

# Mine for life: charting ownership effects in memory from adolescence to old age

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1 **Mine for Life: Charting Ownership Effects in Memory from Adolescence to Old Age**

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29 **Abstract**

30 The current study investigates the Self Reference Effect (SRE) with an ownership memory  
31 task across several age groups, providing the first age exploration of implicit ownership  
32 memory biases from adolescence to older adulthood ( $N = 159$ ). Using a well-established  
33 ownership task (Cunningham et al., 2008; Sparks et al., 2016; Clarkson et al., 2022),  
34 participants were required to sort images of grocery items as belonging to themselves or to a  
35 fictitious unnamed Other. After sorting and a brief distractor task, participants completed a  
36 surprise one-step source memory test. Overall, there was a robust SRE, with greater source  
37 memory accuracy for self-owned items. The SRE attenuated with age, such that the  
38 magnitude of difference between self and other memory diminished into older adulthood.  
39 Importantly, these findings were not due to a deterioration of memory for self-owned items,  
40 but rather an increase in memory performance for other-owned items. Linear mixed effects  
41 analyses showed self-biases in reaction times, such that self-owned items were identified  
42 more rapidly compared with other owned items. Again, age interacted with this effect  
43 showing that the responses of older adults were slowed, especially for other-owned items.  
44 Several theoretical implications were drawn from these findings, but we suggest that older  
45 adults may not experience ownership-related biases to the same degree as younger adults.  
46 Consequently, SREs through the lens of mere ownership may attenuate with age.

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## 60 **Introduction**

61 Our sense of Self is based on the accumulation of autobiographical memories over time  
62 (Conway & Pearce, 2000; Conway, 2005; James, 1890) and our understanding of our unique  
63 traits and characteristics, values, abilities, and social roles (Harter, 2012; James, 1890). Self-  
64 representation refers to the mental depiction of ourselves, our experiences (episodic  
65 memories), and our connections with others (Markus & Wurf, 1987). The development and  
66 consciousness of the Self undergoes transformations in response to new experiences,  
67 biological changes, and evolving societal contexts (Pfeifer et al., 2013), raising questions  
68 about the cognitive implications of these shifts. Specifically, the current study aims to explore  
69 how such changes might influence cognitive mechanisms that underpin memory biases in  
70 response to self-relevant information.

### 71 **1.1 A Measure of Self: The Self-Reference Effect (SRE)**

72 One way to demonstrate the effect of Self on cognition is to examine its effects through the  
73 measurement of the Self-Reference Effect (SRE); a well-established memory bias evidenced  
74 by improvement in episodic memory when encoded information is self-relevant  
75 (Cunningham et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2011; Symmons & Johnson, 1997; Rogers et al., 1977;  
76 Klein & Loftus, 1988). Such improvement is seen, for example, through greater accuracy and  
77 speed in recall of information processed in relation to the Self, as opposed to Others (see  
78 Symons & Johnson, 1997 for a meta-analysis). In a seminal paper, Rogers et al. (1977)  
79 presented participants with trait adjectives (e.g., funny, intelligent, friendly) and asked them  
80 to determine if each accurately described their own personality. They then compared this to  
81 other types of encoding strategies (structural, phonemic, and semantic encoding). In a  
82 subsequent surprise memory test, self-referential encoding led to better word recall compared  
83 with all other conditions (Rogers et al., 1977). This improved memory performance was  
84 ascribed to the cognitive and neural representations that are activated when the Self is salient,  
85 which facilitates the encoding, organisation, and retrieval of such information (Klein &  
86 Loftus, 1988).

87 The SRE is robust and has been demonstrated in various memory contexts (Denny & Hunt,  
88 1992; Kuiper & Derry, 1982; Sanz, 1996; Sedikides & Green, 2000). Many experimental  
89 paradigms require participants to retrieve self-knowledge during encoding, a process known  
90 as evaluative self-referencing (Ross et al., 2011; Turk et al., 2008). However, self-referencing  
91 can also occur implicitly, under conditions of arbitrary stimulus assignment to the Self or the  
92 Other, where elements of agency and self-evaluation are removed (Clarkson et al., 2022;  
93 Cunningham et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2011, 2022; Sparks et al., 2016; Turk et al., 2008; Sui et  
94 al., 2012). There is also evidence that shows self-referencing can occur incidentally, even  
95 when the trait words did not require evaluation, and were simply placed in proximity to one's  
96 own name (Ross et al., 2011; Turk et al., 2008). Additionally, the SRE can be seen in  
97 contexts absent of self-cues, as seen when individuals remember birthdays closer to their own  
98 versus others', including those of newly introduced strangers (Kesebir & Oishi, 2010). In

99 summary, the SRE is well established, whether the information is encoded through deliberate  
100 evaluation, implicitly or incidentally.

## 101 **1.2 The Self Reference Effect Across Age Groups**

102 While most studies have concentrated on younger adults, increasingly research is evaluating  
103 the SRE across a range of age groups. For example, Ross et al (2011) and Cunningham et al.  
104 (2014; see also Andrews et al., 2020) established that 3- and 4-year old children show a  
105 memory bias for objects shown with the self-image, and this bias persists in later childhood  
106 (Bennet & Sani, 2004; Halpin et al., 1984; Pullyblank et al., 1985; Ray et al., 2009). It may  
107 still be developing however, as Hutchison et al. (2021) reported a significant increase in SRE  
108 magnitude between 10-11 year old children and adults. The stage between childhood and  
109 adulthood (i.e., adolescence) has received less attention. During adolescence, individuals  
110 often display increased self-awareness and self-consciousness as the self-concept matures  
111 (Beesdo et al., 2009; Beesdo-Baum & Knappe, 2012; Caouette & Guyer, 2014; Elkind &  
112 Bowen, 1979; Rankin et al., 2004; Somerville et al., 2013), which may exacerbate SREs.  
113 Supporting this suggestion, Moses-Payne et al. (2022) tested females aged 11-30 years on a  
114 task that required encoding trait adjectives in relation to either themselves or a well-known  
115 stranger. Adolescent girls remembered self-relevant trait words more accurately than their  
116 older counterparts, especially when the adjectives were negative. As the authors argued, these  
117 findings might reflect the fluctuating development of the self-concept during adolescence, as  
118 indicated by the enhanced processing of self-referent information.

119 In addition to fluctuations during adolescence, there may be SRE changes in later adulthood.  
120 The effectiveness of memory-enhancing strategies becomes especially relevant in older age  
121 groups, where memory decline is prevalent. The process of aging is characterised by a  
122 decline in various cognitive functions such as working memory, executive function, and  
123 processing speed (Murman, 2015; Park et al., 2002; Salthouse, 1996). However, older  
124 individuals can still improve their memory using specific encoding techniques (see Craik &  
125 Rose, 2012). Studies that employ self-knowledge evaluation frameworks have also explored  
126 the SRE in older populations (Gutchess et al., 2007; Hou et al., 2019; Leshikar et al., 2015;  
127 Hamami et al., 2011). Some research findings support enhanced memory in response to self-  
128 referential encoding in older adults, but these benefits may not enhance their memory  
129 capabilities to the level of younger adults (Gutchess et al., 2007, 2010). While Gutchess and  
130 colleagues (2007) found only a modest improvement in memory among older adults with the  
131 SRE, other research indicates that the benefits are comparable to those experienced by  
132 younger adults (Glisky & Marquine, 2009; Hamami et al., 2011; Lalanne et al., 2013;  
133 Leshikar, Park & Gutchess, 2015; Muella, Wonderlich & Dugan, 1986; St. Jacques & Levine,  
134 2007; Trelle, Simons, & Henson, 2015). The extent to which SREs persist in older adulthood  
135 is, however, currently unclear.

