The Brain on the Stand:

Neuroscience and the law

(The Lobes and the Robes)

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THANKS TO JEFFREY ROSEN, HENRY GREELY, KENT KIEHL, BARBARA BOTTALICO

The Human Brain

Steve McAlister / The Image Bank-Getty Images

Neuroscience

Scenario 1

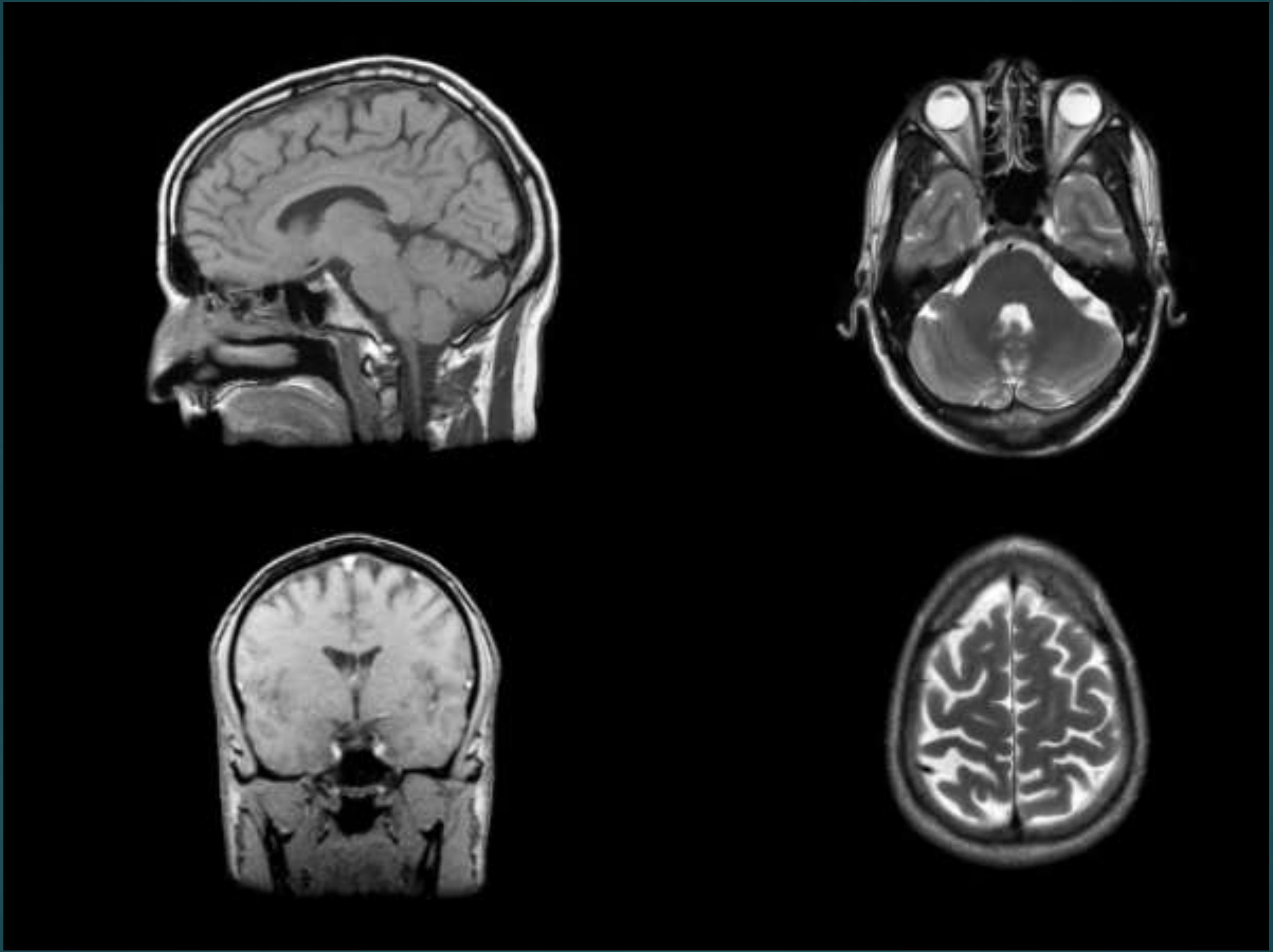
- Imagine a politician from your party is in trouble for alleged misdemeanors.
- He’s been assessed by an expert who says he likely has early-stage Alzheimer’s; <u>the dementia expert based his diagnosis on detailed neuropsychological tests.</u>
- If this diagnosis is correct, your politician will have to resign, and he’ll be replaced by a candidate from an opposing party.

CVLT 2: Mild Alzheimer's

Trial 1	1	- 3	
Trial 5	5	- 3	
Short Delay	2	- 4	
Long Delay	0	- 4	
Long Delay/Cue	0	- 4	
Sem. Clustering	1	- 1	
Recency Region	62%	+ 5	
Cued Recall Intrus	15	+ 5	
Recognition Hits	6	- 4	Often Yes response bias
False Positives	5	+ 2	
Discriminability		- 4	

Scenario 2

- Imagine a politician from your party is in trouble for alleged misdemeanors.
- He’s been assessed by an expert who says he likely has early-stage Alzheimer’s; <u>the dementia expert based his diagnosis on structural MRI brain scan</u>
- If this diagnosis is correct, your politician will have to resign, and he’ll be replaced by a candidate from an opposing party.



Decision time

- Which scenario would you believe?

- Study: students found the MRI evidence more convincing than the cognitive tests.
- 70% of those given the MRI scenario said the evidence the politician had Alzheimer’s was strong and convincing, whereas only 40% of students given the cognitive tests scenario said the same.
- MRI data was also seen to be more objective, valid and reliable.

People Are More Willing to Dismiss Evidence From Psychology Than Brain Science

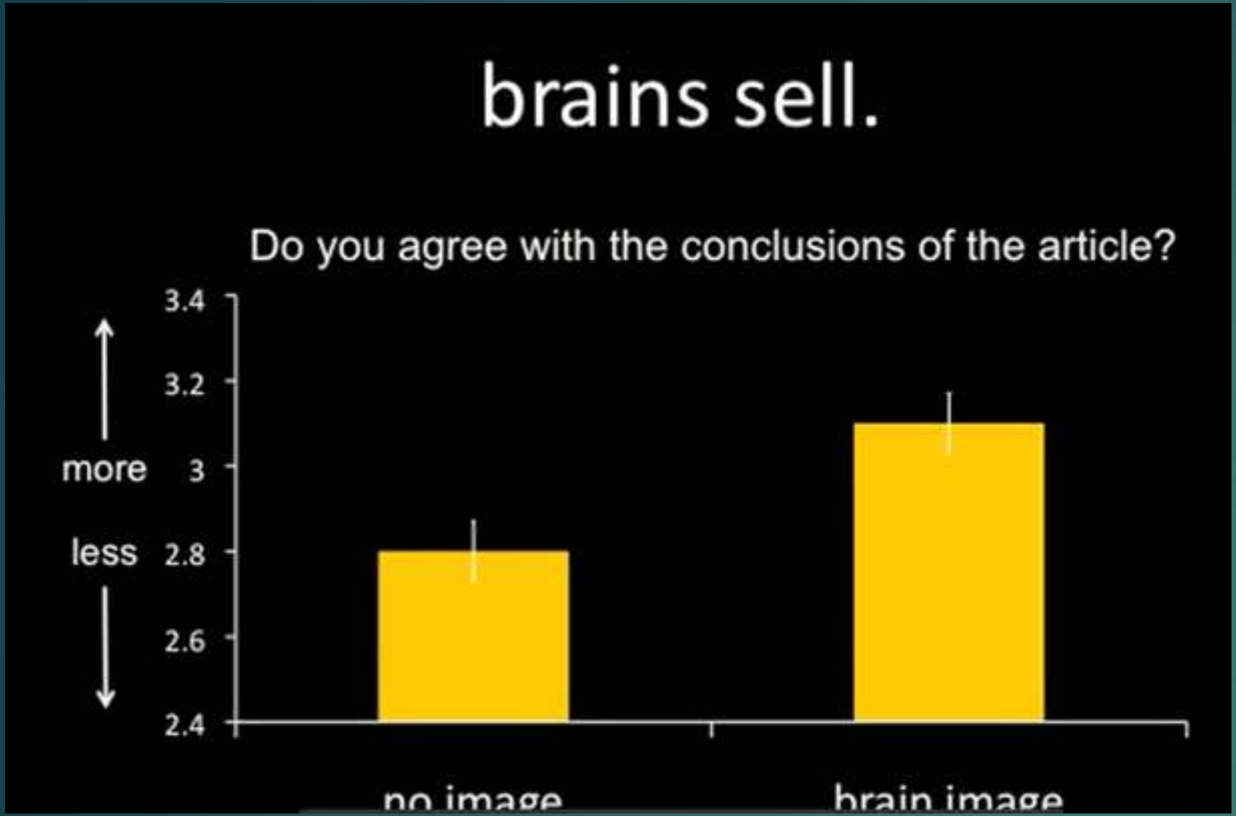
- Focusing on just those students in both conditions who showed skepticism, over 15 percent who read the cognitive tests scenario mentioned the unreliability of the evidence; none of the students given the MRI scenario cited this reason.

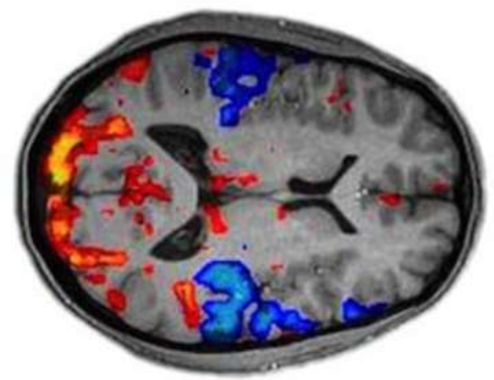
- In reality, a diagnosis of probable Alzheimer's will always be made with neuropsychological tests, with brain scans used to rule out other explanations for any observed test impairments.

- Neuropsychological tests rely on very detailed normative data (which address reliability) vs. absences of formalized operational criteria in MRI analysis (& no reliability data) to guide the clinical interpretation of structural brain MRI

- The researchers said their results are indicative of naive faith in the trustworthiness of brain imaging data.

Neurobunk





People perceive articles with images of brains that summarizing cognitive neuroscience research more scientifically credible than articles with no images or images other than brains.

McCabe, D. P., & Castel, A. D. (2008).

Exposure to Neuroscience leads to more moral leniency

- Increasing exposure to information about the brain, which suggests a more mechanistic account of human behavior, has consequences for how we reason about morality and make moral attributions.

- Exposure to brain-based accounts of behavior, seems to decrease people's support for retributive(eye for eye) punishment
- Either by reading a magazine article or through undergraduate coursework, people propose less severe punishment for a hypothetical criminal; they saw the criminal as less blameworthy.
- Understanding how much our brain controls our behavior consciously and unconsciously increases moral leniency.

Shariff et al, 2014

Neurolaw

- **Neurolaw** is an emerging field of interdisciplinary study that explores the effects of discoveries in neuroscience on legal rules and standards.
- The legal system rests on the assumption that we are "practical reasoners", assuming the existence of free will.
- The idea is that we use conscious deliberation when deciding how to act—that is, in the absence of external duress, we make free decisions.

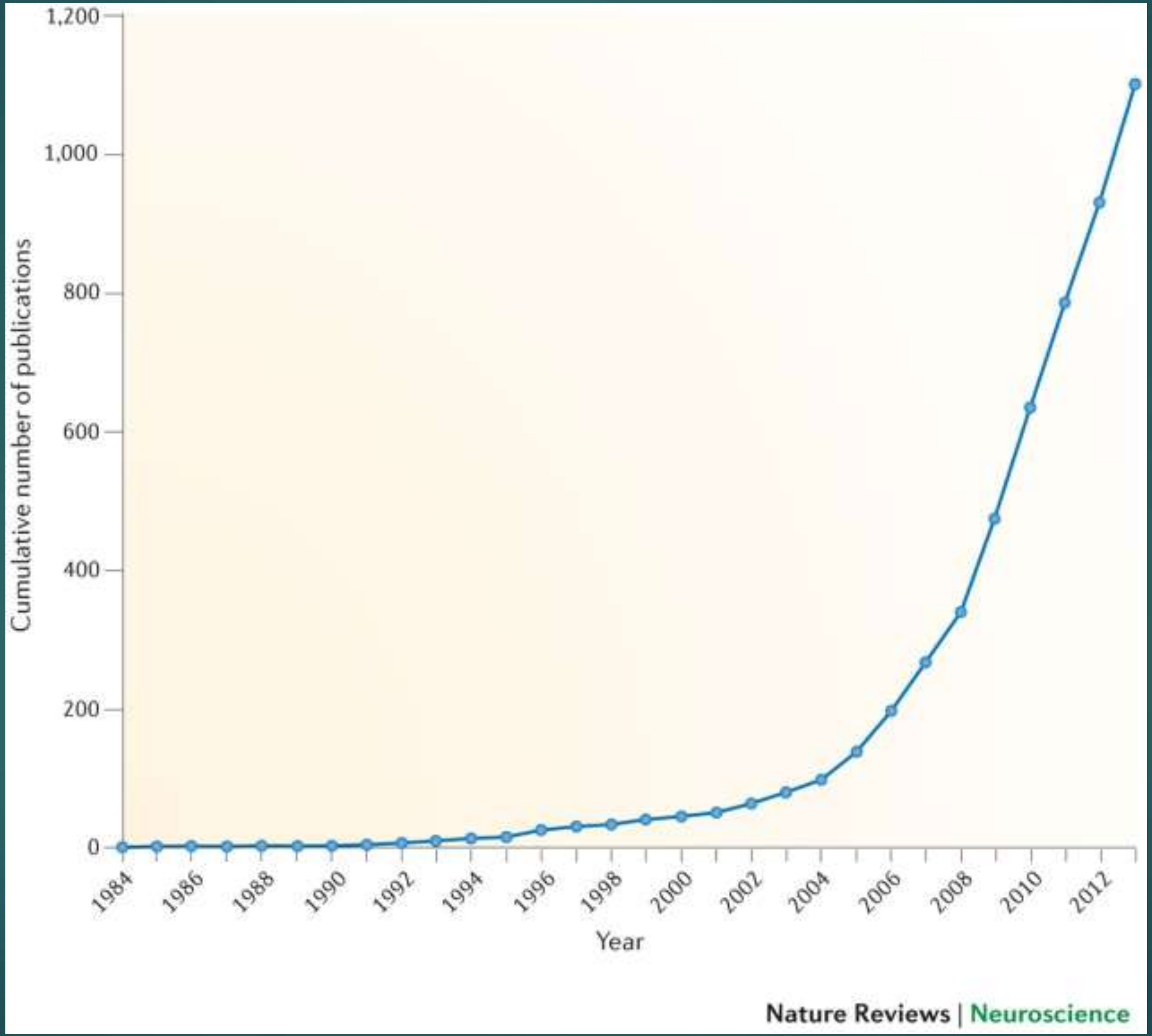
Wikipedia

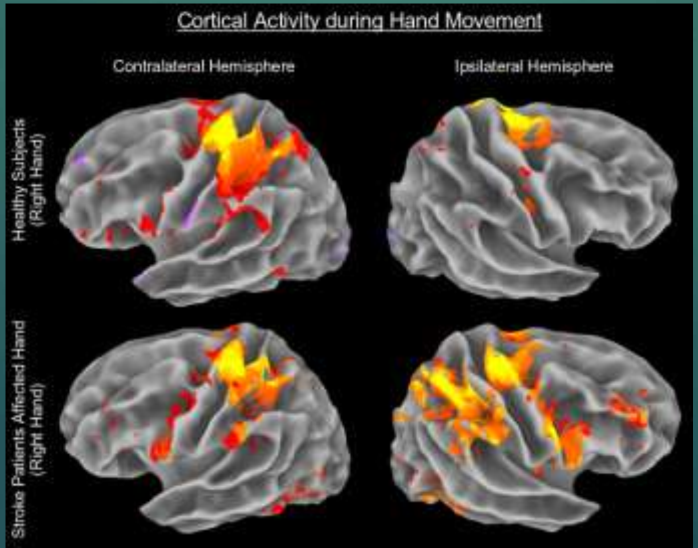
Neurolaw

- Drawing from neuroscience, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive neuroscience, and criminology, neurolaw practitioners seek to address not only the descriptive and predictive issues of how neuroscience is and will be used in the legal system, but also the normative issues of how neuroscience should and should not be used.

- To what extent can a tumor or brain injury alleviate criminal punishment? Can sentencing or rehabilitation regulations be influenced by neuroscience? Who is permitted access to images of a person’s brain? Neuroscience is beginning to address these questions in its effort to understand human behavior, and will potentially shape future aspects of legal processes

Neuroscience & the law publications, 1984-2012



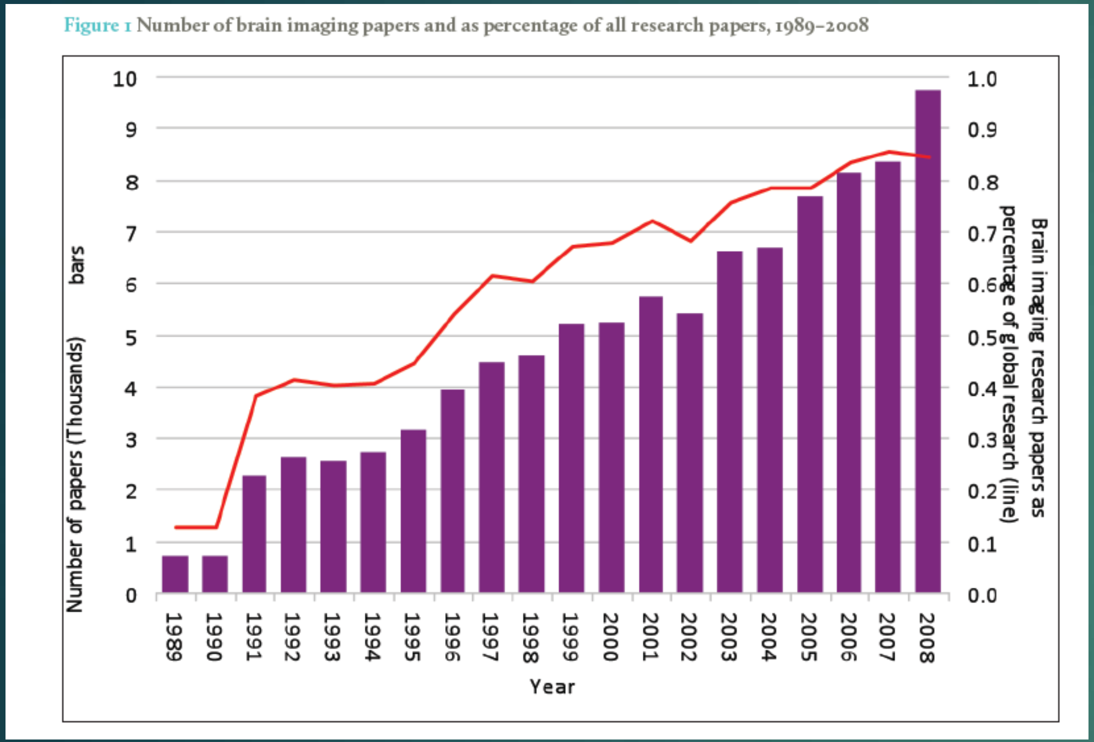

Cortical Activity during Hand Movement
Contralateral Hemisphere
Ipsilateral Hemisphere
Healthy Subjects (Right Hand)
Stroke Patients Affected Hand (Right Hand)

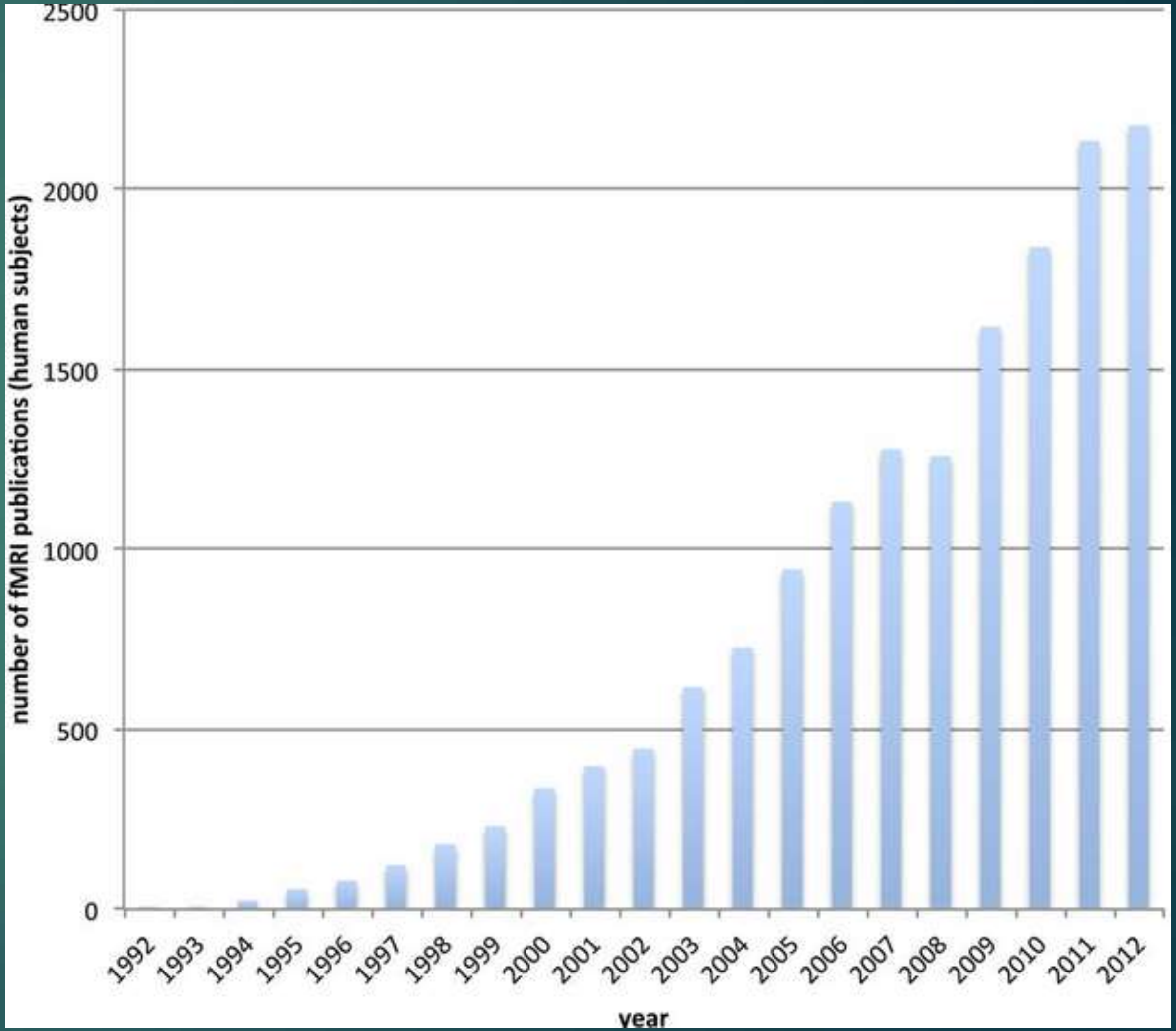
Brain Imaging is an informative New Science

- Stroke location prediction
- Distribution of brain chemicals
- Myelination
- Drug effects
- Brain tumors
- Aging effects
- Tracking beta amyloid in Alzheimer’s

- A powerful diagnostic tool

Number of neuroimaging papers: 1989-2012





New terminology to learn about

The New Neurosciences:

- Neuropolitics
- Neuromarketing
- Neuroethology
- Neuroeconomics
- Neurotheology
- Neuroethics
-

And, of course, Neurolaw

Caution

- Neuroscience has been creeping into the nation’s courtrooms with greater frequency. Yet the science, while much of it promising, may not be quite ready for use as evidence in most legal cases
- Criminal lawyers, for example, have introduced brain scans to show a defendant’s brain dysfunction, most often as mitigation in death penalty hearings. Lawyers also have tried to introduce brain scans to prove the existence of pain and as evidence for lie detection.
- Due to glorified depictions of forensics labs on popular television shows, brain imaging has faced criticism for having a "CSI effect".

History

- During the last century, the law embraced science in ways that were inhumane and harmful—and eventually discredited.
- For example, eugenics—the theory that humans could employ selective breeding and sterilization to improve genetic makeup and create better people—was once practiced in the United States. In fact, state laws allowed the forced sterilization of women, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the practice in 1927. It took Hitler's popularization of eugenics for critics to finally be heard, and it eventually fell in disfavor.
- In addition, lobotomies were not only accepted by the medical community for psychiatric patients, but courts often ordered the procedure for people whether they wanted it or not
- And in the 1990s, so-called recovered memories led to people being convicted of crimes, often child sexual abuse, on shoddy evidence with no solid scientific basis.

History

- Term neurolaw was first coined by Sherrod J. Taylor in 1991
- The Gruter Institute for Law and Behavioral Research and the Dana Foundation were the first groups to provide funding for the new interdisciplinary field
- Law and Neuroscience Project in 2007
- MacArthur Foundation Law & Neuroscience project: Database: 1200 legal cases involving neuroimaging
- EANL European Association for Neuroscience and Law
- Baylor College of Medicine's Initiative on Neuroscience and the Law
- The University of Pennsylvania’s Center for Neuroscience and Society began in July 2009

Other Venues

- **New journals**: Neuroethics
- **Blogs**:
  - Law and Neuroscience Blog http://lawneuro.org/blog/
  - Neuroethics and the Law Blog (Adam Kolber, Brooklyn Law School) - http://www.adamkolber.com/
- **Working papers**: e.g. *Brain Imaging for legal thinkers: a guide for the perplexed,* Owen D. Jones, Joshua W. Buckholtz, Jeffrey D. Schall, Rene Marois
- **Courses for jurists**
- CSM (Italy)
- Brooklyn Law School's Science for Judges
- Penn Neuroscience Boot Camp

Neurocriminology

- Neuroscientist and attorney J. Sherrod Taylor in 1991.
- Taylor's book, *Neurolaw: Brain and Spinal Cord Injury* (1997), was used as a resource for attorneys to properly introduce medical jargon into the courtroom and to further develop the implications of neuroscience on litigation.
- In addition, Taylor explained the consequences of *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals*.
- This United States Supreme Court case resulted in what is now known as Daubert Standard, which sets rules regarding the use of scientific evidence in the courtroom.

Books and journals

and coming summer 2010…***Neuroethics: An Introduction with Readings***, MIT Press, M.J. Farah

Before analyzing cases….
Some legal basics for non-lawyers

- The techniques
- Criteria for the admissibility of scientific evidence in court
- Insanity defense

The scientific evidence – admissibility

Common Law Systems (UK, US, Australia)

Plaintiff

Defendant

The Judge decides the admissibility of scientific evidence in trial

If evidence admitted:

Expert witness (plaintiff)

Expert witness (defendant)

CROSS EXAMINATION

The Jury renders a verdict (*black box*)

The scientific evidence in civil-law systems

JUDGE

Court-appointed
expert

DEFENDANT
(+ defense Expert)

PLAINTIFF or
PUBIC
PROSECUTOR
(+ Expert)

Written reports

Admissibility of scientific evidence TESTs (common law systems)

a. Frye "general acceptance" rule: Scientific evidence is admissible when the scientific technique, data or method has "gained generally acceptance" by the relevant community. (*Frye v. United States*, 293 F. 1013, 1014 (D.C. Cir. 1923).

b. Daubert "validity" rule

Trial judges possess "gate-keeping responsibility" in determining validity of scientific evidence and all expert testimony. Factors in assessing validity:

"Whether the technique can be (and has been) tested;" is it falsifiable?

"Whether the theory or technique has been subjected to peer review and publication."

"In the case of a particular scientific technique, the court ordinarily should consider the known potential rate of error."

"The existence and maintenance of standards controlling the technique's operation"

"'General acceptance' can yet have a bearing on the inquiry."

Daubert v. Merrel Dow Pharms., Inc., 509 U.S. 579 (1993).

Daubert: Admission of Experts

- Case that determined the standard for admitting expert testimony in federal courts
- In *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals*, the Supreme Court ruled that scientific evidence need not be 100 percent reliable to be admitted in trial.
- Supreme Court has ruled against the admissibility of polygraph evidence, even when the accuracy is as high as 95 percent.
- In *Daubert*, the justices provided judges greater leeway in accepting or rejecting admission of such evidence.
- Although relevant, general acceptance is no longer a necessary precondition. Instead, consideration may include whether a procedure or theory has been peer reviewed, has an error rate, and whether there are accepted standards for the technique.

M’Naughten Case: Insanity Defense

- Since the celebrated M'Naughten case in 1843, involving a paranoid British assassin, English and American courts have recognized an insanity defense only for those who are unable to appreciate the difference between right and wrong: did the accused know that what he was doing was wrong when he did it.

- This is consistent with the idea that only rational people can be held criminally responsible for their actions.

- Used in less than 1% of criminal proceedings and is only successful in 25% of those cases.

- The defendant has the burden of proving the defense of insanity by clear and convincing evidence.

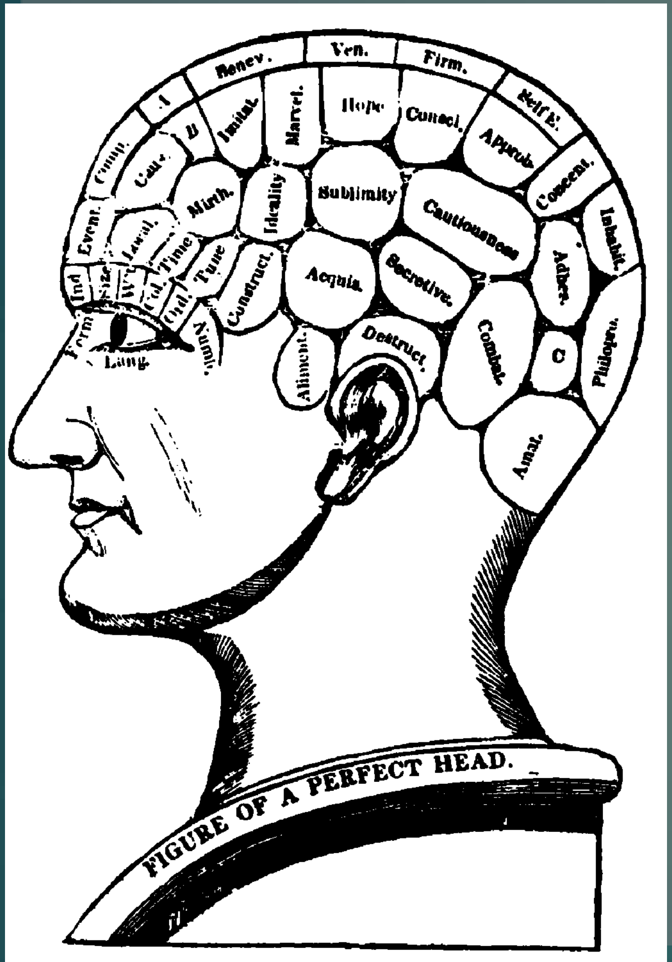
The Insanity Defence

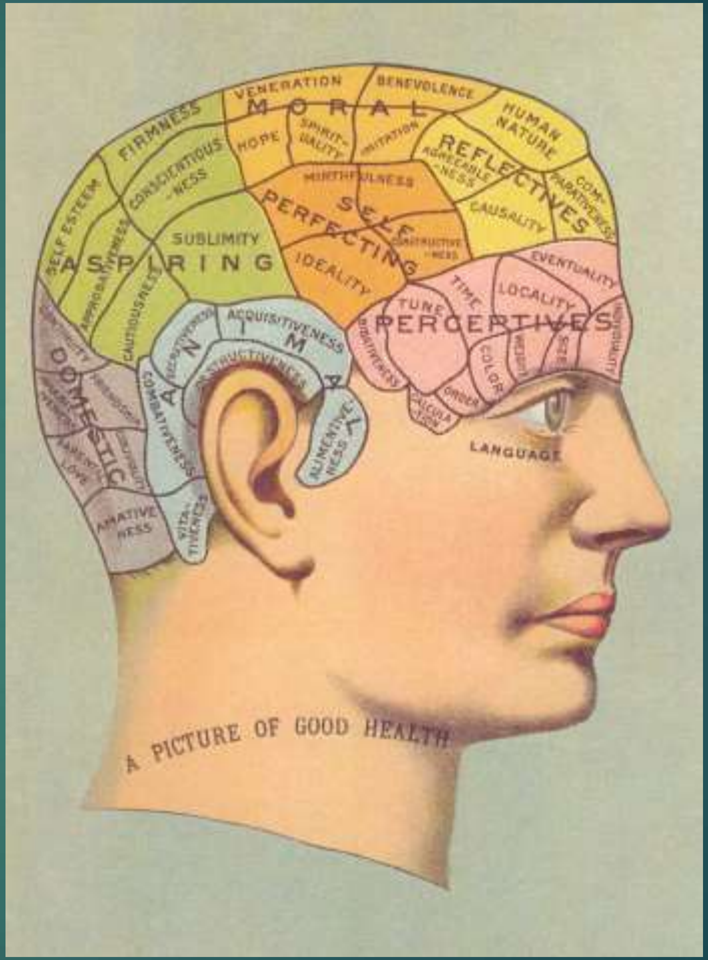
- A criminal defence asserting that at the time of the commission of the acts constituting the offense, the defendant, <u>as a result of a severe mental disease or defect</u>, was <u>unable to appreciate the nature and quality or the wrongfulness of his acts</u>

- The defendant has the burden of proving the defence of insanity by clear and convincing evidence.

Brief tour of neuroimaging

Phrenology: Bumps make the Man





Advanced Neuroimaging circa 1905:

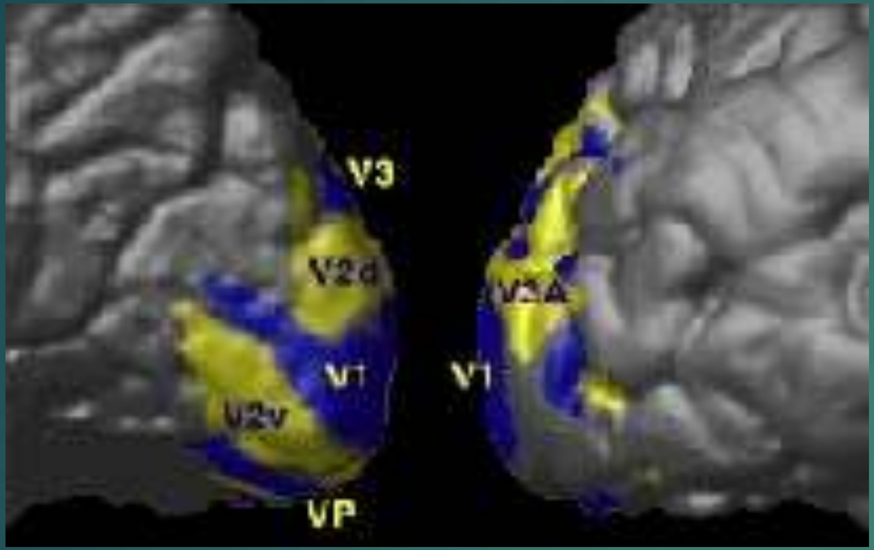
Phrenology "MRI"

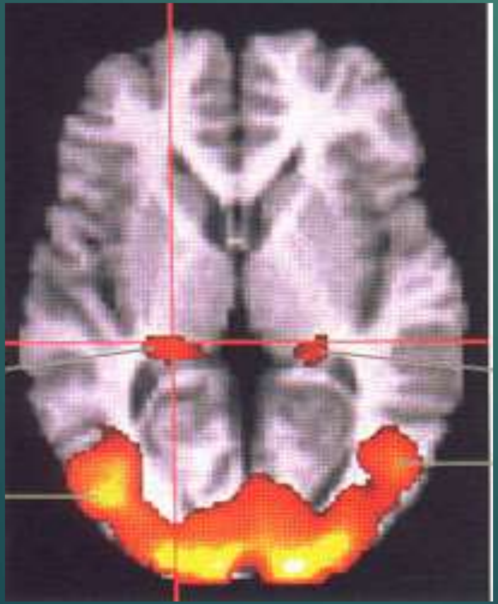
Measured head at 32 points per a five-point scale ranging from "Deficient" to "Very Superior."

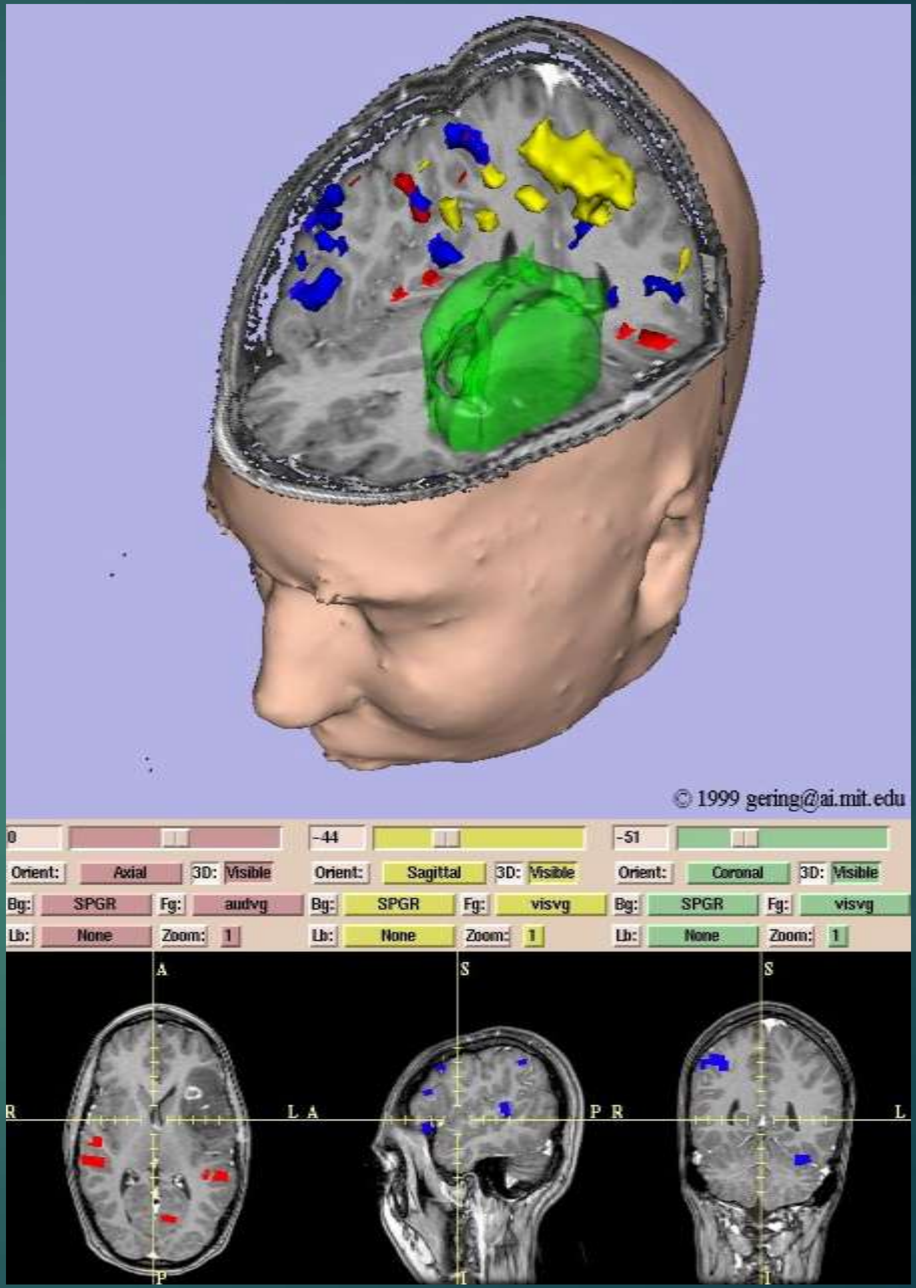
It produced a printed tape that evaluated the character of the person whose head had been poked at.

Cautionary Tale: Many "current" theories are eventually discredited

Modern Phrenology ?







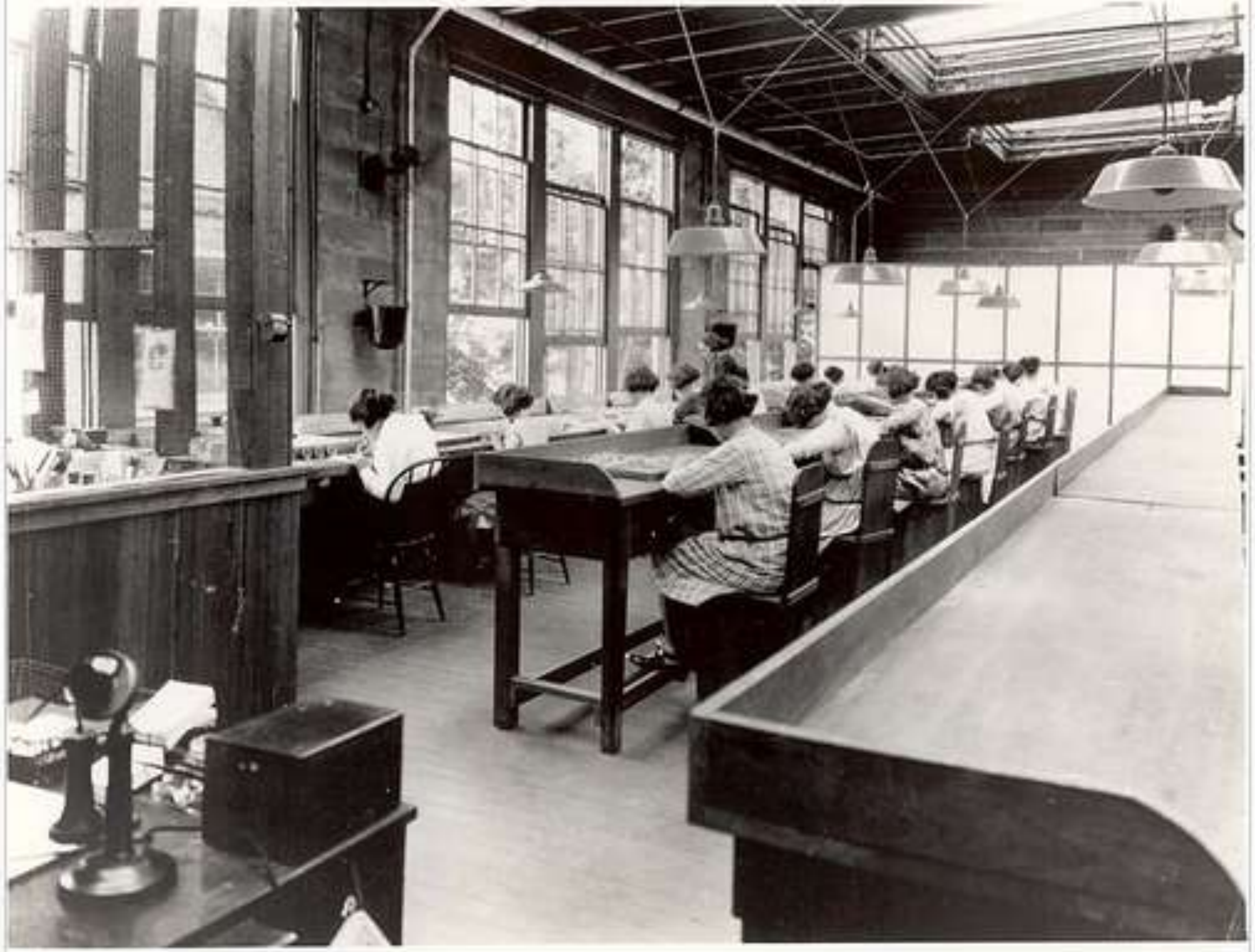
X-ray: Wilhem Konrad Roentgen, 1845-1923

1895: X-ray

1907 Fluoroscope (constant xray)

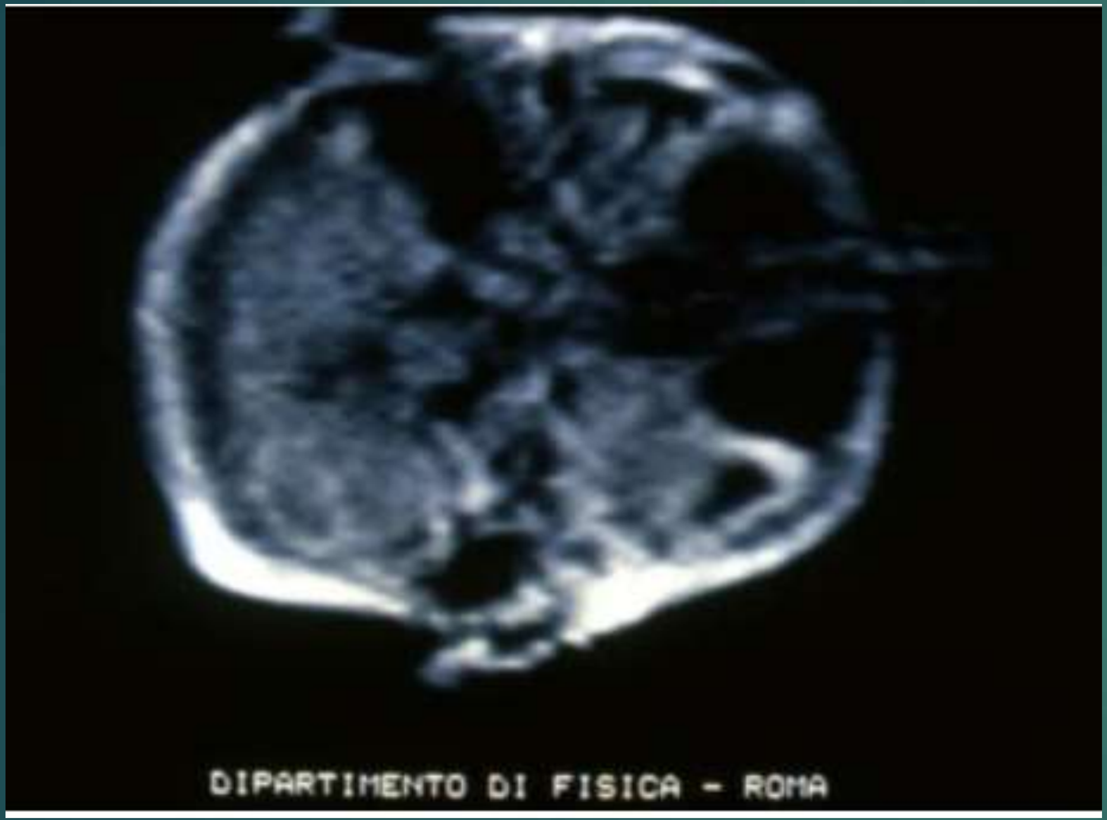
Risks that we do not originally understand

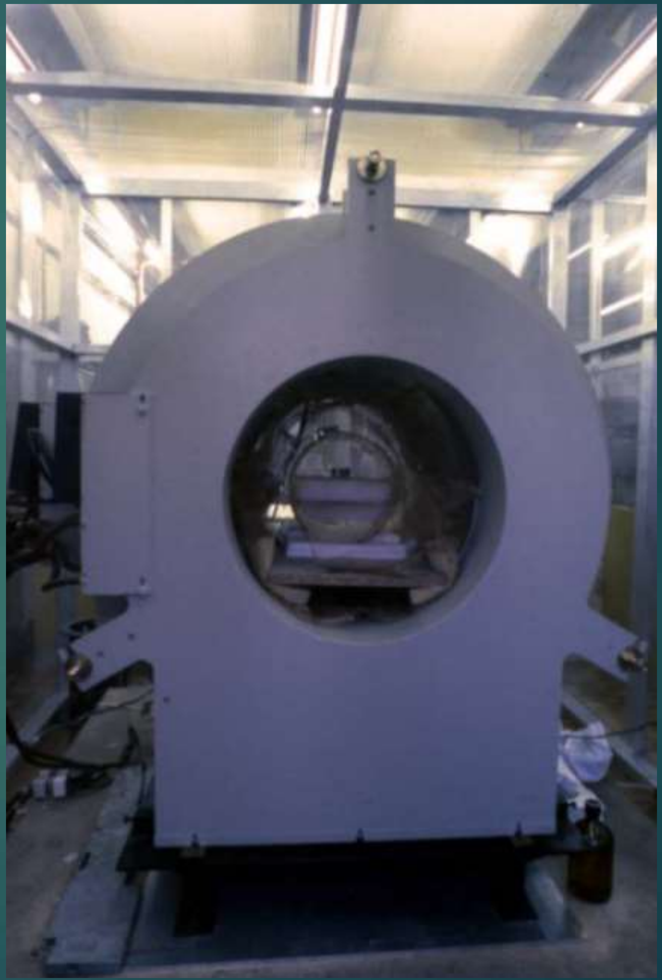
“The women doomed to die“: Radium dial painters – 50% died



Radium dial painters working in a factory

First NMR of Human Brain 1983, Rome





First NMR image (of a mouse) was in 1974

Neuroimaging

Structural	Functional
	Direct measures of neural activity:
CT - Computed tomography	EEG - Electroencephalography
MRI - Magnetic resonance imaging	MEG - Magnetoencephalography
VBM - Vox-based morphometry	
DTI - Diffuse Tensor Imaging	Indirect measures of neural activity:
Hybrid modalities:	PET - Positron-emission-tomography
PET-CT	SPECT - Single Photon emission computed tomography
MRI-PET	fMRI - Functional magnetic resonance imaging
fMRI-EEG/MEG	NIRS - Near infrared spectroscopy
PET-SPECT	
CT-SPECT	

Computed Tomography (CT)

MRI

A la Rembrandt's The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp

New Couples fMRI Machine:
Brain areas sync when we interact

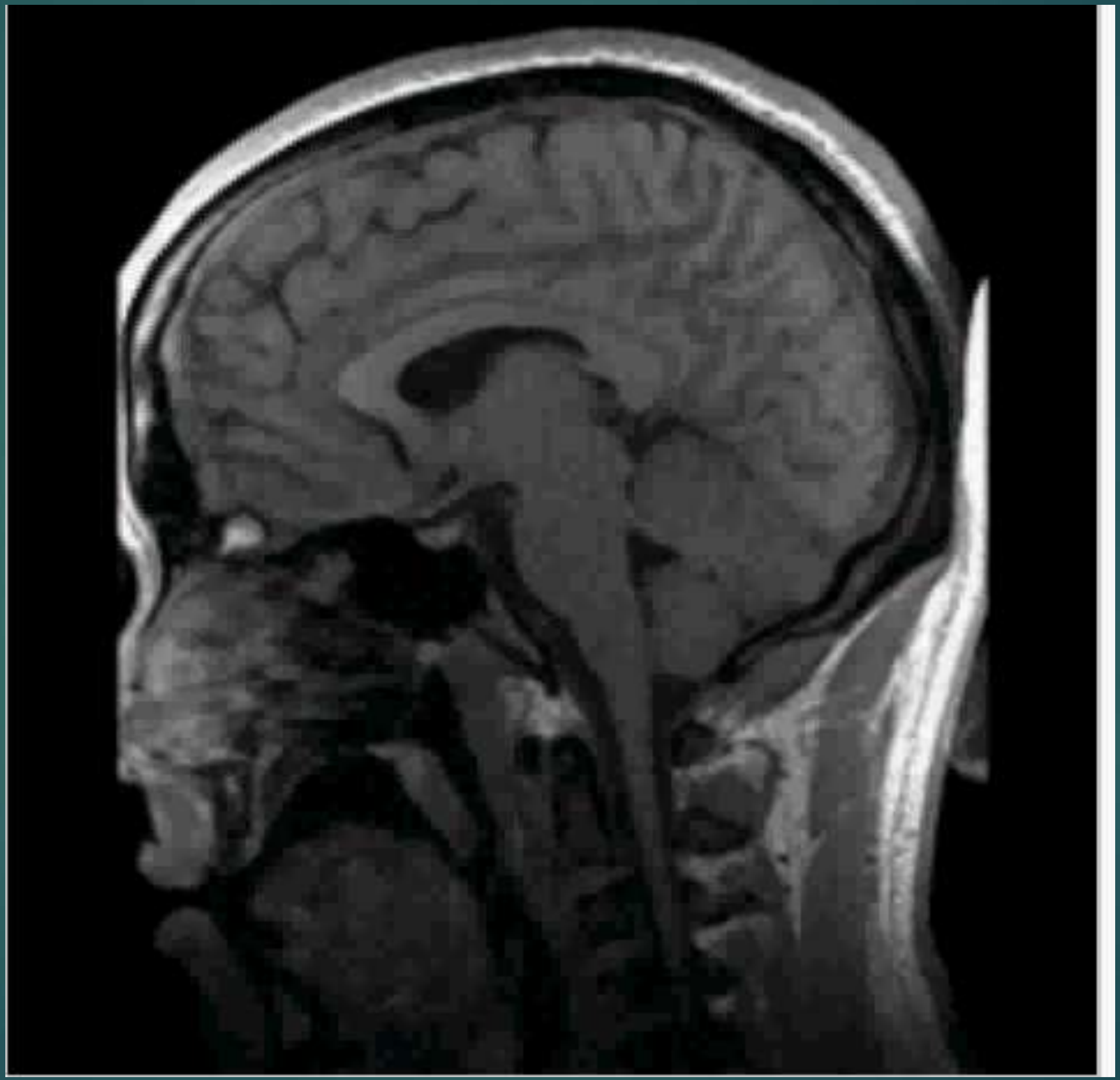
Friends: basal ganglia
Lovers: pCC

When touched:
toucher's motor and somatosensory cortex couples to the other person's STS and somatosensory cortex.

