## **THE MEMORY FACTORY**

Elizabeth F. Loftus University of California, Irvine Presentation to NRC February, 2014

# Memory and legal cases

## **Memory Paradigms**

#### Misinformation

**Event – PEI - Test** 

# Event: Wallet snatching

#### 3500ms















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# Post-Event Info

A petite girl was walking down Main Street.

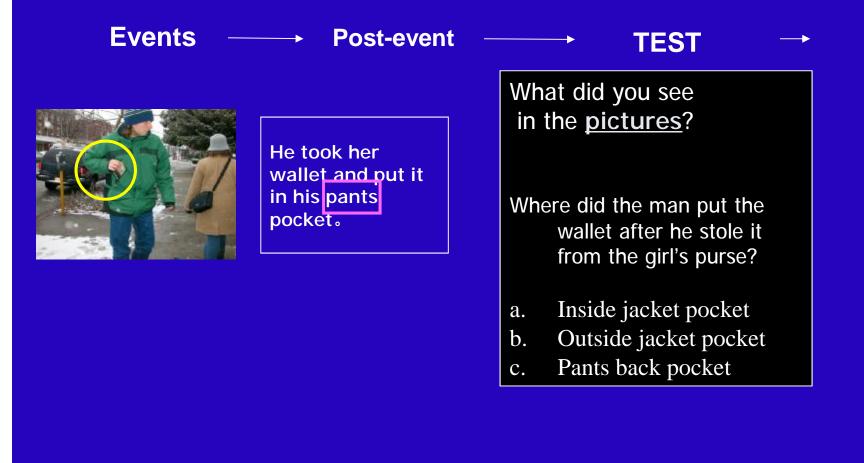
She was window shopping and continued walking.

She stopped to look at a video store after passing a hair salon.

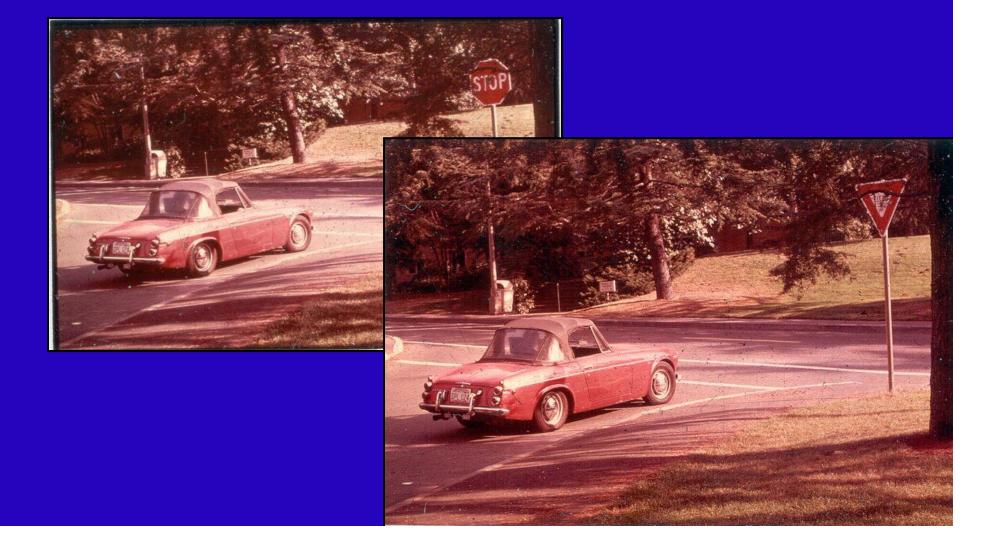
•	The man bumped into the girl from	While her back was turned, the man reached with his right hand into her pocketbook.	He took her wallet and put it away in his pants pocket.
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The wind blew, and she was cold, so she opened her pocketbook to get her scarf.	realized that her	Concerned, the woman explained to the girl what she had seen the man do.
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#### **Example of Critical item**



