ ; change  
593 in SCL:  $F(1,31) = .55, p > .25, b_i = .036$ ).

594

595 The results of Experiment I suggested that inducing threat abolishes valence dependent  
596 asymmetry in information integration. Thus, the previously observed bias in information  
597 integration (Garrett et al., 2014; Korn et al., 2013; Kuzmanovic et al., 2015; Moutsiana et al.,  
598 2013, 2015; Sharot et al., 2011, 2012a, 2012b) is not constant but changes with perceived  
599 threat in the environment.

600

## 601 **Experiment II**

602 Next we set out to extend our findings from Experiment I in a natural setting. Here, we did  
603 not fashion a perceived threat, but instead measured anxiety in an environment in which  
604 perceived threats would be naturally volatile. Specifically, firefighters from the state of

605 Colorado performed the belief update task whilst on duty at their respective fire stations. We  
606 targeted this group of participants because they would have a naturally large range of anxiety  
607 levels owing to the volatile nature of their profession. Changes in cortisol levels were not  
608 found to be a significant predictor of information integration parameters for bad news in  
609 Experiment I. Therefore, we ruled out collecting this as a measure in Experiment II. Whilst  
610 changes in self-reported anxiety and changes in SCR were both found to be significant  
611 predictors in Experiment I, these two measures were correlated with one another ( $r(33) = .39$ ,  
612  $p = .02$ ). Since self-reported anxiety had the larger effect size and was easier to collect, we  
613 opted to make this our main measure.

614

615 Self-reported anxiety was significantly correlated ( $r(26) = -.51$ ,  $p < .01$ ) with the bias in  
616 information integration (that is  $\alpha_G$  minus  $\alpha_B$ ). In particular, heightened anxiety was associated  
617 with a reduction in the bias. This result remained significant when controlling for possible  
618 confounds (see **Methods**),  $F(1,23) = 6.67$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .23$ ,  $b_i = -.05$ .

619

620 To examine whether the relationship between heightened anxiety and reduced bias was the  
621 result of increased sensitivity to bad news, reduced sensitivity to good news, or both we first  
622 constructed a GLM in which information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_B$ ) was  
623 regressed on self-reported anxiety, controlling for possible confounds (mean first estimates,  
624 mean ratings of prior experience and number of bad news trials, see **Methods** for details). In  
625 addition, to ensure effects were valence-specific and could not be accounted for by general  
626 changes in information integration, information integration parameters for good news ( $\alpha_G$ )  
627 were also added as a covariate (note however that the self-reported anxiety effect pertains if  
628 we omit this covariate:  $F(1,23) = 9.77$ ,  $p = .005$ ). This analysis revealed that self-reported  
629 anxiety significantly explained the variance in information integration parameters for bad  
630 news,  $\alpha_B$  ( $F(1,22) = 10.52$ ,  $p = .004$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .32$ ,  $b_i = .05$ ; **Table 4**), an effect which remained  
631 significant if estimation errors are also controlled for ( $F(1,21) = 9.79$ ,  $p = .005$ ) (Garrett and  
632 Sharot, 2017). The higher the acute anxiety reported by a firefighter, the more likely the  
633 firefighter was to integrate bad news into beliefs in proportion to the difference between their  
634 first estimations and the information provided. In this model, information integration from  
635 good news ( $F(1,22) = 4.69$ ,  $p = .04$ ) was also a significant predictor of information integration  
636 from bad news. There were no floor or ceiling effects for  $\alpha_G$  or  $\alpha_B$  (all at  $p < .001$ , one sample  
637 t-tests against values of 0 and 1).

638

639 We then conducted the same analysis on information integration parameters for good news  
640 ( $\alpha_G$ ) with information integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_B$ ), mean first estimates, mean  
641 ratings of prior experience and number of good news trials as covariates. This revealed a non-

642 significant trend in the opposite direction than for information integration parameters for bad  
643 news,  $\alpha_B$  ( $F(1,22) = 3.86, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .15, b_i = -.05$ ), such that greater self-reported anxiety  
644 was related to a trend for *less* information integration in response to good news. Information  
645 integration parameters for bad news ( $\alpha_B$ ) was also significant ( $F(1,22) = 7.44, p = 0.01, \eta_p^2 =$   
646  $.25, b_i = 0.75$ ).

647

648 Finally, we examined whether the same results are observed when controlling for within-  
649 subject covariates at the within-subject level and between-subject factors at the between-  
650 subject level. Under this alternative approach higher self-reported anxiety was related to  
651 greater information integration in response to bad news ( $F(1,24) = 8.34, p = .008, b_i = .03,$   
652 **Fig. 5a**). For good news the opposite effect was found such that higher self-reported anxiety  
653 was related to reduced information integration ( $F(1,24) = 4.80, p = .038, b_i = -.045, \mathbf{Fig. 5b}$ ).  
654 It is interesting that this latter effect was observed only in Experiment 2 and not Experiment  
655 1, which may indicate that natural real-life threats could have an especially strong impact on  
656 information integration processes.

657

658 These results suggest that anxiety is related to a valence-dependent enhancement in the ability  
659 to adjust beliefs in response to new information. We highlight that whilst in Experiment I,  
660 threat was manipulated and thus causation could be inferred by comparing the threat  
661 manipulation and control groups, Experiment II was conducted to reveal an *association* in  
662 “real life”. Together, the experiments suggest that under a perceived threat (whether  
663 manipulated or naturally occurring) positively biased integration of information is not  
664 observed.

