

Remembering the 2016  
**Election Campaign:**  
Temporal Proximity Predicts Free Recall Order

Mitchell G Uitvlugt and M Karl Healey



# Temporal Contiguity in Episodic Memory

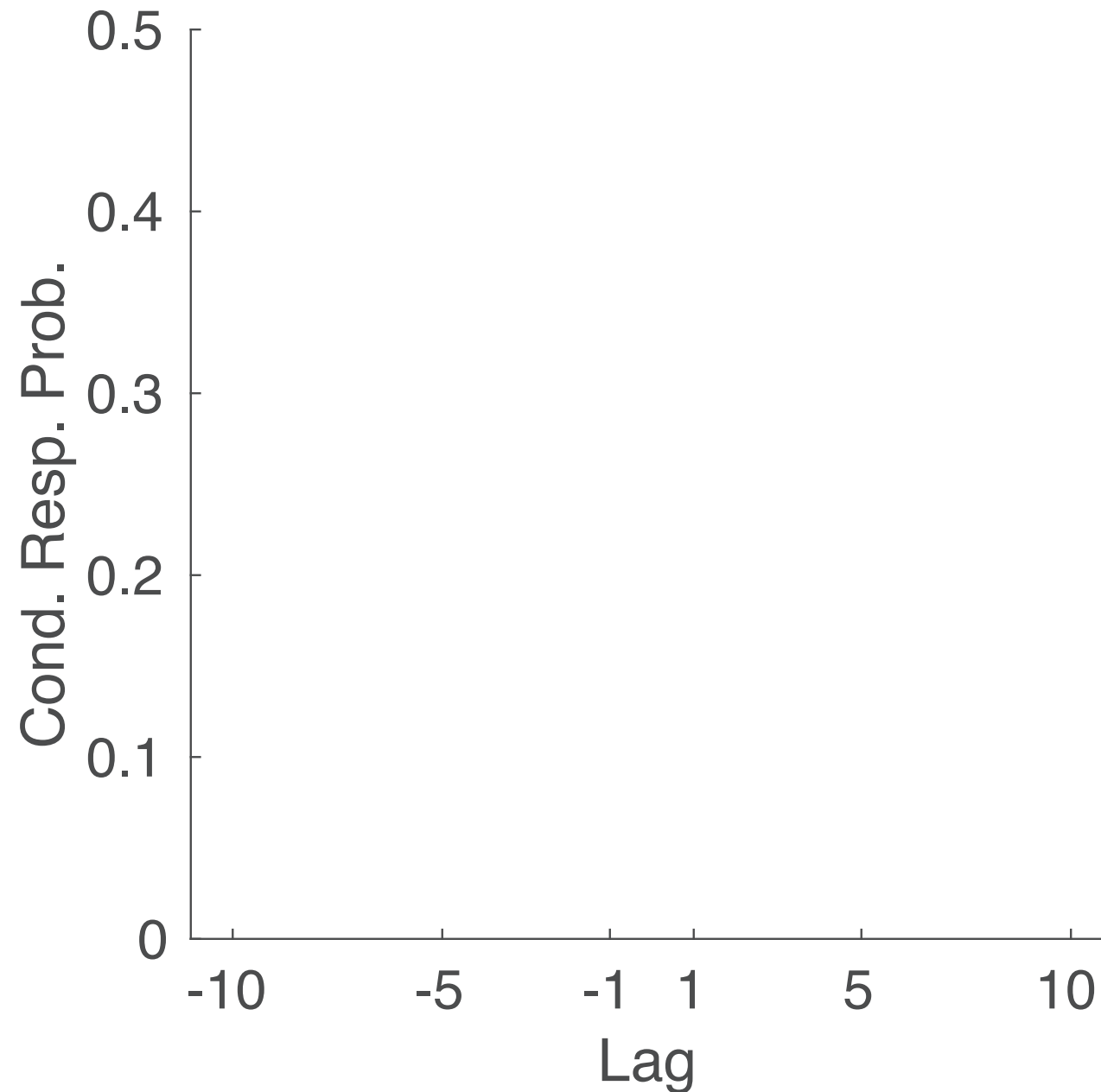


# What is Temporal Contiguity?

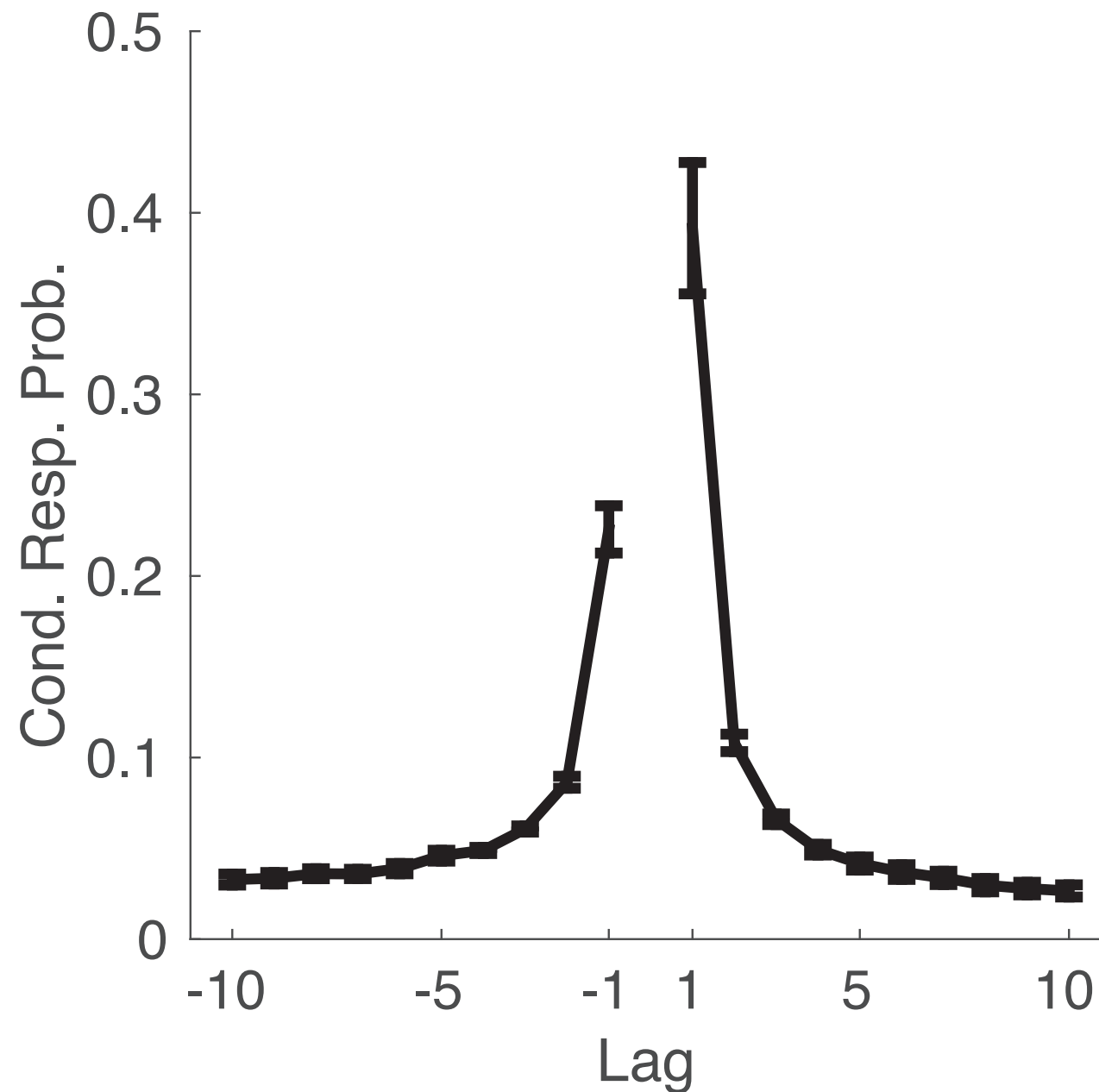
# What is Temporal Contiguity?

- Recalling one event,  $i$ , tends to trigger recall of another event that occurred near in time to  $i$

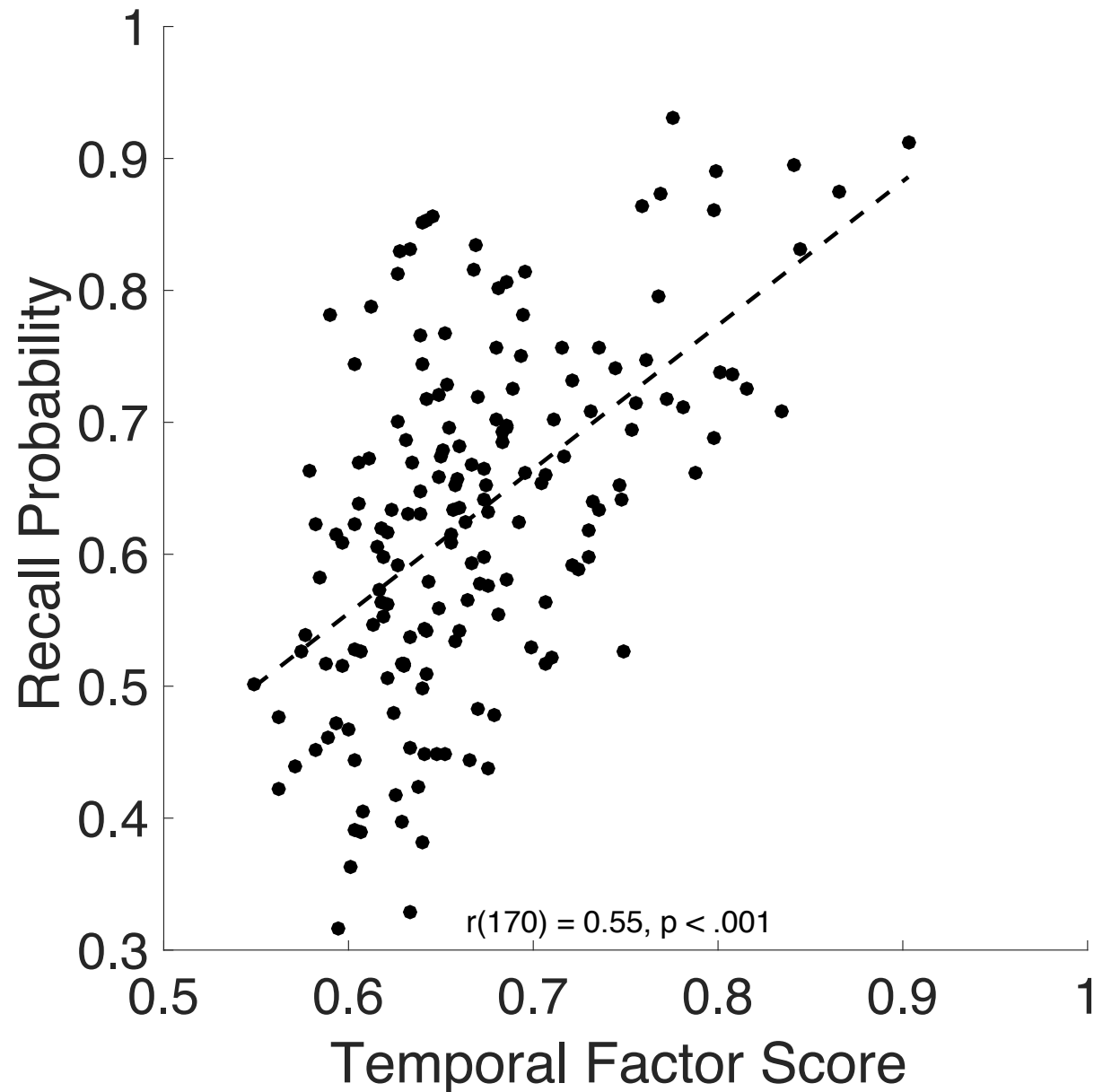
# Temporal Contiguity



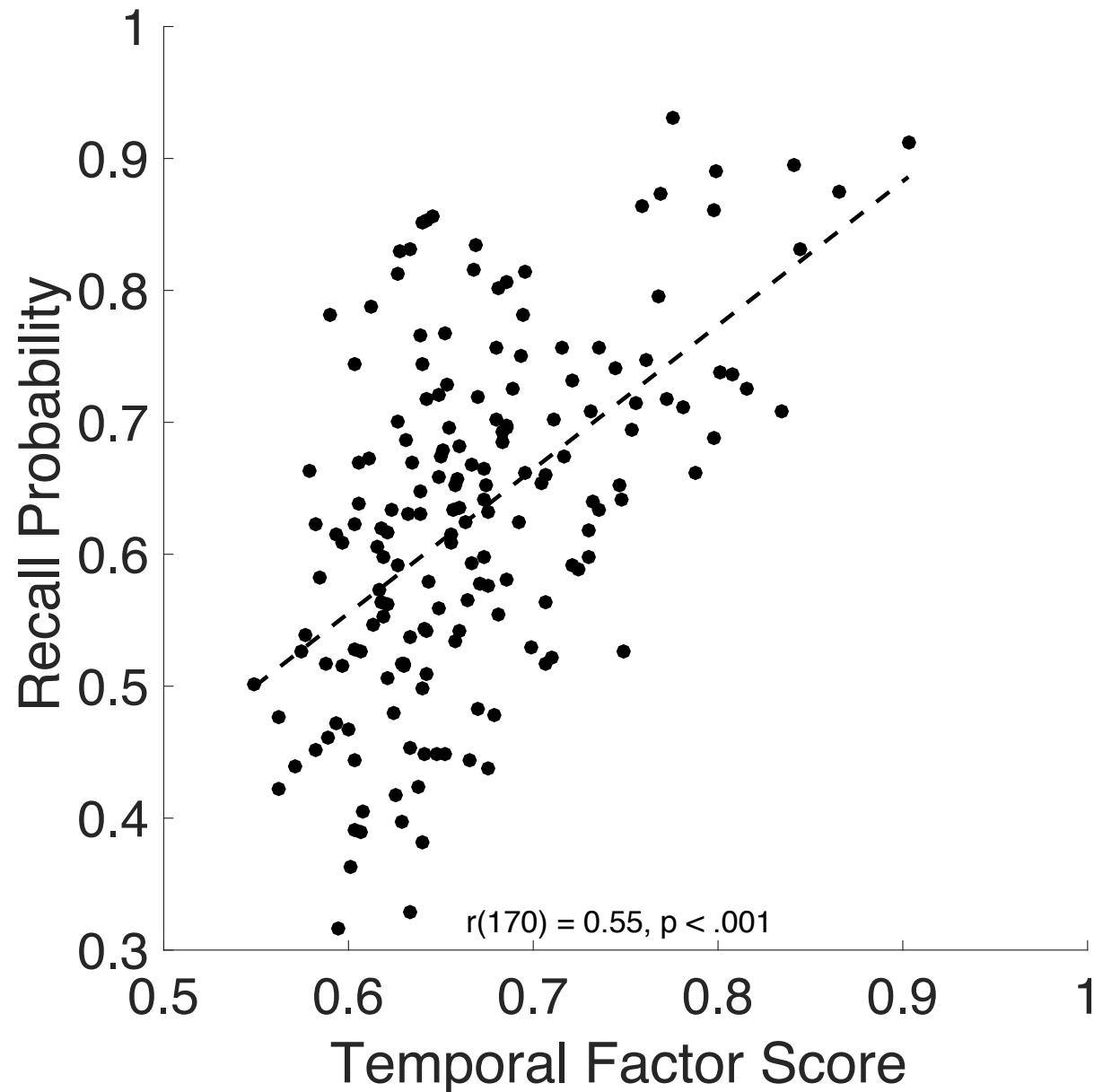
# Temporal Contiguity



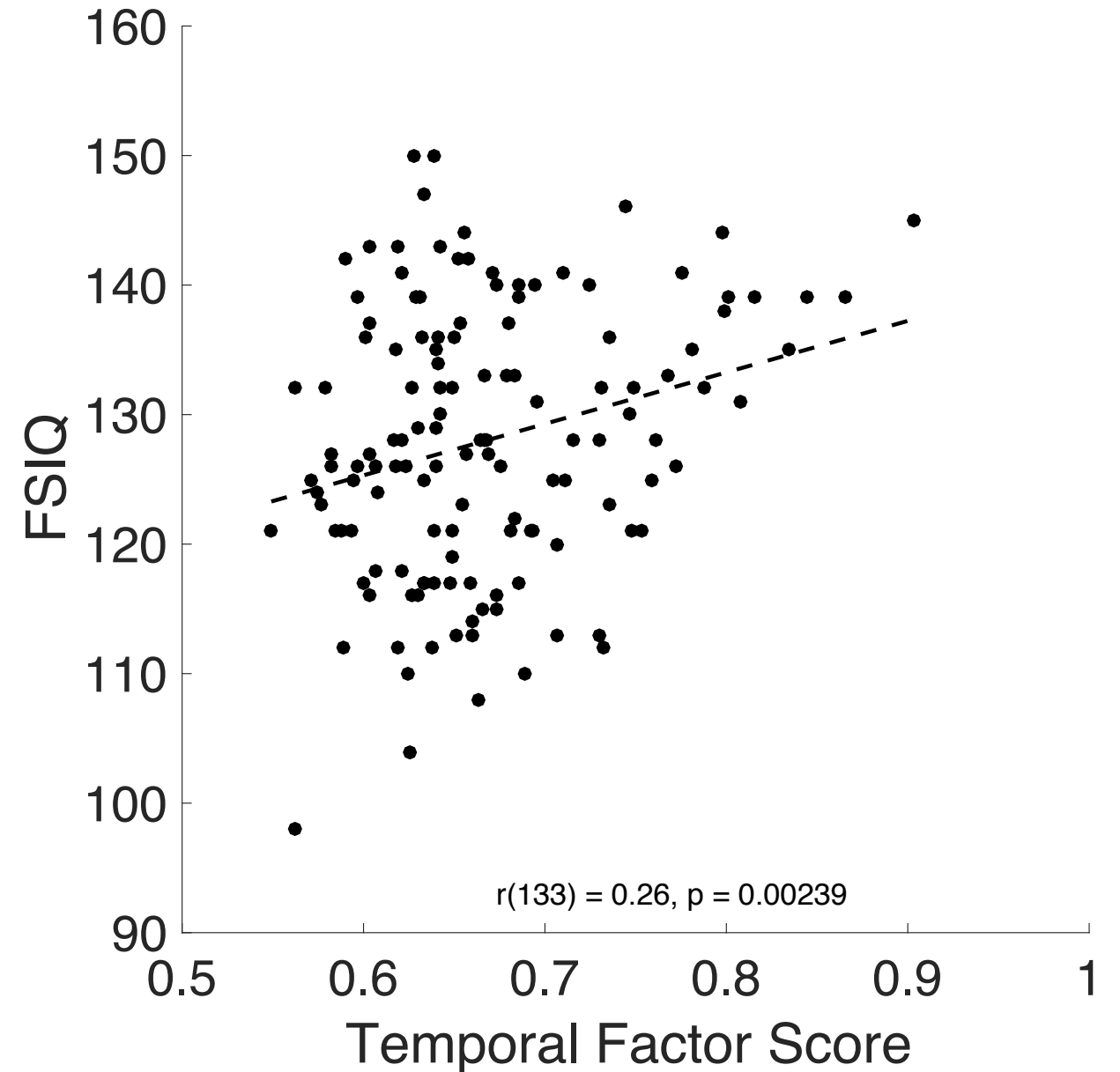
# It is important: Related to Memory Ability and IQ



# It is important: Related to Memory Ability and IQ



Unsworth 2009  
Sederberg et al. 2010



Healey et al. 2014  
Healey & Kahana (submitted)



Why does temporal contiguity  
influence memory search?