When people communicate: activates mPFC, TPJ, ACC

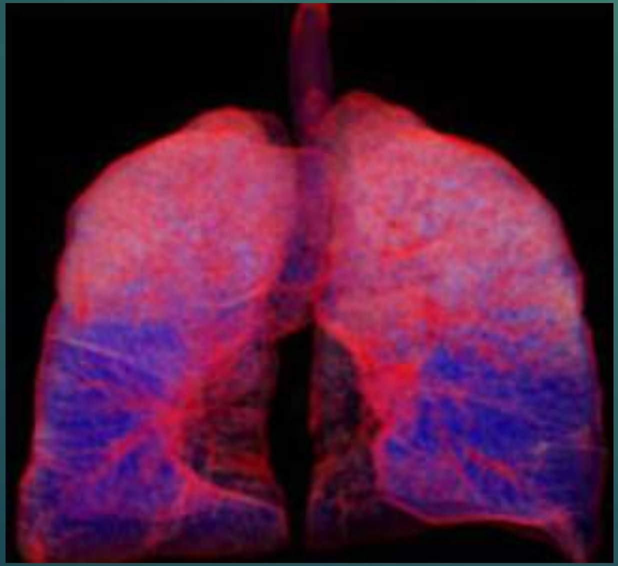
Ray Lee at Princeton University

MRI



Start film

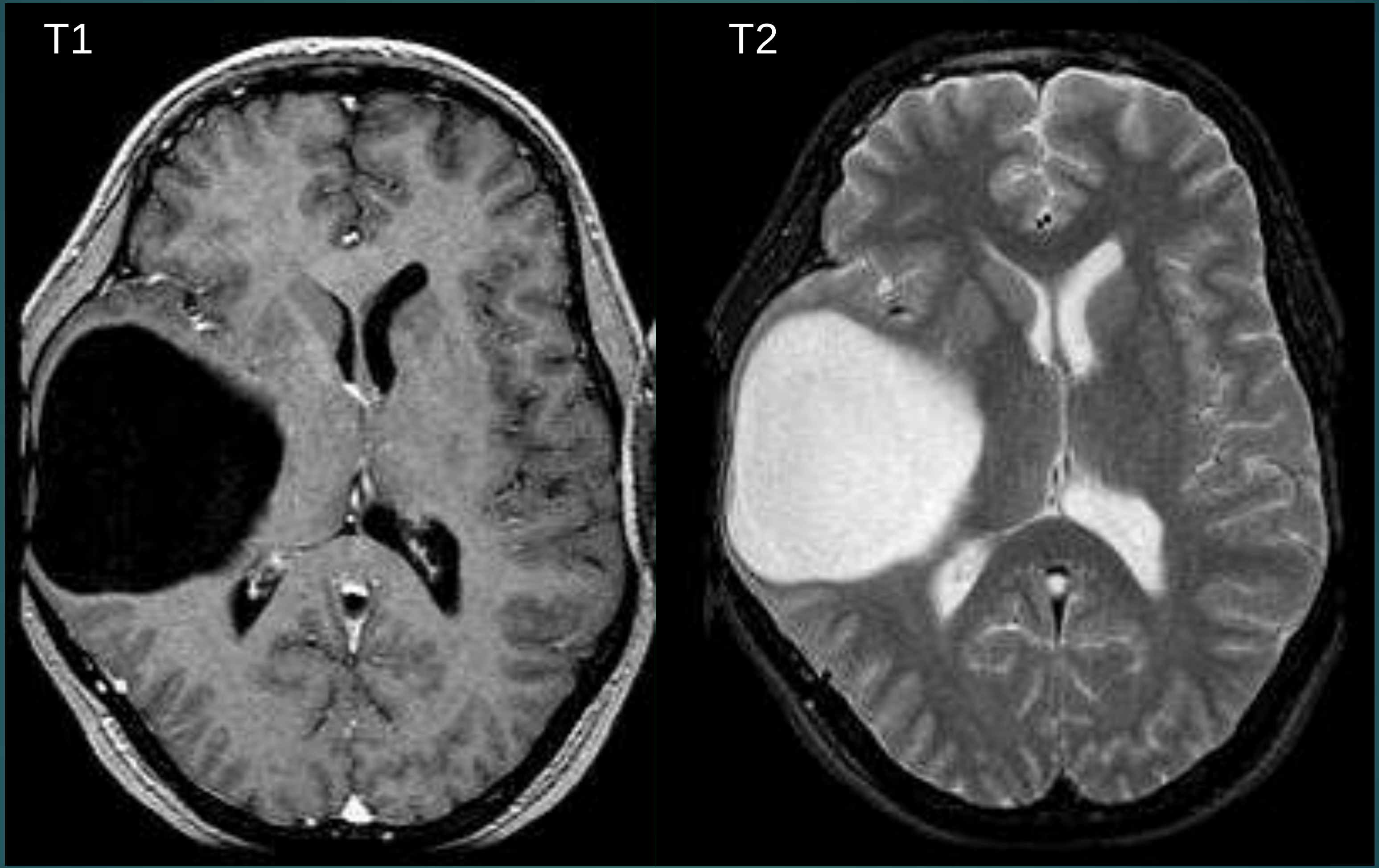
CT - Multidetector Imaging



10.5 Tesla at U of Minnesota

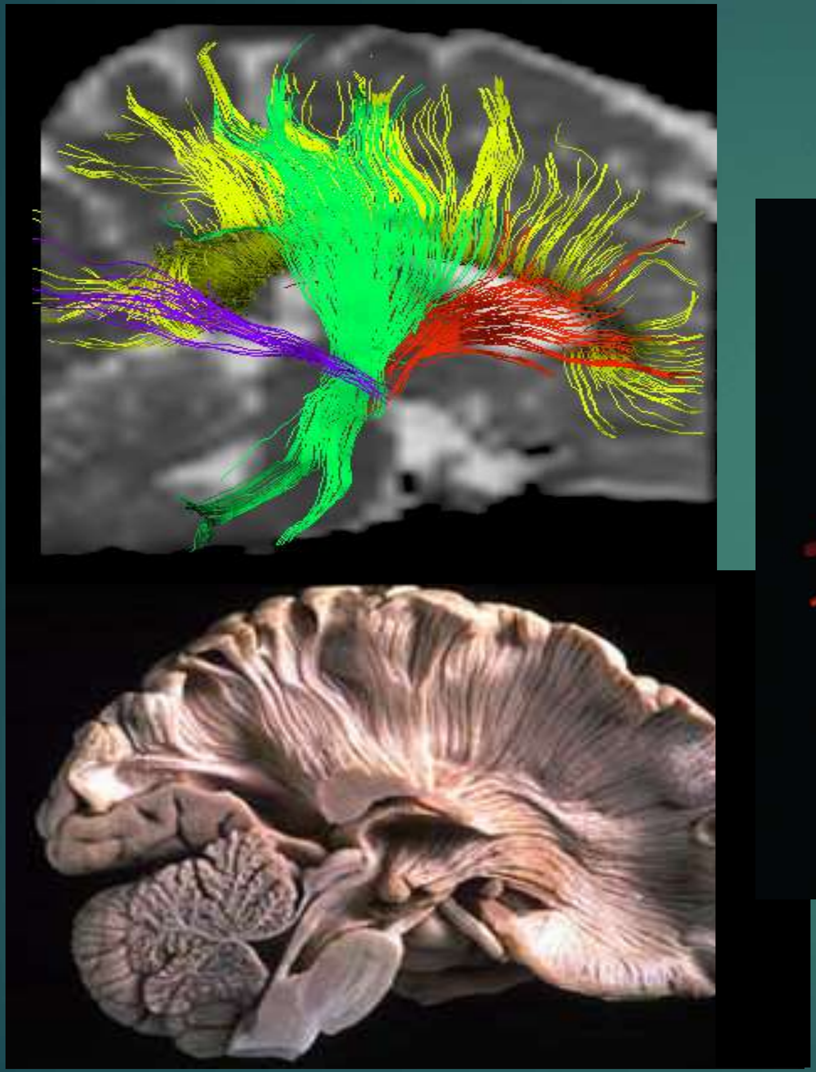
Prof. Kamil Ugurbil: 7-Tesla resolution = cubic millimeter, or about 80,000 neurons.
10.5-Tesla = down to tenths of a cubic millimeter.

Magnetic Resonance

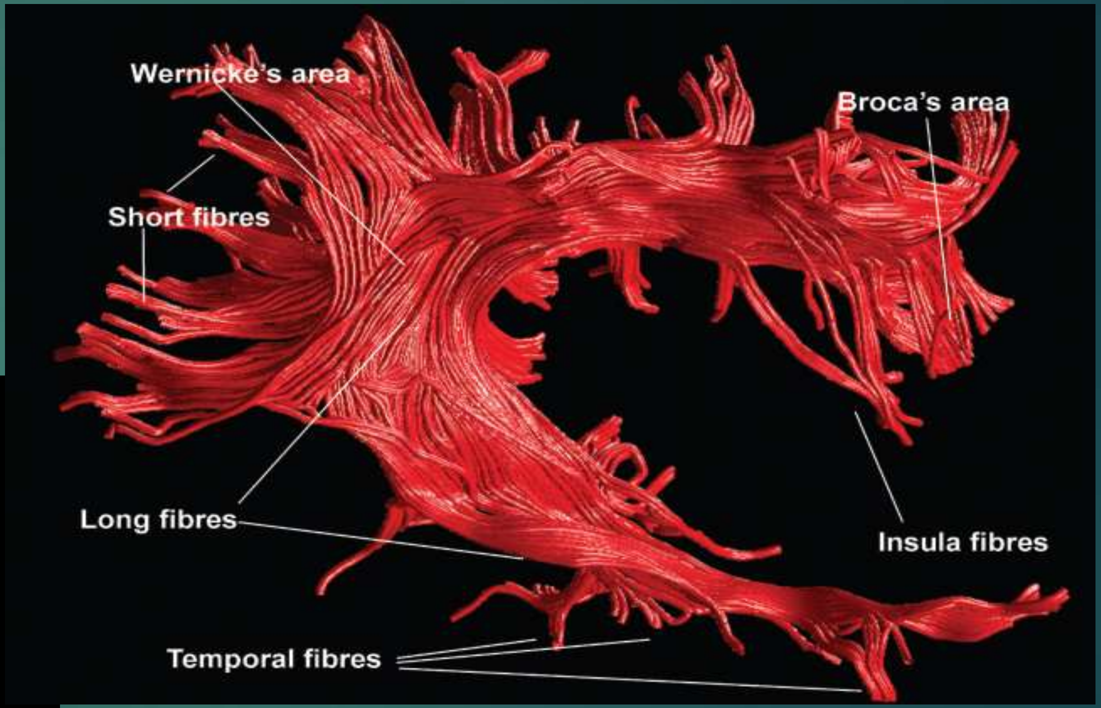


Arachnoid Cyst: water is bright on T2

Diffusion Tensor Imaging (DTI) – Tractography

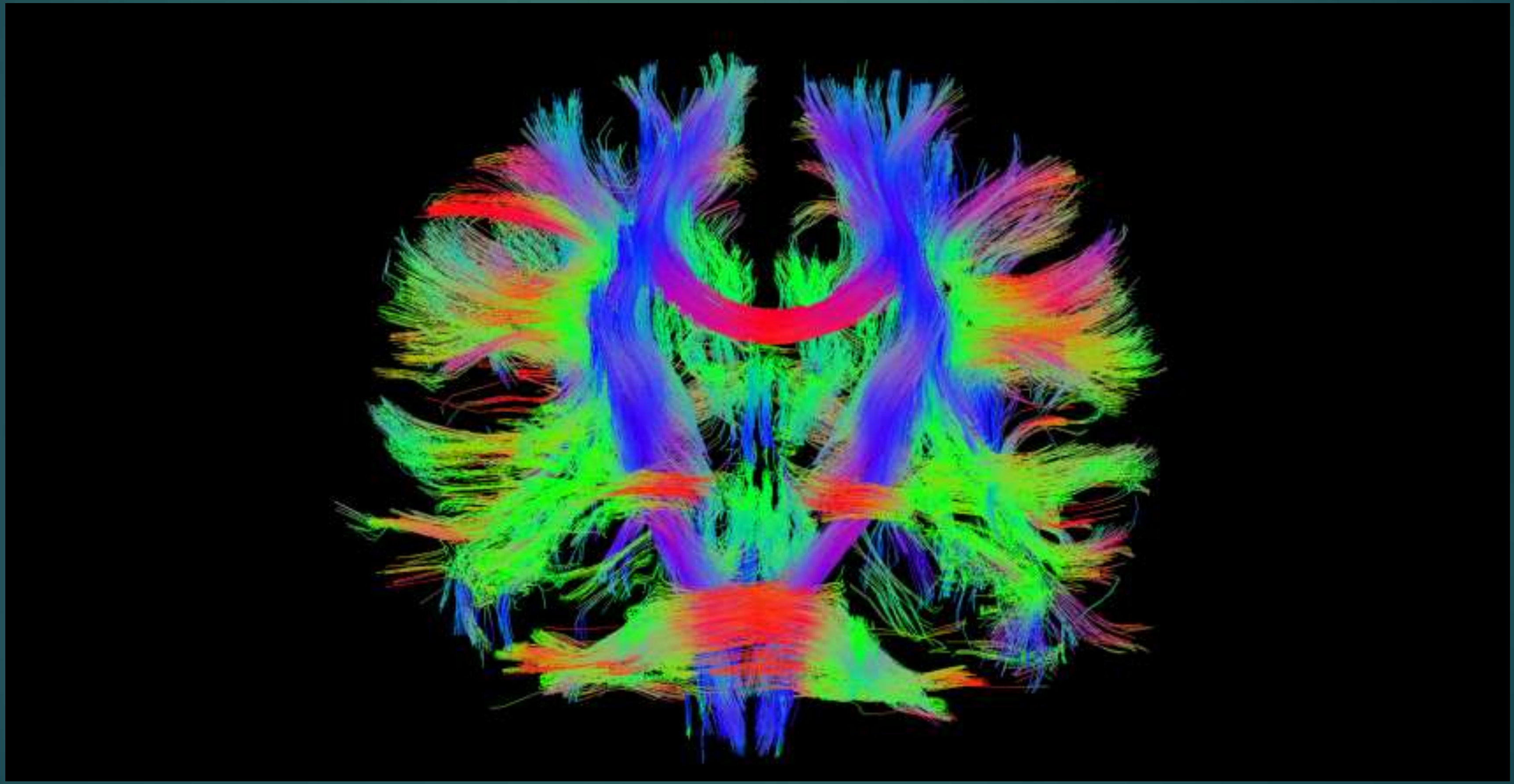


S. Mori - JHU

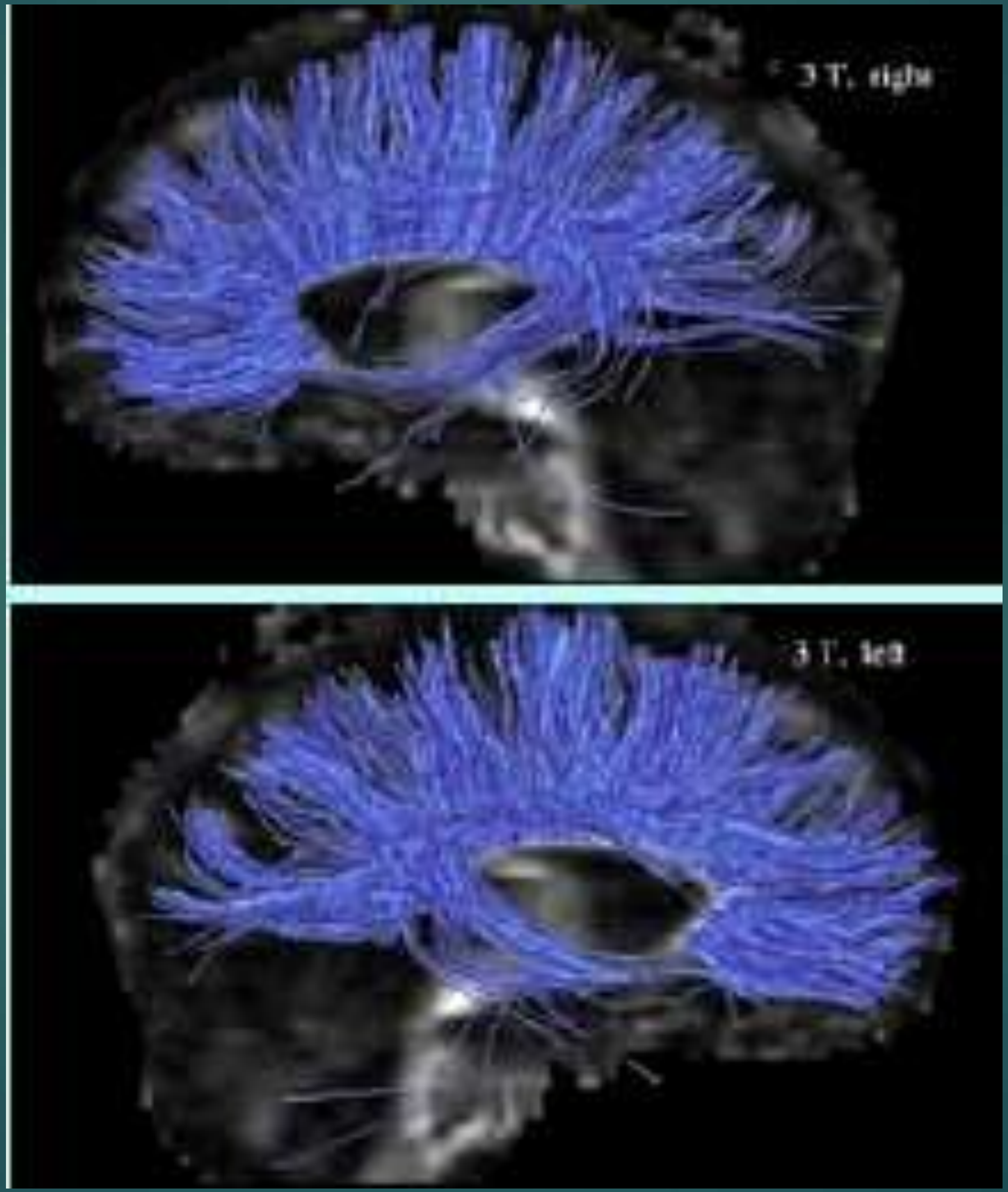


D. Jones – U Nottingham, UK

Diffusion MRI

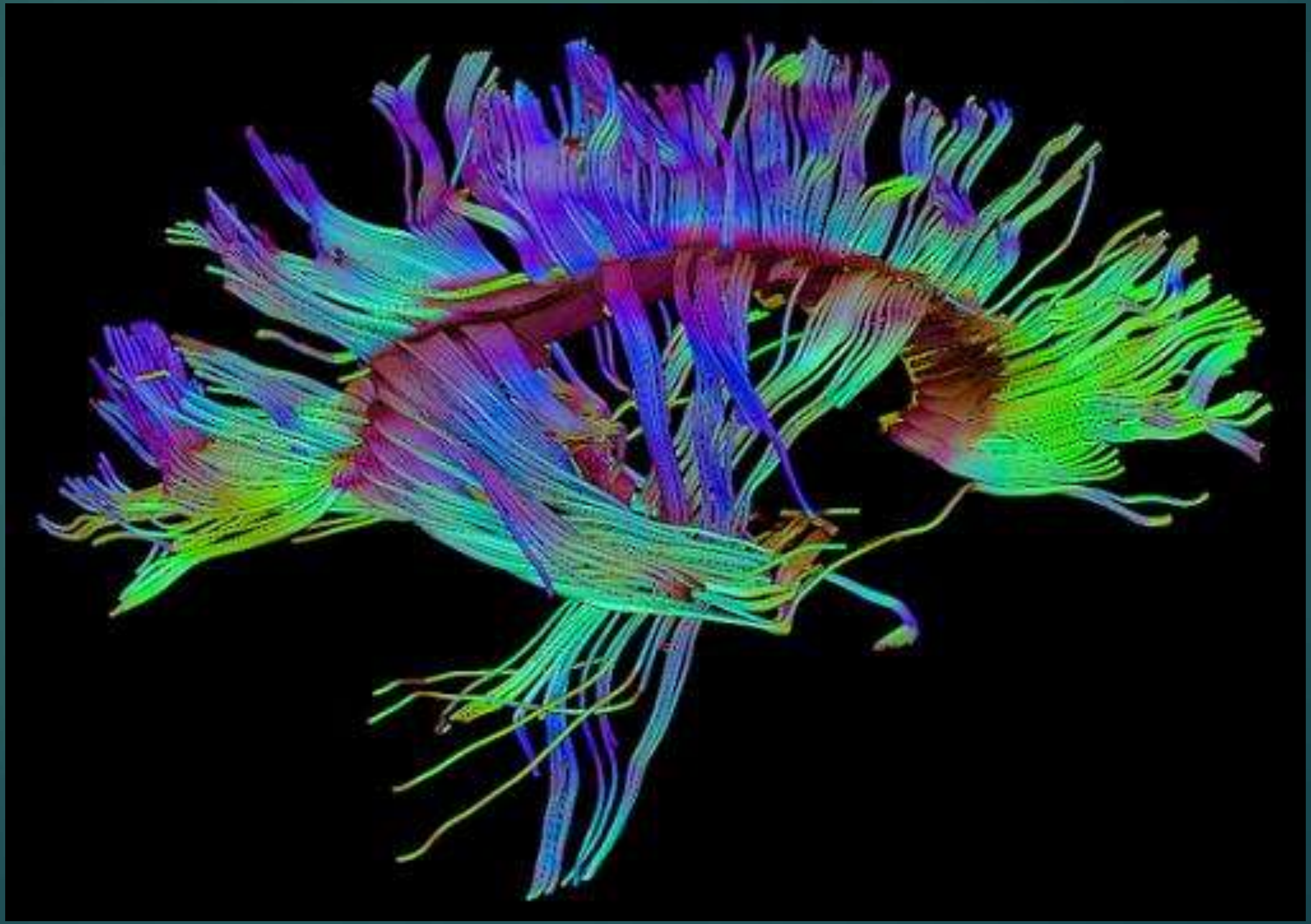


White Matter: Diffusion Tensor MRI

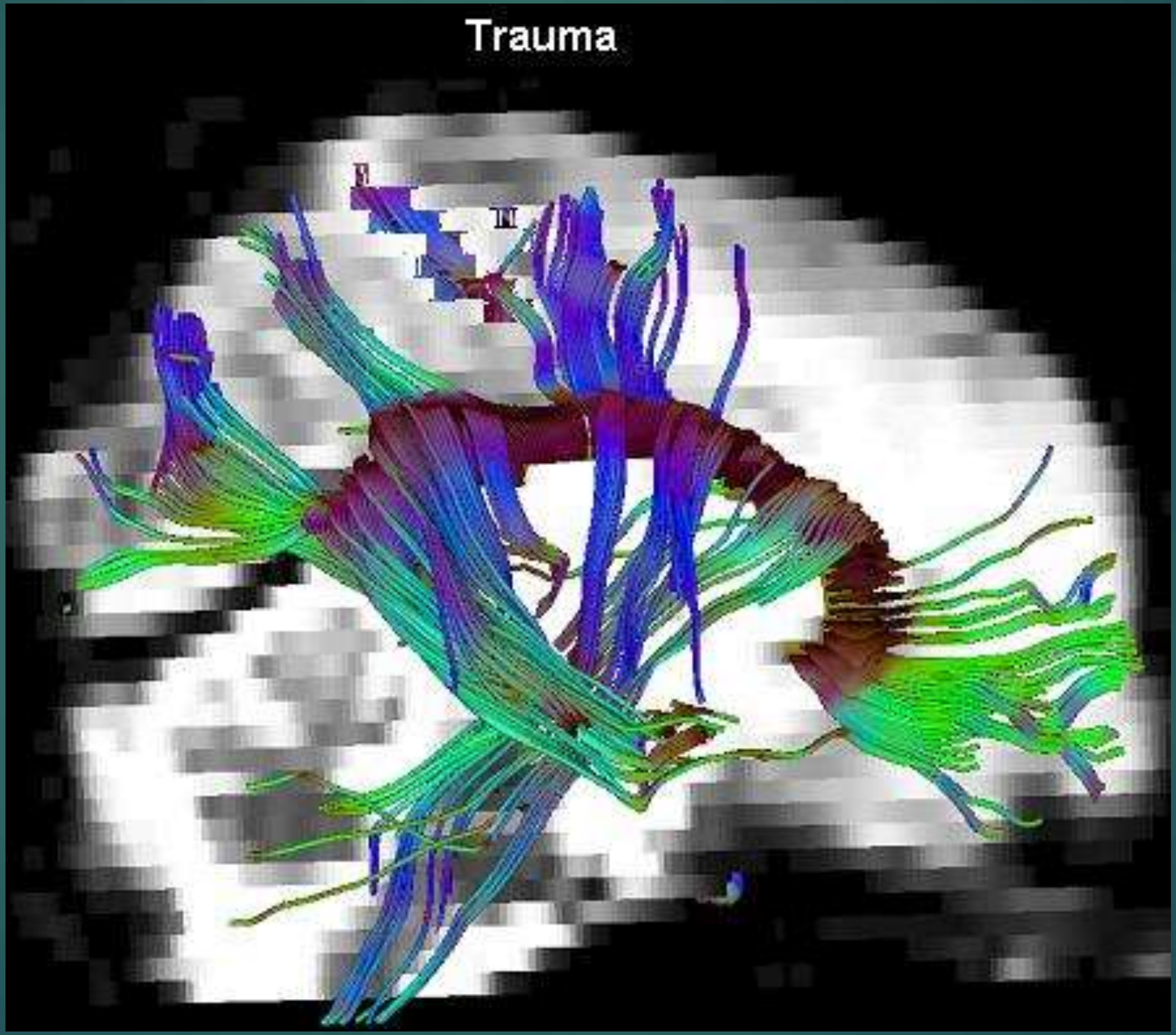


White Matter: Diffusion Tensor MRI in Traumatic Brain Injury

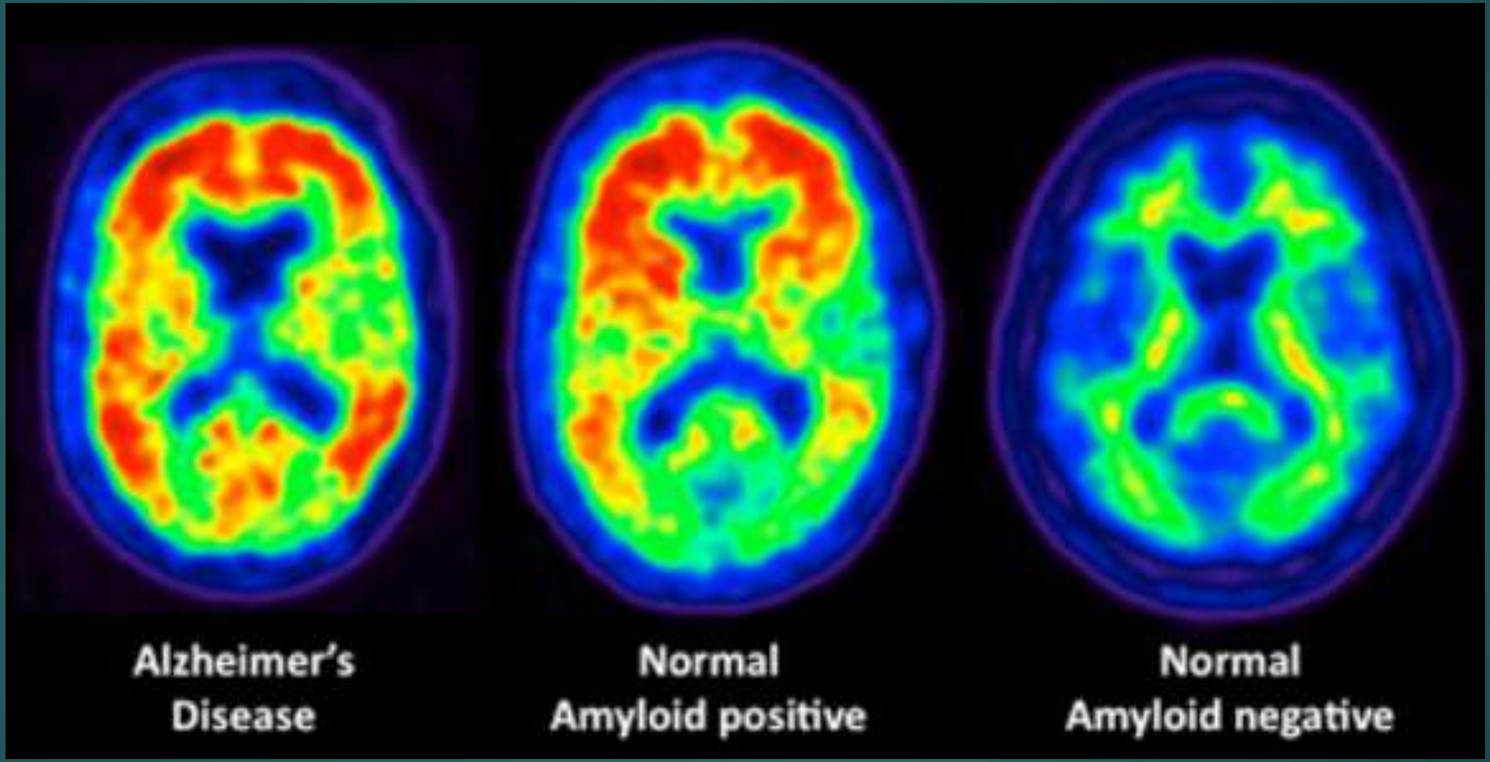
If a man commits a crime after a serious TBI, what would you think of this evidence?



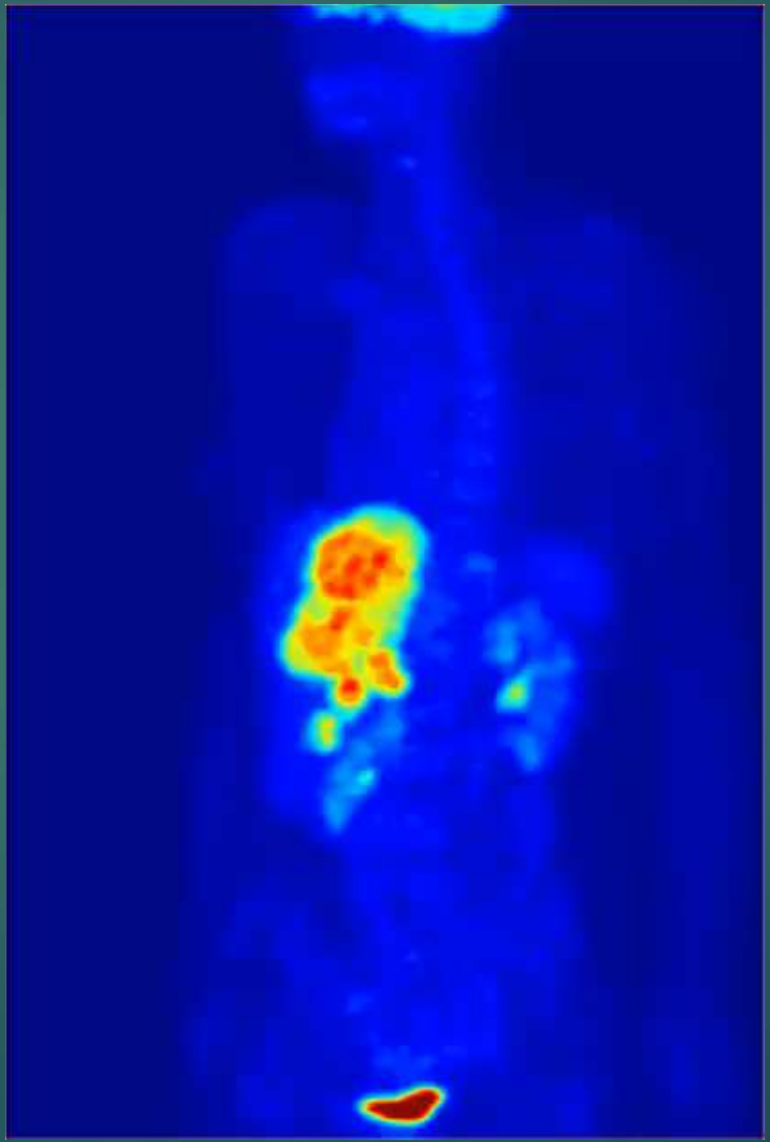
Or for this person with TBI?



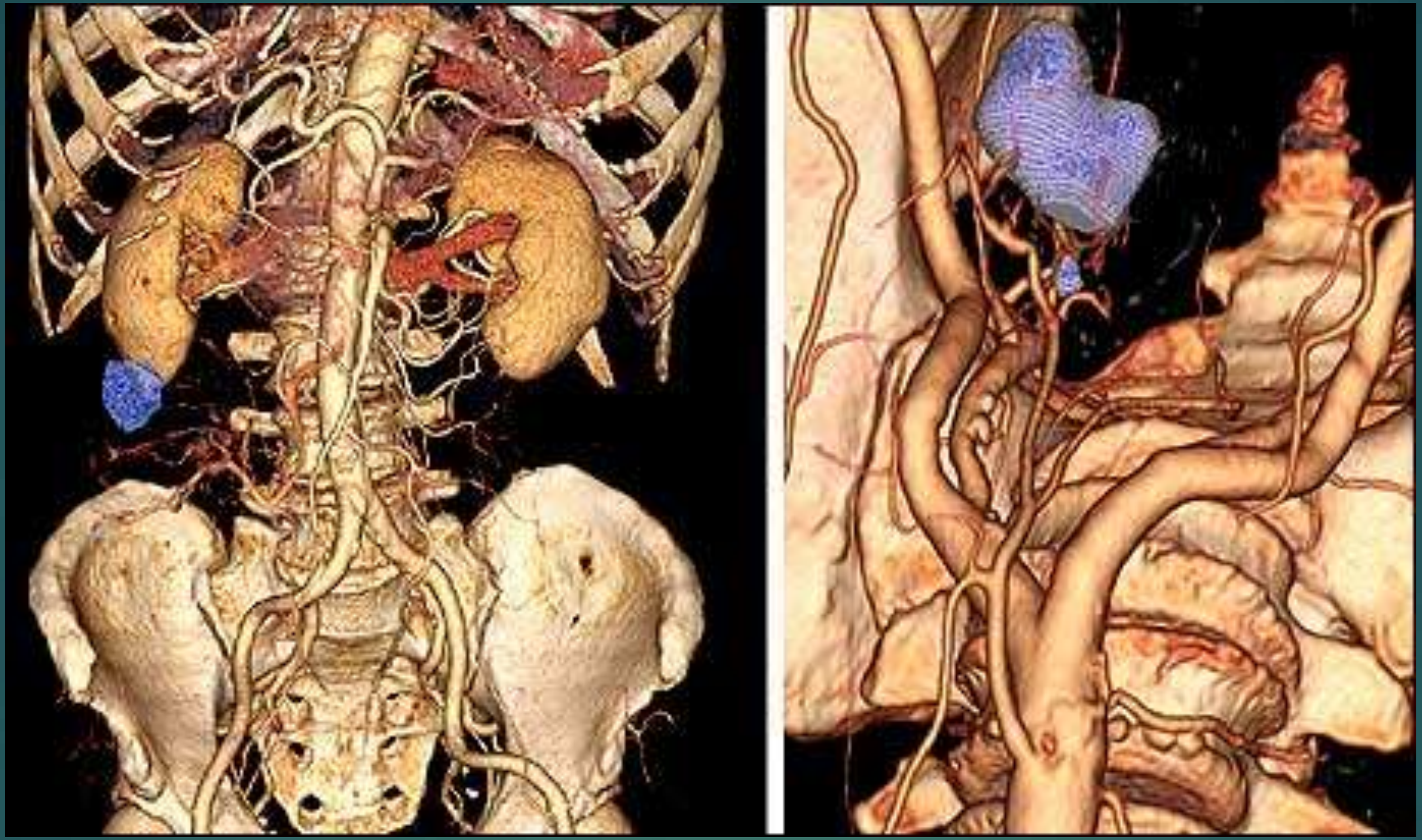
PET: beta amyloid binding



Whole-body PET scan using 18F-FDG to show liver metastases of a colorectal tumor



PET and surgery



Both colon cancer scans. The fused volume rendering of a PET/CT angiography (above left) provides vascular and metabolic visualization for surgical planning. In the zoomed view (above right), the surgeon is able to better understand the blood supply and vascular involvement of the tumor in advance of surgery.

SPECT of Epileptic Focus:
A: ictal increased metabolism; B: normal hypometabolism

Seizure

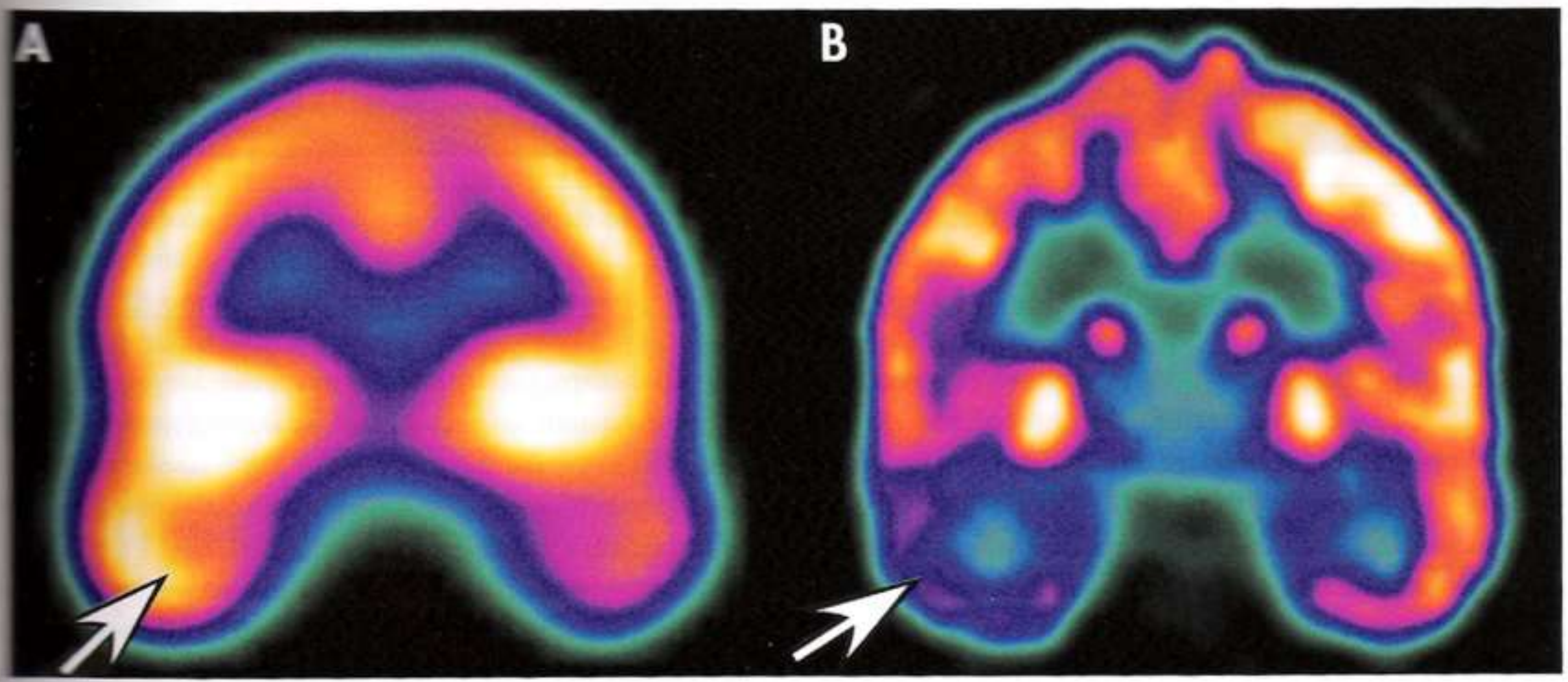


FIGURE 7–27. Nuclear medicine imaging is useful for visualizing the area of an epileptic focus. (A) Scans obtained during a seizure (ictal scan) will show increased perfusion or metabolism, as illustrated here with a coronal single-photon emission computed tomographic image of cerebral blood flow (*arrow*). (B) Scans obtained in the absence of seizure will show decreased perfusion or metabolism, as illustrated here with a coronal positron emission tomographic image of cerebral metabolism (*arrow*).

Between seizures

(Cummings and Mega, 2003)

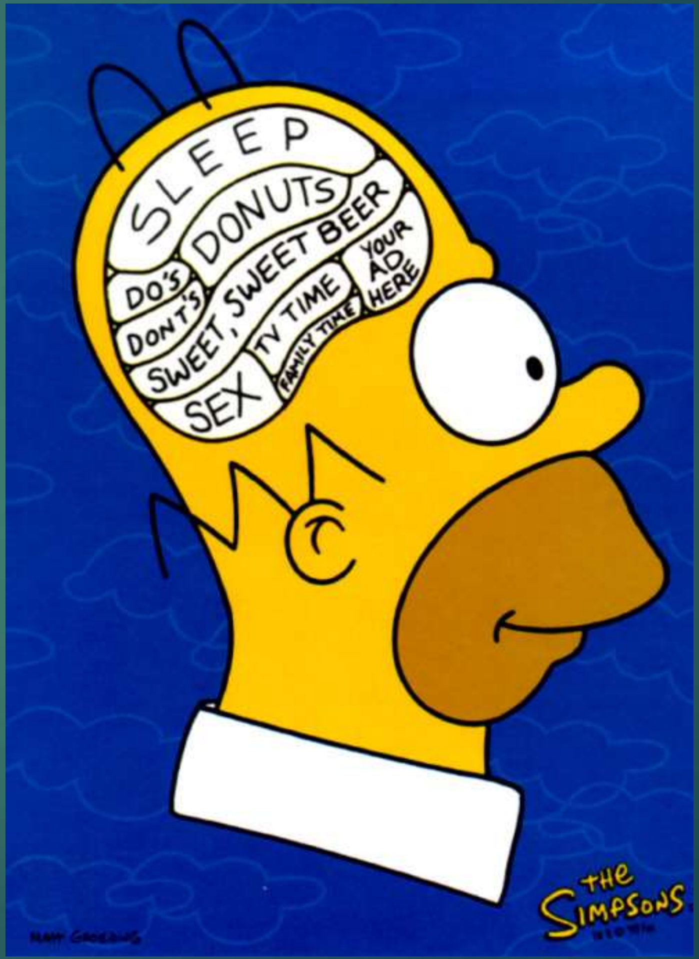
MEG: Magnetoencephalography
“Hairdresser from Mars”

Temporospatial resolution of MEG surpasses that of all other neuroimaging techniques, in real time; direct measure of neuronal activity; magnetic equivalent of EEG.

MRI vs. fMRI

MRI studies brain anatomy.

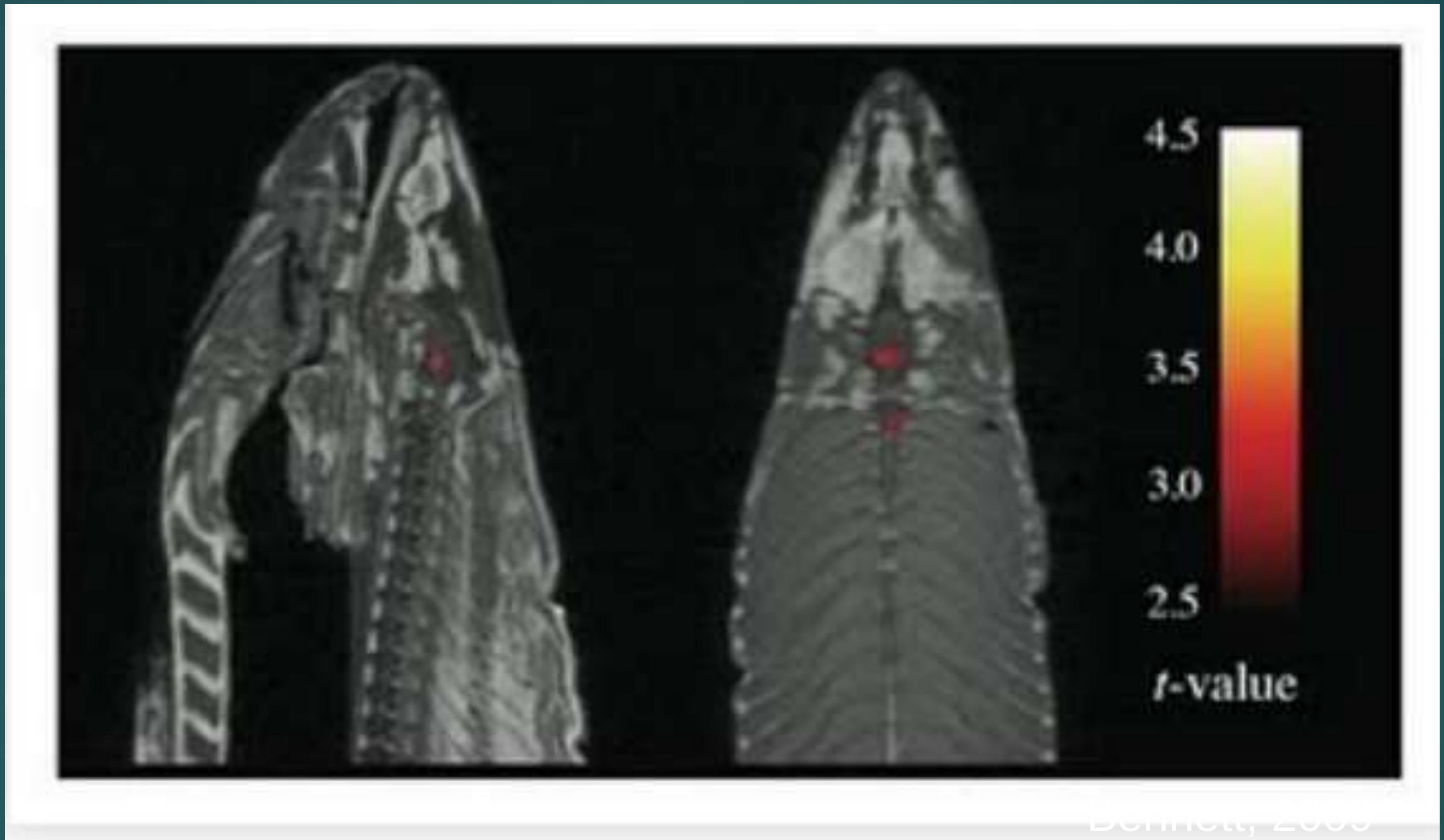
FMRI studies brain function.



