

On the origins of data: How sampling assumptions influence learning, reasoning and decision making

Dan Navarro



Navarro, Dry & Lee (2012). Sampling assumptions in inductive generalization. *Cognitive Science*



Hendrickson, Perfors & Navarro (in preparation). One cat, two cats: Sampling models in different category learning tasks produce qualitatively different inductive generalisations



Ransom, Perfors & Navarro (in press). Leaping to conclusions: Why premise relevance affects argument strength. *Cognitive Science*



Voorspoels, Navarro, Perfors, Ransom & Storms (2015). How do people learn from negative evidence? Non-monotonic generalizations and sampling assumptions in inductive reasoning. *Cognitive Psychology*



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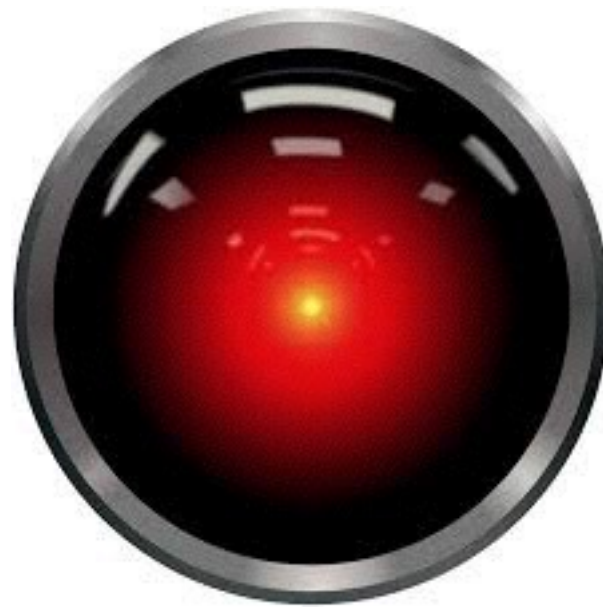


Wouter Voorspoels, Navarro, Perfors, Ransom & Storms (2015). How do people learn from negative evidence? Non-monotonic generalizations and sampling assumptions in inductive reasoning. *Cognitive Psychology*

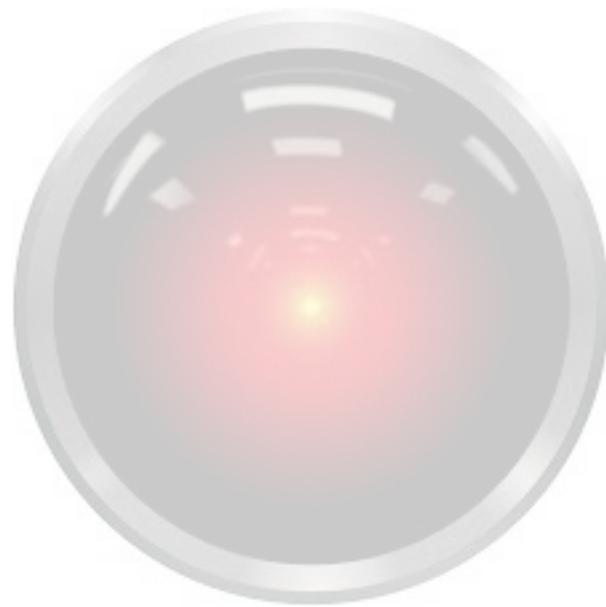


Perfors, Navarro & Shafto (in preparation). Stronger evidence isn't always better: The role of social inference in evidence selection and interpretation.

So... I want to build a smart machine, and I want it to do human-like inductive reasoning



So... I want to build a smart machine, and I want it to do human-like inductive reasoning



I want it to have common sense

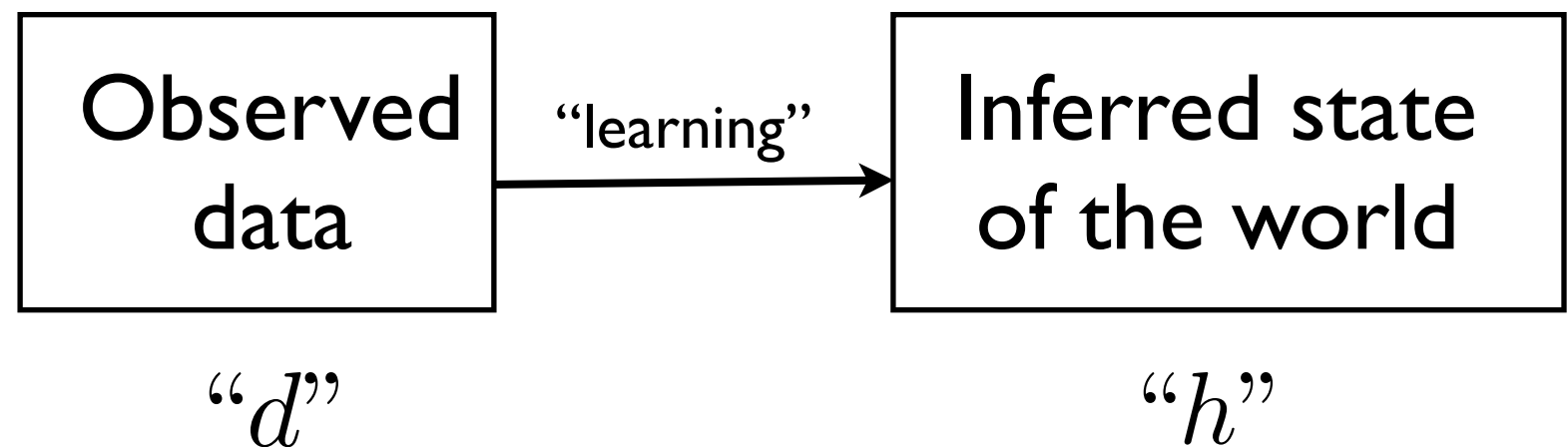
Why isn't inductive inference simple?

Why isn't inductive inference simple?



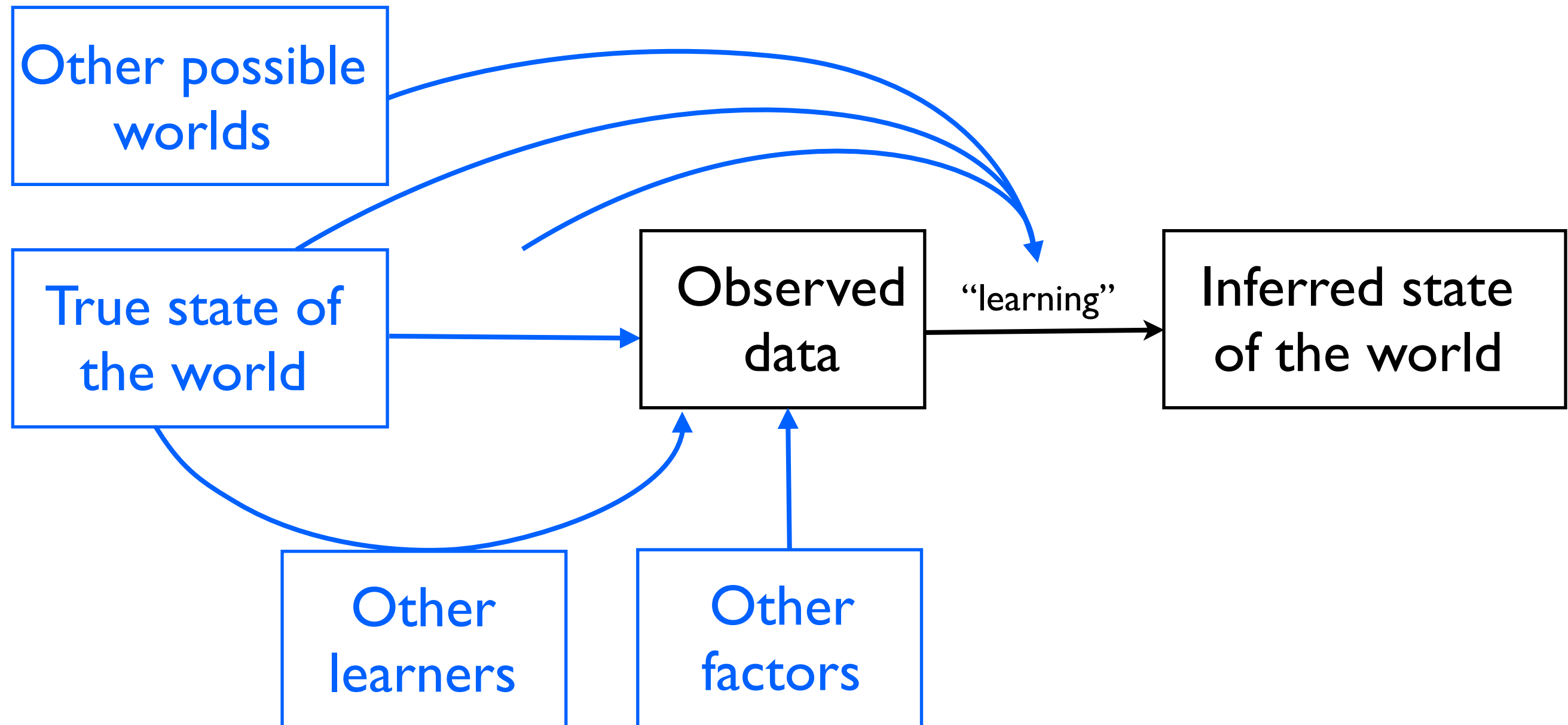
$$P(h|d) = \frac{P(d|h)P(h)}{P(d)}$$

A simple learning rule...

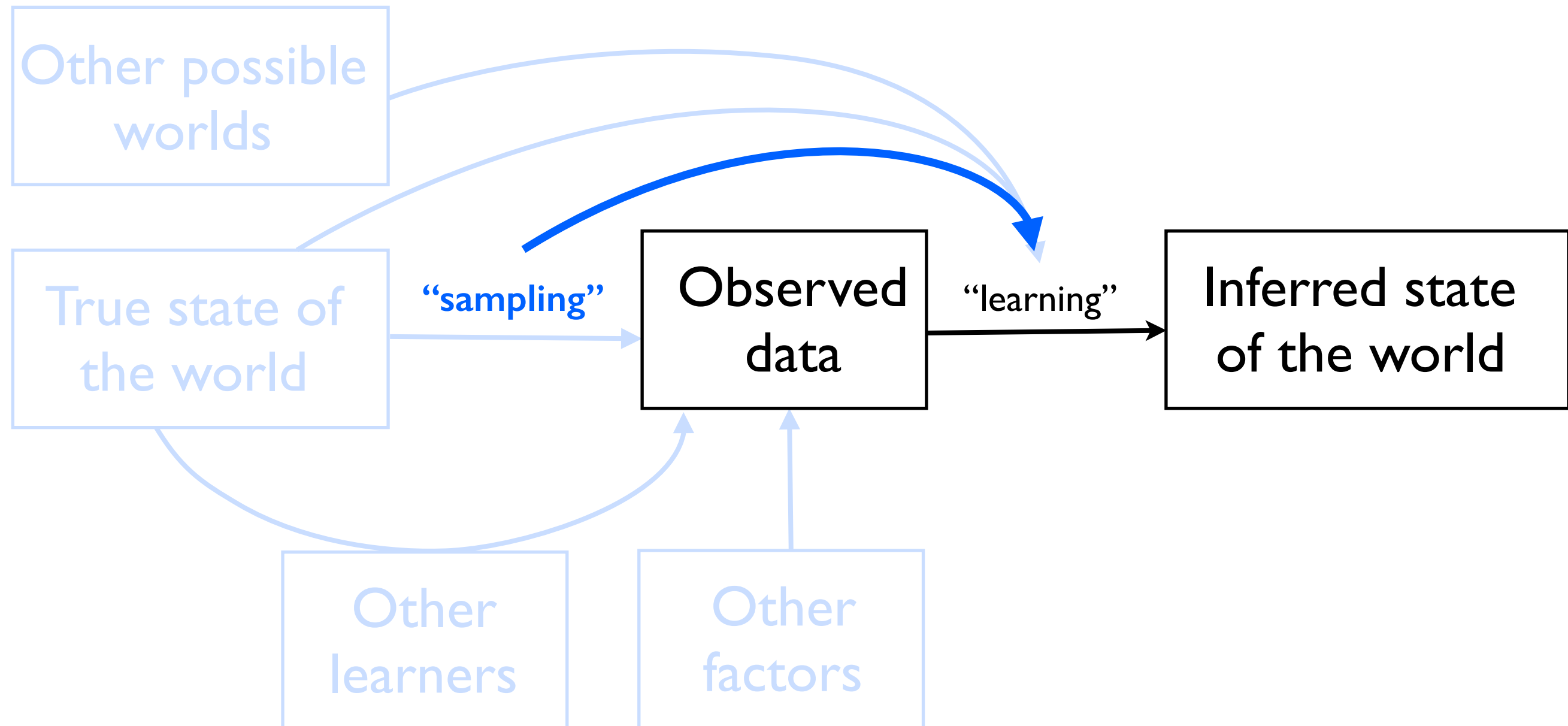


$$P(h|d) = \frac{P(d|h)P(h)}{P(d)}$$

... hides a lot of complexity



The evidentiary value of data depends on where it comes from



What do people assume about the data generating mechanism in simple learning problems?



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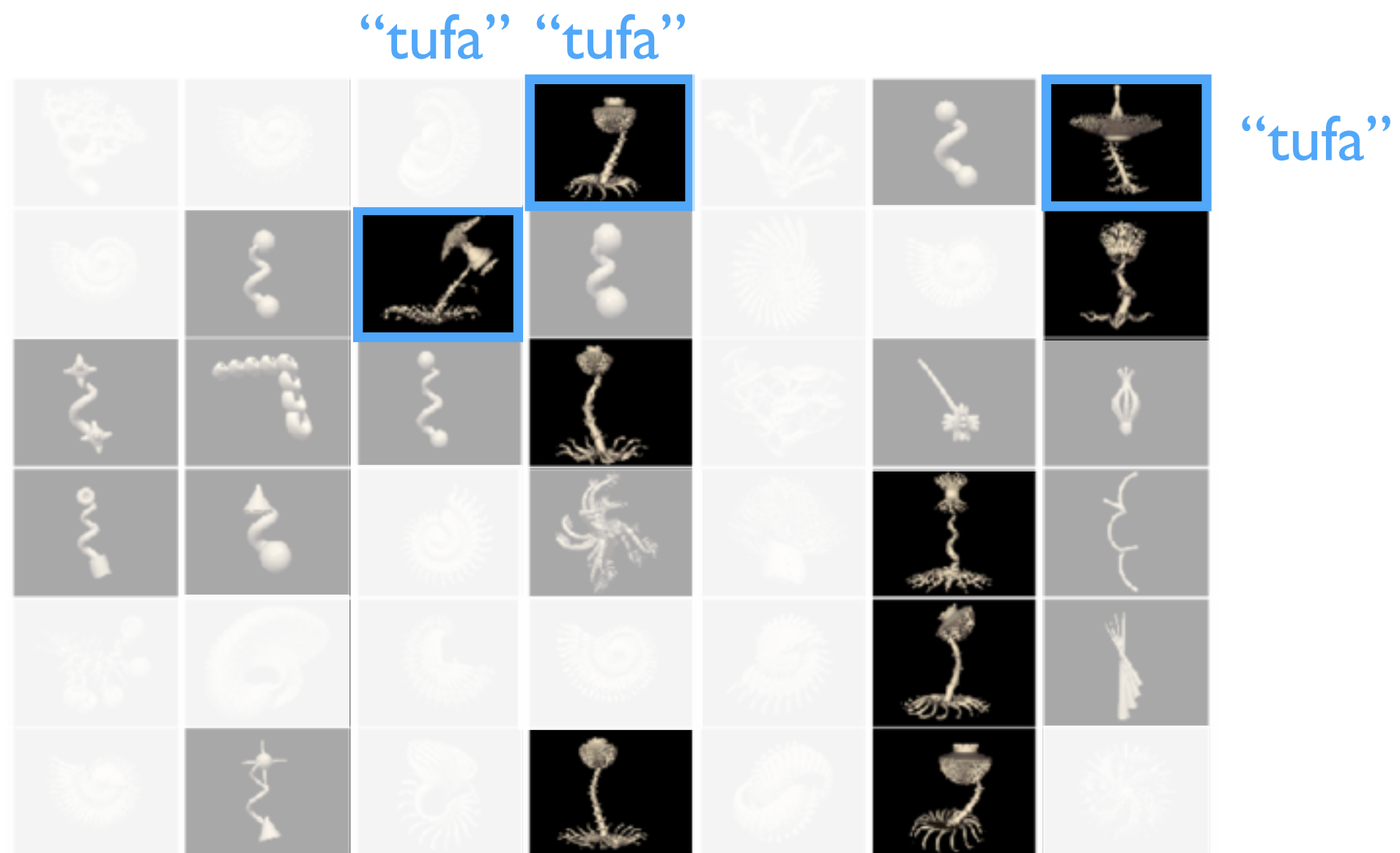
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“tufa”



very dissimilar things are
probably not tufas



↑
it's such a weird coincidence that ALL
THREE have the SAME shape, right?

Generalisations narrow as this
“coincidence” becomes suspicious



“tufas”

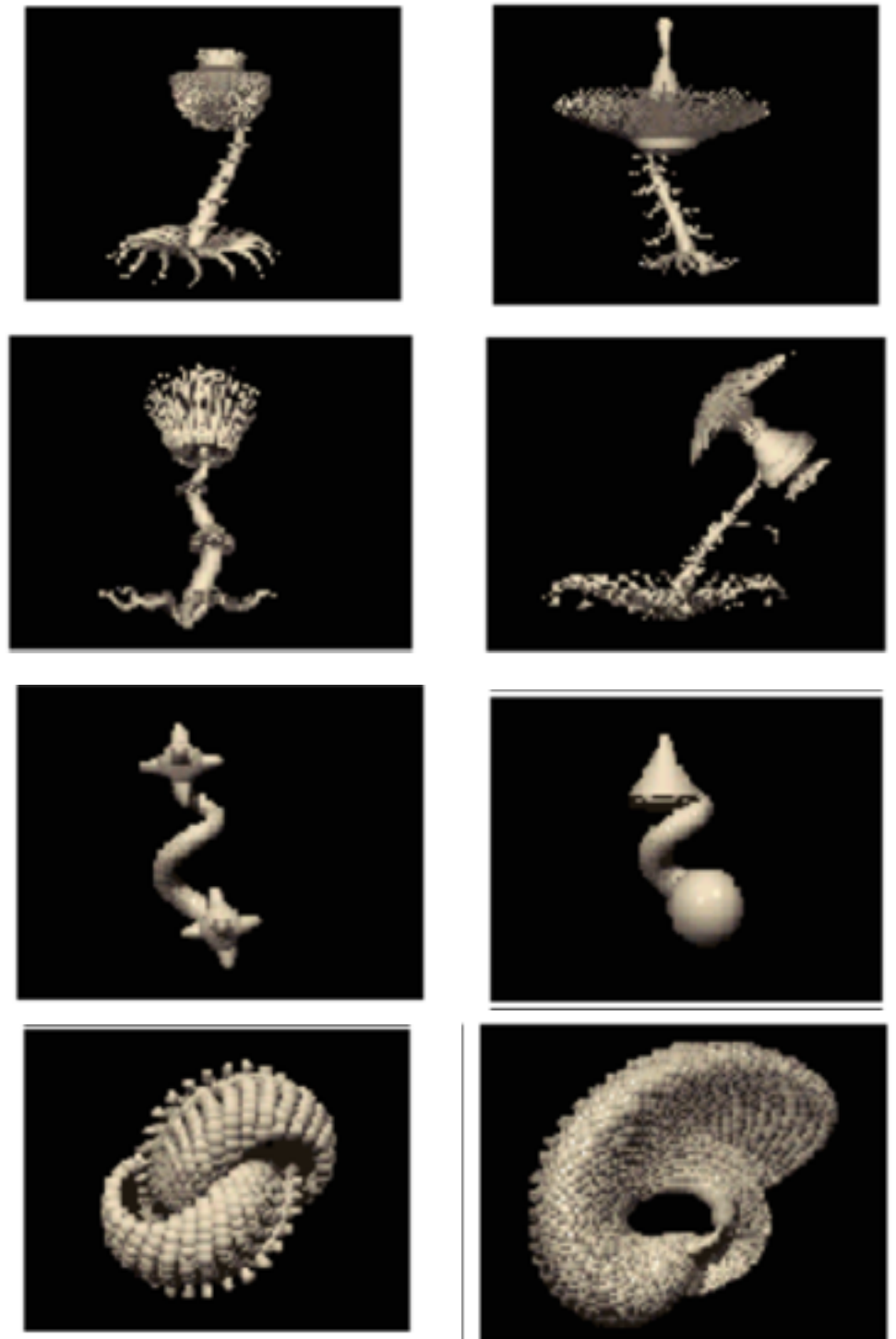
Sir Ronald would like a few words...



"The null hypothesis is never proved or established, but is possibly disproved, in the course of experimentation. Every experiment may be said to exist **only to give the facts a chance of disproving the null hypothesis.**"

- R.A. Fisher

Let's play... "Do what Fisher says"



← Things!

Which things are tufas?

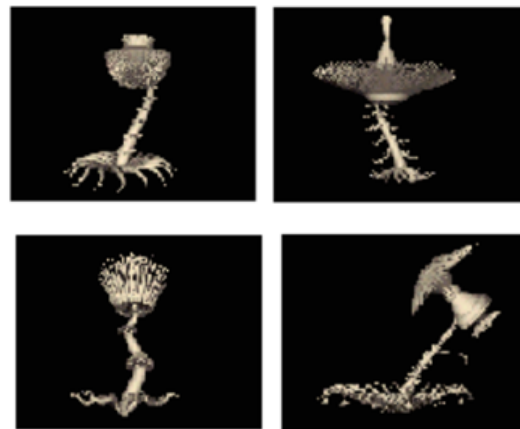
helical things?



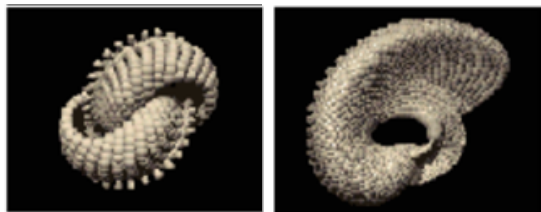
mushroom heads?



creepy flowers?



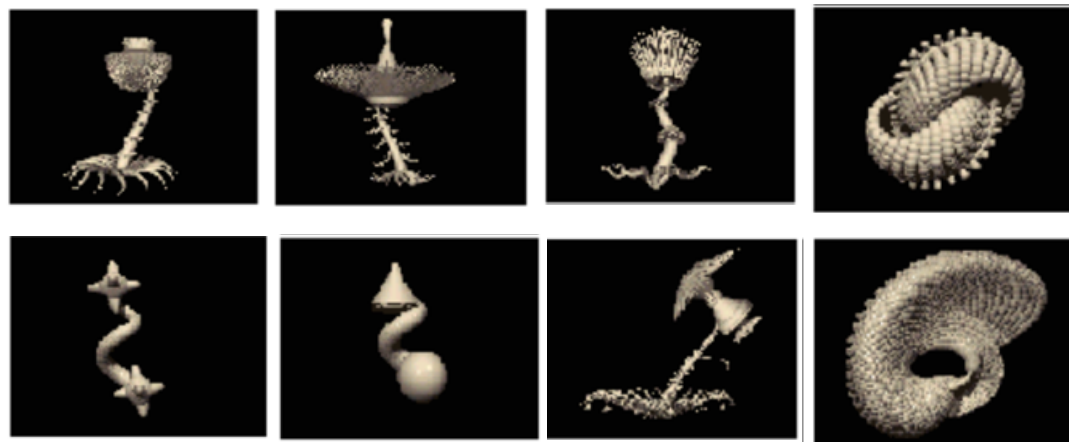
seashell things?



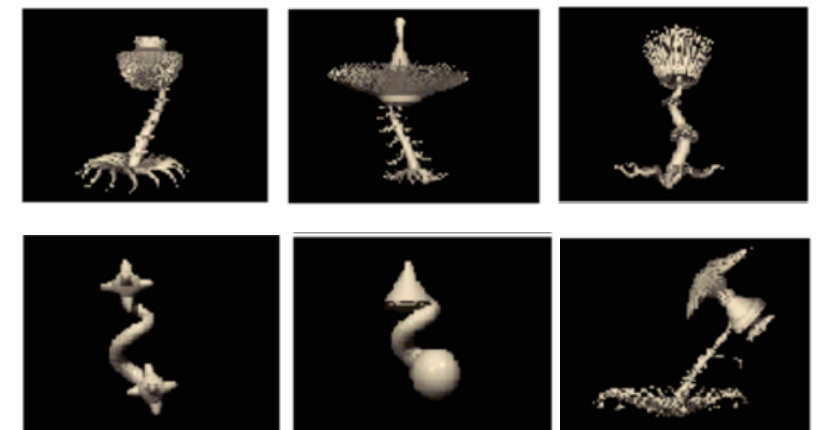
botanical radio
telescopes?



they're all tufas!



anything long and narrow



Observe one tufa and falsify...

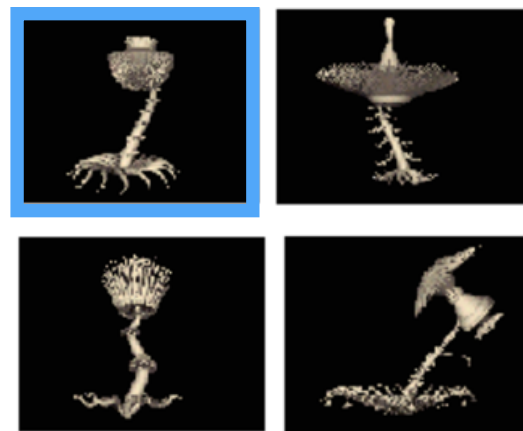
helical things?



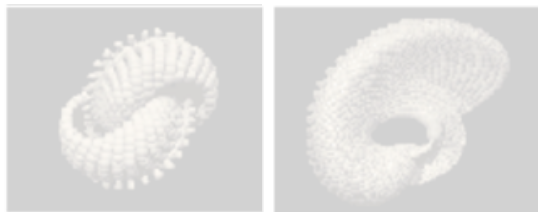
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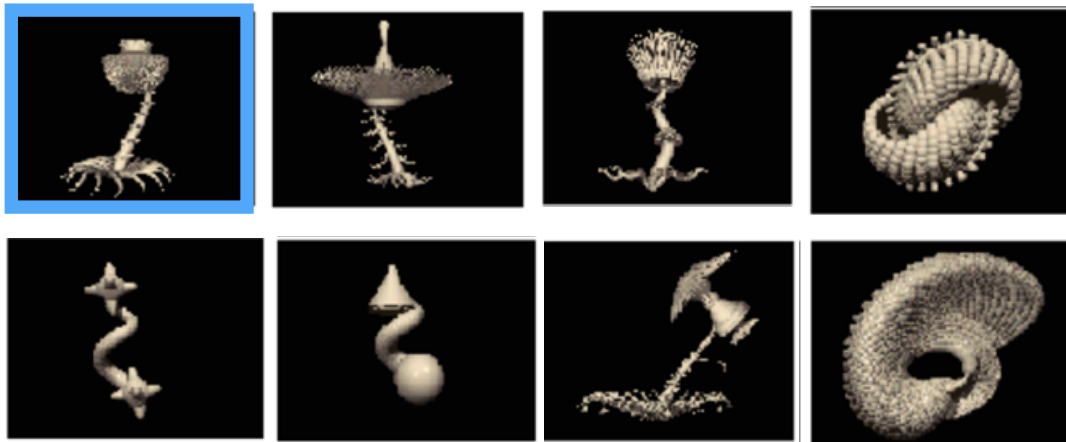
seashell things?



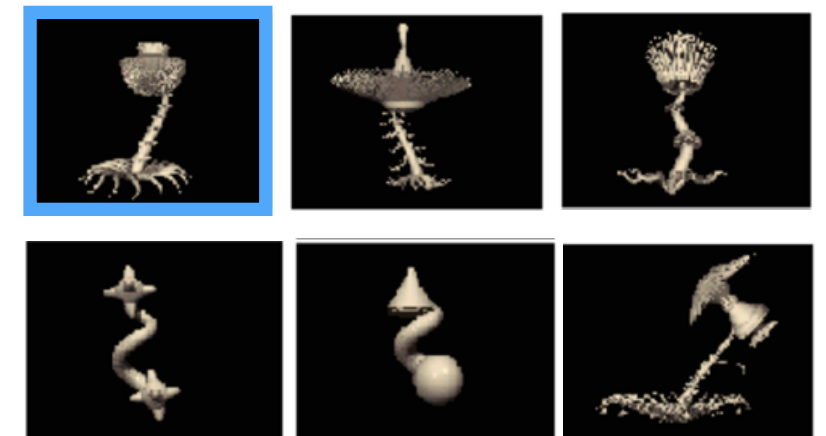
botanical radio
telescopes?



they're all tufas!



anything long and narrow



See two more and do nothing???

