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# SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONING EFFECTS ON EYEWITNESS REPORTS OF KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

BY

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# A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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Suggestive Questioning

Suggestive Questioning Effects On Eyewitness

Reports of Kindergarten Children.

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#### Abstract

The extent to which children's memories can be altered by suggestion was examined in this study. After a stranger visited their classroom, twelve 5 and 6 year olds were interviewed once a week for a period of three weeks. The children were randomly selected to be in the one of the following conditions: (a) suggestion, in which students were interviewed using suggestions about the visitors behavior that are misleading (b) increased suggestion, in which the number of suggestive questions asked by the examiner will be increased. The results revealed no significant statistical difference between the suggestion group and the increased suggestion group.

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### Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgment	2
Introduction	5
Methods	8
Subjects	8
Procedures	9
Instrument	9
Results.	11
Discussion	12
References	14
Appendix A: Review of literature	17
Bibliography	27
Appendix B: Instrument	30

#### List of Tables

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviation for both groups and interviews

Table 2. Analysis of Variance

Suggestive Questioning Effects of Kindergarten Children's Eyewitness Reports

As reported by Partwood and Reppucci (1996), in 1989 there were 2.4 million reports of suspected child maltreatment in the United States and by 1991, the figure had risen to 2.7 million. This is directly attributed to the increased development of the number of sexual and physical abuse cases reported since the 1980's. There has likewise been an expansion in the amount of children who are requested to assist in the investigation as well as serve as a witness in the courtroom.

Historically, children have been used as eyewitnesses in such long ago cases as the Salem Witch Trials (Ceci, Ross, & Toglia, 1987) and are currently used in cases today regarding their eyewitness testimony. In the case of the Salem Witch Trials of 1682, nearly 20 people were hung based exclusively on the belief of the child's eyewitness reports that the people were witches or wizards. Today, children are repeatedly used as witnesses in court cases where their credibility must be established and frequently challenged. Due to the questioning of children's memory and ability to recall information correctly, much research has been focused on this issue to gain further understanding. The main concern to researchers is the point at which suggestibility could affect a child's recollection of the situation they have eyewitnessed.

Currently, there have been few studies which adequately show significant findings that prove or disprove the effects suggestibility of children's testimony. Ceci and Bruck (1993) have compiled a momentous review of the investigation of suggestibility on the child witness.

The important results of research during the early European period were found mainly through the work of Binet, Stern, Varendouck, and Lipmann. One of the most significant outcomes of the research includes all of researchers being highly involved in the consequences

of the children's memory when pertaining to the legal aspect of events. The second was the fact that there were several factors which caused the heightened suggestibility in children. These include such cognitive factors as retrieval, storage, and encoding, as well as, social factors which pertain to the children obeying adults or figures of authority. (Ceci & Bruck, 1993).

Investigations on suggestibility between 1924-1963 was almost at a stand still and the research that was produced lacked original ideas. However, there were two important contributions to the research field. The first includes the findings of a negative correlation between suggestibility and I.Q. The next finding concludes that younger children are more suggestible than adults. Conversely, the downfall of the research during this period was that the legal aspect of the suggestibility in children's questioning was lost. (Ceci & Bruck, 1993)

By the 1970's, there was an increase in the legal community's interest of child witnesses, a sociopolitical zeitgeist, an increase in the studies of the testimony of adult eyewitnesses, and a broadening utilization of expert psychological testimony in the courtrooms. According to Ceci and Bruck (1993), there are currently seventeen states that now allow children to testify regardless of the nature of the crime, permitting the jury to determine how much weight to give the child witness. Because of this great increase in demand, there is a need for more information to be gathered on the effects of leading questions on children's testimony (Ceci & Bruck, 1993)

A current study by Goodman, Sharma, Thomas, and Considine, (1995) examined whether interviewer status or a preconceived bias affect: (a.)children's memory and suggestibility or (b.) adult's descriptions of children's reports. The findings of the study conclude children's free recall accuracy suffered when they were interviewed by biased vs. unbiased mothers. Another research finding shows that strangers were less directive in giving more open-ended questions as opposed

to mothers who were more concerned with task-oriented events.

