

# The influence of memory on visual perception in infants, children, and adults

Sagi Jaffe-Dax (✉ [jaffedax@gmail.com](mailto:jaffedax@gmail.com))

Tel Aviv University

Christine Potter

University of Texas at El Paso

Tiffany Leung

University of Miami

Lauren Emberson

University of British Columbia

Casey Lew-Williams

Princeton University

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## Article

**Keywords:** visual perception, implicit memory, contraction bias, human development

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## The influence of memory on visual perception in infants, children, and adults

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### 1      **Abstract**

2      Perception is not an independent, in-the-moment event. Instead, perceiving involves integrating prior expectations  
3      with current observations. How does this ability develop from infancy through adulthood? We examined how  
4      prior visual experience shapes visual perception in infants, children, and adults. Using an identical task across  
5      age groups, we exposed participants to pairs of colorful stimuli and measured their ability to discriminate relative  
6      saturation levels. Results showed that adult participants were biased by previously-experienced exemplars, but  
7      exhibited weakened in-the-moment discrimination between different levels of saturation. In contrast, infants and  
8      children showed less influence of memory in their perception, and they actually outperformed adults in  
9      discriminating between current levels of saturation. Our findings suggest that as humans develop, their perception  
10     relies more on prior experience and less on current observation.

11     **Keywords:** visual perception; implicit memory; contraction bias; human development

12

13 To make sense of perceptual input, observers do not merely rely on their current observations. They also  
14 integrate prior knowledge (Hollingworth, 1910; Woodrow, 1933). The integration process allows perceivers to  
15 overcome the inherent unreliability of their representations of current observations by combining additional sources  
16 of information. Differences in reliance on prior experience have been linked to perceptual differences between  
17 neurotypical and atypical populations (Jaffe-Dax et al., 2016; Lieder et al., 2019), underscoring the importance of  
18 these integration processes.

19 When a perceiver can efficiently incorporate prior knowledge, they can more easily overcome perceptual  
20 noise in the environment (Raviv et al., 2012), but integration requires the ability to retain detailed information in  
21 memory and weigh it appropriately. In adults, more recent events tend to be weighed most heavily, and the influence  
22 of prior events decays exponentially across time (Fischer & Whitney, 2014; Lu et al. 1992; Raviv et al., 2012). For  
23 adults with weaker implicit memory, this decay usually occurs more rapidly, leading to less reliance on accumulated  
24 experience (Jaffe-Dax et al., 2017). Children, of course, have less experience than adults, and they also have more  
25 limited memory abilities (Gathercole et al., 2004). However, it is not yet known whether children, like adults, use  
26 prior experience to inform their perception, or whether there are age-related changes in how they do so. In the  
27 current study, we examined the developmental trajectory by which prior knowledge is integrated with new sensory  
28 input.

29 It is broadly believed that memory span and the ability to integrate information across time undergo a  
30 protracted developmental trajectory. However, it is notoriously difficult to measure perceptual and memory-related  
31 capacities in a way that enables comparison of infants, children, and adults, and it is even more rare to use one  
32 experimental task spanning these age groups. In this study, we evaluated the influence of memory on infants',  
33 children's, and adults' sensitivity to differences in the saturation of brightly colored stimuli. To enable direct  
34 comparison between participants of different ages, we developed a new perceptual judgement task that is (1)  
35 intuitive, with no need for explicit instruction, and (2) does not require extensive training, thereby allowing for  
36 inclusion of infants even if fewer trials are obtained.

37 Although task demands differ, participants of all ages, from infancy to adulthood, are known to track the  
38 statistics of their visual environment and to successfully detect regularities in their surroundings (Fiser & Aslin,

39 2002b, 2002a; Jost et al., 2015; Kirkham et al., 2002; Saffran & Kirkham, 2018; Turk-Browne et al., 2008). In  
40 addition, there is robust evidence that adults can extract a summary representation of a group of objects that allows  
41 them to estimate the average across multiple features, including size, brightness, and color (Albrecht & Scholl,  
42 2010; Ariely, 2001; Bauer, 2009; Brady & Alvarez, 2011; De Gardelle & Summerfield, 2011). Adults compute  
43 these means rapidly and with a high degree of accuracy (Chong & Treisman, 2003; Piazza et al., 2013), and recent  
44 studies suggest that infants and young children learn visual summary statistics similarly to adults (Balas, 2017; Zosh  
45 et al., 2011).

46 For adults, these summary representations affect their judgments of individual stimuli; for instance, they  
47 tend to estimate the size of objects as more similar to the mean of a display (Brady & Alvarez, 2011), the frequency  
48 rate of vibrations as closer to the mean rate of the experimental set (Preuschoff et al., 2010), the pitch of tones as  
49 closer to the mean pitch (Raviv et al., 2012), and the weight of objects as closer to the mean weight (Woodrow &  
50 Stott, 1936). This phenomenon, where events are perceived as closer to the central tendency of previous events of  
51 the same type is termed ‘contraction bias’ (Hollingworth, 1910; Woodrow, 1933). Likewise, the contents of working  
52 memory have been shown to influence adults’ visual perception such that their judgments in a visual perception  
53 task are biased by similarity to recently-viewed items (Teng & Kravitz, 2019). However, it is not yet known whether  
54 infants and children, who may have more difficulty tracking and remembering items that they have previously seen,  
55 will show similar biases in their perception.