665

## 666 **Discussion**

667 Our results provide evidence that the well-documented asymmetry in belief formation  
668 evaporates under perceived threat. Specifically, Experiment I shows that in a low threat  
669 environment individuals integrated information asymmetrically, faithfully incorporating good  
670 news into their existing beliefs while relatively disregarding bad news (Eil and Rao, 2011;  
671 Sharot et al., 2011). Under perceived threat however, this asymmetry disappeared;  
672 participants showed an increased capacity to integrate bad news into prior beliefs. Increased  
673 physiological arousal and self-reported anxiety were found to correlate with enhanced  
674 integration of unfavorable information into beliefs. In Experiment II, firefighters on duty who  
675 reported higher state anxiety also exhibited greater selective integration of bad news. Because  
676 the increase in information integration in both experiments was valence specific it cannot  
677 reflect a general improvement in learning, and because memory for the information presented  
678 was not affected, modulation of attention is an unlikely explanation.

679

680 The finding that the positivity bias in belief updating alters flexibly as a function of perceived  
681 threat reveals a potentially adaptive mechanism. In particular, the relative failure to  
682 incorporate bad news into prior beliefs leads to positively biased beliefs (also known as the  
683 optimism bias). This bias can lead to both positive effects – including increased exploration  
684 (Berger-Tal and Avgar, 2012) and motivation (Bandura, 1989) - and negative effects –  
685 including failure to take precautionary action. It has been suggested that overestimating the  
686 likelihood of attaining rewards and underestimating the likelihood of harm is adaptive in  
687 environments where potential gains are sufficiently greater than costs (Johnson and Fowler,  
688 2011). This is because under uncertainty, optimistically biased individuals will claim  
689 resources (e.g., a spouse or a job) they could not otherwise attain, as better but less optimistic  
690 competitors may walk away from the fight. Moreover, overestimating the value of novel  
691 environments can lead to increased rate of exploration allowing the opportunity for the true  
692 value of an environment to be learned quicker (Berger-Tal and Avgar, 2012; Sutton and  
693 Barto, 1998), which is associated with superior performance in behaviours such as  
694 reproduction (Egas and Sabelis, 2001) and foraging (Rutz et al., 2006). However, in  
695 environments where potential harm is considerably greater than potential reward,  
696 computational models suggest the optimism bias to be disadvantageous (Johnson and Fowler,  
697 2011). Thus, a valence dependent bias in information integration that disappears under threat  
698 could be optimal in enabling a more accurate assessment of risk.

699

700 In our experiments, the source of the threat was unrelated to the information content of the  
701 task. Thus, acute stress had a valence-specific, yet general, effect on how participants used  
702 information to alter their beliefs (i.e. in response to a social threat, participants did not  
703 selectively increase their response to information about social judgment, but to negative  
704 information in general). Indeed, many threat induction methods, including threat of electric  
705 shock, Cold Pressor Tasks and the Trier Social Stress Test, produce general changes to  
706 behavior and neural responses that are not confined to the source of the threat itself  
707 (Cavanagh et al., 2010; Lenow et al., 2017; Otto et al., 2013; Robinson et al., 2013; Youssef  
708 et al., 2012). Similar findings have been observed in non-human animals, where different  
709 stressors have been shown to alter the degree of positive biases in a range of decision-making  
710 tasks (Harding et al., 2004; Matheson et al., 2008; Rygula et al., 2013). This may be adaptive,  
711 as threat may signify a dangerous environment that requires a general enhancement of  
712 caution.

713

714 However, if perceived threat is prolonged or dissociated from reality, enhanced integration of  
715 negative information over long periods of time could lead to psychiatric problems. We have

716 previously shown that patients suffering from Major Depressive Disorder (MDD) exhibit  
717 increased updating of beliefs in response to negative information relative to healthy controls  
718 (Garrett et al., 2014). MDD is often triggered by a stressful life event (Caspi et al., 2003;  
719 Roiser et al., 2012). In individuals predisposed to MDD such a stressful life event (or series of  
720 such events) could result in prolonged periods of perceived threat and thus increased  
721 sensitivity to negative information. This in turn can form pessimistic beliefs, a symptom of  
722 MDD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Strunk et al., 2006), leading to even greater  
723 perceived threat about one's environment. It is possible that a similar mechanism may  
724 contribute to symptoms observed in other clinical pathologies such as in clinical anxiety and  
725 phobia.

726

727 We speculate that stress in response to perceived threat may interfere with top down control  
728 mechanisms that may normally inhibit integration of unwanted information (for review see  
729 Yu, 2016). A second, not mutually exclusive, possibility is that the stress reaction directly  
730 boosts the neural representation of estimation errors generated from bad, but not good, news.  
731 Indeed, it has been shown that negative prediction errors in dopamine rich striatal nuclei are  
732 selectively amplified under threat (Robinson et al., 2013) - a modulation that could be  
733 mediated by stress-induced changes to dopamine release (Frank et al., 2004; Lemos et al.,  
734 2012; Schultz et al., 1997; Sharot et al., 2012a). Future studies are required to test these  
735 hypotheses.

736

737 In sum, our results provide evidence that asymmetric information integration is not set in  
738 stone, but changes acutely in response to the environment, decreasing under perceived threat.  
739 Such flexibility could be adaptive, potentially enhancing our likelihood to respond to  
740 warnings with caution in environments where future costs may be high, but enabling us to  
741 maintain positive beliefs otherwise, a strategy that has been suggested, on balance, to increase  
742 well-being (McKay and Dennett, 2010).