Another study by Cassel, Roebors, and Bjorklund (1996) found that when more suggestive leading questions are posed, children have the tendency to agree with the premise of the questions, with children 6 years old and younger being more likely than older children and adults to follow the lead of a question. The researchers also reported that depending on the format of the question, repeated questioning within the same interview may lead to different answers by witnesses of different ages.

By assimilating the above research, it is therefore imperative for more investigations to be conducted in the area of suggestibility in children. The purpose of this study is to research the effect of increasingly suggestive questions on 5 and 6 year old children. The research described will be a modification of the "Sam Stone Study" (Lechtman & Ceci, 1995) and the (Page, 1997) study. In Leichtman and Ceci's (1995) experiment, children were asked to report their recollection of a strange man's (Sam Stone's) visit to their classroom. Children were repeatedly interviewed after the visit in one of the following categories: (a) control, which had no suggestive questions; (b) stereotype, which contained information given to the children prior to Sam Stone's visit; (c) suggestion, which contained leading questions about the misdeeds of the stranger's conduct; (d) stereotype plus suggestion, which contained information prior to the stranger's visit along with leading questions during the interview. During a ten week period, the children were interviewed five times. The results of the study indicate that the control group provided the most accurate reports, the stereotype group had a low number of reports, the suggestion group had a high number of false reports, and the stereotype-plus-suggestion also had a high number of false reports. There has not been any other research that has found this level of significance in the suggestibility of children. Hence, presently there is a strong need for more research in this area to occur for further analysis. Once again, the purpose of this study is to examine the effects of increasing the number of suggestive questions children will receive in the experiment. It is predicted that the increased number of suggestive questions given will develop an increase in the amount of inaccurate statements of testimony from the children. The Sam Stone study was replicated with the following exception, there was not a stereotype group or a stereotype plus suggestive group. Instead, there will be an increase in the number of suggestive questions that are asked.

#### Method

#### Subjects

The subjects were 5-6 years of age in a private, catholic kindergarten classroom from an upper-middle socio-economic neighborhood. Twelve male and female subjects were randomly assigned to one of two groups.

#### Suggestion

The suggestion group received no information prior to the stranger's visit. The suggestive group was interviewed using suggestions about the visitor's behavior that were misleading.

#### **Increased Suggestion**

The increased suggestion group received no information prior to the stranger's visit.

The increased suggestion group was interviewed using suggestions about the visitor's behavior that were untrue.

#### **Procedures**

The two groups include the following: (a.) Suggestion (b.) Increased Suggestion. The experiment began as in Ceci & Leichtman's (1995) research, with a stranger visiting the student's classroom, making a couple short comments, walking around the room and then leaving the room all within a 2 minute period. The events were replicated from the Ceci & Leichtman (1995) study with the following changes in the groups. The number of suggestive questions asked by the interviewer was increased. The children were then interviewed weekly for a period of three consecutive weeks following the visit. Another experimenter conducted interviews three times a week with the students which was part of a larger experiment. Coinciding, another research project will examine the results of a follow-up interview 10 weeks after Sam Stone's initial visit.

#### <u>Instrument</u>

The instrument used to measure the children's immunity to the suggestions was a structured interview. Questions used in the "Sam Stone" (Leichtman & Ceci, 1995) study and the in the (Kowaleski, 1997), (Page, 1997), and (Vance, 1997) studies were modified and utilized in the present study. The students in the suggestion group and the increased suggestion group received interviews containing questions that were suggestive and leading pertaining to the visitor's behavior for a three week period following the visit. When rapport was established, the children were asked to explain events of the day that the visit occurred. After this, the suggestive and increased suggestive questions were asked, all of this is based on which group the child has been assigned. By counting the number of correct and incorrect answers, each interview was scored. Incorrect answers will conclude that a child has witnessed a nonevent and were scored as errors

of commission. No responses and don't know responses will be thrown out.

#### Results

The increased suggestion group which were asked only increasingly suggestive questions made greater errors of commission during the first and second interviews however, there was no statistical significant difference found. On the third interview, the suggestion group had a slightly higher number of errors compared to the increased suggestive group and was again not significant. Means and Standard Deviations for both groups are presented in Table 1. By observing the Means from Table 1, it is apparent that the Suggestion Group, in interview one, the students made a total of 5 out of 7 possible errors of commission. In interview two 3 out of 4 and interview three 7 out of 8 errors of commission were made. The Increased Suggestion group, in interview one, reveals the students made 9 out of 11, in interview two 8 out of 8 and interview three 9 out of 11 errors of commission. This shows a compression of the data.