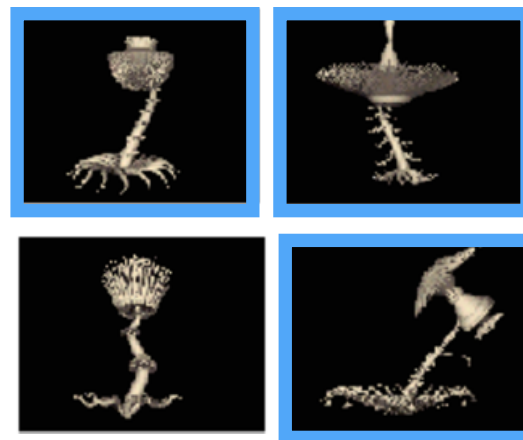
helical things?



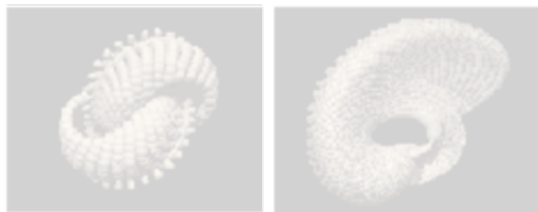
mushroom heads?



creepy flowers?



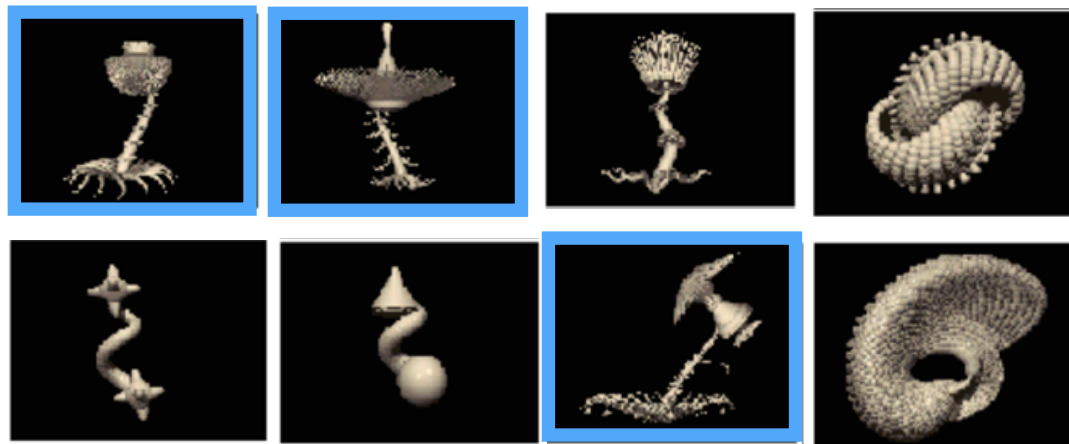
seashell things?



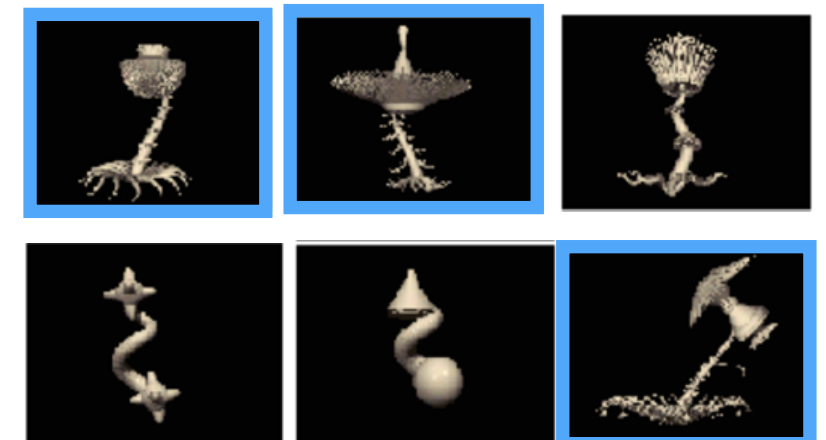
botanical radio
telescopes?



they're all tufas!



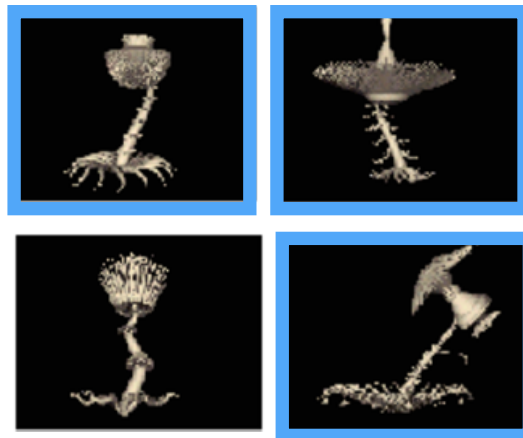
anything long and narrow





Mr. Ockham wishes to discuss
tufas with you...

creepy flowers?



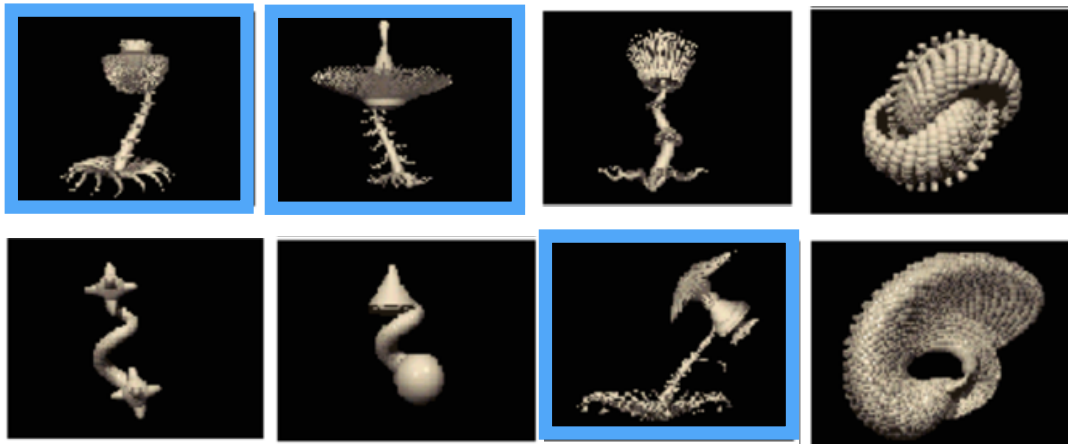
mushroom heads?



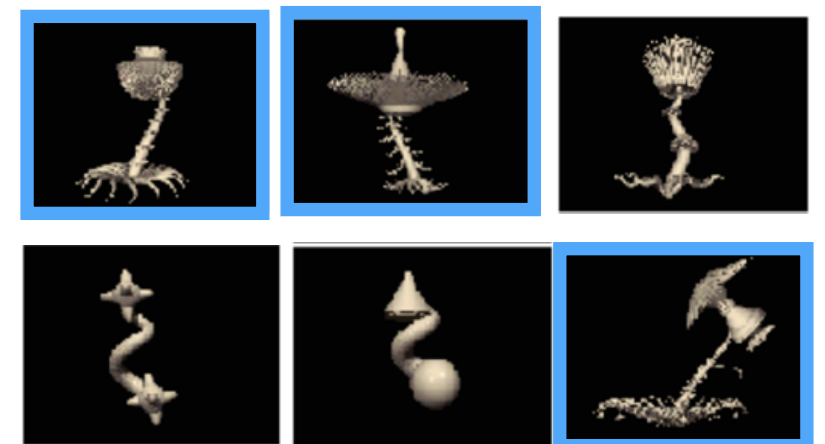
These hypotheses do not require me to believe a bizarre coincidence as to why the only observed tufas are so bloody similar

For these to be plausible, I require an additional explanation as to why the only tufas I have seen are flower-like

they're all tufas!



anything long and narrow



An Ockhamist reasoner has little faith in coincidences

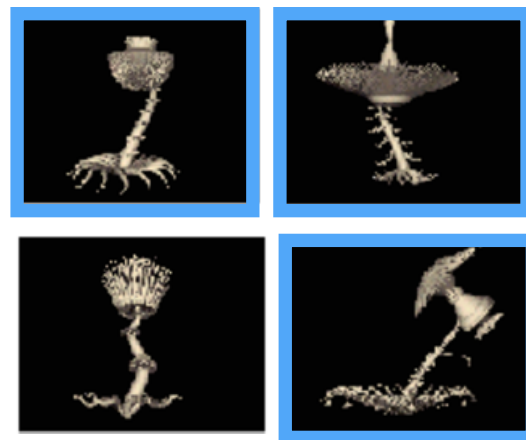
helical things?



mushroom heads?



creepy flowers?



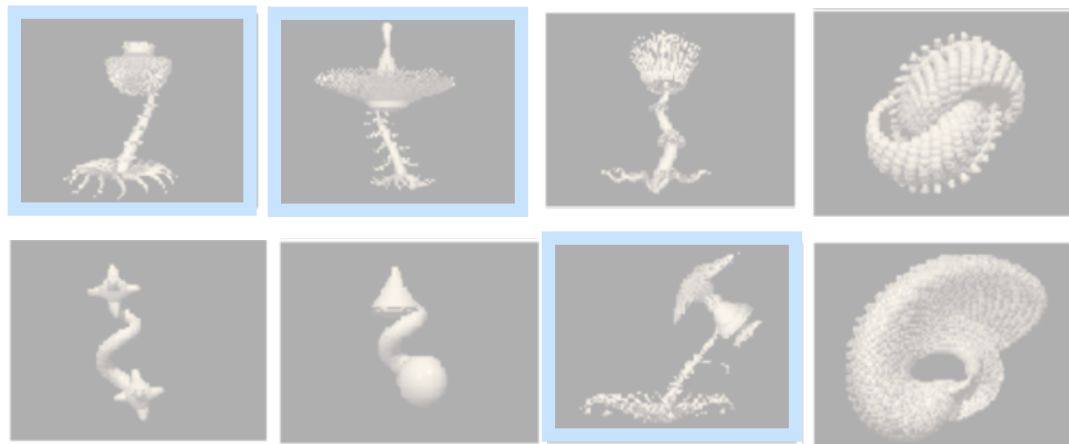
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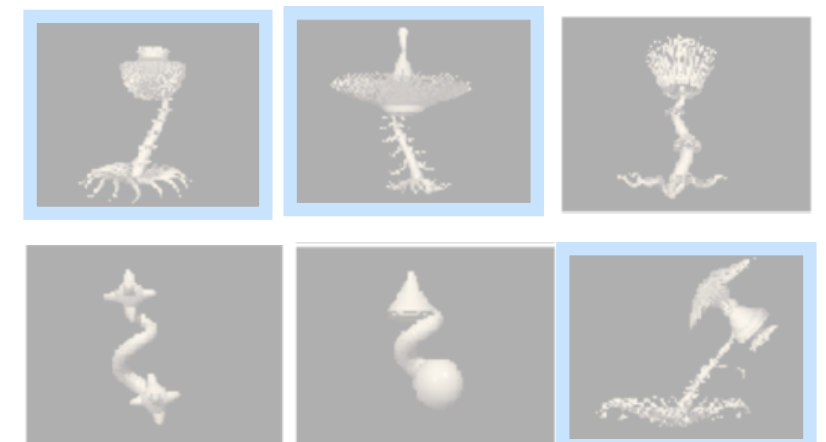
botanical radio telescopes?



they're all tufas!



anything long and narrow



Are these fundamentally distinct?



Or can we express them in a common framework?



Bayes' rule:

$$P(h|x) \propto P(x|h)P(h)$$



Posterior
degree of belief



Prior degree
of belief

A Bayesian “scores” hypotheses by asking how likely they think it is that we data x would be if hypothesis h were true?



$$P(h|x) \propto P(x|h)P(h)$$

The likelihood is the learner's theory about the problem they're solving



$$P(h|x) \propto P(x|h)P(h)$$

Different theories, different learning



$$P(h|d) = \frac{P(d|h)P(h)}{P(d)}$$

$$P(h|d) = \frac{P(d|h)P(h)}{P(d)}$$

Two simple theories about the data generating mechanism...

Weak sampling:

“select an item at random and then provide the category label”



Two simple theories about the data generating mechanism...

Weak sampling:

“select an item at random and then provide the category label”



Strong sampling:

“select items from the target category”



... produce two different learning rules

Weak sampling:

$$P(x|h) \propto \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } x \in h \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$



Strong sampling:

$$P(x|h) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{|h|} & \text{if } x \in h \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$



And yield qualitatively different behaviour

Weak sampling:

Act like a falsificationist



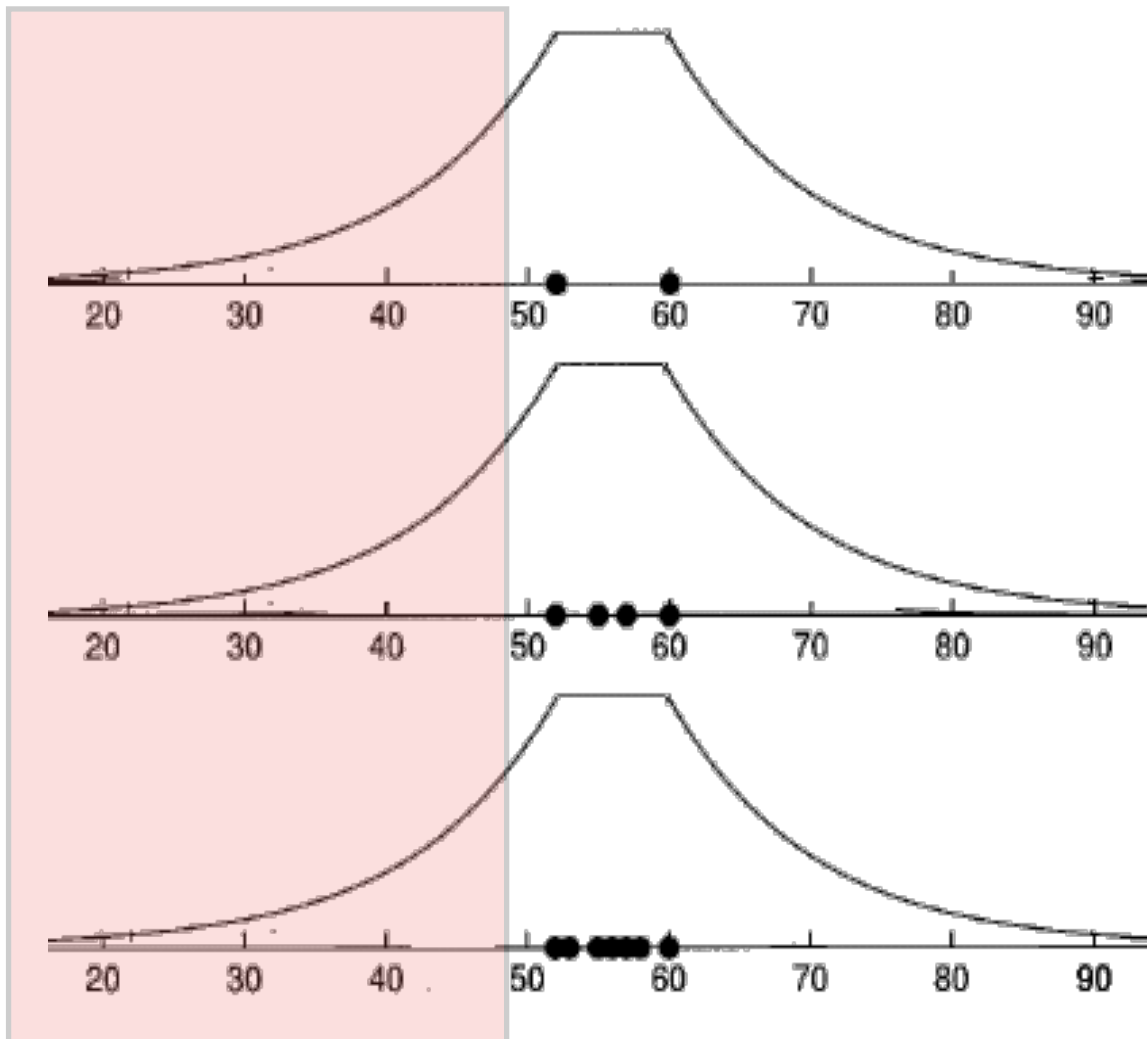
Strong sampling:

Apply Ockham's razor: prefer
small/simple hypotheses

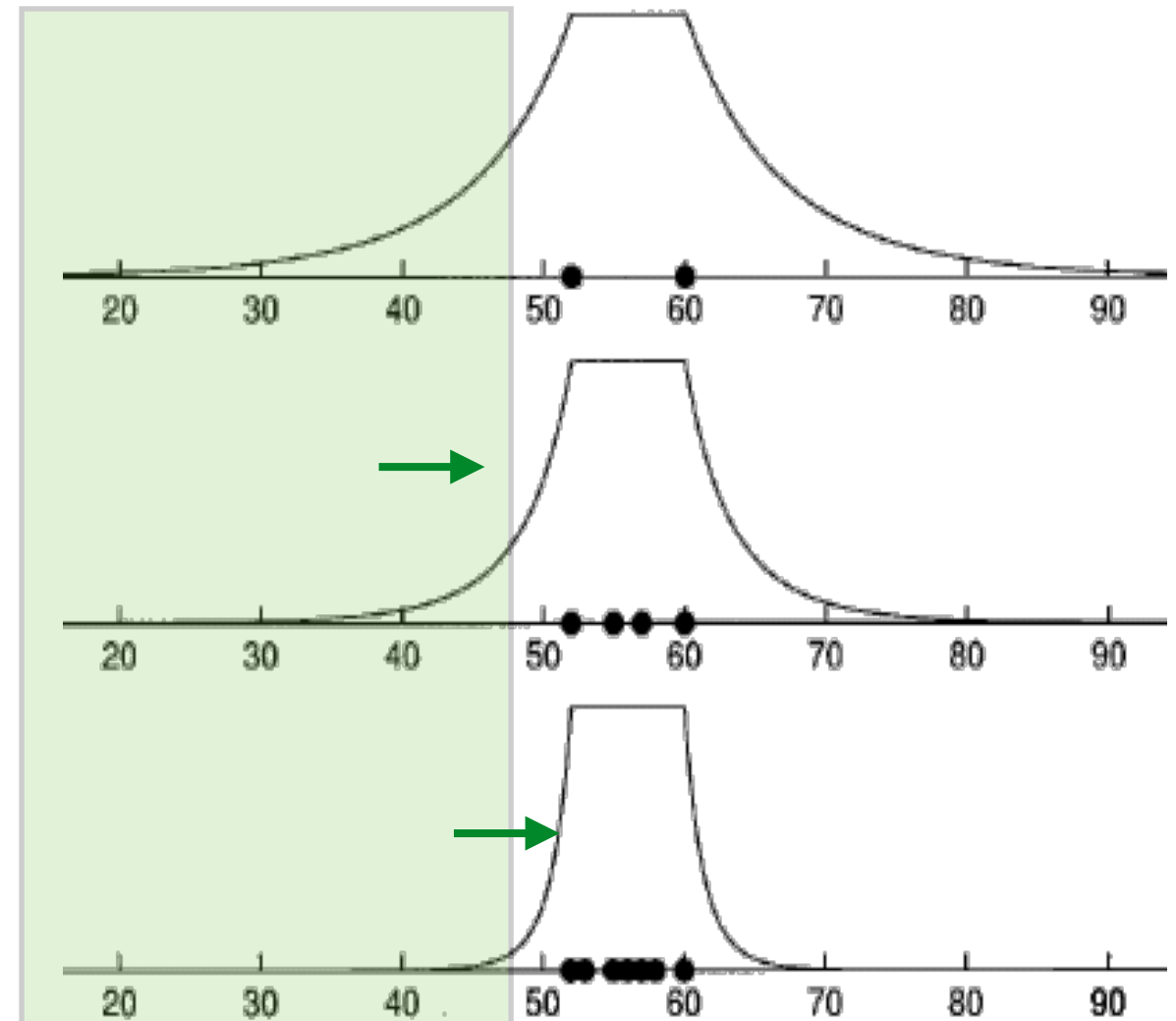


Here's the testable prediction about generalisation gradients...

weak sampling



strong sampling



And a series of experimental tests...

- Navarro, Dry & Lee (2012):
 - Two experiments, stimuli varied on one dimension
 - N=22 & N=20 undergraduates
 - Non traditional stimulus presentation
 - Response measure: Probability judgments

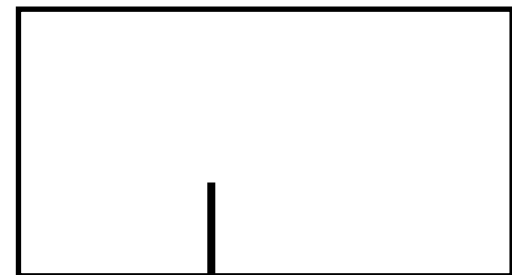
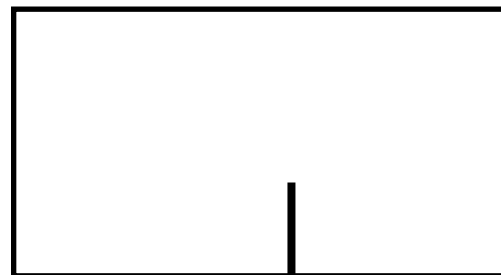
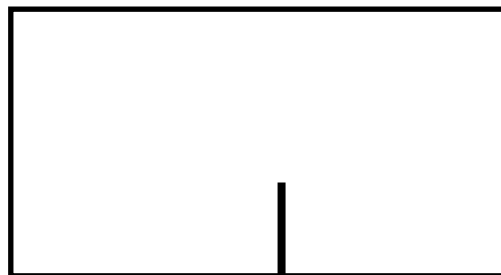
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- Vong, Hendrickson, Perfors & Navarro (2013)
 - As above, but with N=318 workers on AMT

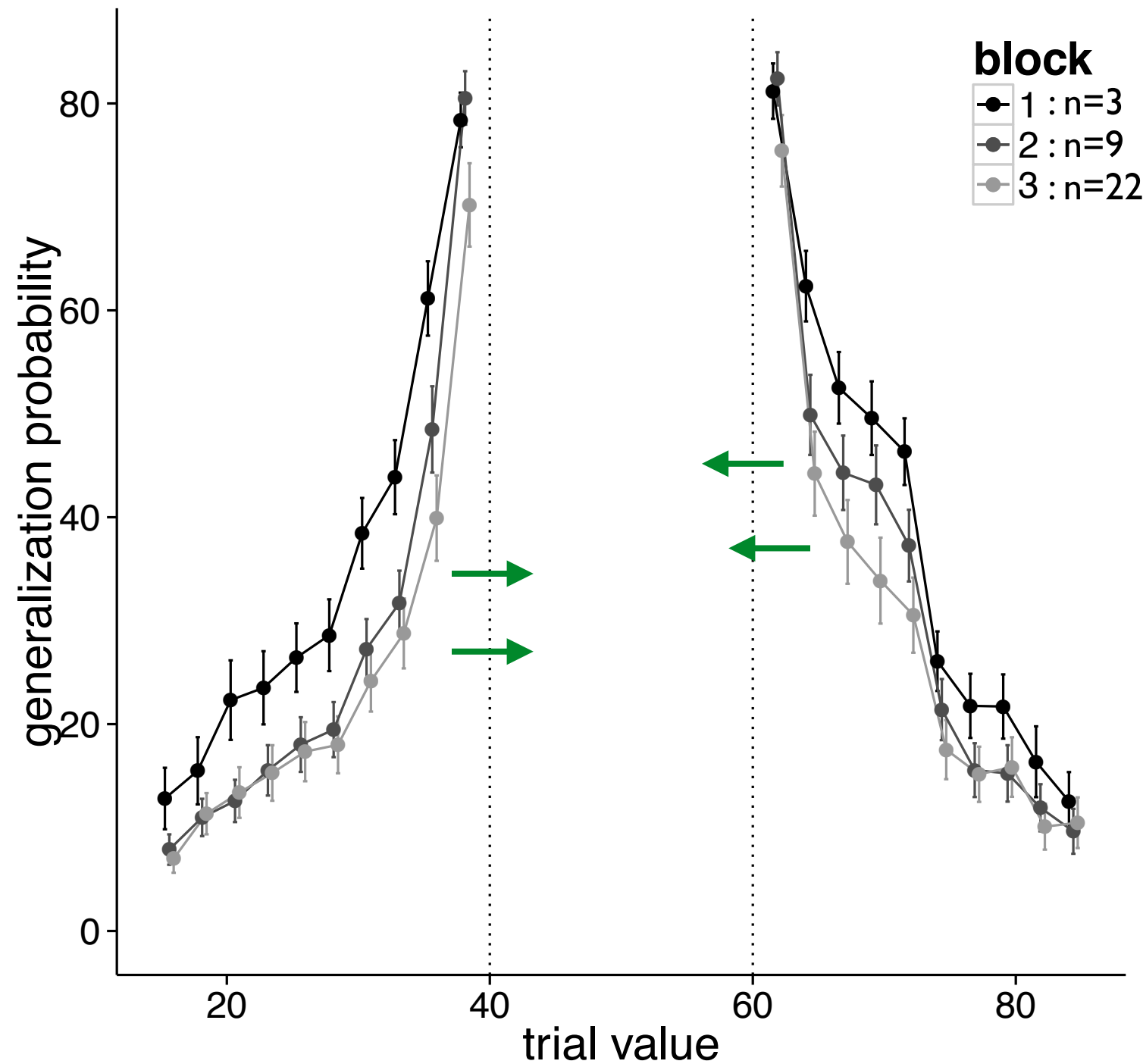
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 - Non traditional stimulus presentation
 - Response measure: Probability judgments
- Vong, Hendrickson, Perfors & Navarro (2013)
 - As above, but with N=318 workers on AMT
- Hendrickson, Perfors & Navarro (in preparation)
 - One experiment (N=470) on AMT
 - Participants shown traditional categorisation stimuli (below)
 - Response measures: probability judgment & categorisation decisions

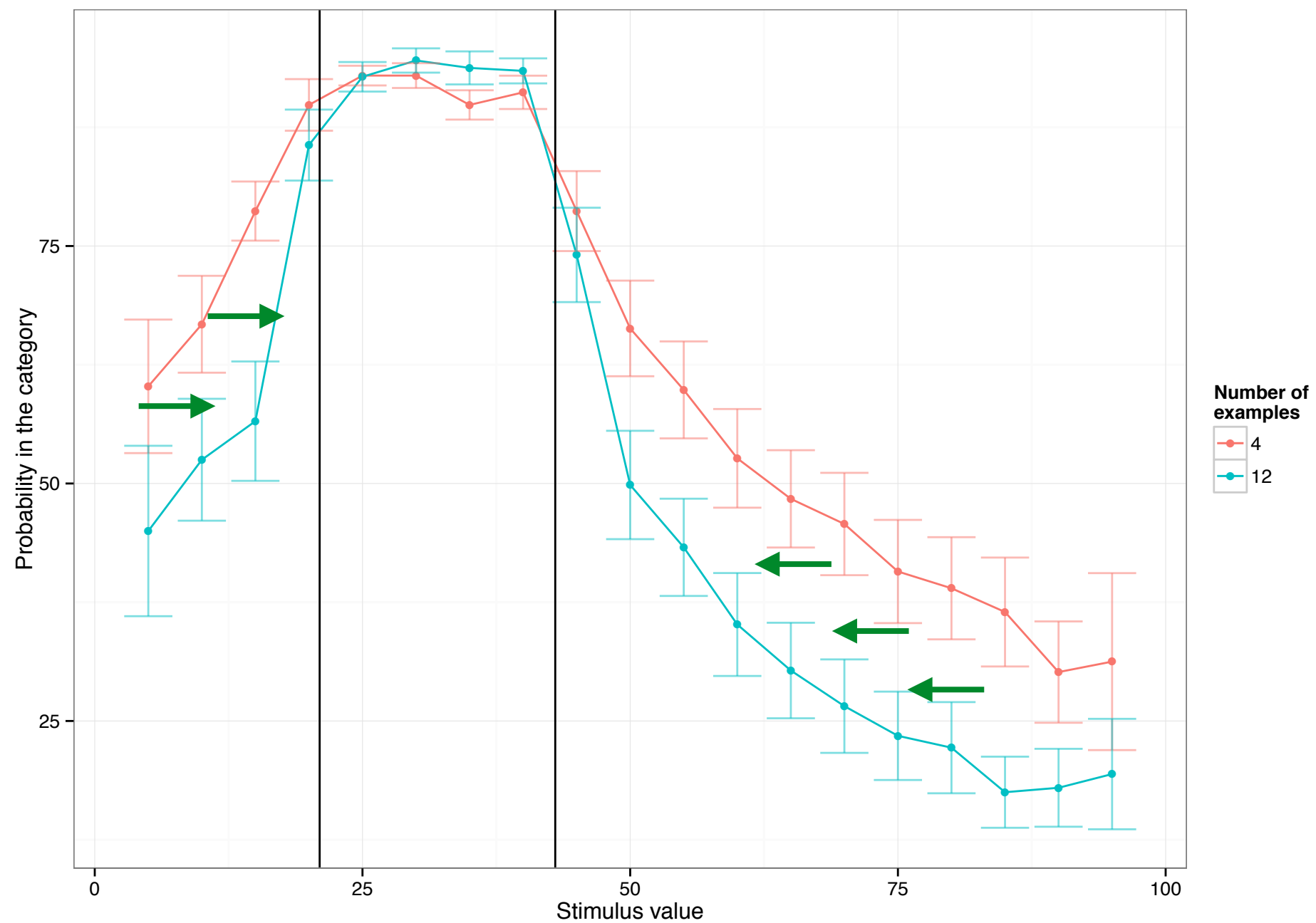
stimuli:



Looks like strong sampling...

