:	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT					
:	FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA					
3	UNITED STATES, :					
4	-					
5	VS. : CR. NO. 05-394 :					
6	: LEWIS LIBBY, :					
7	DEFENDANT, :					
8	WASHINGTON, D. C.					
9	OCTOBER 26, 2006					
10	TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE HONORABLE REGGIE B. WALTON					
11	THE THE MONORALDER REGOLD B. WALLON					
12	U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE					
13	219 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60604					
	PETER ZEIDENBERG, AUSA					
14	555 4TH STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.					
15	KATHLEEN KEDIAN					
16	FOR THE DEFENDANT: JOHN CLINE, ESQ.					
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      WITNESS
                              DIRECT CROSS
      DR. ELIZABETH LOFTUS 11 52
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                          E-X-H-I-B-I-T-S
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     DEFENDANT'S
                         IN EVIDENCE
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	P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S
:	2 (THE DEFENDANT AND COUNSEL WERE PRESENT.)
	(=== =================================
	Delote desired Relion Nomber 05-394,
	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA VERSUS LEWIS LIBBY.
5	TOOKBEEVES FOR
$\epsilon$	THE RECORD.
7	MR. FITZGERALD: YES. YOUR HONOR, GOOD MORNING.
8	PAT FITZGERALD FOR THE UNITED STATES, JOINED BY THE USUAL
9	TEAM. I WILL MENTION ONE ADDITIONAL PERSON SITTING AT
10	COUNSEL TABLE IS DR. NEAL COHEN, A PSYCHOLOGIST, BUT WE ARE
11	NOT CALLING HIM AS A WITNESS. HE'S JUST GOING TO TELL ME
12	WHAT THE BIG WORDS MEAN. BUT THAT IS AN ADDITIONAL PERSON
13	HERE TODAY.
14	THANK YOU.
15	THE COURT: VERY WELL.
16	MR. CLINE: GOOD MORNING, YOUR HONOR. JOHN CLINE
17	FOR MR. LIBBY, WHO IS HERE. AND WE, TOO, HAVE THE USUAL
18	TEAM.
19	THE COURT: GOOD MORNING.
20	I HAVE READ THE PAPERS THAT HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED.
21	I DON'T HAVE ANY SERIOUS QUESTION ABOUT THE SCIENCE. I
22	WOULD AGREE THAT THERE OBVIOUSLY IS A SCIENCE IN REFERENCE
23	TO THE PROCESS OF MEMORY.
24	MY MAIN CONCERN, TO LET YOU ALL KNOW AHEAD OF TIME
25	SO YOU CAN FASHION YOUR PRESENTATION TO TRY AND ADDRESS THE

CONCERN, IS WHETHER THIS TESTIMONY WOULD AID THE JURY. AND
MY CONCERNS ARE, ONE, WHILE I UNDERSTAND WHAT SOME OF THE
RESEARCH APPARENTLY INDICATES ABOUT THE BELIEF THAT PEOPLE
HAVE ABOUT THEIR MEMORY, IT'S A LITTLE PERPLEXING TO ME THAT
ADULT, RATIONAL HUMAN BEINGS WOULD HAVE THOSE FEELINGS ABOUT
THEIR ABILITY TO REMEMBER.

I MEAN I THINK I HAVE A PRETTY GOOD MEMORY. I CAN WALK UPSTAIRS SOMETIMES AND FORGET WHAT I WENT UPSTAIRS FOR.

AND I JUST THINK LIVING LIFE WOULD SAY TO THE AVERAGE PERSON WHO IS A RATIONAL INDIVIDUAL THAT MEMORIES CAN BE FAULTY.

TIME CAN, OBVIOUSLY, IMPACT ON MEMORIES. PRESSURE OF OTHER EVENTS CAN HAVE AN EFFECT.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IS SOMETHING THAT THE AVERAGE
PERSON WOULD APPRECIATE. BUT PUTTING THAT ASIDE, AND
ASSUMING THERE IS SOME MERIT TO THE POSITION, THE OTHER
CONCERN I HAVE RELATES TO THE SURVEYS OR THE RESEARCH
ITSELF.

AS I SAY, OBVIOUSLY, UNDER DAUBERT, THE SECOND

PRONG OF THE DAUBERT TEST REQUIRES THAT THE EVIDENCE HAS TO

BE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE JURY. AND NONE OF THE RESEARCH, AT

LEAST -- AND MAYBE YOU ALL CAN CORRECT ME IF I AM WRONG -
THAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THIS CASE HAS LOOKED AT THE SITUATION

AS FAR AS JURORS ARE CONCERNED, AFTER THEY HAVE GONE THROUGH

THE RIGORS OF THE TRIAL PROCESS.

FROM WHAT I CAN GLEAN, THE RESEARCH RANDOMLY MADE

_	CONTACT WITH PROPER WHO WERE QUALIFIED AS POTENTIAL JURORS
2	IN A JURISDICTION, AND THEY WERE ASKED QUESTIONS RELATED TO
3	PRIMARILY, I THINK, IN THE CONTEXT OF IDENTIFICATION
4	TESTIMONY, AND THEY WERE ASKED TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS
5	RELATED TO THE ISSUE. BUT I DIDN'T SEE WHERE THERE WAS ANY
6	RESEARCH THAT DEMONSTRATED THAT AFTER A JUROR HAD GONE
7	THROUGH THE PROCESS OF VOIR DIRE, WHERE QUESTIONS WERE ASKED
8	THAT SPECIFICALLY WENT TO THIS ISSUE, HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO
9	VIGOROUS CROSS-EXAMINATION BY GOOD COUNSEL, HAD HAD ARGUMENT
0	PRESENTED BY WAY OF CLOSING ARGUMENTS AND HAD INSTRUCTIONS
1	GIVEN BY THE COURT, WHICH I WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO, THAT
2	WOULD GIVE THE JURY FACTORS THAT THEY SHOULD FOCUS ON IN
3	MAKING AN ASSESSMENT AS TO THE ISSUE OF MEMORY WHETHER
$4 \mid$	AFTER ALL OF THAT HAS BEEN DONE, AT THE END OF THAT,
5	ASSUMING THAT THESE SURVEYS ARE CORRECT THAT PEOPLE DO HAVE
5	THIS BELIEF ABOUT MEMORY, THAT PEOPLE AT THE END OF THE
7	PROCESS WOULD STILL HAVE THAT PERSPECTIVE AND, IN FACT, IN
3	THE DELIBERATION PROCESS, CONDUCTED THEMSELVES BY WAY OF
,	THOSE DELIBERATIONS IN A WAY INCONSISTENT WITH THE REALITY
	OF THE FALLACY OF MEMORY.
- 1	

AND I DIDN'T SEE ANY RESEARCH THAT HAS ADDRESSED IT FROM THAT PERSPECTIVE. AND IT IF HASN'T, THEN HOW CAN WE SAY THAT THIS TESTIMONY IS, IN FACT, GOING TO BE AN AID TO THE JURY BEYOND WHAT THE RIGORS OF THE TRIAL PROCESS PROVIDES IN GIVING THE JURY A PERSPECTIVE THAT'S APPROPRIATE

AS TO THE ISSUE OF MEMORY?

THOSE ARE MY MAIN CONCERNS.

MR. CLINE: YOUR HONOR, WE HAVE DR. LOFTUS HERE
TODAY, WHO CAN TESTIFY. I THINK SHE CAN EXPLAIN BETTER THAN
I CAN THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE STUDIES DO TOUCH ON ACTUAL
JURORS AS OPPOSED TO POTENTIAL JURORS.

THE COURT: OKAY.

MR. CLINE: AND SO I WILL CALL HER IN JUST A
MINUTE, BUT I GUESS ONE POINT I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE -- AND I
THINK IT COMES UP IN THE SOME OF THE EYEWITNESS CASES THAT
WE HAVE CITED, AND I THINK THE DISTRICT COURT CASE FROM
KENTUCKY BRINGS OUT THIS POINT -- IS THAT THERE IS REALLY
NOTHING NECESSARILY IN THE TRIAL PROCESS THAT WILL EDUCATE
JURORS ON THESE POINTS IF THEY DON'T ALREADY UNDERSTAND
THEM.

IN OTHER WORDS, THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF

COUNSEL ARGUING AND CROSS-EXAMINING, BUT IN THE PROCESS OF

CROSS-EXAMINING, COUNSELS' QUESTIONS, OF COURSE, AREN'T

FACTS. AND THERE WILL BE NO WITNESS FROM WHOM WE CAN ELICIT

THESE PRINCIPLES -- THESE FINDINGS OF MEMORY RESEARCH,

UNLESS DR. BJORK IS ABLE TO TESTIFY.

JURY INSTRUCTIONS. IT IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE THAT
YOUR HONOR COULD INCORPORATE INTO A JURY INSTRUCTION THE
PRINCIPLES THAT DR. BJORK WOULD TESTIFY ABOUT, BUT I DON'T
BELIEVE AN INSTRUCTION WOULD CONVEY TO THE JURY, ESPECIALLY

WITHOUT ANY SORT OF FACTUAL BACKGROUND OR EXPLANATION, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POINTS THAT DR. BJORK WOULD MAKE. IT IS BETTER THAN NOTHING.

