Learning to reason about desires: An infant training study

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Abstract

A key aspect of theory of mind is the ability to reason about other people’s desires. As adults, we know that desires and preferences are subjective and specific to the individual. However, research in cognitive development suggests that a significant conceptual shift occurs in desire-based reasoning during infancy and early childhood, as children come to understand that different people can have different preferences. This shift is thought to hinge on the ability to consider a person’s wants, likes, and dislikes when reflecting on their behavior. For example, children as young as two years of age understand that people’s actions and emotions are influenced by their desires; they know that a person will attend to objects that they want to obtain and will be sad if their desires go unfulfilled. However, younger infants are instead sensitive to the relative desirability of objects, which they assume that preferences are shared (Repacholi & Gopnik, 1997). The present research investigates the kind of evidence that is relevant for inducing this shift and whether younger infants can be trained to learn about the diversity of preferences. In Experiment 1, infants younger than 18 months of age were shown demonstrations in which two experimenters either liked the same objects as each other (in one training condition) or different objects (in another training condition). Following training, all infants were asked to share one of two foods with one of the experimenters – they would either share a food that the experimenter showed disgust towards (and the infants themselves liked) or a food that the experimenter showed happiness towards (and the infants themselves did not like). We found that infants who observed two different experimenters liking different objects during training later provided the experimenter with the food she liked, even if it was something they disliked themselves. However, when the two experimenters liked the same objects, they later incorrectly shared the food that they liked. This result suggests that younger infants need to learn to consider the preferences of others in order to understand them. Experiment 2 controlled for an alternative interpretation of these findings. Our results suggest that training allows infant to overtarn an initial theory in the domain of Theory of Mind for a more advanced one.

Keywords: Theory of mind; Desire-based reasoning; Infant learning; Social cognition; Preferences.

Introduction

As social creatures, we are constantly trying to figure out what other people are thinking. The ability to infer others’ mental states, such as their desires and beliefs, serves a variety of functions. For example, being able to consider a person’s wants, likes, and dislikes when reflecting on their behavior. In particular, children as young as two years of age understand that people’s actions and emotions are influenced by their desires; they know that a person will attend to objects that they want to obtain and will be sad if their desires go unfulfilled (Wellman and Wootley, 1990).

The present experiments examine a shift that occurs in infants’ desire-based reasoning, specifically in their reasoning about preferences. The paradigm is based on a study that assessed whether infants understand that preferences can serve as an underlying cause of people’s behaviors (Repacholi & Gopnik, 1997). Fourteen- and eighteen-month-old infants were presented with two different types of food: Goldfish crackers and broccoli. The experimenter determined which food the infants liked (the majority preferred Goldfish crackers). She then demonstrated, using emotional expressions and simple language, that she preferred either that same food (Goldfish crackers in a “matched” trial) or the opposite food (broccoli in an “unmatched” trial), depending on the experimental condition. When infants were asked to share some food with the experimenter, the two age groups differed in their responses. The 18-month-olds were able to correctly determine the experimenter’s preferences based on her previous behaviors, and thus correctly gave her the food that she liked, whether the infant themselves preferred this food or not. However, the 14-month-olds gave the experimenter the food that they themselves preferred, regardless of her demonstrated preferences. This difference in performance was interpreted to suggest that around 18 months of age, infants’ desire-based reasoning undergoes a significant conceptual change, moving from a simple to a more complex model of preferences. That is, infants younger than 18 months may have a very simple notion of preferences in which they initially assume that preferences are universal, rather than varying between people. In contrast, older infants seem to recognize that desires are not always shared.

What occurs between the ages of 14 and 18 months to promote such a significant advance in Theory of Mind? In a recent paper, Perner et al. (2014) suggested that infants might first favor the simpler or “universal” model of preferences because it gives a parsimonious explanation for most of the data they encounter. For example, it is often the case that preferences converge – most people like the taste of pizza but they aren’t as enthusiastic about lima beans. However, as children observe more choices, they have increasingly robust evidence that people have divergent desires. The hypothesis is that as children grow older they accumulate evidence pushing them away from the simple but incorrect initial model toward a more complex and flexible model, which allows them to consider the consequences of distinct preferences. The suggestion is that during this transition, children must observe or participate in many desire-based interactions where people make choices or produce other signals to suggest that their preferences are inconsistent with one another or with the infants themselves.