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**138 1.3 SRE Measurement: Alternative Paradigms and Methods**

139 Investigating lifespan self-biases in the memory SRE is complicated by the use of trait  
140 adjectives: participants must have an established vocabulary to understand the words they are  
141 encoding. If the participant is unable to understand the word, or interprets it differently from  
142 another participant, this increases the variability in responses. Thus younger children are  
143 often omitted from trait adjective paradigms (Cunningham et al., 2013, 2014). Moreover, the  
144 developmental period can interact with the valence of the trait words. For example, during  
145 adolescence, a period marked by rapid self-concept development, there is a direct influence  
146 on the recall of negative trait words compared with adults (Moses-Payne et al., 2022).

147 To avoid the issues arising from use of stimulus words in SRE tasks, the object ownership  
148 paradigm was developed as an alternative way to explore these memory biases. This task is  
149 intrinsically linked to the Self but does not require self-evaluation, or conscious awareness.  
150 Since individuals need to understand the Self to display these memory self-biases, the age at  
151 which ownership self-bias emerges may coincide with the developmental stage where  
152 individuals begin to differentiate their sense of Self from others (Rochat, 2009). Ownership  
153 understanding manifests at an early age. For example, toddlers can identify their own  
154 possessions, as well as those belonging to their parents and others (Brownell et al., 2013;  
155 Fasig, 2000). Ownership disputes are common among young children (Ross, 1996; Shantz,  
156 1987), and ownership evokes higher preferences for those objects (Gelman et al., 2012).  
157 Ownership also influences sensorimotor processes in children. This is evident in how  
158 children interact with physical objects in their environment, indicating an established  
159 association with them. For instance, children as young as two years old positioned their own  
160 drink bottles (an item they possessed for two weeks) significantly closer to themselves  
161 compared with an experimenter's bottle (Kritikos et al., 2020). This sensorimotor component  
162 is further complemented by a semantic understanding of ownership. Remarkably, there is  
163 evidence that children as young as 12 months old can differentiate possessive pronouns,  
164 suggesting that the Self as a distinct concept, encompassing both semantic and sensorimotor  
165 components, can emerge during infancy (Saylor et al., 2011).

166 Instead of encoding trait adjectives, ownership memory tasks require participants to encode  
167 information as belonging to the self or an Other, and subsequently testing their memory for  
168 these items (Cunningham et al., 2008; Sparks et al., 2016; Clarkson et al., 2022; Collard et  
169 al., 2020). Allocation of ownership initiates a variety of psychological processes that may  
170 enhance an item's actual value (see *The Endowment Effect*; Kahneman et al., 1990; Thaler,  
171 1980; Beggan, 1982) through connection to the Self (Belk, 1988). In such paradigms, owned  
172 items have been shown to enhance memory and evoke positive affect (Beggan, 1992; Belk,  
173 1988, 1991; Collard et al., 2020; Cunningham et al., 2008; Van den Bos, et al., 2010; Sparks  
174 et al., 2016). Response times to owned items are often faster, with participants routinely  
175 requiring less information to make a correct decision about a self-owned/self-related stimulus  
176 (Sui & Humphreys, 2012; Golubickis et al., 2018, 2019, 2020; Payne et al., 2020). This  
177 connection between owned objects and the Self (Beggan, 1992; Belk, 1988, 1991; Collard et  
178 al., 2020), results in greater memory accuracy for self- compared with other-owned objects,

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179 even if ownership is transient, virtual, and arbitrary (Cunningham et al., 2008; Sparks et al.,  
180 2016; Clarkson et al., 2022).

181 Ownership memory effects have been found in children as young as four years old  
182 (Cunningham et al., 2013; Ross et al., 2011). Ross et al. (2011) found that young children  
183 showed a memory bias for images of animals assigned to their own 'zoo' rather than the  
184 experimenters' zoo. The effect was evident immediately, and for up to a week after  
185 ownership was assigned. Similarly, Cunningham et al., (2013) showed that young children  
186 demonstrated more accurate recall of images of toys assigned to them than those given to  
187 another child. Importantly, ownership effects could provide a window into the lifespan  
188 development of SREs. While there are mixed effects associated with standard SRE trait tasks  
189 in old age, the ownership paradigm is suitable for all age groups. Although limited research  
190 has explored ownership memory biases in older adults, some studies have used self-  
191 referential evaluation of objects to improve memory, suggesting tasks of this nature have  
192 potential. For example, in a series of experiments, Hamami et al., (2011) found that self-  
193 referencing enhances general and specific recognition of visual details and source details for  
194 objects in younger and older adults. Dulas & Duarte (2011) also found evidence of self-  
195 referencing for source memory of objects in both older and younger adults, as well as  
196 showing ERP results that revealed earlier old-new effects for self-referentially encoded items  
197 in both age groups.

198 However, memory for visual objects may not be the same as implicit ownership. The process  
199 of categorising items as something a participant likes or dislikes involves a degree of agency  
200 that may not be present in mere ownership paradigms. Ownership studies are unique in that  
201 participants are simply instructed to move items into a symbolic basket or bag that represents  
202 ownership and through this agency may be less salient or removed. Few studies have  
203 examined the effects of ownership self-referencing in older adults, including Daley and  
204 colleagues (2020) who found that both older and younger adults demonstrated the SRE when  
205 asked to imagine certain objects as belonging to themselves, or another. Interestingly, Daley  
206 and colleagues (2020) also found no significant interaction between the age groups, or any  
207 differences in overall memory performance. These findings illustrate the nuanced relationship  
208 between age, self-referencing, and ownership, suggesting that while self-referential encoding  
209 may generally enhance memory across age groups, the mechanisms underlying these effects  
210 can differ, particularly when it comes to the concept of ownership.

211 Examining the lifespan trajectory of ownership memory effects could reveal differences in  
212 the conceptualisation of Self and Other at various developmental stages. Aspects of the Self  
213 alter as individuals transition from adolescence and young adulthood into older adulthood  
214 (Cotter & Gonzalez, 2009). For instance, many older adults experience significant shifts in  
215 their professional and personal lives, such as retirement, changing living arrangements, and  
216 changing relationships, which can have profound impacts on Self perceptions and  
217 understanding (Kim & Moen, 2002; Wahl et al., 2012). Sometimes, important possessions  
218 take on a heightened role in the preservation of memory and identity for older adults (Kleine  
219 & Baker, 2004), although some research suggests that as people age, they may become less

220 attached to some material possessions (Lastovicka & Fernandez, 2005). Socioemotional  
221 selectivity theory postulates that as people age and perceive their time as limited, they  
222 prioritise emotionally meaningful goals and therefore place less importance on personal  
223 possessions (Carstensen, 1991). Given these developmental shifts, and their potential impact  
224 on Self referencing, there is much to gain from further interrogating such memory bias on the  
225 performance of older, relative to younger, adults. Additionally, ownership tasks offer a  
226 scalable solution for testing such memory biases across a wide variety of ages.

