iIIRG ®

**International Investigative
Interviewing Research Group**

BULLETIN

Volume 2   **Issue 2**

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Given the multi-disciplinary nature of the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group (iIIRG), the worldwide circulation of this Bulletin and practitioner focus, a wide range of articles will be considered for inclusion. These may include individual research papers in relation to the following specialist areas:

- investigative interviewing of suspects, witnesses or victims
- expert advice to interviewers
- interview training and policy
- interview decision-making processes
- false confessions
- detecting deception
- forensic linguistics

The list of topic areas is purely indicative and should not be seen as exhaustive. The Editor will also accept other papers including case studies, reviews of previous bodies of literature, reviews of conference or other specialist events, opinion papers, topical commentaries and book reviews. However, all articles, regardless of topic, should have either historic or contemporary relevance to Investigative Interviewing. All submissions must adhere to internationally recognised ethical guidelines. If you are unsure whether your article is suitable, please contact the Editor directly at david@larooy.net

As a general guide, articles should not exceed 5,000 words, although the Editor retains discretion to accept longer articles where it is considered appropriate. If you are an academic, it is expected that, prior to submission, your article will be formatted to the standards of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA). If you are not an academic, there is no requirement for your work to conform to the format standards of the APA, however, you must reference your article (where appropriate) and the Editor will format it prior to publication (should it be required). Please do not use footnotes anywhere in your article.

The Editor retains the discretion to accept or decline any submitted article and to make minor amendments to all work submitted prior to publication. Any major changes will be made in consultation with the author/s.

Please make sure that all acronyms are clearly defined in brackets the first time they are used. The formatting of diagrams, figures, illustrations and other graphical data will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Please include contact information with all submissions, including name, affiliation and e-mail address. Please e-mail submissions to david@larooy.net

NOTE It is envisaged that the iIIRG Bulletin will be published bi-annually and contributions are expected (but not solely) to originate from the membership. Copies of the Bulletin will be freely available (electronically) via the iIIRG main website (**www.tees.ac.uk/iiirg**).

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SCOPE AND AIMS

The International Investigative Interviewing Research Group (iIIRG) was founded at the University of Teesside in collaboration with the Norwegian Police University College, Oslo, and later, with the Centre for Forensic Linguistics, Aston University. It brings together academics and practitioners from around the world who research investigative interviewing of victims, witnesses, and suspects of crime. The iIIRG Bulletin aims to promote dialogue between academics and practitioners and to help focus research directly onto real-world problems.

Given the multi-disciplinary nature of the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group (iIIRG), the worldwide circulation of this Bulletin and practitioner focus, a wide range of articles are considered for publication. Articles in relation to the following specialist areas are appropriate:

- Investigative interviewing of suspects, witnesses or victims
- Expert advice to interviewers
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Articles may be case studies, reviews of previous bodies of literature, reviews of conferences or other specialist events, opinion papers, and book reviews; all articles, regardless of topic, should have either historic or contemporary relevance to Investigative Interviewing. Commentaries of published articles are strongly encouraged, particularly those with reference to articles already published in the iIIRG Bulletin. If you have an idea for an article but are unsure whether it is appropriate, please contact the Editor directly.

All submissions must adhere to internationally recognised ethical standards. As a general guide, articles should not exceed 5,000 words. It is expected that articles be submitted in a single Microsoft Word computer file. Please include the title, your name and email addresses, and the name of the organisation you work for in the computer file you submit. References to information contained in submissions must be clear and accurate. Please make sure that all acronyms are clearly defined in brackets the first time they are used. The formatting of tables, diagrams, figures, illustrations and other graphical data will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Do not use footnotes anywhere in your article as they are difficult to process and cause delays in production.

The Bulletin is published in English language. If English is not your first language the Editor will provide English language assistance if necessary. If you are able to translate articles published in the iIIRG Bulletin into a language other than English please contact the Editor.

The Editor retains the discretion to accept or decline any submitted article and to make amendments to all work submitted prior to publication as necessary. Any major changes will be made in consultation with the first author. The iIIRG Bulletin is not peer-reviewed as is the procedure for much academic writing, however, the Editor does seek editorial assistance when deemed necessary. The views expressed in articles published in the Bulletin are those of the individual authors and not necessarily those of the Editor or the iIIRG Executive Committee.

Please e-mail submissions to Dr David La Rooy (Editor) at **david@larooy.net**

NOTE FROM THE CHAIR

As I write this short note, I am, at last, recovered from the 2009 Conference held at Teesside University, Middlesbrough, UK, where I am based. This year's conference was a phenomenal success and everyone I spoke to relayed extremely positive messages about every aspect of it. I would just like to thank each and every member of the 2009 Conference Organising Committee, in addition to the iIIRG Scientific Committee for all their hard work in making this year's conference the success it was – a review of the conference and a summary of the conference evaluations can be found in this edition of the Bulletin.

The 2010 conference is being held in Stavern, Norway and I would like to thank Trond (membership co-ordinator and host of the 2010 conference) and the Norwegian Police University College for allowing us to have the conference in such a wonderful place – the Norwegian Police Training Centre. Trond discusses much more about the 2010 conference in his pages below, so I will not steal his thunder!

The iIIRG has become a truly worldwide organisation and the original Steering Group has been renamed as the iIIRG Executive Committee, which reflects the professionalism of this ever-growing and highly professional organisation. As with all previous editions of the Bulletin, this one contains extremely interesting and thought-provoking articles and I would like to thank the contributors and the Editor for all their hard work in ensuring the viability and professionalism of such a great resource.

The iIIRG Executive Committee agreed at their last meeting in September 2009 that every member who would like to consider hosting future conferences (post 2011) should be given the opportunity to do so, and by now all members should have received a letter from our administrator detailing the process by which to apply. A copy of this protocol can also be obtained via our website at **www.tees.ac.uk/iiirg**.

I wish you all every happiness for the festive season and sincerely hope that 2010 is a prosperous and outstanding year for you all.

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THE AWARDS
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NOTE FROM THE MEMBERSHIP CO-ORDINATOR

2009 has been very encouraging and we now have over 260 members from Australia, Belgium, Canada, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Russia, South Korea, Brazil, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, UK, and the USA.

This makes us a large world-wide organisation. As membership co-ordinator, my main concern and focus is not on increasing the number of members, but keeping the members active. To this end, there are several projects initiated between academic and practitioner members of iIIRG, and our members are conducting research, publishing research findings, and are training police in the area, making iIIRG the worldwide leading organisation in the forefront of investigative interviewing.

Our new re-designed website will soon be launched. As opposed to having a written biography the new site will provide a link to each members personal/academic URL. For members who do not have a URL, their biography will be placed on the website (if consent is provided within their membership application form). I will thank our co-administrator Michelle Mattison for her professional, effective and systematic work providing us with the links for each member on our new website. Each member will be informed by e-mail when the pages are up and running. Could I then please ask each and every one of you to check your respective link and information and to notify Michelle at m.mattison@tees.ac.uk if there are any problems with the link or information updates on our new website.

Being a member of the iIIRG has many benefits. One of these is the free Masterclasses alongside our annual conferences. The conference in 2010 will take place from the 22-24 June, at the Norwegian Police University College Conference Centre in Stavern, Norway. Many of you have already decided to attend and have booked via our website. If you still have not decided, go to our main web page **www.tees.ac.uk/iiirg**, we are proud to present an interesting programme for all categories of members. If any of you should have any questions regarding booking, please do not hesitate to contact our other very professional and hard working co-administrator, Sonja Brubacher at sonja.brubacher@gmail.com.

The 2010 Masterclass (20-21st of June) will feature Professor Michael Lamb, University of Cambridge, and Heather Stewart, Salt Lake County Children's Justice Centre. The Masterclass will assist anyone currently working in the field of investigative interviewing, as well as academics and researchers currently working in this area. It is only open to iIIRG members and places are limited. The closing date for Masterclass applications is 15th of January 2010, so book early to avoid disappointment! The organising committee encourages all members to submit individual or symposium abstracts. Abstracts of no more than 200 words should be submitted electronically to iiirg@tees.ac.uk no later than Friday 15th of January 2010.

