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Eye movements in real-life search are guided by
task-irrelevant working-memory content

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24

Abstract

25 Attention is automatically guided towards stimuli that match the contents of working memory.
26 This has been studied extensively using simplified computer tasks, but it has never been
27 investigated whether (yet often assumed that) memory-driven guidance also affects real-life
28 search. Here we tested this open question in a naturalistic environment that closely resembles
29 real life. In two experiments, participants wore a mobile eye-tracker, and memorized a color,
30 prior to a search task in which they looked for a target word among book covers on a bookshelf.
31 The memory color was irrelevant to the search task. Nevertheless, we found that participants'
32 gaze was strongly guided towards book covers that matched the memory color. Crucially, this
33 memory-driven guidance was evident from the very start of the search period. These findings
34 support that attention is guided towards working-memory content in real-world search, and that
35 this is fast and therefore likely reflecting an automatic process.

36

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38 *Keywords:* attentional capture; visual search; working memory; real-life search

39 Significance statement

40 A core concept in the field of visual working memory (VWM) is that visual attention is
41 automatically guided towards things that resemble the content of VWM. For example, if you
42 hold the color red in VWM, your attention and gaze would automatically be drawn towards
43 red things in the environment. So far, studies on such memory-driven guidance have only
44 been done with well-controlled computer tasks that used simplified search displays. Here we
45 address the crucial and open question of whether attention is guided by the content of VWM
46 in a naturalistic environment that closely resembles real life. To do so, we conducted two
47 experiments with mobile eye tracking. Crucially, we found strong memory-driven guidance
48 from the very early phase of the search, reflecting that this is a fast, and therefore likely
49 automatic, process that also driven visual search in real life.

50 Searching is a complex task. When you are looking for an object in your environment,
51 you generally keep a prototype of the object in working memory; this prototype can be defined
52 by different stimulus attributes (e.g., shape, color, size, name; Wolfe, 1994). The visual system
53 efficiently directs our attention towards objects that resemble the features stored in working
54 memory, a phenomenon referred to as memory-driven guidance of attention (Bundesen, 1990).
55 Theories of visual working memory (VWM) and attention explain this by positing that the
56 neural representations of visual features that are maintained in VWM are pre-activated
57 (Chelazzi et al., 1993; Desimone, 1998); therefore, when the incoming visual information
58 matches the features that are maintained in VWM, the representation of these matching features
59 is boosted by virtue of riding on top of this pre-activation, thus resulting in attentional guidance
60 towards these features.

61 Memory-driven guidance has been extensively investigated in lab studies. For example,
62 in a combined memory-search paradigm (Olivers, Meijer, & Theeuwes, 2006), participants
63 were first asked to keep a color in memory. During the retention interval, they performed a
64 visual search task in which the search display consisted of: a target; a singleton distractor that
65 matched or did not match the memory color; and several gray distractors. Finally, in a memory
66 test, participants indicated the memorized color among three colored disks. Importantly, Olivers
67 and colleagues found that the interference of the singleton distractor, as measured through
68 increased response times (RTs) to the target, was especially high when its color matched the
69 memory color maintained in working memory.

70 Jung and colleagues (2018) used real-world images in a combined memory-search task.
71 Their task was similar to the one used by Olivers et al. (2006), but more closely resembled real-
72 world search. (Although it was still a computer task.) Participants were first asked to keep an
73 object in memory (e.g., a coffee cup). Next, they searched for a target in indoor-scenes images
74 (e.g., a photo of a room). In line with previous findings, Jung and colleagues found that search

75 was slowed when the memorized object appeared in the search scene as a distractor, presumably
76 because attention was automatically (mis)guided towards the memorized object.

77 So far, evidence for memory-driven guidance has only come from well-controlled
78 computer tasks (e.g., Bahle, Beck, & Hollingworth, 2018; Soto, Heinke, Humphreys, & Blanco,
79 2005). Yet the assumption is that memory-driven guidance is a fundamental mechanism that
80 allows us to search for things in real life. Can we still find robust memory-driven guidance
81 when stimuli do not appear only at a limited set of locations on a computer screen, but appear
82 anywhere in a real-life environment, while participants are free to move and look wherever they
83 want? This question is crucial because the few previous studies of real-life visual search (on
84 topics other than memory-driven guidance) have shown that some cognitive effects that are
85 observed in the lab do not transfer to real life (e.g., Brennan, Watson, Kingstone, & Enns, 2009).