743



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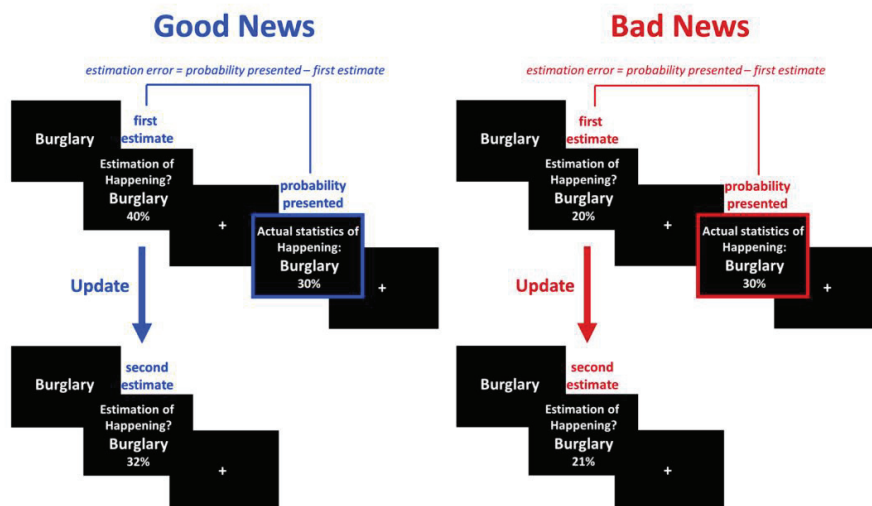
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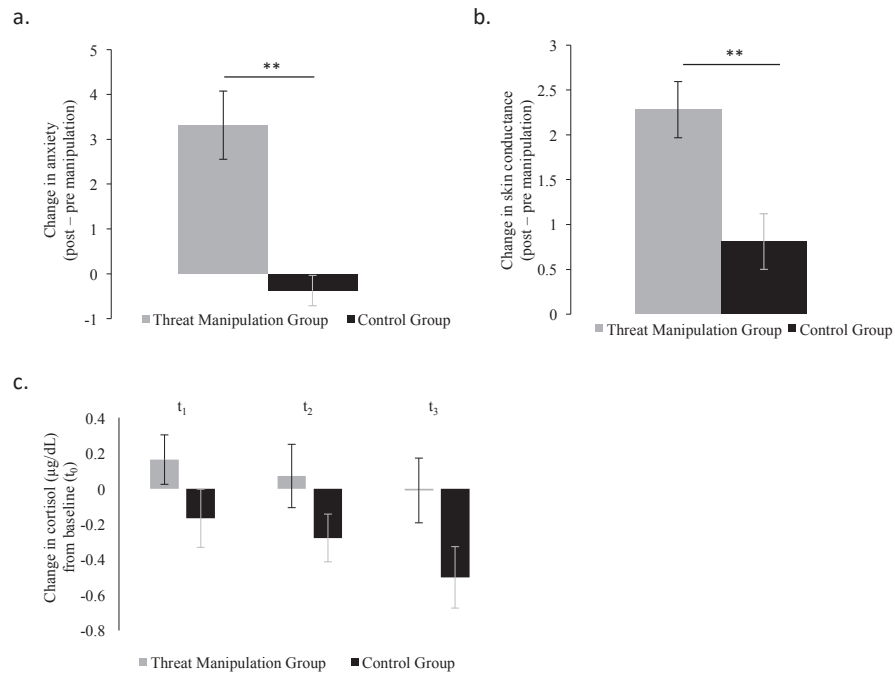


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870 **Figure 1. Behavioral Task.**

871 On each trial, participants were presented with a short description of an adverse event and  
 872 asked to estimate how likely this event was to occur to them in the future. They were then  
 873 presented with the probability of that event occurring to someone from the same age, location  
 874 and socio-economic background as them. The second session was the same as the first except  
 875 that the average probability of the event to occur was not presented. Examples of trials for  
 876 which the participant's estimate was (a) higher or (b) lower than the statistical information  
 877 provided leading to receipt of good and bad news respectively.

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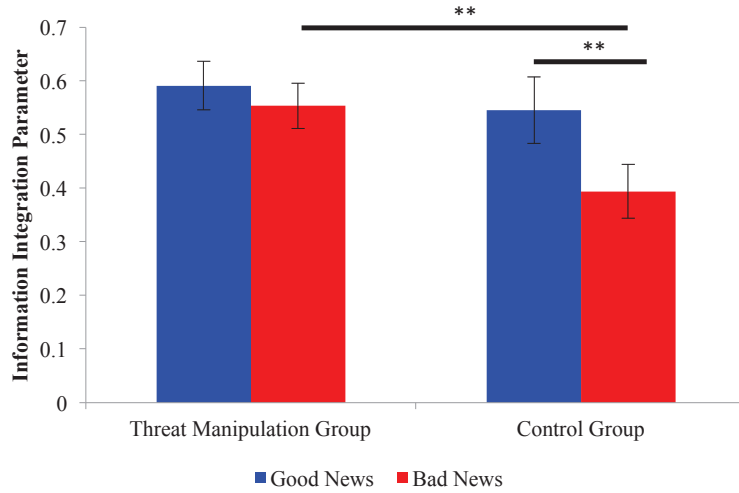
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880 **Figure 2. Manipulation Check.**

881 Measures of (a) self-reported state anxiety, (b) skin conductance and (c) cortisol levels were  
 882 greater after manipulation relative to before in the threat manipulation group compared to the  
 883 control group. Time points for cortisol measurements are as follows: t<sub>0</sub> = before threat/control  
 884 manipulation procedure; t<sub>1</sub> = immediately after threat/control manipulation procedure, prior  
 885 to undertaking the task (+10 min from t<sub>0</sub>); t<sub>2</sub> = halfway through the task (+30min from t<sub>0</sub>); t<sub>3</sub>  
 886 = after completion of task and post experiment questionnaires (+1hr from t<sub>0</sub>).

