A unified theory of distraction in human perceptual, cognitive and economic decision-making

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19 **Abstract**

20 When making decisions, humans are often distracted by irrelevant information. Distraction has
 21 different impact on perceptual, cognitive and value-guided choices, giving rise to well-described
 22 behavioural phenomena such as the tilt illusion, conflict adaptation, or economic decoy effects.
 23 However, a single, unified model that can account for all these phenomena has yet to emerge.
 24 Here, we offer one such account, based on adaptive gain control, and additionally show that it
 25 successfully predicts a range of counterintuitive new behavioural phenomena on variants of a
 26 classic cognitive paradigm, the Eriksen flanker task. We also report that BOLD signals in a dorsal
 27 network prominently including the anterior cingulate cortex (dACC), index a gain-modulated
 28 decision variable predicted by the model. This work unifies the study of distraction across
 29 perceptual, cognitive and economic domains.

30

31 **Keywords:** decision-making; cognitive control; tilt illusion; gain control; anterior cingulate cortex.

32

33 Introduction

34

35 Decisions about sensory signals, cognitive propositions, or economic prospects are often made in
 36 the context of competing or distracting information. Consider the following everyday situations:
 37 you are judging whether a painting hangs straight on the wall, but the nearby pictures are hung
 38 askew; you are waiting at a red stop signal, but the car in front decides to jump the light; you are
 39 contemplating the purchase of a new watch, but it is displayed next to a range of more elegant but
 40 unaffordable models. In each of these situations, the best decisions will be made by ignoring the
 41 distracting sensory signals (the competing picture frames, vehicles, or watches) and focussing
 42 exclusively on the choice-relevant information. This normative contention can be formalised in a
 43 variety of ways, for example via the notion that rational choices should be independent of
 44 irrelevant alternatives^{1,2} or that sensory signals should be weighted lawfully by their reliability and
 45 relevance to the choice at hand³⁻⁶.

46

47 Nevertheless, empirical observations suggest that humans decision-makers are unduly influenced
 48 by distracting information. Consider a generic problem in which a target stimulus X^i and
 49 distracters X^j occur at fixed locations i and j . In this general formulation, decision values X may be
 50 perceptual features (such as the tilt of a grating) or economic attributes (such as the quality of a
 51 consumer product) that are to be evaluated or categorised. Humans show systematic biases that
 52 reflect the influence of the distracters on decisions about the target. For example, vision scientists
 53 have long studied the “tilt illusion”, in which the reported orientation of X^i (e.g. a central grating)
 54 is repulsed away from the mean tilt of X^j (surrounding gratings with similar but nonidentical tilt;
 55 **Fig. 1a**)⁷. In cognitive psychology, the influence of distracter items is usually studied with a view to
 56 understanding the attentional or control mechanisms that allow information to be selected in the

57 face of conflict. For example, in the classic Eriksen flanker task, observers classify a target stimulus
 58 (e.g. a central arrow) that is flanked by distracters (e.g. arrows pointing in compatible or
 59 incompatible directions)^{8,9}. It is ubiquitously observed that incompatible flankers incur a cost, and
 60 compatible flankers a benefit, in response times (RTs) and accuracy relative to a neutral condition
 61 (**Fig. 1b**). Finally, behavioural and neural economists have charted the irrational influence that a
 62 decoy alternative of value X^j has on choices between two choice-relevant prospects X^{i+} and X^{i-} ,
 63 where $X^{i+} > X^{i-}$ ¹⁰⁻¹³. A common finding is that rational choices (i.e. for $X^{i+} > X^{i-}$) initially decline
 64 as X^j increases in value, but then increase sharply as X^j comes to approximately match the other
 65 two items in value (**Fig. 1c**).

Figure 1. The effect distraction across perceptual, cognitive and economic domains. (A) Left panel: subjects were asked to discriminate the tilt (relative to horizontal) of a central Gabor surrounded by tilted distractors. Middle panel: participants are biased to report the target as more clockwise when the flankers were counterclockwise and vice versa (the “tilt illusion”, middle panel; images adapted from Solomon & Morgan, 2006, permission pending). Right panel: simulation of the adaptive gain model recreates the tilt illusion and further predicts that the magnitude of the bias is modulated by flanker variance; coloured lines reflect flanker standard deviation from low (red) to high (blue). **(B)** Left panel: In the Eriksen flanker task, participants respond with a key press to a central letter while ignoring the flankers. Middle panel: response times are the fastest on CO (‘congruent’) trials, then the SI (‘Stimulus Incongruent’) trials, and slowest on RI (‘Response incongruent’) trials; Middle panel; adapted from van Veen & Carter, 2002, permission pending). See methods for details of how CO, RI and SI trials were defined. Right panel: the adaptive gain model predicts the same pattern of reaction time across the three conditions. **(C)** Left panel: participants chose the most preferred of three food items. Middle panel: increasing the value of the least-preferred item reduces the choice efficiency (i.e. probability of choosing the highest-valued target) as the normalised distractor value increases, shown by logistic slope from fitting logistic choice functions on humans choice. Using the adaptive gain model, we simulated the subjective difference between two tilts (blue and red line) as a function of a third distracting tilt (x-axis). The subjective difference is first reduced and the increased in a qualitatively similar fashion.

68 In the fields of psychology, economics, and neuroscience, diverse theoretical proposals have been
 69 offered to explain the cost that distracters incur during decision-making. These include models
 70 that describe how control systems detect and resolve conflict among inputs^{14,15}, accounts that
 71 emphasise inhibitory interactions among competing sensory neurons, or favour a normalisation of
 72 stimulus values by a local average or range^{10,16-18}, and Bayesian accounts that model spatial
 73 uncertainty among targets and distracters¹⁹⁻²¹, or that assume strong priors on the compatibility of
 74 decision information²¹. These accounts disagree about the computational mechanisms involved,
 75 the neural processing stages at which the cost of distraction arises, and about the brain structures
 76 that are recruited to protect decisions against irrelevant information. For example, divisive
 77 normalisation mechanisms may occur in sensory neurons in visual cortex¹⁶, or amongst value
 78 representations in the orbitofrontal cortex²², whereas the control systems that detect and resolve
 79 conflict have been attributed to medial and lateral prefrontal structures¹⁴. As such, the field
 80 currently lacks a single, unified theory that can account for the effect of distraction on human
 81 decisions, or an integrated neural account of its implementation across perceptual, cognitive and
 82 economic domains.

