NACS 645 – Two systems to decide

Valentin Guigon



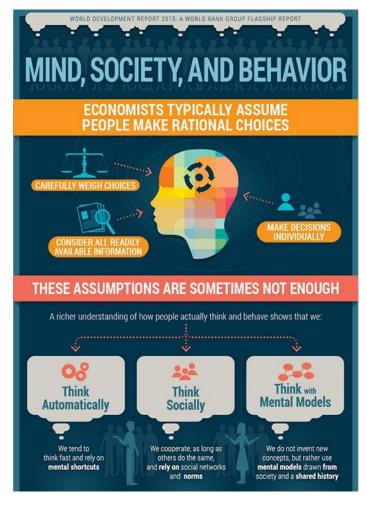


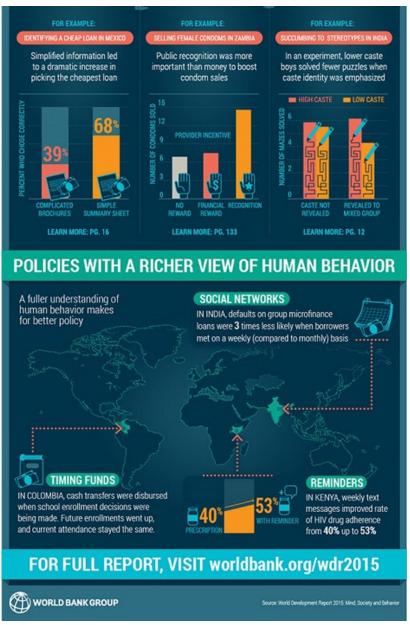


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System 1 and System 2 - A big idea

In 2015, the World Bank called on decision-makers to use System 2 thinking in order to avoid the errors associated with System 1 thinking





Modern traditions of rationality

- Logical rationality (post-WWII, Cold War, Game theory): formal, context-independent norms grounded in **choice/consistency axioms** (e.g., completeness, transitivity, independence) and optimization (expected utility maximization, Bayesian updating, Nash equilibria)
 - Provides the norms
- Heuristics-and-biases program (70s): humans follow rules of logical rationality, but they tend to deviate from them; these deviations are called biases; biases justify interventions (e.g., nudges)
 - Diagnoses deviations *relative to those norms*
- Ecological rationality (90-2000): rationality is not consistent with classical axioms (transitivity, coherence, stability) but rather bounded by biological and ecological constraints: uncertainty, task complexity and available cognitive resources
 - Questions the scope of the norms

The two thinking systems

Early work on probabilistic reasoning 1970s Heuristics-and-Biases

Observations that kids and adults have good statistical intuitions (e.g., Piaget & Inhelder; Edwards)

Observations of systematic deviations from logical and probabilistic norms

System 1 / System 2 as a resolution

Errors of intuition occur when System 1 generates the error and System 2 fails to correct

Some critics (Gigerenzer, 2025):

- Repeated trials with random devices (urns, dice)
- Performance assessed across many observations
 - Opportunities for learning, calibration, and error correction

Some critics (Gigerenzer, 2025):

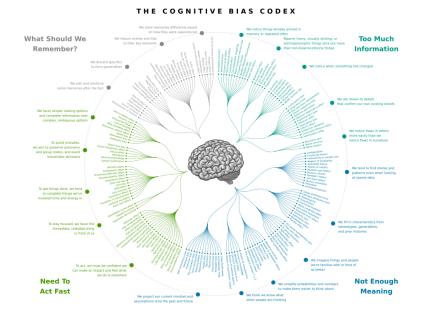
- Numerical random devices replaced by verbal scenarios
- Single-shot judgments on text
 - No opportunity for learning

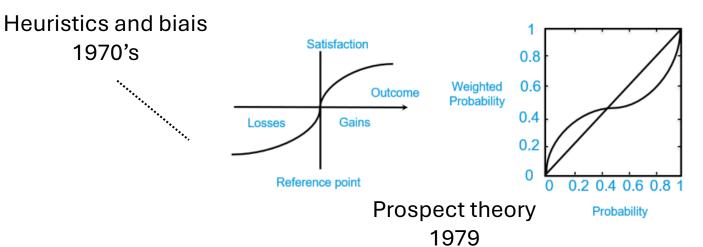
Implicit assumptions

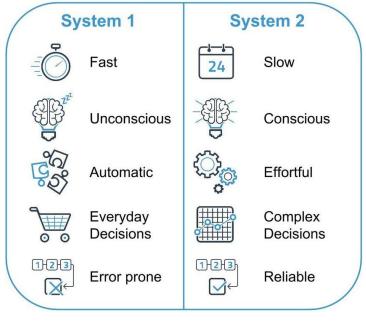
- One correct answer per problem
- Normative standard fixed in advance

- System 1: fast, intuitive, automatic → source of deviations
- System 2: slow, deliberative, controlled → potential corrector
- Based on Sloman; reconciles cognitive biases with the fact that those same biases could be made disappear

The heritage of Kahneman & Tversky







Dual-process theory 1990-2000

System 1 and System 2 - Framework

Trait	Type 1 (Fast)	Type 2 (Slow)	
Consciousness	Unconscious	Conscious	
Intentionality	Unintentional	Intentional	
Efficiency	Efficient (low cognitive cost)	Inefficient (high cognitive cost)	
Controllability	Uncontrolable	Controlable	