THE COURT: IF YOU OPEN THE DOOR TO PERMIT THIS

TESTIMONY, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE HAVE TURNED THE TRIAL

PROCESS OVER TO THE TESTIMONY OF EXPERTS BECAUSE IF EXPERTS

ARE NEEDED TO TESTIFY ON THIS ISSUE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IN

THE CONTEXT OF ANY ISSUE, THE ARGUMENT CAN BE MADE THAT

EXPERTS ARE NEEDED.

I MEAN MEMORY IS SOMETHING THAT HUMAN BEINGS HAVE
TO DRAW UPON ON A DAILY BASIS, AND I FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT
TO APPRECIATE THAT IF JURORS ARE REMINDED OF THIS TYPE OF
INFORMATION, THAT IT WOULD NOT TRIGGER SOMETHING IN THEIR
OWN MINDS ABOUT THEIR OWN EXPERIENCES REGARDING MEMORY, AND
WHILE THEY MAY NOT UNDERSTAND THE NUANCES OR THE MECHANICS
THAT COME INTO PLAY THAT CAUSE THESE PHENOMENONS TO OCCUR,
THAT THE PROCESS OF JUST LIVING LIFE WOULD CAUSE THEM TO BE
ABLE TO APPRECIATE, "YES, OVER TIME I FORGET THINGS. IF I
AM BUSY REGARDING OTHER THINGS, I MAY NOT FOCUS ON SOMETHING
THAT'S LESS SIGNIFICANT."

I MEAN THOSE ARE JUST EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES I THINK
THE AVERAGE HUMAN BEING EXPERIENCES. AND IT JUST SEEMS TO
ME THE NORMAL TRIAL PROCESSES WOULD TWEAK THEIR MEMORY OF
THESE EVENTS AND, THEREFORE, GIVE THEM AN APPRECIATION OF
THE FALLACIES OF MEMORY AND THAT THEY DON'T REALLY NEED

EXPERT TESTIMONY TO DO THAT.

LIKE I SAY, THEY MAY NOT KNOW THE TECHNICAL

NUANCES OF WHY THIS PHENOMENON OCCURS, BUT, NONETHELESS, IT

SEEMS TO ME THAT THEIR NORMAL LIFE EXPERIENCES WOULD TELL

THEM THAT PEOPLE'S MEMORIES ARE NOT LIKE TAPE RECORDERS. WE

ARE HUMAN BEINGS. WE FORGET. WE DON'T FOCUS ON THINGS, AND

AS A RESULT OF THAT, WE DON'T REMEMBER THEM.

I MEAN I THINK BACK TO WHEN I WAS PLAYING

FOOTBALL. I USED TO THINK I SCORED TOUCHDOWNS EVERY GAME,

BUT WHEN I WENT BACK AND LOOKED AT THE ACTUAL RECORD, I SAW
I DIDN'T.

MR. CLINE: I GUESS I HAVE A COUPLE RESPONSES.

ONE IS AT SOME LEVEL OF GENERALITY, IT IS CERTAINLY TRUE THE FACT THAT MEMORY FADES IS A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE AND THAT MEMORY FADES OVER TIME IS A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE.

WHERE I THINK IT STOPS BEING A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE IS WHEN YOU GET INTO SOME OF THE MORE SUBTLE POINTS WHICH ARE THE ONES THAT DR. BJORK IS GOING TO ADDRESS.

AND I'LL TELL YOU RIGHT NOW DR. LOFTUS, I THINK,
WILL TESTIFY THERE IS ONE POINT, AMONG THE 13 BJORK POINTS,
AS I'LL CALL THEM, THAT SHE WILL SAY SHE THINKS IS A MATTER
OF COMMON SENSE, AND THAT IS THAT YOU TEND TO REMEMBER
THINGS THAT ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU MORE READILY THAN YOU DO
THINGS THAT ARE UNIMPORTANT TO YOU.

BUT THE OTHER BJORK POINT -- FOR EXAMPLE, YOU

MENTIONED PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT MEMORY IS NOT A TAPE
RECORDER OR A VIDEO RECORDER.

WELL, YOU UNDERSTAND THAT, YOUR HONOR, AND I
UNDERSTAND THAT. BUT THE SURVEY SHOWED THAT AN AWFUL LOT OF
JURORS -- ALMOST HALF OF THE JURORS OR MAYBE MORE THAN HALF
-- DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT. THEY HAVE THIS IDEA THAT MEMORY
IS SOMEHOW THERE IN YOUR MIND JUST WAITING TO BE ACTIVATED,
LIKE A FILM OR A TAPE RECORDING. AND THAT IS WRONG, AND IT
IS WRONG IN AN IMPORTANT WAY.

THE OTHER POINT I WOULD MAKE -- AND THIS HAS COME
UP A COUPLE OF TIMES IN OUR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THIS ISSUE.
IT IS SORT OF THE FLOODGATES QUESTION. IF YOU ALLOW A
MEMORY EXPERT HERE, YOU ARE GOING TO BE ALLOWING MEMORY
EXPERTS IN EVERY CASE.

AND I GUESS I HAVE TWO RESPONSES TO THAT. THE

FIRST ONE IS THAT -- I CAN'T SPEAK FOR MY COLLEAGUES HERE,

BUT I HAVE BEEN DOING THIS FOR TWENTY YEARS, AND I HAVE

NEVER HAD A CASE BEFORE WHERE I HAVE SOUGHT TO CALL A MEMORY

EXPERT. IT IS NOT BECAUSE THE IDEA WOULDN'T HAVE OCCURRED

TO ME. IT JUST DIDN'T FIT THE FACTS THE WAY I BELIEVE IT

DOES HERE.

SO I DON'T THINK IT IS GOING TO BE AS MUCH OF A

PROBLEM AS ONE MIGHT THINK. BUT THE OTHER POINT IS THIS.

LET'S ASSUME FOR A MOMENT THAT JURORS DON'T UNDERSTAND OR A

SIGNIFICANT PERCENTAGE OF JURORS DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW MEMORY

1 WORKS IN THE WAY THAT DR. BJORK WOULD POINT OUT. 2 AND LET'S ASSUME THAT THE JURORS, WHEN THEY DO 3 THEIR FACT-FINDING FUNCTION, RELY ON THOSE MISCONCEPTIONS. WE ARE HERE TO FIND THE TRUTH. THAT'S WHAT TRIALS ARE 5 ABOUT. AND IF JURORS ARE RELYING ON MISCONCEPTIONS DAY IN, DAY OUT TO REACH THE TRUTH, WE SHOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT 6 7 THAT. AND IF THAT MEANS CALLING A MEMORY EXPERT, IT SEEMS TO ME WE SHOULD CALL A MEMORY EXPERT AND NOT SIT BY AND LET 8 9 JURORS --10 THE COURT: I WON'T QUIBBLE WITH YOU ON THAT. 11 MR. CLINE: I BEG YOUR PARDON? THE COURT: I WON'T QUIBBLE WITH YOU ON THAT. 12 13 DON'T DISAGREE WITH THAT. 14 MR. CLINE: IT DOES BOIL DOWN TO THE QUESTION OF 15 DO JURORS OR POTENTIAL JURORS MISUNDERSTAND -- AND WE SHOULDN'T SPEAK ABOUT ALL POTENTIAL JURORS. I THINK WE'LL 16 FIND AS WE GO THROUGH THE STUDIES WITH DR. LOFTUS, THERE IS 17 18 A SIGNIFICANT PERCENTAGE OF JURORS WHO PROBABLY DO, ON EACH 19 OF THESE POINTS, UNDERSTAND THE BASIC THRUST OF THE POINT. 20 THE PROBLEM IS: WHAT ABOUT THE ONES WHO DON'T? 21 THE COURT: CAN'T WE FERRET THAT OUT DURING THE

THE COURT: CAN'T WE FERRET THAT OUT DURING THE

VOIR DIRE PROCESS? I AM PRETTY LIBERAL WHEN IT COMES TO

PERMITTING COUNSEL TO ASK FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS TO MY

QUESTIONS DURING THE INDIVIDUAL VOIR DIRE.

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MR. CLINE: I GUESS I WOULD SAY THIS. I AM NOT

SURE WE CAN FERRET IT OUT DURING THE VOIR DIRE PROCESS, BUT 1 MAYBE MORE PRACTICALLY, VOIR DIRING A BUNCH OF JURORS ON ALL 2 OF THESE POINTS WOULD TAKE A LOT MORE TIME AND PROBABLY 3 4 PRODUCE A LESS PRECISE RESULT THAN JUST LETTING DR. BJORK TESTIFY BECAUSE HIS TESTIMONY WILL BE RELATIVELY QUICK. HE 5 6 WILL BE CROSS-EXAMINED. THE GOVERNMENT MAY OR MAY NOT CALL AN EXPERT, BUT IT SEEMS TO ME IT IS A LOT MORE EFFICIENT TO 7 8 DO IT THAT WAY AND MAKE SURE THEY HAVE THE INFORMATION THAN TO TRY TO VOIR DIRE A WHOLE LARGE PANEL OF JURORS. 9 10 THE COURT: OKAY. WHY DON'T WE PROCEED WITH THE TESTIMONY. 11 12 MR. CLINE: OKAY. DR. LOFTUS. YOUR HONOR, I HAVE EIGHT EXHIBITS I PLAN TO USE 13 WITH DR. LOFTUS. MAY I HAND THOSE UP TO THE COURT? 14 15 THE COURT: YES. 16 (DR. LOFTUS, DEFENDANT'S WITNESS, SWORN.) 17 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. CLINE: 18 19 Q. GOOD MORNING, DR. LOFTUS. 20 A. GOOD MORNING. 21 Q. I AM GOING TO SPEND A LITTLE BIT OF TIME ON YOUR QUALIFICATIONS, BUT NOT TOO MUCH BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE A 22 23 JURY HERE. 24 THE DEPUTY CLERK: WILL YOU SPELL HER NAME?

