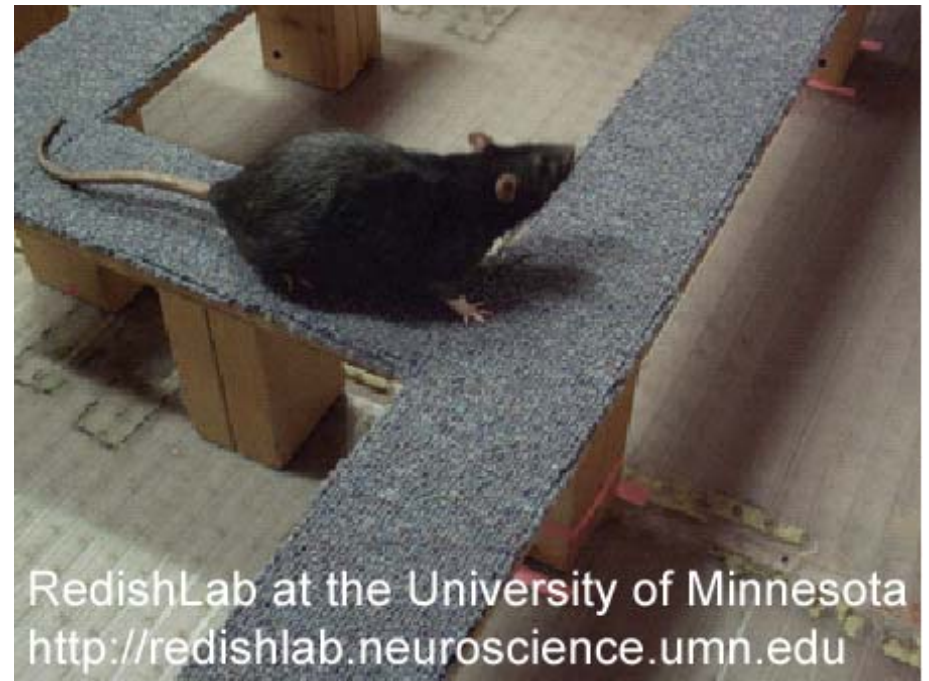


# MEMORY and DECISION MAKING

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<http://redishlab.neuroscience.umn.edu>



What is a decision?

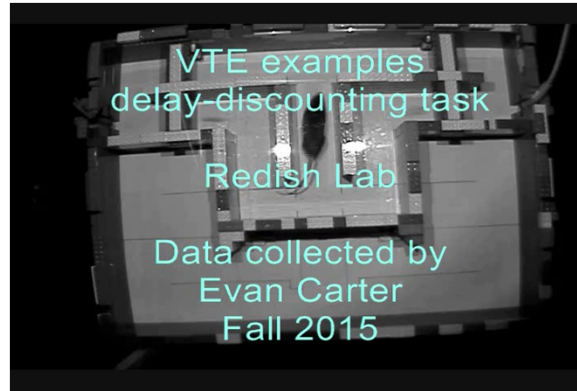
Let's define decision-making as action-selection.

Candy vending machines

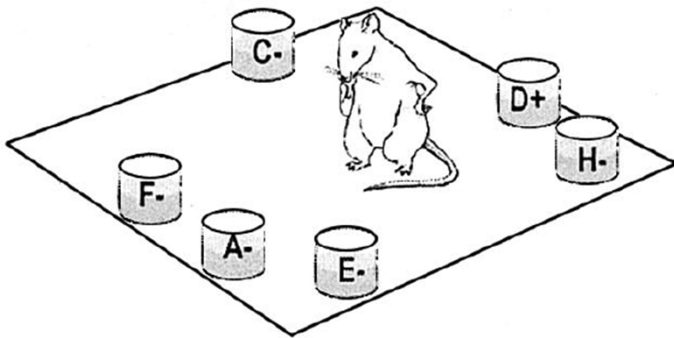


Gambling

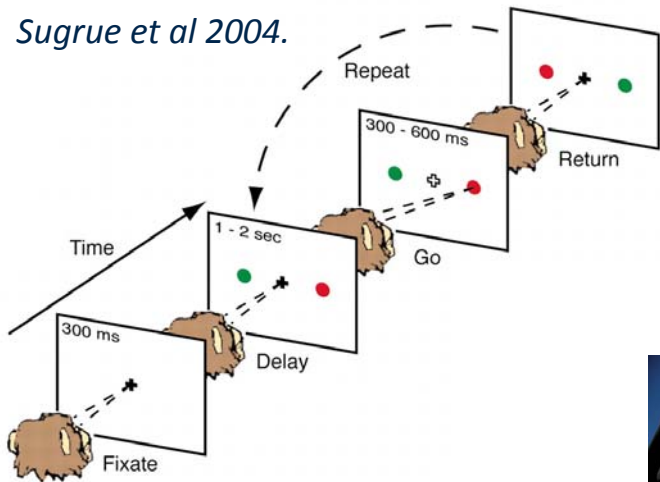
Carter and Redish 2016



Wood et al 2004.



Sugrue et al 2004.



Buying a house...



Taking drugs... or not...



Going to college... or not...



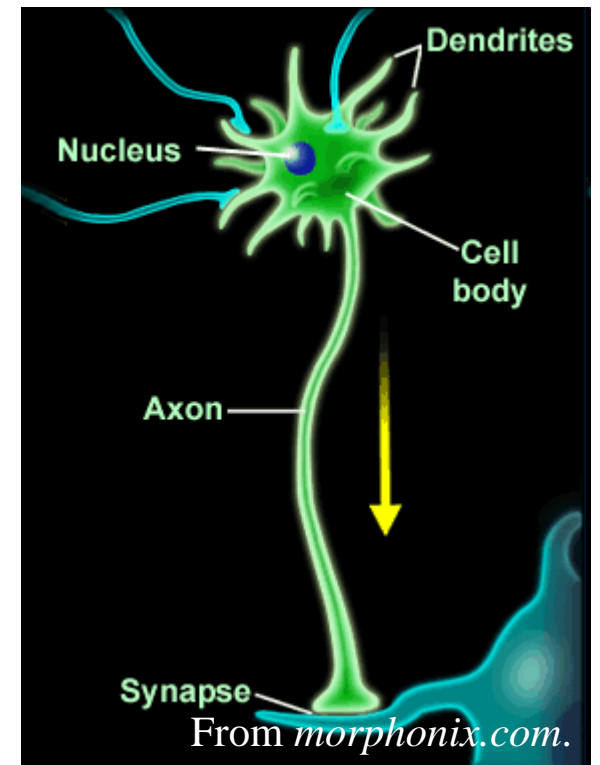
"Man and wife... say man and wife..."

# Why memory?

*To change our future actions.*

*Memory is only useful if it changes our future.*

# What is memory?



### PART I

- CELLULAR MEMORY
  - What changes in a cell?
  - How is memory stored?
  - Is this really memory?
  - Can we read it?

### PART II

- CONTENT-ADDRESSABLE MEMORY
  - How does memory in your brain differ from memory in your computer?
  - Memory as categorization
  - What are the implications of this?

### PART III

- CREATIVE MEMORY
  - We don't remember our pasts.
  - We imagine them.

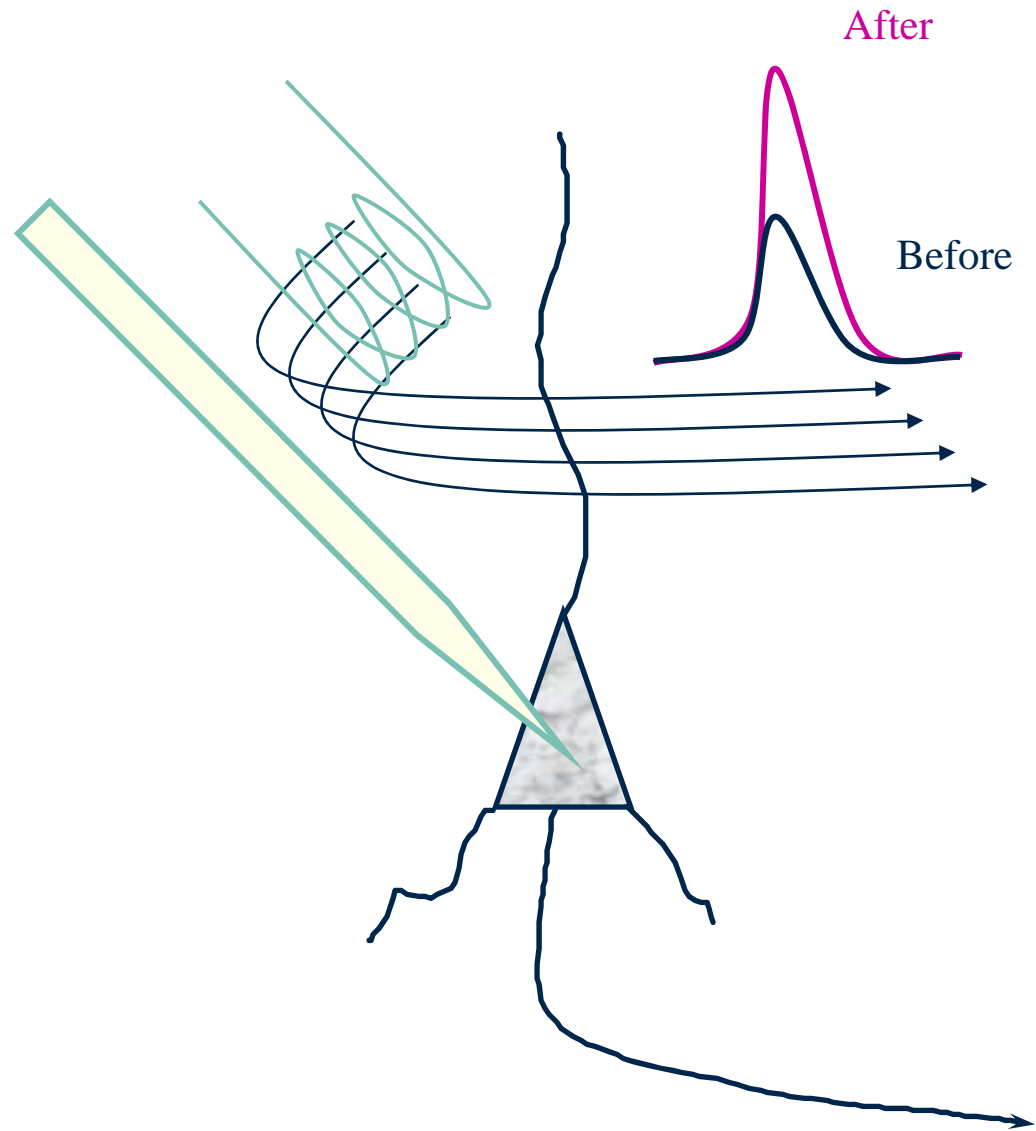
### PART IV

- DECISIONS
  - Decision-making is about information processing
  - How the information is stored changes the outcome.