887 \*\*  $p < .050$ ; Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

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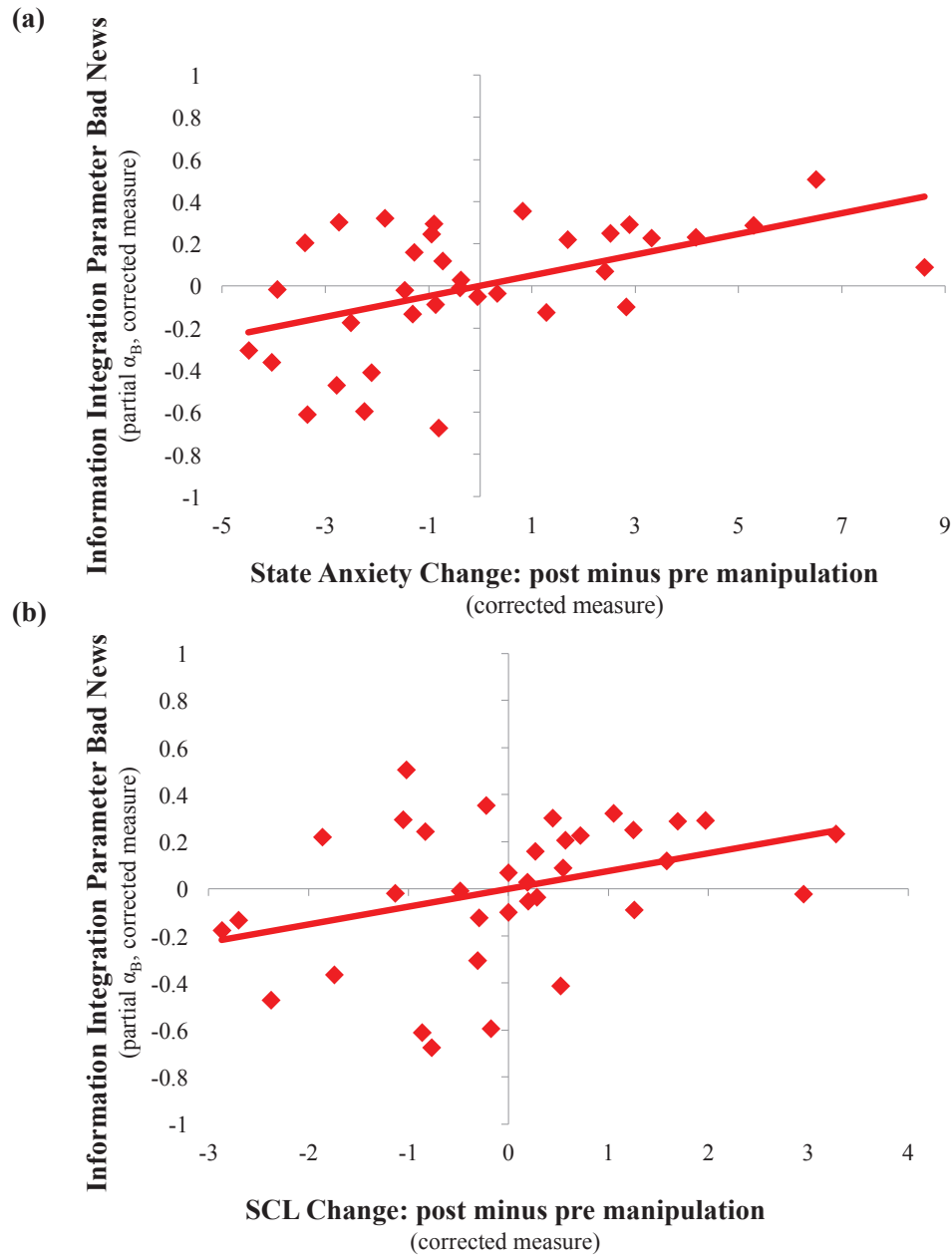


889

890 **Figure 3. Bias in Information Integration Parameters Vanishes under Threat**  
 891 **manipulation.**

892 While the control group showed asymmetrical information integration parameters ( $\alpha$ ) in  
 893 response to good and bad news, this bias vanished in the threat manipulation group, due to an  
 894 increase in  $\alpha_B$  (information integration parameter for bad news). The Group\*Valence  
 895 interaction was significant, controlling for all covariates identified in Table 1 (see Methods).  
 896 \*\*  $p < .05$  independent/paired sample t test as appropriate; Error bars represent standard error  
 897 of the mean.

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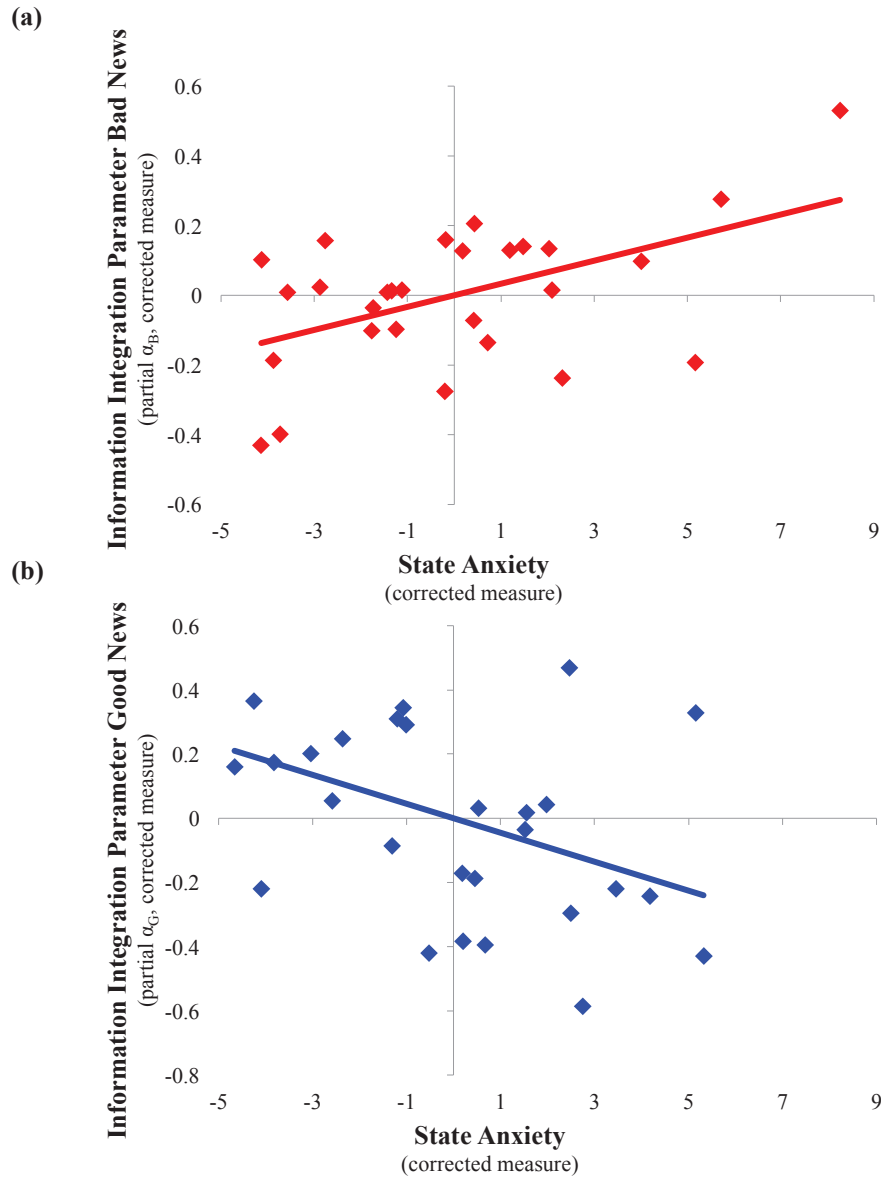
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900 **Figure 4. Greater integration of bad news related to state anxiety and SCL.**