83

84 The goal of the current paper is to offer such an account. We begin with a simple computational
 85 model that is motivated by past work showing that contextual signals determine the gain of
 86 processing of consistent (or “expected”) features during decision-making tasks²³. Our model,
 87 which is described here at the level of neural population codes, proposes that contextual signals
 88 sharpen the tuning curves of neurons with compatible preference for decision-relevant features,
 89 and is motivated by a large literature emphasising the need for adaptive gain control in the service
 90 of efficient coding^{24,25}. Using computational simulations, we first show that the model can
 91 recreate qualitatively two classic phenomena in very different domains – perceptual choice (the

tilt illusion) and economic choice (decoy effects). Next, we turn our attention to a task that has been a mainstay of cognitive studies of distraction – the Eriksen Flanker task. We built novel variants of the task in which the statistics of the flankers, and the difference between target and the decision bound can vary across conditions. Our simulations show that the model predicts a range of striking, counterintuitive behavioural findings, including “reverse” compatibility effects (where fully-visible, compatible flankers actually hinder, rather than help, behavioural performance). Over 4 behavioural experiments involving human participants, we validate these predictions, using visual stimuli defined by both tilt and colour. Finally, we use functional brain imaging to show that the modulatory influence on decision signals predicted by the model correlates with BOLD signals the dorsal anterior cingulate cortex (dACC) and interconnected structures, where neural signals have variously been implicated in the context-sensitive encoding of action values²⁶, and the expected value of cognitive control²⁷. We show how our framework, which is not wholly inconsistent with either account, can bring together diverse views concerning the function of this controversial brain region²⁸.

Results

Our adaptive gain model is based on a framework that was previously developed to understand how humans performing perceptual decision-tasks adapt to the context provided by information that is proximal in space and time^{23,29}. Inputs arrive at a population of n neurons each characterised by a Gaussian tuning curve centred on its preferred feature value θ_k . Each neuron k responds to the target stimulus X^i with rate $R_k = f(X^i|\theta_k, \sigma_k)$, where $f(X|\theta, \sigma)$ denotes the probability density function of the normal distribution with mean θ and variance σ^2 .

115

116 The estimated output of the neural population is then decoded into a subjective percept of the
117 target $\widehat{X}^l$ by weighting the population activity R by the corresponding feature values θ .

118

$$\widehat{X}^l = \sum_{k=1}^n R_k \cdot \theta_k$$

119

(1)

120 When the gain is uniformly spread across the feature space (i.e. the tuning widths σ_k for all
121 neurons are equal) this approach faithfully decodes each input to its original feature value.
122 However, our model proposes that the context provided by the distracters modulates the
123 sharpening of neuronal tuning, with a tuning width envelope that matches the inverse distribution
124 of contextual features X^j with mean mX^j and standard deviation sX^j .

125

126

$$\sigma_k = \sigma^{max} - f(\theta_k | mX^j, sX^j + \varepsilon) \cdot n$$

127

(2)

128 In other words, neurons with preferred orientation that matches mX^j have the sharpest tuning
129 curves, and these tuning curves are even sharper if the flanker variance (sX^j) is low (see **Fig. 2a**).
130 In equation (2), σ^{max} denotes the maximum tuning width in the population, and ε is a noise
131 parameter. In all model fitting procedures below, we allow ε to vary as a free parameter,
132 recovering average values of $\sim 5^\circ$, which concurs with previous accounts³⁰.

Figure 2. Adaptive gain model of the Eriksen flanker task. (A) Illustration of the adaptive gain model as applied to Exp.1. The model assumes that the population width tuning envelope is governed by the trial flanker mean (mX^j) and trial flanker variability (sX^j). Congruent targets (red circles) receive higher neural gain than incongruent targets (blue circles), leading to faster RTs. The model further predicts an interaction between congruency and flanker variability. Congruent targets receive high neural gain under low flanker variability trials (large circles) than high flanker variability trials (small circles) while incongruent targets under the two flanker variability trials received the same, low level of neural gain, meaning that flanker variability has no influence on RT for incongruent targets. (B) Experiment 1. Participant first saw a fixation dot, followed by an array that contained a central target and 6 surrounding flankers. They responded whether the central target was clockwise or counterclockwise to the vertical axis, receiving feedback after each response. (C) Simulation of RT ($1/\hat{X}^i$) using the adaptive gain model for 3 levels of flanker variance (sX^j - in coloured lines) and congruency (x-axis). (D - E) Human reaction time pattern under three levels of flanker variance and congruency condition in Exp. 1a (Panel D) and Exp.1b (Panel E). Coloured circles represent the fitted mean reaction time from the adaptive gain model.

136 We first show how the model explains the both tilt illusion in perceptual choice tasks and decoy
137 effects in economic choice tasks. In **Fig. 1a**, we plot the tilt bias over visual angle $\theta \in \{-90, -89 \dots 90\}$
138 predicted by the model as a difference of subjective and objective estimates of the target $\widehat{X}^i - X^i$
139 for different values of $mX^j \in \{-45, -44 \dots 45\}$ and $sX^j \in \{3, 7, 11, 15\}$. The model predicts that
140 subjective estimates are repulsed away from the mean flanker value, as described in numerous
141 previous studies^{7,31}, and additionally that the strongest repulsion effect occurs when the flankers
142 are consistent, i.e. are drawn from a distribution with low dispersion. This repulsion of the
143 subjectively decoded values from their objective counterparts occurs when the target feature
144 close to, but is not identical to, the mean of the distracters (i.e. the location of sharpest tuning),
145 because the variable tuning profile induces a skew in the population activity over features θ_k (see
146 **Fig. S1** for a more detailed explanation). To model economic decoy effects, we envisage a choice
147 between two prospects of value X^{i+} and X^{i-} (where $X^{i+} = 20$ and $X^{i-} = 10$ in arbitrary units)
148 that is made in the context of distracters with average value X^j . We plot the difference in their
149 corresponding subjective estimates $\widehat{X}^{i+} - \widehat{X}^{i-}$ as a function of mX^j , observing a pattern with a
150 striking qualitative resemblance to that reported previously¹⁰ (**Fig. 1b**). Again, the model's ability
151 to predict this counterintuitive pattern comes from the repulsive effect induced by differential
152 tuning across feature space. The model predicts that as the value of the decoy mX^j increases,
153 repulsion is first strongest towards X^{i-} (leading to a reduced preference for the best option X^{i+})
154 but then, as the decoy approaches the two items in the choice set, repulsion is maximal for X^{i+} ,
155 reversing this effect. In further simulations, we systematically varied both the distance between
156 X^{i+} and X^{i-} , and sX^j , we were able to capture the two-dimensional pattern of multi-alternative
157 choice data described in a different study involving abstract shapes associated with different
158 economic values¹¹ (**Fig. S2**).

159

Next, we used our model to simulate performance on a new variant of the flanker task that involves categorising a central grating X^i tilted at -45° from vertical, in the face of flanking gratings that are on average tilted in a compatible ($mX^j = -45^\circ$) or incompatible ($mX^j = +45^\circ$) fashion. **Fig. 2c** illustrates predictions from the adaptive gain model under two orthogonally varying factors: compatibility and flanker variability. Because flanker effects for fully-visible stimuli are strongest for response times, we plot the inverse model output $1/|\widehat{X}^i|$ as a proxy for RT (this is equivalent to assuming a ballistic evidence accumulation process; see equation (1) and methods). As can be seen, the model predicts a compatibility effect: faster RTs for trials where the target and distracters were of congruent sign. However, it also makes a new, testable prediction: that as sX^j (flanker variance) decreases, response times should be reduced on compatible trials but remain the same on incompatible trials (**Fig. 2c**). This occurs because on compatible trials (flankers at -45°), more gain is allocated to the target feature when the variance of the distribution of flanker orientations is lower. However, the gain allocated to incongruent targets (flankers at $+45^\circ$) is negligibly different across different flanker variance levels since the neural gain they received are similar at the tail of the gain distribution, and so the model predicts that flanker variance should not affect performance on incongruent trials (**Fig. 2a**). By contrast, classic models propose that response conflict varies with the amount of crosstalk interference among responses¹⁴. These models predict that heightened flanker variance should have equal impact on compatible and incompatible trials (see Methods for model details).

