

Changing Beliefs About Implausible Autobiographical Events: A Little Plausibility Goes a Long Way

Giuliana A. L. Mazzoni
Seton Hall University

Elizabeth F. Loftus
University of Washington

Irving Kirsch
University of Connecticut

Three experiments investigated the malleability of perceived plausibility and the subjective likelihood of occurrence of plausible and implausible events among participants who had no recollection of experiencing them. In Experiment 1, a plausibility-enhancing manipulation (reading accounts of the occurrence of events) combined with a personalized suggestion increased the perceived plausibility of the implausible events, as well as participants' ratings of the likelihood that they had experienced it. Plausibility and likelihood ratings were uncorrelated. Subsequent studies showed that the plausibility manipulation alone was sufficient to increase likelihood ratings but only if the accounts that participants read were set in a contemporary context. These data suggest that false autobiographical beliefs can be induced in clinical and forensic contexts even for initially implausible events.

Many studies have shown that people can be led to believe that they experienced events, when in fact, they did not. People have been led to believe that they were born left-handed (Kelley, Amadio, & Lindsay, 1996), that they spilled punch at a wedding (Hyman, Husband & Billings, 1995), that they broke a window with their hand (Garry, Manning, Loftus, & Sherman, 1996; Heaps & Nash, 1999), or that they got lost before age 3 (Mazzoni, Loftus, Seitz, & Lynn, 1999). These and other examples indicate how powerful suggestions can be in terms of making people believe that they had childhood experiences that they probably did not have.

Plausibility and False Memories

It has been argued that there are limits to the types of events or beliefs that can be suggestively implanted, and that only events that are plausible can be implanted in memory (Hyman, Gittstrap, Decker, & Wilkinson, 1998; Hyman & Kleinknecht, 1999; Lindsay & Read, 1994; Penick, Finger, & Hodge, 1997). In support of this hypothesis, Penick et al. (1997) reported successfully implanting a memory of being lost in 15% of participants, but being unable to implant a memory for a less plausible event (receiving a

rectal enema). In a separate experiment (Penick et al., 1997), Jewish and Catholic participants received suggestions that as children, they had participated in Jewish Sabbath and a Catholic Communion. Participants were less susceptible to the suggestion that they had experienced a ritual foreign to their religion, rather than a ritual common to their religion. Only 3 of 29 Catholics (10%), and none of the Jewish participants, fell away to the suggestion that they had participated in a foreign ritual, whereas larger percentages accepted the false suggestion that they had participated in a religion consistent ritual. Thus, the study showed that most participants resisted implausible suggestions.

Studies demonstrating the acceptance of false memory suggestions have been cited as indicative of the process by which false memories may be created in therapeutic and forensic settings (Loftus, 1997; Mazzoni, in press). However, some of the apparent memories created in these settings are for implausible events. People have not only developed memories for such implausible events as satanic ritual participation and alien abduction (Mack, 1994), but also for events that could not possibly be remembered, such as concrete narratives about the day after birth (Spanos, Burgess, Burgess, Samuels, & Blois, 1999). Given the data reported by Penick et al. (1997), how is it that false memories for implausible events can be created? The solution to this dilemma resides in the recognition that the perceived plausibility of an event may not be fixed. We hypothesized that memories of implausible events were implanted in these cases because the specific individuals either (a) already believed that the events were plausible, or (b) were led to believe that those events were plausible. Thus, if an event is seen as more plausible, then this should pave the way for allowing its acceptance as having occurred.

We propose a three-step model for the development of false memories. First, the event must be perceived as plausible. Second, individuals must acquire the autobiographical belief that it is likely

Giuliana A. L. Mazzoni, Department of Psychology, Seton Hall University; Elizabeth F. Loftus, Department of Psychology, University of Washington; Irving Kirsch, Department of Psychology, University of Connecticut.

This study was partly supported by an "Ex-40%" grant from the Italian government.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Giuliana A. L. Mazzoni, Department of Psychology, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey 07079. Electronic mail may be sent to giulm@seton.edu or mazzong@shu.edu.

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