

Rachel Leigh Greenspan

Curriculum Vitae

rachel.greenspan@ucf.edu

ACAEMIC POSITIONS

2025-Present	Assistant Professor Department of Psychology University of Central Florida
2020-2025	Assistant Professor Department of Criminal Justice & Legal Studies University of Mississippi
Summer 2024 & 2025	Visiting Scholar Wilson Center for Science and Justice Duke University Law School
2018-2020	Post-Doctoral Research Fellow Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice University of Pennsylvania Carey School of Law

EDUCATION

2018	Ph.D. Psychology and Social Behavior University of California, Irvine <i>Major:</i> Social Psychology <i>Minor:</i> Quantitative Methods, Psychology and Law
2015	M.A. Social Ecology University of California, Irvine
2013	B.S. Psychology University of Florida
2013	B.A. Criminology University of Florida

PUBLICATIONS

*graduate or undergraduate student mentee

Greenspan, R. L., Baggett, L.*, & Boutwell, B. (2026). Open science practices in criminology and criminal justice journals. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. 22(1), 87-107.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-024-09640-x>

Dobolyi, D. G., **Greenspan, R. L.**, Grabman, J. H., Abassi, A., & Dodson, C. D. (2026). The influence of face recognition ability and race on the relationship between psychological and algorithmic similarity, 15(2), 225–237. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/mac0000264>

Updated 9/2026

- Quigley-McBride, A. & **Greenspan, R.L.** (2025). Using confidence, decision time, and confidence entropy to predict accuracy for online and real eyewitnesses. *Scientific Reports*, 15(1), 31006. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-16274-0>
- *Heinen, R. & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2025). Positive and negative perceptions of true crime podcasts: Surveying male, female, and nonbinary listeners. *Popular Communication*, 23(2), 132-147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2025.2511630>
- Greenspan, R.L.**, & Bergold, A. N. (2025). Can AI-generated faces serve as fillers in an eyewitness lineup? *Memory*, 33(4), 416-429. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2025.2467134>
- Greenspan, R. L.** (2025). Artificial intelligence policies in higher education: A randomized field experiment. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511253.2025.2449603>
- Greenspan, R. L.**, Quigley-McBride, A., Bluestine, M., & Garrett, B. (2024). Psychological science from research to policy: Eyewitness identifications in Pennsylvania police agencies. *Psychology, Public Policy, & Law*, 30(4), 462-478. <https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000429>
- Greenspan, R. L.**, Lyman, A., & Heaton, P. (2024). Assessing verbal eyewitness confidence statements using natural language processing. *Psychological Science*, 35(3), 277-287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976241229028>
- Greenspan, R.L.**, Novak, A., & Heinen, R.* (2024). Interrogative prerogatives: A content analysis of police policies on school-based interviews and interrogations. *Journal of School Violence*, 23(3), 376-386. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2023.2299990>
- Greenspan, R. L.** & Loftus, E.F. (2024). Interpreting eyewitness confidence: Numeric, verbal, and graded verbal scales. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 38(1), e4151. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.4151>
- Greenspan, R.L.**, Miller, R. & Heaton, P. (2024). Reform we can agree on: Public opinion on prosecutorial liability. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 20(1), 255-267. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-022-09533-x>
- Greenspan, R. L.**, & Loftus, E. F. (2023). Patterns in the use of best practices for eyewitness identifications in the field. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 29(2), 161-181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2021.2018436>
- Grady, R. H., Ditto, P. H., Loftus, E. F., Levine, L. J., **Greenspan, R. L.**, & Relihan, D. P. (2023). From primary to presidency: Fake news, false memory, and changing attitudes in the 2016 election. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 11(1), 6-24. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.10203>
- Greenspan, R. L.**, & Loftus, E. F. (2022). What happens after debriefing? The effectiveness and benefits of postexperimental debriefing. *Memory & Cognition*, 50(4), 696–709. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-021-01223-9>

Kenchel, J. M., **Greenspan, R. L.**, Reisberg, D., & Dodson, C. D. (2021). “In your own words, how certain are you?” Post-identification feedback distorts verbal and numeric expressions of eyewitness confidence. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 35(6), 1405-1417.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3870>

Greenspan, R. L., & Loftus, E. F. (2021). Pandemics and infodemics: Research on the effects of misinformation on memory. *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies*, 3(1), 8-12.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/hbe2.228>

Webster, G. D., Smith, C. V., Orozco, T., Jonason, P. K., Gesselman, A. N., & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2021). Missed connections and embarrassing confessions: Using big data to examine sex differences in sexual omission and commission regret. *Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences*, 15(3), 275–284. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ebs0000199>

Greenspan, R. L., & Loftus, E. F. (2020). Eyewitness confidence malleability: Misinformation as post-identification feedback. *Law and Human Behavior*, 44(3), 194-208.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000369>

Grady, G. H., **Greenspan, R. L.**, & Liu, M. (2019). What is the best size for matrix-style questions in online surveys? *Social Science Computer Review*, 37(3), 435-445.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439318773733>

Cochran, K. J., **Greenspan, R. L.**, Bogart, D. F., & Loftus, E. F. (2018). (Choice) blind justice: Legal implications of the choice blindness phenomenon. *University of California, Irvine Law Review*, 8(1), 85-96.

