

Children's Testimony –Issues and Concerns

A Bibliography

February 2014

Copyright © 2014. National Children's Advocacy Center. All Rights Reserved.

Suggested Citation: National Children's Advocacy Center (2014).Children's Testimony-Issues and Concerns: A Bibliography. Huntsville, AL: Author.

Scope

This bibliography lists articles, book chapters, and books covering numerous issues related to child witnesses and children’s testimony. International publications are included and all are English language. Author abstracts are included except when otherwise noted.

Organization

Publications are divided into seven categories: witness credibility, witness competency, possible harm, preparations and facilitation, innovations, juror perceptions, and general. Publications are listed in date descending order within each section. Links to publications are provided when possible.

Witness Credibility	3
Witness Competency.....	8
Possible Harm.....	13
Court Preparation	18
Innovations	23
Juror Perception	29
General.....	36

Disclaimer

This bibliography was prepared by the National Children’s Advocacy Center’s Child Abuse Library Online (CALiO™) for the purpose of research and education, and for the convenience of our readers. The NCAC is not responsible for the availability or content of cited resources. The NCAC does not endorse, warrant or guarantee the information, products, or services described or offered by the authors or organizations whose publications are cited in this bibliography. The NCAC does not warrant or assume any legal liability or responsibility for the accuracy, completeness, or usefulness of any information, apparatus, product, or process disclosed in documents cited here. Points of view presented in cited resources are those of the authors, and do not necessarily coincide with those of the National Children’s Advocacy Center.

Children's Testimony-Issues and Concerns

A Bibliography

I. Credibility

Brainerd, C. J., & Reyna, V. F. (2012). Reliability of children's testimony in the era of developmental reversals. *Developmental Review, 32*(3), 224-267.

A hoary assumption of the law is that children are more prone to false-memory reports than adults, and hence, their testimony is less reliable than adults'. Since the 1980s, that assumption has been buttressed by numerous studies that detected declines in false memory between early childhood and young adulthood under controlled conditions. Fuzzy-trace theory predicted reversals of this standard developmental pattern in circumstances that are directly relevant to testimony because they involve using the gist of experience to remember events. That prediction has been investigated during the past decade, and a large number of experiments have been published in which false memories have indeed been found to increase between early childhood and young adulthood. Further, experimentation has tied age increases in false memory to improvements in children's memory for semantic gist. According to current scientific evidence, the principle that children's testimony is necessarily more infected with false memories than adults' and that, other things being equal, juries should regard adults' testimony as necessarily more faithful to actual events is untenable.

Quas, J. A., Thompson, W. C., Alison, K., & Stewart, C. (2005). Do jurors "know" what isn't so about child witnesses? *Law and Human Behavior, 29*(4), 425-456.

Are expert witnesses needed in child sexual abuse cases to educate jurors about children's memory, suggestibility, and reactions to abuse, or do jurors already know what such experts could tell them? To cast light on this question, we surveyed jurors and jury-eligible college students and compared their beliefs with what is known via scientific research regarding children's memory and ability to testify, reactions to interrogation, and reactions to sexual abuse. We also asked participants to infer results of four widely cited studies of children's suggestibility. Participants' beliefs were consistent with findings from research on some issues

(e.g., that children can be led to claim that false events occurred) but diverged from the scientific consensus on other issues (e.g., whether children can remember painful events in infancy). Similarly, participants sometimes overestimated and sometimes underestimated the level of suggestibility observed in empirical studies. Individual differences in accuracy were related to participants' gender, education and ethnicity, and there was considerable disagreement among participants on many questions. Implications of findings for the admissibility of expert testimony in child abuse cases are discussed.

Melinder, A., Goodman, G. S., Eilertsen, D. E., & Magnussen, S. (2004). Beliefs about child witnesses: A survey of professionals. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 10*(4), 347-365.

This research addressed how professionals involved with the legal system evaluate children, primarily between 4 and 8 years old, as witnesses. In particular, we focused on professionals' beliefs and opinions regarding children's memory, suggestibility, and behaviors as they relate to witness credibility. In addition, we surveyed professionals' evaluations of investigative methods related to reliability. Four hundred and seventy-eight professionals working with children in the Norwegian legal system (i.e. judges, police detectives, psychologists, child psychiatrists, prosecutors, and defense attorneys) completed a questionnaire about child witness issues. Results indicated that psychiatrists as well as police officers expressed greater belief in children's capacities than did other groups, whereas defense attorneys and psychologists were more skeptical regarding children's general credibility. Psychiatrists and psychologists both, however, tended to favor, more than did legal professionals, the use of clinical techniques with children in abuse investigations. Implications are discussed in relation to professionals' attitudes toward children as witnesses.

Golding, J. M., Fryman, H. M., Marsil, D. F., & Yozwiak, J. A. (2003). Big girls don't cry: The effect of child witness demeanor on juror decisions in a child sexual abuse trial. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 27(11), 1311-1321.

This study investigated the effect of child witness demeanor (defined as crying) on mock jurors' decisions in a simulated First-Degree rape trial. One hundred and thirty-three undergraduates serving in the role of mock jurors read a trial summary in which the primary independent variable was the demeanor of the alleged child victim (i.e., calm, teary, hysterical crying). In addition to reading the summary, participants viewed pencil drawings of the witnesses that were presented as "courtroom drawings." The results showed that the teary condition led to more guilty verdicts and a greater belief in the alleged victim than the other demeanor conditions. Findings from this study indicate that demeanor can impact the perception of a child who is an alleged sexual assault victim in court. However, it is not simply the case that any display of demeanor will lead to a positive outcome for the alleged victim. Instead, it appears that too little or too much emotion from the alleged child victim negatively affected credibility in the eyes of the mock jurors.

McCauley, M. R., & Parker, J. F. (2001). When will a child be believed? The impact of the victim's age and juror's gender on children's credibility and verdict in a sexual-abuse case. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 25(4), 523-539.

To provide insight into the central dimensions jurors may use when deciding a child victim's credibility and verdict. Participants ($N = 573$) read a simulated trial (robbery or a sexual-assault case in which the defendant was either a stranger or an acquaintance) in which the alleged victim was either a 6- or 13-year-old girl. The trials were constructed to be as similar as possible with only minimal differences in the child's testimony. The supporting evidence was held constant across cases to allow for experimental assessment of the hypotheses. The defendant was more likely to be found guilty in the sexual-assault cases than in the robbery case. The child was perceived to be more credible, honest, and to have a better memory in the sexual-assault cases compared to the robbery case. Perceptions of memory and honesty predicted verdict and punishment. The child's age did not impact credibility or verdict. Finally, women, compared to men, perceived the child as more credible. Type of case was a potent factor in jurors'

determination of guilt and the child's credibility. Contrary to expectations, neither the victim's age nor the interaction between this and type of case impacted verdict or credibility measures.

Bussey, K., & Grimbeek, E. J. (2000). Children's conceptions of lying and truth-telling: Implications for child witnesses. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 5*(2), 187-199.

This study investigated children's lying and truth-telling competence using developmentally appropriate assessment and questioning procedures. Specifically, it addressed children's knowledge about and evaluation of lies and truths. Children were presented with six vignettes in which the story character either lied or told the truth about having committed a misdeed. After each vignette, they were asked if the statement was a lie or a truth (*definition*), how certain they were about their categorization of the statement, and to rate the goodness and badness of the statement (*evaluation*). Seventy-two children participated in the study. Twelve boys and 12 girls were randomly drawn from each of three ages: 4-, 7- and 10-year-olds. The design was a 2 (Sex of Participant) \times 3 (Age: 4, 7, 10) \times 2 (Statement Type: Lie, Truth-within-subjects factor). Seven- and 10-year-old children classified all false statements as lies and true statements as truths, whereas 4-year-olds correctly classified 88% across both statement types. They were equally accurate in their classification of lies (89%) and truths (87%). All children appreciated the seriousness of lying; lies were rated more negatively than truths. However, 4-year-olds were less likely to appreciate the goodness of truth-telling over lying than the two older age groups. Only the older children rated truths more positively than lies. The results show that 4-year-olds have a sufficient understanding of lying and truth-telling competence to participate effectively in the legal system.

Regan, P. C., & Baker, S. J. (1998). The impact of child witness demeanor on perceived credibility and trial outcome in sexual abuse cases. *Journal of Family Violence, 13*(2), 187-195.