MR. CLINE: I BEG YOUR PARDON?

- THE DEPUTY CLERK: WILL YOU SPELL HER NAME?
- 2 BY MR. CLINE:
- 3 | Q. WOULD YOU SPELL YOUR NAME, PLEASE?
- 4 | A. MY NAME IS ELIZABETH LOFTUS. IT'S L-O-F-T-U-S.
- 5 Q. TELL US BRIEFLY, PLEASE, YOUR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND.
- 6 | A. WELL, STARTING WITH COLLEGE, I WENT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
- 7 | CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, AND GRADUATED WITH A BACHELOR'S
- 8 DEGREE IN MATHEMATICS AND IN PSYCHOLOGY IN 1966. THEN I
- 9 | WENT TO STANFORD UNIVERSITY AND RECEIVED A MASTER'S DEGREE
- 10 | IN 1967, FOLLOWED BY A PH.D IN PSYCHOLOGY IN 1970.
- 11 | Q. OKAY. WHERE DO YOU WORK NOW?
- 12 A. I AM CURRENTLY ON THE FACULTY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
- 13 | CALIFORNIA, URVINE.
- 14 O. WHAT DO YOU DO THERE?
- 15 | A. WELL, MY TITLE IS DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR, AND I HAVE
- 16 POSITIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL
- 17 BEHAVIOR AND ALSO IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY, LAW AND
- 18 | SOCIETY.
- 19 | Q. IS IT FAIR TO SAY, TO CUT TO THE CHASE HERE, THAT YOU
- 20 | HAVE DEVOTED THE PAST THREE DECADES OR SO OF YOUR
- 21 | PROFESSIONAL LIFE TO THE STUDY OF HUMAN MEMORY?
- 22 A. YES.
- 23 Q. AND YOU HAVE STUDIED MEMORY, HAVE YOU NOT, BOTH IN THE
- 24 | CONTEXT OF EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION AND IN THE CONTEXT
- 25 | REMOVED FROM EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION, CORRECT?

- 1 A. CORRECT. MANY MEMORY STUDIES THAT HAVE NOTHING TO DO
- 2 | WITH IDENTIFICATION, OR HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH IDENTIFYING
- 3 PEOPLE.
- 4 | Q. CAN YOU TELL US BRIEFLY WHAT THE RELATION IS BETWEEN THE
- 5 | STUDY OF MEMORY IN THE CONTEXT OF EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION
- 6 AND THE STUDY OF MEMORY IN OTHER CONTEXTS?
- 7 A. WELL, FIRST OF ALL, THE STUDY OF MEMORY IS A KIND OF
- 8 UMBRELLA FIELD, AND THERE ARE THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF
- 9 | PSYCHOLOGISTS AROUND THE WORLD WHO STUDY MEMORY MORE
- 10 GENERALLY.
- A SUBPROBLEM IN THE MORE GENERAL FIELD OF HUMAN
- 12 MEMORY IS THE PROBLEM OF EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY OR EYEWITNESS
- 13 | IDENTIFICATION.
- 14 EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY WOULD BE MEMORY FOR CRIMES.
- 15 | ACCIDENTS, OTHER COMPLEX EVENTS, OR LEGALLY RELEVANT EVENTS.
- 16 | EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION IS THE STUDY OF THE ABILITY TO
- 17 | IDENTIFY PEOPLE THAT YOU MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE SEEN BEFORE.
- 18 | AND THESE ARE SUBPROBLEMS OF THE MORE GENERAL PROBLEM OF
- 19 HUMAN MEMORY.
- 20 | Q. SO IS IT FAIR TO SAY THAT THE PRINCIPLES THAT APPLY TO
- 21 OR THE FINDINGS RELATING TO HUMAN MEMORY GENERALLY CAN ALSO
- 22 | BE APPLIED TO THE PARTICULAR PROBLEM OF EYEWITNESS MEMORY?
- 23 | A. CORRECT, AND VICE VERSA.
- 24 | Q. OKAY. YOU HAVE HAD, I TAKE IT, MANY PUBLICATIONS IN THE
- 25 | FIELD OF MEMORY?

- 1 A. YES.
- 2 | Q. MANY OF THOSE PUBLICATIONS THAT YOU HAVE HAD HAVE
- 3 | APPEARED IN PEER-REVIEW JOURNALS?
- 4 A. YES.
- 5 Q. CAN YOU TELL US JUST QUICKLY WHAT A PEER-REVIEW JOURNAL
- 6 | IS?
- 7 A. WELL, PEER-REVIEW IS A PROCESS BY WHICH YOU SUBMIT YOUR
- 8 | SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE FOR PUBLICATION IN A JOURNAL. GENERALLY,
- 9 | A NUMBER OF REVIEWERS REVIEW THAT ARTICLE FOR IS IT A
- 10 | SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION; IT IS COMPETENTLY DONE; IS IT
- 11 | WORTHY OF PUBLICATION IN THIS PARTICULAR JOURNAL; IS THE
- 12 | AUDIENCE OF THE READERSHIP THE RIGHT AUDIENCE FOR THIS
- 13 MATERIAL -- THOSE KINDS OF ISSUES. AND THEN IF THE ANSWER
- 14 TO ALL OF THOSE QUESTIONS IS, YES, YOUR PAPER IS PUBLISHED
- 15 OR OFTEN PUBLISHED. AND THAT IS, IN ESSENCE, WHAT THE
- 16 | PEER-REVIEW PROCESS IS LIKE.
- 17 | Q. IT'S A RIGOROUS PROCESS DESIGNED TO INSURE, AMONG OTHER
- 18 | THINGS, RELIABILITY, CORRECT?
- 19 | A. RIGHT, AND THAT QUALITY MATERIAL IS BEING PUBLISHED.
- 20 | Q. ALL RIGHT. YOU ARE, ARE YOU NOT, A MEMBER OF THE
- 21 | NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES?
- 22 | A. I AM, YES.
- 23 | Q. YOU HAVE TESTIFIED AS AN EXPERT MANY TIMES?
- 24 | A. I HAVE PROBABLY TESTIFIED MAYBE 260 OR 270 TIMES IN THE
- 25 | LAST 30 YEARS.

- 1 | Q. IN SOME CASES, YOU HAVE TESTIFIED IN THE CONTEXT OF
- 2 | MEMORY AS IT RELATES TO EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION?
- 3 | A. YES.
- 4 | Q. AND IN SOME CASES YOU HAVE TESTIFIED ABOUT ISSUES OF
- 5 MEMORY IN OTHER CONTEXTS, RIGHT?
- 6 A. CORRECT.
- 7 | Q. CAN YOU GIVE US A COUPLE OF EXAMPLES OF CASES WHERE YOU
- 8 | HAVE TESTIFIED ABOUT MEMORY OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF
- 9 | EYEWITNESS MEMORY?
- 10 A. WELL, OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION,
- 11 | THERE ARE MANY CASES THAT INVOLVE MEMORY FOR OTHER ASPECTS
- 12 | OF A SITUATION. SO, FOR EXAMPLE, I TESTIFIED IN THE
- 13 | LITIGATION INVOLVING THE SOLDIERS WHO FLEW INTO A GONDOLA
- 14 | CABLE IN ITALY AND SEVERED THE CABLE, AND MANY PEOPLE FELL
- 15 TO THEIR DEATH.
- 16 THE ISSUE WASN'T THE IDENTITY OF THE DEFENDANT OR
- 17 | ANYBODY ELSE IN THAT, BUT WAS THE BEHAVIOR OF THE PLANE.
- 18 WAS IT FLYING TOO LOW? WAS IT GOING TOO FAST? WAS IT
- 19 HOTDOGGING? AND THERE WERE ISSUES OF POST-EVENT INFORMATION
- 20 AND POST-EVENT SUGGESTION THAT CAME INTO THAT PARTICULAR
- 21 CASE.
- 22 I HAVE TESTIFIED IN --
- THE COURT: YOU MEAN MEMORY ABOUT PEOPLE HAVING
- 24 OBSERVED THE PLANE, OR PEOPLE WHO WERE FLYING THE PLANE, OR
- 25 | WHAT?

