Δ^9-Tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) impairs visual working memory performance: A randomized crossover trial

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1   **Abstract**

With the increasing prevalence of legal cannabis use and availability, there is an urgent

need to identify cognitive impairments related to its use. It is widely believed that

cannabis, or its main psychoactive component Δ^9-tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), impairs

working memory, i.e., the ability to temporarily hold information in mind. However, our

review of the literature yielded surprisingly little empirical support for an effect of THC or

cannabis on working memory. We thus conducted a study with 3 main goals: (1)

quantify the effect of THC on visual working memory in a well-powered sample (2) test

the potential role of cognitive effects (mind wandering and metacognition) in disrupting

working memory, and (3) demonstrate how insufficient sample size and task duration

reduce the likelihood of detecting a drug effect. We conducted two double-blind,

randomized crossover experiments in which healthy adults (*N=23, 23*) performed a

reliable and validated visual working memory task (the "Discrete Whole-Report task", 90

trials) after administration of THC (7.5 and/or 15 mg oral) or placebo. We also assessed

self-reported 'mind wandering' (Exp 1) and metacognitive accuracy about ongoing task

performance (Exp 2). THC impaired working memory performance ($d = .65$), increased

mind wandering (Exp 1), and decreased metacognitive accuracy about task

performance (Exp 2). Thus, our findings indicate that THC does impair visual working

memory, and that this impairment may be related to both increased mind-wandering

and decreased monitoring of task performance. Finally, we used a down-sampling

procedure to illustrate the effects of task length and sample size on power to detect the

acute effect of THC on working memory.

Introduction

Cannabis and its main psychoactive constituent, Δ^9-tetrahydrocannabinol (THC),

are widely believed to impair working memory, the mental workspace used to hold

information "in mind" that is needed for everyday behaviors such as driving and problem

solving [1,2]. Disruptions to working memory can thus disrupt ongoing behavior and

lead to negative outcomes, from the innocuous (e.g., forgetting that your turn-signal is

on) to the dire (e.g., hitting the cyclist you forgot was in your blind-spot). Thus,

understanding the acute effects of THC on working memory and cognition is of critical

importance for public health and safety.

Despite the popular belief that THC impairs working memory, this impairment has

been difficult to demonstrate under controlled conditions. Here we first reviewed 40

within-subjects, randomized, placebo-controlled studies that tested the acute effect of

THC on working memory performance, and then conducted a controlled laboratory

study. Examining published Digit Span studies from 1970 to 2019, we found that more

than 70% of 57 study conditions failed to detect an effect of the drug ($p > .05$). This

difficulty in demonstrating the effects of THC on working memory in controlled studies

[3–8] is especially notable given the bias toward publishing 'positive' results [9–11],

which should inflate reports of positive effects in the literature. We hypothesized that the

lack of empirical support for impairment of working memory after THC reflects

limitations of previous studies related to insufficient sample sizes and trial counts. We

present the results of a study that addresses these problems.

Prior studies have predominantly used one of a few canonical working memory

tasks in which subjects must remember verbal material such as letters or numbers over

a short delay (e.g., "Digit Span"[12]). However, over the past 20 years, tasks that test

memory for visual information (e.g., colors, shapes, objects) have emerged as popular

and robust measures of working memory functioning that are less susceptible to

chunking or other strategic factors that are known to impact verbal working memory

measures [13,14]. These visual working memory tasks have been demonstrated to be

highly reliable [15,16][*], correlate well with other measures of working memory [19,20],

and predict individual differences in general fluid intelligence [19]. Further, these tasks

been deployed with a variety of patient populations [21–24], have been extensively

examined using EEG and FMRI [25–29], and are simple enough to lend themselves to

cross-species translational studies [30]. Here, we used a specific variant of a visual

working memory task, the "Discrete Whole-Report" task [17,31], to investigate the acute

effects of THC on visual working memory performance. A particular advantage of this

task over other highly similar tasks (e.g., partial-report [33,34], and change detection

[35,36]) and other more distantly related visual WM tasks (e.g., spatial N-back [32]) is

that it provides sensitive trial-by-trial measurements of performance [17,37,38] and is

thus well-suited for characterizing deficits in the ability to store information.

We hypothesized that two key factors (sample size and task duration) affect

power to detect working memory drug effects in a task-generalizable fashion. To test

this hypothesis, we performed simulations in which we tested the effect of sample size

and task duration (i.e., number of trials) on power in our visual working memory sample,

and we compared the predictions of these simulations with results observed in the

literature (specifically, the Digit Span literature). Our simulations focus primarily on

understanding the task-generalizable effect of sample size and task duration on power.

However, the working memory tasks in the reviewed literature differ in other regards,

which we later discuss.

