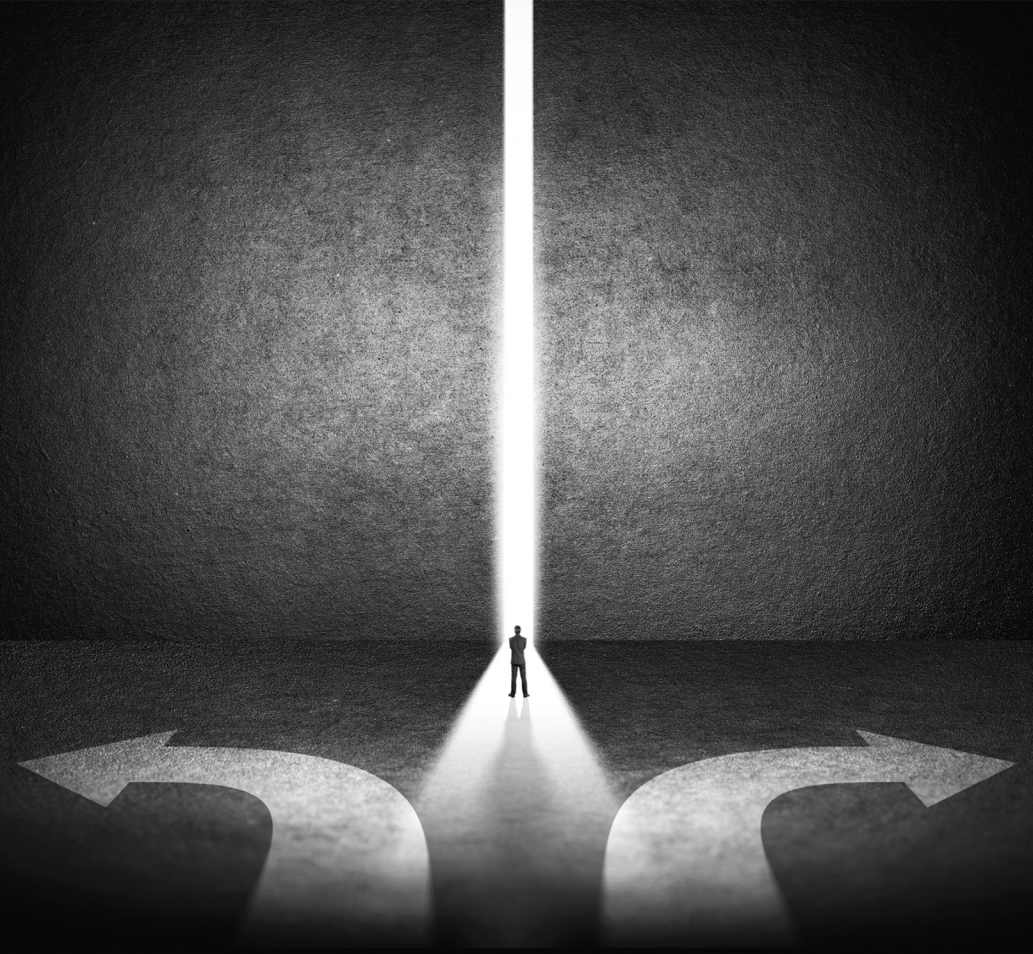

FIVE CONSTRAINTS ON PREDICTING BEHAVIOR

Jerome Kagan

Five Constraints on Predicting Behavior

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Contents

Preface

The anthropologist Loren Eiseley divided scientists into little- and big-bone hunters. The latter ask the profound questions that require more effort but rouse the curiosity of minds that wonder why this way rather than that. Five questions have always been high on the list of puzzles. How did the universe form? How did life emerge? Why does like beget like? Why do living forms die? What processes allow a person to perceive, remember, infer, reason, feel, and act?

The happy wedding of human imagination and elegant machines provided preliminary answers to the first four questions, allowing the fifth to ascend in the hierarchy of puzzling phenomena considered amenable to solution.