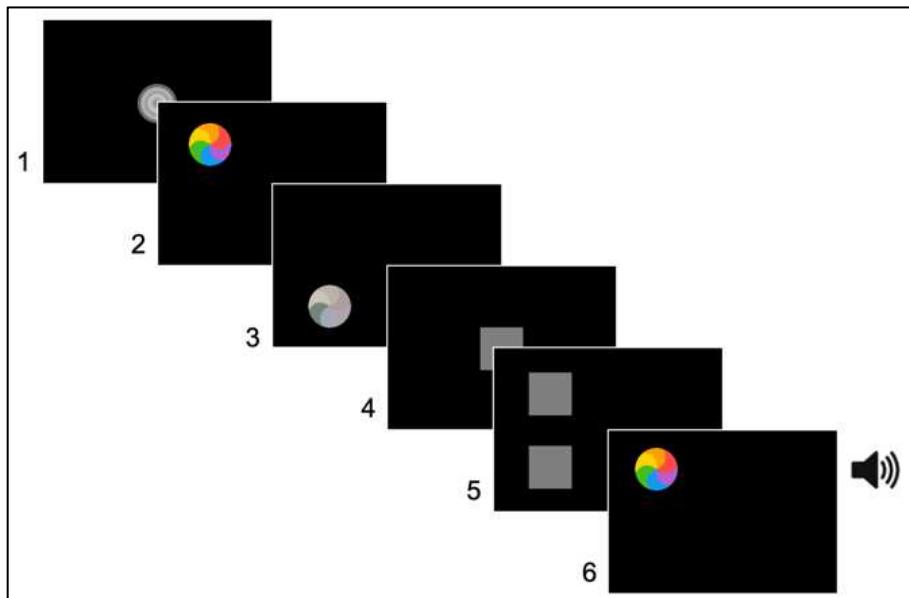
56 In the current study, we investigated the impact of prior knowledge on visual perception in infants, children,  
57 and adults by using the exact same task across all age groups. We tested whether and how participants’ abilities to  
58 discriminate the relative saturation levels of sequentially-presented stimuli would be influenced by their  
59 accumulated experience with the task. Our hypothesis was that prior experience would bias perception for all  
60 participants and that we would see evidence of contraction bias. In our experiment, this bias would lead each  
61 stimulus to be perceived as more similar in saturation to the mean saturation of all previously-viewed stimuli. We  
62 also predicted that prior experience would exert the greatest influence on adults’ perception, as weaker memory  
63 would make younger participants less biased by their previous perceptual experience. Namely, we expected infants  
64 and children to less reliably retain information about previously experienced visual stimuli, and we therefore

65 predicted that younger participants would show less influence of memory on their in-the-moment perception. A  
66 secondary prediction, resulting from differences in memory capacities, was that younger participants would actually  
67 outperform adults in making in-the-moment judgments.

68

69 **Figure 1**

70 *Schematic Illustration of Trial Structure*



71

72 Note. 1. Participants' gaze was drawn to the center of the screen with a grey scale attractor. 2. First, a pinwheel appeared in  
73 one of eight possible locations until the participant fixated on it. 3. A second pinwheel appeared at a different location until  
74 the participant fixated on it. 4. Participants' gaze was drawn back to the center. 5. Two masks appeared in the prior locations  
75 of the pinwheels until the participant fixated on the location of the more saturated pinwheel, at which point the more saturated  
76 pinwheel re-appeared, along with a pleasant sound. The location where the participant first fixated was recorded as the  
77 participants' choice for that trial.

78

79 **Results**

80 To assess the influence of prior knowledge on visual perception, we designed an infant-friendly, gaze-  
81 contingent eye-tracking task that exploits the basic perceptual tendency of humans, without training and regardless  
82 of age, to be drawn to look at more saturated (vs. less saturated) stimuli (Werner & Wooten, 1979). Each trial began

83 with a neutral attention-getter in the center of the screen. Then, two colorful rotating pinwheels appeared one after  
84 the other in different locations. Each pinwheel appeared until the participant fixated on it, and then disappeared.  
85 The two pinwheels differed in their levels of saturation. After participants had viewed both pinwheels, their attention  
86 was again drawn to the center of the screen and grey boxes appeared marking the previous locations of the  
87 pinwheels. We then recorded participants' first shift toward one of the locations as a measure of their judgment of  
88 which pinwheel was more saturated (Fig. 1). After the participant looked at the grey box in the location of the more  
89 saturated pinwheel, that pinwheel re-appeared and a pleasant sound was played. The next trial commenced when  
90 the participant fixated again on the attention-getter in the center of the screen. The task began with pairs of pinwheels  
91 that had relatively large differences in saturation, and differences lessened over the course of the experiment, thereby  
92 increasing the difficulty of the task as time went on. We also randomly introduced trials where the two pinwheels  
93 had identical saturation ('equal-saturation trials'), which allowed us to examine participants' biases toward  
94 previously presented stimuli when there was no objective difference between the pinwheels.

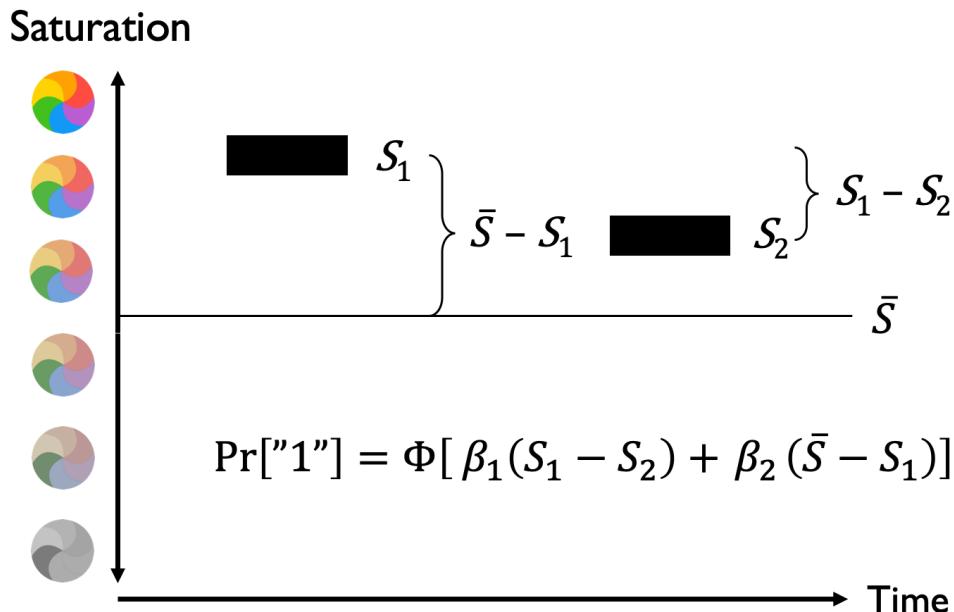
95 The task was administered to three groups of participants: one-year-old infants, five-year-old children, and  
96 young adults ( $n = 24$  in each age group). If a parent or a guardian was present, they were blindfolded and were  
97 asked to refrain from directing the participant's gaze. In order to equate the conditions across age groups, no  
98 instructions were given and no explicit feedback was provided. By capitalizing on the *a priori*, automatic tendency  
99 to prefer more vs. less saturated colors, we were able to measure informative responses throughout the task without  
100 requiring a training phase.