# Why does temporal contiguity influence memory search?

- Memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance (TCM, SIMPLE)

# Why does temporal contiguity influence memory search?

- Memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance (TCM, SIMPLE)
- It is a trick of the peculiarities of free recall (task-specific strategies)

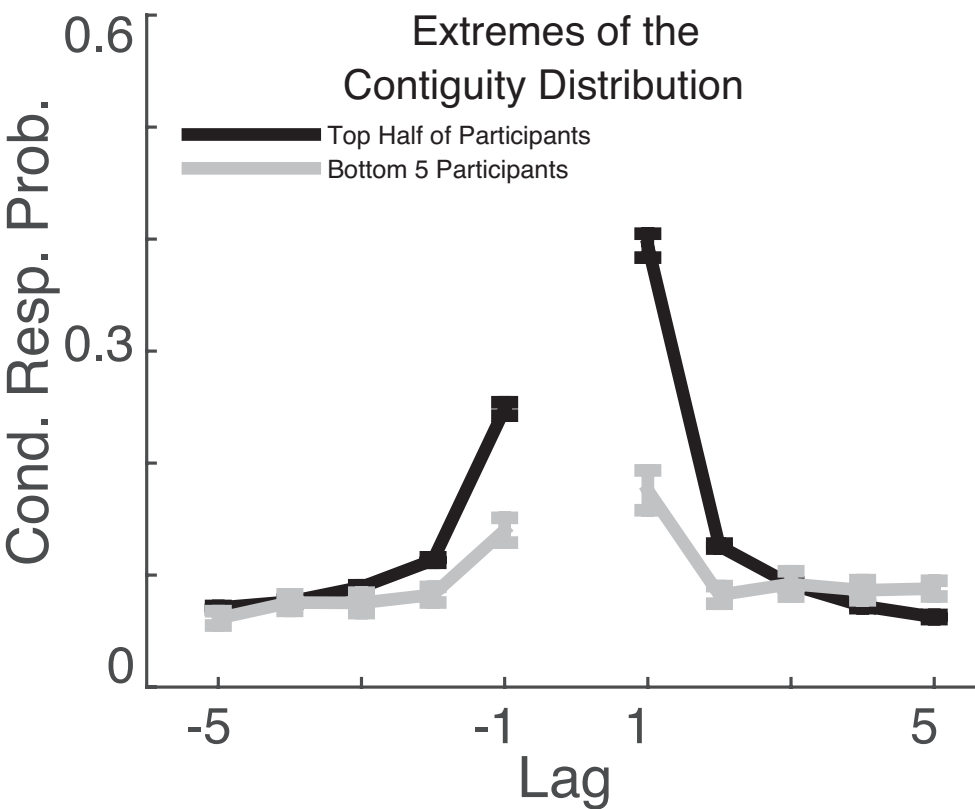
Why does temporal contiguity  
influence memory search?

# Why does temporal contiguity influence memory search?

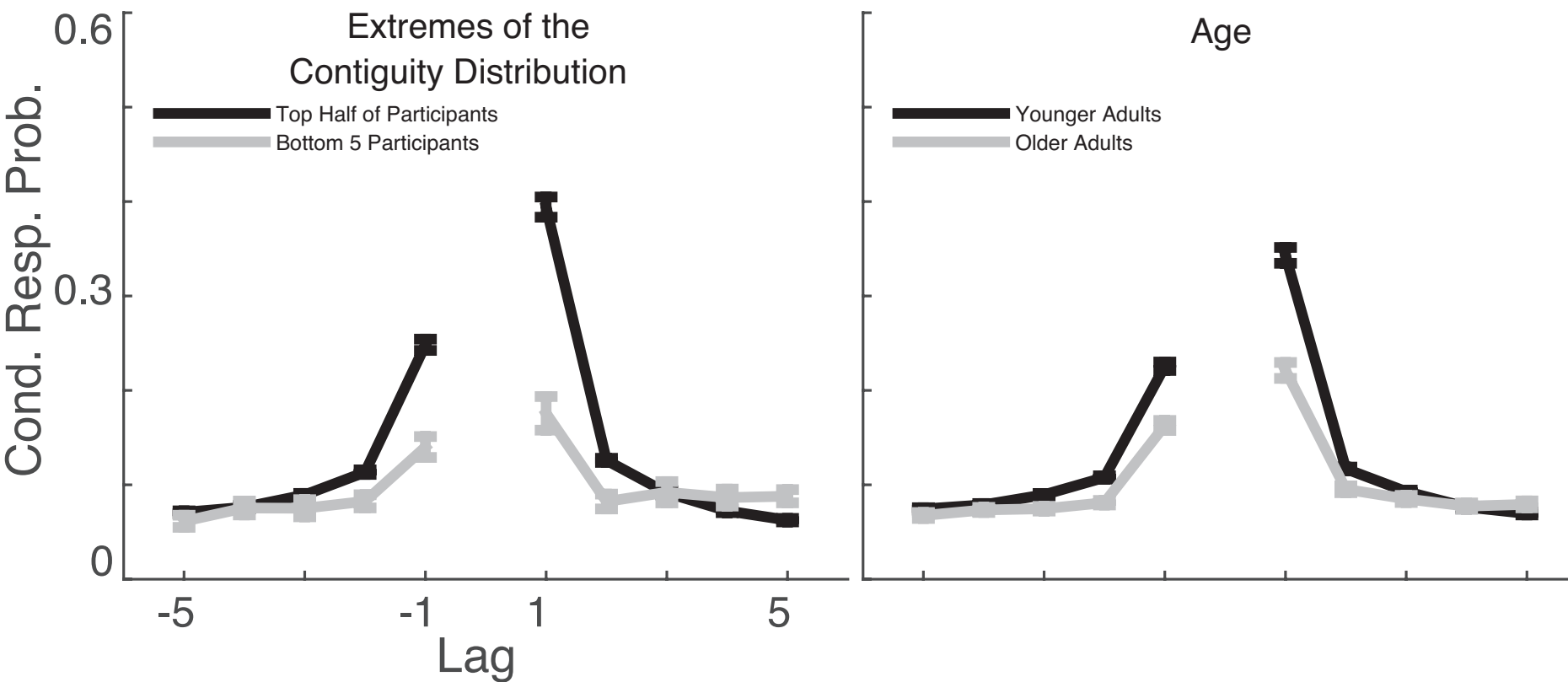
1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?