Please see our main website www.tees.ac.uk/iiirg for regularly updated information about the conference. On behalf of the 2010 Conference Organising Committee, I wish to welcome each and every one of you to Norway. We will try our upmost to make the conference a most memorable event for you all.

If you are not a member and would like to apply to become one, an application form can be found on our main website. Should you have any questions regarding membership, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

I hope you all had a Merry Christmas and wish you a happy, productive and prosperous 2010. See you in Stavern in June!

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ARTICLES

Does type of memory practice matter when interviewing children about a single or repeated event?

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'when investigative interviewers use practice interviews, child victims/witnesses go on to report more information about the allegations of abuse than children who were interviewed without the use of a practice interview.'

In cases of child sexual abuse, the abuse has often occurred on repeated occasions. For example, in a representative sample of 98 children drawn from over 1000 interviews with child sexual abuse victims in Israel, 42% of the 98 cases involved three or more instances of abuse (Lamb, Sternberg, Esplin, Hershkowitz, Orbach & Hovav, 1997). Children's reports of repeated events are qualitatively different from their reports of novel, single-experience events (see Roberts & Powell, 2001, for a review). While children who have experienced an event multiple times are highly accurate about details that are always the same, they are less accurate about details that change, and confuse these variable details across occurrences (Powell, Roberts, Ceci, & Hembrooke, 1999). Many techniques are currently being researched to help children

reduce these between-event confusions (e.g., source-monitoring training studies; Poole & Lindsay, 2001; Thierry & Spence, 2002) because when children testify about a repeated event, they may be required to describe one or two instances with a reasonable amount of precision, such as providing time, place, and the actions that occurred, and thus must be able to discriminate within reason among different occasions (Guadagno, Powell & Wright, 2006; *R. v B. (G.)*, 1990; Roberts, 2002; *S v. R,* 1989).

Additionally, interviewing protocols designed to elicit the most accurate information from children are becoming increasingly more grounded in theoretical frameworks. The protocol developed by researchers at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD; Orbach, Hershkowitz, Lamb, Sternberg, Esplin, & Horowitz, 2000) enforces the use of invitations and open-ended, non-suggestive questions, aimed at eliciting the most complete accounts from children while preserving accuracy.

Following a short rapport-building phase in which the child becomes comfortable with the interviewer, and prior to the substantive (target) phase, the NICHD protocol recommends a "pre-substantive" phase in which the child and interviewer engage in a discussion of a neutral past event. This phase allows the child to practice responding to

open-ended prompts, using episodic language, and to understand the type of communication that will be expected in the substantive phase (Orbach, et al., 2000).

Although it has been demonstrated that a practice phase in which the child responds to open-ended questioning, versus directed (closed-ended) questioning, is more beneficial in encouraging the child to provide more information during the substantive phase (Sternberg et al., 1997), the practice phase of the protocol has otherwise received little attention. Some recent field data collected by our lab, in conjunction with Heather Price (University of Regina), has demonstrated that a engaging in a practice phase - of any quality - is better than doing no practice at all, and well-conducted practice phases elicit more information from children, while preserving accuracy levels, than poorly conducted practice interviews.

The type of event suggested by the NICHD protocol for practice typically involves a recent past holiday or the child's last birthday (e.g., Orbach et al., 2000). The aim of the practice phase is to encourage children to exercise episodic memory and language use. Holidays and birthdays, however, are highly scripted events, and leave open the possibility that children could be mixing episodic and scripted details in their narratives. One question that arises from this possibility is whether engaging in episodic or scripted practice in fact affects children's later substantive narrative.

Recent work in our lab compared the quantity and quality of children's accounts of a repeated event after the children had engaged in one of three types of practice conditions. In total, 240 children participated; half were 5- to 6-year olds and half were 7- to 8-year olds. Half of the children took part in one 20 minute session (**single-event** group), and the other half in four sessions over a 2-week period (**repeated-event** group), of a laboratory-created event which included activities such as warm-up exercises, listening to a story, doing a puzzle, relaxing and getting refreshed. These activities ('The Laurier Activities') were modeled on Powell and Thomson's (2003) 'Deakin Activities'. Across sessions of the activities, instantiations of each task (e.g., the *content* of the story) were presented at different frequencies.

Instantiations were *Fixed* (the same every time), *Variable* (changed every time), or '*Hi/Lo*' (the Hi frequency instantiation presented at 3 sessions, the Lo frequency instantiation presented at 1 session).

Five to seven days after the last (or only) session, all children were interviewed using invitations and open-ended questions as per the guidelines of the NICHD protocol (Orbach et al., 2000). Following a short rapport-building phase in which the interviewer asked a few questions about the child (e.g., "tell me about your family") and his/her interests (e.g., "tell me what you like to do"), children engaged in 5 to 7 minutes of 'practice'. One-third of the children in the study practiced recalling two specific instances of a repeated event from their daily lives (**incident-specific practice**), and the language used by interviewers was, on average, 92% episodic (past-tense, referring to a specific time, e.g., "tell me what else *happened that day*"). Another third of the children practiced describing what "usually happens" when they engaged in a similar autobiographical repeated event (**script practice**). Open-ended prompts by the interviewer in that condition were, on average, 97% scripted language (timeless present-tense, e.g., "what else do you *do*"?) The final group of children served as a **control** group, and practiced describing a recent novel (i.e., single-experience) event. Interviewers were not given instructions about language use in this condition, but it was by nature quite episodic (94%), as the children were talking about a one-time event from the past. Children's language use in the practice phase closely mirrored that of the interviewer's questions; when the open-ended questions were episodic, so were the child's answers, and when the questions used script language, the children responded in kind.

All children received the same 'substantive phase' (i.e., open-ended questioning about the Laurier Activities such as "tell me more" and "what else can you tell me about [detail previously mentioned by child]"). Any children who indicated that the Activities happened more than once were asked to describe a specific instance of the event (i.e., "the time you remember best"). Children were permitted to spontaneously identify the Laurier Activities

as a repeated event. If they did not do so, however, after approximately 5 minutes they were asked whether it happened "one time or more than one time". As expected, no child with single-event experience disclosed multiple incidents and all were asked at the end of the interview if the Activities happened more than once.

Children were also encouraged to spontaneously generate their own label for the occurrence they described (e.g., the "first time," the "time with the leaf badge"), however, many children required the help of the interviewer. Interviewers were blind to the particular instantiations that the child had experienced, but tried to choose labels that they thought were unique to an occurrence based on information provided by the child (e.g., the child may have said that they wore a different badge every time, and mentioned having worn a leaf badge). By 'unique label' we mean any word or phrase referring to one occurrence only, such as a temporal label (e.g., "the last time"), a variable instantiation (different every time), or a Lo instantiation (only present at one session). Approximately 81% of the labels generated were unique.

Interviews were transcribed and coded for overall amount of 'forensically-relevant' information provided (i.e., target details), accuracy, language-use (episodic versus scripted), and references to differences and similarities across sessions (e.g., "every day we had a *different* badge, but we always did the *same* puzzle"). For children with repeated-event experience, accuracy could be coded only for cases in which the label generated for the narrative was unique, by matching the occurrence of the label to the instantiations mentioned by the child.

Results

As mentioned, we gave children the opportunity to tell us whether the Activities they participated in had happened more than once. The NICHD protocol suggests not asking children about multiple incidents until after the child's initial narrative is exhausted (Orbach, et al., 2000). However, if a child is not asked about multiple incidents, and begins the narrative with a script-like description of the abuse, the child is rehearsing and strengthening the generic

script. Interviewers must be sensitive to the fact that this type of language use *may* be indicative of a repeated event.

