

Lecture - Eye Witness Testimony

Memory, eyewitnesses, line-ups and interviewing

Sour

Sugar

Toffee

Nice

Pop

Taste

Candy

Bitter

Cake

Honey

Chocolate

Tooth

Pie

Good

Tart



- Mad

Fight

Fury

Wrath

Rage

Calm

Fear

Hatred

Emotion

Happy

Temper

Enrage

Hate

Mean

Annoy

Some interesting facts:

- Two thirds of wrongful conviction comes from EWT in the US. EWT can be both accurate and inaccurate: good for gender and eye shape, appalling for beards and moustaches!
- Post incident events greatly effect EWT.
- EWT confidence is not related to accuracy!
- Line ups and identification processes need careful planning if they are to be of use...
- *BUT- Police have a great deal of faith in EWT...*

Some recent findings...

- According to Wise and Safer (2010), in a study comparing undergraduates, law students and judges, the latter two groups were no more knowledgeable of the factors influencing EWT accuracy than the undergraduate group.
- Additionally, Wise, Safer & Maro (2011) found a similar low level of knowledge amongst law enforcement officers.
- Moreover, lawyers are very much aware that visual knowledge is the most persuasive element of EWT and often determines the outcome of a case regardless of how logical or `tight` the case may be (Brewer et al., 2012).

The role of memory in questioning and the courtroom

- The case of wrongful conviction
- Part one
- Part two



Memory and EWT:

- Juries tend to pay extra attention to eyewitness testimony and generally see it as very trustworthy and convincing.
- However, research from cognitive psychology tells us that generally people's memories are fallible.
- Research can be broadly split into two categories:
 - **Reconstructive Errors & Leading Questions**
 - **Weapon Focus and Violence Distraction**
- Other researchers make a distinction between `Estimator Variables` and `System Variables`: perception and memory, and information gatherers respectively.

Estimator and System Variables (Wells, 1993)

- Estimator variables are those beyond the control of the CJS, and usually occur before investigations take place. These include stress, anxiety, exposure, memory, perception and others.
- System variables are usually under the control of the CJS and are essentially preventable. They include interviewing, offender identification amongst others.

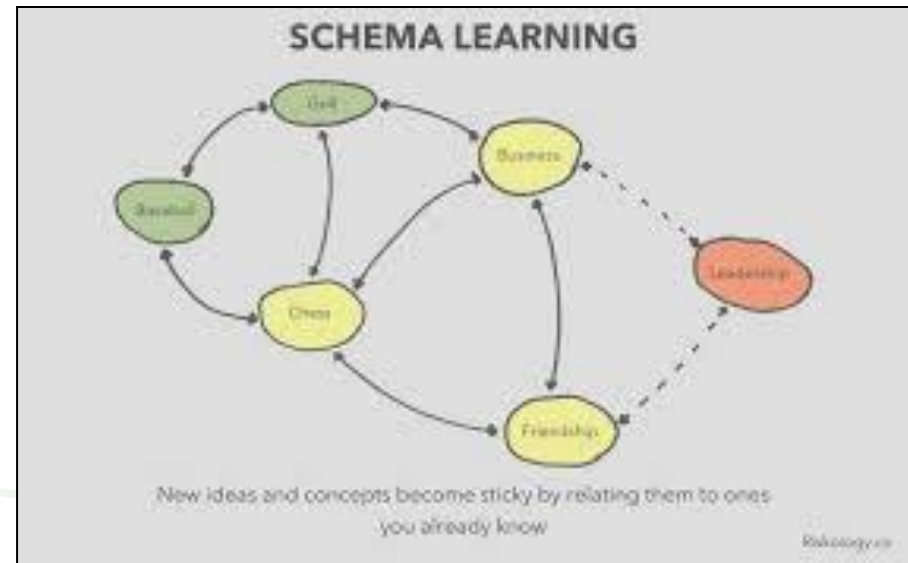
An example of Estimator Variables: Situational factors.

- The research is limited in terms of real-life scenarios, but relies heavily on psychological research relating to perception and memory.
- One example is time factors:
 - 1. Exposure duration- longer exposure = accurate recall (Palmer et al., 2013).
 - 2. Frequency of exposure- limited research because it is common-sensical (Loftus, 1979).
 - 3. Pace of events- fast moving information is harder to process, but virtually no research for EWT.
 - 4. Retention interval- the longer the time the less accuracy (Deffenbacher et al., 2010).
- WHY?