Source: Jody Culham's fMRI for Dummies web site

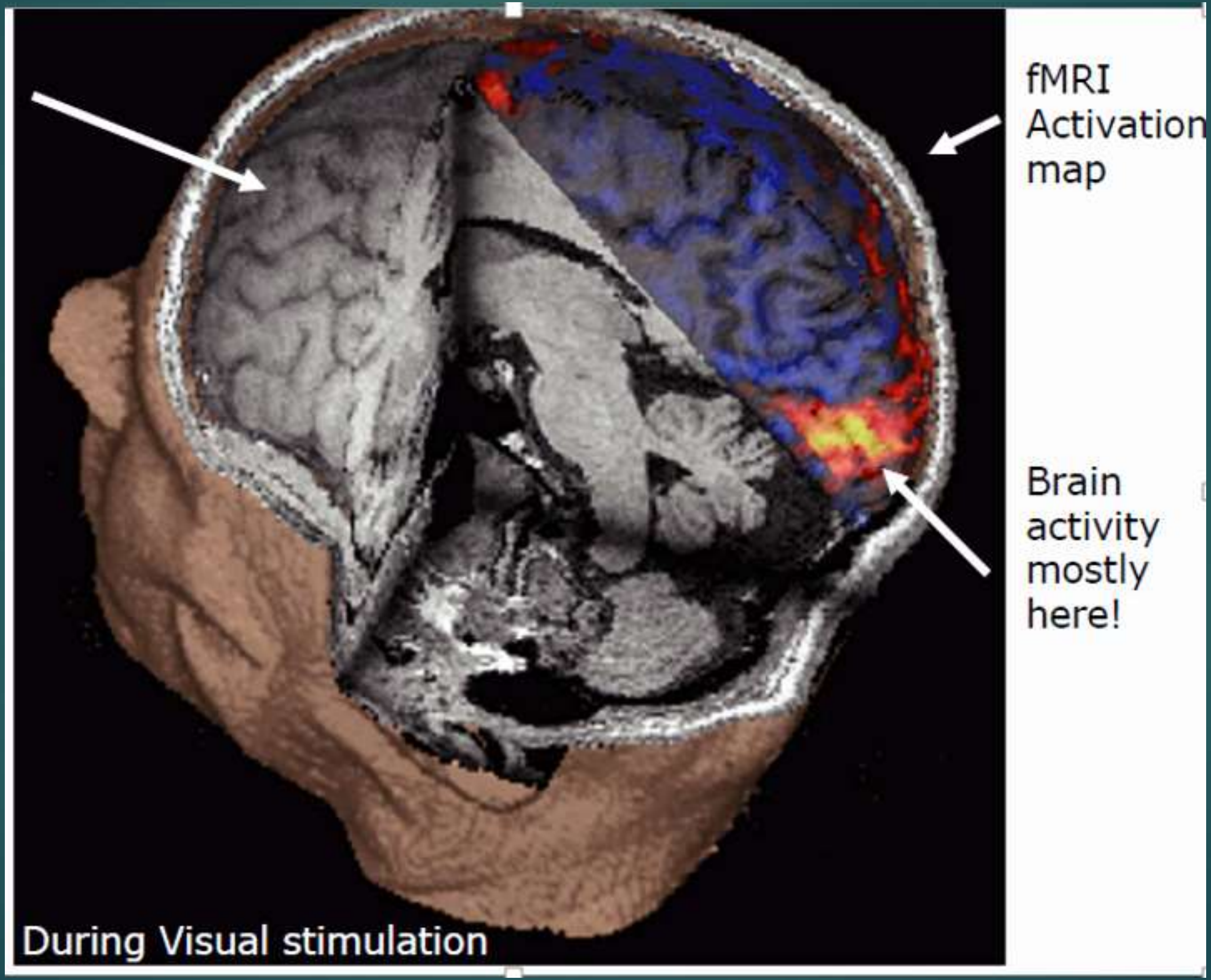
Cautionary Tale: Post-Mortem Atlantic Salmon: false positives in MRI phantom data

Neural correlates of interspecies perspective taking in the post-mortem Atlantic Salmon: An argument for multiple comparisons correction

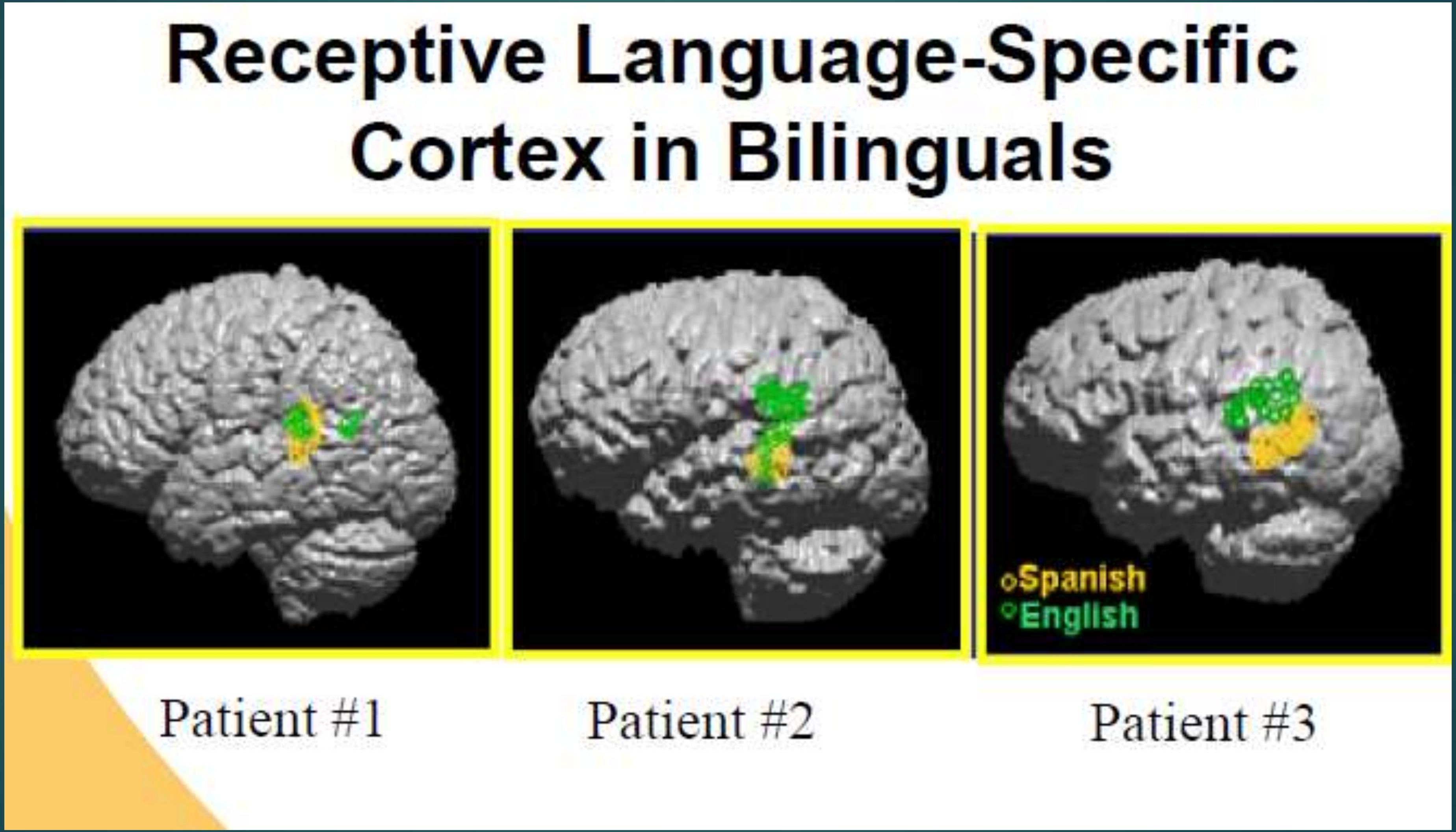


This is a lesson in statistics, not in fMRI. Which is why this was never published in a peer-reviewed journal. It is a lesson about how probability indicates that you certainly can get activation in a dead salmon by chance, and that if you only have one salmon and no corrected threshold in 2 million samples, you will get about 100,000 false positives.

FMRI during visual task

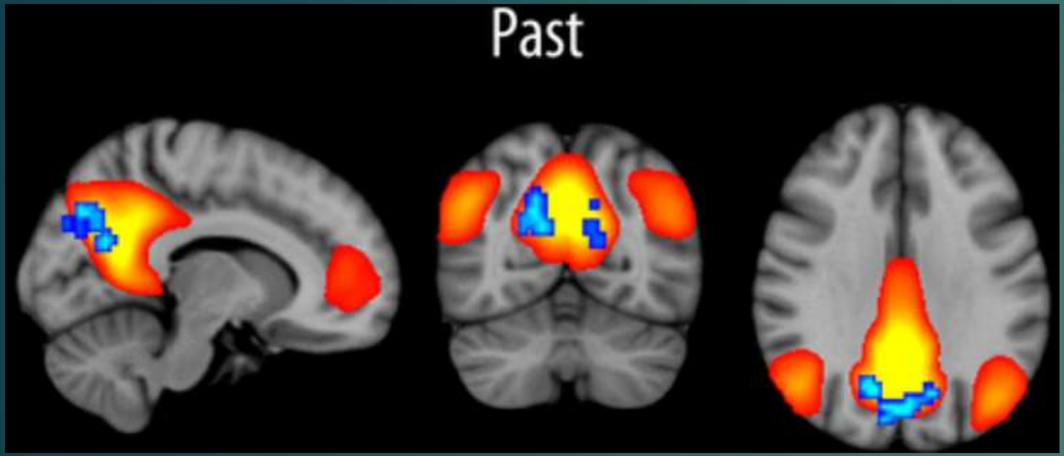


MEG: Bilinguals – Location of each language

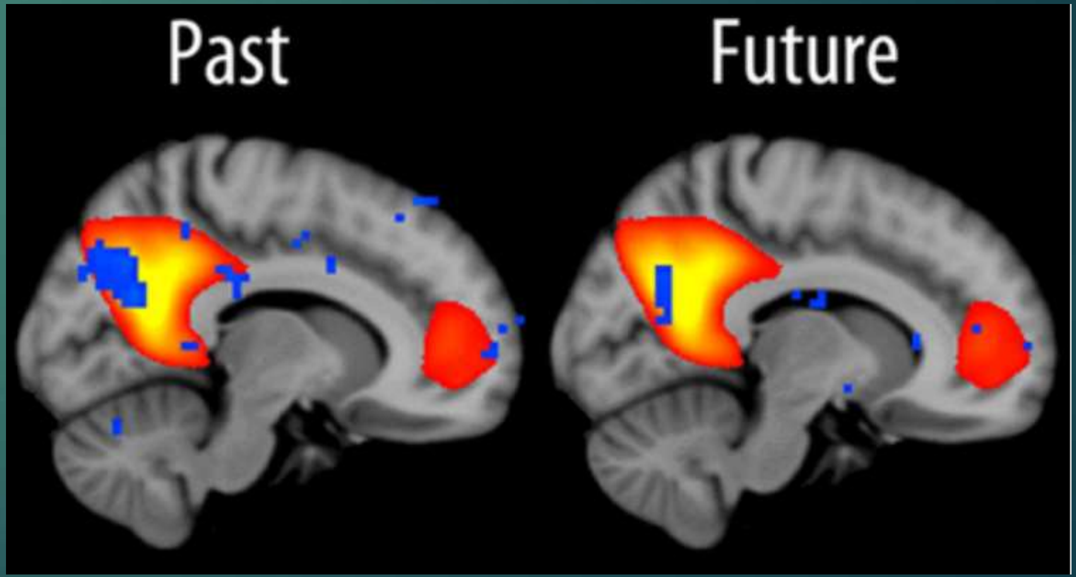


Default Network: Mental Time Travel

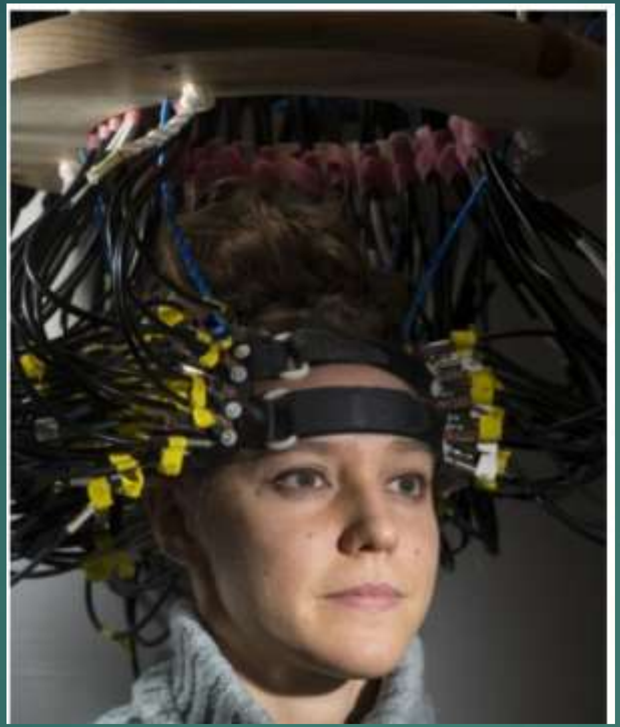
Remembering the past



Imaging the future



Diffuse optical tomography

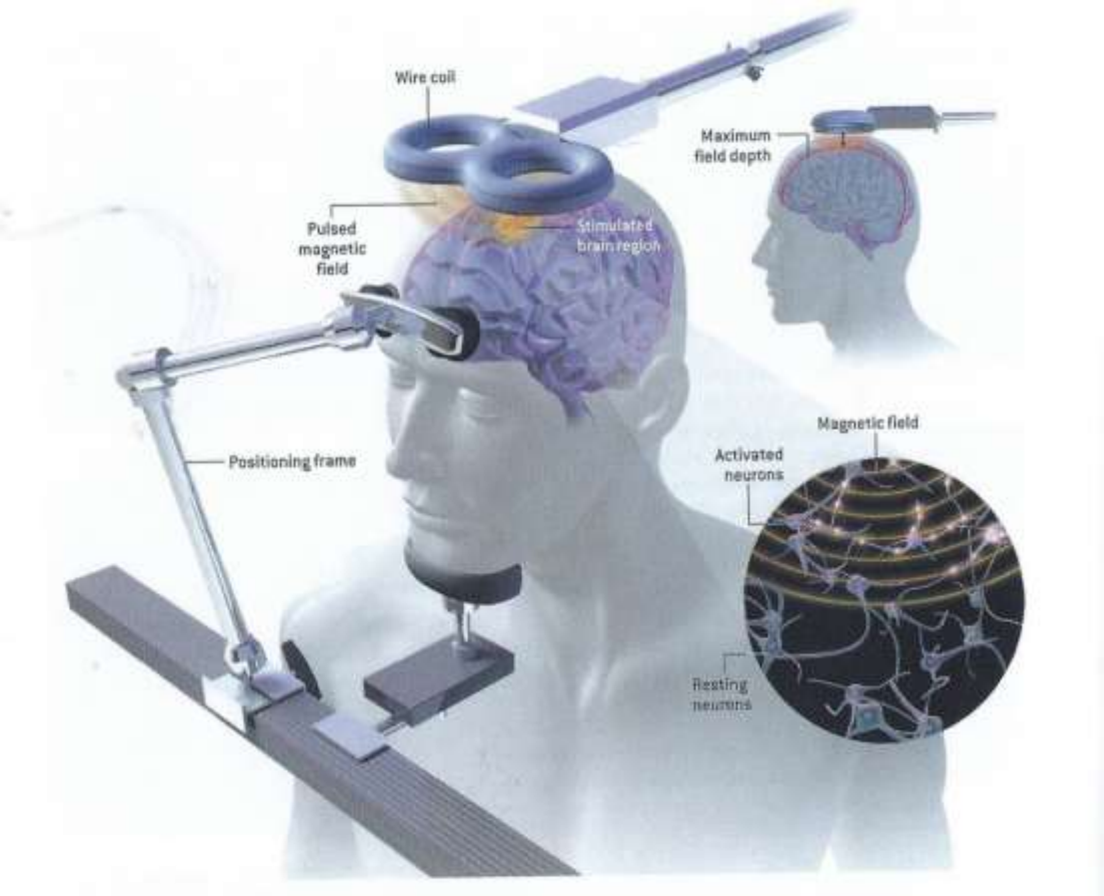


Shining LEDs into the subject's head; latest system able to monitor up to two-thirds of the head at once. Can only reliably image the brain down to a depth of about one centimeter.

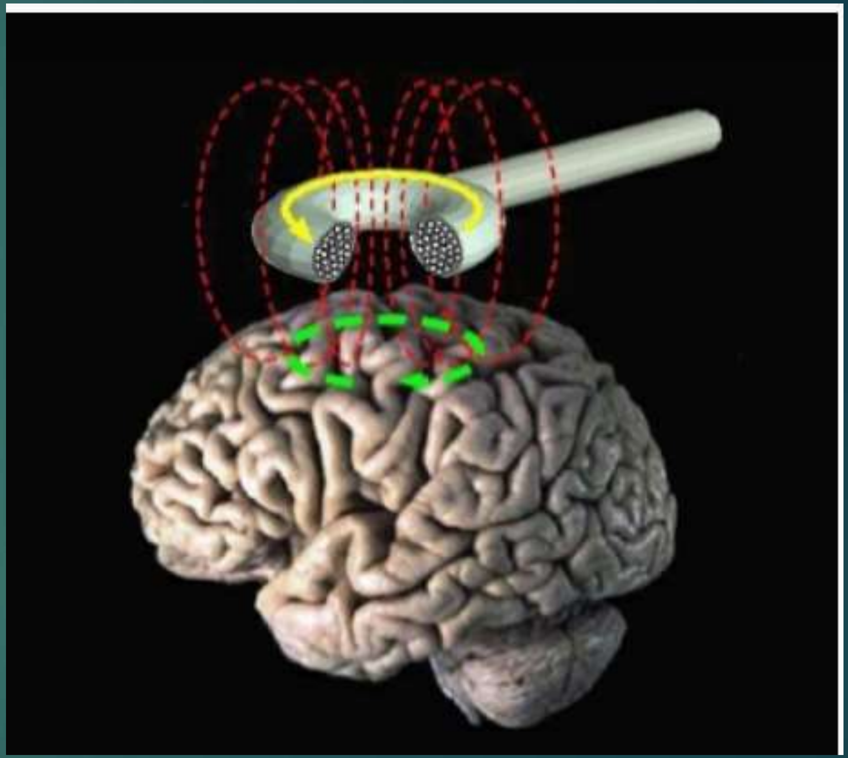
Has done four hierarchical language tasks and multiple resting-state networks including the dorsal attention and default mode networks.

Future: Hitachi Walkman-style optical (laser) brain scanner

Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation (TMs)



Can momentarily render a brain area dysfunctional



Up to 2.5 tesla
(strength of a magnetic field)

Nature vs. Nurture

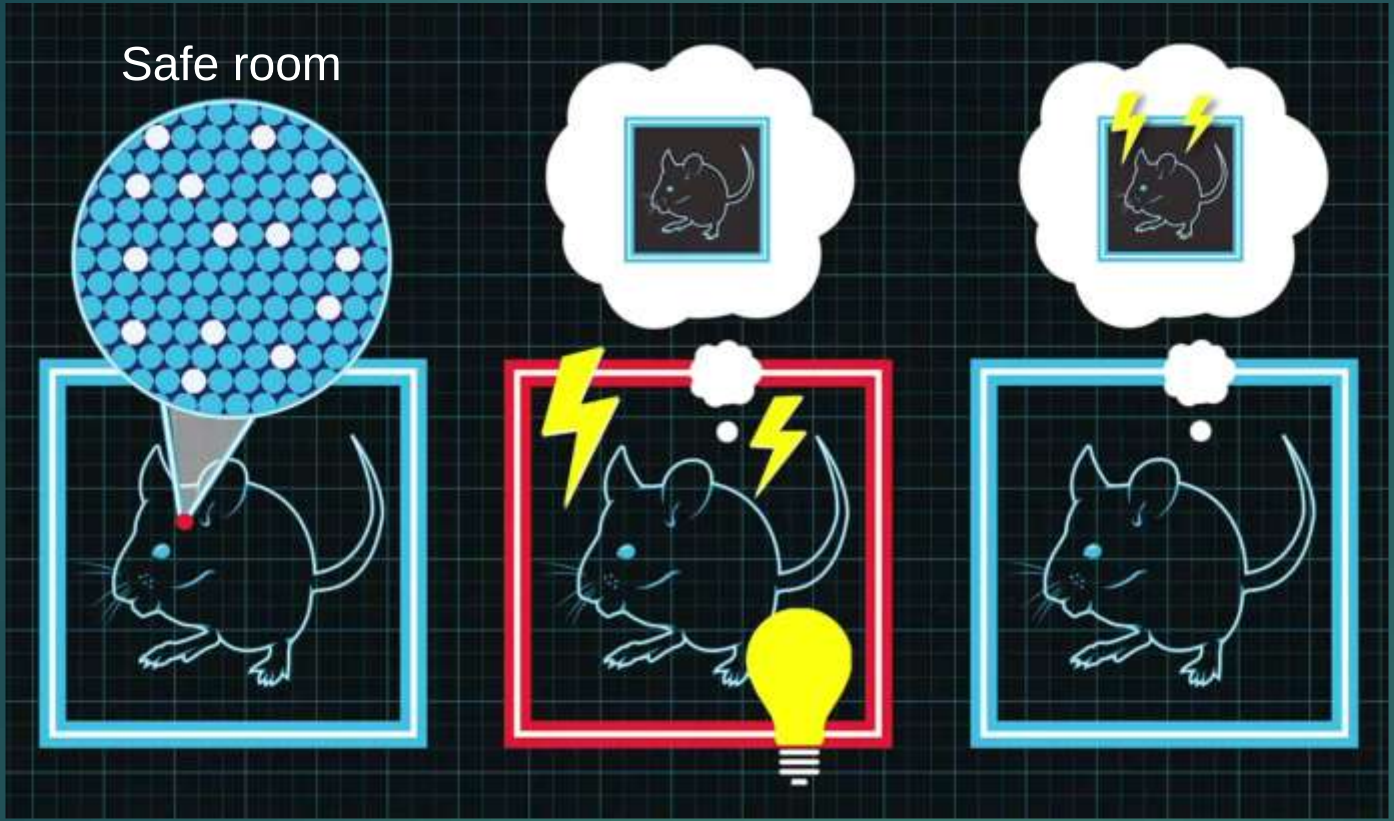
- Darwin and Freud walk into a bar. Two alcoholic mice — a mother and her son — sit on two bar stools, lapping gin from two thimbles.
- The mother mouse looks up and says, “Hey, geniuses, tell me how my son got into this sorry state.”
- “Bad inheritance,” says Darwin.
- “Bad mothering,” says Freud.

Genes

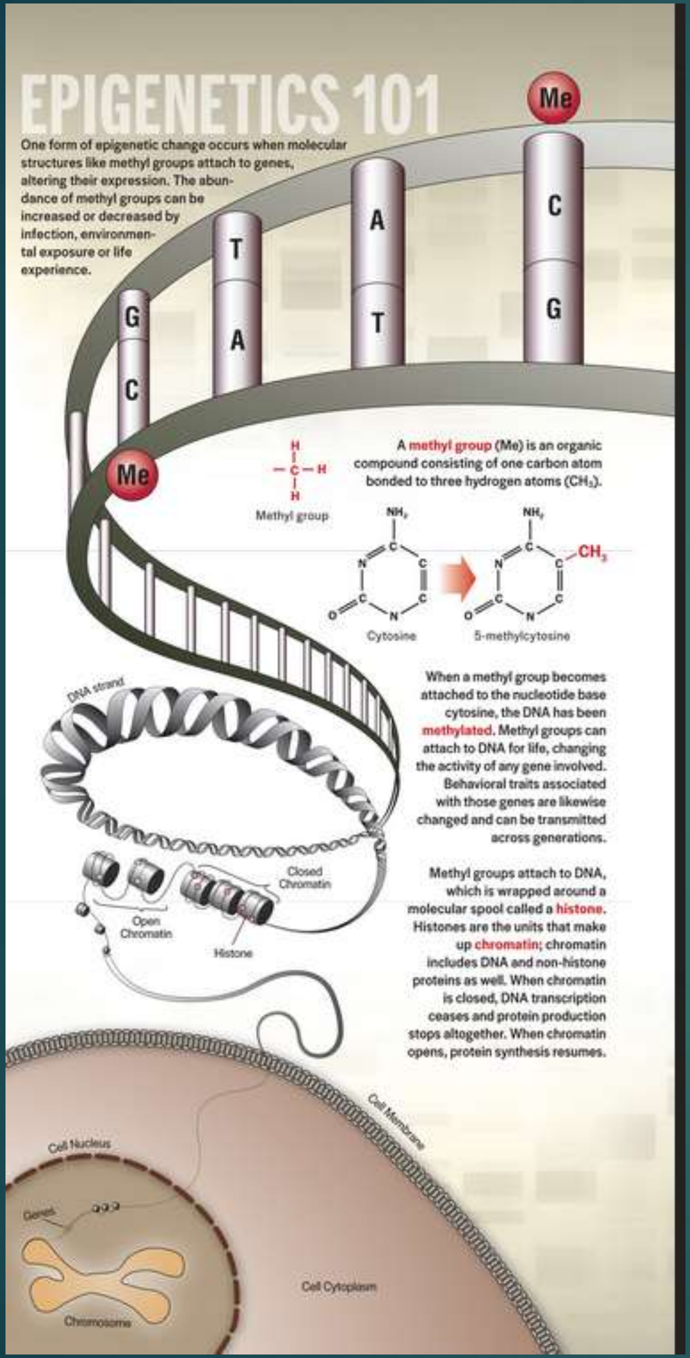
- If you think genes don't affect how people behave, consider this fact: if you are a carrier of a particular set of genes, the probability:
  - that you will commit a violent crime is 4 times as high as it would be if you lacked those genes.
  - 3 times as likely to commit robbery,
  - 5 times as likely to commit aggravated assault,
  - 8 times as likely to be arrested for murder,
  - 13 times as likely to be arrested for a sexual offense.
  - 98 percent of death-row inmates do.

- The overwhelming majority of prisoners carry these genes; These statistics alone indicate that we cannot presume that everyone is coming to the table equally equipped in terms of drives and behaviors.
- What are those genes?
- Y chromosome; If you're a carrier of these genes, we call you a male.

Can now create a false memory in a mouse



- Three steps to plant a fake memory in a mouse.
- First, let the mouse build a real memory of a safe room (left).
- Second, put the mouse in a room with an electrified floor. Shock the mouse — but add the memory of the shock to the memory of the first room. Third, put the mouse back in the safe room — which the mouse now incorrectly “remembers” as dangerous.



Epigenetics:

- Molecular structures like methyl groups can attach to genes and altering the expression of the gene.

- Early-life environmental conditions can cause epigenetic changes in humans that persist throughout life.

- Audrey Hepburn survived Dutch Hunger Winter: If a mother was well fed around the time of conception and malnourished only for the last few months of the pregnancy, her baby was likely to be born small and stayed small throughout life, no mater how she ate.

Epigenetics: In mice, can pass on your experience

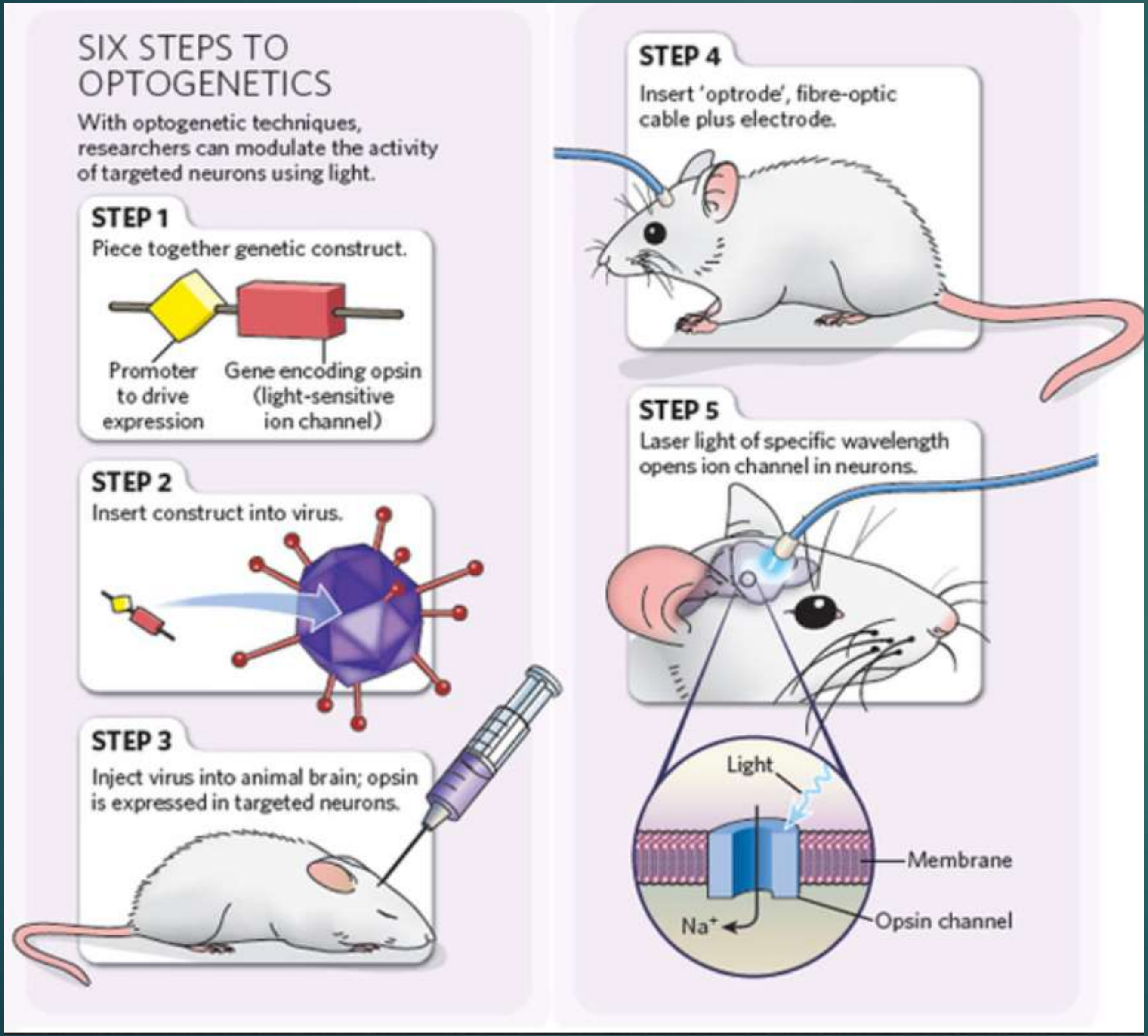
- Showed that a mouse, via epigenetics, could pass on an aversion to a smell to her child

- Another study: Male mouse exposed to 10 days of bullying; became socially withdrawn. To test whether such effects could be transmitted to the next generation, another group of bullied mice were bred with females, but the bullied fathers never met their offspring. Despite having no contact with their depressed fathers, the offspring grew up to be hypersensitive to stress and depressed.

Optogenetics, 1971:
Walther Stoeckenius and Dieter Oesterhelt,

- By inserting opsin genes into neurons; act as miniature solar panels, enabling the cells to convert illumination into electrical signals.
- Can use flashes of light to trigger firing by specific neurons on command. Use light to determine the precise role of those neurons in freely moving animals.
- The discovery of channelrhodopsin2 (ChR2) from the unicellar alga Chlamydomonas reinhardtii was the starting point for the optogenetic approach.
- When transfected into mammalian cells and activated by blue light ChR2 acts as an inwardly rectifying cation channel, thus depolarizing the cells.

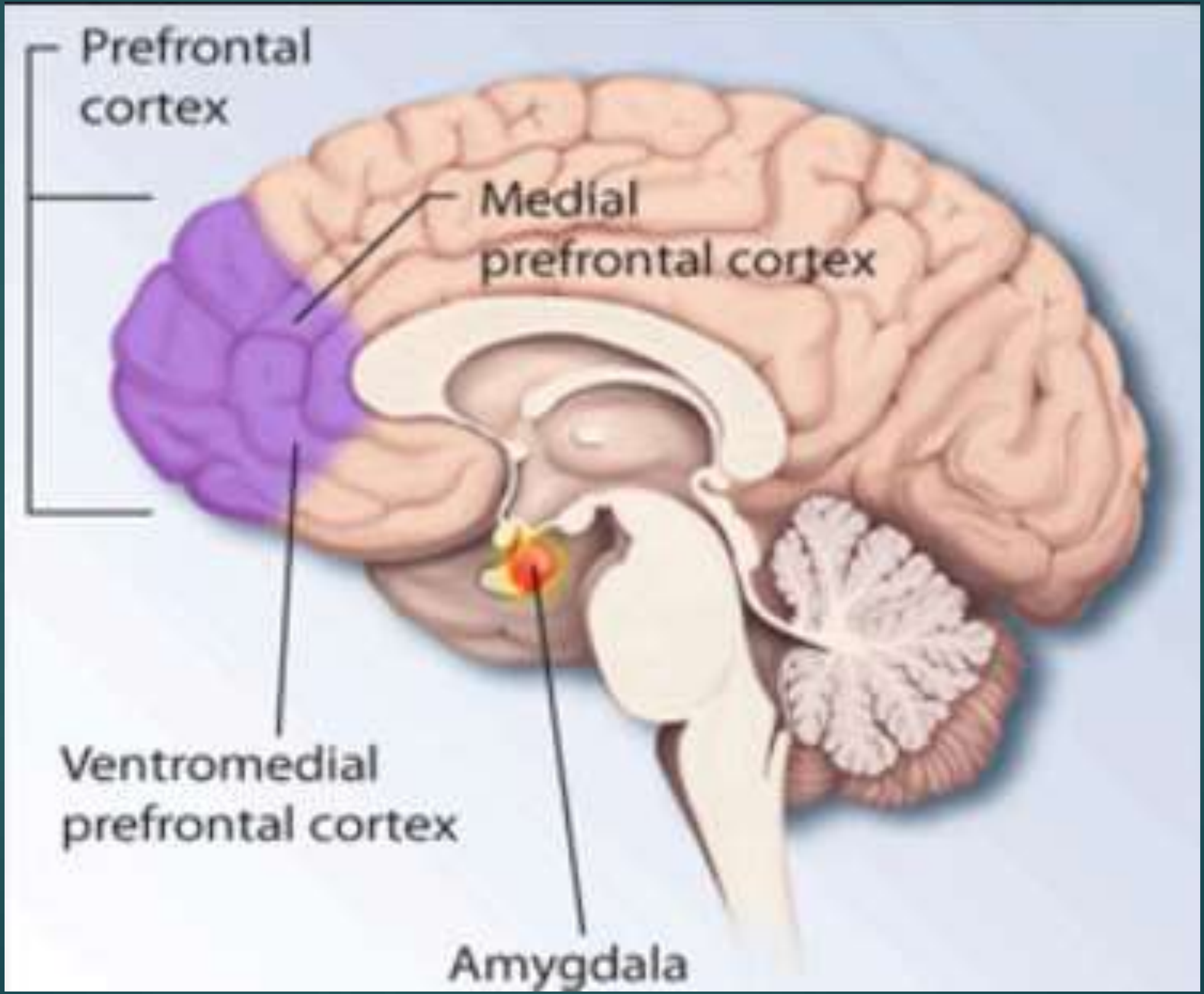
Controlling the Brain with Light



Turn On: ChR2 activates the cells with blue light by depolarization,

Turn Off: NphR inactivates the cells with yellow light by hyperpolarization of the cells

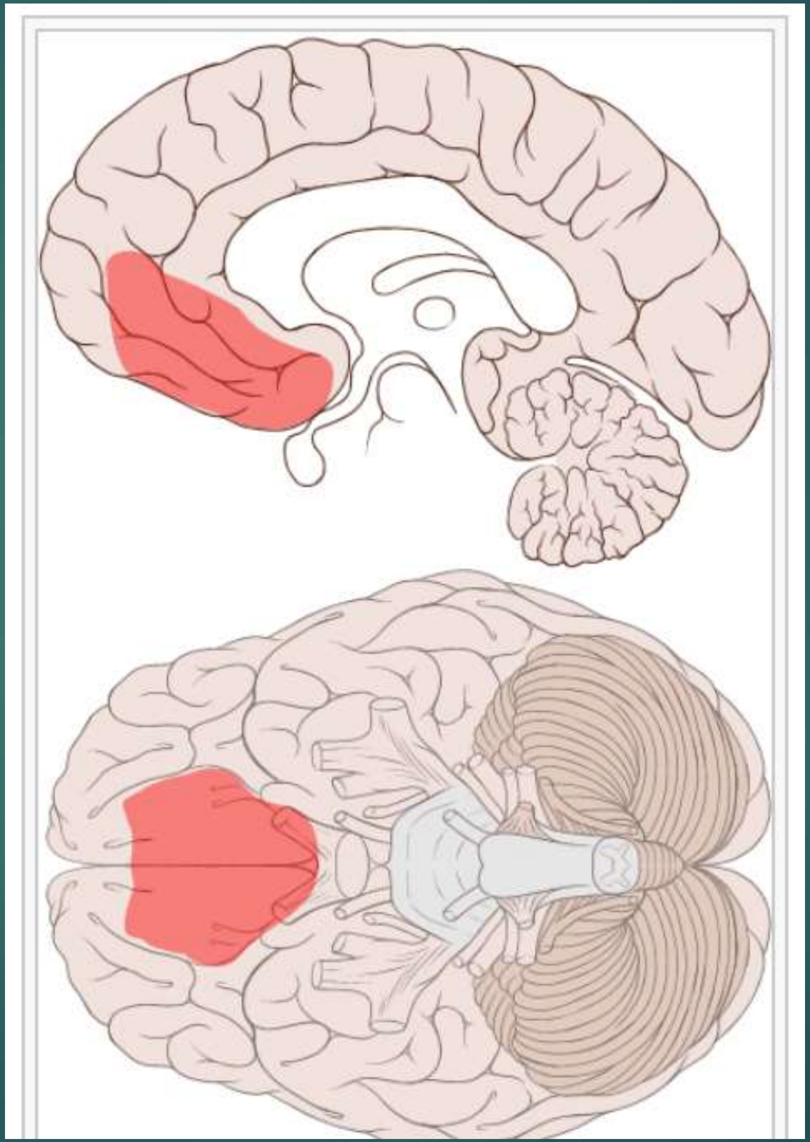
PFC vs. Amygdala: Reason vs Emotion



Prefrontal doesn't get a vote with hyperactive Amygdala

- There is a dissociation between knowing right from wrong and the ability to base behavior on that knowledge
- Rationality may not affect ability to control behavior
- Neurolaw at its core is about this brain difference.

Why do you need the orbital (ventromedial) frontal lobes?

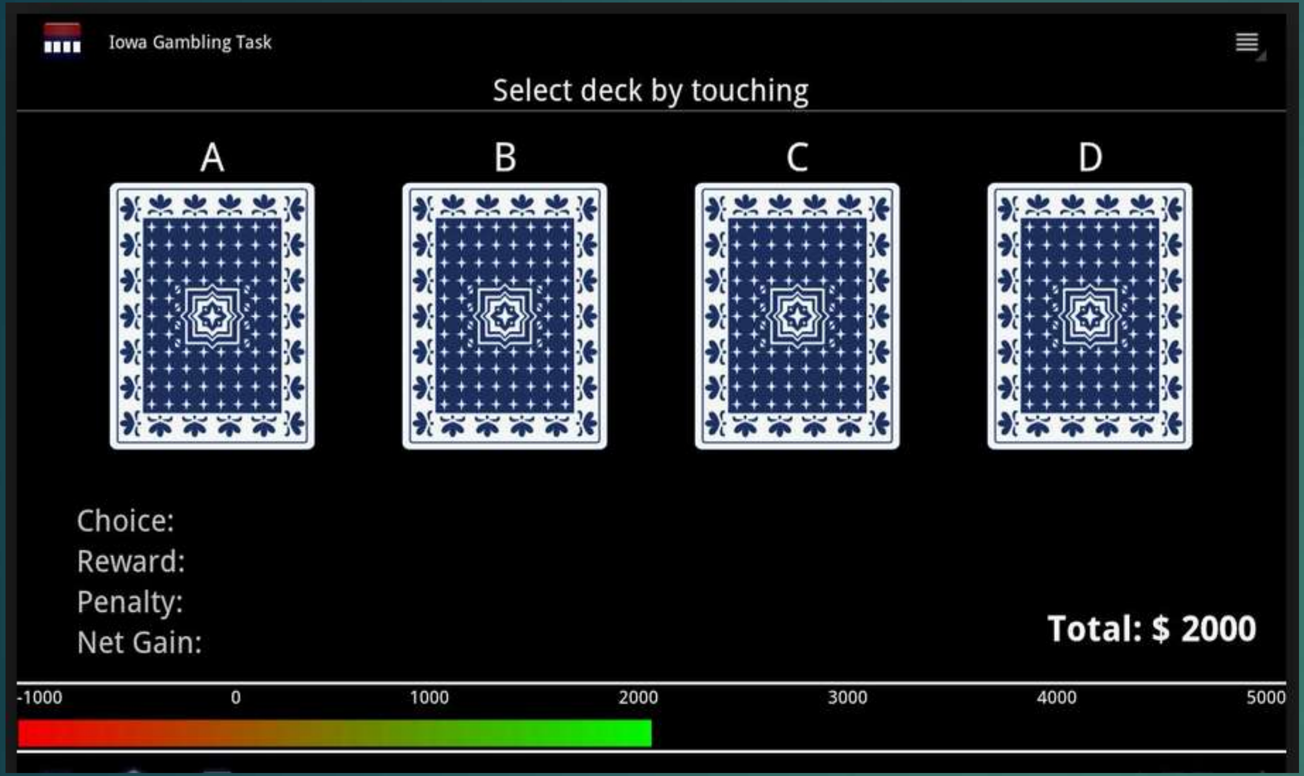


Is Mr. Spock’s rationality the ideal

- 1982: Pt. E.: model father, corporate manager, 97%tile IQ
- Then behavior changed; considered a "malingerer”; fired from job, wife divorced him.
- He walked into neurologist Antonio Damasio’s office: he had a bilateral mOFC tumor diagnosed & removed
- Now: No emotional reaction (no GSR) to scenes of mutilation
- Now: pathological indecision: whether to use a blue or black pen; where to park
- Discovery: human decision making requires emotions to function correctly
- Damasio’s Somatic Marker Theory: emotional processes can guide (or bias) behavior, particularly decision-making.

A. R. Damasio, Tranel, & Damasio, 1990; Eslinger & Damasio, 1985

Iowa Gambling Task



Participants are presented with 4 virtual decks of cards on a computer screen. They are told that each time they choose a card they will win some game money. But some decks lose money.

Normals: after about 40 or 50 selections are fairly good at sticking to the good decks. Patients with OFC dysfunction, continue to choose the bad decks,
GSR shows that healthy participants show a "stress“
reaction to hovering over the bad decks after only 10 trials, before conscious awareness that the decks are bad.

	Bad Decks		Good Decks	
	A	B	C	D
Gain/Deck:	$100	$100	$50	$50
Loss/10 cards:	$1250	$1250	$250	$250
Net/10 cards:	-$250	-$250	$250	$250
Rewards/10 cards:	5	1	5	1

“Kevin”: A case of new behavior at age 40

- A 40-year-old married schoolteacher began to have an increasing interest in pornography, including child pornography seemingly out of the blue. He had a preexisting strong interest in pornography dating back to adolescence, although he denied a previous attraction to children and had never experienced related social or marital problems as a consequence.
- Throughout the year 2000, he acquired an expanding collection of pornographic magazines and increasingly frequented Internet pornography sites. Much of this material emphasized children and adolescents. He also solicited prostitution at "massage parlors," which he had not previously done.

Burns JM , Swerdlow RH, Arch Neu, 2003

Kevin 2

- The patient went to great lengths to conceal his activities because he felt that they were unacceptable. However, he continued to act on his sexual impulses, stating that "the pleasure principle overrode" his urge restraint.
- He began making subtle sexual advances toward his prepubescent stepdaughter, which he was able to conceal from his wife for several weeks. Only after the stepdaughter informed the wife of the patient's behavior did she discover with further investigation his emerging preoccupation with pornography, and child pornography in particular.

New sexual urge 3

- The patient was legally removed from the home, diagnosed as having pedophilia, and prescribed medroxyprogesterone. He was found guilty of child molestation and was ordered by a judge to either undergo inpatient rehabilitation in a 12-step program for sexual addiction or go to jail.
- Despite his strong desire to avoid prison, he could not restrain himself from soliciting sexual favors from staff and other clients at the rehabilitation center and was expelled. The evening before his prison sentencing, he went to a hospital emergency department complaining of a headache. A nonphysiologic cause was suspected, and the psychiatry service admitted him with a diagnosis of pedophilia, after he expressed suicidal ideation and a fear that he would rape his landlady.

New sexual urge 3

- The day after his admission he complained of balance problems, and a neurologic consultation was obtained

- The patient's medical history was notable for a closed head injury 16 years earlier that was associated with a 2-minute loss of consciousness and no apparent neurological sequelae, a 2-year history of migraines, and hypertension. He was without a previous psychiatric or developmental history and had exhibited no prior deviant sexual behavior.

Kevin 4

- There was no family history of psychiatric disease. He had worked as a corrections officer prior to completing a master's degree in education in 1998, at which time he became a schoolteacher. He was currently in his second marriage, which prior to his developing sexual preoccupations had been stable for 2 years.

- During a neurologic examination, he solicited female team members for sexual favors. He was unconcerned that he had urinated on himself.
- MRI scan revealed the teacher had a large, egg-sized orbitofrontal tumor (an aggressive meningioma). Surgeons removed the tumor and his criminal behavior ceased.

A new sexual urge 5

- He successfully participated in a Sexaholics Anonymous program. Seven months later, he was believed not to pose a threat to his stepdaughter and returned home.
- One year later, he developed a persistent headache and began secretly collecting pornography again. MRI showed tumor regrowth, and surgery was redone.
- Two days after this surgery, his examination results were normal. His MMSE was perfect. Results of clock-drawing and figure copy tests were normal, and his writing was legible.
- Throughout these events the patient was unable to control his urges, but he was always aware his behavior was wrong.

Right Orbitofrontal Tumor With Pedophilia Symptom and Constructional Apraxia Sign

Arch Neurol. 2003;60(3):437-440. doi:10.1001/archneur.60.3.437

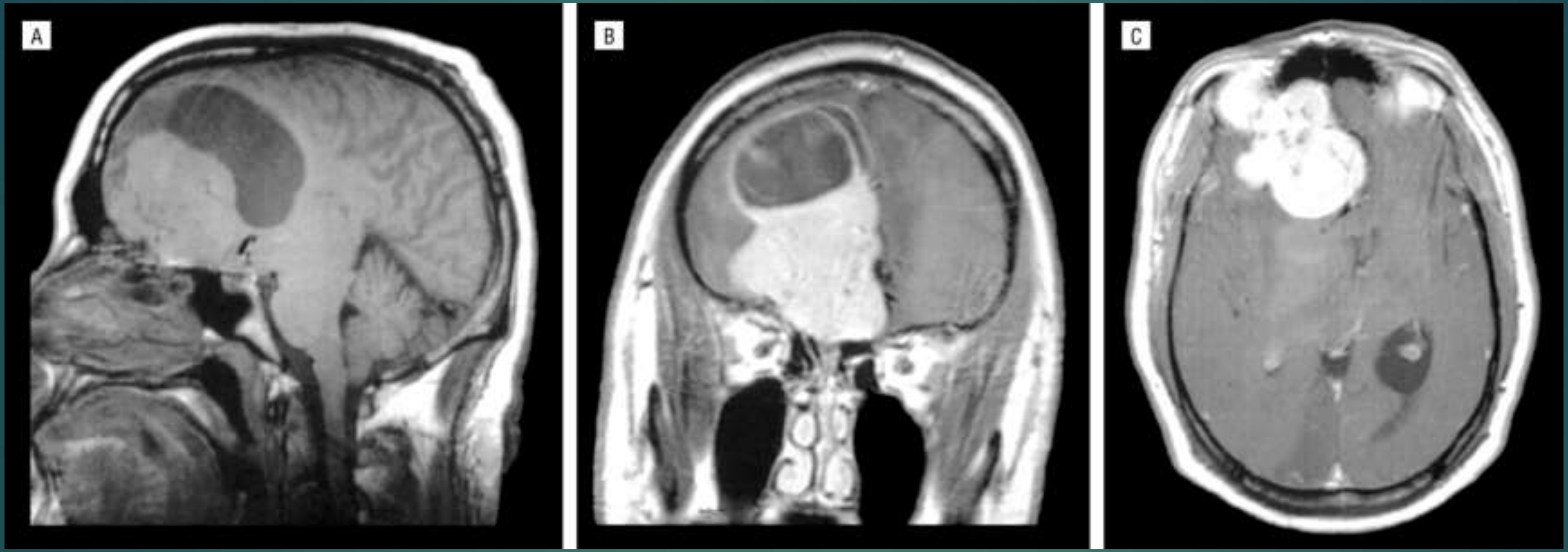


Figure Legend:

Magnetic resonance imaging scans at the time of initial neurologic evaluation: T1 sagittal (A), contrast-enhanced coronal (B), and contrast-enhanced axial (C) views. In A and B, the tumor mass extends superiorly from the olfactory groove, displacing the right orbitofrontal cortex and distorting the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex. The tumor is capped by a large cystic portion.

Before surgery

After surgery

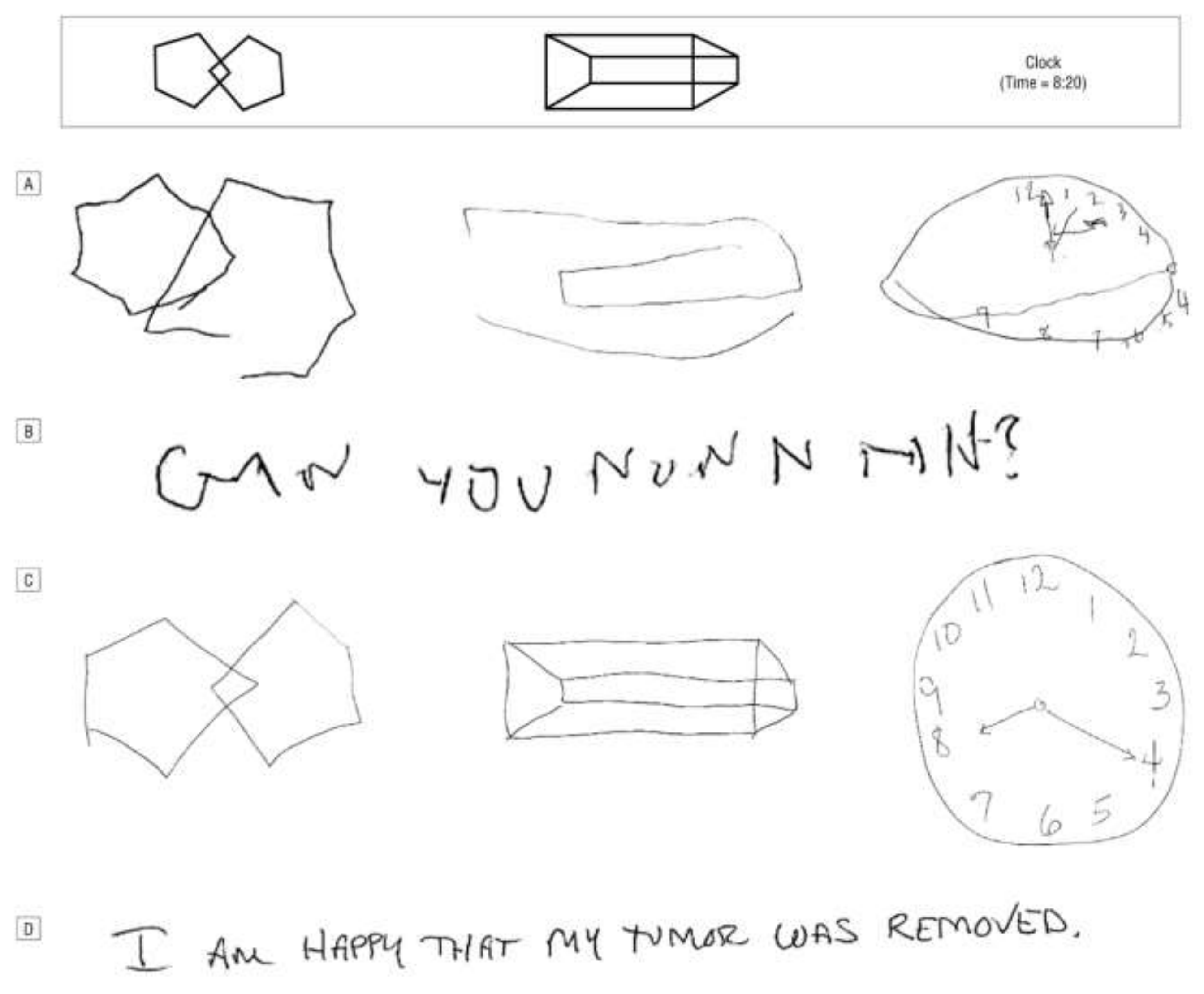


Figure Legend:

Constructional apraxia and pseudodysgraphia in our patient with a right orbitofrontal tumor. A, Impaired copy drawing and free drawing at the initial evaluation. B, Pseudodysgraphia at the initial evaluation. C, Resolution of constructional apraxia after tumor resection. D, Resolution of pseudodysgraphia after tumor resection.

Behavioral variant FTD

- Loss of VEN cells in Insula & ACC
- Loss of empathy
- Loss of behavioral inhibition
- Normal person who develops bvFTD:
    - Peeing in public
    - Sexual peeping Tom
    - Exposing themselves in public

Gambling in Parkinson’s: Dopamine is the reward drug

- In 2001, families of Parkinson’s patients began to notice something strange. When patients were given a drug called pramipexole, some of them turned into pathological gamblers.

- These were people who had never gambled much before, and now they were flying off to Vegas. One 68-year-old man amassed losses of more than $200,000 in six months at a series of casinos. Some patients became consumed with Internet poker, racking up unpayable credit-card bills.

- For several, the new addiction reached beyond gambling, to compulsive eating, excessive alcohol consumption, and hypersexuality.

- Similar results for some who underwent deep brain stimulation
- Physician can simply lowers the dosage, and the compulsive gambling goes away.