## CELLULAR MEMORY

### *Long-term potentiation*

- Found throughout the brain
  - hippocampus
  - cortex
  - nucleus accumbens
  - VTA
  - striatum
- Typically found by injecting bursts of current along pathways which depolarizes post-synaptic neurons

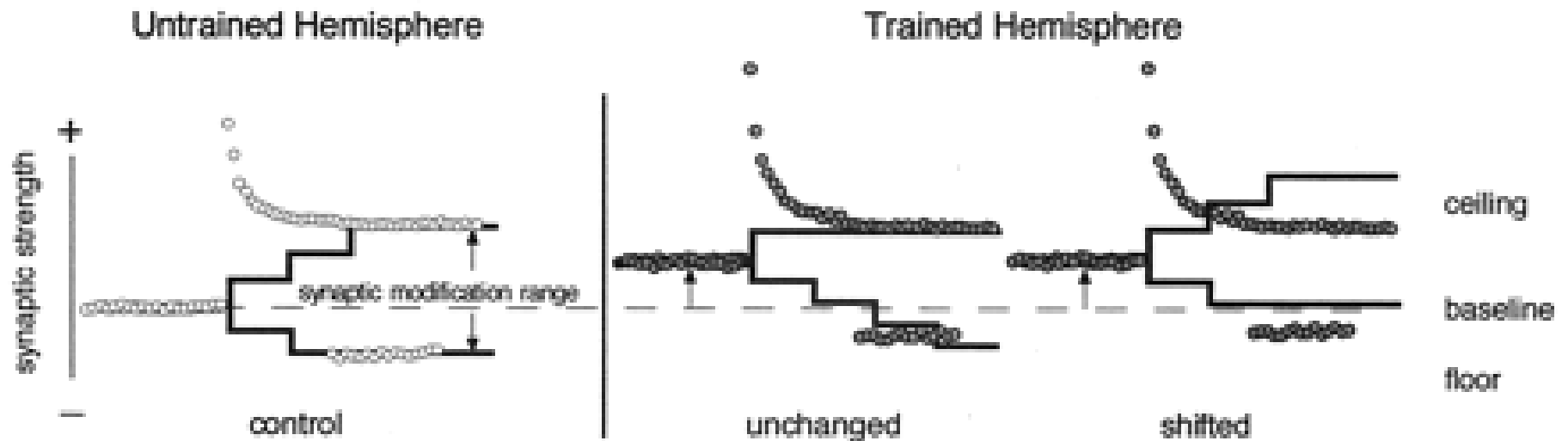


# Is this really memory?

## CELLULAR MEMORY

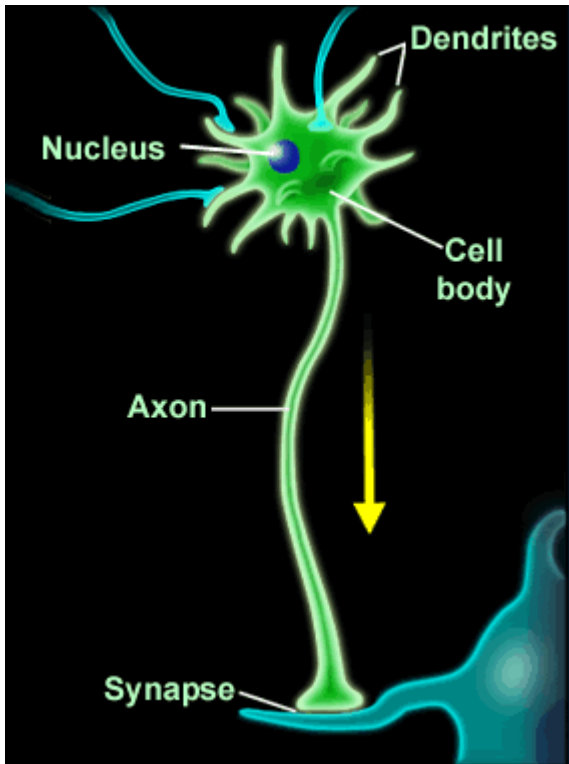
- Cellular synapses work within a specific dynamic range.
- After training, the trained areas are shifted UP.

*Synapses in the trained rat motor cortex [M1] were near the ceiling of their modification range, compared with the untrained MI, but the range of synaptic modification was not affected by learning.*



## READING MEMORY

When this cell spikes,  
I know where the animal is!



<http://morphonix.com>



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Mathematical  
technology

## READING MEMORY



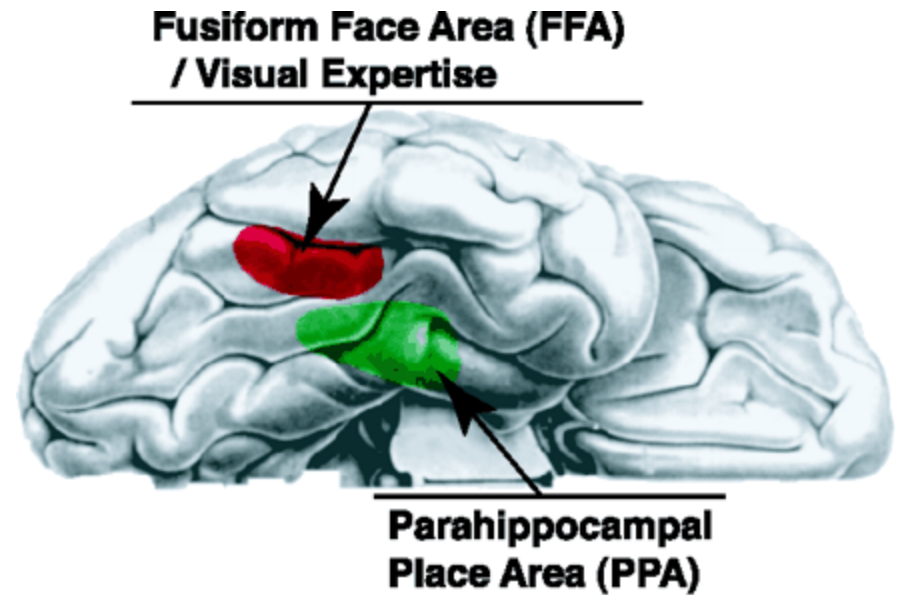
Distributed and Overlapping Representations of Faces and Objects in  
Ventral Temporal Cortex  
James V. Haxby *et al.*  
*Science* 293, 2425 (2001);  
DOI: 10.1126/science.1063736