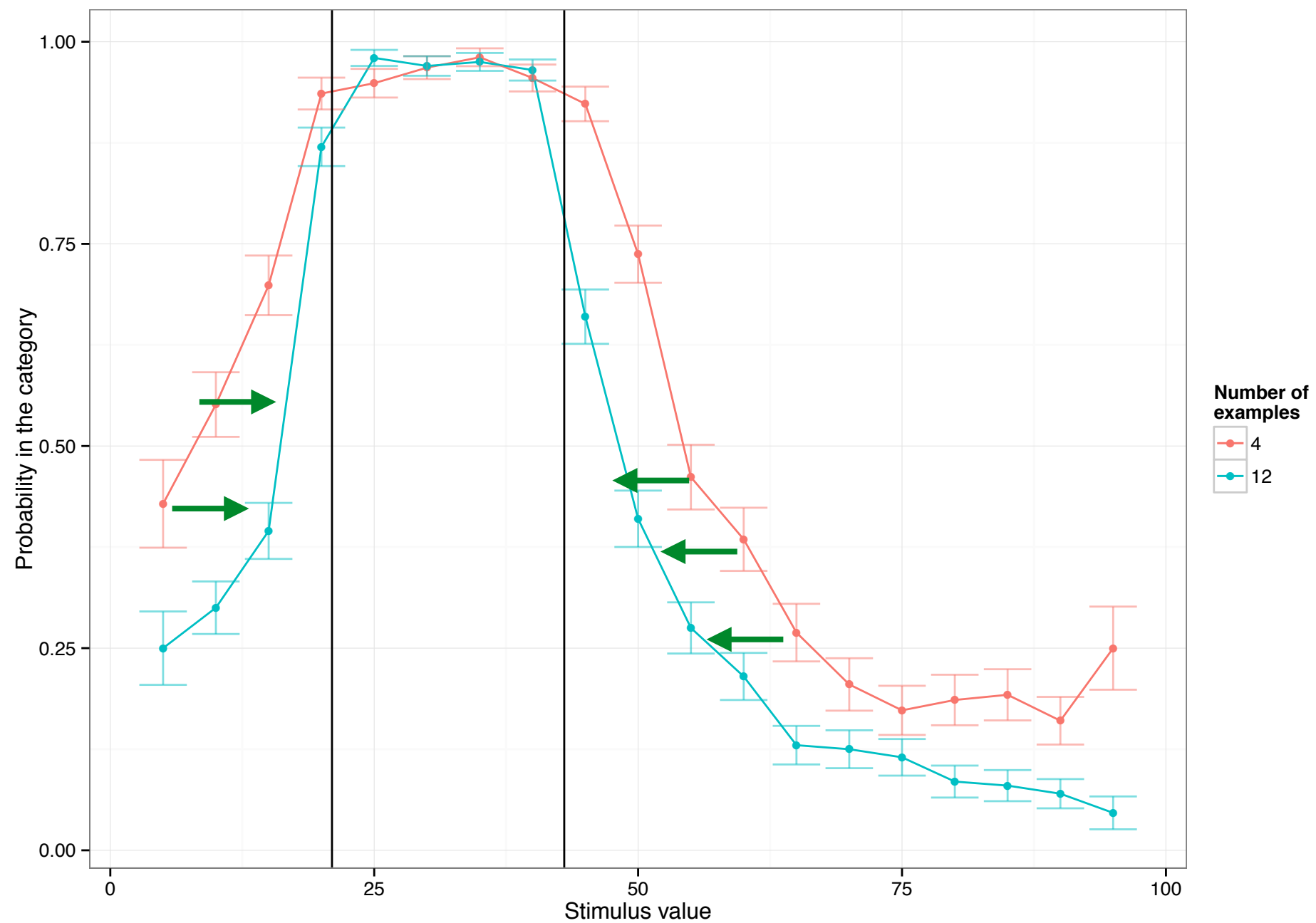


Looks like strong sampling...



Hendrickson, et al (in prep) - probability judgments

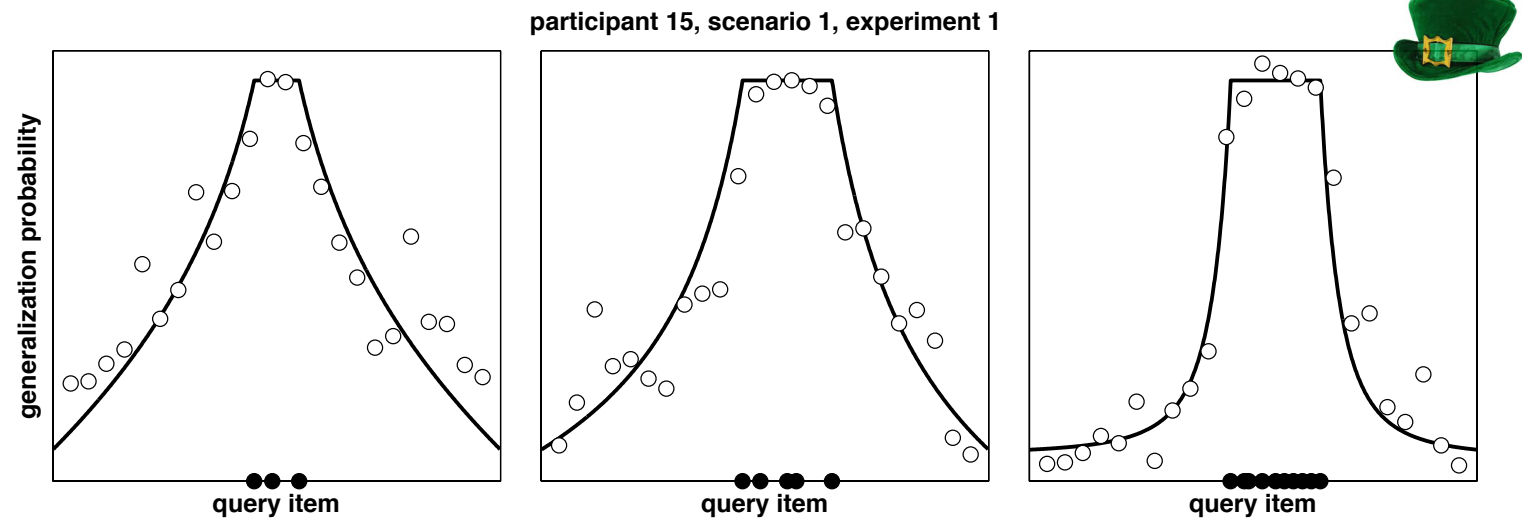
Looks like strong sampling...



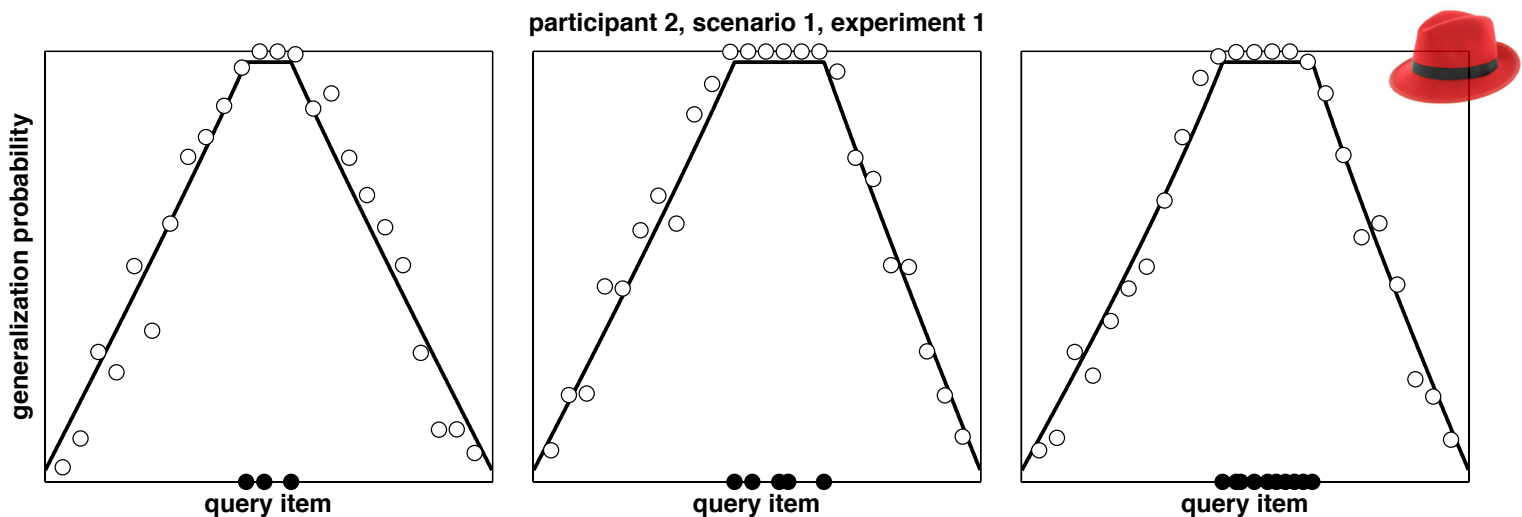
Hendrickson, et al (in prep) - categorisation data

But there are individual differences:

Sensitivity to sample size in simple generalisation



Insensitivity to sample size in simple generalisation



And there are task differences:

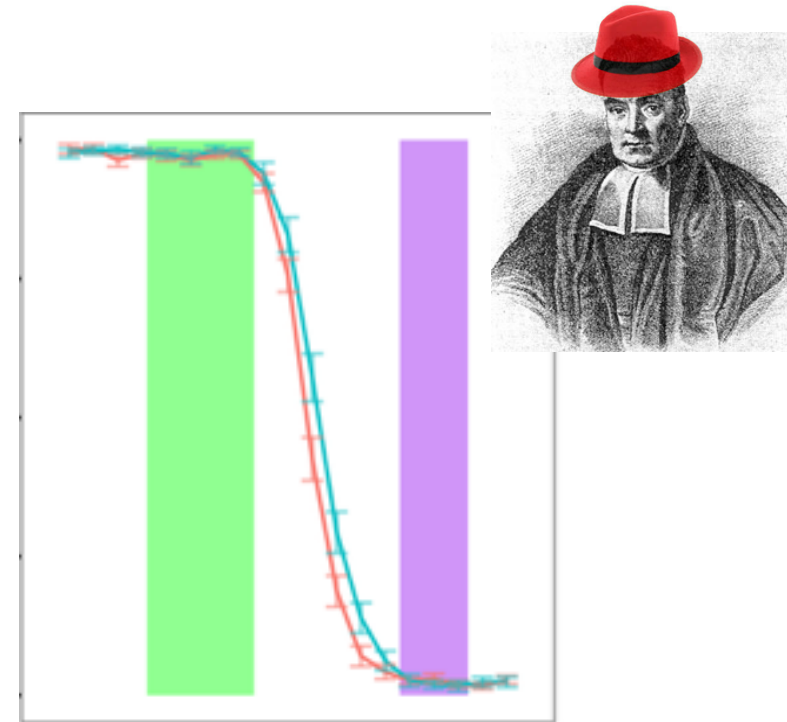


“Concept learning” designs
where people see positive
examples from one category
produce the strong sampling
“tightening” effect

And there are task differences:



“Concept learning” designs where people see positive examples from one category produce the strong sampling “tightening” effect



“Classification” designs where people see labelled examples from two categories show no tightening, only a weak base rate effect (in the opposite direction)

- The tightening effect predicted by strong sampling does happen
- But there are differences across individuals and across tasks
- The task differences make sense if you assume people are forming theories about how the experiment(er) designed the task
- This starts to feel like social cognition...

Manipulating the sampling assumption in
an inductive reasoning task



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Property induction tasks

GRIZZLY BEARS produce the hormone TH-L2.

Do LIONS produce the hormone TH-L2?

False

True (60% certain)

Done

Property induction tasks

GRIZZLY BEARS produce the hormone TH-L2.

Do LIONS produce the hormone TH-L2?

False

True (60% certain)

Done

GRIZZLY BEARS produce the hormone TH-L2.

+ BLACK BEARS produce the hormone TH-L2.

Do LIONS produce the hormone TH-L2?

False (65% certain)

True

Done

Grizzly Bears \rightarrow Lions

Grizzly Bears + Black Bears \rightarrow Lions



Adding the “Black Bears” premise
weakens the argument?

Grizzly Bears \rightarrow Lions

Grizzly Bears + Black Bears \rightarrow Lions

Tigers \rightarrow Ferrets

Tigers + Lions \rightarrow Ferrets



Same thing with the “Lions” premise

Grizzly Bears \rightarrow Lions

Grizzly Bears + Black Bears \rightarrow Lions

Tigers \rightarrow Ferrets

Tigers + Lions \rightarrow Ferrets

Orangutans \rightarrow Gorillas

Orangutans + Chimpanzees \rightarrow Gorillas



Conversely, the “Chimpanzee” premise
strengthens the argument here

Grizzly Bears + Black Bears

Tigers + Lions

Orangutans + Chimpanzees

In all cases the additional premise concentrates beliefs around a target category, e.g. bears, cats, primates

Is this “tightening” effect related to the tightening in the “tufa” generalisation problem?

Is this “tightening” effect related to the tightening in the “tufa” generalisation problem?

Does it depend on the learner’s theory about how the argument was constructed?

Is this “tightening” effect related to the tightening in the “tufa” generalisation problem?

Does it depend on the learner’s theory about how the argument was constructed?

Can we produce qualitative shifts in people’s reasoning by manipulating their theory about how the argument was made?

Previous experience? (filler trials)

Cover
story?

Relevant cover story, Relevant fillers	
Neutral cover story, Relevant fillers	Neutral cover story, Random fillers
	Random cover story, Random fillers

Cover story manipulation



- **Relevant**: people were told that the “additional” premise was chosen by a helpful teacher
- **Neutral**: people were told nothing about how the second premise was generated



- **Random**: people were told that the second premise was selected at random from the set of true facts.

Eagles → Doves

Elephants → Deer

Kangaroos → Wombats

Three “filler” arguments

Eagles → Doves

Elephants → Deer

Kangaroos → Wombats

Eagles + Hawks → Doves

Elephants + Cows → Deer

Kangaroos + Koalas → Wombats

... with a **relevant**
second premise

(positive premises from
the same category suggest
strong sampling)

Eagles → Doves

Elephants → Deer

Kangaroos → Wombats

Eagles + Hawks → Doves

Elephants + Cows → Deer

Kangaroos + Koalas → Wombats

Eagles - Tortoises → Doves

Elephants + Anteaters → Deer

Kangaroos - Flamingos → Wombats

... or a **random** one

(negated premises
unrelated to the topic
suggest weak sampling)

Stimulus ordering was fixed and designed to ensure that fillers (mostly) preceded targets:

First generalisation	Additional example	
	HELPFUL	RANDOM
EAGLES → DOVES	+HAWKS	−TORTOISES
ELEPHANTS → DEERS	+COWS	+ANTEATERS
TIGERS → FERRETS	+LIONS	+LIONS
KANGAROOS → WOMBATS	+KOALAS	−FLAMINGOS
GRIZZLY BEARS → LIONS	+BLACK BEARS	+BLACK BEARS
ORANGUTANS → GORILLAS	+CHIMPANZEES	+CHIMPANZEES

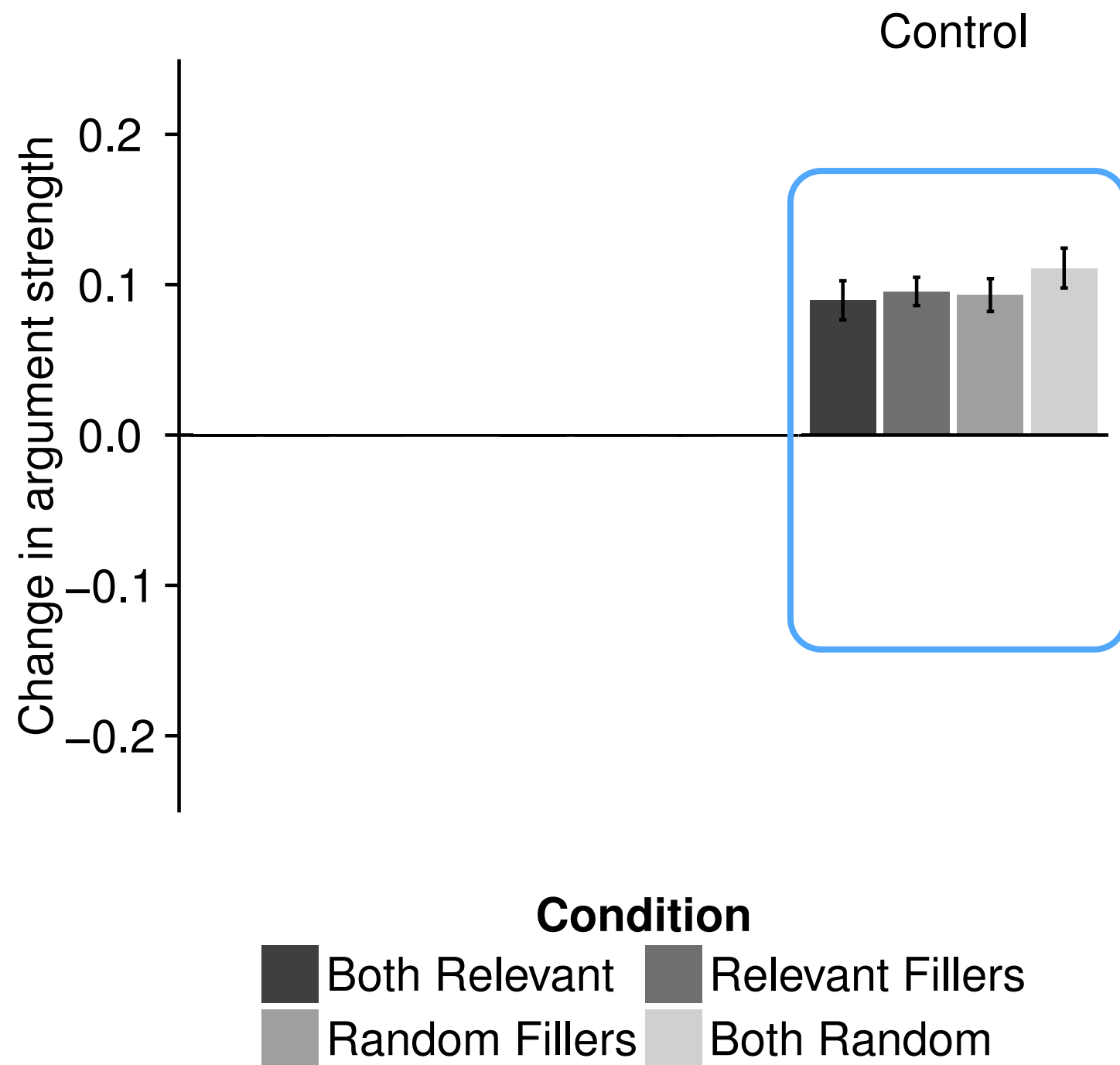
Participants were 296 people recruited through MTurk



orangutans
chimpanzees
gorillas



orangutans
gorillas

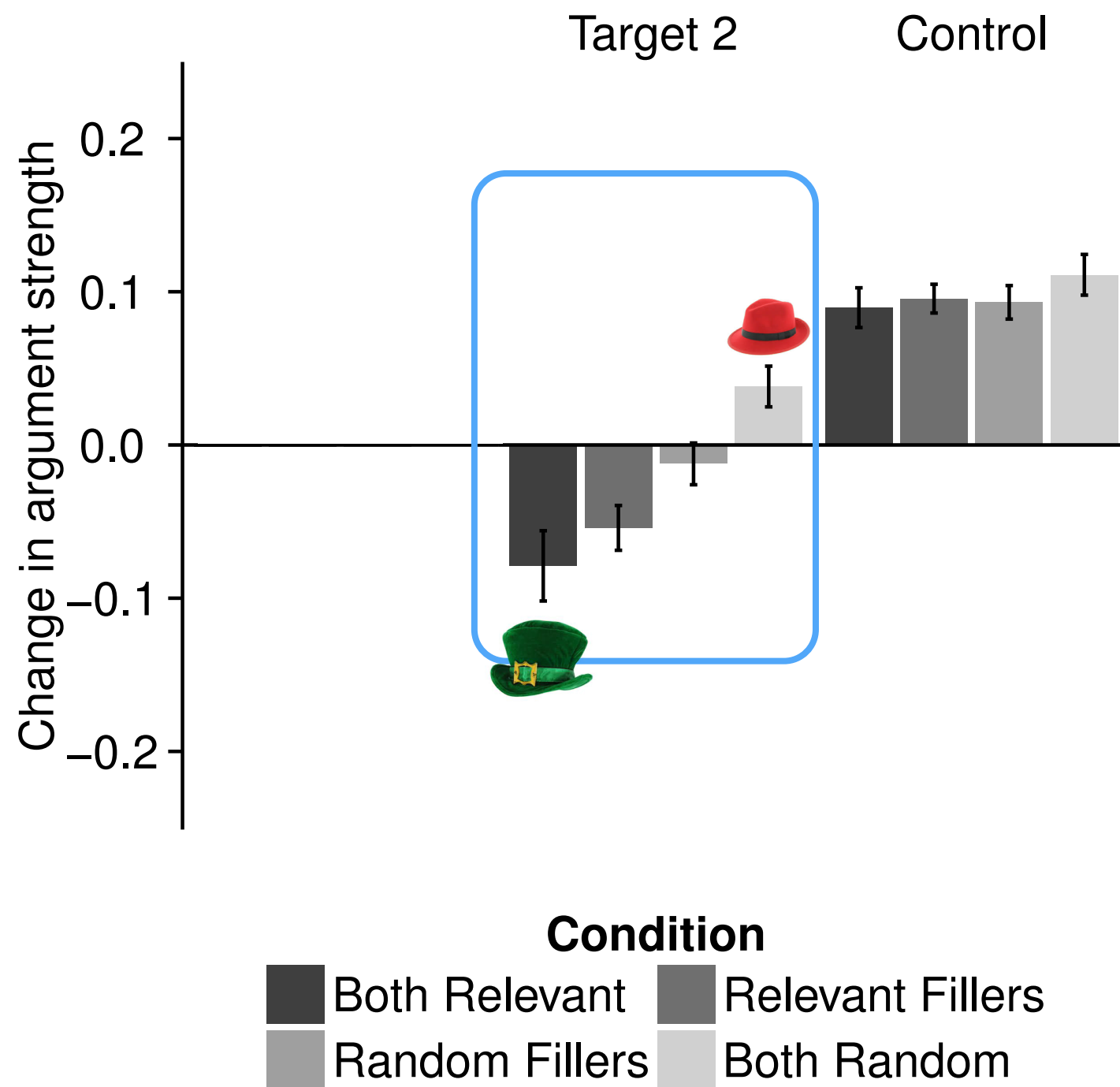


orangutans
chimpanzees

gorillas



orangutans
gorillas



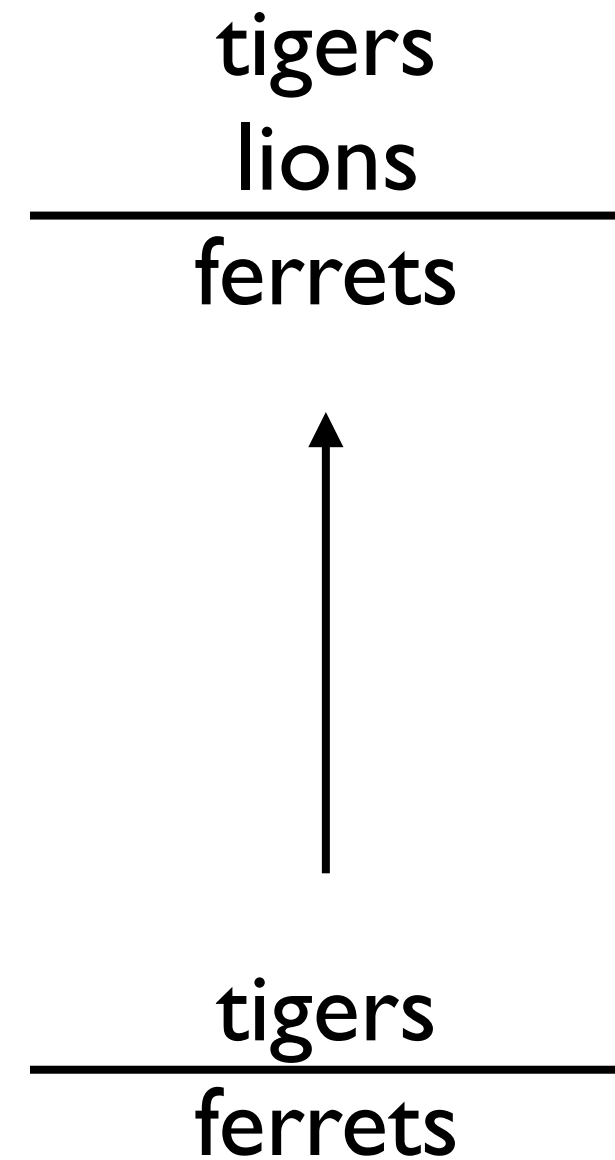
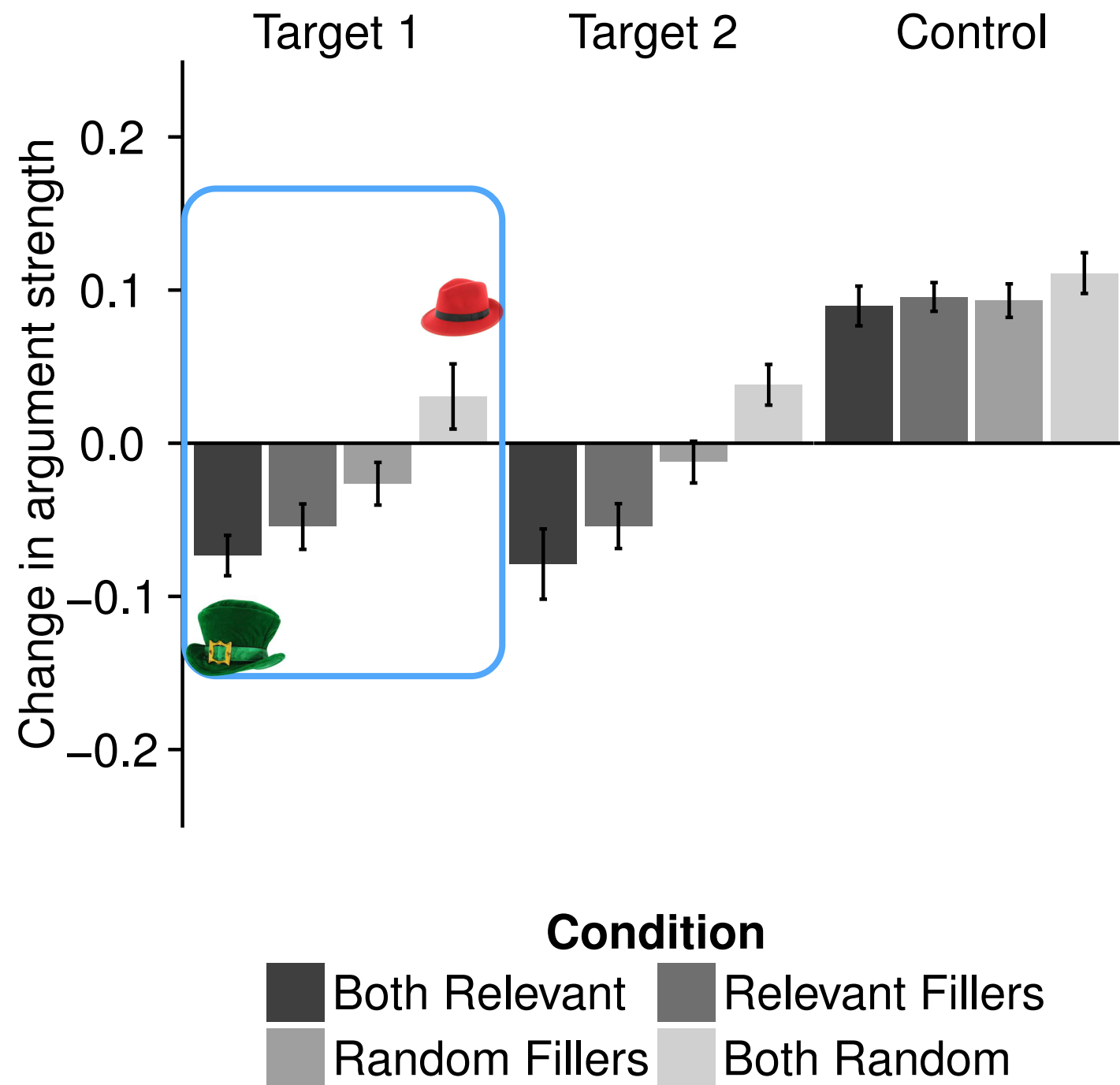
grizzly bears
black bears

lions

↑

grizzly bears

lions



(Bayesian) data analysis: hypothesis tests for order restricted models

Model	Order restrictions
NO EFFECT	$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4$
FILLERS ONLY	$\mu_1 = \mu_2 < \mu_3 = \mu_4$
STORY ONLY	$\mu_1 < \mu_2 = \mu_3 < \mu_4$
BOTH	$\mu_1 < \mu_2 < \mu_3 < \mu_4$
RANDOM EFFECT	$\mu_1 \neq \mu_2 \neq \mu_3 \neq \mu_4$

Clear effect of cover story on targets, possibly also an effect of filler type

Model	Order restrictions	Bayes Factor (: NO EFFECT)	
		Target 1	Target 2
NO EFFECT	$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4$	-	-
FILLERS ONLY	$\mu_1 = \mu_2 < \mu_3 = \mu_4$	740:1	12,000:1
STORY ONLY	$\mu_1 < \mu_2 = \mu_3 < \mu_4$	4,100:1	17,000:1
BOTH	$\mu_1 < \mu_2 < \mu_3 < \mu_4$	2,900:1	30,000:1
RANDOM EFFECT	$\mu_1 \neq \mu_2 \neq \mu_3 \neq \mu_4$	520:1	4,600:1

Null effect for the control item

Model	Order restrictions	Bayes Factor (: NO EFFECT)	
		Control	
NO EFFECT	$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4$	-	
FILLERS ONLY	$\mu_1 = \mu_2 < \mu_3 = \mu_4$	< 1 : 1	
STORY ONLY	$\mu_1 < \mu_2 = \mu_3 < \mu_4$	< 1 : 1	
BOTH	$\mu_1 < \mu_2 < \mu_3 < \mu_4$	< 1 : 1	
RANDOM EFFECT	$\mu_1 \neq \mu_2 \neq \mu_3 \neq \mu_4$	< 1 : 1	

Can we accommodate this pattern using
Bayesian models?