## Research on Memory Distortion Changing Memory for Actual Events



# Research on Memory Distortion

**The Misinformation Effect** 

## Some research on faces



(Cook, Kwak, Hoffman, & Loftus, Under revision, 2014)

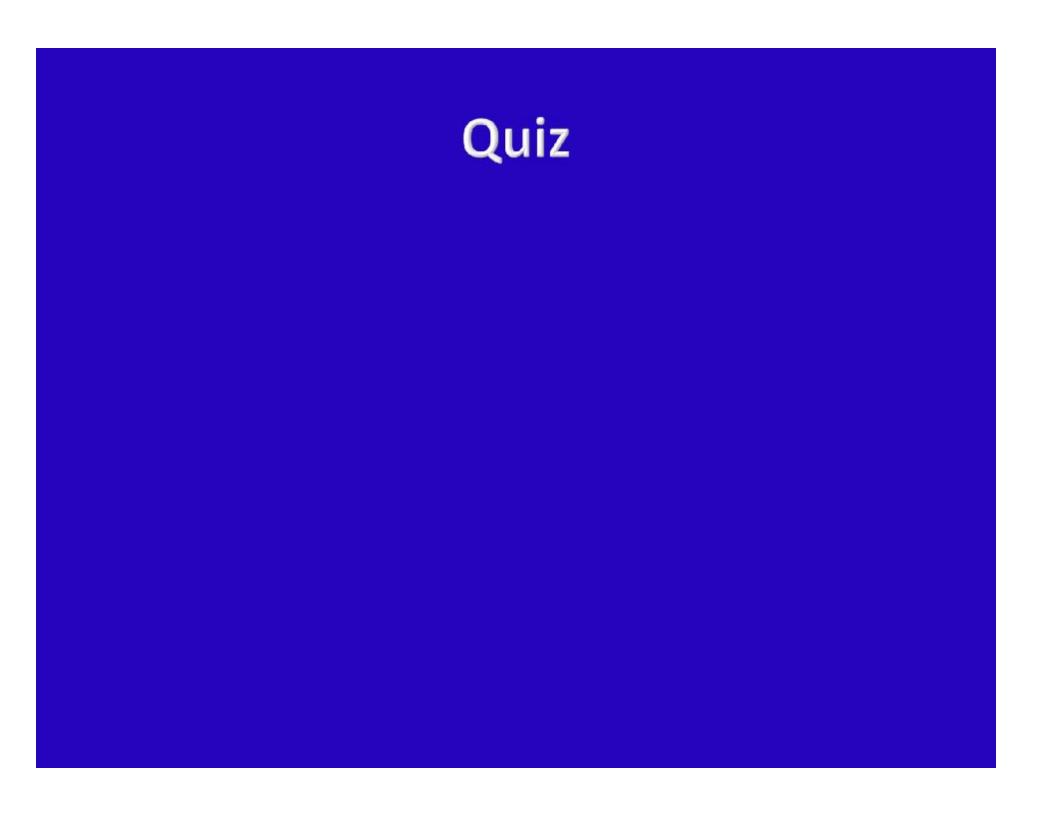
## Demonstration

## **Study Phase**





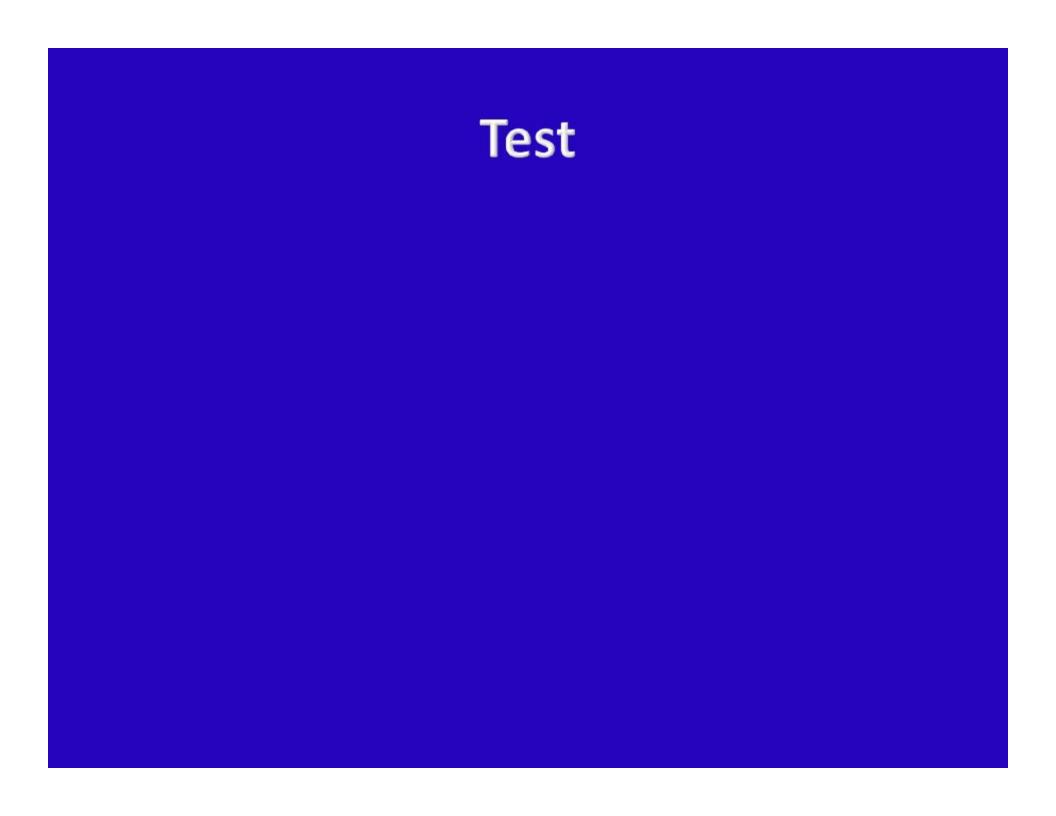




Piece of paperPick face you saw in study phase.Mark L or R.