Tourette's Syndrome: Twist & Shout

- People with Tourette's syndrome, for instance, suffer from involuntary movements and vocalizations. A typical Touretter may stick out his tongue, scrunch up his face, call someone a name, or on a bus, shout Fuck-Fuck-Fuck—all without *choosing* to do so.
- We immediately learn two things from the Tourette's patient.
  - First, actions can occur in the absence of free will.
  - Second, the Tourette's patient has no *free won't*. He cannot use free will to override or control what subconscious parts of his brain have decided to do. What the lack of free will and the lack of free won't have in common is the lack of "free."
  - We all agree that the person is not responsible.
- Or split brain patients with alien hand syndrome: 1 buttons shirt, 1 unbuttons

Choice is biological

- Human actions cannot be understood separately from the biology of the actors—and this recognition has legal implications
- Like your heartbeat, breathing, blinking, and swallowing, even your mental machinery can run on autopilot.
- The crux of the question is whether *all* of your actions are fundamentally on autopilot or whether some little bit of you is “free” to choose, independent of the rules of biology.
- If we like to believe that people make free choices about their behavior (as in, “I don’t gamble, because I’m strong-willed”), cases like Alex the pedophile, the frontotemporal shoplifters, and the gambling Parkinson’s patients may encourage us to examine our views more carefully.

Choice is biological

- Perhaps not everyone is equally “free” to make socially appropriate choices.
- Perhaps all “bad” behavior have a basic biological explanation—as has happened with schizophrenia, epilepsy, depression, and mania.
- It no longer makes sense to ask, “To what extent was it his *biology*, and to what extent was it *him*?
- There is no meaningful distinction between a person’s biology and his decision-making. They are inseparable.

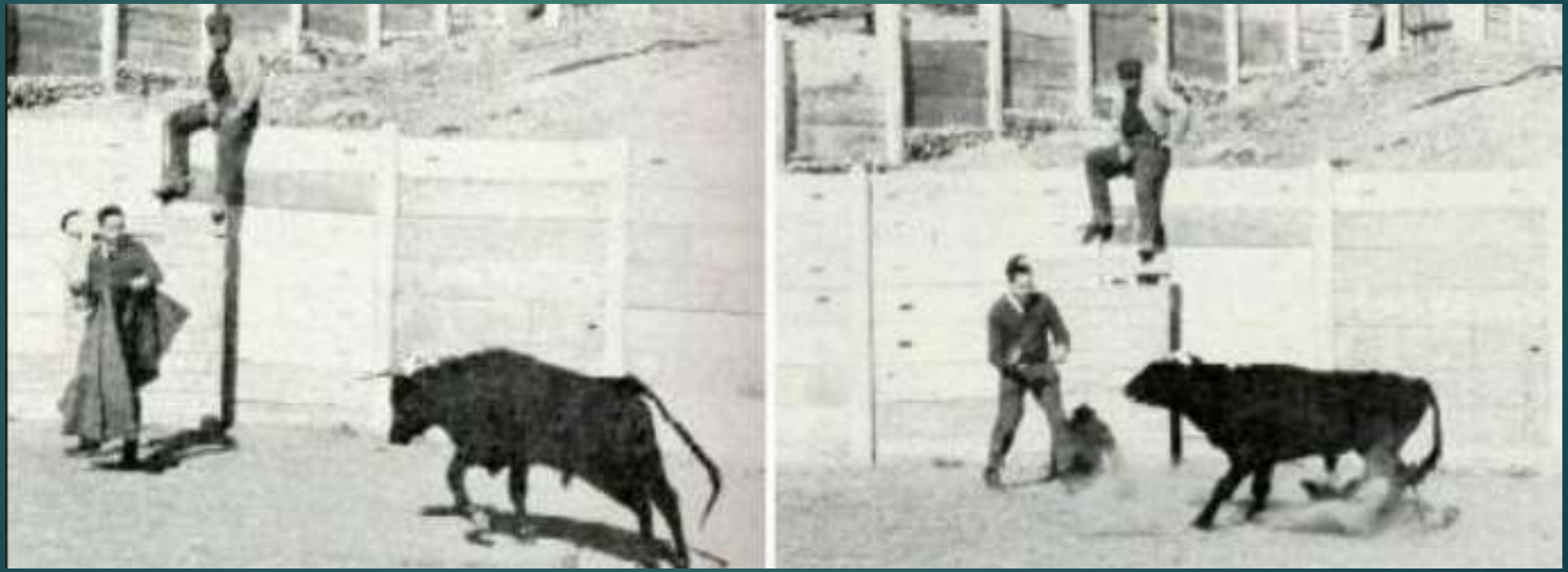
Neuroscience

- Cases like this one, reported in the *Archives of Neurology*, raise the issue off how advances in neuroscience are shaping our understanding of moral and legal choices.
- There are many ethical, legal, and social issues raised by our neuroscience knowledge.
- Major concern: brain imaging can be misused by lawyers (intentionally or unintentionally) and misunderstood by judges and jurors.

Unpredictable Future

- In a 2002 editorial published in The Economist, the following warning was given:
- "Genetics may yet threaten privacy, kill autonomy, make society homogeneous and gut the concept of human nature. But neuroscience could do all of these things first.”

1965: Stopping a bull



Old Science: The bull that stopped

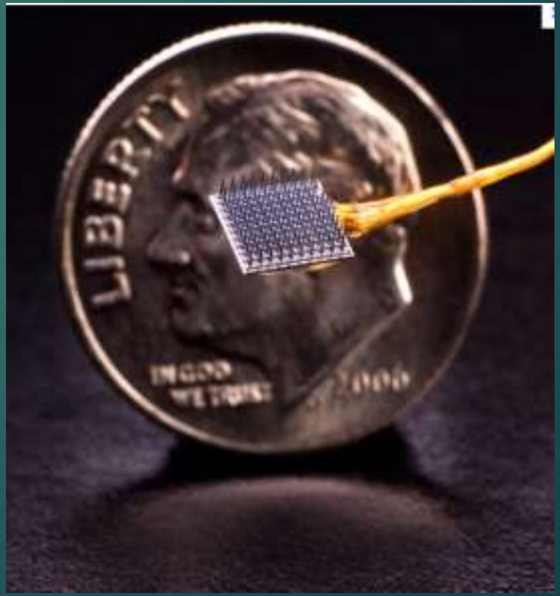
- In the 1960s, for example, neuroscientist Jose Delgado inserted devices into the brains of animals that he used to control their actions.
- In one dramatic episode, a bull charged at Delgado until, moments before the anticipated impact, Delgado pressed a button on a radio transmitter that activated a device in the bull's brain and caused it to stop.
- One of first NS interventions in behavior.

Current Neuroscience Projects

- Brain Computer Interfaces (BCI): Latest EEG headsets and computer algorithms can translate neuronal signals into specific actions that control a variety of mechanical devices, including wheelchairs, prostheses and now flight simulators.
- Ability to move robotic arms or cursors by thought alone via eeg or electrodes (lots of practice req.) (J. Donahue, Cybernetics, BrainGate chip)
- Ability to move paralyzed legs by thinking
- Ability to control a drone by thinking alone.

Robotic Connections

She is able to move external
robot arm just by thinking;
(2012: BrainGate system)



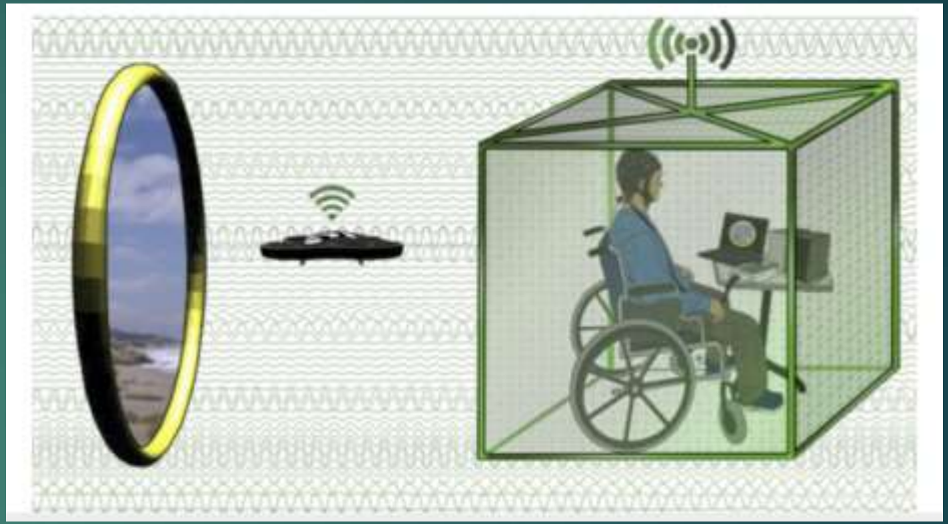
Think and walk after paralysis

Back on his feet (Image: University of California, Irvine)

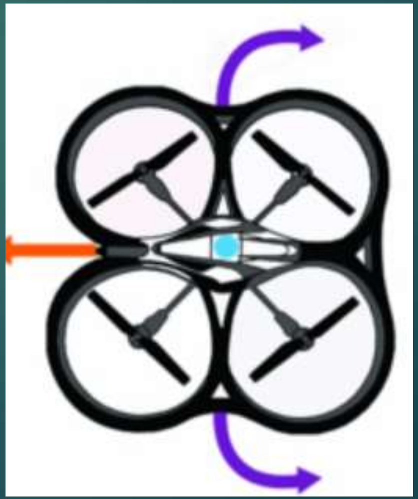
A 26-year-old man who is paralysed in both legs has walked for the first time in five years – just by thinking about it. He is the first person to have his brain activity recorded and used to control a muscle-stimulating device in his legs.

Robotic Quadcopter by Thought

2013: Brain–computer interface (BCI): BCI controlling a robotic quadcopter in three-dimensional (3D) physical space using noninvasive scalp electroencephalogram (EEG) in human subject.



Five human subjects were trained to modulate their sensorimotor rhythms to control an AR Drone navigating a 3D physical space



What about the military?

- Fly a plane via brain waves: Ability to control and land a plane by nonpilots in a flight simulator using EEG (Tim Fricke of the Technical University of Munich)

Human makes rat tail move via thought & another person hit a computer key

- Person wearing an EEG headset was paired with an anesthetized rat. When a participant decided to move the rat's tail, that person's corresponding brain activity triggered an ultrasonic pulse that entered the rodent's brain. About two seconds later the rodent's tail lifted and then fell.

- Thru a computer, 1 person moved the hand of another person using EEG & TMS equipment. The receiver did not register the received motor impulse consciously, but his right hand moved anyway. The stimulation caused his hand to lift, and when it fell it hit a keyboard and fired the cannon in the game. For the first time, a human brain had communicated an intention directly to another human brain, allowing the two brains to jointly complete a task.

Reading emotions: Potential Benefits and Risks for abuse

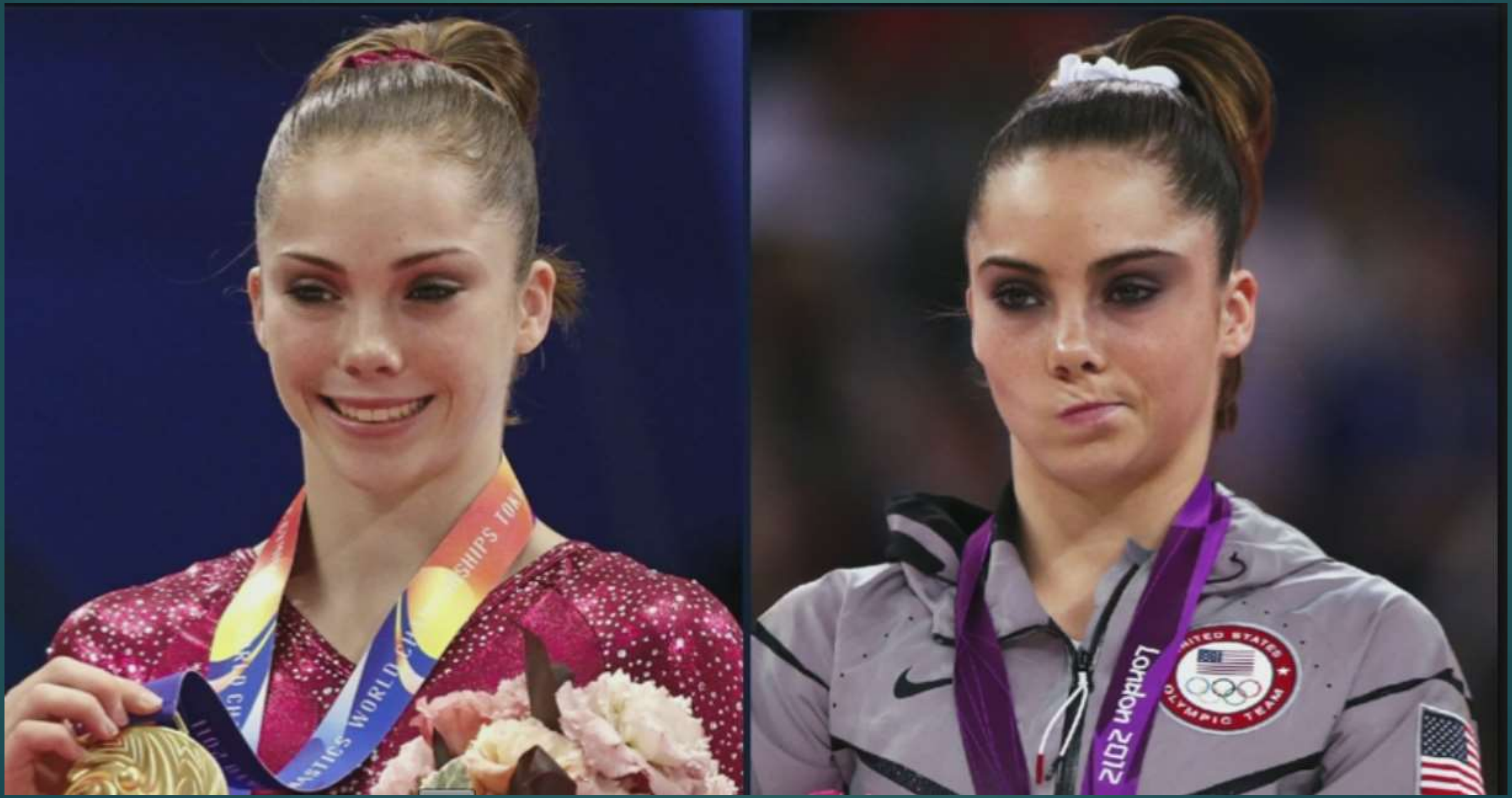
- Emotion reading software, now with 12 Billion facial emotions from 75 countries database; quantifies emotion

- Affectiva's technology can enable applications to use a webcam to track a user's smirks, smiles, frowns and furrows, which measures the user's levels of surprise, amusement or confusion.
- The technology also allows a person's heart rate to be measured from a webcam without the person wearing anything. This is done using color changes in the person's face, which pulse each time the heart beats.
- Can test:
  - advertising (when you get bored),
  - movie evaluation (what pulls emotions, engages you),
  - political polling

Surprise

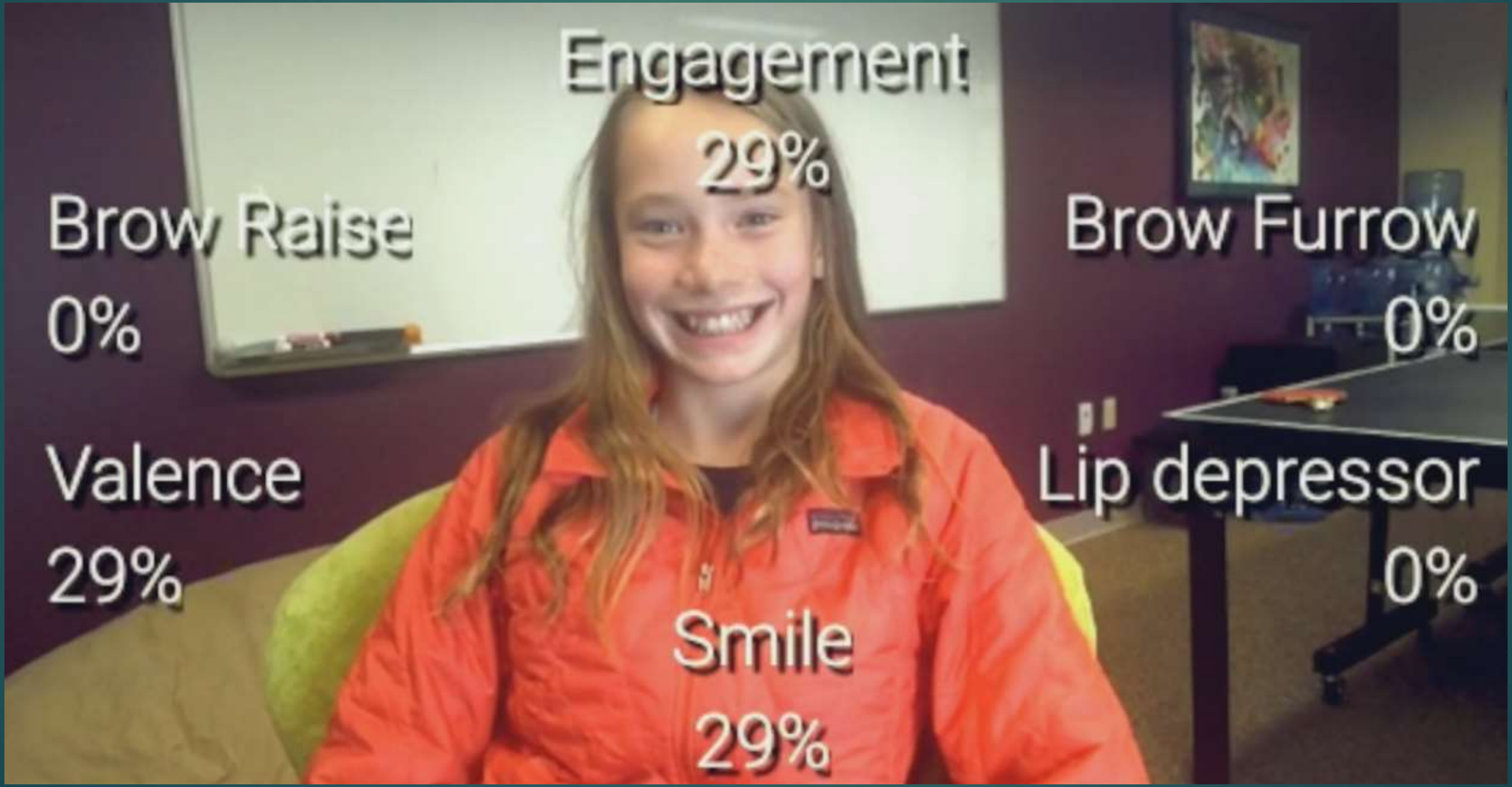
Curiosity

Smile & Frown



Same

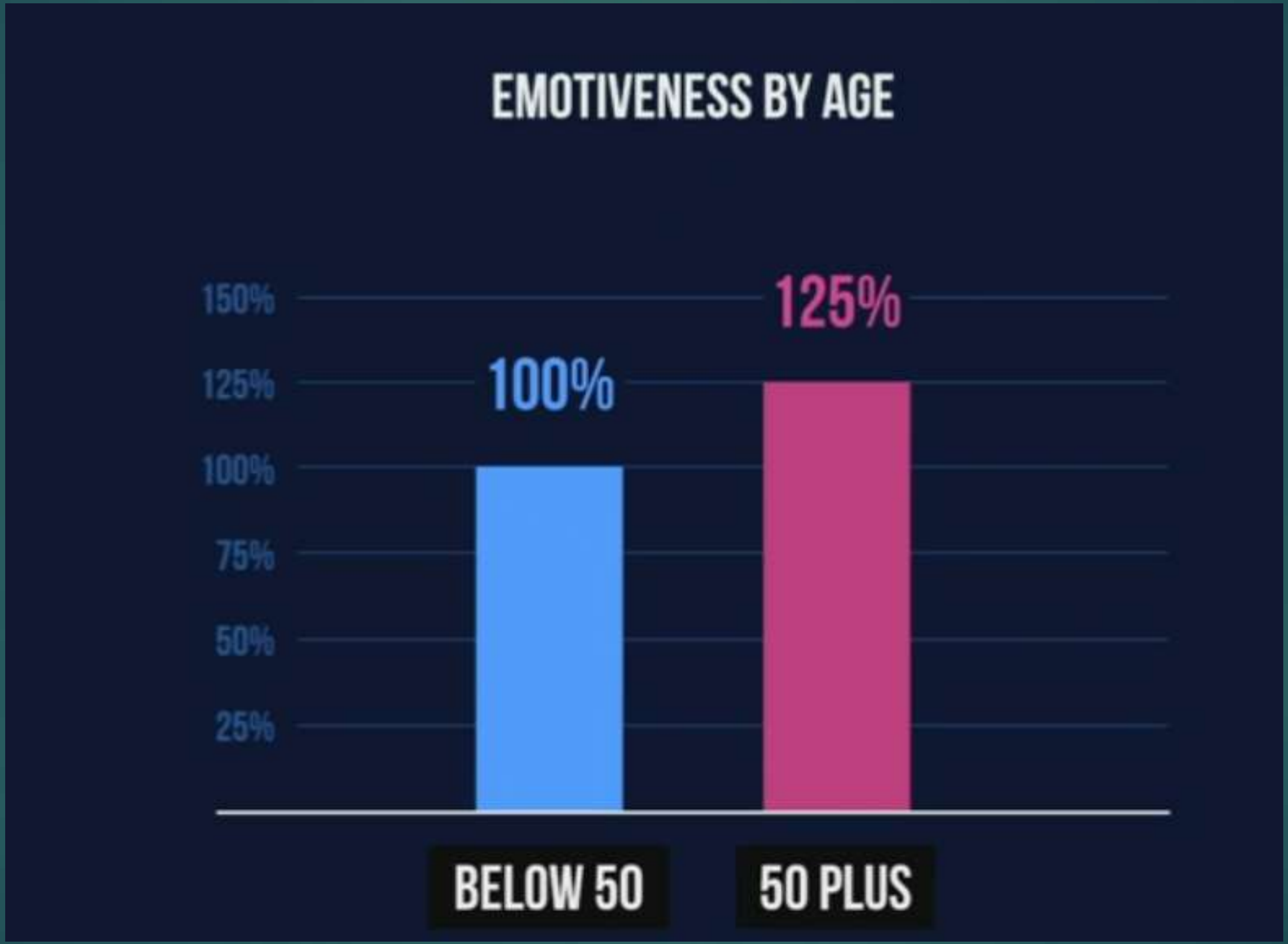
Emotion tracking:
Can analyze your…



Women are more expressive

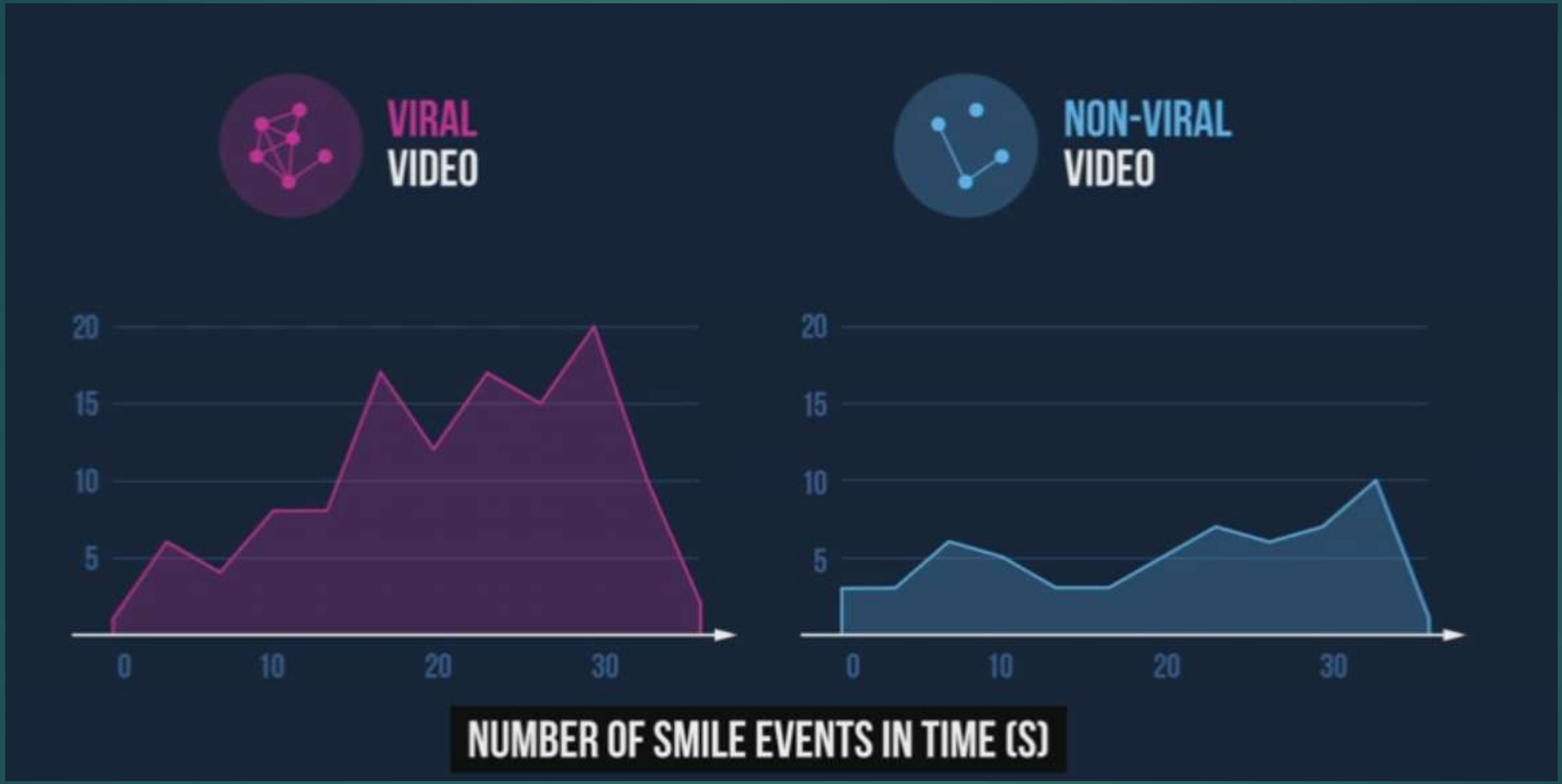
More Smiles and longer smiles

Older are more emotive



Women in their 20s smile more than men

Smiling even when you are alone



Technology that could help autistics

Or your refrigerator senses you are stressed and autolocks itself!

Current Neuroscience Projects: Reading minds

- Enter multivariate pattern analysis: statistical algorithms that link thought with pattern of brain activity (i.e., think tennis, find corresponding motor area activation; computer sees latter and predicts you are thinking of tennis; therefore read your mind)

- Communication with patient with permanent vegetative state, locked in syndrome via fMRI (M. Monti): think “tennis” if yes, visualize your home’s layout if no response

Decoding Brains: Jack Gallant

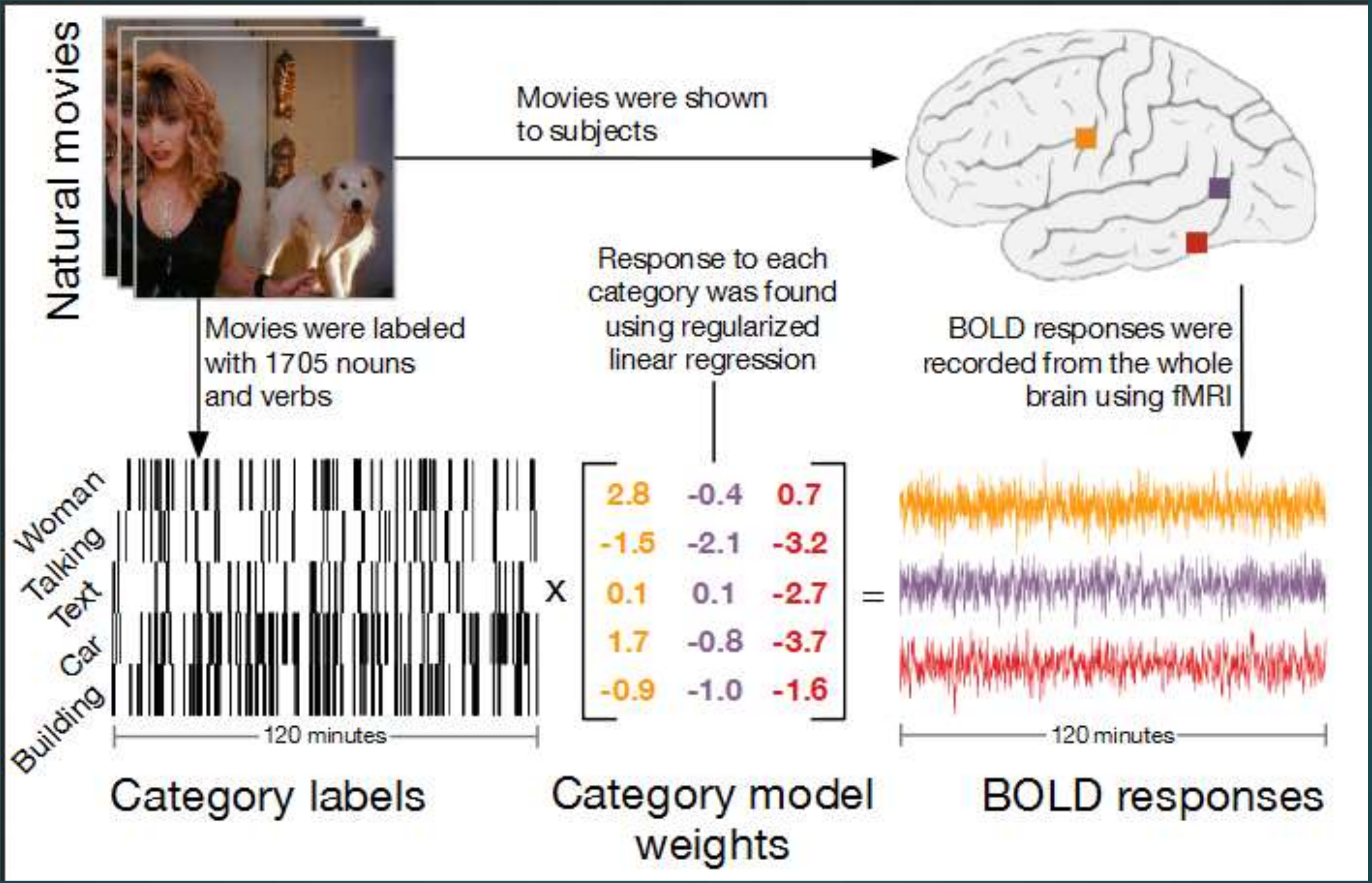
- J. L. Gallant, UCB: Predictive models of brain activity are the gold standard of computational neuroscience

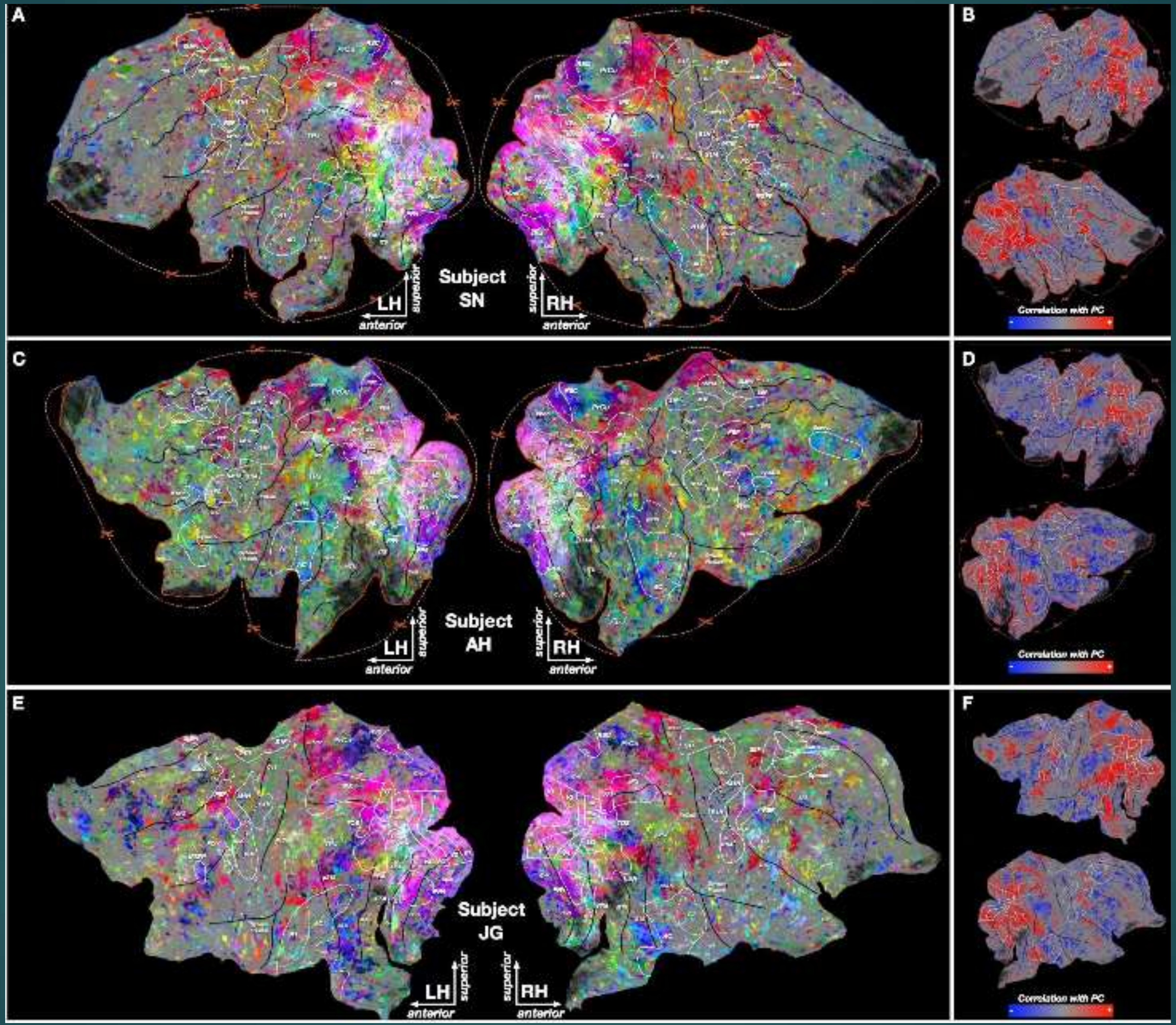
- Using EEG, fMRI for voxel analysis; statistical analysis, esp. regression; & theoretical modeling: how each element of the visual system encodes information

- Models can then be inverted in order to *decode* brain activity, providing a direct way to do "brain reading", and to build brain-machine interfaces (BMI) and neural prosthetics.

- Lab has been able to make videos of what people see, what people are semantically thinking about

Decoding Brains: complex interface & statistics





Cortical maps of semantic representation

Brain Decoding Movie

Current Neuroscience Projects: Brain Decoding

- Reconstruct images of faces a person has seen
- Probe the content of sleepers' dreams (60% accurate object detection)
- Ability to extract personal info: ATM PIN code, month of birth, bank location and the type of debit card used.

- NeuroScout program: Identify the type of baseball pitch and decide whether to swing; identify which baseball players will be good hitter

- Emotiv and NeuroSky make consumer BCI gaming headsets

- Goal: universal brain decoders

Brain scans can now…

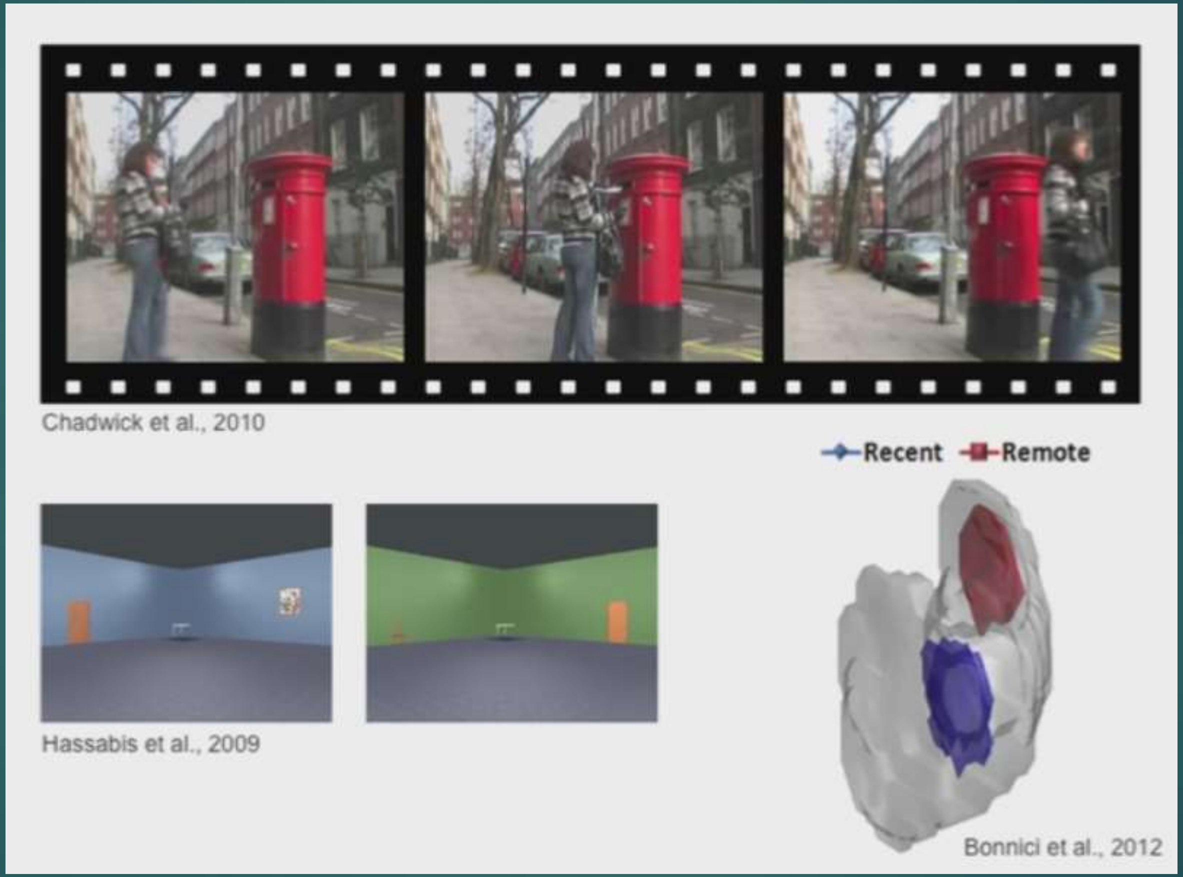
- Decode imagery directly from the brain, such as:
  - what number people have just seen
  - what memory a person is recalling
  - reconstruct videos of what a person has watched based on their brain activity alone

- Identify which protagonist/personality is being imagined based solely on activity patterns in the medial prefrontal cortex

Mind reading

- Ability to predict which video you just watched (of 3 short videos just watched) (E. Maguire) (R and L anterior & posterior hippocampus activate for episodic memory)
- Computer program translates brain waves into individual words with 80-90% Accuracy
- Ability to guess which of 1000 pictures you just viewed (J. Gallant)
- Computer ability to recreate what you are watching as you watch it (as you watch man in white shirt, computer spits out a white torso) (J. Gallant)

fMRI activations can tell where someone is located in virtual reality environment



Based on activations in the hippocampus Also what specific memory a person is recalling, which previous recalled autobiographical memory, or movie

Which tool or building you are thinking about

- In January 2008, a group from Carnegie Mellon came out with a study where they showed people primitive line drawings of objects.

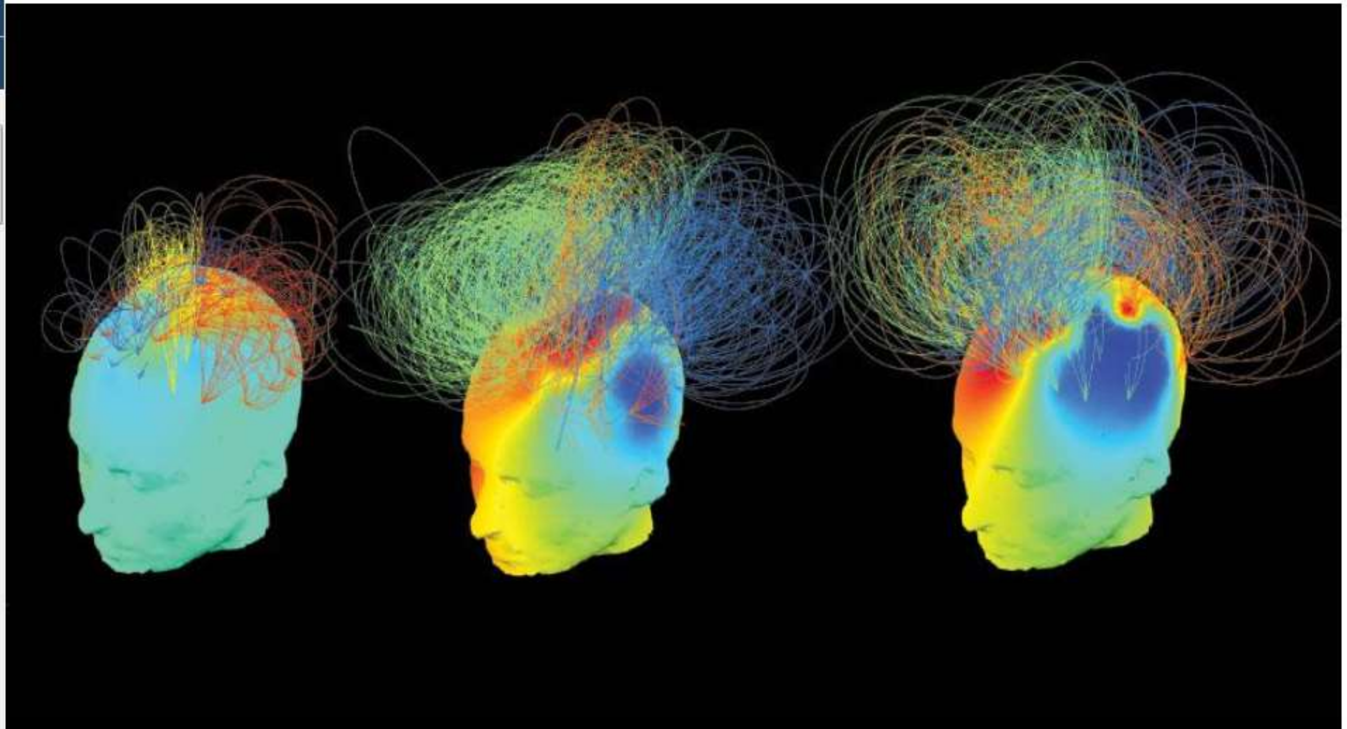
- The objects were five different tools—a drill, a hammer, a screwdriver, pliers, and a saw—and five different buildings—an igloo, a hut, a house, a castle, and an apartment.

- The group was able, with about 80 percent accuracy, to tell not just when each subject was seeing a tool or a building, but which tool and which building the subject was thinking about.

12 years a ghost

- Consider the story of Martin Pistorius of Johannesburg, South Africa, author of the 2011 book *Ghost Boy*.
- At age 12, he fell into in a coma after an infection. Doctors told his family his brain was permanently compromised and he would never recover. When he was a teen, his brain woke up, but his body did not. No one around him knew he was mentally aware as they fed, bathed and cared for him, and once, in a trying moment, told him they hoped he would die. He lived locked in this way for 12 years before he was finally able to move.
- “I couldn’t make a sign or a sound to let anyone know I’d become aware again,” Pistorius wrote in a 2015 *Daily Mail* article. “I was invisible.”
- He eventually began to communicate with his eyes, then learned how to use a computerized voice. Today, he is married and working as a freelance web designer.

Silently trapped: unconscious but mentally present



LOCKED IN Patients in the left two images are outwardly in a vegetative state. But the neural connections, measured by electrical activity, are much more active in the middle patient, whose brain network more closely resembles a healthy volunteer's (right). All three were asked to imagine themselves playing tennis.

As early as the mid-1990s, doctors were finding hints of hidden consciousness in some vegetative patients. In 1996, in *BMJ*, researchers from the Royal Hospital for Neuro-disability in London suggested that about 40 percent of patients considered vegetative showed some ability to communicate, such as following a simple command to look at an object when their eyes were open.

Reading minds: a face or a place

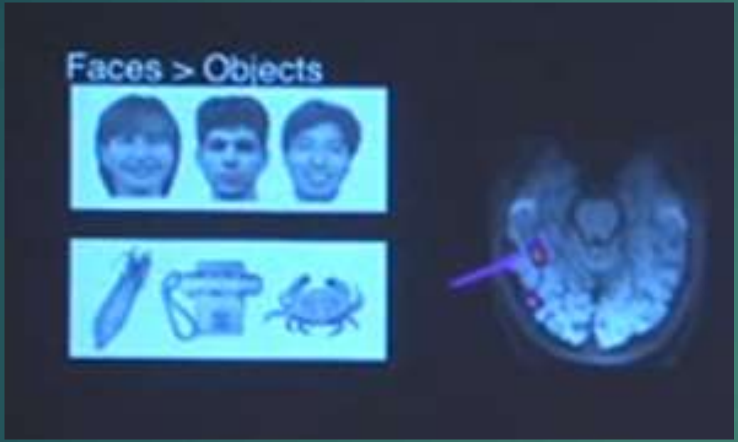
- Kanwisher was able, with nearly perfect accuracy, to tell when the people in fMRI were seeing pictures of faces and when they were seeing pictures of places by examining whether the subjects' brains showed activation in the fusiform face area.

- She also identified what she calls the parahippocampal place area, which is differentially activated when people see places

- 80 percent accuracy in predicting whether a person was visualizing— was thinking about—a face or a place

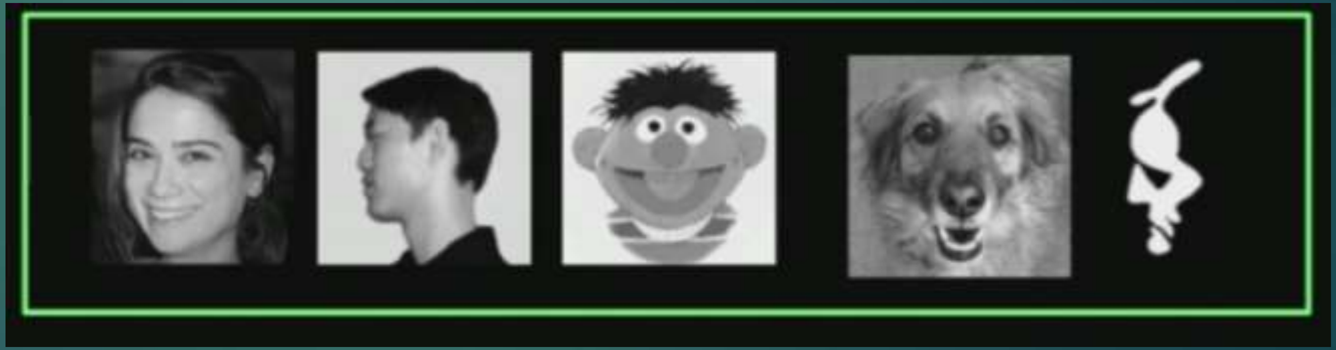
Fusiform Face Area (FFA): Face Recognition

Brain regions for face vs. object recognition



<u>Genetic</u>: Face perceptual abilities are inherited

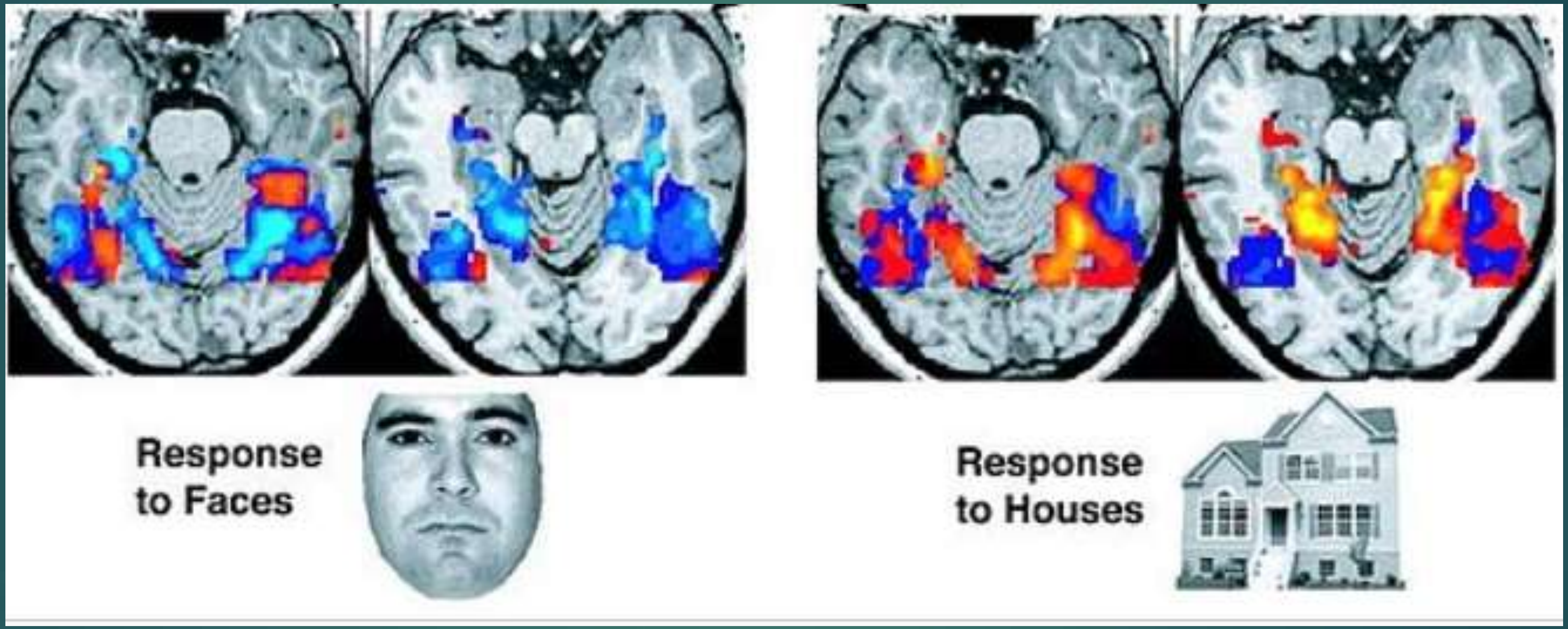
No correlation between IQ & face recognition



Confirmed in epileptic pt with 2 electrodes on FFA

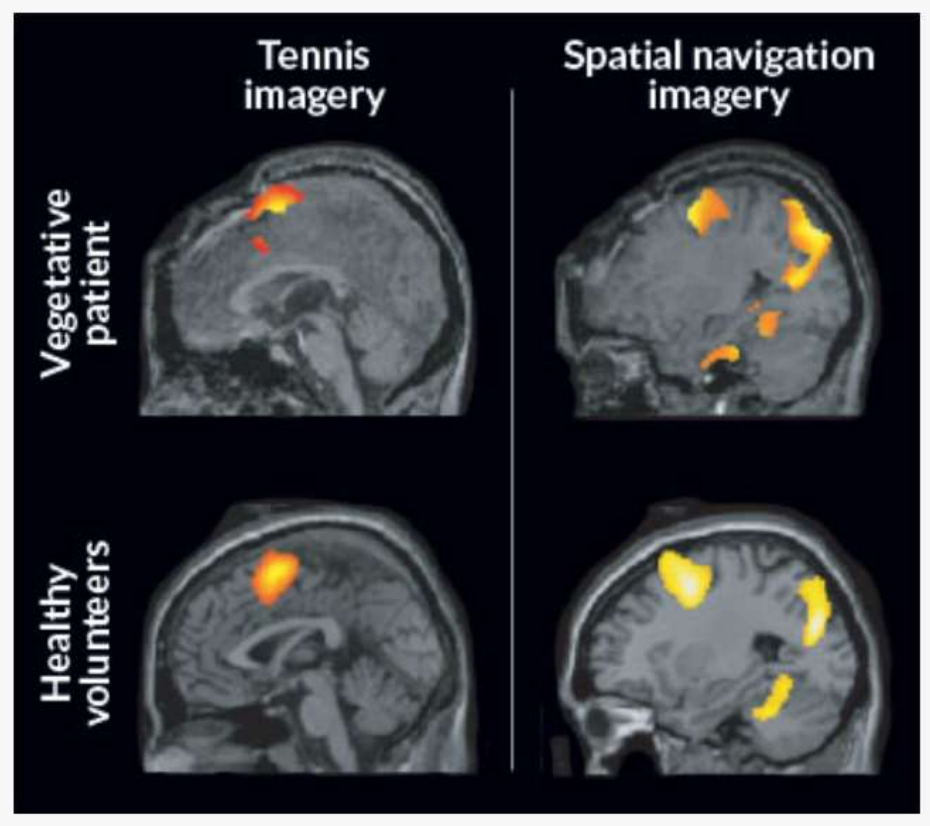
Nancy Kanwisher at MIT

Method for communication with pts with locked in syndrome



Brain response, rather than speech: Talking to the unconscious

Yes =
Playing tennis:
Suppl. Motor Area



No =
Walking your house:
parahippocampal gyrus (memory),
posterior parietal cortex (planning movements)
lateral pre-motor cortex

In a 2006 landmark experiment, researchers asked a woman who suffered a brain injury and was in a seemingly vegetative state to imagine herself playing tennis or moving around the rooms of her house. Same as healthy adults asked to imagine doing the same tasks. Answered 5 of 6 questions correctly

Neuroscience, Behavioral Genetics And Criminal Law

Eyewitness Testimony

- Jury Trial: witness points to defendant and says "It's him."
- Eyewitness testimony, especially if confident, has disproportionate effect on belief by jurors
- But memory can be altered by presenting misdirecting questions
- Answering the question "How fast was the white sports car going when it passed the barn while traveling along the country road?" increases witnesses' later reports of having seen a nonexistent barn in an earlier video (Loftus, 1975, p. 566).
- Studies: Convincing evidence that eyewitness testimony is poor.