cc

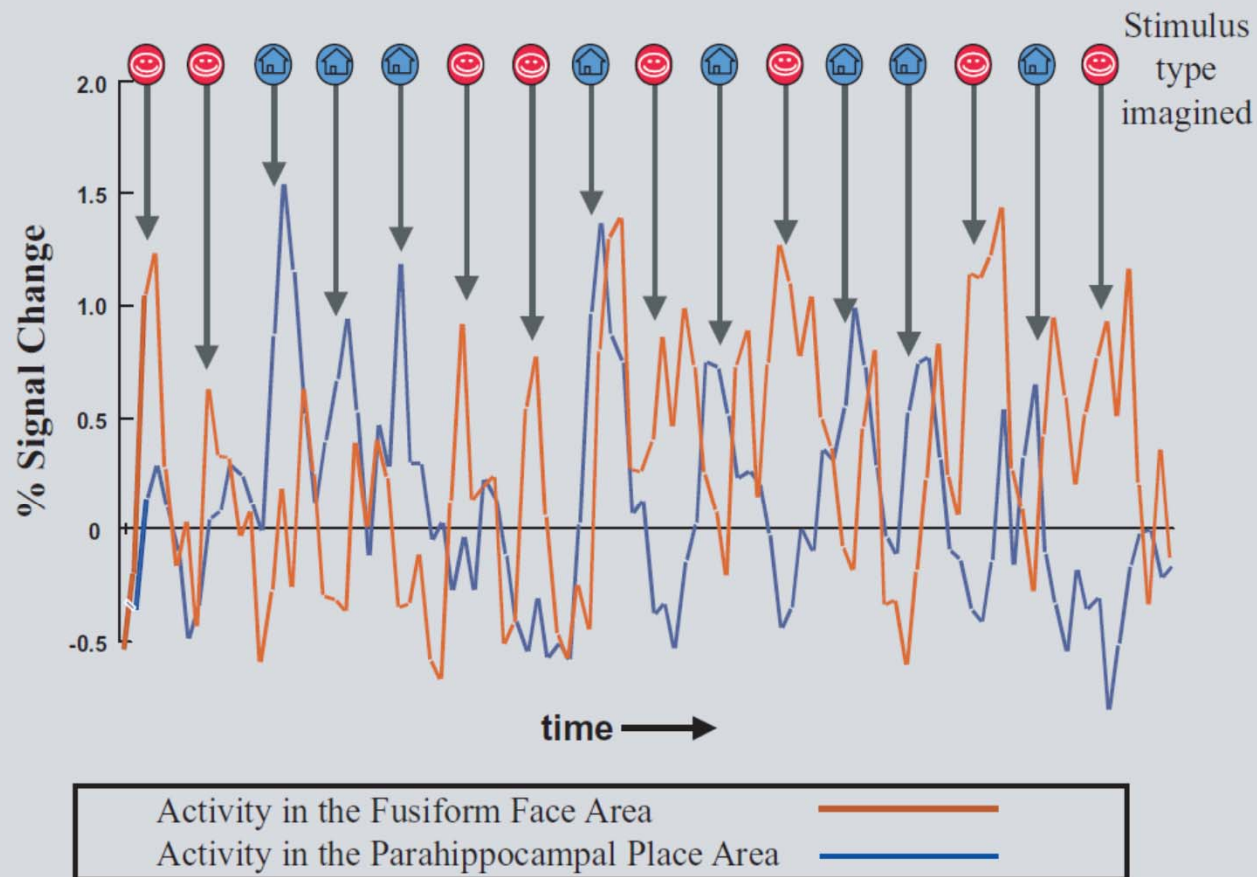


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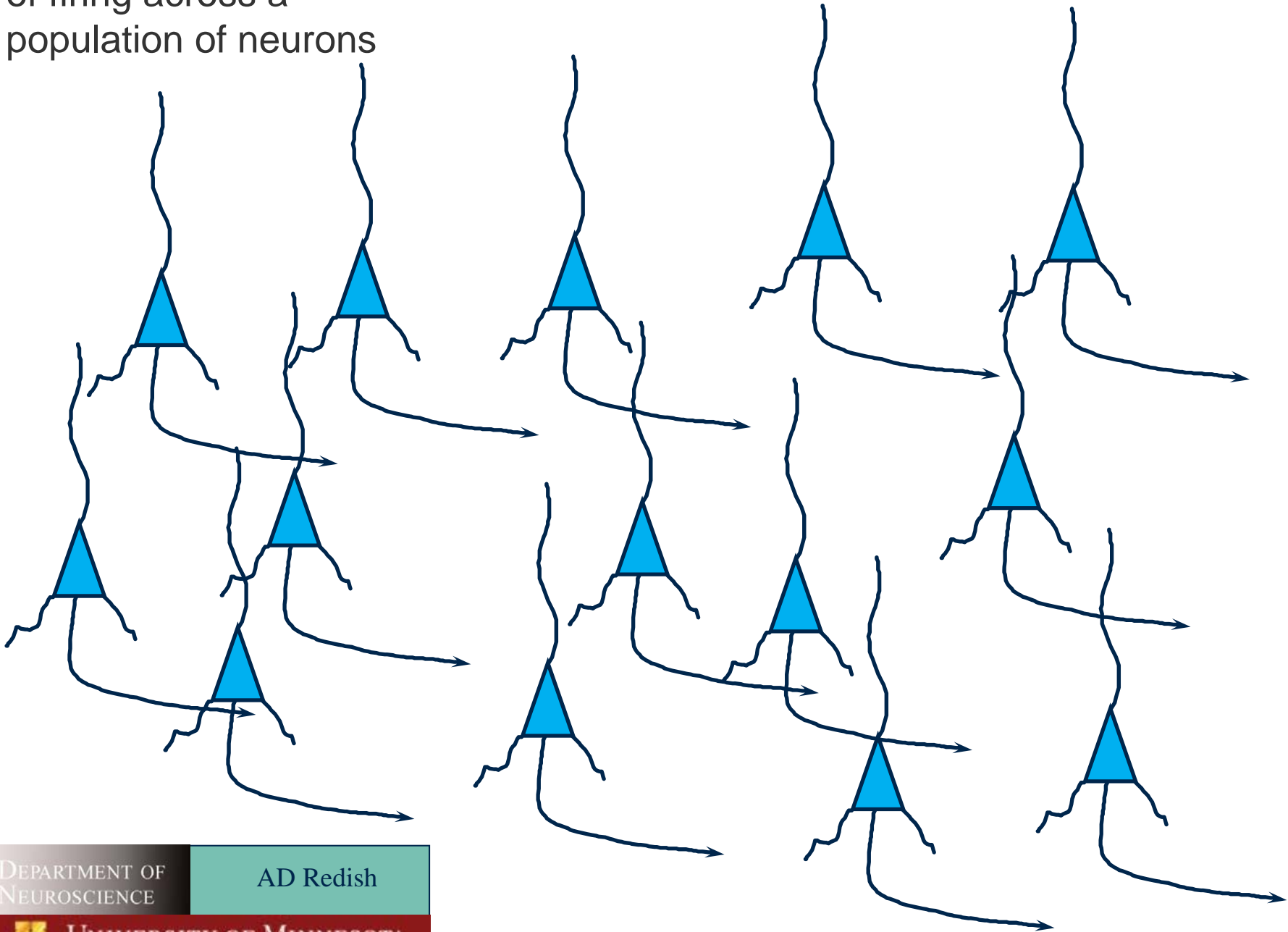
### The fusiform face area: a cortical region specialized for the perception of faces

Nancy Kanwisher<sup>1,\*</sup> and Galit Yovel<sup>2</sup>



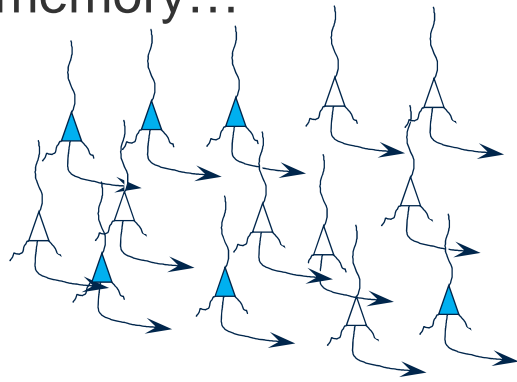
## CONTENT-ADDRESSABLE MEMORY

A memory is a pattern of firing across a population of neurons

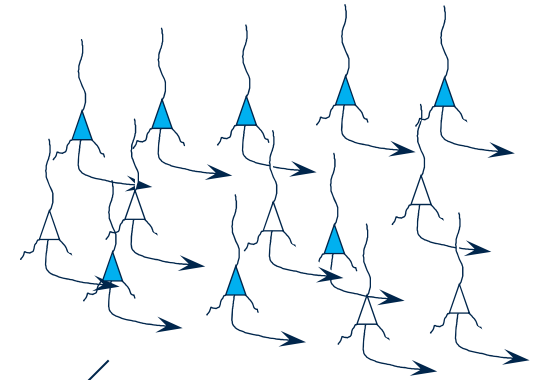


# CONTENT-ADDRESSABLE MEMORY

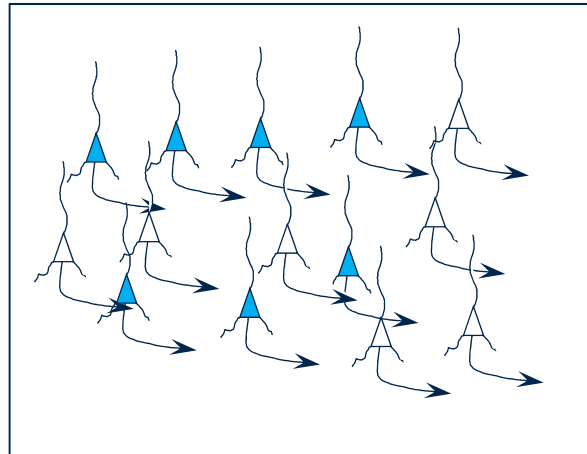
Let's define a "distance" from the memory...



*3 cells changed*



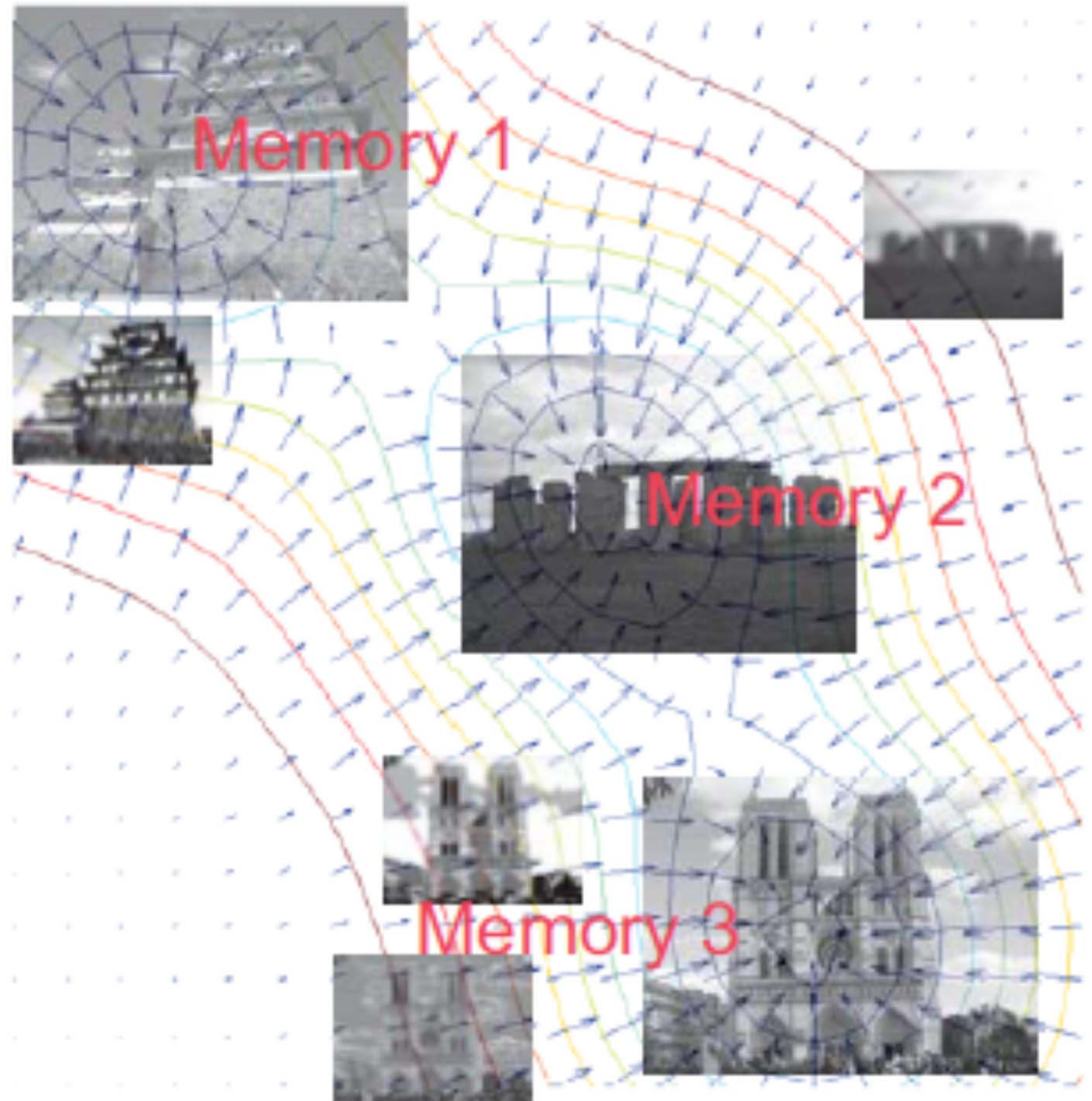
*1 cell changed*



# Memory as a “Basin of attraction”

## CONTENT-ADDRESSABLE MEMORY

- Memory is a process of moving the pattern of neurons to a previously stored pattern.
- The means that memory is **constructed**.



