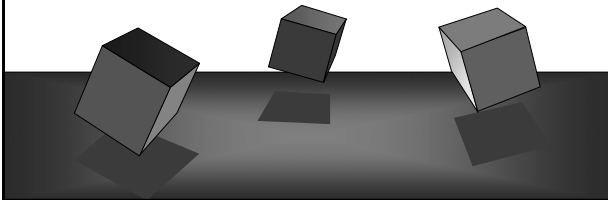


Cognitive Psychology

PSYC230

Lecture #15



Last time Decision making

Normative (Rational) Models

Expected Value Theory

Subjective Utility Theory

Descriptive Decision Models

Framing & Sunk Cost Effects

Recognition-Primed Decision Making (RPD)

The SRK Model

Heuristics & Biases

Reasoning & Logic

Inductive & Deductive Reasoning

Neuropsychology of Decision Making

The story of Phineas Gage

Gage was foreman of railway construction gang
an explosion blew his metre-long tamping iron
through the side of his head

The tamping iron went in point first under his left cheek and
completely out through the top of his head, landing about 25 to 30
meters behind him

Phineas was knocked over but may not have lost consciousness
even though most of the front part of the left side of his brain was
destroyed

Neuropsychology of Decision Making

The story of Phineas Gage

Several months after the accident Phineas returned to
work, but because his personality had changed so
much, the contractors who had employed him would
not give him his place again.

He had been their most capable and efficient foreman, one with
a “well-balanced mind” He was now “fitful, irreverent, and
grossly profane, showing little deference for his fellows”
His friends said he was “No longer Gage.”

He was also “impatient, obstinate, capricious and
vacillating...unable to settle on any of the plans he
devised for future action.”

Neuropsychology of Decision Making

Somatic Marker Hypothesis

(Bechara, Damasio, Tranel & Anderson, 1994)

During decision-making, emotional and
visceral representations associated with an
option (from prior experience) are re-activated
to implicitly influence decision-making

The Iowa Gambling Task

4 decks of cards,
participants may choose
cards from any deck
Some cards pay \$\$
others cost \$\$

Neuropsychology of Decision Making

Somatic Marker Hypothesis

(Bechara, Damasio, Tranel & Anderson, 1994)

The Iowa Gambling Task

Two of the decks have
large rewards but overall
will lose money,
two decks have smaller
rewards but will have
positive payoff overall

Neuropsychology of Decision Making

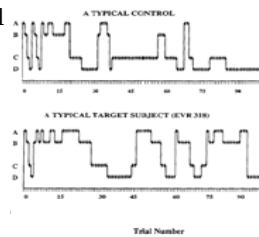
Somatic Marker Hypothesis & the Iowa Gambling Task

Healthy control participants will eventually select correct decks

Healthy controls develop anticipatory GSRs prior to making card choices

Patients with damage to the VMPfc will not
VMPfc patients do not develop anticipatory GSRs prior to making card choices

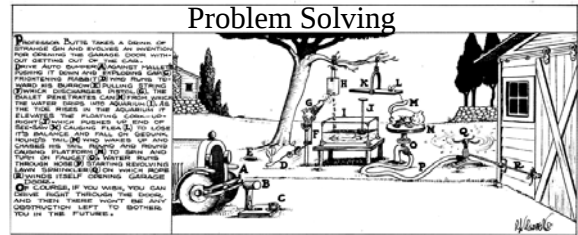
no expectation of the future consequences of their decisions



Bechara et al. (1994)

Substance abusers also show impairment on the gambling task & reduced anticipatory GSRs

Problem Solving



Problem solving can be thought of as a chain of decisions

We make each decision based on experience (& heuristics)

Problem Solving

History – Problem solving was an early area of interest

E.L. Thorndike's
Puzzle box experiments
(1898 - 1911)



Found gradual, trial & error problem solving, no effect of imitation, led to *Law of Effect*

Wolfgang Kohler's
Observations of ape behaviour
(1913 to 1920)



Found sudden, insightful, discontinuous problem solving wrote *Gestalt Psychology* (1929)

Gestalt psychologist from the University of Berlin, marooned at a primate research facility on Tenerife (Canary Islands) at the start of WWI. He had nine chimpanzees of various ages in a large outdoor pen to watch & study.