- 1 | THE WITNESS: NO, YOUR HONOR. IT WAS PEOPLE WHO
- 2 | OBSERVED THE PLANE AND WERE MAKING CLAIMS ABOUT WHAT THEY
- 3 | SAW AND REMEMBERED. IT JUST SO HAPPENED THAT THERE WAS
- 4 | QUITE A BIT OF BIASED MEDIA COVERAGE THAT PRECEDED THEIR
- 5 | RECOLLECTION. SO SOME OF MY EXPERT TESTIMONY HAD TO DO WITH
- 6 | THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF THAT BIASING INFORMATION.
- 7 BY MR. CLINE:
- 8 | Q. JUST QUICKLY, ARE THERE OTHER CONTEXTS OUTSIDE OF THE
- 9 EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION CONTEXT WHERE YOU HAVE TESTIFIED?
- 10 | A. WELL, I HAVE TESTIFIED, FOR EXAMPLE, IN A TRADE SECRETS
- 11 | CASE WHERE ONE COMPANY IS SUING ANOTHER FOR MISAPPROPRIATION
- 12 | OF TRADE SECRETS, AND THE ISSUE HAD TO DO WITH THE ABILITY
- 13 OF THE HUMAN MIND TO REMEMBER WHAT WAS LEARNED IN ONE
- 14 | SETTING VERSUS WHAT WAS LEARNED AND REMEMBERED FROM ANOTHER
- 15 | SETTING. NOTHING TO DO WITH EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION.
- 16 | Q. WAS THERE A PERJURY CASE MANY YEARS AGO THAT YOU
- 17 | TESTIFIED IN?
- 18 | A. I DID, YES, A PERJURY CASE IN NEW YORK WHERE I TESTIFIED
- 19 ABOUT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE ABILITY TO REMEMBER WHEN
- 20 UNDER A GREAT DEAL OF PERSONAL STRESS.
- 21 | Q. APART FROM YOUR TESTIMONY, YOU HAVE ALSO CONSULTED
- 22 | WIDELY, HAVE YOU NOT?
- 23 A. YES.
- 24 | Q. YOU HAVE CONSULTED WITH SOME FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
- 25 | AGENCIES?

- 1 | A. I HAVE, YES.
- 2 O. INCLUDING THE F.B.I.?
- 3 A. WELL, I HAVE LECTURED ABOUT THE SUBJECT TO THE F.B.I.
- 4 | AND THE SECRET SERVICE AND CONSULTED WITH THE C.I.A. AND
- 5 OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, USUALLY ABOUT MEMORY AND THE
- 6 MEMORY OF WITNESSES -- INTERVIEWING WITNESSES.
- 7 | Q. OKAY. NOW, AMONG THE OTHER AREAS OF MEMORY STUDY THAT
- 8 YOU HAVE DONE, YOU HAVE EXAMINED THE EXTENT TO WHICH
- 9 POTENTIAL JURORS UNDERSTAND THE FINDINGS OF MEMORY RESEARCH
- 10 | AS A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE, CORRECT?
- 11 | A. I HAVE, YES.
- 12 | Q. AND YOU HAVE CO-AUTHORED TWO ARTICLES THAT ADDRESSED
- 13 | THAT TOPIC, RIGHT?
- 14 A. YES. IN ADDITION TO THE TWO ARTICLES, THERE ALSO IS A
- 15 | DISCUSSION OF THAT SITUATION IN ONE OF MY BOOKS ON
- 16 EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY.
- 17 Q. ALL RIGHT.
- 18 A. OR MORE THAN ONE OF THE BOOKS, ACTUALLY.
- 19 | Q. WE WILL GET TO THOSE ARTICLES IN JUST A SECOND.
- MR. CLINE: MAY I APPROACH, YOUR HONOR?
- 21 THE COURT: YES.
- 22 BY MR. CLINE:
- 23 Q. LET ME HAND YOU WHAT I HAVE MARKED AS EXHIBIT ONE. IS
- 24 | THAT YOUR C. V. AND PUBLICATION LIST?
- 25 | A. YES.