- The Devlin Report (1976) investigated the accuracy and importance of EWT following serious miscarriages of justice.
- The report examined over 2000 identity parades in England and Wales in 1973 and followed them through to their outcomes in court. 45% (900) resulted in a suspect being identified and out of these 82% were convicted.
- In over 300 cases the EWT was the ONLY evidence provided and 74% of these were convicted!
- *Although juries love EWT, it may not be as accurate as we like to think.*

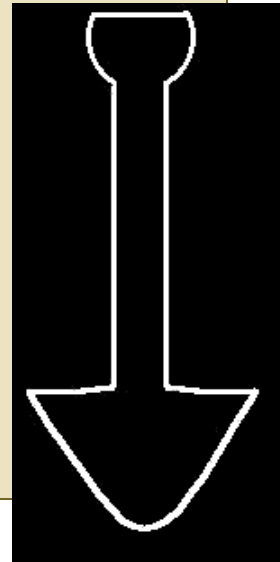
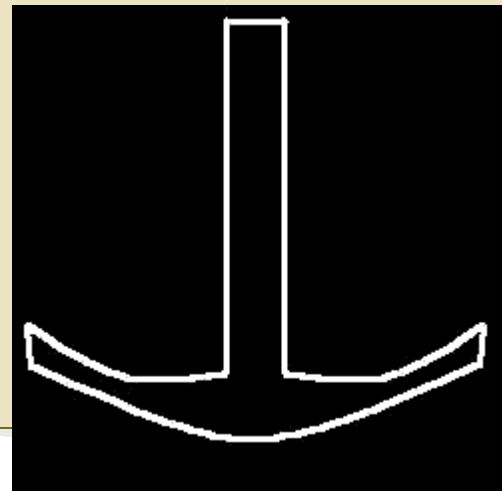
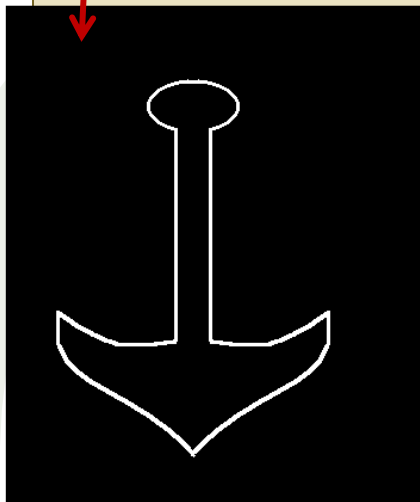
- We know that we do not store information exactly as it is presented. Rather, we extract the gist, or underlying meaning.
- We store information in the way that makes the most sense. We make sense of information by trying to fit it into our schemas, which allow us to make sense of what we encounter in order to predict events and our subsequent response.

Memory can be distorted at each of the three stages: acquisition, retention and retrieval (Loftus, 2005).



- Schema driven processing has an important consequences for the way we store information.
- By forcing new situations to fit our schemas, we may distort them.
- The information encoded in memory will not correspond exactly to what we actually encounter.
- When we later recall the information, these distortions will have been incorporated into our recall that hence may not be entirely accurate.
- *E.G. Bartlett (1930`s) Reconstructive memory experiments*

- Participants were shown unfamiliar line drawings like the one here and instructed to memorise them.
- Bartlett asked his participants to talk aloud whilst trying to memorise the figures. He found that different participants would make sense of the figures in different ways.
- When the participants were later asked to draw the figures from recall, Bartlett found that the labels (schemas) they had applied during initial encoding influenced their recall:



The War of the Ghosts.

- The story became significantly shorter.
- Much of the detail was lost.
- Some details were changed e.g. 'seal hunting' became 'fishing'.
- The structure altered to become more 'Westernised'.



Carmichael et al. (1932)

This research focused on priming, perceptual set, schema, reconstructive memory, words and expectancies.

Findings:

List 1: 73% resembled the spoken word.

List 2: 74% resembled the spoken word.

Control: 45% resembled a word from list 1 or 2.

Conclusion: memory for pictures is reconstructed depending on the verbal context in which the pictures are seen.