Loftus, E. F., & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2017). If I’m certain, is it true? Accuracy and confidence in eyewitness memory. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 18(1), 1-2.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1529100617699241>

Cochran, K. J., **Greenspan, R. L.**, Bogart, D. F., & Loftus, E. F. (2016). Memory blindness: Altered memory reports lead to distortion in eyewitness memory. *Memory & Cognition*, 44(5), 717-726. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-016-0594-y>

Greenspan, R. L., & Scurich, N. (2016). The interdependence of perceived confession voluntariness and case evidence. *Law and Human Behavior*, 40(6), 650-659.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000200>

Other Writings

Greenspan, R. L., Quigley-McBride, A., LaPine, S., Bluestine, M., & Garrett, B. (2022) *Videotaping interrogations in Pennsylvania*. A Wilson Center for Science and Justice and Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice report.
<https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/12429-videotaping-interrogations-in-pennsylvania>

Manuscripts Under Review

Greenspan, R. L. (*revise and resubmit*). Does recruitment site matter? Comparing online crowdsourcing platforms for applied memory research. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*.

Greenspan, R. L., Quigley-McBride, A., & Garrett, B. (*revise and resubmit*). Unboxing plea bargaining: The Durham, North Carolina plea tracking project. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*.

Greenspan, R. L. & Bergold A. N. (*under review*). Is there a cross-race effect for AI-generated faces?

Greenspan, R.L., Rosenbaum, J.*, & Guntharp, S.* (*under review*). How Miranda warning language shapes evaluations of interrogations of a suspect with limited English proficiency.

Greenspan, R.L., Bergold, N., & Heaton, P. (*under review*). Diagnosing accuracy with multiple conflicting eyewitnesses using the confidence gap.

Manuscripts In Preparation

Greenspan, R. L. & Quigley-McBride, A. (*in prep*). A content analysis of the comprehensibility of police Miranda warnings.

Stoffel, A. C., **Greenspan, R. L.**, Connolly, E., Rogers, J., & Boutwell, B. (*in prep*). Further examining the possible causal effects of sleep on human behavior and wellbeing.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

External Grants and Awards

2024-2025	“The Intersection of Social Science and the Law: Plea Bargaining Policies in Law and Practice” (PI; \$165,533) <i>National Science Foundation, EPSCoR Track-4: Research Fellows</i>
2024	SEC Faculty Travel Grant (PI; \$1,585) <i>The Southeastern Conference</i>
2023-2025	“Using Generative Artificial Intelligence for Lineup Filler Photos” (PI; \$4,859) <i>American Psychology-Law Society Grants-in-Aid for Early Career Professionals</i>
2019	Dissertation Award, Third Place (\$500) <i>American Psychology-Law Society</i>
2017	Summer Fellowship (\$2,333) <i>University of California Consortium on Social Science and the Law</i>

2014-2018 “Now You See Him, Now You Don't: Choice Blindness in Target-Absent Lineups” (PI; \$96,000)
National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship

Internal Grants and Awards

2025 Faculty Development Grant (\$1,000)
University of Mississippi, Division of Diversity and Community Engagement

2024-2026 Isom Fellowship (\$9,000)
Sarah Isom Center for Women and Gender Studies

2023-2024 Undergraduate Research Development Grant (\$4,500)
University of Mississippi Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

2023 Artificial Intelligence Summer Institute (\$1,000)
University of Mississippi Institute for Data Science

2023 Inclusive Teaching Fellowship (\$4,000)
University of Mississippi Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning

2022 & 2023 & 2024 Faculty Travel Grant (\$500, \$700, \$700)
University of Mississippi Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

2022 & 2023 Online Instructor Conference Grant (\$1,125, \$1,125)
University of Mississippi Academic Outreach

2018 Alison Clarke-Stewart Dissertation Award (\$1,000)
University of California, Irvine Department of Psychology and Social Behavior