We examined how child witness demeanor at the moment of courtroom confrontation with the defendant affects trial outcome and the perceived credibility of the child witness in sexual abuse cases. Phase 1 (descriptive) utilized a free response format to explore the affective and

behavioral responses men and women expect a child victim of sexual assault to demonstrate upon first confronting the defendant in the courtroom. The most frequently cited responses included crying, fear, and confusion. Phase 2 (experimental) investigated the impact of presence or absence of one of these expected responses (i.e., crying) upon juror perceptions. Participants who read about a child who cries upon initially confronting the defendant perceived her as more honest, credible, and reliable than a calm child, and they were more likely to convict the defendant.

Rudy, L., & Goodman, G. S. (1991). Effects of participation on children's reports: Implications for children's testimony. *Developmental Psychology, 27*(4), 527-538.

Effects of participation on children's reports of a real-life event were examined. Same-age pairs of 4- and 7-year-olds entered a trailer occupied by an unfamiliar man. One child participated in a set of games with the man, and the other sat and watched. Ten to 12 days later, children were individually questioned about the event. Free recall and answers to specific questions were related to age but unrelated to participation. However, participation lowered susceptibility to suggestion. Age differences in overall suggestibility were not found, but older compared with younger children were less suggestible about actions that took place. Regardless of age, however, children evidenced few commission errors to false suggestions about actions relevant to child abuse allegations.

Goodman, G. S., Bottoms, B. L., Herscovici, B. B., & Shaver, P. (1989). Determinants of the child victim's perceived credibility. In S. J. Ceci et al (Eds.), *Perspectives on Children's Testimony* (pp. 1-22). New York: Springer.

II. Competence issues

Klemfuss, J. Z., & Ceci, S. J. (2012). Legal and psychological perspectives on children's competence to testify in court. *Developmental Review, 32*(3), 268-286.

Young children are often called as witnesses to crimes they were victims of or observed. Because of their immaturity, child witnesses are sometimes more heavily scrutinized than adult witnesses before being allowed to testify in court, for example, through competency screening. This review discusses the psychology and US law relevant to decisions about children's testimonial competency. Legally, a child is competent to provide in-court testimony if the presiding judge finds that the child can understand and answer basic interview questions, observe and recall pertinent events, understand the difference between truths and lies, and be affected by the moral obligation to tell the truth on the stand. We review the legal foundation and current practice of testimonial competence standards and discuss issues in the current system. We then review developmental psychology literature on children's capabilities and individual differences in each domain of testimonial competency as well as the limited body of literature on competency exams. Finally, we make empirically-based recommendations and conclusions and highlight the need for further research and policy reforms related to children's testimonial abilities.

Lyon, T. D. (2011). Assessing the competency of child witnesses: Best practice informed by psychology and law. In M. E. Lamb, D. J. La Rooy, L. C. Malloy, & C. Katz (Eds.), *Children's testimony: A handbook of psychological research and forensic practice* (pp.69-85). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lyon, T. D., Carrick, N., & Quas, J. A. (2010). Young children's competency to take the oath: Effects of task, maltreatment, and age. *Law and Human Behavior, 34*(2), 141-149.
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3280924/>

This study examined maltreated and non-maltreated children's ($N = 183$) emerging understanding of "truth" and "lie," terms about which they are quizzed to qualify as competent to testify. Four- to six-year-old children were asked to accept or reject true and false (T/F)

statements, label T/F statements as the “truth” or “a lie,” label T/F statements as “good” or “bad,” and label “truth” and “lie” as “good” or “bad.” The youngest children were at ceiling in accepting/rejecting T/F statements. The labeling tasks revealed improvement with age and children performed similarly across the tasks. Most children were better able to evaluate “truth” than “lie.” Maltreated children exhibited somewhat different response patterns, suggesting greater sensitivity to the immorality of lying.

Lyon, T. D., Saywitz, K. J., Kaplan, D. L., & Dorado, J. S. (2001). Reducing maltreated children’s reluctance to answer hypothetical oath-taking competency questions. *Law and Human Behavior, 25*(1), 81-92.

Before allowing child witnesses to testify, courts routinely require children to describe what would happen to them if they lied. However, young children often refuse to reason hypothetically if they view the premises as implausible or undesirable, and might be more willing to discuss the consequences of lying if they are asked about another child rather than themselves. On the other hand, children might view themselves as invulnerable to punishment, and therefore believe that whereas other children will be punished for lying, they will not be. In this study, 64 maltreated 5- and 6-year-old children were asked to describe the consequences of lying to three professionals (a judge, a social worker, and a doctor). Participants in the “self” condition were asked what would happen to them if they lied, whereas participants in the “other” condition were asked to describe what would happen to a story child if he or she lied. Asking children about “other” children increased responsiveness, and did not reveal perceptions of invulnerability. The results suggest that young children’s understanding that they will be punished for lying may make them reluctant to discuss the consequences of lying, leading to underestimation of their oath-taking competency.

Lyon, T. D., & Saywitz, K. J. (1999). Young maltreated children's competence to take the oath. *Applied Developmental Science, 3*(1), 16-27.

This study examined maltreated and non-maltreated children’s (N = 183) emerging understanding of “truth” and “lie,” terms about which they are quizzed to qualify as competent

to testify. Four- to six-year-old children were asked to accept or reject true and false (T/F) statements, label T/F statements as the “truth” or “a lie,” label T/F statements as “good” or “bad,” and label “truth” and “lie” as “good” or “bad.” The youngest children were at ceiling in accepting/rejecting T/F statements. The labeling tasks revealed improvement with age and children performed similarly across the tasks. Most children were better able to evaluate “truth” than “lie.” Maltreated children exhibited somewhat different response patterns, suggesting greater sensitivity to the immorality of lying.

Shanks, L. (2010). Evaluating children’s competency to testify: Developing a rational method to assess a young child’s capacity to offer reliable testimony in cases alleging child sex abuse. *Cleveland State Law Review*, 58(3).
<http://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/clevstlrev/vol58/iss3/4>

This Article discusses the testimony of young children, the inadequacy of the traditional hearing used to determine the competency of such children to testify, and the ways in which the hearing might be changed to make it a meaningful process for determining the ability of a child to give reliable testimony.

Evans, A. D., & Lyon, T. D. (2007). Assessing children’s competency to take the oath in court: The influence of question type on children’s accuracy. *Law and Human Behavior*, 36(3), 195-205.

This study examined children's accuracy in response to truth-lie competency questions asked in court. The participants included 164 child witnesses in criminal child sexual abuse cases tried in Los Angeles County over a 5-year period (1997-2001) and 154 child witnesses quoted in the U.S. state and federal appellate cases over a 35-year period (1974-2008). The results revealed that judges virtually never found children incompetent to testify, but children exhibited substantial variability in their performance based on question-type. Definition questions, about the meaning of the truth and lies, were the most difficult largely due to errors in response to "Do you know" questions. Questions about the consequences of lying were more difficult than questions evaluating the morality of lying. Children exhibited high rates of error in response to questions about whether they had ever told a lie. Attorneys rarely asked children hypothetical

questions in a form that has been found to facilitate performance. Defense attorneys asked a higher proportion of the more difficult question types than prosecutors. The findings suggest that children's truth-lie competency is underestimated by courtroom questioning and support growing doubts about the utility of the competency requirements.

Nathanson, R. (2005). Child testimonial competence and reliability. *NACC Children's Law Manual*. 2005 Edition. https://c.ymcdn.com/sites/naccchildlaw.site-ym.com/resource/resmgr/texas_resources/nacc_child_testimonial_compe.pdf

Children's involvement in the judicial process, either as victims/witnesses in criminal cases or as participants in civil proceedings, is often accompanied by questions of their competency and reliability as witnesses (Ceci & Bruck, 1995; Myers, Saywitz, & Goodman, 1996). Research related to the reliability of children's testimony has focused primarily on children's memory and specifically on their ability to accurately recall and report information as well as on their susceptibility to suggestion (suggestibility). In examining the veracity of children's testimony, one must consider the relationship between the strengths and limitations of the child as well as characteristics of the interview and of the environment in which questioning occurs, rather than viewing witness competency and reliability as a sole function of the child (Saywitz, 1995).

Lyon, T. D. (1999). Child witnesses and the oath: Empirical evidence. *Southern California Law Review*, 73, 1017-1074. <http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~usclrev/pdf/073502.pdf>

Walker, A. G. (1993). Questioning young children in court: A linguistic case study. *Law and Human Behavior*, 17(1), 59-81.