Memory is accessed  
by content

## CREATIVE MEMORY

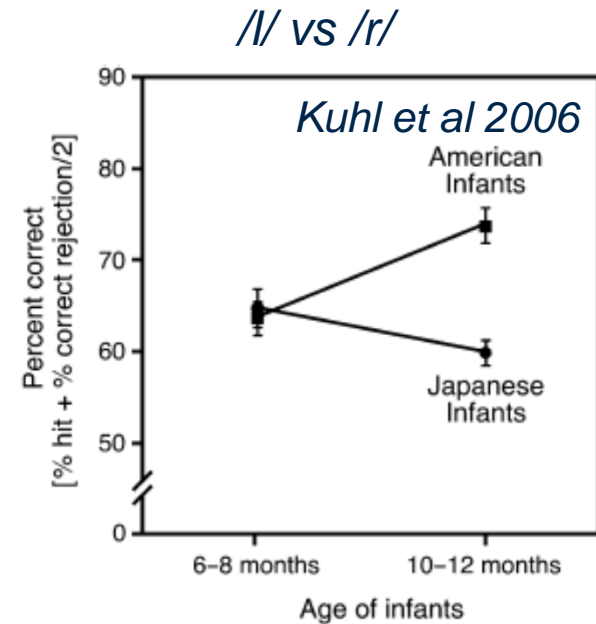
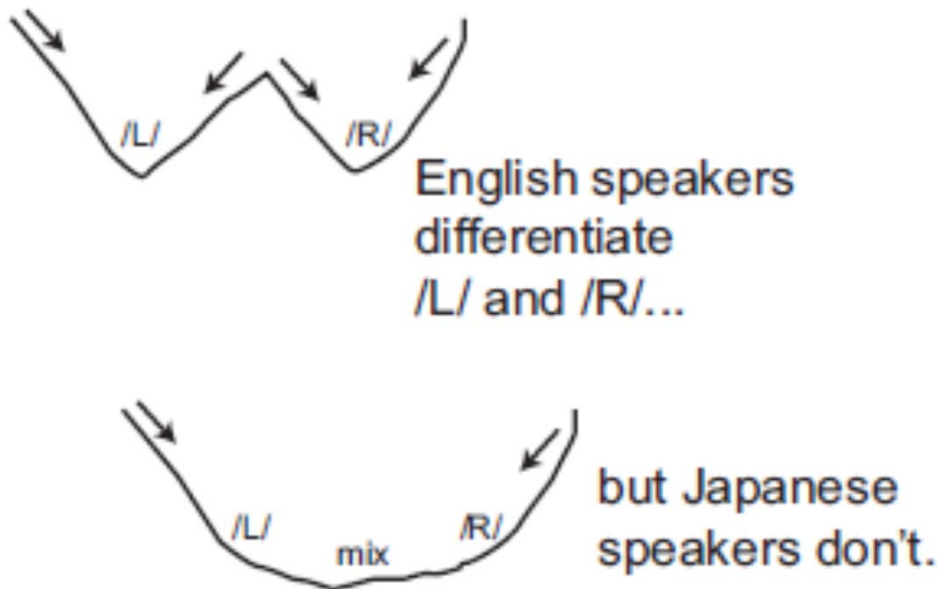


# CONTENT-ADDRESSABLE MEMORY

Perception as categorization (and memory)

*How is this memory?*

- This means that perception is a form of categorization.



Memory is fragile,  
and suggestible.

- In 1974, Elizabeth Loftus and John Palmer found that the way a question was asked could change the memory.

*How fast were the cars going when they \_\_\_\_\_ each other?*

### Speed Estimate (miles per hour)

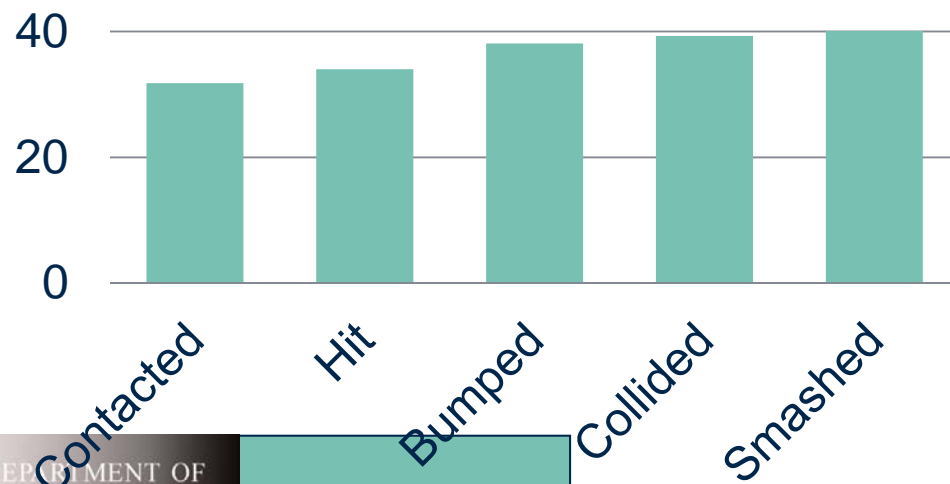
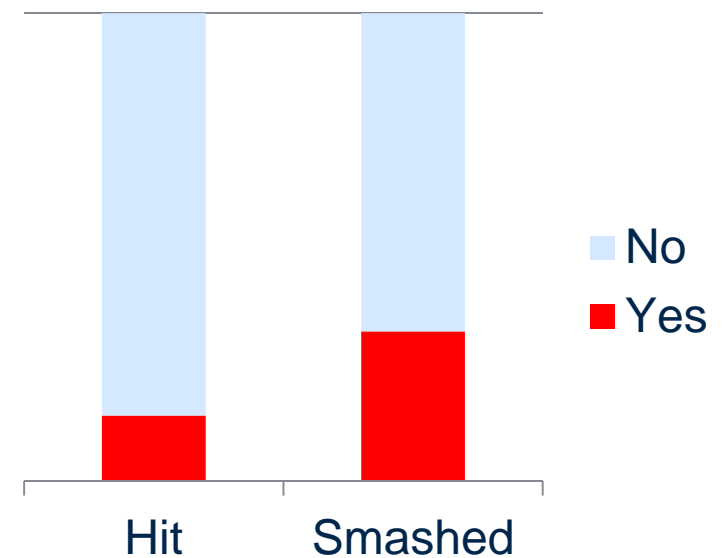


Image from a replication study.  
Natalie Cooper, YouTube Rg5bBJQOL74

*Was there broken glass?*





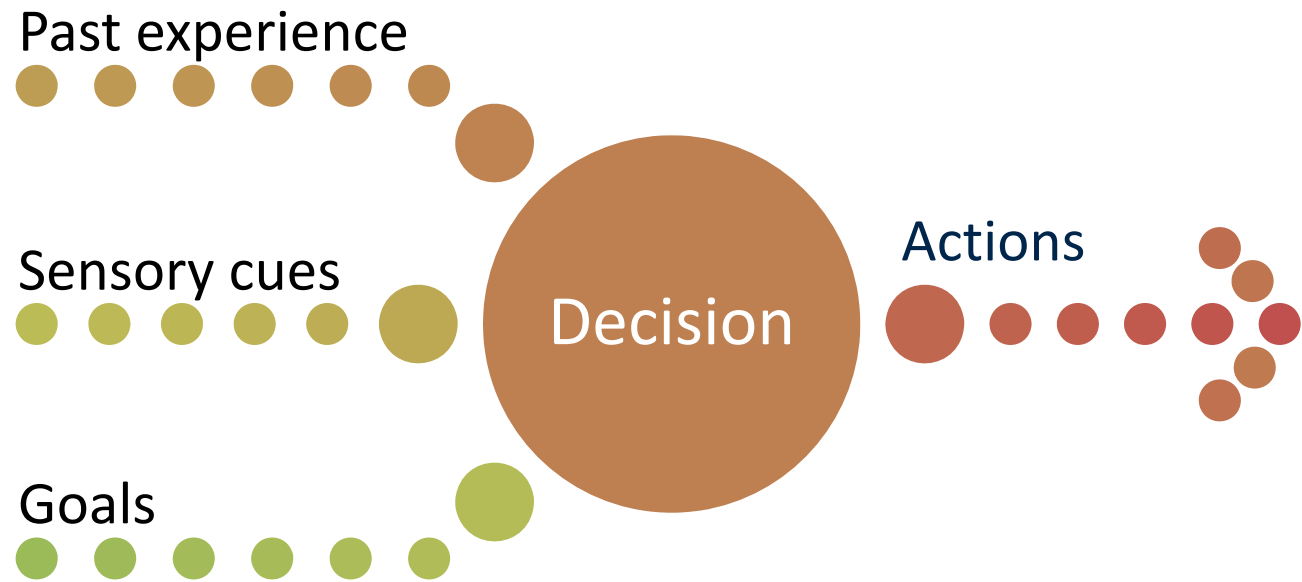
# Why memory?

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# DECISION MAKING

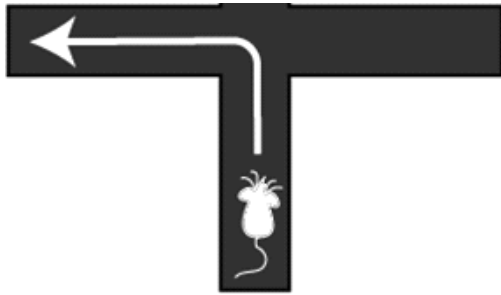
*How is information processed so as to select the action?*



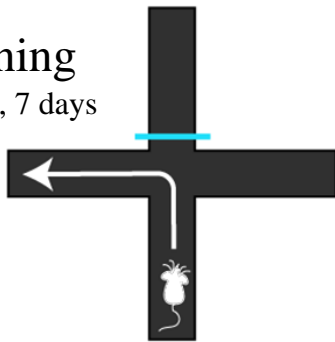


## Multiple decision-making systems

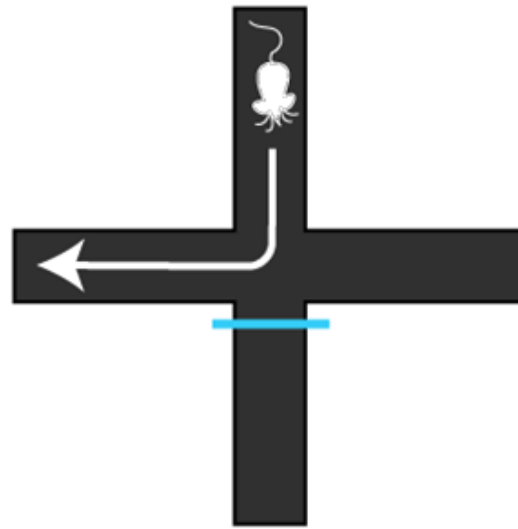
Designing probe trials right reveals decision processes.