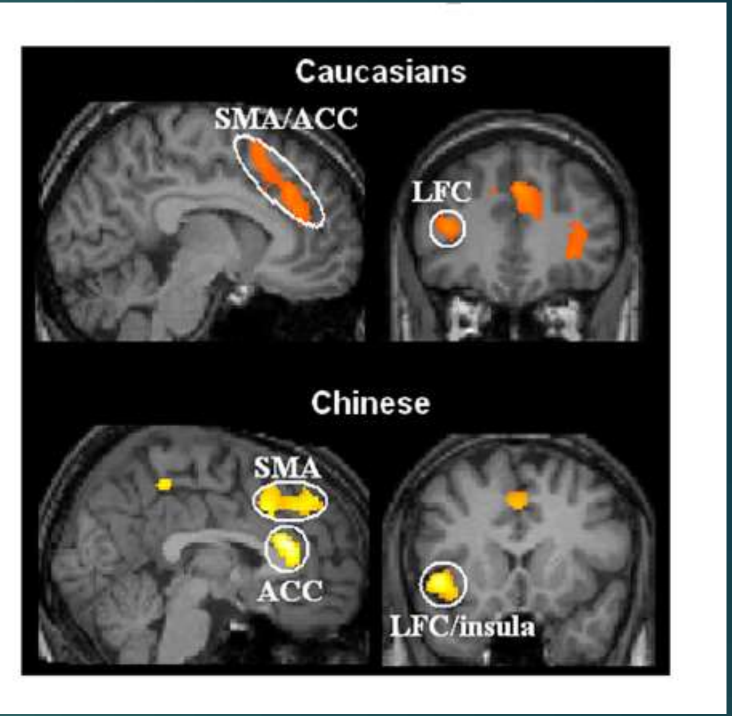
You are the eye witness

Wired for Bias: Innate Prejudice

- African Savannah, 2 Mya: fast identification of stranger/the other fosters survival and is an evolutionary advantage
- Despite this overwhelming evidence that our brains are evolutionarily wired for bias, our society continues to think about prejudice as premeditated behavior.
- Our current laws against discrimination, as well as the majority of diversity training programs, assume that prejudice is overt and intentional.
- Rarely do we teach people about how automatic prejudices might taint their behavior towards others.
- The fact that prejudice often occurs automatically doesn't mean we can't find ways of overcoming its negative effects.
- Monkeys show ingroup and outgroup prejudice.

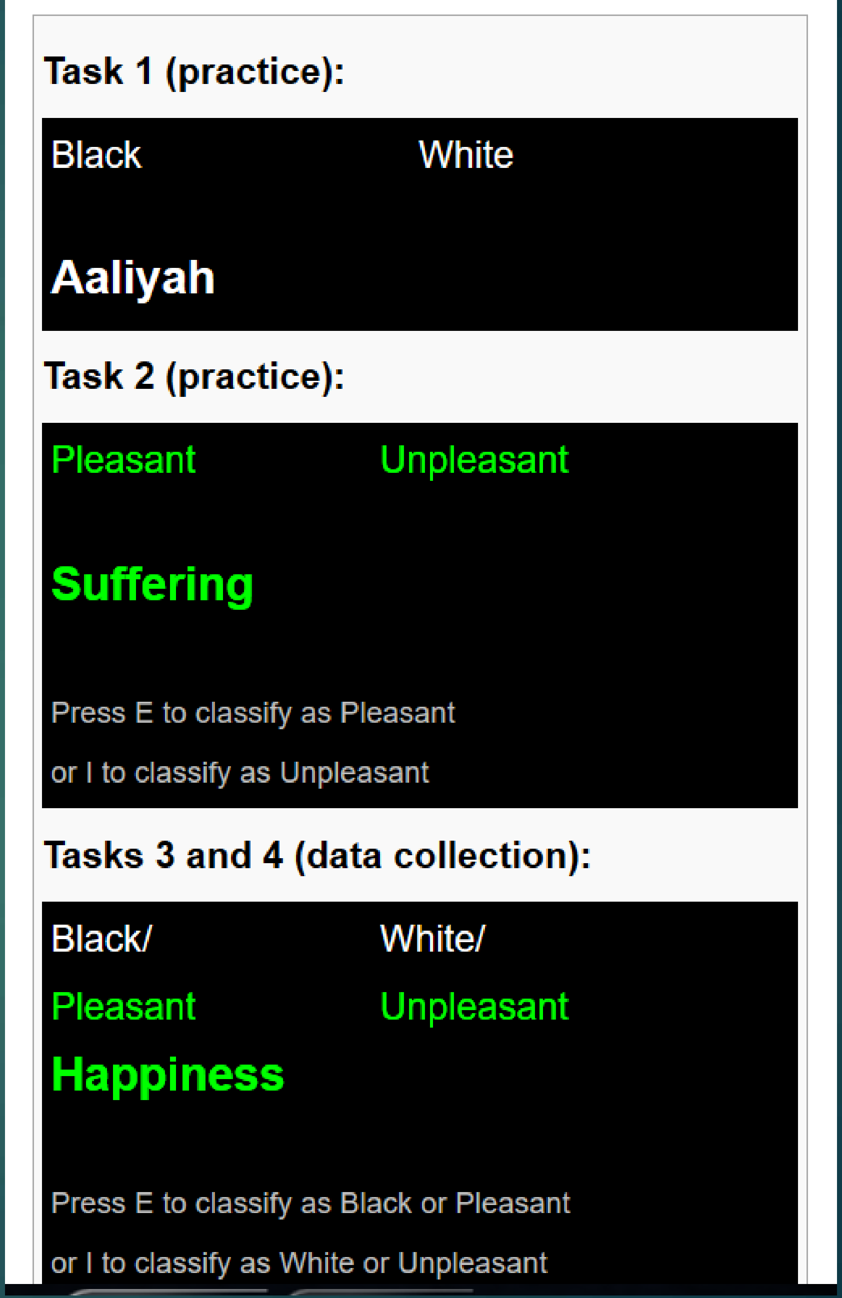
Loyalty & Empathy & Prejudice in the In Group: **Do You Feel My Pain?**

- Inborn Prejudice: People show more empathy to our own group.
- ACC mainly contributes to the affective component of empathy
- ACC & FI activate when witnessing someone in pain
- Own-race bias in ACC activity in empathy for pain
- Those with damage in the right ACC were least likely to feel embarrassment.

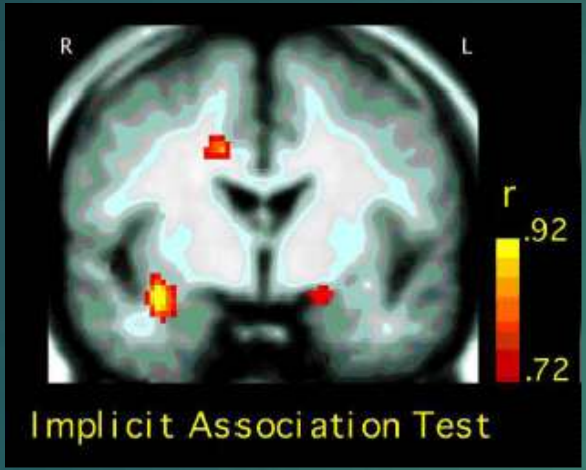


Implicit Association Test

- A positive association with one's own group, an "in-group", happens unconsciously faster than with an "outgroup".
- These different reaction times become visible in the Implicit Association Test (IAT) with which psychologists examine unconscious processes and prejudices.
- A computer-based measure, the IAT requires that users rapidly categorize two target concepts with an attribute (e.g. the concepts "male" and "female" with the attribute "logical"), such that easier pairings (faster responses) are interpreted as more strongly associated in memory than more difficult pairings (slower responses).
- The IAT is thought to measure implicit attitudes about sex, race, stereotypes, etc.

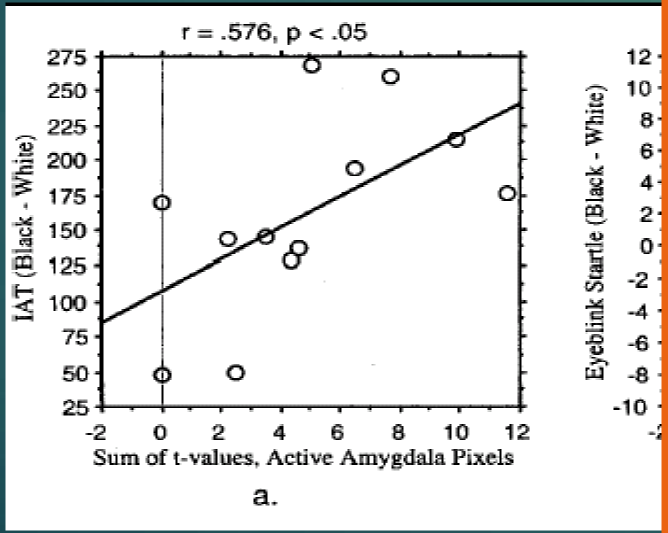


Unconscious racial biases

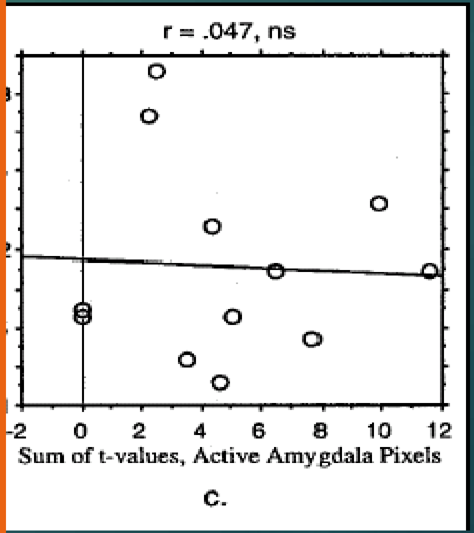


In White subjects, amygdala activation in response to Black faces correlates with unconscious measures of bias (IAT response latencies)

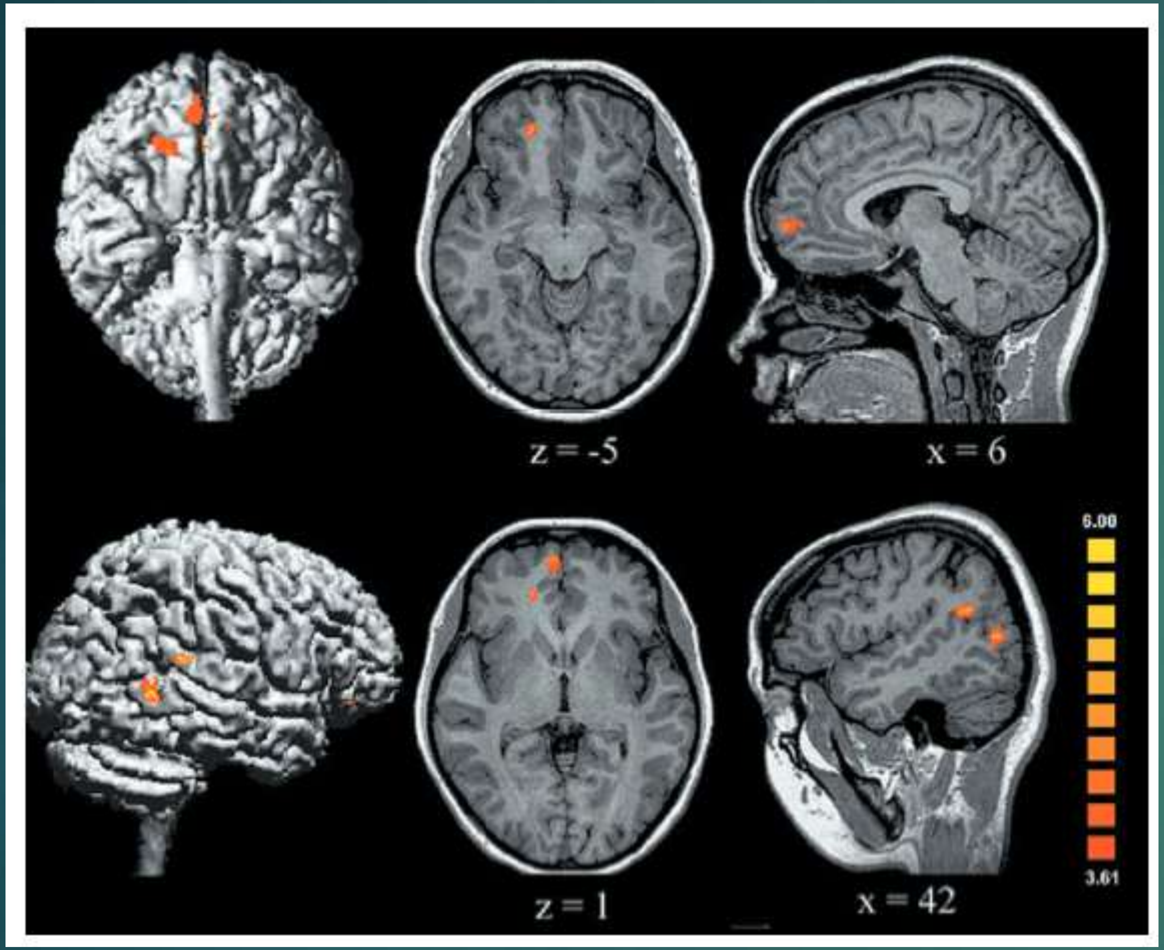
….but not with score on Modern Racism Scale, measuring how "racist" they perceive themselves. (Phelps et al J Cogn Neurosci 2000)



Would it be ethical to screen job applicants, judges, lawyers, teachers, doctors ... for discriminatory biases?



Neural correlates of morality

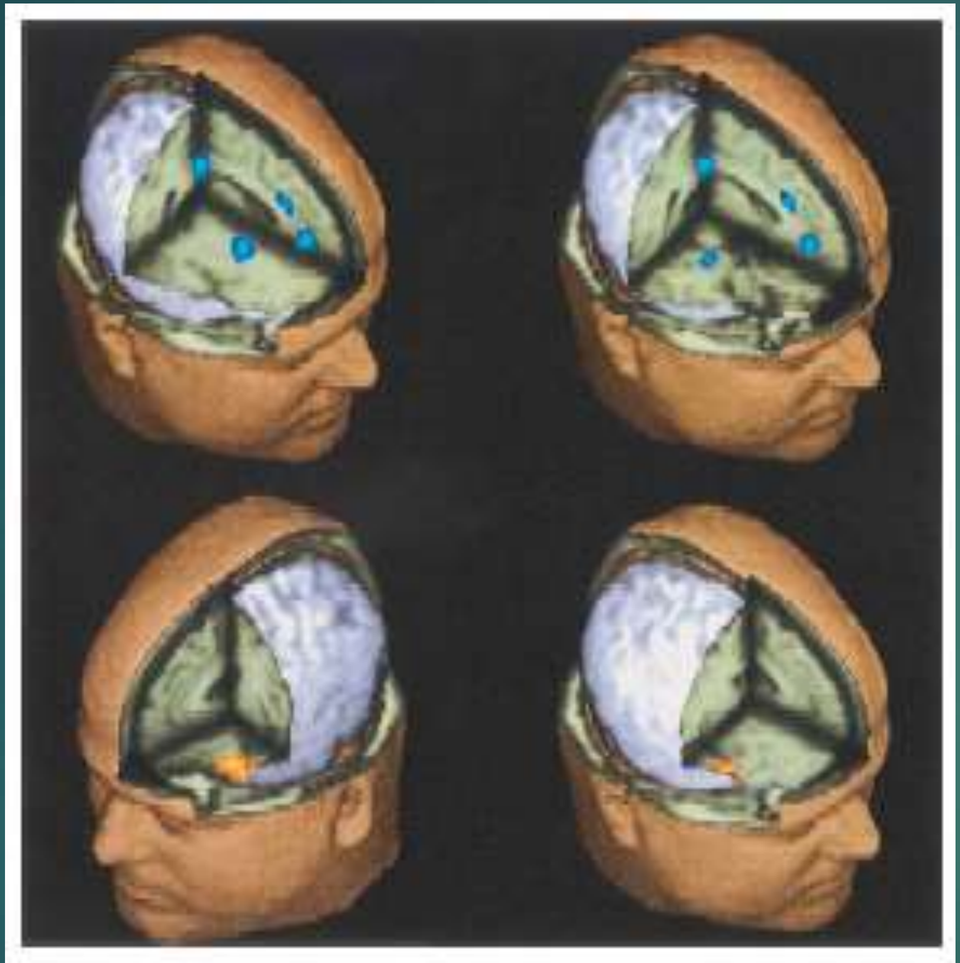


Areas shown are <u>those activated by moral versus non-moral unpleasant visual stimuli.</u>   Differential activation was also seen in moral vs. neutral conditions.

(Moll et al J Neurosci 2002)

How would we interpret someone's scan that does not show this pattern of activation. Are they immoral? Amoral?

Forensic neuroimaging: violent offenders



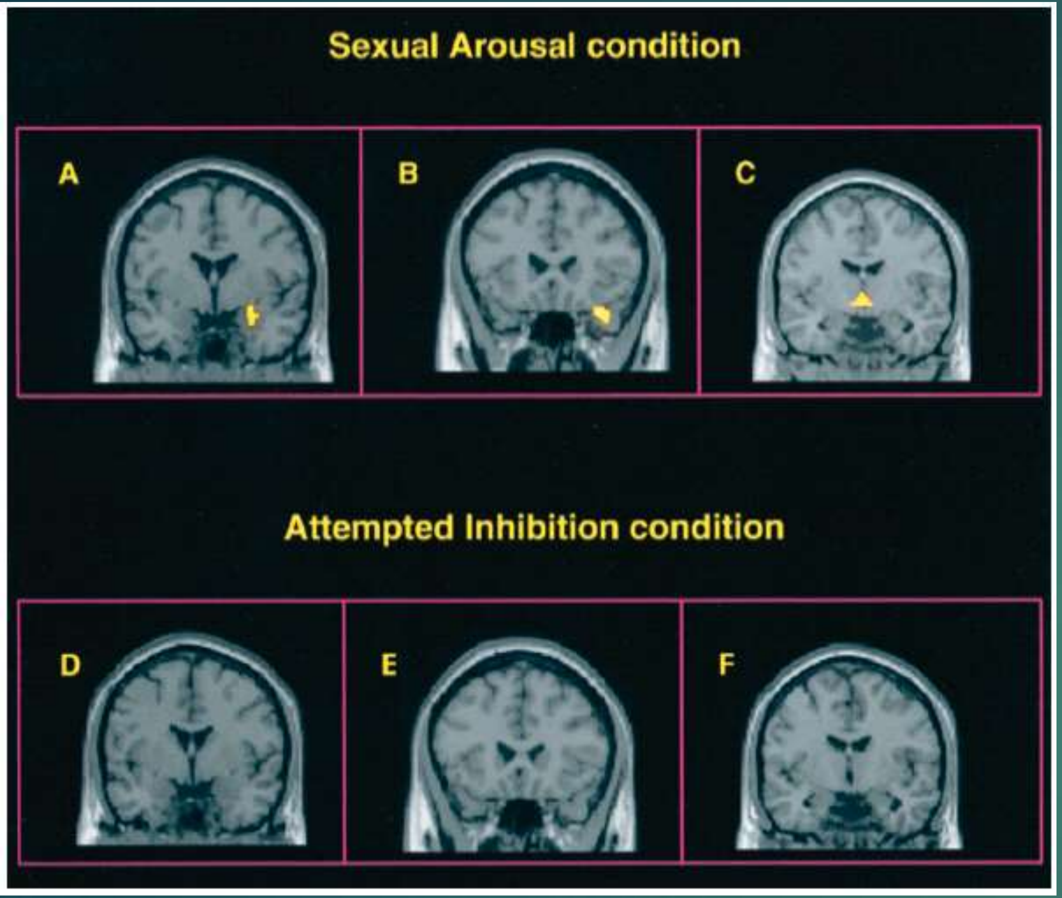
Criminal psychopaths show different patterns of emotional-related activity compared to non-criminal control subjects (Kiehl, Biol Psychiatry 2001)

Areas of less activation

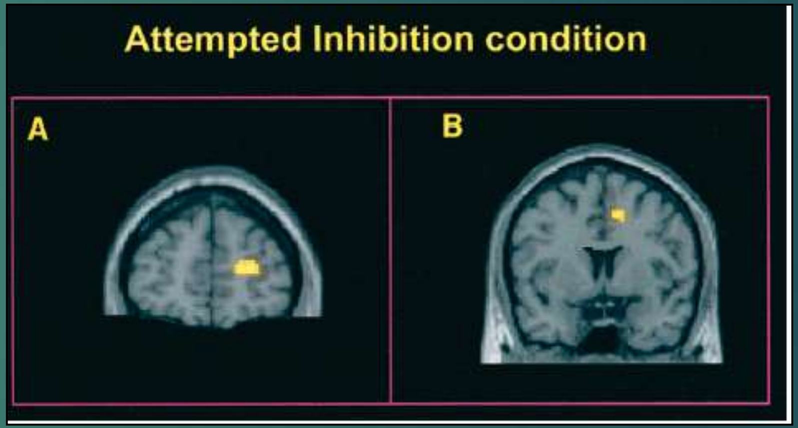
Areas of more activation

Will this change our diagnosis of “psychopathy” to a brain scan rather than observed behavior? Would we incarcerate “brainscan-psychopaths” before they commit a crime?

Behavior prediction: imaging inhibition



In noncriminal male subjects, sexual arousal in response to erotic films produced activation in limbic and paralimbic regions (compared to viewing neutral films),



but attempted inhibition of arousal was restricted to activation of right superior frontal gyrus and anterior cingulate.

Beauregard et al, J Neurosci 2001

If scanning shows a *lack* of inhibitory ability, are you likely to commit a sexual crime? If one's brain cannot inhibit arousal, is one responsible for impulsive actions? Should one be required to register with authorities or accept treatment?

Imagine…

- Imagine a legal system where, if you are a testifying witness, you must have an fMRI scan of your brain to determine if you are lying or telling the truth.
- Imagine taking a drug that can ease your painful memories, preventing the formation of post-traumatic stress.
- Imagine your employer's routine genetic screening of your traits such, as intelligence, greed, and even criminal behavior.

Current legal Concepts & NS

- The US Legal system is premised on notions of moral agency, free will and individual responsibility.
- We punish acts that demonstrate willful intent and which violate societal notions of right and wrong.
- We have no theory that even remotely explains our sense of self.
- Recent developments in neuroscience suggest our mental states are fully determined by brain activity, i.e. there is no free will.
- Implications for the Law (and life) are enormous.

Crime Prediction

- Behavioral testing and neuroimaging evidence offer a potentially accurate method of predicting human behavior.
- This advancement would be beneficial particularly for determining guilty criminal sentences or discerning which criminals deserve to be released on parole or detained in jail due to the possibility of future offenses.
- Not only could it aid in the process of recidivism, it could also show an indication of the need for personal rehabilitation.
- In light of this information and its potential applications, the legal system seeks to create a balance between just punishment and penalties based on the ability to predict additional criminal activity.

Criminal Responsibility: Insanity Defense

- M'Naghten Rules: unless one is able to prove that a mental illness kept you from knowing that an act was wrong, you can not be to be tried as mentally handicapped.
- Contemporary research conducted on the prefrontal cortex has criticized this standpoint because it considers impaired volition as a factor.
- Many courts are now considering "irresistible impulse" as legitimate grounds for mental illness
- One of the factors neuroscience has added to the insanity defense is the claim that the brain "made someone do it." In these cases, the argument is based on an understanding that decisions are made before the person is able to consciously realize what is happening.
- ✓ Sentencing purposes

Role of PFC in crime

- More research on control and inhibition mechanisms will allow further modifications to the insanity defense.
- Impaired functioning of the PFC is evidence proving that a prime factor in mental illness is an issue of volition.
- Many experiments using MRI show that one of the functions of the PFC is to bias a person towards taking the more difficult action. This action is representative of a long-term reward, and it is competing with an action that will lead to immediate satisfaction.
- It is responsible for moral reasoning, including regret.
- Individual variations that impair the PFC are extremely detrimental to the decision-making process, and give an individual a greater likelihood in a committing a crime he or she would have otherwise not committed

Mind Reading

- Assessment of:
  - ✓ Deception, Lying
  - ✓ Pain
  - ✓ Bias: jury, judges

Neuroimaging of nonconscious patients

Wednesday, July 05, 2006

Why Did Terry Wallis Wake Up after 19 Years in Bed?

New imaging techniques give tantalizing clues to why some people are able to recover consciousness following severe brain injuries.

By Emily Singer

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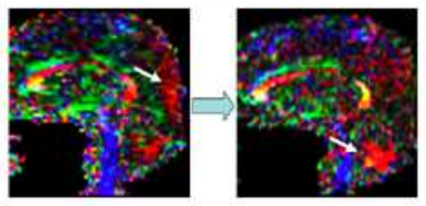
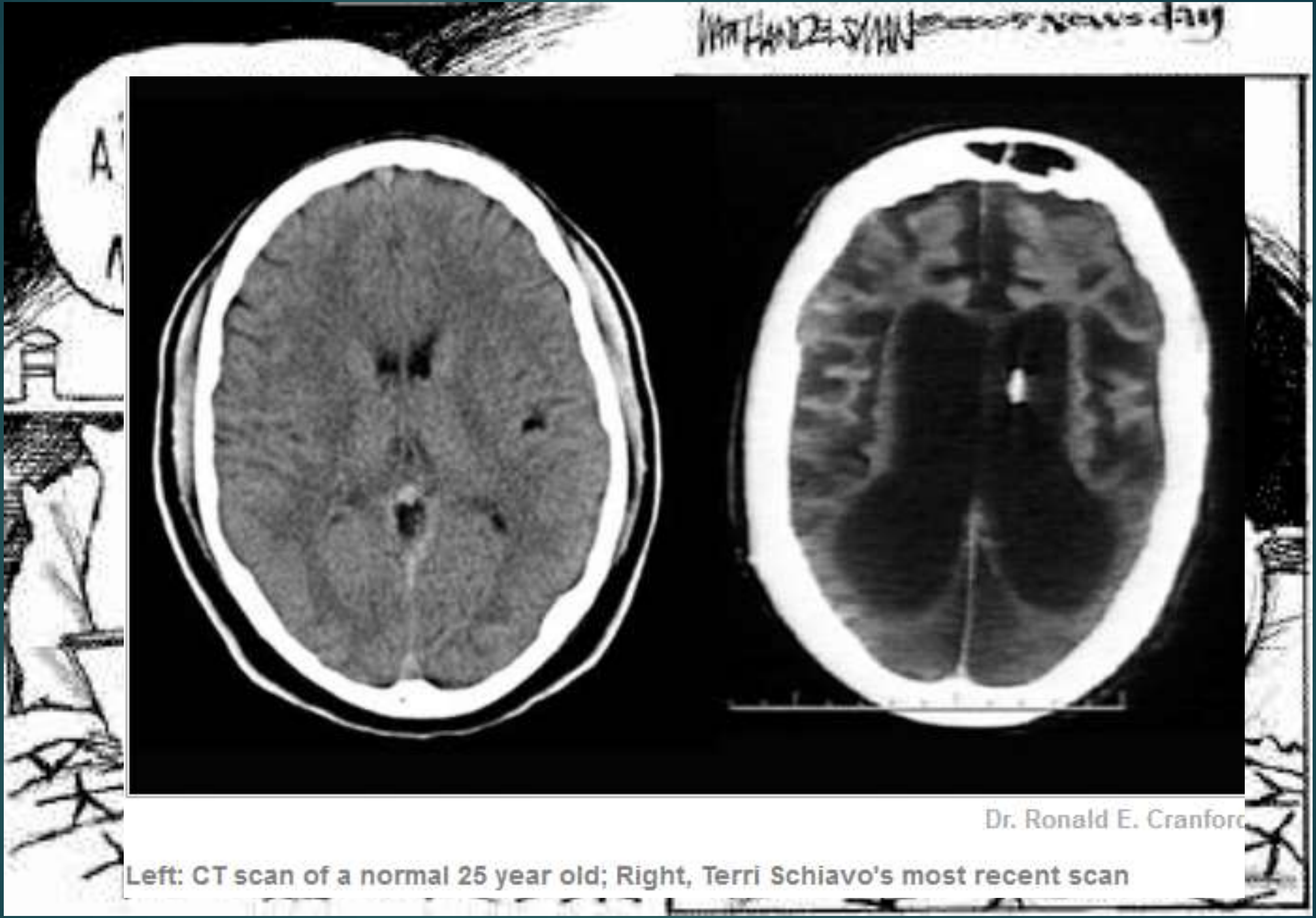


Diffusion tensor images of a brain at the first scan (left) and 18 months later (right). Color shows direction of white matter fibers, e.g., green for anterior-posterior fiber tracts. Large red area in second scan (arrow) shows what scientists think is growth of new neural processes in a part of the brain that controls movement. (Credit: Weill Cornell Citigroup

In 2003, 19 years after a car accident left him in a minimally conscious state, 39-year-old Terry Wallis spontaneously started to speak. Now, using specialized MRI scans, researchers have examined Wallis's brain and found remarkable changes in his white matter. The findings could one day help scientists understand what happens in the brains of minimally conscious patients and how new interventions might rouse them back to full awareness.

Minimal consciousness is not uncommon after a severe brain injury, affecting at least 25,000 people in the United States. But unlike a



Dr. Ronald E. Cranford

Left: CT scan of a normal 25 year old; Right, Terri Schiavo's most recent scan

source: NYT, 26.03.2005

Brain Death: End of Life Decisions

- Injuries or illnesses that lead to a persistent vegetative state have come to the forefront of many ethical, legal, and scientific issues regarding brain death. It is a difficult subject to know when someone is beyond hope for recovery, as well as to decide who has the right to make the decision of when death is most appropriate.
- While a person can be awake and conscious, he or she may not show any signs of awareness or recognition to external stimulation.
- In 2005, research was conducted on a 23-year-old female who suffered severe head trauma due to an automobile accident. The woman was diagnosed to be in a vegetative state; after five months she continued to be unresponsive, but did show normal sleep and wake cycles. Using fMRI technology, researchers concluded that she was able to understand external stimuli, showing a response via activity in specific regions of the brain.
- For example, there was increased activity in the middle and superior temporal gyri similar to activity exhibited by control subjects.

Owen A.M., Coleman M.R., Functional neuroimaging of the vegetative state, Nature Reviews Neuroscience, vol. 9, march 2008, 235

Nootropics

- Nootropics (mind-enhancing drugs): A plethora of drugs are already known to cause a variety of effects on the brain, for example, the stimulatory action of caffeine.
- Similarly, current research suggests that the future may hold even more powerful medications that can specifically target and alter brain function.
- The potential to significantly improve one's concentration, memory, or cognition has raised numerous questions on the legality of these substances, and their appropriateness for various uses, such as studying for an exam.
- How will these enhancers affect performance gaps between family income classes?
- Will it become necessary to use an enhancing drug simply to remain competitive in society?
- Ok to use Ritalin for ADHD; but how about before a college test?

Government and Military

- The United States Military has become increasingly interested in the possibilities made available by neuroscience: identification of terrorists, nootropics for soldiers (who cannot refuse meds)
- U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and the Chemical Weapons Conventions: address only the use of certain chemical agents; not many modern chemicals;
- DARPA researching sleep deprivation prevention drugs such as Modafinil and Ampakine CX717

Our current moral concepts

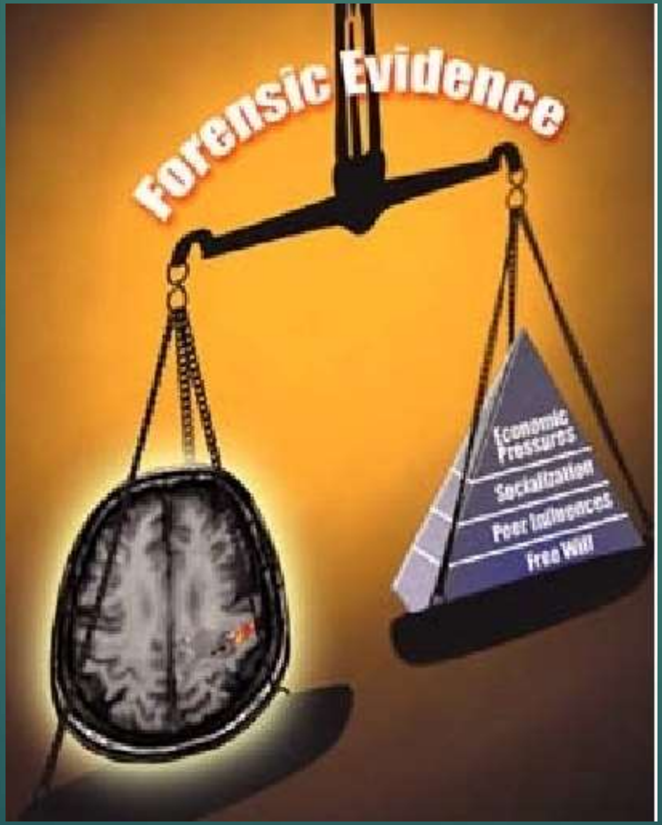
- Are the following moral concepts still valid?:
  - Blameworthiness
  - Lack of motivation, poor discipline
  - Person is Evil
  - Free will
  - Culpability
  - Intentionality

- Do we need a shift from blame to science, reflecting our modern understanding that our perceptions and behaviors are steered by deeply embedded neural programs.

Free Will and Neuroscience

- The concept of free will may be an illusion and the fallacy of having it as a basic premise of the judicial system will become more apparent
- Human choices reflect a summation of a person’s genetic and environmental history (Cashmore, 2009)

Brain as Forensic Evidence



Areas of Application of legal NS

- Questions of guilt / responsibility.
- Detection of lies / hidden prejudices.
- Prediction of future criminal behavior
- Selecting ‘unprejudiced’ jurors based on their brain activity patterns
- Legal culpability
- Sentencing effect
- Family and child custody

Potential Uses of Neuroscience in Trials

Neuroscience is used in about a quarter of capital cases, and that percentage is rising quickly.

Brain scans could be used in legal trials to detect current mental states:

1. Lies by witnesses
2. Memories of witnesses (and jurors?)
3. Bias in jurors (and judges?)
4. Pain in plaintiffs seeking tort damages
5. Consciousness in cases of euthanasia

Uses of Neuroscience in Trials

Brain scans could also be used in legal trials to assess mental *abilities* affecting:

1. Responsibility of adolescents; defendants with brain damage, addiction, mental illness, psychopathy, ...
2. Competence to stand trial or to make life decisions

Uses of Neuroscience in Trials

Neuroscience could be used in legal trials to predict future behavior relevant to:

- Sentencing
- Parole
- Involuntary commitment or detention

Neuroscience Areas to Cover

- Five categories of neuroscience effects
  - Behavioral prediction,
  - Mind-reading,
  - Criminal responsibility,
  - Treatment,
  - Cognitive enhancement.

Two Major Neurolaws

- Neurolaw of responsibility: how neuroscience will and should affect laws related to responsible action. It was traditionally addressed by punishment theory.

- Neurolaw of technology: concerns the ways the law will and should respond to new brain-related technologies.

History of Animal Legal Responsibility

- Animals were once thought to have moral responsibility.
- Numerous instances in which nonhuman animals, like pigs and moles, have been put on trial and sentenced for crimes of various sorts. See 1993 movie *The Advocate*
- In *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals*, by E.P. Evans, described more than two hundred such trials from 824 to 1906, spanning Europe and many other parts of the world, including the United States.
- Such a moral concept is now incomprehensible.

A legal prototype of change: Tourette's

- **Sapolsky**: the example of Tourette's syndrome, a condition involving physical and verbal tics, including, most dramatically, coprolalia

- 500 years ago, they might have been burned at the stake.

- 200 years ago, people with those symptoms would have been arrested;

- Now we know it is a disease and we do not punish, arrest, or convict Tourette's patients for this behavior.

The Law: Crime & Punishment

- The law sees people essentially as:
  - rational actors,
  - capable of forming intentions,
  - weighing the consequences of their actions
  - and controlling their behavior.
- The law is inherently conservative, and rooted in ancient notions of morality and justice.
- The law is clear: Those who break the rules we have collectively agreed upon make a choice, and those poor choices should be punished.
- Presumption: We have a “self” that can choose & control behavior.

What the Law says vs. what Neuroscience says….

- The law would have us assume that nearly everyone has the capacity to judge and control his or her behavior.
- Neuroscience is saying that isn't necessarily true.
- Dissociation of knowing rules & control of behavior: remember "Kevin"
- A recent court in Florida ruled that failure to consider neuroscientific evidence is grounds for reversal in a death-penalty case.

Assumptions in Current Law

- Ghost in the machine (there is a mind beyond the brain)
- Free will (Religious Salvation & the Law depends on it)
- Human reason can control behavior; knowing right from wrong = ability to not do a behavior
- NS suggests otherwise

Dark Past

- Efforts to identify normal and abnormal brains have been responsible for some of the darkest movements in the history of science and technology, from phrenology to eugenics.

- In 1949 a Portuguese neurologist named Egas Moniz won the Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology for his invention of a procedure that came to be known as the prefrontal lobotomy. Within twenty years, his discovery was viewed as barbaric and its use nearly stopped, but, while it was popular, between about 1938 and 1962, about thirty five to forty thousand Americans, and uncounted others, were lobotomized.

- Walter Freeman lobotomizing Southern women who were not obedient to husbands

Through a Scanner Darkly

- Should we trust Functional Neuroimaging as evidence of a criminal defendant's past mental states?

- Or is FMRI data the new phrenology?

Precrime: Politics of the brain

- Neuroscience research on violence is politically unpopular with both right and left.
- Conservatives worry that biological research will be used to let vicious offenders off the hook.
- Liberals fear that NS may be used preventively to lock up an innocent person with the profile of a violent offender i.e. the movie Minority Report); issue of future danger

For the Defense

- "Defense lawyers," Gazzaniga writes, "are looking for that one pixel in their client's brain scan that shows an abnormality, a predisposition to crime or a malfunction in normal inhibitory networks, thereby allowing for the argument, 'Harry didn't do it. His brain did it. Harry is not responsible for his actions.' "

My brain made me pull the trigger

- Hundreds of legal opinions every year have begun to invoke the science of mind and brain to bolster legal arguments.
- N. Farahany, 2013: 1,500 judicial opinions from 2005 to 2012 in which an appellate judge mentioned neurological or behavioral genetics evidence that had been used as part of a defense in a criminal case.
- The biggest claim people are making is: Please decrease my punishment because I was more impulsive than the next person, I was more likely to be aggressive than the next person, I had less control than the next person.
- Jurors and judges are going to be hearing a lot more about amygdalae and orbitofrontal cortices.

Legal Use of Neuroimaging

- Courts: Neuroimages (CT & MRI) have been readily admitted in court as proof of brain disease or trauma.

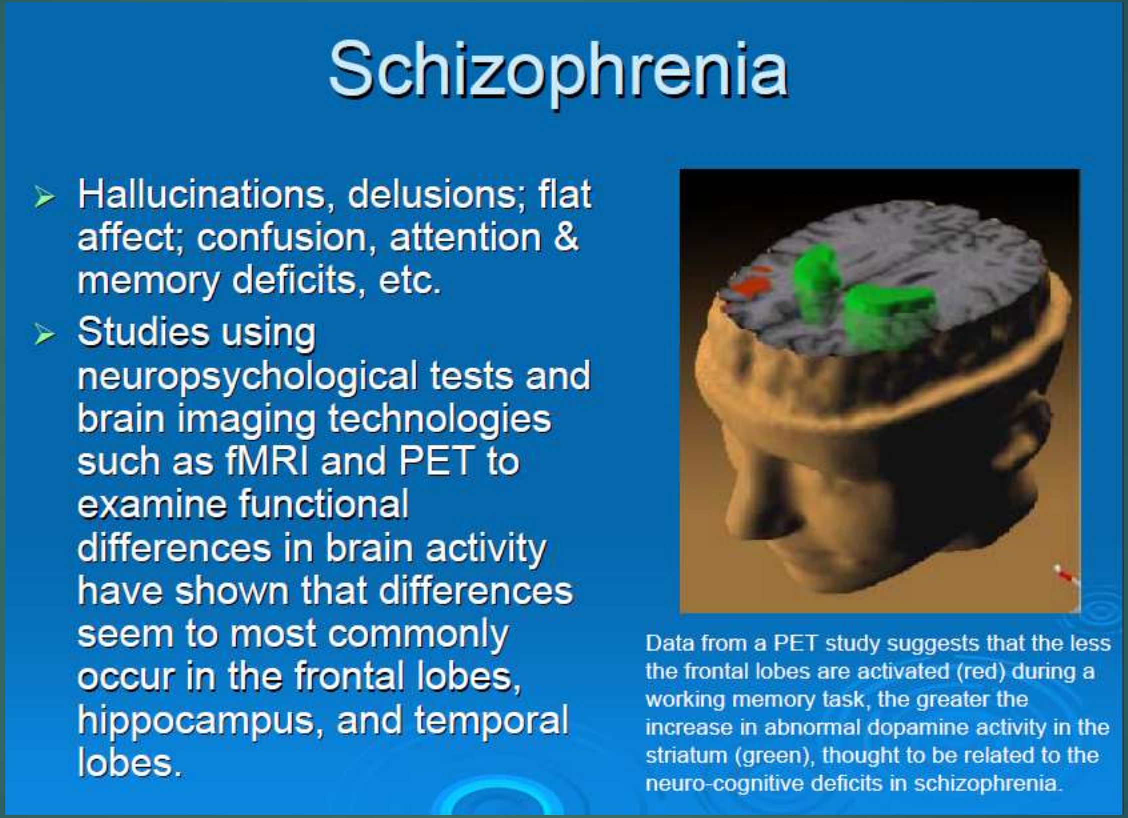
- Courts have been far more guarded about admitting scans such as PET or fMRI when offered as the basis for inferences about broader issues such as competence, insanity, or criminal responsibility in general.

- Somewhat more liberal standards have been applied to offers of mitigating evidence in death penalty cases, since it is generally acknowledged that death is different.

Current Legal Mitigation

- Determining extent of responsibility for a crime currently depends on whether crime was:
  - Committed accidentally
  - Committed independently of individual’s will when under duress
  - Committed in situations of unavoidable necessity – self-defense or protection of family
  - Committed in conditions of extreme passion or anger when conscious will is obliterated (no planning involved)
  - Committed by individual who are mentally ill with severe delusional thoughts and beliefs

Except in Texas, Mitigation for Schizophrenia Psychosis



Loefler, who shot Gabby Giffords, held incapable of helping in own defense due to schizophrenic psychosis

Case of Kelsey Patterson

- Severely delusional schizophrenic who killed 2 people after previously having been determined to be incompetent in another case.
- So delusional he could not help in his trial; convicted of murder
- Executed in 2004 in Texas

Brain abnormalities not associated with “insanity”

What is dividing line between “normal” and “abnormal” brains?

Daniel Martell, PhD

Forensic Neuroscience Consultants, Inc.

- 15 year "Forensic Neuroscience" consulting business.
- Neuroscience evidence and its impact on death penalty litigation
- Lawyers routinely order neuroimaging: neurological impairment prevents control of behavior
- With MRI evidence, juries choose life imprisonment rather than death penalty.
- Martell believes MRI's have revolutionized law.

Charles Whitman and Texas Tower

- In 1966, he shot his wife and mother, then climbed up a tower at the University of Texas and shot and killed 13 more people before being shot by police officers.
- An autopsy revealed he had an amygdala tumor that was putting pressure on his amygdala.
- Does the discovery of Charles Whitman's brain tumor modify your feelings about the senseless murders he committed? Does it affect the sentence you would find appropriate for him, had he survived that day? Does the tumor change the degree to which you consider the killings "his fault"? Couldn't you just as easily be unlucky enough to develop a tumor and lose control of your behavior?
- On the other hand, wouldn't it be dangerous to conclude that people with a tumor are free of guilt, and that they should be let off the hook for their crimes?

Case of Bobby Joe Long:
Predisposed to crime?

- Serial killer (at least nine rape & murders)
- Known as the "classified-ad rapist," because he would respond to classified ads placed by women offering to sell household items, then rape and kill them, Long was sentenced to death after he committed at least nine murders in Tampa.
- Ruben Gur (Prof. of Psychology) called as national expert in PET.
- He testified that a motorcycle accident had left Long in a coma & had severely damaged his amygdala. He committed his first rape not long after coming out of his coma.
- Was Long criminally responsible?
- Has one five-year sentence, four 99-year sentences, 28 life sentences, and one death sentence.

Reuben Gur vs. Helen Mayberg

- Reuben Gur said he would never work for the prosecution; since he is among few doctors in the country who can analyze scans the way he does, he feels obliged to protect people who may have mental ailments, not work against them.
- Helen Mayberg (deep stimulation of depression) is his nemesis: she thinks Gur lets his opinion about the death penalty cloud his scientific testimony.
- Mayberg often argues that no scientific data can support what Gur says in court, while he often says he is not diagnosing, just emphasizing correlations (they both charge $500 an hour for their expertise).
- Testing the brain of a defendant is a rigorous and expensive practice that, in federal cases, requires the judge’s permission. The scans alone can cost around $6,000 and then experts are paid to analyze the results and testify in court; Mayberg and Gur say their bills are on average about $10,000 for 20 hours.

Death Row prisoners all have abnormal brain

- Research has shown that <u>nearly all Death Row inmates suffer from brain damage due to illness or trauma, while a vast number have also experienced histories of severe physical and/or sexual abuse.</u>

Supreme Court Rulings: IQ level

- 2002 decision in *Atkins v. Virginia* that executing those with intellectual disability (MR) violated the Constitution's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment.

- 2014 Supreme Court in *Hall v. Florida*: State laws that draw rigid line on IQ-test results are unconstitutional (rigid score of 70 or below). Judge Kennedy: "Intellectual disability is a condition, not a number."

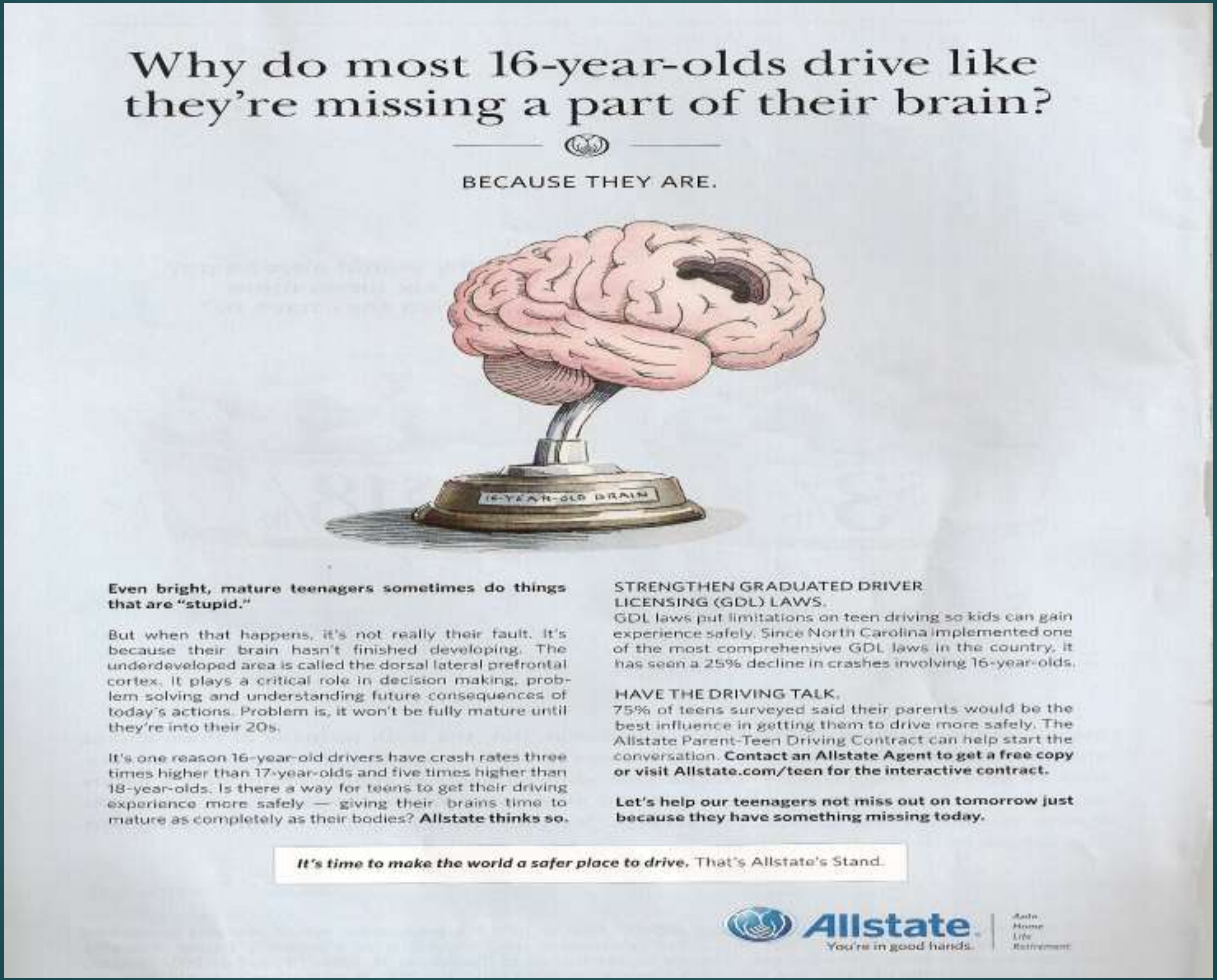
- He cited a brief from the APA that IQ tests should be read as a range of numbers rather than a specific figure. Need to consider confidence intervals of scores and need for adaptive function assessment

Stress Decreases Frontal Lobe volume: less ability to put the brakes on

- Childhood poverty and abuse:
- Changes following severe stress:
  - dendritic retraction and debranching,
  - reduced volume in vmPFC and mPFC and ACC.