We tested this prediction in **Exp. 1** by asking healthy human participants to judge, relative to vertical, the tilt of a single target grating surrounded by 6 flanking distracter gratings (**Fig. 2b**). The orientation of the target grating X^i and the mean of the flankers mX_j were set to $\pm 45^\circ$ and the standard deviation of the flankers sX^j was varied at three levels: $\{0^\circ, 15^\circ, 30^\circ\}$ in **Exp. 1a** ($n = 37$)

184 and $\{5^\circ, 10^\circ, 15^\circ\}$ in **Exp. 1b** ($n = 36$). In both experiments, we observed that flanker variance
 185 modulated RTs on compatible trials (**Exp. 1a**: $F_{1.91,68.6} = 9.041$, $p < 0.001$; **Exp. 1b**: $F_{1.91,68.86} = 20.16$,
 186 $p < 0.001$) but not on incompatible trials (both p -values ≥ 0.09). This finding was qualified by an
 187 interaction between compatibility and flanker variance (**Exp. 1a**: $F_{1.83,65.79} = 12.14$, $p < 0.001$; **Fig.**
 188 **2d Exp. 1b**: $F_{1.95,70.06} = 20.32$, $p < 0.001$; **Fig. 2e**). Because previous work has shown that the ratio of
 189 compatible to incompatible flankers can modulate performance³², we repeated this analysis
 190 limited to those trials where all flankers fell on the compatible/incompatible side of the boundary,
 191 finding a similar interaction for **Exp. 1a** ($F_{1.83,66.04} = 12.59$, $p < 0.001$) and **Exp. 1b** ($F_{1.65,57.66} = 15.77$,
 192 $p < 0.001$).

193

194 We fit our adaptive gain model to the data, and compared its predictions to those of a model
 195 proposing that RT depends on response conflict alone. The fits for the gain model (coloured
 196 circles) are shown superimposed upon the human data in **Fig. 2c and 2d**. We compared the
 197 models head-to-head by computing mean-squared error (MSE) in RT across conditions on half of
 198 the data (even trials), after estimating parameters from an independent dataset (odd trials).
 199 Bayesian model selection showed that the adaptive gain model fit the human data more closely
 200 than the conflict model, with exceedance probabilities for the adaptive gain model of 0.95 in **Exp.**
 201 **1a** and 0.72 in **Exp. 1b**. We also compared a version of the gain model in which the contextual
 202 modulation was driven by both target and distracters; this model yielded both qualitatively and
 203 quantitatively similar results to the original gain model ($p > 0.2$ for both **Exp. 1a** and **1b**).

204

205 Next, we moved beyond the simple case in which X^i and mX^j fell equidistant the category
 206 boundary to a more complex design where they could vary independently around vertical at
 207 $\{\pm 15^\circ, \pm 30^\circ, \pm 45^\circ\}$, and sX^j could once again vary at 3 levels $\{0^\circ, 15^\circ, 30^\circ\}$. In this case, the model

208 makes several predictions, some of them highly counterintuitive. Firstly, it predicts that there
 209 should be no main effect of congruence on RTs. In other words, the predicted inverse decision
 210 values $1/|\hat{X}_i|$ (or equivalently, unscaled RTs) are identical whether the target (X^i) and flanker
 211 mean mX^j are of the same and different sign. Secondly, the model predicts the existence of
 212 strong “reverse compatibility” effects under specific circumstances: there will be a
 213 disproportionate cost on congruent trials when the target X^i is closer to the category boundary
 214 than the mean of the flankers mX^j , e.g. when $X^i = 15$ and $mX^j = 30$ or $mX^j = 45$ (**Fig. 3a**
 215 upper left corner of each plot), and that this effect should diminish with increasing flanker
 216 variance (panels). Finally, although the model indicates that RTs will be dominated by the distance
 217 between X^i and the category boundary, it predicts that in the specific case where X^i and mX^j are
 218 both close to vertical, this cost will be strongly attenuated.

219

Figure 3. 4 way interactions (A) Surface plots showing the mean RT pattern in humans under different conditions (3 levels of target orientation x 3 levels of flanker mean orientation x congruency x 3 levels of flanker variability). Warmer colours correspond to longer reaction time. There is an overall cost when the target is close to the category boundary (top row of each surface plot). There is an additional cost when these targets were flanked by congruent flankers that are further from the boundary (top left corners of each subplot). This cost is radically reduced when the flankers are both congruent and close to the boundary (c.f. third most column, top row). The introduction of higher flanker variability reduces these additional costs in those conditions (overall faster RT across surface plots). (B) Fitted mean reaction time pattern from the adaptive gain model. (C) Mean ($\pm$ SEM) RT in humans were cross-plotted against the fitted mean ($\pm$ SEM) model RT for each condition. Warm colours (Red to yellow) correspond to levels of mean orientation from congruent flankers. Cold colours (Blue to cyan) correspond to levels mean orientation from incongruent flankers $|mX^j|$. Different shapes correspond to 3 levels of target decision variable $|X^i|$. Similar to upper plots, slower RT occurs specifically on trials where the target is close to the boundary and flankers are both congruent and have a mean orientation that is further from the category boundary.

220 We tested these predictions using the flanker paradigm on two new cohorts of participants, one of
 221 which (**Exp. 2a**, $n = 28$) performed the tilt categorisation task described above, except with the full
 222 6 (target mean) $\times$ 6 (flanker mean) $\times$ 3 (flanker variance) design. Another (**Exp. 2b**, $n = 30$)
 223 performed a task with the same design that involved judging the colour of a central circle (red vs.
 224 blue) surrounded by distracting flankers that varied continuously in colour from red to blue.
 225 Results from the two experiments were qualitatively very similar (see **Fig. S3, S4** for separate data)
 226 and so after normalising the feature values (tilt, colour) to an equivalent scale in the range $[-1,1]$
 227 we collapsed over them for display purposes. All three model predictions were strongly present in
 228 the human RT data (**Fig. 3a-c**). Firstly, splitting trials naively into compatible and incompatible,
 229 there was no overall significant difference in RT, either in the combined cohort ($t_{57} = 1.14$, $p =$
 230 0.26) or separately for each experiment (**Exp. 2a**: $p = 0.79$; **Exp. 2b**: $p = 0.17$). Secondly, we see a
 231 strong cost on congruent trials when the flanker mean is further from the boundary than the
 232 target mean, as demonstrated by an $X^i \times mX^j$ interaction ($F_{3.72,208.23} = 17.48$, $p < 0.001$) that was
 233 much weaker on incongruent trials ($F_{3.39,212.25} = 2.47$, $p = 0.049$). This difference was qualified by a
 234 reliable three-way $|X^i| \times |mX^j| \times congruence$ interaction on human RTs ($F_{3.54,198.12} = 14.62$, p
 235 < 0.001).