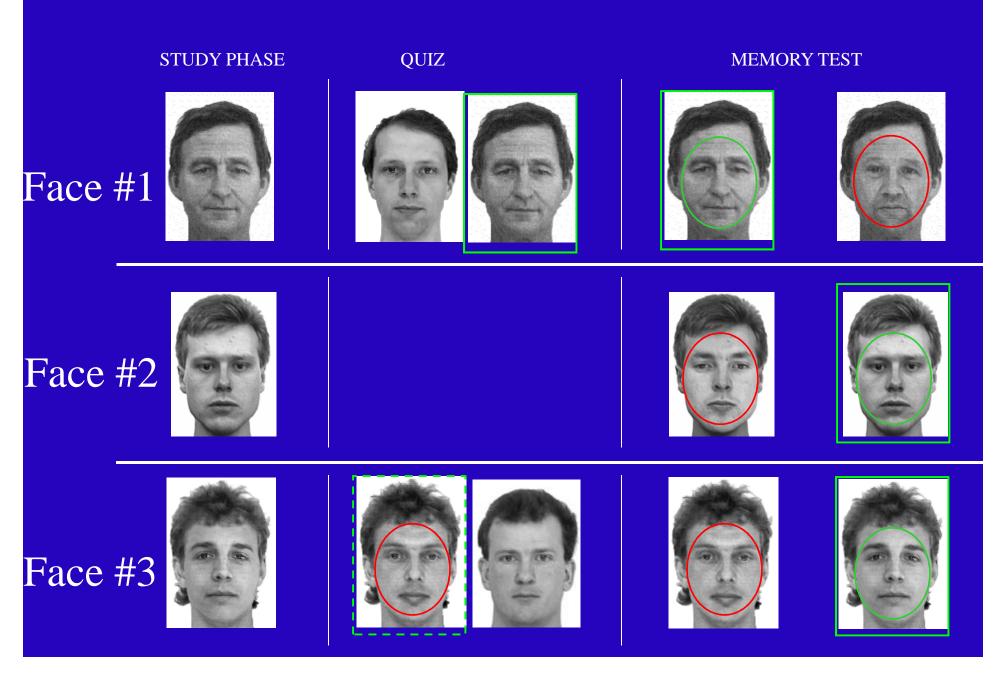








#### **Explaining the Demonstration**



#### Conclusions

Postevent activity that induces subjects to pick a wrong person affects later ability to accurately identify right person.
Committing to the PEI produces larger effect, but mere exposure without choosing also impairs memory.
Real world situation: photos then lineup

### Field Studies at Survival School



Available online at www.sciencedirect.com

SCIENCE DIRECT-International Journal of Law and Psychiatry 27 (2014) 265-279



#### Accuracy of eyewitness memory for persons encountered during exposure to highly intense stress

Charles A. Morgan III<sup>a,\*</sup>, Gary Hazlett<sup>b</sup>, Anthony Doran<sup>e</sup>, Stephan Garrett<sup>d</sup>, Gary Hoyt<sup>e</sup>, Paul Thomas<sup>f</sup>, Madelon Baranoski<sup>f</sup>, Steven M. Southwick<sup>g</sup>

 \* Associate Professor of Psychiaty, Department of Psychiaty, Yale University School of Medicine, Connecticut Mental Health Conten, Law and Psychiaty, Division, 34 Fark Recet, New Harve, CT 06510-1167, USA
 \* Mojor, JFK Special Warfur Paning Contex and School, Unived Nater Army, Fort Bragg, NC, USA
 \* Lautenant Commander, United States Navy, ERSOTRAGRULANT, Naval Air Station, Branewick, ME, USA
 \* Punician Associate, Yale University School of Medicine, New Harven, CT, USA
 \* Linutenant Commander, United States Navy, ERSOTRAGRULANT, Naval Air Station, Branewick, ME, USA
 \* Punician Associate, Yale University School of Medicine, New Harven, CT, USA
 \* Linutenant Clinical Professor of Psychiatry Department of Psychiatry School of Medicine, Connecticut Mental Health Conter, Law and Psychiatry Division, 34 Park Breet, New Harven, CT 06519-1187, USA
 \* Professor of Psychiatry, Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, Law and Psychiatry, Division, 34 Park Street, New Harven, CT 06519-1187, USA



20 years there have been over 2000 scientific investigations on the reliability of facation (Cutler & Penrod, 1995). The majority of studies have been conducted in the videotapes or live simulations of crime events; only a handful have been field studies as and eyewitnesses of real crimes. Laboratory studies are limited because crime t entail the degree of personal "threat" or "alarm" that m individual may experience threatening events (Penrod et al., 1995). A major limitation of extant field studies is the ol for specific factors (such as severity and intensity of traumatic events) that may at human memory. Limitations notwithstanding, the relevant literature supports the memory formation is better in response to events that are perceived to be as stressful, nt, and that elicit adequate physiological mousal or alarm (Gold, 1992; Cmli et al., todds with this general consensus are the findings from recent studies suggesting that mories reported by combat vetrans who have been exposed to life-threatening events yb e inconsistent and subject to substantial error (Southwick et al., 1997; Roemer et al., or explain this phenomenon, some have proposed that during exposure to potentially

author. Tel.: +1-203-9747420; fax: +1-203-9747177. harles a morgan@yale.edu (C.A. Morgan).

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#### Survival Training: Survive, Evade, Resist, Escape (SERE)

#### Soldiers learn how to:

- Evade enemy
- Escape if hunted down
- Resist if captured, imprisoned, or tortured







#### A Mock Prisoner of War (POW) Camp





**Once captured:** 

- Hooded
- Strapped together
- Stripped of identities



#### **3rd World Toilets**



No toilet paper!