- Gray matter volume losses in the frontal lobes in adults exposed to child adversities/ACEs:
  - dorsolateral and medial prefrontal
  - orbitofrontal regions
  - anterior cingulate

Adolescent Brains Have a Missing Part

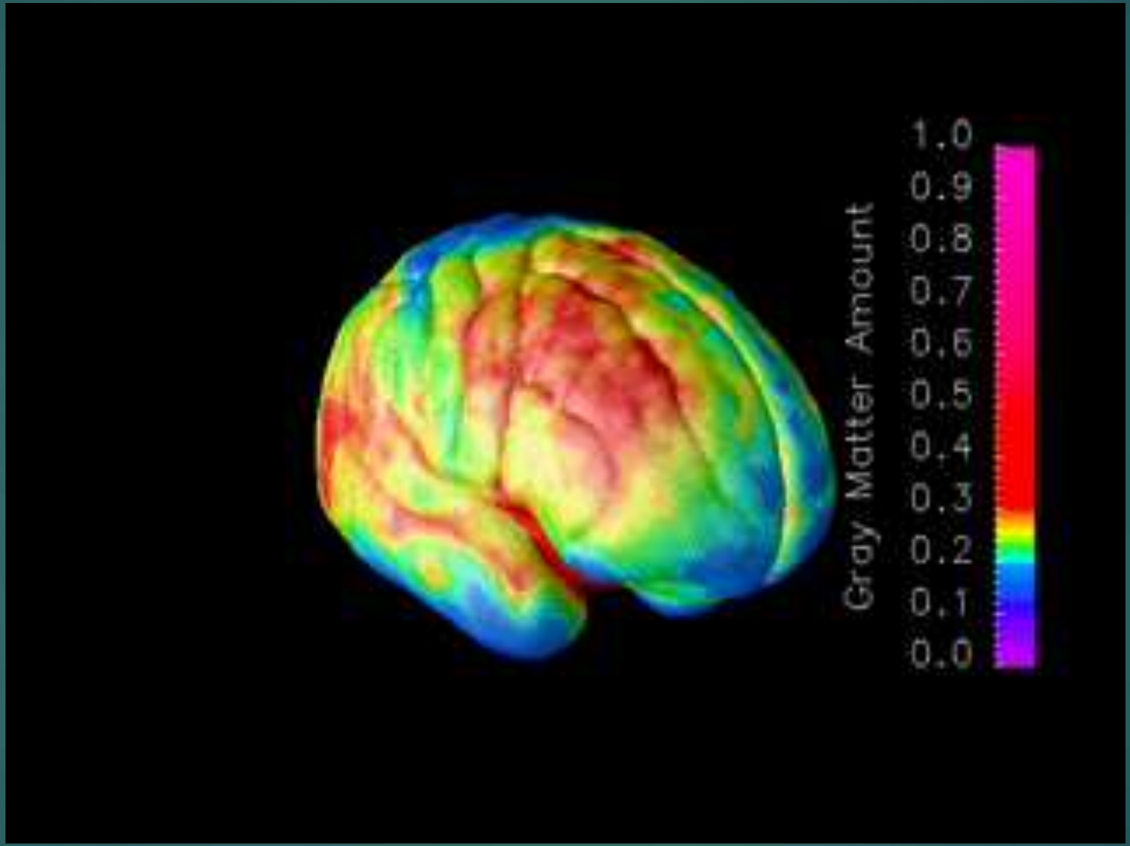


Addiction & Adolescence are legal mitigations

- U.S. District Court Judge Mark W. Bennett recently issued an opinion (*U.S. v. Hendrickson*) that cites neuroscience research on addiction and adolescent development and discusses addiction and youth as mitigating factors.

- My Opinion: Adolescents should be viewed as inherently less responsible than adults and should be punished less harshly than adults, even when their crimes are identical.

Teen Brain: age 5 to 21



Lose 50% of all synaptic connections.

The Great Pruning: A leaner brain is better

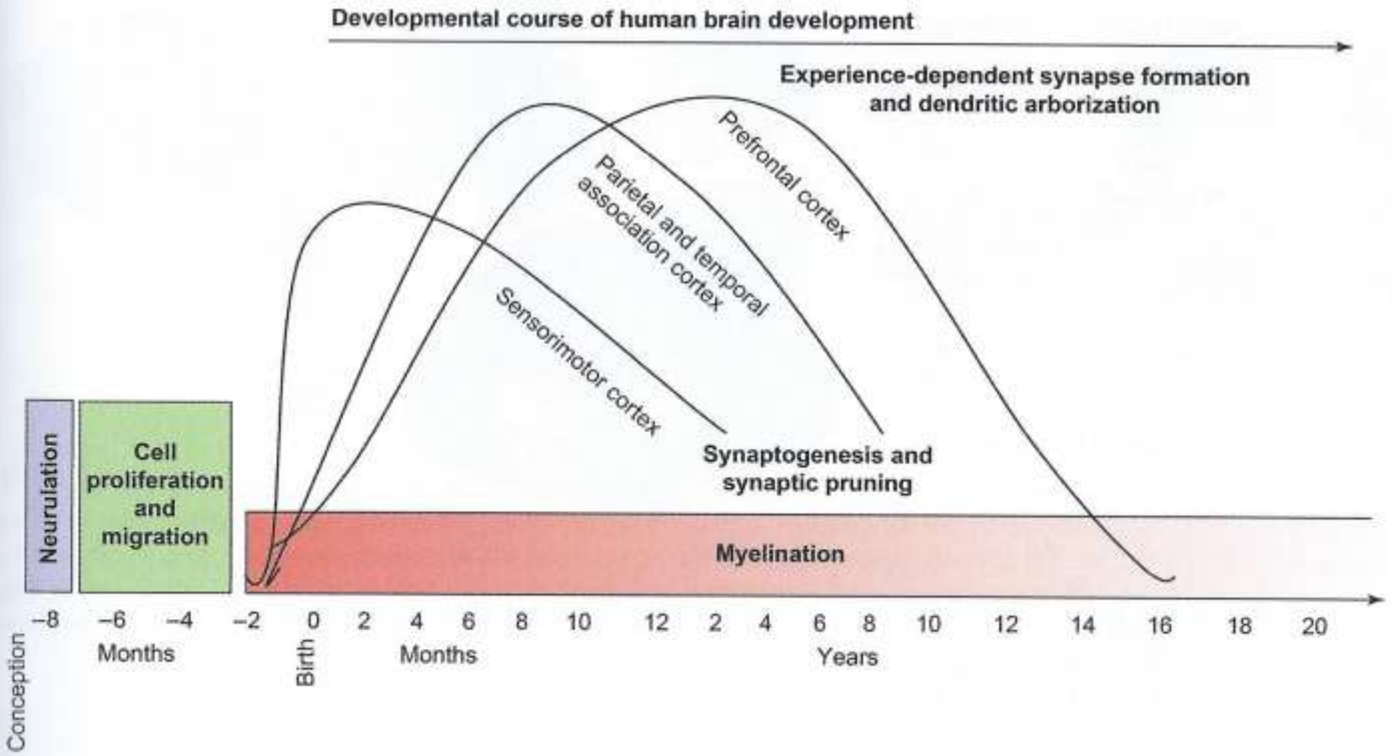


FIGURE 15.15 Developmental course of human brain development. The human brain undergoes dramatic changes in both its structural architecture and functional organization that reflect a dynamic interplay of simultaneously occurring progressive and regressive events. Although the total brain size is about 90 percent of adult size by age 6 years, the brain continues to undergo dynamic changes throughout adolescence and well into adulthood. Figure 15.15 illustrates some of these developmental changes, including proliferation and migration of cells mostly during fetal development, regional changes in synaptic density during postnatal development, and protracted development well into adulthood. Current non-invasive neuroimaging methods do not have the resolution to delineate which of these processes underlies observed developmental changes beyond gray and white matter subcomponents. (Adapted from Thompson and Nelson, 2001.) *Source*: Casey *et al.*, 2005.

Adolescent Brain Development

- Intellectual/cognitive maturity at 16.

- Pre-frontal cortex completed in girls around 22 and males at 25 or 26, if *normal*.

- Psychosocial maturity reaches similar levels of intellectual maturity at 26 and later.

Adolescents are not neurological Adults

- Research demonstrates <u>adolescents are different from adults (duh!)</u>; but we are talking about up to age 26 or older for some:
  - Impulse control
  - Thrill seeking
  - Future orientation
  - Reward sensitivity
  - Susceptibility to peer influence
  - They know right from wrong but can't control themselves.

- <u>Crucial decision making frontal lobes are the last to mature</u>

- <u>Do adolescents have legal right to normal neurodevelopment?</u>

Age and Crime

- “Today, the peak age (the age group with the highest age-specific arrest rate) is younger than twenty-five for all crimes reported in the F.B.I.'s UCR program except gambling, and rates begin to decline in the teenage years for more than half of the UCR crimes.

- In fact, even the median age (50 percent of all arrests occurring among younger persons) is younger than thirty for most crimes.”

Roper v. Simmons case

- Gur argued that adolescents are not as capable of controlling their impulses as adults because the development of neurons in the prefrontal cortex isn't complete until their early 20s.
- Roper v. Simmons landmark case
- Supreme Court removed the death penalty for offenders who committed crimes when they were under the age of 18.

Roper v. Simmons, 2005: overturning the juvenile death penalty

- *Roper v. Simmons, 2005* – death penalty for juveniles under 18 violates cruel and unusual punishment prohibition of 8th Amendment.

- *"When a juvenile offender commits a heinous crime, the State can exact forfeiture of some of the most basic liberties, but the State cannot extinguish his life and his potential to attain a mature understanding of his own humanity…. Retribution is not proportional if the law's most severe penalty is imposed on one whose culpability or blameworthiness is diminished ….by reason of youth and immaturity."*

- It is now unconstitutional to impose death penalty for crimes committed while under the age of 18.

Graham v. Florida, 2010

- *Issue*: Can a juvenile offender be sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for a nonhomicide crime?
- In 2010, the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Graham v. Florida* ruled <u>that juveniles under 18 cannot be sentenced to life imprisonment without parole for non-homicide offenses</u>.
- Both rulings, especially *Graham*, relied on latest neuroscience and notion that juveniles are more malleable and capable of reform than adults.

Amicus Brief of the American Psychiatric Assn and the American Psychological Assn in Graham v. Florida (2010)

Research in developmental psychology and neuroscience… confirms and strengthens the <u>conclusion that juveniles, as a group, differ from adults in salient ways… Juveniles—including older adolescents—are less able to restrain their impulses and exercise self-control; less capable than adults of considering alternative courses of action and maturely weighing risks and rewards; and less oriented to the future, and thus less capable of apprehending the consequences of their often-impulsive actions.</u>

<u>For all those reasons, even once their general cognitive abilities approximate those of adults, juveniles are less capable than adults of mature judgment, and more likely to engage in risky, even criminal, behavior as a result of that immaturity.</u>

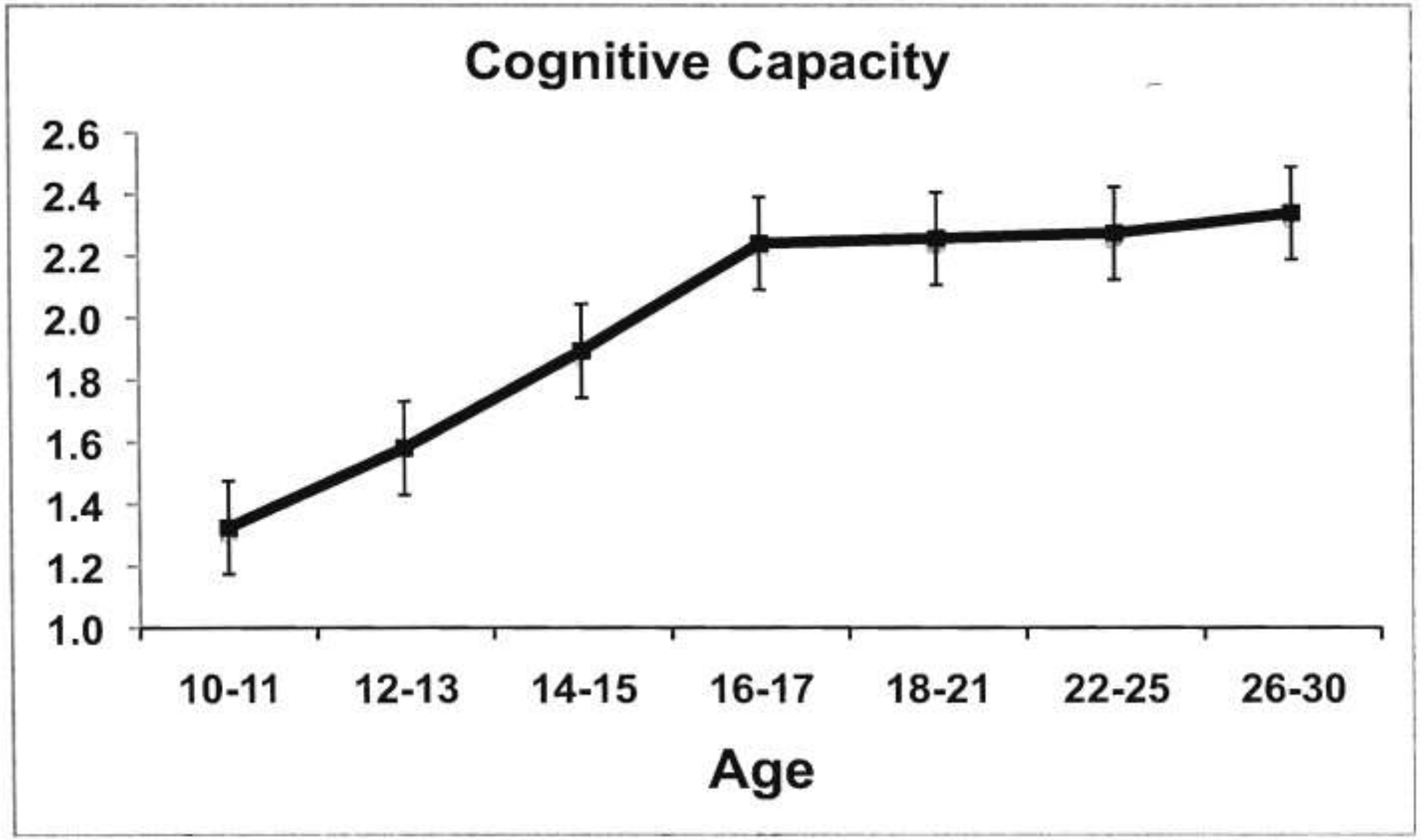


Figure 2: General cognitive capacity as a function of age.

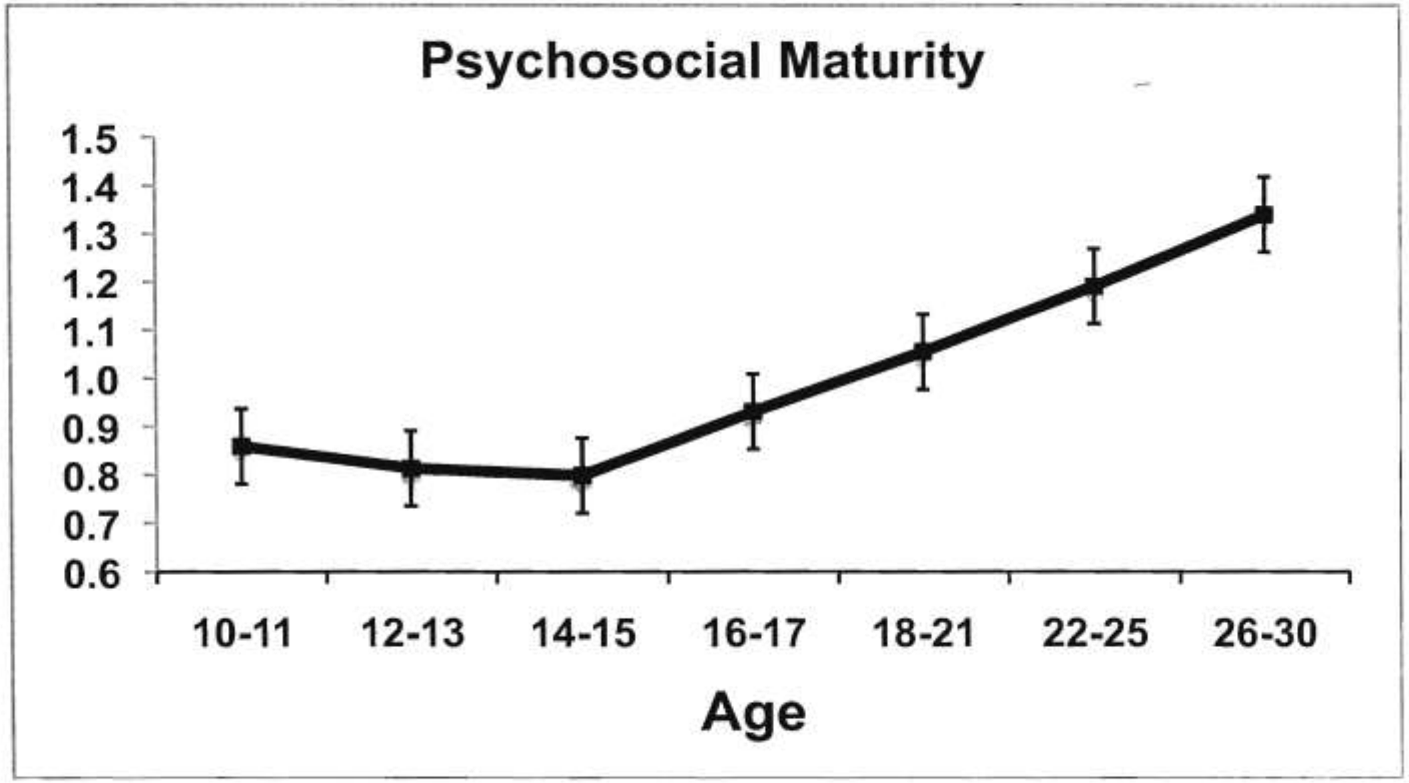


Figure 1. Psychosocial maturity as a function of age.

Graham v. Florida, 2010 (Vote: 6-3)

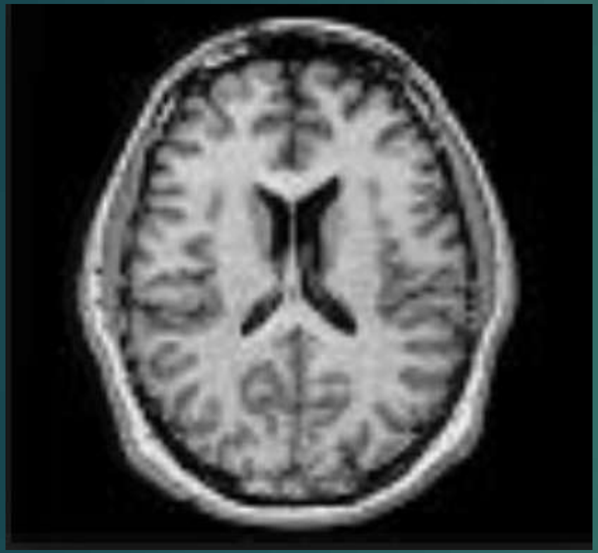
This Court now holds that for a juvenile offender who did not commit homicide the Eighth Amendment [banning "cruel and unusual punishment"] forbids the sentence of life without parole… Because "[t]he age of 18 is the point where society draws the line for many purposes between childhood and adulthood," those who were below that age when the offense was committed may not be sentenced to life without parole for a nonhomicide crime.

My Amygdyla Made Me Do It

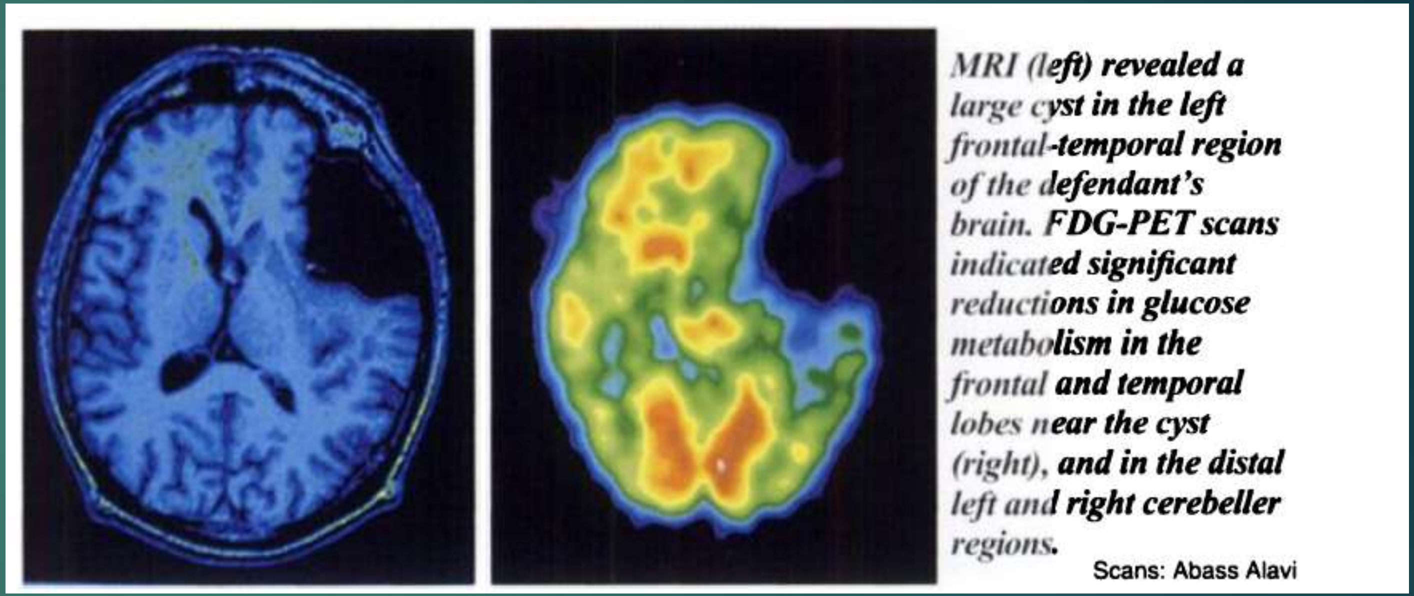
- <u>Concept of Criminal Responsibility</u>

- <u>Should courts have to decide when to mitigate someone's criminal responsibility</u> just because his <u>brain functions abnormally</u> (whether because of age, trauma, inherited abnormalities, etc)?

Real Case: Would you convict this person with this brain?



or



Left Frontal-Temporal cyst

Case of Herbert Weinstein’s Cyst

- Case in which neuroscience began to transform the American legal system

- The case involved Herbert Weinstein, a 65-year-old ad executive who was charged with strangling his wife, Barbara, to death and then, in an effort to make the murder look like a suicide, throwing her body out the window of their 12th-floor apartment on East 72nd Street in Manhattan.

- Before the trial began, Weinstein's lawyer suggested that his client should not be held responsible for his actions because of a mental defect -- namely, an abnormal cyst nestled in his arachnoid membrane.

- To suggest that criminals could be excused because their brains made them do it seems to imply that anyone whose brain isn't functioning properly could be absolved of responsibility.

Weinstein 2

- The prosecution at first tried to argue that evidence of Weinstein's arachnoid cyst shouldn't be admitted in court.

- One of the government's witnesses, a forensic psychologist named Daniel Martell, testified that brain-scanning technologies were new and untested, and their implications weren't yet widely accepted by the scientific community.

- Ultimately, on Oct. 8, 1992, Judge Richard Carruthers issued a Solomonic ruling: Weinstein's lawyers could tell the jury that brain scans had identified an arachnoid cyst, but they couldn't tell jurors that arachnoid cysts were associated with violence.

- Even so, the prosecution team seemed to fear that simply exhibiting images of Weinstein's brain in court would sway the jury. Eleven days later, on the morning of jury selection, they agreed to let Weinstein plead guilty in exchange for a reduced charge of manslaughter.

- Allowing brain images to be introduced as evidence, but not allowing testimony about what they meant.

Martell – Death penalty litigation

- Neuroscientific evidence has been admitted to show everything from head trauma to the tendency of violent video games to make children behave aggressively.
- It is in death-penalty litigation that neuroscience evidence is having its most revolutionary effect.
- Organic brain defense has become required in any sort of capital defense. Lawyers routinely order scans of convicted defendants' brains and argue that a neurological impairment prevented them from controlling themselves.

Martell 2

- If a murderer is convicted and the crime is punishable by death, the trial moves on to the penalty phase where the same jury hears about the defendant's background before sentencing. This is the most common way lawyers in criminal courts use brain scans: to mitigate against the death penalty.
- The prosecution counters that the evidence shouldn't be admitted, but under the relaxed standards for mitigating evidence during capital sentencing, it usually is.
- A Florida court has held that the failure to admit neuroscience evidence during capital sentencing is grounds for a reversal.
- Martell remains skeptical about the worth of the brain scans, but he observes that they've "revolutionized the law."

Limitations

- Lawyers trained in neuroscience also argue that there is an undeniable difference between a hospital and the scene of the crime.
- They ask how scientists can be sure a brain scanned in a machine would look and operate the same way if it were scanned while the person was committing the crime. The defendant's brain is often analyzed years after the crime was committed.

Legal Cases that used NS data

- **United States vs. John W. Hinckley Jr.** (1982) - The first criminal to use brain images for defense was John Hinckley, who at age 25 shot president Ronald Reagan and three other people in 1981. CT scan showed enlarged ventricles, wider sulci correlated with schizophrenia; found not guilty by reason of insanity.

- **People of New York vs. Weinstein** (1992) – PET scan

- **Harrington vs. State of Iowa** (2003) – after 25 years imprisoned for murder; "brain fingerprinting" technique admitted in court.

- **Roper vs. Simmons** (2005) – adolescent aged 17 threw a woman off a bridge; Supreme Court ruled no death penalty for teenagers; established precedence for fMRI trial use.

- **South Carolina vs. Stanko** (2006) - killed two people and raped a teenage girl; PET revealed brain injury; jury rejected the insanity defense and sentenced Stanko to death.

For the prosecution: problems with neuroimaging

- Neurologist Dr Helen Mayberg of Emory University, known for her work on depression, said during an interview that Hinckley's case demonstrates fundamental problems that brain images bring into the courtrooms.
- Mayberg, who is often paid by the prosecution to cripple a defense team's brain imaging science in high-profile cases, said that if Dr. Bear had not diagnosed Hinckley with schizophrenia, the scan would not have meant anything. And conversely, if Hinckley's brain had appeared normal, it would not have negated Bear's psychiatric diagnosis. "The guy was psychotic," she said, regardless of the scans.
- The pattern is that a neuroscientist says that parts of a defendant's brain has traits that some scientific papers could correlate with some mental disorder. But unless the scan shows something like a tumor, they are never powerful enough to diagnose.
- Mayberg and others argue that use of CT scan was insignificant to the insanity plea. At the time, it was up to the prosecution to prove Hinckley sane – after the trial, jurors said in news reports the government had failed to do so.

Hinckley Trial

- Regardless, the verdict led to a revolution in how the courts evaluate mental health and changed the standards in federal court.

- Upheaval over the decision prompted Congress to alter what defendants had to prove to be acquitted on grounds of insanity.

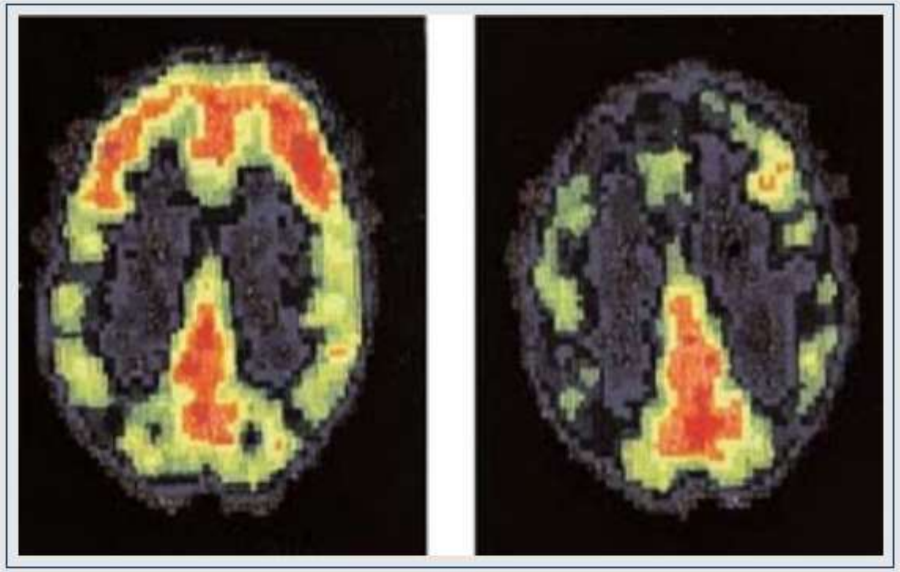
- The federal government and many states also shifted the burden of proof to the defense, which raised the bar for lawyers seeking an acquittal based on mental incapacity.

- And since then, advances in neuropsychological science have become more attractive to defense attorneys.

The legal changes due to NS

- The Bioethics Commission cited a report that analyzed 1,586 judicial opinions that used neurological or behavioral genetics evidence between 2007 and 2012:
  - 40% of them were to defend the death sentence,
  - 28% were to compensate for ineffective counsel.

Average PET of 41 murderers



The pictures here of a normal PET scan, left, and a PET scan from convicted murderer, as reported by the DANA Foundation, show considerably less activity in the prefrontal region at the top of the image, an area of the brain associated with control over aggressive activity.

Prefrontal hypometabolism in murderers

41 Murderers: The First Look

- Raine, 1997: 41 murderers who had pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity, or had been judged incompetent to stand trial vs. controls: PET scanned, while CPT task; 6 schizophrenics

- Prefrontal hypometabolism finding

- Also diminished activation in left angular gyrus, corpus callosum, amygdala, hippocampal functioning

- 15 predatory and 9 “heat of passion” affective group”:
  - affective murderers lacked the prefrontal functioning;
  - predatory killers showed relatively good prefrontal functioning but blunted amygdalas

Adrian Raine, 1997

Neuroscientific evidence

- Influence of neurolaw is clearly growing.
- Neuroscientific evidence has persuaded jurors to sentence defendants to life imprisonment rather than to death penalty
- Courts have also admitted brain-imaging evidence during criminal trials to support claims that defendants like John W. Hinckley Jr., who tried to assassinate President Reagan, are insane.

Poor Prefrontal Functioning & Violence

- At a neurophysiological level, reduced prefrontal functioning can result in loss of control over the amygdala—that are thought to give rise to aggressive feelings.

- At a neurobehavioral level, prefrontal damage has been linked with risk taking, irresponsibility, rule-breaking, emotional and aggressive outbursts, and argumentative behavior—all of which predispose to violent criminal acts.

Juries: Is guilt due to intent or actual harm

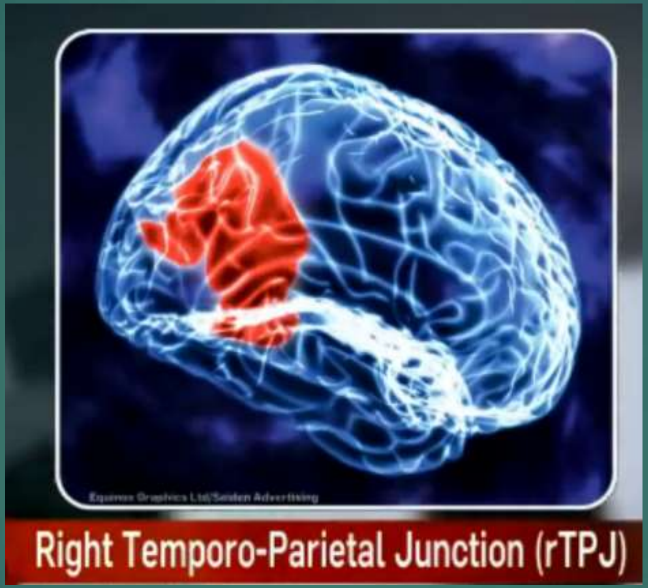
- "John, who lives at home with his father, decides to kill him for the insurance money. After convincing his father to help with some electrical work in the attic, John arranges for him to be electrocuted.
- His father survives the electrocution, but he is hospitalized for three days with injuries caused by the electrical shock."
- As a jury member, do you choose guilt based on intention to harm or harm done?

Jury Selection: Whether & How Much to Punish

- Activity in the right dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, tracks the decision:
  - of whether or not a person deserves to be punished
  - but not to deciding how much to punish.
- Amygdala is involved in how much subjects decide to punish.

Marois

Temporal Parietal Junction:
Theory of Mind (think about what others are thinking)

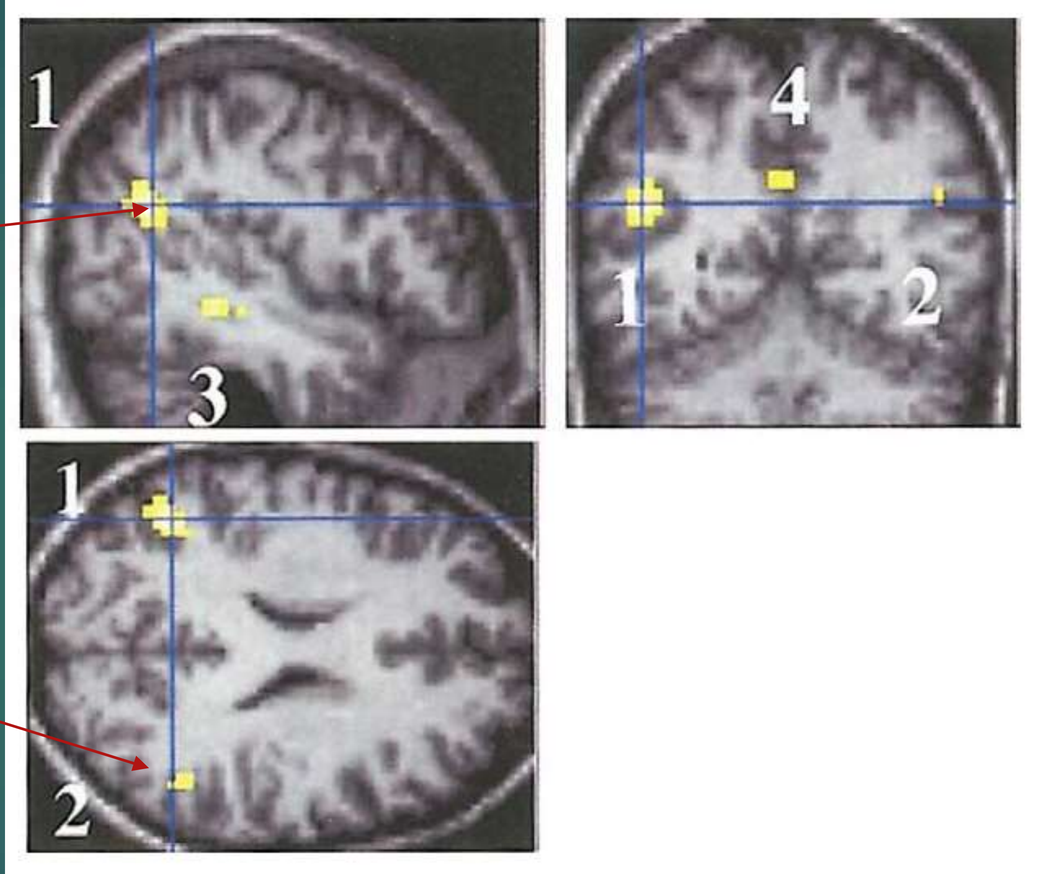


"I know you think you understand what you thought I said, but I don't think you realize that what you heard is not what I meant."

rTPJ: Source of Reading Thoughts, Theory of Mind, Intention

left TPJ
verbal

rTPJ
pictures



Reading stories that describe or imply a character's goals and beliefs

Theory of mind vs. mechanical inference stories. Crosshair marks the most significant voxel in the left TPJ (1). Also visible are activations in right TPJ (2), left aSTS (3), and precuneus (4). TPJ, temporo-parietal junction; aSTS, anterior superior temporal sulcus.

Saxe & Kanwisher, 2003

TPJ: Mind reading

- Right Superior temporal sulcus (STS): ability to follow people's gaze and determine where another's attention is directed; movement intention from visual context
- Thoughts like “The man chased the dog”: Two regions in the left superior temporal lobe, one more central, that carries information about the agent, the one doing an action; and an immediately adjacent region, located closer to the ear, carries information about the patient, or who the action was done to.
- TPJ active when people try to understand the minds of other people, as well as when people redirect their attention.
- If TPJ Lesion: poor ability to interpret other people's actions and emotions, and ability to judge intention of another

Right Temporal Parietal Junction (vPC):
Moral Judgment: Judging intentions

- 1 – Joan asks Susan to get coffee with sugar. Susan sees bowl labeled poison and puts it in coffee. But powder is actually sugar. Joan drinks coffee and is fine. (Bad intention; should be blamed, based on outcome)
- 2 – Or Joan asks Susan to get coffee with sugar. Susan sees bowl labeled sugar and puts it in coffee. Powder is toxic poison. Joan drinks coffee and dies. (Accident: Caused harm but Good intention; can forgive)
- Question: In which condition is Susan to blame?
- People say Susan deserves blame in scenario 1. We interpret Susan morally by her intention. Adult capacity to do this by age 12 (kids with older sybs do better)
- Disrupt rTMJ: make decision on basis of outcome (#1), not intention

Rebecca Saxe

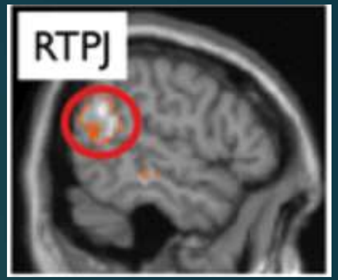
Temporal Parietal Junction: Intention detector

- Used TMs to disrupt RTPJ function:
  - Lower RTPJ activation: harsh, outcome-based judgments of accidents; (e.g., she *poisoned* her friend; deliberate intention)
  - Higher RTPJ activation: more lenient belief-based judgments; (e.g., she *thought* it was sugar; accident)

- Specific patterns in the RTPJ: *identify* harmful actions as being either deliberate or inadvertent.

- ASD: atypical, only outcome-based moral judgments, blame even for accidental outcome
- Psychopaths: more likely to “forgive” accidental harms; blunted response to harmful outcome

rTPJ: Judge and jury



- rTPJ is critical for representing mental state information, irrespective of whether it is about oneself or others.
  - As RTPJ activates, so does the influence of belief information on moral judgment

- Higher the activation: take intention into account; less blame/more forgiveness if believe harm was accidental (see from their perspective)

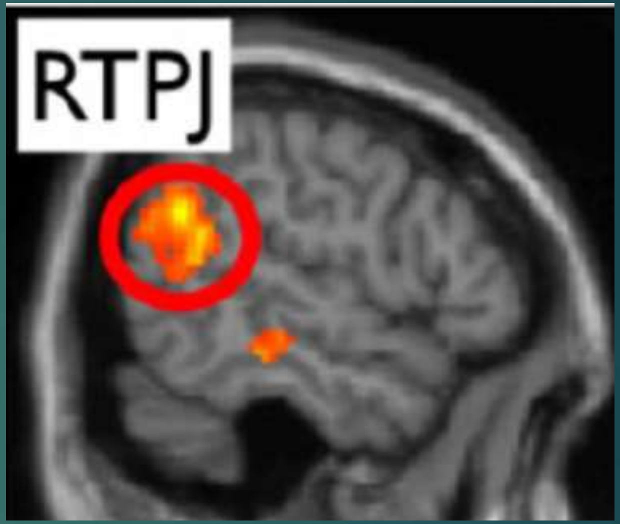
- Lower the activation: less able to take intent into account; reduces the influence of belief information on moral judgments

L.Young and R. Saxe, 2007, L. Young, et al., 2009

RTPJ:

It's the thought/intent that counts

- Evil twin tries to poison twin brother but fails
- In judging people, usually bad intention more important than the outcome: people call foul if intentional
- **Premeditation.** When rTPJ was turned off, rely less on the actor's intentions and, judge attempted harms as less morally forbidden and more morally permissible;



, L. Young, et al., 2009

Tell jury a gruesome murder

- These results reveal the brain mechanisms by which evaluation of a transgressor's mental state gates our emotional urges to punish.

- Emotionally graphic descriptions of harmful acts amplify punishment severity, boost amygdala activity and strengthen amygdala connectivity with lateral prefrontal regions involved in punishment decision-making.

- However, this was:
  - only observed when the actor's harm was intentional;
  - when harm was unintended, a temporoparietal-medial-prefrontal circuit suppressed amygdala activity and the effect of graphic descriptions on punishment was abolished.

Treadway MT, et al., 2014

How we blame

- Across all cultures:
- 1 Intentional harm is most blameworthy (murder)
- 2 Bad intentions with no harm is next (attempted murder)
- 3 No bad intention with harm is next (civil negligence)
- 4 No bad intention with no harm is not blameworthy

RTPJ: integrating intent with harm.

- rTPJ: codes intent
  - In normals, rTPJ assess intentionality and amygdala assesses harm
  - calculation of blame based on these two,
  - using intent as main driver and harm only as tiebreaker.

- Normals – intent based: blame intentional killing most, attempted killing next, accidental killing least

- rTPJ impaired – harm based: using intention to break the ties: intentional killing most, accidental killing next, attempted killing least

rTPJ

- rTPJ is necessary to integrate intent and harm, but not necessary for evaluation of either; impaired can still assess harm accurately & blame based on harm. Can assess intent accurately.

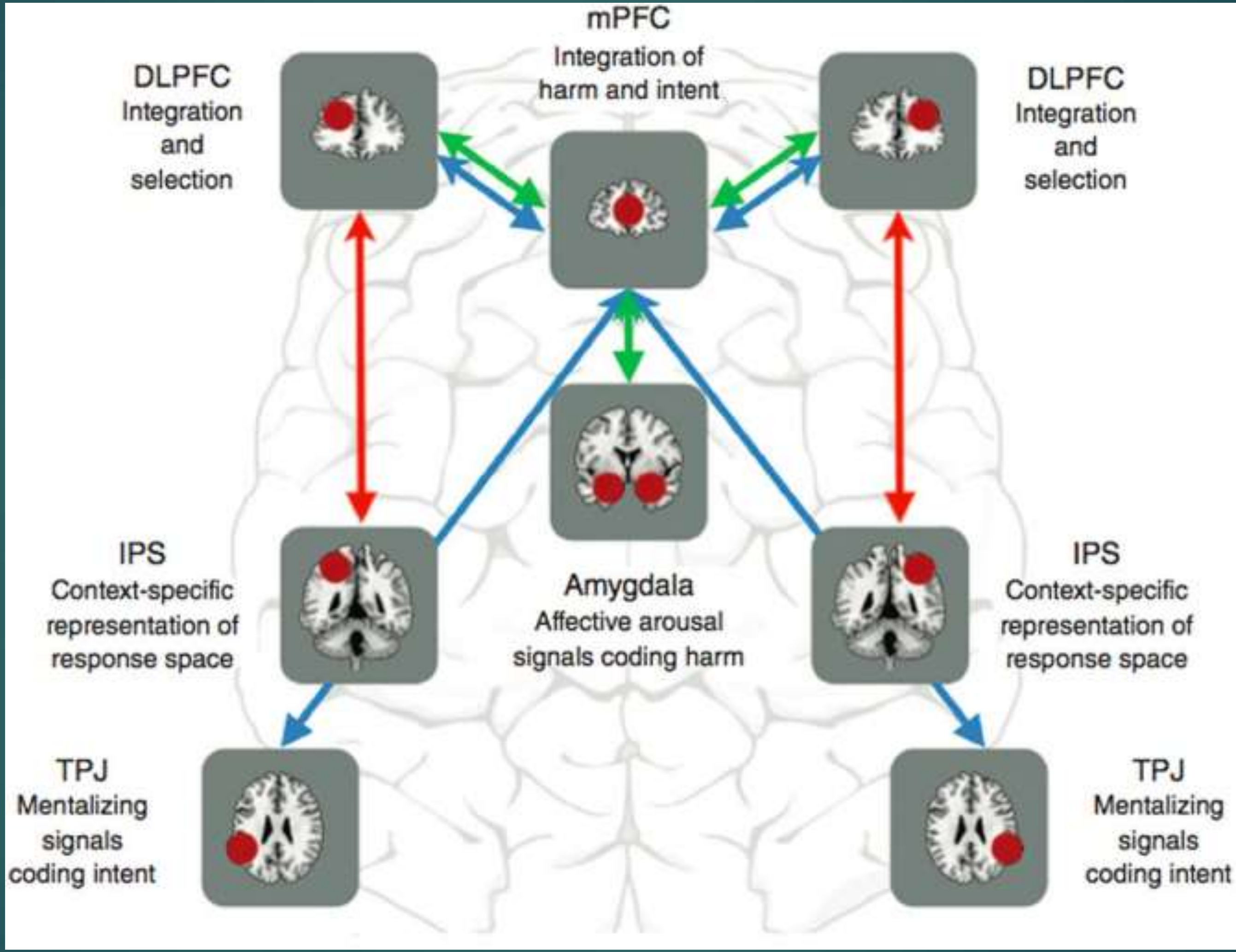
- Brain has 3 circuits: assess intention, assess harm, and 1 to integrate these 2 into level of blame

- Young children blame based primarily on harm, with intention as tiebreaker.

A neurocognitive hypothesis for third-party punishment behavior.

Harm

Intent



Owen D. Jones et al. J. Neurosci. 2013;33:17624-17630

The Journal of Neuroscience

One's face may determine one's fate:
People who look less trustworthy receive harsher criminal sentences

- People infer trustworthiness from faces quickly and with high consensus. Untrustworthy faces incur negative judgments. These biases persist despite information demonstrating that the targets are actually trustworthy
- Facial trustworthiness affects decisions about guilt in court. People whose faces look less trustworthy are judged guilty on the basis of less evidence in hypothetical crime vignettes.
- Black defendants who looked more stereotypically Black were more likely to be sentenced to death than Black defendants who looked less stereotypical.
- Afrocentric appearance predicted longer sentences for both White and Black defendants.

Faces: alarming bias in the criminal-justice system.

- People overgeneralize trustworthiness in criminal-sentencing decisions when trustworthiness should not be judicially relevant, and they did so even for the most extreme sentencing decision: condemning someone to death.
- Using a comprehensive sample of 371 death-row inmates and matched targets sentenced to life imprisonment, people who look less trustworthy were more often sentenced to death for first-degree murder.
- Perceptions of untrustworthiness predicted death sentences (vs. life sentences) for convicted murderers in Florida (*N* = 742).

Sentenced because of your face

- Link between trustworthiness and the death sentence occurred even when participants viewed innocent people who had been exonerated after originally being sentenced to death.

- These results highlight the power of facial appearance to prejudice perceivers and affect life outcomes even to the point of execution, which suggests an alarming bias in the criminal-justice system.

FMRI: Revelation of What You are Thinking or Memory for a Crime

- Parahippocampus lights up if you are thinking of familiar place
- Fusiform gyrus = faces
- What people are thinking about even if they deny it.
- Implications: Because subconscious memories of faces and places may be more reliable than conscious memories, witness lineups could be transformed.
- A child who claimed to have been victimized by a stranger could be shown pictures of the faces of suspects to see which one lighted up the face-recognition area in ways suggesting familiarity.

Other potential legal uses of Neuroimaging (NI)

- Deception detection: Neuroimaging of lying

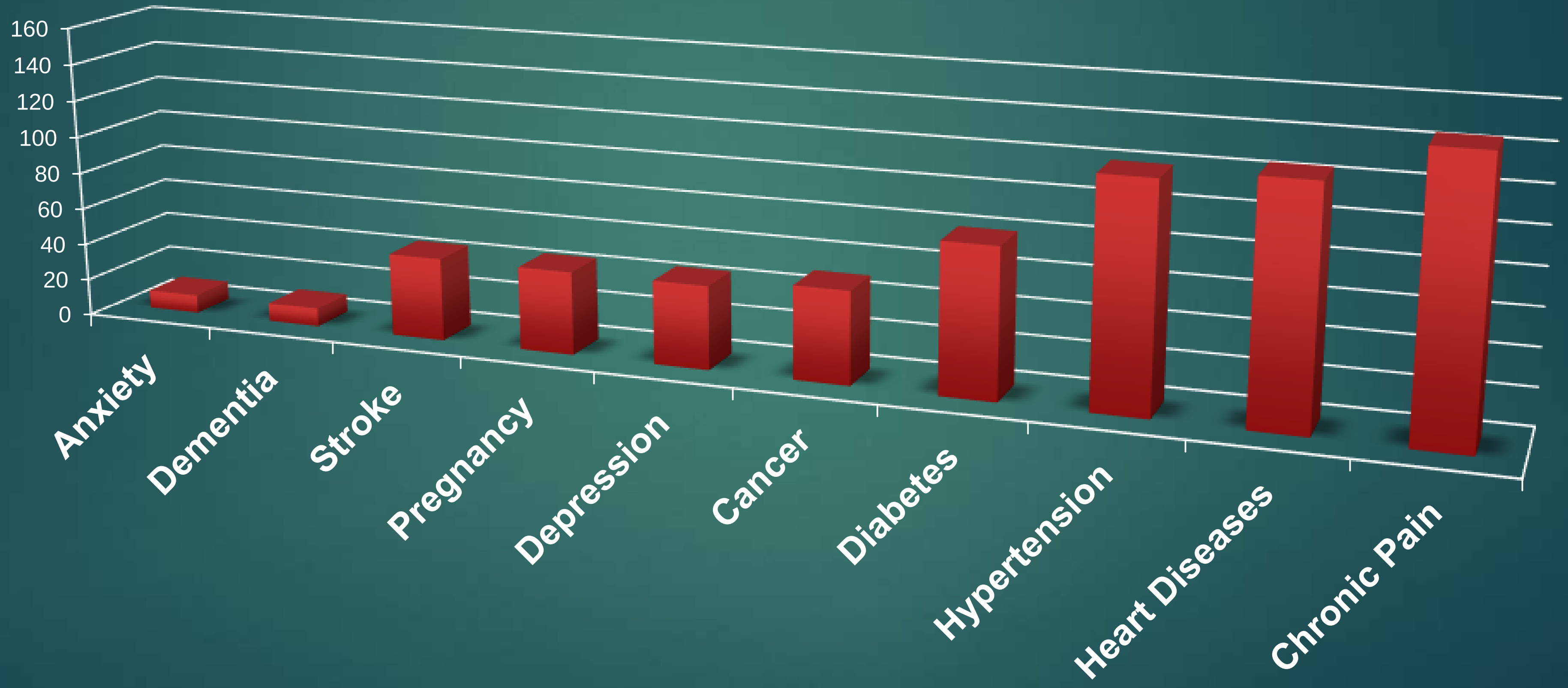
- Pedophilia: Researchers used brain activity to accurately classify the pedophilia status of more than 90% of subjects.

- Sexual Orientation: Researchers could determine sexual orientation with more than 85 percent accuracy

- Pain Imaging: pain is in the brain
  - Detecting those who are malingering
  - Accurately identifying those who really are feeling pain.

Health Care Costs of Chronic Pain in the US

Source: National Research Council – Washington DC –



Neuroscience and Pain Assessment

Back pain is the most common reason for filling worker compensation claim and accounts for 40% of absences from work, second only to the common cold as a cause for sick leave (Guo et al., 1999).