#### 227 **1.4 The Current Study**

228 The primary objective of this study is to investigate the developmental trajectory of the  
229 Ownership Self-Reference Effect (OSRE) from adolescence through young adulthood,  
230 middle age, and into older adulthood. Although previous research on ownership memory  
231 effects has primarily focused on young adults and young children, fewer studies have  
232 examined object or ownership effects across the lifespan to be inclusive of older adults  
233 (Dulas & Duarte, 2011; Daley et al, 2020; Hamami et al., 2011), and none to date have  
234 explored the nature of implicit ownership memory effects in adolescents. In the current  
235 design, we purposefully chose to make the ‘Other’ an unknown stranger where participants  
236 were only told that they would be participating with ‘another participant’. This decision was  
237 made to maintain neutrality, because relationships with the Other are known to modulate  
238 SREs and SPEs reliably (Aron et al., 1991; Mashek et al., 2003; Sui & Humphreys, 2012, and  
239 for a more recent example, Rosa et al., 2024). There is also evidence that additional  
240 information about a stranger can modulate SRE processes (see Clarkson et al., 2022). A  
241 distant other was chosen to control for these influences. Additionally, employing a distant  
242 other establishes a foundation where any observed effects can be ascribed to self-specific  
243 processing. Unlike other SRE studies that compare self-referencing with other encoding  
244 strategies (for example, in a semantic condition, where participants determine whether a word  
245 is positive or negative), we minimise the possibility that the effects could be attributed to  
246 some other form of social processing responsible for memory enhancement. In our planned  
247 (pre-registered) hypotheses, we predict a main effect of Self reference, leading to better  
248 source memory accuracy for self-owned items compared to items owned by others (reflected  
249 by corrected hit rates). Source memory was selected as the metric for assessing memory  
250 biases because it provides strong evidence of self-referential encoding. Unlike recognition  
251 memory, which may be influenced by heightened familiarity and does not distinguish  
252 whether an item was actually associated with the Self or another (Durbin et al., 2017). In line  
253 with the findings from Moses-Payne and colleagues (2022), we anticipate that in adolescents,  
254 the magnitude of the SRE will be greater than in older age groups. We expect this to occur  
255 given that adolescence is the time in which the cognitive representation of oneself develops  
256 and individuates from their parents, and become increasingly self-focussed (Ray et al., 2009).  
257 In older adults, we expect that the degree of self-bias will gradually attenuate. In line with  
258 this, we therefore expect an interaction with the degree of self-referencing and age. We also  
259 test some exploratory (non-pre-pre-registered) hypotheses.



260 Specifically, we predict a self-bias in reaction times, as demonstrated in previous studies  
261 (Cunningham et al., 2008; Golubickis et al., 2019; Sui & Humphreys, 2012). Participants are  
262 expected to have the fastest reaction times for self-owned items compared with other-owned  
263 items, despite reaction times overall increasing with age (Hardwick et al., 2022; Ratcliff et  
264 al., 2001). These results should be demonstrated with main effects of object categorisation.

265

266

## Method

### 267 2.1 Participants and Design

#### 268 2.1.1 Recruitment and Ethics

269 Participants for the young adult sample were recruited through the University of  
270 Queensland's SONA Systems from a course credit pool. Healthy older and middle-aged  
271 adults were recruited from community Facebook groups and the local community. For the  
272 adolescent sample, we worked with a participating school who sent the study to middle and  
273 senior school students who volunteered with parental consent. All participants were  
274 reimbursed with \$20 gift cards except undergraduate students, who were reimbursed with  
275 university course credit. This study was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee  
276 (HREC; #2019001659).

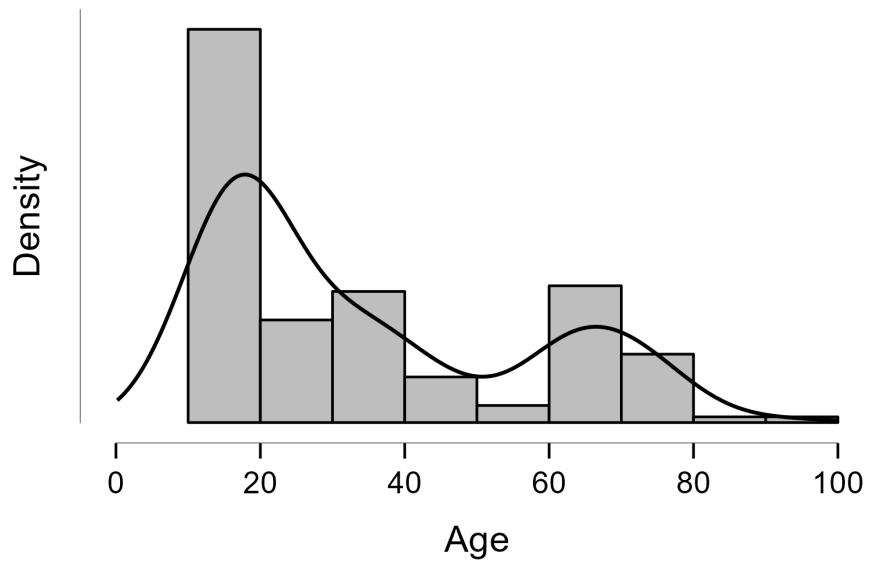
#### 277 2.1.2 Design

278 We pre-registered the initial design as a 4 (Age: Adolescent, Young Adult, Middle Aged  
279 Adult, and Older Adult)  $\times$  2 (Ownership: Self and Other) mixed design, where age was a  
280 between-groups factor and Ownership was a within-groups factor. However, given the wide  
281 spread of our recruited age group (see Figure 1) lending itself to being continuous in nature,  
282 and considering the developmental fluctuations that occur between ages 12-17 for  
283 adolescents (Steinberg, 2005), we treated age as a continuous rather than a categorical factor.  
284 We have included the analyses for age treated as a categorical variable in the electronic  
285 supplementary materials.

286 A *G\*Power* analysis revealed that for 80% power, a medium effect size with one covariate,  
287 yielded a minimum sample size of 128. We aimed to recruit roughly 40 participants per  
288 cohort with a minimum expectancy of 32 people per condition. A total of 159 individuals  
289 comprising the final dataset and details of the demographics can be found in Table 1.

290

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291

292 **Figure 1.** Age distribution across the entire participant sample.

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293 **Table 1.** Demographics

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean Age (SD)</b>	<b>Age Range</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Caucasian/ White</b>	<b>Black or African American</b>	<b>Southeast Asian</b>	<b>Asian</b>	<b>Preferred Not to Say</b>
Adolescents	44	14.61 (1.79)	12-17	18	26	79.50%	4.50%	4.55%	-	11.40%
Younger Adults	40	20.48 (2.20)	17 - 27	7	33	50%	12.50%	37.50%	-	-
Middle-aged Adults	35	37.14 (5.73)	30 - 51	1	34	71.40%	5.71%	11.43%	-	11.43%
Older Adults	40	68.20 (6.94)	60 - 93	9	31	95%	5%	-	-	-

294 **2.2 Apparatus & Stimuli**

295 This study was administered online using GORILLA Experiment Builder. De-identified data  
296 is available on OSF (<https://osf.io/t24m5/>).