Postulates:

- Mental processes naturally fall into two distinct types
- Knowing one trait (e.g. a process is unconscious) helps deducing the other traits (e.g. therefore is also unintentional, efficient and uncontrollable).
- This grouping reflects the human cognitive architecture

Melnikoff et Bargh (2018):

- Many psychological processes combine traits from both types. e.g., Intentional but unconscious: driving, typing, playing the piano
- The traits themselves are not unitary, each breaking down into sub-components that don't always coincide. e.g., controllability is heterogeneous (modulable vs preventable)

Dual-process theories

The tradition of dual-process theories of reasoning originates from classical views of rationality & philosophy: *passion vs reason*, vs *Damasio*

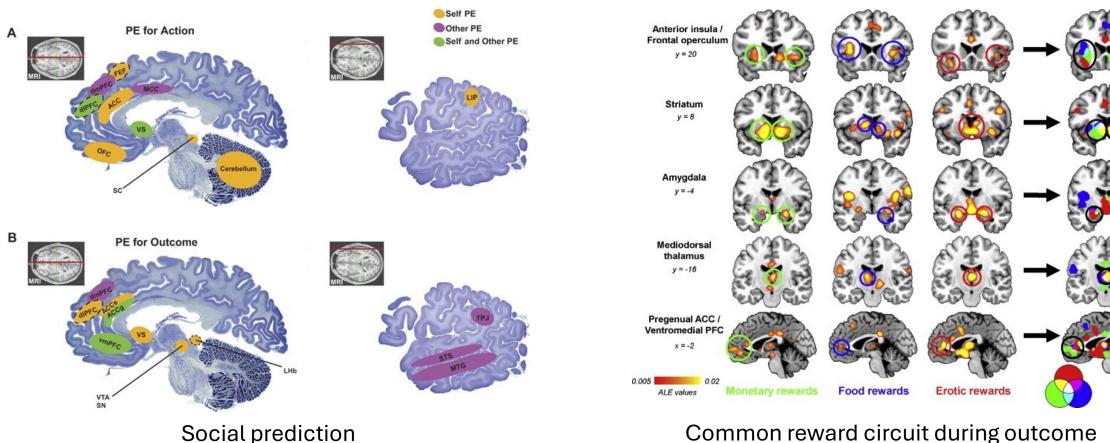
Some other modern dual-process theories:

- Emotions: hot vs cold
- Action-selection: habitual vs goal-directed
- Persuasion: central route vs peripheral route
- Reinforcement learning: model-free vs model-based
- Decision: visceral/somatic markers vs high-level cognition

Problem: Dual-process theories are good at organizing intuitions, but weak at constraining explanations. It's easy to "maintain" beliefs about theories when they are not properly constrained: e.g., modularity: Fodor's 9 rules -> 9 - n rules qualitative models; e.g., system 1/system 2 traits revised

Emotion vs Reason

Neural overlap undermines **moralized mappings** of dual-process theories

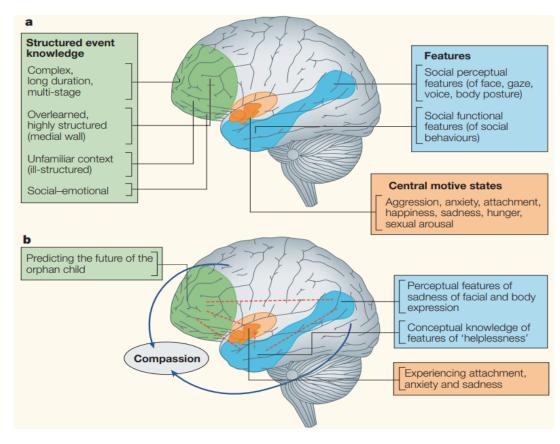


Common reward circuit during outcome

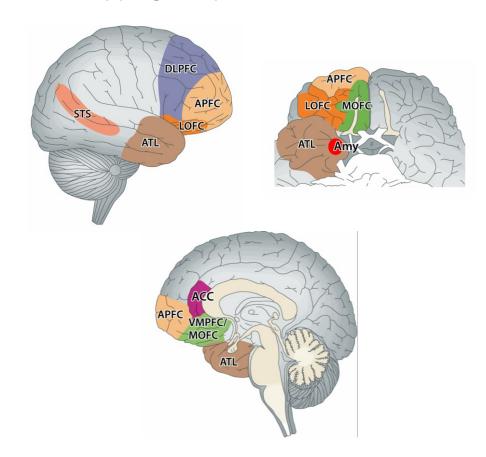
- Processes often labeled as "emotional" participate in prediction, learning, and valuation
- These are core computational functions, not sources of error per se
- The brain does not implement a clean separation between fast/affective vs slow/rational systems

Automatic vs controlled

In the case of morality, automatic and slow processing both rely on overlapping complex and modular structures



Moral processing



Moral judgments

Even in domains often used to illustrate dual-process conflicts (morality, emotion, control), **the brain does not respect the clean fast/slow or emotion/reason divide**

The Good and the Bad

Some dual-process theories don't make sense anymore (reason vs emotions). What about dual-process theories of reasoning?