- Pain is perceived by the brain
- No feasible tests or procedures which can objectively determine if chronic pain is present and it magnitude
- We rely on a subjective evaluation of chronic pain by the patient

David Foster Wallace “Consider the lobster” essay in *Gourmet*

HELP!!

Ethics of boiling a creature alive in order to enhance the consumer's pleasure

“pain is a totally subjective mental experience,

we do not have access to pain except our own”

Neuroscientific attempts to measure pain

How to objectively determine the presence of chronic pain and quantify it?

1) U.S. Pat. N. 6018675 (Apkarian)

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10……

Do you have right to brain privacy?

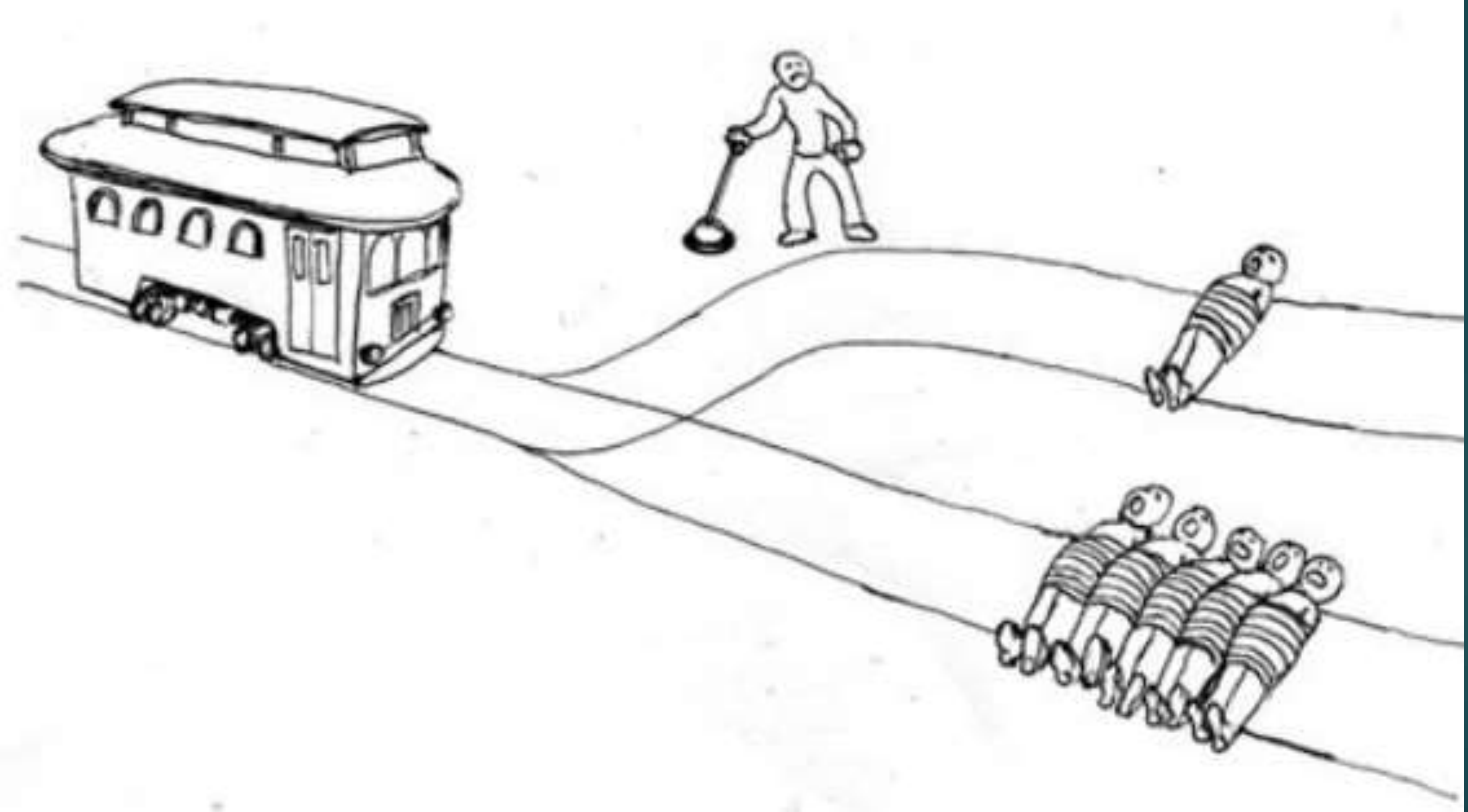
- Should we be compelled to have our brain's scanned by the legal system?
- How about in getting a job? How is this different from a personality test?
- Should 'freedom of thought' be protected?
- Should we punish people for their their thoughts and not simply their behavior?
- As new technologies develop, could the police get a search warrant for someone's brain?

Greene & Cohen (no free will) vs. Morse (free will)

- Joshua Greene and Jonathan Cohen argue that we do not have free will and that advances in neuroscience will eventually lead us to stop blaming people for their actions.

- Stephen Morse, by contrast, argues that we have free will and that the kind of advances Greene and Cohen envision will not and should not affect the law

Trolley Problem 1: DL PFC active



9 of 10 people confronted with this scenario say it's O.K. to kill 1 to save 5.

Trolley Problem 2: vmPFC active

Must push person off bridge; 9 of 10 people say it's <u>not O.K</u>. to kill one person to save five; Individuals with vmPFC damage 3x more likely to push the person off.

vmPFC Damage

- VMPFC damage: strongest predictor of empathic deficits
- 3 x more likely to advocate throwing a person to certain death in front of a runaway train to keep it from killing five other people.
- 5 x more likely to advocate smothering one's baby to save others

Damasio, 2007; Amitai Shenhav and Joshua D. Greene, 2010

FMRI of Trolley Problem

- Moral judgment is not a single thing: intuitive emotional responses vs. cognitive responses

- Rational: Dorsolateral prefrontal cortex activates in first trolley hypothetical, in which most of them made a utilitarian judgment about how to save the greatest number of lives.

- Emotional: emotional centers activate the second trolley hypothetical, in which they tended to recoil at the idea of personally harming an individual, even under such wrenching circumstances.

You are nothing but your Brain

- 'To a neuroscientist, you are your brain; nothing causes your behavior other than the operations of your brain," Greene says.

- "If that's right, it radically changes the way we think about the law. "

- The official line in the law is all that matters is whether you're rational, but you can have someone who is totally rational but whose strings are being pulled by something beyond his control."

Greene: 2 approaches to criminals

- Retribution: dominates the current criminal justice system:
  - idea of giving people what they deserve.
  - Concept of free will forms the foundation for the retributivist model.

- Deterrence: The consequentialist argument is that punishment =
  - "promoting future social welfare,";
  - prevent future harm

- The law should focus on deterring future harms.

- Permit punishment for crimes but rest on a sound scientific underpinning.

Sapolsky: Social Safety not Retribution

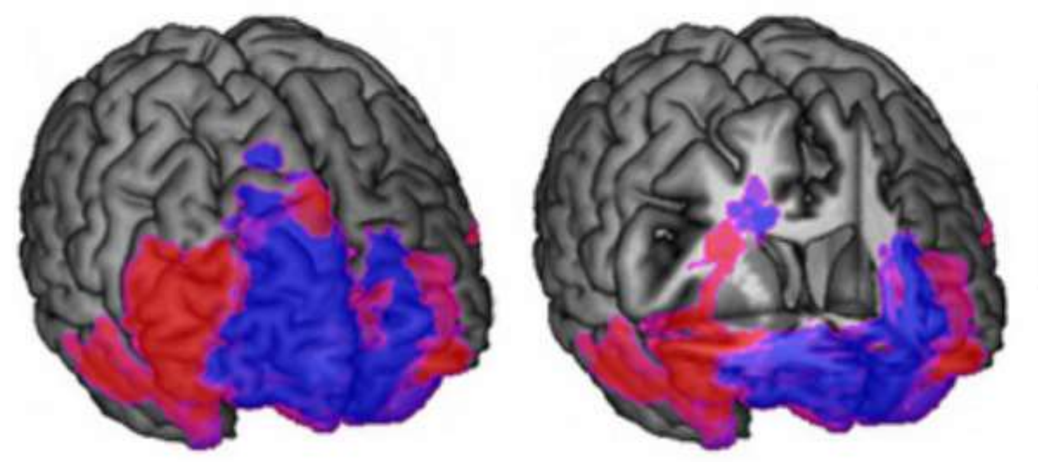
- Joyce Carol Oates: “Do you still actually believe in in the concept of “evil”? Isn’t that rather medieval?”

- Robert Sapolsky: "You can have a horrendously damaged brain where someone knows the difference between right and wrong but nonetheless can't control their behavior"

- "At that point, you're dealing with a broken machine, and concepts like punishment and evil and sin become utterly irrelevant.

- Does that mean the person should be dumped back on the street? Absolutely not. You have a car with the brakes not working, and it shouldn't be allowed to be near anyone it can hurt."

Prefrontal: Decision making & inhibition are independent areas



MRI scans of a human brain show the regions significantly associated with decision-making in blue, and the regions significantly associated with behavioral control in red. On the left is an intact brain seen from the front — the colored regions are both in the frontal lobes. The image on the right is that same brain with a portion of the frontal lobes cut away to show how the lesion map looks in the interior.

[Credit: California Institute of Technology]

Based on University of Iowa's dept. of neurology—the world's largest lesion patient registry.
N = 350

Decision making:
Reward system

Red = Decision Making

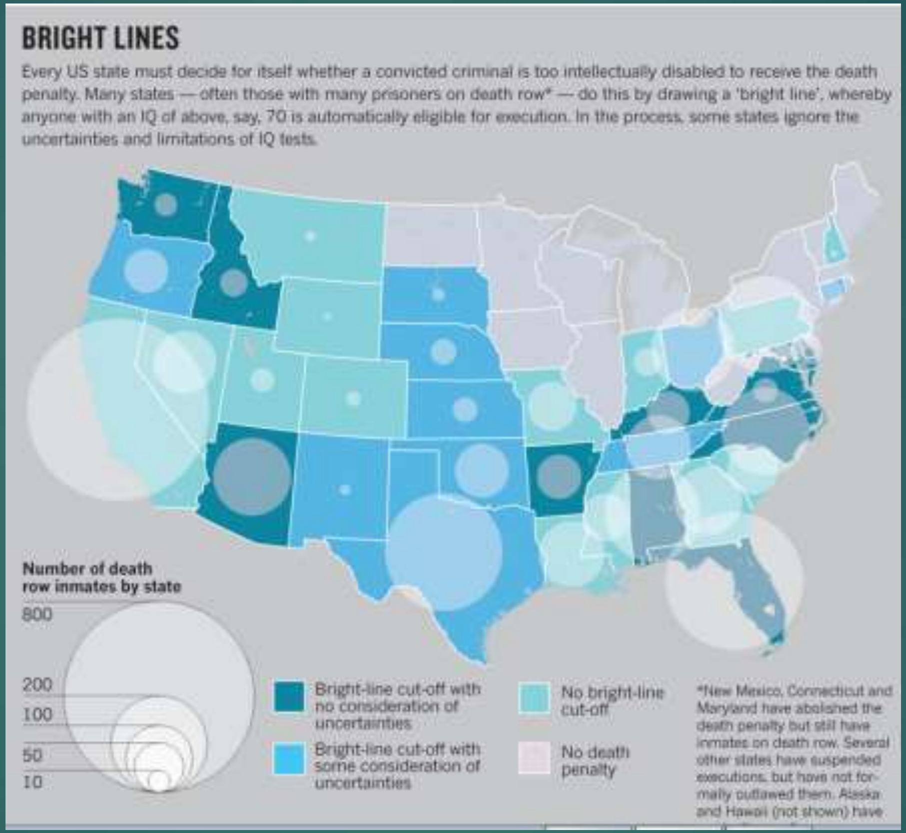
Blue = Behavioral Control

Ian Glascher, et al., 2012

Legal consequences should be consistent with actual brain capacity

- There should be no punishment for what is not under a person's control
- Don't punish more than someone deserves
- No death penalty for low IQ or child or adolescent crime because they do not have a fully developed brain and therefore have less capacity
- What to do with psychopaths who have vmPFC damage?

Is “IQ of 70” person competent?



Clinicians generally oppose a bright-line test, not least because IQ tests have an SEM of roughly ten points;
Flynn effect: if score 71 on an IQ test last normalized in 1972, might have scored only 65 on a more recently normed, harder IQ test

The Conservative View

- How is this neuroscientific attempt at ‘causal explanation’ different from e.g. explaining human behavior by
  - The environment / social institutions?
  - Genetic or psychological factors?

Westside Story & Officer Krupke: Chicago School of not guilty

- RIFF
  Who me, Officer Krupke?

  RIFF
  Dear kindly Sergeant Krupke
  You gotta understand
  It's just our bringin' upke
  That gets us out of hand
  Our mothers all are junkies
  Our fathers all are drunks
  Golly Moses, naturally we're punks

  JETS
  Gee, Officer Krupke
  We're very upset
  We never had the love
  That every child oughta get
  We ain't no delinquents
  We're misunderstood
  Deep down inside us there is good

- RIFF
  Dear kindly Judge, your Honor
  My parents treat me rough
  With all their marijuana
  They won't give me a puff
  They didn't wanna have me
  But somehow I was had
  Leapin' lizards, that's why I'm so bad

RIFF
Dear kindly Judge, your Honor
My parents treat me rough
With all their marijuana
They won't give me a puff
They didn't wanna have me
But somehow I was had
Leapin' lizards, that's why I'm so bad

SNOWBOY IMITATING JUDGE
Right! Officer Krupke
You're really a square
This boy don't need a judge
He needs an analyst's care
It's just his neurosis
That oughta be curbed
He's psychologically disturbed

RIFF
I'm disturbed

JETS
We're disturbed, we're disturbed
We're the most disturbed
Like we're psychologically disturbed

Stephen Morse for the Conservatives

- "There's nothing new about the neuroscience ideas of responsibility; it's just another material, causal explanation of human behavior," says Stephen J. Morse, professor of law and psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania.

- "How is this different than the Chicago school of sociology," which tried to explain human behavior in terms of environment and social structures?

- "How is it different from genetic explanations or psychological explanations? The only thing different about neuroscience is that we have prettier pictures and it appears more scientific."

- Morse insists that "brains do not commit crimes; people commit crimes"

Brain Overclaim Syndrome

- Morse calls this "brain overclaim syndrome" and cites as an example the neuroscience briefs filed in the Supreme Court case Roper v. Simmons to question the juvenile death penalty.
- "What did the neuroscience add?" he asks. If adolescent brains caused all adolescent behavior, "we would expect the rates of homicide to be the same for 16- and 17-year-olds everywhere in the world -- their brains are alike -- but in fact, the homicide rates of Danish and Finnish youths are very different than American youths."
(CJV: but what about gun access?)

95+% of behavior is Nonconscious: Is Libet Right?

- "Suppose neuroscience could reveal that reason actually plays no role in determining human behavior," he suggests tantalizingly.

- "Suppose I could show you that your intentions and your reasons for your actions are after the fact rationalizations that your brain generates to explain to you what your brain has already done" without your conscious participation.

- If neuroscience could reveal us to be automatons in this respect, Morse is prepared to agree with Greene and Cohen that criminal law would have to abandon its current ideas about responsibility and seek other ways of protecting society.

Libet: Free Will ?

- In 1977, Benjamin Libet devised cleverly designed experiments at the University of California, San Francisco, that detected activity in the motor cortex of subjects nearly half a second before they became conscious of their decision to press a button.

- This suggested to many that free will was an illusion.

- Libet also showed that there is a brief window of time in which the conscious mind can still veto an action before it is taken.

- These and other experiments reinforced the notion that much of what goes on in our brain takes place outside of & before our conscious awareness

Which Happens First?

- Thought or willful action?

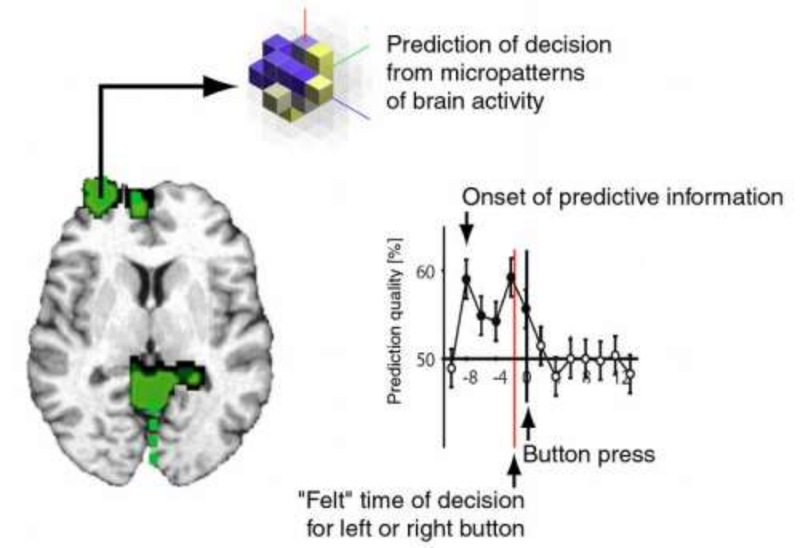
1. Readiness potential (spike in brain electrical activity) occurs 800 milliseconds prior to movement.

2. Benjamin Libet showed conscious decision to move comes 350 milliseconds AFTER readiness potential occurs.

3. Conscious will does not cause our movements!

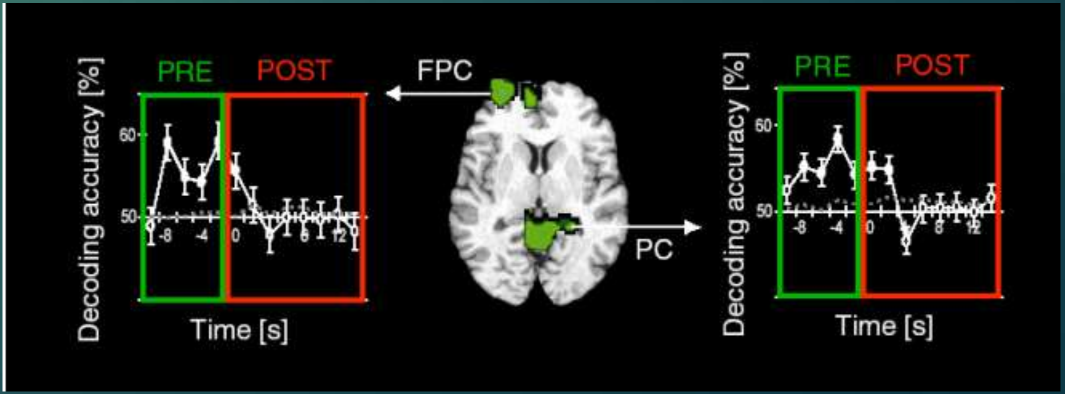
.. even 10 seconds earlier!

C.S. Soon, M. Brass, H-J. Heinze & J-D. Haynes,
Unconscious determinants of free decisions in the human brain.
Nature Neuroscience, April 2008.



”There has been a long controversy as to whether subjectively 'free' decisions are determined by brain activity ahead of time. We found that the outcome of a decision can be encoded in brain activity of prefrontal and parietal cortex up to 10 sec before it enters awareness.

This delay presumably reflects the operation of a network of high-level control areas that begin to prepare an upcoming decision long before it enters awareness.”



The Evidence

- http://youtu.be/IQ4nwTTmcgs
- Or Google “Libet’s experiment”

Prediction choice 7 seconds before conscious awareness

Brain Scans Can Reveal Your Decisions 7 Seconds Before You "Decide"

"In a kind of spooky experiment, scientists at the Max Planck Institute for Human Cognitive and Brain Sciences reveal that our decisions are made seconds before we become aware of them.

In the study, participants could freely decide if they wanted to press a button with their right or left hand.

The only condition was that they had to remember when they made the decision to either use their right hand or left hand.

The Results

By monitoring the micro patterns of activity in the frontopolar cortex, the researchers could predict which hand the participant would choose 7 SECONDS before the participant was aware of the decision."

Not Free Will but Free Won't

- Libet told subjects to move their fingers whenever they felt like it. Libet detected brain activity suggesting a readiness to move the finger half a second before the actual movement and about 350 milliseconds before people became aware of their conscious intention to move their finger.

- Libet argued that this leaves 100 milliseconds for the conscious self to veto the brain's unconscious decision, or to give way to it -- suggesting, in the words of the neuroscientist Vilayanur S. Ramachandran, that we have not free will but "free won't."

- We have less free will than many people tend to believe. But there is a big difference between having less and none at all.

4 seconds before decision to add or subtract 2 numbers

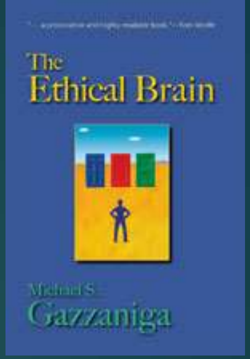
- John-Dylan Haynes of the Bernstein Center for Computational Neuroscience Berlin and his colleagues had volunteers decide whether to add or subtract two numbers while in the fMRI scanner.
- They found patterns of neural activity that were predictive of whether subjects would choose to add or subtract that occurred four seconds before those subjects were aware of making the choice—a rather long lag time.
- The brain is making the decision before the person

Haynes repeats Libet

- In 2008, Dylan Haynes asked subjects to choose to press right or left button under FMRI

- Strong prefrontal and parietal signals up to 10 seconds before subject consciously decided to act.

Michael Gazzaniga



- M. Gazzaniga, The Ethical Brain (1998).
  Law and Neuroscience Project (MacArthur Foundation)

The physical world is determined => brains must also be determined.

Humans have ego-centric view of the world, with personal selves seemingly directing the show most of the time.

Recent research shows this is not true, but simply appears to be true, because of a special device in our left brain called the interpreter, creating the illusion that we are in charge of our actions.

Brains are automatic, rule-governed, determined devices, but people are personally responsible agents, free to make their own decisions, because personal responsibility is a public concept.

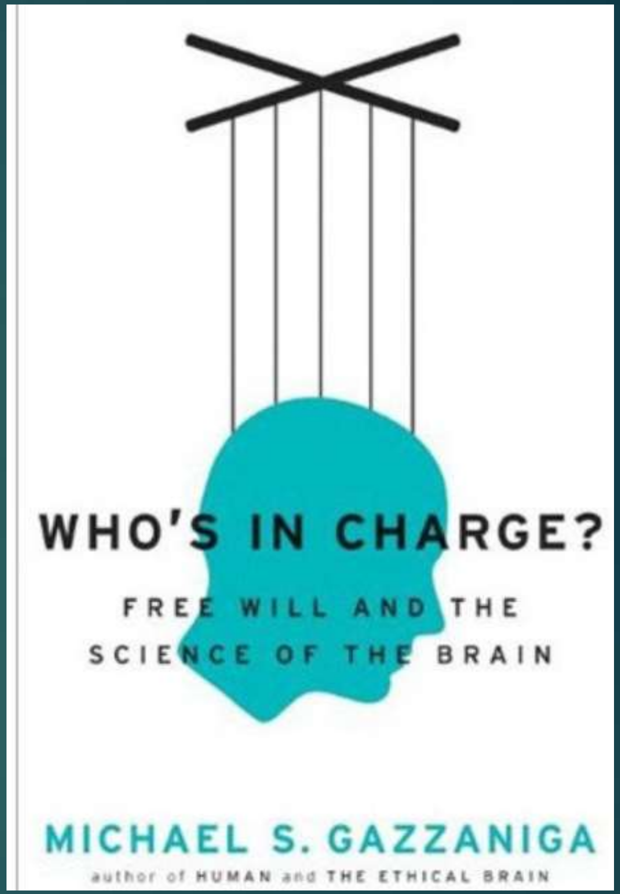
Those aspects of our personhood are – oddly – not in our brains.
They exist in the relationships, interactions with other automatic brains.

But what kind of brains are able to obey the rules?

Who's in Charge?, by Gazzaniga

- "The issue isn't whether we are 'free,'" he writes. "The issue is that there is <u>no scientific reason not to hold people accountable and responsible</u>."

- The mind constrains the brain.



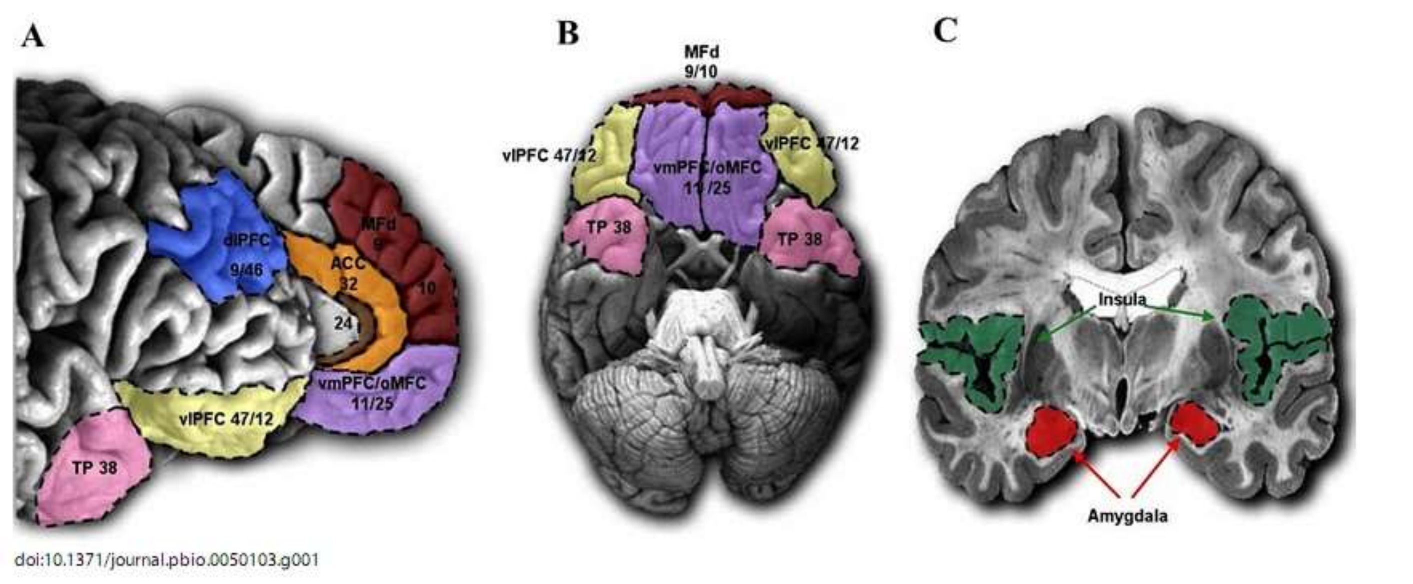
Sam Harris: No Free Will

- 66 page essay book elucidating his thesis that human beings don't have contra-causal free will (free will is not caused by anything)
- "...most of what is distinctly human about our lives seems to depend upon our viewing one another as autonomous persons, capable of free choice."
- He couches the issue in the context of a nauseatingly horrific crime - the home invasion in Connecticut by two men in 2007 (murder/rape)
- When we make a choice, the decision has already been made somewhere in our brain; when we become conscious of it, we believe we are making it. We then take ownership of it and call it free will. We don't know what we intend to do until the intention itself arises in our mind.
- What made you decide to …(infinite regressive causation)

- See also ***The Illusion of Conscious Will*** by Daniel Wegner

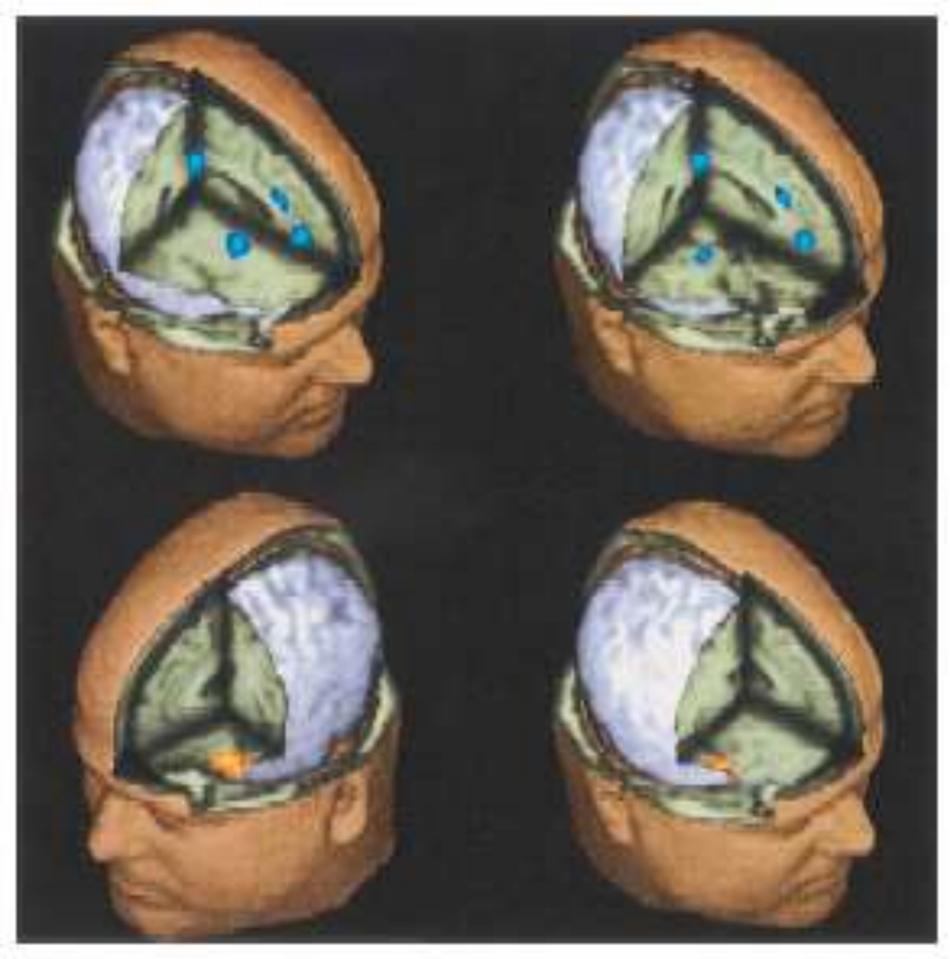
Brain and antisocial behavior

Mobbs D, Lau HC, Jones OD, Frith CD,
Law, Responsibility, and the Brain. PLoS Biol 5(4): e103 (2007)



Prefrontal cortex (PFC) makes us moral and rational.
Damage to PFC leads to acquired sociopathy, impulsive affective criminals.
Damage to amygdala leads to poor empathy and low fear, typical of psychopathic emotionless criminals.
Estimation ~25% of all imprisoned in the USA fall in these two categories, frequently due to birth complication and trauma.

Forensic neuroimaging: violent offenders



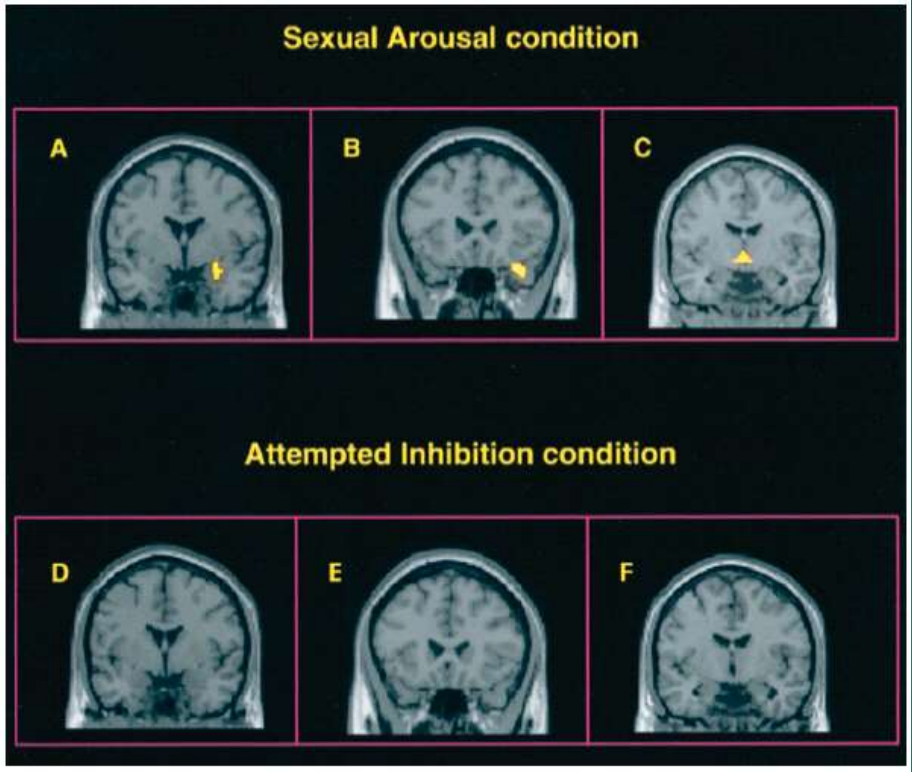
Criminal psychopaths show different patterns of emotional-related activity compared to non-criminal control subjects (Kiehl, Biol Psychiatry 2001)

Areas of less activation

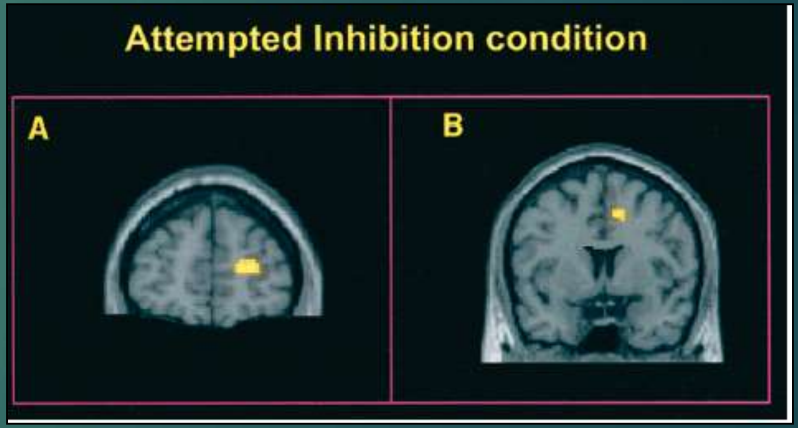
Areas of more activation

Will this change our diagnosis of "psychopathy" to a brain scan rather than observed behaviour? Would we incarcerate "brainscan-psychopaths" before they commit a crime?

Behavior prediction: imaging inhibition



In noncriminal male subjects, <u>sexual arousal in response to erotic films produced activation in limbic and paralimbic regions (compared to viewing neutral films), but attempted inhibition of arousal was restricted to activation of right superior frontal gyrus and anterior cingulate.</u>



<u>If scanning shows a *lack* of inhibitory ability, are you likely to commit a sexual crime</u>? <u>If one's brain cannot inhibit arousal, is one responsible for impulsive actions?</u> Should one be required to register with authorities or accept treatment?

Beauregard et al, J Neurosci 2001

Kent Kiehl, PhD & his 1100 Psychopaths

Kent Kiehl in front of the semi-trailer that houses a portable MRI scanner at the Western New Mexico Correctional Facility.

Kiehl on Psychopaths: reduced paralimbic activity

- Psychopathy: Score of 30 of 40 on Hare's Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) (normals score 4)
- Psychopaths typically exhibit impulsivity, poor planning, little insight and an utter absence of guilt or empathy. Most had engaged in sexual activity by the age of 12 and showed early signs of violence, including a predilection for arson and animal torture
- One to two percent of the general population, but 15 to 20 percent of prisoners in minimum to medium security prisons qualify as psychopaths, and as high as 30 percent for those in maximum security.
- Psychopaths have impairment in the paralimbic system (ACC, OFC, Amygdala don't activate).
- Limbic system is not engaged during moral or emotional trigger

What if…

- What if you could do a brain scan and determine to a high probability whether a criminal defendant was a psychopath, with, for example, a 60-70 percent chance of recidivism within five years instead of only 20-30 percent?
  - Would that make a difference to a judge or a jury?
  - What if you were a juror in a capital case in the sentencing phase?
  - Would you want to know if someone is a psychopath or not if it affects his odds of committing another murder?

- What if you can say that these particular 12-year-olds will be psychopaths?

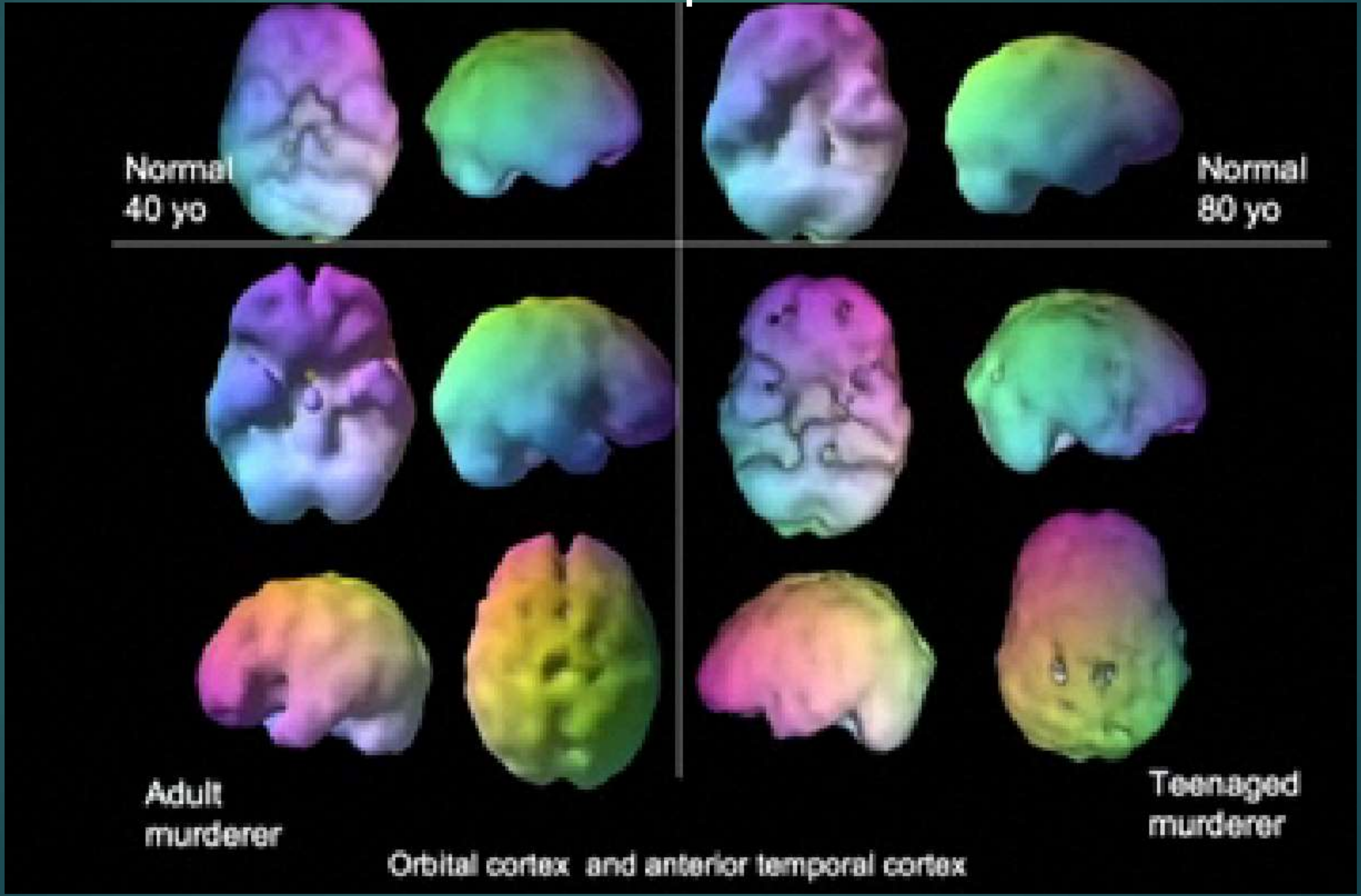
- What do you do with the children you are confident will be psychopaths?

Psychopathic Personality Disorder: Reduced Prefrontal Gray

- Raine, 2000: <u>11% reduction in prefrontal gray matter volume</u>
- May underlie the low arousal, poor fear conditioning, lack of conscience, and decision-making deficits that have been found to characterize antisocial, psychopathic behavior.

Psychopaths

Psychopathy:
Low Activation in Orbital cortex and Anterior Temporal cortex



Behavioral genetics

- ❑ the field of study that examines the role of genetics in human behavior
- ❑ "nature versus nurture" debate
- ❑ highly interdisciplinary (biology, genetics, psychology, and statistics.)

“ Behavioral Genetics applications in the criminal justice system are quickly outpacing the advances in the science ”

(N. Farahany & W. Bernet)

The First Time Behavioral Genetics entered the court

Stephen Mobley - USA – 1994
(murder of a 24-year man)

- He filed a motion seeking funds to hire experts witnesses to assess his potential deficiency in MAOA enzymatic activity, based on the then-recent studies suggesting a possible genetic basis for violent and impulsive behavior .

- The court denied Mobley’s motion: lack of scientific verifiability

-- Mobley was executed by lethal injection in 2005 in Georgia

MAOA: THE STARTING POINT

- In 1978 a Dutch woman walked into University Hospital in Nijmegen with a problem

- Genetic investigation on her family

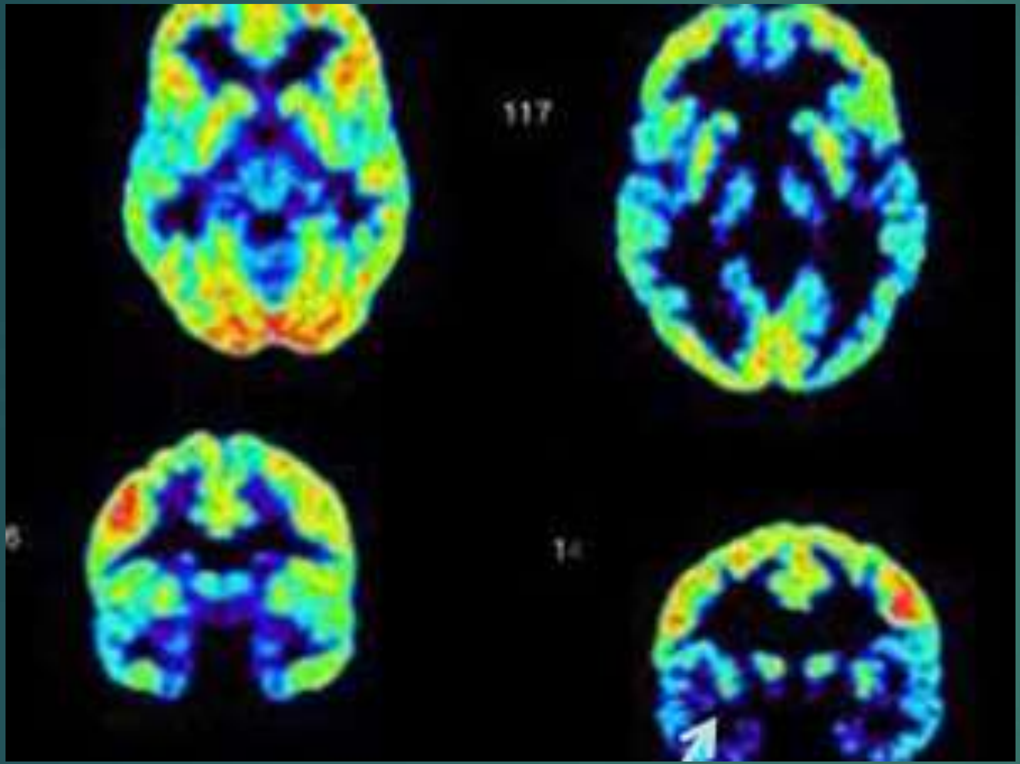
- 15 years later - first outcomes: a genetic defect on the X chromosome

- The Gene coding for an enzyme (MAOA) that may help regulate aggressive behavior
- 2004 - annual anthropologists' meeting in Florida – scientific jounalist Ann Gibbons coins the phase "Warrior Gene", describing MAOA gene

- Caspi, Moffit (2004): Low activity of this gene - neurotransmitters in the brain (serotonin, dopamine, norepinephrine) are not properly metabolized; low activity of MAOA in males + maltreated as children = a much greater likelihood to manifest violent antisocial behavior in the future.

James Fallon Family: Who is psychopath?

Brains of James Fallon PhD and son (cousins of Lizzy Borden): Thwarted Sociopathy



Low Orbital Frontal Activation in Fallon

Fallon's brain (on the right) has dark patches in the orbital cortex, the area just behind the eyes. This is the area that Fallon says is involved with ethical behavior, moral decision-making and impulse control. The normal scan on the left is his son's.

Fallen on Psychopathy: Combination of Factors

1 – Low Orbital Frontal activation pattern

2 - MAO-A gene (monoamine oxidase A):
high-aggression variant (low Serotonin),
Warrior gene

3 – Mother transmission to son (X chromosome), too little Serotonin: higher rates among males

3 – History of childhood abuse or seeing lots of traumatic violence

Brian Dugan

Mug shot of Brian Dugan from 1970.

First time fMRI was brought up in the court as a 'mitigating circumstance', in a case in which death penalty was at stake.

fMRI was admitted as scientific evidence (Frye Test) aimed to demonstrate that Dugan suffered from psychopathy, but scans were rejected on the grounds that bright colors could confound and bias the jury.
The Court allowed jurors to only see power point slides representing graphics and bars of the scans.

Kiehl on Psychopaths: Brakes don’t work

- KKK burning a cross: Kiehl says most psychopaths do not differ from normal subjects in the way they rate the photos: Both psychopaths and the average person rank the KKK with a burning cross as a moral violation.
- When a normal person sees a morally objectionable photo, his limbic system lights up
- When psychopaths like Dugan see the KKK picture, their emotional circuit does not engage in the same way.
- Kiehl says the emotional circuit may be what stops a person from breaking into that house or killing that girl.
- But in psychopaths like Dugan, the emotional brakes don't work

Brian Dugan

- Dugan was only 18 when he started his serial killing and raping of girls and young women.
- Hare Psychopathy Checklist: scored 37 out of 40. “Brian is very unique,” Kiehl said. “That puts him in the 99.5 percentile.”
- Judge’s decision to suppress Kiehl’s best graphic evidence — the actual pictures of Dugan’s brain.
- Less than a week after Kiehl testified, the jury voted unanimously to impose the death penalty on Brian Dugan.

Issue of meaning of Visual Images

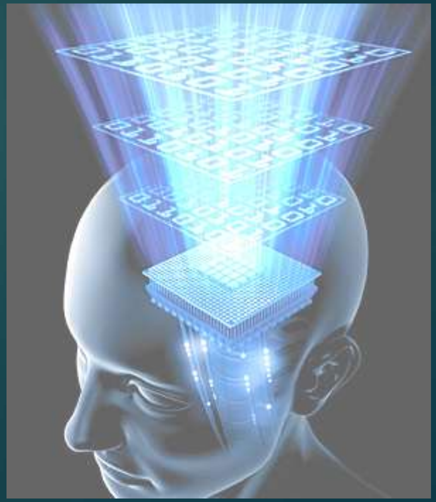
What are data, what do they show and what are they unable to show?

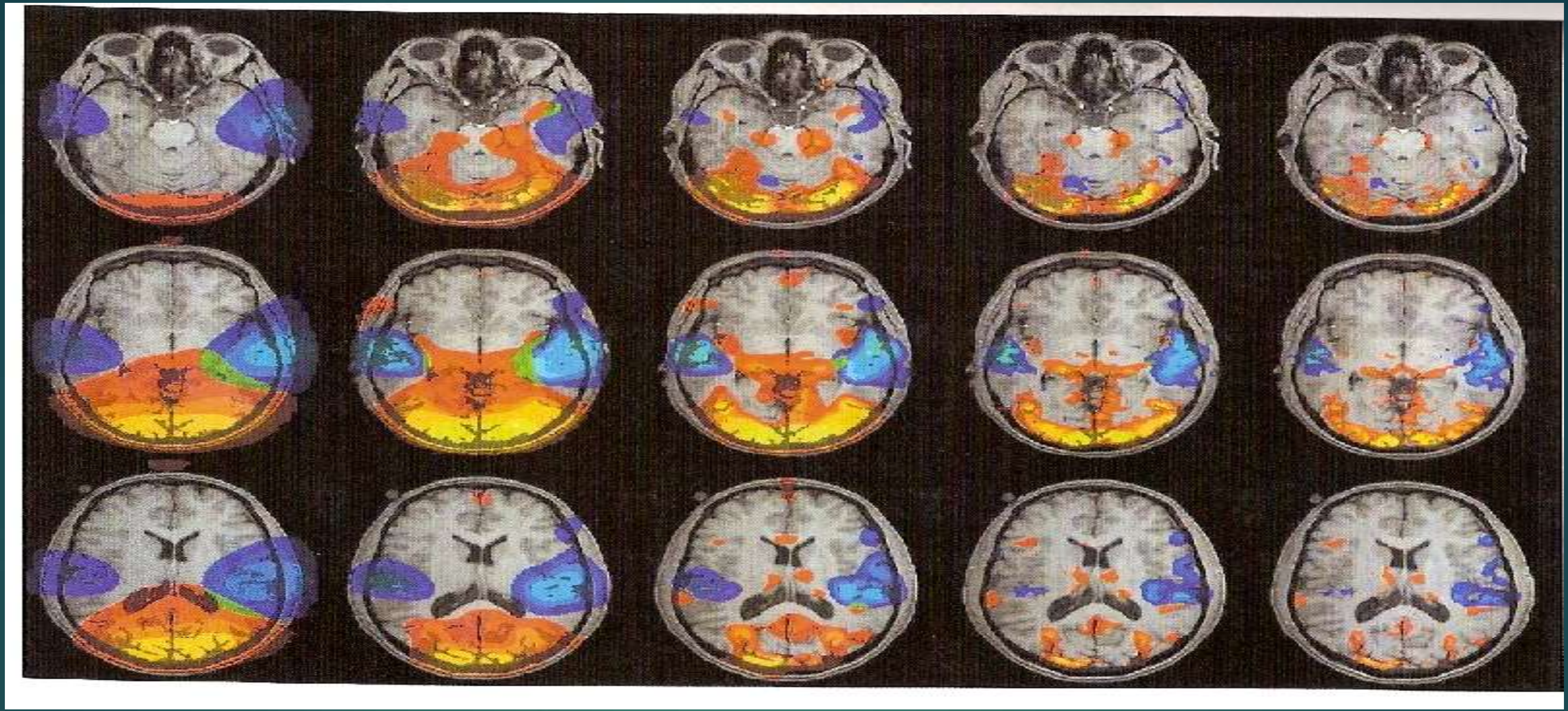
Need to assess the computer data processing tools that interpret the flood of data obtainable.

What are the capabilities of data processing and computer-generated images?

What are their limitations?

What are the dangers of non-scientists being misled by ignorance of what the images show?