The study of brain–mind relations had to wait for the invention of technologies that could measure the brain activity accompanying psychological processes that were not apparent in observable behavior. Alfred North Whitehead, reflecting on the discoveries of the quantum revolution, commented that the physicists responsible for these victories were not smarter than their nineteenth-century mentors. They had the advantage of better machines.

Because the technology available to contemporary students of the brain still cannot measure the rapidly changing sequence of phenomena that precedes a psychological outcome, most conclusions remain tentative. Some are simply wrong. This essay considers five conditions that constrain confident inferences about the relation between brain profiles and a variety of psychological phenomena. They are the influence of the context on the evidence gathered; the expectations of the participants; the source of evidence for an inference; the habit of looking for relations between single causes and single outcomes; and the attribution of psychological concepts to brain patterns.

Although I spent my research career trying to understand aspects of the psychological development of children, I tried meanwhile to keep abreast of the work in neuroscience. One of the gifts of retirement was the opportunity to spend uninterrupted hours reading the relevant literature. An earlier book, *A Young Mind in a Growing Brain* (Kagan & Herschkowitz, 2005), summarized what was known about the relation between the maturation of the human brain and the development of psychological properties during the child's first decade. The purpose of this slimmer volume is to prod the scientists and students who labor in the territory of mind-brain relations to reflect on the currently popular collection of beliefs and to consider adopting some of the practices I advocate.

Illumination of the events that make psychological phenomena possible will benefit many constituencies, while bringing immense satisfaction to those responsible for the insights. I hope this discussion of the factors that constrain current generalizations is of some help to the brilliant scientists engaged in this mission.

1 Introduction

Scientists interested in understanding the psychological properties of adult humans have replaced an earlier emphasis on the role of experience with a search for correspondences between brain profiles and a psychological outcome. Although the new paradigm is young, the inability to understand the brain states that generate most mental events, along with the actions that may follow, frustrates scientists and disappoints those who support them. Although physicists massage the egos of those engaged in this endeavor by confessing that the brain is far more complex than atoms, the sparseness of headline-grabbing victories that go unchallenged remains a troubling irritant. The culprits are insensitive methods, weak theories, and inadequate funding for younger investigators. This book examines five additional reasons for a pace of progress that is slower than earlier generations anticipated.

For most of human history a person's beliefs about nature, society, and the self's properties were based on personal experiences, conversations with others, and pronouncements by respected authorities. The first source of information necessarily occurred in a specific context; the latter two typically implied a context. A friend telling another about the dangers of a food,

animal, or stranger usually contextualizes the threat in sentences such as, "There is a new wolf in the vicinity," or "The man who came to the village last month stole some corn from a neighbor."

New sources of information—initially telescopes, microscopes, air pumps, thermometers, and clocks, and later the complex machines of physics, chemistry, and biology—provided novel evidence, described with a special vocabulary, that challenged the validity of traditional beliefs based on experience and hearsay. The public does not always appreciate that the validity of expert opinions, on topics ranging from health and crime to the age of the universe and the origin of life, is dependent on particular classes of evidence.

Natural scientists have learned that the validity of many if not most inferences is limited to the conditions under which the observations were gathered, until someone demonstrates their generality. For reasons that are difficult to understand, some psychologists and neuroscientists fail to attribute sufficient power to the context of observation. The second chapter considers the diverse ways in which the setting constrains the conclusions extracted from observations on one sample observed in one place with one procedure.

The context includes not only the physical and social features of the place where data are collected, but also the procedure, the collection of incentives presented, and the species, age, and sex of both the subjects and the examiner. When the subjects are humans, the language used to communicate with them is part of the context. Each context is associated with a set of probabilities assigned to the collection of likely outcomes. The context selects one response from a larger set of possible alternatives to that incentive.

The habit of underestimating the influence of the setting is due, partly, to the fact that English-speaking scientists have, up to now, performed most of the research on the brain and its relation to behavior. Most English predicates for brain processes or behaviors contain no information about the context. Verbs such as *compute*, *regulate*, and *integrate* provide no clue to the setting in which the process occurred. This is not true of all languages. The Japanese use different verbs to describe a person crossing an open space that is free of objects and one crossing a space that contains a railroad track, fallen logs, or boulders.