Judgments typically associated with System 1 can be optimal:

- Everyday decisions approach the performance of an ideal Bayesian observer (Griffiths & Tenenbaum, 2006)
- Regular planning of tasks achieve ~86% of the optimal trade-off between decision quality and cognitive cost (Callaway et al., 2020)

Judgments typically associated with System 2 can lead to motivated beliefs:

Calling Type 2 thinking good is to champion motivated reasoning, the domain of self-serving rationalizations and of finding creative self-serving justifications [...]. (Melnikoff et Bargh, 2018)

Rationality of processes seem to rather depend on task structure, uncertainty, goals, and computational constraints:

The quality of a judgment doesn't strictly map whether it is fast or slow, automatic or deliberate

NACS 645 – Model-free vs Model-based

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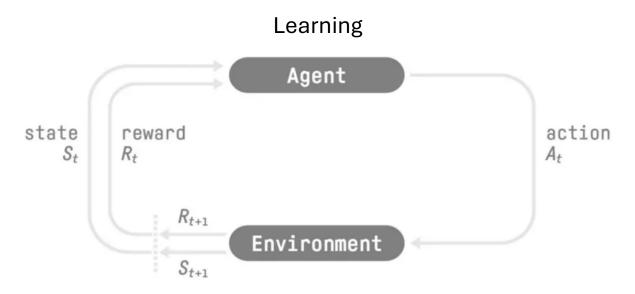






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RL from the algorithms perspective



All adaptation arises solely from the sequence of states, actions, and rewards generated by interaction with the environment.

Reinforcement learning is a framework for solving decision problems.

Agents learn from the environment by interacting with it through trial and error.

They receive rewards/punishments as feedback (no supervision).

Repeatedly:

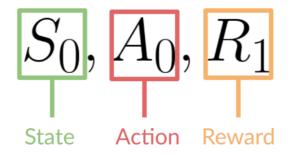
- The agent receives **state** S_0 from the **Environment**
- Based on that **state** S_0 ,the Agent takes **action** A_0
- The environment goes to a **new state** S_1
- The environment gives some $\operatorname{reward} R_1$ to the Agent

Through this trial-and-error cycle, the agent adjusts its behaviour to **maximize expected cumulative reward** (reward hypothesis).

Markov Decision processes

A Markov Decision Process (MDP) is the standard formalism for reinforcement learning.

It defines an environment in terms of:



The **Markov property** states that optimal decisions depend only on the *current* state, not on the full history.

The agent's objective is to select actions that maximize the **discounted cumulative reward**, weighting future rewards less than immediate ones.

- Observation/States: information describing the current situation
 - Fully observed setting: a state provides a complete description of the world (chess)
 - Partially observed setting: an observation provides a partial description of the state (poker)
- Actions: the set of all moves the agent can take
 - Discrete: the number of possible actions is finite
 - Continuous: the number of possible actions is infinite
- Rewards: scalar indicating the immediate consequence of an action

Rewards and discounting

Cumulative reward at each time step t



Trajectory (read Tau)
Sequence of states and actions

$$R(\tau) = \sum_{k=0}^{\infty} r_{t+k+1}$$

Discounted expected cumulative reward at each time step t

$$R(\tau) = r_{t+1} + \gamma r_{t+2} + \gamma^2 r_{t+3} + \gamma^3 r_{t+4} + \dots$$
Return: cumulative reward Gamma: discount rate

Trajectory (read Tau)
Sequence of states and actions

$$R(\tau) = \sum_{k=0}^{\infty} \gamma^k r_{t+k+1}$$

If the agent only exploits that they learnt so far, they may neglect alternatives with higher payoff, and not maximize their expected reward.

Hence, there is an exploration/exploitation tradeoff the agent should solve.

How to maximize expected cumulative reward?

Reinforcement learning aims to find an optimal policy π^* (a mapping from states to actions). There are **two ways** to reach this policy: policy-based methods and value-based methods

Policy-based: deterministic

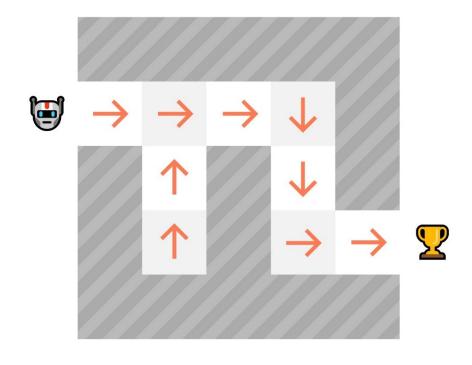


State
$$s_0 \rightarrow \pi(s_0) \rightarrow a_0 = Right$$

Policy-based: stochastic (allows exploration)



State
$$s_0 \rightarrow \pi(A|s_0) \rightarrow a_0 = [Left: 0.3, Right: 0.7]$$



Value-based methods

Policy-Based Methods

- Learn the policy directly (state -> action mapping)
- The model outputs the action (or a probability distribution over actions) for each state
- The agent improves this mapping through experience The agent "learns how to act" without explicitly evaluating states.

Value-Based Methods

- Learn a value function (state -> expected return mapping)
- V(s) or Q(s,a) estimates "how good" it is to be in a state or to take an action
- The policy is derived by choosing actions that lead to higher estimated values

The agent "learns which states are better" and acts by following a policy (i.e., moving toward higher-value states).