2017 “Giving Eyewitness Research Away: Evaluating the Use of Eyewitness Science by Police and the Courts” (Co-PI, \$11,707)
Newkirk Center for Science and Society Research Grant

2017 Dissertation Data Collection Award (\$980)
University of California, Irvine School of Social Ecology

Mentored Student Grants

2026 Graduate Summer Mentoring Fellowship (Victoria Fernandez; \$4,500)
University of Central Florida

2026 “Do Eyewitnesses Carry More Weight? A Cognitive Comparison of Eyewitness and Alibi Witness Testimony” (Alicia Urpeque; \$2,000)
University of Central Florida, Summer Undergraduate Research Fellowship

2023-2024 “Investigation of Moderation: A Comparison of Violent Rhetoric on Two
Incel Forums” (Katie Norris, \$20,811)
University of Mississippi Institute for Data Science, Data Science and AI Fellowship

SCHOLARLY PRESENTATIONS

*graduate or undergraduate student mentee

Peer-Reviewed Conferences

Greenspan, R. L. & Bergold, A. N. (2026, March). *Influence of Algorithmic Similarity Rankings on Human Judgments in Facial Recognition Searches*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, Reno, NV.

Quigley-McBride, A. & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2026, March). *Indicators of eyewitness accuracy in real cases and online studies: Confidence, decision time, and confidence entropy*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, Reno, NV.

Greenspan, R. L. & Bergold, A. N. (2025, November). *Is There a Cross-Race Effect for AI-Generated Faces?* Paper presented in “Artificial Intelligence and Human Memory: Advancing Theoretical and Practical Insights” symposium at the Psychonomic Society 66th Annual Meeting, Denver, CO.

Greenspan, R. L. & Bergold, A. N. (2025, March). *Is There a Cross-Race Effect for AI-Generated Faces?* Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, San Juan, PR.

Greenspan, R. L., Quigley-McBride, A., & Garrett, B. (2025, March). *Unboxing Plea Bargaining: The Durham, North Carolina Plea Tracking Project*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, San Juan, PR.

Bergold, A. N. & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2024, March). *Using Generative Artificial Intelligence for Lineup Filler Photos*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, Los Angeles, CA.

Greenspan, R. L., Lyman, A., & Heaton, P. (2023, March). *Assessing verbal eyewitness confidence statements using a natural language processing approach*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, Philadelphia, PA.

Greenspan, R. L., Miller, R., Heaton, P. (2022, November). *Public opinion on liability for prosecutorial misconduct in wrongful convictions*. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology conference, Atlanta, GA.

Franco, J., **Greenspan, R. L.**, Loftus, E.F., & Fenn, K.M. (2022, November) *Sleep and consolidation of false memory*. Poster presented at the Society for Neuroscience Meeting, San Diego, CA.

- Greenspan, R. L.,** Quigley-McBride, A., Bluestine, M. B. & Garrett, B. (2022, March). *Do the eyes have it? Content of eyewitness identification policies in Pennsylvania*. Data-blitz presentation at the American Psychology-Law Society Conference, Denver, CO.
- Greenspan, R. L.,** Loftus, E.F. (2020, March). *Assessing eyewitness confidence: Verbal, numeric, and graded verbal scales*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, New Orleans, LA.
- Greenspan, R. L.,** & Loftus, E. F. (2019, March). *A new method of studying confidence malleability: Misinformation as post-identification feedback*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, Portland, OR.
- Greenspan, R. L.,** Loftus, E. F. (2017, March). *Assessing the use of eyewitness identification reforms in law enforcement agencies*. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, Seattle, WA.
- Greenspan, R. L.,** Cochran, K. J., & Loftus, E. F. (2016, January). *Choice blindness as misinformation: Memory distortion in an eyewitness identification task*. Poster presented at the Annual Society for Personality and Social Psychology conference, San Diego, CA.
- Greenspan, R. L.,** Scurich, N. (2015, March). *The non-independence of perceived voluntariness of confessions*. Poster presented at the American Psychology-Law Society conference, San Diego, CA.
- Cochran, K. J., **Greenspan R. L.,** Bogart, D., Loftus, E. F. (2015, March). *Choice blindness in an eyewitness misinformation paradigm*. Poster presented at the International Convention of Psychological Science, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Invited Presentations

- Greenspan, R. L.** (2026, August). *Face Memory in the Age of AI*. Invited presentation at the University of Florida Social Psychology Brownbag Series. Gainesville, FL.
- Miller, R. & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2025, October). *Advancing data-driven policy reform through interdisciplinary research*. Invited seminar at Simon Fraser University, Department of Psychology, Virtual presentation.
- Bergold, A. N. & **Greenspan, R. L.** (2025, May). *Emerging Technologies and Their Role in Identifying Suspects*. Presentation at the 2025 Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice Spring Symposium, Philadelphia, PA.
- Leibovitch, A. & Zur, T. (2024, December). *Decision Cascades*. [Discussant: **Greenspan, R. L.**]. Paper presented at the Empirical Criminal Law Roundtable, Durham, NC.
- Greenspan, R.L.** (2024, October). *Artificial Intelligence and Eyewitness Identifications*. Invited presentation at Vanderbilt University's Cognitive Science of Learning and Development Research Forum, Nashville, TN.