Neighborhoods, regions, nations, and cultures during particular historical eras present their residents with distinctive settings that invite a limited set of responses while making it difficult to implement others. Many of the mental illness categories in the psychiatrist's diagnostic manual describe symptoms that local circumstances made easier to acquire. Societies that offer no opportunities for gambling will have few patients with gambling disorder. There are few cases of substance abuse in cultures free of alcohol, cocaine, and opioids. The critic Arthur Danto (2009) recognized the influence of the setting on the judgment of some objects as works of art. No contemporary adult who saw a porcelain urinal, a metal tree, or a pile of tires in a hardware store would classify it as a work of art but might do so in the gallery of a modern art museum.

The circumstances in a particular society, especially its class structure, economy, ethnic diversity, and population density affect many traits. It is not a coincidence that the rise in complaints of loneliness among Americans and Europeans over the past 50 years tracks the increase in the proportion of the population living in an urban setting.

The subject's expectations comprise a second constraint on inferences. Although the events anticipated always depend on the context, this limitation is considered separately in chapter 3. Volunteers for a psychological experiment on the brain and emotion do not expect the friendly examiner to show them pictures of angry faces, snakes, guns, or bloodied bodies. The resulting activation of the amygdala is a sign of surprise rather than a reflection of fear or anxiety. Had the examiner told the participants what they would see, the amygdalar response would have been muted. Rats expect neither the sudden onset of tone nor the tingle of an electric shock to the paws that follows. Their behavioral and biological reactions are potentiated by the unexpectedness of these events, and are muted when they can anticipate the sequence.

The participants in Stanley Milgram's (1974) famous studies of conformity to authority held the expectation that an examiner employed by a respected university would not ask them to inflict serious harm on another person. Hence, they were willing to administer strong shocks to a stranger who simulated pain. The workers at Nazi concentration camps did not hold the same belief about the intentions of the high-ranking officers who told them to gas, shoot, or torture prisoners. Therefore, it is not obvious that the actions of Milgram's volunteers help us understand their behaviors.

The brain continually primes the neurons that normally respond to the event that is expected to occur in the next moment. This preparation facilitates its detection. Usually, the event anticipated is the one that occurs. On the less frequent occasions when the expectation is violated, the brain responds. Every brain profile, therefore, is a blend of the response to the event in the perceptual field and the response to the event that

was anticipated. If the latter does not occur, the brain's response to the violation of expectation becomes part of the reaction to the event that occurs. This fact constrains inferences about psychological states that are based on brain reactions to unexpected events gathered on human subjects lying supine in a magnetic scanner in an unfamiliar laboratory room.

Expectations affect many phenomena. Adults who display traits or actions that violate community expectations are likely to be rejected or victimized. Most youngsters who are bullied possess features that deviate from those expected by a majority of their peers. They might be poor, speak with a foreign dialect, have difficulty mastering the academic courses, be burdened with a physical disability, or fail to conform to the peer group's code on proper sex role behavior. Patients in psychotherapy attribute special curative power to rituals in the treatment process that are unexpected, on the assumption that a new form of treatment is likely to be better than a familiar one.

Humans prefer to spend their days in a narrow space, bordered on the left by boredom with the overly familiar and on the right by the terror of chronic unpredictability. Dictators exploit this uncomfortable state by replacing the lack of predictability that leads to civil unrest with greater certainty. Most humans living in chaotic communities are willing to give up their personal freedom in exchange for more predictable moments.

A large number of investigators studying brain–behavior relations resist Niels Bohr's insight that the validity of every conclusion is depends on its source of evidence. Two statements referring to the same observation can have dissimilar validities if they originated in different kinds of evidence. Isaac Newton relied on the text in Revelation, the last book of the Bible, to predict that the world would last until 2060. Even though this

prediction is likely to be affirmed, its validity differs from the validity of the same declaration by contemporary scientists using observations from space telescopes. The validity of Lamarck's claim that an animal's experiences can alter its genome differs from the validity of an identical claim by a geneticist who is relying on epigenetic marks.