We also examined self-reports of mind-wandering (Exp 1) and metacognition

(Exp 2), processes that may be modulated by the acute effect of THC. In Experiment 1,

we tested whether a tendency to have one's mind "off-task" (i.e., "mind wandering" or

"zoning out") [39] co-occurs with decreased working memory performance and the

acute administration of THC. Whereas mind wandering and decreased awareness of

mind wandering are known to occur during nicotine withdrawal [40] and alcohol

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[*]Specific to the Discrete Whole Report task, previously reported reliabilities include: Cronbach's alpha for stability of performance across blocks > .9 [17], split-half reliability, with training sessions over multiple weeks, $r = .60 - .86$ [18], current study split-half reliability $r >= .90$).

intoxication [41], little is known about the effect of THC on mind wandering during

ongoing task performance. In Experiment 2, we tested whether poor metacognition (i.e.,

performance monitoring) likewise co-occurs with behavioral decrements and the acute

administration of THC. Prior work has found acute administration of THC decreased

performance monitoring in a simple visual attention task [42,43]. Here, we tested if

acute administration of THC likewise disrupts performance monitoring during a working

memory task using metacognitive accuracy of task performance [44] as an index of

performance monitoring.

The current study had three key goals which together test the effect of THC on

visual working memory. First, we sought to characterize the effects of THC on visual

working memory using a longer than typical task (90 trials versus ~15 trials) and higher

than typical sample size (combined $n = 46$ vs. $n = ~15$). Second, we tested visual

working memory performance in relation to other ongoing cognitive processes,

specifically increased mind wandering (Exp 1) and decreased metacognitive accuracy

of task performance (Exp 2). Finally, we examined previous studies on the effect of THC

on working memory to determine whether previous failures to detect effects could be

related to insufficient power. To this end, we combined our literature review with a

down-sampling procedure on our own, well-powered sample (achieved power > .99) to

determine the consequence of inadequate sample sizes and task lengths on the ability

to detect a working memory impairment ($d = .65$).

105   **Methods**

Participants

Healthy occasional (non-daily) cannabis users, aged 18-35, were recruited for

two experiments. Sample sizes were set *a priori* to n = 24 per study. Procedures were

approved by the University of Chicago Institutional Review Board, and participants

provided written, informed consent. Studies took place within the Human Behavioral

Pharmacology lab at the University of Chicago. Participants were screened with a

physical examination, an electrocardiogram, and a semi-structured interview by a

clinical psychologist. Exclusion criteria included any current Axis I DSM-IV disorder

including substance dependence, current use of >5 tobacco cigarettes per day, history

of psychosis or mania, less than a high school education, lack of English fluency, a

body mass index outside 19-33 kg/m2, high blood pressure (>140/90), abnormal

electrocardiogram, daily use of any medication other than birth control, pregnancy, or

lactating. Cannabis use was assessed in an in-person interview. Inclusion criteria for

Experiment 1 were lifetime use between 4 and 100 times and non-daily use, and for

Experiment 2 some lifetime use but not daily use. Equal numbers of men and women

participated in both Experiments, and their mean ages were 23.0 years (SD = 3.6) in

Experiment 1 and 23.4 years (SD = 4.3) in Experiment 2. Data from one subject in each

study were excluded because of extreme values (>3 SD's below the mean).

Drug

THC (Marinol®; Solvay Pharmaceuticals) was placed in opaque, size 00

capsules with dextrose filler. Placebo capsules contained only dextrose (0 mg THC).

Chosen doses produce reliable subjective and cardiovascular effects without adverse

effects [45,46]. Experiment 1: Participants received a placebo capsule and a 15 mg

capsule in two randomized, counterbalanced sessions. Experiment 2: Participants

received a placebo capsule, a 7.5 mg capsule, and a 15 mg capsule in three

randomized, counterbalanced sessions.

Design

Subjects participated in two (Experiment 1) or three (Experiment 2) sessions,

conducted at least 1 week apart, in a comfortable laboratory setting. Both experiments

used double-blind, within-subjects, counterbalanced designs. A lab member that knew

the design of the study but was not running participants performed randomization (via a

computerized list shuffle method) and sorted placebo and THC capsules into bags (i.e.,

bags labeled "first capsule and "second capsule" in Experiment 1; bags labeled "first

capsule", "second capsule", and "third capsule" in Experiment 2).

Procedures

Pre-session. During an orientation session subjects received instructions,

signed a consent form, and practiced the tasks. They were instructed to consume their

normal amount of caffeine and nicotine, but to abstain from alcohol, prescription drugs

(except contraceptives), over-the-counter-drugs, cannabis, and other illicit drugs for at

least 48 hours before session. Participants were informed that they would be tested for

recent drug use at the beginning of each session, and positive tests would result in

rescheduling or dismissal. Finally, they were advised to get their normal amounts of

sleep and to not eat for 2 hours prior to each experimental session. To minimize

expectancy effects, participants were informed that they may receive a stimulant,

sedative, cannabinoid, or placebo during the sessions.