When the competency of a witness is an issue in a court case, two of the tests that must be met are the capacity to understand the questions propounded and the ability to make intelligent answers. There is no reciprocal test that a questioner must meet, however, that measures his or her competency to ask intelligent, easily understood, and unambiguous questions. For an adult witness, poorly worded questions may simply be a nuisance, but for a child, they may be a potentially serious source of miscommunication. In this analysis of the transcripts of one child's

testimony, some aspects of this problem are exposed by means of a linguistic analysis of the questions asked and answers given. Three chief sources of communicative mischief are shown to be (a) age-inappropriate vocabulary, (b) complex syntax, and (c) general ambiguity. The child's legal competency is examined from the perspective of her linguistic and communicative competence, and some questions are raised about the criteria for determining competency.

Melton, G. B. (1981). Children's competency to testify. *Law and Human Behavior*, 5(1), 73-85.

Examines the issue of children's competency as court testifiers and, after a literature review, maintains that memory in young children is not problematic if direct, simple questions are used. Children's difficulty in free recall, however, may make them more subject to leading questions. It is noted that there is no pronounced developmental trend in honesty, and attempts on voir dire to assess honesty are probably invalid. Of most concern is young children's ability to form "just impression of the facts." It is suggested that even children's limited conceptual skills may not be problematic if jurors can discern the objective reality from the child's description—a point as yet unresearched. The courtroom setting's effect on the child's behavior is also considered an important future research project. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, all rights reserved)

III. Possible harm

Lyon, T. D., & Dente, J. A. (2012). Criminal law: Child witnesses and the confrontation clause. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 102(4), 1181-1323.
<http://tinyurl.com/powv6mc>

After the Supreme Court's ruling in *Crawford v. Washington* that a criminal defendant's right to confront the witnesses against him is violated by the admission of testimonial hearsay that has not been cross-examined, lower courts have overturned convictions in which hearsay from children was admitted after child witnesses were either unwilling or unable to testify. A review of social scientific evidence regarding the dynamics of child sexual abuse suggests a means for facilitating the fair receipt of children's evidence. Courts should hold that defendants have forfeited their confrontation rights if they exploited a child's vulnerabilities such that they could reasonably anticipate that the child would be unavailable to testify. Exploitation includes choosing victims on the basis of their filial dependency, their vulnerability, or their immaturity, as well as taking actions that create or accentuate those vulnerabilities.

Quas, J. A., & Goodman, G. S. (2012). Consequences of criminal court involvement for child victims. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 18(3), 392-414.

Despite concerns being routinely raised about psychological consequences for child victims of participation in criminal proceedings, empirical research remains limited, and findings have not been integrated within a well-established set of theoretical principles. In the current review, we describe extant research concerning the links between child victims' involvement in criminal prosecutions and subsequent outcomes, particularly in the domains of mental health and legal attitudes. Findings reveal that, although some facets of children's legal experiences, such as testifying repeatedly, are associated with adverse outcomes, this is largely the case only under certain circumstances—numerous factors interact to influence consequences of legal involvement. Further, although young children are often quite vulnerable when exposed to negative experiences generally, older children and adolescents may actually be more adversely affected by some features of legal involvement. Overall, the research highlights the complex interplay between children's legal experiences and children's development in shaping their

reactions to legal involvement and suggests ways to facilitate their participation in the legal process while maintaining fair judicial procedures for the accused.

Quas, J. A., & Sumaroka, M. (2011). Consequences of legal involvement on child victims of maltreatment. In M. E. Lamb, D. J. La Rooy, L. C. Malloy, & C. Katz (Eds.), *Children's testimony: A handbook of psychological research and forensic practice* (pp.323-350). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Whitcomb, D. (2003). Legal interventions for child victims. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 16*(2), 149-157.

Many commentators have expressed concern over the plight of children in the nation's court system, fearing that child victim/witnesses might suffer significant trauma. In efforts to alleviate this presumed trauma, new laws were passed and traditional procedures were modified. This paper synthesizes available research addressing 2 questions pertaining to the mental health needs of child victims: (1) To what extent are children traumatized by their involvement in the justice system, and (2) What interventions are effective in reducing children's trauma? The review concludes that most children can testify without suffering long-term adverse effects. It also identifies elements of the justice system that appear to heighten stress for children. Finally, it suggests several strategies that might be effective in alleviating that stress.

Richards, J. (2000). Protecting the child witness in abuse cases. *Family Law Quarterly, 34*, 393-420. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1753800

Hamblen, J. L., & Levine, M. (1997). Legal implications and emotional consequences of sexually abused children testifying as victim-witnesses, *The Law & Psychology Review, 21*, 139-179.

Brannon, L. C. (1994). Trauma of testifying in court for child victims of sexual assault v. the accused's right to confrontation. *The Law & Psychology Review*, 18, 439-460.

Lipovsky, J. A. (1994). The impact of court on children: Research findings and practical recommendations. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 9(2), 238-257.

Concerns about possible negative impacts to children as a result of participating in the criminal justice system have led to discussions about altering the process in ways that accommodate the specific developmental and emotional needs of children. However, before making major changes to the system, it is essential to answer several questions. This article reviews research addressing the following questions: (a) How frequently do children testify in court? (b) Is involvement in the criminal justice system, particularly providing testimony in criminal court, harmful to child witnesses? (c) Do suggested innovations in practice reduce children's court-related distress? Research findings related to these questions are then discussed in terms of their application to practice with children as witnesses within the criminal justice system.

Saywitz, K. J., & Nathanson, R. (1993). Children's testimony and their perceptions of stress in and out of the courtroom. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 17(5), 613-622.

Modifications of the courtroom environment have been proposed to reduce stress and enhance truth-telling of child witnesses. The present study examines the premise that courtroom environment affects the quality of children's evidence and children's perceptions of their own stress. Thirty-four 8- to 10-year-olds participated in an activity and 2 weeks later, their memory for the activity was tested. Half the children were questioned in a mock courtroom in the law school of a major university, and half at their school, both by the same interviewer. Children questioned at court showed impaired memory performance when compared with age-mates questioned at school. They also rated certain court-related experiences as more stressful than peers interviewed at school. Furthermore, children's perceptions of courtroom stress were negatively correlated with completeness of accurate free recall, suggesting a relation between court-related stress and eyewitness memory worthy of further study.

Goodman, G. S., Taub, E. P., Jones, D. P., England, P., Port, L. K., Rudy, L., ... & Melton, G. B. (1992). Testifying in criminal court: Emotional effects on child sexual assault victims. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 57(5), i-159.

Child victims must cope not only with the emotional consequences of criminal acts but also with the potentially traumatizing effects of legal involvement. Dramatic increases in the reporting of child sexual abuse are bringing greater numbers of children into contact with the criminal justice system, raising fears that child victims of sex crimes will be further harmed by the courts. In the present study, the effects of criminal court testimony on child sexual assault victims were examined in a sample of 218 children. From this sample, the behavioral disturbance of a group of "testifiers" was compared to that of a matched control group of "nontestifiers" at three points following testimony: 3 months, 7 months, and after prosecution ended. At 7 months, testifiers evinced greater behavioral disturbance than nontestifiers, especially if the testifiers took the stand multiple times, were deprived of maternal support, and lacked corroboration of their claims. Once prosecution ended, adverse effects of testifying diminished. In courthouse interviews before and after testifying, the main fear expressed by children concerned having to face the defendant. Children who appeared more frightened of the defendant while testifying were less able to answer the prosecutors' questions; and later, after the cases were closed, they were more likely to say that testifying had affected them adversely. The two most pervasive predictors of children's experiences in the courtroom, however, were age and severity of abuse. Despite relevant laws, few innovative techniques were used to help the children testify. The results are discussed in relation to children's ability to cope with stressful situations, the interaction of the legal system with the child/family system, and debates about the need to protect child victims who testify in criminal court.

Avery, M. (1983). Child abuse witness: Potential for secondary victimization. *The Criminal Justice Journal*, 7, 1-48.

The position of the child victim entering the judicial system is described, with emphasis on the likelihood that the child has been repeatedly victimized and is emotionally child has been repeatedly victimized and is emotionally deprived. Methods for determining a child's competency to testify are outlined, as is research on the credibility of child witnesses. The

circumstances that can lead to the recantation of child's statements are summarized. Most jurisdictions' dropping of the requirement of corroborating evidence, and corroboration through the use of the colposcope in medical examinations and the use of expert testimony from therapists are explained. The victimization of boys and its relationship to the victims' later sex offenses as adults is discussed. The background and interpretations of the confrontation clause of the sixth amendment and three current hearsay exceptions useful in child abuse cases are described. The use of closed-circuit television videotaping, new legislation on hearsay exceptions, and the child courtroom are described as alternatives to the usual courtroom procedures. Proposals related to deferred prosecution programs are explained. The need for the legal system to develop procedures which support and encourage eliciting accurate testimony from children without further victimizing them is emphasized.