901 Following the manipulation, an increase in both **a.** self-reported anxiety ( $b_i = .049, p = .003,$   
 902  $\eta_p^2 = .25$ ) and **b.** skin conductance (SCL) ( $b_i = .076, p = .042, \eta_p^2 = .13$ ) were related to larger  
 903 information integration from bad news, correcting for possible confounds. Plotted are the  
 904 partial regression plots from two linear models (one for self-report and one for SCL) that  
 905 control for additional covariates.

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**Figure 5. State anxiety in firefighters differentially relate to integration of good and bad news.** Subjective state anxiety scores (STAI) of firefighters on shift were related to larger information integration from bad news ( $b_i = .03, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .26$ ) and lower information integration from good news ( $b_i = -0.045, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .17$ ), correcting for possible confounds. Plotted are the partial regression plots for **a.** bad news (partial  $\alpha_B$ ) and **b.** good news (partial  $\alpha_G$ ) from 2 separate linear models (one for bad news and one for good news) that control for additional covariates.

	Threat Manipulation Group mean (SD)	Control Group mean (SD)
<b>BDI and Baseline Stress Levels</b>		
BDI	5.79 (5.23)	4.69 (3.22)
Initial Self Report STAI <sup>G</sup>	10.37 (2.65)	8.63 (1.36)
Initial SCL	6.27 (3.29)	5.90 (3.20)
Initial Cortisol (log transformed)	-1.99 (0.59)	-1.79 (0.53)
<b>Task Variables</b>		
First Estimates	29.82 (5.62) <sup>V</sup>	31.05 (5.89) <sup>V</sup>
<b>Subjective Scales Questionnaire</b>		
<i>1 = low to 6 = high</i>	<b>Bias</b> <i>(Good News – Bad News)</i>	
Vividness	0.41 (0.72) <sup>V</sup>	0.72 (0.65) <sup>V</sup>
Familiarity	0.30 (0.69)	0.49 (0.62) <sup>V</sup>
Prior experience	0.18 (0.61)	0.33 (0.41) <sup>V</sup>
Emotional arousal	0.33 (0.63) <sup>V</sup>	0.13 (0.86)
Negativity	0.20 (0.49)	-0.13 (0.58)
<b>Other Task-related variables</b>		
Number of Trials	-1.58 (8.99)	-1.56 (9.70)
Memory errors	-1.23 (3.16)	-0.21 (4.52)
Estimation errors (absolute)	-0.82 (5.27)	1.11 (5.84)
Update	2.60 (12.67)	4.21 (7.83) <sup>V</sup>

917

918 **Table 1. BDI, Initial Self-Report STAI, Initial SCL, Initial Cortisol, Task-related**  
 919 **variables, subjective scales, memory in Experiment I.** Note that Estimation errors and  
 920 Update (the final two rows) are the variables used to compute the information integration  
 921 parameters ( $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$ ) for each participant.

922 <sup>G</sup> Difference between Threat Manipulation and Control Groups, tested using independent  
 923 sample t-tests ( $p < 0.05$ ).

924 <sup>V</sup> Significant effect of valence ( $p < 0.05$ ), tested using one sample t-test on the bias scores  
 925 (difference between good and bad news) on each group separately.

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	$b_i$	<i>Std.</i> <i>Error</i>	$t$	$p$	95% Confidence Interval		$\eta_p^2$
					<i>Lower</i> <i>Bound</i>	<i>Upper</i> <i>Bound</i>	
Initial Self Report STAI	-0.01	0.01	-1.10	0.29	-0.04	0.01	0.07
First estimates	0.01	0.01	0.89	0.39	-0.01	0.02	0.05
Vividness rating	-0.09	0.05	-1.84	0.09	-0.20	0.01	0.17
Familiarity rating	0.08	0.04	2.16	0.05	0.00	0.16	0.23
Prior experience rating	-0.04	0.06	-0.76	0.46	-0.17	0.08	0.04
Emotional arousal rating	-0.13	0.04	-3.03	0.01	-0.22	-0.04	0.37
Information integration parameter, good news ( $\alpha_G$ )	0.39	0.15	2.60	0.02	0.07	0.71	0.30

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**Table 2. Parameter estimates of covariates in Experiment I.**

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First estimates (i.e. mean initial estimations), mean ratings on subjective scales (vividness,

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familiarity, past experience and emotional arousal) and  $\alpha_G$  (information integration

938

parameters for good news) were entered as covariates to account for fluctuations in  $\alpha_B$

939

(information integration parameters for bad news).