Experimental sessions. At the beginning of each laboratory visit, subjects

provided breath and urine samples for breath alcohol level (Alco-sensor III,

Intoximeters, St. Louis, MO), a urine drug test (ToxCup, Branan Medical Co., Irvine,

CA), and a pregnancy test (females only; Aimstrip, Craig Medical, Vista, CA). Those

testing positive were rescheduled or dropped from the study. Baseline cardiovascular

and mood measures were taken, then participants consumed the capsule (placebo or

THC, double-blind). During the first 120 min, participants relaxed with magazines and

music while the drug was absorbed. Cardiovascular and mood measures were taken at

regular intervals (every 30-60 minutes) throughout the session. Cognitive testing was

conducted from 120 to 220 minutes post-capsule. These time points fall in the time

range where subjective and behavioral effects of the drug have reached their peak and

remain elevated [47]. The key cognitive test of interest was the Discrete Whole Report

task (see section "Visual Working Memory Task", [17,26,31]). During the Whole-Report

Task, participants also reported ratings of their level of mind wandering (Experiment 1)

or metacognition (Experiment 2). In Experiment 1 the working memory task was

performed at around 160 min post-capsule (M = 159.4, SD = 14.5, Range = [126,193])

and in Experiment 2 it was performed 220 min post-capsule (exact time not recorded).

In both experiments, subjects also completed other tasks that are reported elsewhere

[48–50], and were not expected to interfere with the task reported here.

Physiological and Subjective Measures

In both experiments**,** heart rate and blood pressure were recorded at regular time

points (every ~30 minutes, SI Methods) with portable monitors (Experiment 1: A&D

Medical/Life Source, San Jose, CA; Experiment 2: Omron 10 Plus, Omron Healthcare).

Self-report measures of the drug effects were obtained at the same times. These have

been reported elsewhere, and included the Addiction Research Center Inventory [ARCI]

[51,52], the Visual Analog Scales [VAS] [53], the Drug Effects Questionnaire [DEQ] [54],

and an End of Session Questionnaire (ESQ; Experiment 1 only). The results of all

subjective measures are reported in the main text and/or SI Results, and descriptions of

the subjective measures are given in the SI Methods.

Visual Working Memory Task

The visual working memory ("Discrete Whole Report") task consisted of 90 trials

(3 blocks of 30) [17,31]. On each trial, participants briefly viewed (200 ms) an array of 6

brightly colored squares, and remembered the colors and locations of the squares

across a delay with a blank screen (1,000 ms), see Fig 1. Colors for each trial were

chosen without replacement from a set of 9 highly-discriminable colors [17]. At test,

"response grids" appeared at each location (3x3 grid of all 9 colors). Participants freely

recalled the color-location pairing of each item by clicking the color in each response

grid that corresponded to the color remembered at that location. They were required to

make a response to all 6 squares before moving on to the next trial. In both

experiments, participants also provided self-reported measures about their performance

throughout the task ("Task-Unrelated Thoughts" or "Item-level Confidence

Judgements").

194   200 ms   1,000 ms   unspeeded

Fig 1. Stimuli used in the whole-report task. On each trial, participants briefly view a
memory array containing 6 colored squares (Memory array). Participants remember the
colors across a 1,000 ms delay, and report them at test (Response). Participants may
report the colors of the items in any order that they choose, and they must make a
response for all 6 locations. In the figure, the participant is clicking the magenta sub-
section of the response grid to indicate that the remembered square in the bottom right
corner was magenta.

Task-Unrelated Thoughts. In Experiment 1, participants were asked, on 20% of

trials, about the contents of their thoughts 'at the moment', choosing between three

categories: "on task", "mind wandering", or "zoning out". Participants were given

instructions and examples of each category during the orientation pre-session. In the

instructions, the categories were defined as follows: (1) "on task" indicates that the

subject was focused on the task at hand, (2) "mind wandering" indicates that the subject

was internally focused on something other than the task, and (3) "zoning out" indicates

that the subject was withdrawn and not allocated to anything in particular. If subjects

endorsed "mind wandering", they were asked to classify whether their mind had

wandered toward the future, the past, "other", or "I don't know". Although the terms

"mind wandering" and "zoning out" are sometimes used interchangeably (e.g. [40]), here

we distinguished between periods of internally directed attention ("mind wandering") and

periods where there is a complete absence of attention to anything in particular ("zoning

out", also referred to as "mind blanking", [55]). The zoning out rating thus differentiates

an increase in internally directed attention from a total disengagement of attention.

Item-level Confidence Judgements. In Experiment 2, in addition to reporting

the color, participants made a binary confidence judgement for each response. While

making their responses about the color of each object, they indicated confidence by

clicking on the chosen color with either the left or right mouse button. If they felt they

had "some information" in mind about the color of the item they were reporting, they

should click the color with the left mouse button. If they felt they had "no information" in

mind about the color of the item they were reporting, they should click the color with the

right mouse button. The number of confident items was calculated for each trial by

summing the number of left click responses (ranging from 0 to 6 confident responses

per trial). To calculate metacognitive accuracy, we correlated the number of confident

responses per trial with the number of accurate responses per trial (e.g., number of

items where the correct color was chosen on each trial, ranging from 0 to 6 correct

items per trial).