101 We analyzed participants' choices using two predictors:  $\beta_1$  – within-trial physical difference in saturation  
102 between the two pinwheels (i.e., perception), and  $\beta_2$  – between-trial bias, which captured the contraction of the  
103 saturation level of the first (stored; to-be-compared) pinwheel toward the mean saturation of previously-viewed  
104 pinwheels (i.e., the impact of memory; Raviv et al., 2012). The first predictor captured the physical distance in  
105 saturation level between the two pinwheels in the current trial and was defined as  $\Delta S_t = \log(s_t^1) - \log(s_t^2)$ , where  
106  $s_t^1$  and  $s_t^2$  are the saturation levels of the first and second pinwheels in trial  $t$ , respectively. Log transformations  
107 were used because discrimination judgments depend on the ratio between the intensity of the discriminable feature  
108 of the stimuli instead of the difference between them (Weber, 1834). The second predictor captured the contraction

109 of the mental representation of the first pinwheel towards previously viewed pinwheels from earlier trials. The  
 110 representation of the first pinwheel decays relative to the representation of the second pinwheel (i.e., earlier  
 111 presented information is less accessible), thus its contraction toward the mean is greater, i.e., prior perception exerts  
 112 a larger influence. This predictor was defined as:  $\Delta Mean_t = \langle \log(s) \rangle_t - \log(s_t^1)$ , where  $\langle \log(s) \rangle_t$  is the average  
 113 of all saturation levels of pinwheels that were presented up to trial  $t$ , where:  $\langle \log(s) \rangle_t = \frac{1}{2(t-1)} \sum_{i=1}^{t-1} [\log(s_i^1) +$   
 114  $\log(s_i^2)]$ . This predictor represents perceptual contraction toward the central tendency of the first pinwheel, or  
 115 summary statistical learning (Hollingworth, 1910; Woodrow, 1933; Fig. 2). It is important to note that the two  
 116 predictors are independent, such that variation in in-the-moment discrimination ( $\beta_1$ ) is not tied to variation in the  
 117 influence of prior experience ( $\beta_2$ ). That is, a participant could score high or low on either predictor.

118 **Figure 2**

119 *Definitions of Predictors for Participants' Choices*



120

121 Note. This figure illustrates trials with stimuli whose saturation is above the mean of all previous trials.  $\beta_1$  captures the weight  
 122 of the current saturation difference between the two stimuli in the current trial (roughly the slope of the psychometric curve  
 123 as a function of saturation difference).  $\beta_2$  captures the weight of integration of previous stimuli in the current observation  
 124 (impact of prior experience).

125

126 We regressed each individual's probability to fixate on the first-presented pinwheel using these two  
 127 predictors to measure the relative contributions of current observation ( $\beta_1$ ) and memory ( $\beta_2$ ) on performance. The  
 128 weight of the first predictor corresponds to how accurately participants were able to distinguish between saturation  
 129 levels. We used this measure instead of a traditional percent correct because trials had unequal difficulty, and  
 130 difficulty increased incrementally after each block of 10 trials; simply reporting accuracy would be misleading.  
 131 Moreover, on the 20% of equal-saturation trials where the two pinwheels had the same saturation, there was no  
 132 'correct' response, so this measure more meaningfully captures participants' performance. The weight of the second  
 133 predictor represents the contraction of the mental representation of the first pinwheel toward the mean of all  
 134 previously-presented pinwheels.

135 We analyzed all single-trial data (of all difficulty levels) using linear mixed-effects models with subject as  
 136 a random effect. All groups showed a significant tendency to look first at the more saturated pinwheel within a trial  
 137 [ $F(1, 3125) = 48.4, p < 10^{-11}$ ], demonstrating that across ages, participants were able to perceive differences in  
 138 saturation and perform the task appropriately. In fact, even on the first trial, prior to any information about the  
 139 reward contingency, participants already tended to choose the more saturated pinwheel (infants: 78.6%; children:  
 140 60.0%; adults: 83.3%). We also found a significant contraction towards the mean of previously-presented stimuli  
 141 for all ages [ $F(1, 3125) = 23.9, p < 10^{-5}$ ], suggesting that memory influenced performance in all three age groups.  
 142 But critically, we found that the impact of current saturation differences (i.e., current observation) differed between  
 143 age groups [ $F(2, 3125) = 8.4, p < .001$ ]. Specifically, infants and children showed greater influence of the current  
 144 saturation level on their performance on a given trial, relative to adults [adults vs. infants:  $F(1, 2354) = 5.4, p < .05$ ;  
 145 adults vs. children:  $F(1, 2647) = 15.9, p < .0001$ ; children vs. infants:  $F(1, 1249) = 2.5, p = .11$ ; Fig. 3A]. That is,  
 146 although adults tend to outperform infants and children on most tasks, they were actually *less* likely than infants  
 147 and children to discriminate between saturation levels within pairs of pinwheels (i.e., they were less likely to fixate  
 148 the placeholder of the more saturated pinwheel within a pair).