The idea that infants might shift from a simple to a more complex model was formalized as part of a broader look at preferences in young children (Wellman and Woolley, 1990). The model, the Mixed Multinomial Logit (MML), is generally used to predict consumer behavior, but it also succeeded in providing a unified account of data from a wide range of experiments on children’s understanding of preferences. It accounts for preschoolers’ ability to consider a person’s wants, likes, and dislikes when reflecting on their behavior. In particular, children as young as two years of age understand that people’s actions and emotions are influenced by their desires; they know that a person will attend to objects that they want to obtain and will be sad if their desires go unfulfilled (Wellman and Wootley, 1990). For example, they can reason about preferences from the statistical properties of a collection of objects and an agent’s choices (Kushnir, Xue, & Wellman, 2010) and for children’s ability to use shared preferences, as well as their knowledge of category membership, as a means for making generalizations (Fawcett & Markson, 2010; see Lucas et al. for details). This modeling work also yielded an important empirical prediction about the development of desire-based reasoning: if younger children were provided evidence of diverse preferences, they might first favor the simpler or “universal” model of preferences. This hypothesis is based on a simple notion of preferences in which they initially assume that preferences are universal, rather than varying between people. In contrast, older infants seem to recognize that desires are not always shared.

The present research examines a shift that occurs in infants’ desire-based reasoning, specifically in their reasoning about preferences. The paradigm is based on a study that assessed whether infants understand that preferences can serve as an underlying cause of people’s behaviors (Repacholi & Gopnik, 1997). Fourteen- and eighteen-month-old infants were presented with two different types of food: Goldfish crackers and broccoli. The experimenter determined which food the infants liked (the majority preferred Goldfish crackers). She then demonstrated, using emotional expressions and simple language, that she preferred either that same food (Goldfish crackers in a “matched” trial) or the opposite food (broccoli in an “unmatched” trial), depending on the experimental condition. When infants were asked to share some food with the experimenter, the two age groups differed in their responses. The 18-month-olds were able to correctly determine the experimenter’s preferences based on her previous behaviors, and thus correctly gave her the food that she liked, whether the infant themselves preferred this food or not. However, the 14-month-olds gave the experimenter the food that they themselves preferred, regardless of her demonstrated preferences. This difference in performance was interpreted to suggest that around 18 months of age, infants’ desire-based reasoning undergoes a significant conceptual change, moving from a simple to a more complex model of preferences. That is, infants younger than 18 months may have a very simple notion of preferences in which they initially assume that preferences are universal, rather than varying between people. In contrast, older infants seem to recognize that desires are not always shared.

In Experiment 1, 55 infants were tested. We used the strict criterion that only infants who did not share the correct item on an initial pre-test (described below) continued to training. This resulted in 15 infants completing training who did not already know that preferences are diverse. Twenty infants per condition were tested in the full training procedure (DDT: mean age = 15.7 months; Range = 14.1 months to 17.5 months; N-DDT, mean age = 15.6 months; Range = 14.4 months to 17.2 months). An additional 15 infants were tested and excluded from the analysis due to failing to complete the study because of fussiness (2) or refusing to share on the pre-test and all test trials (13).

Materials

Food. Four sets of food pairs were used in the experiment. The pairs were broccoli and Goldfish crackers, celery and rice puffs, cucumbers and Cherries, and green peppers and wheel-shaped infant crackers.

Toys. Two sets of toys were used during the training sessions; each set consisted of one type of animal and one type of vehicle in a transparent container. The sets of toys were 4 trucks and 4 dogs, and 4 planes and 4 monkeys. The toys within each type were not identical; they varied in color and shape.

Procedure, Design and Predictions

All infants were tested individually in a quiet lab setting. They sat in a high chair in front of a table and their parent sat in a chair beside them. Before the study began, two experimenters played a passing game with the infant. This allowed the infant to warm up to the experimenters and to

While this is an important distinction we will not discuss it further, because both processes result in identical behavior in our task.
ensure that they could share with the experimenters. The warm up consisted of each experimenter passing a toy (e.g., a ball or toy keys) to the infant and asking her to pass it back by placing it in the experimenters’ hands. 