We found that children in the incident-specific practice condition were more likely to disclose immediately that there were multiple incidents than children in the script practice condition. For example, in response to the initial prompt "tell me everything you can remember about the Laurier Activities," many of these children asked the interviewer "which time" they should talk about. Additionally, children in the control condition were more likely to require asking by the interviewer if the Laurier Activities happened more than once because they less often mentioned event frequency. Only one child in the incident-specific practice condition had to be asked. These effects were much stronger for the 5- to 6-year olds, because the older children often disclosed multiple incidents immediately, regardless of the type of practice they had previously engaged in.

When they did not immediately indicate that the Laurier Activities were a repeated event, children who had engaged in incident-specific practice also required fewer prompts from the interviewer than did children in the control condition before they did disclose multiple incidents.

We expected that children with repeated-event experience, in the incident-specific practice condition, would continue to use more episodic language in their substantive narratives than would children in the script practice condition. No effects of practice condition were expected for children with single-event experience (since they only had one experience with the Activities), which is exactly what we found.

For the children with repeated-event experience, on average 88% of the statements made by children in the incident-specific and control conditions, in their substantive accounts, were episodic, which was significantly higher than that of the script practice condition who averaged 66% episodic language. Note that the inverse of this proportion represents the proportion of statements that employed script language.

After examining children's awareness of event frequency and the style of language used to

deliver their narrative accounts, we wanted to consider how much information children were reporting from the event(s). Overall, we found that 5- to 6-year olds in the incident-specific condition reported just over one-third of the target information which was proportionally more than 5- to 6-year olds in other practice conditions, who reported just under one-quarter. Older children reported more than younger children (about 40%) but did not differ as a function of practice condition. We also found that children with repeated-event experience reported on average 15% more target information than children with single-event experience. In general, this effect was larger for the 7- to 8-year olds. Note that these numbers represent 'new' information only, so they do not capture the full range of children's reports, especially when they experienced the event four times.

In order to have a clearer picture of children's representation of the entire series of events, we tallied the number of times children mentioned the same detail (which was not re-counted) but indicated that it differed from, or was the same as, other times. Children with single event experience were not coded for these references because it was impossible for them to mention similarities and differences across sessions. We predicted that children in the incident-specific condition would be more likely than children in other conditions to spontaneously make accurate references to differences across sessions of the Laurier Activities (e.g., "each day we wore a different badge").

We found that older children referred to differences significantly more than did younger children. Analyses again revealed, however, that younger children in the incident-specific condition provided significantly more difference references than younger children in both the control and script practice conditions, while older children did not differ by condition. We also predicted that children in the script practice condition would mention more similarities across sessions, but we found no condition or age differences in the number of similarities reported.

Finally, we examined the overall accuracy of children's reports. In order to determine whether children were accurate with respect to the instantiations they reported in their narrative,

they had to provide a label for the occurrence they elected to talk about (e.g., "the first time," "the time I wore a jellybean badge"), and it had to uniquely identify that occurrence. In the script practice condition, younger children were not very successful in achieving a label that could be used to score accuracy. Less than half ($n = 9$) of the 5- to 6-year old children in the script practice condition met the criteria of providing a label and having it be unique to one occurrence.

Children with repeated-event experience, who did provide unique labels, could be assessed for their source-accuracy (i.e., whether they retrieved details from the occurrence referred to in the label). It was predicted that children in the incident-specific practice condition would make fewer source-monitoring errors across occurrences (i.e., intrude details from other occurrences into their reports) than children in the scripted and control practice conditions. In fact, we found little differences in accuracy. Older children correctly attributed 61% of the details they reported to the correct occurrence, while younger children correctly attributed half (51%). The control and incident-specific practice conditions had reports that were, on average, 59% accurate, while the script practice condition delivered reports that were 53% accurate on average, but these differences were not statistically significant. The inverse of these accuracy rates represent *misattributions* of details that actually occurred during one of the other sessions, into the children's reports of a specific session. They do not represent confabulations, which will be discussed below.

Since the free narratives of children with single-event experience can be made up only of accurate details and confabulations, but not misattributions as above, we assessed the accuracy of children with single-event experience by using a set of Focused Questions at the very end of the interview, to ask about each detail in the session (e.g., "what colour was the cloak the time [child's label]?"). In general, we found that older children were more accurate (55%) than younger children (44%) in response to these specific questions, and there were no effects of practice condition, as expected.

Confabulations were any details reported about the event(s) that did not occur. Younger

children reported an average of 0.90 (i.e., less than 1) confabulations, which was a significantly greater number than older children who reported an average of 0.47 confabulations. Confabulations per child ranged from 0 to 5. Fifty-eight children (25%) provided one confabulation and 138 (60%) of the children did not provide any. Thus, 15% of our sample made 2 to 5 confabulations. We were interested in knowing whether any of our variables predicted whether or not children would make something up (regardless of how *many* confabulations there were), as we expected that children who participated one time would be more likely to do so, owing to poorer memory for the event. Our analysis demonstrated that in fact, the only significant predictor of whether a child would make a commission error was frequency of participation. Of children who participated one time, 53 (47%) made up at least one detail, while only 39 (33%) children who participated four times did.

Conclusions

The goal of the current study was to determine whether a simple change to procedures already used by many investigators in the field might be useful in eliciting more precise narratives of repeated events from children. Specifically, we were interested in determining whether practice in describing specific instances of a repeated event from their daily lives would benefit children's overall narratives for a target event, regardless of the frequency of the target event (one time or multiple times).

We already know from previous lab-analogue *and* field research that engaging in any type of episodic practice is beneficial, and in fact critical, to enhancing the quality and quantity of information provided by children in interviews. If practice in describing *specific instances of a repeated event* from a child's daily life improves the quality and precision of that child's narrative for a target *repeated* event, and has no negative effects when the event was a single-experience, such a technique could be easily employed by investigators in the field. It does not require that investigators have knowledge of the target event, and rather than being an additional procedure to what an investigator might already do, it simply provides a complement to an interview practice already in place.

One finding of great practical importance to professionals who regularly interview children who have repeated experiences of abuse, is that younger children in the incident-specific practice condition mentioned multiple incidents earlier in the interview than younger children in other conditions, and children of both ages in the incident-specific condition required fewer prompts to disclose that the activities happened more than once. The results showed that roughly two-thirds of the older children in all conditions disclosed immediately, however, it is the younger age group whose testimonies of abuse are the most fragile, and who need more strategies to improve their narratives. These findings are consistent with the assumptions held by researchers who attempt to transfer source-monitoring skills acquired in training to reports of a target event (Poole & Lindsay, 2001; Thierry & Spence, 2002). Children in the incident-specific practice condition were likely able to recognize the commonalities between their autobiographical repeated event and the Laurier Activities, thus realizing that they should talk about both events in the same way.

Younger children in the script condition disclosed later in the interview than children in the incident-specific condition, and younger children in the control condition were more likely to require the interviewer to ask about multiple incidents. These findings suggest that practice in using scripts to describe repeated events encourages continued use of scripts in the substantive phase, and that describing a single-experience event lowers awareness that the interviewer needs to know that the substantive event was a repeated one (if it in fact was).

Children in the incident-specific and control practice conditions continued to use a greater ratio of episodic to scripted language in their substantive narratives than did children in the scripted condition, especially when they had repeated-event experience. Interviewers sensitive to language may potentially notice script-like dialogue when it arises, thereby sensing that the child might be describing a repeated event. However, because there were no differences in the language used by children in the specific and control condition, the previously reported finding is especially

concerning; children in the control condition used as much episodic language as children in the specific condition, which might lead an interviewer to think that they are talking about one time, and many of the control children in fact had to be asked if the Laurier Activities happened more than once. While it is possible that children in the control condition were only describing one occurrence, their source-accuracy score was not higher than other conditions. The alternate explanation is that the children provided a specific, but amalgamated, and therefore inaccurate, account of the Activities, and details provided in that account could be used in later interviews with the child.