Should we model this as a difference
between two Bayesian learners?

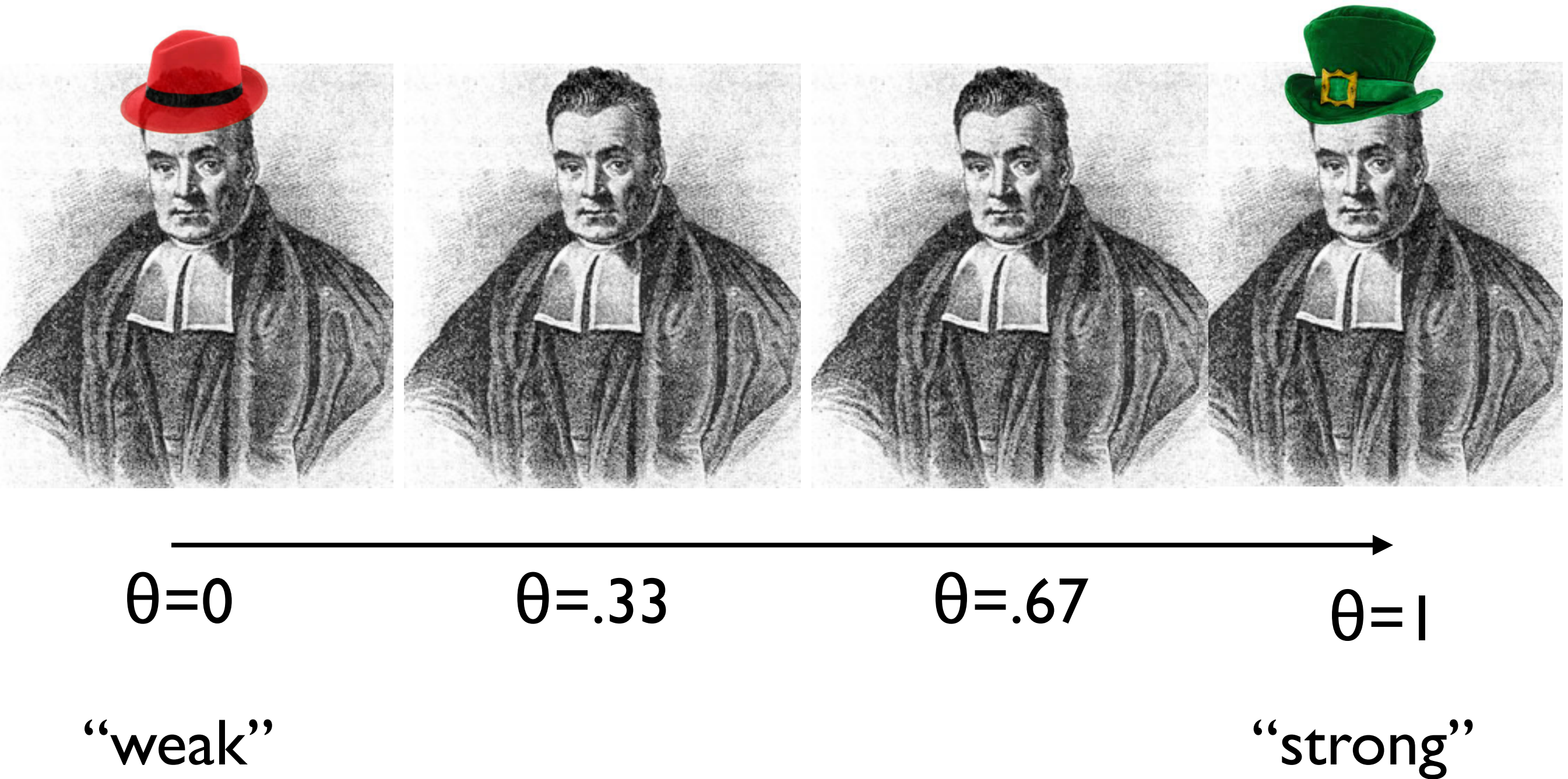


A weakly sampling
falsificationist

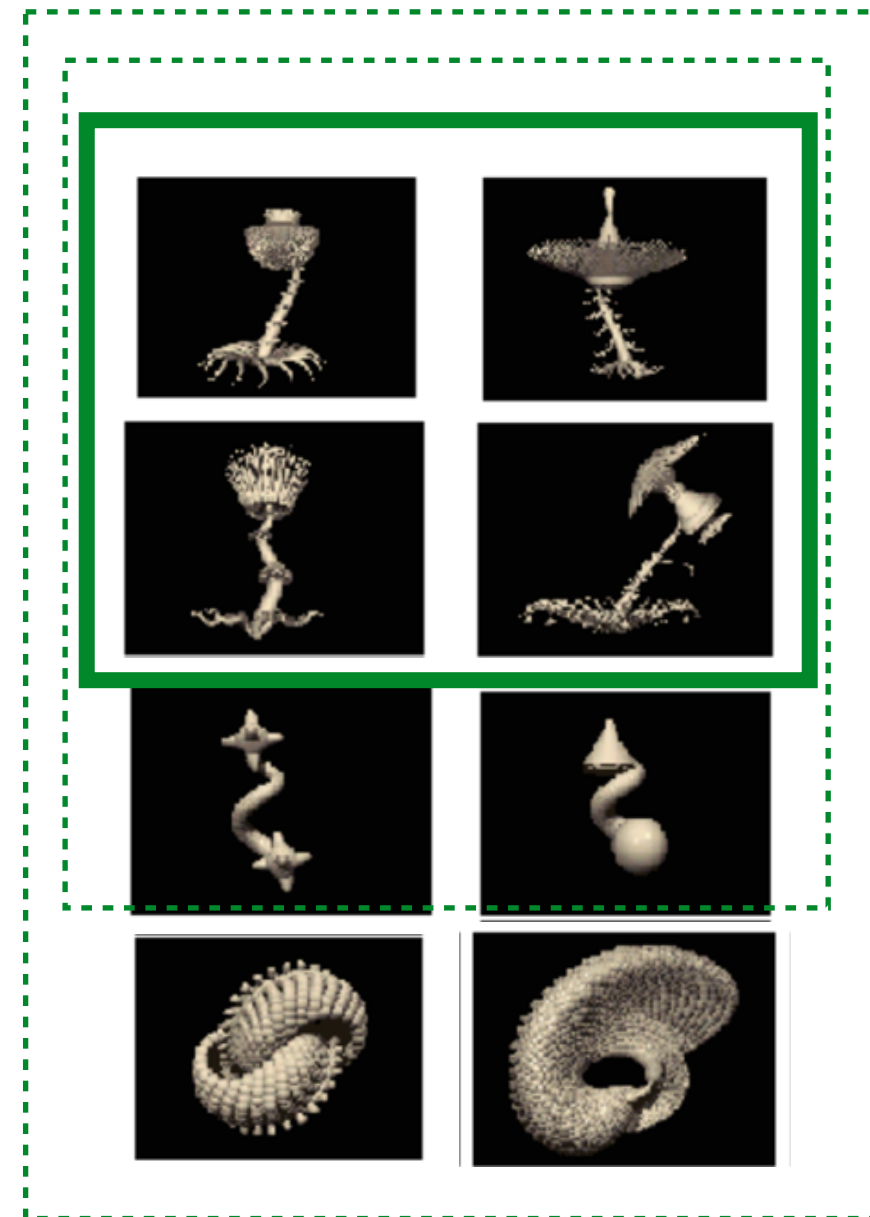


A strongly sampling
Ockhamist

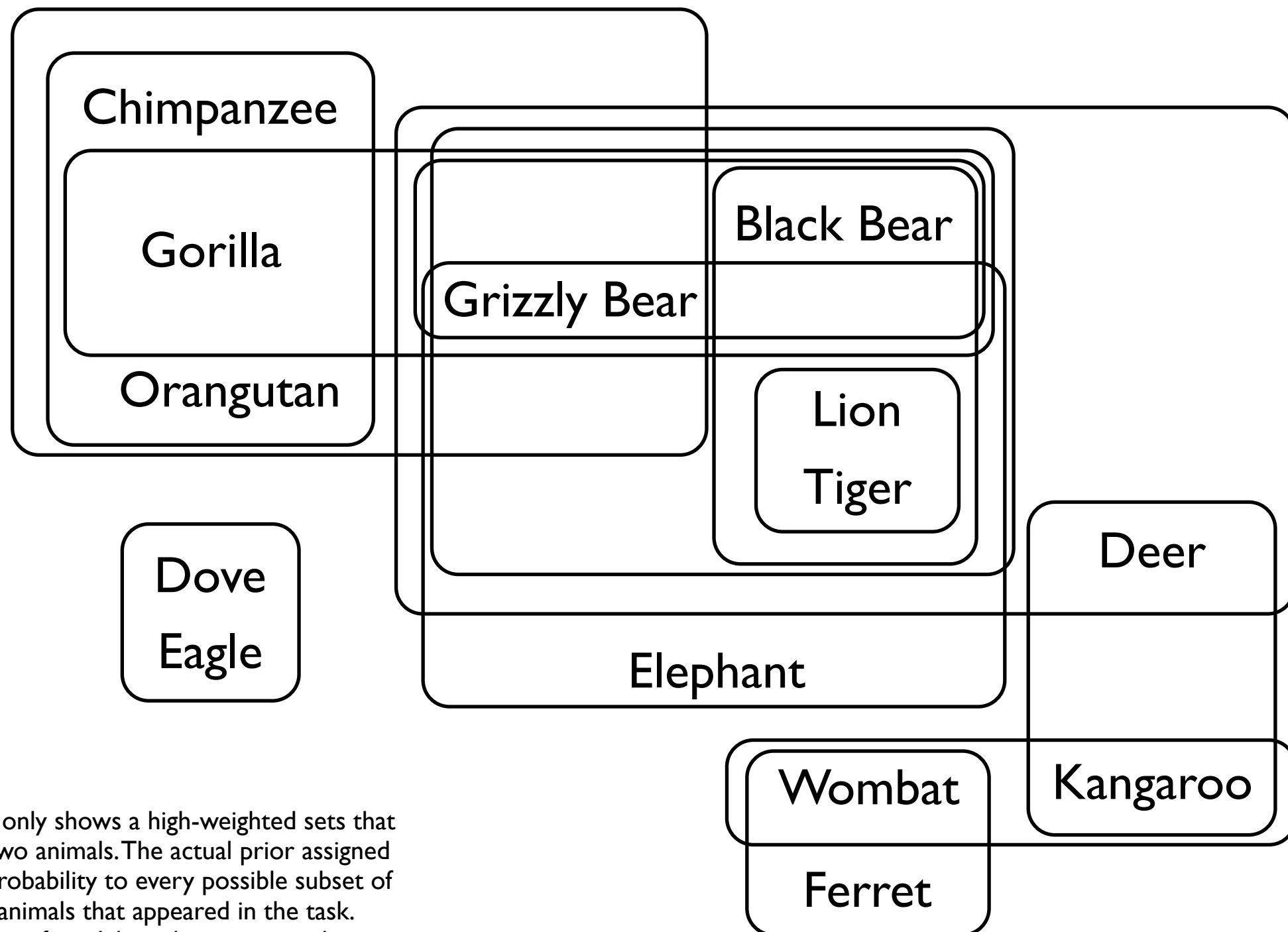
Or posit a continuum of Bayesians?



And what shall our Bayesians use for
their hypotheses?

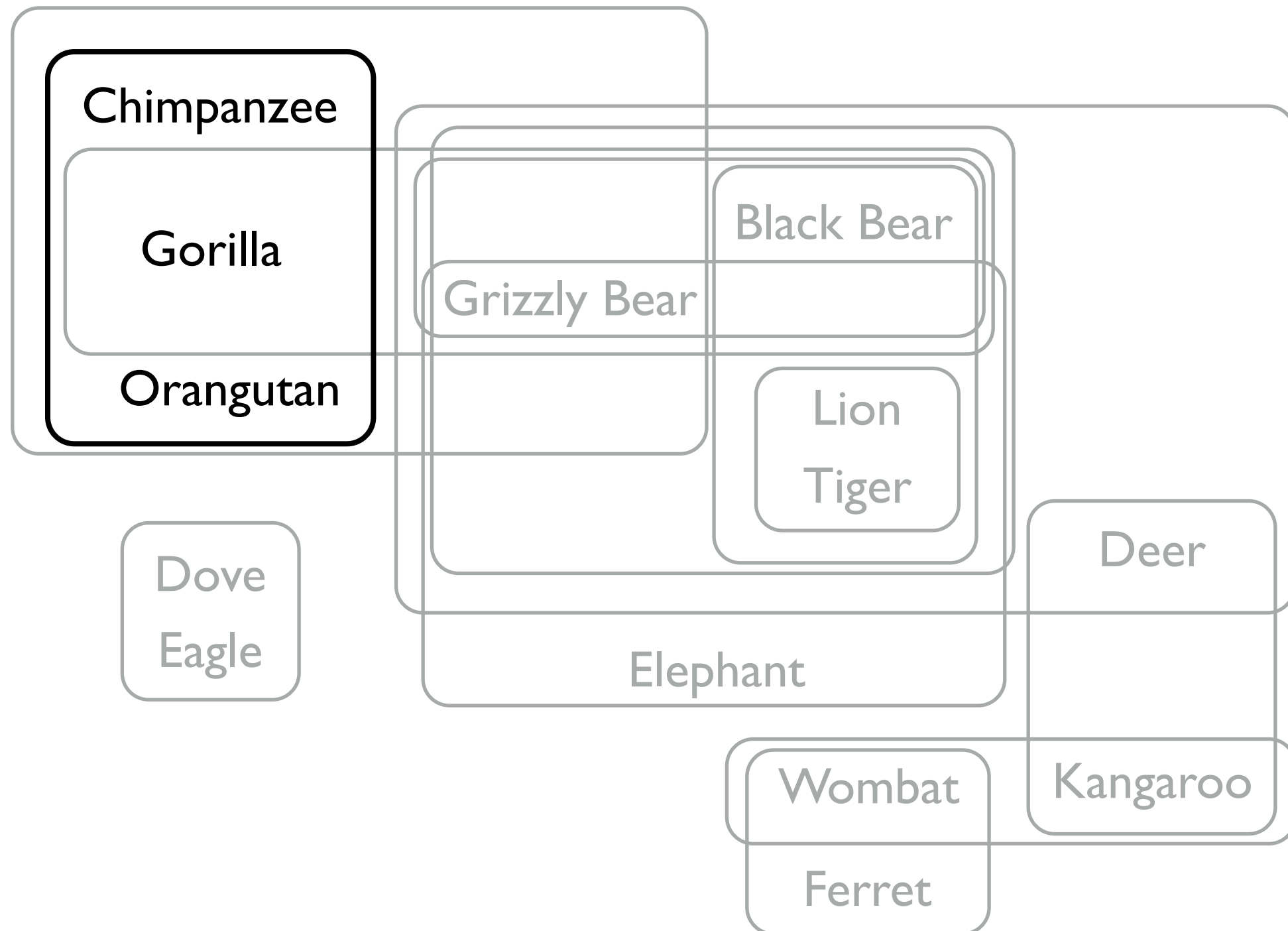


Hypotheses inferred from a separate data set

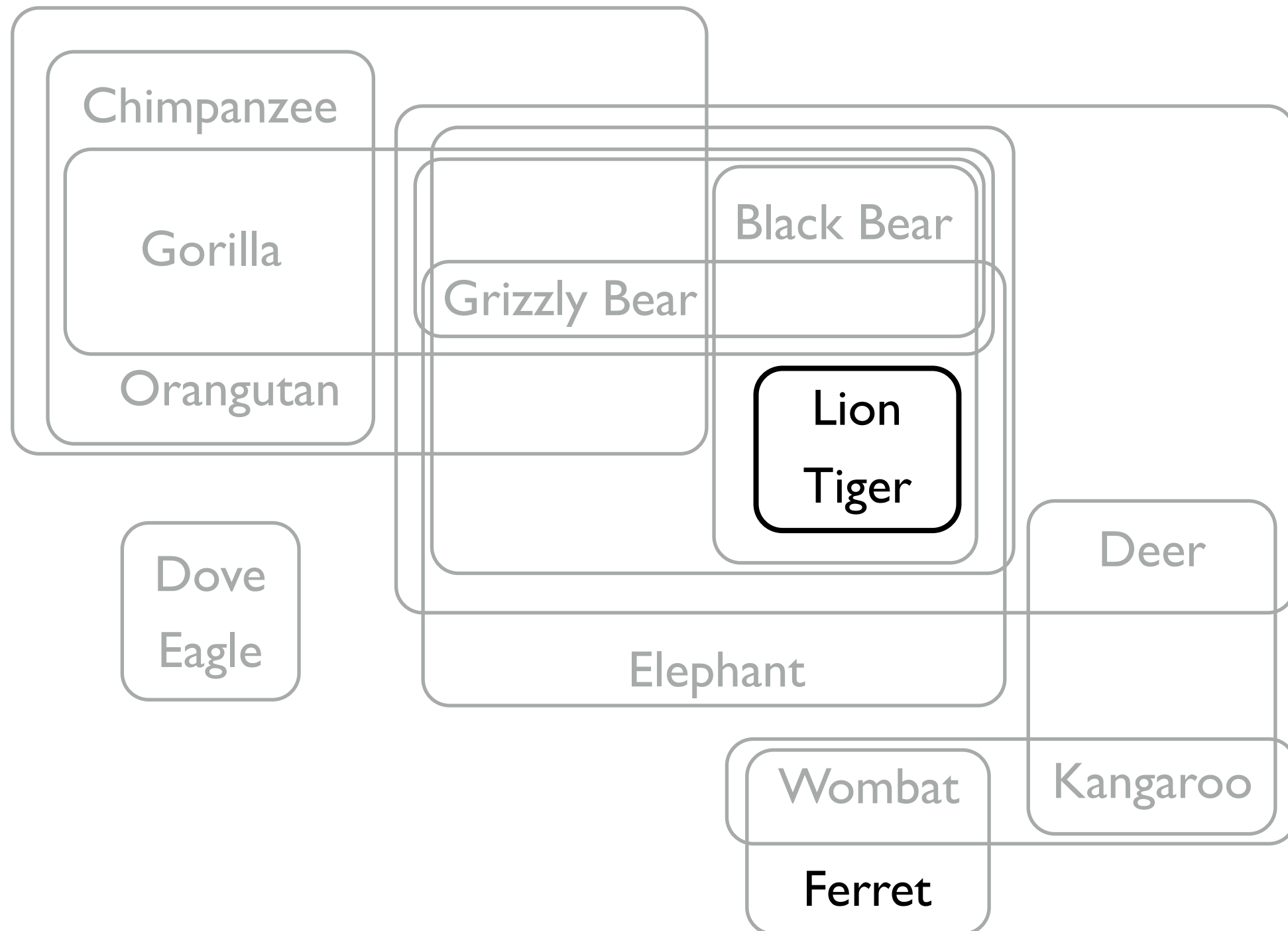


* This illustration only shows a high-weighted sets that contain at least two animals. The actual prior assigned non-zero prior probability to every possible subset of the set of all animals that appeared in the task. Qualitative features of model predictions are robust to the specific choice of prior: anything even semi-reasonable seems to work

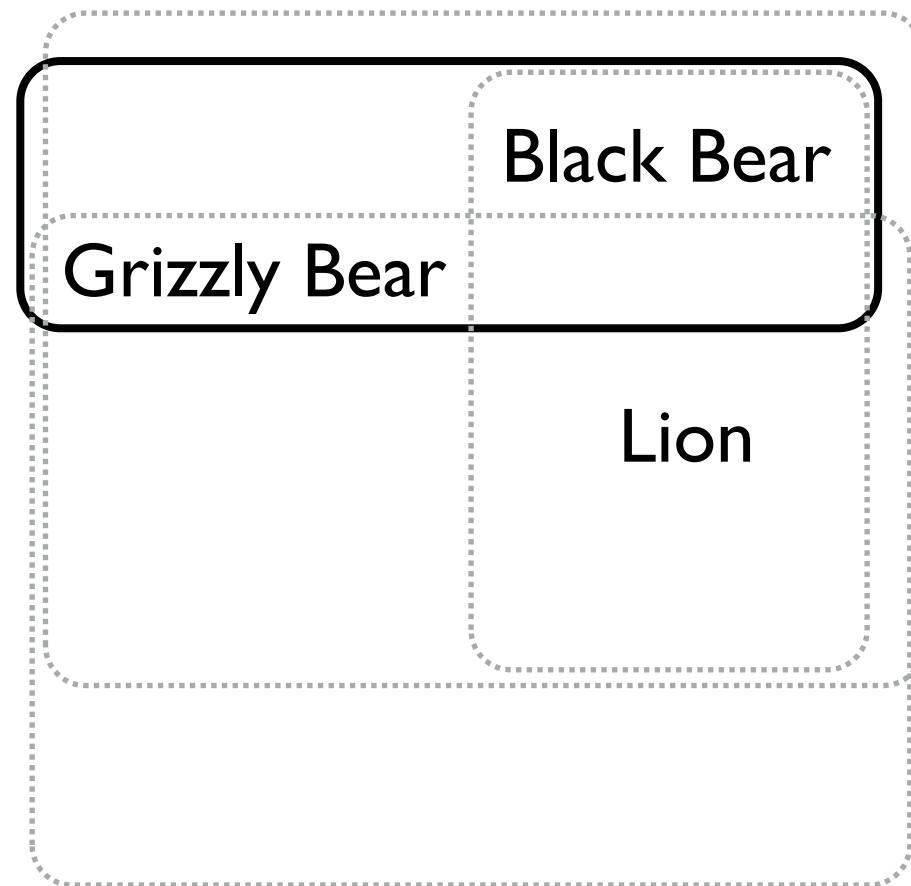
(Chimpanzee, Gorilla, Orangutan)



(Lions, Tigers) but not Ferrets

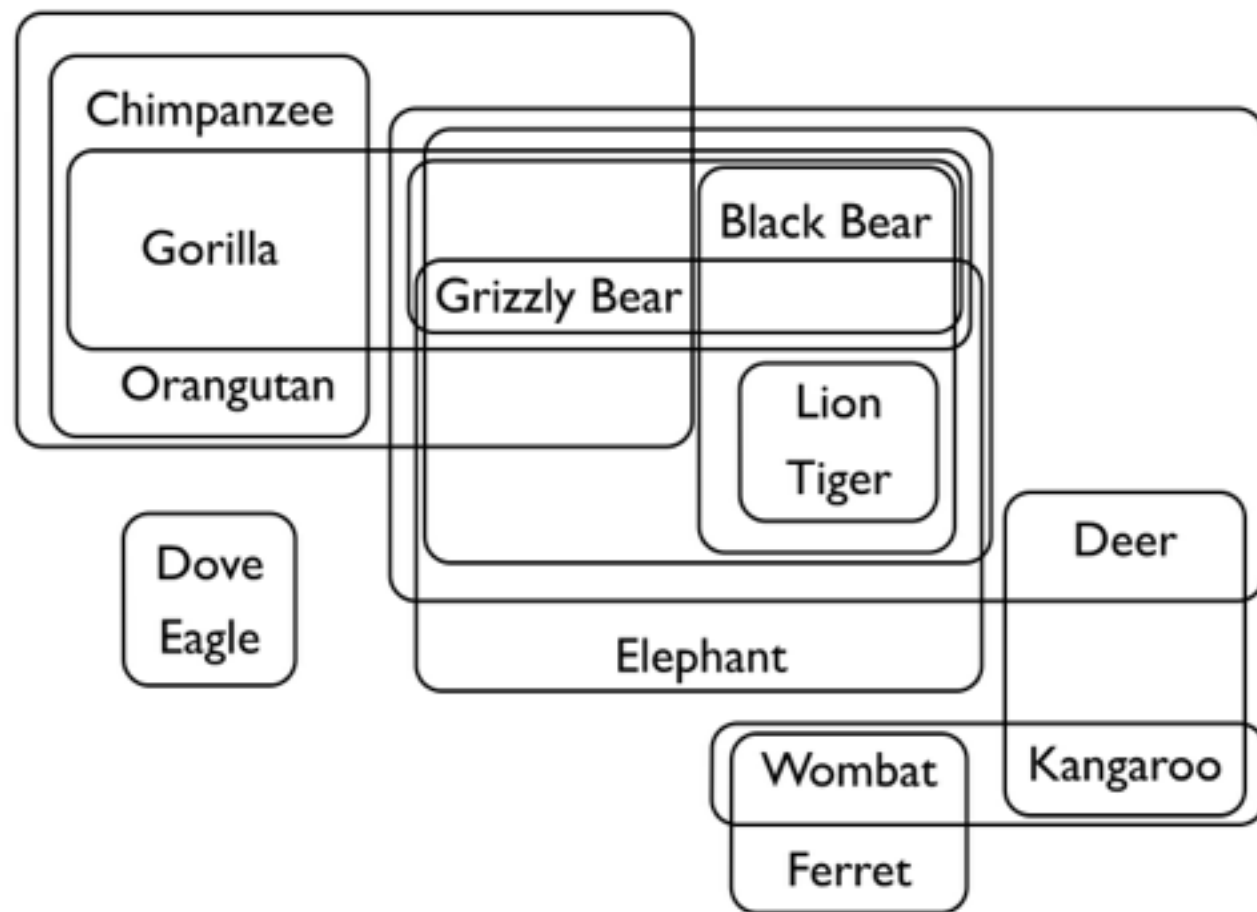


(Grizzly Bears, Black Bears) but not Lions?