The validity of statements about security of attachment that are based on the behaviors of one-year-olds in Mary Ainsworth's Strange Situation is not the same as the validity of conclusions drawn from the verbal narratives of adults recalling their childhood. Declarations about a person's understanding of the concept of number that rely on activation of the intraparietal sulcus in the parietal lobe while subjects are discriminating between arrays of black dots have a validity that is distinct from the validity of conclusions derived from successful performance on arithmetic problems. The validity of estimates of the heritability of intelligence based on equations whose values were the degree of behavioral similarity among the biologically related members of a family does not correspond to the validity of the considerably smaller estimates derived from similarity in genomes.

One reason why brain and psychological data yield conclusions with differing validities is that some brain measures are subject to the effects of bodily processes that exert minimal effects on many psychological observations. A majority of conclusions regarding the contribution of brain states to human psychological states are based on changes in deoxygenated hemoglobin that give rise to the BOLD signal in adults lying still and supine in the narrow tube of a MRI scanner. In this setting the person's posture, breathing, and cardiovascular dynamics exert a nontrivial influence on the evidence.

Adults who award a privileged validity to conclusions about psychological outcomes that contain brain data do not extend this preference for reductive accounts to all statements in physics or biology. The immaterial nature of mental phenomena sustains the bias. Many find it more satisfying to read, "Youth who commit violent crimes are likely to possess immature frontal lobes" than to read, "Youth who commit violent crimes are likely to have grown up in families that did not socialize the restraint of asocial actions." But these same individuals do not find the sentence "The uncontrolled movements of patients with Huntington's disease are due to an abnormal gene" less satisfying than "The uncontrolled movements of patients with Huntington's disease are due to an abnormal pattern of atoms in a select sequence of nucleotides."

Many social scientists continue to rely only on a person's verbal reports of their traits or past experiences as the basis for bold conclusions about behavior or mood, even though the correspondence between these reports and direct observations is often poor. The claim that there are five major personality dimensions—agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion, openness to ideas, and neuroticism—the so-called Big Five—based on answers to a questionnaire, has a special validity. Different, but not less important, personality dimensions would emerge from behavioral observations.

The psychologists active before the Second World War recognized the poor correspondence between what people said about themselves or their past and other sources of information. Many hoped that interpretations given to Rorschach inkblots and scenes in the Thematic Apperception Test would reveal more accurate data. The failure of these instruments to deliver the expected insights was followed by a return to the earlier practice

of treating the literal meanings of a person's statements as a valid proxy for behavioral data. This premise is often invalidated and, on occasion, leads to starkly counterintuitive conclusions.

The explanations offered for the many documented relations between an early experience and a psychological outcome assume that the events the subjects described actually occurred, not that a person said they occurred. No biologist would rely only on the reports of hunters for inferences about the ecology of a forest. Humans have been talking about the relations between traits and experiences, one the one hand, and later outcomes for millennia. If this evidence provided the foundation for profound conclusions, we should have a deeper understanding of human personality than we do.

The critical function of theory is to evaluate the validity of statements based on different evidence and select the one that should be awarded the greatest trust. Theory awards priority to the inference that the human use of fossil fuels is one reason why the Greenland glaciers are melting. Unfortunately, investigators who study brain–mind relations cannot agree on theoretical ideas powerful enough to sort inferences into categories that are more rather than less trustworthy. There is still considerable controversy surrounding the psychological meaning of activation of the fusiform area to pictures of faces. This issue is discussed in chapter 4.

The validity of cause–effect claims is also burdened by the habit of looking for relations between single causes and single outcomes. Thousands of papers describe the relation between one risk factor—say, growing up with a depressed parent or being a victim of bullying—and a single outcome, whether a teacher's rating of asocial behavior, the cortisol wakening response, heart rate, or the BOLD signal to a brain site. Inferences based on *patterns* of causes and outcome variables provide a sounder basis for

theory, because most behaviors and brain profiles are the product of more than one cascade of events. Patterns of causes and outcome measures are needed to parse all the possible cascades into a number of distinct sequences.