236
 237 The analyses described thus far pertain to RT data. In a final analysis of **Exp.2** we examined
 238 choices, using a previously-described approach based on probit regression to assess the weight (or
 239 influence) that distracters wielded over choices, as a function of whether their tilt was inlying or
 240 outlying with respect to category boundary^{33,34}. We attempted to predict choices on each trial as
 241 follows:

$$242$$

$$243 \quad p(CW) = \Phi(\beta^0 + \beta^1 \cdot X^i + \beta_j^2 \cdot X^j)$$

(3)

Where X^j is tallied into 8 bins according to its signed feature value (e.g. from most counterclockwise to clockwise, or most red to blue). Plotting the coefficients β_j^2 associated with each bin j for model choices (obtained via the fitting procedure above), the model counterintuitively predicts that inlying flankers (those whose feature value falls close to the category boundary) will have a stronger impact on choices than outlying flankers. This occurs because the context-dependent gain field is, on average over all trials, Gaussian with a mean of approximately zero; in other words, the tuning of neurons near the category boundary is on average sharper. When we applied the same analysis to human data, we observed exactly the same pattern, with inlying flankers exerting a more distracting influence on choices (**Fig. 4a**). Applying the same regression model to predict RTs, the plots of β_j^2 for both humans and the model show the characteristic repulsion effect in choices, that is owing to the greater contextual modulation of neural tuning near the category boundary (**Fig. 4b**). Together, these analyses show that the human data resemble the counterintuitive model predictions over 4 different experimental datasets.

Figure 4. Choice bias driven by the flankers. Flanker tilts sorted into 8 bins from most CCW to most CW and used for predict choice (panel **A**; using probit regression) and response times (panel **B**) for both humans (left panels) and the best-fitting model (right panels). The x-axis shows the centre of each tilt bin, and the y-axis shows the resulting coefficients. The inverted-U-shape pattern in Panel A reveals that the inlying flankers have a stronger impact on choice than outliers for both humans and model. The response time data reveal the repulsive nature of this effect (Panel B solid purple line; note similarities with **Fig. 1a**). Higher absolute magnitude of beta weights implies that orientations that are close to the category boundary are more predictive of RT, similar to what was shown on choice in panel A. Shaded areas are the standard error of mean.

Functional brain imaging

Established theories propose that a brain network that prominently includes the dorsal anterior cingulate cortex (dACC) is involved in the recruitment of control processes that allow the brain to

265 overcome distraction. Across a range of paradigms including the Eriksen Flanker task, the dACC
 266 responds with higher-amplitude BOLD signals on incompatible than compatible trials^{35,36}, and this
 267 effect is accentuated when the previous trial was compatible ('conflict adaptation'), as if the dACC
 268 is monitoring for conflict and signalling its onset³⁷. However, the dACC is also implicated in
 269 decision processes more generally. For example, it signals the level of noise that corrupts an
 270 imperative stimulus during perceptual discrimination³⁸, and its proximity to a choice point or
 271 category boundary³⁹; it responds to the relative economic value of an unchosen to a chosen
 272 option⁴⁰⁻⁴², to the value of switching to a new task or context^{43,44}, and to the update signals that
 273 occur as decision values change⁴⁵. The search for a unifying theory of the dACC has been one of
 274 the most challenging and controversial themes in cognitive neuroscience over recent years^{28,46-48}.

275

276 To assess the role of the dACC and interconnected regions in adaptive gain control, we conducted
 277 a new experiment in which X^i , mX^j and sX^j varied parametrically from trial to trial, rather than in
 278 a conditionwise fashion. A new cohort of humans (**Exp.3**; $n = 20$) performed this task whilst we
 279 acquired BOLD signals from across the brain using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI).
 280 Behavioural results of this experiment replicated those from **Exp.2 (Fig. S5)**, and so we focussed on
 281 neural analysis to test whether brain signals indexed decision information in a way that was
 282 predicted by the adaptive gain model. We began by confirming previous reports that the dACC
 283 responds more vigorously when a target feature lies closer to a category boundary, i.e. in our
 284 experiment, when the target orientation is closer to vertical³⁹. We first regressed $|X^i|$ (i.e.
 285 proximity of the target to the category boundary) alone against BOLD signals occurring at the time
 286 of choice across the entire brain (GLM1). Consistent with previous observations, we observed a
 287 negative effect of $|X^i|$ in the dACC (peak: 2, 8, 54, $t_{19} = 9.66$, $p_{\text{fdr}} < 0.001$), as well as the anterior
 288 insula (AIC; peak: 34,34,2, $t_{19} = 10.11$, $p_{\text{fdr}} < 0.001$) and superior parietal lobe (SPL; peak: 18, -68,

289 58, $t_{19} = 8.09$, $p_{\text{fdr}} < 0.001$ see **Fig. 5a**). Extracting regions of interest from these areas in a leave-
 290 one-out fashion across participants (see Methods), we then plotted how the BOLD signal varied in
 291 quartiles of both X^i and Xm^j (GLM2) and compared these signals to the predictions of (i) the
 292 adaptive gain model, (ii) an equivalent model with no adaptive gain, i.e. where all simulated cells
 293 had equivalent tuning width, and (iii) a model in which BOLD signals were driven by conflict alone
 294 (**Fig. 5b**). We found that the pattern of BOLD signals in all 3 regions closely resembled that
 295 predicted by the adaptive gain model, but not the other models (**Fig. 5c**). Specifically, although
 296 BOLD responses were elevated when the X^i was close to zero (dACC: $F_{1,19} = 52.37$, $p < 0.001$; AIC:
 297 $F_{1,19} = 53.4$, $p < 0.001$; SPL: $F_{1,19} = 48.94$, $p < 0.001$), this effect was exaggerated on those trials
 298 where mX^j was far from zero but of *compatible* sign (i.e. greater BOLD response in dACC, AIC and
 299 SPL on congruent relative to incongruent trials; dACC: $t_{19} = 3.03$, $p = 0.0069$; AIC: $t_{19} = 2.82$, $p =$
 300 0.011 ; SPL: $t_{19} = 2.28$, $p = 0.034$). No such modulation was observed when X^i was far from zero, as
 301 predicted by the adaptive gain model.

Figure 5. Effect of target orientation on BOLD signal (A) Brain areas correlating negatively with the absolute target decision variable, rendered onto a template brain in sagittal (left panel) and axial (middle and right) slices. Images were generated with an uncorrected threshold of $p < 0.0001$. **(B)** Parametric modulators X^i and mX^j were each being split into 4 quartiles (lines for X^i , x-axis or shaded area for mX^j). Mean predictions ($\pm$ SEM) from different models: Reciprocal gain-modulated decision variable $1/|\hat{X}_i|$ (left panel). Reciprocal no-gain modulated target decision variable $1/|\hat{X}_i|$ (middle panel). Estimated conflict was plotted for from each quartile bins (right panel). Coloured lines correspond to 4 levels of $|X^i|$. Shaded coloured background (groupings on x-axis) corresponds to 4 levels of mX^j **(C)** Mean BOLD ($\pm$ SEM) signal beta values for each level of $|X^i|$ and mX^j from the quartile bins. Left: dACC, Middle: AIC, and Right: SPL ROIs.