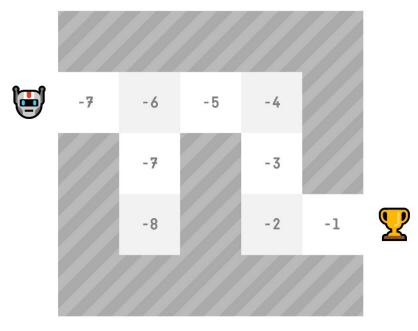
Value-based

$$v_\pi(s) = \mathbb{E}_\piig[R_{t+1} + \gamma R_{t+2} + \gamma^2 R_{t+3} + \ldots \mid S_t = sig]$$

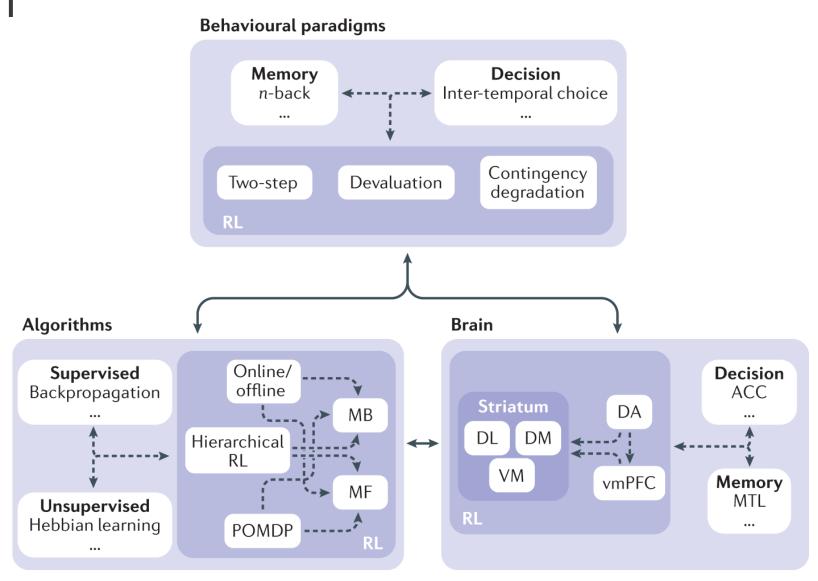
Value function

Expected discounted return

Starting at state s



RL across fields of research



RL is a formal language for learning-based, sequential decision-making. It gives tools to talk about goals, prediction, uncertainty, credit assignment.

Early behavior studies (1890s–1950s): Trial-and-error learning, conditioning, habit vs goal-directed actions

Algorithmic RL (1950s–1990s): Formal mathematical tools for sequential decision-making: Dynamic programming, MDPs, TD learning, Q-learning

Neural interpretations (1990s–2000s):

Dopamine prediction-error signals; striatal habit learning; prefrontal planning.

Computational RL imported into neuroscience

Glossary

Reinforcement Learning (RL)

Framework in which an agent learns through interaction with an environment to maximize expected cumulative reward.

Markov Decision Process (MDP)

Formal model defining states, actions, transition dynamics, and rewards under the Markov property (current state contains all decision-relevant information).

State

Complete description of the environment at a time point. In a fully observed setting, no hidden variables remain.

Observation

Partial information available to the agent when the environment is not fully observed.

Action

A choice available to the agent. Action spaces may be discrete or continuous.

Transition Function

Specification of how states evolve when actions are taken: P(s' | s, a).

Reward Function

Scalar feedback indicating the immediate consequence of an action • in a state.

Discounted Return

Sum of future rewards, discounted to give more weight to near-term outcomes.

Policy (π)

A decision rule mapping states to actions, deterministic or stochastic.

Policy-Based RL

Learn the policy directly (state → action). Optimization focuses on improving behaviour.

Value-Based RL

Learn a value function (state \rightarrow expected return, or state—action \rightarrow expected return). The policy is derived from these values.

Value Function (V, Q)

V(s): expected return from state s.

Q(s,a): expected return from taking action a in state s and following the policy.

Model-Free RL (MF)

Learns value estimates or policies directly from experience without an explicit transition model.

Model-Based RL (MB)

Learns or uses a model of transitions and rewards to evaluate future outcomes via planning.

Markov Property

The current state contains all the information needed for optimal decision-making; the past is irrelevant given the present.

NACS 645 – Collective knowledge

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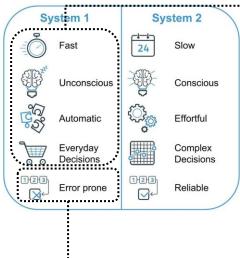






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System 1 & System 2 Heuristics and biases



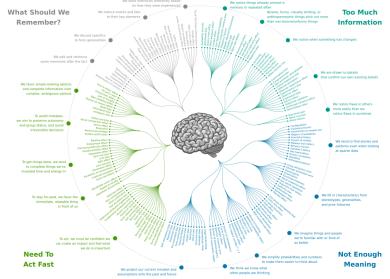
;...................