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	Mean (SD)
BDI	6.82 (7.45)
<b>Task Variables</b>	
First Estimates <sup>V</sup>	31.22 (6.96)
<b>Subjective Scales Questionnaire</b>	
<i>1 = low to 6 = high</i>	
<b>Bias</b> <i>(Good News – Bad News)</i>	
Prior experience <sup>V</sup>	0.54 (0.94)
Negativity	0.31 (0.90)
<b>Other Task-related variables</b>	
Number of Trials <sup>V</sup>	-10.89 (9.41)
Memory errors	-2.18 (6.51)
Estimation errors (absolute) <sup>V</sup>	-2.91 (5.16)
Update <sup>V</sup>	9.49 (12.04)

942

943 **Table 3. Task-related variables, subjective scales and memory in Experiment II.** Note  
 944 that Estimation errors and Update (the final two rows) are the variables used to compute the  
 945 information integration parameters ( $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$ ) for each participant.

946 <sup>V</sup> Significant effect of valence ( $p < 0.05$ ), tested using one sample t-test on the mean bias  
 947 scores (difference between good and bad news) for each participant.

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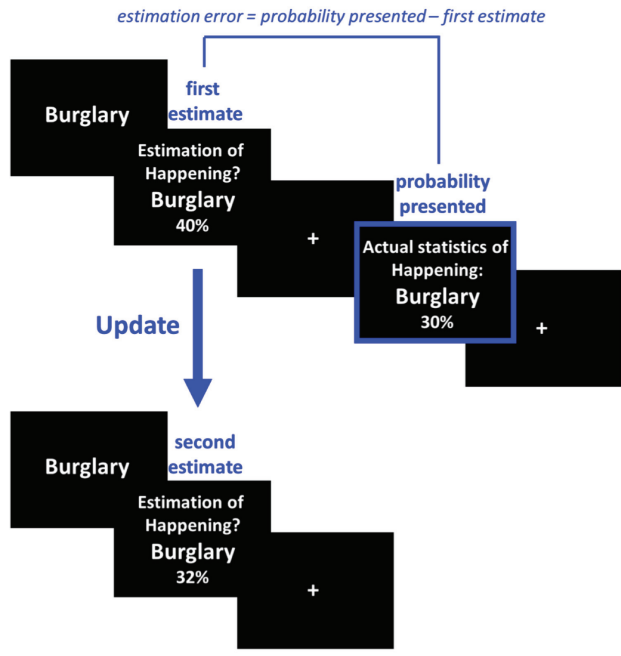
	$b_i$	Std. Error	$t$	$p$	95% Confidence Interval		$\eta_p^2$
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
First estimates	0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.97	-0.02	0.02	0.00
Prior experience rating	-0.03	0.09	-0.31	0.76	-0.21	0.15	0.00
Number of bad news trials	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.99	-0.03	0.03	0.00
Information integration parameter, good news ( $\alpha_G$ )	0.34	0.16	2.17	0.04	0.02	0.67	0.18

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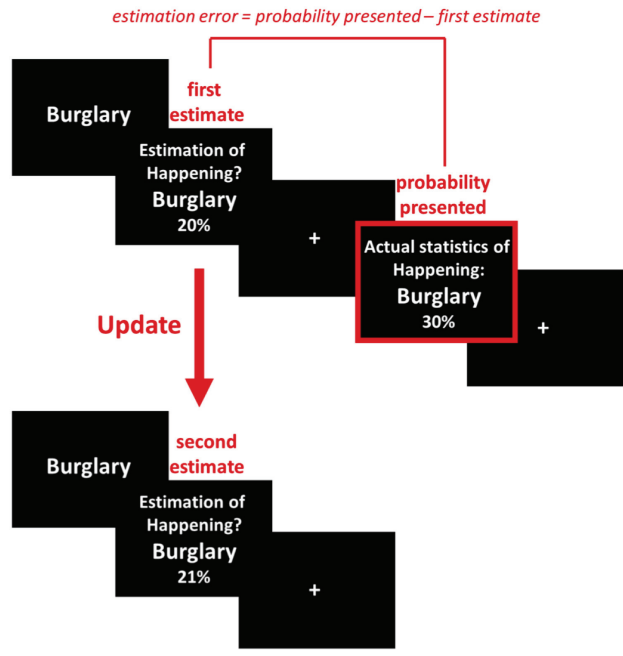
950 **Table 4. Parameter estimates of covariates in Experiment II.**

951 First estimates (i.e. mean initial estimations), mean ratings of past experience, number of bad  
 952 news trials and  $\alpha_G$  (information integration parameters for good news) were entered as  
 953 covariates to account for fluctuations in  $\alpha_B$  (information integration parameters for bad news).