REPRODUCED FIGURE	WORD LIST 1.	STIMULUS FIGURE	WORD LIST 2.	REPRODUCED FIGURE
	Curtains in a window		Diamond in a Rectangle	
	Bottle		Stirrup	
	Crescent Moon		Letter C	
	Bee Hive		Hat	
	Eye Glasses		Dumbbells	
7	Seven	7	Four	4
	Ship's Wheel		Sun	
	Hour Glass		Table	
	Kidney Bean		Canoe	
	Pine Tree		Trowel	
	Gun		Broom	
2	Two	2	Eight	8

 **uniview**
WORLDWIDE

Loftus and her work on EWT.

- Participants required to act as jurors and decide the guilt or innocence of role playing thieves.
- When evidence was merely circumstantial such as the suspect being seen entering the building where the crime took place - only 18% were judged as guilty.
- However, when the testimony of an eyewitness was added, this figure rose to 72%
- Even when the witness admitted that their eyesight was poor and that they were not wearing glasses at the time, 68% of jurors were still prepared to convict on their testimony alone!

- In a classic American study (Buckhout, 1980), a 13 second clip of a mugging was shown on TV. An identity parade of six suspects was later shown and viewers asked to phone in and identify the culprit.
- Given that there were only six suspects, chance alone would suggest that 17% would get it right.
- In fact only 14% identified the person correctly, thus suggesting that EWT is not particularly accurate!





- Cohen (1981) showed how an individual's schema for particular occupations can affect recall.
- He showed participants a video tape and described the woman as either a waitress or a librarian.
- Participants were then asked questions about the woman such as "What was she doing?"
- Participants were more likely to recall those details which fitted with the stereotype for the job they had been told about.

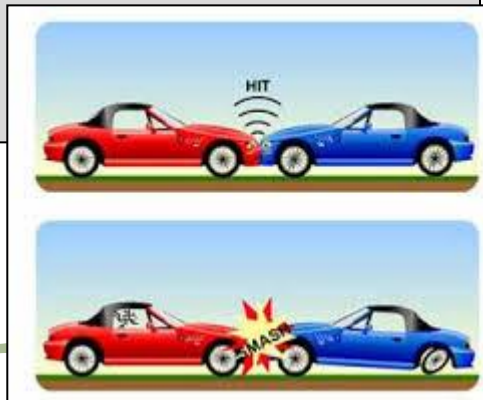
Loftus & Palmer (1974)

No need to remind you of this one!

Participants shown a series of slides of car crashes. They were then asked 'How fast the cars going when they bumped into each other?' The verb was substituted for words such as 'smashed' or 'hit.' An average speed for each verb was calculated.

Findings: the estimated speed varied according to the verb. 'Smashed' produced an average estimate of 41mph whereas 'hit' reduced the estimates to 34mph.

A week later participants were asked if there was broken glass. This time participants who had received the verb 'smashed' were more likely to recall seeing glass.



- Loftus, Miller & Burns (1978) found that they were able to get some participants to recall having seen a sign by the road, even though there was no sign.
- This study also showed that most participants were unaware that they had been misled, which helps to reduce the possibility that results like these are simply the result of demand characteristics.



However, not all memories seem to be able to be influenced by leading questions.

Loftus (1979) showed participants a series of pictures of a man stealing a red wallet from a woman's bag. 98% of participants were able to identify the colour correctly.

Later, Loftus used leading questions to try and alter the participants recall. However, they persisted in describing the purse as red.

This contradicts her other research, as it suggests that in some circumstances, leading questions have a limited effect on memory.

However, the reason this finding is contradictory could be because of the actual task....

The use of leading questions

- Leading questions is referred to as a `System Variable` and more recent research has indicated that it may be better referred to as a misinformation effect (Loftus, 2005).
- E.g. `What colour was the tattoo...`
- Moreover, recent findings suggest that those with a higher degree of intelligence are less prone to the misinformation effect (Zhu, et al., 2010).

- Christianson & Hubinette (1993) found that **fear/anxiety** can have an effect.
- They asked people involved in real bank robberies (victims and onlookers), about the incident.
- The recall of the victims was more accurate than that of the onlookers, suggesting the stress of the situation had aided recall. The better recall was still present 15 months later.