Increasing the number of suggestive questions did not significantly effect error rate as was originally predicted F(1, 10) = 0.40, p > .0001. The variance was observed to be quite large at the beginning but then steadily decreased by the last interview. This illustrates that the students were in large disagreement initially and by the third interview the majority of the students were in agreement. The source of variance is located on Table 2.

#### Discussion

The results of the present study are consistent with the current research on the suggestibility of children. Although, there are numerous factors which may be contributing to the lack of statistical significance. For example, the number of total possible errors for each interview between the suggestive group and the increased suggestive group were somewhat similar in total. This and the low number of subjects who participated in the study may have minimized the effects, thus resulting in no statistical significant difference between the two groups. This shows that however, not statically significant, the students were making a high number of errors and in one case, interview two of the Increased Suggestion Group made all errors that were possible.

However, when looking at one particular participant in the suggestion group, with total error scores for Interview one 0 errors out of 7, Interview two 2 errors out of 4, and Interview three 6 errors out of 8. It is apparent that suggestibility increased over time. This is consistent with the results of Page (1997) who found that children who were subjected to repeated suggestive questioning gave reports which were less accurate. This goes along with Poole and White's (1991) research which concluded that "question repetition can produce changes in the content and style of eyewitness reports, even in the absence of more direct pressure to recant or distort testimony."

As seen from the graph, there was a decrease in the increased suggestion group at the third interview. To account for this, the raw data was observed. The raw data showed that in the third interview four out of six students in the increased suggestion group answered "I don't know" to questions number 4, 5, and 10. These questions were in fact open ended questions and ask what

the teacher had said about a misdeed. This may be from the distribution of the data. It is suggested that to eliminate this problem in a future study that the questions be statistically item analyzed. Therefore, by doing so, this would make the data a normal distribution.

Future research may wish to increase the amount of increased suggestion questions to the point that they double the number of suggestion questions asked. This would provide clear evidence as to any significance between suggestion interviews and increased suggestion interviews.