Pre-training Test. One type of toy was given to the infants’ preferred experimenter. Experimenter 1 slid a plate of food consisting of a few pieces of vegetables and snacks (e.g., raw broccoli and Goldfish crackers) towards the infant and encouraged the infant to try some. The experimenter gave the infant a 45 second time frame to taste the foods and the experimenter determined which of the two foods the infant preferred. We used the same coding as in Repacholi & Gopnik (1997) to determine food preferences on all trials (pre- and post-tests). Inter-coder agreement for preferences was 91%. When the infant’s preference was determined, the experimenter took out a container consisting of the same foods the infant had tried. The experimenter then demonstrated that she liked the food that the infant did not show a preference for and was disguised by the food that the infant preferred. The experimenter showed her preferences by saying, e.g., “Ewww! Crackers! I tasted the crackers! Ewww!”, and “Mmm! Broccoli! I tasted the broccoli! Mmm!”. The experimenter showed a liking and disliking towards each food three times and she did this using facial expressions based on the descriptions of Ekman & Friesen (1975). Next, the experimenter placed broccoli on one side of a tray and Goldfish crackers on the other, placed her hand with her palm up towards the infant, said, “can you give me some?” and slid the tray broccoli on one side of a tray and Goldfish crackers on the other, placed her hand with her palm up towards the infant, said, “can you give me some?” and slid the tray towards the infant, pushed the tray towards the infant and asked the infant to share one with her. The infants were given 45s to share a toy with the experimenter. Once the infant shared a toy with Experimenter 2, Experimenter 1 had a chance to ask the infant to share with her the toy that she liked. 

Training Trials. Infants who failed the pre-test were introduced to either the DDT condition or the N-DDT condition. Infants in the DDT condition saw two experimenters liking and disliking different toys and infants in the N-DDT condition saw two experimenters disliking the same objects.

Training proceeded as follows: Training trial 1 occurred right after the pre-test. During training trial 1, Experimenter 1 put a set of toys (e.g., dogs and trucks) onto the table and subsequently pulled out three toy of one type (e.g., dogs) and three of the other. Then, the experimenter pulled out three toys of the other type (e.g., trucks) and expressed dislike towards them. The dialogue and facial expression of the experimenter who used the toy during the pre-test. The experimenter expressed her preferences by saying, “Yay! A dog! I got a dog! Yay!” and “Ewww! A truck! I picked up a truck! Ewww!”. Once Experimenter 1 expressed her emotions for each type of toy three times, Experimenter 2 took over. Experimenter 2 showed liking and disliking towards the same toys as Experimenter 1 if the infant was in the N-DDT condition (e.g., liked dogs and disliked trucks) and she showed liking and disliking towards the opposite toys as Experimenter 1 if the infant was in the DDT condition (e.g., liked trucks and disliked dogs).

Training trial 2 involved Experimenter 2 and the infant. It was similar to the pre-test, except that it involved a different toy (e.g., a set of food, e.g., the tray and palms up) and the infant. The infant was given the same plate of food and demonstrated which food the infant preferred within 45s. In the DDT condition, the experimenter then demonstrated that she preferred the food that the infant disliked and disliked the food that the infant preferred. In the N-DDT condition, the experimenter demonstrated that she disliked and liked the same foods as the infant. The infant was not asked to share any food with the experimenter, as this was a training trial and not a test.

Training trial 3 was identical to training trial 1, but with a different set of toys (e.g., monkeys and planes). Experimenter 1 expressed liking to one type of toy and dislike towards the other type of toy. Experimenter 2 had a turn expressing her emotions towards each of the toys. She expressed happiness and dislike towards the same toys as Experimenter 1 if the infant was in the N-DDT condition and expressed happiness and dislike towards the opposite toys as Experimenter 1 if the infant was in the DDT condition. After Experimenter 2 finished her demonstrations, infants completed training task 1. Next, Experimenter 2 put one of each type of toy on both sides of a tray (e.g., a monkey on right, a plane on left), placed her palms face up towards the infant, pushed the tray towards the infant and asked the infant to share one with her. The infants were given 45s to share a toy with the experimenter. Once the infant shared a toy with Experimenter 2, Experimenter 1 had a chance to ask the infant to share with her the toy that she liked.