IV. Court preparation and facilitation

Cowan, M. M. (2013). Children in the courtroom: Essential strategies for effective testimony by child victims of sexual abuse. *The Army Lawyer*, 4-43.

Phillips, A., & Walters, S. (2013). A courtroom for all: Creating child and adolescent-fair courtrooms. *Centerpiece*, 3(7-8). <http://www.ncptc.org/vertical/Sites/%7B8634A6E1-FAD2-4381-9C0D-5DC7E93C9410%7D/uploads/CenterPiece.NL.Vol3.Iss78.pdf>

Righarts, S., O'Neill, S., & Zajac, R. (2013). Addressing the negative effect of cross-examination questioning on children's accuracy: Can we intervene?. *Law and Human Behavior*, 37(5), 354-365.

This study investigated whether pre-interview interventions could help to facilitate children's accuracy under cross-examination-style questioning. Five- and 6-year-olds ($n = 77$; mean [SD] age = 5.84 [0.48] years; 57% boys) and 9- and 10-year-olds ($n = 87$; mean [SD] age = 10.30 [0.54] years; 56% boys) took part in a staged event and were then interviewed with analogues of direct examination and cross examination. In a pilot study, we ascertained that a brief verbal warning about the nature of cross examination— given immediately prior to the cross-examination interview— did not influence children's cross-examination accuracy, regardless of whether it was delivered by an unfamiliar interviewer or the cross-examining interviewer. In the main experiment, some children participated in a brief intervention involving practice and feedback with cross-examination questions. Relative to control children, those who underwent this preparation intervention made fewer changes to their direct-examination responses under cross-examination, changed a smaller proportion of their correct responses, and obtained higher ultimate accuracy levels. These findings provide some support for the notion that pretrial interventions, if sufficiently comprehensive, could help children to maintain accuracy during cross-examination.

Lyon, T. D., Scurich, N., Choi, K., Handmaker, S., & Blank, R. (2012). "How did you feel?": Increasing child sexual abuse witnesses' production of evaluative information. *Law and Human Behavior*, 36(5), 448-457.

In child sexual abuse cases, the victim's testimony is essential, because the victim and the perpetrator tend to be the only eyewitnesses to the crime. A potentially important component of an abuse report is the child's subjective reactions to the abuse. Attorneys may ask suggestive questions or avoid questioning children about their reactions, assuming that children, given their immaturity and reluctance, are incapable of articulation. We hypothesized that How questions referencing reactions to abuse (e.g., "how did you feel") would increase the productivity of children's descriptions of abuse reactions. Two studies compared the extent to which children provided evaluative content, defined as descriptions of emotional, cognitive, and physical reactions, in response to different question-types, including How questions, Wh-questions, Option-posing questions (yes-no or forced-choice), and Suggestive questions. The first study examined children's testimony (ages 5-18) in 80 felony child sexual abuse cases. How questions were more productive yet the least prevalent, and Option-posing and Suggestive questions were less productive but the most common. The second study examined interview transcripts of 61 children (ages 6-12) suspected of being abused, in which children were systematically asked How questions regarding their reactions to abuse, thus controlling for the possibility that in the first study, attorneys selectively asked How questions of more articulate children. Again, How questions were most productive in eliciting evaluative content. The results suggest that interviewers and attorneys interested in eliciting evaluative reactions should ask children "how did you feel?" rather than more direct or suggestive questions.

Malloy, L. C., La Rooy, D. J., & Lamb, M.E. (2011). Facilitating effective participation by children in the legal system. In M. E. Lamb, D. J. La Rooy, L. C. Malloy, & C. Katz (Eds.), *Children's testimony: A handbook of psychological research and forensic practice* (pp.423-429). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Walker, J. (2011). If I'm the party, Where's the cake?: The need for comprehensive child-witness court preparation programs. *Centerpiece*, 3(1).

<http://www.ncptc.org/vertical/sites/%7B8634A6E1-FAD2-4381-9C0D-5DC7E93C9410%7D/uploads/CenterPiece.NL.Vol3.Iss1.pdf>

Bala, N., Evans, A., & Bala, E. (2010). Hearing the voices of children in Canada's criminal justice system: Recognising capacity and facilitating testimony. *Child & Family Law Quarterly*, 22(1), 21-45.

This paper reviews common law and statutory developments in the treatment of children as witnesses in Canada's criminal justice system, where children who are victims of abuse testify with increasing frequency. Historically, children were regarded as inherently unreliable witnesses, and there were no provisions to accommodate their needs and vulnerabilities; this treatment by the justice system contributed to the abuse and exploitation of children. Reflecting a growing body of research on child development, and a better understanding of the effects of the court process on children, over the past quarter century there have been substantial reforms in the law and the administration of justice. The law now better reflects what is known about the competency of child witnesses, as well as about their vulnerabilities. The paper includes a review of legislation and leading precedents, and a summary of the responses of Canadian judges to a survey about the most recent legislative reforms. The case law and survey reveal that judges are generally supportive of the reforms.

Raeder, M. S. (2010). Distrusting young children who allege sexual abuse: Why stereotypes don't die and ways to facilitate child testimony. *Widener Law Review*, 16, 239-278.

<http://widenerlawreview.org/files/2011/03/Raeder.pdf>

Carr, P. B. (2007). Playing by all the rules: How to define and provide a "prior opportunity for cross-examination" in child sexual abuse cases after Crawford v. Washington. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 97(2), 631-664. <http://tinyurl.com/p48edyn>

In 2004, the Supreme Court decided Crawford v. Washington and announced a new rule of confrontation under the Sixth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Under Crawford, courts must exclude all out-of-court statements when those statements were (1) given by a witness who is unavailable to testify at trial and (2) considered "testimonial" in nature, unless (3) the defendant had a prior opportunity to cross-examine the witness who offered the statements. Crawford has introduced a challenging problem in child sexual abuse cases where children are often unavailable to testify at trial; their out-of-court allegations of abuse are now regularly excluded for their "testimonial" nature. This development is problematic because children's recollections of events constitute critical evidence in child sexual abuse prosecutions. The question thus arises: how can prosecutors continue to hold child sexual abusers accountable for their crimes while upholding the Crawford rule of confrontation? Many scholars have explored solutions to this dilemma by examining the first two prongs of the Crawford rule-witness unavailability and the testimonial nature of ex parte statements. This Comment suggests, however, that the solution lies in the third prong-the "prior opportunity for cross-examination." Specifically, this Comment recommends that state legislatures implement a rule of criminal procedure that allows both prosecutors and defendants in sexual abuse cases an opportunity to record a child's pretrial testimony and cross-examination on videotape. This rule would safeguard criminal defendants' confrontation rights while also protecting against the Crawford rule's overly burdensome effects on child sexual abuse prosecutions.

Victim Services and Community Programs Division (2006). Let's go to court: A guide to court orientation for child and youth witnesses. British Columbia Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General. <http://www.pssg.gov.bc.ca/victimservices/publications/docs/court-lets-go-child-youth-witness.pdf>

Olafson, E., & Fitch, S. (2002). Preparing the child witness in sexual abuse cases: A training outline. The Institute for Human Services.
<http://www.pacwcbt.pitt.edu/Curriculum/203%20Preparing%20the%20Child%20Witness%20in%20Sexual%20Abuse%20Cases/Content/Outline.pdf>

Lipovsky, J., & Stern, P. (1997). Preparing children for court: An interdisciplinary view. *Child Maltreatment*, 2(2), 150-163.

Increased awareness of child abuse and neglect has been associated with an increase in focus on children as witnesses in court proceedings. Research suggests that although the experience of participating in the legal system is not inherently traumatic, it is often stressful for the child witness. This article discusses stressful influences on child witnesses and practices designed to decrease the likelihood of emotional distress and increase the child's ability to provide credible testimony. In light of the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration in the response to childhood victimization, this article addresses the roles of and links between mental health and legal professionals working with child witnesses. The concepts discussed in this article apply generally to civil, criminal, family law, and dependency cases and to cases tried before a jury and to a judge alone. It is the authors' belief that the concepts discussed here are generally equally applicable in any case in which a child is a witness.