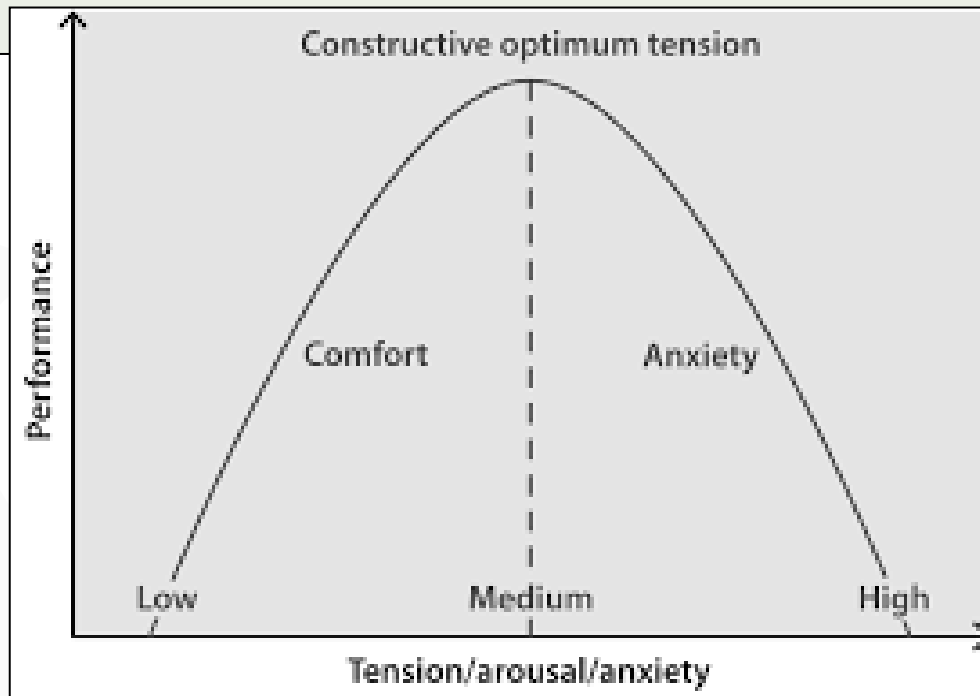


Anxiety

- Deffenbacher et al. (2004) carried out two meta-analyses comparing the effects of anxiety on (a) facial recognition and (b) details at the scene of the crime.
- In both cases high levels of anxiety were shown to significantly reduce accuracy of recall.
- However, some research suggests that anxiety can have beneficial effects (like Christianson & Hubinette, 1993).
- These seemingly contradictory findings could be explained by the Yerkes-Dodson Law:
- This suggests that moderate levels of anxiety can be beneficial to recall, however as anxiety increases it begins to have an adverse effect.

The inverted U relationship or Yerkes-Dodson law

- This states that stress or anxiety increases performance up to an optimal point. After that, further increases in anxiety lead to a reduction in performance. This also seems to apply to the relationship between anxiety and recall.



Individual differences

- Bothwell et al. (1987) established participants level of neuroticism.
 - They then witnessed a 'crime' and had to identify the culprit from an ID parade.
 - When exposed to low levels of stress the participants high in N tended to out-perform those low in N.
 - However, when exposed to high levels of stress, the outcome was completely reversed with the participants scoring high on neuroticism now performing significantly worse.
-
- High stress + High neuroticism = Low recall.
 - Implications...



Weapon focus

- When faced with a knife or gun you're most likely be focusing you're attention on the weapon rather than the attacker.
- Loftus et al. (1987) asked participants to listen to a series of arguments between two people, one of which sounding more violent than the other.
- In the quieter argument a man with greasy hands emerges holding a pen.
- Following the noisy incident a man emerges with a blood drenched knife.
- Participants could accurately recall the identity of the 'pen-fiend' on 49% of occasions but the knifeman on only 33%.
- In a subsequent study, Loftus recorded pp's eye movements and found the focus of attention was directed towards the knife, diverting attention from the identity of the perpetrator.

Maass and Kohnen (1989) carried out a field experiment in which participants were approached by a woman holding either a pen or a syringe. Participants in the 'pen' condition provided more accurate descriptions of the woman.



Clifford and Scott (1978) found that witnesses to violent incidents generally recall less than witnesses to non-violent incidents, regardless of whether a weapon was used or not.



