

CHAPTER 25

Eyewitness Memory for People and Events

GARY L. WELLS AND ELIZABETH F. LOFTUS

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A criminal trial is, among other things, an attempt to reconstruct a past event to aid the trier of fact in determining what happened. Physical trace evidence, such as fingerprints, fibers, or blood, are often used to assist this reconstruction because, when properly collected and analyzed, trace evidence can help determine the nature of the events and the identity of the perpetrator. Eyewitness evidence can be likened to other forms of trace evidence (Wells, 1995). In effect, a criminal event involving an eyewitness leaves a trace in the brain of the eyewitness. The "memory as trace evidence" metaphor has rich implications. Like physical evidence, memory trace evidence can be contaminated, lost, destroyed, or otherwise made to produce results that can lead to an incorrect reconstruction of the event in question. Like physical trace evidence, the manner in which memory trace evidence is collected can have important consequences for the accuracy of the results.

The criminal justice system, however, has treated memory traces very differently from physical trace evidence. The collection of physical trace evidence is relatively well prescribed according to protocols that have a scientific foundation, grounded in what experts have suggested are the optimal ways to avoid contamination (Technical Working Group on Crime Scene Investigations, 1999). Police protocols for the collection, preservation, and interpretation of physical evidence are dictated largely by forensic scientists, and the practice of physical evidence collection and examination has tried to borrow as much as possible from science. Eyewitness evidence, on the other hand, is typically collected by nonspecialists who have little or no training in human memory. Police protocols for collecting, preserving, and interpreting eyewitness evidence have

not integrated the results of research conducted by memory experts. Hence, science has not been the backbone of police procedures for collecting, preserving, and interpreting eyewitness evidence. Whereas the justice system's analysis of physical evidence, especially biological traces, has advanced rapidly in the past decade, the analysis of eyewitness evidence has languished.

We believe that this gap is due in large part to the failure of the justice system to embrace the scientific model for eyewitness evidence while accepting the scientific model for physical evidence. Perhaps it is no surprise, therefore, that mistaken eyewitnesses account for more convictions of innocent persons than all other causes combined and it has been scientific analysis of biological evidence (forensic DNA) that has proven that these eyewitnesses were in error (Scheck, Neufeld, & Dwyer, 2000; Wells, Small, Penrod, Malpass, Fulero, & Brimacombe, 1998). As of the time of this writing (March 2011), there have been 267 DNA-based exonerations and 200 of those were cases of mistaken eyewitness identification (Innocenceproject.org, 2011). The idea of using a scientific model to collect, analyze, and interpret eyewitness evidence is readily apparent in the case of both memory for events and memory for people. Consider, for example, how social scientists collect data from people. In surveys about past events, great care is taken in constructing questions because of clear evidence that people's reports are influenced by how the questions are worded (Loftus, Fienberg, & Tamar, 1985; Loftus, Smith, Klinger, & Fiedler, 1992). Scientific approaches to minimizing and detecting response biases and demand characteristics in surveys represent solid models for how law enforcement might go about the process of questioning eyewitnesses.

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