# Does it depend on ability?

# Does it depend on ability?

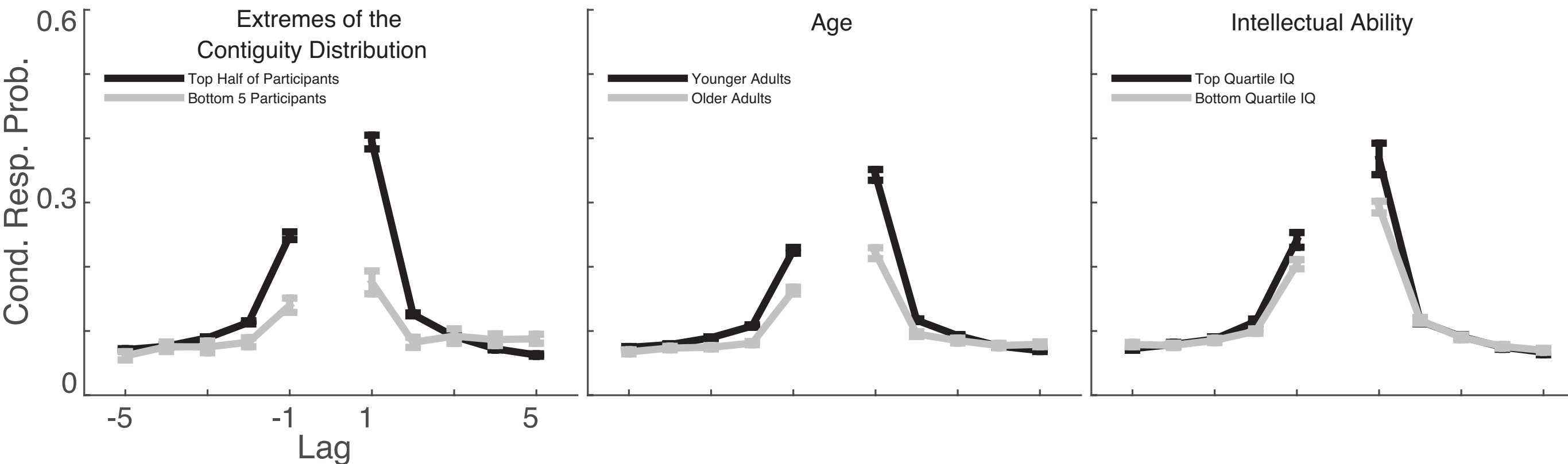


# Does it depend on ability?



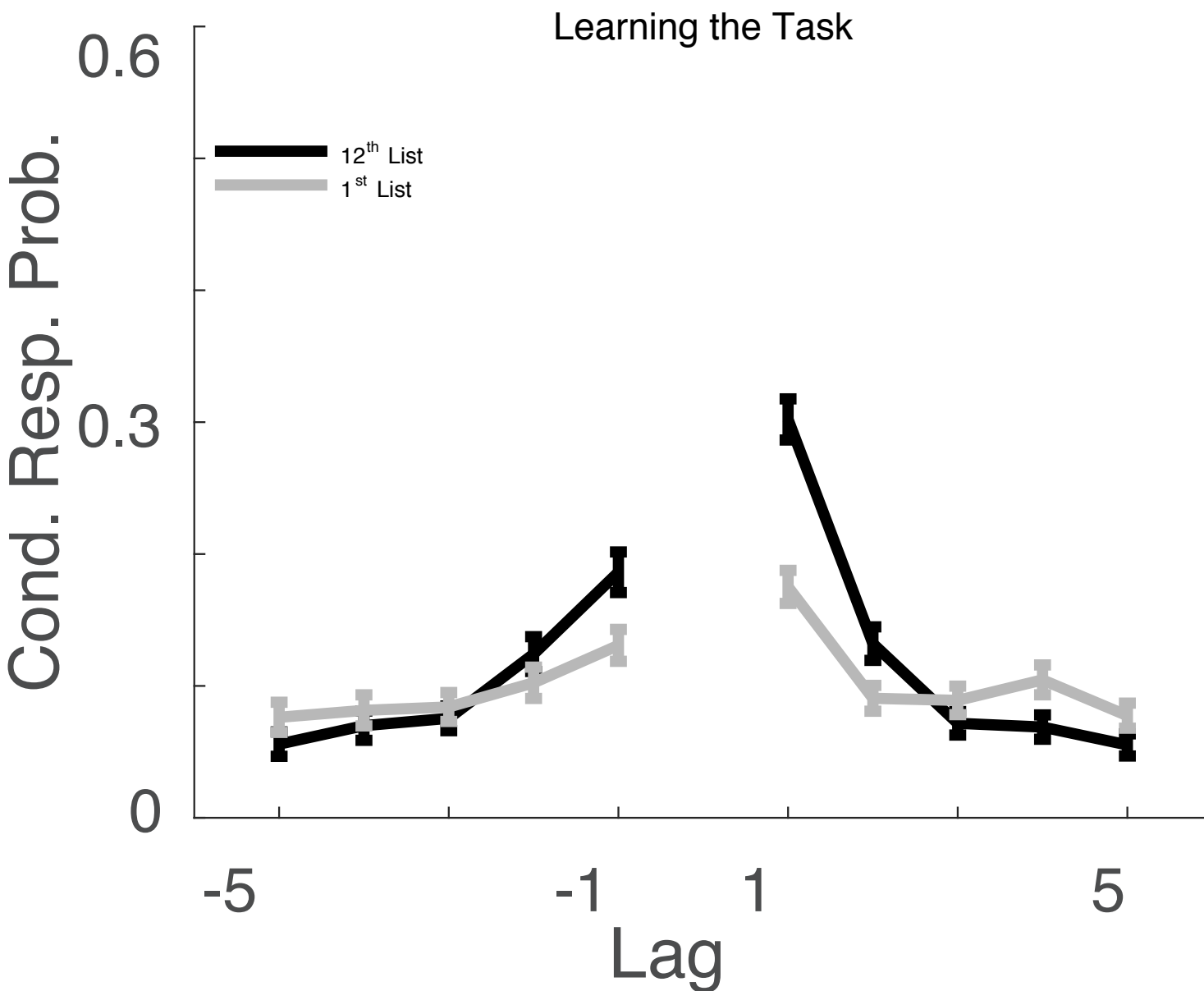


# Does it depend on ability?

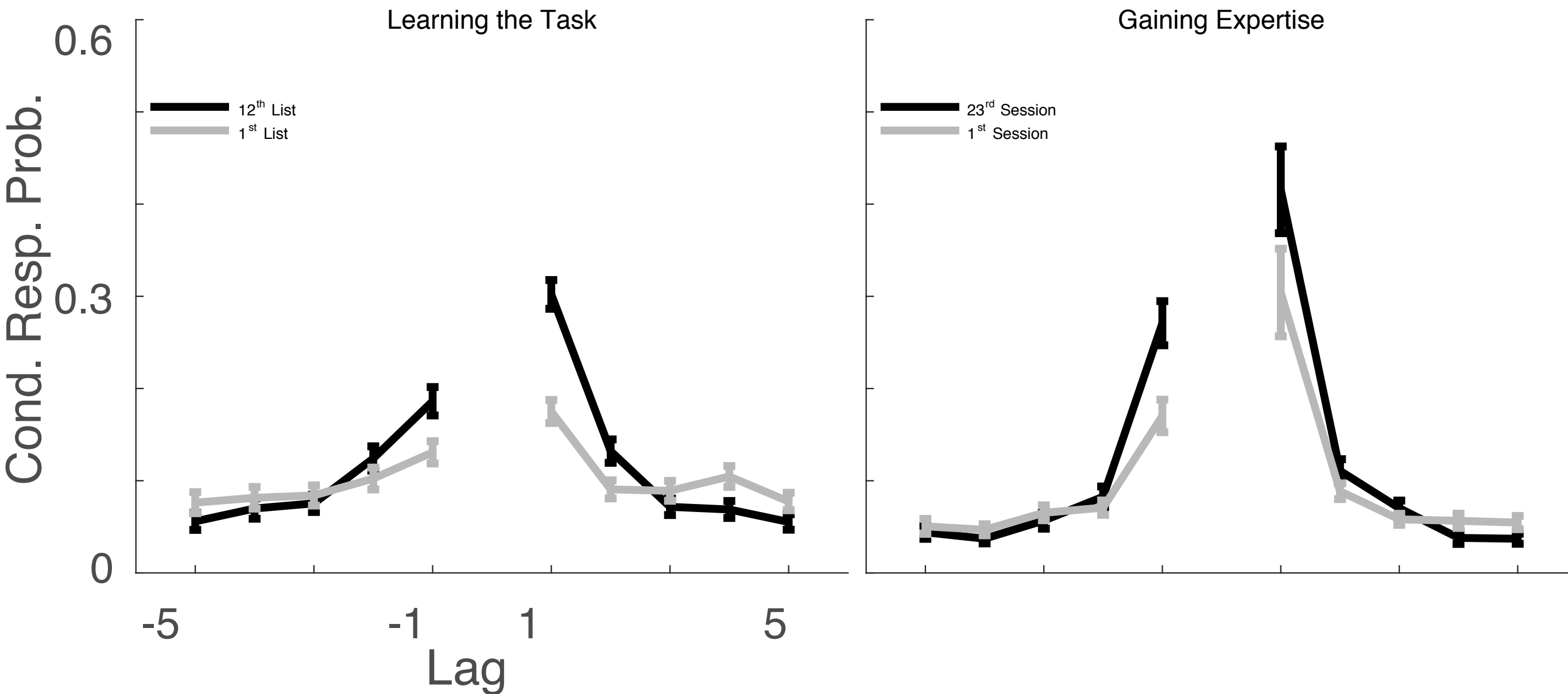


# Does it require experience?

# Does it require experience?

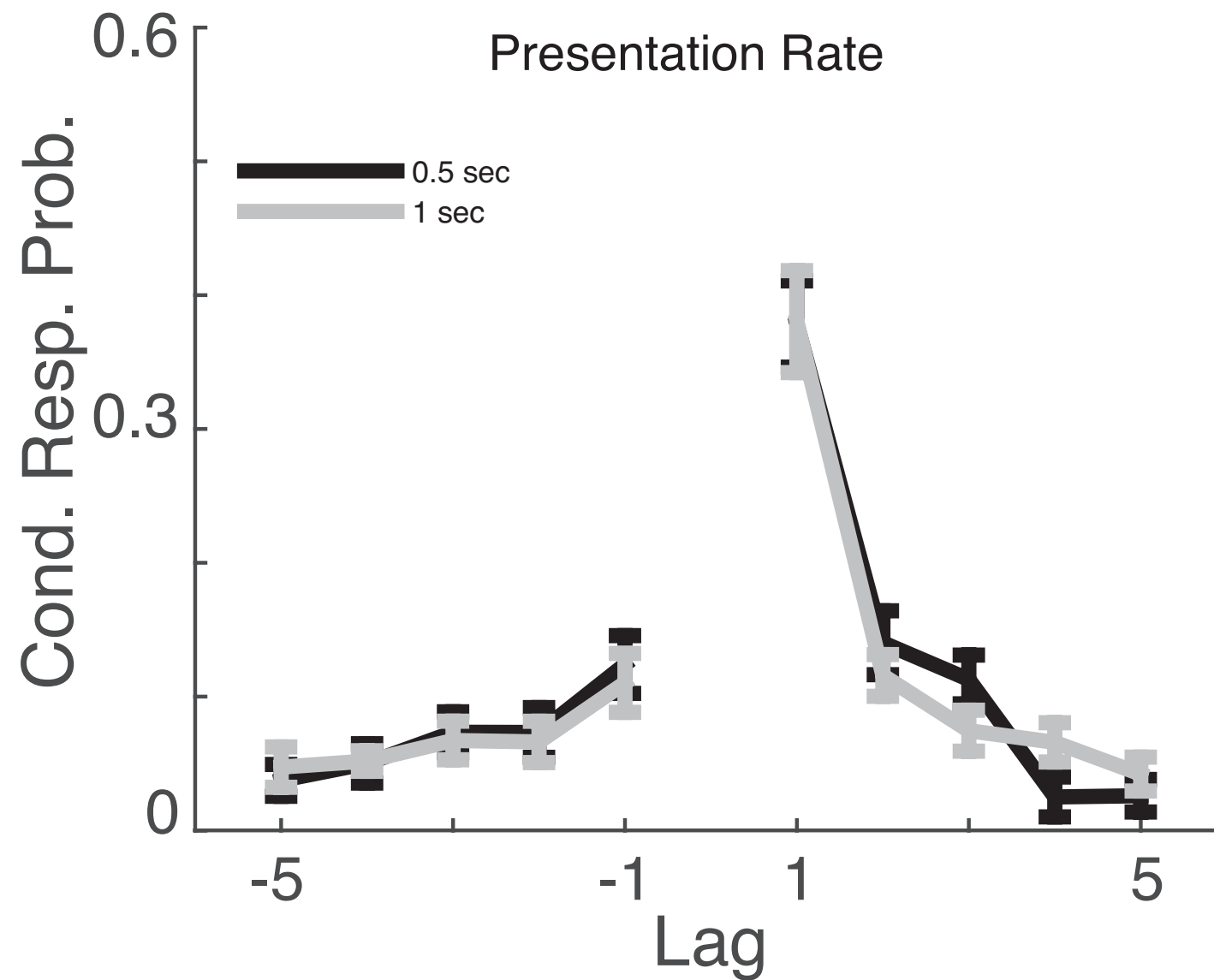


# Does it require experience?



# Presentation rate?

# Presentation rate?



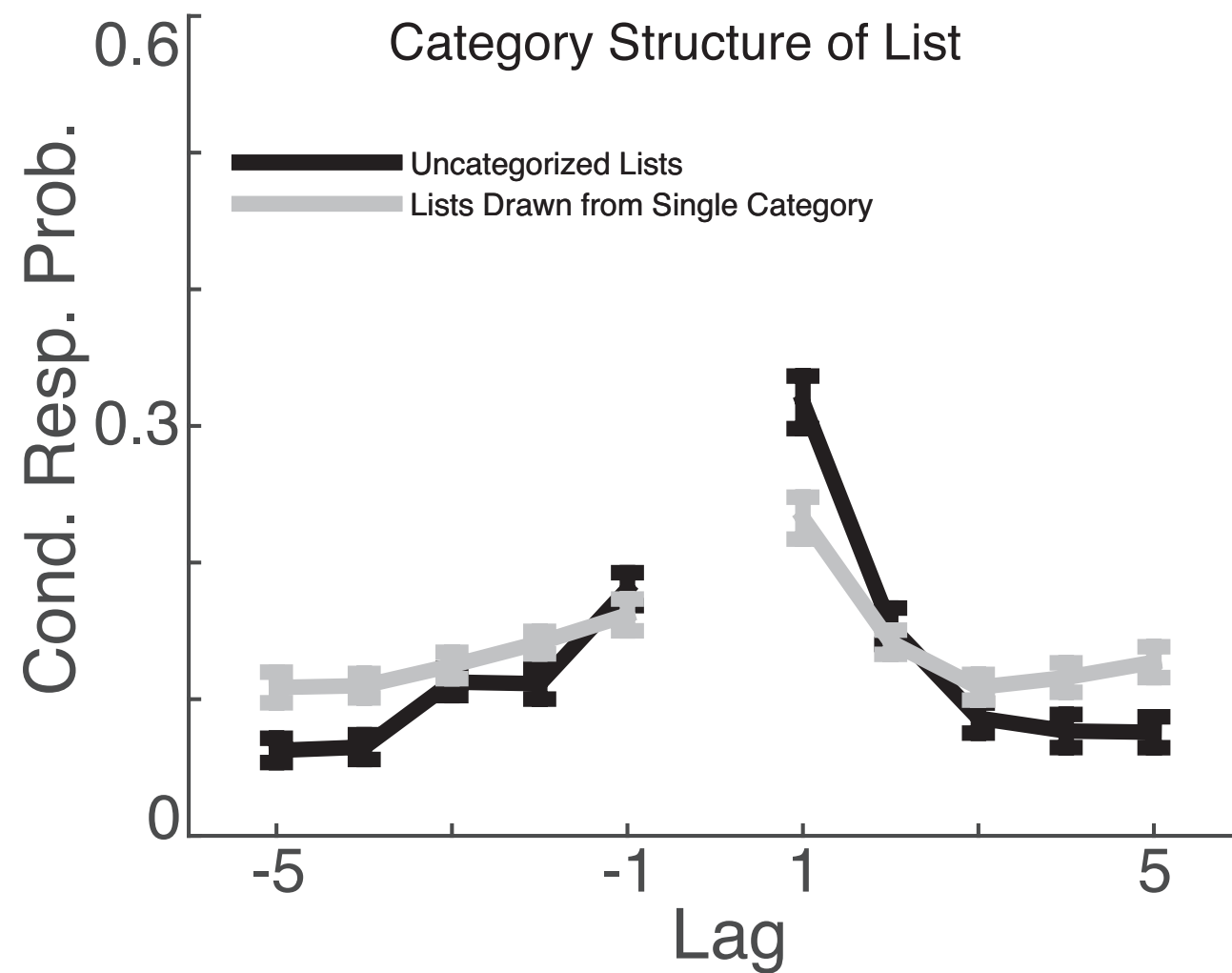
# Presentation rate?

- Robust to very fast presentation rates (Howard, 2016)
- Robust to very slow presentation rates (Nguyen & McDaniel, 2015)

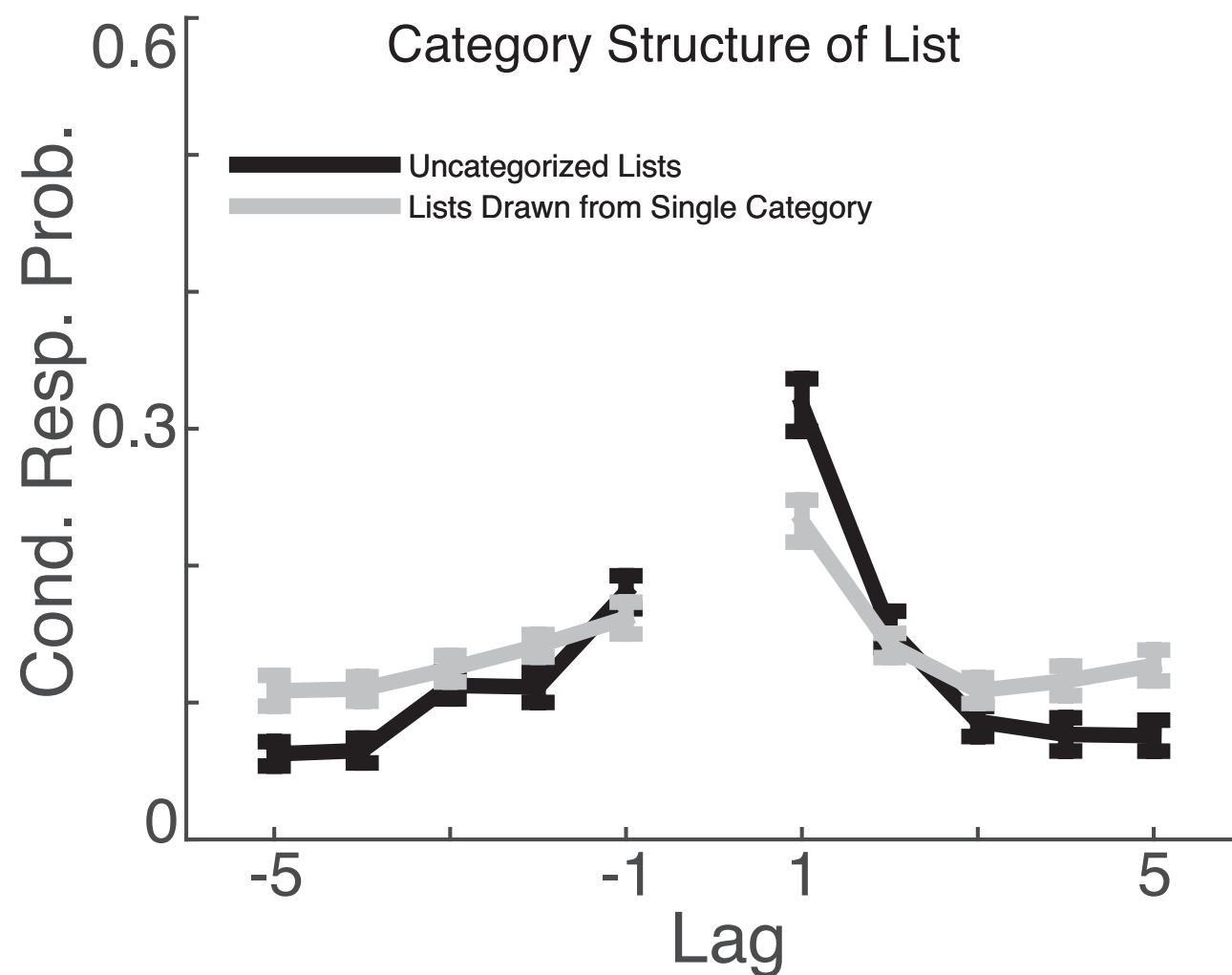
By non-temporal associations?



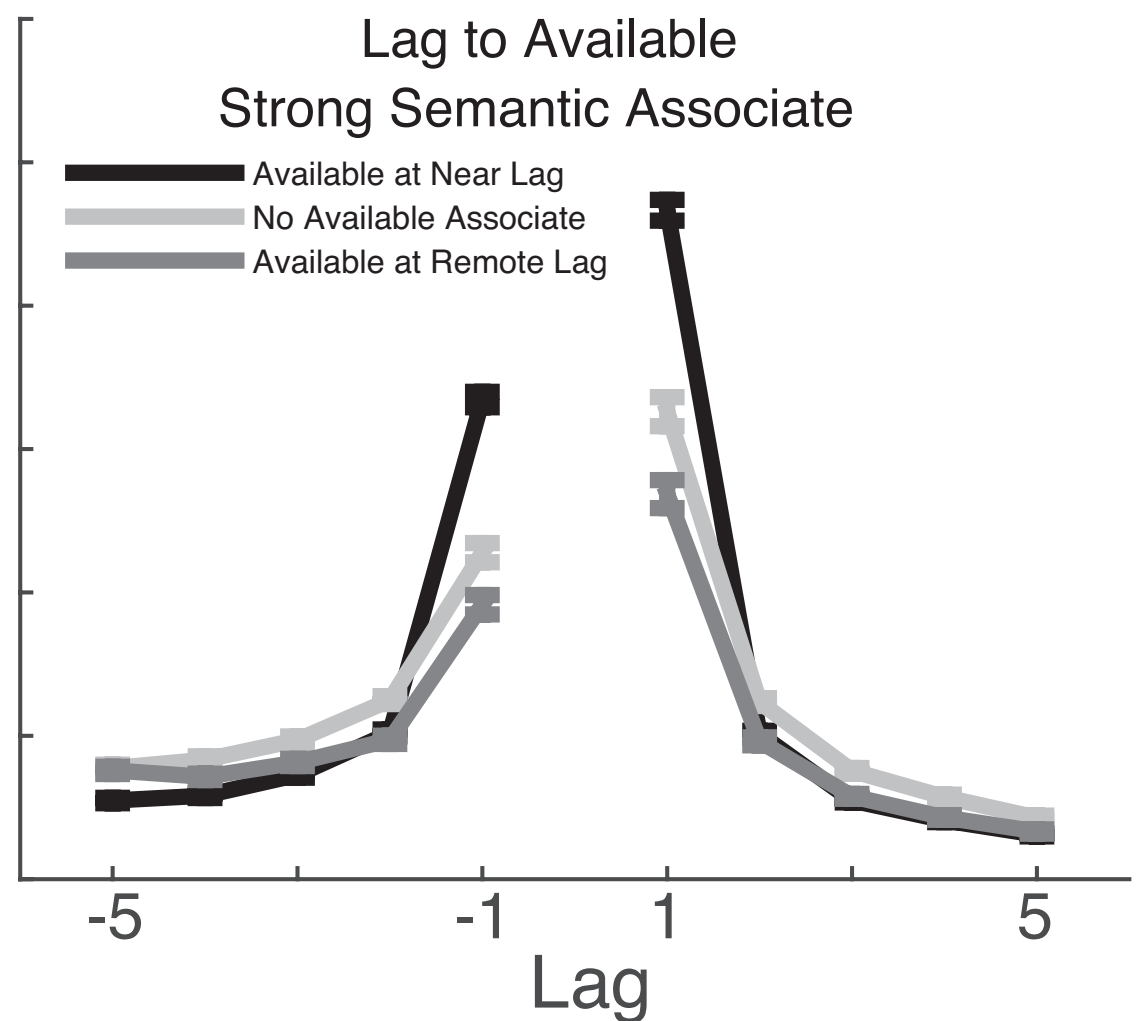
# By non-temporal associations?



# By non-temporal associations?



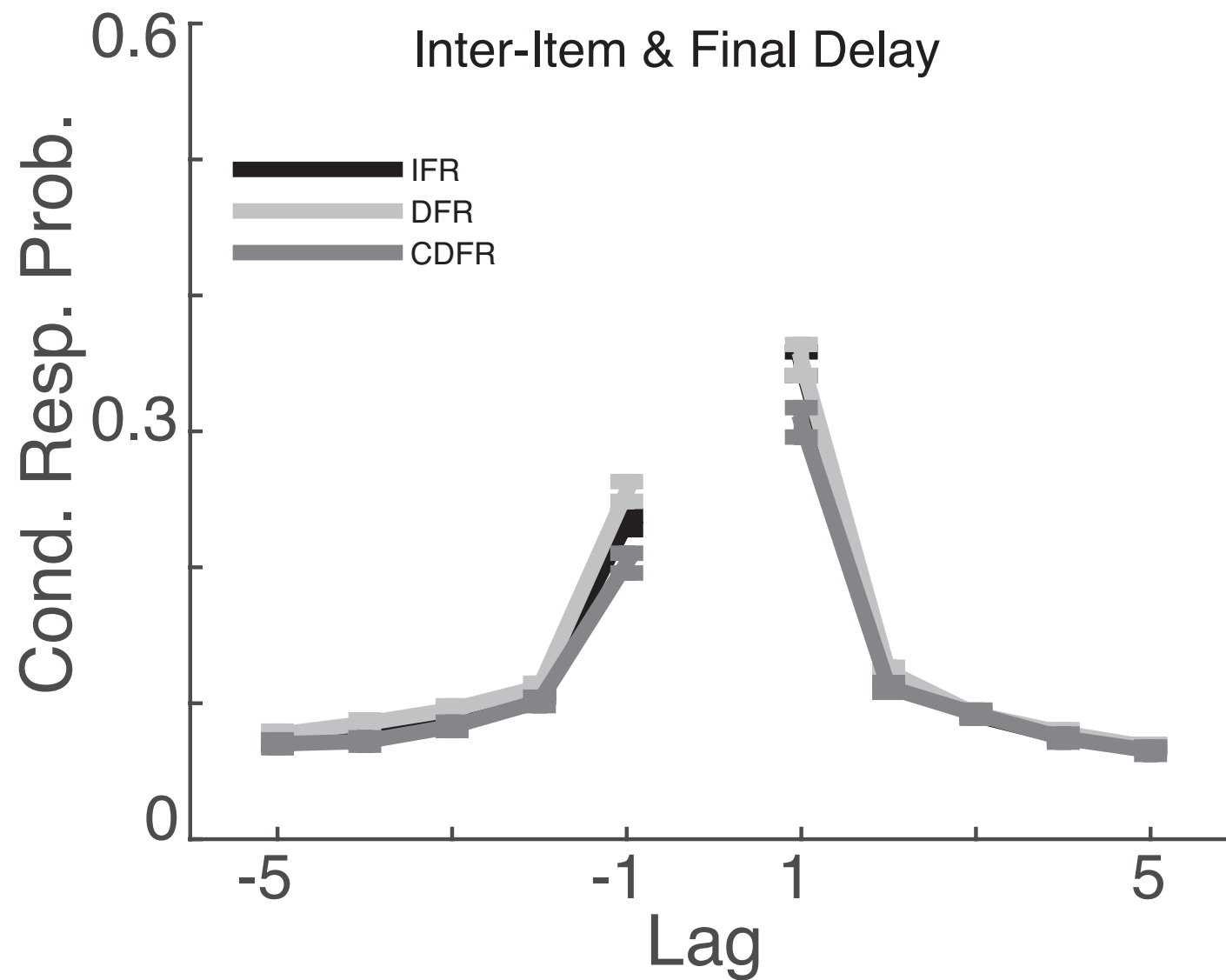
McCluey, Burke, & Polyn (submitted)



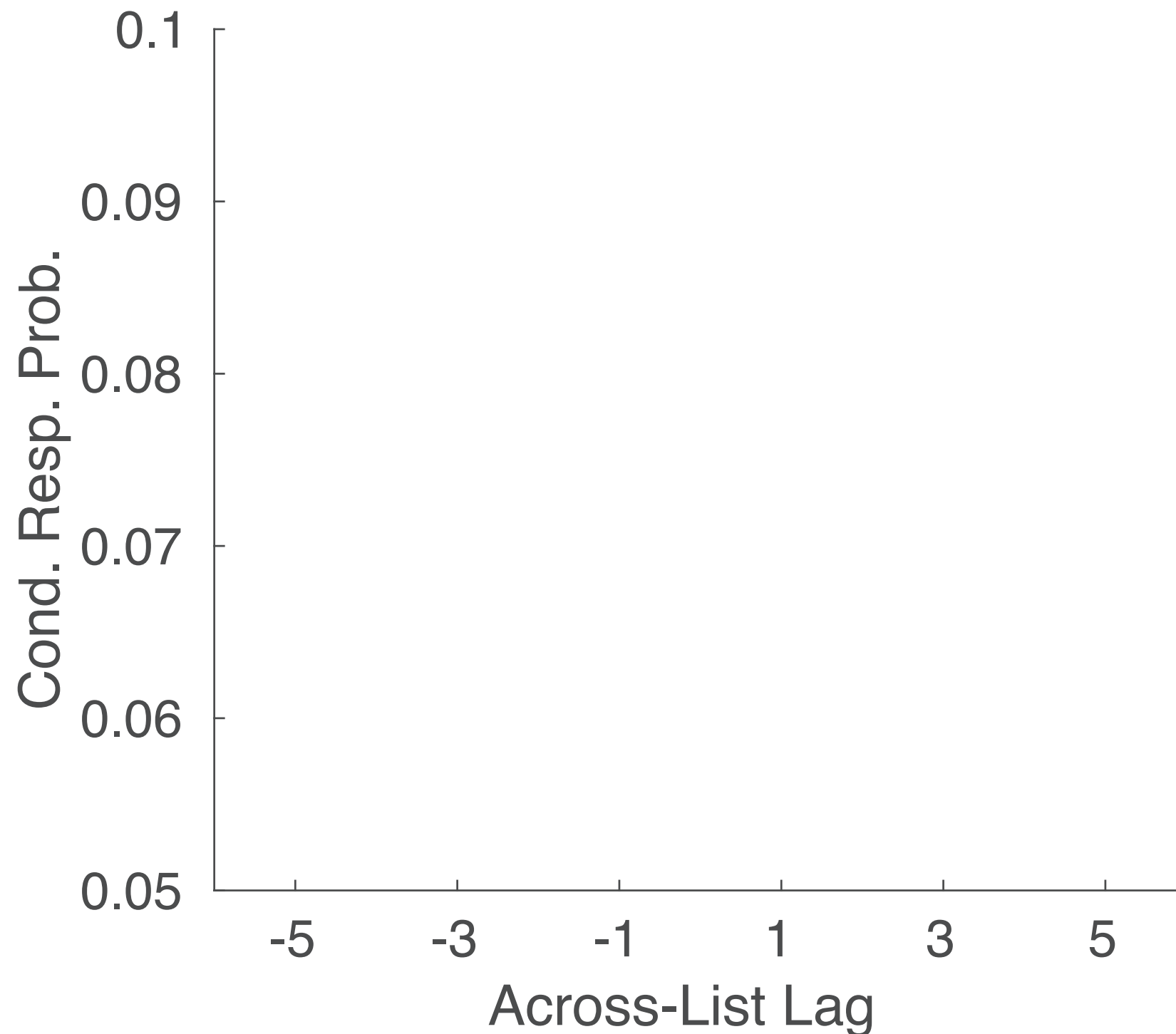
Healey & Kahana (submitted);

