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## Short Communication

# Magicians fix your mind: How unlikely solutions block obvious ones

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## 1. Introduction

Although most of our everyday activities can be performed using established routines, it is sometimes useful to step outside of normal thought patterns to produce innovative ideas. What factors limit the human capacity to think differently? Among the obstacles to creative thinking, some are well known, such as the limits of working memory that prevent the simultaneous consideration of all the parameters of a given problem (e.g., Newell & Simon, 1972; Swanson & Sachse-Lee, 2001), or the existence of judging biases that lead to prioritizing erroneous reasoning (e.g., Kahneman & Frederick, 2005). Another major limiting factor to creative thinking is the fact that, when confronted with a problem, the presence of a familiar idea prevents the discovery of an alternative solution (Bilalić, McLeod, & Gobet, 2010). This phenomenon has been shown in studies of creativity, and named the design fixation (Chrysikou & Weisberg, 2005), and in studies of problem solving, and named the einstellung effect (Luchins, 1942).

The first investigation into this latter effect was conducted by Luchins (1942) who exposed participants to a series of water-jar problems that could be solved by a fixed solution, which was quickly learned. Then, participants were exposed to a new water-jar problem that could be solved by the same fixed solution or by a new one that was simpler and shorter. Results showed that the majority of participants failed to find the shorter solution and persisted with the fixed solution that they previously learned. Participants who were not exposed to the first series of problems were

## ABSTRACT

In everyday life, several factors limit the human capacity to think differently. The present study shows that implanting an unlikely and unfamiliar idea in the mind can prevent participants from finding a more obvious one. To demonstrate this, we used a technique often adopted by magicians to misrepresent the method of a trick: the false solution. Our results reveal that a single exposure to an unlikely false solution (the magician can influence the spectator's choice with his gesture) before the presentation of a card trick can prevent participants from finding the real (more obvious) secret of a trick, even if they are invited to search for an alternative solution.

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all able to find the simpler solution. In a second condition, called the *extinction problem*, participants had to solve a new water-jar problem in which the fixed solution did not work. In this extinction problem, the majority of participants declared that the problem was unsolvable. According to Luchins (1942), participants failed to find the correct solution because the pervasiveness of the familiar solution is enhanced by the similarity between the new problem and the previous one, making them blind to the alternative shorter solution.

More recently, Bilalić, McLeod, and Gobet (2008a, 2008b) conducted several studies of the einstellung effect on chess experts. These authors gave participants a series of chess problems and asked them to find the shortest way to win. For each problem, there were two solutions, one of which was well-known and took five moves and one of which was less familiar and took three moves. The expert players found the familiar solution very quickly, but most failed to find the shortest way to win, even if they actively looked for this alternative solution. Participants who failed to find the shortest solution were exposed to a similar problem with a slight modification that made the familiar solution impossible, leaving only the optimal one. In this single-solution problem, all the players quickly found the shorter and less familiar solution they had not managed to see in the first version of the experiment, showing that it was indeed the salience of the well-known solution that "fixed" their mind and prevented them from finding the less familiar but shorter one.

To better understand the mechanisms responsible for this phenomenon, Bilalić et al. (2008a) recorded participants' eye movements. They noted that players who had found the familiar solution to the two-solution version were unable to dissociate







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from it. It was as if their eyes were irresistibly attracted to the elements involved in the first solution, and this prevented them from seeing the second. These results suggest that when a familiar solution suffices to solve a problem, it is difficult to stop focusing on it and consider alternatives.

Despite some methodological differences between previous studies on the einstellung effect, it is interesting to highlight three common points that link them all. Firstly, it is a familiar solution that prevents participants from finding a less familiar one. This familiarity can be caused by being exposed to a fixed solution previously (Luchins, 1942) or by an expert knowledge of the participant concerning this solution (Bilalić et al., 2008b).

Secondly, there is no doubt about correctness of both the fixed solution and the alternative (because participants can easily test them). Thirdly, the context (e.g., water-jar problem) and the elements (e.g., water-jars) required to find the familiar solution are similar to those required to find the alternative one.

In the present article, we show that the phenomenon is even more general than previously thought. It can appear even when these three common points do not apply: a single exposure (oral presentation) to an unfamiliar and unlikely solution can prevent participants from finding a more obvious and contextually different one. To demonstrate this, we used the topic of magic. For centuries, magicians have been manipulating beliefs and psychological subtleties in order to fool the spectator's mind. As such, the art of magic offers psychology an original and rich research field for gaining insight into certain cognitive processes, such as attention, perception, memory, and reasoning (for reviews, see, for example, Kuhn, Amlani, & Rensink, 2008; Rensink & Kuhn, 2014, 2015; Thomas, Didierjean, Maquestiaux, & Gygax, 2015). In this article, we focus on a promising and yet unexplored psychological property often used in magic: the false solution (Tamariz, 1988). The false solution (FS) corresponds to any method other than the one actually used to achieve the magical effect. During magic tricks, magicians often highlight false solutions (e.g., "I can read your mind") to divert a participant's suspicion away from the real secret of the trick (e.g., "I collected information about your private life from social networks").