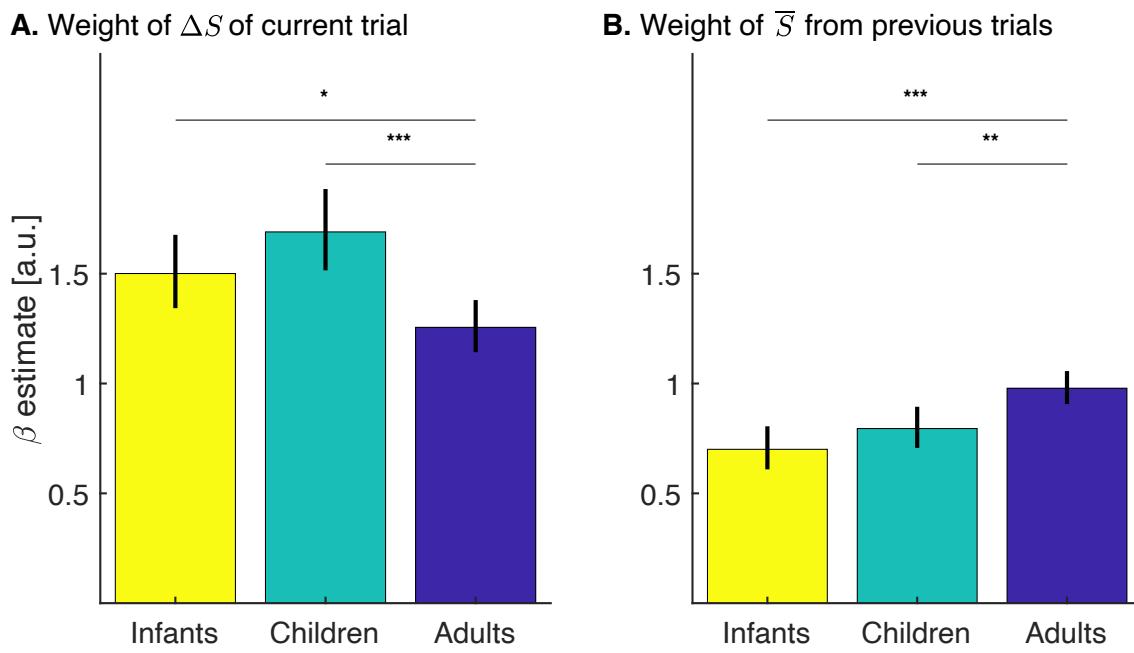
149 Importantly, we also found that the impact of prior perception differed between the three age groups [ $F(2,$   
 150  $3125) = 10.2, p < .0001$ ]. While all groups showed a significant impact of prior experience on perception, adults

151 showed significantly greater bias toward the mean saturation of all preceding trials, relative to infants and children  
152 [adults vs. infants:  $F(1, 2354) = 16.2, p < .0001$ ; adults vs. children:  $F(1, 2647) = 8.9, p < .01$ ; children vs. infants:  
153  $F(1, 1249) = 1.6, p = .21$ ; Fig. 3B]. In line with our prediction, we found that adults were more likely to apply  
154 information from their aggregate prior experience compared to children and infants. This came with a cost for  
155 adults' sensory perception in the moment. However, this is not necessarily a net disadvantage, given that reliance  
156 on prior experience is often an efficient way to navigate incoming input (Ahissar et al., 2009).

157

158 **Figure 3**

159 *Weight, by Age Group, of Current Trial (Saturation Difference) and of Previous Trials (Mean Saturation Level) in*  
160 *Predicting Participants' Choices*



161

162 *Note.* **A.** Weight of the saturation difference ( $\Delta S$ ) in the current trial in predicting participants' choice. **B.** Weight of mean  
163 saturation level ( $\bar{S}$ ) from previous trials (i.e., merging the representation of the first pinwheel's saturation level in the current  
164 trial towards the mean of all previous saturation levels in predicting participants' choice). Error bars denote 95% confidence  
165 interval. \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.0001$ .

166

167 Another planned analysis explored participants' performance on the equal-saturation trials where there was  
168 no physical difference between the stimuli (20% of the trials). We included these equal-saturation trials to test  
169 whether contraction bias would lead to different performance for trials that had low saturation compared to trials  
170 that had high saturation. When stimuli on equal-saturation trials had lower saturation, we expected participants to  
171 be more likely to fixate the first pinwheel, because greater decay in their memory for the first pinwheel would lead  
172 them to remember it as closer to the mean, i.e., more saturated. Likewise, when stimuli had higher saturation, we  
173 expected participants to perceive the second pinwheel as more saturated because their memory of the earlier-  
174 presented first stimuli would be closer to the mean, i.e., less saturated. Consistent with this idea, we found a  
175 numerical but not statistical difference. That is, the equal-saturation trials on which the participants chose the first  
176 pinwheel had a lower saturation level than those where participants chose the second pinwheel, but this effect did  
177 not reach significance [infants:  $t(23) = 0.1$ , n.s.; children:  $t(23) = 0.2$ , n.s.; adults:  $t(23) = 0.4$ , n.s.; all groups:  $t(71)$   
178 = 0.4, n.s.], perhaps because of the limited number of trials.

179

## 180 Discussion

181 Using an identical task with one-year-old infants, five-year-old children, and young adults, we examined  
182 the influence of prior visual experience on visual perception. We found that all age groups, including infants,  
183 showed a contraction bias, where their perception was skewed toward the mean of all previously-experienced  
184 exemplars. In addition, we found that this bias increased with age, revealing that adults weighted their memory of  
185 prior events more heavily when making perceptual judgments. Strikingly, infants and children actually  
186 outperformed adults in discriminating between different levels of saturation, and their performance was less biased  
187 by previously-experienced exemplars. Thus, memory begins to influence perception in infancy, but exerts a larger  
188 influence with development.