Statistical Analysis

Data analysis was performed using JASP (Version 0.11.1)[56] and custom

scripts in MATLAB 2018A (The MathWorks, Natick, Massachusetts, USA). Datasets for

all experiments are available on the Open Science Framework at **https://osf.io/5heur/**.

To assess subjective and physiological measures at the time of the working memory

test, we calculated a change score from baseline (timepoint closest to the working

memory test minus the timepoint immediately before consuming the capsule). In

Experiment 1, One participants' heart rate and blood pressure could not be collected

due to device malfunction, leaving 22 participants, and one participants' subjective

measures could not be collected due to a computer malfunction, leaving 22 participants.

Significance of placebo versus THC was tested by paired *t*-test (2-tailed) in Experiment

1 (placebo versus 15 mg THC) and tested by 1-way Repeated Measures ANOVA in

Experiment 2 (within-subjects factor Drug containing 3 levels, Placebo, 7.5 mg THC,

and 15 mg THC).

Literature Review and Power Analysis

We reviewed the literature to find within-subjects, randomized, placebo-controlled

studies testing the acute effect of THC on working memory performance (SI Methods).

By far the most common test of working memory was the Digit Span

(Forward/Backward) Task. We found 15 papers meeting our inclusion criteria that

reported the results of a standard Digit Span task [45,57–70]. Together, these papers

reported a total of 57 different conditions that were tested (e.g. Forward vs. Backward

span, differing doses of THC). We did not include conditions from papers that reported

only combined Digit Span (i.e., forward and reverse not separately reported) [71], or

conditions measuring Digit Recall instead of Span [72–76]. These and other tasks show

consistent patterns (SI Results), but we chose to focus on only Digit Span conditions for

our core arguments because this task (1) is the single most-used task and (2) is

administered in a highly consistent manner. See SI Results for the largely non-

significant p-values across conditions for other working measures in the literature.

262   **Results**

263   **Demographic information, subjective measures, and physiological measures**

264   Demographic characteristics of participants are shown in Table 1. Mean values for

265   each of the physiological and subjective measures are shown in Tables S4 and S5 in the

266   supplemental materials.

268   **Table 1**. **Demographic data for Experiments 1 and 2.**

	Experiment 1	Experiment 2
Sex	12 female; 11 male	12 female; 11 male
Age (years)	22.70 (.72)	23.52 (.90)
Education (years)	15.13 (.35)	15.57 (.33)
BMI	24.77 (.76)	23.31 (.43)
Caffeine (cups/day)	1.43 (.28); n = 22	1.69 (0.22); n = 21
Nicotine (cigarettes/day in the five users)	.19 (.07); n = 5	2.80 (0.85); n = 5
Alcohol (drinks/week)	6.57 (1.38); n = 21	8.61 (1.65); n = 21
Cannabis (uses/month)	2.11 (.35); n = 9	7.67 (1.86); n = 13
Lifetime uses of Cannabis	27.13 (5.27); n = 23	173.25 (250.04); n = 20
Last use of cannabis before Placebo session (days)	118.61 (41.48); n = 23	7.82 (1.82); n = 17
Last use of cannabis before THC session (days)	116.20 (41.48); n = 23	6.76 (.98); n = 17 10.67 (1.69); n = 18

This table includes only participants whose data was not excluded for outlier
performance (n = 23 per experiment). Age, education, and past month recent substance
use are listed as mean (SEM). For recent substance use, the mean and SEM were
calculated using only subjects who reported any recent use of the drug (n for each drug
type is shown). Two subjects in Exp 2 had missing data for the lifetime use of Cannabis
question and one participant was excluded for reporting an outlier value (10,000 uses,
>40 SD's outside the other participants' mean number of uses). Remaining participants
reported no recent use of the drugs.

278   THC produced its expected effects on physiological and subjective measures.

THC (15 mg) increased heart rate, including at the time of the working memory test in

both Exp 1, $t(21) = 3.55$, $p = .002$, $d = .76$, and Exp 2, $F(2,44) = 12.16$, $p < .001$. Only 1

dose (15 mg) was used in Exp 1. In Exp 2 (15 mg, 7.5 mg), there was a linear effect of

dose ($p < .001$), but only the high dose was significantly different from placebo (high vs.

placebo $p < .001$, low vs. placebo $p = .25$). The drug did not affect systolic or diastolic

blood pressure (p > .3). See SI Results for tables of all values. THC also increased

scores on the "marijuana scale" of the Addiction Research Center Inventory [ARCI] ($p <$

.001), and the "Feel" ($p < $.001), "Like" ($p \leq $.005), "Dislike" ($p \leq $.03), and "High" ($p < $

.001) questions of the Drug Effects Questionnaire [DEQ] (Bonferroni-corrected for the 5

DEQ measures). The drug increased "Want more" ratings of the DEQ ($p = $.002; $p = $

.197), and Visual Analog Scale [VAS] measures "Sociable" and "Friendly" ($p < $.05,

Bonferroni-corrected for 13 VAS measures) in Exp 1, but not Exp 2. See SI Results for

tables of all values.