There are many high weighted features involving these three, but overall the prior puts the bears together more often

The prior explains why there are structural differences between the targets and the control

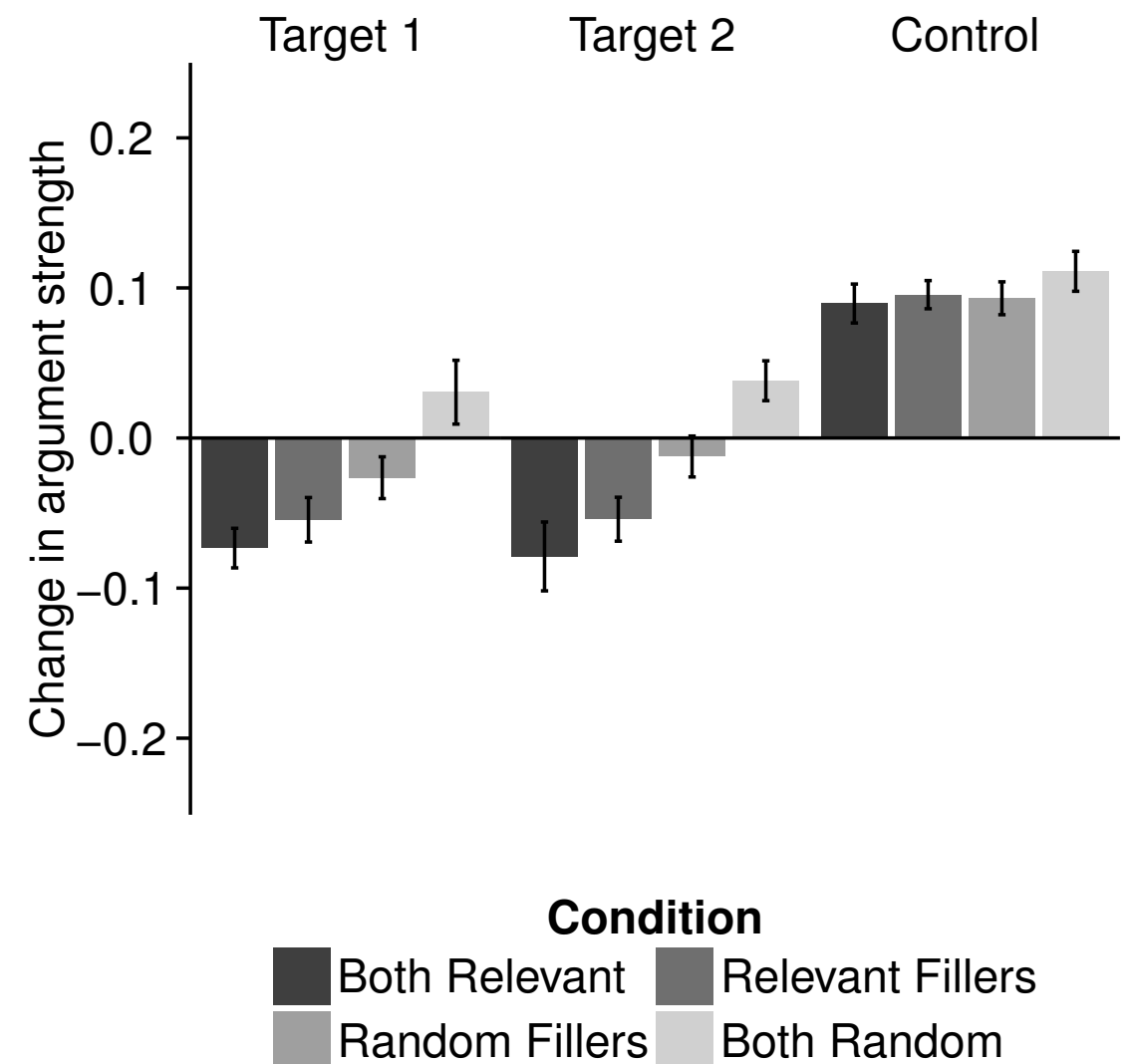


The likelihood describes how “adding more premises” can have different effects across conditions

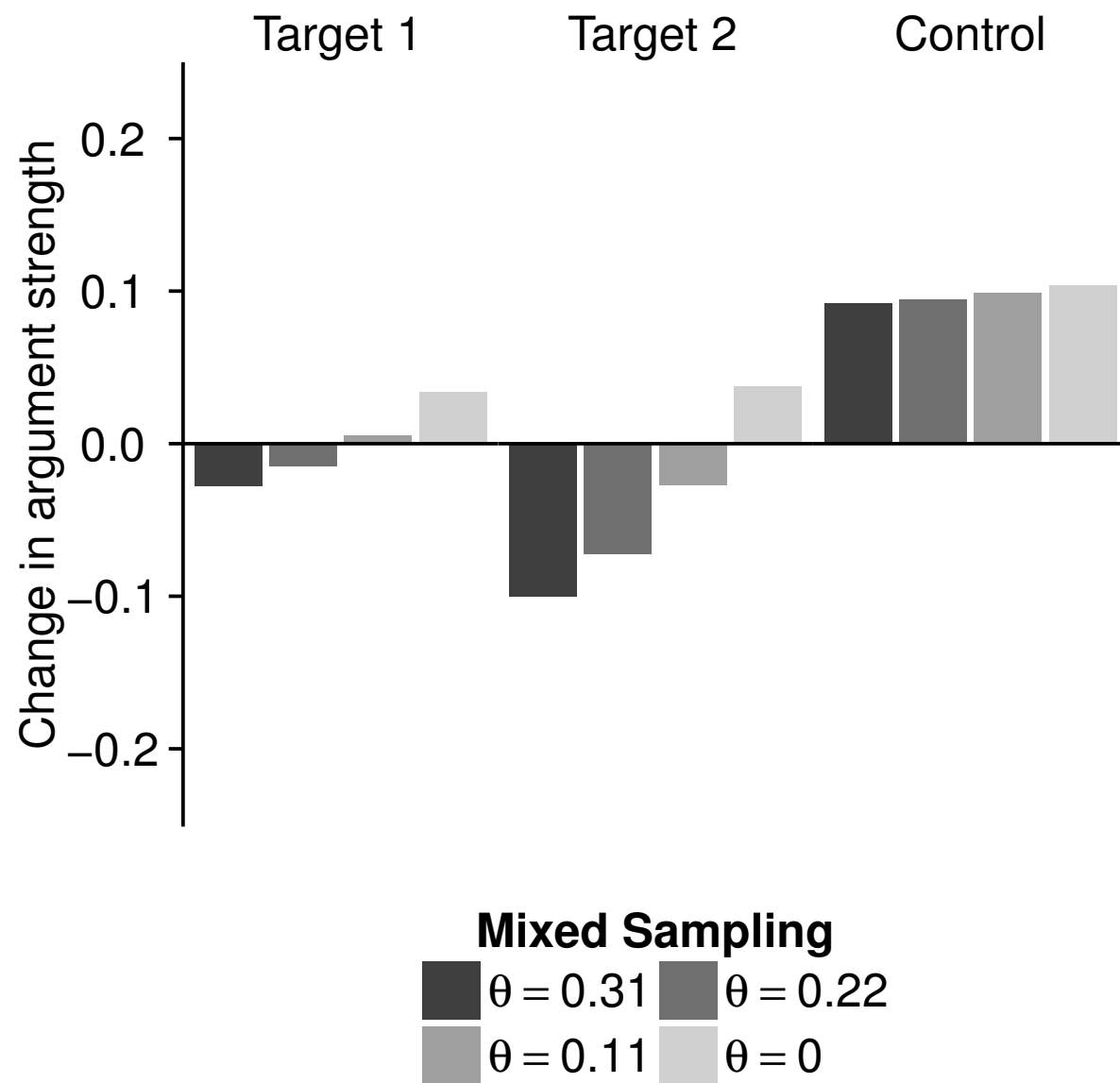


Does the model
work???

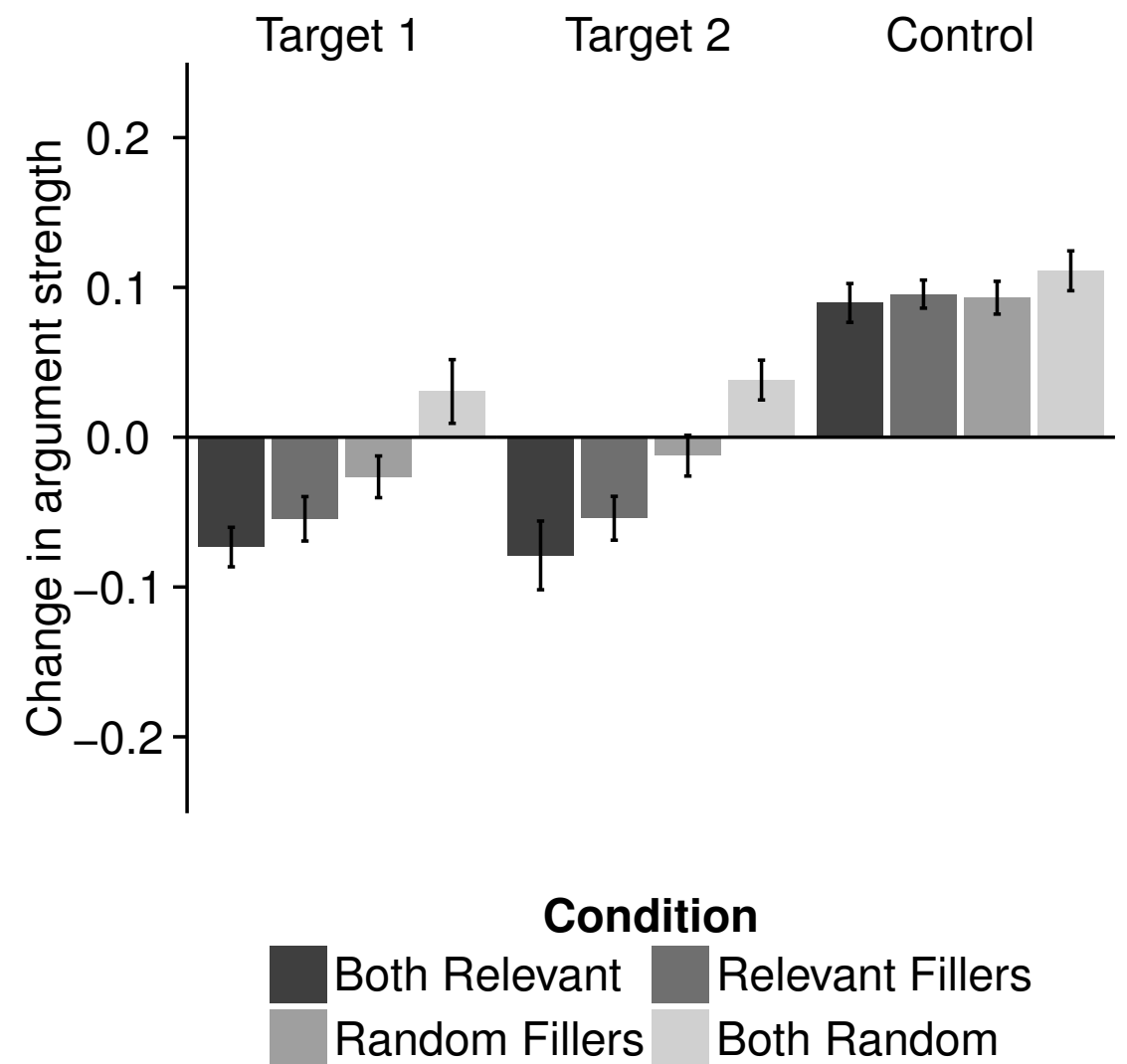
Empirical data



Yep.



Empirical data



- It's not just about the evidence facts provide for a conclusion, it's also about how you think those facts were put together
- Bayesian models explain the reversal as a shift in the sampling assumption
- This is encouraging, so...

How to take a helpful hint...
(the curious power of negative evidence)



Navarro, Dry & Lee (2012). Sampling assumptions in inductive generalization. *Cognitive Science*



Hendrickson, Perfors & Navarro (in preparation). One cat, two cats: Sampling models in different category learning tasks produce qualitatively different inductive generalisations



Ransom, Perfors & Navarro (in press). Leaping to conclusions: Why premise relevance affects argument strength. *Cognitive Science*



Voorspoels, Navarro, Perfors, Ransom & Storms (under revision). How do people learn from negative evidence? Non-monotonic generalizations and sampling assumptions in inductive reasoning. *Cognitive Psychology*

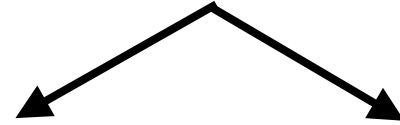


Perfors, Navarro & Shafto (in preparation). Stronger evidence isn't always better: The role of social inference in evidence selection and interpretation. Previously rejected from *JEP:G*

You want to infer whether all ravens are black.
Which of these observations is more helpful?



Law of contraposition makes these
two statements logically equivalent



Raven \rightarrow Black

\neg Black \rightarrow \neg Raven



Okaaaay.... apparently these are the same?

Raven \rightarrow Black

\neg Black \rightarrow \neg Raven



(raven, black)



(\neg black, \neg raven)

(Hempel's paradox)

Raven

¬Raven

Black



¬Black

???



Raven

¬Raven

Black



¬Black

???



Category size/frequency matters, theoretically & empirically

- Positive (labelled) categories are small
 - Oaksford & Chater (1998), Navarro & Perfors (2011), etc.
- Sampling from a small category is more powerful
 - Good (1960), Klayman & Ha (1987), Oaksford & Chater (1998), Navarro & Perfors (2011), Austerweil & Griffiths (2011), etc
- People treat positive evidence as more informative than negative evidence
 - Wason (1960, 1968), many many others...
 - So it all makes sense! And...

Paradox resolved!

A black raven is very
informative



A non-black non-raven has
very modest evidentiary
value



So we'll just some empirical work, with some obviously predictable results...

Mozart produces
alpha waves



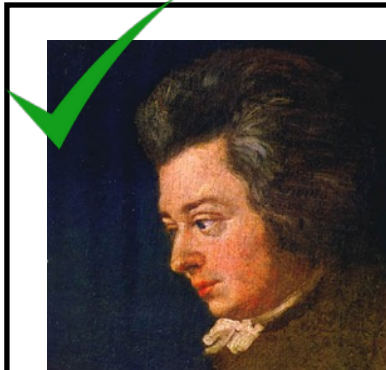
The sound of a falling
rock does not



music

\neg music

alpha



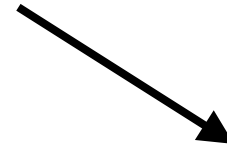
\neg alpha

???

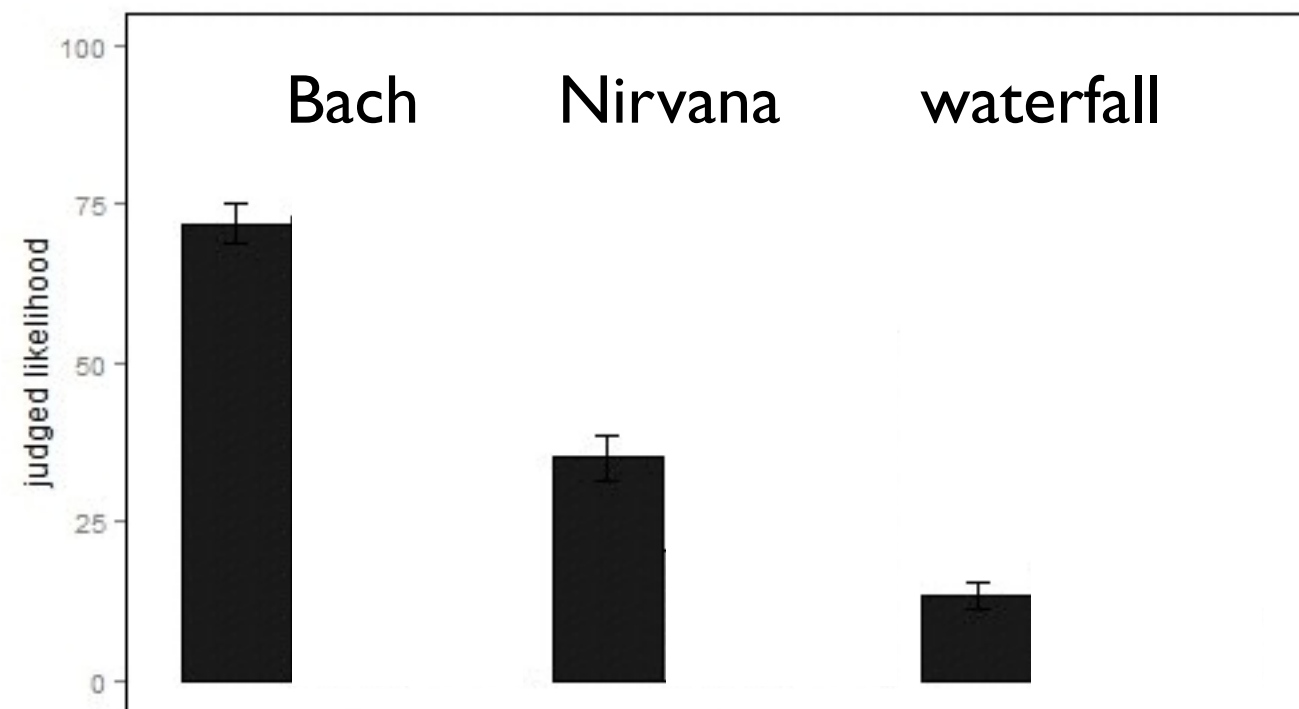


This ought to be about as
utterly useless as the green
shoes thing

Okay, we start by telling people that
Mozart does produce alpha waves...

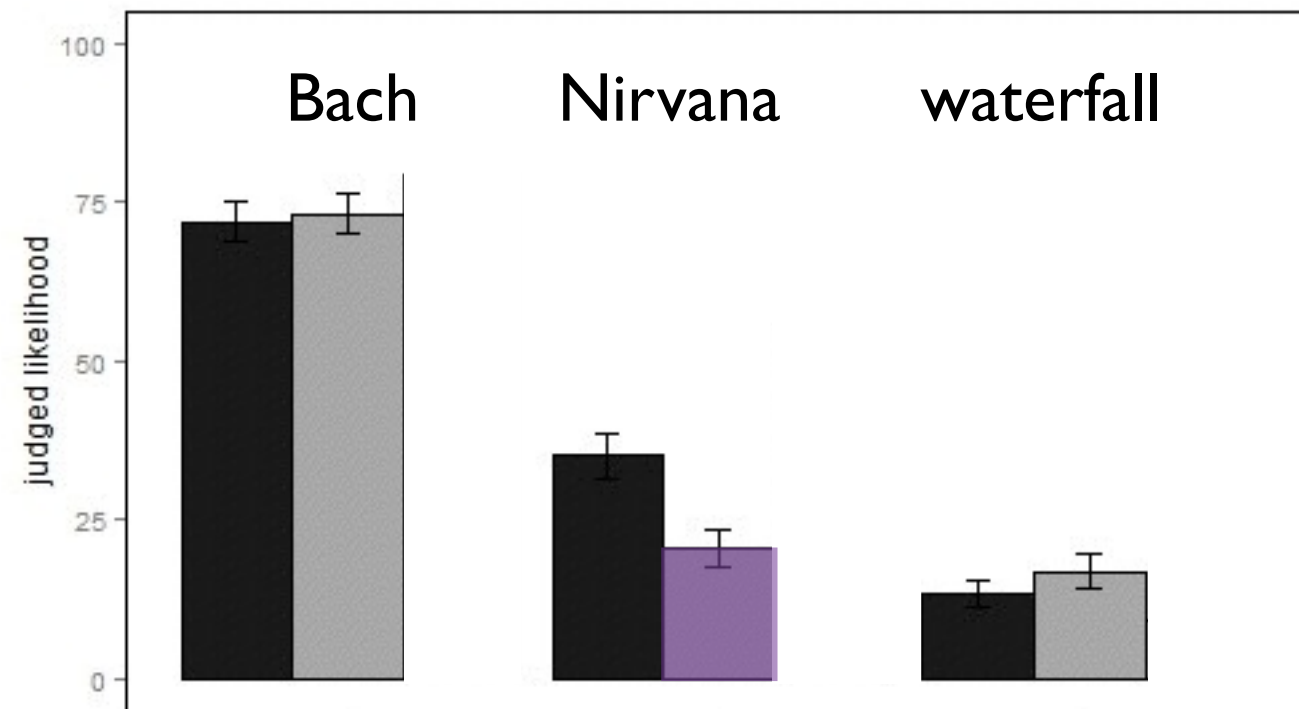


+Mozart



+Mozart

... and they generalise in a way that seems terribly sensible

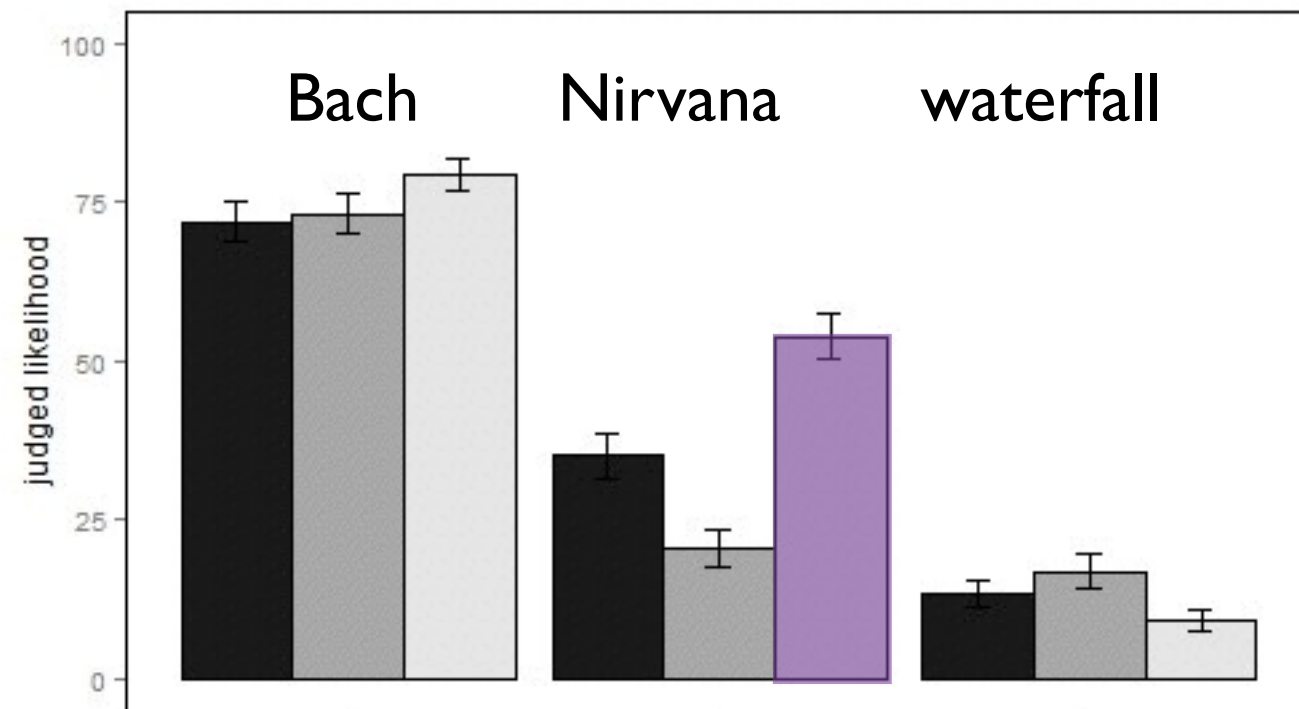


+Mozart



-Metallica

Adding Metallica as a negative example has a modest, sensible effect on inferences about Nirvana



sigh.



+Mozart



-Falling rock



classical music

all music

all sound

three relevant hypotheses for the
extension of the alpha waves property

classical music

+

all music

all sound



positive example of classical
music means people strongly
endorse the narrow category

classical music


+

all music

all sound

-

but add a negative observation
from a distant category and you
get a huge belief revision?

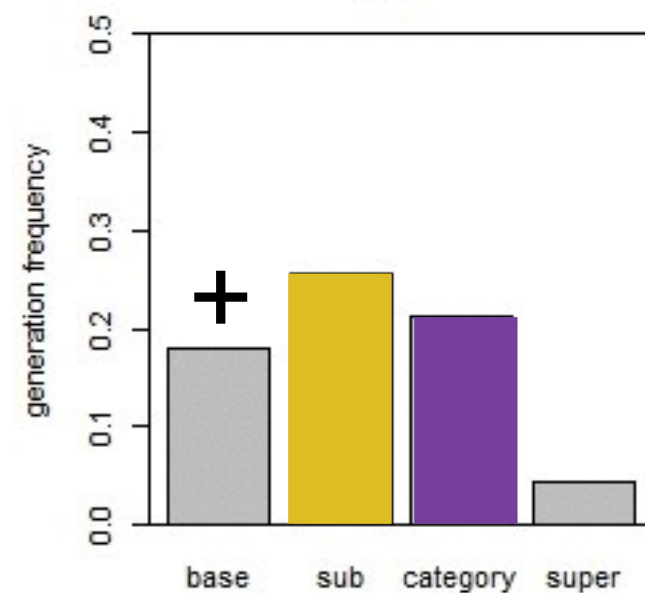


The diagram consists of three nested rounded rectangles. The innermost rectangle is labeled 'classical music' and contains a '+' sign. The middle rectangle is labeled 'all music' and contains the 'classical music' box. The outermost rectangle is labeled 'all sound' and contains the 'all music' box. A '-' sign is located in the 'all sound' box, to the right of the 'all music' box. An upward-pointing arrow originates from the text 'but add a negative observation from a distant category and you get a huge belief revision?' and points to the '-' sign.



Apparently people make a
(pragmatic?) inference that the
negative observation is used to
demarcate the category boundary

Well, let's ask them what they think the true extension of the property is...

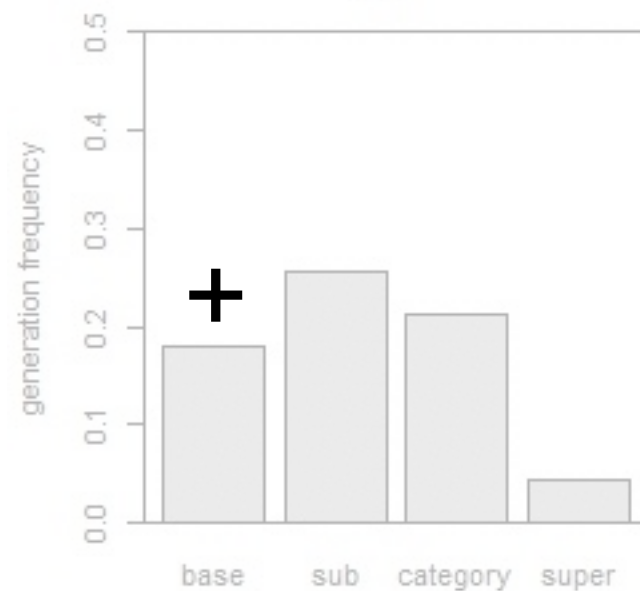


just Mozart
classical music
all music
all sounds

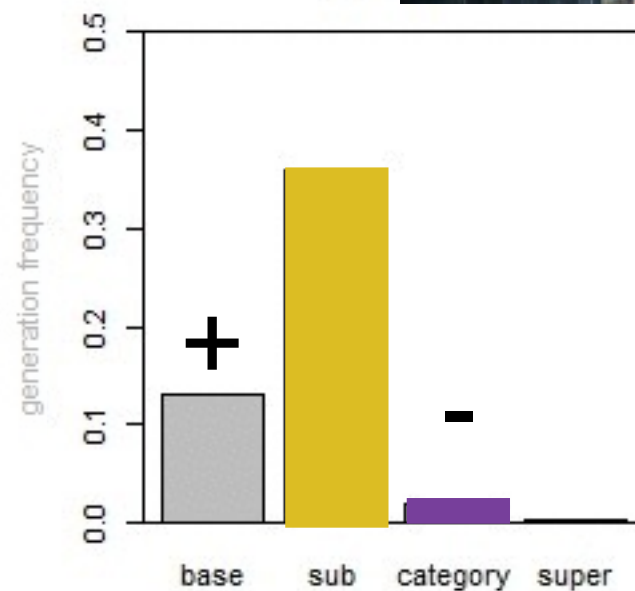
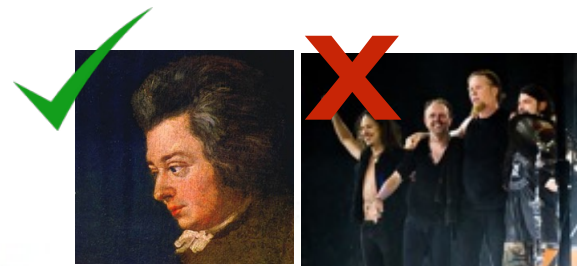
Well, let's ask them what they think the true extension of the property is...