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Table 1

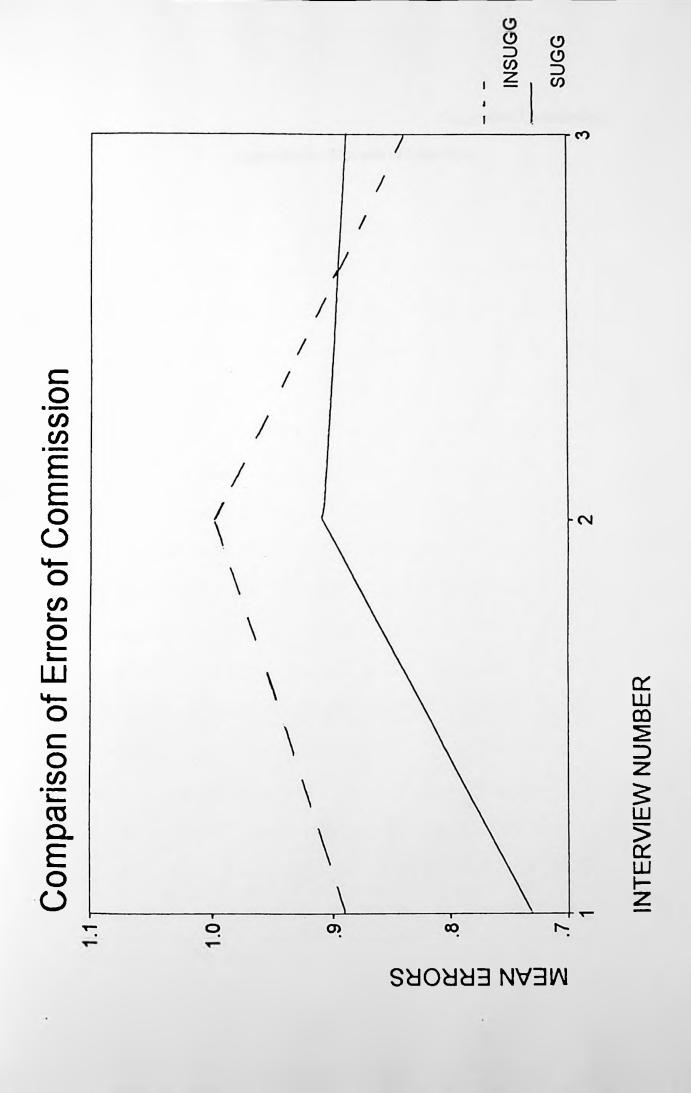
Means and Standard Deviation

		Suggestion			Increased Suggestion		
Interview		SD	n	М	SD	<u>n</u>	
One	0.73	0.42	6	0.89	0.17	6	
Two	0.91	0.20	6	1.00	0.00	6	
Three	0.89	0.12	6	0.84	0.12	6	

Table 2

Analysis of Variance

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>.</u> F	
	Between Subjects		
Group	1	0.40	
Group Error	10	3.55	
	Within	Subjects	
Interview	2	2.39	
Group Interview	2	1.23	



Appendix A: Review of Literature

#### Literature Review

The most significant factor in deciding whether or not young children can be accurate testimonial eyewitnesses is their suggestibility, Siegal and Peterson (1995). From Ceci and Bruck (1993), suggestibility implies that, "(a.) it is possible to accept information and yet be fully aware of its divergence from some originally perceived event, as in the case of "confabulation" (b.) Suggestibility can result from the provision of information preceding or following an event and (c.) suggestibility can result from social as well as cognitive factors. This term has a critical role in the aspect of children's testimonial competence. When a child initially reports that they are a victim of abuse either sexually or physically, this opens the door to a vast number of interrogations of the event by police, social workers, attorneys, doctors and family members. The manner in which a child is asked "What happened?" can range from a question containing no leading or suggestive questions to a question which is highly suggestible in nature. Lamb, Sternbernberg, and Esplin, (1995) state that the Judicial evaluations of the competence of children's testimony should idealistically be informed by reviewing the research on children's communication, memory, suggestibility, and by listening to children. This may have helped the investigation of the State of New Jersey versus Margaret Kelly Michael's case. By providing the interviewers with knowledge on appropriate interviewing techniques, Margaret Kelly Michaels may not have been so easily convicted (Rosenthal, 1995). Michaels was convicted of 115 counts of sexual abuse against 3- to 5- year old children. The defense claimed that the children had been interviewed with suggestive questions that were at sometimes threatening.

In the early years of the 20th Century The Federal Republic of Germany were extensively researching the issue of children's eyewitness testimony. Conversely, in the United States only a few psychologists were not researching the topic in the 1920's and 1930's.

Early reviews of the studies provide little detail of the procedures or results of the research conducted. However, while reviewing the European studies, Whipple (1909) became increasingly convinced that young children are highly suggestible and capable of making serious errors in their testimony, even when they testified about matters of great personal importance (Ceci and Burke, 1993).

A research pioneer of this time was Binet. Binet's experiment found that free recall resulted in the most accurate statements and that highly misleading questions resulted in the most inaccurate statements. Another researcher, Stern found in 1910, consistent and similar results that urged against repeating questioning of the same event, believing that the subjects initial verbal answers are better remembered than the actual events themselves. "Stern also argued that the questioner by virtue of the nature of the questions asked is often responsible for the unreliable testimony of witnesses." (Ceci and Burke, 1993)

Most of O. Lipmann's (1911) hypothesis are the focus of today's research. Also consistent with Binet, Lipmann concluded that cognitive as well as social factors accounted for children's greater suggestibility. In 1911, J. Varendonck established a series of experiments with the intent of reveling the unreliability of children's testimony. He found that children cannot observe accurately and that their suggestibility is exhaustible.

Only a few studies were conducted between the 1920's and 1930's with the major focus on intelligence, age and sex of eyewitness testimony. In 1924, Otis researched the development if

children's ability to rely on their own judgements. Results of this study concluded that suggestibility decreased as a function of age and intelligence. Hurlock conducted a similar study to Otis' study using older children in 1930. In 1929, Spearman looked at the combination of chronological age and mental age with suggestibility. The results of this study found a negative correlation between suggestibility and age. Conversely, Messerschmidt (1933) found a great connection between age and performance. By testing six to sixteen year old children on a battery of like tests, results show the oldest children were less suggestible than the younger children (Ceci and Burke 1993). The overall consensus of this era seems to be in favor of children's inability of being a credible witness.