V. CCTV and other innovations

Virginia State Police Technical Unit (2012). Child Witness Testimony in Court: Using Closed-Circuit Equipment. How to Apply Virginia Code Sections 18.2-67.9 or 63.2-1521 or 16.1-2 <http://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/juvenile/resources/childWitnessTestimony.pdf>

Brancatelli, M. (2009). Facilitating children's testimony: Closed circuit television. *Update*, 21(11). National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse. http://www.ndaa.org/pdf/update_vol_21_no_11.pdf

Jenkins, D. (2008). Reducing trauma for children involved in dependency and criminal court. *Child Law Practice*, 27(1), 1-8.

This article explores how to reduce trauma to children involved in dependency and criminal court proceedings through individual and collaborative efforts.

Cunningham, A., & Hurley, P. (2007). Using special accommodations and testimonial aids to facilitate the testimony of children. Book 2-Testimony outside the courtroom. Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System. Department of Justice Canada. <http://www.cwlc.ca/en/resources/publication/full-and-candid-account-using-special-accommodations-and-testimonial-aids-faci>

Landström, S., Granhag, P. A., & Hartwig, M. (2007). Children's live and videotaped testimonies: How presentation mode affects observers' perception, assessment and memory. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 12(2), 333-348.

Children's testimonies can be presented to the court in many different formats, for example, live, videotapes, closed-circuit television (CCTV) or transcripts. However, little is known about how different presentation formats affect the observers' processing of the testimonies. This study investigated how two different presentation modes (live vs. video) affected observers' perception, veracity assessments and memory of children's appearance and statements. Fourteen children (10–11 years old) either experienced an event or learned about the event by hearsay. Two weeks later, the children testified about the event as if they had all experienced it.

Mock jurors watched the children's testimonies either live (N = 68) or on video (N = 68), rated their perception of the children's statement and appearance, and assessed the children's veracity. In addition, their memory of the children's statement was examined. The live observers perceived the children in more positive terms and rated the statements as being more convincing than did video observers. The observers rated the lying children as having to think harder than the truth-telling children. Both live and video observers' ability to assess the children's veracity was mediocre. Live observers had a better subjective, as well as objective, memory of the children's statements than video observers. The results show that presentation mode influences both perception and memory of child witnesses' testimonies. We argue that the presentation mode is important to consider when evaluating and reforming courtroom procedures.

Bennett, K. J. (2004). Legal and social issues surrounding closed-circuit television testimony of child victims and witnesses. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 8(3), 233-271.

Prosecution of crimes involving child victims and witnesses is particularly difficult because of the age of the children involved. Facing the alleged offender in court and the experience itself of testifying in an open court with dozens of onlookers are acutely difficult. The effect on children may be traumatic, with the potential to produce substantial psychological and emotional harm. Various court procedures have been implemented in the United States in an effort to minimize these effects. Court procedures can include erecting screens to shield the child victim or witness, presenting videotaped testimony, or testifying via one-way or two-way closed circuit television. Closed-circuit television (CCTV) testimony, which is especially controversial, involves both legal issues surrounding the constitutionality of such testimony and social issues regarding the effectiveness of closed-circuit television testimony. Substantial variation across states in provisions for closed-circuit television testimony for child witnesses is problematic. Consideration is given to how social science research directly influenced the Supreme Court's decision in *Maryland v. Craig* (1990), and the current state of research regarding use of CCTV and court outcomes. Some research suggests a pro-defense bias when CCTV is used.

Davies, G. (1999). The impact of television on the presentation and reception of children's testimony. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 22(3), 241-256.

This article reviews research on the effectiveness of such procedures, both from the standpoint of the child and of the criminal justice system. It begins by describing some of the variations in rules and procedure in the use of CCTV in different legislatures before going on to consider some of the arguments that have been marshalled for and against its employment. It goes on to survey the research literature gathered in laboratory, field, and applied settings, before reaching conclusions regarding the role and significance of CCTV for the court process.

Goodman, G. S., Quas, J. A., Bulkley, J., & Shapiro, C. (1999). Innovations for child witnesses: A national survey. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 5(2), 255-281.

Numerous innovative procedural reforms have been proposed concerning child victims involved in legal cases. In this study, 153 district attorney offices nationwide were surveyed about their use of innovations, their perceptions of the innovations' effectiveness, reasons why they opt not to utilize innovations, and defense strategies used with child witnesses. Prosecutors were also asked about the type of cases they encountered in which children testified. Prosecutors reported mainly using inexpensive, easy-to-implement innovations, which were also typically rated as helpful in reducing children's trauma and enhancing guilty outcomes. Prosecutors reported rarely using expert witnesses and innovations that altered how children were interviewed or how they testified. The most common types of cases in which children testified involved sexual abuse. Frequent defense strategies to challenge child credibility concerned suggestibility, inaccurate memory, coaching, and delays in reporting abuse. Results are discussed in relation to the need for increased social science research on procedural reforms for child witnesses.

Office for Victims of Crime (1999). Breaking the cycle of violence: Recommendations to improve the criminal justice response to child victims and witnesses. NCJ #176983
<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/publications/factshts/pdfxt/monograph.pdf>

This monograph describes the best practices and programs that focus on the most effective response to child victims and child witnesses by all those who work in our criminal justice

system, beginning at the crime scene and continuing through the prosecution. We hope that the information, skills, programs, and practices described in this document will serve as a blueprint for policymakers, criminal justice professionals, and all those who recognize the importance of effective intervention in the lives of victimized children as a way to prevent future crime and violence

Wilson, J. C., & Davies, G. M. (1999). An evaluation of the use of videotaped evidence for juvenile witnesses in criminal courts in England and Wales. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 7(1), 81-96.

For the first time, the UK Criminal Justice Act (1991) allowed the videotaped evidence of a child to be substituted for the child's evidence-in-chief in a criminal court. The present study is an evaluation of that legislation. One hundred and fifty children were observed testifying in a criminal court in the UK. The use of the videotaped evidence and subsequent cross-examination of the child witness (usually via the closed circuit television system) was also observed. The data base from the Lord Chancellor's Department of all trials involving child witnesses in England and Wales was also analysed. The results showed that the introduction of the video technology into the criminal courts reduced the levels of stress of child witnesses but did not increase the conviction rates.

Goodman, G. S., Tobey, A. E., Batterman-Faunce, J. M., Orcutt, H., Thomas, S., Shapiro, C., & Sachsenmaier, T. (1998). Face-to-face confrontation: Effects of closed-circuit technology on children's eyewitness testimony and jurors' decisions. *Law and Human Behavior*, 22(2), 165-203.

Examined the effects of closed-circuit technology on children's testimony and jurors' perceptions of child witnesses. First, 85 5–6 yr olds and 101 8–9 yr olds individually participated in a play session with an unfamiliar male confederate. Approximately 2 wks later, 88 of these children testified about the event at a downtown city courtroom. 1,201 mock jurors viewed the trials with the child's testimony presented either live in open court or over closed-circuit television. Jurors made ratings concerning the child witness and the defendant, and deliberated to reach a verdict. Older children were more accurate witnesses than younger children, but older children produced

more inaccurate information in free recall. Testifying in open court was also associated with children experiencing greater pretrial anxiety. The use of closed-circuit technology led to decreased suggestibility for younger children, but did not diminish factfinders' abilities to discriminate accurate from inaccurate child testimony, nor did it directly bias jurors against the defendant. However, closed-circuit testimony biased jurors against child witnesses. Implications for the use of closed-circuit technology when children testify are discussed. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, all rights reserved)

Myers, J. E. (1996). A decade of international reform to accommodate child witnesses. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 23(2), 402-422.
<http://www.uk.sagepub.com/hemmens/study/articles/10/myers.pdf>

The past decade has witnessed significant reform of the legal system to accommodate child witnesses. This article describes reforms in the following areas: investigative interviewing, preparing children to testify, admissibility of children's hearsay statements, competence of children to testify in court, altering the courtroom to accommodate child witnesses, judicial control of the proceedings and questioning, support persons for child witnesses, exclusion of witnesses during a child's testimony, closing the courtroom to the public and the press, video link technology and other modifications that effect the accused's right to confront the child, counsel or guardian ad litem for a child witness, the corroboration requirement, and jury instructions regarding child witnesses.