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MR. CLINE: YOUR HONOR, I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER THAT
   1
   2
       AS DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT NUMBER ONE.
                 THE COURT: ANY OBJECTION?
   3
  4
                MR. FITZGERALD: NO, JUDGE. WE DON'T OBJECT TO
  5
      ANY OF THE EIGHT EXHIBITS.
  6
                THE COURT: VERY WELL. THEY WILL ALL BE ADMITTED
  7
      THEN IN YOU ARE GOING TO OFFER THEM.
  8
                MR. CLINE: GREAT. THANK YOU.
  9
                                      (WHEREUPON, DEFENDANT'S
 10
                                      EXHIBITS NUMBERS 1 THROUGH 8
 11
                                      WERE WAS RECEIVED IN
 12
                                      EVIDENCE.)
 13
     BY MR. CLINE:
      Q. NOW, YOU UNDERSTAND, DR. LOFTUS, THAT MR. LIBBY SEEKS TO
 14
     CALL DR. ROBERT BJORK AS AN EXPERT WITNESS AT TRIAL ON
15
16
     VARIOUS MATTERS RELATING TO MEMORY, CORRECT?
17
     A. YES.
18
     Q. AND SOME TIME AGO I PROVIDED YOU WITH A SUMMARY OF
     DR. BJORK'S POINTS THAT HE PROPOSES TO TESTIFY ABOUT,
19
20
     CORRECT?
21
     A. YES.
22
               MR. CLINE: MAY I APPROACH AGAIN, YOUR HONOR?
23
               THE COURT: YES.
24
    BY MR. CLINE:
25
    Q. I HAND YOU WHAT I'VE MARKED AS EXHIBIT 2. IS THAT THE
```

- 1 | SUMMARY THAT I PROVIDED TO YOU?
- 2 | A. YES.
- 3 | Q. AND I ASKED YOU, DID I NOT, TO ASSESS THE EXTENT TO
- 4 | WHICH DR. BJORK'S 13 POINTS ARE MATTERS THAT JURORS KNOW OR
- 5 DON'T KNOW AS A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE OR COMMON KNOWLEDGE,
- 6 | RIGHT?
- 7 | A. YES.
- 8 Q. AND YOU HAVE MADE THAT ASSESSMENT AS BEST YOU CAN?
- 9 A. I TRIED TO, YES.
- 10 Q. OKAY. AND IN MAKING YOUR ASSESSMENT ABOUT DR. BJORK'S
- 11 | POINTS, YOU HAVE RELIED ON CERTAIN STUDIES, HAVE YOU NOT?
- 12 | A. WELL, I HAVE RELIED MOSTLY ON CERTAIN STUDIES THAT ARE
- 13 PUBLISHED AND, TO SOME EXTENT, ON MY OWN OBSERVATIONS, BUT
- 14 | MOSTLY ON THOSE STUDIES.
- 15 O. ALL RIGHT.
- MR. CLINE: YOUR HONOR, MAY I APPROACH AGAIN?
- 17 THE COURT: YES.
- 18 | BY MR. CLINE:
- 19 Q. DR. LOFTUS, I AM GOING TO HAND YOU WHAT I HAVE MARKED AS
- 20 EXHIBITS 3 THROUGH 8, AND I ASK YOU TO TAKE A MINUTE TO LOOK
- 21 AT THOSE.
- 22 ARE THESE THE STUDIES THAT YOU HAVE RELIED UPON?
- 23 A. YES.
- 24 | Q. CAN YOU BRIEFLY GO THROUGH THESE EXHIBIT-BY-EXHIBIT AND
- 25 | JUST TELL US WHAT THEY ARE AND IN A COUPLE SENTENCES

- 1 | SUMMARIZE THE STUDIES, STARTING WITH EXHIBIT 3, WHICH IS
- 2 YOUR OWN 2006 STUDY?
- 3 | A. YES. EXHIBIT 3 IS A 2006 PUBLICATION IN THE JURIMETRICS
- 4 JOURNAL THAT I HAVE CO-AUTHORED WITH THREE CO-AUTHORS. AND
- 5 IT REPORTS THE RESULTS OF A SURVEY THAT WAS CONDUCTED WITH
- 6 | POTENTIAL JURORS FROM THE WASHINGTON, D. C. AREA.
- 7 THIS SURVEY GATHERED DATA IN 2004 AND PRESENTED
- 8 | THOSE JURORS WITH A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS AND STATEMENTS
- 9 DESIGNED TO ASSESS WHETHER THEY UNDERSTAND THE WORKINGS OF
- 10 | MEMORY OR HOW CERTAIN FACTORS AFFECT MEMORY, OR, CONVERSELY,
- 11 DO THEY HAVE MISCONCEPTIONS, OR DO THEY HOLD BELIEFS THAT
- 12 | ARE INCONSISTENT OR CONTRADICTED BY SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE.
- 13 Q. OKAY. WE WILL BE TALKING MORE ABOUT EACH OF THESE
- 14 | STUDIES, BUT TURNING TO EXHIBIT 4, CAN YOU TELL US WHAT THAT
- 15 | IS?
- 16 | A. EXHIBIT 4 IS A STUDY THAT I CO-AUTHORED WITH KENNETH
- 17 DEFFENBACHER, PUBLISHED IN 1982. AND THIS IS A STUDY THAT
- 18 AGAIN TRIED TO PRESENT STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS TO POTENTIAL
- 19 JURORS, OR PEOPLE WHO WOULD BE ABLE TO SERVE ON JURIES: ONE
- 20 | SAMPLE IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, ONE SAMPLE IN THE STATE
- 21 OF NEBRASKA, AND THEN THE FINAL SAMPLE WERE POTENTIAL JURORS
- 22 | FROM THE WASHINGTON D.C. AREA. AND IN RESPONSE TO CONCERNS
- 23 | OF THE JUDGE, THAT LAST STUDY, THE ONE WITH THE
- 24 WASHINGTON, D. C. JURORS, DID INCLUDE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD
- 25 | FINISHED THEIR JURY SERVICE.

Q. ALL RIGHT. THANK YOU.

- THE COURT: IN REFERENCE TO THOSE JURORS, LET ME
- 3 JUST ASK HAD THEY, IN FACT, BEEN INVOLVED IN A TRIAL WHERE
- 4 | MEMORY WAS, IN FACT, AN ISSUE?
- THE WITNESS: YOUR HONOR, WE DON'T KNOW THAT. ALL
- 6 WE KNOW IS THAT THEY WERE ENDING THEIR TWO WEEKS OF JURY
- 7 | SERVICE WHEN THEY WERE APPROACHED AND PARTICIPATED IN THE
- 8 | SURVEY, AND THEIR RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS WERE NOT
- 9 DIFFERENT FROM A GROUP THAT HAD NOT ACTUALLY BEEN RECRUITED
- 10 | AFTER HAVING GONE THROUGH JURY SERVICE.
- 11 THE COURT: HAD THEY ALL BEEN JURORS WHO HAD
- 12 | ACTUALLY SAT ON A JURY THROUGH THE ENTIRE PROCESS?
- 13 THE WITNESS: WE DON'T KNOW THAT. ALL WE KNOW IS
- 14 | THAT THEY'D FINISHED THEIR TWO-WEEK JURY SERVICE. THAT IS
- 15 | ALL WE KNOW. WE DIDN'T ASK THEM THE KIND OF QUESTIONS THAT
- 16 YOU ARE ASKING NOW.
- 17 THE COURT: OKAY.
- 18 | BY MR. CLINE:
- 19 Q. TURN, PLEASE, TO EXHIBIT 5 AND TELL US WHAT THAT IS.
- 20 | A. EXHIBIT 5 IS A 2006 PUBLICATION, THE FIRST AUTHOR OF
- 21 WHICH IS BENTON. SO SOMETIMES IT IS REFERRED TO AS THE
- 22 BENTON REPORT. AND THIS IS A STUDY OF, AGAIN, PRESENTING
- 23 | ITEMS AND STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS NOT ONLY TO POTENTIAL
- 24 JURORS, BUT ALSO TO JUDGES, AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, AND EXPERTS
- 25 | TO BE ABLE TO COMPARE THE KNOWLEDGE THAT POTENTIAL JURORS

- 1 HAVE AND ALSO THE KNOWLEDGE THAT JUDGES AND LAW ENFORCEMENT
- 2 HAVE ABOUT THE FACTORS THAT AFFECT EYEWITNESS MEMORY OR
- 3 MEMORY, MORE GENERALLY.
- 4 Q. ALL RIGHT. EXHIBIT 6?
- 5 | A. EXHIBIT 6 IS A 2001 PUBLICATION. THE FIRST AUTHOR OF IT
- 6 | IS KASSIN -- SAUL KASSIN, WHO WAS A PROFESSOR AT WILLIAMS
- 7 | COLLEGE AND HAS NOW MOVED TO JOHN JAY COLLEGE IN NEW YORK.
- 8 AND THIS IS A STUDY OF EXPERTS -- APPROXIMATELY 64 EXPERTS
- 9 -- ASKING THEM QUESTIONS ABOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE
- 10 | SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE, WHETHER THEY FEEL CERTAIN PROPOSITIONS
- 11 ARE RELIABLE, WOULD THEY BE WILLING TO TESTIFY ABOUT THESE,
- 12 AND ALSO ASKING THEM WHETHER THEY THINK THAT AS A MATTER OF
- 13 | COMMON SENSE, JURORS WOULD UNDERSTAND THESE PROPOSITIONS.
- 14 SO THIS IS A STUDY OF THE EXPERTS PUBLISHED IN
- 15 | 2001.
- 16 Q. ALL RIGHT. EXHIBIT 7, PLEASE.
- 17 | A. EXHIBIT 7 BY WISE AND SAFER IS AN ATTEMPT TO FIND OUT
- 18 WHAT JUDGES BELIEVE TO BE TRUE ABOUT EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY
- 19 AND MEMORY. AND SO MANY OF THE STATEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN
- 20 | POSED TO EXPERTS IN OTHER STUDIES ARE NOW POSED TO A SAMPLE
- 21 | OF JUDGES. SO IT THEN COULD COMPARE THE JUDGES IN THIS
- 22 PARTICULAR SAMPLE AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE TO EXPERT OPINION.