Mean working memory performance

293   THC impaired working memory performance relative to placebo in both Exp 1

(Fig 2A) and Exp 2 (Fig 2B). In Exp 1, participants correctly reported an average of 3.11

(SD = .49) items in the placebo condition and 2.77 (SD = .50) items in the 15 mg THC

condition, $t(22) = 3.72$, $p = $.001, $d = $.78. In Exp 2, participants correctly reported an

average of 3.02 (SD = .53) items in the placebo condition, 2.84 (SD = .44) items in the

7.5 mg THC condition, and 2.78 (SD = .54) items in the 15 mg THC condition,

$F(1.52,33.42) = 4.58$, $p = $.026, $\eta_p^2 = $.17[†]. Although polynomial contrasts revealed a

linear effect of dose in Exp 2 ($p = $.005), only the high dose was significantly different

from placebo (placebo vs. high, $p = $.018; placebo vs. low, $p = $.07).

302   In a separate analysis, we combined the working memory performance data from

Experiments 1 and 2. A unique set of participants was recruited for Experiments 1 and 2

so this pooling did not result in multiple data-points from the same participants.

Because only Experiment 2 had the 7.5 mg THC condition, this condition was discarded

from pooled analyses. We observed the same main effect of THC on working memory

performance (Comparing the combined placebo condition to the combined 15 mg THC

condition; Fig 2C). A mixed ANOVA with within-subjects factor Drug and between-

subjects factor Experiment revealed no main effect of Experiment, $F(1,44) = $.09, $p = $

.76, $\eta_p^2 = $.002, and no interaction between Drug and Experiment, $F(1,44) = $.52, $p = $.48,

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[†] Greenhouse-Geisser corrected values are reported whenever the assumption of sphericity is violated.

$\eta_p^2 = .01$, so this combination of experiments is justified. This combination of

experiments yields a total sample size of 46 subjects and a robust effect of Drug on

working memory performance, Fig 2C, $t(45) = 4.43$, $p < .001$, $d = .65$. With this larger

sample size, we quantified reliability, the effect of experimental block, and the effects of

response number on both accuracy and response time. Task reliability (even-odd

correlation) was excellent during both the placebo ($r = .91$) and the THC ($r = .90$)

conditions, and individual differences in performance were preserved across the THC

and Placebo conditions, as shown by a positive correlation (Fig 3A; $r = .63$, $p < .001$,

95% CI [.41, .78]).

321
Fig 2. Mean working memory performance. Mean values for the number of items
correctly identified in Exp 1 (A; N=23), Exp 2 (B; N=23) and the two experiments
combined (C; N=46). Here and elsewhere, violin plots show the distribution of
participants, black error bars represent 1 SEM, and transparent gray lines show
individual participants. THC significantly reduced the number of remembered items in
the 15 mg conditions.
328
Changes in working memory performance across experimental blocks and

individual responses

To determine whether the effect of THC on working memory performance was

related to a decline in effort or task engagement over the course of the experiment, we

compared performance across the three blocks of the experiment (30 trials per block).

The difference between THC and placebo scores was constant over time (Fig 3B). A

repeated measures ANOVA with factors Drug and Block revealed no main effect of

Block, $F(2,90) = 2.69$, $p = .074$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, and no interaction between Drug and Block,

$F(1.73,77.98) = 1.60$, $p = .210$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

To determine whether the effect of THC on working memory was related to

careless responding and a speed-accuracy trade-off, we examined response time and

accuracy for each response in the trial. If participants were simply more careless at

responding in the THC condition, then they may have responded quickly and with poor

accuracy. Thus, if the THC-related working memory decrement is driven by a speed-

accuracy tradeoff, we should observe faster response times for trials where participants

showed lower accuracy. The empirical data did not support a speed-accuracy tradeoff

account. Accuracy was overall lower in the Drug condition, particularly for the first three

responses. There was a main effect of Drug, $F(1,45) = 19.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$, a

main effect of Response Number, $F(2.44,109.58) = 909.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .95$, and an

interaction between Drug and Response Number, $F(3.68,165.62) = 4.38$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 =$

.09. However, poorer accuracy was not associated with faster response times. Instead,

response times were actually slower overall. A repeated measures ANVOA examining

response times showed a main effect of Drug, $F(1,45) = 21.68$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$, a

main effect of Response Number, $F(1.13,50.99) = 1026.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .96$, and a

significant interaction between Response Number and Drug, $F(1.13,50.64) = 11.61$, $p <$

.001, $\eta_p^2 = .21$.

