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# Decision-making in a social world: Integrating cognitive ecology and social neuroscience

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#### **Abstract**

Understanding animal decision-making involves simultaneously dissecting and reconstructing processes across levels of biological organization, such as behavior, physiology, and brain function, as well as considering the environment in which decisions are made. Over the past few decades, foundational breakthroughs originating from a variety of model systems and disciplines have painted an increasingly comprehensive picture of how individuals sense information, process it, and subsequently modify behavior or states. Still, our understanding of decision-making in social contexts is far from complete and requires integrating novel approaches and perspectives. The fields of social neuroscience and cognitive ecology have approached social decision-making from orthogonal perspectives. The integration of these perspectives (and fields) is critical in developing comprehensive and testable theories of the brain.

#### Addresses

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Social neuroscience has made great strides in understanding the key pathways and neuromodulators of important social, behavioral processes like affiliation, reproduction, and aggression. Independently, cognitive ecology has examined a diverse set of taxa to analyze behavior in social groups, determine decision-making rules and the factors that modulate them, and contextualize these processes in naturalistic scenarios to understand their adaptive value. The integration of these perspectives (and fields) is critical in developing comprehensive and testable theories of the brain

[5,31,14]. Here we review complementary insights into social decision-making from the perspectives of both social neuroscience and cognitive ecology. We describe each area of research and its development in recent decades, including a brief discussion of studies that have attempted to integrate both fields. We then outline several steps to further integrate social neuroscience and cognitive ecology toward a complete understanding of social decision-making.

## What is social neuroscience?

Social neuroscience is the study of the neural mechanisms of social behavior, and as such, is situated within the tradition of neuroethology [66,65], which historically has included the study of social behavior, as well as investigations of reward, motivation, and decisionmaking (e.g. Ref. [56]). From this foundation, social neuroscience emerged as an independent field of research in the early 1990s [6] with the aim of understanding the neural, hormonal, cellular, and genetic underpinnings of social behavior [7]. It is this integration across levels of biological organization, and how they relate to the social realm, that separates social neuroscience from the more reductionist approaches in much of modern neuroscience (where behavior is often an afterthought, see Ref. [22]) and from the organism-level outlook characteristic of animal behavior research and psychology [17]. Importantly, almost from its inception, social neuroscience has embraced a diversity of model systems and attempted to infer evolutionary insights.

Current research in social neuroscience primarily stems from two areas of research [17]: a neuroethological perspective on sensory processing and a neuroendocrinological perspective on suites of social behaviors such as sexual behavior (including sexual signaling, mate choice, and courtship), aggression (including dominance, competition, and territoriality), parental care, and affiliation/avoidance (including cooperation and prosociality) (see Refs. [49,58]). Research on sensory processing has amassed a comprehensive and detailed inventory of the pathways, cells, and circuits that process social information from a multitude of modes (e.g. pheromones, acoustic, and visual courtship signals and cues) [53] Conversely, research in the neuroendocrinology realm has demonstrated how remarkably conserved (in form, function, and occasionally both) the

mechanisms of social behaviors are across taxa, from sex steroids to nonapeptides to reward neuromodulators (dopamine, serotonin), to stress modulators (cortisol) [13,25,26,21,52].

A decade ago, Adolphs [1] proposed a set of 'next steps' in research on social neuroscience. These included new model systems, an emphasis on region mapping of socio-cognitive processing in the brain, and investigating generality versus domain-specificity in social information processing. All these suggestions reflected a need to more closely integrate a more naturalistic (or ecological) perspective into the field, as we discuss later. More specifically, Adolphs [1] identified that one strength of social neuroscience is its grounding in animal studies, then subsequent extension to humans, rather than the other way around. This is one challenge that social neuroscience encounters: studies amass a vast and often bewildering array of relationships between mechanisms and complex behavior, emotion, or personality traits, yet it only rarely addresses the functional implications, evolutionary constraints, or fitness consequences of the identified relationships [25,7]. We posit that a cognitive ecology framework will prove beneficial in contextualizing the results within a larger evolutionary framework.

# What is cognitive ecology?

Cognitive ecology has its roots in classical ethology's emphasis on an integrative understanding of natural behavior [51]. The distinction of cognitive ecology from neuroethology and behavioral ecology was articulated by Real. [33], who put forward a 'cognitive approach' toward understanding animal decision-making. Intended as an alternative to a strictly behaviorist/adaptationist approach, an individual's decision is no longer seen as an objective weighing of external stimuli but rather a product of a series of processes (perception, encoding, storage, and representation) that are the product of evolution [33]. Later, Shettleworth defined cognition as "all [the] ways in which animals take in information through the senses, process, retain and decide to act on it." [43]. Behavioral ecologists have increasingly embraced the implications of cognitive processes in their experimental designs, thus integrating research into animal cognition with behavioral ecology, a research field now often referred to as cognitive ecology [12]. Cognitive ecology has oscillated between a more ecological and a more psychological perspective [16,20]. The ecological approach has proven invaluable in structuring testable and discrete hypotheses for cognitive processes (e.g. bird food caching [47], fish transitivity in mate choice decisions [34], bat prey cue assessment [29]). In contrast, a psychological approach has increased our understanding of the cognitive processes that human and nonhuman animals share, primarily through the assessment of primate cognition [60].

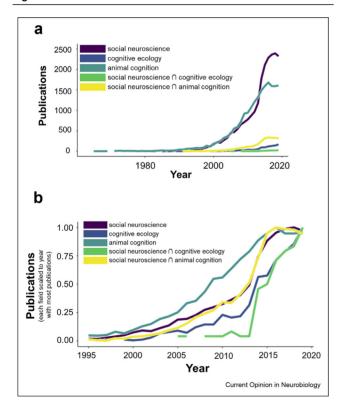
Different cognitive domains are those that require different types of cognitive performance [9]. Common domains assessed in cognitive ecology literature include learning, associative learning (including discrimination learning), cognitive flexibility (such as inhibitory control and reversal learning), and innovative problem solving/novel motor learning. Many studies employ multiple cognitive assays to compare performance across domains, and there has been a recent call to improve the universality of such cognitive test batteries (as well as expand this type of testing to additional animal models) [42].

Model systems in cognitive ecology are often selected based on their unique behavioral repertoire (e.g. cleaner mutualism in fish and shrimp [46,55], bats navigating via echolocation [48], vocal learning in songbirds [41]. Given the diverse species studied, numerous often ingenious assays have been developed to assess cognition in a manner most appropriate for and relevant to the model system. However, examining cognitive behavior in a way that is efficient, robust, and relevant across species given their differences in natural and evolutionary history poses another great challenge [32]. Designing an experimental paradigm that is 'fair', i.e., not biased toward any one of the species under investigation, is difficult as species differences that are not directly relevant to the behavior under study might interfere in nonobvious ways. For example, in studies on spatial learning using a food reward, one species might simply be more motivated by the food reward used and yet would appear to be superior at spatial learning [27]. Nevertheless, the diversity of model systems has been an obvious boon for the field, yet inferring the mental processes taking place inside an animal's brain from behavioral observations alone remains another major challenge [43]. This is particularly true when we consider different social environments where cognitive processes - such as the assessment of valence and salience, associative learning and memory retention, and the speed and accuracy of decision making - can change dynamically across social contexts [59]. Integrating proximate mechanisms into the research agenda of cognitive ecology has long been seen as critical [43], yet progress in this direction is ripe for additional exploration.

# Integrating social neuroscience and cognitive ecology

To assess where integration between social neuroscience and cognitive ecology is already occurring, we conducted a quantitative literature search in both Google Scholar and PubMed, using representative search terms (see Figure 1 legend for details). Here, we only report the analysis for PubMed as the two databases yielded concordant results. We identified 19,669 publications for search term 'social neuroscience,'

Figure 1



Quantitative analysis of the publication effort in Social Neuroscience, Animal Cognition, and Cognitive Ecology. Three searches were conducted in PubMed (selecting 'all fields' and restricting the year to before and including 2019): ' (social neuroscience) AND (animal)', '(cognitive ecology) AND (animal)', and '(animal cognition)'. Two additional searches assessed the intersections between the fields: '(social neuroscience) AND (cognitive ecology) AND (animal)', and '(social neuroscience) AND (animal cognition)'. Shown are total research effort over time (a) and scaled research effort to facilitate comparison (b). Primary data and analysis code can be found at: https://github.com/kellyjwallace/Wallace\_Hofmann\_literature\_analysis.

# Promising approaches for further integration

We propose four approaches that cognitive ecologists and social neuroscientists may want to consider as they conduct integrative work between these two areas. These suggestions are not meant to be exclusive, and rather they reflect research directions that have already yielded novel insights — as demonstrated by the examples we provide — and are likely to play an important role in the future integration of these fields.

# 1) Assess social behavior and cognitive performance in the same subjects across cognitive and social domains.

The social environment is a rich landscape and individuals that navigate it rely on cognitive processes. When possible, assessing the same individuals in social behavior assays and cognitive tasks can facilitate a better understanding of the social factors that are relevant for certain cognitive abilities. The ability to correlate social factors with cognitive processes then allows researchers to generate specific hypotheses on how proximate mechanisms (such as neuromodulators) should vary across individuals and across these social factors.

For example, the prairie vole, Microtus ochrogaster, has become a model system for understanding social monogamy and the role of nonapeptides in social affiliation and salience. In this model system, a series of elegant studies of behavioral, neuromolecular, and genetic mechanisms have transformed our understanding of the role of nonapeptides in both social behavior [11], and spatial memory [35]. Further work comparing these social categories and cognitive domains is a critical step in identifying relationships between social behavior and cognition that can then be explored at a mechanistic level (e.g. Ref. [28]). The evolution of our understanding of the function of the nonapeptides [11,13,37] exemplifies the utility of investigating mechanisms in alternative contexts. Oxytocin was originally considered a neuromodulator of 'social affiliation.' But further exploration provided evidence for an expanded role, and now we more clearly understand its role in 'social salience,' or the orienting of responses to social cues. This expanded role explains the role of oxytocin in both the typical prosocial aspects of social behavior (such as trust and empathy), as well as antisocial aspects (such as aggression and envy) [44]. It is important that mechanisms are not pigeon-holed into the investigation only within traditional contexts and traditional model organisms. It is also important to record noncognitive behavioral traits during assays, as they may be influencing the perceived cognitive performance [54].

# 2) Compare social phenotypes over time and across developmental trajectories

As mentioned previously, study systems that display variation in a social attribute can be very useful for studies of cognitive ecology and social neuroscience, and this is even more the case when this variation can be organized into discrete phenotypes (e.g. male/female, parenting/nonparenting, dominant/subordinate. breeder/helper). Once the behavioral and mechanistic repertoires of social phenotypes are distinguished, it is then useful to employ repeated measures designs to understand the repeatability versus flexibility of the phenotypes. Employing repeated measures across contexts (e.g. across time or development) facilitates understanding the limits of phenotypic variation in behavior and underlying mechanisms.

The African cichlid fish Astatotilapia burtoni has emerged as a model system in social neuroscience [23]. Studies have disentangled the relevant modalities and social information males individuals use to ascend or descend in social dominance status, as well as detailing the physiological and neural transitions that parallel social change. Recent literature in this species has additionally disentangled how these social dominance phenotypes influence group learning [38].

Social neuroscience has extensively studied developmental aspects of social behavior and trajectories, a perspective cognitive that can benefit ecologists. Furthermore, investigating developmental trajectories can be a useful tool in understanding the evolutionary origins and conservation of social decision-making. In zebra finches (*Taeniopygia guttata*), as well as other songbird species, the neural circuits and critical developmental periods of song learning have been well characterized, as well as the ecological consequences (e.g. mate preference behavior). Care has been taken to disentangle the learned versus innate aspects of song and attention and interpretation of stimuli. Additionally, explorations on this topic have characterized the anatomical constraints of song production [36].

# 3) Increase the number of model systems studied in naturalistic communities.

As we noted above, diverse and unique study species have featured prominently in both social neuroscience and cognitive ecology, suggesting that investigating nontraditional model systems can be particularly fruitful. Often, model systems are chosen due to complex behavior or extreme social phenotypes that they exhibit, such as archerfish [39] or naked mole rats [15]. Additionally, species often vary considerably in social attributes (that potentially change over time), which allows researchers to explicitly test evolutionary hypotheses and infer which mechanisms are similar (and possibly conserved) across species (see approach 4) below). This requires extensive knowledge of the social environment of the system. It is easy to overlook basic naturalistic characterizations, but the initial description of a species' life history, social organization, and naturalistic behavior is critical in establishing baseline predictions regarding cognitive performance. For example, in honeybees, studies of the relationship between spatial navigation and social communication, as well as the underlying neural mechanisms, have a rich history grounded in painstaking observations of behavior in nature [24,64]. Studies of primate societies, particularly geladas, rhesus macaques, and savannah baboons, have turned the limitations of studies conducted in the wild into a strength through detailed recording of social interactions paired physiological and molecular with assessments [62,45,18]. Importantly, research on primates has been instrumental in building our understanding of higher order cognitive processes, such as the theory of mind and subjective mental states, from an ecological rather than anthropocentric perspective. In addition to establishing new model systems via basic naturalistic characterizations [19], longstanding biomedical model systems (e.g., the nematode worm Caenorhabditis elegans, the fruit fly *Drosophila melanogaster*, and the mouse *Mus* musculus) will greatly benefit from more ecological perspectives that historically have not been central in their literature (e.g. Refs. [50,61]).

Importantly, new technologies such as automated tracking and machine learning have facilitated a renaissance of detailed behavioral observations, often in naturalistic contexts [10]. Scientists are also swiftly advancing neural recordings of freely interacting animals (e.g. Ref. [40] as an alternative to more restrictive techniques that require animals to be fixed to a stage. Often, the analysis of these complex datasets requires new statistical approaches. Social network analysis, for example, has been a particularly fruitful subfield within the study of ecologically relevant social behavior. The observation of complex group social dynamics yields equally complex datasets and requires sophisticated statistical approaches [61,30]. These statistical approaches have undergone rapid development and have vastly improved our ability to interpret group social dynamics [57]. The rapid pace at which these technological and statistical advances occur provides exciting opportunities for the integration of social neuroscience and cognitive ecology [2].

# 4) Employ phylogenetic comparative analyses of mechanisms and behaviors

It is clear that for both social neuroscientists and cognitive ecologists, understanding animal behavior (in particular social decision-making) requires an evolutionary framework. From the social neuroscience perspective, understanding the shared pathways and brain region homologies [13,25,26] is critical in determining the roles of key mechanisms and circuits. From the cognitive ecology perspective, understanding the fitness consequences of behavior provides insight into its maintenance in any given population.

Poeciliid fishes (a family of freshwater livebearing fish encompassing guppies, mollies, swordtails, and platys) initially became a model system for understanding lifehistory tradeoffs in response to predation, and have since emerged as a model system for mate choice, as closely related species vary in mating system. Studies on male visual ornaments and coloration paired with experience-dependent female mate choice and its neural mechanisms have all been grounded in an evolutionary framework of sexual conflict and alternative reproductive tactics [8].

There is a ripe opportunity for researchers of social behavior to employ more rigorous phylogenetic methods on large datasets across taxa to explicitly test observed conservation (see Ref. [63]). Phylogenetic analyses can more clearly paint an evolutionary trajectory of critical social attributes and their mechanisms across time. For example, many hypothalamic neuropeptides and releasing hormones are not only evolutionarily ancient but often show conserved functions, including their effects on behavior [37].

#### Conclusion

To understand how human and nonhuman animals make decisions in a social world, scientists must integrate across biological levels and diverse perspectives. This integrative approach is not a new concept, rather, integrative frameworks such as Tinbergen's four questions [51] have facilitated enormous conceptual progress in our understanding of animal behavior [3]. But given the recent advances in neuroscience and behavioral analyses [4], the ability to integrate these topics within single studies has become much more accessible [14]. We have described here the complementary approaches that social neuroscientists and cognitive ecologists have used to social decision-making, detailing their methodological strengths and weaknesses. The intersection of these two fields is ripe for more integration, which no doubt will yield important new insights.

## **Author contributions**

HAH and KJW conceived of the study. KJW wrote the initial draft of the manuscript, and HAH provided feedback and comments during manuscript writing. All authors give final approval for publication.

#### Conflict of interest statement

Nothing declared.

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