

## Memory observed and memory unobserved

LARRY L. JACOBY

In his book *Memory Observed* (1982), Neisser claimed that almost all interesting questions about memory have been ignored by experimental psychologists. The conference that is documented by this book was meant to help remedy this situation by launching an ecological approach to memory research. Contributors were invited to attend the conference because their research was considered ecologically valid. When I received my invitation, I viewed this with some misgivings, because I identify with the "establishment" memory researchers who apparently have done uninteresting work. Also, my research addresses different issues and, perhaps, is less clearly ecologically valid than is the research other contributors are reporting here. However, I gained some comfort by noting at least a superficial similarity between the ecological approach to memory research and the approach advocated by functionalists such as Dewey (1910). The approaches agree in their claim that the functions of memory must be viewed as allowing adaptation of an organism to its environment and in their preference for talking in terms of processes or mental operations rather than in terms of mental structures. Most of the research of the early functionalists would seem to meet Neisser's criteria for ecological validity, although they conducted their research in the laboratory as well as in natural contexts. The advantage that I gain by noting these similarities is that the functionalists provide an excellent example of the coordination of laboratory research and ecological concerns. Not only did they avoid the excesses later shown by the behaviorists, but their approach was so loosely organized that I have no problem fitting in.

I begin by briefly contrasting questions about memory that have motivated my research with those highlighted by Neisser. Next, I provide an example to illustrate differences between the "structuralist" view of memory that has dominated cognitive psychology for the past several years and the functionalist view that has guided my research. I then give an overview of my recent research to further illustrate the types of questions that I think are important to ask about memory and its functions.

(1988). In U. Neisser & E. Winograd  
(Eds.), Remembering reconsidered:  
Ecological and traditional  
approaches to the study of memory.  
Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

# Memory Observed

**L Cohen**



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