- 23 | Q. YOU HAVE MENTIONED A COUPLE OF STUDIES THAT TOUCH ON
- 24 JUDGES' UNDERSTANDING OF HOW MEMORY WORKS, CORRECT?
- 25 A. YES.

- 1 | Q. WE ARE NOT GOING TO SPEND A LOT OF TIME ON JUDGES, YOUR
- 2 | HONOR, BUT IS IT FAIR TO SAY THAT THE STUDY SHOWED THAT
- 3 JUDGES GENERALLY HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF HOW MEMORY
- 4 | WORKS THAN POTENTIAL JURORS?
- 5 A. ON MANY OF THE POINTS, YES.
- 6 | Q. EXHIBIT 8?
- 7 | A. EXHIBIT 8 IS A STUDY THAT WAS DONE BY DAN YARMEY. IT
- 8 WAS PUBLISHED IN 1983. THE TITLE IS "IS THE PSYCHOLOGY OF
- 9 EYEWITNESS IDENTIFICATION A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE?" AND
- 10 | THIS IS A STUDY THAT COMPARED EXPERTS -- A NEW SAMPLE OF
- 11 EXPERTS TO POTENTIAL JURORS AND TO LEGAL PROFESSIONALS AND
- 12 | LAW STUDENTS TO ASSESS THEIR LEVELS OF KNOWLEDGE OF THESE
- 13 | PARTICULAR PROPOSITIONS HAVING TO DO WITH MEMORY AND
- 14 EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY.
- 15 | Q. ALL RIGHT. BY THE WAY, EXHIBIT 8 HAS SOME SCRIBBLINGS
- 16 | AND UNDERLININGS AND SO FORTH, RIGHT?
- 17 A. IT DOES, YES.
- 18 | Q. AND THOSE ARE YOURS, ARE THEY NOT?
- 19 A. YES. THIS WAS A BOOK CHAPTER THAT I SCRIBBLED ON.
- 20 MR. CLINE: I APOLOGIZE FOR THIS, YOUR HONOR. IT
- 21 | IS THE ONLY COPY WE COULD FIND.
- 22 BY MR. CLINE:
- 23 Q. OKAY. SO THOSE ARE THE STUDIES THAT YOU HAVE RELIED
- 24 | UPON IN ATTEMPTING TO ASSESS WHETHER THE PROPOSITIONS DR.
- 25 | BJORK INTENDS TO TESTIFY ABOUT ARE WITHIN JURORS' COMMON

- 1 KNOWLEDGE, CORRECT?
- 2 A. YES.
- 3 | Q. I TAKE IT THOSE ARE NOT ALL THE STUDIES THAT HAVE EVER
- 4 | BEEN DONE ON THE SUBJECT, RIGHT?
- 5 | A. NO. THERE ARE MORE STUDIES, INCLUDING STUDIES THAT HAVE
- 6 | LOOKED AT KNOWLEDGE OF POTENTIAL JURORS AND OTHER CITIZENS
- 7 | IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, BUT I DID NOT BRING IN ALL THE
- 8 | REST OF THE LITERATURE.
- 9 | Q. THESE ARE THE ONES YOU FOUND MOST PERTINENT?
- 10 A. WELL, SINCE MANY OF THEM WERE RECENT, THEY ARE GIVING US
- 11 | CURRENT INFORMATION.
- 12 | Q. AND IS IT FAIR TO SAY THAT THESE STUDIES, EXHIBITS 3
- 13 | THROUGH 8, HAVE FINDINGS THAT BEAR UPON, IN YOUR VIEW, SOME
- 14 OF DR. BJORK'S POINTS, BUT NOT ALL?
- 15 A. CORRECT.
- 16 Q. WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO DO THEN IS TO START WITH THE BJORK
- 17 | POINTS FOR WHICH THE STUDIES DO HAVE FINDINGS THAT YOU
- 18 | BELIEVE ARE HELPFUL. ALL RIGHT? LET'S BEGIN WITH POINT
- 19 ONE.
- 20 THIS IS THE POINT, YOUR HONOR, THAT BEGINS WITH
- 21 | THE PROPOSITION THAT HUMAN MEMORY DOES NOT FUNCTION LIKE A
- 22 | TAPE RECORDER, AND THEN IT GOES ON TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE
- 23 DYNAMICS OF MEMORY.
- DR. LOFTUS, HAVE YOU FOUND STUDIES THAT YOU
- 25 | CONSIDERED HELPFUL IN ASSESSING WHETHER POTENTIAL JURORS

- 1 | WOULD UNDERSTAND WHAT'S SET FORTH IN POINT ONE OF
- 2 DR. BJORK'S PROPOSED TESTIMONY AS A MATTER OF COMMON
- 3 KNOWLEDGE?
- 4 A. WELL, POINT ONE, OF COURSE, IS A LITTLE BIT LONGER AND
- 5 | MORE COMPLICATED THAN WHAT YOU JUST READ AND HAS TO DEAL
- 6 | WITH PRE- AND POST-EVENT INFORMATION, BUT I AM GOING TO TAKE
- 7 | THAT UP LATER BECAUSE IT IS ALSO RELATED TO ANOTHER POINT.
- 8 ON A PIECE OF DR. BJORK'S POINT ONE, DO JURORS
- 9 | THINK THAT HUMAN MEMORY WORKS LIKE A VIDEO TAPE RECORDER,
- 10 | THAT YOU RECORD THE EVENT AND PLAY IT BACK LATER AT A LATER
- 11 | TIME, AT LEAST ONE STUDY DOES HAVE A QUESTION THAT BEARS ON
- 12 | THAT. IT'S THE STUDY -- THE 2006 STUDY THAT I CO-AUTHORED
- 13 | THAT IS PUBLISHED IN THE JURIMETRICS JOURNAL, THE ONE THAT
- 14 | SURVEYED A THOUSAND WASHINGTON, D. C. POTENTIAL JURORS.
- 15 | Q. LET ME INTERRUPT YOU FOR ONE SECOND.
- 16 A. YES.
- 17 | Q. DO YOU HAVE SOME NOTES THAT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO YOU IN
- 18 | TALKING ABOUT THESE STUDIES?
- 19 | A. WELL, I DO. I DID PREPARE SOME NOTES SO THAT I COULD
- 20 | FIND THE PROPER PAGE OF THESE ARTICLES QUICKLY AND NOT WASTE
- 21 | EVERYBODY'S TIME.
- 22 Q. ALL RIGHT.
- THE COURT: DO YOU HAVE ANY OBJECTION TO HER USING
- 24 THOSE?
- MR. FITZGERALD: NO, JUDGE.

1 THE COURT: VERY WELL. 2 MR. CLINE: WE HAVE PROVIDED A COPY TO THE 3 GOVERNMENT. 4 THE COURT: OKAY. 5 MR. FITZGERALD: I AM HAPPY TO HAVE IT RECEIVED AS 6 AN EXHIBIT, IF THAT HELPS. 7 MR. CLINE: NO. JUST FOR HER ASSISTANCE. 8 BY MR. CLINE: Q. OKAY. DR. LOFTUS, I AM SORRY TO INTERRUPT. CONTINUE, 10 PLEASE, WITH POINT ONE OF DR. BJORK'S PROFFERED TESTIMONY. A. ON PAGE 195 AND 196 OF THIS JURIMETRICS ARTICLE --11 12 Q. THIS IS EXHIBIT 3 YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT? 13 A. THIS IS EXHIBIT 3. ONE CAN READ THAT THESE POTENTIAL JURORS WERE ASKED A QUESTION LIKE THIS: 14 15 "NOW I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SERIES OF 16 STATEMENTS, AND I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU 17 BELIEVE EACH ONE IS TRUE OR FALSE." 18 AND THEN ONE OF THOSE STATEMENTS IS: "THE ACT OF 19 REMEMBERING A TRAUMATIC EVENT IS LIKE A VIDEO RECORDING IN 20 THAT ONE CAN RECALL DETAILS AS IF THEY HAD BEEN IMPRINTED OR 21 BURNED INTO ONE'S BRAIN." 22 OF THIS SAMPLE OF APPROXIMATELY A THOUSAND 23 POTENTIAL JURORS, 46 PERCENT SAID THEY THOUGHT THAT WAS 24 TRUE, 48 PERCENT SAID THEY THOUGHT IT WAS FALSE, AND 6 PERCENT SAID THEY WEREN'T SURE WHETHER IT WAS TRUE OR FALSE. 25

SO HERE IS A QUESTION THAT IS TELLING YOU --WHETHER YOU WANT TO USE THE 46-PERCENT FIGURE THAT SAID IT WAS TRUE, OR COMBINE IT WITH THE SIX PERCENT WHO SAID THEY WEREN'T SURE, PRODUCING A FIGURE OF 52 PERCENT -- THAT ABOUT HALF OF THIS SAMPLE AGREED WITH THIS STATEMENT THAT AT LEAST FOR A TRAUMATIC EVENT, MEMORY WORKS LIKE A VIDEO RECORDING, AND THAT DEFIES WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT THE WORKINGS OF MEMORY. I MEAN VIRTUALLY ALL MEMORY EXPERTS GO OUT OF THEIR WAY TO MAKE THE POINT THAT IT DOESN'T WORK LIKE A VIDEO TAPE RECORDER. Q. ALL RIGHT. ANYTHING ELSE ABOUT POINT ONE OTHER THAN THE

POST-EVENT INFORMATION THAT WE WILL GET TO IN A MINUTE?

A. WELL, THIS IS ACTUALLY THE ONLY QUESTION THAT I COULD

FIND THAT REALLY GETS AT THAT VIDEO-RECORDING ISSUE. SO I

WOULD MOVE ON TO LATER POINTS.

THE COURT: SO I DON'T FORGET MY QUESTIONS THAT I
HAVE, LET ME JUST ASK, DOCTOR, IN THOSE SITUATIONS WHERE
THOSE TYPES OF RESPONSES WERE GIVEN, WHICH OBVIOUSLY ARE NOT
ACCURATE, WERE THERE ANY EXPERIMENTS DONE WHEREBY THE
POTENTIAL INDIVIDUALS WERE THEN SUBJECTED TO SOMETHING OF A
TRAUMATIC NATURE, AND THEN ASKED TO RECALL IT, AND THEN TOLD
ACTUALLY WHAT OCCURRED THAT WOULD SHOW THAT THEIR RECALL WAS
ACTUALLY OFF-POINT, AND THEN RESURVEYED TO SEE WHETHER THEY
STILL HELD THOSE BELIEFS?

THE WITNESS: NO.

THE COURT: THANK YOU.

- 2 BY MR. CLINE:
- 3 | Q. POINT TWO. AND THIS HAS TO DO WITH THE RECONSTRUCTION
- 4 | PROCESS AT THE TIME OF RETRIEVAL AND HOW THAT CAN BE
- 5 AFFECTED?

- 6 A. DR. BJORK'S POINT TWO ON RECONSTRUCTION BEING AFFECTED
- 7 BY THINGS LIKE EXPECTATIONS AND SO ON -- IN EXHIBIT 6, WHICH