189 One construal of our results is that younger participants were less able to incorporate memory into their  
190 perception, but within this construal, there are several non-exclusive possibilities: infants and children may have  
191 had weaker representations of prior visual events, *or* they may have weighted their past experience less, instead  
192 focusing on in-the-moment saturation levels. Indeed, infants and children were more accurate than adults in

193 selecting the more saturated pinwheel. This effect may even have been generated by infants' and children's  
194 increased motivation to hear the rewarding sound, but prior studies indicate that such rewards are not sufficient to  
195 facilitate perceptual improvement (Reetzke et al., 2016; Vernetta et al., 2017). Regardless, the performance of  
196 younger participants suggests that their in-the-moment visual perception was more precise and that they experienced  
197 less interference from their past experience, leading to more accurate performance than adults. The data suggest  
198 that immature memory and reduced integration of prior knowledge may directly or indirectly enhance the acuity of  
199 in-the-moment visual discrimination.

200 What explains this pattern of performance? One possibility is that changes in memory span or capacity  
201 shape perception. That is, prior information, which here was built up from trial to trial, may be less available to  
202 infants and children compared to adults. Prior studies offer contradictory evidence as to whether there are significant  
203 changes in the structure and mechanisms of early memory (Nelson, 1995; Rovee-Collier, 1997; Rovee-Collier et  
204 al., 1999; Vöhringer et al., 2018), but there is consensus that infants can build knowledge across sequentially  
205 presented stimuli (e.g., Lew-Williams & Saffran, 2012; Maye et al., 2002; Thiessen & Saffran, 2007) and that the  
206 ability to retain information over longer periods improves with age and experience (Beckner et al., 2020; Gathercole  
207 et al., 2004; Simmering, 2016). It could be that younger learners retain weaker representations of previously-  
208 experienced exemplars, such that early events have reduced influence on their perception. Combining our  
209 behavioral task with neuroimaging methods that track the accumulation of information from trial to trial (Jaffe-Dax  
210 et al., 2018; Lu et al., 1992) could shed light on this potential explanation. Specifically, if infants and children  
211 showed a shorter timescale of neural adaptation compared to adults, then this would suggest that their accumulation  
212 of information from trial to trial is weaker. A second possibility is that infants and children do accumulate adult-  
213 like knowledge of their perceptual experiences, but underestimate its relevance to their current observation. That is,  
214 they may have access to relevant information in memory, but they do not incorporate this longer timescale into their  
215 in-the-moment decision (Decker et al., 2016). Regardless of the mechanism, we show here that younger participants  
216 were more likely than adults to treat individual trials as discrete events, rather than as contingent on the distribution  
217 of previously presented stimuli. This suggests more efficient adaptation to (or more emphasis on) newly perceived  
218 events in infancy and childhood compared to adulthood.

219 Across any number of domains, it has been suggested that immaturity can confer certain benefits in  
220 perception and/or learning (e.g., Bjorklund, 1997; Turkewitz & Kenny, 1982; Werker & Tees, 1984), and weaker  
221 memory skills in particular have been suggested to contribute to cases where children may be more successful  
222 learners than adults. In one prominent example, Newport (1990) argues that children's advantage in learning new  
223 languages is in part attributable to their poor implicit memory, such that reduced memory for long sequences of  
224 speech enables sensitivity to relations among individual units. Evidence for this general idea comes from both  
225 behavioral studies and computational models demonstrating that limits on memory can sometimes support learning  
226 (e.g., Cochran et al., 1999; Elman, 1993; Frank & Gibson, 2011; Kareev, 1995). Our study illustrates another  
227 potential benefit of immature memory: the reduction of perceptual biases that could, in turn, limit the scope of future  
228 learning (Lew-Williams & Saffran, 2012; Potter et al., 2017; Thiessen & Saffran, 2007). That is, through experience,  
229 learning can become more constrained (Zettersten et al., 2020), and weaker perceptual biases may allow infants and  
230 young children to be more receptive to learning from unfamiliar and unexpected events. Infants and young children  
231 are able to rapidly incorporate novel experience into perceptual judgments (Maye et al., 2002; Potter & Saffran,  
232 2015), and over development, increases in prior knowledge may impede their ability to perceive less-expected  
233 events and to acquire new (and potentially unexpected) information. Thus, a reduced reliance on prior perception  
234 may allow infants and young children to absorb new knowledge, even if the information is inconsistent with the  
235 child's previous experience.

236 These results also demonstrate that developmental changes in the interaction between memory and visual  
237 perception may lead to less precise perception in the moment. This may be comparable to phenomena such as  
238 perceptual narrowing (Lewkowicz & Ghazanfar, 2009; Maurer & Werker, 2014), where cognitive development is  
239 marked by changes in how accumulated experience shapes processing over time. Through experience, infants  
240 become less beholden to current sensory input and instead rely on their prior experience to guide their sensitivity to  
241 incoming input (e.g., Bar-Haim et al., 2006; Gottlieb, 1976; Pascalis et al., 2002; Werker & Tees, 1984). Our  
242 findings suggest that over development, humans learn to integrate their experiences across increasingly longer spans  
243 of time, which has both negative and positive effects: this process introduces bias in perceiving new information,  
244 yet may enable more informed expectations.

