# Coherent Probability From Incoherent Judgment 

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#### Abstract

People often have knowledge about the chances of events but are unable to express their knowledge in the form of coherent probabilities. This study proposed to correct incoherent judgment via an optimization procedure that seeks the (coherent) probability distribution nearest to a judge's estimates of chance. This method was applied to the chances of simple and complex meteorological events, as estimated by college undergraduates. No judge responded coherently, but the optimization method found close (coherent) approximations to their estimates. Moreover, the approximations were reliably more accurate than the original estimates, as measured by the quadratic scoring rule. Methods for correcting incoherence facilitate the analysis of expected utility and allow human judgment to be more easily exploited in the construction of expert systems.


Suppose you think the probability that the Internet will expand next year is .90 . Suppose you also think the probability that the Internet will expand and PC makers will be profitable is .91 . Then you have assigned a greater chance to a conjunction rather than to one of its conjuncts; hence, your judgments are incoherent. You may, nonetheless, prove to be more insightful than someone with the coherent opinion that next year, Internet expansion has probability .2 and that both expansion and PC profitability has probability .1. This example indicates that judgments may be rich in information without being probabilistically coherent. This is reassuring because it is well known that maintaining coherence is a daunting task both for computers and for human judges. ${ }^{1}$
Three responses to incoherent estimates of chance may be envisioned. They are:

1. Do nothing. Live with incoherence.
2. Prevent incoherent judgment through a structured elicitation technique.
3. Repair incoherence after-the-fact by adjusting numerical estimates of chance.
The first response is risky because incoherent judgments lead to systematic losses ("Dutch Books") when spotted by an adversary (provided a judge is willing to accept bets she or he deems fair). Specifically, it has been proven that a set of judgments is incoherent if and only if there are monetary bets with the following properties: (a) Each bet has zero expected monetary value according to the judgments (i.e., each bet seems fair to a judge), but (b) the net outcome of the bets for a judge is negative no matter which events occur in the bets. ${ }^{2}$ Incoherent assessments of chance are also inimical to the analysis of expected utility, which relies on

[^0]genuine estimates of probability (see Kleindorfer, Kunreuther, \& Schoemaker, 1993; for the role of coherence in standard justifications of utility theory, see Jeffrey, 1983, chap. 4). In addition, incoherent judgment cannot be incorporated into Bayesian networks, one of the most popular approaches to automated reasoning (Castillo, Gutiérrez, \& Hadi, 1997). Methods for avoiding or correcting incoherent judgments of probability therefore represent a potential contribution to individual decision making and to other disciplines (e.g., economics, computer science).

The second response stamps out incoherence at the source by monitoring the successive estimates emitted by a judge. Probabilities of a given event are required to be drawn from an interval of coherent possibilities, calculated from earlier judgments. Variations on this idea have produced important innovations in elicitation methods. ${ }^{3}$ Eliminating incoherence during elicitation can be a tedious procedure, however, and may alter a judge's opinions. Some arbitrariness is also to be expected because the final set of estimates will likely depend on the order in which judgments are

[^1]elicited. Moreover, structured elicitation does not apply to situations in which judges are polled by written questionnaires, or brief interviews. It would be desirable to have a method for adjusting estimates of chance after-the-fact, bringing them into coherence even if the judge has left the scene. Such an off-line approach to coherence is envisioned in the third response and is explored in this article.
So far as we know, the first schemes of the third response were described by Lindley, Tversky, and Brown (1979). These authors conceived the judge's estimates as arising via error from an underiying source of coherent probabilities (not consciously accessible to the judge). The task of an observer is to infer the coherent probabilities from the incoherent stated ones. This is achieved on the basis of the observer's prior distribution over the potential coherent beliefs the judge might secretly harbor, along with another prior distribution that gives the probability of stated beliefs given (coherent) underlying ones. An application of Bayes's theorem allows calculation of the most likely underlying assessments of chance given the stated ones. Various simplifying assumptions allow the desired calculations to be formulated perspicuously, but reaching a solution ultimately requires nonlinear optimization. A second approach described in Lindley et al. relies on a similar set of prior distributions, exploited somewhat differently.
Lindley et al.'s (1979) approach is pathbreaking and ingenious, but it requires specifying prior distributions that are difficult to interpret and to evaluate, a point raised by the authors themselves, as well as by commentators on the article. Since the specification of these distributions does not obviate a complex optimization step, it strikes us as simpler to forgo the former and proceed with the latter. Therefore, we shall conceive of off-line correction as the search for a (coherent) probability distribution that best approximates the incoherent probabilities in hand.

An algorithm for finding coherent approximations (proposed below), rests on the following hypothesis about the probability judgment of well-informed human agents:
I. Hypothesis of sparse distributions: If the agent's judgments can be approximated by any probability distribution, they can be approximated by a distribution that assigns positive probability to a relatively small number of potential states-of-affairs.

To illustrate, suppose that an agent is considering the ranks of 10 teams at the conclusion of a tournament. There are millions of possible orderings but the hypothesis in I predicts that the agent's judgments can be approximated by a distribution that assigns positive probability to only a few of them. The remainder are "edited" out of consideration via the assignment of zero probability. The hypothesis is based on the observation that human reasoners seem to hold only a few alternative possibilities in mind (see Manktelow, 1999, chap. 10, for discussion), and receives support from the generally successful performance of our algorithm. Note that the hypothesis is intended to apply only to knowledgeable agents. Ignorance might lead to the adoption of the uniform distribution, which is not sparse.
As a final preliminary, we note that only point probabilities are at issue in the present discussion. Point probabilities are typically elicited in the construction of decision trees and influence diagrams (as in the popular program DATA 3.5, by TreeAge Software). Moreover, allowing judges to offer probability intervals or distributions over probabilities introduces complexities that are
best set aside in a preliminary study like this one. (For analysis of imprecise estimates of chance, see Walley, 1991, 1996.)
To proceed, we first define the concept of probabilistic coherence. Next, we describe our method for calculating a (coherent) distribution that approximates an input set of probability estimates. We then turn to an experimental test of the method, involving the collection of probabilistic weather forecasts from undergraduates. It will be seen that the judgments were indeed incoherent but well approximated by the optimization method we use. Moreover, the coherent approximations provide reliably more accurate forecasts than the original estimates.