- 8 | IS THE STUDY BY KASSIN OF APPROXIMATELY 64 EXPERTS, ONE OF
- 9 | THOSE ITEMS, WHICH IS ITEM 16, WHICH YOU CAN SEE ON PAGE
- 10 | 408, IS AN ITEM THAT READS: "AN EYEWITNESS'S PERCEPTION AND
- 11 | MEMORY FOR AN EVENT MAY BE AFFECTED BY HIS OR HER ATTITUDES
- 12 | AND EXPECTATIONS."
- NINETY-TWO PERCENT OF THE EXPERTS SAID THAT THIS
- 14 WAS A RELIABLE STATEMENT. YOU CAN SEE THAT FIGURE BY GOING
- 15 | TO TABLE 4 AND GOING DOWN ABOUT SIX ITEMS -- OR SEVEN -- AND
- 16 YOU WILL SEE THAT 92 PERCENT OF THE EXPERTS SAY THAT THAT IS
- 17 RELIABLE.
- 18 AND, IN GENERAL, THE EXPERTS DON'T THINK IT IS
- 19 | HIGHLY COMMON SENSE. OF COURSE, THESE EXPERTS WHO ARE
- 20 | THINKING IT IS NOT HIGHLY COMMON SENSE DID NOT HAVE THE
- 21 | BENEFIT OF THE 2006 BENTON RESEARCH, WHICH ACTUALLY LOOKED
- 22 AT JURORS. REMEMBER, THIS WAS THE STUDY THAT WAS DONE IN
- 23 | THE STATE OF TENNESSEE. WHEREAS 92 PERCENT OF THE KASSIN
- 24 | EXPERTS SAY THAT'S A RELIABLE STATEMENT, WHEN JURORS ARE
- 25 | ACTUALLY ASKED ABOUT IT, IT IS HIGH, BUT IT IS NOT AS HIGH.

- ONLY 81 PERCENT OF THE JURORS SAY THAT THAT STATEMENT IS
  GENERALLY TRUE. THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE.
- 3 WHEN THE TENNESSEE JUDGES ARE COMPARED TO THE
- 4 EXPERTS, IT IS NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT. SO WHAT WE CAN
- 5 SAY, BASED ON THE TENNESSEE STUDY, IS THE JUDGES SEEM TO
- 6 UNDERSTAND THIS AT A LEVEL THAT IS CLOSE TO THE EXPERTS.
- 7 | THE JURORS DON'T UNDERSTAND IT AS MUCH.
- 8 Q. AND THE "IT" THAT THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND IS THAT
- 9 ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS CAN AFFECT THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
- 10 | A MEMORY?
- 11 | A. RIGHT. I MEAN IN THAT PARTICULAR ITEM, THERE IS A
- 12 | FAIRLY HIGH RATE OF SAYING "GENERALLY TRUE," BUT IT IS STILL
- 13 | SIGNIFICANTLY BELOW THAT OF THE EXPERTS.
- AND THERE IS ONE OTHER STUDY THAT BEARS ON THIS
- 15 | POINT, AND THAT IS THE STUDY OF JUDGES THAT WAS DONE BY WISE
- 16 | AND SAFER. THEY, BY THE WAY, ARE HERE IN WASHINGTON, D. C.
- 17 | AT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.
- AND WHEN WISE AND SAFER PRESENTED THAT SAME
- 19 | STATEMENT TO JUDGES -- I WOULD HAVE TO CHECK AND SEE WHETHER
- 20 | THEY WERE WASHINGTON, D. C. JUDGES OR WHETHER THEY WERE FROM
- 21 | A LARGER SAMPLE, BUT THE JUDGES GAVE A RESPONSE THAT WAS
- 22 | CLOSE TO THE EXPERTS.
- SO, AGAIN, THE JUDGES SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THIS.
- 24 | THAT IS, THEY GIVE A FIGURE THAT IS SIMILAR TO THE EXPERTS.
- 25 | THE JURORS LESS SO. AND THAT'S WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT THAT

- 1 | POINT, BASED ON THESE STUDIES.
- 2 | Q. TO SORT OF VAGUELY INCAPSULATE THE POINT, WE ARE TALKING
- 3 | ABOUT HOW EXPECTATIONS AND ATTITUDES CAN AFFECT THE
- 4 | RECONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORY?
- 5 A. YES.
- 6 Q. OKAY. LET'S MOVE TO POINT 3 -- DR. BJORK'S POINT 3.
- 7 | A. COULD I JUST CLARIFY?
- 8 Q. SURE.
- 9 | A. I MEAN I DON'T MEAN TO BE SO PICKY, BUT THE QUESTION
- 10 | TALKS ABOUT PERCEPTION AND MEMORY, AS OPPOSED TO BJORK'S
- 11 | POINT TWO, WHICH TALKS ABOUT RECONSTRUCTION BEING AFFECTED
- 12 BY THESE THINGS. SO THE QUESTION IS INCLUDING EVEN SEEING
- 13 | SOMETHING AT THE TIME.
- 14 | O. ALL RIGHT.
- 15 | A. SO IT'S A PICKY POINT, BUT JUST TO BE PRECISE.
- 16 Q. OKAY. LET'S TURN TO BJORK'S POINT 3, AND THIS HAS TO DO
- 17 | WITH THE CORRELATION BETWEEN A PERSON'S CONFIDENCE IN A
- 18 MEMORY AND THE ACTUAL ACCURACY OF THAT MEMORY.
- 19 A. YES. NOW, CONFIDENCE AND ACCURACY IS SOMETHING THAT
- 20 | PSYCHOLOGISTS HAVE BEEN STUDYING AND WRITING ABOUT FOR QUITE
- 21 | SOME TIME. AND SO WE KNOW THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
- 22 | CONFIDENCE AND ACCURACY IS A RELATIVELY WEAK ONE. THAT
- 23 PEOPLE CAN BE VERY CONFIDENT ABOUT THINGS, EVEN WHEN THEY
- 24 ARE WRONG, AS WELL AS BE CONFIDENT WHEN THEY ARE RIGHT.
- 25 TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER PEOPLE IN GENERAL -- JURORS

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IN PARTICULAR -- UNDERSTAND THIS ASPECT OF CONFIDENCE AND ACCURACY, OR OTHER THINGS THAT THE SCIENCE HAS SHOWN ABOUT CONFIDENCE LEVELS, THE JURIMETRICS 2006 STUDY THAT SURVEYED A THOUSAND POTENTIAL JURORS IN THE D. C. AREA DID ASK A QUESTION, NAMELY, "AN EYEWITNESS'S LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE IN HIS OR HER IDENTIFICATION IS AN EXCELLENT INDICATOR OF THAT EYEWITNESS'S RELIABILITY?" AND THE RESULTS SHOWED THAT 39 PERCENT THOUGHT THAT WAS TRUE. FIFTY-FIVE PERCENT SAID IT WAS FALSE, AND SIX PERCENT WEREN'T SURE.

THAT WAS ONE QUESTION IN THE JURIMETRICS STUDY, BUT THE JURIMETRICS STUDY ALSO HAD ANOTHER QUESTION ASKING THOSE POTENTIAL JURORS TO COMPARE A CONFIDENT WITNESS WITH ONE THAT WAS LESS CONFIDENT. AND IN MAKING THAT COMPARISON, 31 PERCENT SAID THAT THE CONFIDENT WITNESS WOULD BE MUCH MORE RELIABLE THAN THE NON-CONFIDENT ONE. SEVENTEEN PERCENT SAID THE CONFIDENT WITNESS IS SLIGHTLY MORE RELIABLE. THAT STARTS TO GET CLOSEST TO THE BEST ANSWER. TWENTY-SIX PERCENT -- MOST OF THEM SAID THEY WOULD BE EQUALLY RELIABLE. ABOUT 17 PERCENT SAID THE LESS-CONFIDENT WITNESS WOULD BE MORE RELIABLE. AND NINE PERCENT SAID NEITHER WOULD BE RELIABLE, OR THEY WEREN'T SURE.

THESE ARE JUST A COUPLE OF EXAMPLES SHOWING JURORS' EITHER LACK OF KNOWLEDGE, CONFUSION, OR INABILITY TO GIVE THE RIGHT ANSWER TO A QUESTION THAT WOULD TAP INTO THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONFIDENCE-ACCURACY RELATIONSHIP.

THERE IS ONE MORE STUDY OR ONE MORE BIT OF DATA ON
THIS THAT I THINK IS IMPORTANT TO MENTION, AND THAT IS IN
THE KASSIN 2001 PAPER THAT QUESTIONED THE EXPERTS, ASKING
THEM THIS QUESTION: AN EYEWITNESS'S CONFIDENCE IS NOT A
GOOD PREDICTOR OF HIS OR HER IDENTIFICATION ACCURACY? -- IT
IS WORDED DIFFERENTLY, BUT THE EXPERTS -- 87 PERCENT OF THEM
SAID THIS WAS RELIABLE. AND THEY REALLY DIDN'T THINK JURORS
WOULD UNDERSTAND THIS.

WELL, WE HAVE DATA FROM BENTON, THE TENNESSEE

POTENTIAL JURORS. WHAT DO JURORS UNDERSTAND? AND WHEREAS

87 PERCENT OF THE KASSIN EXPERTS THOUGHT THAT WAS RELIABLE,

ONLY 64 PERCENT OF THE JURORS SAID IT WAS GENERALLY TRUE, A

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE.

SO HERE WE SEE EVIDENCE THAT JURORS DEVIATE
SUBSTANTIALLY FROM EXPERTS IN THIS FIELD IN TERMS OF THEIR
UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONFIDENCE-ACCURACY RELATIONSHIP.

- Q. NOW, ON EACH OF THESE POINTS THAT WE HAVE EXAMINED -AND, OF COURSE, THERE ARE MORE TO COME -- IS IT FAIR TO SAY
  THAT THE STUDY SHOWED THAT SOME PERCENTAGE OF JURORS DO
- 20 UNDERSTAND ACCURATELY THE POINT?

- 21 A. OH, ABSOLUTELY. ON EVERY ITEM, YOU WILL GET SOME
  22 JURORS -- AND SOMETIMES QUITE A FEW OF THEM -- GIVING THE
  23 RIGHT ANSWER.
- Q. AND THEN THERE ARE ALSO OTHERS WHO DON'T UNDERSTAND,

  CORRECT?

A. CORRECT.

- 2 Q. ALL RIGHT. LET'S MOVE TO -- IS THERE ANYTHING MORE ON