86 In the present study, we created a naturalistic search setting that resembles searches in
87 daily life far more closely than has so far been done in previous studies. Participants wore a
88 mobile eye-tracker, and looked for a target word among book covers while maintaining a color
89 in working memory. As a search array, we used real bookshelves with book covers in four
90 different color categories: Blue, Yellow, Red, and Green. We predicted that, if attention is
91 guided towards the color that is maintained in VWM, participants would look more often at
92 books that match the memory color, even though color is irrelevant to the search task. Moreover,
93 if the color of the book cover that contains the target word matches the memory color, the search
94 RT should be faster. Consistent with our prediction, the eye-tracking data for two experiments
95 demonstrated a very strong guidance effect in this real-world search task. There was also a
96 tendency for a memory-driven guidance effect in RTs.

97 **Method**

98 **Preregistration**

99 A detailed pre-registration of Experiment 2 is available at <https://osf.io/nxbzh>. All
100 deviations from the preregistration will be mentioned below.

101 **Participants**

102 Fifteen and twenty-six first-year psychology students from the University of Groningen
103 participated in Experiment 1 and 2, respectively, in exchange for course credits. (This deviates
104 from the preregistered 45 participants for Experiment 2. We decided to stop data collection
105 when we found that the memory-driven-guidance effect was unexpectedly strong, such that a
106 smaller number of participants already provided sufficient statistical power.) All participants
107 had normal or corrected-to-normal acuity and color vision. The studies were approved by the
108 local ethics review board of the University of Groningen (PSY-1819-S-0224; PSY-1920-S-
109 0115). Participants provided written informed consent before the start of the experiment.

110 **Setup**

111 Participants were equipped with a wearable eye-tracker (Pupil labs, Berlin, Germany).
112 Eye movements of the right eye were recorded with an eye camera on the eye-tracker. A video
113 from the participant's view was recorded with a scene camera, at a sampling rate of 14 Hz (Exp
114 1) and 30 Hz (Exp 2). (Although the eye camera has a higher sampling rate, the sampling rate
115 of the scene camera determined the temporal resolution of our analysis.) In Experiment 1, we
116 calibrated the eye-tracker using "Manual Marker Calibration" provided in the Pupil Capture
117 software (version 1.11.4; Kassner et al., 2014). Participants stood in front of the experimenter
118 (CZ) at a distance of approximately 1.5m, and gazed at a printed marker that was presented at
119 nine locations by CZ. In Experiment 2, we calibrated the eye-tracker using "Screen Marker
120 Calibration" provided in the Pupil Capture software (version 1.18; Kassner et al., 2014).
121 Participants sat behind a computer screen at a viewing distance of approximately 45 cm, and

122 gazed at a marker that was presented at five locations on the screen. Four printed square markers
123 surrounded each book on the shelf (*Figure 1*); these markers were recognized automatically by
124 the Pupil Player software and allowed us to define a region of interest (ROIs) for each book in
125 real-world coordinates.

126 **Stimuli, design and procedure**

127 In Experiment 1, participants were instructed to memorize the exact shade of a color
128 (*Figure 1*), for later recall in a memory test. Each memory color was selected from a color
129 category: blue, yellow, red, or green (Memory Color). Next, participants searched for a target
130 word among 16 book covers on a bookshelf, during which gaze data was collected. Four book
131 covers were selected from each color category: blue, yellow, red, or green (Book Color).
132 Participants were told to move around freely while they searched. The book covers had different
133 amounts of text and different font sizes, and were of different languages (English, Dutch,
134 German, and Polish). One target word was selected from each book cover. Participants said the
135 book number out loud as soon as they found the target word and looked away from the shelf.
136 Their response times (RTs) were recorded manually using a stopwatch by CZ. Each trial ended
137 with a memory test, in which participants indicated the exact shade of the memory color by
138 drawing a line or a cross on a printed color circle. Feedback on the memory test followed,
139 allowing participants to compare the color that they had indicated with the color that they had
140 seen. Each participant completed eight trials. On some trials, the book cover that contained the
141 target word belonged to the same color category as the memory color (Target-match), and on
142 other trials it belonged to a different color category (Target-non match). The Target Book Color
143 was either in the same color category as (Target-match), or in a different color category from
144 (Target-non-match), the Memory color.