Training  
4x/day, 7 days

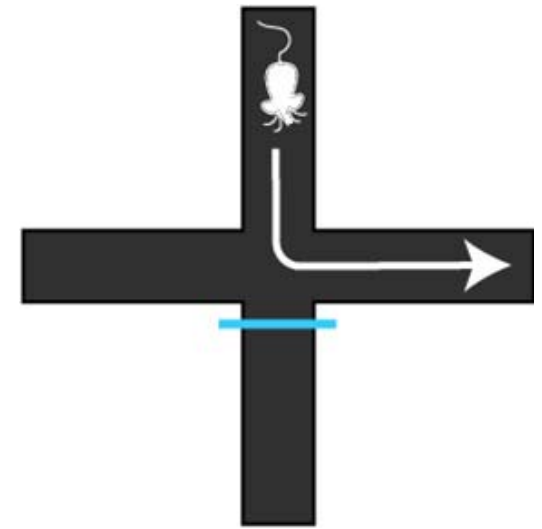


## Probe trials



Place-strategy  
(return to same location  
by taking a different action)

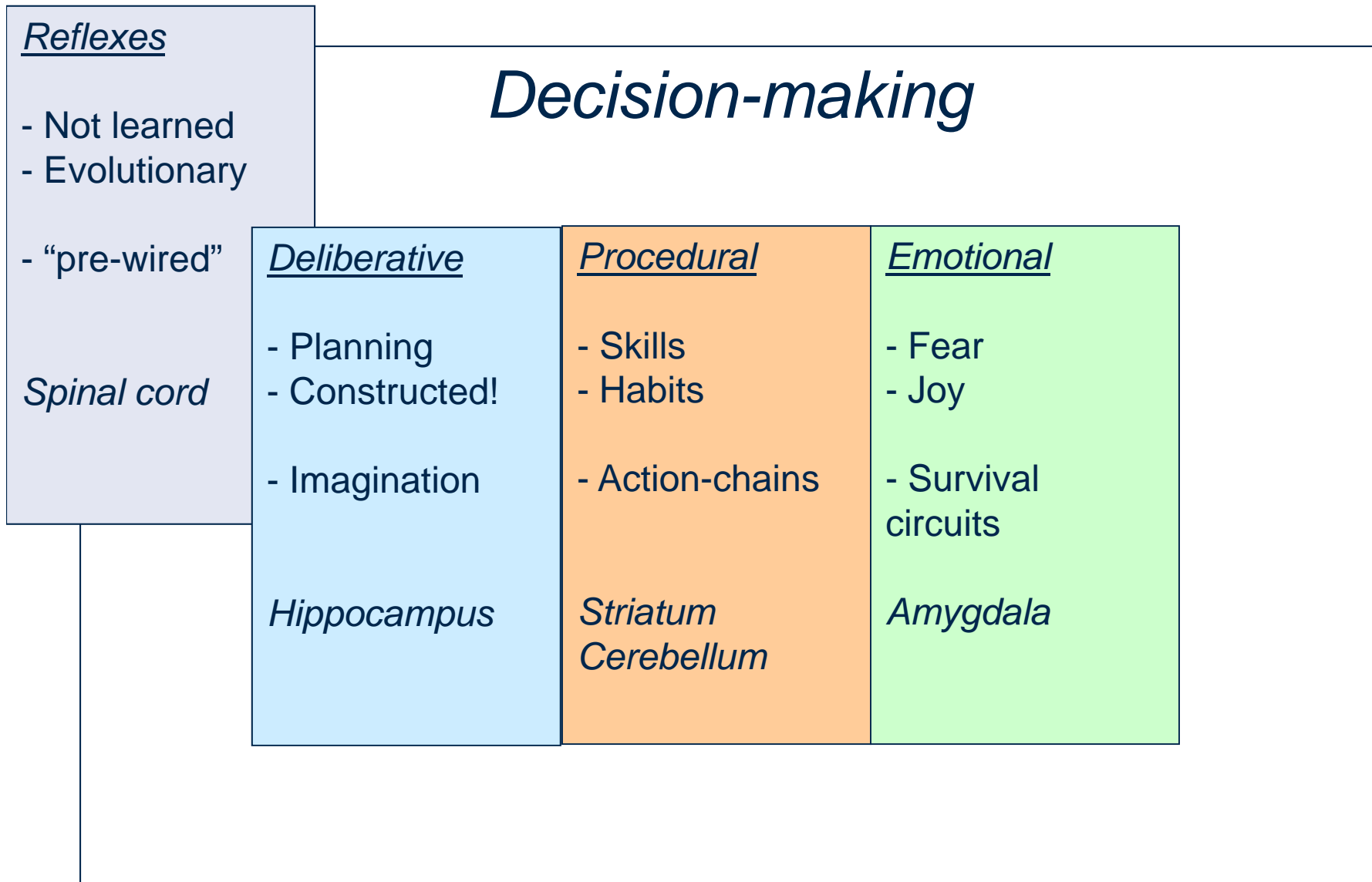
***Dependent on  
hippocampal  
function***



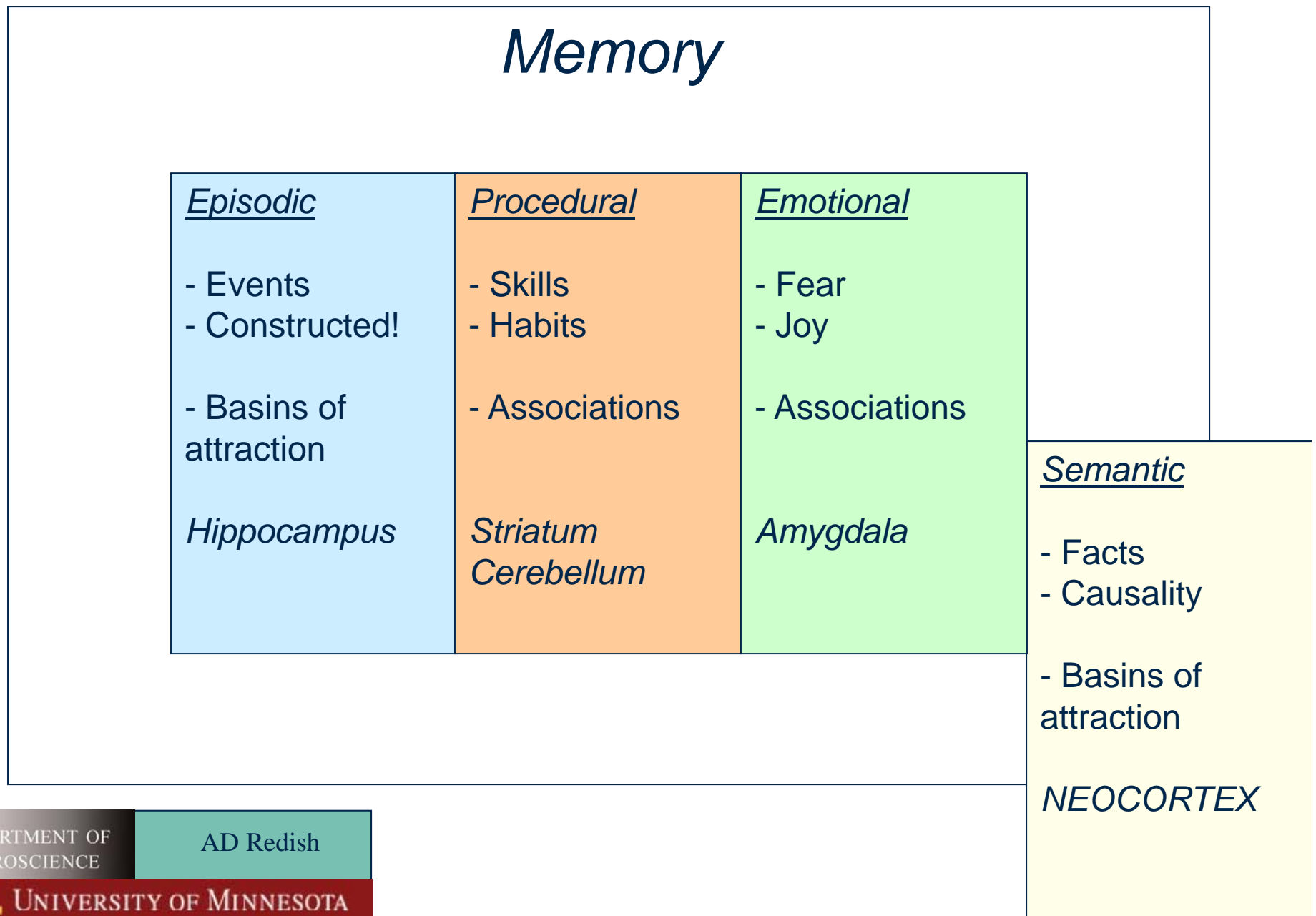
Response-strategy  
(turn in same direction  
but reach a different goal)

***Dependent on  
dorsolateral striatal  
function***

# Kinds of decisions



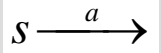
# Kinds of memory



The decision-making machinery

## Reflexes

- Inflexible
- Simple
- Does not learn



Goals and stimulus-action pairs are learned over an *evolutionary timescale*.

Learning within the lifespan is limited to habituation, sensitization, and other simple threshold adjustments.



## Downward Parachute Reflex

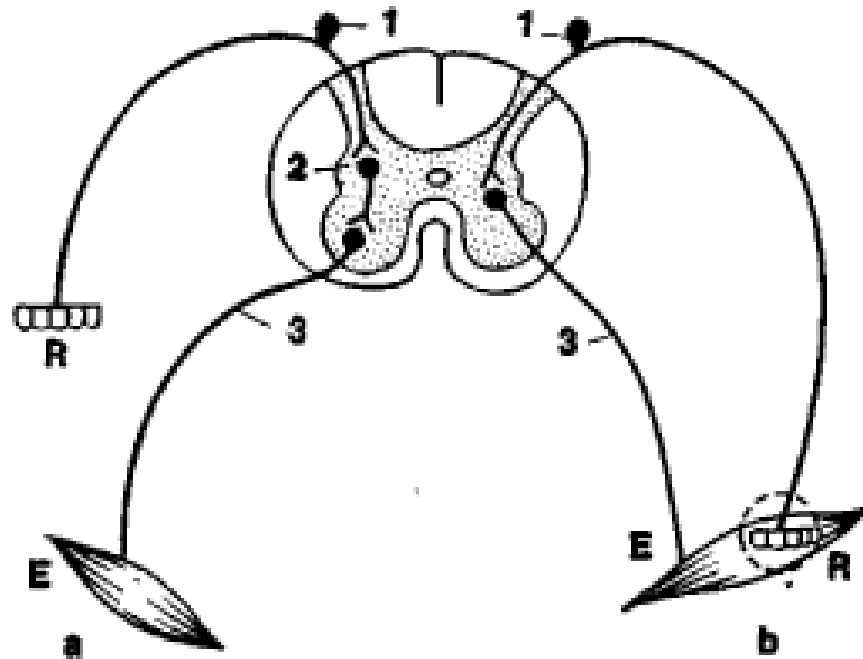
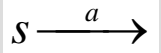
(Protective Extension Reaction Downward)

## The decision-making machine

- The goals and stimulus-action pairs in reflexes are learned over an evolutionary timescale.
- Learning within the lifespan is limited to habituation, sensitization, and other simple threshold adjustments.