This suggests that a gain-modulated decision variable, rather than a conflict signal per se, is driving the dACC response. However, to quantify and compare the predictions of different models, we used Bayesian neural model comparison⁴⁹. We fit the adaptive gain model and the rival conflict

307 models on the trial RTs. Model estimates $|X^i|$ and conflict computed in different ways (see
 308 Methods) from the best fitting parameters are then used to estimate BOLD signals. We computed,
 309 within the dACC, AIC and SPL, the posterior probability of the adaptive gain model conditioned on
 310 the BOLD signal using Random effects Bayesian model selection from the VBA toolbox⁵⁰, and
 311 compared the resulting estimates to those obtained for rival models. Both the exceedance
 312 probabilities and the expected frequencies strongly favoured the adaptive gain model over a
 313 decision model with no gain modulation, as well as over a family of conflict models (exceedance
 314 probabilities for the adaptive gain model in dACC: 0.992; AIC: 0.994; SPL: 0.996; expected
 315 frequencies for the adaptive gain model compared to chance level in dACC: $t_{19} = 4.11$, $p < 0.001$;
 316 AIC: $t_{19} = 4.11$, $p < 0.001$; SPL: $t_{19} = 4.76$, $p < 0.001$; **Fig. 6a**). In other words, the dACC, along with
 317 AIC and SPL, code for a decision signal modulated in precisely the fashion predicted by the
 318 adaptive gain model.

Figure 6. (A) Model comparisons across GLM models. Expected frequencies for each GLM and each ROI were computed using Random effects Bayesian model selection. Grey dotted line displayed the chance level **(B)** ROI analysis on dACC, AIC, and SPL on the absolute flanker mean decision variable $|mX^j|$. Bar plots correspond to the mean ($\pm$ SEM) beta estimates for this predictor from GLM5. **(C)** Simulated (negative) model output as a function of the value of chosen and unchosen option (see methods for details).

words, the dACC BOLD signal correlates better with the demand predicted by the adaptive gain model than it does with time taken to produce a response on each trial.

How does our model explain previously-reported findings, such as the observation that the dACC responds to conflict⁵², or to the relative value of an unchosen vs. a chosen option during economic choice⁵³? We have already shown that in the simple version of the Flanker task (c.f. **Exp.1a** where $sX^j = 0$), the model predicts a larger output $1/|\hat{X}_i|$ on incompatible relative to compatible trials. The model is thus in clear accord with a large literature indicating that dACC BOLD increases when target and distracters are incongruent in a simple version of the Flanker task⁵⁴. We note that as described here, the adaptive gain model computes decision values independently on each successive trial, and thus in its current form would not predict conflict adaptation in the dACC. However, one could reasonably assume that adaptive effects may spill over from one trial to the next, i.e. that neural tuning width will be partly modulated by the previous trial. Under this assumption, the adaptive gain model will successfully predict that responses should be faster on two successive incongruent or two successive congruent trials⁵⁵, just as it successfully account for the observation that during categorisation of a multi-element array, response times are faster if the target array is preceded by a prime array with an equivalent level of feature variance²⁹.

However, we also note another facet of our results: that BOLD signals in the dACC, AIC and SPL ROIs correlate negatively with $|X^i|$ but positively with $|mX^j|$ (GLM5; **Fig. 6b**; dACC: $t_{19} = 2.27$, $p = 0.035$, AIC: $t_{19} = 3.03$, $p = 0.003$, SPL: $t_{19} = 4.56$, $p = 0.007$; this effect was also significant at the whole-brain level in voxels within the AIC and SPL, but not dACC). If we consider the target to be a “chosen” option and the flankers as a competing, “unchosen” option, the ensemble of findings reported here is reminiscent of the well-described finding by which dACC signals scale positively

with the decision value associated with an unchosen option (i.e. the flankers) and negatively with the value of a chosen option (i.e. the target). Building on this intuition, we tested more directly the coding of model-predicted value of a chosen and unchosen option in a further simulation in which decision values for two stimuli were drawn randomly and independently from two distributions, and model output was converted to a choice via a softmax function (see Methods). This allowed us to correlate model output (i.e. predicted BOLD) with the value of the chosen and unchosen option, revealing a negative correlation with the former and a positive correlation with the latter, as previously reported⁵⁶ (**Fig. 6c**). Our model thus unifies a number of disparate accounts that have emphasised a role for the dACC in tasks involving categorising perceptual stimuli, and choosing among economic prospects.

Discussion

Good choices are based solely on information that is relevant to the choice at hand, and rational agents will successfully ignore distracting signals when making decisions¹. However, across perceptual, cognitive and economic domains, human participants are observed to deviate from this rational principle. A range of different theories have been proposed to account for human susceptibility to distraction, but thus far, no single model has emerged that can account for phenomena as diverse as visual illusions, susceptibility to conflicting contextual features, or economic decoy effects. Here, we describe one such account. Our adaptive gain model has previously been shown to successfully account for diverse contextual influences in perceptual decision-making, including confirmatory biases in sequential sampling²³ and priming by second-

order summary statistics in perceptual categorisation²⁹. Here, we show that not only can it account for classical effects of distraction across perceptual, cognitive and economic domains, but also that it successfully predicts a range of previously unreported, counterintuitive findings in a well-studied cognitive paradigm, the Eriksen flanker task⁸.

The effect of distraction is most often modelled under the assumption that irrelevant features are imperfectly filtered during decision-making, driving residual activation that corrupts decisions. When target and distracters prompt conflicting sensorimotor responses, the resulting competition slows response times and increases error rates¹⁴. A very successful neurocognitive theory proposes that dedicated processing systems have evolved in the primate medial prefrontal cortex that detect this conflict, and that are responsible for mobilising control mechanisms (associated with the lateral prefrontal cortex) to help mitigate the resulting costs⁵⁷. Here, we propose a differing view: one that emphasises the benefits of consistent context rather than the costs of inconsistent context. In the adaptive gain model, contextual features offer guidance as to where to best allocate gain across feature space, ensuring that neurons that code for the most prevalent (or “expected”) features have the sharpest tuning and thus provide the most sensitive outputs. The adaptive gain model is thus motivated by the more general view that the nervous system has evolved to code for efficiently for sensory inputs, reducing redundancy by dynamically adjusting the tuning properties of decision-relevant neurons to maximise sensitivity to expected features^{24,58}. In the flanker task, thus, the difference between compatible and incompatible trials arises at least in part because of a contextual facilitation mechanism at the decision level, akin to that described in sensory circuits⁵⁹, rather than because of an active cost of response competition. This idea is not without precedent in theories of control. In fact, the notion that a flexible response

397 to stimulus conflict is dependent on adaptive expectation mechanisms dates back to the original
398 discovery of conflict adaptation by Gratton and colleagues more than 25 years ago⁵⁵.

