FINTRAC Trains South American FIUs	Confirmation and positive-test biases in hypothesis testing
In early December 2009, <u>Randy Reynoso</u> from the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis	by Dr. David Mandel
Centre of Canada (<u>FINTRAC</u>) helped deliver ana- lytic training for the UNODC in Bogota, Colombia. The 5-day course was attended by 13 participants from the financial intelligence units (FIUs) of Colombia, Peru and Ecuador.	Hypothesis generation and hypothesis testing are central to intelligence analysis (Heuer, 1999). These cognitive processes often guide the collec- tion and use of evidence and influence the conclu- sions analysts ultimately reach. Thus, a clear un- derstanding of how people tend to generate and
"The UNODC training offered the participants an excellent opportunity, not only to enhance their analytical skills and better understand financial in-	test hypotheses is arguably a basic prerequisite for analytic integrity.
telligence, but it also provided an excellent venue for networking and sharing ideas with other ana- lysts" commented Reynoso.	Early behavioural science literature on hypothesis generation and testing suggested that people's hy- pothesis-testing strategies are biased such that people seek confirmation for their preferred hy-
The UNODC has a mandate to assist countries to develop more robust measures against money	potheses.
laundering and terrorist financing. This marks the third occasion that Canada has assisted the UNODC's Global Programme against Money- Laundering, Proceeds of Crime and the Financ- ing of Terrorism.	Based on his classic "rule discovery" research, Wason (1960, 1968) proposed that people seek out evidence in a manner that places greater weight on confirming one's hypothesis than on dis- confirming it.
The FINTRAC website offers a number of useful <u>publications</u> as well as a short course on <u>Terrorist</u> <u>Financing</u> and <u>How FINTRAC Builds a Case</u> .	In the rule discovery paradigm, participants are told that their task is to correctly identify the rule that the experimenter is using to generate triplets of numbers. The experimenter begins by providing an
GFF Intelligence Forum	example of a triplet that fits the rule and then the participant must formulate a hypothesis to test. To
The <u>Global Futures Forum</u> (GFF) was created by the CIA as a means of reaching out and engaging the academic community.	perimenter provides accurate feedback on whether the triplet is consistent or inconsistent with the rule.

Within the GFF website (in a sidebar called "Substantive Topics") is a "Community of Interest" on the "Practice and Organization of Intelligence" (COI-POI). Moderated by Tony Campbell, former Executive Director of the International Assessments Staff at PCO, its mandate is broadly defined and includes conceptual and practical contributions addressing the leadership and management of intelligence, best practices ("tradecraft"), organisational behaviour and the art and science of change. To access the GFF website and participate in the forum, contact Janelle Boucher, BOUCHERJA@smtp.gc.ca.

What Wason found was that when the experimenter's rule was guite general, such as "increasing numbers," and the initial example, such as 2-4-6, was suggestive of a more specific rule, such as "increasing even numbers," the initial hypotheses people generated tended to favor narrower rules.

As well, Wason found that most people generated triplets to test their hypothesis that were instances of their current hypothesis. For instance, if they thought the rule was "increasing even numbers", they would generate examples like 4-6-8 or 2-10-20, but not non-conforming instances like 5-7-9.







Confirmation Bias, cont'd

These findings led Wason to conclude that people sought evidence that confirmed their stated hypotheses.

However, in an insightful reinterpretation of the "confirmation bias" phenomenon, Klayman and Ha (1987) proposed that people do not necessarily seek out or give greater weight to confirmatory information. Rather, they prefer to test hypotheses by examining cases that conform to their stated hypothesis, as Wason had found, and they seldom select or seek out nonconforming instances to test their hypotheses.

Although the former, which Klayman and Ha call positive hypothesis tests, are hypothesis *con-forming*, they are not necessarily hypothesis *con-firming*.

Similarly, although the latter, which Klayman and Ha call negative hypothesis tests, are hypothesis *nonconforming*, they are not necessarily hypothesis *disconfirming*.

That is, a positive (i.e., conforming-cases) test can provide disconfirmatory evidence, just as a negative (i.e., nonconforming-cases) test can provide confirmatory evidence.

For example, an individual who believes the rule to be "increasing even numbers" and selects 4-8-12 might have his or her hypothesis disconfirmed if the rule was in fact "numbers increasing by two". Likewise an individual wishing to test the same hypothesis via a negative test with the triple 5-9-15 would receive confirmatory support because this example would indeed not fit the rule (even though the hypothesized rule in this example is false).

Introductory discussions of cognitive factors in intelligence analysis would likely benefit by making clear the distinction between confirmation bias (a tendency to seek or give greater weight to hypothesis confirming evidence) and positive-test bias (a tendency to seek or give greater weight to hypothesis conforming evidence). There is evidence for both types of biases (e.g., on the former, see Tetlock & Henik, 2005; on the latter, see Mandel & Vartanian 2009), but their implications for analytic rigor are not equally dire. Indeed, as some theorists have noted (e.g., McKenzie & Mikkelsen, 2000), in situations where one is testing hypotheses about low-probability events (such as major terrorist attacks), positive testing ought to provide greater sensitivity in discriminating true hypotheses from false ones.

Dr David Mandel, <u>David.Mandel@drdc-rddc.gc.ca</u>, works in the Thinking, Risk, and Intelligence Group of the Adversarial Intent Section at Defence Development Research Canada in Toronto.

References

- Heuer, R.J., Jr. (1999). Psychology of Intelligence Analysis. Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency.
- Klayman, J., & Ha, Y.-W. (1987). Confirmation, disconfirmation, and information in hypothesis testing. Psychological Review, 94, 211–228.
- Mandel, D.R., & Vartanian, O. (2009). Weighting of contingency information in causal judgment: Evidence of hypothesis dependence and use of a positive-test strategy.
- Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology, 62, 2388-2408.
- McKenzie, C.R.M., & Mikkelsen, L.A. (2000). The psychological side of Hempel's paradox of confirmation. Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 7, 360–366.
- Tetlock, P.E., & Henik, E. (2005). Theory- vs. imagination-driven thinking about historical counterfactuals: are we prisoners of our preconceptions? In D.R. Mandel, D.J
- Hilton, & P. Catellani (Eds.), The psychology of counterfactual thinking (pp. 1-7). New York: Routledge.
- Wason, P. C. (1960). On the failure to eliminate hypotheses in a conceptual task. Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology, 32, 129–140.
- Wason, P. C. (1968). Reasoning about a rule. Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology, 20, 273– 281.