245 The current study makes two novel methodological contributions. First, we developed a task that does not  
246 require training, explicit instructions, or any verbal skills, and thus can be administered to various age groups –  
247 potentially including populations that are often challenging to include in laboratory tasks (e.g., minimally verbal  
248 individuals, or individuals with developmental delays or disorders, such as ASD). Second, we found a rare case  
249 where infants and children outperform adults in a cognitive task. Other cases where younger participants outperform  
250 more mature learners are often reported when infants or children show sensitivity to information that was previously  
251 not relevant, either in the moment (e.g., Roome et al., 2014; Sloutsky & Fisher, 2004) or based on history of  
252 exposure (e.g., Kuhl et al., 2005; Pascalis et al., 2002; Werker & Tees, 1984). Here, we demonstrate that 12-month-  
253 old infants' and 5-year-old children's abilities can exceed those of adults when attending to a perceptual dimension  
254 (saturation) that should be similarly accessible to each group. Future studies will continue to examine the relative  
255 influences of domain-general and domain-relevant experience in determining how learners weight prior experience  
256 in their perception of novel events.

257 **Conclusion**

258 Contemporary developmental science emphasizes the complexity of infants' early environments and  
259 attempts to explain how infants contend with noisy input across a variety of domains (e.g., Bergelson et al., 2019;  
260 Clerkin et al., 2017). While adults may be able to rely on their past experience to overcome noise in the input when  
261 making perceptual judgments (Raviv et al., 2012), infants and children do not have the same quantity of experience,  
262 and their memory capacities are not as robust. Perhaps because of these limitations, they may depend less on prior  
263 experience and more on their current observations. Our experiment – using an identical task with infants, children,  
264 and adults – provides new evidence about how memory and basic perception interact across much of the lifespan.  
265 As humans gain expertise in highly practiced domains (here in visual perception, but possibly in other domains; see  
266 Maurer & Werker, 2014 for review), they may make greater use of prior experience and less use of immediate  
267 perception in navigating the complexities of their input. Going forward, it will be important to investigate if this  
268 process of change can help explain individual differences in learning within and beyond the domain of visual  
269 perception.

271

272

## Method

273 **Participants**

274 Three different age groups participated and were included in the final sample of 72 participants ( $n = 24$  in each  
275 group): 1-year-old infants (14 female,  $M = 11.8$  months, range: 10.2-13.9 months), 5-year-old children (15 female,  
276  $M = 66.3$  months, range: 60.2-71.9 months), and young adults (14 female,  $M = 20.6$  years, range: 18.9-25.7 years).  
277 Informed consent was obtained from adult participants or from guardians for the younger age groups. Assent was  
278 obtained from the participating children. All participants received \$10 in compensation, and infants and children  
279 also received a small gift. Prior to recruitment, all procedures were approved by the [removed for blind review]  
280 Institutional Review Board. Twenty-four additional participants were tested, but excluded for: unsuccessful  
281 calibration (4 infants), failure to provide at least 10 usable trials (11 infants, 5 children), overall inattentiveness (2  
282 children), or vision that was not normal or corrected-to-normal (2 adults). We excluded trials where the participant  
283 took longer than 1 s to make a choice (infants:  $29.3 \pm 11.6$ , children:  $41.8 \pm 10.2$ , adults:  $22 \pm 13$ ; mean % of  
284 excluded trials  $\pm$  STD). We attributed these slow responses to technical measurement error or inattentiveness.  
285 Delaying the response to the stimuli renders the contraction bias intractable, since the time delay will lead to decay  
286 in the representations of both stimuli.

287

288 **Stimuli and Design**

289 Each trial began with a centrally presented, greyscale attention-getter. Once the participant fixated on it for 300 ms,  
290 the first colorful pinwheel was presented in one of eight possible locations on an imaginary circle around the center  
291 of the screen, and it remained there until the participant fixated on it for 300 ms. Then, the first pinwheel disappeared  
292 and the second pinwheel was presented in one of the remaining possible locations (not including the immediately  
293 adjacent locations) until the participant fixated on it for 300 ms. A second central attention-getter was presented  
294 until the participant fixated on it for 300 ms. Two grey squares were then presented in the same two locations where  
295 the two pinwheels had appeared. We recorded the first square that the participant fixated for 300 ms as their “choice”

296 for that trial. For example, if the participant fixated on the square that appeared in the same position as the first  
297 pinwheel, the recorded choice was ‘first’.

298 On 80% of trials, the two pinwheels had different saturation levels. Half of these trials showed the more  
299 saturated pinwheel first; the remaining half presented the more saturated pinwheel second. If the participant first  
300 looked to the more saturated pinwheel, that pinwheel re-appeared in the same location along with a pleasant sound  
301 (Fig 1). If it was the less saturated pinwheel, the squares remained on the screen until the participant fixated on the  
302 target location, at which time they then saw the pinwheel reappear and heard the rewarding sound. Trials ended  
303 after 4 seconds if the participant did not make any choice. We used eight different locations to discourage pattern-  
304 seeking behavior. Indeed, when we debriefed our adult participants, none mentioned location on the screen as a  
305 meaningful factor.

306 On 20% of trials, the two pinwheels had the same saturation level (‘equal-saturation trials’), and participants  
307 saw the pinwheel and heard the sound in whichever location they fixated first, given that each location was equally  
308 correct. However, these trials did not yield meaningful results in a planned separate analysis, likely due to the small  
309 number of trials that were included in it (infants:  $4.7 \pm 2.5$ , children:  $8.3 \pm 4.6$ , adults:  $17.7 \pm 2.5$ ; mean number of  
310 usable equal trials  $\pm$  STD).

## 311

### 312 **Procedure**

313 Participants sat approximately 60 cm from the monitor and eye tracker (Eyelink 1000 Plus, SR Research, Ontario,  
314 Canada). The monitor measured 34cm by 27cm and eye gaze was recorded using the 25mm infant lens. The display  
315 monitor was facing the participant. The host monitor and computer were in front of the experimenter, facing away  
316 from the participant. Before beginning the experiment, a five-point calibration was used. We performed calibration  
317 and validation for all participants and did not exclude participants based on validation accuracy.