The latter period of the 1970's found more interest in the topic of suggestibility. As a matter of fact, over 100 studies have been conducted on the suggestibility of children since 1979. There is seemed to be more interest in the legal community and also a willingness to aid in the rights and protection of children. Since more and more preschoolers are being asked to testify, there has been an increase in the number of studies conducted recently that include this young population. Many current scientists and researchers are reexamining the hypothesis of early European researchers. The conditions as to which children are imposed is also greatly being focused upon. (Ceci and Burck, 1993)

The age of a child relative to their suggestibility has been studied extensively. Siegal and Peterson (1995) studied four and five year old children who heard a story and then were assigned to three conditions: control or unbiased, bias, and conversationally enriched. The children in the conversationally enriched group were presented the same misleading information that children in the biased group received. Plus, a rational was presented to cancel the implication

conveyed in the presentation of the biased information that the original details were irrelevant to producing an accurate report of the story. Results concluded that recognition memory of children for original details in this condition significantly surpassed that of children in the biased condition and was as accurate as that of the children who had received unbiased information.

Based on the belief that young children's testimony is tremendously vulnerable to leading questions, Ceci, Ross, and Toglia (1987) conduced a series of experiments in this area. In their study, four issues were addressed: 1.) whether or not children are susceptible to misleading postevent information 2.) the idea of demand characteristics 3.&4.) were the issues of how postevent suggestions distort children's memories. Their research found that postevent distortion can distort target memory and age changes in distinctive updating account for developmental trends in suggestibility. In contrast to this, Brainerd and Reyna (1988) stated three different explanations for the susceptibility to misleading postevent information development. And these are, "The first explanation (misleading questions degrade memory and the degree of degration declines with age) treats suggestibility as a new dimension of cognitive development; that is, its development cannot be reduced to that of more basic memorial processes. The second explanation (misleading questions degrade memory but the degree of degration is age invariant) assumes that suggestibility is cognitivly real but that it does not constitute a dew dimension of cognitive development. The last explanation (misleading questions do not degrade memory) assumes that suggestibility is a epiphenomenal by-product of certain performance benefits that accrue to control conditions, the most conspicuous of which are the novelty effect and the retention enhancement effect; both of these variables are capable of manufacturing illusory relations between age and suggestibility." (Brainerd and Reyna, 1987)

Time also seems to be an important factor in the memory systems as well as the number of repeated interviews. A study by Ornstein, Gorden, and Larus inspired by children's ability to testify, studied 3- and 6- year old's memory of a visit to the doctor for a physical examination. Results of the study found that the 6 year old's ability to recall information remained constant over the delay intervals of one and three weeks. Where as, the 3 year old children performance decreased over time. During the immediate recall test, they found that both ages recalled most of the check up, however, the older children's performance was somewhat better than the younger children.

"Knowledge about how children respond to repeated questions comes primarily from three experimental paradigms: Piagetian-based studies of cognitive development, memory development from the verbal-learning tradition, and event memories trapped by eyewitness procedures. Given that different processes are involved in these tasks, it is not surprising that repetition is associated with several different response patterns" as stated from Poole and White (1991). By examining witnesses answers to repeated questions about a novel event, Poole and White (1991) found children to be as accurate as adults and 4 year old children were more likely to change their response to yes and no questions when responding to open-ended questions. They postulated that the amount of repetition effected style as opposed to accuracy. Two years later, Poole and White reinterviewed the same participants and found compelling differences in children answering less consistently than adults across the session on yes and no questions and less accurate in answering open-ended questions. There was also a tendency for children to speculate. Poole and White feel the discrepancies may be accounted for by the fuzzy-trace theory. This theory states three assumptions. The first of which describes the development of

fuzzy memories which are developmentally young and are found in very young children.

Secondly, the verbatim traces develop and peak before the gist development. Thirdly, the gist traces are longer lasting compared to the verbatim traces.

It is imperative that when assessing children's suggestibility that memory distortion be taken into perspective. Loftus and Davies (1984) believe that it is helpful to observe the development of how information is stored and retrieved. "First, there is the acquisition stage- the perception of the original event- in which information is encoded into memory. At this time are only fragments of their experience. Second, there is the retention stage, the period of time that passes between the event and the eventual recollection of a particular piece of information. Third, there is the retrieval stage, during which a person recalls stored information. Memory can fail because of a breakdown in any three stages" as stated by Loftus and Davies (1984).