Greenspan, R. L. (2024, March). *Assessing verbal eyewitness confidence statements using natural language processing*. Invited presentation at Simon Fraser University, Department of Psychology, Virtual presentation.

Greenspan, R. L. (2021, November). *Intersections of psychology and the law: Misinformation, eyewitness memory, and prosecutorial misconduct*. Invited presentation for the University of Mississippi, Department of Psychology Colloquium Series, Oxford, MS.

Greenspan, R. L., Loftus, E.F. (2019, October). *Eyewitness identification procedures in the field*. Invited presentation at the Newkirk Center for Society and Society, Irvine, CA.

Epstein, J., Kovera, M., & McKee, T. (2019, April). *Next steps in eyewitness identification* [Panel organizer and moderator: **Greenspan, R. L.**]. Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice Spring Symposium, Philadelphia, PA.

Grady, G. H., **Greenspan, R. L.,** Liu, M. (2017, December). *What's the best size for matrix-style questions in online surveys?* Invited paper presented at the Pacific Chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research conference, San Francisco, CA.

Regional and University Presentations

Urpeque, U.* & **Greenspan, R.L.** (2026, July). *Do Eyewitnesses Carry More Weight? Comparing the Influence of Eyewitness and Alibi Testimony*. Poster presented at the UCF Summer Research Showcase.

Greenspan, R. L. & Bergold, A. N. (2026, February). *How well do we remember AI-generated faces?* Poster presented at the University of Central Florida Spring AI Research Day.

Greenspan, R. L. (2025, April). *The Intersection of Psychology and Criminal Justice: Exploring the Dynamics of Plea Bargaining*. Talk presented in “Where Law, Space, and Science Collide” at the UM Showcase of Research and Scholarly Activity.

Greenspan, R. L. & Dempsey, A.* (2024, October). *Gender and Scientific Authorship in Criminology and Criminal Justice Journal Articles*. Poster presentation at the Sarah Isom Center for Women and Gender Studies, Oxford, MS.

*Arun, V., *Rodriguez, K., Teitcher, J., **Greenspan, R. L.,** & Loftus, E. F. (2018, May). *The role of implicit and explicit biases in the misinformation effect*. Poster presented at the University of California, Irvine Undergraduate Research Symposium, Irvine, CA.

*Dufall, C., *Xiao, J., **Greenspan, R. L.,** Kenchel, J., & Loftus, E. F. (2018, May). *“In your own words, how certain are you?” Post-identification suggestion distorts eyewitness confidence*. Poster presented at the University of California, Irvine Undergraduate Research Symposium, Irvine, CA.

*Xiao, J., *Dufall, C., **Greenspan, R. L.,** Loftus, E. F. (2017, May). *Does debriefing work? False memories persist five days post-debriefing*. Poster presented at the University of California, Irvine Undergraduate Research Symposium, Irvine, CA.

*Bhakta, K., Greenspan, R. L., Loftus, E. F. (2015, May). *False memories in the context of body image*.
Presentation at the University of California, Irvine Undergraduate Research Symposium,
Irvine, CA.

TEACHING

*asynchronous online course, **hybrid course

University of Central Florida

Advanced Research Methods 1 (PSY7217C)

Measurement, Research Design, and Statistical Analysis in Clinical Psychology I (CLP6527C)

Cognitive Psychology (EXP3604)

Forensic Psychology (CLP4390)*

University of Mississippi

Instructor of Record

Conflict Resolution and Decision Making (CJ672)*

Criminal Justice Research (CJ450)*

Criminal Justice Research Methods (CJ602)

Law and Public Policy (CJ681)**

Legal Issues in Criminal Justice: Psychology and the Law (CJ643)**

University of California, Irvine

Teaching Assistant

Eyewitness Testimony (P193G)

Health Psychology (P103H)

Lifespan Development (P101D)

Psychology Fundamentals (P11C)

Research Design (SE10)

The Social Animal (P104S)

University Of Florida

Teaching Assistant

Psychology of Law (PSY4930)

Psychology and Law (CJL4037)

MENTORSHIP

2022-2024

American Psychology-Law Society Mentoring Initiative Program

Mentored two students who would not otherwise have research opportunities due to their institution's location, size, or teaching emphasis. Mentorship focused on developing research projects, obtaining research funding, and guidance about graduate programs in psychology and law.