318 Infants sat on their caregivers’ laps throughout the experiment. Caregivers were instructed to not interfere  
319 with the infant and wore a visor during the experiment, which prevented them from seeing the screen and blinded  
320 them to the content of the individual trials, to avoid biasing the infants’ behavior. Children and adults sat on a chair.  
321 The experimenter watched the participant from the Eyelink host computer in order to execute recalibration or to

322 exit the experiment when infants or children became too inattentive and fussy. Monitoring the host computer also  
323 allowed the experimenter to adjust the display monitor as infants or children moved.

324 Participants were presented a maximum of 105 total trials with incrementally increasing difficulty levels  
325 every 10 trials. The saturation (S value for the HSV representation of the image) level of the stimuli was drawn  
326 from a uniform distribution between 0.1 and 1. The ratio between the two saturation levels within the trial was  
327 initially drawn from a uniform distribution between [2, 4]. The range of the distribution decreased every 10 trials  
328 to [1.75, 3], then [1.5, 2.5], then [1.25, 2], then [1.2, 1.75], and finally [1.1, 1.5] from trial 61 through the end of the  
329 experiment. Infants contributed fewer trials than children, and, in turn, children completed fewer than adults  
330 (infants:  $29 \pm 14.7$ , children:  $58.4 \pm 29.9$ , adults:  $101.6 \pm 3.8$ ; mean number of completed trials  $\pm$  STD). This  
331 difference in the number of completed trials could have resulted in a less accurate representation of the mean  
332 saturation level, which might account for the lower weight of incorporation of that mean estimate into in-the-  
333 moment perception. To eliminate this possible confound of the number of trials completed by each group, we  
334 performed additional analyses where we excluded all trials beyond the 30<sup>th</sup> trial for children, and adults alike.  
335 Results obtained using this reduced dataset were consistent with the effects reported above (Fig. S1), suggesting  
336 that group differences were not due to differences in the number of trials contributed by each age group.

337 After the experiment, we debriefed adult participants and asked them: 1. “What did you think the study was  
338 about?” 2. “How did you decide which square to look at?” 3. “When did you hear a sound play?” 4. “Did you notice  
339 anything else?” Based on these four questions, we identified 6 adult subjects who explicitly linked saturation with  
340 the occurrence of the target sound (For example, one of them replied to the second question: “I would look at the  
341 brighter pinwheel.”). Excluding these participants from the analysis did not change the reported group differences  
342 (Fig. S2), suggesting that these group differences were not due to explicit vs. implicit knowledge about the task, in  
343 line with recent work that showed no effect of explicit feedback on contraction bias in perceptual tasks (Loewenstein  
344 et al., 2021).

345

346

347 Analysis

348 We regressed participants' responses in each trial (first look towards '1<sup>st</sup>' or '2<sup>nd</sup>' gray place holder) on two  
349 predictors: 1) The difference between the saturation level of the two pinwheels in the current trial; 2) The difference  
350 between the mean saturation level of all previous trials. We found the weights of each predictor using a mixed  
351 model with subject as a random variable:  $\text{Resp} \sim \text{deltaCurrent} + \text{deltaMean} + \text{Group:deltaCurrent} +$   
352  $\text{Group:deltaMean} + (1 | \text{Subject})$ .

353

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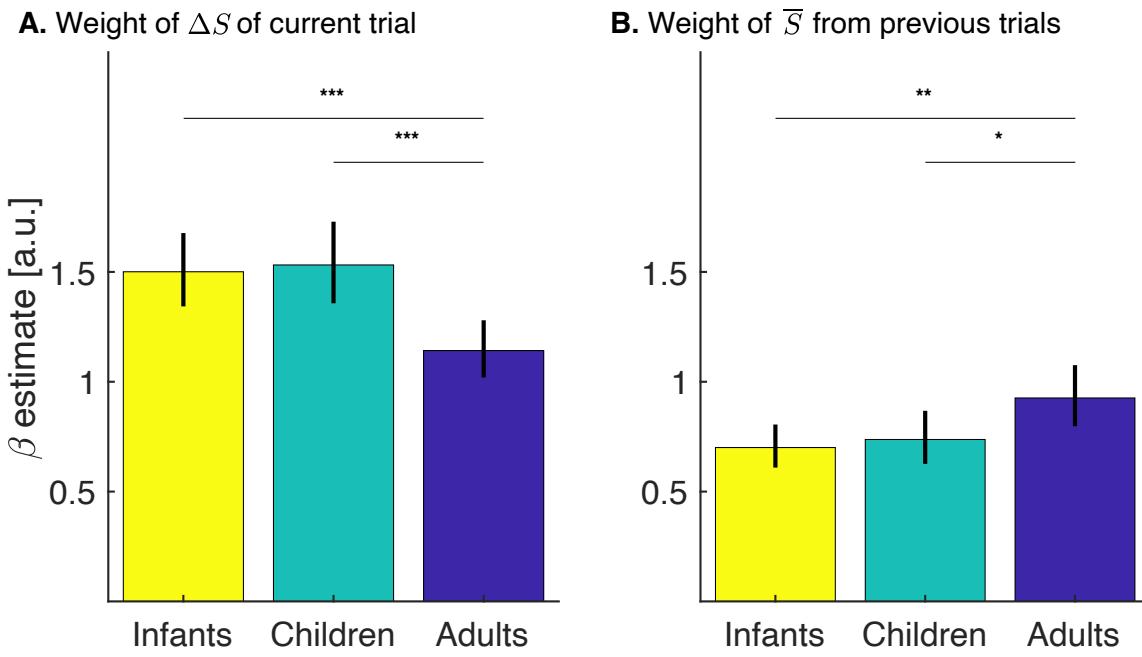
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- 521