Chimps appeared to solve problems by suddenly seeing how elements could be rearranged. Not gradual trial-and-error but sudden *insight*

Problem Solving

Information processing approach
(Representational Change Theory)

Focus on mental representation of the problem space, and spreading activation in semantic memory

The Problem Space

includes:
initial state
goal state
strategies to reach the goal
(including rules)

How do we solve problems?

Non-experts must first work to identify and define the problem space and then apply appropriate strategies

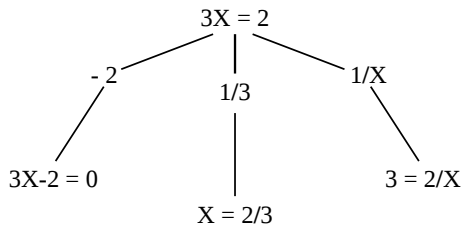
Sometimes called
“searching the problem space”

3 phases

1. Represent the problem
2. Generate possible solutions
3. Evaluate the solutions

The Problem Space

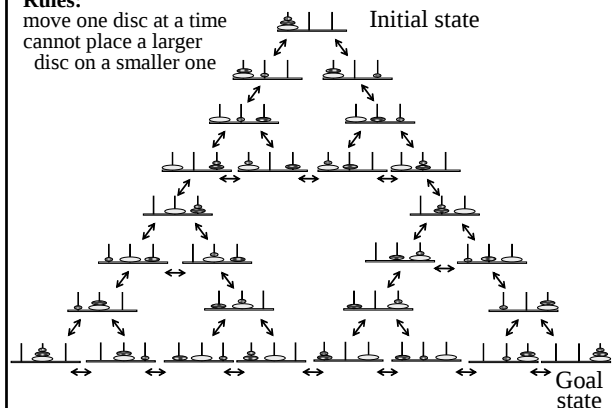
Represented as a tree diagram of the problem with possible states and possible actions



Problem space for three disc TOH problem

Rules:

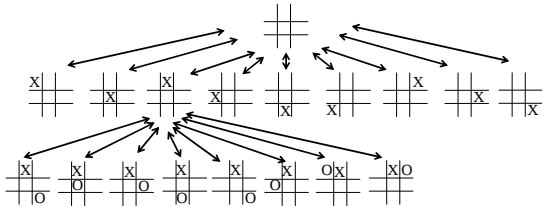
move one disc at a time
cannot place a larger
disc on a smaller one



The Problem Space

We need to develop a mental representation
of the problem space and then search
through it to find a path to the solution

Mentally representing a problem space can be
HARD



The Problem Space

We need to develop a mental representation
of the problem space and then search
through it to find a path to the solution

Sometimes constraints in the problem space can
be used to reduce the potential number of
alternative solutions and make certain problems
easier to solve



Sometimes not...

Chess:

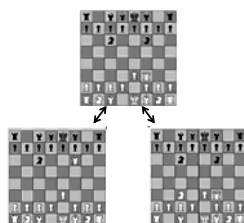
30-35 legal options at each move
30-35 possible replies

Representing the problem
space for 1 move ahead
requires representation of
1000 possibilities

2 moves ahead = 1000 X
1000 possibilities

3 moves ahead = 1000 X
1000 X 1000 possibilities...

representing a game of 40 moves would require a
problem space of 10^{120} possible combinations...



10^{120} possible chess moves is not too hard
for a computer...