Howard & Kahana, 2002b

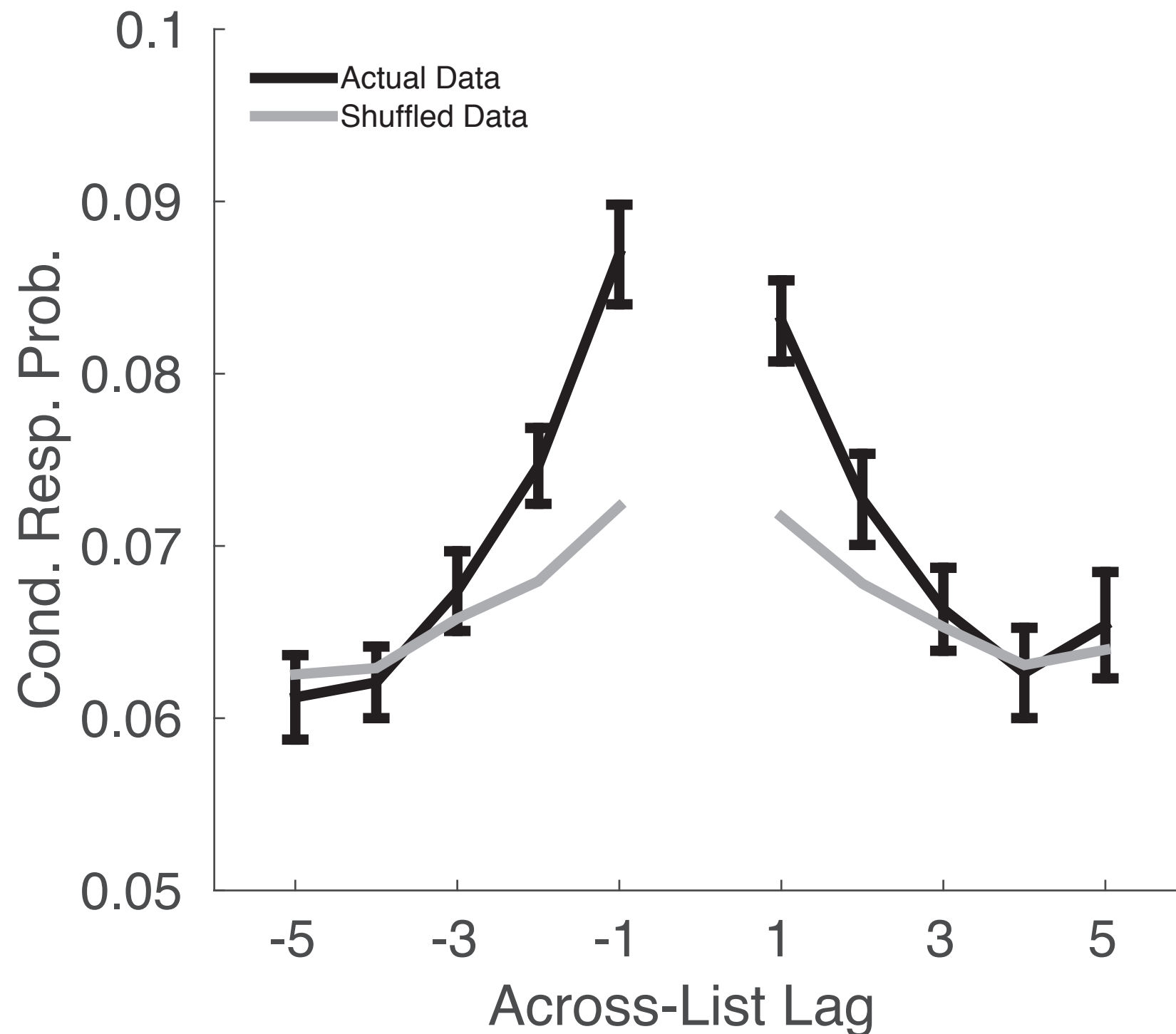
# Long-Range Contiguity



# Long-Range Contiguity



# Long-Range Contiguity



# Long-Range Contiguity

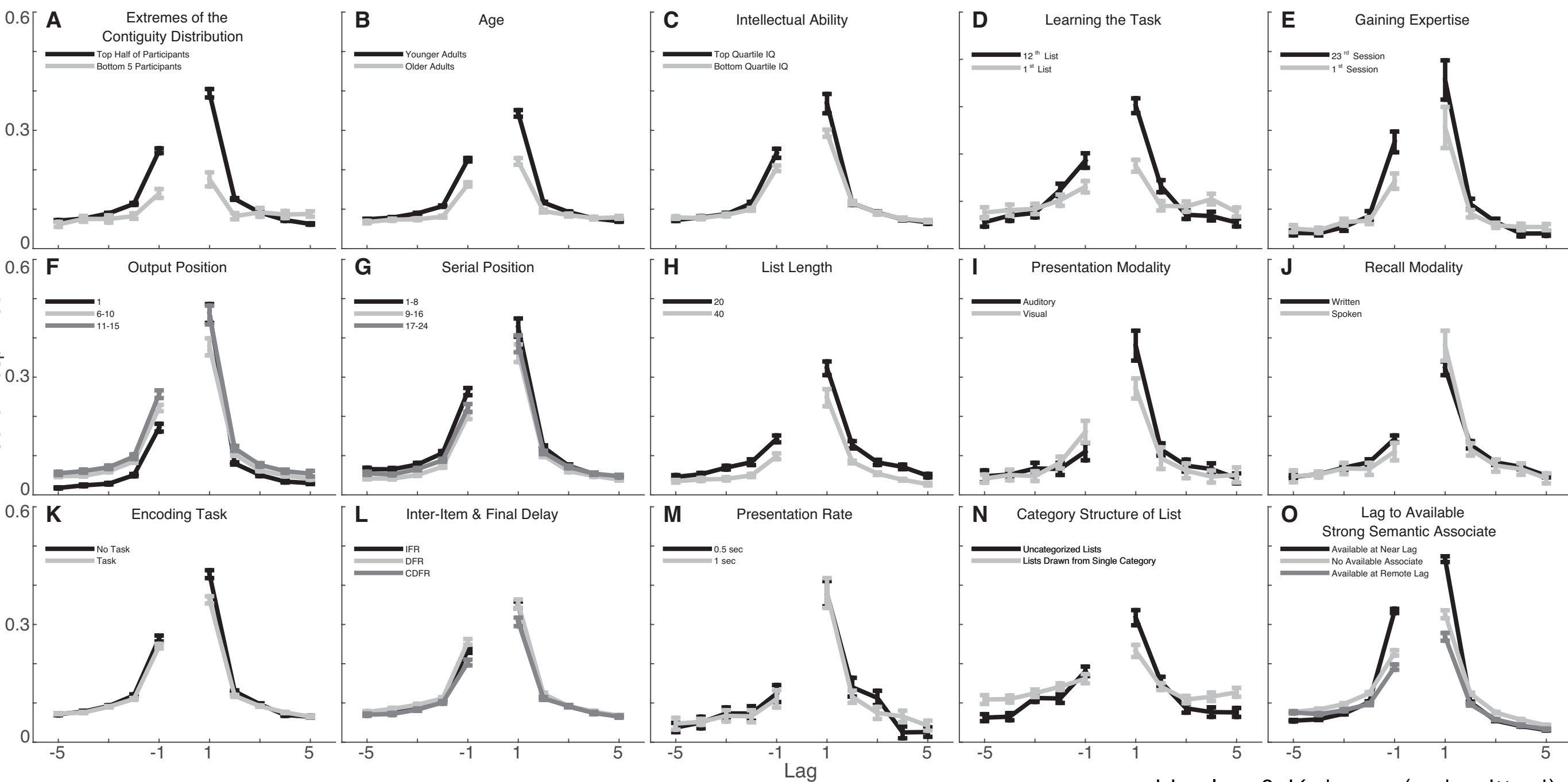
# Long-Range Contiguity

- Recall of autobiographical events (Moreton & Ward, 2010)

Temporal Contiguity is extremely robust in free recall and other lab tasks



# Temporal Contiguity is extremely robust in free recall and other lab tasks



Does anything eliminate the  
effect?

# Does anything eliminate the effect?

- Perhaps:

# Does anything eliminate the effect?

- Perhaps:
  - Absent in orthographically distinct lists (McDaniel et al., 2011)

# Does anything eliminate the effect?

- Perhaps:
  - Absent in orthographically distinct lists (McDaniel et al., 2011)
  - Absent when subjects do not intend to encode (Nairne et al., 2017)

# Big open questions

# Big open questions

# Big open questions

- Evidence is almost exclusively from list learning tasks (Moreton & Ward, 2010)



# Big open questions

- Evidence is almost exclusively from list learning tasks (Moreton & Ward, 2010)
- List have obvious chain-like structure. Could encourage subjects to study/recall items as a chain

# Big open questions

- Evidence is almost exclusively from list learning tasks (Moreton & Ward, 2010)
- Lists have obvious chain-like structure. Could encourage subjects to study/recall items as a chain
- Places claims of universality on shaky ground (Hintzman, 2016)

# Two Additional Questions

# Two Additional Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?

# Two Additional Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?
2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

# Two Additional Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?
2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?
3. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?



2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?



2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

## 2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance

## 2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 1: Control processes that implement ad hoc encoding strategies to meet the demands of rote list **learning** tasks (Hintzman, 2016)

## 2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 1: Control processes that implement ad hoc encoding strategies to meet the demands of rote list **learning** tasks (Hintzman, 2016)
- **Experiment 1:** looking for contiguity when there is no intent to **learn** (Nairne et al., 2017)

Does removing intent to  
encode eliminate contiguity?

Does removing intent to  
encode eliminate contiguity?

# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list

# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)



# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)
- Eight different incidental encoding judgment tasks

# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)
- Eight different incidental encoding judgment tasks
  1. Heavier than a bottle of water?

# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)
- Eight different incidental encoding judgment tasks
  1. Heavier than a bottle of water?
  2. Living or non-living?

# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)
- Eight different incidental encoding judgment tasks
  1. Heavier than a bottle of water?
  2. Living or non-living?
  3. Relevant for moving to a foreign land?

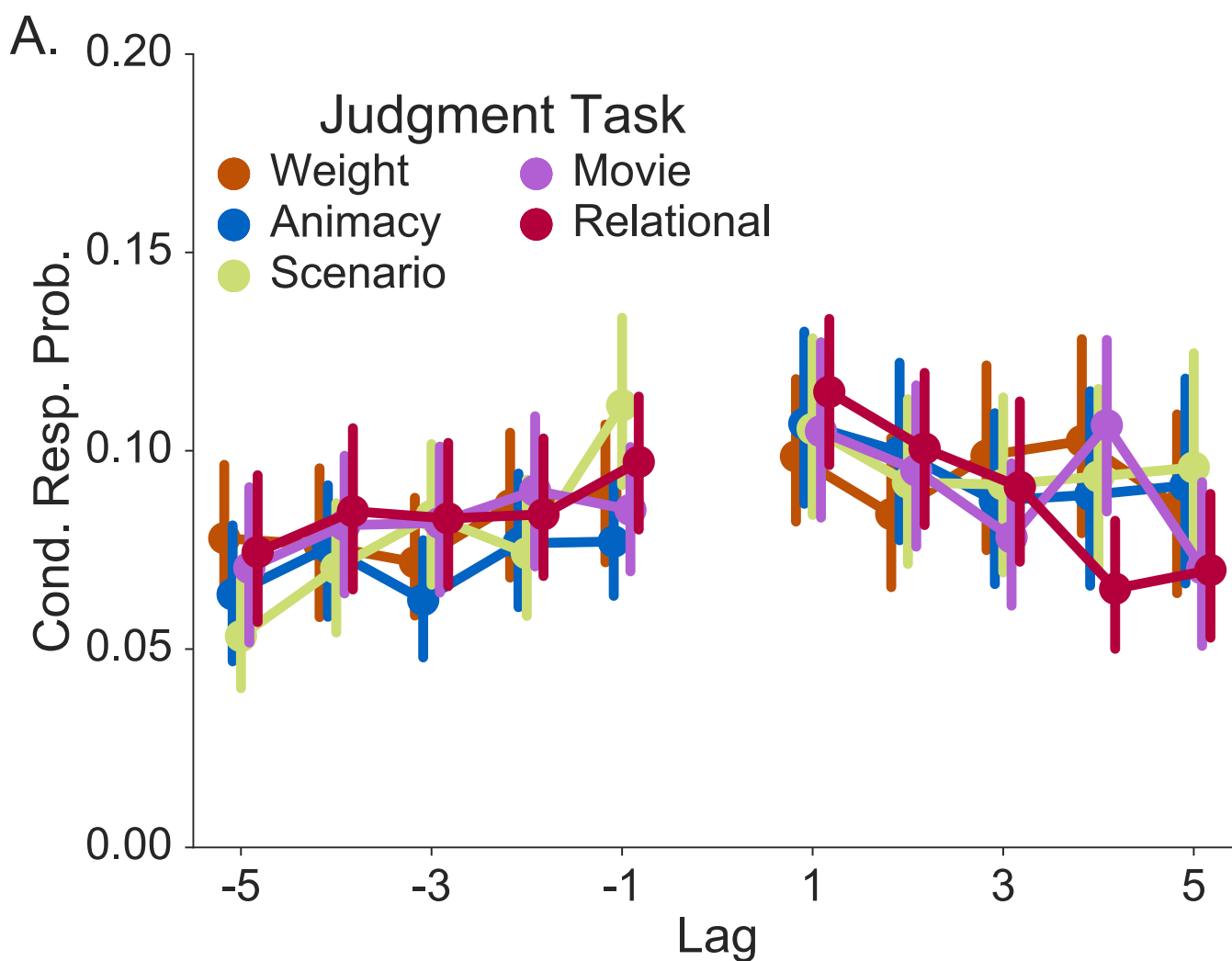
# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)
- Eight different incidental encoding judgment tasks
  1. Heavier than a bottle of water?
  2. Living or non-living?
  3. Relevant for moving to a foreign land?
  4. Make a mental movie starring the item (Deep Item-Specific)

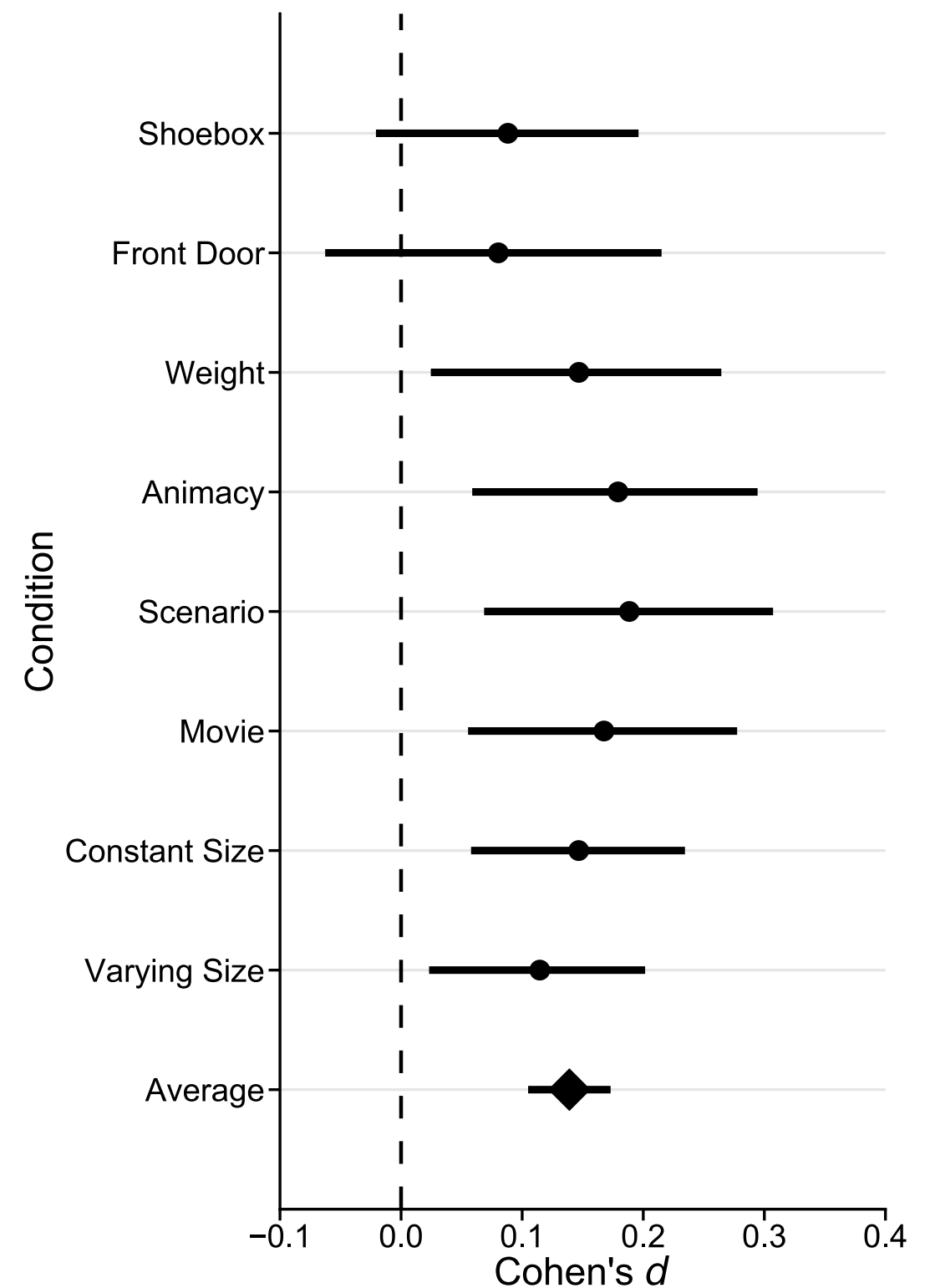
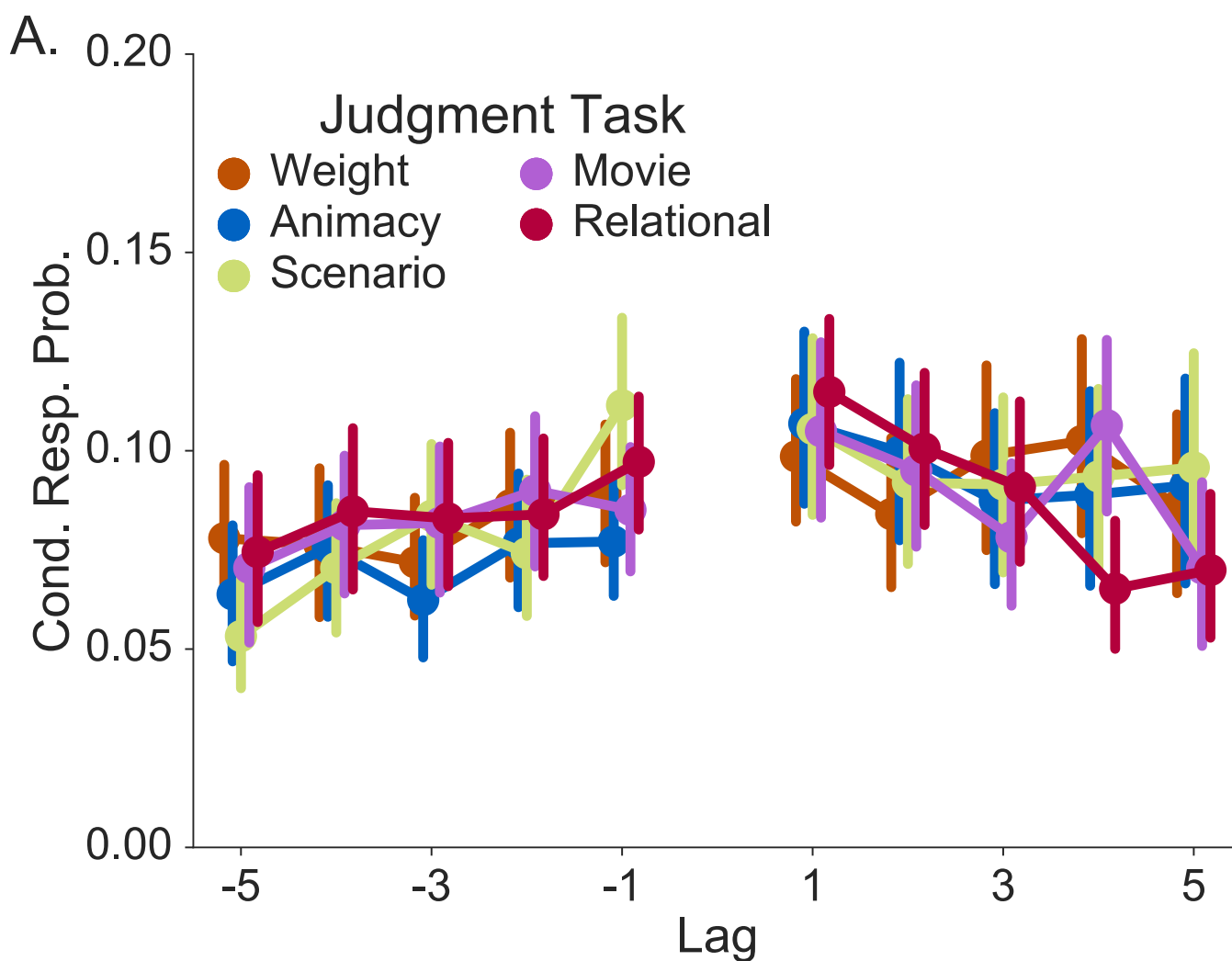
# Does removing intent to encode eliminate contiguity?