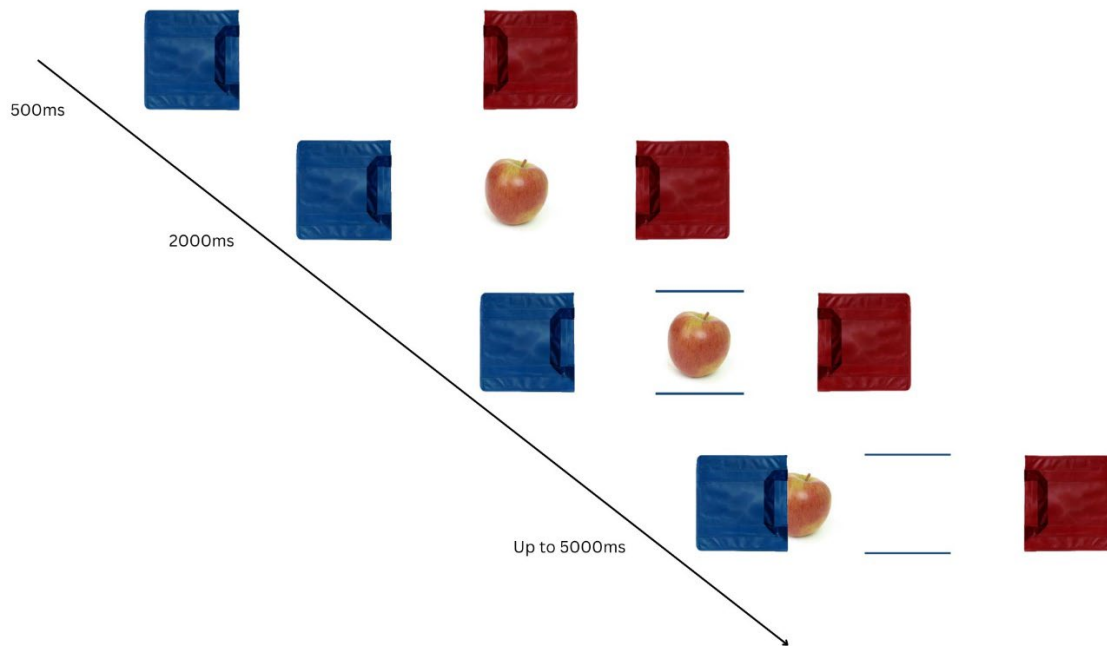
297 **2.2 Procedure**

298 All participants gave informed consent before participating, were told that they could  
299 withdraw at any time without penalty, and that they had to complete the experiment in one  
300 sitting. Older adults were required to confirm that they had no history of neurological  
301 disorders, psychiatric or cerebrovascular conditions and that they had good/corrected vision  
302 before completing the experiment. Following this, participants were told they were about to  
303 play a ‘shopping game’ and had ‘won’ a set of items with another participant and were  
304 required to sort the items. They were randomly allocated a blue or red bag on the left or right  
305 side of the screen, with the other participant owning the opposite bag, and were informed  
306 they would see items appear sequentially in the centre of the screen (between the bags) and  
307 shortly after, a coloured cue would appear (red or blue) indicating the item ownership. Once  
308 ownership was identified, participants were required to move the item from the centre of the  
309 screen into the corresponding bag using arrow keys on the keyboard.

310 Participants then needed to respond correctly to multiple manipulation checks to ensure they  
311 understood ownership assignment. The practice task consisted of four images of animals (to  
312 be distinctly different from the item set in the experimental task). Participants were given  
313 feedback on their accuracy in sorting these items, and incorrect responses prompted the  
314 participant to repeat the action until they answered correctly.

315 Once the practice phase was successfully completed, the experimental task began.  
316 Participants sorted a total of 100 items that were drawn from two of three item lists and that  
317 were counterbalanced across participants. This item set has been used in previous SRE  
318 research (Cunningham et al., 2008), and contained objects typically available in shopping  
319 centres. The bags appeared for 500ms on the left and right of the monitor. An object  
320 subsequently appeared in the centre of the monitor and between the bags for 2000ms, after  
321 which coloured lines appeared above and below the object to indicate the owner of the item.  
322 These lines remained until the trial was complete. Participants were instructed to use the left  
323 or right arrow keys to move the object to the left or right bag respectively. 2000ms was  
324 allocated to the participant to begin moving the item from cue colour onset. If they did not  
325 respond, the next trial began. If they began to move the item, participants had up to 5000ms  
326 to complete the trial and move the item completely into the bag using the left and right arrow  
327 keys (See Figure 2).

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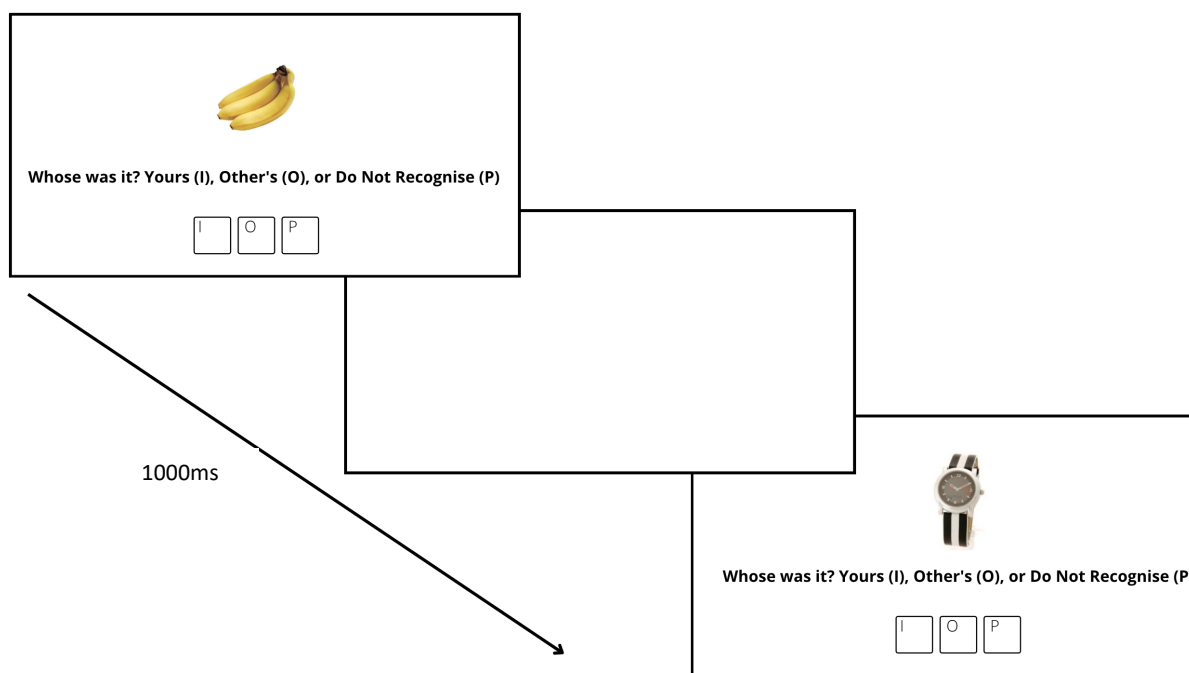


328

329 **Figure 2:** Representation of the encoding task. Items appear sequentially, followed by a  
330 colour and reward cue that indicates ownership.

331 At the end of the allocation component of the task, participants were asked again to identify  
332 the owner of each bag, and they received the value of their own items as a final manipulation  
333 check. They were then directed to watch a 2:23 minute filler video containing images of  
334 space and satellites as a distractor task, to prevent any rehearsal of the material, and were  
335 asked brief questions about the likeability of the video through a brief survey. Participants  
336 were then directed to a surprise one-step source memory test. They were told that they were  
337 about to see the same items again, with additional items that they had not seen before. They  
338 were asked to identify using their right hand if the item was theirs (I) the other participant's  
339 (O), or one they did not recognise (P). If they were unsure, they were told to take their best  
340 guess. This one-step memory test measures both recognition and source memory, replicated  
341 from (Clarkson et al., 2022; Collard et al., 2020). Items were presented consecutively at  
342 random with all 100 items that they previously allocated to bags, with 50 new (foil) items that  
343 they had not seen before, a total of 150 trials (See Figure 3). Participants were given an  
344 unlimited amount of time to respond to each time and the next trial would begin once they  
345 gave a response, but responses were removed if  $< 150\text{ms}$  or  $> 10000\text{ms}$ . At the completion  
346 of the memory test, participants were debriefed.