As expected, older children reported overall more information than younger children. However, 5- to 6-year olds in the incident-specific condition reported more information than 5- to 6-year olds in the other conditions, even though the total number of words in their narratives did not differ. Thus, incident-specific practice did in fact encourage the younger children in our sample to report more 'forensically relevant' information. Investigators require techniques that are easy to use, and non-suggestive, that enhance the amount of information that young children report. Children's responses to open-ended questions tend to be quite accurate but investigators have the perception that these questions do not encourage enough forensically relevant details in comparison to specific questions (Guadagno, Powell & Wright, 2006), leading them to use more suggestive methods which can be damaging to children's reports (Sternberg, Lamb, Orbach, Esplin & Mitchell, 2001).

Even though younger children in the incident-specific condition provided overall more information than did other younger children, they were equally as accurate at attributing the information they reported to the correct occurrence. Although investigators may be looking for techniques that increase 'accuracy rates,' this finding is nevertheless quite encouraging. Other researchers who study techniques to enhance the amount of information that young children can provide have expressed the concern that acceptable levels of accuracy must be maintained in

balance with increased amounts of information (e.g., Elischberger & Roebers, 2001). Also encouraging is the finding that there were no condition differences in the rate of confabulations. The only significant finding was that children who participated one time were more likely to make up at least one detail. This research is important in solidifying the finding that children with repeated experiences, although they can be confused about what happened on which occasion, rarely report things that never happened when questioned non-suggestively (Roberts & Powell, 2001).

In conclusion, incident-specific practice appears to benefit younger children more so than older children, although both age groups experienced some benefits over other conditions. Practice in describing two specific incidents of an autobiographical repeated event also had no negative effects on children whose target-event experience only happened one time. This finding is an important one because in practice, investigators sometimes do not have information about how often an abusive event may have occurred.

This type of practice encourages behaviours and recall that would be very relevant to field investigators working with young children who have multiple event experiences, such as; earlier disclosure of multiple incidents, greater recall and more episodic narratives that are also not less accurate, and greater recognition of differences across highly similar repeated events. It is likely that these narratives would appear more credible to blind observers than the narratives of children in the other conditions, because research has shown that children who testify in a confident manner receive higher credibility judgments from mock jurors (Schmidt & Brigham, 1996). Implementation of this procedure (versus standard practice currently in use) could be used in the field and comparisons could be made on most variables (except accuracy) between actual forensic interviews and this analogue study.

In fact, other research in our lab (with Heather Price, University of Regina) has found that when investigative interviewers use practice interviews, child victims/witnesses go on to report more information about the allegations

of abuse than children who were interviewed without the use of a practice interview. The bottom line is that conducting a practice interview is an easy technique for interviewers to use to elicit the most detailed reports from children about events that have happened to them.

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"The application of the Cognitive Interview in the workplace remains a challenge": Training, environment, or technique?

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'this research serves to highlight a number of factors that apparently conspire to undermine the application of the CI in the workplace'

The current police service investigative interview model in England and Wales (PEACE) was designed to develop the professional skills necessary to conduct an effective investigative interview (ACPO, 2001) by providing a framework to guide police officers through the interview process. PEACE advocates police officers apply the Cognitive Interview (CI; Fisher & Geiselman, 1992) for any co-operative interviewee (witnesses, victims, and even on occasion, suspects). Described as "one of the most exciting developments in psychology in the last ten years" (Memon, 2000, p. 344), the CI has been fundamental in shaping the prevailing approach to interviewing witnesses. It is now accepted that when witnesses are asked to describe their experiences they cannot simply rewind a video recording of the event in question. Instead, they have to (re)construct the event from memory, and the manner in which an investigator facilitates the retrieval process (the interview) has a significant effect on both the *quality* and *quantity* of the information reported.

The CI procedure is one of the utmost researched and generally accepted methods of maximizing witness memorial performance. Yet, there is much to suggest that the application of the procedure in the workplace remains a challenge (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Dando, Wilcock, & Milne, 2008). This begs the question as to why, some 15 years post implementation of the PEACE model, this might be the case. In seeking to gain some

insight into the factors that might hinder the application of the CI, I report the findings of research investigating the perceptions of a particular group of police investigators that have hitherto been ignored.

Police officers are currently taught the CI procedure employing a tiered approach to training, ranging from Tier 1 to 5. All student officers are initially taught the Tier 1 procedure. As they progress through their police career officers are able to acquire additional interview Tiers by completing further training (i) if they can demonstrate the appropriate interviewing competencies and (ii) should the seriousness/complexity of the types of crimes they investigate dictate it. Thus, some officers do have the opportunity to learn more advanced interview skills that build upon those acquired in the former Tiers (ACPO, 2004). However, for others, Tier 1 is the only training they undergo. Therefore, these officers are an important sub-section of the police service in that not only does Tier 1 have to serve many officers for their entire police career but it also underpins all further training.

Hence, the primary objectives of the study reported here were twofold. First, to investigate Tier 1 trained police officers' perceptions of their witness interviewing practices with specific reference to their use of the PEACE CI components taught during this training. Second, to explore this group of officers' perceptions concerning their practical experiences of interviewing witnesses. To that end, anonymous questionnaires were distributed to 300 serving police officers across five UK police forces. The structure of the questionnaire was based on that described by Kebbell, Milne, and Wagstaff (1999), the content guided by both the research approach and Tier 1 training. The questionnaire was split into four sections (i) about you, (ii)

interviewing experience, (iii) interview technique, and (iv) impressions of interviewing, comprising 32 questions in total. Within each section respondents were asked to provide fixed answers on a Likert style scale ranging from 1 (never/not effective) to 5 (always/always effective). Qualitative data was also collected by inviting respondents to answer supplementary open-ended questions.

The total response rate was 73% (221 responses). Five questionnaires were excluded as the respondents had completed advanced investigative interviewing training. Thus, 216 questionnaires were used for analysis. Of these 216 respondents 67% were male and 33% were female which broadly represents the current male to female ratio in the UK police service. The mean age of respondents was 30.9 years (*SD* 7.6 years) and mean length of service was 22.2 months ranging from 1 to 60 months (*SD* 13.6 months). Respondents were all non-specialist police constables employed on frontline police duties. The mean number of interviews conducted per week was 7.2 (*SD* 0.6).

It can be seen (Table 1) that officers reported applying some of the CI components significantly more often than others. Further, (Table 2) officers perceived some of the components to be more effective than others.

Table 1. Police officers' percentage responses for perceived frequency of use of the ten PEACE CI components in rank order. (Table reprinted with permission from Dando, C. J., Wilcock, R., & Milne, R. (2008). Victims and witnesses of crime: Police officers perceptions of interviewing practices. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *13*, 59-70.)

Table 1

Component	1 Never	2 Rarely	3 Usually	4 Almost always	5 Always	*Mean (SD)*
Rapport	0.00	0.46	12.04	33.33	54.17	*4.41* (0.72)
Uninterrupted account	0.00	0.00	12.03	39.82	48.15	*4.36* (0.69)
Explain	0.00	0.00	12.04	41.20	46.76	*4.35* (0.68)
Report everything	0.00	3.70	23.61	39.35	33.33	*4.02* (0.85)
Mental reinstatement of context	3.24	12.04	26.85	39.81	18.06	*3.57* (1.02)
Witness compatible questioning	0.46	11.11	38.89	35.19	14.35	*3.52* (0.89)
Never guess	1.86	16.67	36.11	24.54	20.83	*3.46* (1.05)
Concentrate	5.56	18.06	39.35	25.46	11.57	*3.19* (1.04)
Recall in variety of orders	46.76	42.13	6.94	3.70	0.46	*1.69* (0.79)
Change perspective	62.96	33.33	2.78	0.93	0.00	*1.42* (0.59)

Table 2. Police officers' percentage responses for perceived effectiveness of eight of the PEACE CI components in rank order. (Table reprinted with permission from Dando, C. J., Wilcock, R., & Milne, R. (2008). Victims and witnesses of crime: Police officers perceptions of interviewing practices. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *13*, 59-70.)