- A single 16-item list
- $N \gg 2000$  (MTurk)
- Eight different incidental encoding judgment tasks
  1. Heavier than a bottle of water?
  2. Living or non-living?
  3. Relevant for moving to a foreign land?
  4. Make a mental movie starring the item (Deep Item-Specific)
  5. Make a mental movie that incorporates each new item (Deep Relational)

# Removing intent to encode **does not** eliminate contiguity



# Removing intent to encode **does not** eliminate contiguity







2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

## 2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance

## 2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 2:

## 2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 2:
  - Evidence is almost exclusively from free recall **in the lab**  
(Exception: Moreton & Ward, 2010)

## 2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 2:
  - Evidence is almost exclusively from free recall **in the lab**  
(Exception: Moreton & Ward, 2010)
  - Lists have obvious chain-like structure. Could encourage subjects to recall items as a chain

## 2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 2:
  - Evidence is almost exclusively from free recall **in the lab**  
(Exception: Moreton & Ward, 2010)
  - Lists have obvious chain-like structure. Could encourage subjects to recall items as a chain
  - A shaky foundation for claims of universality (Hintzman, 2016)



## 2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

- My claim: the memory system naturally encodes information about temporal distance
- Alternative explanation 2:
  - Evidence is almost exclusively from free recall **in the lab**  
(Exception: Moreton & Ward, 2010)
  - Lists have obvious chain-like structure. Could encourage subjects to recall items as a chain
  - A shaky foundation for claims of universality (Hintzman, 2016)
- **Experiment 2:** looking for contiguity **outside the lab**

# Looking for Temporal Contiguity Outside the Lab

- In the weeks following the 2016 presidential election we looked for temporal contiguity when people recalled details of the election campaign.

# Looking for Temporal Contiguity Outside the Lab

# Looking for Temporal Contiguity Outside the Lab

# Looking for Temporal Contiguity Outside the Lab

- Election-related news stories are like items in free recall.

# Looking for Temporal Contiguity Outside the Lab

- Election-related news stories are like items in free recall.
- Except not studied one after another in a chain.

# Looking for Temporal Contiguity Outside the Lab

- Election-related news stories are like items in free recall.
- Except not studied one after another in a chain.
- Instead, interwoven with other events separated by irregularly spaced intervals of days to months.

# Many Headlines Recalled



# Many Headlines Recalled

- Subjects from Amazon Mechanical Turk

# Many Headlines Recalled

- Subjects from Amazon Mechanical Turk
- 7,931 headlines ( $M = 7.55$ ,  $SD = 4.82$ )

# Many Headlines Recalled

- Subjects from Amazon Mechanical Turk
- 7,931 headlines ( $M = 7.55$ ,  $SD = 4.82$ )
- 5,776 transitions ( $M = 5.50$ ,  $SD = 4.36$ )

# Calculating Transition Lags

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

- October 7, 2016

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

- October 7, 2016

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

- October 7, 2016

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

- October 28, 2016



# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

- October 7, 2016

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

- October 28, 2016

$$\text{Lag} = 599 - 578 = +21$$

# Calculating Transition Lags

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump won’t accept the  
results of election”

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump won’t accept the results of election”

- October 9, 2016

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump won’t accept the results of election”

“Trump invites Obama’s half-brother to third debate”

- October 9, 2016

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump won’t accept the results of election”

- October 9, 2016

“Trump invites Obama’s half-brother to third debate”

- October 9, 2016

# Calculating Transition Lags

“Trump won’t accept the results of election”

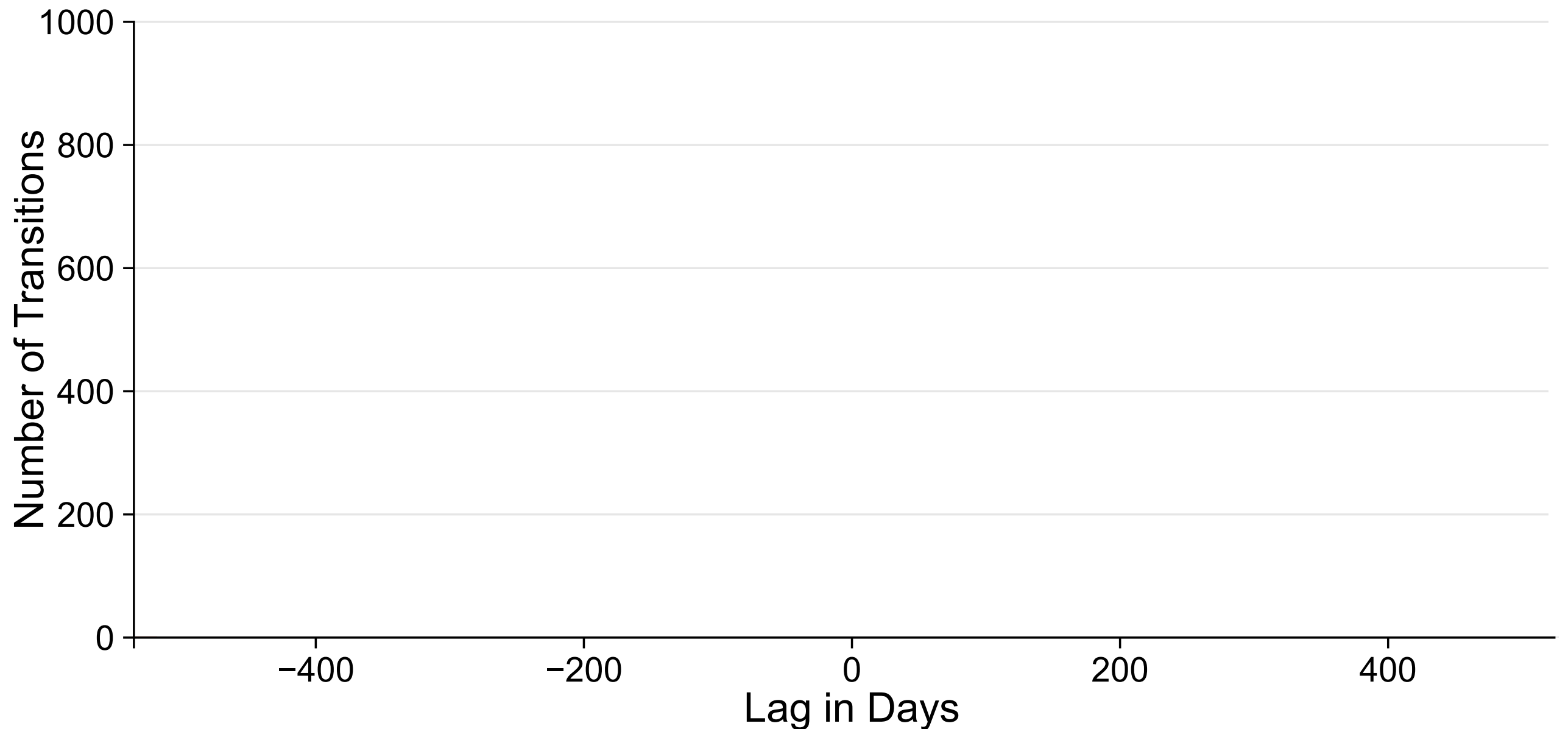
- October 9, 2016

“Trump invites Obama’s half-brother to third debate”

- October 9, 2016

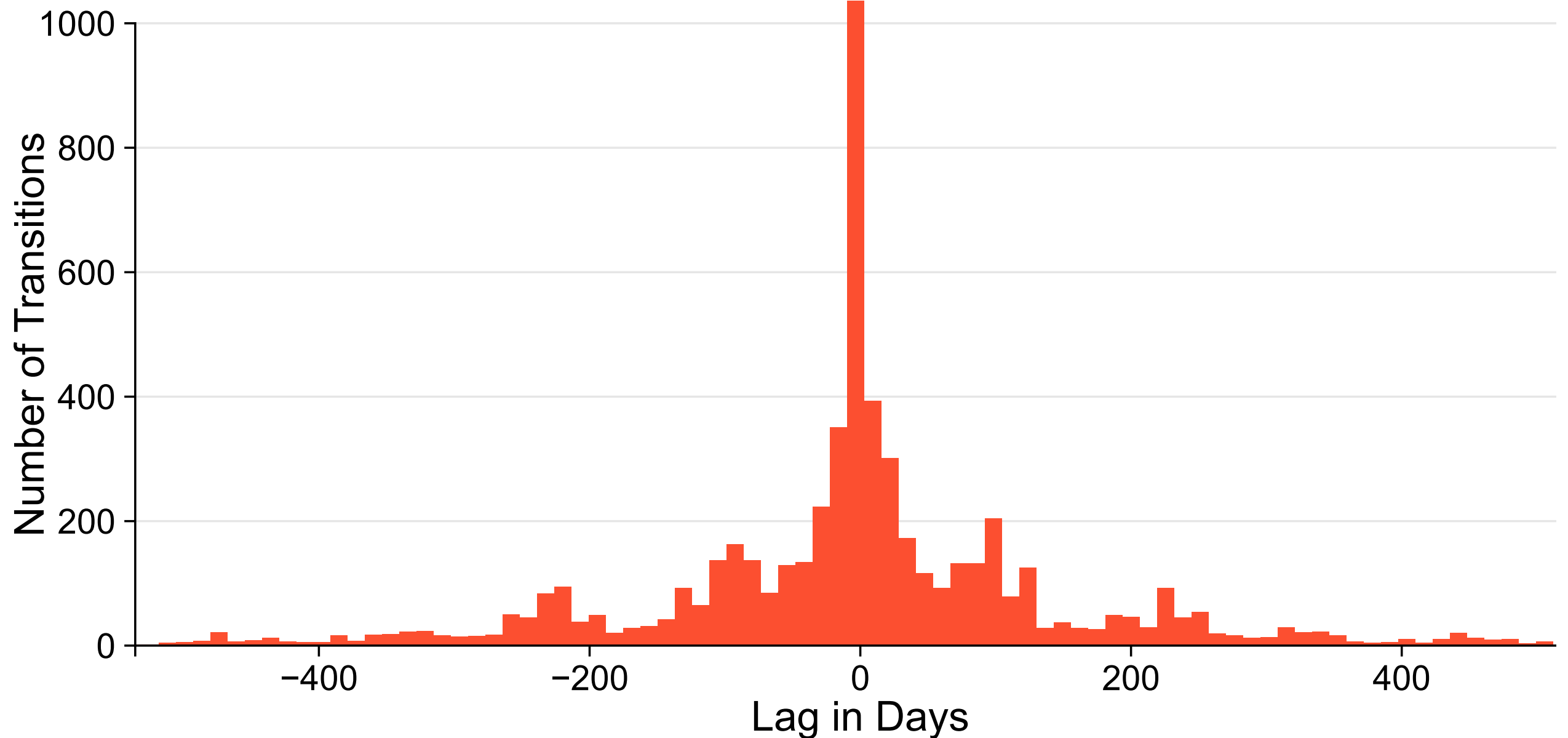
$$\text{Lag} = 0$$

# Transition lags peak at zero days





# Transition lags peak at zero days



# A Confound

# A Confound

- Imagine if 9 out of every 10 headlines came from a particular day

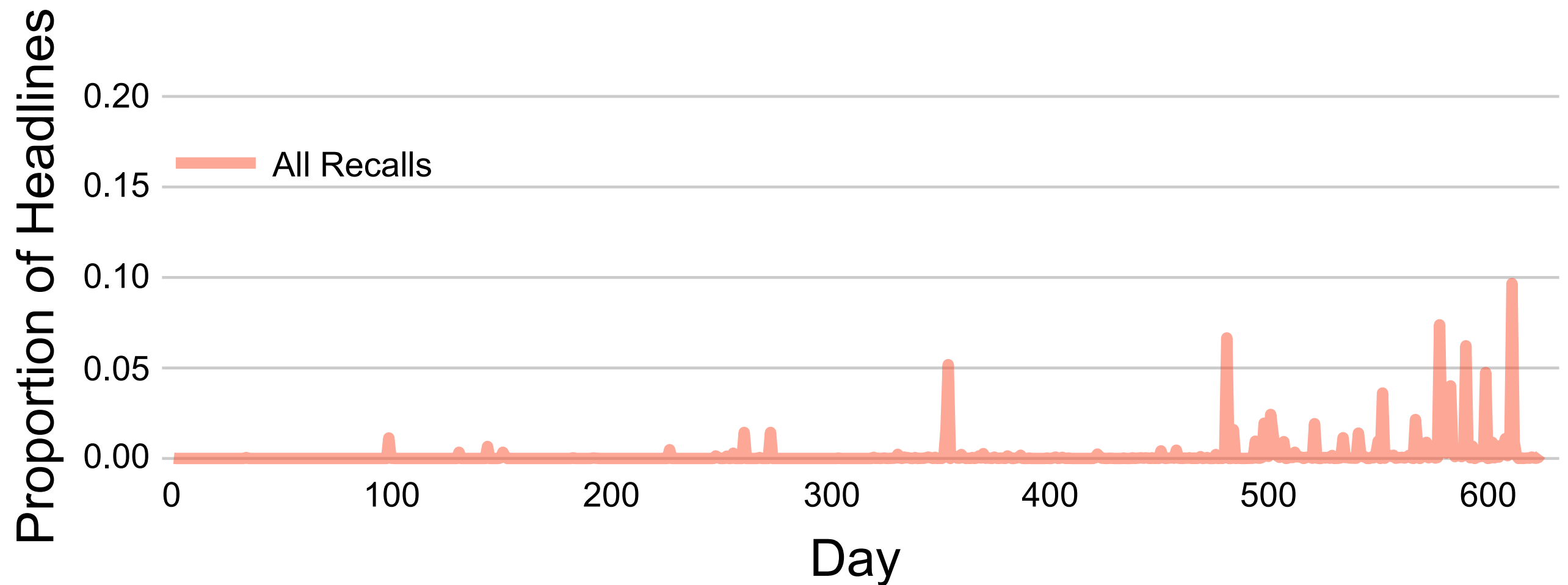
# A Confound

- Imagine if 9 out of every 10 headlines came from a particular day
- There would be many ways to make lag-zero transitions, and few ways to make longer transitions

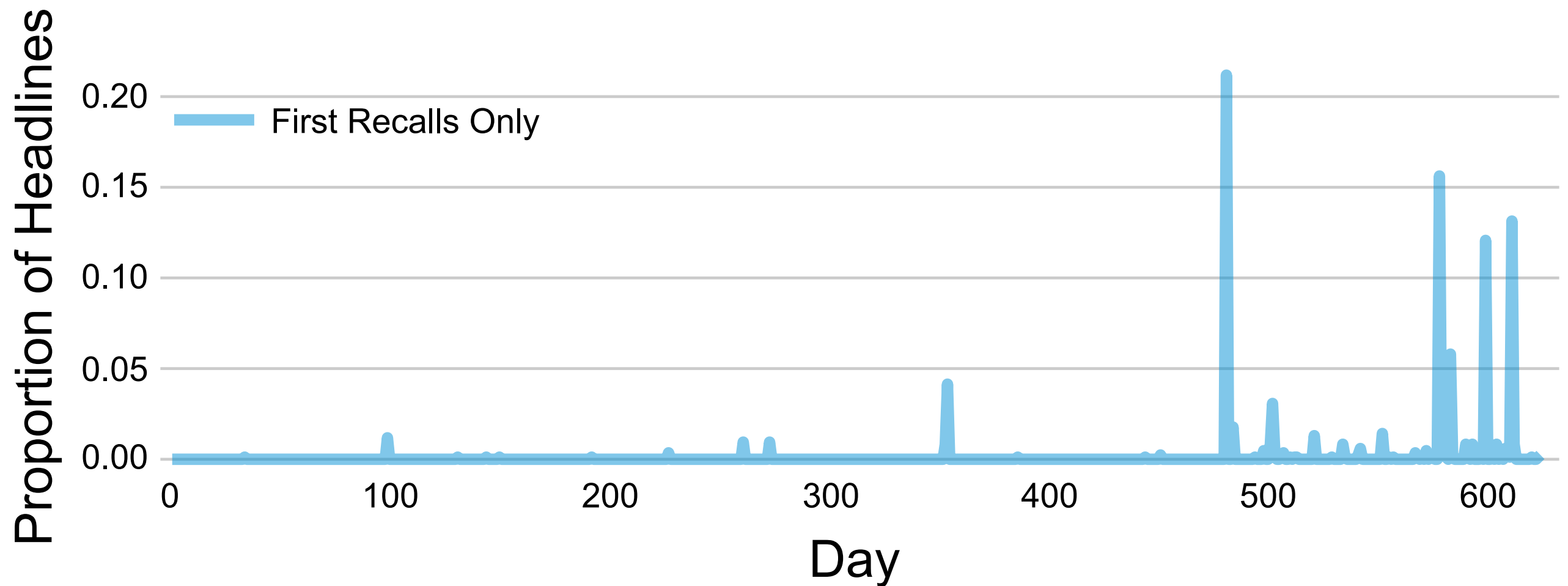
# A Confound

- Imagine if 9 out of every 10 headlines came from a particular day
- There would be many ways to make lag-zero transitions, and few ways to make longer transitions
- We'd expect an artificial contiguity effect

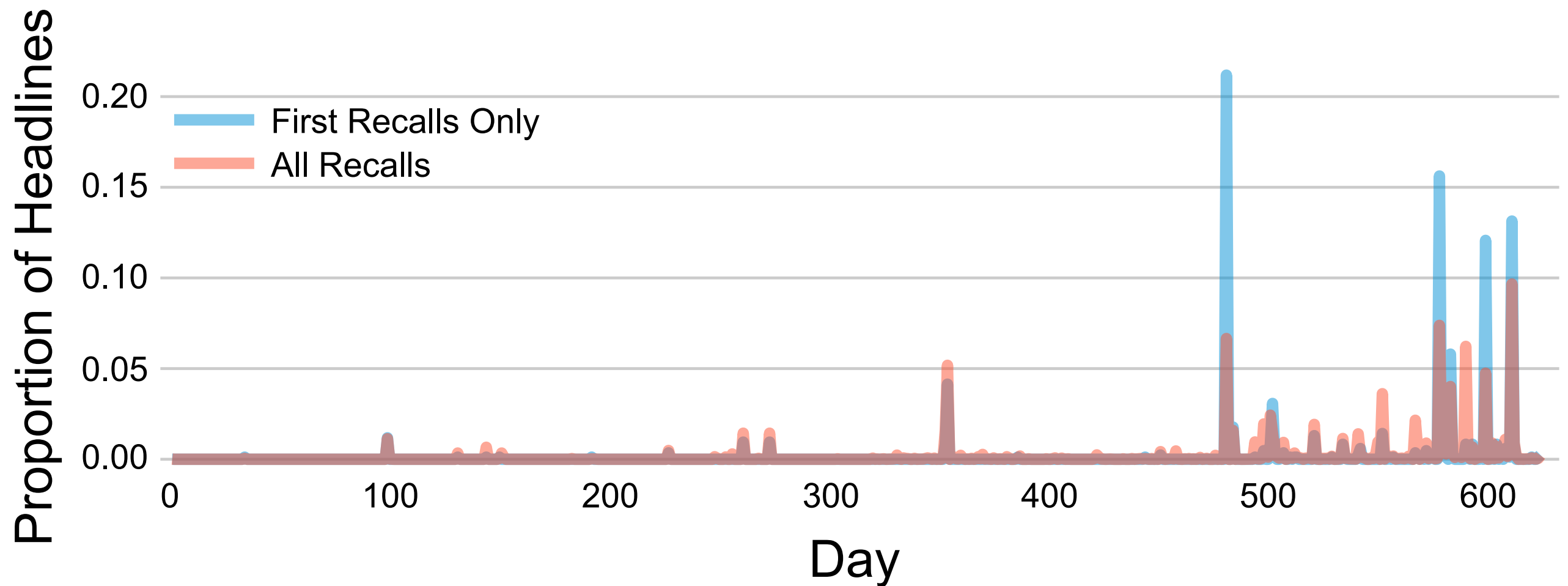
# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