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348 **Figure 3:** Representation of the memory test. Items appear sequentially at random, and  
349 participants respond with one of three options. The stimulus remains on the screen until a  
350 response is given. After a response, a blank screen appears for 1000ms until the next items  
351 appears.

352

353

### Results

#### 3.1.1 Data and Analysis Plan

355 To be included in the group level analyses, participants had to meet the following criteria. A  
356 table including the exclusions can be found in the supplementary materials:

- 357 1. Correctly complete at least 95 out of 100 trials in the object allocation task (sorted the  
358 item to the correct colour indicative of the coloured cue).
- 359 2. Correctly identify their own and the other's bag before and immediately after object  
360 allocation.
- 361 3. Completed the memory test in full.
- 362 4. Individual response trials were removed from the memory test data if participants  
363 responded < 150ms or > 10000ms.

364

#### 3.1.2 Calculation of Corrected Hit Rates for Source Memory

366 The corrected hit rate for source-specific recognition reflects the ability for a participant to  
367 identify an old item they had seen before as well as correctly identify the owner of that item.  
368 Following the methods of previous work, false alarms were deducted from hits to help correct  
369 for random guessing (Clarkson et al., 2022; Cunningham et al., 2011; 2014; Sparks, 2020).  
370 We calculated the source-specific hit rate separately for Self and Other. Self-owned item

371 recognition was any self-owned items responded to as being owned by the self, and the false  
372 alarm rate was the proportion of new foil items that were responded to as self-owned. Other-  
373 owned item recognition was any Other-owned item, claimed as Other-owned and the false  
374 alarm rate was the proportion of new foil items that were responded to as Other-owned. To  
375 assess if the participants were performing above chance level guessing, we took the average  
376 hit rate for all participants (Self HR = .388; Other HR = .369) and conducted one-sample t-  
377 tests against a chance level guessing hit rate which in a three-choice design would be .3333  
378 (or 33.33%). Both tests showed that the means were significantly higher than chance level  
379 guessing (both  $ts \geq 3.03$ , both  $ps \leq .002$ )

### 380 **3.1.3 Analysis Plan**

381 All analyses were conducted using JASP (Love et al., 2019), and RStudio. To analyse source  
382 memory accuracy, we conducted an ANCOVA with one repeated measures factor  
383 (Ownership: Self-owner, Other-owned), and age treated as a continuous between-groups  
384 factor.

385 As an additional converging method, we submitted our data to a GLMM model with accuracy  
386 submitted as a categorical outcome, and age, and ownership as fixed factors. Participant ID  
387 was submitted as a random grouping factor. GLMMs, unlike ANOVA, make full use of the  
388 data by analysing all trials at an individual level, rather than aggregating them. This can lead  
389 to more precise estimates and therefore increases statistical power especially in designs with  
390 repeated measures or hierarchical structures, while account for the random effects of  
391 grouping participants preventing pseudo-replication (Bolker et al., 2009). In these models,  
392 false alarms are not subtracted from the hits to create a corrected hit rate. But rather the  
393 predicted likelihood is calculated for each response option and allows us to explore how the  
394 likelihood of making a hit may improve/decline for each response option as a function of age.

### 395 **3.2 Repeated Measures ANCOVA for Source Memory Accuracy**

396 A repeated measures ANCOVA revealed a significant main effect of Ownership while  
397 controlling for age,  $F(1, 157) = 12.975, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .076$ , such that self-owned items were  
398 recalled with higher memory accuracy compared with other-owned items (See Table 1 and  
399 Figures 5 & 6). Age was significantly positively related to source memory scores,  $F(1, 157) =$   
400  $5.405, p = .021$ . These findings were further qualified by a significant interaction between  
401 Ownership and Age,  $F(1, 157) = 4.060, p = .046, \eta_p^2 = .025$ . showing that the influence of  
402 Ownership on memory varied depending on age. To follow up the direction of the interaction,  
403 we computed a continuous difference variable between Self and Other CHRs (Self CHR –  
404 Other CHR) and using a Pearson correlation, we correlated this with age to investigate the  
405 direction of the interaction. We found a significant negative relationship between these  
406 variables  $r = -.159, p = .046$  indicating that self-bias attenuated with age. To explore the  
407 potential effects of gender, we conducted a separate analysis, incorporating gender as a  
408 between-groups factor in a repeated measures ANOVA. This analysis revealed no significant  
409 interaction effects. The results are available in the supplementary materials.

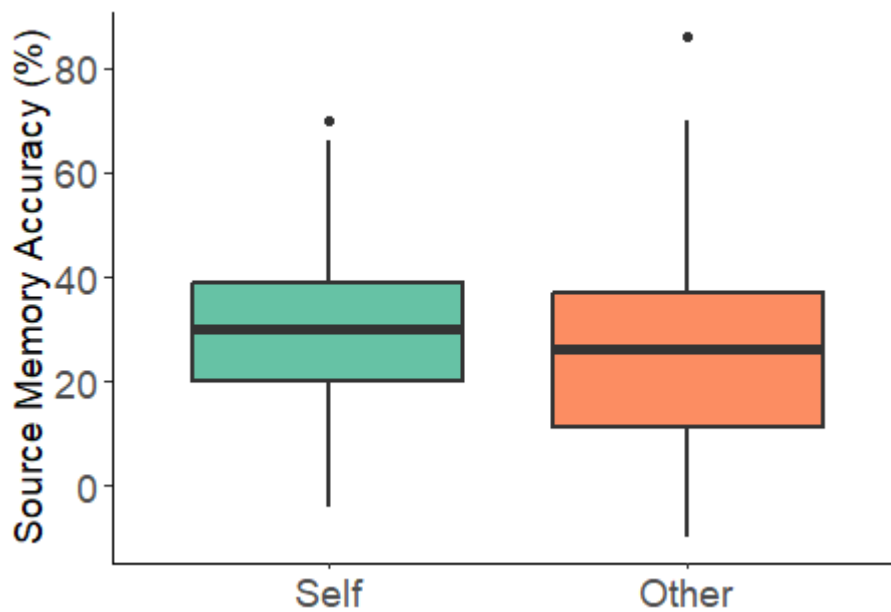
OWNERSHIP EFFECTS IN MEMORY

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**Table 2.** Average hit rates and false alarm rates for source memory

	Older Adults		Middle Aged Adults		Younger Adults		Adolescents	
	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
Hit Rate	.38	.40	.44	.41	.38	.34	.36	.35
False Alarm Rate	.06	.08	.13	.14	.10	.14	.09	.12
Source Memory Accuracy (%)	32	32.4	31	27	28	20	27	22.7

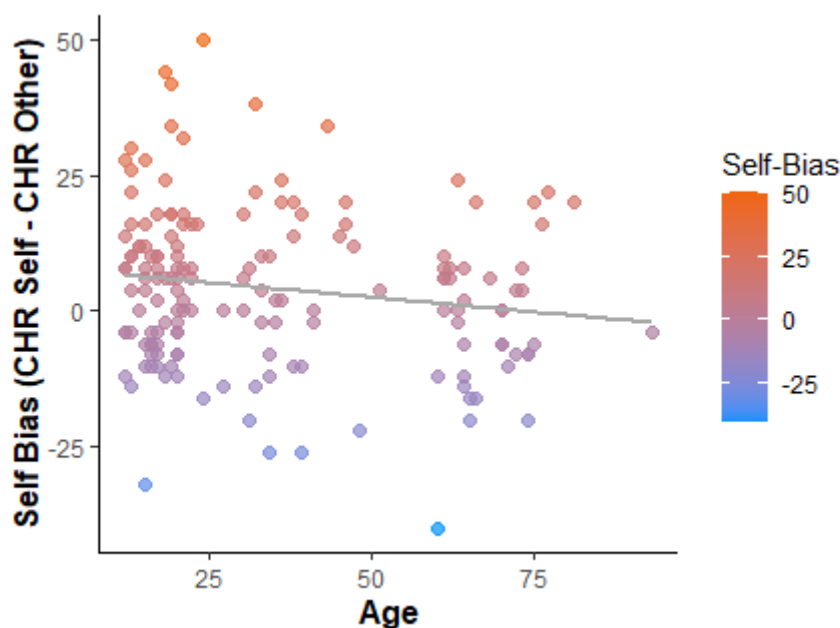
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**Figure 4.** Box plot representing the overall differences between Other and Self memory for owned items in a source recognition memory task. *Note:* this figure does not control for age.