Mozart+

A⁺



just Mozart
classical music
all music
all sounds



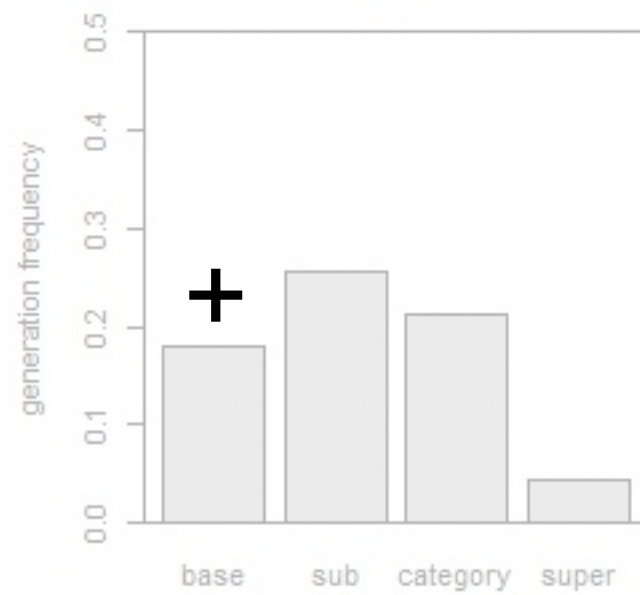
just Mozart
classical music
all music
all sounds

Yep



Mozart+

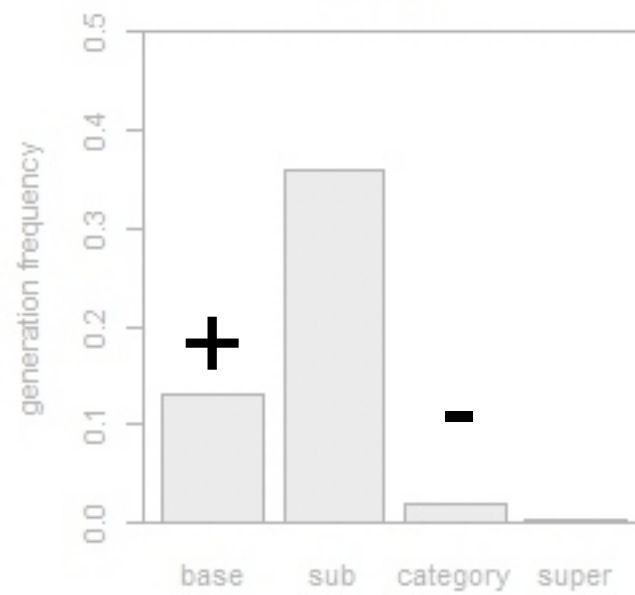
A^+



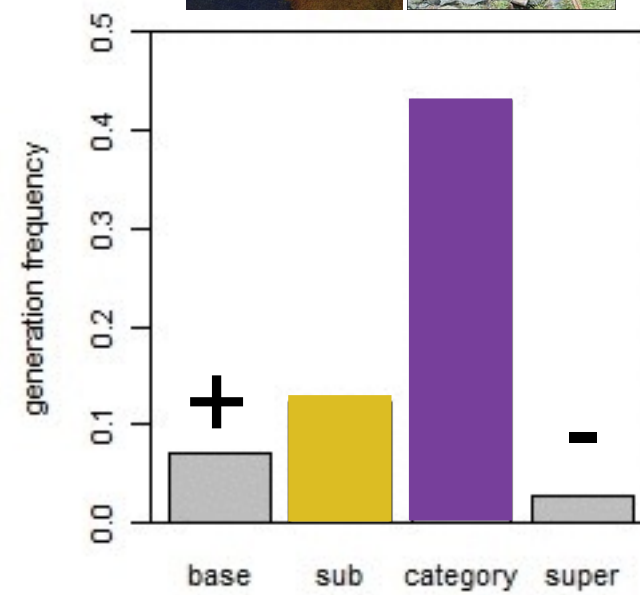
just Mozart
classical music
all music
all sounds

Mozart+ Metallica-

$A^+ B^-$

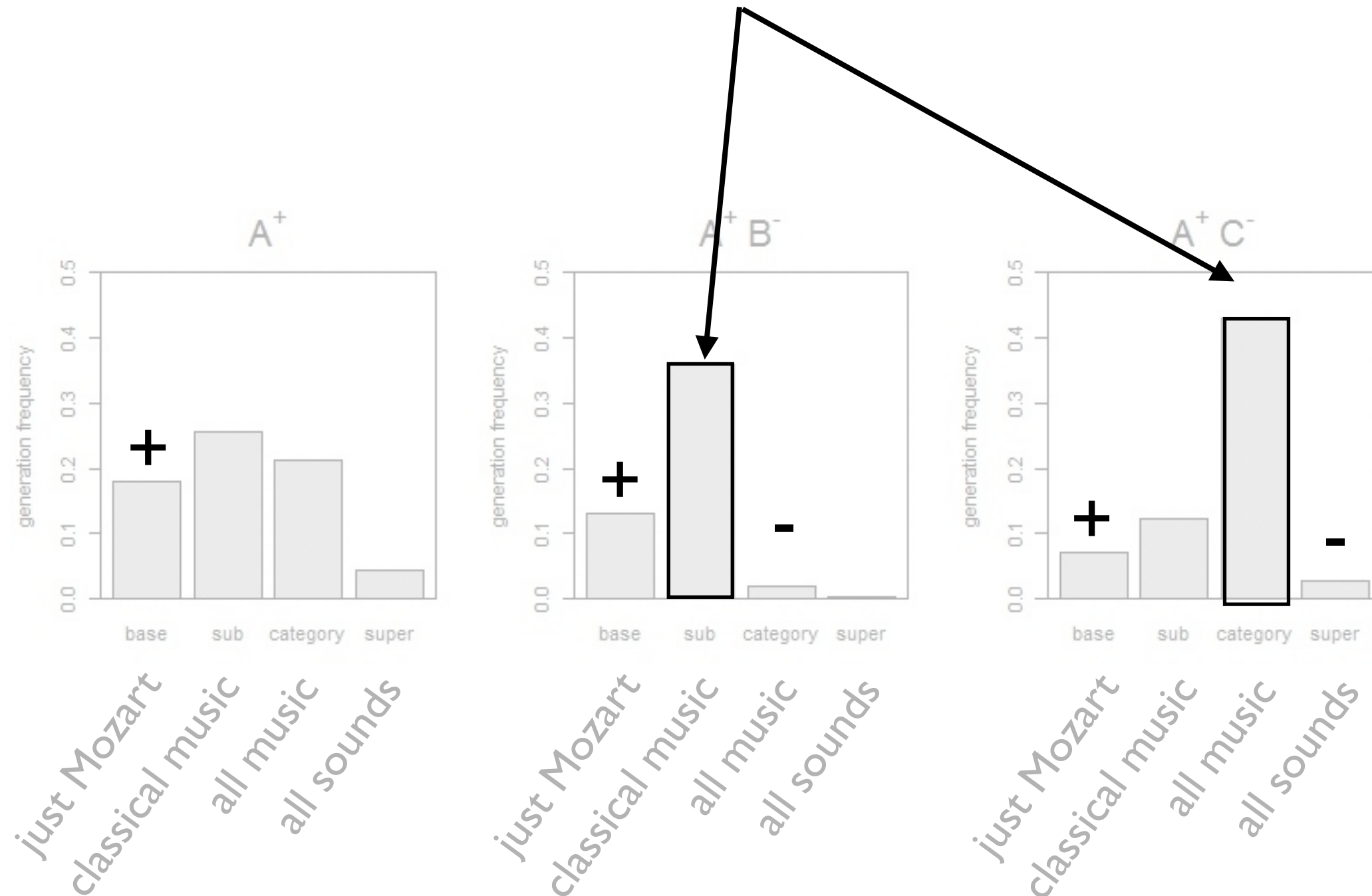


just Mozart
classical music
all music
all sounds



just Mozart
classical music
all music
all sounds

The negative observation shifts
belief to the largest category
that excludes it



(aside: the actual experiment
used many different arguments)

topic	premises			conclusions		
	subcat A	subcat B	cat C	A-member	B-member	C-member
MUSIC	Mozart	Metallica	falling rock	Bach	Nirvana	waterfall
PAINTERS	Rubens	Dahli	woodcarver	Van Eyck	Warhol	sculpturer
PUBLIC FIGURES	actors	librarians	moles	politicians	programmers	pheasants
SHIPS	freight ships	hovercrafts	cars	cruise ships	sail boats	rocks
GLASS	window glass	bottle glass	art glass	car glass	drinking glass	jewelry glass
DISPLAYS	LCD	television	paintings	plasma	traffic signs	book page
WATER BODIES	Atlantic	Balaton	mustard gass	Mediterranean	Silverlake	olive oil
WIND	flute	guitar	crying child	clarinet	violin	door
FRUIT	strawberries	banana's	grass blades	cranberries	apples	oak leafs
WATER BIRDS	ducks	sparrows	elephants	seagulls	blackbirds	camels
INSECTS	moths	spiders	lizzards	flies	centipede	goldfish
POLAR ANIMALS	polar bears	deer	sow bug	pinguins	parakeet	ant

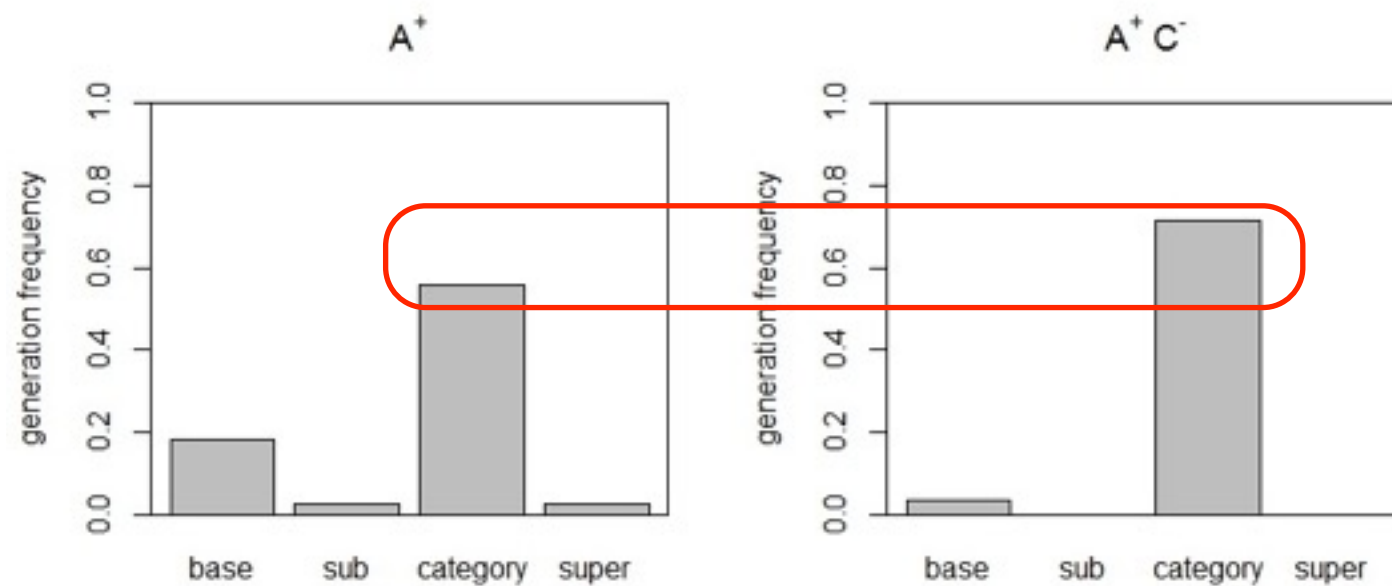
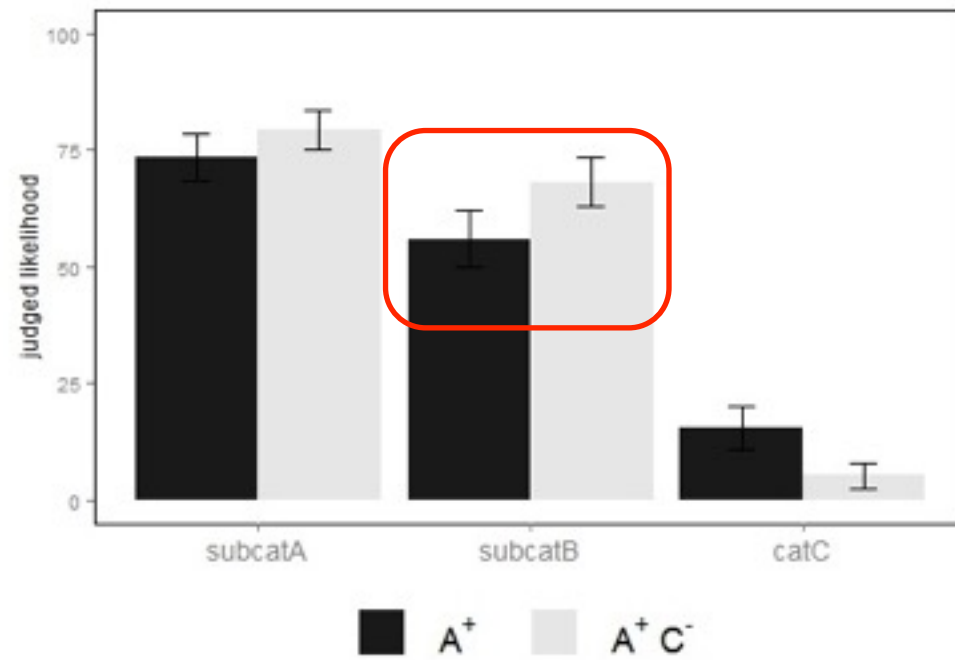
(aside: the actual experiment
used many different arguments)

topic	premises			conclusions		
	subcat A	subcat B	cat C	A-member	B-member	C-member
MUSIC	Mozart	Metallica	falling rock	Bach	Nirvana	waterfall
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WATER BODIES	Atlantic	Balaton	mustard gass	Mediterranean	Silverlake	olive oil
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INSECTS	moths	spiders	lizzards	flies	centipede	goldfish
POLAR ANIMALS	polar bears	deer	sow bug	pinguins	parakeet	ant

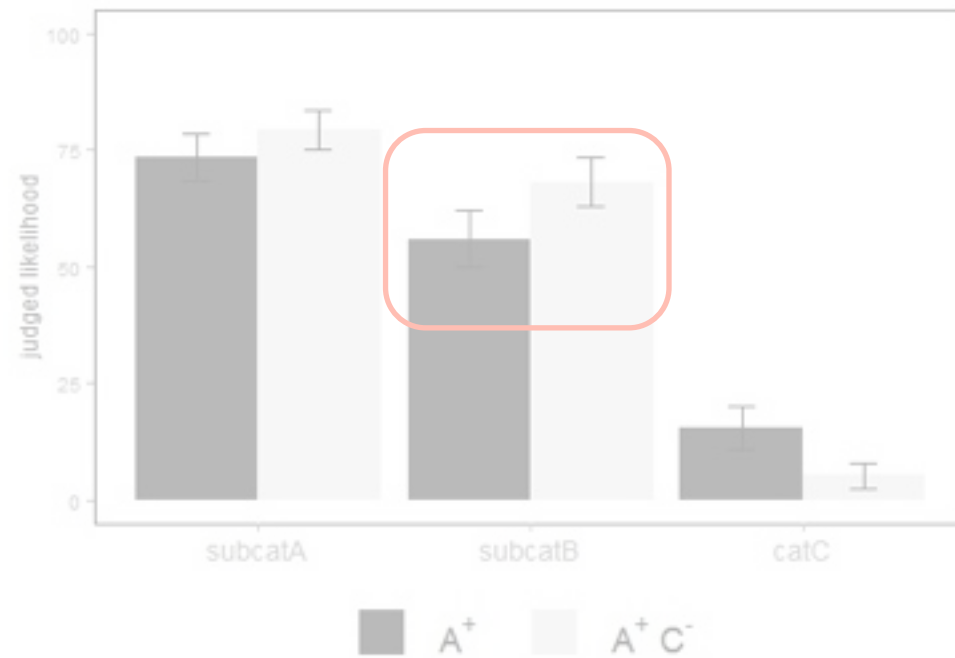
plus we ran an entire pseudo-
replication with different items

topic	premises		A-member	conclusions	
	subcat A	cat C		B-member	C-member
MAMMALS	dog (+)	magpie (-)	wolf	donkey	blackbird
BIRDS	crow (+)	tuna fish (-)	raven	swan	halibot
FISH	salmon (+)	lizzard (-)	codfish	goldfish	snake
INSECTS	bee (+)	sparrow (-)	ant	cricket	pigeon

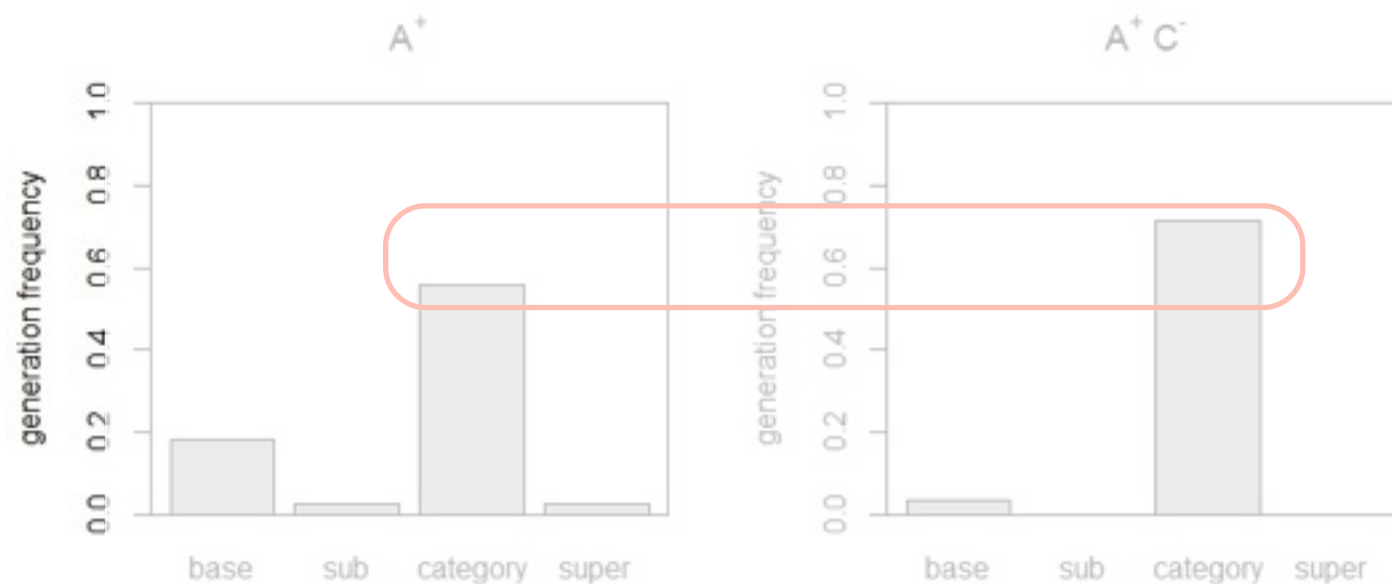
(and yes, the replication worked)



(and yes, the replication worked)

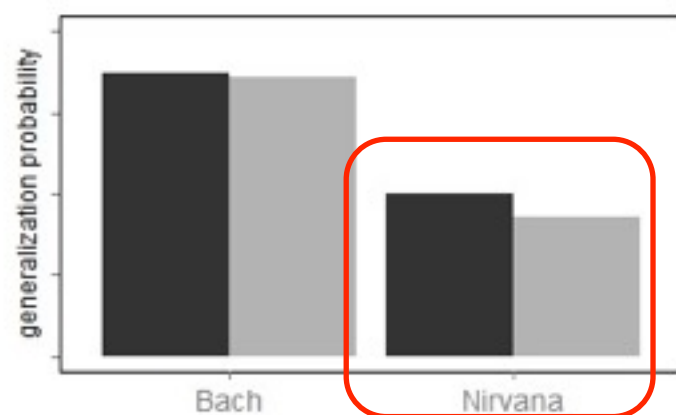


The big question is how to account for the results...

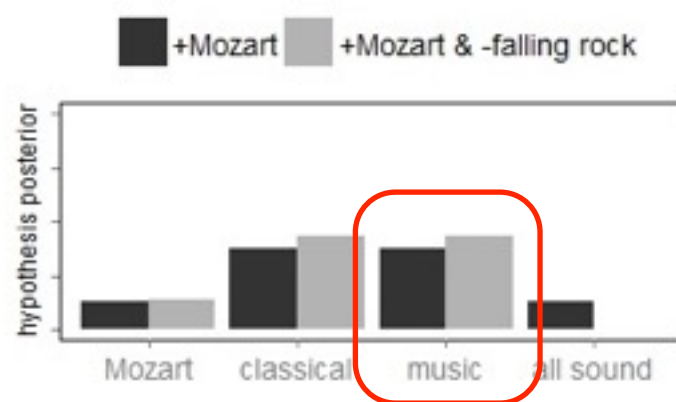


Does the **weak sampling** model capture the effect?

Weak sampling

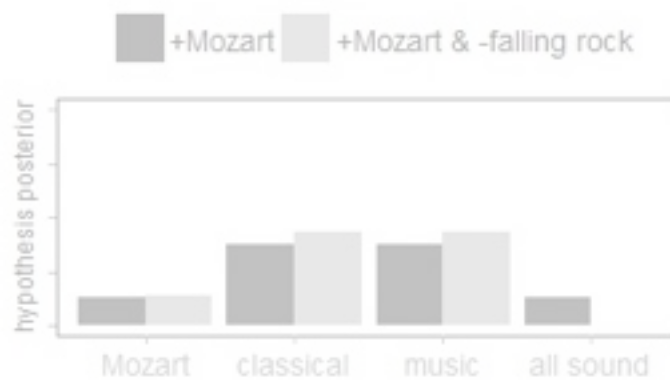
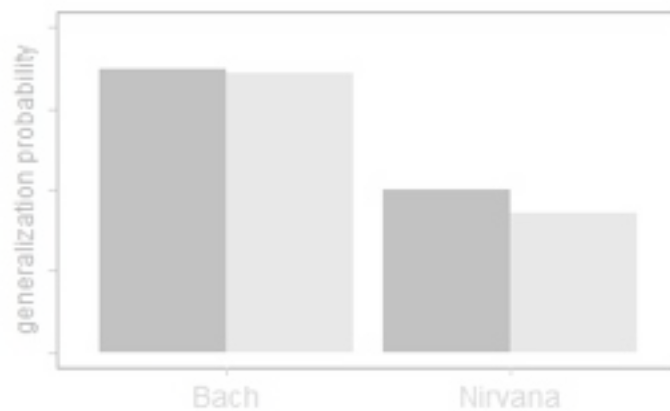


← Nope.

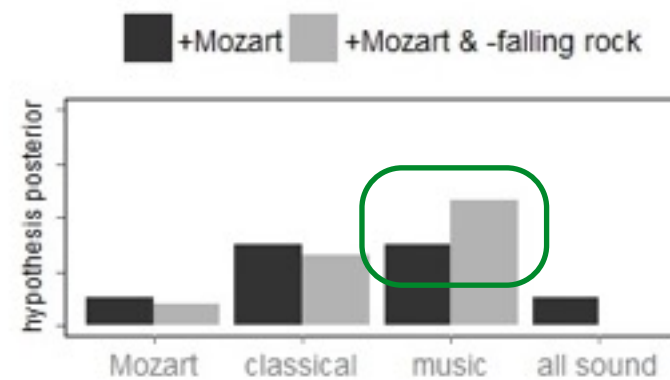
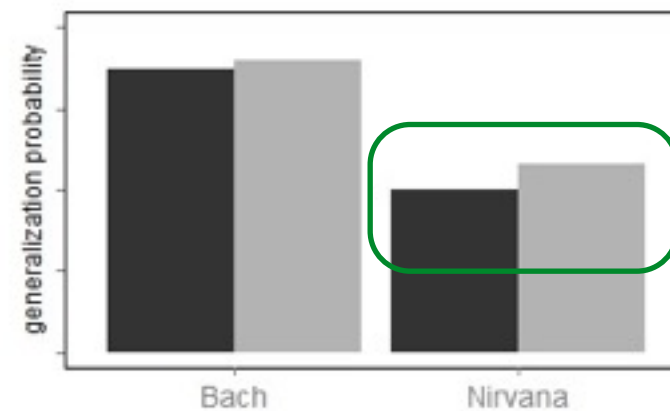


Okay, does the “strong sampling” model capture the effect?

Weak sampling



Strong sampling

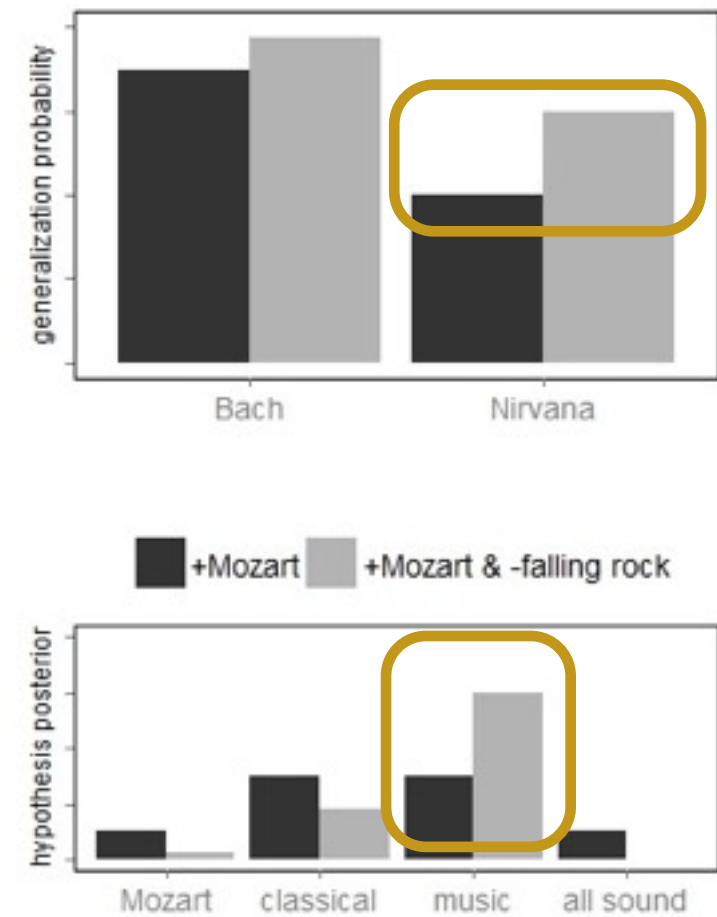


← Meh.

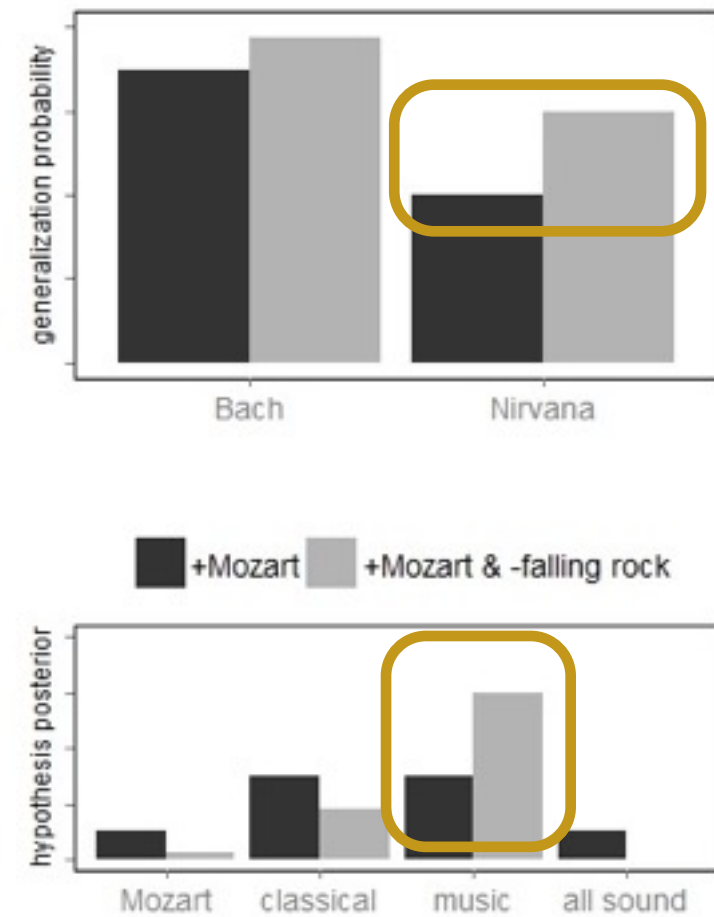


(Out-Bayesing Bayes??!)

Here's a model that gets the
effect size right...



But we're going to
need a bigger hat.



Weak sampling



An argument consists of random true statements about the world

Weak sampling



An argument consists of random true statements about the world

Strong sampling



An argument consists of randomly selected facts particular to a target category

Weak sampling



An argument consists of random true statements about the world

Strong sampling



An argument consists of randomly selected facts particular to a target category

Pedagogical /
persuasive
sampling



An argument consists of purposefully chosen facts designed to convince an intelligent reasoner of the truth of some proposition

$$P(x|h) \propto P(h|x)^\alpha$$

The data x
selected by the
communicator...

... is designed to
maximise the
learner's posterior
degree of belief in
hypothesis h

If that's right, then the same manipulation we used in the previous study should work...