145 In Experiment 2, the procedure was the same as in Experiment 1 except for the
146 following. In the search task, participants searched for a target word among 12 book covers in

147 a bookshelf, at a distance of at least 71 cm in order for the eye-tracker to detect the square
148 markers. All book covers had a similar amount of text and a similar font size, and all books
149 were English. The memory colors and target words were selected pseudorandomly such that
150 each color category occurred twice. After each search, participants were told of their RT as
151 feedback to encourage fast responses.



152

153 *Figure 1.* Sequence of events in Experiment 2. Participants first saw a color that they kept in
154 visual working memory. Next, they saw a target word, and searched for a book cover that
155 contained this word. Finally, they indicated the memorized color on a color circle.

156 **Data processing**

157 The ROI of each book was defined using the “Offline Surface Tracker” (version 1.11.4;
158 Kassner et al., 2014) in Experiment 1 and the “Surface Tracker” plugin in Experiment 2 in the
159 Pupil Player software (version 1.18; Kassner et al., 2014) with four square markers. Gaze
160 position was detected by the infrared camera using the “dark pupil” method, and gaze samples
161 on each surface were exported. The timeframes for the start point and end point of each trial
162 were coded based on a visual inspection of the video by CZ. When gaze position seemed to be
163 biased (e.g., systematically just below a book cover), this was manually corrected in a separate
164 document. Gaze Proportion on each book color (i.e. Blue, Yellow, Red and Yellow) relative to
165 the total number of samples of each trial was calculated.

166 If more than 20% gaze points or video frames (due to technical malfunction) were lost,
167 or if 20% of gaze points deviated so much from a surface that they could not be manually
168 corrected, the trial was excluded from the eye-tracking analysis. (This is slightly different from
169 the preregistration, in which we did not specify the proportion of lost data, and did not include
170 lost video frames as a criterion for exclusion.) When participants forgot or failed to find the
171 target word, or when the search was incorrect, the trial was excluded from both eye-tracking
172 and behavioral analysis. (This criterion was not preregistered. We added it to exclude inaccurate
173 search trials.) In Experiment 1, if the participants reported that their search was biased because
174 the target matched their native language, the trial was also excluded from both analyses.
175 Moreover, trials with response times shorter than 1s or longer than 120s were excluded from
176 the behavioral analysis. In total, 96 trials (of 119) and 157 trials (of 207) remained for the eye-
177 tracking analysis, and 111 trials (of 119) and 198 trials (of 207) remained for the behavioral
178 analysis in Experiment 1 and 2, respectively.

179 **Statistical analyses**

180 **Eye-tracking analysis**

181 We conducted linear mixed effects models (LMER) using the R package lmerTest using
182 *Gaze Proportion* as dependent measure, *Memory Color* and *Book Color* (Blue, Yellow, Red,
183 Green) as fixed effects, with a random intercept by participant, and a random intercept by trial
184 which was nested in participant. We built two models: in the first model (lm1), the variance
185 was accounted for by the main effect of Memory Color and Book Color; in the second model
186 (lm2), we added the interaction between the two effects. Next, we determined which model
187 better accounted for the data by comparing the χ^2 and the associated p-value from the log-
188 likelihood of the two models (Baayen et al., 2008).