423

424 **Figure 5.** Scatterplot showing the degree of bias towards the Self (above 0 indicates having  
 425 better memory for Self) as a function of age.

### 426 3.5 Generalised Linear Mixed Model (GLMM) for Accuracy

427 To further investigate the relationship between age and ownership effects on accuracy, a  
 428 Generalised Linear Mixed Model (GLMM) was fitted to the data using the 'lmer' function  
 429 from the 'lme4' package in R (Bates, Mächler, Bolker, & Walker, 2015). The model predicted  
 430 accuracy based on response type (Self, Other or Foil - items that participants classified as do  
 431 not recognise), age, and the interaction between response type and age, with a random  
 432 intercept included for each participant's ID. Age was scaled prior to model fitting. All  
 433 statistical results are reported in Table 3 and full model specifications can be found on our  
 434 OSF page.

435 Ownership for Self was used as the reference level for this model. Other was found to be  
 436 significantly associated with accuracy, compared with Self; Other was associated with lower  
 437 accuracy for all ages. The correct allocation Foil was also significantly associated with  
 438 accuracy. Compared with Self, Foil was associated with higher accuracy for all ages. Age  
 439 was not significantly associated with accuracy at the reference level (Self) when controlling  
 440 for all other levels, indicating that accuracy for Self did not change as a function of Age.  
 441 Importantly, the interaction between Other and Age was significantly associated with  
 442 accuracy, suggesting that accuracy for Other increases as Age increases. The interaction  
 443 between Foil and Age was significantly associated with accuracy, suggesting that Foil  
 444 accuracy improves with age.

445 **Table 3.** GLMM for predicted accuracy with the fixed effects of ownership (Self, Other,  
 446 Foil) and Age

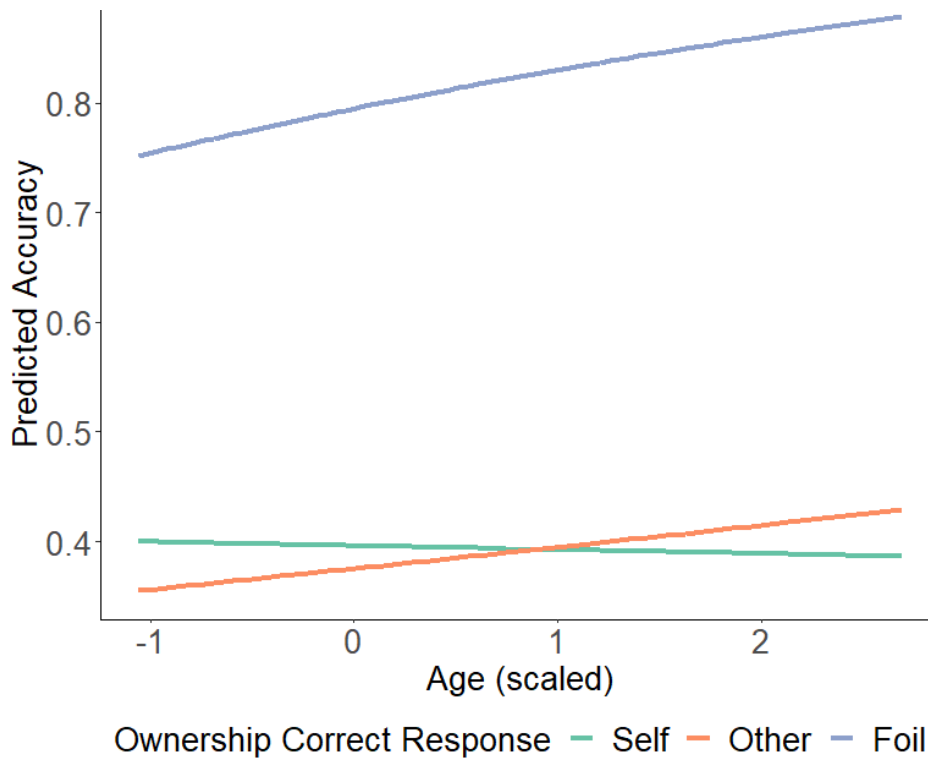
## OWNERSHIP EFFECTS IN MEMORY

Predictor	$\beta$	$\beta_{exp}$	$SE$	$z$	$p$
Intercept	-0.42	.660	0.04	-9.57	< .001***
Ownership 'Other'	-0.09	.920	0.03	-2.60	.009**
Ownership 'Foil'	1.78	5.910	0.04	47.61	< .001***
Age	-0.01	.990	0.04	-0.34	.736
Ownership 'Other' $\times$ Age	0.10	1.10	0.03	2.88	.003**
Ownership 'Foil' $\times$ Age	0.25	1.28	0.04	6.47	< .001**

447 Note: \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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451 **Figure 6.** Predicted accuracy for different responses as a function of age. Age is scaled<sup>1</sup>,  
452 range = 12 – 93 years.

### 453 3.6 Linear Mixed Effects Model (LME) for Reaction Time

454 A linear mixed-effects model (LME) was fitted to the data to predict Reaction Time from  
455 Age, Ownership and Accuracy, including interactions among these predictors, and  
456 accounting for the random effects of individual participants. The LME was fitted to the data

<sup>1</sup> Scaling or standardising variables helps with computational stability and convergence in linear mixed models. Scaling involves subtracting the mean from each value and dividing it by the standard deviation to produce a z-score.

## OWNERSHIP EFFECTS IN MEMORY

457 using the 'lmer' function from the 'lme4' package in R (Bates, Mächler, Bolker, & Walker,  
458 2015). All statistical results are reported in Table 5 and mean reaction times presented in  
459 Table 4.

460 The model revealed a significant effect of Age on Reaction Time, with Reaction Time  
461 slowing with increasing age. There was also a significant effect of Ownership on Reaction  
462 Time, with faster responses to other-owned items, and slower responses to foil items, both  
463 relative to self-owned items. Additionally, there was a significant effect of Accuracy, with  
464 Reaction Time increasing with increased Accuracy for Self when all other levels were held  
465 constant. Importantly, interaction effects were identified. A significant Age by Ownership:  
466 Other interaction indicated that the effect of Age on Reaction Time differed for other-owned  
467 items compared with self-owned items. The Age by Accuracy interaction was also  
468 significant, suggesting the effect of Age on Reaction Time differed with Accuracy.

469 Significant interactions were also found between Ownership and Accuracy on Reaction Time.  
470 For other-owned items, an increase in Accuracy led to an increase in Reaction Time, and for  
471 foil items, an increase in Accuracy led to a decrease in Reaction Time.