Table 2

Component	1 Not at all	2 Not very	3 Quite	4 Very	5 Always	*Mean (SD)*
Rapport	0.00	0.48	26.38	52.31	20.83	*3.94* (0.70)
Uninterrupted account	0.00	1.38	24.54	57.41	16.67	*3.89* (0.68)
Report everything	0.46	5.09	30.09	45.38	18.52	*3.77* (0.82)
Mental reinstatement of context	2.31	11.60	35.20	41.20	9.72	*3.44* (0.90)
Never guess	2.31	12.04	39.81	36.11	9.72	*3.44* (0.90)
Concentrate	4.63	17.13	43.52	30.10	4.63	*3.13* (0.91)
Recall in variety of orders	21.30	40.74	30.56	5.56	1.85	*2.26* (0.92)
Change perspective	40.95	40.00	18.10	0.95	0.00	*1.80* (0.77)

Consideration of officers' responses to open-ended questions revealed 73 (34%) reported that they usually felt pressured to complete interviews more quickly than they would like while 87 (40%) reported that they almost always felt pressured. Only seven officers (3%) reported they had never felt pressured. When asked to indicate the types of pressures they had experienced 109 respondents (50%) stated a heavy workload and lack of time. The following quotes are typical examples "Loads of other calls waiting to be dealt with" and "If you've got prisoners you've got to be quick". However, 39 officers (18%) stated that pressure to complete a victim/witness interview came directly from senior officers. For example, two respondents stated "OICs (officer-in-charge) want quick positive results" and that senior officers' "Disdain for long interviews" and "Lack of understanding of the witness interviewing process" resulted in pressure that prevented them from completing a "Good" interview.

Turning to training, when asked to rate how well it had equipped them with the skills necessary to conduct witness interviews, 47 respondents (22%) reported that they felt not at all equipped. One hundred and six (49%) reported that they felt not very well equipped. Nine (4%) felt very well equipped and only 2 (1%) felt extremely well equipped to interview witnesses. Commenting on their initial PEACE

interviewing training and its practical application to the interviewing of witnesses (based on the responses from the 154 officers who answered the question) it was clear that the overriding consensus was one of dissatisfaction. Ninety-seven respondents (63%) indicated that they believed PEACE training had been far too suspect biased. For example, "We didn't do much witness interviewing", "Tends to cover suspect interviews", and "From basic training it is unlikely that any officer would be equipped to effectively interview any victim/witness". In addition, 51 respondents (33%) commented that the amount of time set aside for learning how to interview witnesses was insufficient. For example, "Disproportionate (not enough) to the amount of time spent actually interviewing on the streets" and "Far too short."

In sum, this research serves to highlight a number of factors that apparently conspire to undermine the application of the CI in the workplace. First, it is very clear that there was a general feeling of dissatisfaction with training. Learning to interview witnesses using a PEACE CI requires substantial training. There are many individual components to learn over-and-above the legal requirements (e.g., points to prove) of conducting a witness interview. It has been argued that it may be easier to train police recruits as they do not have to 'unlearn' inappropriate skills. However, the fact that PEACE training does not devote equal amounts of time to the development of both witness and suspect interviewing not only gives the impression that witness interviewing is a lower status skill, but may also result in officers leaving recruit training school without a full grasp of the fundamental principles of the procedure.

Second, all the officers who took part in this study interviewed witnesses of less serious volume crime, on a daily basis. Therefore, it may also be the case that they recognise the PEACE CI is too cumbersome for this type of crime. It has been previously suggested that police officers may instinctively favour the most effective interviewing components (Milne & Bull, 2001). As such these officers may have responded accordingly by selecting those components they have found to be most effective for the type of witnesses that they

regularly interview. Certainly the PEACE CI procedure is a toolbox of techniques and it is unlikely that officers will use all of them equally. However, it is not clear whether these officers reported almost never using some of the components because they perceive them to be ineffective or whether they are perceived as ineffective due to the fact that they are so infrequently used.

Third, the many pressures encountered by these officers while on duty are also likely to affect their interviewing behaviour. Lack of time was highlighted as the major pressure to complete interviews quickly, a result that concurs with the findings of other studies (Kebbell et al., 1999; Clarke & Milne, 2001). A number of respondents (18%) indicated that pressure to complete interviews quickly came directly from more senior officers. It may be that peer guided transition from training school to the 'street' may well be a significant influential factor associated with less experienced officers interviewing practices.

In addition to the aforementioned factors, it may simply be that less experienced, non specialist officers may feel overwhelmed by the complexity of the PEACE CI and simply forget to use some of the components on a day-to-day basis. This would account, in part, for the finding that it is the social and communication techniques that are perceived as used most frequently. It is impossible to interview in any situation without communicating and actively managing the social interaction. The cognitive demands of this in itself may tax less experienced interviewers and could indicate why some of the straightforward components (e.g. *not to guess* and *concentrate*) are being overlooked. These components may simply be falling prey to the more immediate social and communicative demands.

The results provide, for the first time, an insight into the difficulties encountered by front line non-specialist police officers when interviewing witnesses, and their perceptions of the technique they are tasked with employing. No one factor in isolation can be singled out as being responsible for the pattern of results reported here and it is very likely that each contributes both individually and cumulatively to the overall findings. However, it is abundantly clear that the officers who participated in this study felt under pressure,

inadequately trained, and ill equipped to conduct a PEACE CI. That said, there are limitations that must be borne in mind when interpreting the results of this study. Witness interviews are not routinely recorded in England and Wales. Therefore, no objective measure of these officers' actual interviewing behaviour is available. It is entirely possible that there may be considerable differences between what officers' report and what actually occurs (although see Dando et al., in press for more on post training application of the PEACE CI). On a positive note, it would appear that this group of officers interviewing techniques are not completely disparate from their PEACE training. They apparently appreciate the efficacy of several of the CI components and perceive that they regularly apply them.

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The pursuit of happiness: The tension between theory and practice

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'The apparent necessity for every aspect of every tool and technique to be validated scientifically is unnecessary from a law enforcement perspective'

The human ability to detect a lie accurately and consistently, while having an important social function is most certainly *not* one of the greatest barriers to effective policing, at least not from the point of view of contemporary policing. A lack of well supported tools, designed and developed to assist investigators with their job, however, is. These tools could take many forms and those such as forensic chemistry, biology and physics, whilst susceptible to significant problems, appear to receive limited criticism and scrutiny. Behavioural tools such as profiling, detecting and reading non-verbal cues and psycholinguistics are under a constant barrage of negative assertions, most commonly by academics and researchers, claiming that they are unscientific and have no empirical validity. This may well be the case.

Yet interestingly, we still have not seen any generally accepted, published, scientific proof or empirical study that shows that fingerprints are unique, yet fingerprints have been an accepted method of individualisation for as long as they have been collected (see **http://www.newscientist.com/article/mg187 25174.500**). In this case it appears that until someone proves otherwise, fingerprinting will continue to be used as a tool to aid law enforcement in the execution of its functions because from a practitioner's point of view – it works. So too does profiling, detecting and interpreting non-verbal cues and the forms of psycholinguistics know as Statement Analysis,

Statement Validity Analysis (SVA) and Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN). They work when they are used (a) correctly, (b) by competent practitioners, and (c) for the purpose they were intended. These three issues lie at the heart of any discussion about such tools and techniques.

A technique applied incorrectly can provide only two outcomes – a false negative and a false positive. A technique applied correctly can provide four – a true negative, a true positive, a false negative and a false positive. In general terms the latter two are confounding and often at the heart of negative discussion about behavioural techniques. On the other hand, there is little made of the legitimate results that these techniques provide time and time again. Whilst we, the practitioners of such techniques, hold no documented scientific proof, anecdotally, the most common reason for false negatives and false positives lies with the second issue previously mentioned – the application of techniques by incompetent practitioners.