399

400 We take the opportunity to highlight two major features of our behavioural data that cannot be
401 accounted for by standard accounts that emphasise the cost of conflict alone. Firstly, in **Exp.1a-b**,
402 we found that a low-variance flanker array hastens response times on congruent trials, rather than
403 prolonging response times on incongruent trials. This is consistent with an account that
404 emphasises the benefit of consistent context rather than the cost of inconsistent context.
405 Secondly, in **Exp.2a-b**, we observed that the longest response times were in fact observed on
406 compatible trials, not incompatible trials. We replicated this finding across two different classes of
407 visual feature: tilt and colour. According to our model, this cost occurred when the gain field
408 dictated by the context repulsed the target subjectively closer to the category boundary,
409 rendering choices more uncertain. Although such negative flanker effects have been reported
410 with heavily masked stimuli, where they can be explained by differing timecourses of facilitatory
411 versus inhibitory processes⁶⁰, only rarely have such phenomena been reported for fully visible
412 targets and distracters such as ours. Most interestingly, one such report occurred for a modified
413 version of the flanker task where the targets were letters that were parametrically morphed
414 between two possible identities, each corresponding to a possible flanker⁶¹. This report describes
415 negative flanker effects when the target is most ambiguous, precisely paralleling our findings here
416 for trials with small X^i and large mX^j , and a shift in the psychometric function that occurs with
417 flanker identity in precisely the fashion predicted by our adaptive gain model²³.

418

419 Our behavioural findings were echoed in the neural data recorded from dACC, where BOLD signals
420 were higher when targets fell closer to the category boundary, but these signals were positively

421 modulated (yet higher) when the distracters mean was congruent but further from the boundary.
 422 Without further assumptions, a model based on conflict alone cannot account for these findings.
 423 We do not wish to argue that stimulus or response conflict do not ever incur an additional cost to
 424 accuracy and response times, or that such a cost is unable to drive the dACC. Nevertheless, in the
 425 current study, we found that such an account was not required to explain our data, and that a
 426 model embodying this assumption fit our data more poorly.

427

428 Our findings present a challenge to extant theories, but we acknowledge that our model is
 429 currently incomplete. A large literature implicates the dACC in the mechanisms by which we
 430 update the value of actions in dynamically changing environments^{45,62}. Our experiments were
 431 conducted in stationary settings, and we do not doubt that these regions may play additional roles
 432 (potentially also related to gain control) when slower learning about a changing context is
 433 required. We also note an important shortcoming in our findings: we were unable to identify
 434 differing roles for the dACC, AIC and SPL, which seem to act as one in our study. We think it is
 435 likely that our BOLD data are simply indexing the output of a decision process that involves
 436 modulation by distracting context, but are unable to make strong claims about the interim
 437 processes by which the computations proposed by the model occur. We suspect that exploring
 438 the role of adaptive gain control in dynamically-changing environments may shed more light on
 439 the differing contributions made by these regions, and we hope to pursue this question in future
 440 studies.

441

442 **Methods**

443

444 For behavioural studies **Exp.1** and **2**, human participants were recruited via the online testing
 445 platform provided by Amazon Mechanical Turk (**Exp. 1a**: $n = 37$, 19 men, mean age: 31.8 years, SD
 446 $= 8.09$; **Exp.1b**: $n = 36$, 22 men, mean age: 31.12 years, SD $= 9.57$; **Exp. 2a**: $n = 28$, 14 men, mean
 447 age: 33.5 years, SD $= 13.09$; **Exp.2b**: $n = 30$, 16 men, mean age: 33.3 years, SD $= 9.5$). Mind here
 448 that the age information was collected by sets of age (e.g. 18-20, 21-30, 31-40 etc.) due to online
 449 testing, thus the reported age from Exp. 1a,1b,2a,2b was computed by taking the bin center of
 450 each age bin as the approximation of participants' true age. For **Exp.3**, 20 healthy volunteers (8
 451 men, mean age: 24.25 years, SD $= 4.61$) with normal or corrected-to-normal vision and no history
 452 of neurological disorders were recruited to participate. All participants gave informed consent to
 453 participate in the study and were compensated at a rate of \$6 per hour for **Exp. 1** and **2** and €10
 454 per hour for the fMRI scanning session. All experiments were approved and conducted in
 455 accordance with the Medical Sciences Inter-divisional Research Ethics Committee (MS IRDREC)
 456 ethical guidelines.

457

458 **Task details**

459 **Experiment 1a, 1b and 2a.** Each trial began with a fixation dot 700ms, followed by the
 460 simultaneous presentation of target and flankers for 1000 ms. Target and flankers were full-
 461 contrast square-waved gratings with a 180° phase (5 cycles, and 75 pixels in diameter). The
 462 flankers are presented within a circular aperture of the target grating with 1.5 pixels separation
 463 with adjacent flankers. The orientation of each individual grating in the flanker surround was
 464 chosen from a Gaussian distribution with a particular mean (mX^j) and standard deviation (sX^j ;
 465 see main text for precise values). To ensure that the sampled orientations matched the expected
 466 distribution with the given mX^j and sX^j , resampling of orientation values occurred until the mean
 467 and standard deviation of orientations fell within 1° tolerance of the desired mX^j and sX^j . Within

the stimulus presentation duration, participants had to indicate whether the central grating was clockwise or counterclockwise to the vertical axis by pressing the right and left keyboard arrows respectively. They were instructed to ignore the flanking gratings. Visual feedback was given immediately after their response. Participants completed 6 blocks of 96 trials for **Exp. 1a**, 10 blocks of 96 trials for **Exp. 1b**, and 10 blocks of 108 trials for **Exp. 2a**.

Experiment 2b. While keeping all other aspects of the experiment (e.g. timing) the same, in **Exp.2b** we substituted the grating stimuli with coloured stimuli from a continuous colour space. Target and flankers were circles (100 pixels diameter per circle; 19 pixels separation with adjacent flanking circles) with hue ranging from blue to red. Participants were asked to indicate whether the central colour circle was more red (right arrow) or blue (Left arrow) while ignoring the surrounding coloured circles. Individual colour values (c) were defined by RGB values using expression: $RGB = [c, 0, 1-c]$ with the category boundary being defined as $c = 0.5$ or $RGB = [0.5, 0, 0.5]$. The colour value for the central target stimulus and the flanker mean colour value were drawn from the set $\{0.35, 0.4, 0.45, 0.55, 0.6, 0.65\}$. To facilitate comparison between **Exp.2a** and **Exp.2b**, we recentered the category boundary value to 0, which means the central target colour values (X^i) can be redescribed as $\pm 0.05, 0.1, 0.15$ with respect to a category boundary of zero. In this space individual flanker values were drawn from Gaussian distribution with means (mX^j) of $\pm 0.05, 0.1, 0.15$ and standard deviations (sX^j) of 0, 0.1, 0.2. Resampling of flanker feature values occurred until mX^j and sX^j fell within 0.01 from the desired values. Participants completed 10 blocks of 96 trials for this experiment.