472 The three-way interactions for Age, Ownership, and Accuracy were also significant. For  
473 other-owned items, the influence of Age on Accuracy was more pronounced. This suggests  
474 that reaction time for other-owned items increases with accuracy, but especially among older  
475 participants. Conversely, for foil items, the relationship between Age and Accuracy was less  
476 strong, implying that as age increases, the positive association between accuracy and reaction  
477 time for foil items weakens.

478 **Table 4.** Mean (SD) reaction times (in seconds) for correct and incorrect decisions for all age  
479 groups across all conditions.

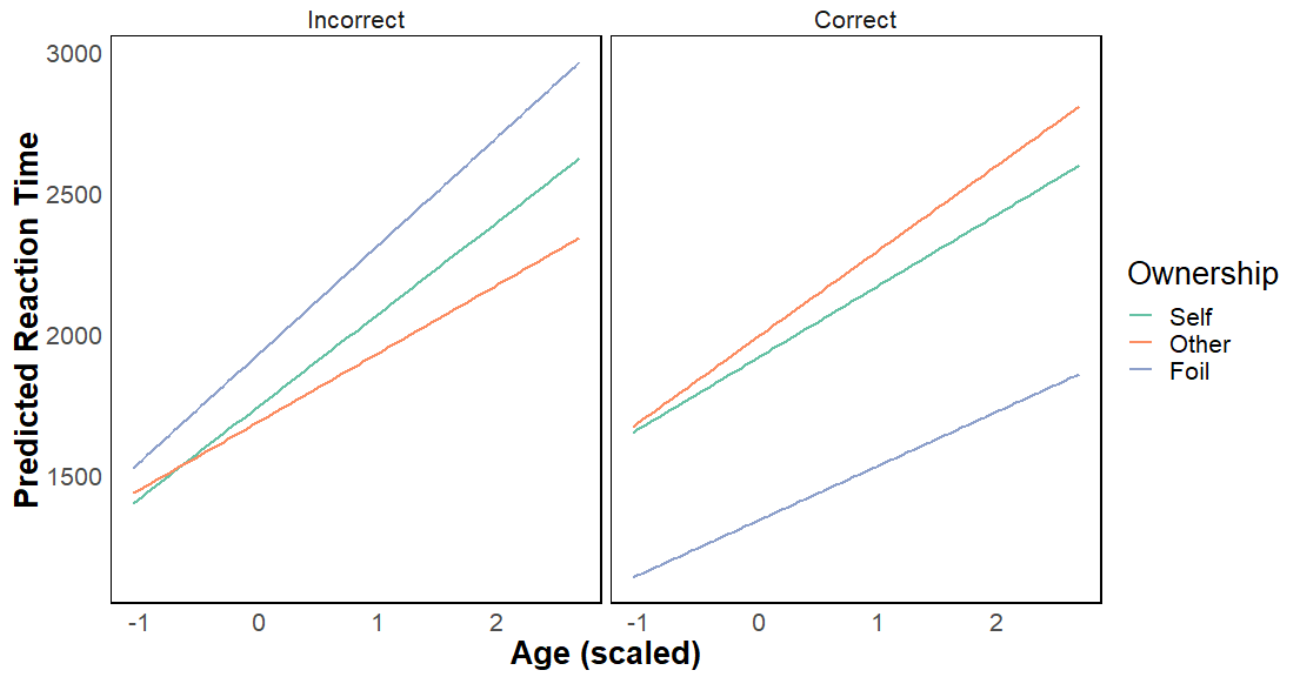
Age Group	Ownership	Correct RT (SD)	Incorrect RT (SD)
<b>Adolescents</b>	Self	2.01 (1.42)	1.64 (1.27)
	Other	1.96 (1.20)	1.70 (1.36)
	Foil	1.36 (1.03)	1.65 (1.34)
<b>Younger Adults</b>	Self	1.53 (1.15)	1.22 (1.08)
	Other	1.62 (1.12)	1.29 (0.93)
	Foil	1.07 (0.71)	1.42 (1.16)
<b>Middle Aged Adults</b>	Self	1.81 (1.27)	1.69 (1.28)
	Other	2.01 (1.40)	1.53 (1.10)
	Foil	1.40 (1.02)	1.75 (1.44)
<b>Older Adults</b>	Self	2.45 (1.50)	2.22 (1.51)
	Other	2.58 (1.47)	2.04 (1.31)
	Foil	1.63 (1.06)	2.62 (1.79)

480

481 **Table 5.** Linear Mixed Effects analysis for Reaction time as the outcome variable, Accuracy,  
 482 Ownership and Age as fixed factors, and participant ID as a group random effects factor.

Predictor	$\beta$	<i>SE</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	1746.67	46.74	192.59	37.367	< .001***
Age	325.13	46.64	191.02	6.971	< .001***
Ownership: Other	-54.87	22.82	23056.98	-2.405	.016*
Ownership: Foil	185.34	32.85	23128.92	5.643	< .001***
Accuracy	172.05	26.07	23090.47	6.598	< .001***
Age $\times$ Ownership: Other	-83.71	22.61	23055.82	-3.703	< .001***
Age $\times$ Ownership: Foil	57.94	34.80	23117.92	1.665	.096
Age $\times$ Accuracy	-72.87	26.27	23087.02	-2.774	.006**
Ownership: Other $\times$ Accuracy	129.01	36.67	23066.03	3.518	< .001***
Ownership: Foil $\times$ Accuracy	-762.03	41.84	23145.95	-18.212	< .001***
Age $\times$ Ownership: Other $\times$ Accuracy	133.87	36.82	23063.05	3.635	< .001***
Age $\times$ Ownership: Foil $\times$ Accuracy	-118.18	43.38	23132.09	-2.724	.006**

483 *Note:* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$



484

485 **Figure 7.** Interaction plot of fixed factors: Age, Ownership and Accuracy on the outcome  
 486 variable: Reaction Time.

487

## Discussion

### 488 4.1 Overview of Key Findings

489 The aim of this study was to assess the effect of the Ownership Self-Reference Effect on  
 490 source memory across age, from adolescence to older adulthood. We measured both accuracy  
 491 and response times to gauge these biases. Supporting our hypotheses, we found an overall  
 492 main effect of ownership, such that self-owned items were remembered with higher accuracy  
 493 compared with other-owned items. There was also a main effect of Age, such that memory  
 494 accuracy increased with age. Importantly, both main effects were qualified by the presence of  
 495 an ownership by age interaction, such that other-owned items were recalled with higher  
 496 accuracy in the older participants, and this was further confirmed by the results of a GLMM  
 497 that showed accuracy for both other-owned and foil items significantly improved with age.  
 498 These findings show that an attenuated self-bias with increasing age does not imply an age-  
 499 related decline for self-memory. Rather, memory for other-owned items improved, while  
 500 memory for Self remained stable across the sample age span. In line with memory accuracy  
 501 results, we found evidence of self-biases in reaction time, with participants more rapidly and  
 502 correctly categorising self- than other-owned information. We also found a three-way  
 503 interaction that showed older adults demonstrated significantly slower reaction times for  
 504 other-owned items when their decisions were accurate.

505

506

507 **4.2 Self-Ownership Memory Across Age Groups**

508 Some of our findings align with previous research, while others offer a counter-narrative.  
509 First, this study demonstrates a robust ownership memory bias towards Self owned items,  
510 aligning with previous research (Cunningham et al., 2008; Sparks et al., 2016; Collard et al.,  
511 2020; Clarkson et al., 2022). Owned objects elicit the self-processing biases that drive other  
512 self-reference effects in memory, and the current study adds to the literature on the robustness  
513 of this effect. Second, we confirmed the presence of self-referencing in adolescents reported  
514 by Moses-Payne et al. (2022) and extended these findings by demonstrating that implicit  
515 ownership biases can be observed in adolescent samples. Consistent with Moses-Payne et al.  
516 (2022), we observed an improvement in memory for other-related stimuli as age increased.  
517 However, we found this age-related increase not just in adolescent samples but across a wide  
518 adult age range, extending to older adulthood.