Chess-playing computers are
capable of considering 200
million moves per sec

Until 1988, a chess-playing
computer had never beaten a
human grand master

In 1988 a computer named *Deep Thought*
(developed by Carnegie-Mellon University)
defeated chess grand master Bent Larsen of Denmark
World Chess Champion Gary Kasparov smashed *Deep Thought* in 41 moves in 1989

In May 1997 a computer named
Deep Blue defeated still-reigning
World Champion Gary Kasparov
(a rematch from Kasparov's 1996 win)

After the match, Kasparov claims
Deep Blue was unfairly
“anticipating” his moves



Adriann de Groot
Psychologist & chess master
“Thought and Choice in Chess”
(Dutch thesis - 1946; English book - 1965)

Human chess players consider only a few
developments of the game at each move (not all
possible moves or the entire problem space)

Excellent players (at the grandmaster level) do not
consider any more moves than good tournament players

They do consider better moves (as rated by other
players), and they assess moves more quickly

Better players reconstruct (from memory) briefly
presented board positions more accurately than
less good players

Chase & Simon (1973)

For valid board positions experts recalled 91% of positions
vs. 41% for other players

For random board positions: no difference
Concluded difference was not just result of better memory

Expert Chess Players represented the positions in
larger chunks

Experts use shorter glances - identify chunks faster

Grand masters may have 10,000-
100,000 patterns stored in LTM

Experts quickly recognise the problem
as being of “type x” and can apply past
solutions (sometimes automatically)



IBM's Deep Blue

How did the chess-playing computers
finally beat the human grand masters?

These computers had been built to
use *chess knowledge* rather than
brute force algorithms

They “mentally”
re-represented the problem
space and employed human-
like heuristics

A more efficient approach.
Modern versions require only a
standard desk-top PC

Knowledge-rich vs Knowledge-lean and Expertise

Knowledge-lean problems are problems which do not
require a lot of specialist knowledge to solve. All the
knowledge required to solve the problem is given in the
specification of the problem.

Example: the Tower of Hanoi

Knowledge-rich problems are problems that require a
lot of specialist knowledge (called *expertise*) not
included in the specification of the problem.

Example: the game of chess

Knowledge-rich vs Knowledge-lean and Expertise

The greatest difference between experts and
novices is in representing the problem

Experts are able recognise the deep structure of
problems and ignore the superficial structure

Schoenfeld and Herman (1982): mathematics professors
and mathematics novices were presented with
mathematical problems and were asked to group them
by similarity.

Novices tended to group the problems by superficial
details (surface structure)

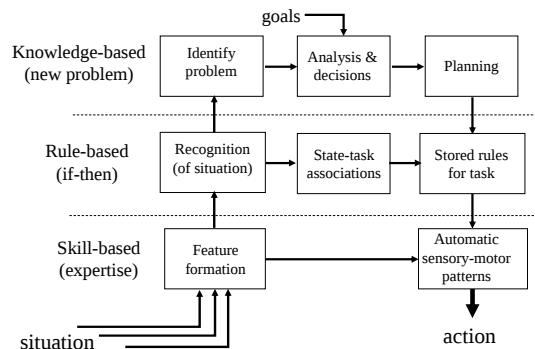
Professors tended to group the problems by similarity of
solution methods (deep structure)

Knowledge-rich vs Knowledge-lean and Expertise

Experts also apply heuristics learned from previous experience
 Chess masters regularly study previous games
 Experts knowledge is not only more extensive, it is better organised :
 Extensively cross-referenced, with a rich network of connections between concepts
 Experts understand better the *relationships* in their domain
 The 10-year rule for the acquisition of expertise in a complex skill (Ericsson et al, 1993)

The SRK Model

Rasmussen



Solving a problem is a function of your previous experience

Have you encountered a problem like this before?

Yes, frequently Use skill-based expertise

Yes, sort of... Use rules (heuristics) learned from similar experiences

No, never Identify problem space & goals, plan & hypothesise, build a mental model, trial & error algorithms

Without prior experience you may need to use an algorithm (like a computer or Thorndike's cats)

Algorithm: a problem-solving method which will, step-by-step, try every possibility.

Algorithms will ultimately be successful (if all the possible steps are known).

Disadvantage: slow.

Example: crossword puzzle clue
 "sharp tongue"

_ c _ _ bi _

An algorithm solution, insert every possible letter in each space & check dictionary definitions
 approximately 460,000 possibilities

Problem-Solving Heuristics

Working backward: start at the goal state and work towards initial state

Difference reduction (*hill climbing*) method: working forward

Means-ends analysis (goal reduction): creation of sub-goals (that are solvable)

Analogy heuristic: mapping the solutions from one problem onto another

Working backward heuristic

Examine the goal state to determine the penultimate step to achieve it, then the step before that, etc...