- 3 | CONFIDENCE AND ACCURACY, POINT 3?
- 4 | A. WELL, THERE IS ANOTHER ASPECT OF CONFIDENCE. THERE HAS
- 5 BEEN A NUMBER OF STUDIES RECENTLY THAT SHOW THAT CONFIDENCE
- 6 | IS MALLEABLE. THAT CONFIDENCE IS AFFECTED BY INFORMATION
- 7 | THAT SOMEBODY GETS LATER.
- 8 IF YOU SAY TO A WITNESS, "YOU KNOW THAT'S THE
- 9 | RIGHT ANSWER, " OR "ANOTHER WITNESS SAID THE SAME THING, " IT
- 10 | INCREASES THE CONFIDENCE OF THAT FIRST WITNESS. IT DIDN'T
- 11 | DO ANYTHING TO THE ACCURACY, BUT IT MAKES THEM MORE
- 12 | CONFIDENT. AND SO DO JURORS UNDERSTAND THAT CONFIDENCE IS
- 13 | MALLEABLE AND THAT IT CAN BE AFFECTED BY THINGS THAT HAPPEN
- 14 | LATER?
- THE KASSIN 2001 EXPERTS WERE ASKED A QUESTION
- 16 | ABOUT THIS -- WHAT DO THEY BELIEVE TO BE TRUE, AND WOULD
- 17 | THEY FIND THIS INFORMATION RELIABLE. WOULD THEY BE WILLING
- 18 TO TESTIFY ABOUT IT IN COURT?
- 19 THEY WERE ASKED THE QUESTION: AN EYEWITNESS'
- 20 | CONFIDENCE CAN BE INFLUENCED BY FACTORS THAT ARE UNRELATED
- 21 | TO ACCURACY? AND THE EXPERTS SAID THAT WAS RELIABLE 95
- 22 | PERCENT OF THE TIME -- 95 PERCENT OF THE EXPERTS SAID THAT
- 23 WAS RELIABLE, AND THEY DID NOT THINK JURORS WOULD FIND THAT
- 24 TO BE A MATTER OF COMMON SENSE.
  - WELL, A FEW YEARS LATER, BENTON IN TENNESSEE WENT

- 1 OUT AND ASKED THE JURORS: WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THAT
- 2 STATEMENT? AND WHEREAS THE 95 PERCENT OF EXPERTS SAID THAT
- 3 | THAT WAS RELIABLE, THE JURORS SAID "GENERALLY TRUE" ONLY
- 4 | FIFTY PERCENT OF THE TIME, WHICH IS QUITE A LARGE
- 5 DIFFERENCE.
- 6 Q. SO, IN OTHER WORDS, TO SIMPLIFY IT, ROUGHLY HALF THE
- 7 | JURORS -- POTENTIAL JURORS, I SHOULD SAY -- ROUGHLY HALF OF
- 8 | THE POTENTIAL JURORS DIDN'T UNDERSTAND THAT POINT, THAT
- 9 | CONFIDENCE IS MALLEABLE.
- 10 A. RIGHT. ONLY HALF OF THEM GAVE THE ANSWER "GENERALLY
- 11 | TRUE." THAT MEANS THE OTHER HALF WOULD HAVE GIVEN EITHER
- 12 | "GENERALLY FALSE" OR MAYBE THEY MIGHT HAVE SAID THEY DIDN'T
- 13 KNOW.
- 14 | Q. ALL RIGHT.
- 15 ANYTHING ELSE ON CONFIDENCE AND ACCURACY?
- 16 | A. WELL, THERE ARE OTHER STUDIES THAT BEAR ON THIS, BUT I
- 17 | THINK THAT WE HAVE ENOUGH EXAMPLES HERE SHOWING THAT EXPERTS
- 18 AGREE ON THIS POINT AND JURORS ARE DEMONSTRATING A LACK
- 19 | OF -- MANY OF THEM, A LACK OF AWARENESS OF THIS PHENOMENON.
- 20 | Q. ALL RIGHT. SHALL WE TAKE POINTS FOUR AND FIVE TOGETHER?
- 21 | A. YES. I THINK THEY ARE RELATED. THE IDEA THAT THERE CAN
- 22 | BE A MEMORY-CONJUNCTION ERROR -- THAT YOU CAN TAKE A DETAIL
- 23 | FROM THIS SITUATION AND COMBINE IT WITH YOUR MEMORY FOR
- 24 ANOTHER SITUATION AND CONSTRUCT AN ALTERED MEMORY OUT OF IT.
- 25 | THAT IS A MEMORY-CONJUNCTION ERROR. AND THE IDEA OF

1 SOURCE-MISATTRIBUTION ERROR WHERE YOU REMEMBER THE CONTENT FROM ONE SITUATION AND YOU REMEMBER THE SOURCE FROM A 2 3 DIFFERENT SITUATION, AND YOU COMBINE THOSE TOGETHER -- THEY ARE REALLY A CLOSELY-RELATED PHENOMENA. 4 5 Q. ALL RIGHT. AND DID YOU FIND STUDIES THAT ARE HELPFUL IN ASSESSING THE EXTENT TO WHICH JURORS UNDERSTAND THOSE 6 PHENOMENA AS A MATTER OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE? 7 8 A. NOTHING IN THESE ARTICLES USES THE WORD 9 "SOURCE-MISATTRIBUTION ERROR" OR "MEMORY-CONJUNCTION ERROR," 10 BUT THERE IS A CLOSELY RELATED PHENOMENON, AN EXAMPLE OF A MEMORY CONJUNCTION ERROR THAT IS ASKED ABOUT IN SOME OF 11 THESE STUDIES OF JUROR KNOWLEDGE. AND I AM THINKING ABOUT 12 13 THE PHENOMENON OF UNCONSCIOUS TRANSFERENCE. 14 THERE HAVE BEEN MANY STUDIES -- ACTUALLY, A FEW STUDIES OF UNCONSCIOUS TRANSFERENCE THAT SHOW THAT SOMETIMES 15 16 PEOPLE WILL SEE A PERSON IN ONE SITUATION, AND HE LOOKS 17 FAMILIAR. AND THEY THINK THEY SAW HIM BEFORE IN A DIFFERENT SITUATION THAN THE ONE THEY REALLY SAW HIM IN. SO THEY 18 19 THINK THEY ARE IDENTIFYING SOMEBODY WHO COMMITTED A CRIME, 20 WHEN, IN FACT, THEY ARE IDENTIFYING SOMEBODY WHO SHOPPED IN 21 THE STORE ON A FEW OCCASIONS. 22 THAT IS AN UNCONSCIOUS TRANSFERENCE, WHERE YOU MISTAKENLY IDENTIFY SOMEBODY FROM A DIFFERENT CONTEXT. 23

THE KASSIN EXPERTS IN 2001 WERE ASKED A QUESTION AND ASKED WHETHER THEY THOUGHT THIS WAS RELIABLE.

24

- 1 | "EYEWITNESSES SOMETIMES IDENTIFY, AS A CULPRIT, SOMEONE THEY
- 2 | HAVE SEEN IN ANOTHER SITUATION OR CONTEXT?" EIGHTY-ONE
- 3 | PERCENT OF THE EXPERTS THOUGHT THIS WAS RELIABLE, AND THEY
- 4 | DIDN'T THINK IT WOULD BE COMMON SENSE --
- 5 Q. I'M SORRY. LET ME JUST INTERRUPT ONE SECOND. WHEN YOU
- 6 | SAY 81 PERCENT OF THE EXPERTS THOUGHT THIS WAS RELIABLE, YOU
- 7 | MEAN 81 PERCENT OF THE EXPERTS THOUGHT THAT PROPOSITION WAS
- 8 | CORRECT?
- 9 A. RELIABLE, RIGHT. THOSE EXPERTS WERE ALSO ASKED WHETHER
- 10 | THEY THOUGHT THIS WAS COMMON SENSE. AND THEY DIDN'T THINK
- 11 | IT WOULD BE COMMON SENSE. BUT WHEN BENTON GAVE THAT SAME
- 12 | STATEMENT TO JURORS -- POTENTIAL JURORS -- 31 PERCENT -- I
- 13 AM SORRY -- 30 PERCENT OF THOSE JURORS THOUGHT THE STATEMENT
- 14 WAS GENERALLY TRUE.
- 15 SO YOU CAN SEE THERE IS A SIZABLE DIFFERENCE
- 16 BETWEEN THE EXPERTS' APPRECIATION OF THE STATEMENT AT 80
- 17 | PERCENT AND THE JURORS' APPRECIATION AT 30 PERCENT.
- 18 SO THERE IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF JURORS NOT
- 19 DEMONSTRATING AN APPRECIATION FOR THE IDEA THAT THIS
- 20 PHENOMENON CAN HAPPEN, AT LEAST IN THAT WAY.
- 21 Q. ARE THERE ANY OTHER STUDIES THAT ARE HELPFUL ON POINTS
- 22 | FOUR AND FIVE?
- 23 | A. WELL, THE JURIMETRICS STUDY FROM 2006, THE ONE THOUSAND
- 24 | POTENTIAL JURORS FROM WASHINGTON, D. C. -- THEY WERE ALSO
- 25 | ASKED A QUESTION THAT WOULD HAVE TAPPED INTO THEIR

- 1 | UNDERSTANDING OF UNCONSCIOUS TRANSFERENCE. IT SHOWED
- 2 | SOMEWHAT HIGHER RATES OF JUROR UNDERSTANDING, WITH 73
- 3 | PERCENT SAYING THAT THE STATEMENT THEY WERE ASKED WAS TRUE.
- 4 | THE QUESTION WAS WORDED A LITTLE BIT DIFFERENTLY, AND WE
- 5 DON'T HAVE AN EXPERT FIGURE TO COMPARE THAT 73 PERCENT TO.
- 6 Q. BUT LET'S ASSUME THAT 73 PERCENT OF JURORS DID
- 7 UNDERSTAND THAT. I TAKE IT ONE CAN INFER THAT 27 PERCENT
- 8 | EITHER DIDN'T KNOW OR HAD IT WRONG.
- 9 A. RIGHT. TWENTY-ONE PERCENT HAD IT WRONG, AND SIX PERCENT
- 10 | DIDN'T KNOW.
- 11 | Q. OKAY.
- 12 | A. OR SAID THEY WEREN'T SURE.
- 13 Q. LET'S MOVE TO POINT 6.
- 14 | A. WELL, POINT 6 IS -- THE ESSENCE OF POINT 6 IS IF
- 15 | SOMEBODY RECALLS SOMETHING WRONG INITIALLY, LATER ON THEY
- 16 MAY HAVE A TENDENCY TO REPEAT THAT ERROR. AND IN THESE
- 17 | STUDIES OF JUROR KNOWLEDGE, THERE'S NOT A QUESTION THAT ASKS
- 18 | ABOUT THAT EXACTLY THAT WAY. THESE QUESTIONS -- THESE
- 19 | STUDIES CERTAINLY WEREN'T DESIGNED WITH THIS PARTICULAR FACT
- 20 | SITUATION IN MIND. BUT THERE IS ONE QUESTION THAT COMES
- 21 | CLOSE TO THE ESSENCE OF THE IDEA THAT IF YOU MAKE AN ERROR,
- 22 | THERE IS AN INCREASED TENDENCY TO REPEAT THAT ERROR OR A
- 23 | TENDENCY TO REPEAT THAT ERROR LATER ON. AND THAT WOULD COME
- 24 | FROM THE STUDY THAT I CO-AUTHORED WITH DEFFENBACHER BACK IN
- 25 | 1982. THIS IS EXHIBIT 4.