# Distribution of recalled headlines across days

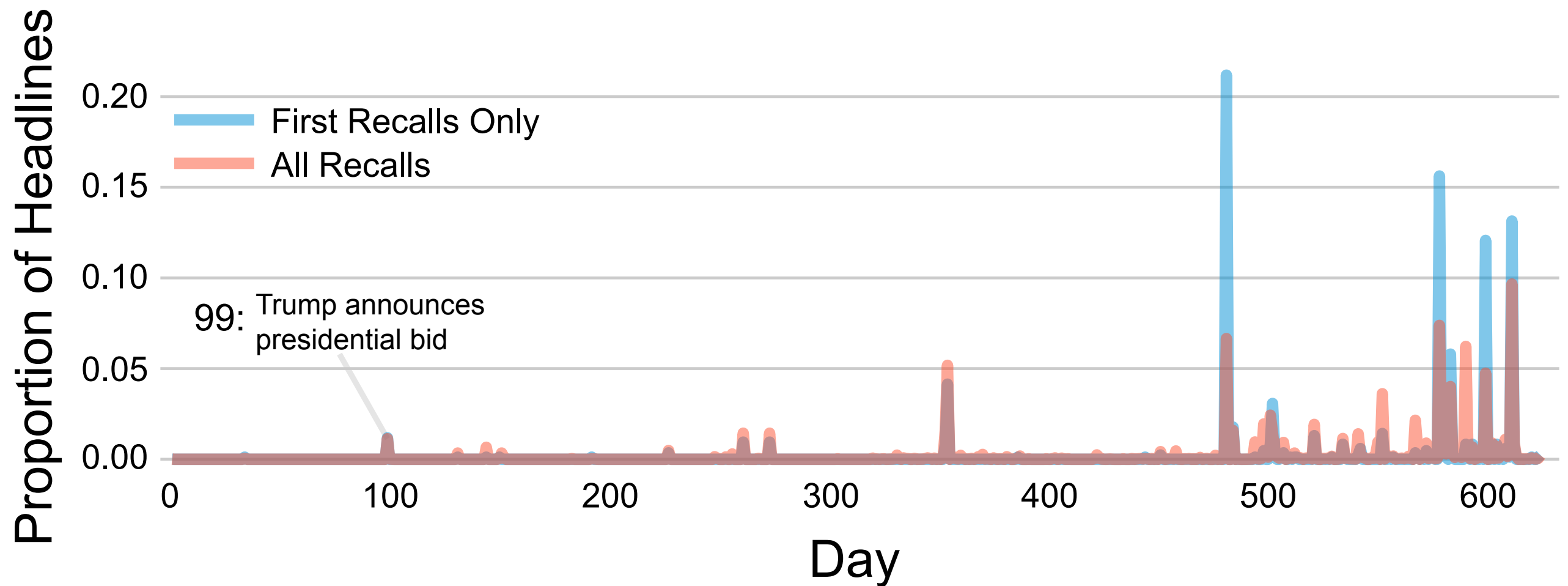


# Distribution of recalled headlines across days

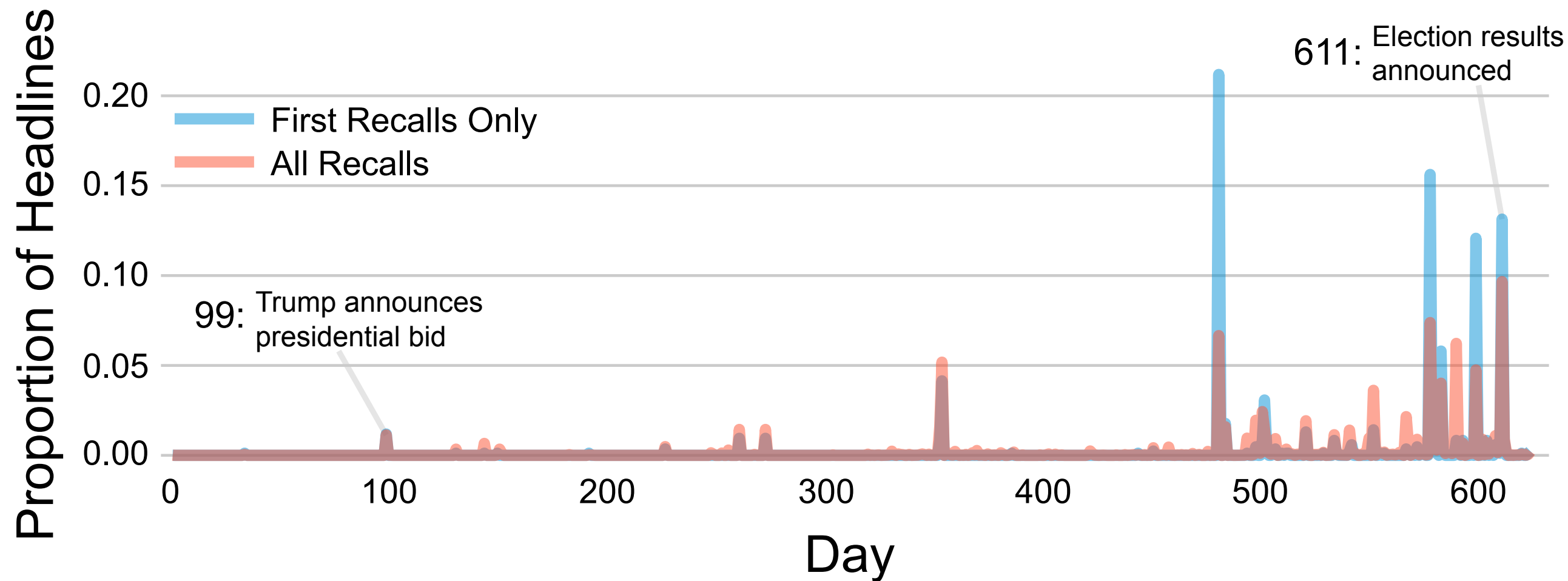




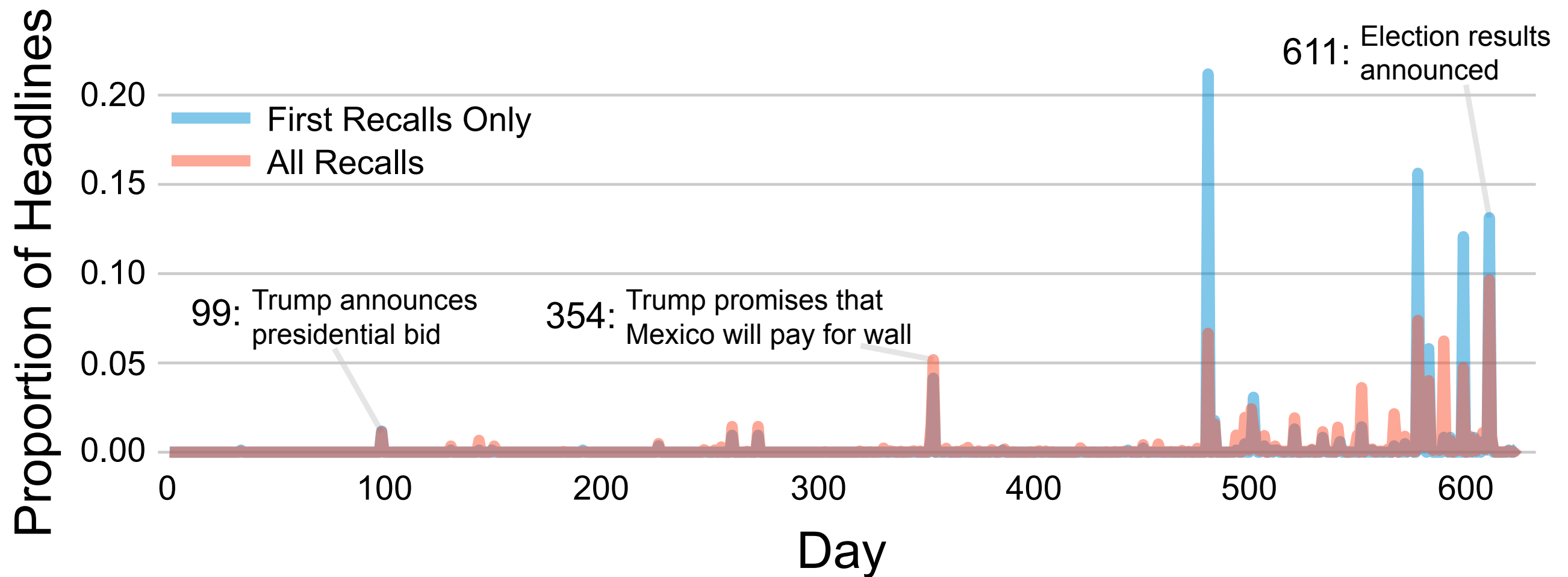
# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



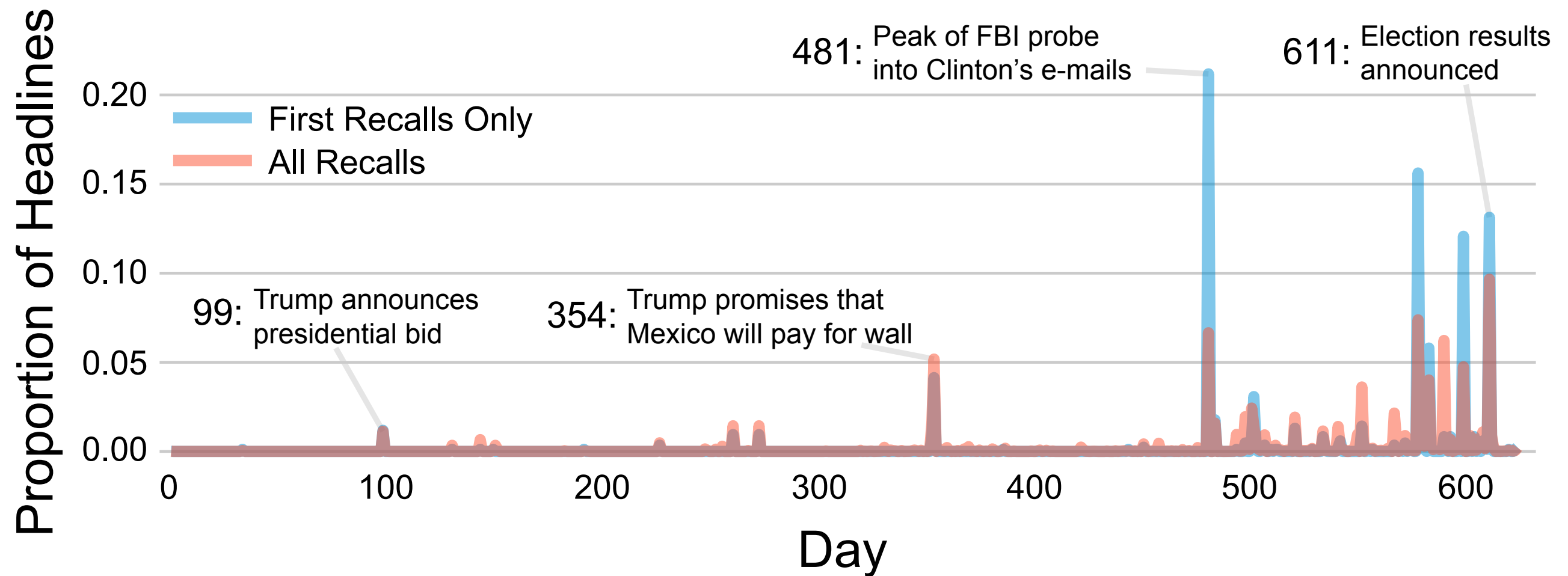
# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



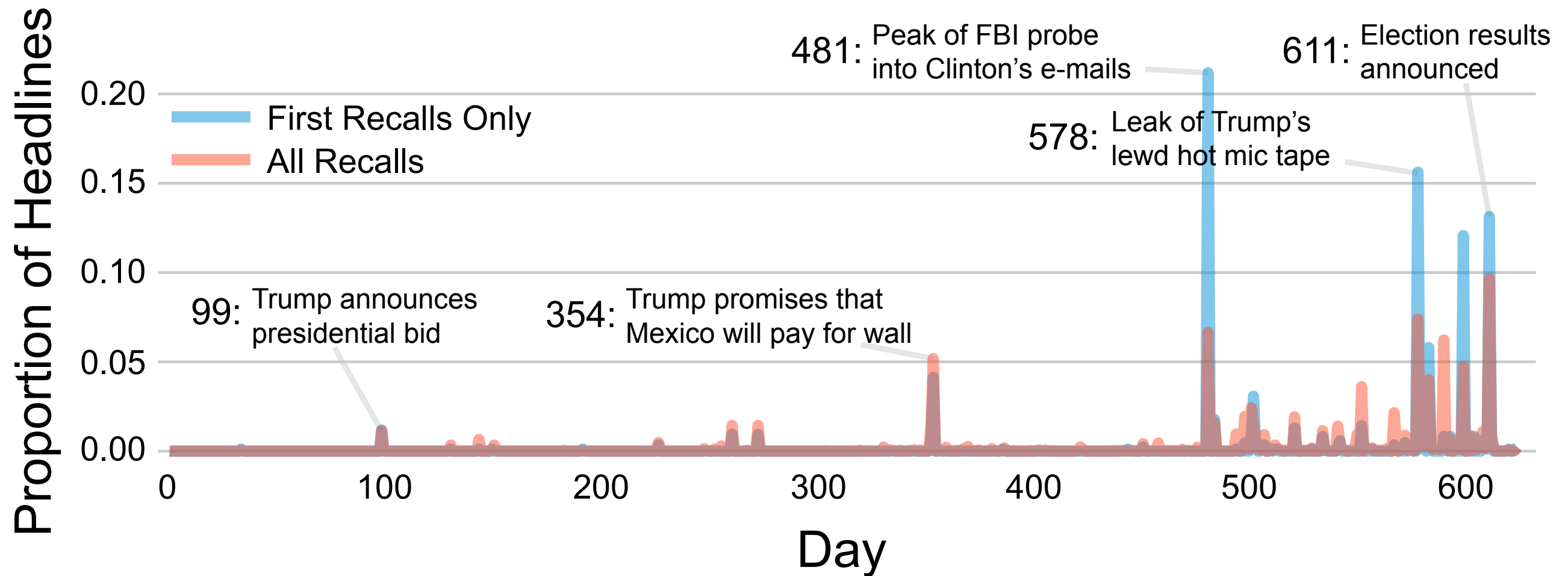
# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



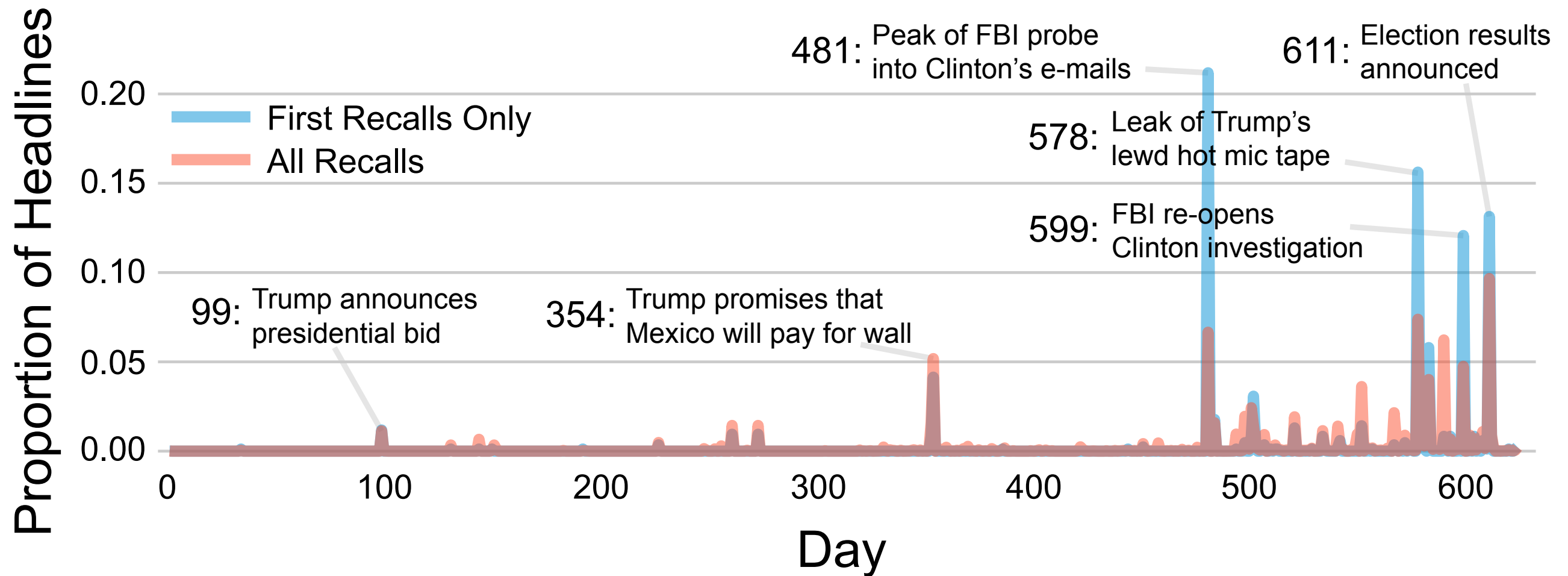
# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



# Distribution of recalled headlines across days



# Removing the Confound

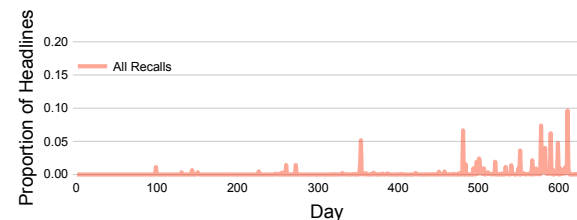
# Removing the Confound

- Simulation in which temporal order could not influence recall order

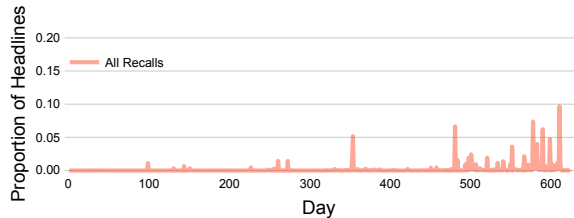


# Removing the Confound

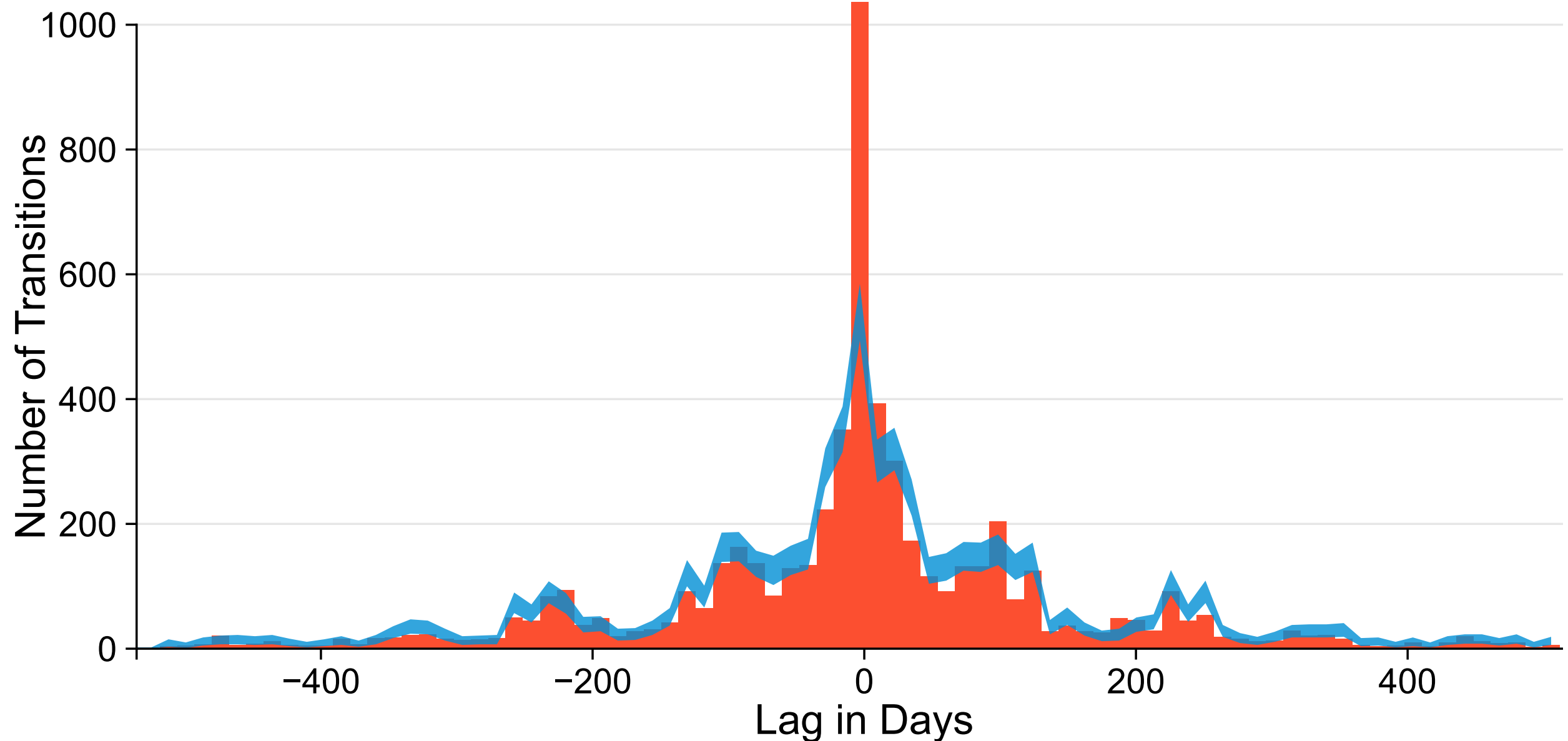
- Simulation in which temporal order could not influence recall order
- Simulated subjects recalled  $k$  headlines by randomly sampling from:



# Removing the Confound

- Simulation in which temporal order could not influence recall order
- Simulated subjects recalled  $k$  headlines by randomly sampling from:
- Because each draw from the distribution is independent, all links between successive recalls are broken and transition lags depend only on headline-clustering

# Near-Lag Transitions More Frequent than Chance



Lets zoom in on short-lags

# Lets zoom in on short-lags

- The difference between the actual and null distributions is largest at short lags.