As with any techniques involving humans, there is a degree of competence that accompanies their application. Consider the plethora of false positives and false negatives emanating from DNA laboratories across the United States – it is not the DNA that is faulty. Just as a Police Scientific Officer does not complete a one week course before being allowed to commence examination of crime scene evidence, nor should practitioners of behavioural techniques be allowed to do. This, unfortunately, is not the case and levels of competence with such techniques vary widely from organisation to organisation. This fact is rarely if ever taken into account when assessing the validity of techniques such as SCAN. It is also apparent that, by their own admission, a larger than desirable proportion of those assessing the validity of such techniques also possess low levels of

competence and understanding of the techniques themselves.

Finally, and most importantly, there appears to be low levels of understanding of how these techniques were designed to be used, interestingly with police and academics alike. This is probably reflective of the limited understanding of investigative design and function as well as a lack of understanding of the role of intelligence. It is rare to find an academic pursuing behavioural techniques that has a contemporary working knowledge of the differing roles, value, and outcomes, of evidence and intelligence and their nexus as they relate to criminal investigations, but is it also not unusual to find career police officers with similar knowledge deficits.

In terms of investigative design and function, investigators are not the arbiters of truth – that is the role of the judiciary. It is for this very reason that cross examination is not permitted by police interviewers. Investigators are charged with discovering, capturing and placing all available and legally admissible information (evidence), whether it supports their case or harms it, before a court in a professional, ethical and unbiased manner. It is when they stray outside this responsibility that we most often see inadmissibility of evidence and miscarriage of process. This is also why pursuit of a confession in an interview is a dangerous and often erroneous purpose. Investigators use numerous tools to bring such information before the courts and the interview is only one such tool, albeit in many cases a significant one.

In terms of intelligence, its role is to provide focus and direction to an investigator, or to support and direct the discovery of evidence. Contrary to popular belief and speculation, tools such as psycholinguistics and reading non-verbal cues are not evidentiary tools, i.e. they are not designed to elicit evidence per se. They are intelligence tools designed to *support the discovery of evidence* and unfortunately there are those who would have them substitute or short-cut for a well planned and executed investigation. They are tools designed to assist in the detection of deception and/or sensitivity in order that this deception or sensitivity may be probed through effective questioning and thereby further investigated.

From the point of view of a competent police officer, the detection of deception or sensitivity (or indicator that deception/sensitivity may be present) serves no purpose other than to direct a line of questioning, a pattern of searching, an avenue of inquiry or a shift in investigative focus. They are not in and of themselves evidence of any substantial element of an offence that could not be explained or reneged upon in court. Lying is not a criminal offence and rarely does prove one. Even if a technique or device could prove, with a degree of accuracy acceptable to the most ardent critic, that an individual was being deceptive, it would still require an understanding of the context or why this was the case, especially where any element of intent was in question. This would require the discovery of evidence, or at the very least, further questioning.

Typically deception and sensitivity exhibit similar if not identical behavioural and linguistic cues and in either case is not enough just to identify them. An investigator must discover the evidence that supports any subsequent assertions they make. For example, a man who reported his wife missing (and who was found a day later beaten to death and dumped) was asked to write out a statement about what he did on the day she went missing for the purposes of statement analysis. The SCAN practitioner advised the investigator that the subject was being deceptive about his movements around the time of death (as determined by forensic examination of the body), and that the relationship between the two was poor. Assuming that the husband was responsible they commenced a line of questioning intimating his involvement in the murder of his wife. The husband vehemently denied this and failed to account for his whereabouts for hours, until after a short phone call he admitted an affair and that he was with another married woman at the time of death. It was later discovered that the victim was having her own affair and was murdered by her lover in a fit of rage. The output from the SCAN process was correct – the difficulty with such techniques often lies with the interpretation, verification and finding the context of the output.

Unfortunately, many law enforcement practitioners should shoulder some of the

blame for the apparent controversy surrounding these techniques. The evangelical approach of some results in over-promising and under-delivering only serves to perpetuate debate and discourage more rigorous application. They often over-reach in the interpretation of the findings in order to make them more palatable and it is precisely the interpretation that is so difficult. Similarly, the providers of training programs such as Sapir with SCAN and the FBI with Statement Analysis must also share some blame. Whilst it would be both naïve and arrogant to dismiss the enormous body of work that has been amassed to support SCAN, Statement Analysis and SVA (which has been accepted in European courts as expert opinion evidence), it would also be a mistake to ignore that their requirement to engage in marketing in order to not only sell courses but ironically, to defend them, has resulted in some claims that may be questionable.

This further apportionment of blame notwithstanding, any attribution of the perpetuation of mythology of psycholinguistics, non-verbal cues or interview for that matter to marketing assumes that consumers of such marketing and products are ignorant, undiscerning lemmings who have no requirement to achieve significant outcomes. On the contrary, as a pioneer of the use of SCAN 15 years ago, I can say that the scepticism held by the general policing population to SCAN and other behavioural techniques is as healthy and ardent now as it was then. Experience has shown that the law enforcement community has proven itself to be more than sceptical of anything that fails to deliver real value, often in the form of tangible evidence, and for very good reason.

The pressure on the law enforcement community to deliver results is constant and unwavering and their failures can be very public, political and pointed, somewhat different from that of the academic world. The meaning of investigation in police terms differs from that of the scientific and academic sphere. Law enforcement operates in terms of proof beyond reasonable doubt and yet, necessarily so, the empirical process requires much more in the way of absolute truth. The apparent necessity for every aspect of every tool and technique to be validated scientifically is unnecessary from a law enforcement

perspective, and a waste of effort and resources that could be better spent building and enhancing the useful components and aspects of these tools and techniques instead of admonishing them as a whole; especially when debunking of such techniques is done with a limited sample size, often which involves participants who have no real motivation to succeed, unlike those who face lengthy period of incarceration for their actions.

There is considerable, direct evidence that when applied correctly, by competent practitioners for their correct purpose, behavioural and linguistic techniques work as effectively intelligence tools and do so when nothing else will. It just hasn't been collected and packaged neatly into a journal article (yet?). There should be far more caution attached to their application, and building rigour within such application would be highly beneficial. As correctly highlighted in a previous issue of this Bulletin (Are Police Organisations Suspending their Disbelief in Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN)?) devices and systems will continue to be used by law enforcement agencies, but it is because they have not been shown to be unreliable in totality, and are thought to be misunderstood by the academic community. Similarly, for good reason, scholarly concerns have limited impact on the law enforcement community in this area because they offer no solutions or assistance, only criticism of something that more often than not offers real value to the investigator.

Bridging any gap requires effort from both sides and when someone is just trying to get to the other side; they don't really care what the bridge looks like, just so long as it works. So just like fingerprints, until someone can provide a comprehensive, peer-reviewed published study that proves behavioural techniques don't work, they will continue to be used. Such a study would have to account for confounding variables such as incorrect application, incompetent practitioners and being used for an incorrect purpose as well a being able to clearly identify the outcome variable being manipulated in each case. It would be so more valuable if a few could provide some assistance in reviewing the anecdotal evidence and in so doing making these tools and techniques work better.

SCAN: Still on the radar.

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'I want to provide a tool that will stand up to testing and can be reliably taught to other practitioners, without having to refer people to anecdotal evidence or unpublished experiments.'

In an effort to encourage genuine dialogue between researchers and practitioners, including trainers, Steve Longford and I are collaboratively building on my original contribution concerning the use of Scientific Content Analysis as a tool for lie detection by law enforcement agents. In this article, I will be offering a further elaboration on my original argument from the perspective offered by Steve Longford in his contribution appearing in this issue. Steve Longford has experience as trainer in the SCAN method and his business, New Intelligence, is a training supplier to the Australian law enforcement market, which gives him a practitioner focus that is admittedly lacking from my own research-based position on lie detection.

As a starting point however, I feel that I must correct Steve Longford's misquoting of my article in his opening sentence: I wrote "The human INability to detect...', not 'The human ability'. Many studies have attested to the lack of a human capacity to detect deceptive language or behaviour with any degree of accuracy. Most studies of lie detection by humans report a level of accuracy equal to chance, or around 50 percent. The misquotation of my article has a significant impact on Steve Longford's ensuing argument, though perhaps not on the remainder of his contribution, which goes on to make several important points.