Tobey, A. E., Goodman, G. S., Batterman-Faunce, J. M., Orcutt, H. K., & Sachsenmaier, T. (1995). Balancing the rights of children and defendants: Effects of closed-circuit television on children's accuracy and jurors' perceptions. In M. S. Zaragoza, J. R. Graham, G. N. Hall, R. Hirschman, & Y. Ben-Porath (Eds.), *Memory and testimony in the child witness. Applied psychology: Individual, social, and community issues*, Vol. 1., (pp. 214-239). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage.

Swim, J. K., Borgida, E., & McCoy, K. (1993). Videotaped versus in-court witness testimony: Does protecting the child witness jeopardize due process? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 23*(8), 603-631.

Videotaping depositions may protect a child witness from the stress of testifying in court but also may influence jurors' perceptions of the child and the defendant, and jurors' verdicts in systematic ways. The present study examines several psychological hypotheses that emerge from the controversy over the use of videotaped depositions of child witnesses in child sexual abuse trials. We predicted that student jurors viewing a videotaped deposition would be more proprosecution and less prodefense than those who did not receive testimony in such a form. Thus, it was predicted that jurors viewing a videotaped deposition would perceive the prosecution witnesses and their testimonies more favorably, the defense witnesses and their testimonies less favorably, and give more guilty verdicts than jurors who viewed identical testimony during the course of a trial. We also predicted that females would be more proprosecution and less prodefense than males and that this gender difference would be accentuated by the medium of presentation. The medium of presentation had only a few effects on jurors' responses. However, when differences emerged, they generally provided support for the predicted main effects. The implications of these findings for the use of videotaped depositions of child sexual abuse victims are discussed.

Ritsema, P. W. (1988). Testimony of children via closed-circuit television in Indiana: Face (to television) to face confrontation. *Valparaiso University Law Review, 23*(3), 455-483.
<http://tinyurl.com/o9f9hc>

The purpose of this note is twofold. Its main thrust is an assessment of the statute's ramifications vis a vis the sixth amendment, since the statute appears to be in conflict with the right of confrontation. The note's secondary aim is an examination of all aspects of the statute in the hope of devising a more artfully worded statute to lessen the conflict with the sixth amendment.

VI. Juror perceptions

Tabak, S. J., & Klettke, B. (2014). Mock jury attitudes towards credibility, age, and guilt in a fictional child sexual assault scenario. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 66(1), 47-55.

Low conviction rates of child sexual assault (CSA) remain a persistent social problem in Australia. One reason for this may be the impact of attitudes regarding the victims when the evidence is weak. This article examines the effects of victim age on perceptions of credibility and verdict in a CSA case. Eleven electronic focus groups deliberated a fictional CSA case, in which the age of the child was systemically varied between 6 and 15 years. Deliberation transcripts were analysed with NVivo (Version 9, QSR International Pty Ltd., Burlington, MA, USA), from which thematic clusters were derived. Results showed that as the child's age increased, credibility and guilty verdicts decreased. In addition, testimony alone had little impact in influencing the verdict. These findings suggest that in lieu of corroborating evidence, increasing supporting information, such as expert testimony, and providing structured deliberation for the jury may reduce the influence of victim blame, particularly when the child victim is older.

Laimon, R. L., & Poole, D. A. (2008). Adults usually believe young children: The influence of eliciting questions and suggestibility presentations on perceptions of children's disclosures. *Law and Human Behavior*, 32(6), 489-501.

Do people realize the danger of asking misinformed children yes-no questions? Study 1 confirmed that disclosures children made during free recall in an earlier suggestibility study were more accurate than disclosures following "yes" responses to yes-no questions, which in turn were more accurate than disclosures following "no" responses. In Studies 2 and 3, college students watched interviews of children and judged the veracity of these three disclosure patterns. Participants generally believed false reports representing the first two patterns, although watching expert testimony that included a videotaped example of a false report reduced trust in prompted disclosures. Results document the need to inform forensic decision-makers about the circumstances associated with erroneous responses to yes-no questions.

Bottoms, B. L., Golding, J. M., Stevenson, M. C., Wiley, T. R., & Yozwiak, J. A. (2007). A review of factors affecting jurors' decisions in child sexual abuse cases. In M. Toglia, J. D. Read, D. F. Ross, & C. L. Lindsay (Eds.), *The Psychology of Eyewitness Memory* (pp. 509-543). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Shelton, H., Donald, E., Barak, G., & Kim, Y. S. (2007). A study of juror expectations and demands concerning scientific evidence: Does the "CSI effect" exist?. *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment & Technology Law*, 9(2), 331-368.

Many prosecutors, judges and journalists have claimed that watching television shows like CSI have caused jurors to wrongfully acquit guilty defendants when no scientific evidence is presented. This is the first empirical study designed to investigate whether the "CSI effect" exists. This survey of 1027 persons called for jury duty in a State court looked at jurors' television viewing habits, their expectations that the prosecutor would produce scientific evidence, and whether they would demand scientific evidence as a condition of a guilty verdict. While the study did find significant expectations and demands for scientific evidence, there was little or no indication of a link between those preconceptions and watching particular television shows. The authors suggest that to the extent that jurors have significant expectations and demands for scientific evidence, it may have more to do with a broader "tech effect" in our popular culture rather than any particular "CSI effect." At the same time, this article contends that any such increased expectations and demands are legitimate and constitutionally based reflections in jurors of changes in our popular culture, and that the criminal justice system must adapt to accommodate jurors' expectations and demands for scientific evidence.

Quas, J. A., Thompson, W. C., Alison, K., & Stewart, C. (2005). Do jurors "know" what isn't so about child witnesses? *Law and Human Behavior*, 29(4), 425-456.

Are expert witnesses needed in child sexual abuse cases to educate jurors about children's memory, suggestibility, and reactions to abuse, or do jurors already know what such experts could tell them? To cast light on this question, we surveyed jurors and jury-eligible college students and compared their beliefs with what is known via scientific research regarding children's memory and ability to testify, reactions to interrogation, and reactions to sexual abuse. We also asked participants to infer results of four widely cited studies of children's

suggestibility. Participants' beliefs were consistent with findings from research on some issues (e.g., that children can be led to claim that false events occurred) but diverged from the scientific consensus on other issues (e.g., whether children can remember painful events in infancy). Similarly, participants sometimes overestimated and sometimes underestimated the level of suggestibility observed in empirical studies. Individual differences in accuracy were related to participants' gender, education and ethnicity, and there was considerable disagreement among participants on many questions. Implications of findings for the admissibility of expert testimony in child abuse cases are discussed.

Golding, J. M., Fryman, H. M., Marsil, D. F., & Yozwiak, J. A. (2003). Big girls don't cry: The effect of child witness demeanor on juror decisions in a child sexual abuse trial. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 27(11), 1311-1321.

This study investigated the effect of child witness demeanor (defined as crying) on mock jurors' decisions in a simulated First-Degree rape trial. One hundred and thirty-three undergraduates serving in the role of mock jurors read a trial summary in which the primary independent variable was the demeanor of the alleged child victim (i.e., calm, teary, hysterical crying). In addition to reading the summary, participants viewed pencil drawings of the witnesses that were presented as "courtroom drawings." The results showed that the teary condition led to more guilty verdicts and a greater belief in the alleged victim than the other demeanor conditions. Findings from this study indicate that demeanor can impact the perception of a child who is an alleged sexual assault victim in court. However, it is not simply the case that any display of demeanor will lead to a positive outcome for the alleged victim. Instead, it appears that too little or too much emotion from the alleged child victim negatively affected credibility in the eyes of the mock jurors.

McCauley, M. R., & Parker, J. F. (2001). When will a child be believed? The impact of the victim's age and juror's gender on children's credibility and verdict in a sexual-abuse case. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 25(4), 523-539.

To provide insight into the central dimensions jurors may use when deciding a child victim's credibility and verdict. Participants ($N = 573$) read a simulated trial (robbery or a sexual-assault case in which the defendant was either a stranger or an acquaintance) in which the alleged victim was either a 6- or 13-year-old girl. The trials were constructed to be as similar as possible with only minimal differences in the child's testimony. The supporting evidence was held constant across cases to allow for experimental assessment of the hypotheses. The defendant was more likely to be found guilty in the sexual-assault cases than in the robbery case. The child was perceived to be more credible, honest, and to have a better memory in the sexual-assault cases compared to the robbery case. Perceptions of memory and honesty predicted verdict and punishment. The child's age did not impact credibility or verdict. Finally, women, compared to men, perceived the child as more credible. Type of case was a potent factor in jurors' determination of guilt and the child's credibility. Contrary to expectations, neither the victim's age nor the interaction between this and type of case impacted verdict or credibility measures.