Experiment 3 (fMRI study). All stimuli were presented on a grey background. Participants first saw a fixation dot for 500ms, followed by the presentation of stimuli for 500ms, and were asked to

492 respond within 1500 ms of stimulus onset. Stimuli were tilted gratings as for **Exp.1** and **Exp.2a**. At
 493 the end of response window, visual feedback in the form of a green or red dot indicated whether
 494 the response was correct or not. There was a jittered interval of between 2-6s (on average 4s)
 495 interposed between trials. Target tilt and flanker tilt statistics were varied independently on a
 496 trial-by-trial basis. On each trial, tilts of the target grating and flanker mean orientation were
 497 drawn independently from uniform distributions with a limit of -45° and $+45^\circ$. Similarly, flanker
 498 standard deviation could be values between 0 to 30° from a uniform distribution. Resampling was
 499 used to ensure that the number of congruent and incongruent trials was matched across the
 500 entire experiment. Participants completed 4 ($n = 10$) or 5 ($n = 10$) blocks of the task in the scanner,
 501 with 130 trials on each block.

502

503 ***fMRI acquisition and preprocessing.*** Images were acquired with 3-Tesla Siemens TrioTim with a
 504 32-channel head coil using a standard echo-planar imaging sequence. Images were $64 \times 64 \times 32$
 505 volumes with voxel size $3.5 \times 3.5 \times 3.5$ mm; acquired with a 2s repetition time and echo time of 30
 506 ms. We acquired fMRI data in 4 or 5 runs with 425 volumes per run. All preprocessing and fMRI
 507 analyses were carried out using SPM12. Preprocessing of the imaging data includes realignment of
 508 function images, co-registration of anatomical scan to the mean functional image, followed by
 509 segmentation and spatial normalisation to the standard template brain of the Montreal
 510 Neurological Institute (MNI brain). Lastly function images were spatially smooth with a 6-mm full
 511 width half maximum Gaussian kernel. A 128-s temporal high-pass filter was applied to exclude
 512 low-frequency artefacts.

513

514 **Design and behavioural analysis**

For experiments 1 and 2, the design orthogonalised the manipulation of target feature value (X^i), mean of flankers (mX^j) and variability of flankers (sX^j). We can further designate trials as “congruent” when X^i has the same sign as mX^j or “incongruent” when X^i has the opposite sign as mX^j . In Experiment 1, we thus have a 3×2 (flanker variability $\times$ congruency) within-participant factorial design. In experiment 2, we introduced three levels of $|mX^j|$ and three levels of $|sX^j|$, resulting in $3 \times 3 \times 3 \times 2$ ($|X^i| \times |mX^j| \times sX^j \times$ congruency) within-participant factorial design with 54 conditions. Full list of X^i , $|mX^j|$, and sX^j levels were displayed in **Table S1**. For **Exp. 1** and **2**, ANOVAS with Greenhouse-Geisser correction for sphericity were carried out at group-level analyses. A threshold of $p < 0.05$ was adopted for all behavioural analyses. We only analysed RT from correct trials, and additionally excluded trials where RT was faster than the 1% percentile or slower than the 99% percentile of the RT distribution. We used the same exclusion criteria across experiments.

527

528 **Computational modelling**

529

Adaptive gain model. The computations that describe the population coding version of the adaptive gain model are described in the main text. To fit model outputs to human response time data (i.e. on a common scale in ms), for each parameterisation we regressed inverse decision values against each individual participants’ response times:

534

535

$$RT_{gain} = \beta^0 + \beta^1 \cdot 1/|\hat{X}_i|$$

536

(4)

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538 This calculation of RT is equivalent to modelling the data with ballistic (noiseless) diffusion
 539 process, with the two additional parameters β^0 and β^1 encoding the drift rate and non-decision
 540 time respectively (fixed across conditions). Searching , exhaustively across values of σ^{max} and ε
 541 from equation (2), we identified the parameters that minimised mean squared error (MSE)
 542 between the human and model-predicted average RTs for each condition.

543

544 **Conflict models.** For the conflict model, we use a formulation described previously, whereby
 545 conflict C depends on the weighted product of competing inputs for the two actions A^{CW} and
 546 A^{CCW}

547

$$548 \quad C = [A^{CW} \cdot A^{CCW}]$$

$$549 \quad A^{CW} = g(mX^j) \cdot (1 - w) + g(X^i) \cdot w$$

$$550 \quad A^{CCW} = h(mX^j) \cdot (1 - w) + h(X^i) \cdot w$$

$$551 \quad (5)$$

552

553 where $g(X)$ and $h(X)$ respectively denote positive and negative linear rectification functions. In
 554 conflict model 1, activation for the two actions A^{CW} and A^{CCW} is proportional to the tilt of the
 555 target and flanker mean. Alternatively, it can also be defined according to the tile of the target and
 556 each individual flanker (conflict model 2).

557

$$558 \quad C_i = [A^{CW}_i \cdot A^{CCW}_i]$$

$$559 \quad A^{CW} = \sum_1^j g(X^j) \cdot \frac{(1 - w)}{6} + g(X^i) \cdot w$$

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$$A^{CCW} = \sum_1^j h(X^j) \cdot \frac{(1-w)}{6} + h(X^i) \cdot w \quad (6)$$

Where j is the number of flankers that are either congruent or incongruent. In other words, these models made different assumptions about conflict: that it was computed at the level of individual flankers (conflict model 2) or at the level of summary statistics (conflict model 1).

Finally, we compute RTs in a similar fashion as for the gain model:

$$RT_{conflict} = \beta^0 + \beta^1 \cdot C \quad (7)$$

To reduce the risk of overfitting we used cross-fitting, estimating model parameters on half the trials and computing mean squared error (MSE) for the other half. These MSE were then fed into Bayesian Model Selection (BMS) to compute exceedance probabilities.

Simulations of qualitative effects

When fit to human data, the adaptive gain model contained 2 free parameters: maximum tuning width (σ^{max}) and sensory noise (ε). Simulations of the model aimed at qualitatively recreating effects from the past literature (e.g. for **Fig.1**, **Fig. 6**) assumed a fixed σ^{max} ($\sigma^{max} = 10$) and a fixed ε ($\varepsilon = 5$) unless noted otherwise.

583 **Tilt illusion.** In this simulation, we plot the difference between the true target angle (here, zero)
 584 and the gain modulated decision value ($\widehat{X}^i$) as a function of flanker mean decision value ($mX^j \in$
 585 $\{-45, -44, \dots, +45^\circ\}$) and flanker standard deviation ($sX^j \in \{3, 7, 11, 15\}$). For each variant of
 586 flanker mean decision values and flanker standard deviation, $\widehat{X}^i$ is computed using equation (1)
 587 and 2. We then plot $\widehat{X}^i$ against levels of flanker mean decision value and flanker standard
 588 deviation in **Fig. 1a**.