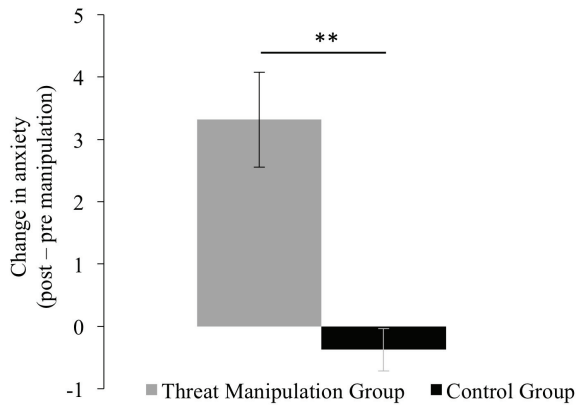
### Good News



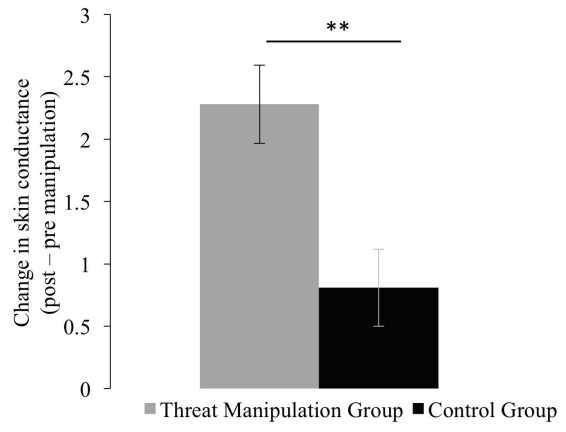
### Bad News



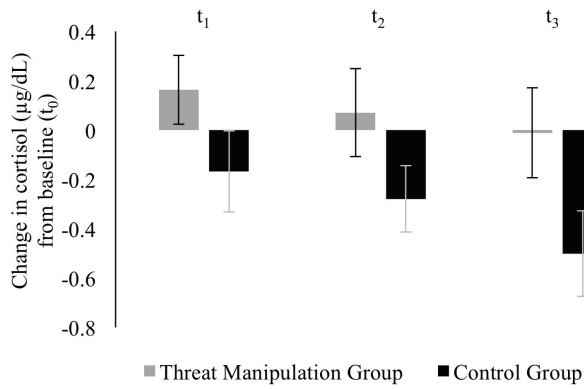
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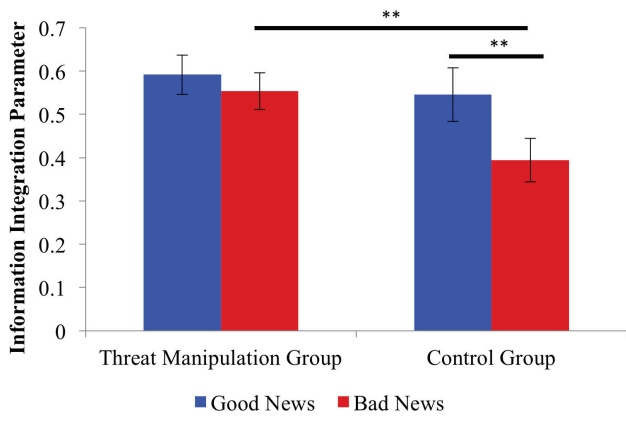


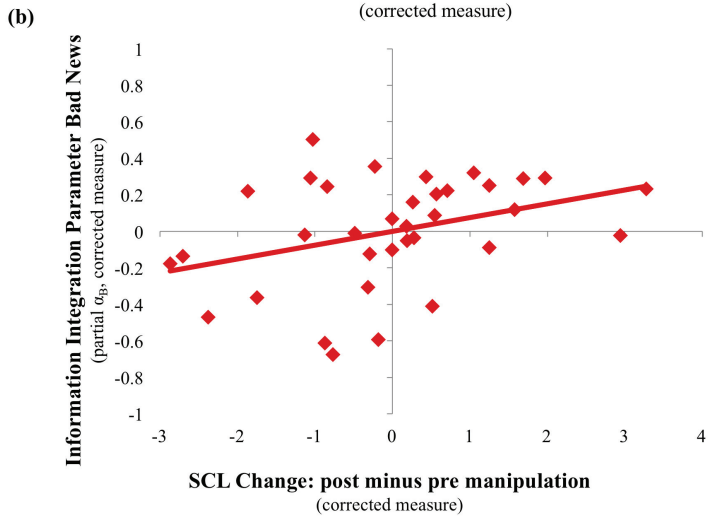
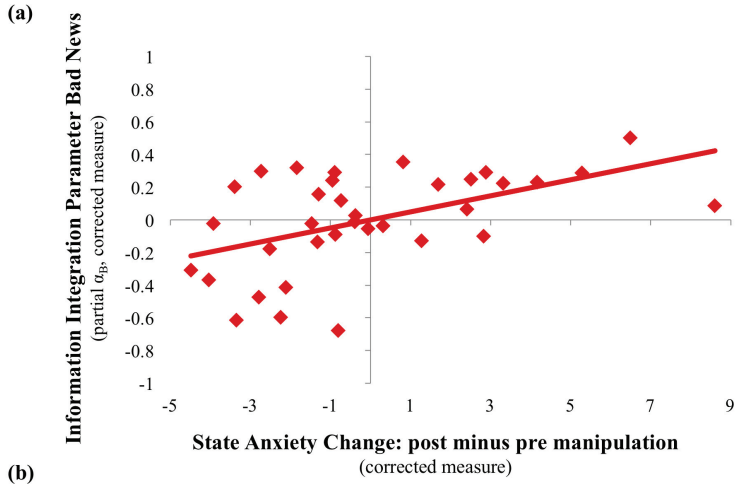
b.



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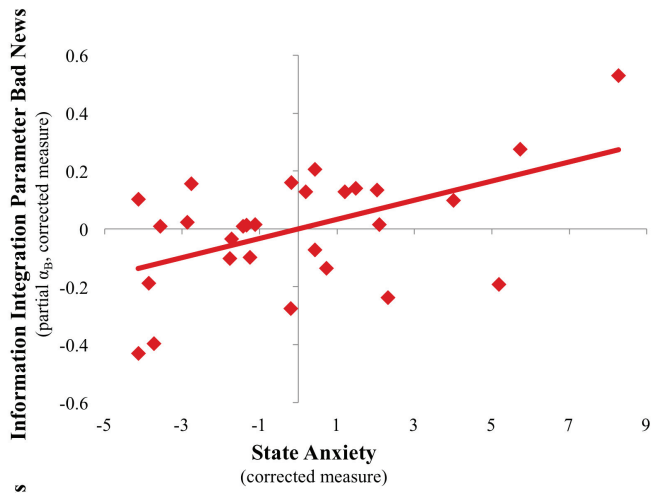