If the negative example is perceived as a “helpful hint” we should continue to get the effect



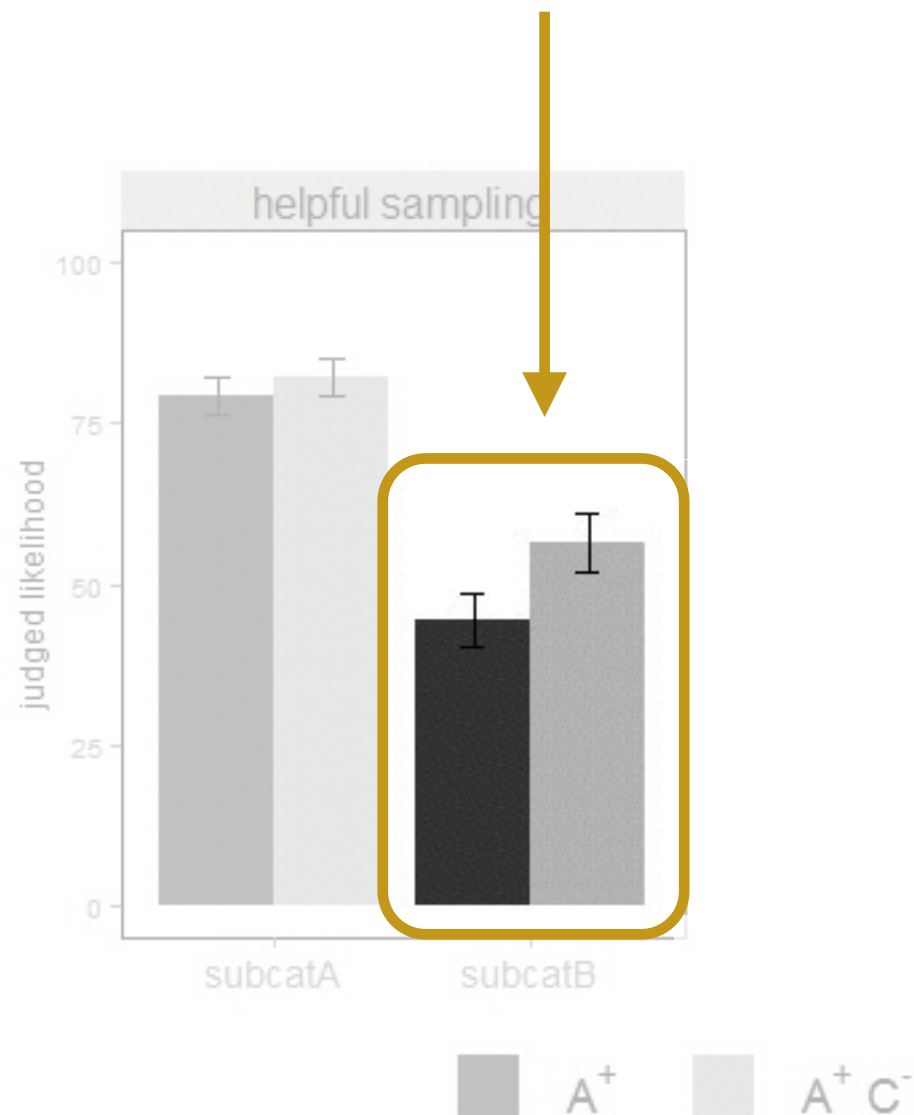
If it is construed as an arbitrary fact, the effect should vanish



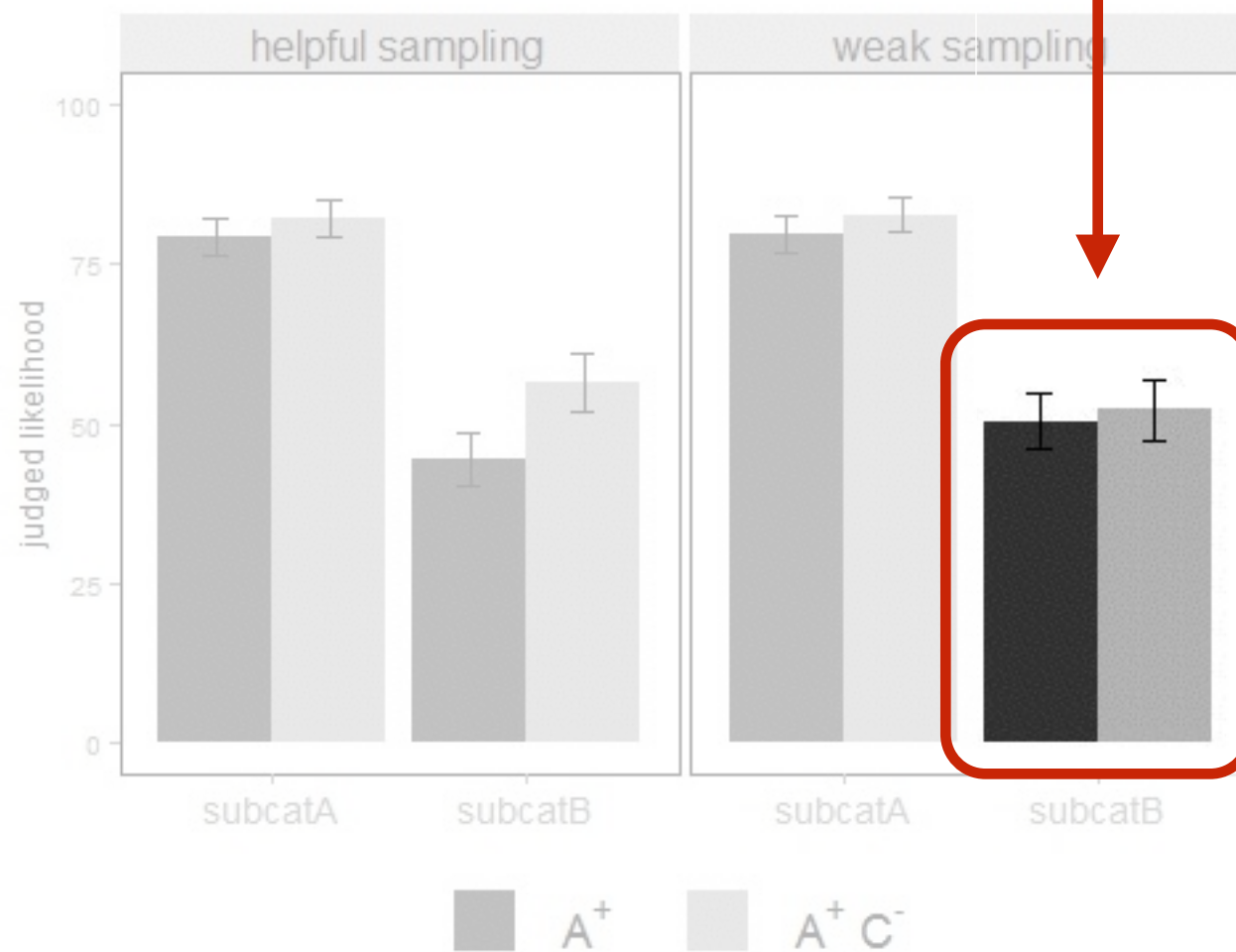
	topics		A-member	B-member
	premise 1 (+)	premise 2 (-)		
MUSIC	Mozart	waterfall	Bach	Nirvana
FRUIT	strawberries	grass blades	blackberry	apple
BIRDS	ducks	elephants	swan	blackbird
TYPES OF WATER	Atlantic ocean	tap water	Mediterranean	Lake Balaton
fillers weak sampling				
	premise 1	premise 2	conclusion 1	conclusion 2
EXAMPLE	sheep (+)	dogs (-)	horses	chickens
TRIAL 1	aluminium (+)	lead (+)	copper	tin
TRIAL 2	Earth (+)	weather satelite (-)	Uranus	Sun
FILLER	physicists (+)	engineers (+)	mathematicians	carpenters
FILLER	cobras (+)	iguanas (-)	pythons	sea turtles
fillers helpful sampling				
	premise 1	premise 2	conclusion 1	conclusion 2
EXAMPLE	sheep (+)	cows (+)	horses	pigs
TRIAL 1	aluminium (+)	brass (-)	copper	lead
TRIAL 2	Earth (+)	Mars (+)	Uranus	Sun
FILLER	cobras (+)	pythons (-)	vipers	anacondas
FILLER	physicists (+)	mathematicians (+)	chemists	carpenters

200 participants on MTurk

Negative evidence framed as a “hint”
produces the effect



Arbitrary negative evidence does not



- The social aspect to inductive reasoning is central
 - By default, people seem to “read” an inductive argument as if it were put together for a purpose
- Pedagogical sampling as normative standard
 - In real life, arguments aren't collections of facts
 - They're acts of persuasion
 - If so, shouldn't “normative” accounts reflect that?



Let's make the social aspect explicit:

The role of goals and social reasoning
when aggregating expert opinions



Navarro, Dry & Lee (2012). Sampling assumptions in inductive generalization. *Cognitive Science*



Hendrickson, Perfors & Navarro (in preparation). One cat, two cats: Sampling models in different category learning tasks produce qualitatively different inductive generalisations



Ransom, Perfors & Navarro (in press). Leaping to conclusions: Why premise relevance affects argument strength. *Cognitive Science*



Voorspoels, Navarro, Perfors, Ransom & Storms (under revision). How do people learn from negative evidence? Non-monotonic generalizations and sampling assumptions in inductive reasoning. *Cognitive Psychology*



Perfors, Navarro & Shafto (in preparation). Stronger evidence isn't always better: The role of social inference in evidence selection and interpretation. Previously rejected from *JEP:G*

**You're a journalist writing an article about
expert opinions about climate change...**

You're a journalist writing an article about expert opinions about climate change...



93% likely



95% likely



97% likely



92% likely



99% likely



91% likely



89% likely

You're a journalist writing an article about expert opinions about climate change...



93% likely



95% likely



97% likely



5% likely



92% likely



99% likely



91% likely



89% likely



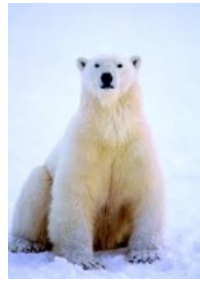
93



95



97



92



99



91



89



5

Here's your full
distribution of
expert opinion

Your editor says the article only has room for
(at most) three quotes. Who to choose??



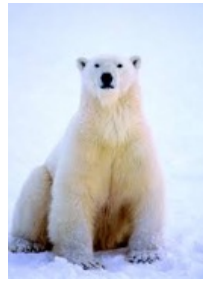
93



95



97



92



99



91



89



5



99



93



91

Do you quote only from the consensus?



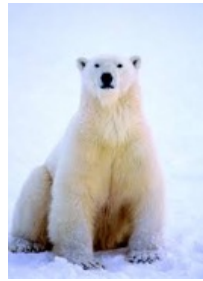
93



95



97



92



99



91



89



5



99

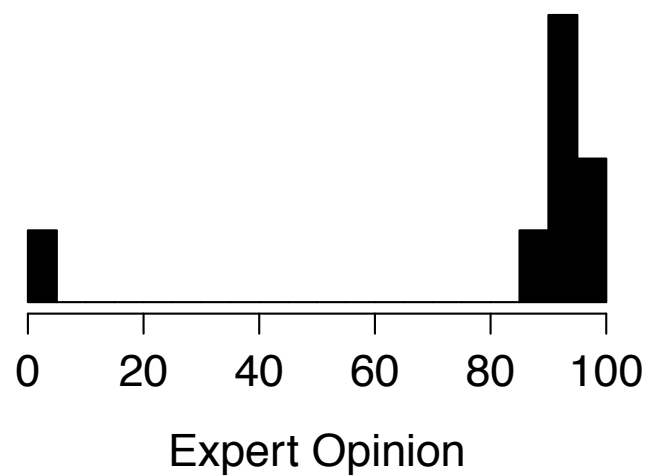


93

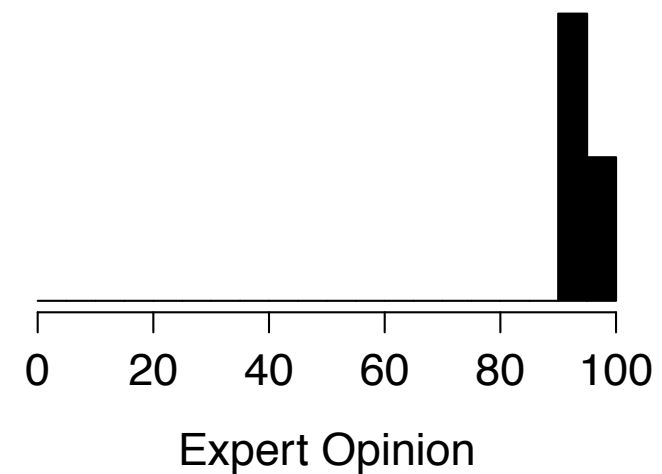


91

Full Distribution



Quoted Distribution



(maximises distributional similarity)



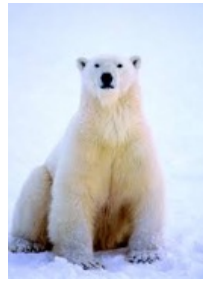
93



95



97



92



99



91



89



5



99



93



5

Or do you include the dissenter?



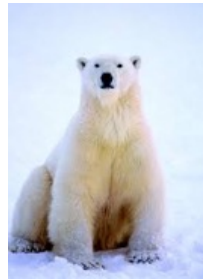
93



95



97



92



99



91



89



5



99

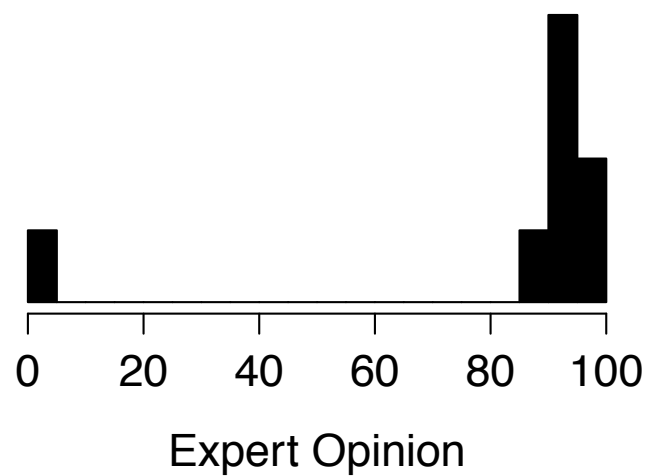


93

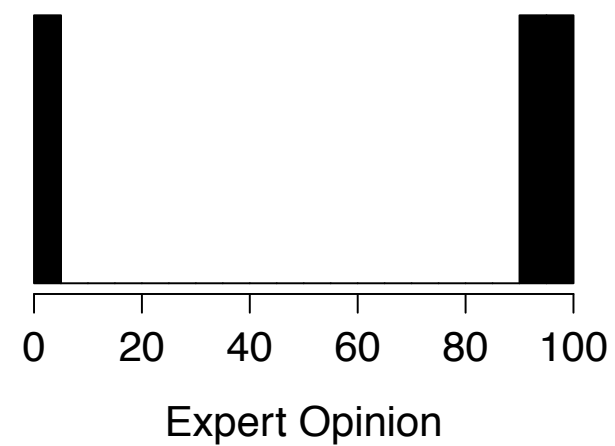


5

Full Distribution

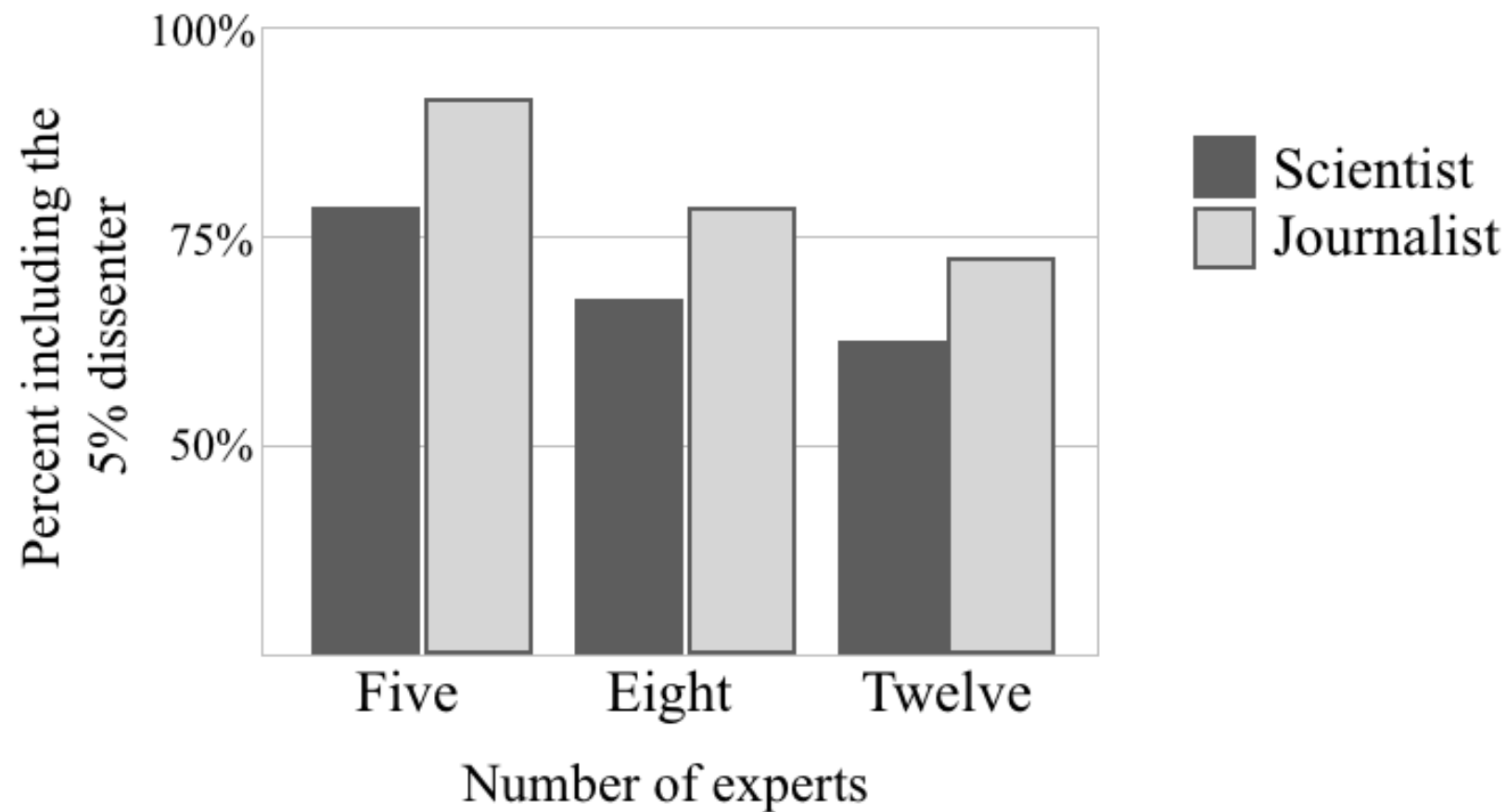


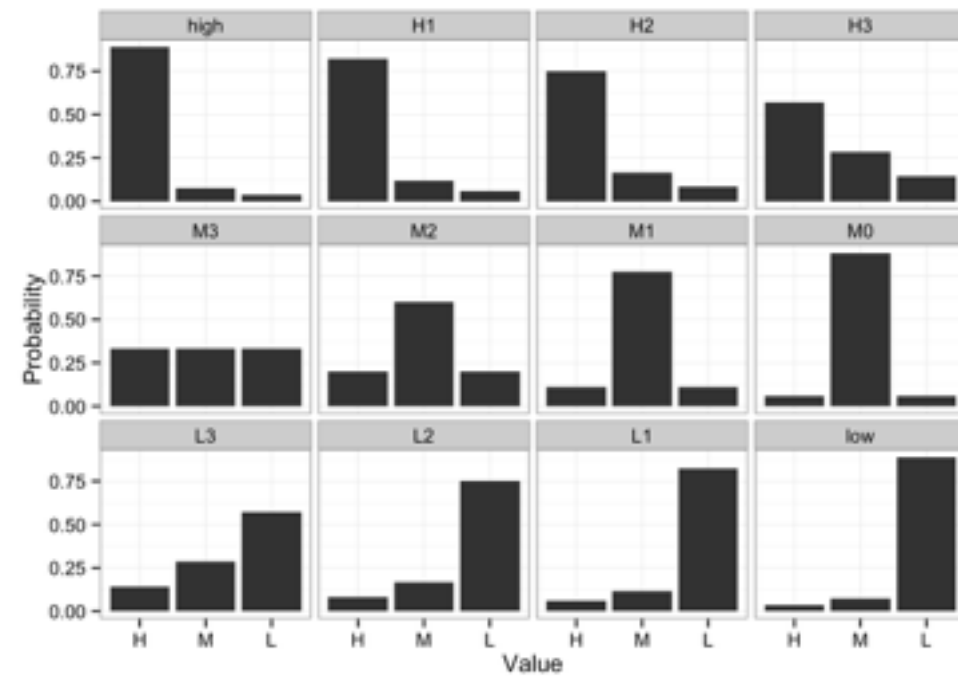
Quoted Distribution



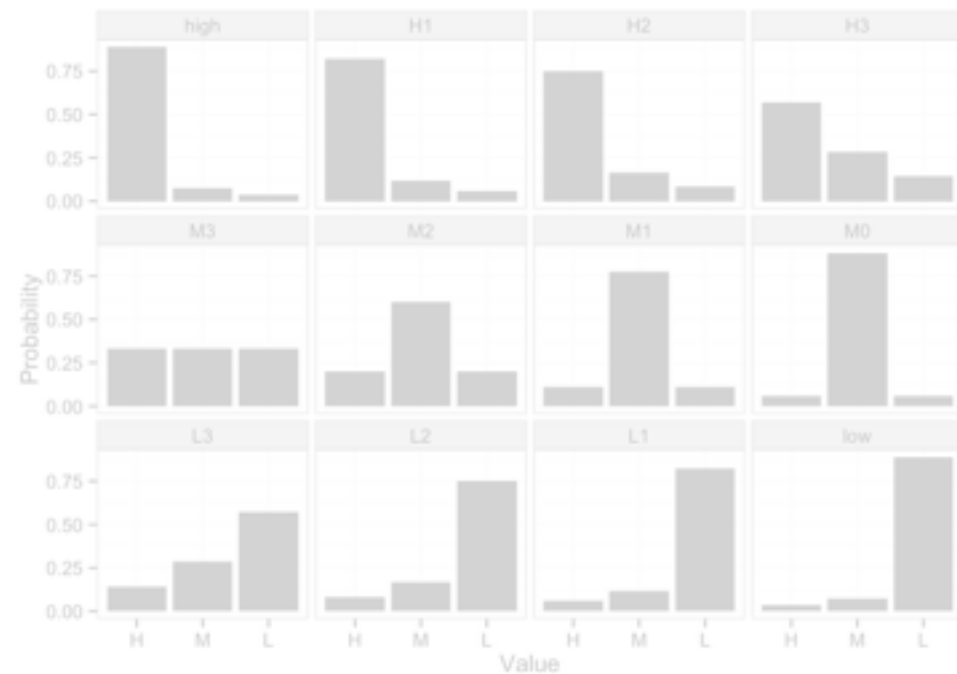
(“full spectrum” but terrible approximation)

Some empirical data. Even when outnumbered 11 to 1, most people choose to quote the contrarian.





A hypothesis space
of possible expert
distributions



A hypothesis space
of possible expert
distributions

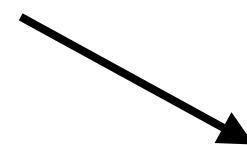
A hypothesis space
of possible
journalistic agendas

“Helpful”

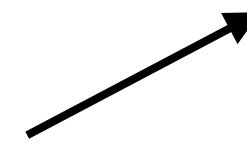


Communicate the
true distribution

“Bias high”



“Bias low”



Communicate a
distribution with
highest/lowest mean

Select evidence to manipulate
the reader's beliefs



Bayesian writer



Bayesian reader

Select evidence to manipulate
the reader's beliefs



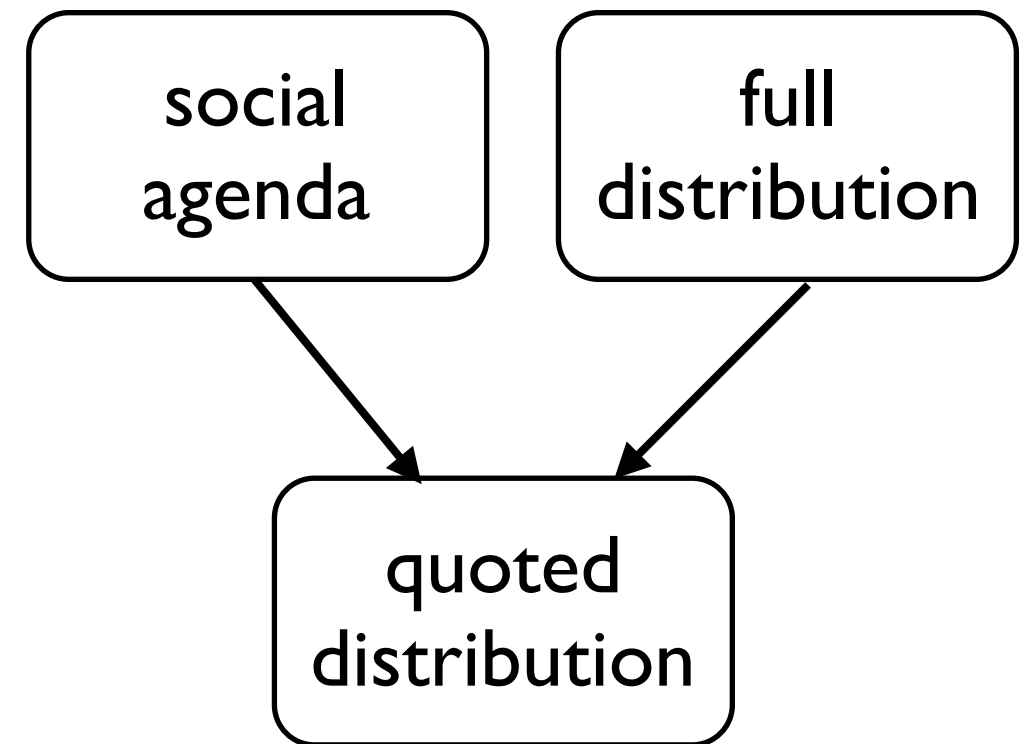
Bayesian writer



Bayesian reader

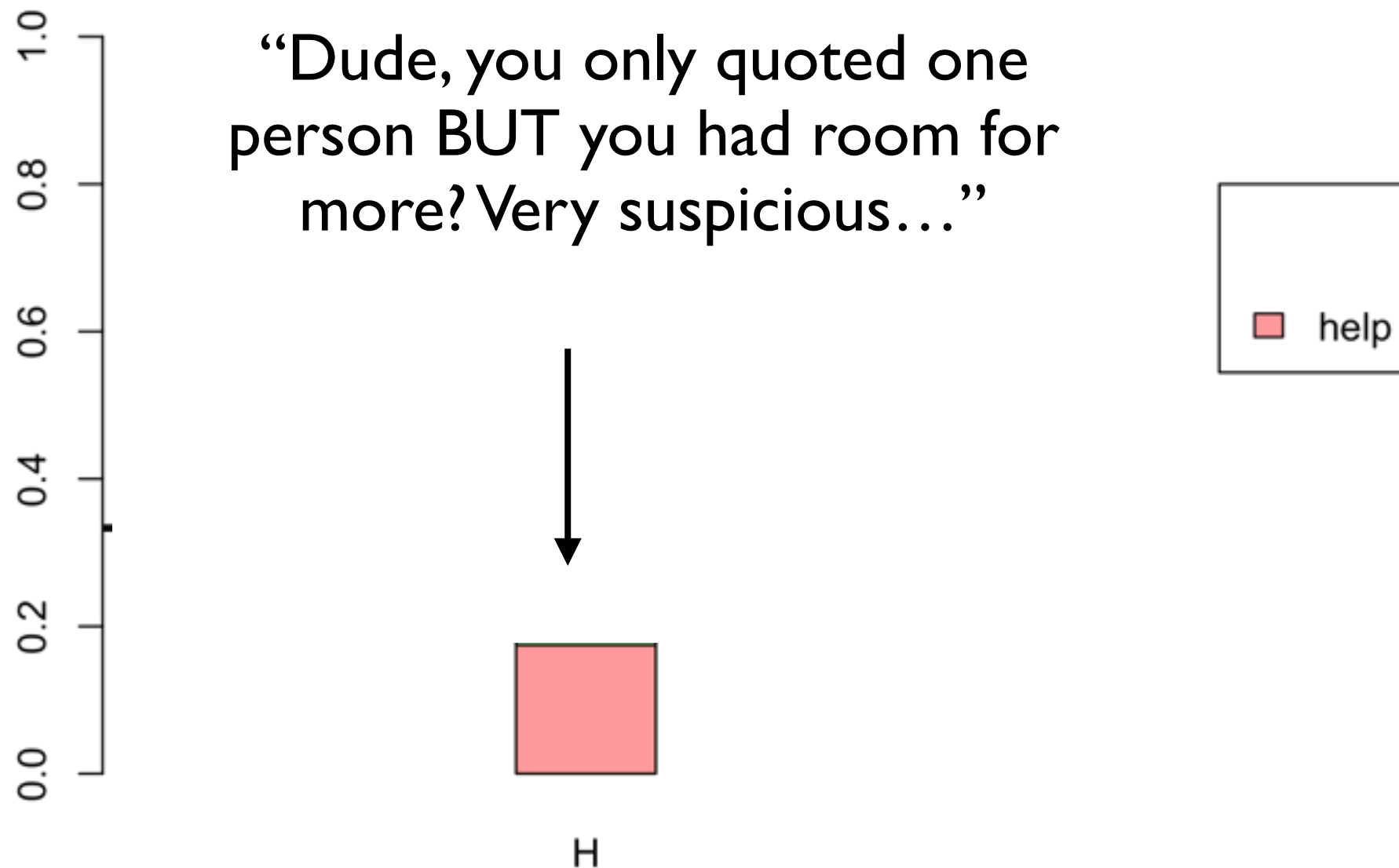
Guess the true distribution AND
infer the journalistic agenda

So what does a Bayesian reader infer about the Bayesian writer?