- Clifford and Hollin (1981) examined the relationship between the level of violence and recall. They found that the higher the level of violence depicted, the poorer participants' recall.
- There are two possible reasons why:
- Violent incidents, like weapons, draw the focus of the witnesses' attention, leading to little or no processing of other information.
- Violent incidents increase anxiety and autonomic arousal, which has a detrimental effect on memory generally.

- However, some research has shown that if circumstances are right, witness recall can be extremely accurate.
- Yuille & Cutshall (1986) examined the recall of witnesses to a shooting where a man attempted to rob a gun shop during which he shot the shop owner. The owner returned fire, killing the would-be robber.
- The incident occurred in daylight and in front of many witnesses. Some months later, Yuille and Cutshall tracked down the witnesses and interviewed them and found:
 - The witnesses were able to recall the incident in a great deal of detail.
 - There was a very high level of agreement between the accounts given by the different witnesses.
 - The witnesses accounts did not alter in response to leading questions.
 - But, consider the circumstances...

- However, MacLeod et al. (1986) investigated real life eyewitness reports of 379 physical assaults and compared them to crimes without physical injuries.
- They found that there was no overall difference in accuracy between the two types of crime, suggesting that emotion and anxiety do not always make a difference, contrary to Yuille & Cutshall (1986).



Finally, for weapon focus:

- The effects of weapon focus can be reduced with a longer exposure duration (Fawcett, Russell, Peace & Christie, 2013).
- And Pickel (2009) found that guns have more memorable effects when held by females!



Flashbulb memories

- One possible theory to explain how emotion may improve memory is flashbulb memories.
- Brown and Kulik (1977) first coined this term to describe vivid, long-lasting memories which occur at times of heightened emotion.
- They observed that people were able to describe exactly what they were doing when they heard of JFK's assassination.
- Famous examples of common flashbulb memories include 9/11 and Princess Diana's death. Flashbulb memories are different from normal memories as they appear to be long lasting, highly detailed, and supposedly immune to decay.



- Research suggests that flashbulb memories do exist, and that they may be a special type of memory resistant to change.
- Odiniot et al. (2009) interviewed 14 witnesses to an armed robbery and checked their recall against security footage.
- 84% of the information recalled was correct, and witnesses who reported a higher level of emotional impact had the most accurate recall.



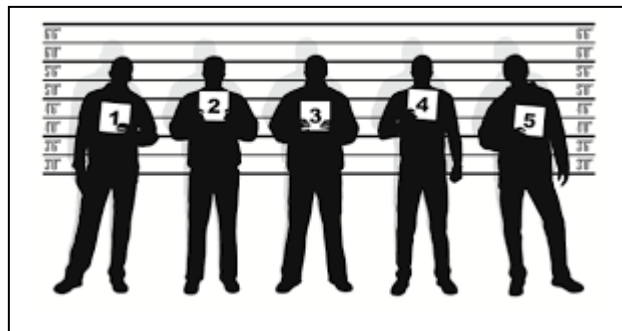
Flashbulb memory, emotion and witness confidence.

- Research suggests that the confidence is not a truthful representation of accuracy.
- Talarico and Rubin (2003) asked 54 students to recall their memories of the 9/11 attacks on September 12th 2001.
- They also asked about another recent event. They were tested again 1, 6, or 32 weeks later.
- Consistency for flashbulb and everyday memories did not differ; in both cases there were declines in memory over time. However, the participants rated their recall of 9/11 as being much more vivid, and had much greater confidence in their accuracy.

- This is important, as eyewitnesses may be asked to give evidence months or even years after an event and suggests that highly emotional memories may feel more accurate than they actually are.
- This may lead eyewitnesses to overestimate their accuracy, and be over confident. If asked to give evidence, this confidence may be a deciding factor for juries...
- Nolan and Markham (1998) found that confident witnesses were more likely to be seen as credible compared with anxious or unsure witnesses, even though actual accuracy may not differ.

Witness confidence

- Much evidence questions the association between confidence and accuracy:
- Cutler & Penrod (1989) state that the actual figure is 0.2 or even less.
- Can we tell when EWT is accurate?
- The ten second rule (Dunning & Perretta, 2002). Comes from evidence that witnesses that make their decisions quickly from a line up are most accurate.