522 **Supplementary information**

523 **Figure S1**

524 *Weight, by Age Group, of Current Trial (Saturation Difference) and of Previous Trials (Mean Saturation Level) in*  
525 *Predicting Participants' Choices, when average number of analyzed trials is equal for all groups*



526

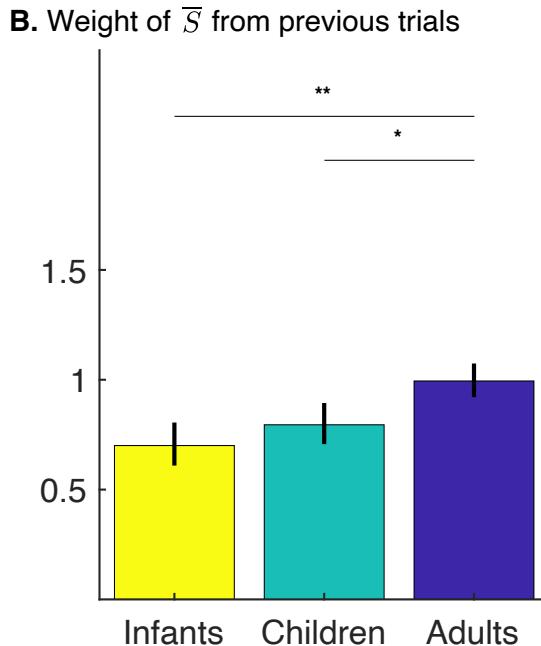
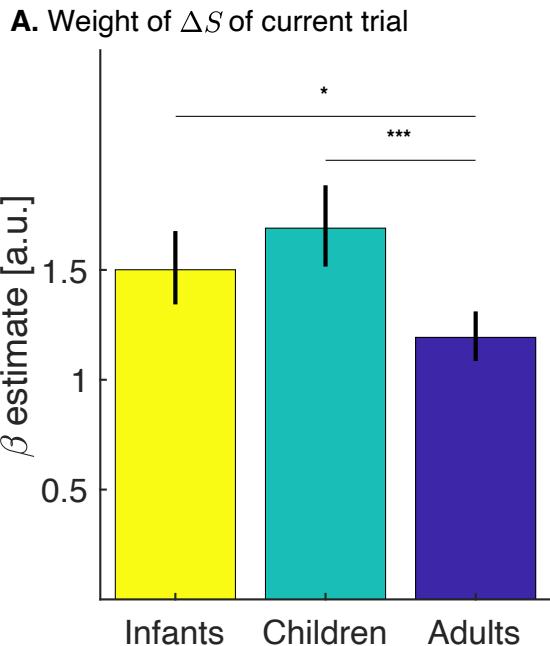
527 *Note.* A. Weight of the saturation difference ( $\Delta S$ ) in the current trial in predicting participants' choice. B. Weight of mean  
528 saturation level ( $\bar{S}$ ) from previous trials (i.e., merging the representation of the first pinwheel's saturation level in the current  
529 trial towards the mean of all previous saturation levels in predicting participants' choice). Error bars denote 95% confidence  
530 interval. Average number of trials was 29 for infants. For children and adults, only the first 29 trials were analyzed. \* $p <$   
531 .05, \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

532 After equating for number of trials, we again found that the impact of current observation differed between age groups  
533 [ $F(2, 1282 = 8.1, p < .001$ ]. Infants and children showed greater influence of current saturation level on their performance on  
534 a given trial, relative to adults [adults vs. infants:  $F(1, 936) = 11.4, p < .001$ ; adults vs. children:  $F(1, 804) = 11.9, p < .001$ ;  
535 children vs. infants:  $F(1, 824) = .1, p = .79$ ]. We found that the three age groups differed in the impact of previous trials [ $F(2,$   
536  $1282 = 4, p < .05$ ]. Adults showed significantly greater impact of prior compared to infants and children [adults vs. infants:  
537  $F(1, 936) = 7.3, p < .01$ ; adults vs. children:  $F(1, 804) = 4.1, p < .05$ ; children vs. infants:  $F(1, 824) = .3, p = .61$ ].

538

**Figure S2**

539 *Weight, by Age Group, of Current Trial (Saturation Difference) and of Previous Trials (Mean Saturation Level) in*  
 540 *Predicting Participants' Choices, when adults who had explicit understanding of the task were excluded from*  
 541 *analysis and replaced with new participants*



542

543 Note. A. Weight of the saturation difference ( $\Delta S$ ) in the current trial in predicting participants' choice. B. Weight of mean  
 544 saturation level ( $\bar{S}$ ) from previous trials (i.e., merging the representation of the first pinwheel's saturation level in the current  
 545 trial towards the mean of all previous saturation levels in predicting participants' choice). Error bars denote 95% confidence  
 546 interval. We excluded adults whose answers to the debriefing questions indicated that they had explicit understanding of the  
 547 task and replaced them with new participants to reach 24 subjects. \* $p < .01$ , \*\* $p < .0001$ , \*\*\* $p < 10^{-5}$ .

548 After excluding participants who reported explicitly understanding of the task, we found that the impact of current  
 549 observation differed between age groups [ $F(2, 3128) = 11.8, p < 10^{-5}$ ]. Infants and children showed greater influence of current  
 550 saturation level on their performance on a given trial, relative to adults [adults vs. infants:  $F(1, 2357) = 9.1, p < .01$ ; adults vs.  
 551 children:  $F(1, 2650) = 21.7, p < 10^{-5}$ ; children vs. infants: *same as original analysis*]. We found that the three age groups  
 552 differed in the impact of previous trials [ $F(2, 3128) = 11.6, p < 10^{-5}$ ]. Adults showed significantly greater impact of prior  
 553 compared to infants and children [adults vs. infants:  $F(1, 2357) = 18, p < .0001$ ; adults vs. children:  $F(1, 2650) = 10.7, p < .01$ ;  
 554 children vs. infants: *same as original analysis*].