#### If jungle too dense to land in, extracted by helicopter





#### When done.. A flood of emotions

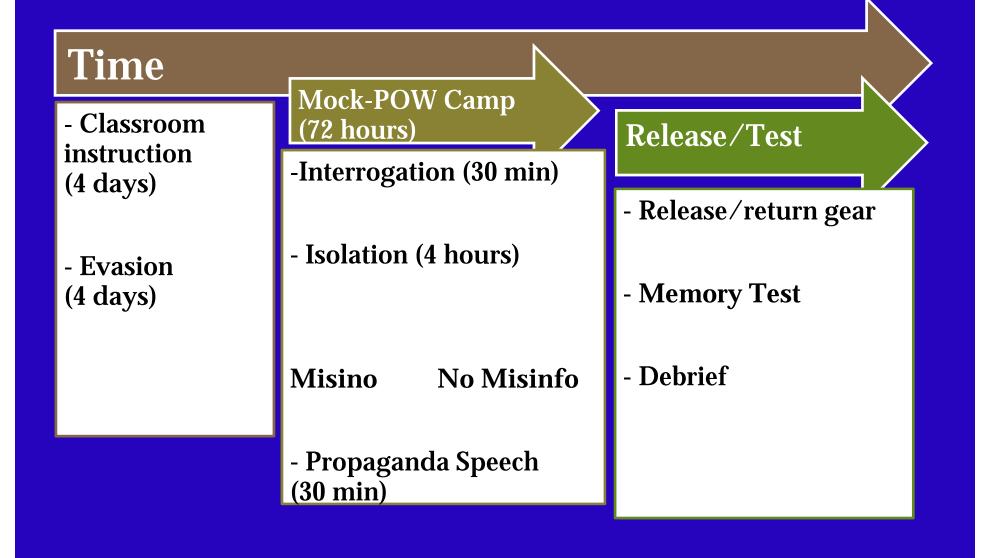


#### **Misinformation at Survival School**



Morgan, Southwick, Steffian, Hazlett, Loftus (IJLP, 2013)

## Method



## Method Briefly

Stressful interrogation (30 min)
Isolation stress (Misinfo photo introduced 1 hr into this period: "Look at this photo. Did your interrogator give you anything to eat? A blanket? Let you speak to others?)
Other activities for approx 4 + hrs
Memory test

#### Misinformation in the form of a photograph



#### **Actual Perp**

#### Foil (misinfo photo)



















## Results (Target-Absent Lineup)

	No Misinformation	Misinformation
False IDs		
Pick Key Foil		

## Results (Target-Absent Lineup)

	No Misinformation	Misinformation
False IDs	53%	
Pick Key Foil	15%	

## Results (Target-Absent Lineup)

No Misinformation	Misinformation
53%	<b>91%</b>
15%	<b>84%</b>
	53%

### Results



### No Misinfo 10%





2.5%

### Results



### <u>No Misinfo</u> 10%

### <u>Misinfo</u> 98%

3%

27%





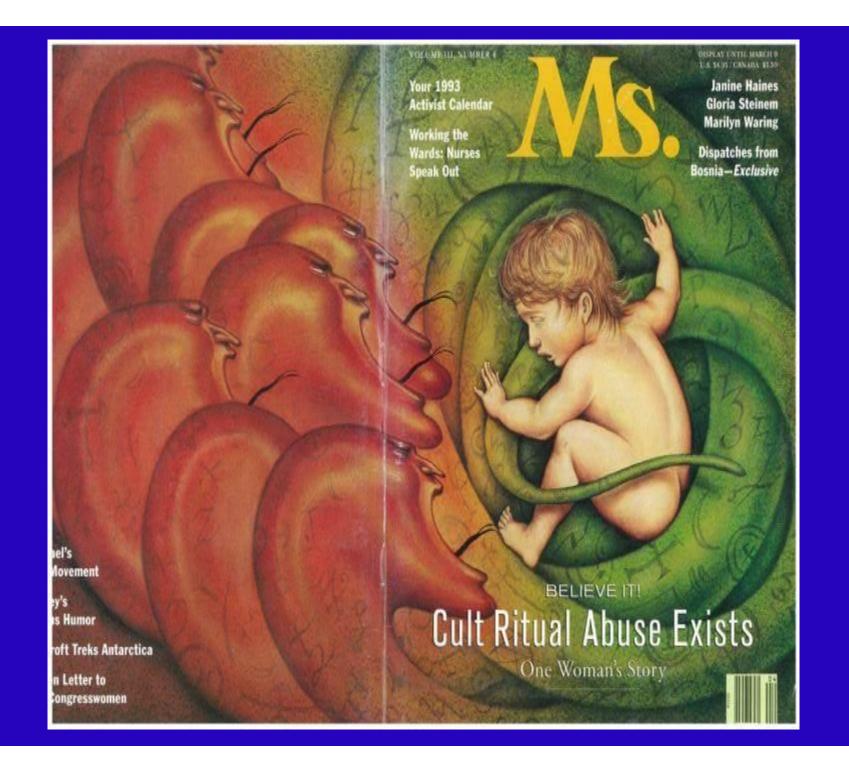


### Some Findings from Sere studies

Highly trained soldiers make false IDs
High confidence
Misinfo leads to more false IDs
Soldiers more likely to pick key foil Misinformation leads to other false memories

# Research on Memory Distortion

**The Misinformation Effect** 



### Memory Paradigms

#### Misinformation

**Rich False Memory** 

**Event – PEI - Test** 

No event Suggestion about past --- Test





### OTHER TECHNIQUES FOR PLANTING FALSE MEMORIES

Imagination Dream Interpretation Hypnosis Exposure to other people's memories False information Doctored Photographs

# CONSEQUENCES OF FALSE MEMORY



# TRUE VERSUS FALSE MEMORIES



# Are true memories more emotional?



Laney & Loftus, Memory, 2008; Nebraska Symposium, 2010.

### Conclusions

- False memories can be emotional.
- In fact, they can be just as emotional as true memories.
- So, emotion is no guarantee of memory accuracy.

### True vs. False Memories

### **Neuroimaging During Report**



Okado, Stark, Loftus, Learning and Memory, 2010

### Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI)

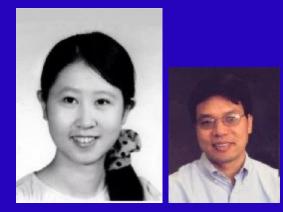


### Findings

- TM and FM similar in terms of brain activity.
- TM more activity in visual cortex, FM – more in auditory

# DO FALSE MEMORIES PERSIST?

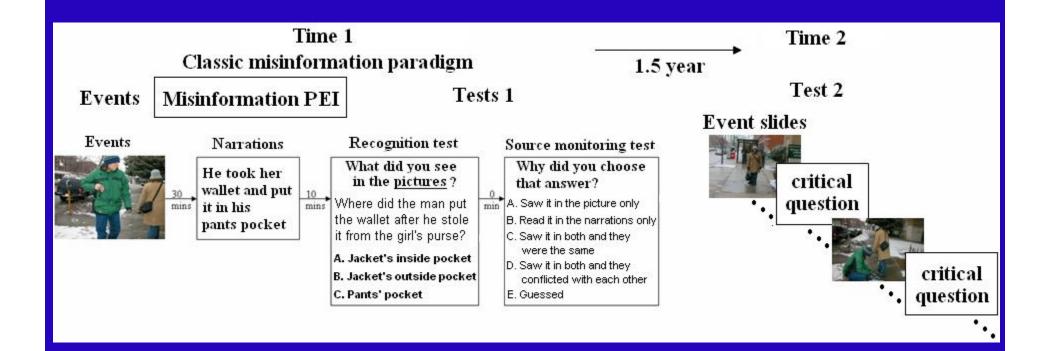
### Persistence....