Helpful when initial state is not well-defined but goal state is well-defined

Larkin, McDermott, Simon & Simon (1980)
 Experts solved physics problem by working forwards; novices solved it by working backwards

Working backward heuristic

2 players take turns taking 1-5 coins

The player that takes the last coin wins

What move will guarantee victory for the first player?



Working backward heuristic

Examine the goal state to determine the penultimate step to achieve it, then the step before that, etc...

Helpful when initial state is not well-defined but goal state is well-defined

Helps to re-represent the problem space but slow, lots of possibilities for getting stuck

Does not work well with problems with lots of intervening steps

Hill climbing heuristic

Trying to always move closer to the goal state
At each point, choose the route representing the shortest distance to the goal.

Based on depth-first search
& simple measure of distance
b/w current state & end state.

*Non-demanding, many
people will try using it first*

Problem: possibilities of local maxima

Hill climbing heuristic

Problem of local maxima

Hill climbing doesn't represent much information about the problem-space as a whole

Initial state: in the valley Goal state: highest point

Simple "go up" operator may get you stuck in the foothills (a local maxima)

Means-ends analysis

Used in Newell & Simon's general problem solver (GPS)

Involves selecting methods known to be effective in the past

and

Dividing the problem as a whole into several smaller sub-problems, which you then solve one at a time (goal reduction)

(2nd half of the approach came later and was probably the most important)

Means-ends analysis

I received an invitation to attend a meeting in Andorra

Problem: how do I get to Andorra?

Available pieces of information:

I am in my office in Hamilton, NZ

Andorra is in the Pyrenees mountains, on the border of France and Spain

no direct route from Hamilton to Andorra

but:

Andorra is fairly close to Barcelona

if I could get to Barcelona, I could get to Andorra from there

Means-ends analysis

Sub-problem: Find a way to get to Barcelona

Available Pieces of Information:

no direct flight from Hamilton to Barcelona, but
there are flights from Auckland to London
there are flights from London to Barcelona
you can drive from Barcelona to Andorra
additional information can be acquired

Problem can be represented as a search
through a problem space where nodes = cities
& links = routes between them

Problem solving, in travel environment, is a task of finding a
feasible routing along the links, from a starting node to a goal node

Analogy heuristic: mapping the solutions
from one problem onto another

Re-representing the problem

Works best for *problem isomorphs*
problems with the same structure (solution path)
but different content (surface representations)

Problem Isomorphs

Gick & Holyoak (1980)

Had participants read a story about a general
attacking a mountain fortress

The roads around the fortress were mined so that
any group large enough to capture the fortress
would set off the mines

A smaller group wouldn't set off the mines, but
would be killed when they arrived at the fortress

General split up his forces and had them
converge on the fortress from many directions

Problem Isomorphs

Gick & Holyoak (1980)

Later in the study, participants were given
Duncker's (1945) radiation problem

*Imagine that a patient enters a hospital with a
malignant tumour in his stomach that will eventually kill
him if not removed. Although no surgical procedure for
removing the tumour exists, a kind of ray could destroy
it. At high intensities the ray will destroy the malignant
tissue, but will also destroy healthy tissue. At lower
intensities, the ray will not harm healthy tissue, but
neither does it destroy malignant tissue. Develop a
procedure for using the ray that will destroy the tumour
but not damage the healthy tissue surrounding it.*

Problem Isomorphs

Gick & Holyoak (1980)

About 10% of participants solved the radiation
problem without reading the fortress story

About 30% of participants who read the fortress
story solve the radiation problem

*Why so few? Is this an representational access problem
(encoding specificity) or a heuristic usage issue?*

If given a hint that the earlier stories might be relevant,
80- 90% of participants solve the problem

Suggests that the issue was representational access

Strategies for solving problems

1. Break mental sets
2. Find useful analogy
3. Represent information efficiently
4. Find shortcuts
5. Establish subgoals
6. Turn ill-defined problems into well-defined problems

Next time: When heuristics aren't enough
ill-defined problems may require insight and creativity