The symptoms that lead to a diagnosis of autism, for example, can be the product of a very large number of distinct cascades involving different genes and gene expressions. The task is to discover each of these, one by one. It is likely that, at the end of this mission, clinicians and investigators will cast aside the term *autism*. (Few, if any, contemporary psychiatrists use the older diagnostic term *neurasthenia*.)

A person's social class during the childhood years is almost always an element in the patterns that predict many of the outcomes a majority of societies care about. When childhood social class is added to gender and ethnicity, the probability of pathology developing in youth who grew up with a depressed parent is increased considerably. A pattern that combines growing up in an economically disadvantaged family with being the victim of sexual abuse is a better predictor of maladaptive habits than either one of those conditions.

The use of covariance techniques to justify the awarding of causal influence to a single condition is questionable because investigators who rely on these statistics usually fail to meet the trio of requirements: linear relations among variables, the absence of outliers, and a priori specification of all expected outcomes. As a result, strange conclusions are often disseminated. One group of scientists relying on such a statistical manipulation concluded that the residents of Louisiana are the most satisfied Americans. Another group found that the probability of suicide was highest in nations with the largest number of psychiatrists. Biological phenomena reveal the danger of an unreflective reliance on covariance techniques. No biologist would use

covariance to control for altitude, rainfall, and hours of sunshine in order to arrive at an estimate of the influence of genes on the heights of five genetic strains of a plant because they know that the covariates have nonlinear relations to the heights of each strain.

Investigators should consider replacing their current emphasis on single continuous variables with patterns of traits that define classes of persons. Instead of looking for a correlation between the scores on the neuroticism scale of the Big Five questionnaire and the risk for developing anorexia, it will prove more profitable to create categories that combine gender, class, ethnicity, language ability, and neuroticism score. We need more studies that allow authors to write, "Adolescent females from an advantaged family group who have vocabulary scores above the median and high values on the neuroticism scale of the Big Five are at the highest risk for an eating disorder." Chapter 5 documents the power of patterns.

The practice of borrowing predicates whose meanings and validities originated in psychological measures gathered on human subjects and applying them to brain patterns, or to animals, rounds out the constraints to be considered. Gyorgy Buzsaki (2016), a sophisticated student of the brain, questions the wisdom of attributing any psychological process to a neuronal ensemble. Most sentences containing a predicate that presumes a human as the noun possess a distinctive meaning and validity that does not apply to brain sites or animals. The meaning of the predicate *fears* in a sentence describing the emotion of a woman who avoids parties differs from the meaning of the same word in a sentence describing the increased BOLD signal to the amygdala of an adult looking at pictures of snakes and spiders.

Investigators who award animals a psychological quality that has a unique meaning in humans are guilty of an equally misleading permissiveness. The term *aggression* furnishes an example. Aggressive acts committed by humans assume an intention to harm another. A nursing infant who bites her mother's nipple has not committed an aggressive act, even though the mother felt pain. A cat that initially paws and subsequently bites the neck of a mouse did not intend to harm it. Lions bite the neck of gazelles because they are hungry. They hold no animosity toward the gazelle they killed.

One reason for these misattributions is that neuroscientists do not have a vocabulary large enough to describe the varied patterns of brain activation to an incentive. An unexpected picture of a snake typically excites the amygdala, hippocampus, and visual and prefrontal cortex. This pattern needs a biological name. Instead of inventing that name, investigators borrow the psychologist's concept of fear. When biologists discovered that methyl groups on cytosine bases adjacent to guanine in promoter regions could affect a gene's expression, they invented a new term to describe this fact.

A deeper understanding of the brain's contribution to mental and behavioral outcomes requires investigators to acknowledge these five constraints, which are rarely considered together in the design or interpretation of an experiment.

Every author imagines a prototypical reader sitting on a shoulder studying the prose being typed. My audience for this book was the collection of active scientists and students in the social sciences, psychiatry, or neuroscience. I learned a great deal in the writing of this book. The gratification would be enhanced if any idea in the chapters that follow changed a single mind.

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