189

190 **Behavioral analysis**

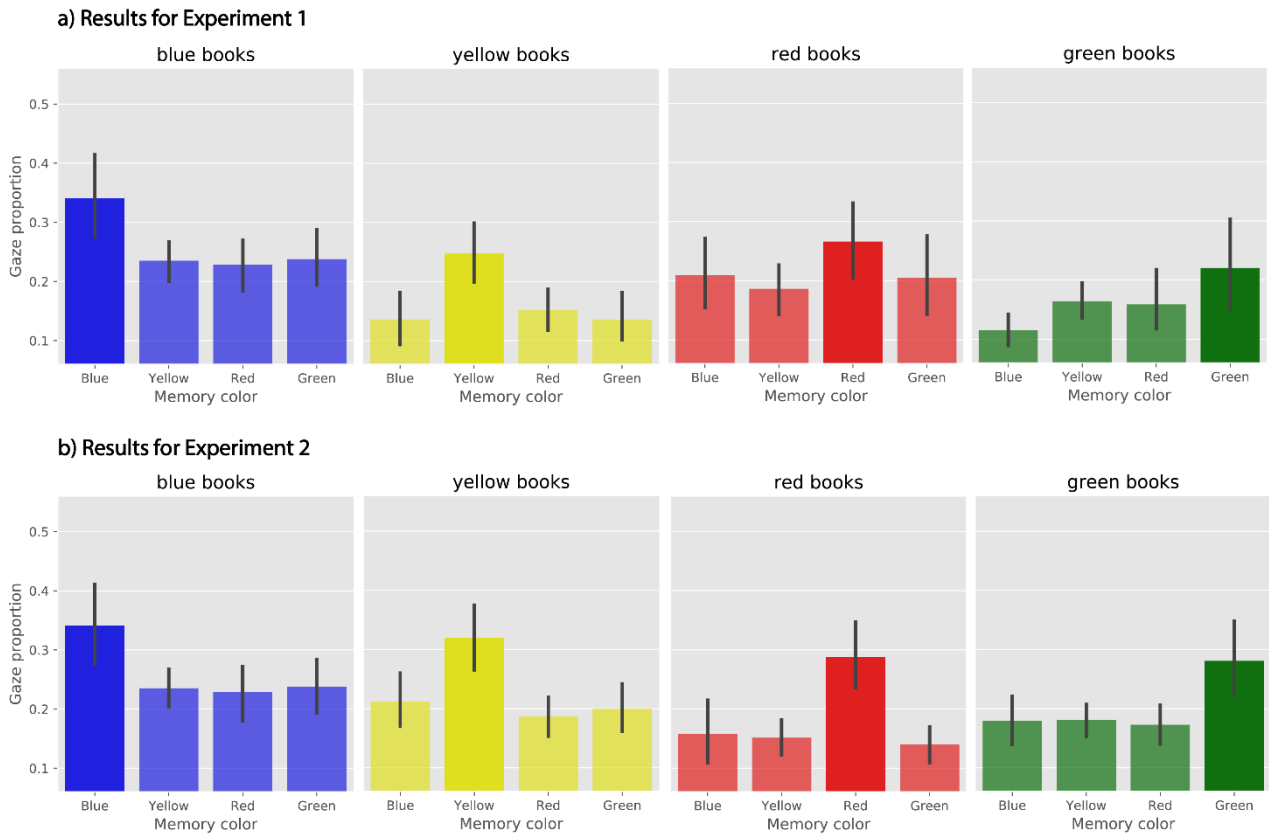
191 We conducted a LMER using *Reaction Time* as dependent measure, *Target Match*
192 (Target-match, Target-non-match) as fixed effect, with a random by-participant intercept and a
193 random by-participant slope for the effect of Target.

194 **Results**

195 As shown in Figure 2, when participants maintained a color in working memory, they
196 looked more at the book covers that matched the memory color during the search task, as
197 compared to book covers that did not match the memory color, in both Experiment 1 (Memory
198 Color \times Book Color: $\chi^2(9, n=15) = 39.03, p = 1.14 \times 10^{-5}$; Figure 2a) and Experiment 2 ($\chi^2(9,$
199 $n=23) = 71.69, p = 7.08 \times 10^{-12}$; Figure 2b). Importantly, this effect was already present from
200 the very start of the search trial and remained constant over time (Figure 3), consistent with the
201 notion that memory-driven guidance of attention is a fast and automatic process. We did not
202 find a reliable effect of Target Match on RTs, although it was in the predicted direction for both
203 experiments (Exp 1: $M(\text{Target-match}) = 33.69\text{s}$, $M(\text{Target-non-match}) = 40.31\text{s}$; $t = -1.01, p =$
204 0.33 ; Exp 2: $M(\text{Target-match}) = 25.58\text{s}$, $M(\text{Target-non-match}) = 32.86\text{s}$; $t = -1.89, p = 0.07$).