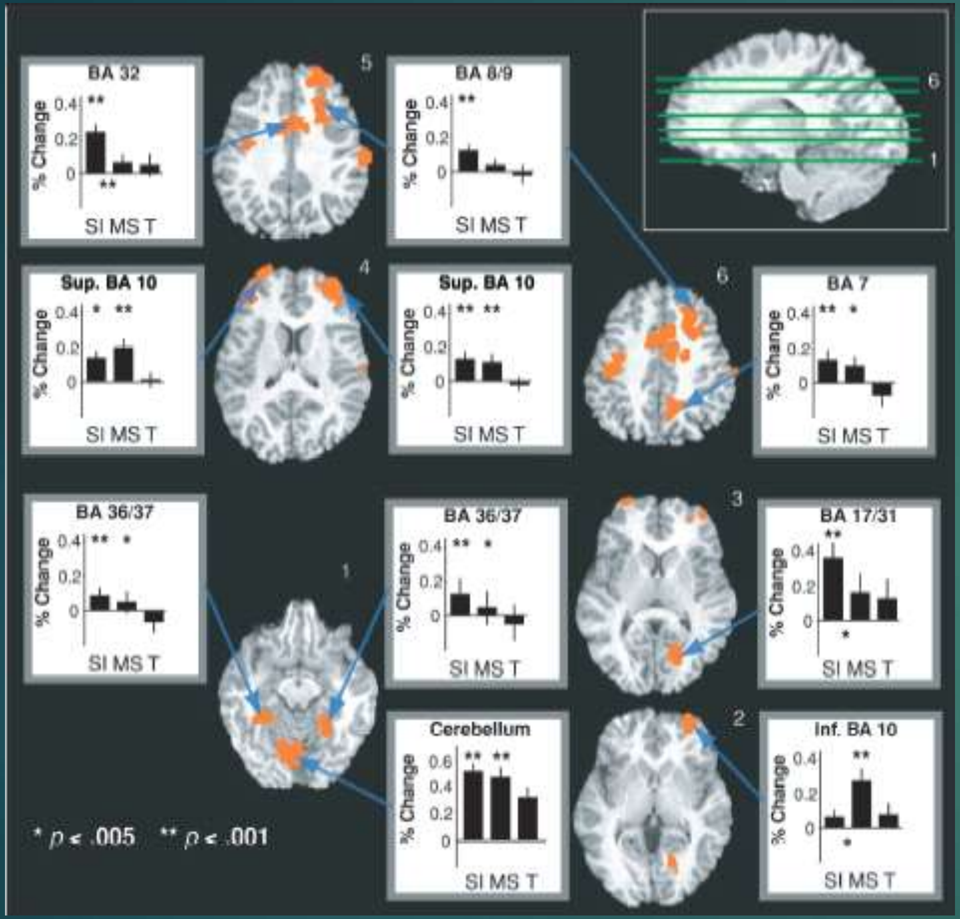


Five different ways to reproduce same data create different fMRI visual images.
Each sequence applies a different statistical filtering to the same data set.

Differences between visual images results are noticeably

Source: S.M. Smith, Preparing fMRI data for statistical analysis, in P. Jezzard *et al.*, *eds. Functional MRI: An introduction to methods, Oxford University Press, 2001.*

Deception and lie detection



- **Differential patterns of activation observed for:**
  - **Truth (T),**
  - **spontaneous-isolated lies (SI)**
  - **and memorized scenarios (MS).**
  - **This may be evidence for neural correlates of different types of lying.**

Can we tell when someone is lying?

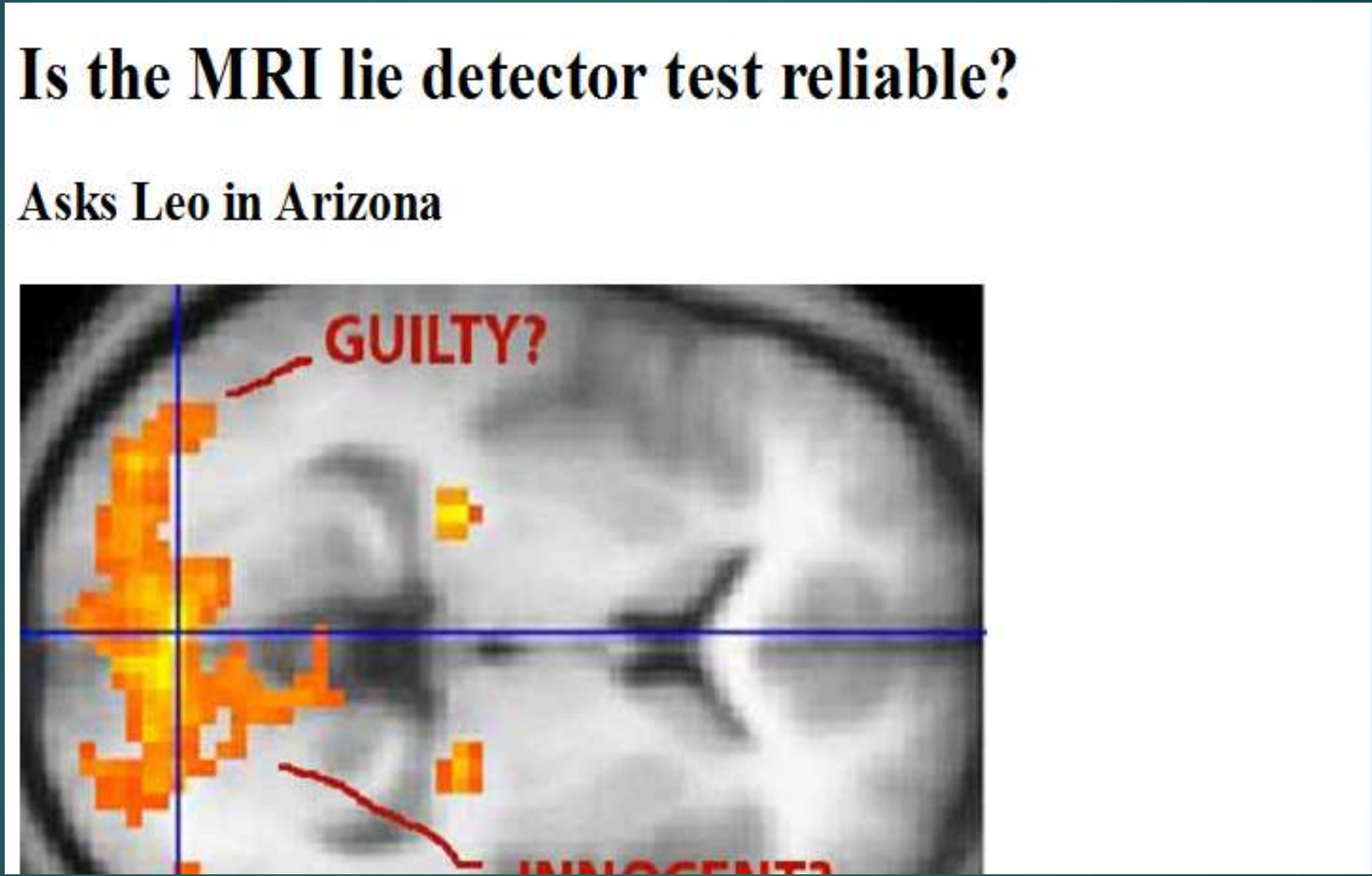
Can we tell if someone has a false memory?

Ganis et al, Cerebral Cortex 2003

Lie Detection Throughout History

- Dry mouth (Rice)
- Flushing
- Sweating
- Torture
- Gross behavior (E.g. downcast eyes)
- Pulse and blood pressure (Marston, 1917)
- Respiration
- Galvanic skin response (GSR)
- Polygraph
- Electroencephalograph EEG) and Evoked Brain Potentials (EBP)
- Voice stress analysis (FSA)
- Facial heat distribution
- Facial micro-expressions
- Positron Emission Tomography (PET)
- Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI)

MRI Lying detection



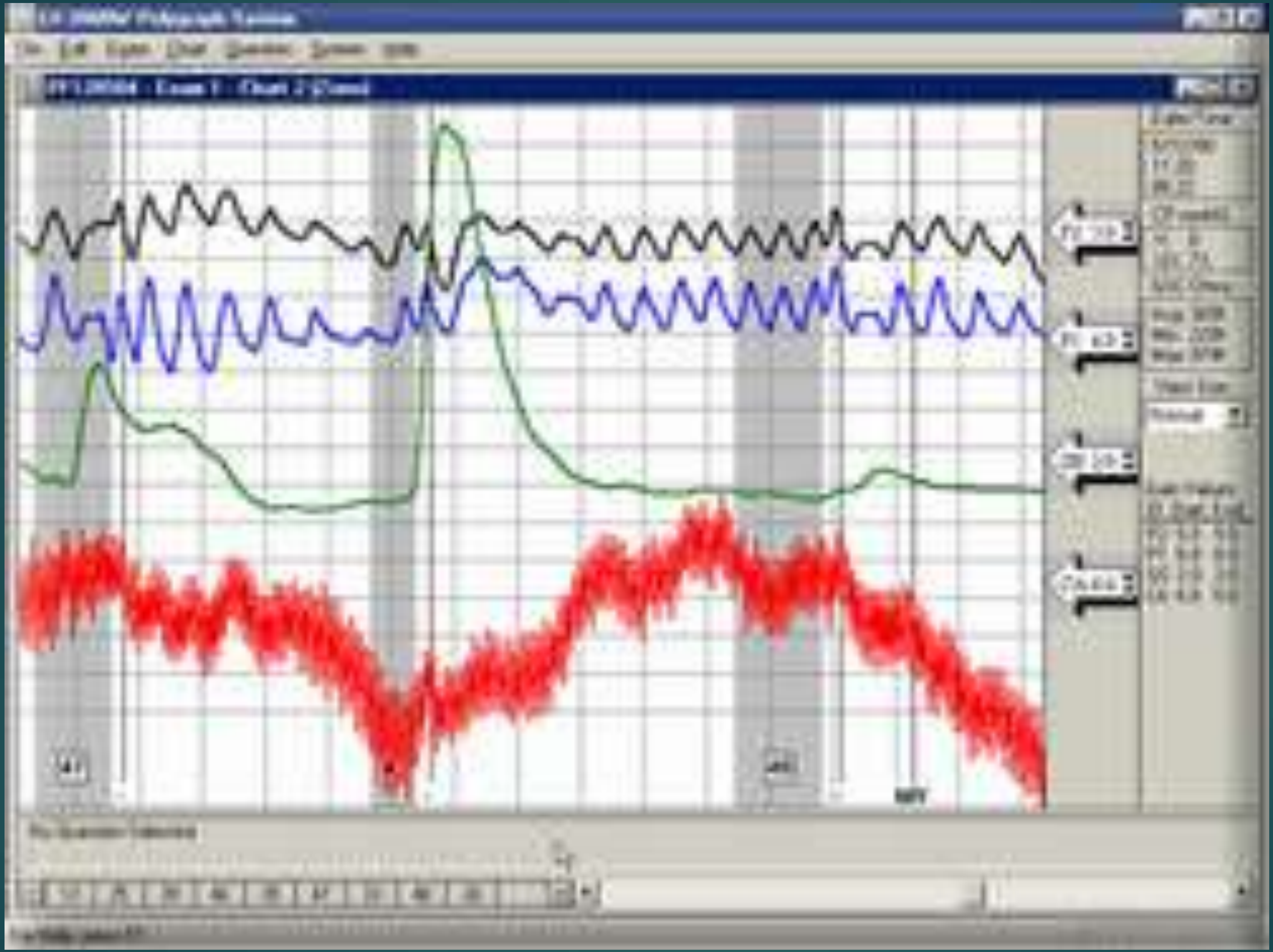
Specific regions of the brain have been analyzed in order to uncover patterns of truth telling, deception, and false memory.

Polygraph

Skin conductance response (SCR)

Systolic blood pressure

(possibly in conjunction with drugs, such as amobarbitol)

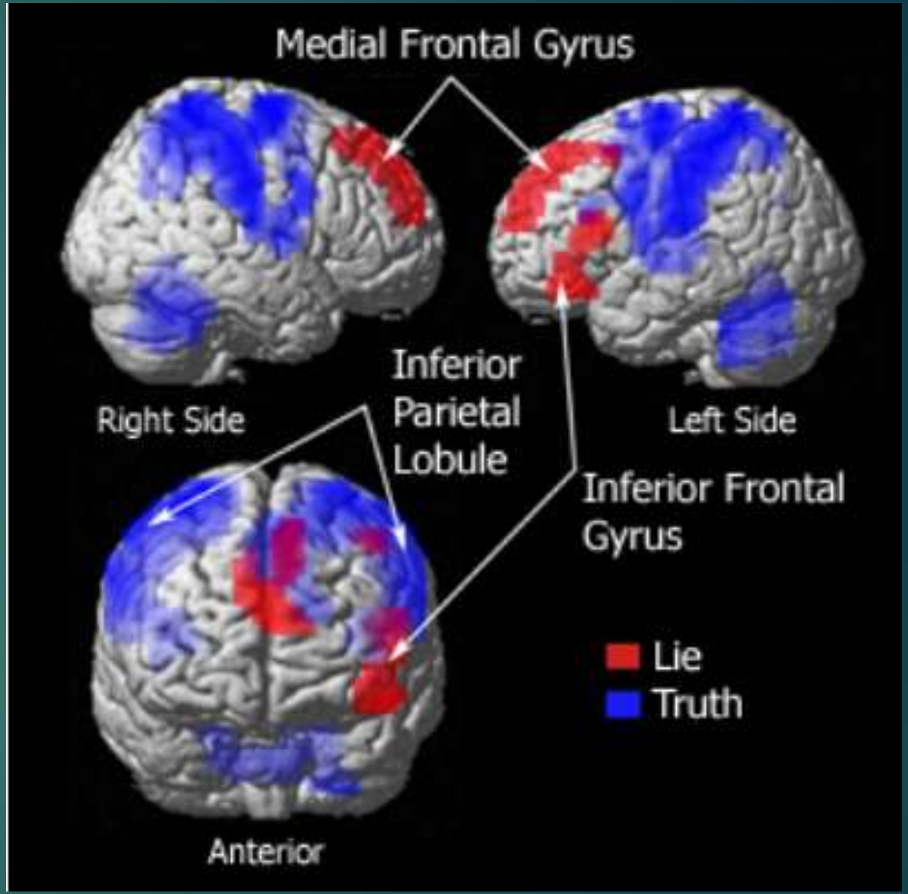


More Scientific Lie Detection

- 1 – periorbital thermography
- 2 – micro-facial expressions
- 3 – near-infrared laser spectroscopy
- 4 – electroencephalography (EEG)
- 5 – fMRI

Neural Lie Detection

- EEG (Brain Fingerprinting and BEOS)
- fMRI (Cephos and No Lie MRI)



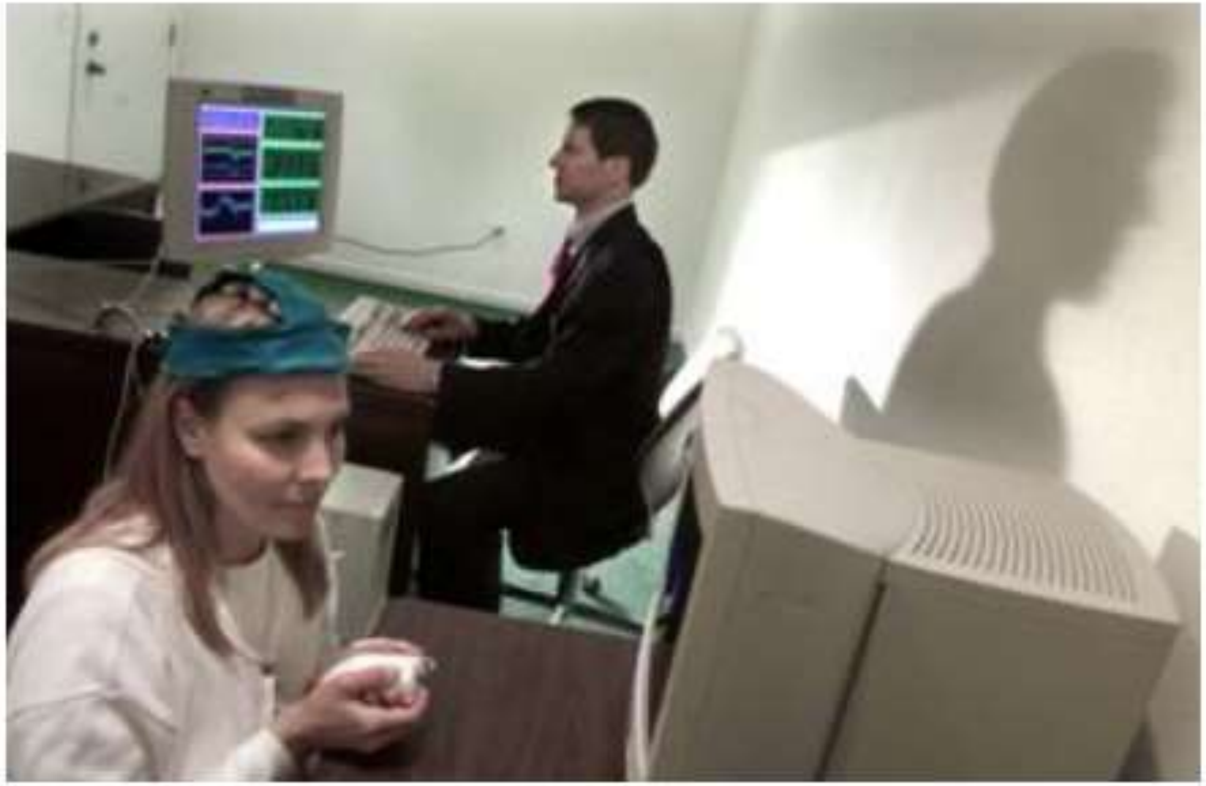
Lying is different than telling the truth in the brain

Brain Fingerprinting

- Uses EEG (electroencephalography); Developed by Lawrence Farwell; Sold by Brain Fingerprinting Labs; (www.brainwavescience.com)

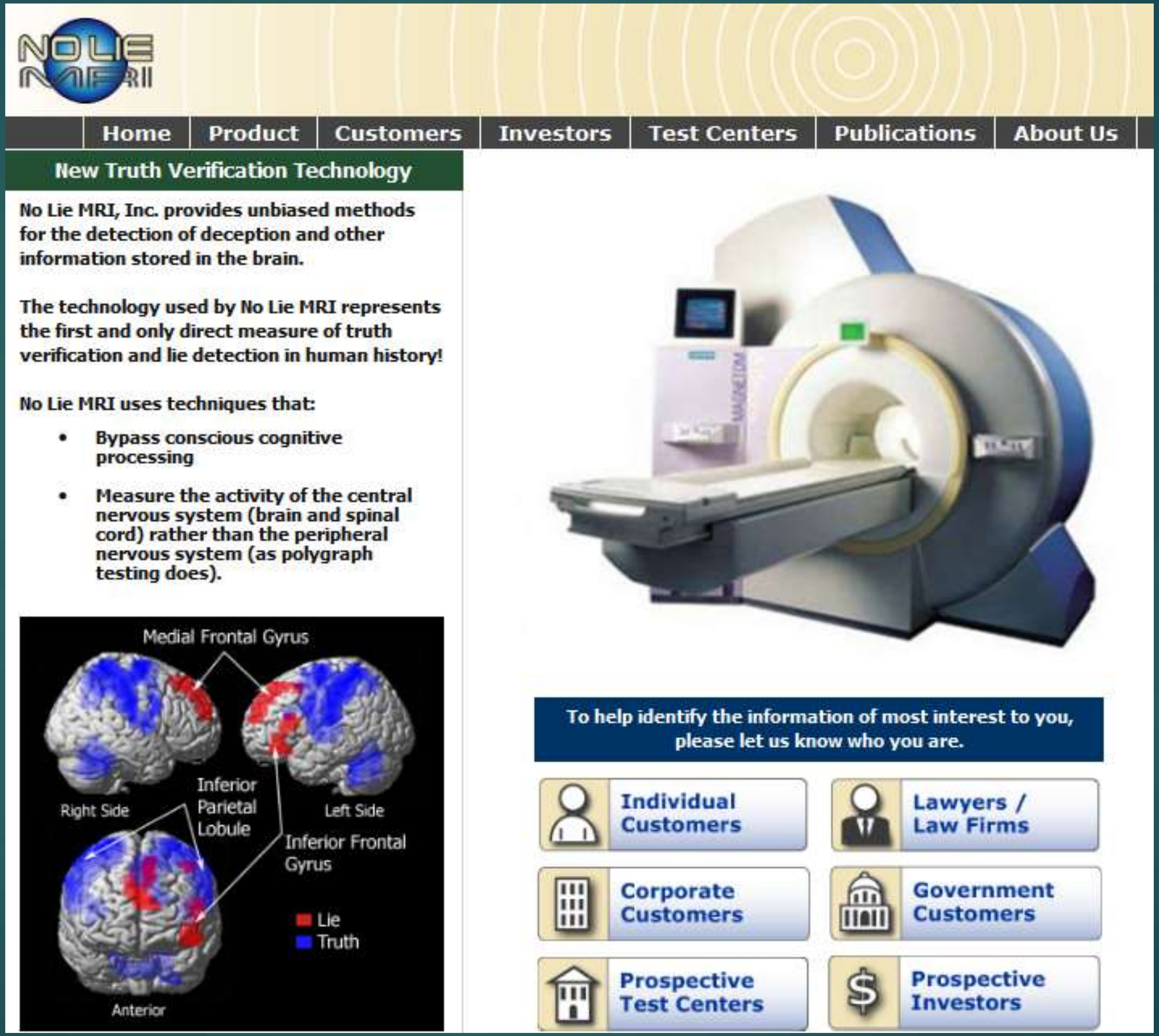
- The Technique aims to determine whether specific information is stored in a subject's brain. It measure electrical brainwave responses to words, phrases, or pictures that are presented on a computer screen (invented by Lawrence Farwell).
- The theory is that **the brain processes known, relevant information differently from the way it processes unknown or irrelevant information. The brain's processing of known information, such as the details of a crime stored in the brain, is revealed by a specific pattern in the EEG (electroencephalograph)** . Farwell's brain fingerprinting originally used the well known P300 brain response to detect the brain's recognition of the known information.
- Later Farwell discovered the MERMER ("Memory and Encoding Related Multifaceted Electroencephalographic Response"), which includes the P300 and additional features and is reported to provide a higher level of accuracy.

Computer Lie Detection



Farwell measures brain-wave responses of a person looking at words or pictures displayed on a computer screen using a headband with built-in electrodes

No Lie MRI



NO LIE MRI
Home
Product
Customers
Investors
Test Centers
Publications
About Us
New Truth Verification Technology
No Lie MRI, Inc. provides unbiased methods for the detection of deception and other information stored in the brain.
The technology used by No Lie MRI represents the first and only direct measure of truth verification and lie detection in human history!
No Lie MRI uses techniques that:
• Bypass conscious cognitive processing
• Measure the activity of the central nervous system (brain and spinal cord) rather than the peripheral nervous system (as polygraph testing does).
Medial Frontal Gyrus
Right Side
Inferior Parietal Lobule
Left Side
Inferior Frontal Gyrus
Lie
Truth
Anterior
To help identify the information of most interest to you, please let us know who you are.
Individual Customers
Lawyers / Law Firms
Corporate Customers
Government Customers
Prospective Test Centers
Prospective Investors

CEPHOS CORP

When Truth Matters

About Contact Lie Detection Investigations Expert Services Publications

Our Business Is the Truth

We believe truth is among the most valuable of commodities, but getting to the truth can be difficult. Oftentimes determining the truth requires interpreting and assembling distinctly different types of information from vastly different sources. That's why we offer services ranging from traditional private investigation to state-of-the-art forensic DNA services to brain-based lie detection.

Cephos has over 20 years of investigative experience, over 15 years of DNA expertise and is the only company licensed to perform brain-based lie detection. If you are looking for professional, responsible and dedicated personnel to help with your investigation needs we can help.

DNA Expert Services

Cephos provides expert DNA forensic consulting services. All matters from sample collection, extraction, amplification to results reporting are areas our experts help you and your clients.

Private Investigation

Cephos is a full service, licensed private investigation agency providing completely confidential investigations to attorneys, law firms, businesses, corporations, insurance companies, organizations and individuals.

Lie Detection

Cephos truth verification brain imaging service provides independent validation of your truthfulness. If your word or your reputation is in dispute, contact Cephos today for scientifically validated testing.

No Lie MRI & Cephos

- The second lie-detection technology uses fMRI. machines to compare the brain activity of liars and truth tellers.
- It is based on a test called Guilty Knowledge, certain areas of the brain lighted up when people lied.
- Two companies, No Lie MRI and Cephos.
- The 90-percent- to 95-percent-accuracy range -- which should be high enough to satisfy the Supreme Court's standards for the admission of scientific evidence.
- fMRI lie detection technology has been subjected to both *Daubert* and *Frye* challenges and thrown out.
- fMRI lie detection evidence led to more guilty verdicts than lie detection evidence based on polygraph

fMRI of Lying

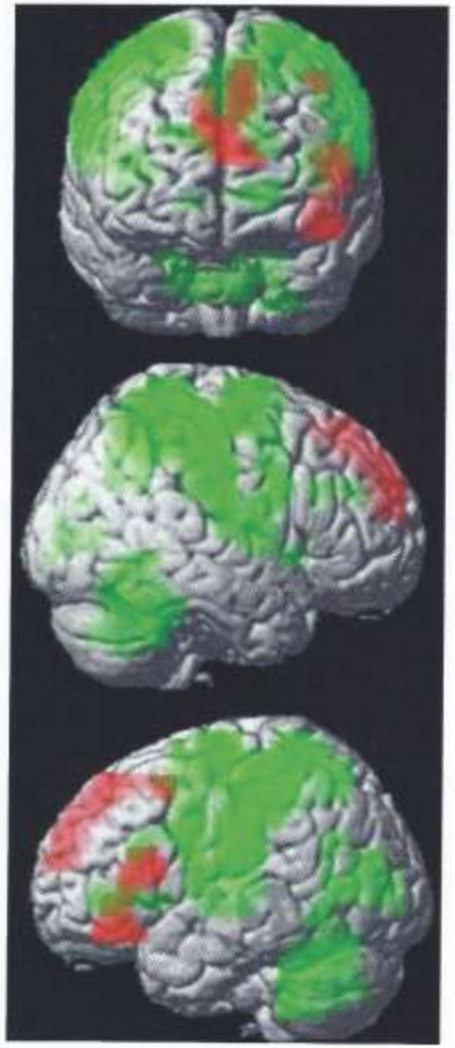


FIGURE 4.40 Are these the truthful and the deceptive areas of the cortex? fMRI differences between brain regions that had greater BOLD activity when people were telling the truth (green) and cortical areas when they were made to tell a lie (red). Is this the truth-telling cortex (green) and the lying cortex (red)? Why or why not? *Source*: Davatzikos *et al*., 2005.

Green: telling the truth

Red: forced to tell a lie

It's harder to lie:
More active Inferior parietal & frontal

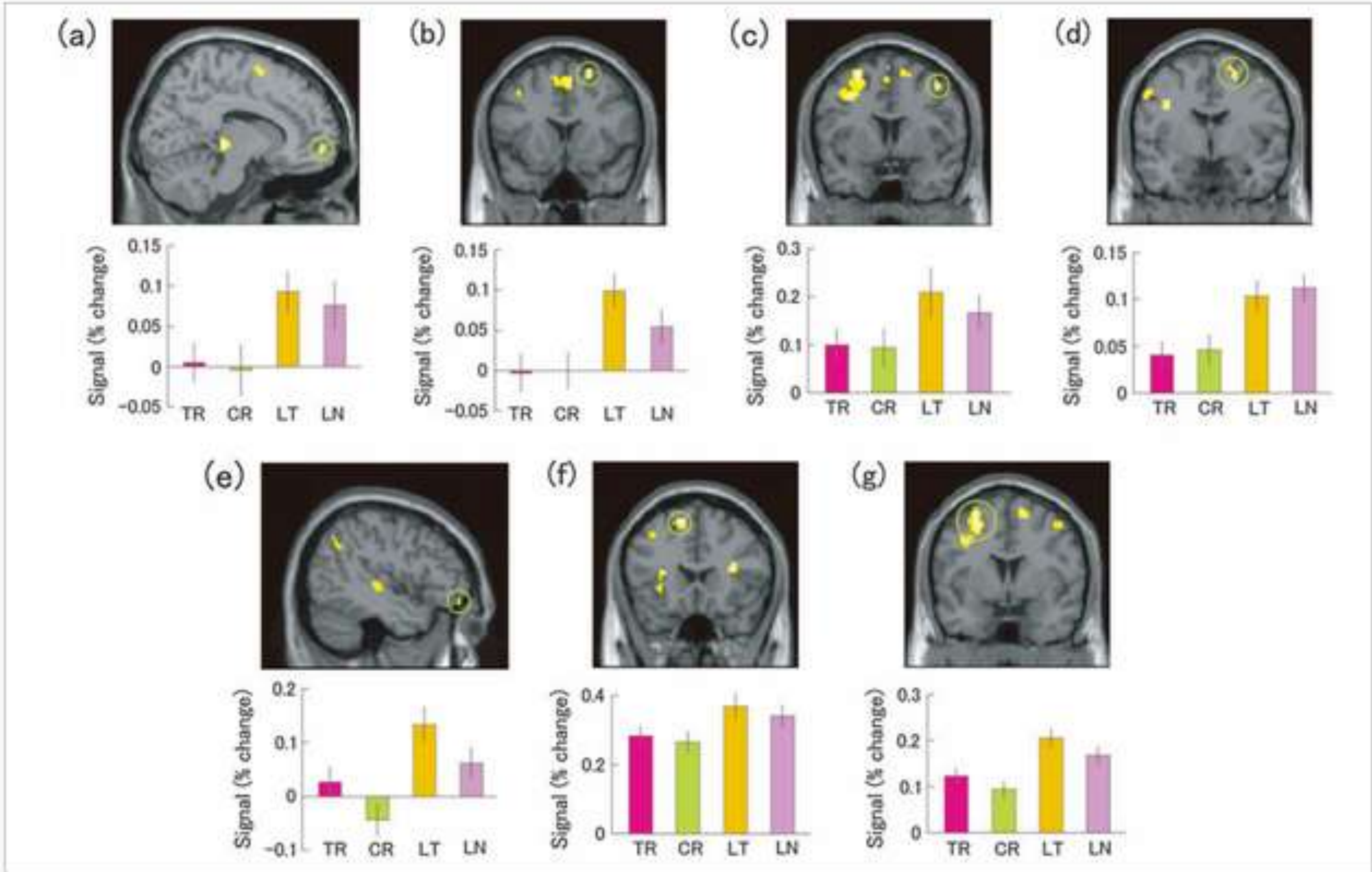
- Lying: PFC and parietal activation reflect GREATER brain activity in the deception condition (lying) relative to brain activity in the normal condition

- Malingered response times were associated with activity in the dorsomedial frontal, temporal and inferior parietal regions

Lying vs telling the truth

- Lying: Dorsolateral prefrontal cortex has been shown to activate when subjects are pretending to know information which they do not know, in contrast to truth telling and false recognition.

- The right anterior hippocampus activates when a subject presents false recognition in contrast to lying or accurately telling a truth.



The diagram above is an overview of the varying patterns of brain activity detected by fMRI. Yellow highlighted regions are where there is the most activity occurring. TR and CR levels represent "telling the truth." LT signals indicate a subject is withholding information. LN signals indicate a subject is making up information.

Pink – Truth

Yellow – withholding info

Purple – making up info

Questions

- 1 – Is this really lie detection?
- 2 – How reliable is it? Labs are not realistic circumstances

Brain Fingerprinting in Court

- On March 5, 2001, Iowa District Court Judge Tim O'Grady ruled that Brain Fingerprinting® testing is admissible in court.
- Dr. Farwell conducted a Brain Fingerprinting test on Terry Harrington, who was serving a life sentence in Iowa for a 1977 murder.
- The test showed that the record stored in Harrington's brain did not match the crime scene and did match the alibi.
- On February 26, 2003, the Iowa Supreme Court reversed Harrington's murder conviction and ordered a new trial.

India 2008

- Uditi and Pravin meet in McDonald Hotel
- Pravin later dies from cyanide.
- There was evidence (cyanide on Uditi's purse), but there was not enough evidence to convict, until she volunteered to take neural lie detection.
- Brain electrical oscillations signature profiling test (BEOS) technique based on Farwell's research
- The test came out positive for lying.
- Uditi was convicted and sentenced to life in prison.
- She was recently given a new trial.
- Is this evidence good enough? Finding guilt *vs*. innocence

The Main Problem

Do circumstances in labs where neural lie detection works resemble circumstances of real trials in relevant ways?

That depends on what exactly the neural method is detecting.

Since this is not clear, we need to guess

Nervousness

1. People get nervous when they lie, so maybe neural methods test when people are nervous, but witnesses get nervous even when they tell the truth in trials.

Inhibition

2. People have a natural impulse to tell the truth, that they must inhibit when they lie, so neural methods might test when people inhibit such impulses. However, lawyers advise witnesses to suppress their impulse to blurt out answers even when they are telling the truth.

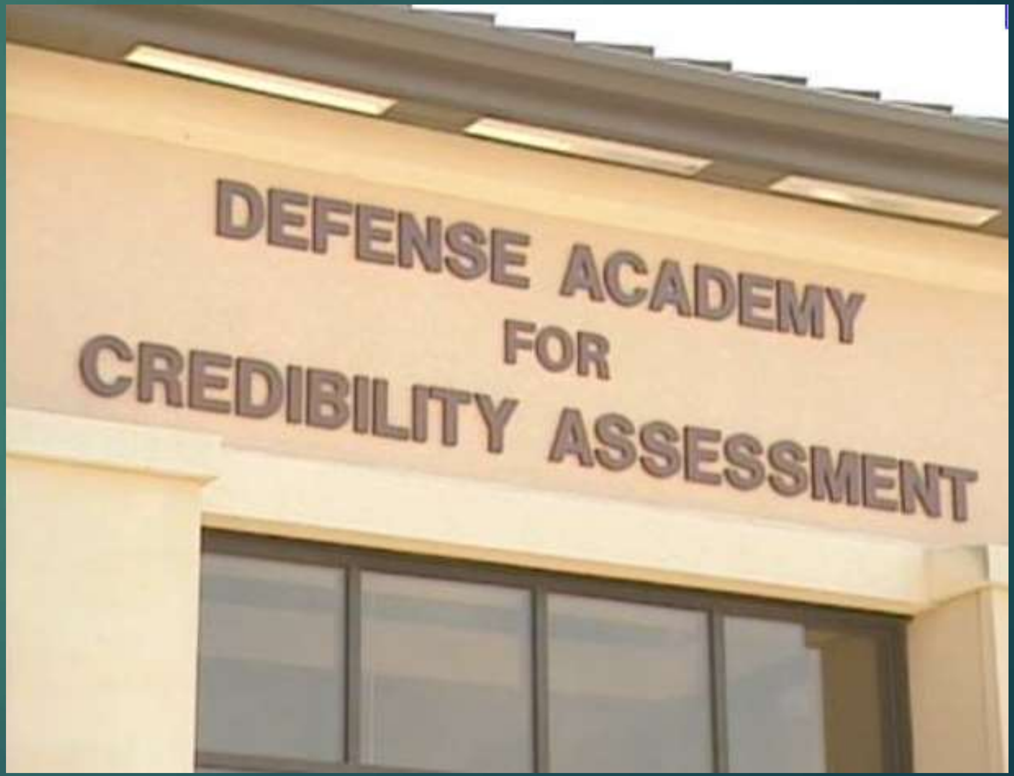
Kinds of Memory

3. People who were at the crime have episodic memories of being there rather than just semantic memories that it happened, so maybe neural methods test for episodic memories, but episodic memories can be triggered by pictures, imagined experiences, similar memories, and so on.

No method of neural lie detection so far is reliable enough for courtroom use.

Defense Department: Homeland Security using Lie Technology

Department *of* Defense
Defense Academy *for*
Credibility Assessment



Pathological Liars: Prefrontal Tissue (WM) of Lies

- Those who lie, cheat and manipulate others
- Temp Agency recruitment; half of liars were malingerers

- Normals: significant increase in WM from 2-10 & increase in ability to lie

- Liars: Relatively widespread increase in white matter particularly orbitofrontal cortex (22–26% increase), inferior frontal cortex (32–36% increase) and middle frontal cortex (28–32% increase) compared with both non-lying antisocials and normals; 36-42% reduction in prefrontal grey/white ratios

- Liars had significantly higher verbal relative to performance IQ scores than both control groups,

- Ability to make fast, on the fly connections

Y. Yang, et al. 2005, 2007

Transcranial magnetic stimulation: Prevent lying

- Transcranial magnetic stimulation has been used to stimulate or inhibit specific regions of the brain. It can temporarily alter how we think and feel.

- Mark George, an adviser to the Cephos company and also director of the Medical University of South Carolina Center for Advanced Imaging Research, has submitted a patent application for a T.M.S. procedure that supposedly suppresses the area of the brain involved in lying and makes a person less capable of not telling the truth.

Self Incrimination and Right to Privacy

- If and when lie-detection fMRI's are admitted in court, they will raise vexing questions of self-incrimination and privacy.

- Unless courts found the tests to be shocking invasions of privacy, witnesses could even be compelled to have their brains scanned.

Memories as our enemy

- fMRI interrogation possibility:

- Did you have an affair?
- Did you kill this person?

- Our memories may become the evidence that embarrasses or incriminates us in the future.

Scanned Memories

- Michael Gazzaniga, a professor of psychology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of "The Ethical Brain," notes that within 10 years, neuroscientists may be able to show that there are neurological differences when people testify about their own previous acts and when they testify to something they saw.

- "If you kill someone, you have a procedural memory of that, whereas if I'm standing and watch you kill somebody, that's an episodic memory that uses a different part of the brain."

Lie Detection

- The biggest lie detection study has looked at only 30 people. And results were averaged.
- As of February 2007, 12 peer-reviewed articles had been published on fMRI-based lie detection.
- You can't really coerce someone into submitting to a brain scan. All they have to do is move their head.
- NI: Moving from the group average to the individual will be very hard; they are based on correlation (not cause); i.e. Mozart vs Stones vs. loudness

Lying Imaging: Poses Many ?s

- Society will first have to decide whether this works and then, if it does work, how we want it used.
- Do we want its use regulated?
- Do we want employers to be able to use it?
- What about schools or parents?
- Do we want the police, FBI, or intelligence community to be able to use it?
- Does it matter if it is voluntary or involuntary?
- Should we allow its involuntary use with a court order—a search warrant for the brain?
- Could it be used in court, and, if so, when and how

Problems with lie detection

- Not reliable:
  - High false positives (claim innocents are lying): 33%
  - Low false negatives (does catch liars)
- Published counter measures for computer techniques; able to defeat the techniques
- Unknown real life application (i.e. lawyer rehearsal of real facts, or reading about crime)
- Real criminals may use countermeasure strategies to avoid detection.
- Psychopaths lie best: VL PF does not activate, nor does Amygdala activate

5th Amendment

- How will the Fifth Amendment's guarantee against self-incrimination apply to evidence culled from a defendant's own brain?

- The Supreme Court will have to decide whether brain images are testimony and, if so, what protections an individual is afforded under the Fifth Amendment.

Scans vs. real life:
Question of ecological validity

- We have no evidence whatsoever that activity in the brain is more predictive of things we care about in the courtroom than the behaviors themselves that correlate with brain function.

- In other words, just because you have a biased reaction to a photograph doesn't mean you'll act on those biases in the workplace.

Pretty Pictures influence us

- Jurors might be unduly influenced by attention-grabbing pictures of brain scans.

- Frank Keil's research: when you have a picture of a mechanism, you have a tendency to overestimate how much you understand the mechanism.

- Functional MRI (fMRI) and expert testimony can persuade juries to be more lenient.

You be the judge

- Jonathan Donahue convicted of beating a restaurant manager senseless with the butt of a gun.
- Mr. Donahue had been identified as a psychopath based on a standard interview — that is, he had a history of aggressive acts without showing empathy.
- Testimony from a neurobiologist and renowned expert on the causes of psychopathy: the defendant had inherited a gene linked to violent, aggressive behavior, that altered the development of brain areas that generate and manage emotion.
- Are these mitigating circumstances?

Behavioral biology sways judicial decisions.

- Neurobiological evidence reduced judges' sentences by an average of about 7 percent for a fictional defendant convicted of battery and identified as a psychopath.
- 181 state judges from 19 states who agreed to read a fictional case file and assign a sentence to an offender
- The judges who read this testimony gave Mr. Donahue sentences that ranged from one to 41 years in prison, a number that varied with state guidelines. But the average was 13 years — a full year less than the average sentence issued by the judges who had not seen the testimony about genetics and the brain.
- Aggravated battery normally carries a sentence of nine years, on average, and 15 years if the defendant is identified as a psychopath

James Tabery, et al., Science, 2012

Judge's Decisions

- Judges make judgments based more on defendant intention in the crime than harm done to victim
- If you disable R prefrontal cortex by TMS, punishment decisions are based on emotions not reason; punish crime less

Minority Report: Precrime

Chief Justice Roberts Nomination

- In the 2005 nomination hearing of John Roberts as Chief Justice of the United States, Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.) posed a rhetorical question about an issue the Supreme Court might face: "Can brain scans be used to determine whether a person is inclined toward criminality or violent behavior?"

- His question illustrates the degree to which neuroscience, especially neuroimaging, has entered into the legal system.

Are You Responsible for What You Might Do?

- Efforts to use science to predict criminal behavior have a disreputable history. In the 19th century, the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso championed a theory of "biological criminality," which held that criminals could be identified by physical characteristics, like large jaws or bushy eyebrows.
- PET scans of convicted murderers were first studied in the late 1980s by Adrian Raine; he found that their prefrontal cortexes, areas associated with inhibition, had reduced glucose.
- Subjects who received a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder, which correlates with violent behavior, had 11 percent less gray matter in their prefrontal cortexes.

Future prediction

- Neuroscience, it seems, points two ways:
  - it can absolve individuals of responsibility for acts they've committed,
  - it can also place individuals in jeopardy for acts they haven't committed -- but might someday.

Throw away the key?

- It's not necessarily the case that if predictions work, you would say take that guy off the street and throw away the key

- Or you could require counseling, surveillance, G.P.S. transmitters or warning the neighbors. None of these are necessarily benign, but they beat the heck out of preventative detention.

War on Terror Use

- We can tell whether someone has a strong emotional reaction to seeing things, and you can certainly imagine an anti-terrorist friend-versus-foe scanner.

- If you put everyone who reacts badly to an American flag in a concentration camp or Guantánamo, that would be bad.

- But is it appropriate to mark someone down for further surveillance?

Precrime: Predispositions

- The idea of holding people accountable for their predispositions rather than their actions poses a challenge to one of the central principles of Anglo-American jurisprudence: namely, that people are responsible for what they do, not what they think.

- Russia just passed such a law.

Future of Criminal Control?

Let There Be Light for New and Better Mind Control (in Mice)

- Remember the Optogenetics research on mice?
- There is an LED system that turns on and off optogenetically modified neurons with pulses of light. Inserted into deep regions of the mouse brain to precisely illuminate specific groups of cells.
- Scientists clone genes for light-sensitive channels into specific groups of neurons and then polarize or depolarize those cells with the flick of a switch
- Researchers successfully trained the animals to prefer maze solution without offering them a food treat and also manipulated anxiety behavior
- Potential uses: brain study, mind control, addiction

‘Brain reading’: Ethics of neuroimaging

- Growing public perception of neuroimaging as “hard” science, complementary to the “soft” science of psychological evaluation
- However this new technology should be applied cautiously
- Neuroimaging is not evidence for causation.

News Feature, Nature 2001 vol 410: 296-298

Brain based TXs

- Brain-based treatments for criminal behavior:

- Seven states in the United States currently require use of a technology that directly alters the brain as part of sentencing for some crimes: "chemical castration," involves the administration to male convicts of a drug called Depo-Provera (black box warning for women for bone density)

- Remember Alan Turing & estrogen Tx for his homosexuality?

Pedophilic Sentencing

- Important changes are happening in the sentencing of sex offenders. In the past, researchers have asked psychiatrists and parole-board members how likely specific sex offenders were to relapse when let out of prison. Both groups had experience with sex offenders, so predicting who was going straight and who was coming back seemed simple.
- But surprisingly, the expert guesses showed almost no correlation with the actual outcomes. The psychiatrists and parole-board members had only slightly better predictive accuracy than coin-flippers.
- So researchers tried a more actuarial approach. They set about recording dozens of characteristics of some 23,000 released sex offenders: whether the offender had unstable employment, had been sexually abused as a child, was addicted to drugs, showed remorse, had deviant sexual interests, and so on

Sentencing

- Researchers then tracked the offenders for an average of five years after release to see who wound up back in prison. At the end of the study, they computed which factors best explained the reoffense rates, and from these and later data they were able to build actuarial tables to be used in sentencing.

- Which factors mattered? Not: low remorse, denial of the crime, and sexual abuse as a child. Those factors offer no predictive power.
- How about antisocial personality disorder and failure to complete treatment? These offer somewhat more predictive power.
- But among the strongest predictors of recidivism are prior sexual offenses and sexual interest in children. these actuarial tests are now used in presentencing to modulate the length of prison terms.

Our Prisons

- Something is terribly wrong with our judicial system and prison systems:
  - We have the highest prison population in the entire world.
  - 2.2 million people are currently in U.S. jails or prisons.
  - More African American prisoners than African Slaves in 1850 census
  - Over 2.7 million children in the U.S. have a parent behind bars.
  - There are more jails than colleges in the U.S.
  - Mandatory minimum sentencing laws for drugs has been a major driver of this phenomenon, esp. in state prison systems
  - There is a mandatory minimum sentence of five years for a first-time, non-violent drug offense.
  - Prisons have become our de facto mental-health-care institutions

Nootropics: Brain Enhancement

- Coffee
- Adderal, Ritalin
- Performance enhancing drugs
- Psychotrophics

Brain-machine interfaces

- Real:
- Cochlear implant
- Computer controlled movement

- Possible:
- Vision-producing visor used by the Startrek character Geordi La Forge.
- In its scary form, it is the thorough integration used by the Startrek alien species, the Borg.

Exo-skeletons in the military: who is in control

Ability to enhance normal individuals with military grade exo-skeletons – slippery slope of human enhancement.
Implant brain machine interfaces in parietal lobe, resulting in preconscious control over the exo-skeleton.
In most courts, cannot have a criminal act without a guilty mind resulting in a guilty action.

BMIs enhanced with AI could result in involuntary actions that confound criminal culpability and raise questions about free will.

Weaponizing Neuroscience

- There is no question that in the future, neuroscience will be able to be weaponized.

- DARPA, or Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, has already begun to blur the line between human and machine.

- One of their projects allows Department of Defense analysts to process images with blindingly fast speeds. Other projects in nano-neuroscience, pharmaceuticals, neuro-imaging, and cyber-neurosystems could be used for "offensive capabilities".
- Meeting about "lethal autonomous weapons systems," (killer robots)

- The future of neuroscience in military must be progress with careful oversight.

Brain Search Warrants

- Can the police get a search warrant for someone's brain?
- Should the Fourth Amendment protect our minds in the same way that it protects our houses?
- Can courts order tests of suspects' memories to determine whether they are gang members or police informers, or would this violate the Fifth Amendment's ban on compulsory self-incrimination?
- Would punishing people for their thoughts rather than for their actions violate the Eighth Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment?

The Myth of Neuroscience as the Double-Edged Sword

- An Empirical Study of Neuroscience Evidence in Criminal Cases – Deborah W. Denno
- Neuroscience Study: reviewed 800 criminal cases addressing neuroscience evidence over the past two decades (1992-2012); majority murder cases
- Neuroscience is often viewed as a "double-edged sword," capable both of lessening and enhancing a defendant's blameworthiness;
- That view fuels myths that neuroscience will either justify the freeing of violent criminals or bolster unjust predictions regarding defendants' future dangerousness
- Investigated how courts assess the mitigating and aggravating strength of such evidence.
- Analysis revealed that neuroscience evidence is usually offered to mitigate punishments in the way that traditional criminal law has always allowed, especially in the penalty phase of death penalty trials.
- This finding controverts the popular image of neuroscience evidence as a double-edged sword — one that will either get defendants off the hook altogether or unfairly brand them as posing a future danger to society.

The Myth of the Double-Edged Sword 2

- Neuroscience evidence is typically introduced to provide fact-finders with more complete, reliable, and precise information when determining a defendant’s fate.

- Study shows that courts accept neuroscience evidence for this purpose, and in fact expect attorneys to raise this evidence when possible on behalf of their clients.

- This expectation is so entrenched that courts are willing to grant defendants their “ineffective assistance of counsel” claims when attorneys fail to pursue this mitigating evidence.

- It also reveals that the potential future danger posed by defendants is rarely a facet of cases involving neuroscience evidence

Denno review

- Neuroscience evidence is typically used in cases where defendants face the death penalty, a life sentence, or a substantial prison sentence
- Mitigating evidence: 50 % of cases present expert testimony about evidence of brain damage (childhood trauma, MVA, alcoholism)
- Confirmed dxs: (top 7 of 10 dxs) 87% polysubtance abuse, 47% TPF lobe dysfunction, 43% depression, 42% organic brain damage, 30% MR, 18% BPD, 14% psychosis/psychopathy

NS and Mitigation evidence

- Mitigation inquiry requires attorneys to investigate defendant's cognitive and intellectual deficiencies because such evidence has a particularly pronounced impact on mitigation, especially in death penalty cases

- U.S. Supreme Court's emphasis on the mitigating value of neuroscience evidence in criminal cases

- Nearly all of the successful appeals claims were based on an attorney's failure to appropriately investigate, gather, or understand neuroscience evidence; Of these 74 cases, each of the 66 death penalty cases resulted in the petitioner's death sentence being annulled. 50% were cases where lawyer knew of mitigating NS evidence & did not use it

- Attorneys are required to investigate and present mitigating circumstances, esp. in death penalty cases; NS evidence must be investigated.

NS and future dangerousness

- The majority of death penalty states consider a defendant's potential for future dangerousness to be an aggravating factor worthy of consideration during the penalty phase of a capital trial.

- A major concern is that prosecutors will seek the death penalty based on neuroscience evidence indicating that a defendant is likely to commit future crimes

- Neuroscience Study found minimal support for this concern; only 14% (80) cases feature any discussion of future dangerousness related to the defendant

Guilt is ultimately a moral & legal problem, not a neuroscience one

- Neuroscience itself can never identify the mysterious point at which people should be excused from responsibility for their actions because they are not able, in some sense, to control themselves.

- That question is "moral and ultimately legal," and it must be answered not in laboratories but in courtrooms and legislatures

Conclusions

- We still need significantly better understanding of behavioral consequences of brain anomalies.
- We do know some of the neurology of violence and murder; the amygdala and the frontal lobe are clearly implicated.
- But scans cannot perfectly predict behavior. Yet.
- Anyone who, today, intuits behavior from a scan is speculating.
- But it is clear that we are our brains.

The Future

- We can build a legal system more deeply informed by science, in which we will continue to take criminals off the streets, but we will customize sentencing, leverage new opportunities for rehabilitation, and structure better incentives for good behavior.
- Discoveries in neuroscience suggest a new way forward for law and order—one that will lead to a more cost-effective, humane, and flexible system than the one we have today.
- Biological explanation will not exculpate criminals; we will still remove from the streets lawbreakers who prove overaggressive, underempathetic, and poor at controlling their impulses
- Deeper biological insight into behavior will foster a better understanding of recidivism—and this offers a basis for empirically based sentencing and release.

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- All of my lectures in PDF files
- In “Ollie Brain Class” section of my website: www.charlesjvellaphd.com
- Or in the OLLIE Google Drive:
-
- https://drive.google.com/folderview?id=0B-99S2HCCnmMVDZkdDJxT3htdkk&usp=sharing
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Future Courses

- <u>Human Evolution</u>:
  - History of paleontological discovery: a biographical review
  - Hominid evolution
  - Paleogenetics
  - Evolution of the human brain
  - *Homo sapiens and Homo neandertalensis*
  - *Homo floresiensis & Homo naledi*

Possible Courses

- Human neuropathology
  - Neurocognitive disorders
  - Neurobiology of Violence
  - Traumatic Brain Injury
  - Alcoholism and Addiction
  - Schizophrenia and Bipolar Disorder
  - Depression

Possible Courses

- Psychology
  - DSM-5: Diagnosis in psychiatry
  - Placebo effect
  - Neuropsychology
  - Myths in psychology
  - Visual illusions
  - Psychology in the Movies