# Lets zoom in on short-lags

- The difference between the actual and null distributions is largest at short lags.
- Zoomed in on these short lags by grouping lags into bins, using wider bins for longer lags

# Lets zoom in on short-lags

- The difference between the actual and null distributions is largest at short lags.
- Zoomed in on these short lags by grouping lags into bins, using wider bins for longer lags
- For each bin, used the actual and null distributions to calculate a *temporal bias score*:

$$\text{Temporal bias score} = \text{actual count}$$

# Lets zoom in on short-lags

- The difference between the actual and null distributions is largest at short lags.
- Zoomed in on these short lags by grouping lags into bins, using wider bins for longer lags
- For each bin, used the actual and null distributions to calculate a *temporal bias score*:

$$\text{Temporal bias score} = \text{actual count} - \text{expected count}$$

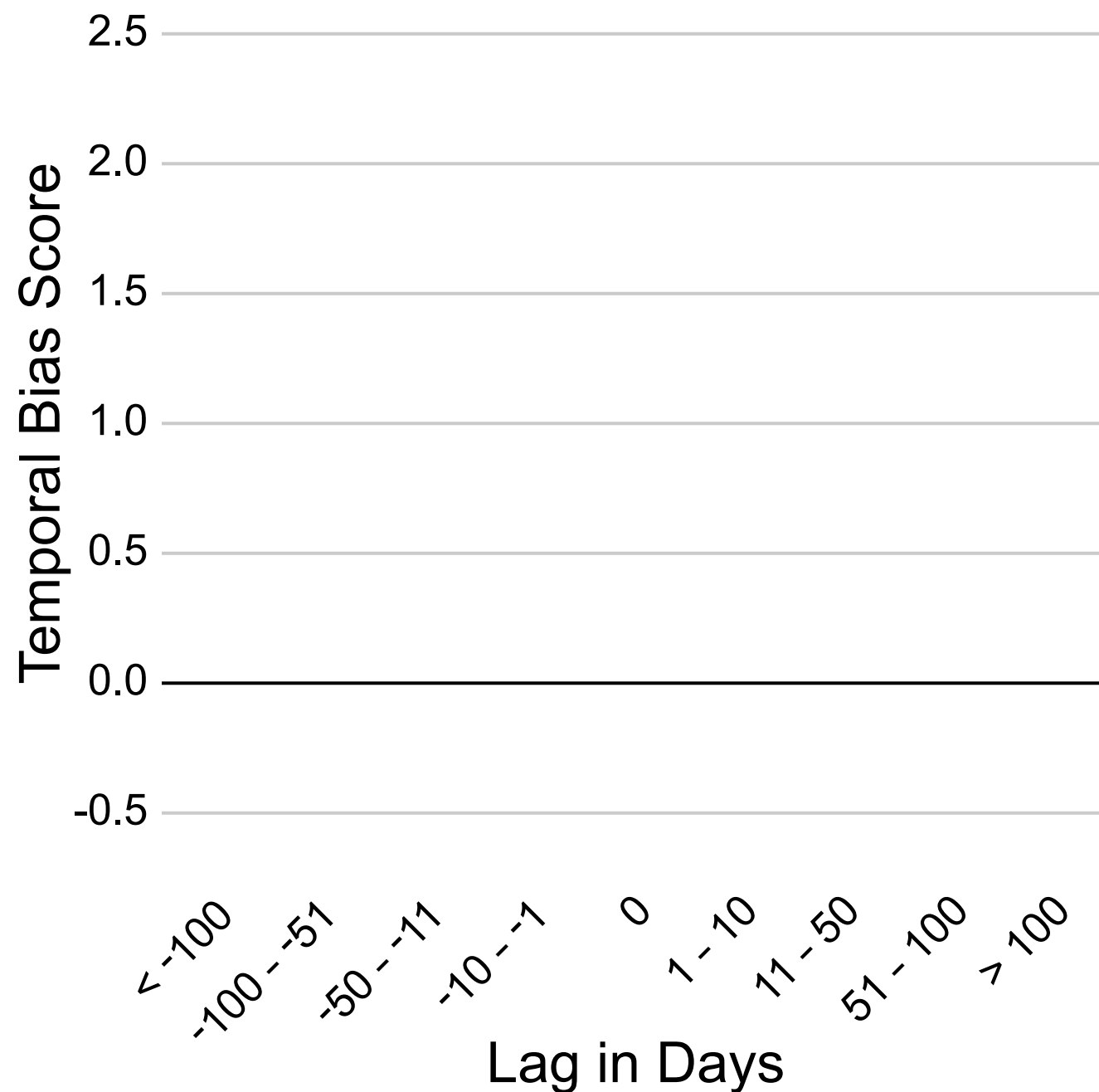


# Lets zoom in on short-lags

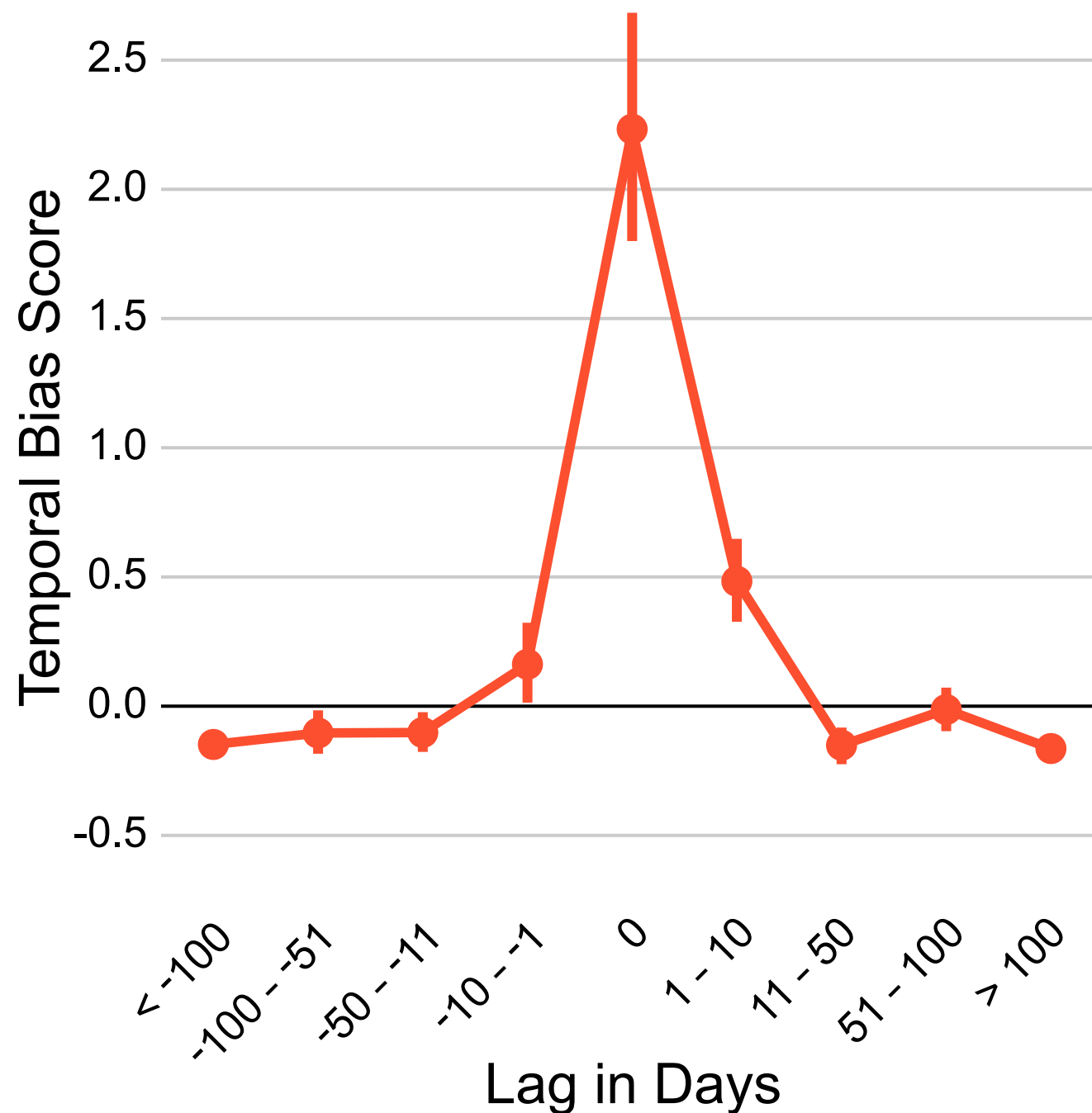
- The difference between the actual and null distributions is largest at short lags.
- Zoomed in on these short lags by grouping lags into bins, using wider bins for longer lags
- For each bin, used the actual and null distributions to calculate a *temporal bias score*:

$$\text{Temporal bias score} = \frac{\text{actual count} - \text{expected count}}{\text{expected count}}$$

# A Bias Toward Near-Lags



# A Bias Toward Near-Lags



# Another Confound

# Another Confound

- Items that are semantically related tend to be recalled together (Bousfield, 1953)

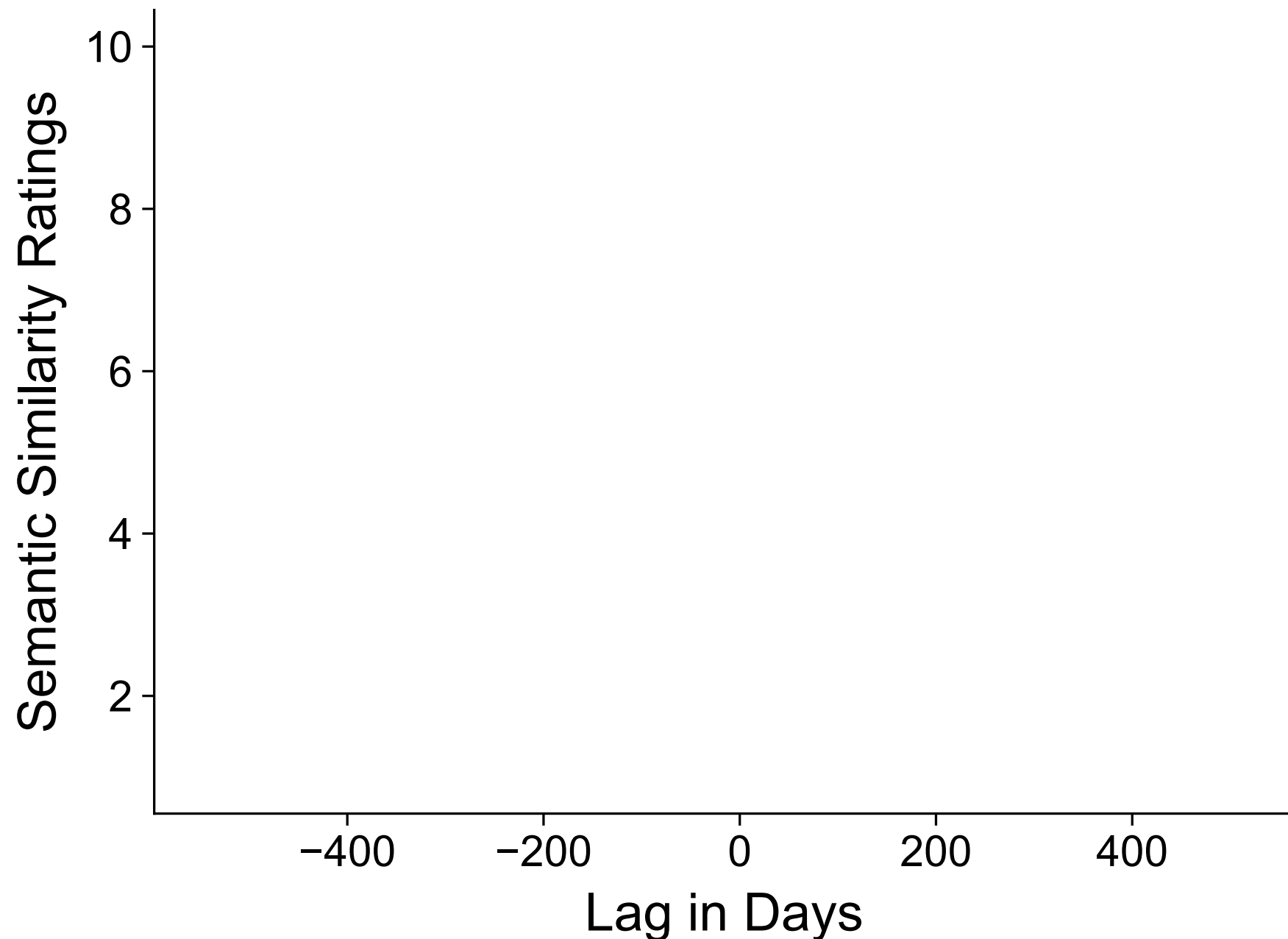
# Another Confound

- Items that are semantically related tend to be recalled together (Bousfield, 1953)
- Could produce a peak at near-lags if news stories that occur near in time to one another tend to be semantically related

# Another Confound

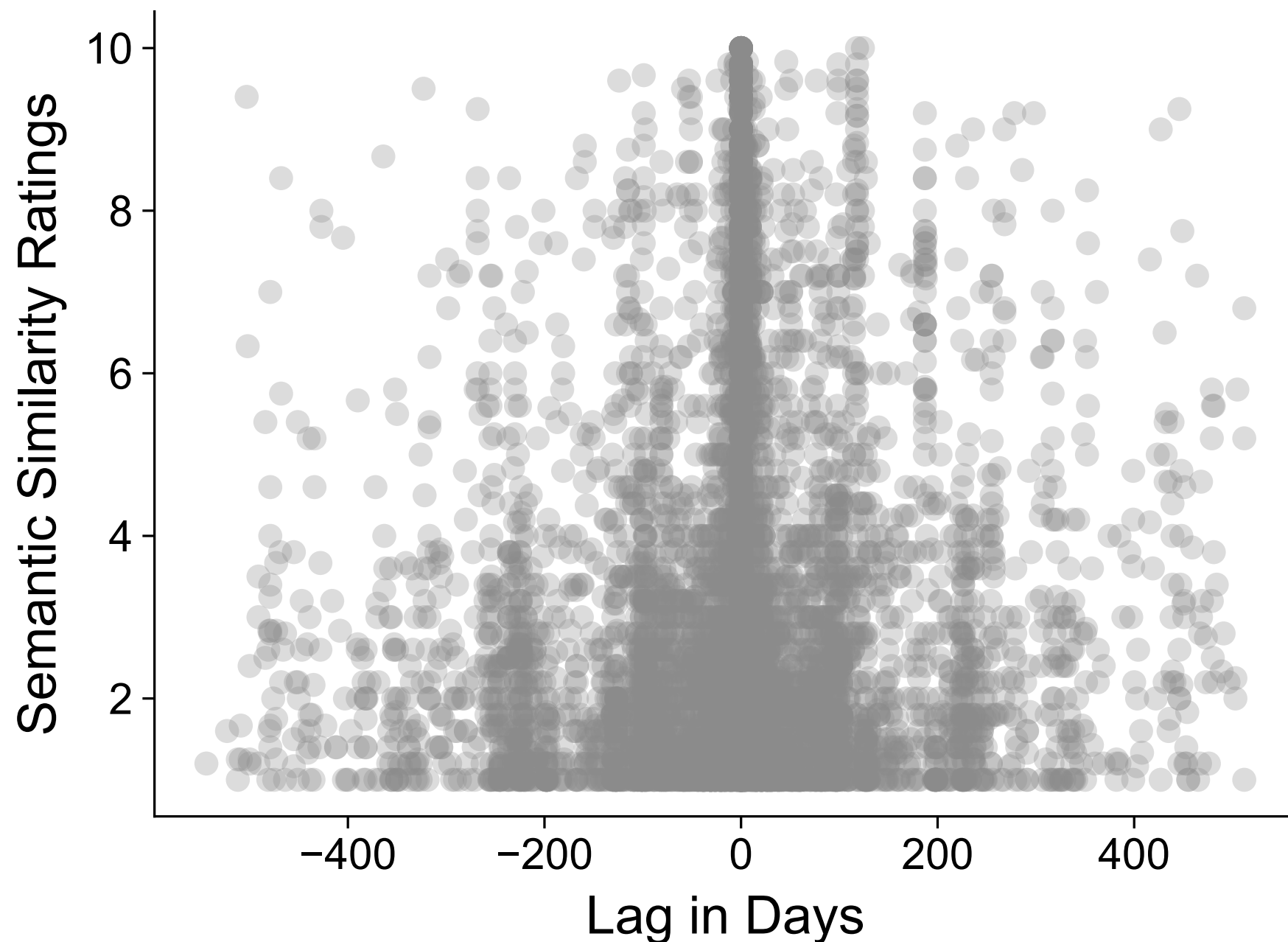
- Items that are semantically related tend to be recalled together (Bousfield, 1953)
- Could produce a peak at near-lags if news stories that occur near in time to one another tend to be semantically related
- 4+ raters judged the semantic similarity between the headlines in each of the 5,776 transitions.