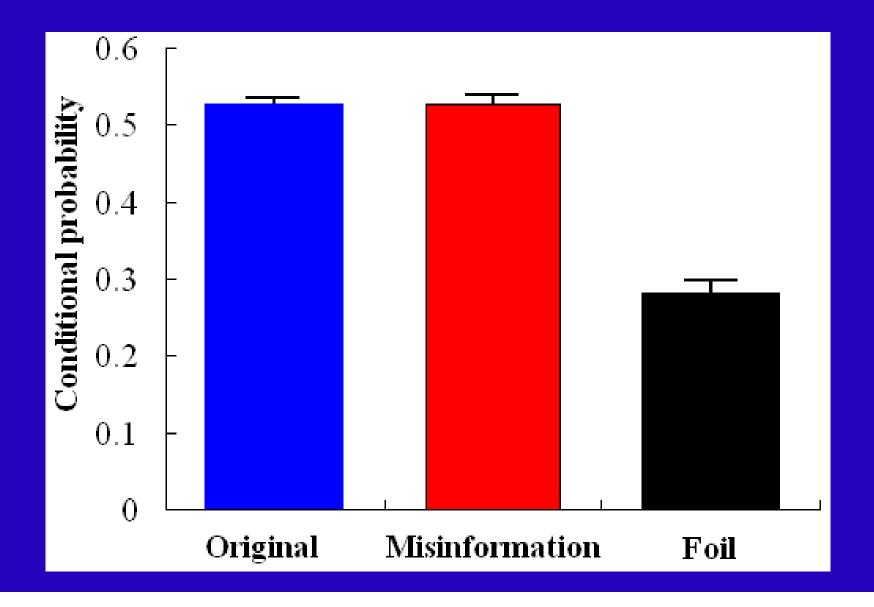
Zhu, Chen, Loftus, Xue, Lu, Dong et al Memory, 2010

#### Do false memories persist?



#### Zhu, Chen, Loftus, et al., ACP, (2012)

#### Persistence of true and false memories



When are people more susceptible?

### **Sleep Deprivation**



Frenda, Patihis, Loftus, Lewis & Fenn Under review





#### **SLEEP DEPRIVATION**

#### Event



PEI

He took her wallet and put it in his pants pocket

#### Tests

OR

Where did the man

put the wallet after

he stole it from the

girl's purse?

pocket

pocket

a. jacket inside

b. jacket outside

c. pants pocket

Why did you choose that answer?

- a. saw it in the picture only
- b. read it in narrations only
- c. saw it in both and they were the same
- d. saw it in both and they conflicted with each other
- e. guessed

### False Memory Rate in Rested and Deprived Subjects



# Is everyone susceptible?

### Memory Distortions in People with Superior Memory

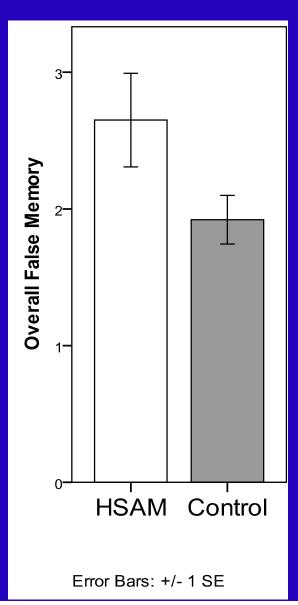


Patihis, Frenda, LePort, Petersen, Nichols, Stark, McGaugh, Loftus. PNAS (2013)



### **Misinformation: HSAM v Control**









People with extraordinarily strong autobiographical memory were nevertheless still vulnerable to a number of different memory distortions.

Just like people with normal memory.

# **FINAL REMARKS**

### Implications

i The malleable nature of memoryi False Memory Recipe

### **Ethical issues**

- when should we use this kind of mind technology?
- " should we ever ban its use?

# One take home lesson:

### Confidence

### Detail

### **Emotion**

### Memory—like liberty—is a fragile thing