519 Previous research denotes that the SRE tends to attenuate with age in conjunction with the  
520 decline of episodic memory processes (Levine et al., 2002; Gutchess, Kensinger, Yoon &  
521 Schacter, 2007), but that the SRE that remains intact (Carson et al., 2015; Hamami et al.,  
522 2011; Glisky & Marquine, 2009; Gutchess, Kensinger, Yoon, et al., 2007). While our results  
523 agree with this attenuation, the reason for this effect was not attributable to compromised  
524 memory for self-owned items, but due to *enhanced* memory for other-owned items. Our  
525 findings are more consistent with the findings of Moses-Payne et al., (2022), who reported  
526 both increasing memory for other related words and decreasing memory for self-referenced  
527 words as a function of age in their exclusively female sample, leading to attenuation of the  
528 SRE from adolescence to early adulthood. Whilst we did not find differences in SREs  
529 between adolescence and adulthood, it is possible that this was due to our use of an  
530 ownership, rather than trait adjective paradigm. In a more recently published study, Rosa et  
531 al., (2024) found that adolescents and adults showed comparable SREs in memory for  
532 objects, which also corresponds with our current findings. As adolescent self-identity is being  
533 developed, ownership may play a significant role as young people begin to develop stylistic  
534 tastes (for example, they begin to decorate their personal spaces more; Fidzani & Read, 2014;  
535 Kamptner, 1995; James, 2001). Comparable SREs between adolescence and adulthood may  
536 reflect how personal ownership provides a different mechanistic experience for self-  
537 referencing, compared to the processing of trait adjectives.

538 Previous research with children has suggested that compared with evaluative SRE tasks,  
539 more incidental SRE tasks may be largely driven by developmentally stable self-biases, such  
540 as attentional prioritisation (Cunningham et al., 2014; Hutchison et al., 2021). This  
541 mechanism may demonstrate key differences between incidental and ownership SREs and  
542 suggest that ownership SREs may require at least some self-evaluation, since older adults  
543 also show reduced SREs when evaluative self-tasks are used (Gutchess et al., 2007, 2010),  
544 given they benefit from episodic enrichment of memory at encoding. The increase in memory  
545 for other-referenced items with age was unexpected and interesting, with several potential  
546 explanations. It is consistent with a change in social prioritisation across the lifespan, perhaps  
547 with a more stable self-construct and increasingly other-focused social roles (e.g., as parent

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548 and partner). Self-prioritisation effects can be overridden by competing current goals  
549 (Cunningham et al., 2022), which may increase attention to other-referenced material.

550 Another possibility is that older adults do not exhibit the same intensity of endowment due to  
551 mere ownership as younger adults. Their attachment to personal items may diminish with  
552 age. While older adults often display a heightened attachment to sentimental items, such as  
553 photographs or objects with significant personal importance (Wapner, Demick, & Redondo,  
554 1990; Cookman, 1996), they may show less interest in arbitrary objects that lack  
555 meaningfulness and are therefore less motivationally driven to exhibit endowment effects (in  
556 line with socioemotional selectivity theory; Carstensen, 1992). Given that we presented  
557 participants with common grocery items, it seems plausible that older adults are less likely  
558 than younger adults and adolescents to project mechanisms of mere ownership onto the  
559 stimuli set used in the current study.

560 A consequence of the increase in memory for other-owned items with age is that older adults  
561 performed with high accuracy compared with younger adults overall. While this may seem  
562 unusual, older adults do not always underperform on memory tasks compared to younger  
563 adults. In fact, in a study examining the effects of self-referencing and emotional memory in  
564 older and younger adults, found no difference in older and younger adults memory scores  
565 (Daley et al., 2020). It is worth noting that older adults often perform well on pictorial  
566 memory tasks that emphasise recognition over free recall ( Craik & Rose, 2011). There may  
567 also be motivational factors. The older adults may be aware of the effects of age on tasks that  
568 directly assess memory (Mazerolle et al., 2017) and therefore take more time and effort over  
569 their responses. Our study design did not impose speeded responses, allowing older adults to  
570 take the time needed to respond across all conditions. Should we have emphasised the need  
571 for speeded responses, we predict that this would have affected the performance of our  
572 participants, and likely produced lower accuracy in older adults. All participants except  
573 adolescents exhibited a self-bias in reaction times, consistent with previous research showing  
574 faster responses for identification of self-owned items (Cunningham et al., 2008, Golubickis  
575 et al., 2018, 2019, 2020). Self-prioritisation in response times for accurate classification could  
576 also result from participants over-identifying items as their own, reflecting a response bias,  
577 unless prior expectations suggest otherwise. Ownership effects have been known to be  
578 attenuated or even reversed when prior knowledge updates participants' expectations about  
579 the prevalence rates of to-be-shown stimuli (see Falbén et al., 2020 for an example with an  
580 ownership classification task, and Clarkson et al., 2022 for an example in a memory task). It  
581 is possible that as participants age, their expectations in claiming items as self-owned shifts  
582 reflecting attenuation in ownership effects, an avenue future research should explore.

583 The three-way interaction between age, object ownership and accuracy revealed that, for  
584 correct responses, older participants' responses were slowed for all items, but particularly so  
585 for items belonging to the other. We suggest that the slowed responses for other-owned items  
586 may complement the enhanced accuracy for other-owned items that was observed for older  
587 adults, in line with a speed-accuracy trade-off.

588 A limitation to our conclusions from the speed-accuracy effects in older adults is that our  
589 study is not exempt from challenges posed by sampling bias. It is possible that older adults  
590 (community volunteers) were more motivated to participate in the task compared with  
591 younger adults (students participating for course credit). Differences in how motivated these  
592 participants were to complete the study may have contributed to the greater number of false  
593 alarms observed in younger adults, contributing to older adults' slightly better performance  
594 on the task for specific conditions. Nonetheless, the fact that we elicited different age effects  
595 for self-referenced and other-referenced items suggests that task engagement in general does  
596 not explain our findings. Another limitation from this study is that the current findings are  
597 based on analysis of the SRE in the context of a 'distant other' control rather than a semantic  
598 or other encoding condition, so future research using alternative encoding strategies may  
599 identify additional developmental patterns.

600

### 601 **Conclusions**

602 In conclusion, we found robust support for an ownership SRE, corroborating, and extending  
603 previous SRE research to encompass a wide age range from adolescence to old age.  
604 Importantly, we found that while the SRE was attenuated in older adults, this was not due to  
605 reduced memory for self-owned items. Instead, memory accuracy for other-owned items was  
606 enhanced in older adults, perhaps reflecting changing social priorities across the lifespan. Our  
607 study also examined response times and complex interactions with accuracy, which revealed  
608 that while older adults' responses were slowed across all conditions, accuracy was greater for  
609 other-owned items. This may suggest a speed-accuracy trade-off among older adults, which  
610 aligns with existing literature on aging and cognitive performance in decision making  
611 (Ratcliff et al., 2007).

612 In summary, the current study provides evidence that the Ownership SRE exists across  
613 different life stages and adds to our understanding of how self-referencing biases interact  
614 with age. Given the complexity of the factors at play, our study emphasises the need for  
615 continued research to further unravel the relationship between ownership, memory, and  
616 aging.

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