## Reflexes

- Inflexible
- Simple
- Does not learn





## The decision-making machinery

Reflexes: prewired responses to stimuli.

Pavlovian (emotional): learning the situation to release prewired actions.

Deliberation: search and evaluate potential consequences.

Procedural (habits): cached action-chain sequences.

Past experience



Sensory cues



Goals



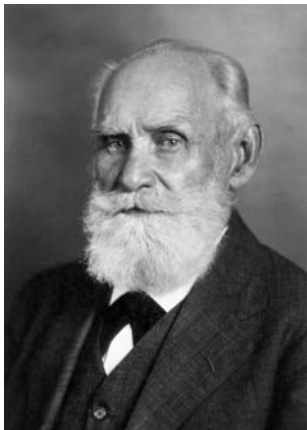
Decision

Action!



# The decision-making machine

- By associating stimuli with outcomes, observation of a stimulus will lead to the expectation of an outcome, leading to the release of pre-wired actions.

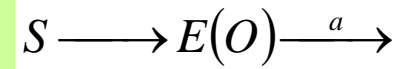


DEPARTMENT OF  
NEUROSCIENCE

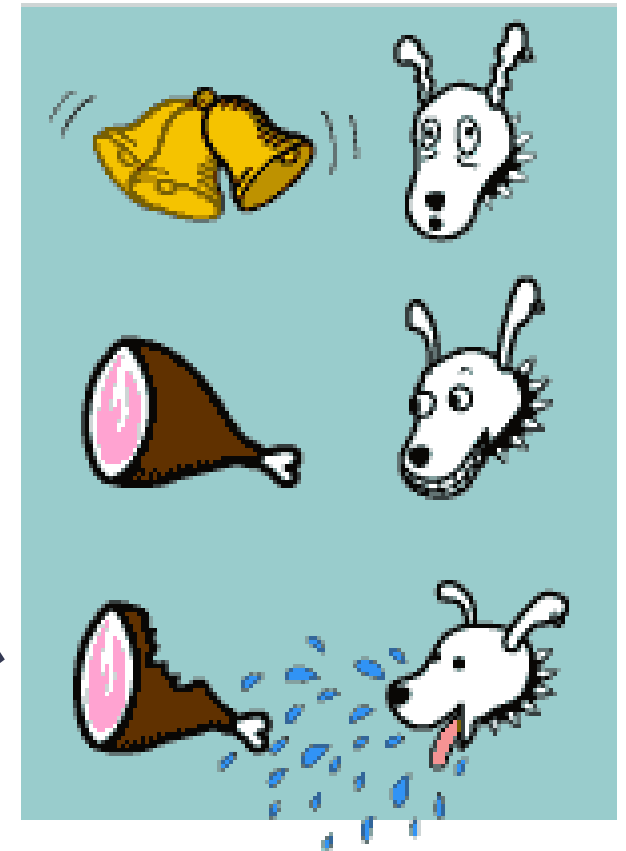
 UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

## Pavlovian

- Inflexible
- Simple



+

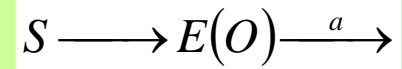


## The decision-making machine

- By associating stimuli with outcomes, observation of a stimulus will lead to the *expectation of an outcome*, leading to the release of *pre-wired actions*.
- Pavlovian action-selection is sometimes referred to as *survival circuits* and may be related to emotional decision-making.

## Pavlovian

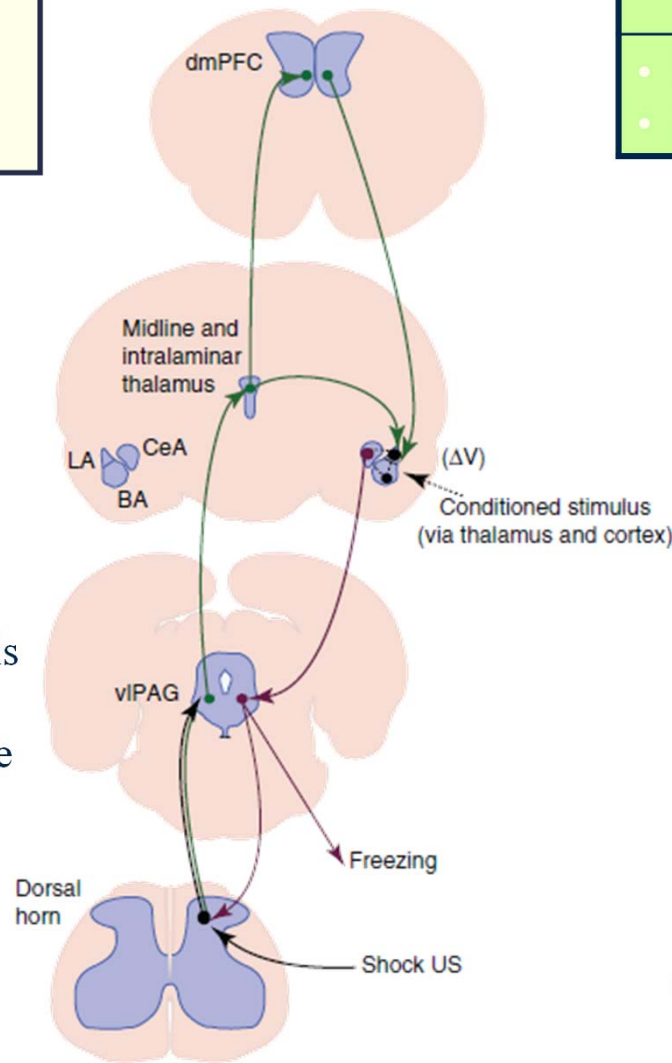
- Inflexible
- Simple



Schuyler Shepherd, Wikimedia Commons

# The decision-making machine

- By associating stimuli with outcomes, observation of a stimulus will lead to the *expectation of an outcome*, leading to the release of *pre-wired actions*.
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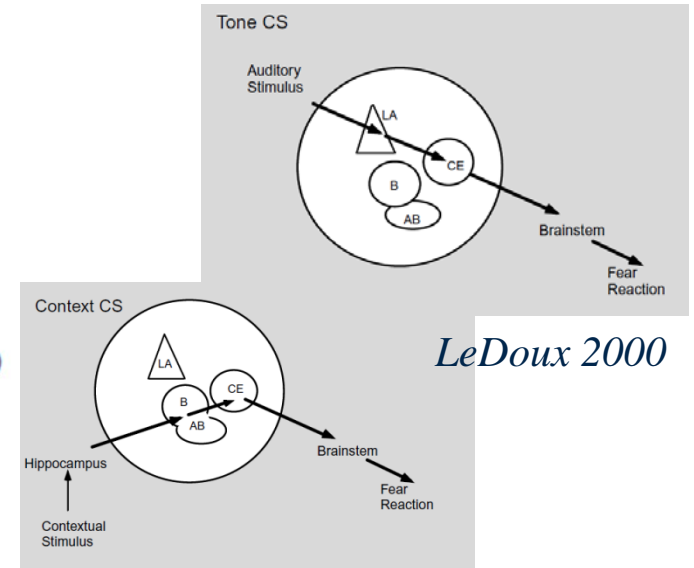


McNally, Johansen, Blair 2011

## Pavlovian

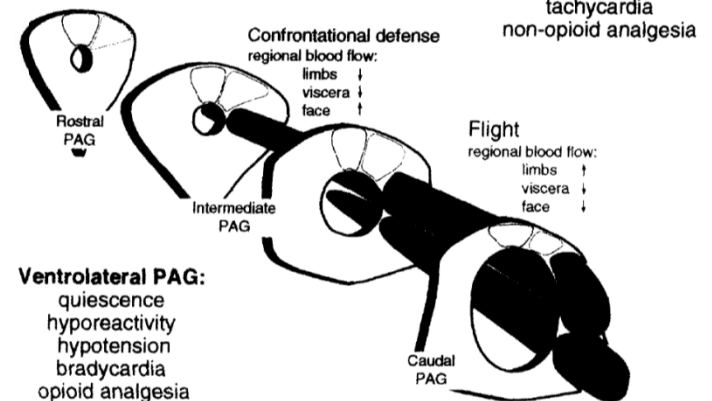
- Inflexible
- Simple

$$S \longrightarrow E(O) \xrightarrow{a}$$



LeDoux 2000

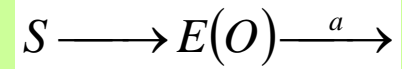
## Bandler and Shipley 1994



Human social interactions

## Pavlovian

- Inflexible
- Simple



People with motor cortical damage cannot laugh when told to, but they laugh normally with friends...



# Being watched



## COFFEE CLUB

Prices:

- Coffee (with or without milk): 50p
- Tea (with or without milk): 30p
- Milk only (in your own coffee or tea): 10p
- Full cup of milk: 30p

Please put your money in the blue tin.

Thanks, Melissa.