358
Fig 3. Illustrations of the effects of THC (15 mg) vs placebo on working memory
performance (N=46, Exp 1 and Exp 2 combined). (A) Correlation between mean
number correct on the working memory task after placebo and THC (15 mg) conditions.
This shows that individual differences are reliable across the drug and placebo
conditions, but that most individuals are impaired by the drug. (B) Mean number of
items correctly identified during the three blocks of the task after placebo and THC (15
mg). Performance was consistently poorer after THC across all three blocks. (C)
Working memory performance as a function of response number and drug. Responses
were overall less accurate for THC versus placebo, particularly early in the trial. (D)
Cumulative response time as a function of response number and drug indicates that
impaired performance was not due to a speed-accuracy tradeoff; participants were
overall slower for THC versus placebo.

371
Effects of THC on mind wandering during the task (Exp 1).

In Exp 1 only, we used "thought probes" to assay the contents of participants'

thoughts while performing the working memory task (Fig 4A). THC significantly reduced

reports of being On Task $t(22) = 5.08$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.06$. and increased frequency of

both Mind Wandering $t(22) = 4.42$, $p < .001$, d = .92, and Zoning Out, $t(22) = 2.13$, $p =$

.044, $d = .45$. In a separate ANOVA looking at the drug's effects on type of mind

wandering (Past, Future, Other, or "I Don't Know"), there was no interaction between

Drug and Mind Wandering Type, $F(3,48) = 2.49$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .135$.

380
381   **Fig 4. Changes to mind wandering and metacognitive accuracy after THC or**
382   **placebo.** (A) Mean changes to the distribution of thought probes in Exp 1 (placebo or
383   15 mg; n = 23). MW = Mind Wandering. Error bars represent 1 SEM. (B) Mean changes
384   to metacognitive accuracy in Exp 2 (placebo, 7.5 and 15 mg; n = 23).
385

Effect of THC on metacognitive accuracy (Exp 2).

In Exp 2 only, we examined subjects' ability to accurately monitor ongoing task

performance (i.e. metacognitive accuracy), by providing confidence ratings for each

response. To measure metacognitive accuracy, we calculated the correlation between

the number of *correct items* on each trial and the number of *confident responses* on

each trial (separately for each individual using Spearman's *r*). Higher, positive

correlation values correspond with more accurate monitoring of task performance (e.g.,

the participant got N correct and reported N confident responses). We tested whether

metacognitive accuracy declined as a function of Drug. A repeated measures ANOVA

with factors Drug and Dose revealed a main effect of Drug, $F(2,44) = 3.43$, $p = .04$, η_p^2

= .14. Consistent with the impairment to overall performance, post-hoc *t*-tests for each

dose revealed that this measure of metacognitive accuracy was impaired for the high

dose ($p = .03$) but not the low dose (p = .07). We did not see an effect of the drug on

metacognitive *bias* (mean number of confident items minus the mean number of correct

items; positive numbers indicate over-confidence and negative numbers represent

under-confidence). Participants were slightly overconfident in all three drug conditions

(M = 0.51 items overconfident, SD = 0.97), and a repeated measures ANOVA revealed

no significant main effect of drug condition on overconfidence, F(1.14,25.09) = 0.49, *p* =

.52).

Literature review and power analysis

406   Although the Digit Span task has been widely used, we found that the drug had

no effect on this task in more than 70% (73.68%) of the 57 conditions that met the

inclusion criteria of our Digit Span review (Fig 5A). A lack of sensitivity was evident for

both Forward and Backward span, as well as other working memory tasks, such as

Spatial N-Back (SI Results). The lack of effect was observed in studies using a range of

doses including higher doses than what was used here, and multiple modes of

administration (Table S1). The apparently weak effect of THC on working memory could

indicate that the drug does not affect performance but, alternatively, it could reflect a

lack of power in most prior studies. Although it was not possible to calculate effect sizes

for the reviewed studies, we were able to demonstrate the effects of task time and

sample size on power new empirical data.

417   To test whether the distribution of *p*-values in the literature review was related to

418   insufficient statistical power or a lack of an effect of THC on working memory

419   performance, we performed a down-sampling procedure [15] on the combined data

420   from Exp 1 and Exp 2 (15 mg THC; n = 46, trials = 90). When we reduced the sample

421   size and task length of our dataset to match those in the literature, we could nearly

422   perfectly predict the distribution of p-values that was observed in the literature.