In this vein, the aim of our experiment was to find out whether a single exposure to an unfamiliar and unlikely false solution could prevent participants from finding a more obvious and contextually different one, even if participants are invited to search for an alternative solution.

#### 2. Method

#### 2.1. Participants

Ninety students (mean age: 20 years, SD: 1.6) from the University of Franche-Comté, France, participated in the experiment. All participants had normal color vision, had normal or corrected-tonormal visual acuity and provided informed consent.

#### 2.2. Stimuli and procedure

Three versions of a magic trick were presented live by the same performer. Each participant was individually exposed to one of these versions. participants to freely choose one of the six red-backed cards. The performer turns the chosen card face up, revealing a jack of hearts. He then turns the brown-backed card face up, revealing another jack of hearts and showing that the prediction matches the freely chosen card (see Fig. 1b). Then, he asks the participants to orally give one answer to the following *First question*: "what is the secret of the trick?"<sup>1</sup> The correct answer is "all the cards are the same" (see Fig. 1c).

One third of the participants (30 participants) were exposed to the second version, called the false solution (FS) conditional trick (see Fig. 2). This version is similar to the original trick version, with a false solution explicitly introduced before the beginning of the trick. Before the trick, the performer explains to the participant that magicians can influence the spectator's choices thanks to some physical suggestions. Then, the performer explains that he will try to influence the participant's choice through a physical suggestion achieved by a specific move of his hand. After the trick. the performer asks the participants to orally respond to the first question: "what is the secret of the trick?" If the participant finds the correct solution (all the cards are the same), the trick ends here. If the participant does not find the correct solution, the performer asks the following conditional test questions: "if your solution was not the correct one, could you find another solution to explain the trick?" and "if yes, what would this solution be?"<sup>2</sup>

One third of the participants (30 participants) were exposed to the third version, called the *false solution (FS) extinction trick* (see Fig. 2). This version is exactly the same as the FS conditional trick with the exception of the conditional test question, which is replaced by the following *extinction test questions*: "I did not use this solution (the performer reformulated the solution given by the participant), can you find another solution to explain the trick?" and "if yes, what is this solution?"<sup>3</sup>

## 3. Results

Results from the first question of the original trick, without providing a false solution, show that 83% (25/30) of the participants found the correct solution (all the cards are the same), and none proposed the *physical influence* false solution. These results confirm that the correct solution of the trick is far more obvious than the physical influence false solution.

As shown in Fig. 3a (see also Appendix A), there was a clear effect of the exposure to the false solution in the percentage of participants who discovered the correct solution after the first question. Results of chi-square tests showed that the percentage of participants who found the correct solution in the original trick group (83%) was significantly greater than both the percentage in the FS conditional trick group (17%,  $\chi^2 = 26.67$ , p < 0.001) and the percentage in the FS extinction trick group (13%,  $\chi^2 = 29.43$ , p < 0.001). Furthermore, for the two FS groups, participants who did not find the secret of the trick typically found solutions related to the false solution (e.g., "the card that the magician touched long-er"). There is no significant difference between the percentage of participants who found the correct solution in the FS conditional trick group (17%) and the percentage in the FS extinction trick group (13%,  $\chi^2 = 0.13$ , p = 0.72).

We next examined participants who did not initially solve the problem but then received the conditional or extinction test questions. Their results are shown in Fig. 3b (see also Appendix A). Results showed that the percentage of participants who found

One third of the participants (30 participants) were exposed to the first version of the magic trick, called the *original trick*. In this version, the performer presents to the participants a brownbacked card surrounded by six red-backed cards (the cards are face down) (see Fig. 1a). He explains that the brown-backed card is a prediction that will be revealed at the end of the trick. He randomly touches the back of the six red-backed cards and asks the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In French: Quel est le secret de ce tour?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In French: si votre solution n'était pas la bonne, pourriez-vous trouver une autre solution pour expliquer le tour? Si oui, quelle serait cette solution?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In French: je n'ai pas utilisé cette solution, pouvez-vous trouver une autre solution pour expliquer le tour? Si oui, quelle-est cette solution?

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