Training trial 4 was a repetition of training trial 3 and included a training task that was identical to the one completed after training trial 3.

The purpose of the training tasks, where infants were asked to share one of two toys with each experimenter, was simply to ensure that the infants did not get bored and continued to share throughout the study. We did not expect that infants would remember the toys and in fact we found that infants did not reliably remember the experimenters’ preferences in either condition of Experiment 1 or in Experiment 2 (all ps > .25 for ANOVA’s examining infants’ passing behavior on the experimenters’ preferred toy) across training conditions (IDT: 7/20 correct; N-DDT: 7/20 correct). The infant’s performance differed by training condition for post-training test 2 (DDT: 15/20 correct; N-DDT: 7/20 correct, χ²(1, N=40)=6.46, p<.01). Only the performance on post-training test 2 in infants in the DDT condition was significantly above chance (p=.04, binomial).

The first 10 infants in both training conditions, the food on post-training test 2 was identical to the food on training trial 2 (which the infant used with Experimenter 2 on Day 1 but did not share). We switched this to a new food type to ensure that any improvement in infants’ performance on Day 2 in IDT could not be explained by already being familiar with these foods.

Experiment 1: Discussion

Our results suggest that the type of information provided during training was crucial in determining how children approached their desires when infants were provided with a large number of instances indicating that two different people can like different things, they appear to share the belief that they disliked but the experimenter preferred. However, infants’ performance did not improve when they saw preferences that were not diverse: infants in the N-DDT condition did not share the correct food with the experimenter on any post-training tests. This suggests that training with appropriate evidence can result in significant changes to children’s explicit Theory of Mind. But we did find in the DDT condition only demonstrate advances in understanding on Day 2 of the experiment, during the second post-training test? We see at least two possibilities. One possibility is that post-training test 1 served as a final training trial, giving infants the minimum number of examples required to change their model of how preferences work (i.e., to learn that they apply to the individual). A second possibility is that a night of sleep resulted in improved learning of this general knowledge about other’s minds, allowing infants to pass the test on Day 2 but not on Day 1. We will address these possibilities more fully in the General Discussion.

Before we can speculate as to why children appeared to learn something new about preferences in the DDT condition, we must first investigate an alternative interpretation of the Experiment 1 data. It is possible that the infants in the DDT condition did not learn that preferences are diverse, but instead learned something less conceptually powerful like, “In this game I’m playing, people always get opposite things—prefer the thing that I didn’t take.” If this is the case, then the participants did not learn that preferences are specific to the individual; they seem to play a game of opposition where they ran a second experiment to tease apart these explanations.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 explored the alternative interpretation that infants in the DDT condition of Experiment 1 only learned to give the experimenter what they themselves liked. Infants completed the same training as in the DDT condition of Experiment 1 but with a “matched” trial on post-training test 2. In a matched trial type, the experimenter demonstrates the same preference as the infant, instead of demonstrating opposite preferences. In this case, if infants in Experiment 1 DDT condition learned that preferences are specific to the individual, and that is why they tended to share the correct food with the experimenter on post-training test 2, then they should give the experimenter the food she likes even though this is also the food that the infant herself likes. Conversely, if infants in the DDT condition of Experiment 1 learned through the course of the session that people should simply always be given opposite things to their partner, then they will give the experimenter the food that they themselves do not like on post-training
test 2, even though the experimenter demonstrates that she likes the food that the infant also prefers. We maintained the exact same procedure as in the DDT condition of Experiment 1, including using an “unmatched” trial type for post-training test 1, as the effect was observed only in post-training test 2 and so every aspect of the experimental session must remain the same until that point.

**Experiment 2: Methods**

**Participants**

Participants were 29 infants and, as in Experiment 1, only children who failed to give the correct food on the initial pre-test continued to training with 20 infants tested in the full training procedure (mean age = 15.5 months; Range = 14.4 months to 17.0 months). An additional 10 infants were tested but not included in analyses due to failing to complete the study because of fussiness (1), parental interference (1) or refusing to share anything with the experimenters on all test trials (8).

**Materials**

Food. The food was the same as in Experiment 1 except that the wheel-shaped crackers were replaced with Animal Crackers. This was done because we could no longer find the wheel-shaped crackers.