2023

Leadership for Equity & Inclusive Excellence Certificate Program

Completed certificate program focused on developing leadership skills in inclusive excellence and cultivating equitable communities within the university and in the surrounding community.

2020-2024	University of Mississippi, Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies, Graduate Student Grant Workshop Group Created and led a grant workshop group for first- and second-year graduate students applying for the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship (GRFP). I mentored nine graduate students who applied for GRFP from this program.
2014-2018	UC Irvine Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program Advisor Oversaw undergraduate student researchers in developing and presenting an experimental research study. Guided students in submitting a successful grant application, collecting data, and presenting their work at a conference. Advised Student Projects: Dufall, C., Xiao, J. (2018). <i>"In your own words, how certain are you?" Post-identification suggestion distorts eyewitness confidence.</i> (\$800). Rodriguez, K., Arun, V. (2018). <i>The role of implicit and explicit biases in the misinformation effect.</i> (\$800). Dufall, C., Xiao, J. (2017). <i>Does debriefing work? False memories persist five days post-debriefing.</i> (\$950). Bhakta, K. (2015). <i>False memories in the context of body image.</i> (\$500).
2017-2018	UC Irvine Department of Psychology and Social Behavior Mentoring Program Founded and led an intra-departmental mentoring program. Recruited senior graduate students to advise first-year students on topics such as advisor-advisee relationships and work-life balance.
2014 & 2016	UC Irvine Graduate InterConnect Program Peer Mentor Supported incoming international graduate students in their transition to the United States and the university. Assisted students in acclimating to a new culture and community as well as developing academic and personal support networks.

SERVICE

2025-Present	AI Departmental Liaison <i>University of Central Florida</i>
2024-2025	Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies Colloquium Series, Founder and Organizer <i>University of Mississippi</i>
2023-2026	Broadening Representation, Inclusion, Diversity, and Global Equity (BRIDGE) Committee Member <i>American Psychology-Law Society</i>

2023-2025	Qualifying Exams Committee Member <i>Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies, University of Mississippi</i>
2022-2024	Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Task Force, Substantive Work Subcommittee Member <i>American Psychology-Law Society</i>
2020-2025	Graduate Committee Member <i>Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies, University of Mississippi</i>
2022	Assistant Professor Search Committee Member <i>Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies, University of Mississippi</i>
2021-2023	Graduate Student Publishable Paper Committee Member <i>Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies, University of Mississippi</i>
2020-2023	Dissertation Award Committee Member <i>American Psychology-Law Society</i>
2019-2020	Task Force on Eyewitness Identification Subcommittee on Education Member <i>United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit</i>
2019-2020	Reviewer Mentoring Program <i>Law and Human Behavior</i>

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT COMMITTEES

*committee chair

Doctoral Dissertation Committees

Natasha Wood, University of Mississippi
Paul Loprizini, University of Mississippi

Master's Thesis Committees

Abigail Boozer, University of Mississippi
Abigail Dempsey, University of Mississippi
Katie Norris*, University of Mississippi
Remy Heinen*, University of Mississippi
Sierra Molina, University of Mississippi

Undergraduate Thesis Committees

Caroline Lewis, University of Mississippi
Haley Rose Kuhnert, University of Mississippi
Hayley Pitts, University of Mississippi

AD-HOC REVIEWER

*editorial board member, ^Tprincipal reviewer

Applied Cognitive Psychology
Behavioral Sciences and the Law
Cognition
Communications Psychology
Criminology & Public Policy
Ethics and Behavior
Frontiers in Psychology- Cognitive Science
Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review
IEEE Transactions on Human-Machine Systems
Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition
Journal of Experimental Criminology
Journal of Experimental Psychology: General
Justice Quarterly

*Law and Human Behavior**
Legal and Criminological Psychology
*Memory**
Memory & Cognition
National Science Foundation, Sociology Program
National Science Foundation, Law and Science Program
Psychological Bulletin
Psychology, Crime, and Law
Psychology, Public Policy, and Law^T
Scientific Reports
Sensing and Imaging

REFERENCES

Elizabeth F. Loftus
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Paul Heaton
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Academic Director, Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice
University of Pennsylvania
pheaton@law.upenn.edu

Brandon Garrett
L. Neil Williams, Jr. Distinguished Professor of Law
Director, Wilson Center for Science and Justice
Duke University
bgarrett@law.duke.edu