The comparison between forensic tools emanating from the so-called hard sciences

(physics, chemistry, biology and so on) with the investigative tools based on psychology and the social sciences is apposite. Certainly, there is a tendency towards skepticism by scientists when faced with a tool that relies on data that cannot be tested using a Bunsen burner and a microscope. And it is also true that even established forensic methods like fingerprinting might be shown to be problematic in relation to their use as evidence in court. But this should never be used as a reason to exclude selected methods from the rigorous program of tests that can demonstrate their validity and reliability.

In fact, this very argument is strongly supported by the literature concerning the reliability of fingerprinting, some of which is cited in the New Scientist article referred to by Steve Longford and much more of which has been published since. The key point to be drawn from the argument about the reliability of fingerprinting is not that forensic tools no longer need to be scientifically validated to be used in law enforcement, but rather that it is imperative that any forensic instrument is adequately tested to avoid precisely the predicament to have befallen fingerprint evidence in various jurisdictions of the United States. It may be frustrating and time consuming to avoid the use of a tool or method that has not been tested, but how much more time-consuming to be led astray during an investigation because erroneous assumptions have been made, based on an unreliable method of detecting deception?

Nonetheless, it is important to maintain a level of perspective in this debate. As is pointed out by Steve Longford, SCAN is not intended to be used to produce evidence in a case, but only as an investigative tool that might guide the practitioner towards a possible avenue of enquiry. This is an important distinction because it means that the SCAN method itself is unlikely to be subject to the rules of evidence that apply to other forensic methods.

However, let us consider for a moment what this means in practice: it means that practitioners are supposed to be comfortable using a method that has never been conclusively demonstrated to work, in order to guide them in their investigation, which at some point will result in the collation of data as evidence in a trial. As a researcher, I want to do a bit better than that for our law enforcement practitioners: I want to provide a tool that will stand up to testing and can be reliably taught to other practitioners, without having to refer people to anecdotal evidence or unpublished experiments.

I wholeheartedly support the need for appropriately professional training in any method, and it may be the case that the SCAN method has only ever failed to produce reliable results because of poor training or inappropriate application. It is also important

to note that the critical first step in the SCAN method, which requires the subject to produce a written statement prior to any questioning, will always conflict with cognitive interviewing approaches which require participants to engage and build rapport before the elicitation of a free-form verbal narrative from the subject. However, any shortcomings in the training or execution of SCAN should never detract from the importance of establishing that the method itself, the criteria upon which it is founded and the means of transmission to new practitioners are all supported by sound scientific evidence of their reliability and validity.

I sincerely hope that we can continue to work together as a community of researchers and practitioners to produce the best possible outcomes for policing and the community.

Who can keep watch over the incidents behind the door? : The Japanese way of visual recording in the interrogation room.

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'Sooner or later, Japanese police and prosecutors need to start learning how to interrogate suspects and obtain confessions in front of the camera.'

Introduction

For many years Japanese police and prosecutors have believed that interrogation is the most important tool for the investigation/prosecution task of establishing the motives of the criminal and the circumstances of the incident, to ask for the information concerning the crime, and to obtain the confession from the defendant. Because Japan has the tradition of an inquisitorial system for over one hundred thirty years, the prosecutor also conducts interrogation before their decision to prosecute. In the view of the interrogator, the visual recording of suspect interviews is problematic because it may uncover what they do not want to be known. They have been making a stand against the idea of visual recording of the suspect interview. However, at last the police and prosecutors have recently started the partial recording of suspect interviews and confessions. This paper will describe the background of this issue in Japan and introduce the current practice in the police and prosecutors office. Finally, it will be concluded that the visual recording of suspect interrogation will eventually take effect in Japan.

Background

In the ninety eighties, there were four notorious miscarriages of justice cases in Japan. Four death row inmates were exonerated of their crimes after spending over twenty years in prison. In each case, the defendants had confessed to the crimes of murder. In their new trials, the reliability of all of the confessions was questioned by each court. Criticism of the criminal justice system grew after these tragic events became public. One of the strongest criticisms concerned the place where the defendants were held while under interrogation. It was the "Dai-yo Kangoku (substitute prison)", police detention cell. Japanese police can detain the defendant legally for twenty three days prior to indictment. The abolishment of such procedure was strongly advocated by legal associations, human rights groups and opposition political parties. The Japanese Criminal Procedure Rule (CPR) gives the police three days before sending the case to the prosecutor office and permits the prosecutor to detain the defendant for twenty days before their decision to prosecute based on the authorization by the court. For the total of twenty three days the defendant can be legally bind in the police detention cell. Although the Human Right Commission of the United Nations criticized this rule and practice numerous times, the Japanese government has not changed this practice[1].

The confession that the defendant provides to the police can be furnished as evidence in the form of a dossier – a statement on paper. The key factor for the admissibility of the confession as the evidence is voluntariness required by the Constitution and the CPR. If the defendant denies his/her prior statement during the trial, the prosecutor will submit the dossier as their main evidence. Such statements outside the courtroom are normally prohibited by hearsay rule, however, the CPR makes an exemption if the prosecutor can prove the voluntariness of the confession. Generally, the Japanese court rarely turns down voluntariness[2].

Recent Movement

Defence lawyers in Japan have argued that the voluntariness rule is rarely invoked. Since 2003, The Japan Federation of Bar Association (JFBA) has recommended introducing electronic recording of suspect interviews as a priority policy recommendation[3]. However, the Japanese government is strongly opposed to the idea especially with the support of the Japanese Police Agency (JPA) and Public Prosecutor Office (PPO). The police and prosecutor argue that communication inside the interrogation room is sensitive and cannot be made open to outsiders although they used audio-taping of the interview to record statements in specific cases by their own discretion. However, two cases with confessions as key evidence recently have had a big impact on this debate and the Japanese public are coming to understand the necessity of transparency in the interrogation process.

The first case is so-called "*Shibushi case*". In February 23, 2007, thirteen defendants were acquitted of the crime of 'buying' votes in the 2003 Kagoshima prefecture local election. Kagoshima district court criticized the confession arguing that it was the product of police coercion. The Shibushi case is now known internationally as an example of how Japanese police use harsh interrogation techniques with suspects[4].

The second case is *Toyama case* in which a defendant was exonerated of sexual assault after he had served a three year jail term after the actual perpetrator was found in January 2005[5]. During the trial the defendant confessed to the crime despite the size of foot print found at the crime scene being totally different from his own. The general public in Japan now seem to want to improve the transparency of the interrogation process, after media calls for the mandatory requirement of visual recording in the interrogation room[6].

Reformation and Current Practice

Not only defence attorneys but also judges are starting to show an expectation for the introduction of visual recording. One of the strong arguments in favour of visual recording was the introduction of the mixed jury system (*Saiban-in* in Japanese) in 2009, consisting of six lay judges and three professional judges for fact-finding and sentencing in criminal trials. The mixed jury system was expected to make trials shorter because the lay person cannot spend many days in the court process. The visual recording can be the best way for quickly identifying whether the defendant confessed voluntarily so the mixed jury does not need to spend too much time listening to testimony about the interrogation and the voluntariness and reliability of the confession.

The PPC and NPA bestirred and have started to make the interrogation process more transparent. First, PPC introduced dual-camera digital recording in late 2007 and they have used this equipment in all of their offices since April 2008. They now record parts of the interrogations. There have been already some cases in which the prosecutor has been required to use the DVD recording as key evidence in their case. Second, NPA have introduced new policy to improve the reliability and propriety of the investigation process[7]. Two main supervision mechanisms have been introduced; the first has been to set up a new department for watching the interrogation, and the second has been to construct peepholes in the doors of interrogation rooms so that the interrogation can be watched. Since September 2009, NPA has been recording the final portion of interrogations electronically as a test-project in the five prefectural departments. They record the interrogator reading the statement in the dossier to the defendant to make certain that it is correct once they have obtained a confession and completed the documentation. NPA, however, still refuses to introduce whole recording of the interrogation. Currently, there is no judicial case in Japan requiring mandatory recording of the entire part of an interrogation, although, some courts question the reliability of partial electronic recording of evidence.