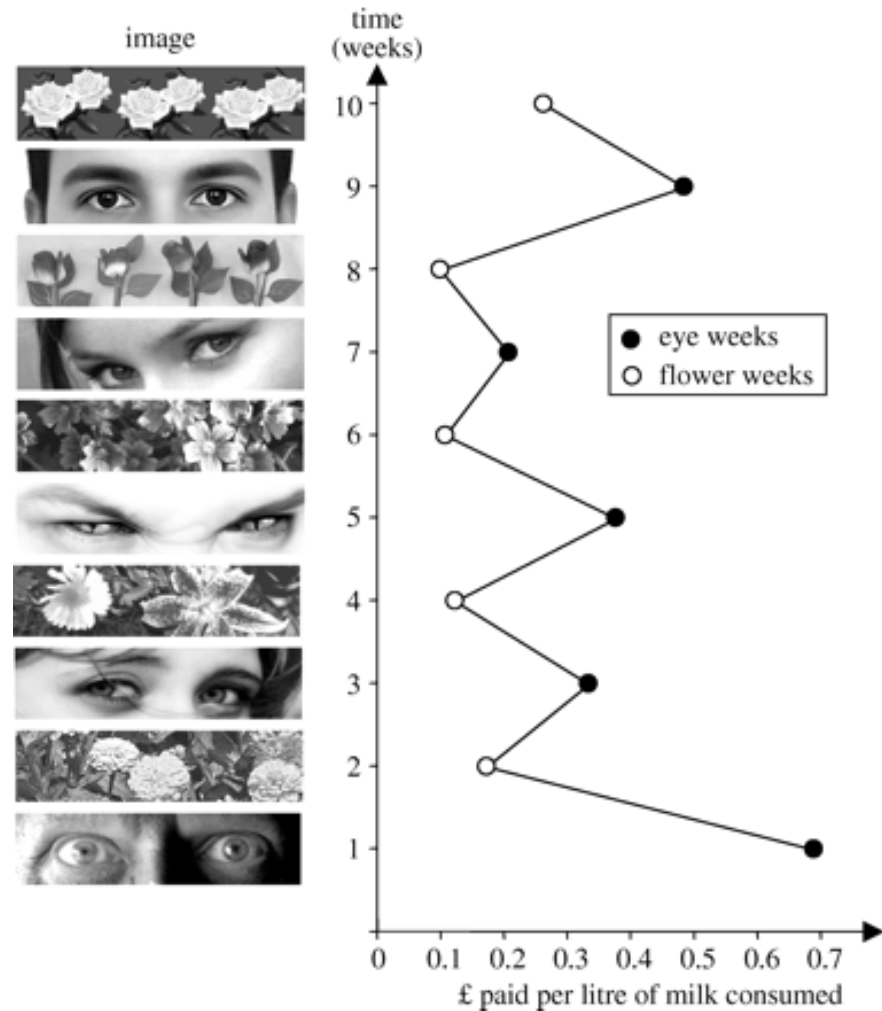
DEPARTMENT OF  
NEUROSCIENCE

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## Pavlovian

- Inflexible
- Simple

$$S \longrightarrow E(O) \xrightarrow{a} \longrightarrow$$



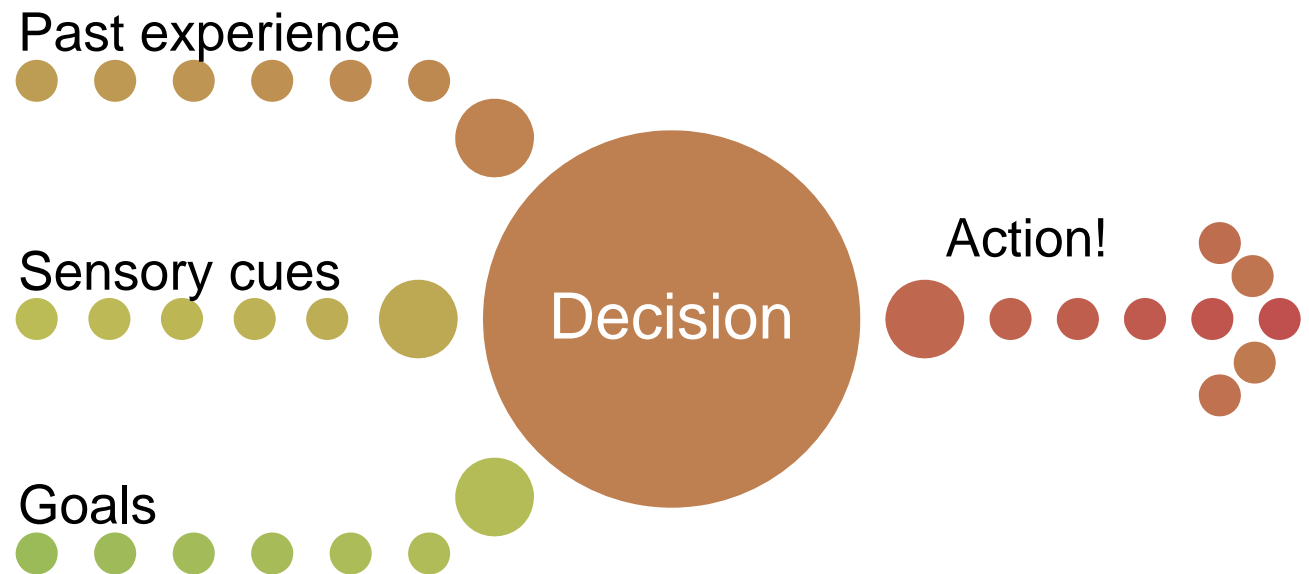
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Deliberation: search and evaluate potential consequences.

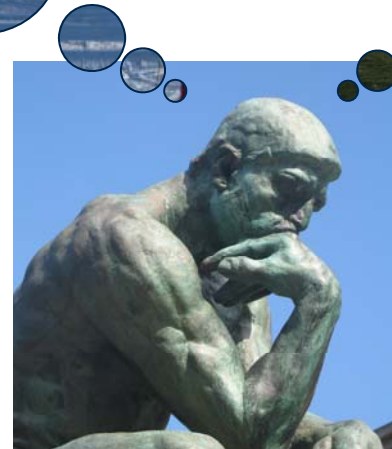
Procedural (habits): cached action-chain sequences.



# The decision-making machine

- Deliberative decision-making entails the search through potential future outcomes.

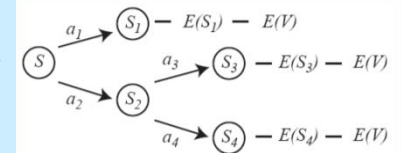
- This is a cognitive, computationally-intensive process that depends on episodic-future-thinking.



## Deliberative

Calculated by a search process, that creates expectancies, and evaluates them on-line

- Flexible
- Slow to execute





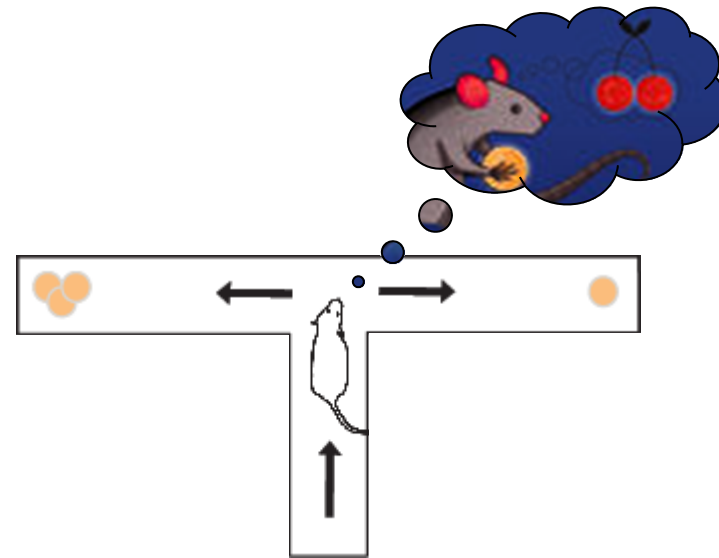
## VTE and deliberation

## Planning and deliberation

Redish (2016) *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*

VTE is creation of an imagined scenario that is passed to evaluation structures.

VTE reflects indecision.



**Prefrontal Cortex**

**Hippocampus**

*World Model,  
search process*

**Ventral  
Striatum**

*Model  
evaluator*

# Computational processes of deliberation

Deliberation is a creation of a simulated world that is then evaluated by normal motivational systems.



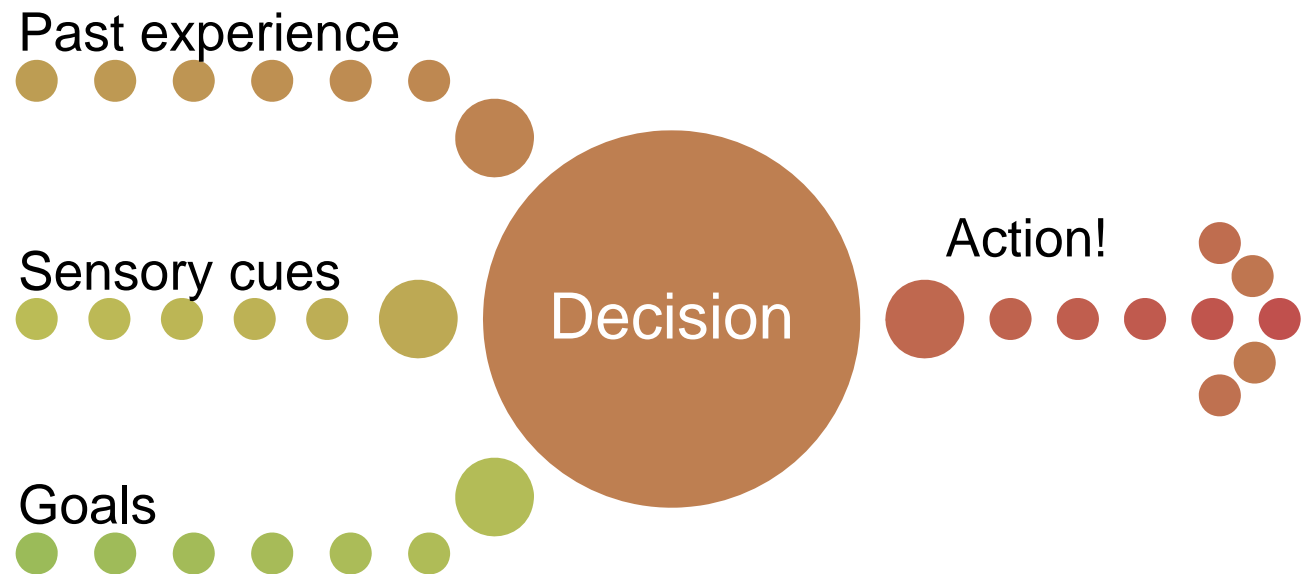
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*Procedural actions learn to release an action sequence in a given situation.*

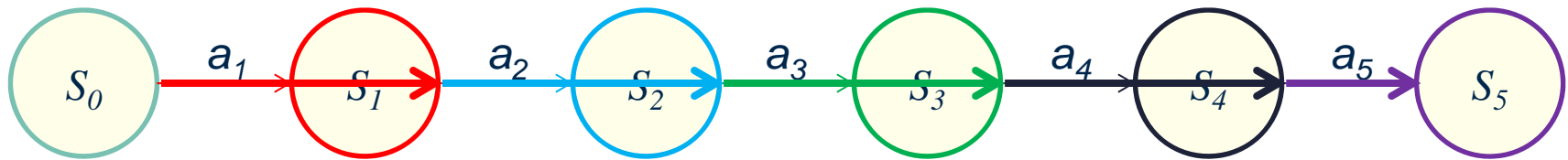


# The decision-making machine

## Procedural

Associates action-sequences with situations

- Inflexible
- Fast to execute
- Learned slowly



*Mao Asada performing a triple axle jump*



- One can associate a value with each *situation* (thus caching the value)
- Or one can associate an action with each *situation* (thus caching the action)
- Procedural learning puts all of the work into the recognition of the situation.

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### *Situation-recognition and schemas*

Past experience



Sensory cues



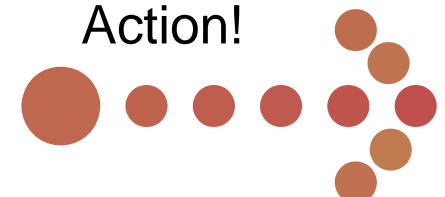
Goals



Decision

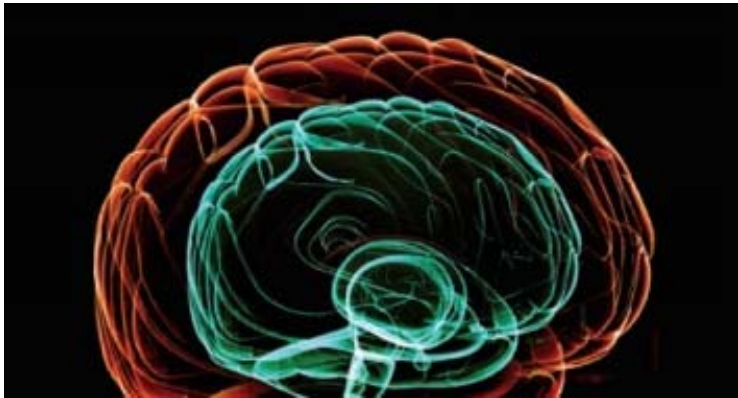


Action!



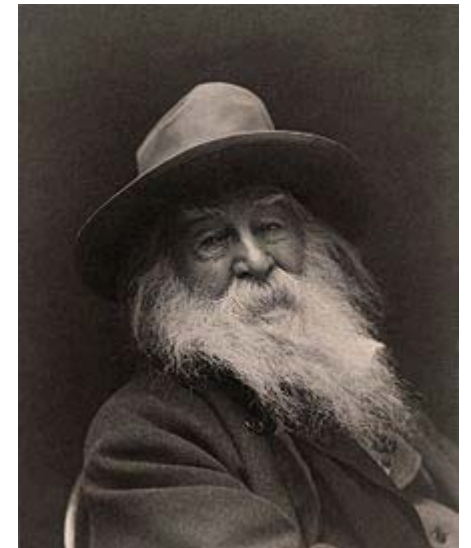
**Central  
Pattern  
Generators**

We are many



Do I contradict myself?  
Very well then I contradict myself,  
(I am large, I contain multitudes.)

- Walt Whitman (*Song of Myself*)



**Reflexes**

**Pavlovian action-selection systems**

**Deliberative action-selection**

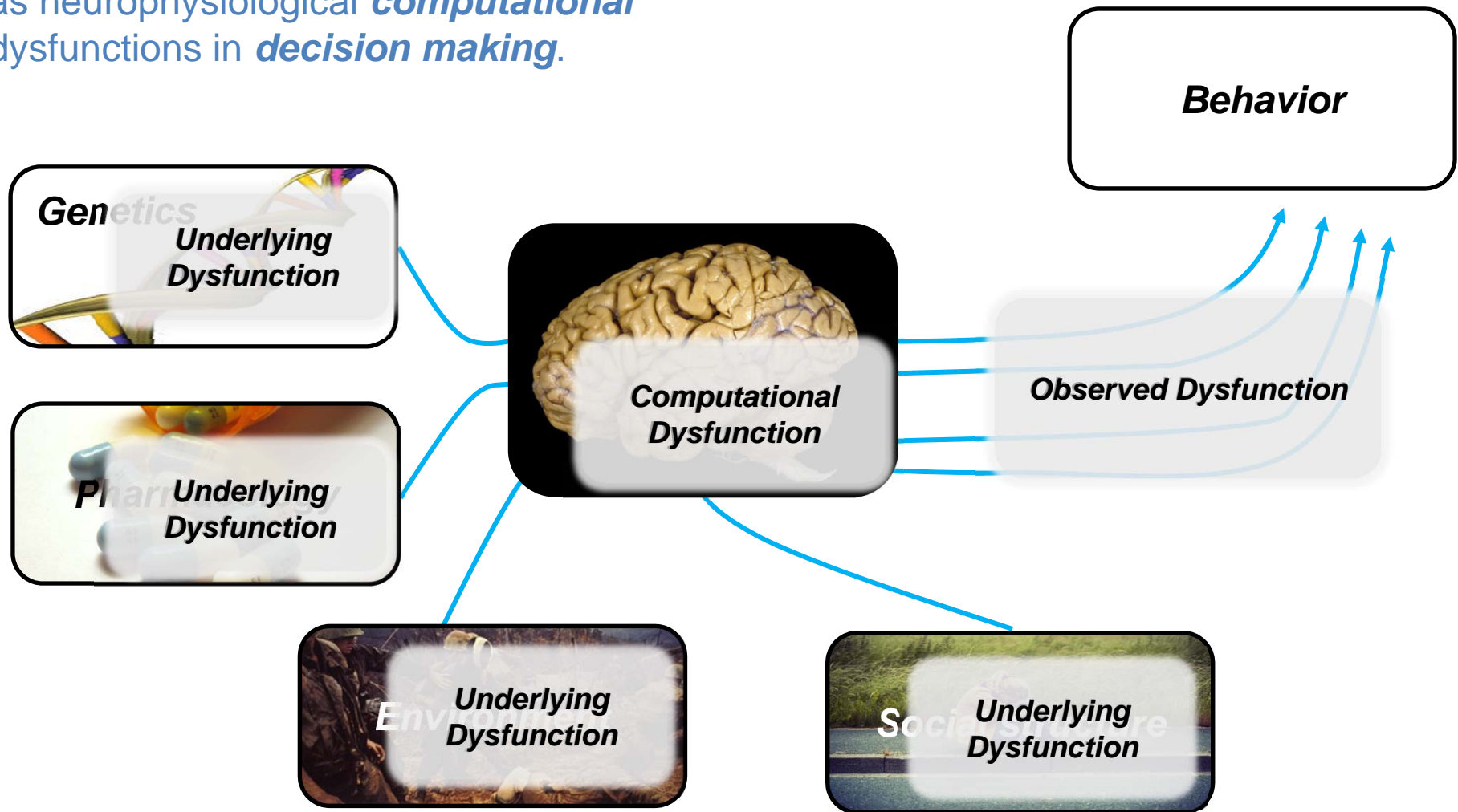
*This means we will do better if  
we select the right system at  
the right time.*

**Procedural action selection**

## Why neurophysiology matters

We need to understand **how** decision-making works to begin to understand how it can go wrong.

This suggests a new view on psychiatry as neurophysiological *computational* dysfunctions in *decision making*.





Questions  
to think about

*We don't think  
about our  
actions... until our  
actions change.*



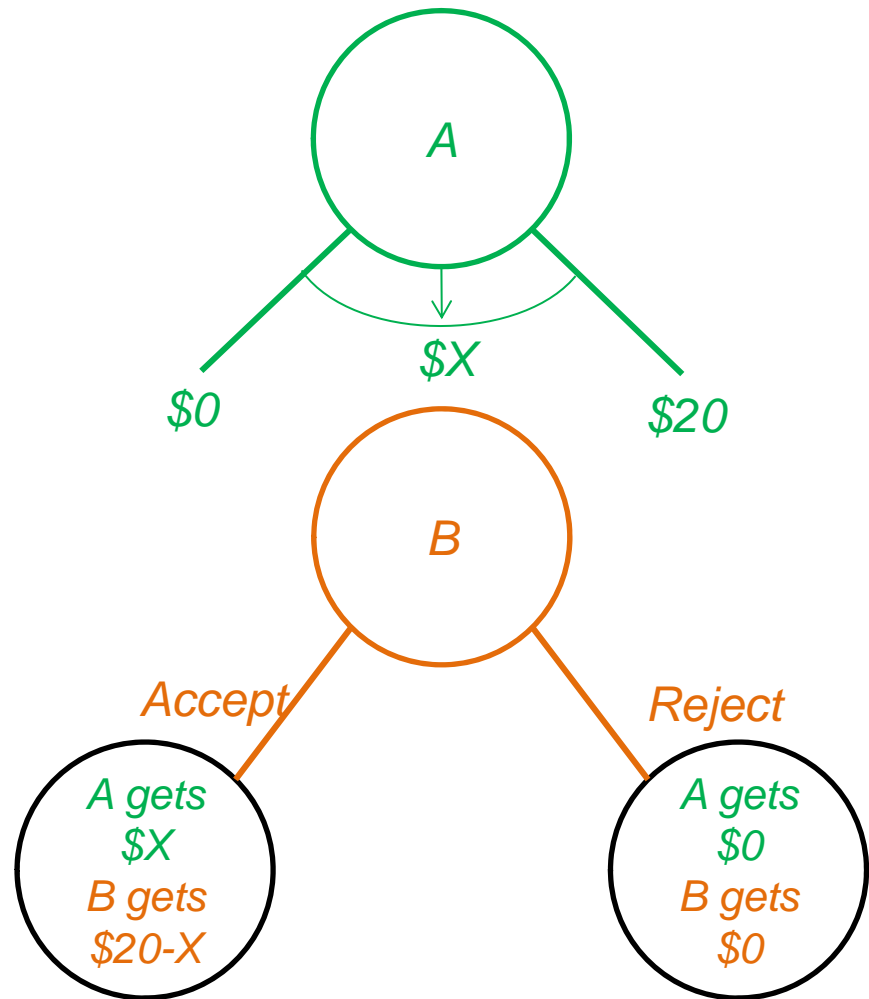
*USAToday*

## The ultimatum game

- Two players: A + B
- Person A has \$20 to distribute between person A and B.
- Person B can take it or leave it.

How much do you offer as person A?

How much will you take as person B?



Questions  
to think about

*Why is morality  
Pavlovian?*



*SMBC (Zach Weiner)*

Questions  
to think about

*How does a quarterback  
decide to throw a pass?*



# Why memory?

*To change our future actions.*

*Memory is only useful if it changes our future.*

AD

## The decision-making machinery

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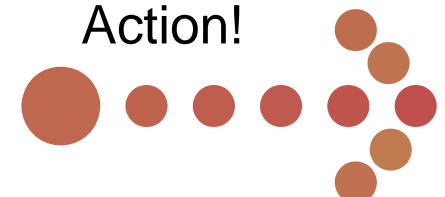
Goals



Decision



Action!



**Central  
Pattern  
Generators**