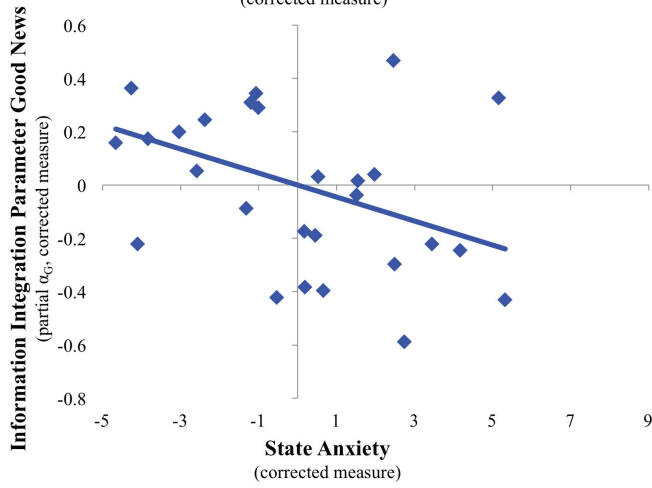




(a)



(b)



	Threat Manipulation Group mean (SD)	Control Group mean (SD)
<b>BDI and Baseline Stress Levels</b>		
BDI	5.79 (5.23)	4.69 (3.22)
Initial Self Report STAI <sup>G</sup>	10.37 (2.65)	8.63 (1.36)
Initial SCL	6.27 (3.29)	5.90 (3.20)
Initial Cortisol (log transformed)	-1.99 (0.59)	-1.79 (0.53)
<b>Task Variables</b>		
First Estimates	29.82 (5.62) <sup>V</sup>	31.05 (5.89) <sup>V</sup>
<b>Subjective Scales Questionnaire</b>		
<i>1 = low to 6 = high</i>	<b>Bias</b> <i>(Good News – Bad News)</i>	
Vividness	0.41 (0.72) <sup>V</sup>	0.72 (0.65) <sup>V</sup>
Familiarity	0.30 (0.69)	0.49 (0.62) <sup>V</sup>
Prior experience	0.18 (0.61)	0.33 (0.41) <sup>V</sup>
Emotional arousal	0.33 (0.63) <sup>V</sup>	0.13 (0.86)
Negativity	0.20 (0.49)	-0.13 (0.58)
<b>Other Task-related variables</b>		
Number of Trials	-1.58 (8.99)	-1.56 (9.70)
Memory errors	-1.23 (3.16)	-0.21 (4.52)
Estimation errors (absolute)	-0.82 (5.27)	1.11 (5.84)
Update	2.60 (12.67)	4.21 (7.83) <sup>V</sup>

**Table 1. BDI, Initial Self-Report STAI, Initial SCL, Initial Cortisol, Task-related variables, subjective scales, memory in Experiment I.** Note that Estimation errors and Update (the final two rows) are the variables used to compute the information integration parameters ( $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$ ) for each participant.

<sup>G</sup> Difference between Threat Manipulation and Control Groups, tested using independent sample t-tests ( $p < 0.05$ ).

<sup>V</sup> Significant effect of valence ( $p < 0.05$ ), tested using one sample t-test on the bias scores (difference between good and bad news) on each group separately.

	$b_i$	<i>Std.</i> <i>Error</i>	$t$	$p$	95% Confidence Interval		$\eta_p^2$
					<i>Lower</i> <i>Bound</i>	<i>Upper</i> <i>Bound</i>	
Initial Self Report STAI	-0.01	0.01	-1.10	0.29	-0.04	0.01	0.07
First estimates	0.01	0.01	0.89	0.39	-0.01	0.02	0.05
Vividness rating	-0.09	0.05	-1.84	0.09	-0.20	0.01	0.17
Familiarity rating	0.08	0.04	2.16	0.05	0.00	0.16	0.23
Prior experience rating	-0.04	0.06	-0.76	0.46	-0.17	0.08	0.04
Emotional arousal rating	-0.13	0.04	-3.03	0.01	-0.22	-0.04	0.37
Information integration parameter, good news ( $\alpha_G$ )	0.39	0.15	2.60	0.02	0.07	0.71	0.30

**Table 2. Parameter estimates of covariates in Experiment I.**

First estimates (i.e. mean initial estimations), mean ratings on subjective scales (vividness, familiarity, past experience and emotional arousal) and  $\alpha_G$  (information integration parameters for good news) were entered as covariates to account for fluctuations in  $\alpha_B$  (information integration parameters for bad news).

	Mean (SD)
BDI	6.82 (7.45)
<b>Task Variables</b>	
First Estimates <sup>V</sup>	31.22 (6.96)
<b>Subjective Scales Questionnaire</b>	
<i>1 = low to 6 = high</i>	
<b>Bias</b> <i>(Good News – Bad News)</i>	
Prior experience <sup>V</sup>	0.54 (0.94)
Negativity	0.31 (0.90)
<b>Other Task-related variables</b>	
Number of Trials <sup>V</sup>	-10.89 (9.41)
Memory errors	-2.18 (6.51)
Estimation errors (absolute) <sup>V</sup>	-2.91 (5.16)
Update <sup>V</sup>	9.49 (12.04)

**Table 3. Task-related variables, subjective scales and memory in Experiment II.** Note that Estimation errors and Update (the final two rows) are the variables used to compute the information integration parameters ( $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_B$ ) for each participant.

<sup>V</sup> Significant effect of valence ( $p < 0.05$ ), tested using one sample t-test on the mean bias scores (difference between good and bad news) for each participant.

	$b_i$	<i>Std. Error</i>	$t$	$p$	95% Confidence Interval		$\eta_p^2$
					<i>Lower Bound</i>	<i>Upper Bound</i>	
First estimates	0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.97	-0.02	0.02	0.00
Prior experience rating	-0.03	0.09	-0.31	0.76	-0.21	0.15	0.00
Number of bad news trials	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.99	-0.03	0.03	0.00
Information integration parameter, good news ( $\alpha_G$ )	0.34	0.16	2.17	0.04	0.02	0.67	0.18

**Table 4. Parameter estimates of covariates in Experiment II.**

First estimates (i.e. mean initial estimations), mean ratings of past experience, number of bad news trials and  $\alpha_G$  (information integration parameters for good news) were entered as covariates to account for fluctuations in  $\alpha_B$  (information integration parameters for bad news).