Heuristics

- Simple, fast, frugal cognitive strategies
- Often ignore part of the information to find a good-enough (rather than perfect) solution



THE COGNITIVE BIAS CODEX



Biases

 Often seen as error or systematic deviations between a human judgment and a norm of rationality (e.g., laws of probabilities or logic)

The role of biases in judgments

When information is scarce, degraded, uncertain, complex, noisy When the environment is sufficiently predictable

- **Predictive superiority**
- Robustness to uncertainty Ignoring information (i.e., <u>selectively</u> using, weighting, or interpreting information) can make predictions less sensitive to noise and small samples
- Cognitive efficiency Reduces cost while maintaining sufficient performance (Martignon et al., 2008)

- **By simplifying**, heuristics introduce a bias:
- → This bias reduces the instability of predictions (variance)
- → Improves robustness and generalizability to similar situations, especially under uncertainty

Bias Variance + noise (ε) predictive models:

The role of noise in judgments

Bias

 Systematic directional shift in judgments compared to the ground truth

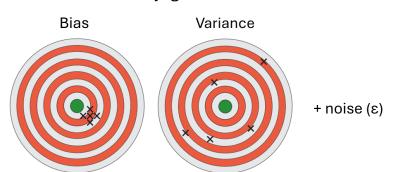
Variance

Instability of predictions across new situations

Noise

 Random and unpredictable dispersion of judgments around the truth (n.b., includes patterns observed ex-post, excludes rules predicted ex-ante)

Ensemble of jugements



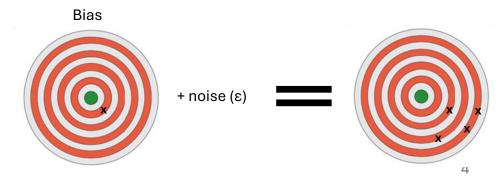
Bias

• Systematic average deviation ...

Noise

Random and unpredictable dispersion ...

Single judgment



Types of noise

- System noise: overall variability within a multi-judge system
 - Level noise: systematic differences between judges (e.g., some stricter, others more lenient)
 - Pattern noise: a judge's characteristic
 fluctuation across specific cases
 (i.e., judge x case interaction,
 aka personal signatures observed post-hoc on
 particular cases [correlations between data
 points], but not generated by latent rule)
- Occasion noise: intra-individual fluctuations, i.e., within a single judge system (e.g., mood, fatigue, cog depletion, time of day)

Level noise

• E.g., A judge who hands down less severe sentences than peers (Clancy, Bartolomeo et al., 1981)

Pattern noise

• E.g., A judge who is stricter for some crimes and more lenient for others (Clancy, Bartolomeo et al., 1981)

Occasion noise

- Agents more likely to approve bank loans in the morning (decision fatigue reduces evaluation capacity) (Baer and Schnall, 2021)
- Physicians more likely to prescribe opioids at the end of workday (Philpot et al., 2018)
- Internal fluctuations affecting information processing

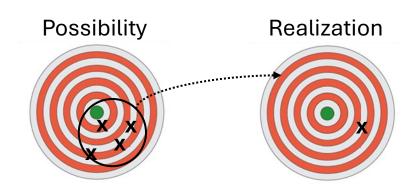
The (wrong) tendency to treat each judgment as isolated

Noise is largely invisible because we handle each judgment as if it were unique.

Noise is a property that emerges only when examining a set of cases.

It is a property of a general process realized during a particular event.

"A singular decision is a recurrent decision that happens only once.» (Kahneman, Sibony et Sunstein)



Noise factors

Individual factors

- Mood, fatigue, personal context
- Experience, preferences, personal beliefs
- Information processing

Cognitive factors

- Overconfidence in one's own judgment or in colleagues' judgments
- Lack of awareness of the problem: noise is rarely visible in everyday practice
- Information overload

Social factors

- Influence from others, group effects, polarization
- Amplification within groups: informational cascades, social influence
- Polarization: reinforcement of opinions through peer interaction

Organizational factors

- Absence of standardized procedures
- Opaque decision processes (e.g., a second evaluator influenced by the first)
- Lack of immediate and clear feedback (medicine, hiring, justice, etc.)
- Preference for harmony and avoidance of disagreement (consensus over honest evaluation)

Moods induce (unpredictable) noise Emotions induce (predictable) biases

Table 1 Two illustrations of the appraisal-tendency framework, originally developed by Lerner & Keltner (2000, 2001) and updated here.^a Table adapted from Lerner JS, Keltner D. 2000. Beyond valence: toward a model of emotion-specific influences on judgment and choice. *Cogn. Emot.* 14(4):479, table 1, with permission from the publisher

Cognitive appraisal	Illustrations: negative emotions		Illustrations: positive emotions	
dimensions	Anger	Fear	Pride	Surprise
Certainty	High	Low	High	Low
Pleasantness	Low	Low	High	High
Attentional activity	Medium	Medium	High	Medium
Anticipated effort	High	High	Low	Low
Individual control	High	Low	High	Medium
Others' responsibility	High	Medium	Low	High
Appraisal tendency	Perceive negative events as predictable, under human control, and brought about by others	Perceive negative events as unpredictable and under situational control	Perceive positive events as brought about by self	Perceive positive events as unpredictable and brought about by others
Influence on relevant	Influence on risk perception		Influence on attribution	
outcome	Perceive low risk	Perceive high risk	Perceive self as responsible	Perceive others as responsible

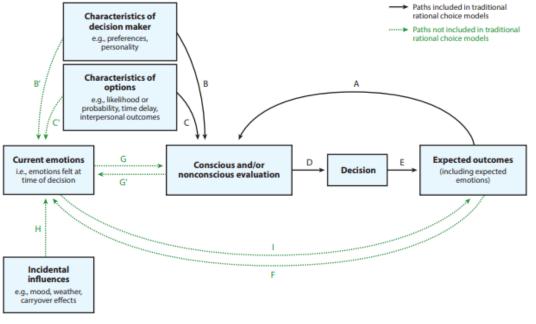


Figure 2

Toward a general model of affective influences on decision making: the emotion-imbued choice model.

How to improve judgments I: Some principles for decreasing the noise

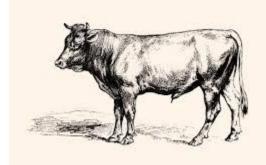
The purpose of judgment is accuracy, not expression

- Compare the current case with similar cases
 treat the case as neither unique nor routine
- Constrain or replace human judgment with simple rules or statistical models (algorithms)
- Calibrate confidence

- Have judgments made independently and privately
- Aggregate independent judgments weight them (mean or other methods) to smooth individual variability
- Weight by expertise
- •

How to improve judgments II: Wisdom of the crowd

- 1. Wisdom vs Stupidity of crowds
- Aggregated judgment from a large group is more accurate than that of a single expert
- Requires private, independent, and diverse predictions



787 estimations

Mean: 1197 lbs

Median: 1207 lbs

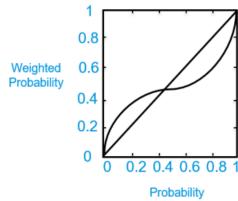
Real weight: 1198 lbs

If participants copy one another or anchor their beliefs on shared erroneous information, the market can converge toward incorrect values

How to improve judgments III: Incentivizing

2. Belief elicitation through monetary incentives: (skin in the game) (Kant; Schotter et Trevino, 2014):

Promotes accurate estimates and calibrated confidence



3. Efficient markets:

- All relevant new information is rapidly incorporated into the price
- Competition enables efficient allocation

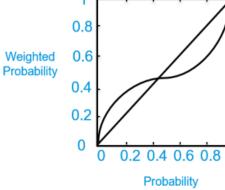
How to improve judgments IV: Wisdom of the crowd x beliefs incentivization

Prediction markets cleverly combine:

1. Wisdom of crowds

- Aggregated judgment from a large group is more accurate than that of a single expert
- Requires private, independent, and diverse predictions

- 2. Belief elicitation through monetary incentives (skin in the game) (Kant; Schotter et Trevino, 2014):
- Promotes accurate estimates and calibrated confidence



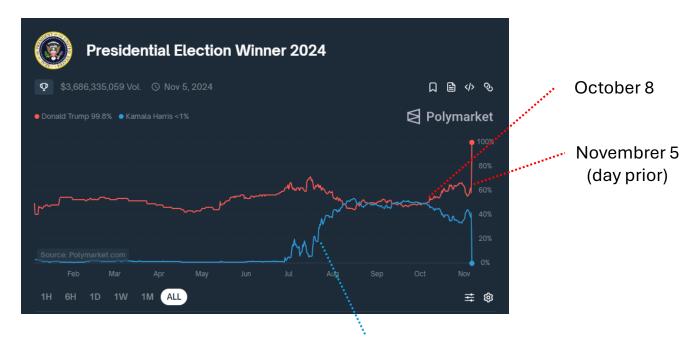
3. Efficient markets:

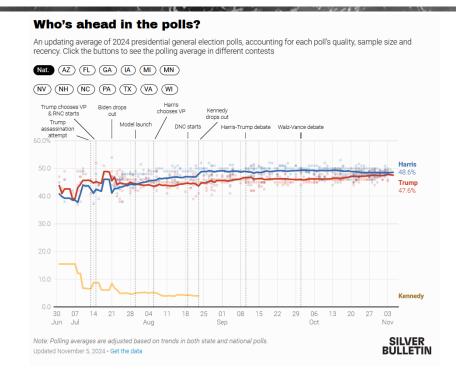
- All relevant new information is rapidly incorporated into the price
- Competition enables efficient allocation

Crowds & incentivization: the case of prediction markets



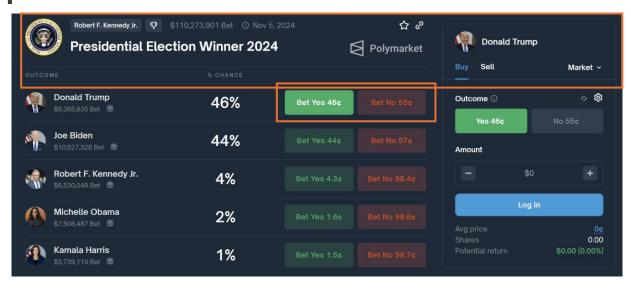








Prediction markets: how they work



- Price of a share: probability as estimated by the market
- Favors relevant information
- Allows performance to be recorded and tracked
- Can be used to support decision-making (e.g., Google) or as a polling method

- Buying and selling shares representing the outcome of future events with predefined terms and conditions
- Two shares: YES and NO; each is priced between 0 and 1
- Match one buyer with one seller. Example: a buyer for YES at €0.57 and a buyer for NO at €0.43
- Resolution:
 - If the event occurs, each YES share is worth €1 and each NO share is worth €0
 - If the event does not occur, each NO share is worth
 €1 and each YES share is worth €0

Prediction markets: performances

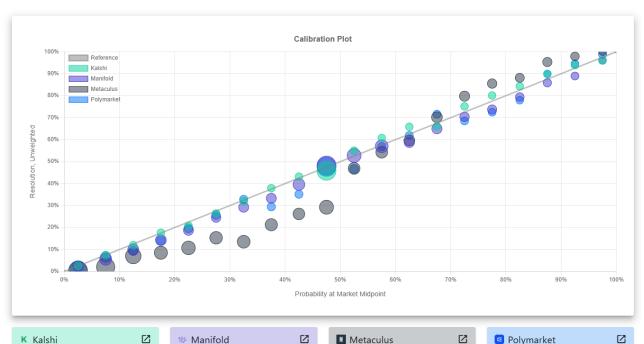












A forecasting platform focused on

calibration instead of bets.



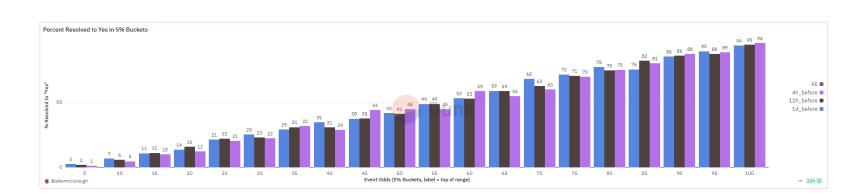
Events Accuracy

@alex_m

66.4%

Accurate





A play-money platform where anyone can

make any market.

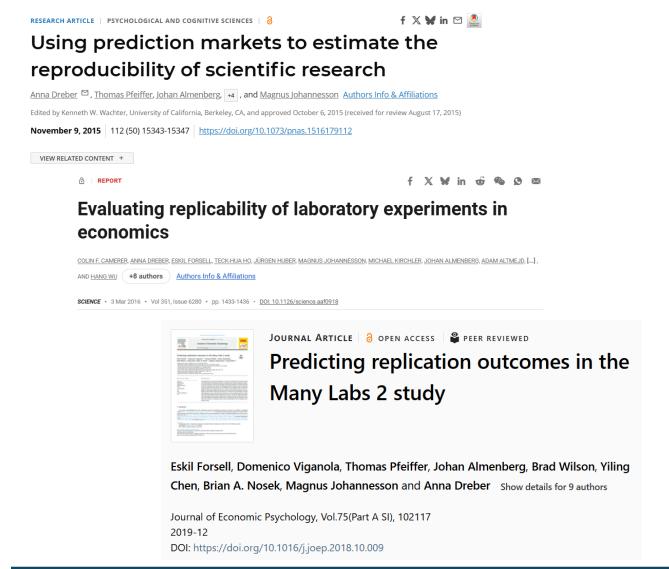
A US-regulated exchange with limited real-

money contracts.

A high-volume cryptocurrency exchange

backed by USDC.

Prediction markets: methods to estimate plausibility



Article Published: 20 May 2020

Variability in the analysis of a single neuroimaging dataset by many teams

Rotem Botvinik-Nezer, Felix Holzmeister, Colin F. Camerer, Anna Dreber, Juergen Huber, Magnus

Johannesson, Michael Kirchler, Roni Iwanir, Jeanette A. Mumford, R. Alison Adcock, Paolo Avesani, Blazej

M. Baczkowski, Aahana Bajracharya, Leah Bakst, Sheryl Ball, Marco Barilari, Nadège Bault, Derek Beaton,

Julia Beitner, Roland G. Benoit, Ruud M. W. J. Berkers, Jamil P. Bhanji, Bharat B. Biswal, Sebastian Bobadilla
Suarez, ... Tom Schonberg + Show authors

Nature 582, 84–88 (2020) | Cite this article

66k Accesses | 875 Citations | 1868 Altmetric | Metrics

Letter Published: 27 August 2018

Evaluating the replicability of social science experiments in *Nature* and *Science* between 2010 and 2015

Colin F. Camerer, Anna Dreber, Felix Holzmeister, Teck-Hua Ho, Jürgen Huber, Magnus Johannesson, Michael Kirchler, Gideon Nave, Brian A. Nosek , Thomas Pfeiffer, Adam Altmejd, Nick Buttrick, Taizan Chan, Yiling Chen, Eskil Forsell, Anup Gampa, Emma Heikensten, Lily Hummer, Taisuke Imai, Siri Isaksson, Dylan Manfredi, Julia Rose, Eric-Jan Wagenmakers & Hang Wu

Nature Human Behaviour 2, 637–644 (2018) | Cite this article

68k Accesses | 1162 Citations | 2165 Altmetric | Metrics

How to improve judgments V: Probabilistic reasoning and calibration

- 1. Triage (avoid wasting time on irrelevant problems)
- 2. Break problems down
- 3. Balance inside and outside views (identify comparison classes)
- **4. Update beliefs** (Bayesian updating + calibrate confidence / base rates)
- 5. Remain open to being wrong
- **6. Reduce uncertainty** (nuance matters; distinguish 60/40 from 55/45)
- 7. Balance caution and decisiveness
- 8. Learn from failures and successes
- **9. Team management** (stepping back, precise questioning, constructive challenge)
- 10. Balance opposing errors

Philip Tetlock & Dan Gardner

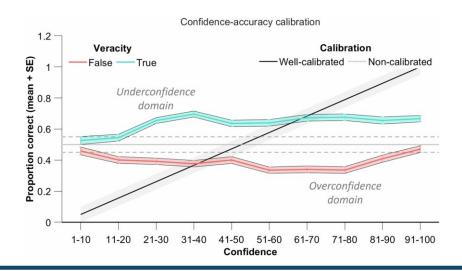
Calibrating confidence

Calibration: ability to adjust one's confidence level according to uncertainty, quality of evidence, and stability of the context

- Confidence dissociated from actual knowledge:
 - In polarized domains (climate change, COVID-19)

(Fischer & Fleming, 2024; Guigon, Villeval et Dreher, 2024)

• In difficult tasks (Brewer & Wells, 2006; Moore & Healy, 2008)

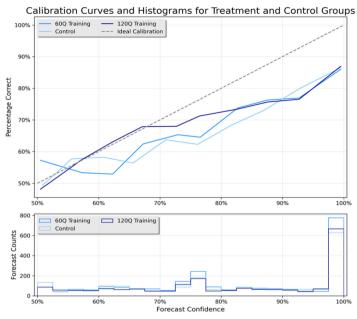


- Reducing overconfidence and improving judgment accuracy:
 - Individual feedback
 - Adaptive training
 - Digital tools for probabilistic estimation

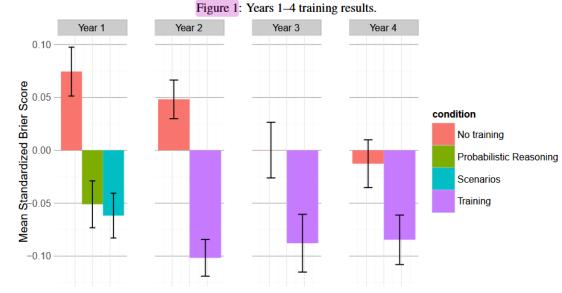
(Chang et al., 2016; Moore et al., 2017; Stone et al., 2023; Gruetzemacher et al., 2024; Motahhar et al., 2025)

- Metacognitive calibration promotes cognitive flexibility
- Metacognitive biases predict dogmatism and closed-mindedness (Rollwage et al., 2018; Fischer et al., 2019)

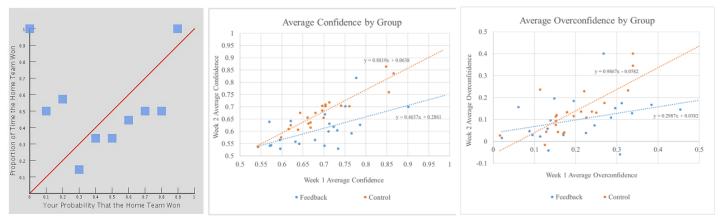
Training probabilistic reasoning and calibration



Gruetzemacher et al., 2024 – students majoring in business and sport culture: prediction of football game winners



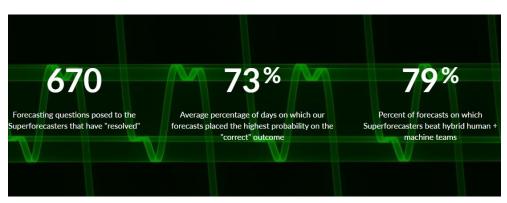
Chang et al, 2016 – Geopolitical forecasting
Recruitment: professionals, researchers, alumni associations, blogs, etc.
Training: reasoning principles and probabilistic reasoning



Stone et al., 2023 – left: example of feedback; right: calibration curve Recruitment: students interested in baseball

Probabilistic reasoning and calibration: the case of geopolitical forecasting



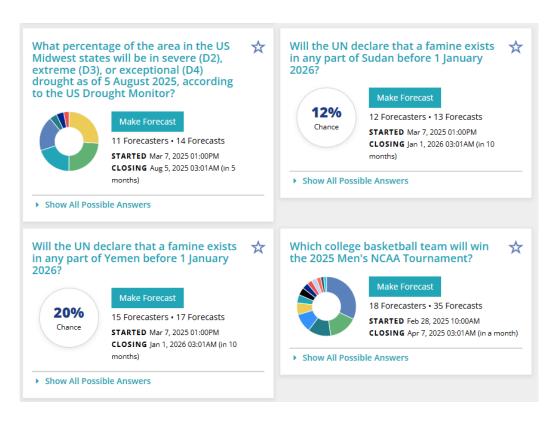


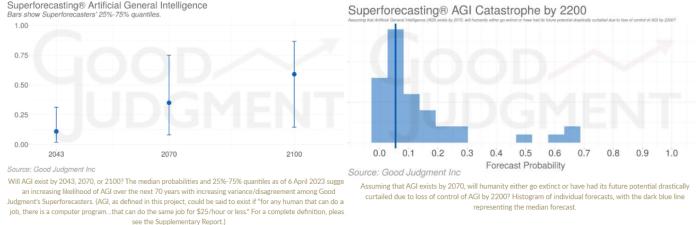
Good Judgment Open



How to improve judgments VI: Crowds x incentives x [proba. training + calibration]

Combine intellectual processes based on niche knowledge, probabilistic judgment, and performant crowds to estimate probabilities of **highly uncertain events**





Black swans (low probability & potentially massive impact)

- Limited historical data, high uncertainty, complex interdependencies
- Resistant to standard statistical approaches (Atanasov et al., 2024; Karger et al., 2022)

How to improve judgments VII: Wisdom of human-silicon crowds

Al-Augmented Predictions: LLM Assistants Improve Human Forecasting Accuracy

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SCIENCE ADVANCES | RESEARCH ARTICLE

COMPUTER SCIENCE

Wisdom of the silicon crowd: LLM ensemble prediction capabilities rival human crowd accuracy

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