A 1991 article by Howe utilized a model of long-term retention to analyze the data on kindergarten and Grade 2 student's story recall. Reported results indicated that by using appropriate measurement techniques and when the initial encoding is under control, age and misinformation effects are independent. Howe diverges on to state that these effects will only be reliable when the initial encoding of the original information is systematically controlled. The changes have been found to appear because of what is stored and are independent from age.

Forgetting was a main contributor in a child's development of retention and the age effects in the development of trace maintenance skills.

There is a belief that children can not distinguish between reality and fantasy. In 1985, Foley and Johnson researched the confusion among children in regards to imagined or performed actions. The findings conclude 6- and 9- year olds can distinguish, as well as adults, what they

actually did from what they observed another individual do. Although, when distinguishing between what they did and what they imagined, children had a much more difficult time. Foley and Johnson (1985) believe, "children-become sensitive to some distinctions in memories sooner than they do others."

Current memory research by Pezdek and Roe (1994) found that memories for childhood events may be imperfect and it is not highly probable that they are confabulation. These results were bound by three experiments that are concerned with the constraints on the construct of suggestibility. The initial experiment's results suggest that the memory of a more frequently occurring event will be more resistant to suggestibility compared to the memory of an event which is experienced only once. The latter two studies reveal the difficulty in the suggestion of a child in believing that an event happened when in fact nothing did occur.

However it is possible to plant memories for events which never occurred. It has recently been suggested that probability of planting a memory increases with the amount of times the planted item is suggested. This could explain how children that have been repeatedly exposed to suggestive questioning could begin to recall the suggestions as true to life. Ceci and Liechman (1995) are the recent researchers of that very topic. Children's (3-6 years of age) recollection of a stranger's visit to their classroom was studied. Their findings view younger children as being more influenced by suggestion and when the stereotype has been introduced, the number of false reports increased dramatically. A replication of this study conducted by Kowaleski (1997), Page (1997), and Vance (1997) found similar results.

The areas focusing on the status of the interviewer, has currently been the topic of researcher's attention. Goodman, Sharma, Thomas, and Considine (1995) asked the question as

to whether or not interviewer status or a preconceived bias affect children's memory and suggestibility as compared to adult's description of the reports of children. Children's free recall accuracy was found to decrease when interviewed by biased versus unbiased mothers. Trained interviewers were found to be more open-ended in their interviewing and utilized time building rapport compared to the mothers who were much more task-oriented. A study in 1992, conducted by Tobey and Goodman examined the effects of a police officer who made a suggestion before the child was interviewed. The findings were mixed in that children in the police condition made more errors in their free recall and additional comments to misleading questions. There was an increase in accuracy of the age identification task, however, no effect was determined in the abuse related question.

The concept of social pressures also seems to have an influence on children's suggestibility. Using the rational, "Although there are some situations in which a police questioner already knows (or thinks he or she knows) a great deal about the crime the initial questioning of a witness is often conducted by a naive police questioners.", as cited from Smith and Ellsworth, 1987. By examining the effects of questioner expertise on the error rates of subjects. Smith and Ellsworth (1987), asked the subjects misleading versus unbiased questions. Findings revealed that the questioners perceived by the participants having high expertise resulted in greater levels of suggestibility.

An important issue that must be looked at in the field of suggestibility is the influence of repeated questioning and increasing suggestive questions. This makes perfect sense seeing how during legal testimony individuals are repeatedly questioned during and between interviews.

The individuals who generally do this questioning (lawyers, social workers, police officers)

frequently depend upon various methods of obtaining the facts. One such study attempted to simulate a witness's experience. Cassel, Roebers, and Bjorklund (1996) studied kindergarten, Grade 2, Grade 4, an adult participants who had watched a brief video about an agreement over a bicycle. After a week all subjects were questioned using increasingly suggestive questions (positive misleading), misleading questions, and unbiased-leading questions and the last level contained a 3 alternative multiple choice question. Differences between age in response to the repeated questioning was found. Kindergartners were more likely than adults to follow misleading questions and change their answers more frequently. The kindergarten and Grade 2 children generally followed the lead of the first-level questions more so than the older subjects. A study by Usilton (1997) also examines the implication of repeated questioning on children's memory recall.