423   With 46 subjects and 90 trials per subject, the achieved power (1 - β) for our

main effect of THC on working memory performance was in excess of 0.99. Fig 5B

reveals the results of iterative down-sampling of this data (e.g. randomly choosing N

subjects and T trials, calculating power). Each cell in this figure contains the average

power for 250 random iterations. When down-sampling to a typical sample size and task

duration for the Digit Span literature (e.g. 15 subjects, 15 trials), power plummets to only

0.47. In Figs 5C and 5D, we have plotted the distribution of *p*-values for Digit Span

studies above and below the median sample size found in the literature. To compare

predictions from our down-sampling procedure, we chose the cell from Fig 5B that most

closely matched the number of subjects (5 subjects for the reviewed studies with below

the median number of subjects overall, 15 subjects for the reviewed studies with above

the median number of subjects overall), and then discretized the p-value outcomes for

each of the 250 iterations (<.001, <.01, <.05, or n.s.). The digit span typically comprises

3 trials of each of 4-5 set sizes (12-15 trials) and takes approximately 4 – 5 minutes; 15

trials of the whole-report task likewise takes ~5 min. As shown in Fig 5, with 5 minutes

of task time and fewer subjects per "experiment", we obtain distributions of *p*-values that

are nearly identical to those in the empirical literature (Fig 5C, 5D).

444
Fig 5. Power analysis predicts the distribution of *p*-values for published studies. (a)
Histogram of reported *p*-values for 57 conditions of forward- and backward-digit span.
(b) Down-sampling analysis of the current data. Each factorial combination of trial
number (x-axis) and sample size (y-axis) contains the average power of 250 iterations
sampled from the full data-set (collapsed across Exp 1 and the 15 mg of THC condition
in Exp 2) (c-d) The black line shows the distribution of digit span *p*-values from the
literature for conditions with fewer (c) or more (d) than the median number of subjects.
Dotted lines show that this distribution of *p*-values from sampling the current visual
working memory dataset with equivalent, insufficient power (e.g. 7 subjects and 15
trials)

455
Discussion

The present study demonstrated that a single 15 mg dose of THC impairs

working memory when tested under rigorous, placebo-controlled, double-blind

conditions. THC, the main psychoactive constituent in cannabis, is commonly thought to

impair working memory, but this effect has been difficult to demonstrate in controlled

studies. We review previous studies assessing the effects of THC, and conclude that

the failures to detect effects were quite likely due to inadequate statistical power. Using

a well-powered sample (combined $n = 46$, [1-β] $> .99$), we found that a single 15 mg

dose of THC reliably impairs visual working memory. This effect was not, however,

apparent for a lower 7.5 mg dose (Experiment 2, n = 23).

We found a robust behavioral effect of THC on working memory performance,

but more work is needed to understand the neural mechanisms underlying this

behavioral deficit. For example, disruption to working memory is a key cognitive deficit

in people with schizophrenia [77], and this deficit is hypothesized to be related to

disruptions of the endocannabinoid system [78], more specifically to the dorsolateral

prefrontal cortex (DLPFC)[79–81], but see [82]. The DLPFC is laden with CB1

receptors, the primary target of THC, and is a critical component of WM maintenance

[83–85]. Studies of the neural mechanisms underlying WM disruption under the effects

of THC may thus provide a reversible demonstration of WM deficits related to

disruptions of the endocannabinoid system.

In addition to decreasing WM performance, subjective thought probes revealed

that THC increased rates of mind wandering and zoning out (Exp 1) and decreased

metacognitive accuracy (Exp 2). To our knowledge, our work provides the first

demonstration of THC's effects on mind wandering during a concurrent cognitive task.

These finding are consistent with prior work on THC, including task-independent reports

of mind wandering in structured interviews [86,87], failure to de-activate the default

mode network during task performance [88] (but see [89]), and decreased error

monitoring [42,43,90]. Similar to the effects of nicotine cravings [40] and alcohol [41],

THC appears to increase mind wandering and other off-task mental states (e.g., "zoning

out" or "mind blanking"[55]), and decrease awareness of task performance. These

broad effects on conscious experience are likely to drive performance decrements in a

broad range of cognitive tasks.

Limitations and implications for future studies of THC and cognition

There in an intense public interest in the effects of cannabis on cognition and an

urgent need for practical information that will guide use. Despite the importance of this

study in providing new information on how THC affects memory, the study also had

limitations that suggest future avenues for research. First, we were able to test working

memory at only one, relatively late time-point after oral consumption of a THC capsule

(160 – 220 minutes), and at two moderate doses [91]. It will be important to characterize

the effects of THC on working memory performance over the full time-course of the

drug, and, importantly at higher doses and by different routes of administration

(especially smoked and vaped). In addition, further work is needed to understand

relationships between THC-related working memory impairments and other task and

participant factors, such as recent and lifetime exposure to THC, and generalizability to

other cognitive constructs. Second, we need more information on the severity of

working memory disruption and the extent to which the effect depends on initial

performance. Although the effect we observed was relatively large ($d = .65$), this effect

is smaller than, for example, normal variation in working memory performance across

individuals. The behavioral performance difference between the placebo and drug

conditions was 0.29 items, but the difference between the top- and bottom-half of

individuals within the placebo condition was 0.80 items. Further, the effects of the drug

may be especially pronounced in certain at-risk populations, including those with initially

poor working memory performance.

Our finding that power curves for a down-sampled visual working memory task

closely matched the observed power in the Digit Span literature suggests that task

length is a strong driving factor in the low rate of positive drug effects in the literature.

However, more methodological work is needed to determine if directly manipulating the

task length of standard tasks (e.g., a 25-minute rather than 5-minute version of the Digit

Span task) will rescue statistical power as our simulations suggest. Alternatively, it is

possible that other task differences (e.g., factor loadings) also contribute to the low rate

of positive drug effects in the literature. For example, simple span tasks (e.g., the

Forward Digit Span) do not load well onto a general working memory factor at the latent

level [20], and often fail to predict individual differences in general fluid intelligence

[19,92–95], but also see [96]. Other common tasks (e.g., spatial *N*-back, Table S2)

likewise have potential differences from the specific visual working memory task used

here. N-back tasks load well onto a general WM factor at the latent level [20] and are

useful for investigating the executive function component of WM (vs. the storage

component). However, *N*-back tasks are not highly correlated with other working

memory tasks [97–99] and often have relatively poor statistical reliability [95], potentially

making it difficult to detect effects across treatment conditions.

Our literature search revealed the importance of statistical power in studies of

THC on cognition. Here, we used one relatively long task (~30 minutes, 90 trials). In

contrast, many earlier studies used several shorter tasks (e.g. ten 3-minute tasks),

presumably to assess a range of potential deficits. However, because task length and

statistical power have direct tradeoffs, this approach may miss important effects. Similar

problems of inadequate power may exist in other studies of effects of drugs on working

memory and other aspects of cognition. Thus, we recommend that longer tasks be used

to determine the effects of drugs on cognition.

Contributions: Manoj Doss and Elisa Pabon collected data. Kirsten Adam performed

analyses and drafted the manuscript. Kirsten Adam, Manoj Doss, Elisa Pabon, Edward

Vogel, and Harriet de Wit planned the experiments and revised the manuscript.

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820   **Figure Legends**

Fig 1. Stimuli used in the whole-report task. On each trial, participants briefly view a
memory array containing 6 colored squares (Memory array). Participants remember the
colors across a 1,000 ms delay, and report them at test (Response). Participants may
report the colors of the items in any order that they choose, and they must make a
response for all 6 locations. In the figure, the participant is clicking the magenta sub-
section of the response grid to indicate that the remembered square in the bottom right
corner was magenta.
828
Fig 2. Mean working memory performance. Mean values for the number of items
correctly identified in Exp 1 (A; N=23), Exp 2 (B; N=23) and the two experiments
combined (C; N=46). Here and elsewhere, violin plots show the distribution of
participants, black error bars represent 1 SEM, and transparent gray lines show
individual participants. THC significantly reduced the number of remembered items in
the 15 mg conditions.
835
Fig 3. Illustrations of the effects of THC (15 mg) vs placebo on working memory
performance (N=46, Exp 1 and Exp 2 combined). (A) Correlation between mean
number correct on the working memory task after placebo and THC (15 mg) conditions.
This shows that individual differences are reliable across the drug and placebo
conditions, but that most individuals are impaired by the drug. (B) Mean number of
items correctly identified during the three blocks of the task after placebo and THC (15
mg). Performance was consistently poorer after THC across all three blocks. (C)
Working memory performance as a function of response number and drug. Responses
were overall less accurate for THC versus placebo, particularly early in the trial. (D)
Cumulative response time as a function of response number and drug indicates that
impaired performance was not due to a speed-accuracy tradeoff; participants were
overall slower for THC versus placebo.
848
849   **Fig 4. Changes to mind wandering and metacognitive accuracy after THC or**
850   **placebo.** (A) Mean changes to the distribution of thought probes in Exp 1 (placebo or
851   15 mg; n = 23). MW = Mind Wandering. Error bars represent 1 SEM. (B) Mean changes
852   to metacognitive accuracy in Exp 2 (placebo, 7.5 and 15 mg; n = 23).
853
Fig 5. Power analysis predicts the distribution of p-values for published studies. (a)
Histogram of reported p-values for 57 conditions of forward- and backward-digit span.
(b) Down-sampling analysis of the current data. Each factorial combination of trial
number (x-axis) and sample size (y-axis) contains the average power of 250 iterations
sampled from the full data-set (collapsed across Exp 1 and the 15 mg of THC condition
in Exp 2) (c-d) The black line shows the distribution of digit span p-values from the
literature for conditions with fewer (c) or more (d) than the median number of subjects.
Dotted lines show that this distribution of p-values from sampling the current visual
working memory dataset with equivalent, insufficient power (e.g. 7 subjects and 15
trials)
864

Memory array — 200 ms

Delay — 1,000 ms

Response — unspeeded