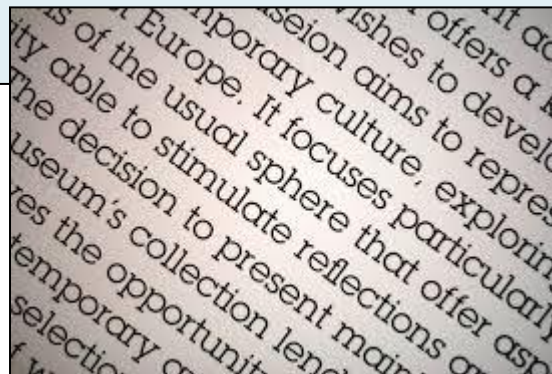


More on emotions... Tversky & Marsh (1999)

- Pp's given `room mate` stories where they were categorised as either neutral, annoying or cool.
- Later they were asked to write either a neutral account, a letter of recommendation or a letter asking for the person's removal.
- When later asked to recount the original story, participants who had written biased letters recalled more of the `annoying` or `cool` incidents, and their elaborations were consistent with their bias.
- Neutral participants made fewer elaborations, and also fewer errors in recall.

I found, the fancy little dolls are not making enough progress and again your report answers them for you there state: "The copy books are neat." The exercise books show good work and the children show a fair knowledge of the subjects in the several classes." Now of course these petitioners are not aware of the moral support I have and as they wish better that I had had the children here for family reasons (his own and his wife's Parents reside here) they incidentally they suddenly

- In another part of the study, pp`s were asked to play prosecutors presenting a summation to the jury.
- Pp`s first read a murder story, where two men were suspects. They were then asked to prepare either a neutral account of one suspect, or to prepare a summation to the jury.
- Later, participants were asked to recall the original story.
- Participants who wrote summations recalled more incriminating details and wrongly attributed details among suspects more often than participants who originally wrote a neutral recounting.



Conclusions for emotion...

- Houston et al. (2013) reported that highly emotional individuals will provide a more detailed description of events but are less accurate on what the perpetrators did.
- They are less accurate in picking out suspects from a line up too.
- This suggests that emotion impairs memory for the incident and also for recognition of the perpetrator.
- There are also other factors to consider such as ORB (own race bias) and face recognition which are beyond the scope of this lecture.

EWT and age

- The relationship between age and recall of events is more complex than may be expected.
- The older we get the more fragile our cognitive function, therefore older individuals tend to make less reliable eye witnesses in general.
- Memon et al. (2003) staged a study with two age groups (6-33) and (60 to 82). When questioned 35 minutes after an event, age had little effect on accuracy, however, a week later accuracy of the older age group had declined significantly.



- Yarmey (1993) found little difference in accuracy of age-related recall but a difference in confidence.
- A young woman stopped people in the street and chatted for 15 secs. She did this with 651 pp's of varying age.
- Two mins later the pp's were stopped again and asked to recall the woman's physical characteristics.
- All age groups performed similarly but younger age groups were significantly more confident in their recall.



Young people and EWT



- Poole and Lindsay (2001) showed children of varying ages (3 - 8) a science demonstration, after which they listened to a story with some of the science material but also some new information.
- Later when questioned about the science demonstration the children also threw in parts of the story.
- In a follow up they were asked to consider where they had got the information from (the demonstration or the story).
- The older children could do this successfully but the younger age group were less able to distinguish the information source .
- Poole and Lindsay concluded that young children are poor at 'source recognition' and are unlikely to make good eye witnesses.

Line-ups



- Pozzulo and Lindsay (1998) conducted a meta analysis of identification parade studies, comparing the results of different age groups. Three main findings:
 1. Children below the age of five were least likely to make correct identifications when the culprit was present in the line-up
 2. Children over five were just as likely as adults to identify the culprit when they were present.
 3. Children up to the age of thirteen were more likely than adults to make an identification when the culprit was NOT present in the line-up.

- Flin et al. (1992) staged an incident and questioned children and adults about it a day later and five months later.
- Both groups performed equally well the following day but after five months the children's group had forgotten significantly more, suggesting the EWT of children becomes less reliable over time.
- This has practical implications for children being questioned as soon as possible after an event.
- Along similar lines Gordon et al. (2001) believed that children can make good witnesses but that they're particularly prone to suggestion. Que leading questions again...