As of today, seventeen states permit children to testify regardless of the nature of the crime. This gives the jury the decision of how much credibility to give the child witness. (Ceci and Bruck, 1993) That coupled with the rise of suspected child maltreatment cases in the United States shows a fantastic need for answers to these problems. Finally, it is imperative to gain further understanding into this complex field of child research for the hope that one day a more reliable method of interviewing children will be developed.

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Appendix B: Instrument

# Increased Suggestive Questions for the Increased Suggestive Group

# Interview 1

Group:			
Did he rip it on purpose or by accident?			
?			
Did Sam Stone rip the book with his hands or did he use scissors?			
. When Sam Stone ripped the book did he throw it in the trash can?			
classroom, in the hallway, or in the			
by accident or on purpose?			
ave the bear dirty?			
e ice-cream, chocolate syrup, Hershey kisses			
e classroom, in the hallway, or in the			
e the bear, leave it on the floor?			

# Suggesion Questions for the Suggestive Group

# Interview 1

Name:	Group:
1. Remember when Sam Stone ripped the book? Did he rip it on purpose	e or by accident?
2. Did Sam Stone rip the book with his hands or did he use scissors?	
3. When Sam Stone ripped the book, was he in the classroom, in the hall bathroom?	way, or in the
4. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, did he do it by accident, or on pur	pose?
5. Did Sam Stone get the bear dirty with chocolate ice-cream, chocolate crayons or something else?	syrup, Hershey kisses
6. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty was he in the classroom, the hallw	ay, or the bathroom?
Niveshou of commission among	
Number of commission errors:	

## Increased Suggestive Questions for the Increased Suggestive Group

#### Interview 2

Name: Group:

- 1. When Sam Stone ripped the book, did he do it because he was angry, or by mistake?
- 2. When Sam Stone ripped the book, was it because he did not like the story?
- 3. When Sam Stone ripped the book, was it before or after recess?
- 4. When Sam Stone threw away the bear, was it in trash can in the classroom or the hallway?
- 5. Was Sam Stone happy or sad that he got the bear dirty?
- 6. Did Sam Stone get the bear dirty because he did'nt like the bear?
- 7. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, was he wearing long or short pants?
- 8. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, did he laugh or cry?

Total errors of commission:

# Suggestive Questions for the Suggestive Group

# Interview 2

INč	ime. Group.
1.	When Sam Stone ripped the book, did he do it because he was angry, or by mistake?
2.	When Sam Stone ripped the book, was it before or after recess?
3.	Was Sam Stone happy or sad that he got the bear dirty?
4.	When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, was he wearing long or short pants?
To	otal number of commission errors:

#### Increased Suggestive Questions for the Increased Suggestive Group

#### Interview 3

Name: Group:

- 1. When Sam Stone ripped the book, did he do it alone or with a helper?
- 2. When Sam Stone ripped the book, did he tell the teacher that he did it?
- 3. When Sam Stone ripped the book, where did he hide it, in his desk or in his backpack?
- 4. What did the teacher say when she found out that he ripped it?
- 5. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, what was the stuff he got on it?
- 6. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, did he wipe it off with a paper towel, or rinse it with water?
- 7. Did he bring that stuff from home, or did he get it at school?
- 8. Where did he hide that stuff, in his pocket or in a bag?
- 9. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, did he tell the teacher that he did it?
- 10. What did the teacher say when she found out that he got the bear dirty?
- 11. What did the teacher do to Sam Stone, put him in time-out, or make him clean the bear?

Number	of c	commision	errors:
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#### Suggestive Questions for the Suggestive Group

#### Interview 3

Name: Group:

- 1. When Sam Stone ripped the book, did he do it alone or with a helper?
- 2. When Sam Stone ripped the book, did he tell the teacher that he did it?
- 3. What did the teacher say when she found out that he ripped it?
- 4. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty, what was that stuff he got on it?
- 5. Did he bring that stuff from home, or did he get it at school?
- 6. Where did he hide that stuff, in his pocket or in a bag?
- 7. When Sam Stone got the bear dirty did he tell the teacher that he did it?
- 8. When did that teacher say when she found out that he got the bear dirty?

Total number or commission errors: