

Cognitive Aging

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COGNITIVE AGING

1. Definition of Cognitive Aging

Research on cognitive aging is concerned with the basic processes of learning and memory as well as with the complex higher order processes of language and intellectual competence or executive functioning. Much of the literature in this field has been concerned with explaining the mechanism of cognitive decline with advancing age. However, there has also been pervasive interest in issues such as compensation and the role of external support including external aides as well as collaborative problem solving. The study of cognitive aging has followed two rather distinct traditions. The first grew out of experimental child psychology while the second derived from psychometric roots that included the assessment of intellectual competence and development in normal and abnormal populations.

1.1. Experimental study of memory functions and language

This literature has been concerned with the identification of potentially causal variables that might be responsible for the memory loss and decline observed in many older persons in complex manipulation of language variables such as text processing. Conventional approaches in this literature involve the design of experiments that test for the effects of single variables in carefully controlled laboratory settings that require only limited numbers of subjects. Because there is often little interest in individual differences, or population parameters, study participants are typically drawn from convenience samples (McKay & Abrams, 1996). In addition this literature includes primarily age-comparative studies (see below for the implicit methodological problems inherent in such studies). Hence, little is known from this literature regarding differential patterns of cognitive age, nor is it clear how findings generalize to broader or specialized populations.

1.2. Descriptive study of adult intellectual development

Many studies of adult intellectual development originated from the longitudinal follow-up of samples that were first assessed in childhood or adolescence. Other studies, however,

represent carefully stratified samples from defined populations, first assessed at a particular life stage, whether in early adulthood, or in early old age. Descriptive studies often began as cross-sectional inquiries that were expanded into long-term longitudinal studies. Longitudinal data were required because the interest here is typically in the study of individual differences in intra-individual change, or in the identification of typologies of individuals who follow different growth trajectories. Such studies frequently involve large samples, and they typically employ correlational or quasi-experimental approaches (Baltes, Staudinger, & Lindenberger, 1999; Schaie, 1996b).

2. Methodological Issues

Two major methodological issues in cognitive aging research are whether one should employ age-comparative (between participants) or age-change (within participants) designs and how investigators should address the role of response speed.

2.1. Age-comparative vs age-change designs

The bulk of reported findings from the experimental cognitive aging literature is based on age-comparative studies that usually contrast a group of young adults (typically college students) with convenience samples of community-dwelling older adults in their sixties and seventies. However, it is often unreasonable to assume that the two age groups can be adequately matched for other status variables that might provide rival explanations for any observed age difference on the dependent variable of interest. This internal validity threat (cf. Campbell & Stanley, 1963) creates particular problems for identifying the mechanisms that may be implicated in age-related decline from young adulthood into old age. Age-comparative designs are also inadequate in explaining individual differences in intra-individual age changes. The latter can only be investigated by means of longitudinal paradigms (Schaie, 1965, 1996a). The internal validity of longitudinal studies, moreover, can also be impaired by failure to attend to issues such as participant attrition, impact of history, and reactivity (practice) effects.

2.2. The role of response speed

Several theorists have suggested that general changes in the central nervous system are the primary common cause for the observed age-related declines in cognitive performance. An unbiased marker of such change might be the commonly observed increase in simple reaction time. Many published analyses show a substantial reduction in age differences, if some measure or measures of reaction time or perceptual speed is partialled out of the relation between measures of a cognitive process and chronological age (Madden, 2001; Salthouse, 1999). The average increase in many measures of reaction time increases by a factor of approximately 1.6 from the early twenties to the late sixties (Cerella, 1990). However, it is not clear whether the observed average increase in reaction time, while reliably demonstrable in the laboratory, is of significance in many or most tasks of daily living. Nevertheless, it is critical therefore in cognitive aging studies to disaggregate changes in speed of response from changes in accuracy of performance (cf. Willis, 1996; Willis & Schaie, 1986).

2.3 The role of individual differences

Although empirical findings on age differences or age changes suggest virtually linear declines for many cognitive functions, it is difficult to reproduce linear decline patterns at the individual level. Indeed, it appears that there are many different aging patterns of which linear decline may only be a sparsely represented phenomenon. More common are stair-step patterns that reflect decline occurring in response to an unfavorable event (perhaps severe physiological insult or the loss of a spouse) followed by a period of stability at a lower level, with further decline upon the occurrence of other unfavorable events (cf. Schaie, 1989). Recent advances in multi-level analyses and growth curve modeling provide new and exciting tools for the identification and analyses of typologies of cognitive aging patterns (cf. Rudinger & Rietz, 2001).

2.4 Sensory -perceptual limitations in the elderly

An important meta-issue in the study of aging and cognition is the question to what extent decline in cognitive processes in the elderly can be attributed to changes in peripheral

sensory functions. I will here briefly review some of the major age-related declines in sensory-perceptual processes that aging researchers need to consider. For more extensive reviews refer to Fozard & Gordon-Salant, 2001, or Schieber, 2003).

2.4.1 Vision

Anatomical changes. The size of the pupil declines with advancing adult age (*senile miosis*), and the lens becomes more opaque. This loss of transparency is particularly pronounced at short wavelength (e.g. for blue light). Lenticular opacity and reduced pupil size result in less retinal illumination. Almost half of those over 65 years of age have sufficiently reduced lenticular opacity to be diagnosed as having cataracts. There is also some evidence of age-related photoreceptor and ganglion cell loss. Macular degeneration and glaucoma also impair vision in significant numbers of older persons.

Visual acuity. This is the indicator of how well fine spatial detail can be recognized. A distinction is made between near and far acuity. By age 40 difficulty is experienced focusing upon printed text that is closer than about a foot and by age 60 it becomes difficult for most persons to focus upon objects located within 3 feet. Decreases in both near and far acuity until around age 70 are usually due to refractive errors that can be corrected using eyeglasses or contact lenses. However, visual difficulties that remain after wearing eyeglasses increase sharply in the late seventies and eighties. Impaired visual acuity among those in the oldest groups is attributable to greater prevalence of diseases of the retina. Age-related deficits in visual acuity become more severe when there is low luminance or low contrast stimuli.

Dark adaptation and glare. Changing level of illumination results in a significant reduction in visual sensitivity. There is some age-related slowing in the rate of dark adaptation and older adults have more difficulty throughout of the dark adaptation cycle. The rate of loss is greater for short wavelength light (i.e., blue, green) due to the age-related "yellowing" of the lens.

Age-related decrements in visual function are also observed when glare is present. The aging lens scatters light across the retina decreasing the contrast of the retinal image. Visual

difficulties due to glare increase markedly for low contrast stimuli and recovery time for lost visual sensitivity in response to glare source also increases.

Color vision. Small age-related declines have been found in the ability to distinguish between similar hues past age 70. This phenomenon has been attributed to a differential loss of sensitivity in short-wavelength photoreceptors. Difficulties in color vision are greater under low light conditions and age differences in blue-green color discrimination can be reduced at high levels of illumination. Color constancy mechanisms remain relatively intact in the elderly possibly minimizing performance decrements on real-world tasks.

Motion perception. Age-related decrements have been found in motion sensitivity and accuracy of speed perception although their nature and magnitude of these effects varies across different investigations. It has been suggested that these age-related losses may be mediated by neural rather than optical mechanisms. There are also age differences in thresholds for the detection of motion in extent, as well as age differences in the ability to judge the apparent speed of automobiles.

2.4.2 Hearing

Anatomical changes. Changes in the outer ear include accumulations of earwax that block the auditory canal and a narrowing of the auditory canal. The joints connecting the bones of the middle ear often become less elastic with advancing age. In the inner ear there is age-related loss in the number of hair cells. This loss occurs principally among hair cells transmitting high-frequencies. There is also an age-related reduction in the number of neurons in the auditory nerve and the auditory cortex.

Auditory sensitivity and discrimination. Age-related loss of sensitivity (*presbycusis*) particularly affects high-frequency sounds; hence, requiring greater stimulus intensity to detect a sound. Hearing loss due to this phenomenon has often been attributed to gender differences in workplace noise exposure. Loss of sensitivity proceeds at a pace of about 1 dB per year after age 60 and at 1.5dB per year after age 80.

Age-related decrements have also been found in the ability to discriminate small changes in the frequency or intensity of sounds during speech recognition and sound localization. Older adults are less able to discriminate between similar sounds that differ in intensity or frequency. Age-related difficulties in frequency discrimination are greater with very brief tones; i.e. older persons in conversations have greater difficulty processing phonemes than syllables. increasing difficulty discriminating the arrival of sounds, especially for low-frequency sounds.

Speech recognition. Speech recognition for monosyllabic words has been found to decrease from almost 100% correct at age 30 to less than 60% correct for those 80-89 years of age. Particularly severe age-related decrements in speech intelligibility occur when there is background noise, echo and time compression. There is a question as to the relative contribution of peripheral versus central mechanisms in these decrements. Remediation of decrements in speech perception due to sensory factors would require interventions in signal processing, while decrements due to cognitive deficits would need to be addressed by comprehensive training approaches (see below). Decrements in understanding speech are lessened when stimulus intensity levels are increased and when speech stimuli are presented within "sentence" or "paragraph" contexts.

3. Basic Findings from the Experimental Literature on Cognitive Aging

Much of this literature is cross-sectional in nature and frequently includes convenience samples of young adults (often sophomore psychology students) that are compared with other community-dwelling older adults (often participants in adult education programs). The major findings from this literature regarding age differences in cognitive performance include the following:

3.1. Memory

Older persons are currently thought to be at a disadvantage in retrieving information from memory when the information to be retrieved is complex and when there are few cues or other environmental support. Hence, age differences are far greater in recall than in recognition of

information. The magnitude of age differences in memory is also thought to be far greater when a task involves effortful processing than when automatic processing is involved. Hence, greater age differences have been found for explicit than implicit memory. Older persons seem to have greater difficulty in integrating the context of information they are trying to remember.

Moreover, working memory capacity (that is the information kept in immediately accessible store) becomes reduced with increasing age. But there is little evidence for age differences in long term storage. Memory deficits occurring with age include nonverbal tasks such as memory for spatial location, memory for faces, and for actions and activities. Studies of prospective memory (i.e., remembering something to be done in the future) suggest that older people do well in remembering simple and event-based tasks, but are at a disadvantage when tasks become complex or are time-based. In sum, it appears that age differences are known to increase in magnitude as a function of the processing requirements of a given task (Bäckman, Small, & Wahlén, 2001; Salthouse, 1999; Smith 1996).

3.2. Attention

Another recent body of work has considered the role of attention in explaining age differences in other cognitive processes. Attentional processes are implicated whenever individuals engage in multi-tasking or time-sharing activities. Examples of the consequence of age-related attention deficits may be found in work on inhibition, reading comprehension (see below), and many everyday activities that may be affected by age related deficits in the ability to attend simultaneously to multiple tasks (e.g., Schieber, 2003; West, 1999; Zacks & Hasher, 1997). On the other hand attention deficits have not been found to underlie age differences in episodic memory (Nyberg, Nilsson, Olofson, & Bäckman, 1997). Age-related differences in attention may also be implicated in executive functioning (Kramer, Larish, Weber, & Bardell, 1999).

Although some of the most exciting research in this area is the exploration of neurological bases for attention processes, there are also many practical applications in areas such as aging and technology use (cf. Rogers & Fisk, 2001).

3.3. Language

Age related differences in language behavior are closely related to the processes of encoding and retrieving verbal materials discussed above. In addition, there are greater age differences in textual tasks that involve recent connections than in those that involve recollection of older connections. Language production is adversely affected in older persons under intense time pressure. Word-finding difficulty (the interesting tip-of-the-tongue phenomenon), however, seems to be more likely with infrequently used words. Significant age differences have also been found in planning what one intends to say and how to say it during language production. Older persons are therefore more likely to hesitate, have false starts, as well as to engage in repetitions. Age-linked deficits in story recall may be more of a general deficit in connection formation than in specific communication ability. Older persons tend to benefit from textual material that provides priming of associations because it contains learned semantically linked information (McKay & Abrams, 1996). On the other hand certain aspects of language processing seem to be age invariant. These include particularly lexical access and semantic memory, which are resistant to normal aging, even though they are affected by Alzheimer's disease (Kemper & Mitzner, 2001).

Recent work on language and aging has also included applications of basic research knowledge to the development of consumer guidelines for consumer standards and for electronic communication (cf. Charness, Park & Sabel, 2001; Park, Morell, & Shifren, 1999).

4. Basic Findings from the Descriptive Literature on Age Changes in Intellectual Competence

Included here will be findings from two rather different traditions. The first originated early in the history of psychology when the work on mental testing in children was extended to normal adults and the elderly. The second tradition, now represented by the field of neuropsychology originated with the clinical interest in assessing cognitive impairment and the diagnosis of various forms of dementia.

4.1. Normal populations

Investigations of the course of intellectual competence over the adult life span in normal populations has been dominated by work with either the Wechsler Intelligence Scale or with ability batteries derived from the Thurstonian Primary Mental Ability framework (Schaie, 1996b; Schaie & Hofer, 2001). A primary distinction is often made between fluid abilities thought to be innate and crystallized abilities which involve the utilization of culturally acquired knowledge (Cattell, 1963). Further distinctions have been introduced more recently between the mechanics (or basic processes) of intellectual competence and the pragmatics that involve cultural mediation (Baltes, Dittman-Kohli, & Dixon, 1984).

Most longitudinal studies have found that the adult life course of mental abilities is not uniform. The fluid abilities (sometimes defined as cognitive mechanics or primitives) tend to peak in early midlife and begin to decline by the early sixties. Crystallized abilities that represent abilities acquired in a given cultural context (particularly verbal abilities), by contrast, do not usually peak until the fifties are reached and begin to show significant decline only in the seventies and often show only minimal decline even in the eighties (Schaie, 1996a). But in advanced old age increasing convergence and steeper decline for both aspects of intellectual competence may occur, probably caused by the increasing decline of sensory and central nervous system functions (Baltes & Lindenberger, 1997; Baltes & Mayer, 1999).

Cross-sectional snapshots, obtained at a particular time, may yield very different ability profiles because of the fact that consecutive population cohorts reach different asymptotes in midlife. For example, there has been a positive linear cohort trend in this century for inductive reasoning, the basic component of most problem solving tasks, while there has been a negative trend in numeric skills. The magnitude of cohort differences in abilities over the past half century, has been comparable to the average age changes observed from young adulthood into the 70s (cf. Flynn, 1987). Many older persons may therefore appear to have declined markedly in comparison to their younger peers, even though the age difference may be primarily due to what

might be described as the relative obsolescence of earlier cohorts (Schaie, 1996a; Schaie & Hofer, 2001).

Investigations of individual differences suggest that most persons have declined on some aspect of intellectual functioning from their own midlife peak as the 60s are reached. But specific patterns of decline may well depend on complex patterns of individual life experience. Most healthy community-dwelling persons are able to maintain a high level of function until advanced old age (but see Baltes & Mayer, 1999 for the consequences of sensory dysfunctions). Because most tasks of daily living represent complex combinations of basic cognitive processes, many individuals can maintain their abilities above the minimally necessary threshold level for independent functioning by engaging in compensatory processes that may often be quite complex (cf. Baltes, Dittman-Kohli, & Dixon, 1984; Baltes, Staudinger, & Lindenberger, 1999).

4.2. Neuropsychological assessments of normal and cognitively impaired individuals

Measures used for neuropsychological assessment have also originated from the psychometric tradition (e.g. subtests from the Wechsler Intelligence wechsler Memory Scales often form important components of neuropsychological assessment batteries). However, many measures designed for the identification of cognitive impairment and the diagnosis of the dementias are not particularly suitable for the study of cognitive aging because they were developed specifically to identify neuropathology . Hence, variability among cognitively unimpaired individuals may be quite limited, and such measures may therefore be less than ideal for the study of cognitive aging (cf. Lezak, 1995). This is unfortunate, for advances in prevention approaches to dementia may very well require the early detection of persons at excess risk for the eventual detection of dementia. Because of the age-related increase in the incidence of preclinical cognitive impairment, the detection of such individuals moreover is of interest also to obtain better estimates for normal age changes.

Work is in progress in my laboratory to extend a neuropsychological battery into the primary mental ability space so as to facilitate the use of assessment instruments with wider

ranges that are suitable for younger adults for the purpose of early detection of cognitive impairment (Schaie, Caskie, Revell, Willis, Kaszniak, & Teri, under review).

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5. Decision-Making and Problem Solving

An important extension of work in cognitive psychology has been in the direction of going beyond the laboratory to the environmental context within which individuals solve problems of daily living and make consequential decisions. The decisions to be made are usually goal directed; in the elderly related to instrumental activities of daily living and maintenance of independence (Willis, 1996). Antecedents of successful decision-making in the elderly have been identified as good physical health, adequate levels of functioning on basic intellectual skills, tolerance for ambiguity, as well as beliefs about ways of knowing. Lessened tolerance of ambiguity in the elderly has been noted to affect medical decision making in that older persons act more quickly to reduce ambiguous situations (Leventhal, Leventhal, Schaefer & Easterling . 1993).

The problem solving process involves task characteristics and knowledge systems. In the elderly task novelty can have negative influence on effective problem solutions, as does task complexity and lack of task structure. Also of importance is the availability of declarative knowledge that is relevant to a particular decision. Older individuals tend to make critical decisions with less information than young or middle-aged adults (for an example of decision making and aging with a breast cancer scenario see Meyer, Russo & Talbot, 1995).

Decision making may also be affected by age-related processing styles. <Youthful styles involve a bottom-up approach that involves intensive data gathering to the presence of integrated knowledge bases.that compensate for a lack of experience. The previous sentence requires some work> The mature middle-aged style balances data gathering with the integration of accumulated experience. By contrast the style of the old is to use acquired knowledge sometimes indiscriminately and inappropriately using heuristics that have worked well in the past (cf. Sinnott. 1989).

6. Can Cognitive Aging be Slowed or Reversed?

Cognitive training programs have been developed in a number of laboratories (primarily in the United States and in Germany) that have been applied in the laboratory, and more recently in cooperative multi-site intervention trials (cf. Ball et al., 2002). Unlike training young children, where it can be assumed that new skills are conveyed, older adults most often have had access to the skills being trained, but have lost their proficiency through disuse. Information from longitudinal studies is therefore useful in distinguishing individuals who have declined from those who have remained stable. For those who have declined the training objective involves remediation of loss. But for those who have remained stable enhancement of previous levels of functioning is intended to compensate for possibly cohort-based disadvantages of older persons (cf. Willis, 2001).

Findings from cognitive intervention studies suggest that cognitive decline in old age, for many older persons, might be attributed to disuse rather than the deterioration of the physiological or neural substrates of cognitive behavior. For example, a brief five-hour training program for persons over age 65 resulted in average training gains of about $1/2 SD$ on the abilities of Spatial Orientation and Inductive Reasoning. Of those for whom significant decrement could be documented over a 14-year period, roughly 40% were returned to the level at which they had functioned when first studied. The analyses of structural relationships among the ability measures prior to and after training, further allow the conclusion that training does not result in qualitative changes in ability structures, and is thus highly specific to the targeted abilities. A seven-year follow-up further demonstrated that those subjects who showed significant decline at initial training do remain at substantial advantage over untrained comparison groups (Willis & Schaie, 1994). It should be noted, however, that while cognitive training may improve performance in the elderly and may function to reduce effects of age decrement, such training will also be effective in enhancing the performance of young adults such that age differences tend to remain robust (cf. Baltes & Kliegl, 1992).

7. Other Related Topics in Cognitive Aging

Research on cognitive aging in the past has been largely concerned with age-related aspects of the development of the basic processes of cognition. It should be recognized that current attention in the study of cognitive aging is beginning to turn to the determination of how these basic processes operate within more complex domains. Of particular interest here are the study of wisdom and creativity (e.g., Baltes & Staudinger, 2000; Sternberg & Lubart, 2001), the application of basic cognitive processes to social cognition (e.g., Staudinger, 1998), and the development of expert systems (e.g. Charness & Bosman, 1990) . Although the extensive literature on these topics is beyond the scope of this chapter, it should be noted that this is the area of cognitive content where older persons often compare relatively well with the young whenever content is examined that was present in the life experience of the elderly.

8. Future Direction

It is to be expected that much future work in cognitive aging will be directed towards detecting the neural substrates of cognitive processes over the adult life span. An essential element of such work, however, will be to attend to change over time within individuals, as much of what has been done thus far is largely limited to cross-sectional studies (Albert & Killiany, 2001). Similarly, we are just beginning to see longitudinal data emerging on the traditional measures of memory and executive functioning (cf. Bäckman, Small, & Wahlin, 2001).

In order to apply much of the basic knowledge on cognitive aging to everyday behavior and human factors considerations involved in the better utilization of modern technology (cf. Schaie & Charness, 2003), we still need to obtain a better understanding of the relationship between basic cognitive processes and everyday function. Similarly, further work will be needed to determine how interventions designed to enhance basic cognitive processes will express themselves in improving effective functioning on complex processes. And above all, far more

attention needs to be paid to individual differences in adult cognitive development so that we can move beyond the naive notion that a single grand scheme can account for the behavior of all.

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