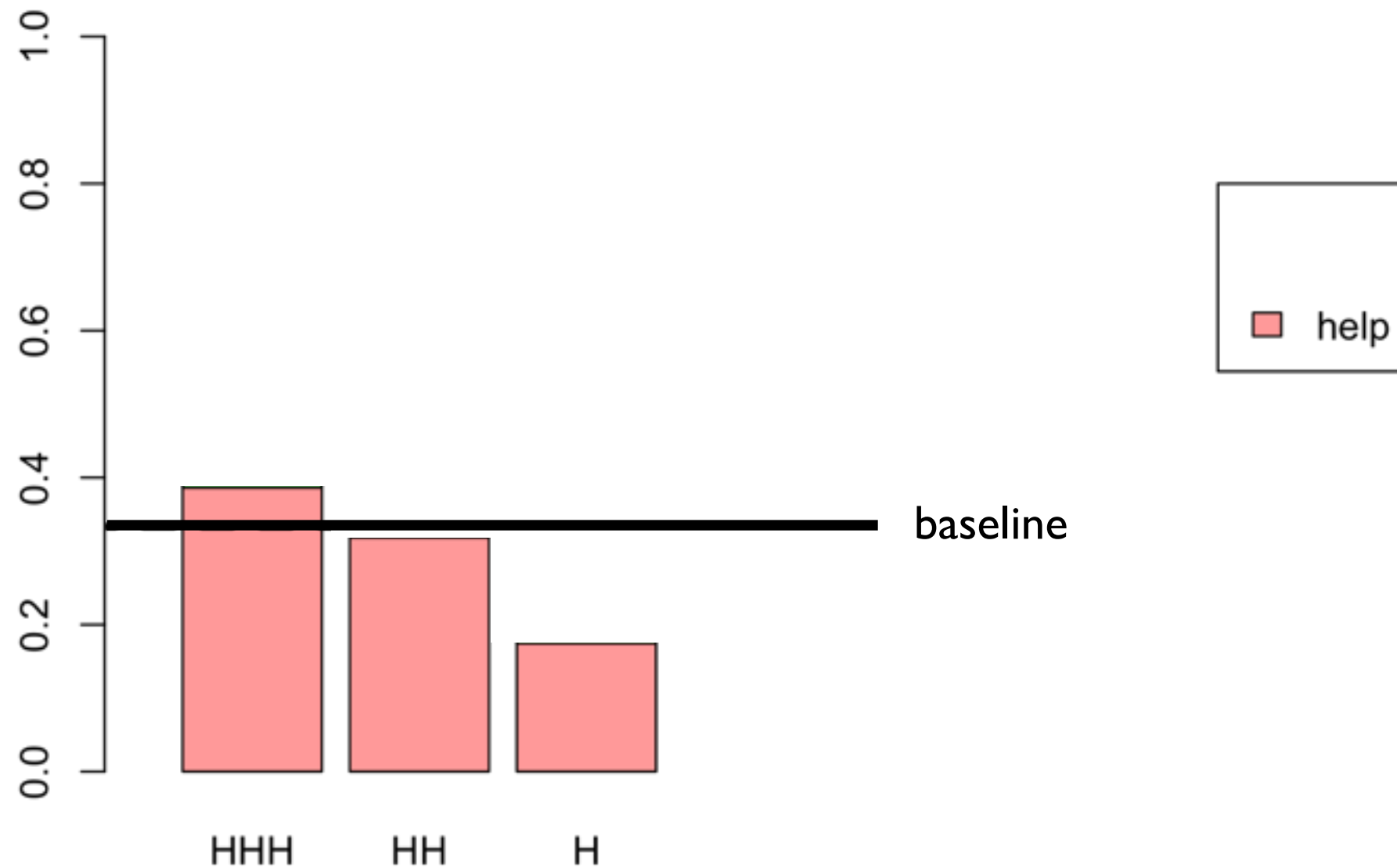


(I'll assume uniform priors over possible agendas and over possible distributional hypotheses)

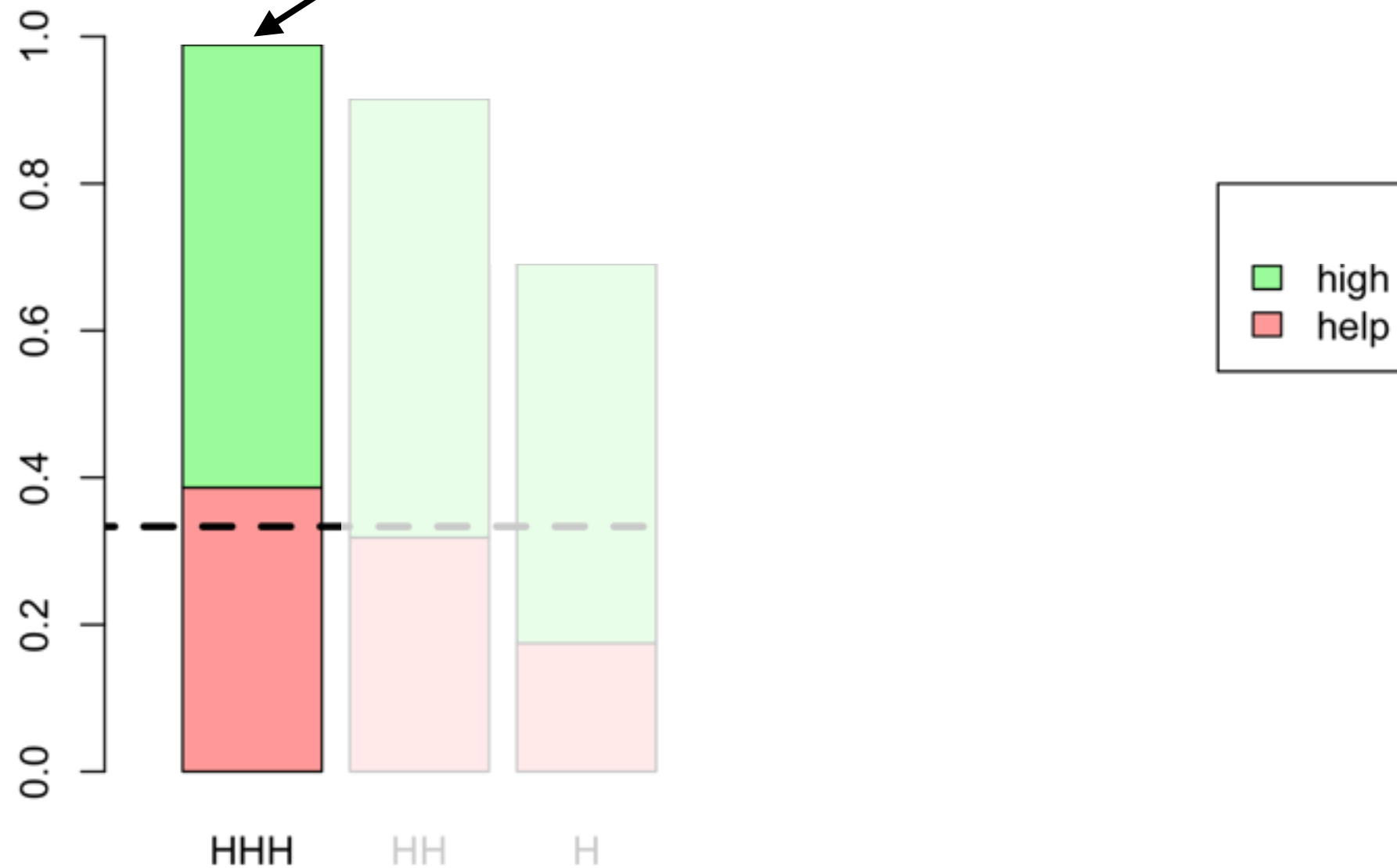
Quoting one expert only looks suspicious



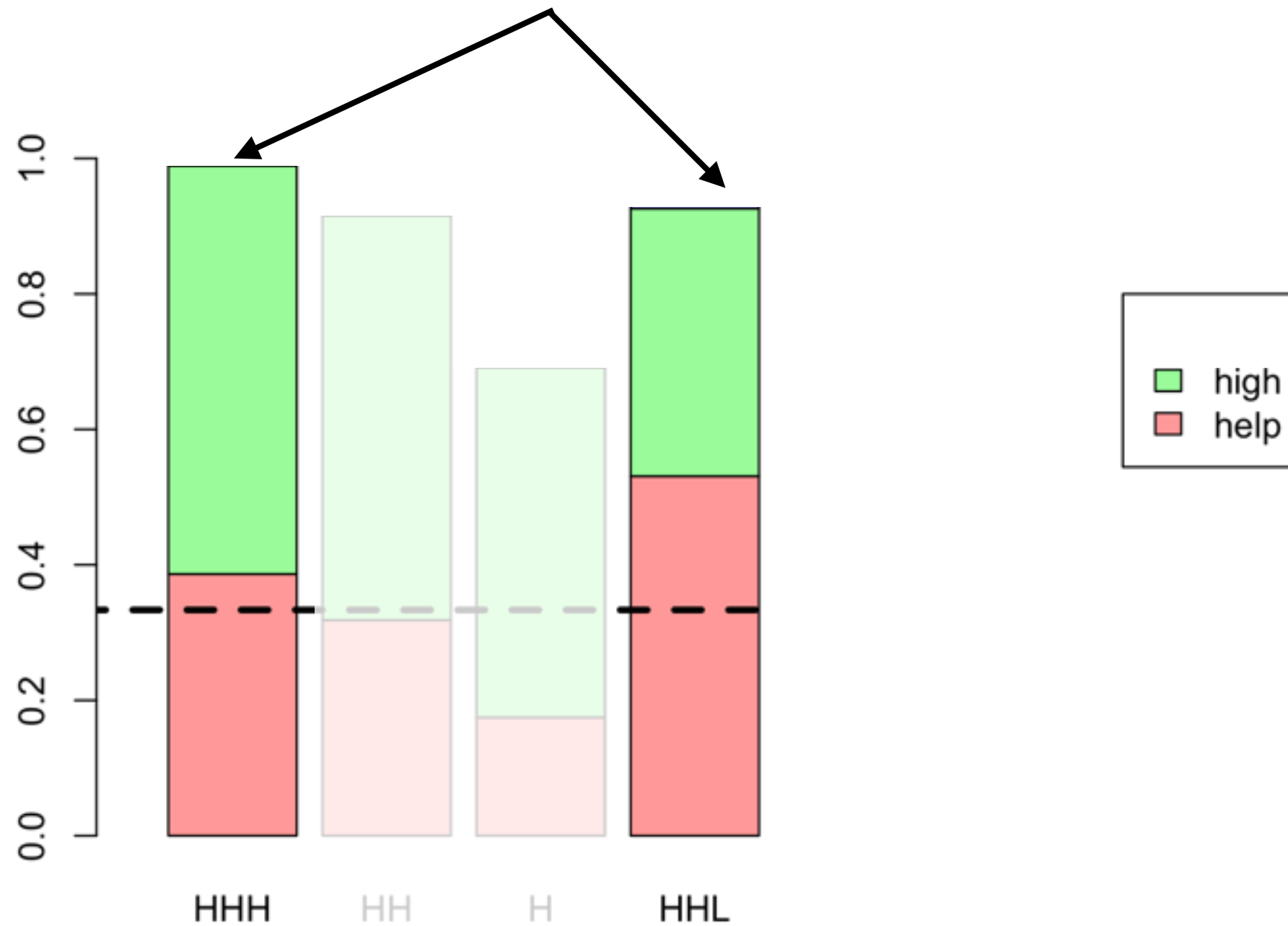
Anything less than maximum
number of experts causes a
deterioration of trust



But when all the quoted experts agree, the reader thinks you're probably biased



You can increase the reader's trust
by including the contrarian

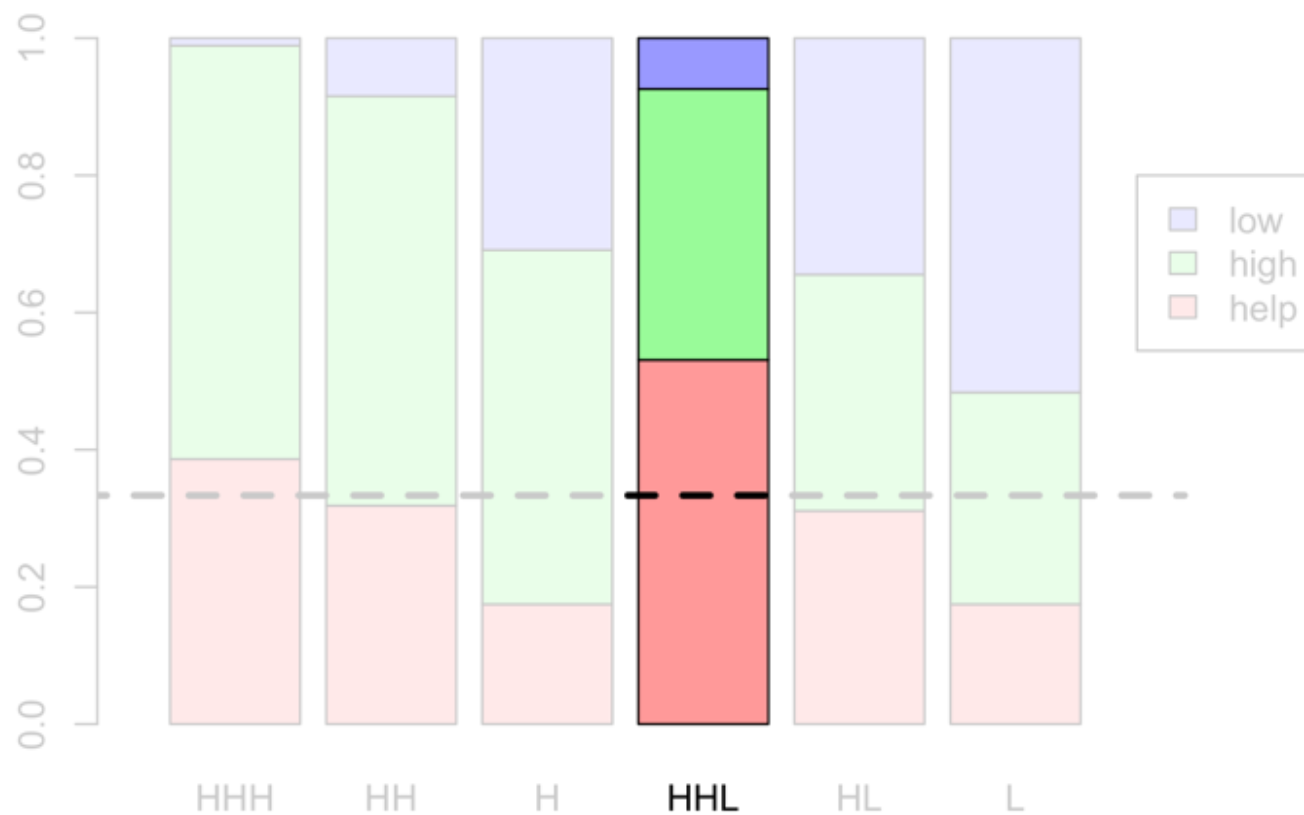




A Bayesian journalist who cares about their reputation has a strong motivation to pursue “he says she says” journalism



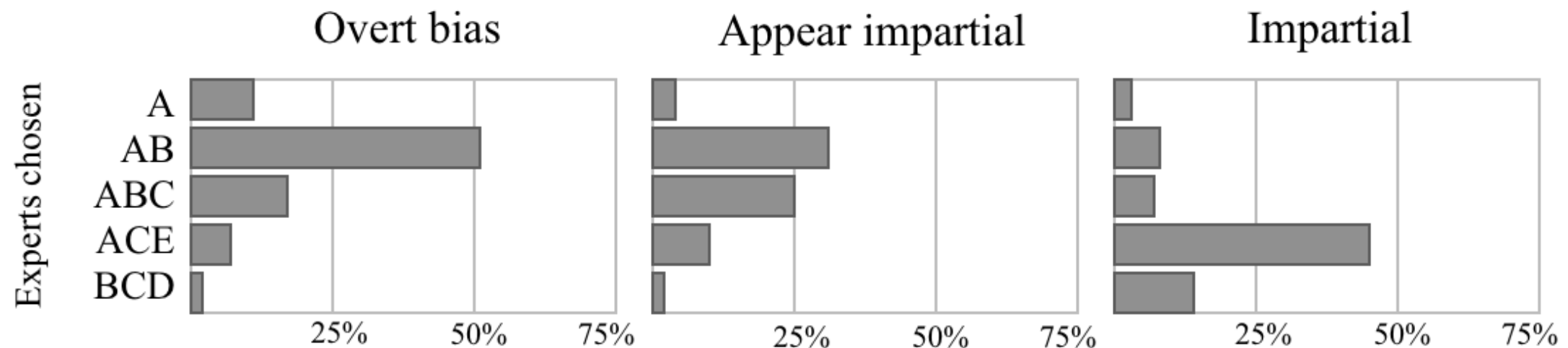
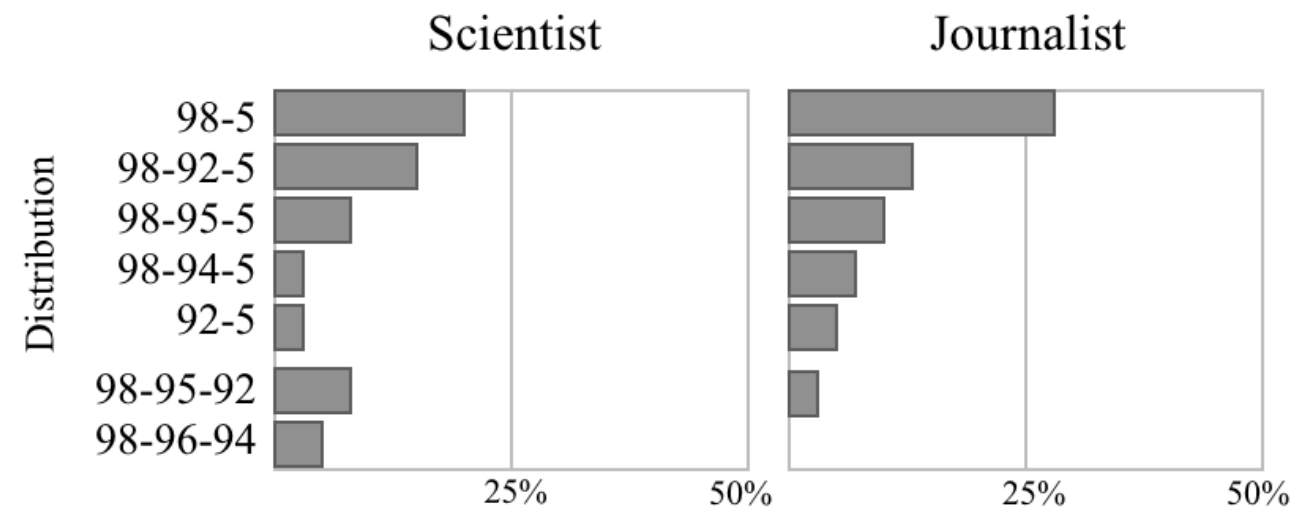
A Bayesian journalist who cares about their reputation has a strong motivation to pursue “he says she says” journalism



Because a Bayesian reader can't tell the difference between journalistic bias and expert consensus

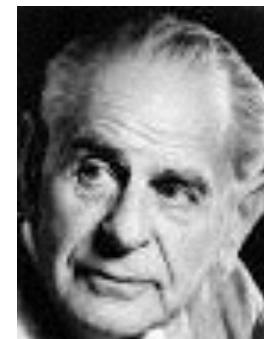
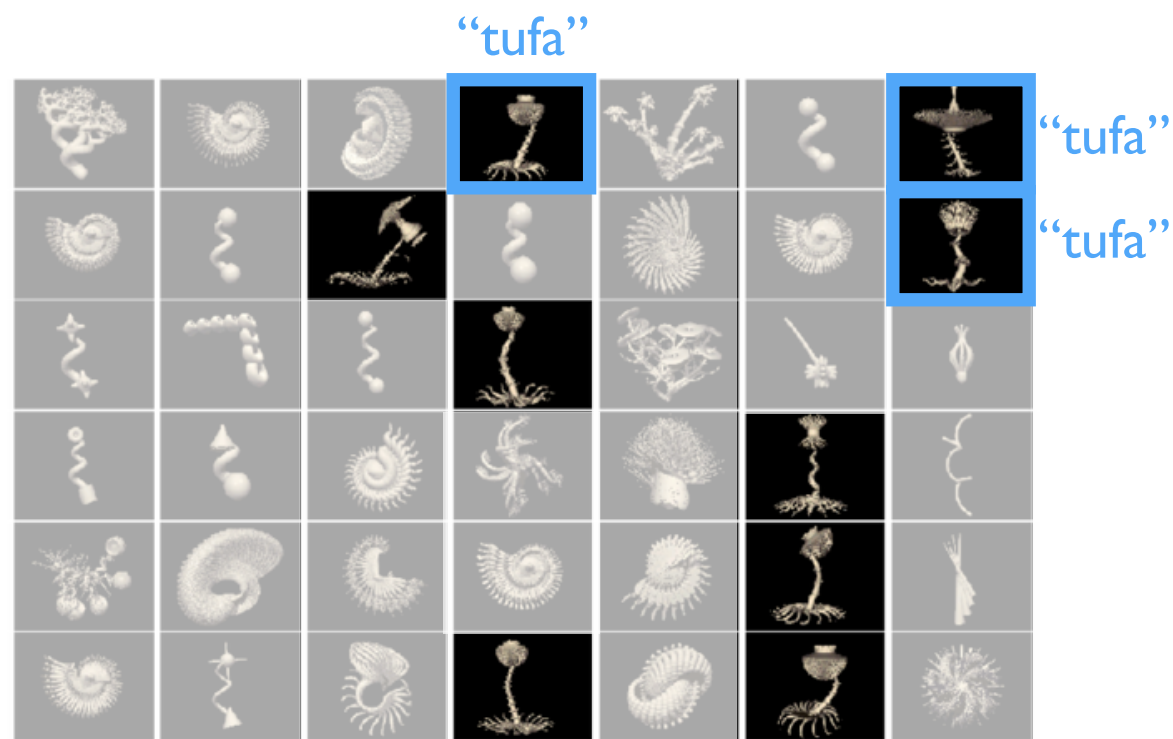
Oh, and we have a heap of other data and modelling on this too, but I have no time...

Tr	Goal	Story	Distribution	
●	Overt bias	Restaurant reviewer	A B C D E	Uniform
●	Impartial	Documentary maker	86 80 51 10 6	
●	Appear impartial	Advisor to minister	90 85 55 13 8	
●	Overt bias	Lawyer	94 89 59 17 12	
			98 92 63 22 18	
●	Scientist (impartial no matter what)		98 96 94 92 5	Skewed
	Journalist (impartial + reputation)		98 96 95 95 95 94 92 5	
			98 97 96 96 95 95 95 94 94 93 92 5	
●	"Check" question for validation purposes		100 100 50 1 1	



A few final thoughts about human reasoning and Bayesian reasoning

Traditional accounts of learning and inference specify norms that implicitly rely on something like falsificationist reasoning

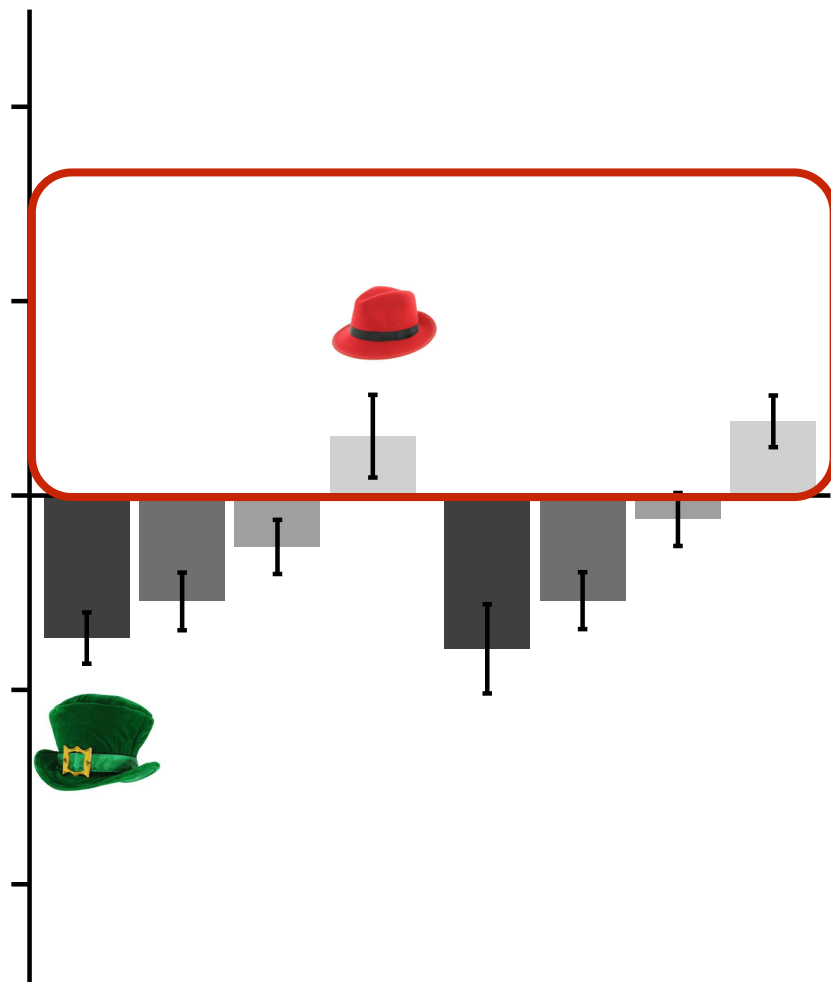


falsificationist
learning



weak sampling

But why?

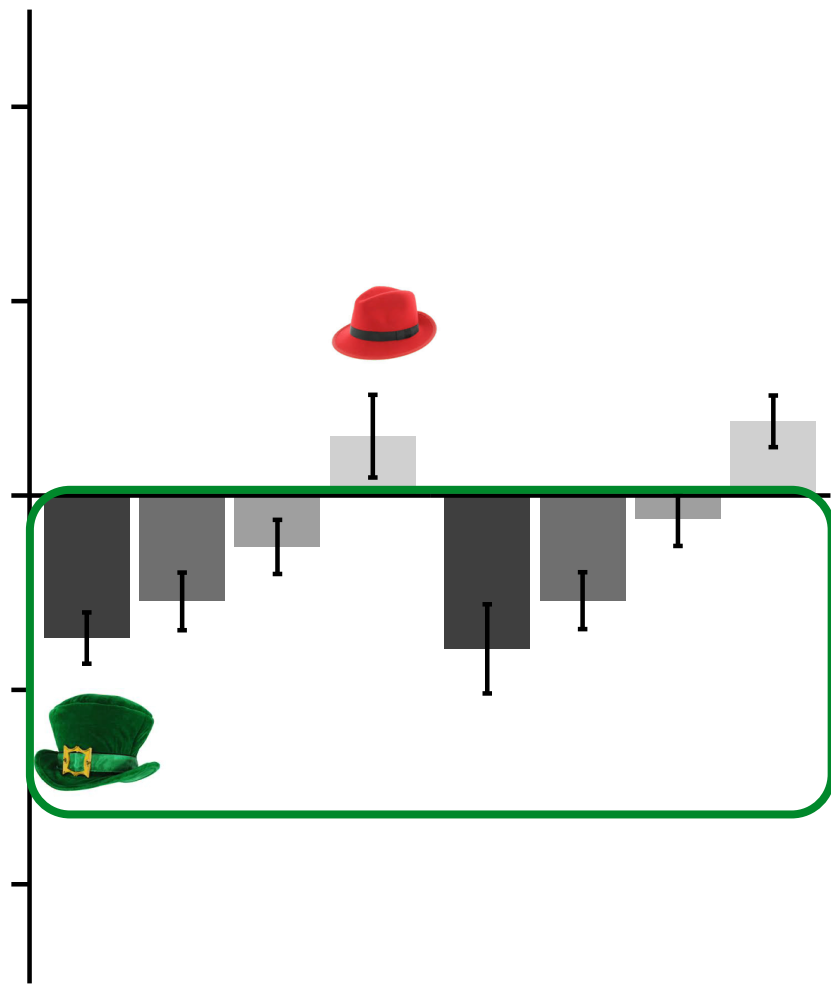


... it only makes sense when evidence is selected in an arbitrary and random fashion

Both Random ←



In real life, isn't
ANYTHING ELSE a more
reasonable theory for the
origin of the data????



■ Both Relevant ■ Relevant Fillers
■ Random Fillers





“Common sense” inference requires people to learn from complex (and smart) data sources...



social
agenda

full
distribution



quoted
distribution

We need to disentangle
facts from agendas



We need to detect trickery

(We actually ran this one. It was fun.)





social
agenda

full
distribution



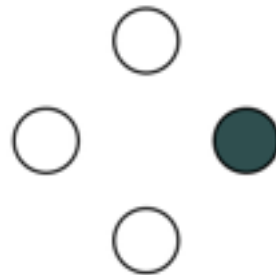
quoted
distribution



Which category does this belong to?

Yun Dax Huk New

Game 1 of 5, Choice 24 of 50



We need to know when to reject
the rules/concepts we're given



social
agenda

full
distribution



quoted
distribution



Which category does this belong to?

Yun Dax Huk New

Game 1 of 5, Choice 24 of 50



We need to read the
intention of other agents



Understanding human common sense reasoning requires something a lot richer



Thanks!