- Brewer et al. (2005) conducted a meta analysis on performance in identification parades, focusing on witnesses between 60 and 80 years of age. The findings were similar to those on young children.
- 1. They were more likely to identify a suspect even when they were not present in the line up.
- 2. They were more prone to leading or misleading information.
- Similarly Dodson and Krueger (2006) showed a video to participants and later asked questions, some of which referred to events not in the video.
- Older people were far more likely to be influenced by misleading information.
- Again, as with children, despite their errors, the old people were more confident than younger adults in the accuracy of their testimony.

False memories

- Hotly debated by Loftus, she argues that many 'recovered' memories are actually false, implanted either knowingly or unknowingly.
- Loftus & Pickrell (1994) recruited 24 pp's who were presented with 4 stories from when they were between 4 and 6 years old. 3 were true, and 1 false.
- Each pp was first sent a written description of the four events their relatives had outlined.
- They were asked to write down which events they remembered with the relevant details and then pp's were interviewed twice.
- It was then revealed that one of the memories was false and pp's had to identify which one it was.
- Of the 24 participants, 5 falsely recalled the made up 'lost in the mall' event as a real memory.

- Piaget had a memory for being kidnapped at age 2 which he maintained until he learned that it was false aged 15.
- Piaget's nanny had concocted the story of the kidnapping in order to get a reward. What was striking about Piaget's memory is the vividness of it. The memory contained vivid visual imagery.



- Piaget himself accounted for this as a reconstruction and added, "Many real memories are doubtless of the same order."

- Piaget wrote:
- "I can still see, most clearly, the following scene, in which I believed until I was about fifteen. I was sitting in my pram, which my nurse was pushing in the Champs Elysees, when a man tried to kidnap me. I was held in by the strap fastened round me while my nurse bravely tried to stand between me and the thief. She received various scratches and I can still see vaguely those on her face. Then a crowd gathered, a policeman with a cloak and a white baton came up, and the man took to his heels. I can still see the whole scene, and can even place it near the tube station. [p. 188]"

- Pickrell and Loftus lined up a group of 120 participants who had visited either Disneyland or Disney World. The participants were divided into four groups, and asked to read a printed ad for Disneyland.



- The first group read an ad about the theme park that made no mention of cartoon characters.
- The second group read the same ad, but a 4-foot-tall cardboard cutout of Bugs Bunny was placed in the room.
- The third group, which the researchers refer to as the "Bugs Group," read a fake Disneyland `ad` featuring Bugs Bunny.
- The fourth group got a double whammy: both the Bugs `ad` and the cardboard cutout.

- After reading the ad, which featured a picture of Bugs Bunny just outside the Magic Kingdom, the participants were asked whether they had met Bugs while on their visit to the theme park, and whether they had shaken his hand.
- About one-third of the participants who had read the `phony ad` featuring Bugs said they either remembered, or at least knew, they had met Bugs and shaken his hand.
- But... Bugs Bunny wouldn't be caught dead at Disneyland. He belongs to Warner Brothers!

Line-ups, mug-shots and Face recognition

- Memon et al. (2002) reported that previous exposure of **any kind** increases the likelihood of identity in a line up. Therefore, does creating composite faces reduce accuracy?
- Wells argues that it does and recommends that multiple witnesses should be used...
- Facial composites have been used for a long time, from original sketches to computer models such as E-fit and PRO- fit.
- In a plethora of studies with complicated designs, on average these studies found 20% recognition success on E-fit compared to 10% recognition from artist sketches.

- But, Frowd et al. (2005) replicated and fine tuned one study and found only 2.8% recognition with E- fit, whilst artist sketches were at 8.1%.
- Why such poor recognition?
- What about face recognition in general?
- However, it is agreed that composite faces can be good for creating `age processed` photos for missing children (Courtney & Hicks 2012).

The accuracy of witness identification

- One of the largest studies- Van Koppen & Lochun (1997), used court records for data on robberies obtained from EW statements from police interviews.
- Details were taken regarding the offences, the witness characteristics, timing, distance, lighting etc.
- The actual offender characteristics were then assessed and compared to the witness evidence-



Findings-

- Sex – 100% agreement
- Eye shape – 100% agreement
- Hair colour – 73% agreement
- Face shape – 69% agreement
- Race – 60% agreement
- Height – 52% agreement
- Protruding ears – 50% agreement
- But, out of an average of 43 characteristics, only 8 were mentioned on average.
- Therefore, we can only obtain vague descriptions, dominated by general characteristics.