590 **Conflict effects.** We computed a proxy of RT ($1/\widehat{X}^i$) for the 3 conditions: ‘CO’: Congruent, where
 591 the target shares the same response association with the flankers; ‘SI’: Stimulus Incongruent,
 592 where the target is perceptually different to the flankers but the response associations of the two
 593 are still the same; ‘RI’: Response Incongruent, where the target has a different response
 594 association as the flankers (**Fig. 1b**). In the simulation, flanker standard deviation sX^j is set to be 0
 595 in both ‘CO’ and ‘RI’ condition (i.e. we assumed flanker standard deviation was ε , or 5°). In ‘CO’, X^i
 596 is equal to mX^j (both are $+45^\circ$). In ‘RI’, mX^j has the opposite sign to the X^i . Lastly, we simulated
 597 ‘SI’ condition by assuming sX^j is higher than 0 i.e. $sX^j = 5$; individual flankers are variable but
 598 mX^j remained the same as X^i . We assumed a higher maximum tuning width ($\sigma^{max} = 15$) in this
 599 simulation.

601 **Multi-alternative valued-based decision making task.** In **Fig. 1c**, we simulated the difference
 602 between the model estimated decision values from the two targets ($X^{i+} = 20$ & $X^{i-} = 10$) as a
 603 function of a third distractors’ orientation ($X^j \in \{-45, -44, \dots, +45^\circ\}$). sX^j was assumed to be 5
 604 in this simulation. In **Fig. S1**, we computed the model output associated with the highest-valued
 605 choice-relevant alternative ($\widehat{X}^{i+}$) and the next best alternative ($\widehat{X}^{i-}$), assuming that the mode of
 606 the gain field determined by the statistics lowest-valued (i.e. irrelevant) alternative X^j . We then

607 plotted a quantity proportional to choice probability, $\widehat{X}^{l+} - \widehat{X}^{l-}$, i.e. the relative difference in
608 model output for the best and next best options.

609

610 **Value of chosen vs. unchosen option.** We simulated the model output as a function of the value of
611 a theoretical chosen and unchosen option. On each trial, decision values for two stimuli (X^1 and
612 X^2) were drawn independently from two zero-mean Gaussian distribution with a standard
613 deviation of 10. On every trial, we allowed simultaneous evaluation of each stimulus in the context
614 of the other, i.e. we passed each stimulus through the model as target with the alternative as
615 distracter. We then assumed that participants chose according to the relative subjective (i.e.
616 model output) value of the maximum and minimum resulting values, using a value of 5 for the
617 slope of the choice function:

$$618 \quad D = \hat{X}^{max} - \hat{X}^{min}$$

619

$$620 \quad CP = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\frac{-D}{5}}}$$

(8)

622 This allowed us to plot the relationship between X and model output D separately for the chosen
623 and unchosen options.

624

625 **Behavioural model comparison.** We implemented Bayesian model selection at the group level to
626 obtain posterior likelihoods and exceedance probabilities as described by Stephan and
627 colleagues⁶³.

628

629 **fMRI data analyses**

630

631 **Univariate Analyses.** We analysed our data using Statistic Parametric Mapping (SPM12) with the
 632 general linear model (GLM) framework and in-house scripts running in Matlab. For all analyses, we
 633 ensured that sequential orthogonalisation of predictors in SPM was disabled. All GLMs also
 634 included regressors encoding the estimated movement parameters from preprocessing as a
 635 nuisance covariate. We modelled correct trials and trials that RT falls within 1 and 99 percentile
 636 distribution. All other trials were modelled separately as a nuisance regressor in all GLMs. We first
 637 constructed GLM1 with a single predictor encoding the parametric target decision values $|X^i|$ of
 638 the stimulus, time-locked to the onset of the stimulus. We identified voxels activated negatively by
 639 this regressor to define regions of interest in the dACC, AIC and SPL. Activations in these regions
 640 survived FDR correction for multiple comparisons at $p < 0.05$. To avoid double-dipping for later
 641 analyses, each region was identified in a leave-one-out fashion, with each participant in turn being
 642 omitted from a group-level analysis, which was used to define a Region-of-Interest (ROI) with a
 643 threshold of uncorrected $p < 0.0001$, from which beta values were extracted from the left out
 644 participant. For GLM2, we discretise each parametric modulator (i) target decision values $|X^i|$ and
 645 (ii) flanker mean feature value $|mX^j|$ into 4 quartiles bins and included a total of $4 \times 4 = 16$
 646 regressors (corresponding to each quartile bins of feature values) in the GLM. BOLD betas from
 647 each subject are extracted using each ROI masks defined by the leave-one-out analysis. In GLM3,
 648 we entered the adaptive gain model estimates $1/|\hat{X}_i|$ and binary regressor (congruency: +1 for
 649 congruent trials, -1 for incongruent trials) as competitive regressors. In GLM4, we replaced
 650 congruency with response time as a competing regressor to $1/|\hat{X}_i|$. In GLM5, we included the
 651 following predictors as parametric modulators of the stimulus at the time of the decision (i) target
 652 decision values $|X^i|$, (ii) flanker mean feature value $|mX^j|$, (iii) flanker precision, i.e. inverse
 653 flanker variability $1/sX^j$, (iv) absolute distance between target and flanker mean orientations

654 $|X^i - mX^j|$, (v) the interaction of the distance between target and flanker mean with target
 655 decision values $|X^i - mX^j| \times |X^i|$, and lastly (vi) the interaction of the distance between target
 656 and flanker mean, target decision values and flanker variability ($|X^i - mX^j| \times |mX^j| \times 1/sX^j$).
 657 Full details of active voxels associated with these regressor were displayed in **Table S2-4**.
 658 Subsequent statistical tests on the betas extracted from each ROI were conducted using two-tailed
 659 one-sample *t*-test at a significance threshold of $p < 0.05$.

660

661 **Neural Bayesian model comparison.** We estimated the following GLMs using Bayesian statistics
 662 and conducted model comparisons to quantify and compare the predictions of different GLMs: (i)
 663 no-gain modulated decision value $|X^i|$ i.e. GLM1 described above, (ii) gain modulated decision
 664 value ($|\hat{X}_i|$; GLM6), 3 GLMs that contained the no-gain modulated decision value and conflict
 665 defined in three ways (iii) GLM7: a binary congruency regressor (iv) GLM8: conflict computed using
 666 equation (4) (v) GLM9: conflict computed using equation (5). The fits of each GLM were assessed
 667 by Random Effects Bayesian Model Selection from the VBA toolbox⁵⁰. This allows us to estimate
 668 the exceedance probabilities and expected frequencies for each model by feeding the log
 669 evidence for the aforementioned GLMs within each masks from the leave-one-out analysis. The
 670 best model is characterised with the highest exceedance probability and an expected frequency
 671 that is above chance (i.e. $1/\text{number of models in comparison} = 20\%$).

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673

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Author Contributions

V.L., E.M. and C.S. conceived the study and designed the experiments; V.L., J.B. and S.H.C. collected data., V.L. and C.S. analysed the data, J.B. contributed custom scripts for fMRI data analysis. V.L. and C.S. wrote the manuscript, with helpful input from the other authors.

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Competing Interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

Data Availability

All behavioural data are made available as Supplementary Information. Request for custom code and fMRI data should be directed to the corresponding author