## Theoretical Background

## Probability

The conception of probability summarized in the present section is due to De Finetti (1972). Nilsson (1986) provides more ample discussion than is possible here. In overview, we let $2^{n}$ states be generated by $n$ binary variables. The states are assigned probabilities that are extended to events (sets of states) in the usual way. Formulas of sentential logic are used to name events and inherit the latter's probabilities. The formulas are translated into event descriptions of English. Conditional probability is handled in a parallel manner. We now provide details.
Assume that all the events under consideration can be represented as Boolean combinations of $n$ variables. Each variable takes one of the two truth values: true ( $t$ ) and false ( $f$ ). By a state is meant any map of the $n$ variables into $\{t, f\}$. A state is thus a potential "state-of-affairs," which determines the truth value of every variable. The $n$ variables yield $2^{n}$ states. By a (probability) distribution for the $n$ variables is meant any mapping Pr of the states into $[0,1]$ such that $\sum\{\operatorname{Pr}(s): s$ is a state $\}=1$. To illustrate, suppose that there are just three variables, $p, q$, and $r$. Then one distribution over the eight resulting states is as follows:

II. | State | $p$ | $q$ | $r$ | Pr |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $(1)$ | $t$ | $t$ | $t$ | .15 |
|  | $(2)$ | $t$ | $t$ | $f$ | .15 |
|  | $(3)$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | .10 |
|  | $(4)$ | $t$ | $f$ | $f$ | .10 |
|  | $(5)$ | $f$ | $t$ | $t$ | .10 |
|  | $(6)$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | .10 |
|  | $(7)$ | $f$ | $f$ | $t$ | .15 |
|  | $(8)$ | $f$ | $f$ | $f$ | .15 |

Each row in Example II corresponds to a state (e.g., the one in which all three variables $p, q$, and $r$ are true). There are eight states because each of the three variables can independently assume either truth value. The last column of Example II represents a distribution because it associates a nonnegative number with each state in such a way that the numbers sum to unity.

We now consider how a given distribution imposes probabilities on statements. The statements in question are described by the kind of formal language that is familiar from sentential logic. Specifically, our language includes the $n$ variables as formulas and is then built up using the sentential connectives in the usual way. Thus, it consists of negations (e.g., $\neg p$ ), conjunctions (e.g., $p \wedge r$ and $p \wedge$ $\neg q$ ), and disjunctions (e.g., $r \vee q$ and $(r \wedge q) \vee \neg p$ ), among other types of formulas. We presuppose the concept (familiar from sentential logic) that a given state makes true a given formula. For
example, states $1-4$ make true $p$, states 2 and 6 make true $q \wedge \neg r$, and states $1,2,5-8$ make true $\neg p \vee q$. A given formula represents the event that consists of the states that make it true. Intuitively, to assert formula $\varphi$ is to claim that one of the states making $\varphi$ true is the actual state-of-affairs. Thus, to assert $p$ is to claim that the world conforms to one of the states 1-4.
Because states are mutually exclusive, and each formula represents a set of them, it is clear how to extend a given distribution Pr to the formulas of our sentential language. For every formula $\varphi$, $\operatorname{Pr}(\varphi)=\Sigma\{\operatorname{Pr}(s): s$ is a state that makes $\varphi$ true $\}$. That is, the probability of a formula is the sum of the probabilities of the states that make it true. For example, if $\operatorname{Pr}$ is shown in II, then $\operatorname{Pr}(p)=$ $.15+.15+.10+.10=.5 \operatorname{Pr}(q \wedge \neg r)=.15+.10=.25$, and $\operatorname{Pr}(\neg p \vee q)=.10+.10+.15+.15+.15+.15=.8$.

For conditional probabilities, Pr is extended again, this time to pairs of formulas. The pair of formulas consisting of $\varphi$ followed by $\psi$ is standardly written as ( $\varphi, \psi$ ). When writing conditional probabilities, however, it is customary to use the symbol | in place of a comma to separate two formulas in a pair. Thus, when the probability function is applied, the foregoing pair of formulas is written as $(\varphi \mid \psi)$. The pair can be read " $\varphi$ assuming that $\psi$." This translation is revealing of the intended interpretation of pairs of formulas, but there is an important caveat. Although "assuming that" behaves like a sentential connective in English, it is well known that the symbol | cannot be interpreted as a sentential connective analogously to $\wedge$ or $\vee$ (Bradley, 1999; Lewis, 1976). We can now say what number a given distribution Pr assigns to a pair of formulas. For formulas $\varphi, \psi$ with $\operatorname{Pr}(\psi)>0$,

$$
\operatorname{Pr}(\varphi \mid \psi)=\frac{\sum\{\operatorname{Pr}(s): s \text { is a state that makes both } \varphi \text { and } \psi \text { true }\}}{\sum\{\operatorname{Pr}(s): s \text { is a state that makes } \psi \text { true }\}} .
$$

For example, $\operatorname{Pr}(q \wedge \neg r \mid p)=.15 /(.15+.15+.10+.10)=.075$. Because a state makes a conjunction true just in case it makes true both conjuncts, the definition of conditional probability implies the familiar fact that for formulas $\varphi, \psi$ with $\operatorname{Pr}(\psi)>0, \operatorname{Pr}(\varphi \mid \psi)=$ $[\operatorname{Pr}(\varphi \wedge \psi)] /[\operatorname{Pr}(\psi)]$. Observe that $\operatorname{Pr}$ makes no assignment of probability to a pair $(\varphi, \psi)$ if it assigns zero probability (impossibility) to the conditioning event $\psi$.

## Coherence

Consider a judge who is estimating the probabilities of various events that are represented in our sentential language. We write $\operatorname{Prob}(\varphi)=x$ to indicate the judgment that the probability of $\varphi$ is $x$, and $\operatorname{Prob}(\varphi \mid \psi)=y$ for the judgment that the conditional probability of $\varphi$ assuming $\psi$ is $y$. It is important to distinguish Prob from the kind of function denoted by Pr. Prob is no more than a mapping of some formulas and pairs of formulas into numbers. Its domain will represent whatever (possibly disparate) collection of statements were evaluated by a judge, and hence, be finite (unlike the domain of Pr, which embraces every formula of our sentential language). In particular, Prob need not conform to any of the properties that apply to genuine probability distributions like Pr. This is why a judge's estimates are not written with the symbol Pr, which is reserved for genuine distributions. To illustrate, Prob might be the following set of judgments.
III. $\operatorname{Prob}(p)=.5$
$\operatorname{Prob}(q \wedge \neg r)=.25$
$\operatorname{Prob}(\neg p \vee q)=.8$
$\operatorname{Prob}(q \wedge \neg r p)=.075$
We call Prob probabilistically coherent just in case there is a probability distribution Pr that agrees with it. Officially:
IV. Definition: Suppose we are given a sentential language over a given set of variables. Let Prob map formulas $\varphi_{1} \cdots \varphi_{k}$ and pairs of formulas $\left(\chi_{i}, \psi_{1}\right) \cdots\left(\chi_{j}, \psi_{j}\right)$ into numbers. Then Prob is coherent just in case there is a distribution $\operatorname{Pr}$ (over the states arising from the variables) such that for all $i \leq k, \operatorname{Prob}\left(\varphi_{i}\right)=\operatorname{Pr}\left(\varphi_{i}\right)$, and for all $i \leq j, \operatorname{Prob}\left(\chi_{i} \mid \psi_{i}\right)=\operatorname{Pr}\left(\chi_{i} \mid \psi_{i}\right)$. If there is no such distribution, then Prob is incoherent.

For instance, the judgments in Example III are coherent because they agree with the distribution Pr shown in Example II. In contrast, the following modification of the judgments is incoherent.

```
\(\operatorname{Prob}^{\prime}(p)=.5\)
\(\operatorname{Prob}^{\prime}(q \wedge \neg r)=.25\)
Prob' \((\neg p \vee q)=.20\)
Prob \(^{\prime}(q \wedge \neg r(p)=.075\).
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It should be clear that every state that makes true $q \wedge \neg r$, also makes true $\neg p \vee q$ (because $q \wedge \neg r$ implies $\neg p \vee q$ ). It is therefore impossible for a distribution to assign lower probability to the latter than to the former. Hence, no distribution agrees with Prob'.

## The Optimization Problem

Assume that we are given a set of judgments represented by a mapping Prob from formulas, and pairs of formulas, to numbers. If Prob is incoherent, we seek to replace its values with coherent probabilities. Moreover, we seek replacements that best approximate the original values so as to minimally distort the judge's opinions. The rationale behind the policy of minimal distortion is respect for the judge. Albeit incoherent, the judge's assessments of chance might harbor insight into the uncertainty present in the environment. Minimally changing the judge's numbers is the most plausible route to coherent judgment that still embodies his or her knowledge.
We measure the distance between two assessments of chance by their absolute difference because this is the simplest and most interpretable measure. Other potential measures include the squared difference, or some version of relative entropy (which is not, however, a true distance; Cover \& Thomas, 1991). None of the results reported below are substantially affected by the use of these alternative measures. We thus have the following optimization problem:
V. Optimization Problem: Let Prob map formulas $\varphi_{1} \cdots \varphi_{k}$, and pairs of formulas $\left(\chi_{1}, \psi_{1}\right) \cdots\left(\chi_{j}, \psi_{j}\right)$, into numbers. Find a map Prob* with the same domain as Prob such that Prob* is coherent, and

$$
\sum_{i \leq k}\left|\operatorname{Prob}\left(\varphi_{i}\right)-\operatorname{Prob}^{*}\left(\varphi_{i}\right)\right|+\sum_{i \leq j}\left|\operatorname{Prob}\left(\chi_{i} \mid \psi_{i}\right)-\operatorname{Prob}^{*}\left(\chi_{i} \mid \psi_{i}\right)\right|
$$

is minimized.
Note that this formulation assigns equal importance to approximating absolute and conditional probability judgments.
It is possible for there to be no minimum distance between Prob and a coherent approximation Prob* to it. Consider, for example,
the incoherent judgments $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid q)=.5, \operatorname{Prob}(q)=0$. (They are incoherent because the conditioning event $q$ for $(p \mid q)$ has been assigned zero probability.) They can be approximated by setting $\operatorname{Prob}^{*}(p \mid q)=.5$ and $\operatorname{Prob}^{*}(q)$ arbitrarily close to zero, but not zero itself so there is no best approximation. In all cases, however, the minimum is bounded by zero. So we interpret V as requesting a coherent approximation Prob* to Prob that is as close as possible within some positive tolerance.

## Optimization via Genetic Algorithm

The main difficulty in solving the optimization problem in V is combinatorial explosion. With $n$ variables there are $2^{n}$ states, all of which may potentially interact with the coherence of a proposed approximation to Prob. The simplest means of handling large numbers of states is to limit the search to sparse distributions (i.e., to distributions in which many states have probability zero). Sparse distributions have compact representations because it is only necessary to encode the states with positive probability, and thus they are easy to manipulate. This search strategy is the natural counterpart to the psychological hypothesis in I, which credits human reasoners with the ability to manipulate relatively few potential states-of-affairs at one time. ${ }^{4}$

We now describe a simple technique for finding a sparse distribution that approximates an input set of probability assessments. For concreteness, suppose the situation to be modeled involves three variables: $p, q, r$. Let $M$ be any $3 \times m$ matrix, all of whose entries are drawn from $\{t, f\}$ (truth and falsity). Then every column $i$ of $M$ represents a state, namely, the one that assigns $M(1, i)$ to $p$, $M(2, i)$ to $q$, and $M(3, i)$ to $r$. (The same state can be represented by more than one column.) Letting $m=12$, one such matrix $M$ is as follows:

| VI. |  |  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $p$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ |
|  | $q$ | $f$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $f$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $f$ | $f$ |
|  | $r$ | $t$ | $t$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $f$ | $t$ | $t$ | $t$ | $t$ | $t$ | $t$ |

In this example, Column 1 of $M$ represents the state in which $p$ and $r$ are true, and $q$ is false. Column 4 represents the state in which all three variables are false. For each of the eight possible states $s$, we take $M$ to assign $s$ the probability $n / m$, where $n$ is the number of columns of $M$ that code $s$ (and $m$ is the total number of columns). Thus, in Example VI, the state in which all three variables are false has probability $2 / 12$ because only Columns 4 and 6 represent it. Similarly, the state in which $p, r$ are true and $q$ is false is assigned probability $3 / 12$. The state in which $p$ is false and $q, r$ are true has zero probability because it is not represented in the matrix. This way of interpreting $M$ defines a (coherent) distribution over $p, q, r$. The same idea applies to any number of variables and columns.

Why does the distribution represented by $M$ tend to be sparse? The number of states increases exponentially in the number $n$ of variables. When the number of columns in $M$ is modest, there will necessarily be states that do not correspond to a column and are thus assigned zero probability. Conversely, the greater the number of columns in $M$, the more states can receive nonzero probability, and hence, the more distributions can potentially be represented within it.

In searching for a distribution that best approximates a corpus of judged probabilities, we limit attention to distributions that can be
represented by matrices as in Example VI, using a fixed number of columns whose value is chosen to keep the problem feasible. Even for a modest number of columns, a large search space remains. (For just three variables and 12 columns, as in Example VI, there are more than 68 billion possible matrices.) We propose to explore the search space by interpreting a matrix $M$ as a two-dimensional binary genome within the context of genetic algorithms (Michalewicz, 1996; Mitchell, 1996). Such algorithms include a population of chromosomes, each of which represents a potential solution to the search problem. They also rely on a scheme for evaluating the "fitness" of chromosomes in terms of their value as potential solutions. Fitness determines the probability that a given chromosome will participate in reproduction and thus help constitute the successor population of chromosomes (the "next generation"). The reproductive act includes crossover between the two chromosomes at a randomly determined point, as well as random mutation.

These concepts take the following form in our search context. With respect to a target corpus of judgments, $M$ 's genetic fitness is measured in terms of the summed, absolute deviation between the probabilities that $M$ assigns to the judged events (or pairs of events) and the original estimates of a judge, as stated in V. A genetic algorithm designed to breed the matrix of greatest fitness will thus seek to construct a matrix-defined distribution that best approximates the original judgments. Crossover between two matrices exchanges sequences of columns (rather than rows). This allows each chromosome to be conceived as a string of states. Mutation flips a given cell of the matrix from one truth value to the other. More details are provided after we discuss the data on which the genetic algorithm was designed to operate.

## Experimental Test of the Method

To determine the accuracy and computational feasibility of our approximation scheme, we elicited probability estimates from undergraduate students from Rice University and then brought them into coherence via a genetic algorithm.

## Materials

Since weather and climate are common topics of conversation, they provide a domain in which many people can reveal insight (if not coherence). Our questions about this domain were built from the following 10 sentential variables. Each sentence represents a weather forecast for noon, 1 week from the day on which the question is answered:
VII. (a) It is overcast in New York.
(b) It is at least $56^{\circ}$ in New York.
(c) It is overcast in Philadelphia.

[^2](d) It is at least $58^{\circ}$ in Philadelphia.
(e) It is overcast in Houston.
(f) It is at least $80^{\circ}$ in Houston.
(g) It is overcast in Galveston.
(h) It is at least $78^{\circ}$ in Galveston.
(i) It is overcast in Los Angeles.
(j) It is at least $68^{\circ}$ in Los Angeles.

Galveston is a Gulf Coast city 60 km south of Houston, known to all participants in the study. On the basis of these 10 variables, there are 90 complex events of each of the following six types, excluding cases in which the same variable is repeated:

## VIII. (a) Conditional statements of form $p$ assuming-that $q$, such as "It is at least $78^{\circ}$ in Galveston assuming that it is overcast

 in Houston."(b) Conditional statements of form $p$ assuming-that $\neg q$, such as "It is at least $58^{\circ}$ in Philadelphia assuming that it is not overcast in New York."
(c) Conjunctions of form $p \wedge q$, such as "It is overcast in Galveston and it is overcast in Houston."
(d) Conjunctions of form $p \wedge \neg q$, such as "It is overcast in New York and it is less than $58^{\circ}$ in Philadelphia."
(e) Disjunctions of form $p \vee q$, such as "It is at least $78^{\circ}$ in Galveston or it is overcast in Los Angeles."
(f) Disjunctions of form $p \vee \neg q$, such as "It is overcast in Houston or it is less than $80^{\circ}$ in Houston."

Note that the negation of "at least $x$ degrees" is expressed as "less than $x$ degrees." All the probability estimates requested in the study were drawn from the 10 elementary events in VII, and the $6 \times 90=540$ complex events described in VIII.

## Participants

Thirty-eight Rice University undergraduate students participated in the study. They were unpaid volunteers who were fulfilling a course requirement.

## Procedure

We explained to each student that they were to provide probability estimates for various meteorological events. The time of occurrence of all events was noon, 1 week from the day of the experiment, local time (e.g., noon in Los Angeles). All the events would involve the 10 statements shown in VII, which were presented to them. A map of the United States was also presented, with the five cities indicated.
We pointed out that "overcast" meant either cloudy, partly cloudy, rainy, or snowy, but not hazy. Examples of complex events were then presented, and the intuitive meaning of conditional probability (embodied by the expression "assuming that") was reviewed. It was further noted that "or" was used in the inclusive sense; for instance, VIIIe would be true if either it is at least $78^{\circ}$ in Galveston, or it is overcast in Los Angeles, or both. Students were then directed to a Web site on which they would enter their probability estimates sometime during the day. The students were informed that the accuracy of their forecasts would be computed (using a "standard measure"), and the most accurate forecaster would be given a prize. Forecasts would be verified by recourse to the CNN weather Web page on the day in question. Finally, participants were advised that there would be 46 estimates and to pace themselves to avoid fatigue.

The Web site reminded the student of the points raised at the earlier meeting, then presented 46 events for probability estimation. The first 10 events were an individually randomized ordering of the elementary events in VII. For each of the six classes of complex events shown in VIII, 6 events (or pairs of events in the conditional cases) were randomly chosen individually for each participant. The resulting 36 complex events were then presented in individually randomized order with the restriction that the 6 events in each class be presented as a block. All responses were constrained by an electronic questionnaire to fall in the interval $[0,1]$.
The study was completed during October and the first part of November 1999. One to 5 students forecasted weather for the same day (typically, the number was 2 or 3 ).

## Results

## Incoherence of Judgment

The third column of Table 1 shows the mean and standard deviation of the average probability estimates for each of the seven types of events, averaging over all 38 participants. In conformity with the probability calculus, the estimates made for elementary events tend to be greater than those for conjunctions and less than those for disjunctions. Nonetheless, the student's judgments showed marked incoherence.

Suppose that Prob represents the assessments of a given participant. It is easy to show the following fact:
IX. Let $p$ and $q$ be sentential variables. Then necessary conditions on the coherence of Prob include:
(a) $\operatorname{Prob}(p)+\operatorname{Prob}(q)-1 \leq \operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge q)$ $\leq \min \{\operatorname{Prob}(p), \operatorname{Prob}(q)\}$
(b) $\operatorname{Prob}(p)-\operatorname{Prob}(q) \leq \operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge \neg q)$ $\leq \min \{\operatorname{Prob}(p), 1-\operatorname{Prob}(q)\}$
(c) $\max \{\operatorname{Prob}(p), \operatorname{Prob}(q)\} \leq \operatorname{Prob}(p \vee q) \leq \operatorname{Prob}(p)+\operatorname{Prob}(q)$
(d) $\max \{\operatorname{Prob}(p), 1-\operatorname{Prob}(q)\} \leq \operatorname{Prob}(p \vee \neg q)$ $\leq 1+\operatorname{Prob}(p)-\operatorname{Prob}(q)$
(e) $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid q)=\operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge q) / \operatorname{Prob}(q)$
(f) $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid \neg q)=\operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge \neg q) / \operatorname{Prob}(\neg q)$.

Table 1
Mean and Standard Deviation for the Seven Types of Estimates

| Type | $n$ | Participant <br> $M(S D)$ | Coherent <br> approximation <br> $M(S D)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p$ | 380 | $.547(.088)$ | $.529(.064)$ |
| $p \mid q$ | 228 | $.451(.127)$ | $.488(.090)$ |
| $p \mid \neg q$ | 228 | $.473(.152)$ | $.500(.097)$ |
| $p \wedge q$ | 228 | $.411(.140)$ | $.311(.104)$ |
| $p \wedge \sim q$ | 228 | $.367(.143)$ | $.263(.038)$ |
| $p \vee q$ | 228 | $.687(.157)$ | $.769(.069)$ |
| $p \vee \neg q$ | 228 | $.639(.139)$ | $.735(.041)$ |
| Overall | 1,748 | $.514(.071)$ | $.515(.052)$ |

Note. The first column shows the type of event whose probability was estimated. Elementary events are first, followed by the types listed in VIII. The second column shows the total number of judgments of each type evaluated by the participants. The third column gives the mean for the participants' average judgment. Thirty-eight participants figure in this mean. The fourth column provides the same information for the participants' approximating coherent distributions.

Table 2
Average Number of Incoherent Weather Forecasts by 38 Judges

|  |  | 0 <br> tolerance | .01 <br> tolerance | .05 <br> tolerance |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p \wedge q+$ n | 6 | 2.97 | 2.89 | 2.68 |
| $p \wedge \neg q$ | 6 | 3.00 | 2.55 | 2.42 |
| $p \vee q$ | 6 | 2.08 | 2.08 | 1.87 |
| $p \vee \neg q$ | 6 | 2.95 | 2.55 | 2.34 |
| $p \mid \pm q$ | 1.44 | 1.34 | 1.32 | 1.24 |

Note. The first column specifies a constraint on coherence, in the sense of IX. The expression $p \mid \pm q$ signifies the combination of constraints in IXe,f, namely, $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid q)=\operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge q) / \operatorname{Prob}(q)$ and $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid \neg q)=\operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge$ $\neg q) / \operatorname{Prob}(\neg q)$. The second column shows the average number of occasions on which the test can be made. The average number of incoherent judgments is given in the third column. The fourth column provides the same information as in the third column, when incoherence of . 01 is tolerated. A tolerance of .05 yields the data in the last column.

Every student had six occasions to violate each of IXa-d. Of these six occasions, the mean number of violations of IXa-d was $2.97,3.00,2.08$, and 2.95 , respectively.
There were fewer occasions to violate IXe,f because conjunctions and conditional probability items were sampled independently for each participant. Thus, it was possible for a given student to supply $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid q)$ but not $\operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge q)$. The same is true for $\operatorname{Prob}(p \mid \neg q)$ and $\operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge \neg q)$. Across all 38 students, there were 55 occasions to violate either IXe or IXf. Such violation occurred 51 times. These results are summarized in the first three columns of Table 2.

Incoherence may be due in part to numerical imprecision in judgment. This is especially true for violations of conditions IXe,f, which are equalities. Incoherencies were therefore retabulated, this time loosening the constraints by a tolerance of .01 . For example, in place of condition IXa, an estimate was considered coherent if it satisfies

$$
\begin{aligned}
\operatorname{Prob}(p)+\operatorname{Prob}(q)-1.01 & \leq \operatorname{Prob}(p \wedge q) \\
& \leq \min \{\operatorname{Prob}(p), \operatorname{Prob}(q)\}+.01
\end{aligned}
$$

Similarly, to be counted as coherent, conditional probabilities had to be within .01 of their defining quotient. Such tolerance had little effect on assessed incoherence, as shown in the fourth column of Table 2. The last column of the table reveals that increasing the tolerance to .05 also has a small effect.

## Accuracy of the Students' Estimates

Quadratic score. If a given meteorological event comes true, it is natural to assign it probability 1 and to assign it 0 otherwise. A qualification is needed in the case of conditional events like "overcast in Houston assuming at least $56^{\circ}$ in New York." If the conditioning event is false (i.e., it is less than $56^{\circ}$ in New York), then no value should be assigned to the conditional. Probabilistic forecasts can then be compared with these numbers in order to determine forecast accuracy. A common metric of comparison is the "quadratic score" (von Winterfeldt \& Edwards, 1986), defined as follows:
X. Definition: Suppose that Prob represents the assessments of a given judge. Let $E$ be an event in the domain of Prob, and let ( $G$, $F$ ) be a pair of events in the domain of Prob.
(a) The quadratic score incurred by Prob for $E$ is $(1-\operatorname{Prob}(E))^{2}$ if $E$ is true. It is $\operatorname{Prob}(E)^{2}$ if $E$ is false.
(b) The quadratic score incurred by Prob for the pair ( $G, F$ ) is $(1-\operatorname{Prob}(G \mid F))^{2}$ if both $G$ and $F$ are true. It is $\operatorname{Prob}(G \mid F)^{2}$ if $G$ is false and $F$ is true. It is not defined if $F$ is false.
The quadratic score of Prob is the average of all the penalties incurred by Prob for events and pairs of events in its domain. (Pairs of events for which the quadratic score is not defined do not figure in this average.)

To illustrate, suppose a judge assigns .3 probability to the disjunction "either overcast in Philadelphia or overcast in New York." If it is overcast in either of the cities, the disjunction is true so the score is $(1-.3)^{2}$. If it is overcast in neither city, the disjunction is false so the score is $.3^{2}$. Suppose Prob(It is overcast in Galveston|It is overcast in Houston) $=.4$, and it turns out not to be overcast in Houston. Then the score associated with this pair of events is not defined. Note that the score is a penalty. Hence, lower scores reveal more insight than higher ones.

The quadratic score is a popular measure of judgmental accuracy for the following reasons. When judges make a conscious effort to minimize their score, the quadratic rule encourages honest assessments of chance (unlike the use of absolute difference, which yields lower expected penalties if estimates are sharpened toward 0 and 1). ${ }^{5}$ It also decomposes in a revealing way into coefficients that can be extracted from many assessment contexts (Murphy, 1973; for discussion, see Yates, 1990).

A judge who feels entirely ignorant about a specific assessment will likely respond with .5 . Systematic use of this strategy leads to incoherence because not all of $p \wedge q, p \wedge \neg q, \neg p \wedge q, \neg p \wedge \neg q$ can have probability .5 . We may, nonetheless, conceive of a totally ignorant judge faced with just one assessment and average the resulting penalties over all such estimates. The average quadratic score of a judge who responds .5 is .25 , so .25 serves as an appealing threshold of ignorance for this score. A judge with a lower score gives evidence of insight into the events under scrutiny; higher scores indicate lack of insight, or worse (scores close to 1 reflect inverted insight).
For each of the 38 participants, we determined the relevant meteorological events for the day whose weather was to be probabilistically forecast. We then calculated individual quadratic scores. Of the 46 estimates provided by each student, 12 were conditional probabilities. The conditioning events were not always true, so the scores of a given participant were not always based on 46 estimates. In fact, the average number of estimates on which the quadratic score was computed is 39.6 ( $S D=1.58$ ).
The mean quadratic score for the 38 students is $.231(S D=0.056)$. By $t$ test, this value is reliably less than the .25 ignorance threshold

[^3]Table 3
Quadratic Scores for Students and for
Their Coherent Approximations

|  | No. of |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |$\quad$| Student |
| :---: |
| $M(S D)$ |$\quad$| Type | Coherent <br> approximation <br> $M(S D)$ | $p$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p$ | 38 | $.247(.075)$ | $.240(.051)$ |
| $p \mid q$ | 36 | $.270(.156)$ | $.265(.114)$ |
| $p \mid \neg q$ | 36 | $.257(.158)$ | $.234(.122)$ |
| $p \wedge q$ | 38 | $.243(.107)$ | $.192(.090)$ |
| $p \wedge \sim q$ | 38 | $.201(.092)$ | $.156(.095)$ |
| $p \vee q$ | 38 | $.207(.141)$ | $.187(.139)$ |
| $p \vee \neg q$ | 38 | $.212(.105)$ | $.178(.097)$ |
| All | 38 | $.231(.056)$ | $.204(.047)$ |

Note. The first column shows the type of event being judged. The second column shows the number of participants figuring in the mean. The number is less than 38 for conditional judgments because the conditioning event occasionally failed to be satisfied on any of the six occasions. The last column shows the two-tailed $p$ value associated with a correlated $t$ test of the hypothesis of equal means for participants versus their approximations.
( $p<.05$, two-tailed). Twenty-four of the 38 participants had a score below . 25 . Mean penalties are broken down by type of judgment in the third column of Table 3.

On the average, the students showed insight about the weather. The insight is limited but nonetheless impressive because it bears on meteorological events 1 week hence (too long to favor prediction). Moreover, their insight shines through the ample incoherence seen above, which limits accuracy. Despite the incoherence, the students' judgments provide a guide to the weather that is reliably better than retreating to the estimate of .5 for a given event.

Slope of the judgments. For each participant, we isolated the cases in which the judged event came true (or, in the conditional case, both the conditioning event and the target event came true). The average probability assigned to these cases was compared with the average probability assigned to events that did not come true (or, in the conditional case, assigned to target events that did not come true even though the conditioning event did). The difference among these means is called the slope of the judgments and measures a judge's ability to distinguish the truth and falsity of predictions (high slope reflects prescience; see Yates, 1990, chap. 3).

The mean slope over the 38 participants was .154 ( $S D=.135$ ), reliably greater than zero, $t(37)=7.03, p \leq .001$. In the next section, we compare this mean with the slopes obtained from the coherent approximations of the students' judgments.

## Coherent Approximations

Two indices are used to measure how well a given distribution approximates a set of probability estimates. One measure is the mean absolute deviation (MAD) between the judge's estimate of the chance of a given event and the distribution's value for the same event. The second measure is the Pearson correlation between these numbers, once again taken over all 46 assessed events. A good approximation to a judge is a distribution that generates a low MAD and a high correlation. Incoherent estimates cannot be
perfectly approximated by coherent substitutes. The considerable incoherence shown by our students thus imposes a lower bound on the MAD that can be achieved by an approximating distribution.

Uniform distribution. The crudest means of approximating a set of incoherent judgments is to take no account of the particularities of a judge and simply replace his or her assessments with the probabilities of some fixed distribution. As a baseline measure of performance, we carried out this procedure with the uniform distribution, which assigns the same probability (namely, $1 / 1,024$ ) to every state generated by our 10 variables. According to the uniform distribution, the probability of each elementary event is $1 / 2$, conditional probabilities are $1 / 2$, conjunctions have probabilities $1 / 4$, disjunctions have probabilities $3 / 4$. Over the 38 participants, the average MAD produced by uniform approximation is .183 ( $S D=.044$ ). The average correlation between the participants' judgments and those issuing from the uniform approximation is .434 ( $S D=.221$ ). This level of correlation is reliably greater than zero ( $n=46, p \leq .01$ ). The low level of correlation suggests that judges were appropriately sensitive to more than the logical structure of the events they were evaluating (because the uniform distribution assigns probabilities solely on the basis of logical structure).

Distributions based on independence. The uniform distribution is one of a family of distributions that enforces independence among the variables. That is, it conforms to:
XI. Independence Property: For variables $p, q, r, \operatorname{Pr}(p \wedge q \wedge r)=$ $\operatorname{Pr}(p) \times \operatorname{Pr}(q) \times \operatorname{Pr}(r)$, and similarly for other conjunctions.

If a distribution satisfies XI, it is determined by specifying the probabilities of the elementary events; all remaining probabilities and conditional probabilities may be derived on this basis. For each participant, there is a unique distribution satisfying XI, and agreeing with his or her estimates of elementary events. The use of this distribution to approximate a set of estimates has the merit of sensitivity to at least some of a judge's opinions (namely, for elementary events). Since it pays no attention to the remaining assessments, the distribution is the crudest approximation that is individually tailored to a judge. It thus serves as a second baseline for the accuracy of coherent approximations.

For each of the 38 participants, we calculated the MAD and the correlation associated with the distribution that satisfies XI and agrees with the probabilities assigned to elementary events. The average MAD obtained was $.144(S D=.049)$, and the average correlation was 625 ( $S D=.193$ ). A correlated $t$ test reveals the new approximations to be reliably better than those based on the uniform distribution, $t(37)=6.9$ and 8.2 , respectively, $p \leq .001$. That judgments were not perfectly correlated with the independent distribution shows that the judges were appropriately sensitive to the interdependence of meteorological events.

Distributions constructed by genetic algorithm. For each student we constructed a population of 200 chromosomes. Each chromosome consisted of 10 rows (representing the 10 variables) and 100 columns (representing some of the 1,024 states); see the previous discussion. The 1,000 cells of a given chromosome were randomly filled with $t$ (truth) and $f$ (falsity) under the constraint that the percentage of $t \mathrm{~s}$ in row $i$ equal the probability that the student assigned to variable $i$ (except for rounding error). Thus, every chromosome in the starting population reflected the probabilities the student assigned to the elementary events. The 200
chromosomes were then evolved through 500 generations. Fitness of a given chromosome was measured by $1 /(\mathrm{MAD}+.01)$, where MAD is the mean absolute deviation between the student's estimates and those embodied by the chromosome (adding .01 prevents division by zero). Between two generations, the probability of being selected for mating was proportional to fitness. One hundred such pairs were selected (with replacement) on this basis. With probability .5 , the pair underwent crossover at a randomly chosen column. Whether crossed or not, the pair then underwent mutation in the form of a .001 probability of flipping any given cell. The pair of chromosomes then entered the next generation (again yielding a population of 200). In this procedure, fitness was calculated 100,000 times (i.e., 200 times per generation). The chromosome with highest fitness (lowest MAD) was retained, and its distribution was used to approximate the student's 46 assessments of chance. The entire procedure is performed for 1 participant at a time (there is no interaction among chromosomes generated for different students).

The average MAD achieved on this basis was .114 ( $n=38$, $S D=.043$ ). A correlated $t$ test reveals this performance to be reliably better than that achieved with distributions based on independence, $t(37)=13.45, p \leq .001$. (Hence, it is also better than use of the uniform distribution.) Indeed, for all 38 students, the MAD for the genetic algorithm was less than that using independence. The average correlation achieved via the genetic algorithm is $.711(n=38, S D=.185$; each correlation involves 46 pairs). The correlations of the genetic algorithm are reliably higher than for distributions based on independence, $t(37)=8.67, p \leq$ 001 . This improvement was seen for 37 of the 38 students.

The fourth column of Table 1 shows the mean probabilities assigned by the 38 coherent approximations to judgments of different types.

## Accuracy of the Reconstructed Estimates

For each participant, we calculated the quadratic score for the 46 estimates derived from their best approximating chromosome. Overall, the mean score for the reconstructed estimates is .204 ( $S D=.047$ ) compared with $.231(S D=.056)$ for the original estimates, as reported earlier. A correlated $t$ test reveals this performance to be reliably different from zero, $t(37)=6.92, p \leq$ .001. (The difference from the ignorance threshold of .25 is also reliable.) For 33 of the 38 participants, the reconstructed estimates had a lower quadratic score than did the original estimates. The coherent revisions improve the accuracy of forecasts for each of the seven types of events in the study. Table 3 compares the average mean quadratic score for the students versus their coherent approximations with respect to each type of judgment. Improvements are seen in every case, reaching statistical significance about half the time (by correlated $t$ test). It should be borne in mind that improving accuracy via coherent approximation to judgment is not a mathematical necessity. For any objective state-of-affairs, many coherent approximations to a given set of judgments make their quadratic score worse.
The coherent approximations also improved the discrimination of true from false statements. Across the 38 participants, the average slope of the coherent approximations was 203 ( $S D=$ .106). By correlated $t$ test, this is reliably higher than the .154 slope achieved by the original judgments, $t(37)=5.82, p \leq .001$.

The accuracy improvements reported above are reliable but modest. For example, the average reduction of quadratic score corresponds with assigning a probability of .45 rather than .48 to a false proposition. The point of the analysis, however, is only to show that our coherent approximations do not diminish the accuracy of a judge. This seems to be the case inasmuch as both accuracy and slope reliably increased.

## Discussion

A judge whose estimates are incoherent is likely to demand two things of a coherent revision. First, the distortion of his or her original estimates should be minimal. Second, no loss of predictive accuracy should result from the revision.

Regarding the first desideratum, use of the genetic algorithm yields coherent approximations to the students' judgments that were reliably closer than either of our baseline techniques. The latter were (a) use of the uniform distribution over states for every participant and (b) construction of an individually tailored distribution starting from the students' probabilities for elementary events and assuming independence. Using our algorithm, the average MAD achieved was .114 , and the average correlation between original and revised assessments was .711 . These results were achieved despite considerable incoherence in the participants' assessments, which limits the closeness of any coherent approximation. The relative success of our method supports the hypothesis of sparse distributions in I according to which good coherent approximations to human judgment can be found among distributions assigning positive probability to few potential states-of-affairs. This is because the genetic algorithm delivers only sparse distributions of probability as (coherent) approximations to judgment.

It is noteworthy that computing the 500 generations produced by our genetic algorithm took only a few minutes per student on a personal computer. Most of the progress occurred within the first 200 generations-further descent occurring more intermittently thereafter. (When only a few generations or a small population of chromosomes are used, the genetic algorithm delivers a coherent approximation that is no closer to the original judgments than the distribution based on independence.) The ease of computation seen in the present study bodes well for scaling our technique to larger problems involving more than 10 variables.

Judges might be more confident about certain estimates compared with others and desire greater fidelity to them in a coherent revision. For example, conditional probabilities are often more psychologically accessible than absolute ones. (It seems easier to estimate the chance of rain in Minneapolis given rain in St. Paul, than to estimate the chance of either event alone.) In the genetic algorithm, fitness can be defined to take account of preferences among estimates. For example, the absolute distance between input probabilities and those coded by a chromosome may be weighted by a coefficient reflecting a judge's confidence in the estimate. For simplicity in the present study, no such weighting was imposed.

The chromosomes of our genetic algorithm were evaluated for fitness by comparing them with numerical estimates of probability and conditional probability. A variety of alternative judgments can also be used to evaluate fitness. For example, judges might specify (a) inequalities among the chances of events, (b) conditional in-
dependence among variables, or (c) correlation among events. Provided that a given distribution can be evaluated for its proximity to an input judgment, the method of genetic algorithms allows the judgment to guide the search for a coherent approximation.

A judge's second desideratum is that his or her revised estimates be no less accurate than the original ones. Accuracy was measured via the quadratic score. Not only was accuracy undiminished, the coherent approximations had reliably better scores compared with the original judgments (see Table 3). This phenomenon is similar to "bootstrapping" in the prediction of quantitative variables like college grades. A linear model of a judge's estimates is often a better predictor than the judge herself. ${ }^{6}$ Bootstrapping probabilities has an aspect not found in the context of linear models, however. Whereas there are no normative grounds for using a linear model to predict college grades from the SAT, high school grades, etc., there are persuasive reasons to prefer one's probabilities to be coherent (see the earlier discussion about utility analyses and susceptibility to "Dutch Books").

Probabilistic bootstrapping is most useful when the events in question cannot be easily assimilated to a large class of similar instances. Geopolitical forecasting is an example of such a situation because the probability (e.g., of Switzerland entering the European Union before 2020) cannot be extrapolated from a class of similar historical moments. Human judgment must be relied on to estimate the chances of these kinds of events, which open the door to incoherence. In the contrary case, when probabilities can be extrapolated from past data, the resulting set of estimates is guaranteed to be coherent (provided that relative frequencies are calculated from the same data set for all the events in play).

Finally, we note that the present technique offers a method of aggregating the opinions of a panel of experts who were asked to assess the chances of the same events. (For an overview of issues and methods for aggregating judgment, see Ferrell, 1994; Rowe, 1992.) This problem is typically studied in the context of elementary events, as in VII (e.g., see Ariely et al., 2000). In a more general context, experts may be asked to assess overlapping sets of complex and elementary events. Even if the assessments of a given expert are coherent, the union (i.e., combined set) of two experts' assessments is unlikely to be so. To extract a single set of coherent estimates from the panel, one approach is to take the union of all the judgments and find the best coherent approximation using a genetic algorithm (or some other approximation method). The result will be a compromise distribution that takes everyone's views into account and distorts them minimally. If some members of the panel have better credentials than others, their estimates can be weighted more heavily in the process.

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[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ The computational complexity of probabilistic coherence is discussed in Georgakopoulos, Kavvadias, and Papadimitriou (1988). The human tendency to stray into incoherent estimates of chance is reviewed in Yates (1990), Baron (1994), and Osherson (1996). It is striking to observe, for example, how few people realize that it is inconsistent to attribute probabilities of .8 to each of two sentences and probability .5 to their conjunction; see IXa.
    ${ }^{2}$ For discussion of coherence and Dutch Books, see Osherson (1995), Resnik (1987), Coletti (1990), Coletti, Gilio, and Scozzafava (1993), Gustason (1994). In fact, if judgments are incoherent, then bets can be chosen so that each has positive expected value according to a judge, yet are collectively guaranteed to lead to a loss.
    ${ }^{3}$ See Alpert and Raiffa (1982), Holtzman and Breese (1986), von Winterfeldt and Edwards (1986), Henrion (1987), Morgan and Henrion (1990), Klayman and Brown (1993), Druzdzel and Van der Gaag (1995). The latter article, for example, describes how elicitation techniques can be extended to nonnumerical judgments of independence and conditional independence. A separate issue from ensuring coherence is improving the accuracy of probability estimates. Elicitation techniques that decompose simple probabilities via the law of total probability have been shown to sometimes lead to more accurate estimates of chance. See Kleinmuntz, Fennema, and Peecher (1996) for experimental results and discussion.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ We note that sparse distributions are not the only means of compactly encoding coherent probabilities. Some nonsparse distributions, for example, can be factored into smaller subdistributions that interact via multiplication (see Pearl, 1988; Neapolitan, 1990). This approach relies on assumptions about conditional independence, however, that may not be realistic in practice. Yet, other classes of distributions can be compactly described via algebraic decision diagrams, in the sense of Bahar et al. (1997). It is also worth noting that the use of a quadratic objective function in place of V does not render the optimization problem any easier. For example, it can be shown that the quadratic counterpart to V is nonconvex on its domain.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ That is, if a judge believes that the probability of an event is $p$ and announces the probability as $q$, then he or she minimizes his or her expected quadratic score-namely, $\left[p \times(1-q)^{2}\right]+\left[(1-p) \times q^{2}\right]$-by setting $q=p$ (see Bernardo \& Smith, 1994, section 2.7). In contrast, setting $q=p$ does not minimize the expected absolute score, namely, $[p \times(1-$ $q)]+[(1-p) \times q]$. Of course, our participants were not informed about any scoring procedure and had no reason whatsoever to falsify their probability estimates.

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ See Dawes (1979), Dawes and Corrigan (1974), and Camerer (1981). Extension of the bootstrapping concept to probabilistic estimates is discussed in Osherson, Shafir, Krantz, and Smith (1997) and in Osherson, Shafir, and Smith (1994).

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