# Lag and semantic similarity are related

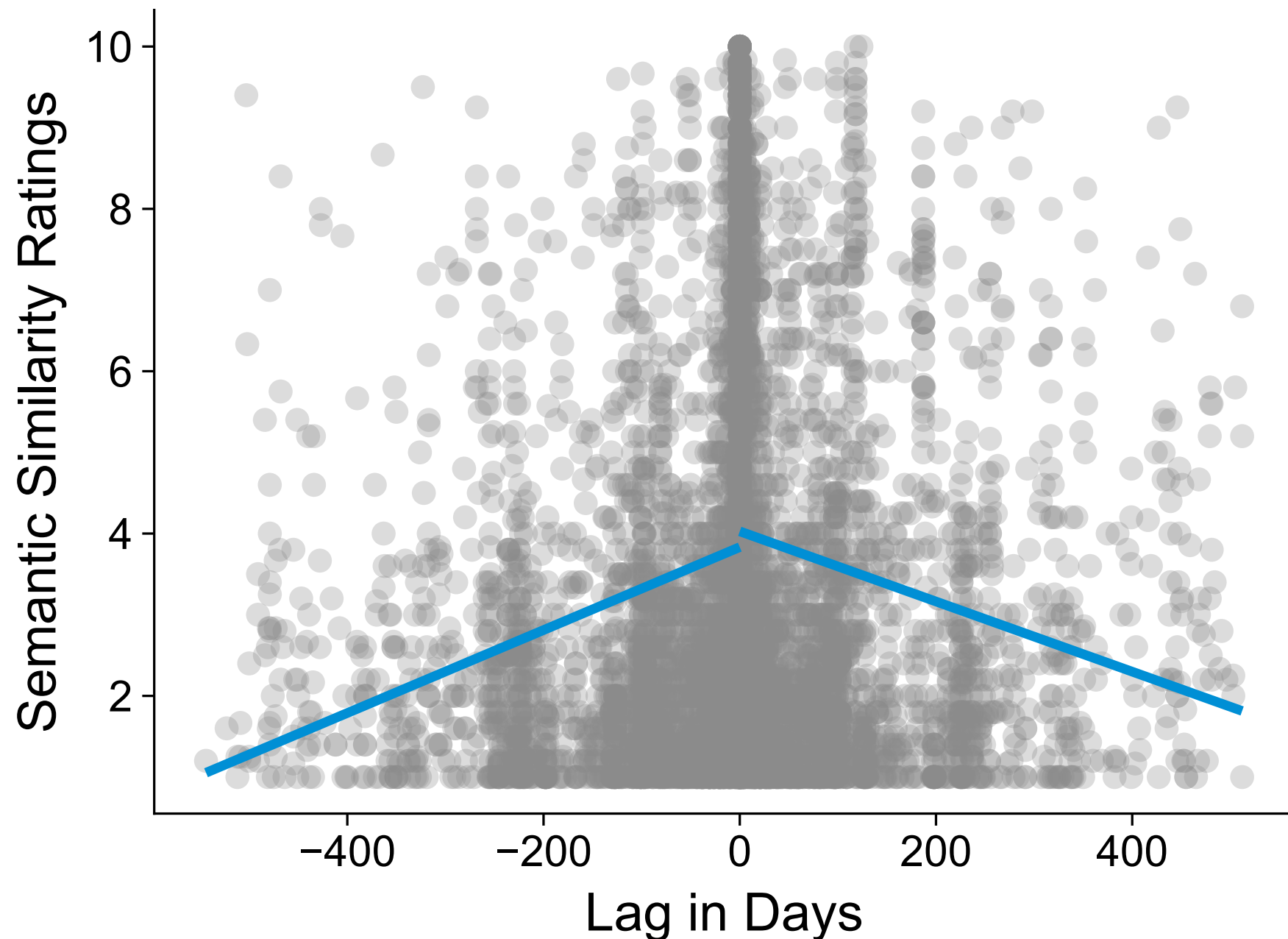




# Lag and semantic similarity are related



# Lag and semantic similarity are related



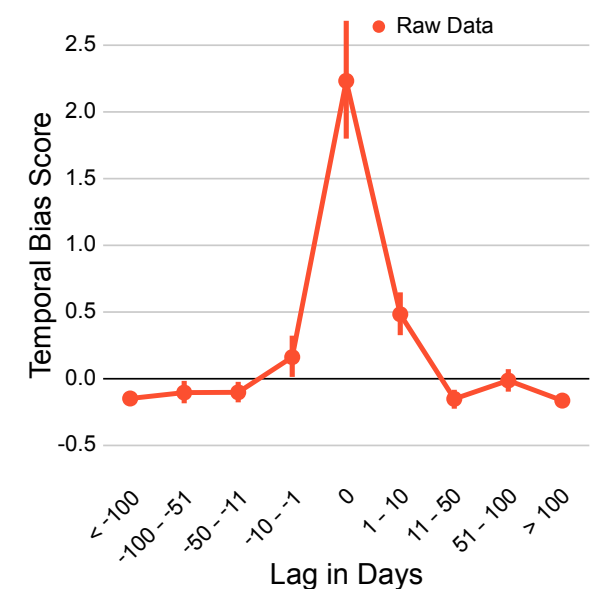
# Removing the Confound

# Removing the Confound

- We statistically removed the effect of similarity from the binned temporal bias scores

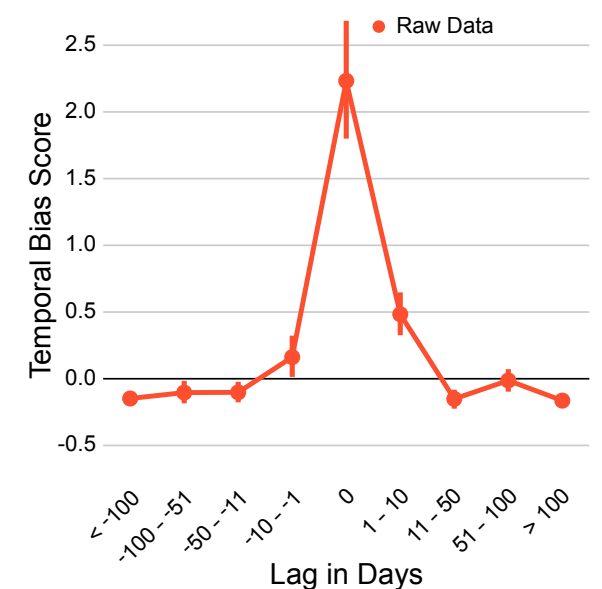
# Removing the Confound

- We statistically removed the effect of similarity from the binned temporal bias scores
- Hierarchical regression using semantic similarity for a bin to predict the *temporal bias score* for that bin



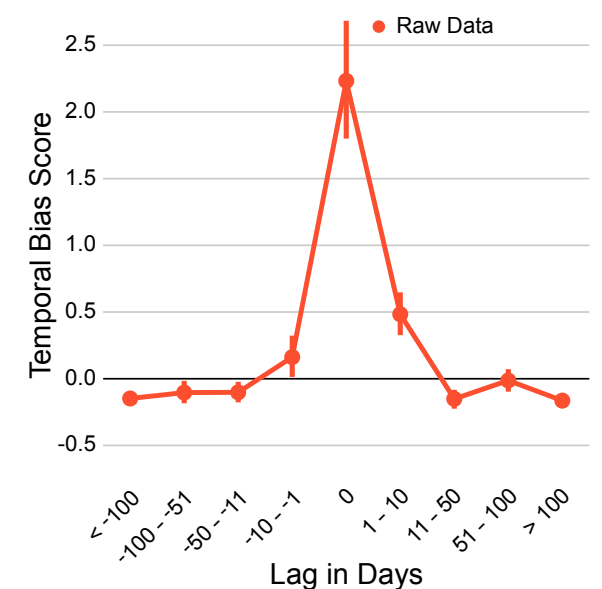
# Removing the Confound

- We statistically removed the effect of similarity from the binned temporal bias scores
- Hierarchical regression using semantic similarity for a bin to predict the *temporal bias score* for that bin



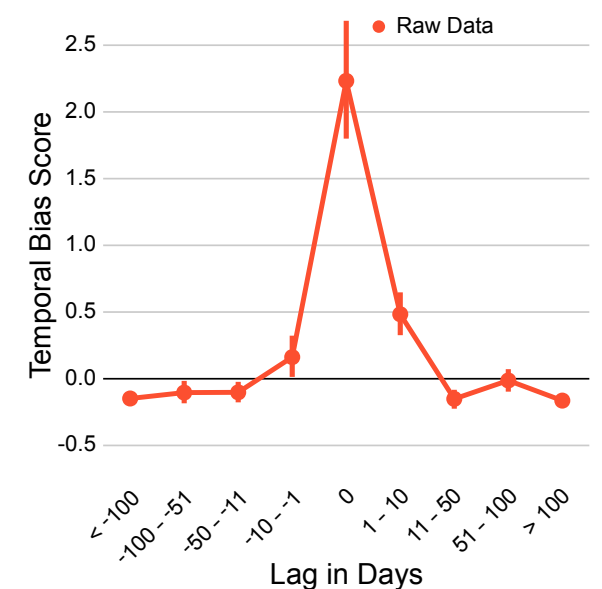
# Removing the Confound

- We statistically removed the effect of similarity from the binned temporal bias scores
- Hierarchical regression using semantic similarity for a bin to predict the *temporal bias score* for that bin



# Removing the Confound

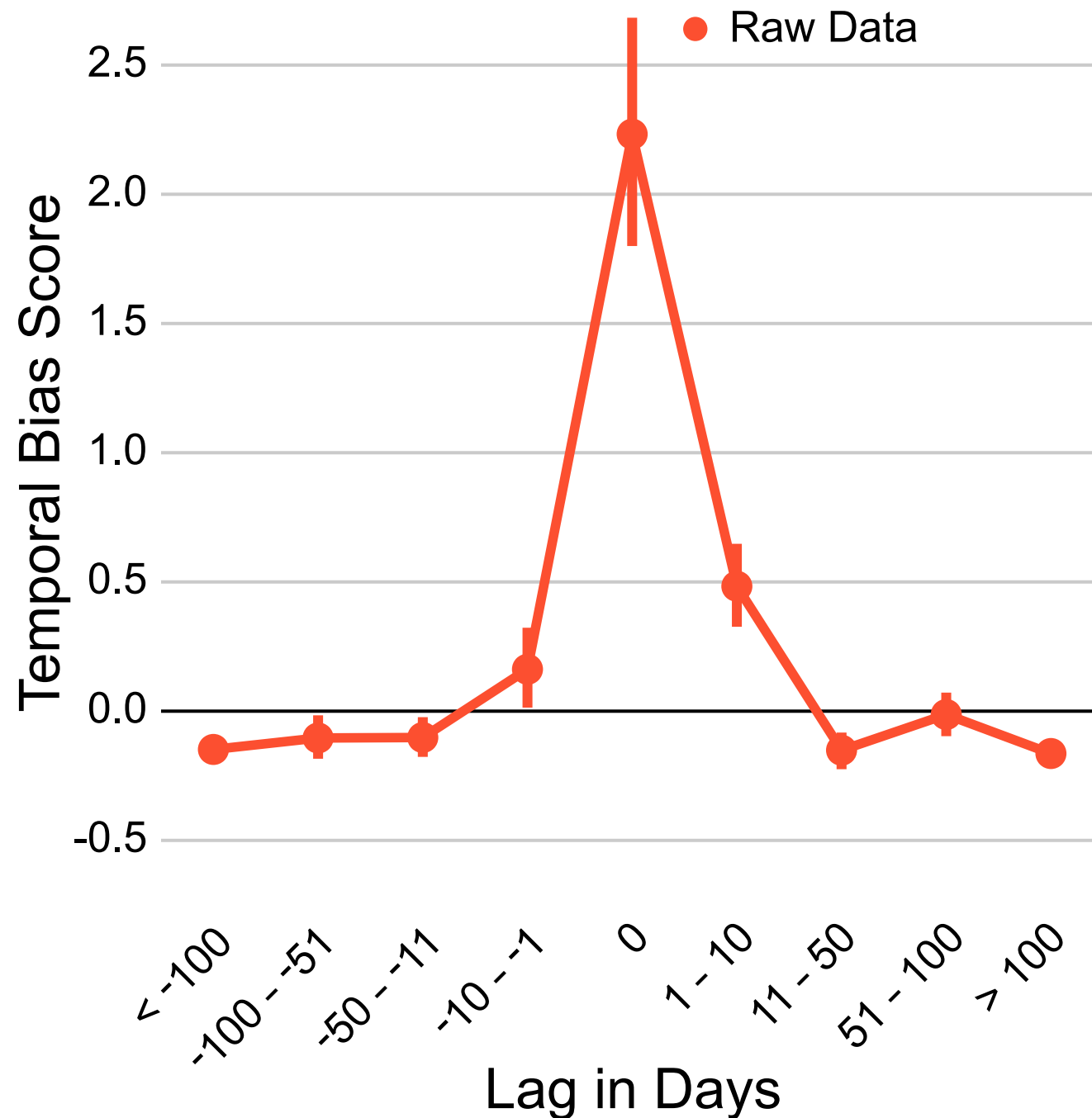
- We statistically removed the effect of similarity from the binned temporal bias scores
- Hierarchical regression using semantic similarity for a bin to predict the *temporal bias score* for that bin



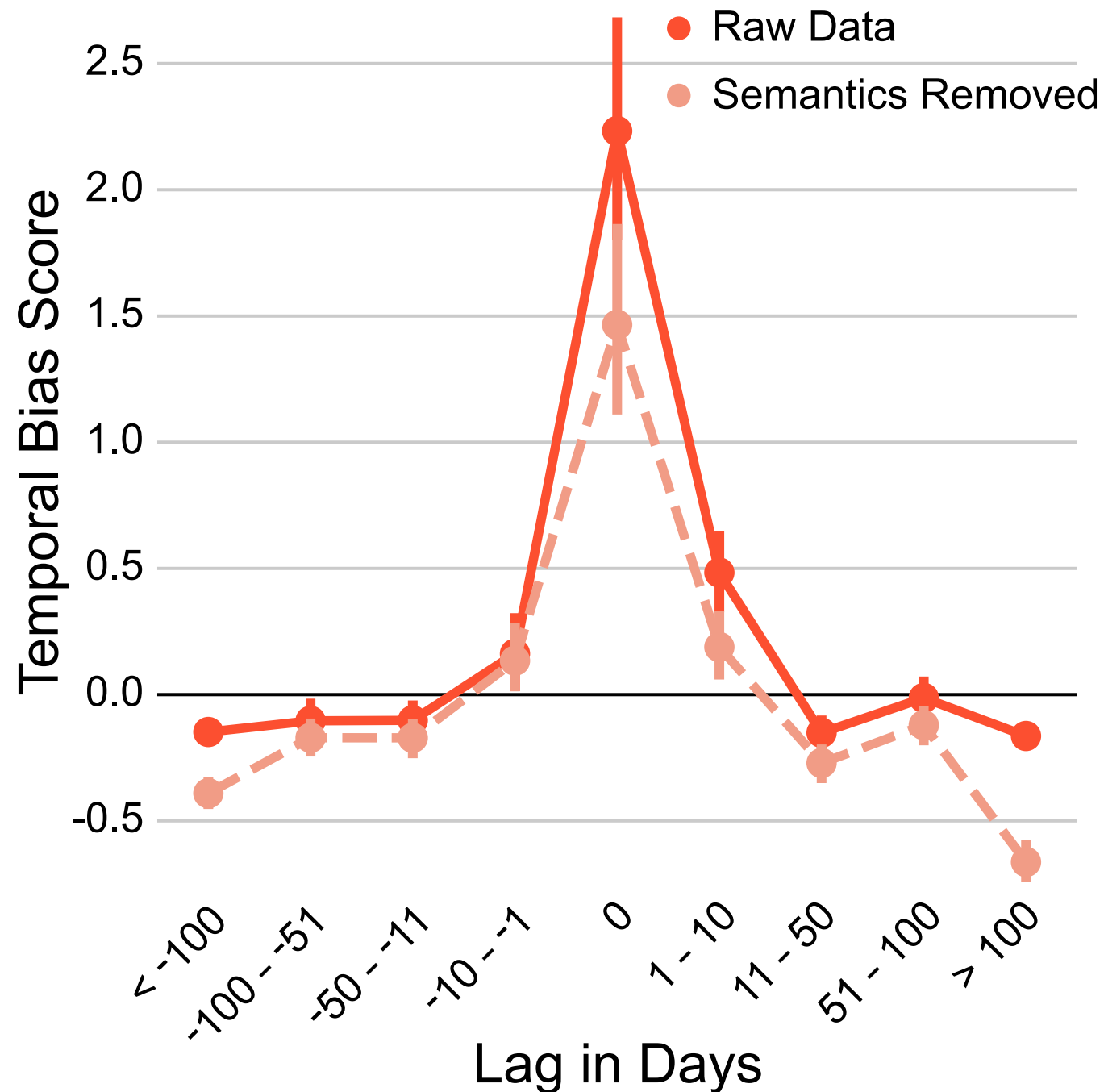
- The residuals give the portion of the temporal bias scores that **cannot** be predicted by semantic similarity.



# A Bias Toward Near-Lags



# Even After Removing The Influence of Semantics



Does Temporal Contiguity  
Occur Outside the Lab?

# Does Temporal Contiguity Occur Outside the Lab?

- Yes! Even when events are:

# Does Temporal Contiguity Occur Outside the Lab?

- Yes! Even when events are:
  - Not deliberately studied

# Does Temporal Contiguity Occur Outside the Lab?

- Yes! Even when events are:
  - Not deliberately studied
  - Not presented in a chain-like list

# Does Temporal Contiguity Occur Outside the Lab?

- Yes! Even when events are:
  - Not deliberately studied
  - Not presented in a chain-like list
  - Separated by long time scales

# Does Temporal Contiguity Occur Outside the Lab?

- Yes! Even when events are:
  - Not deliberately studied
  - Not presented in a chain-like list
  - Separated by long time scales
  - After controlling for clusters of events



# Does Temporal Contiguity Occur Outside the Lab?

- Yes! Even when events are:
  - Not deliberately studied
  - Not presented in a chain-like list
  - Separated by long time scales
  - After controlling for clusters of events
  - After controlling for semantic associations

# Answers to two Questions

# Answers to two Questions

1. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

# Answers to two Questions

1. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

- No

# Answers to two Questions

1. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?
  - No
2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

# Answers to two Questions

1. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?
  - No
2. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?
  - Yes

# Answers to 3 Questions

# Answers to 3 Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?



# Answers to 3 Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?

- No

# Answers to 3 Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?
  - No
2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

# Answers to 3 Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?

- No

2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?

- No

# Answers to 3 Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?
  - No
2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?
  - No
3. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?

# Answers to 3 Questions

1. Does the effect depend on the peculiarities of free recall?
  - No
2. Does temporal contiguity depend on ad hoc encoding strategies?
  - No
3. Does temporal contiguity really emerge over long time scales outside the lab?
  - Yes

# Thanks!



# Zero lag transitions

- Different headlines refer to exact same event:
  - “Hillary Clinton Loses the Election”
  - “Donald Trump is New President Elect”
- Different headlines stemming from one event:
  - E.g., 3rd Presidential Debate
  - “Trump won’t accept the results of election”
  - “Trump invites Obama’s half-brother to third debate”
- Seemingly unrelated:
  - E.g., October 7, 2016
  - “WikiLeaks posts John Podesta’s e-mails”
  - “Trump’s Access Hollywood video surfaces”

# Lag calculations



# Lag calculations

“Trump gets the White House”

“Hillary Clinton loses in a surprise upset”

# Lag calculations

“Trump gets the White House”

- November 8, 2017

“Hillary Clinton loses in a surprise upset”

- November 8, 2017

# Lag calculations

“Trump gets the White House”

- November 8, 2017
- Day 611

“Hillary Clinton loses in a surprise upset”

- November 8, 2017
- Day 611

# Lag calculations

“Trump gets the White House”

- November 8, 2017
- Day 611

“Hillary Clinton loses in a surprise upset”

- November 8, 2017
- Day 611

$$\text{Lag} = 611 - 611 = 0$$

# Lag calculations

# Lag calculations

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

# Lag calculations

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

- October 7, 2016

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

- October 28, 2016

# Lag calculations

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

- October 7, 2016
- Day 578

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

- October 28, 2016
- Day 599



# Lag calculations

“Trump’s Access  
Hollywood hot mic”

- October 7, 2016
- Day 578

“FBI re-opens Clinton’s  
e-mail investigation”

- October 28, 2016
- Day 599

$$\text{Lag} = 599 - 578 = +21$$