Tobey, A. E., Goodman, G. S., Batterman-Faunce, J. M., Orcutt, H. K., & Sachsenmaier, T. (1995). Balancing the rights of children and defendants: Effects of closed-circuit television on children's accuracy and jurors' perceptions. In M. S. Zaragoza, J. R. Graham, G. N. Hall, R. Hirschman, & Y. Ben-Porath (Eds.), *Memory and testimony in the child witness. Applied psychology: Individual, social, and community issues*, Vol. 1., (pp. 214-239). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage.

Nightingale, N. N. (1993). Juror reactions to child victim witnesses: Factors affecting trial outcome. *Law and Human Behavior*, 17(6), 679-694.

Two experiments, involving a total of 597 undergraduates (aged 17–45 yrs), examined trial variables that might affect juror decisions. In Exp 1, the impact of corroboration, type of case (civil vs criminal), and victim age (6, 9, or 12 yrs) was examined. Ss read a trial summary describing a wrongful injury or sexual abuse case and were asked to make decisions regarding

the case. Results show that corroboration increased the number of guilty verdicts for the 6- and 12-yr-olds, yet had little impact in the case with the 9-yr-old. The type of the case did not interact with child age in affecting jurors' decisions. In Exp 2, the trial summary described the corroborated sexual abuse case used in Exp 1 and varied the age of the victim from 6 to 14 yrs. The number of guilty verdicts and credibility decreased with age, whereas the amount of blame attributed to the victim increased with age. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, all rights reserved)

Ross, D. F., Dunning, D., Tolia, M. P., & Ceci, S. J. (1990). The child in the eyes of the jury. *Law and Human Behavior, 14*(1), 5-23.

This article reports three experiments that examine how mock jurors respond to the testimony of a child witness as compared to the testimony of a young adult and elderly witness. In Experiment 1, mock jurors viewed a videotaped recreation of a court trial in which the age of the prosecution's key witness was presented as 8, 21, or 74. Contrary to prior research in this area, the testimony of the 8-year-old witness was rated as more credible than identical testimony given by the 21-year-old witness. The elderly witness was also viewed as more credible than the young adult witness, but less so than the child witness. These findings were replicated in Experiment 2, where mock jurors read a written transcript of the same trial that was presented via videotape in Experiment 1. In Experiment 3, a survey was taken of mock jurors' beliefs about age differences in eyewitness ability. In general, mock jurors were found to hold a negative stereotype of the child witness. These findings are discussed in terms of current theory and research on juror reactions to the child witness, and the more general issue of how stereotypes influence impression formation and social judgment.

Leippe, M. R., & Romanczyk, A. (1989). Reactions to child (versus adult) eyewitnesses: The influence of jurors' preconceptions and witness behavior. *Law and Human Behavior, 13*(2), 103-132.

Five studies examined how a total of 646 college students reacted to child eyewitnesses in criminal cases. In Study 1, there were no age differences in Ss' predictions about a staged crime

study involving eyewitnesses of varying age; however, Ss predicted poorer recall (but not face recognition) for children under age 10 yrs than for those aged 12 yrs and older. In Studies 2–5, Ss read and reacted to written criminal cases in which the principal prosecution eyewitness was either a child or an adult. Across studies, eyewitness age generally made a difference in how Ss reacted to the eyewitness and the case. The direction of the difference, however, varied across studies. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, all rights reserved)

Nigro, G. N., Buckley, M. A., Hill, D. E., & Nelson, J. (1989). When juries “hear” children testify: The effects of eyewitness age and speech style on jurors’ perceptions of testimony. In S. J. Ceci et al (Eds.), *Perspectives on Children’s Testimony* (pp. 57-70). New York: Springer.

Leippe, M. R., & Romanczyk, A. (1987). Children on the witness stand: A communication/persuasion analysis of jurors’ reactions to child witnesses. In *Children’s Eyewitness Memory* (pp. 155-177). Springer US.

Eyewitnesses are pivotal participants in criminal cases, and psychological research on eyewitness memory is therefore of potentially enormous practical value. Yet juries ultimately decide those cases that reach the courtroom. Research may (indeed does) yield insights about factors that influence memory and about the accuracy rates that typify a given witnessing-identification context, but an important question always remains: Do jurors take these factors into account when evaluating an eyewitness report? Put simply, how do jurors perceive and evaluate eyewitness testimony? Despite some claims to the contrary (e.g., McCloskey & Egeth, 1983), the growing research on this issue suggests that jurors’ reliance on eyewitness testimony in deciding guilt is greater than research findings merit. Jurors in laboratory studies, for example, have been found to overbelieve eyewitness identifications (Brigham & Bothwell, 1983; Lindsay, Wells, & Rumpel, 1981), rely too heavily on their impressions of eyewitness confidence (Lindsay et al., 1981; Wells, Lindsay, & Tousignant, 1980), and be misled by witness memory for trivial details when judging face-recognition accuracy (Wells & Leippe, 1981). In short, jurors’ perceptions of adult eyewitness memory and memory-relevant influences may, at least in part, be based on inaccurate stereotypes and assumptions. An important role of psychological research is to identify where and to what extent jurors’ conceptions of eyewitness memory differ from the

research-derived “facts” of eyewitness memory. In turn, methods of educating jurors (e.g., through pretrial instructions) might be developed.

Ross, D. F., Miller, B. S., & Moran, P. B. (1987). The child in the eyes of the jury: Assessing mock jurors’ perceptions of the child witness. In *Children’s Eyewitness Memory* (pp. 142-154). Springer US.

In many criminal cases involving sexual abuse, kidnapping, and domestic violence, a child is the sole eyewitness to the crime (Goodman, Golding, & Haith, 1984). Prosecutors are often hesitant to bring these cases to trial because of burdensome legal obstacles concerning child witnesses (Berliner & Barbieri, 1984). Recently, however, there have been several legal changes that are easing this burden. For instance, several states have abolished their rule regarding corroborating evidence (Goodman et al., 1984; Melton, 1984). This rule specifies that a child’s testimony can be accepted in court only if it is supported by the testimony of an adult. The retraction of this rule may have a sizable impact on the number of crimes that are brought to trial. In 1983 there were 183 reported cases of sexual abuse in New York State. However, only one of these cases resulted in conviction. It is believed that the lack of corroborating evidence is one factor contributing to such low conviction rates (Berliner & Barbieri, 1984; Ceci, Ross, & Toglia, 1987).

Goodman, G. S., Golding, J. M., & Haith, M. M. (1984). Jurors’ reactions to child witnesses. *Journal of Social Issues, 40*(2), 139-156.

Adults often do not know when to believe children. There are few places where this uncertainty is more consequential than in a court of law where jurors may be forced to base their verdict largely on the testimony of children. Legal and cultural stereotypes undermine children's credibility as witnesses by portraying them as basically honest but highly manipulable, unable to differentiate fantasy from reality, and lacking in cognitive sophistication. In this article, we review juror, witness, and courtroom factors that influence a child's credibility. We also present the results of our own studies on reactions to child witnesses.

VII. General

Burrows, K. S., & Powell, M. (2014). Prosecutors' recommendations for improving child witness statements about sexual abuse. *Policing & Society, 24*(2), 189-207.

Child sexual abuse cases are often not prosecuted because of poor evidential quality. The aim of this study was to elicit suggestions from prosecutors as to how investigative interviews with child witnesses (the main form of evidence in child abuse cases) could be improved. Thirty-six in-depth phone interviews were held with 19 trial prosecutors shortly before and after trials. For each case, prosecutors were asked to provide feedback about the strengths and limitations of the child witness interviews, along with suggestions for how the interviews could have been improved. Thematic analysis revealed three broad areas for improvement: the need for tighter focus on the elements of the offence, better clarification of inconsistencies and ambiguities in the account, and greater consideration of how the child presents in the eyes of the jury. These areas, along with the prosecutors' practical suggestions, are outlined. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for trainers in child witness interviewing.

Lamb, M. E., Malloy, L., Hershkowitz, I., & La Rooy, D. (In Press.) Children in the law. Chapter to appear in R.M. Lerner (General Editor), M. E. Lamb (Volume Editor), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (7th edition), Volume 3, *Social, emotional and personality development*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Stolzenberg, S. N., & Lyon, T. D. (2013). How attorneys question children about the dynamics of sexual abuse and disclosure in criminal trials. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 20*(1), 19-30.

Little is known about how the dynamics of sexual abuse and disclosure are discussed in criminal court. We examined how attorneys ask child witnesses in sexual abuse cases ($N = 72$, 6–16 years of age) about their prior conversations, both with suspects and with disclosure recipients.

Prosecutors' questions were more open-ended than defense attorneys, but most questions asked by either attorney were yes/no questions, and children tended to provide unelaborated responses.

Prosecutors were more inclined to ask about children's prior conversations with suspects than

defense attorneys, but focused on the immediate abuse rather than on grooming behavior or attempts to silence the victim. Prosecutors were also more inclined to ask about children's motives for disclosing or for failing to disclose than defense attorneys, but in most cases, failed to ask. Both types of attorney asked children about prior disclosures, although defense attorneys were more inclined to ask children to recall specific content in particular disclosures. On average, children were asked about five disclosure recipients, and denied disclosing some information in 93% of cases. Attorneys exhibited little sensitivity to the age of the child in selecting their questions. The implications of the results for improving the process by which abuse cases are tried in court are discussed.

Zajac, R., O'Neill, S., & Hayne, H. (2012). Disorder in the courtroom? Child witnesses under cross-examination. *Developmental Review, 32*(3), 181-204.

When a witness gives evidence in an adversarial criminal trial, there are two main questioning phases: direct examination and cross-examination. Special provisions are sometimes made for children to give direct evidence, but the majority of child witnesses are still cross-examined. While several decades of research have demonstrated how to elicit children's direct evidence in a manner that promotes completeness and accuracy, the cross-examination process directly violates many of these principles. Here, we outline the characteristics of cross-examination, particularly as it pertains to children, and we review research about its impact on children, their testimony, and their credibility. We consider options for reforming the cross-examination process and propose avenues for future research.

Block, S. D., Oran, H., Oran, D., Baumrind, N., & Goodman, G. S. (2010). Abused and neglected children in court: Knowledge and attitudes. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 34*(9), 659-670.

After maltreated children are taken into protective custody, dependency courts determine the children's placements. Many, if not most, maltreated children never attend their dependency court hearings. We had the rare opportunity to interview children in a jurisdiction where children regularly attend their detention hearings in dependency court. Our main goals were to assess

maltreated children's knowledge and attitudes about their court experiences and identify predictors thereof. We also examined if the maltreated children desired greater participation in dependency court decisions. Immediately after attending their dependency court hearings, 7- to 10-yearolds were interviewed about their knowledge of, attitudes concerning, and participation in dependency court. Information was also extracted from the children's dependency court files. Lack of understanding and negative attitudes were common. Age predicted court knowledge, and age, anxiety, court knowledge, abuse type, and criminal court referral predicted attitudes. Qualitative findings included that a substantial minority of children did not feel believed or listened to, and most children wanted to return home. This research is relevant to current debates about the extent to which children should be involved in legal decisions. The results suggest that maltreated children may profit from greater understanding of dependency court. Moreover, the findings indicate that children often wish to have greater influence in dependency court decisions. Professionals should consider providing children involved in dependency court hearings with age-appropriate information about the legal proceedings. Children may also benefit in dependency hearings from the opportunity, directly or indirectly (through their attorneys), to give voice to their wishes and needs.

Evans, A. D., Lee, K., & Lyon, T. D. (2009). Complex questions asked by defense lawyers but not prosecutors predicts convictions in child abuse trials. *Law and Human Behavior, 33*(3), 258-264.

Attorneys' language has been found to influence the accuracy of a child's testimony, with defense attorneys asking more complex questions than the prosecution (Zajac & Hayne, J. Exp Psychol Appl 9:187-195, 2003; Zajac et al. Psychiatr Psychol Law, 10:199-209, 2003). These complex questions may be used as a strategy to influence the jury's perceived accuracy of child witnesses. However, we currently do not know whether the complexity of attorney's questions predict the trial outcome. The present study assesses whether the complexity of questions is related to the trial outcome in 46 child sexual abuse court transcripts using an automated linguistic analysis. Based on the complexity of defense attorney's questions, the trial verdict was accurately predicted 82.6% of the time. Contrary to our prediction, more complex questions asked by the defense were associated with convictions, not acquittals.

Troxel, N. R., Ogle, C. M., Cordon, I. M., Lawler, M. J., & Goodman, G. S. (2009). Child witnesses in criminal court. In B. L. Bottoms, C. J. Najdowski, & G. S. Goodman (Eds). *Children as victims, witnesses, and offenders: Psychological science and the law* (pp. 150-166). New York: The Guilford Press.

Gilstrap, L. L., Firtz, K., Torres, A., & Melinder, A. (2005). Child witnesses: Common ground and controversies in the scientific community. *William Mitchell Law Review*, 32, 59-79. <http://www.wmitchell.edu/lawreview/Volume32/Issue1/3Gilstrap.pdf>

Zajac, R., Gross, J., & Hayne, H. (2003). Asked and answered: Questioning children in the courtroom. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 10(1), 199-209. http://www.judcom.nsw.gov.au/publications/benchbks/sexual_assault/articles/Zajac-Questioning_children_in_the_courtroom.pdf

In the present experiment, we analysed court transcripts in which children aged 5 to 13 years provided the key evidence in sexual abuse trials. We developed two separate coding schemes for lawyers' questions and children's responses. Consistent with past research, defence lawyers conducting cross-examination asked a higher proportion of complex, grammatically confusing, credibility-challenging, leading, and closed questions than prosecution lawyers. In responding to defence lawyers' questions, child witnesses rarely asked for clarification and often attempted to answer questions that were ambiguous or did not make sense. Furthermore, over 75% of children changed at least one aspect of their testimony during the cross-examination process. These findings have important implications for the way in which children are examined in court.

Myers, J. E., Saywitz, K. J., & Goodman, G. S. (1996). Psychological research on children as witnesses: Practical implications for forensic interviews and courtroom testimony. *Pacific Law Journal*, 28, 3-91.

Perry, N. W., McAuliff, B. D., Tam, P., Claycomb, L., Dostal, C., & Flanagan, C. (1995). When lawyers question children: Is justice served? *Law and Human Behavior, 19*(6), 609-629.

Assessed the impact of some complex vs simple question forms frequently used by attorneys on the children's understanding of typical courtroom questions forms and the accuracy of children's responses. 15 males and 15 females from each of 4 student populations (kindergarten, Grades 4 and 9, and college) viewed a videotaped incident and then responded to questions about the incident. Half the questions were asked in "lawyerese" (i.e., using complex question forms); the remaining half asked for the same information using simply phrased question forms of the same length. Lawyerese confused children, adolescents, and young adults alike. Questions that included multiple parts with mutually exclusive responses were the most difficult to answer; those that included negatives, double negatives, or difficult vocabulary also posed significant problems. Results suggest that complex question forms impede truth-seeking and should be prohibited in court. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, all rights reserved)

Goodman, G. S., & Bottoms, B. L. (1993). *Child victims, child witnesses: Understanding and improving testimony*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Nightingale, N. N. (1993). Juror reactions to child victim witnesses: Factors affecting trial outcome. *Law and Human Behavior, 17*(6), 679-694.

Two experiments, involving a total of 597 undergraduates (aged 17–45 yrs), examined trial variables that might affect juror decisions. In Exp 1, the impact of corroboration, type of case (civil vs criminal), and victim age (6, 9, or 12 yrs) was examined. Ss read a trial summary describing a wrongful injury or sexual abuse case and were asked to make decisions regarding the case. Results show that corroboration increased the number of guilty verdicts for the 6- and 12-yr-olds, yet had little impact in the case with the 9-yr-old. The type of the case did not interact with child age in affecting jurors' decisions. In Exp 2, the trial summary described the corroborated sexual abuse case used in Exp 1 and varied the age of the victim from 6 to 14 yrs. The number of guilty verdicts and credibility decreased with age, whereas the amount of blame attributed to the victim increased with age. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, all rights reserved)

Saywitz, K. J. (1989). Children's conceptions of the legal system: "Court is a place to play basketball". In S. J. Ceci et al (Eds.), *Perspectives on Children's Testimony* (pp. 131-157). New York: Springer.

Children are participating in legal investigations and litigation more frequently than ever before. They become involved with the legal system as victims of abuse, neglect, or kidnapping; as witnesses to burglary or to a parent's murder; or as the foci of custody disputes and civil injury cases. When children come in contact with the legal system, they often become involuntary participants in a complex web of repeated contacts with strangers, in unknown situations, governed by a set of unfamiliar rules that are admittedly difficult even for adult witnesses to comprehend.