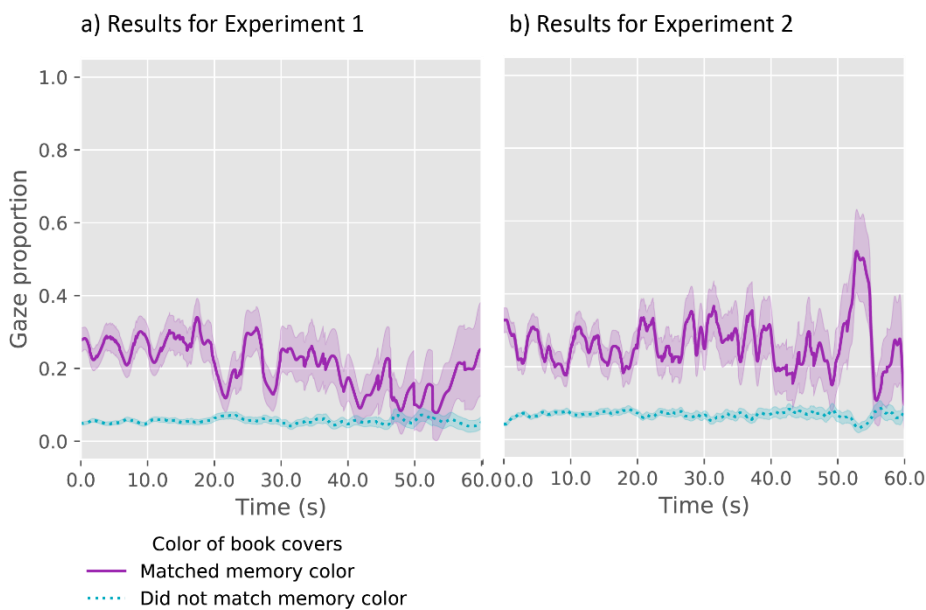
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206 *Figure 2.* Gaze proportion on book covers in four color categories (Blue, Yellow, Red and
207 Green) as a function of memory color (Blue, Yellow, Red and Green) in Experiment 1 (a) and
208 Experiment 2 (b).



209

210 *Figure 3.* Gaze proportion on book covers that matched (i.e. matching book covers; purple solid
211 line) or did not match (i.e. non-matching book covers; teal dotted line) the memory color in a
212 search trial over time in Experiment 1 (a) and Experiment 2 (b). The results for the non-
213 matching book covers reflects the average gaze proportion over the three non-matching covers.

214 **Discussion**

215 The present study shows that visual working memory guides attention in real-world
216 visual search. In two experiments, participants wore an eye-tracker while performing a
217 combined memory-search task in a naturalistic setting. First, participants memorized a color
218 shade that they had to report later. Next, they searched for a target word among book covers
219 that matched or did not match the color in working memory. We found that participants' gaze
220 was guided towards the book covers that matched the memory color during visual search, as
221 compared to the covers that did not match the memory color. Moreover, this effect was present
222 from the very beginning of the search, remained constant over time, and occurred despite the
223 fact that the memory color was irrelevant for the search task.

224 Unlike most lab-based studies that generally use simplified search stimuli, visual search
225 in real-life environments is affected by distractor objects that vary strongly in their visual
226 characteristics and locations. In Experiment 1, we used book covers that had different features
227 (e.g., font sizes, amounts of text, languages), which created a natural setting that closely
228 resembled a real-world situation. In contrast, in Experiment 2, we created a more controlled
229 environment with more unified features (e.g., similar font size and amount of text, all texts in
230 English). Consistent with previous findings (Chen & Zelinsky, 2006; Seidl-Rathkopf, Turk-
231 Browne, & Kastner, 2015), the results of Experiment 1 and 2 suggest that in real-life search,
232 VWM content provide a top-down template that guides attention, regardless of whether it is in
233 a highly variable (Experiment 1) or more controlled (Experiment 2) environment.

234 Although we did not find a reliable memory-driven guidance effect on reaction times
235 (RTs), both experiments showed a tendency towards faster RTs when the book color of the
236 target word matched the memory color, as we predicted. Our real-life search task provided only
237 a small number of trials (eight) for each participant, as compared to computer tasks in which
238 each participant performs hundreds of trials. This likely provided insufficient statistical power

239 for analyzing the behavioral results. In contrast, the lengthy searches provided us with a lot of
240 eye-movement data, and therefore excellent statistical power for analyzing the eye-movement
241 results.

242 To conclude, our results provide an important extension of previous findings (Bahle et
243 al., 2018; Jung et al., 2018; Soto et al., 2005) by showing that VWM content guides attention
244 in real-world search, even when it is irrelevant to the search task. Crucially, this effect appeared
245 already at the very early stage of visual search, showing that attention is automatically driven
246 toward working memory contents (Seidl-Rathkopf et al., 2015; Soto et al., 2005, 2008)—not
247 only on a computer screen, but also when you're looking for that lost set of keys in your living
248 room.

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