Line ups

- 90% of mock witnesses expect the perpetrator to be present in the line up.
- In line-ups there should be 8 foils chosen to look like the suspect, and not similar to the description of the perpetrator;
- What potential problems are there here?
- Research on investigator bias suggests that the whole process should be double blind, but...



- In terms of the line-up procedure, typically the `relative judgement strategy` is used. However, many psychologists argue for the use of the `absolute identification strategy`. This has found to significantly reduce incorrect or false identification, but unfortunately also reduces correct identifications!
- In other words, should line-ups be sequential or simultaneous?
- Lastly, post identification feedback is another crucial variable.

Improving EWT validity

- Just one suspect in any line up.
- If witnesses have seen photographs, they should not be included in line up.
- Good instructions- awareness that suspect may not be present.
- No difference between simultaneous or sequential line ups.
- No feedback should be given.
- Ignore any statements regarding confidence, stick to measuring time frame.

The use of CCTV

- The general purpose of CCTV is for deterrence.
- It does capture criminal activity but is not irrefutable due to the poor quality.
- There are problems associated with its use-
- It reduces crime short term but over the long term levels of crime actually can increase.
- Welsh & Farrington (2002) found that criminal activity goes back to normal levels after initial decrease.



- With strangers and even high quality images, it is often difficult to tell if two images are of the same person!
- Davies & Thasen (2000) found that 65% of CCTV viewers of a video containing a woman in a car park incident wrongly picked another lady from a line up.
- Only 29% were correct in their identification.
- Individuals identified for `further inspection` fit the stereotype of criminals and are thus picked by `operators` (Williams 2007). They tend to be scruffy young men.



Finally,

- The use of CCTV is poor in relation to recall accuracy.
- Despite the colour and quality, recall is accurate at best around 70%.
- This is in contrast to when the face is well known, even poor quality film produced reliable identification.
- So, is EWT ever reliable?
- Clark et al. (2008) conducted a meta analysis and concluded accuracy rates of between 8% and 80%!!!

One last very important point -

- The Innocence Project (2010) showed that DNA exonerated cases involved alibis which were not believed in 25% of cases.
- Why don't people believe or use an alibi?
- The Alibi is weak.
- The Alibi is wrong or mistaken.
- The suspect cannot produce an Alibi due to poor recollection.
- The perceived credibility of the suspect and/or the Alibi. (Olson and Wells, 2004).

The Cognitive Interview

- Based largely on the work of Elizabeth Loftus and other psychologists, following their theoretical work into memory and EWT.
- Forensic psychologists combined various ideas and designed a more effective way of questioning witnesses that has been shown to produce more reliable recall of events.
- Fisher and Geiselman (1992) designed the cognitive interview.
- The technique is based around four main components:
 - Report everything
 - Recall from a another perspective
 - Recall in reverse order
 - Reinstate the context

- Geiselman et al. (1985) got pp`s to watch a video of a violent crime.
- A few days later they were interviewed in one of 3 ways: standard police interview, cognitive interview or under hypnosis. The cognitive interview was found to trigger the most accurate recall.
- Kohnken et al. (1999) carried out a meta-analysis of 53 other studies and found that the CI could elicit an average of 34% more detail than the standard interview and crucially without the loss of accuracy you get with techniques such as hypnosis.

- Interestingly, when the four components of the interview are used individually there is little gain over the standard interview.
- It is only when two or more components are used that there is significant improvement in recall (Milne and Bull, 2002).
- Young children seem to find the instructions confusing and as a result produce less reliable recall than with standard police interviews.
- Geiselman (1999) recommends that the CI is only used on children aged eight and over.

In conclusion...

- Whilst there are some successes in using psychological science to inform the use of EWT, we still need to develop better awareness and knowledge among law enforcement and legal professionals.
- We are some way from eliminating police protocols for avoiding the contamination of evidence and the thorough investigation of EWT (Wells 2006).

For your exam question...

I will expect to see a balance of both historical and contemporary evidence to demonstrate the main issues surrounding accuracy of memory recall and EWT.

It will not be possible for you to cover every element which can affect EWT accuracy, so select your key points carefully to allow for both breadth and depth within your argument.

Do not simply rely upon the old Loftus material; this can be good as a starting point, but it is hardly original.

Find your own recent studies to produce an effective and insightful narrative surrounding the issues associated with EWT, memory and recall.

Good luck!