Toys. The sets of toys were 4 hippos and 4 trucks, and 4 cats and 4 planes. Again, all of the toys within an individual type were slightly different in shape and/or color.

**Procedure and Design**

The experimental procedure, counterbalancing and randomization were identical to Experiment 1. DDT

**Predictions**

We predicted that infants would perform at chance on post-training test 1, as they did in Experiment 1. If infants give the experimenter the correct food on post-test 2 (the food that both the toddler and the infant like), then this will suggest that infants in Experiment 1 did not simply learn to play a game of opposites but instead learned that preferences are diverse.

**Experiment 2: Results**

Again we replicated the findings from Repacholi & Gopnik (2000): 9/10 infants passed the pre-test (p = .06, binomial, marginally significantly fewer than chance), 18 infants shared the incorrect food and 2 infants shared nothing.

Six out of 20 infants were correct on post-training test 1 and 13 out of 20 were correct on post-training test 2, both not significantly different from chance (p = .12 and p = .26, respectively).

The critical comparison is between infants’ performance on post-training test 2 in the Experiment 1 DDT condition and in Experiment 2. This comparison addresses whether infants in Experiment 1 simply learned to play a game of opposites and would have shared the opposite food type to their own preference regardless of what the experimenter demonstrated on post-test 2. For this analysis, we coded infants’ performance in terms of whether they gave the experimenter the opposite food to what the infant preferred (which is correct in Exp 1 DDT but incorrect in Exp 2). We gave infants a score of 1 for sharing the opposite food and a score of zero for sharing the same (non-opposite) food. This resulted in a score of 72/20 for training test 1 and 15/20 on post-training test 2 in the DDT condition of Experiment 1. Using a Fisher’s Exact test, we found that this performance on these trials was significantly different from one another, $X^2(1, N=40)=6.46, p=.01$, suggesting that infants in Experiment 1 were more likely to share the opposite food than infants in Experiment 2, where they would have been incorrect in doing so.

**Experiment 2: Discussion**

Overall, most infants gave the experimenter the food that they preferred (and that the infant also preferred) on post-training test 2 (this was not significantly different from chance using a binomial test). Though we would have expected infants to share the correct food at higher than chance levels in this “matched” trial, we suspect that the non-significant result is due to a lack of statistical power caused by having relatively few participants for binomial statistics. In general, the percentage of infants offering the correct, “matched” food on this trial is very similar to the percentage of younger infants who did so in Repacholi & Gopnik (1997) (65% vs. 72%, respectively).

The purpose of Experiment 2 was to eliminate the possible explanation that participants in the Experiment 1 DDT condition only learned to give the experimenter the opposite food of what they themselves wanted. Comparison of Experiments 1 and 2 suggest that this was not the case, as infants shared the food that they preferred in Experiment 2 and not reflexively give the experimenter the opposite food following training.

**General Discussion**

Together, these findings show that infants younger than 18 months can learn about the subjectivity of preferences when provided with divergent preferences during training, infants were able to reason correctly about another person’s preferences, providing the experimenter with the food that she liked. In contrast, the infants who only saw congruent expressions of liking and disliking options did not learn to reason correctly about another person’s preferences, and continued to give the experimenter the food that they themselves preferred, regardless of the experimenter’s preference.

Experiment 2 helped to clarify these findings, providing evidence that infants did not simply learn to always give the experimenter the opposite food. Post-training test 2 of Experiment 2 was a “matched” trial, meaning that the experimenter showed the infant that she liked the same food as the infant. Because the majority of infants gave the experimenter the food that the infant liked (and the infant liked), we can be confident that infants in Experiment 1 learned that preferences are diverse. Taken together, these findings result in a more sophisticated understanding of another’s preferences.

**Conclusion**

Research on children’s theory-of-mind reasoning has persisted for decades. Here we examined a prediction from a particular model of how children attribute preferences to others, namely that appropriate training regarding the diversity of desires could result in infants undergoing a significant shift in conceptual development (Lucas et al., 2014). We found that following exposure to different people demonstrating divergent desires, infants were able to move from a model of universal preferences to a model that allows for the individualization of preferences. The success of this training procedure more broadly suggests that early advances in Theory of Mind could be due to experience.

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