The Japanese public now looks very skeptical at the legitimacy of the interrogation process in the police and prosecutor office, although both agencies are conducting their campaign against the mandatory requirement of visual recording in the interrogation room. In Japan there has hitherto been no watcher behind the door in the interrogation room. Although the right to counsel is guaranteed by the Constitution, the defence attorney cannot stand by. Only the camera can record the work of the police and prosecutor in the interview room. Sooner or later, Japanese police and prosecutors need to start learning how to interrogate suspects and obtain confessions in front of the camera. Changing with the times is natural outcome.

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Reducing post-event suggestion with a Cognitive Interview.

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'witnesses are willing to consider what others tell them and under some conditions can be forced to accept blatantly false information.'

We've heard a lot over the years about the potential of the Cognitive Interview to help investigators obtain more complete and accurate reports from witnesses. Anecdotal reports and field data attest to the fact that the CI can elicit detailed information from eyewitnesses in investigative contexts. Recent research efforts have been directed towards making the Cognitive Interview easier to use and more accessible as an investigative tool particularly in investigations of high volume crime. One of the problems that officers trained in the Cognitive Interview face, however, is that they may not be able to get to witnesses soon enough. We know witnesses are subject to external influences from their social environment immediately after they have witnessed an event. Witnesses may share their experiences with family members and friends, hear the reports of other witnesses, read media reports, and be questioned formally and informally on more than one occasion about what they have seen. Researchers have established that memories can be 'edited' during this natural process of exchanging information with others and in answering questions about what may have happened. The so called *post-event information* that is acquired during this process can result in a memory that is not just based on what someone has seen but on information that has been assimilated and incorporated over a period of time into their memory reports. Research has shown that witness's memories can be influenced not just by trivial details but also information that conflicts with their own memory. This is because witnesses are willing to consider what others

tell them and under some conditions can be forced to accept blatantly false information. This is what Memon, Zaragoza, Clifford and Kidd (2009) set out to examine using a procedure known as the "forced fabrication paradigm."

Following the viewing of a 5 minute video clip of a bank robbery, 160 witnesses (University undergraduates and members from the community) were interviewed with one of two interview protocols: (1) A free recall (FR) where they were simply asked to tell the interviewer in their own words what they saw, or (2) a Cognitive Interview (CI). We used a compressed version of the enhanced (CI) with a rapport building, context reinstatement and report in detail instruction. Some witnesses received misleading information from a different interviewer *before* they were interviewed and some *after* they were interviewed. The misinformation came in the form of a face-to-face forced fabrication interview which asked them about the events of the video in chronological order. Of these, 9 questions were "true-event" questions that asked participants about events they had seen in the film clip. The remaining 4 questions were false-event questions that queried participants about events that, although plausible, did not appear in the film clip. For example, one false-event question was 'As Sonny begins to burn the register over the trashcan, which part of his clothing catches fire?' Although the movie does depict Sonny burning the register in the trashcan, his clothes never catch fire. Hence, in order to answer the false-event questions participants had to make-up, or fabricate, a response. Witnesses were informed that they must provide an answer to every question, even if they had to guess. To our surprise, they readily supplied answers to every question without protest.

One week later, a different experimenter gave all participants a yes/no recognition test of their memory for the witnessed event. Now before participants were questioned they were

warned that the interviewer who had questioned them the previous week may have been mistaken about some details. The aim of the warning was to reduce social pressure to go along with the interviewer's suggestions. This phase of questioning was designed to assess whether witnesses misremembered witnessing the items they had been forced to fabricate earlier. For example, would witnesses who had provided the forced fabrication that Sonny's tie caught on fire later misremember having seen Sonny's tie catch fire in the video? All 17 questions were of the form, "When you watched the video, did you see_____? (e.g., Sonny's tie catch fire)". If a participant went along with the suggestion it was recorded as a "false assent." In line with our hypotheses, we found the forced fabrication phase did increase false assents significantly and witnesses said they had seen details that had been suggested to them a week earlier. However, those witnesses who had been interviewed with a CI *before* the forced fabrication phase showed a reduced rate of false assents so the CI did offer some protection. We refer to this as an "inoculation effect" in the paper.

There are two possible mechanisms to account for the inoculating effect of the CI: (a) the CI created a stronger or more complete memory of the original event, and/or (b) the CI influenced people's beliefs about the accuracy of their memory. It is clear that, relative to FR, the CI resulted in a more complete memory for the witnessed event (as evidenced by number of correct details reported with the CI) and this was true regardless of whether the CI was administered before or after the forced fabrication interview. However, a stronger or more complete memory for the witnessed event at retrieval may not be sufficient to reduce false memory development, or otherwise the Cognitive Interview After condition should have conferred similar benefits. Rather, we propose that having a stronger, more complete memory of the witnessed event altered the way in which witnesses processed the forced fabrications during the interview. Further research is needed to test our theory but what we think the CI might be doing is helping witnesses monitor the accuracy of their memory. When confronted with the demand that they provide an answer to a false event question, participants

can be considered as varying along a continuum of suspicion/uncertainty, from those who conjecture –"that's funny. I don't remember that, must have missed it, I guess it was his…", to those who think "I don't remember his clothes catching fire, I certainly would have noticed that, they're trying to trick me here, I'll just guess … because it is a plausible answer". Our proposal is that the improvements in memory that result from having had a CI before eyewitnesses are misled will increase the likelihood that they will suspect they are being misled and somehow "tag" their suspicion. This might encourage participants to later closely scrutinise their memories when trying to differentiate between items they did and didn't see. In addition, when later given a warning about the possibility of having been asked questions about fictitious events, we conjecture that those in the CI-Before group will retrieve the suspicions/uncertainty tagged with their fabricated responses and resist attributing their forced fabrication to the witnessed event. Amina Memon and Alan Scoboria (University of Windsor, Canada) are currently testing this hypothesis by including a condition where participants are explicitly provided with a 'don't know' option.

The research described here confirms that the method by which a witness is questioned is critical. In the current study, we observed effects of misinformation on a recognition test where participants received closed questions (forced-choice) about false event items. However, the fabrications rarely appeared in the freely recalled accounts of the video event confirming the benefits of open-ended questioning. In future research, we aim to examine whether the benefits of an early interview hold up over much longer delays and when a witness is subjected to suggestions in repeated interviews.

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Recall and comprehension of the Queensland Police cautioning statement amongst Australian Aboriginals.

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'there should be a legal advisor or cultural consultant on hand during police questioning of Aboriginal people.'

In Australia the English spoken by Aboriginal people is not a Standard English, but it is a distinctly Aboriginal dialect called Aboriginal English. The content of Aboriginal conversation has significant cultural and social aspects that lead to distinctively Aboriginal interpretations and meanings. Non-Aboriginal Australians speaking Standard English often assume that the Australian Aboriginal person is speaking the same language with the same meanings, however this is often not the case.

A study was conducted to assess the recall and comprehension of the Queensland police cautioning statement (see Box 1) among Aboriginal (n=26) and non-Aboriginal (n=26) males. The subjects, who all had previous criminal convictions, were individually read the police cautioning statement (in full) and then asked to recall the content. Each of the eight sentences was then read to the subjects who were asked to explain its meaning. The statement contains eight sentences, including a total of 34 separate concepts.

Recall of the Queensland police cautioning statement proved to be difficult for both groups. However the Aboriginal group recalled significantly fewer concepts than the non-Aboriginal group. The non-Aboriginal group (on average) were only able to recall about 10 out of the 34 concepts and the Aboriginal group averaged about eight concepts (See Table 1 below).

Comprehension scores for the two groups were not significantly different. However, the assessment of the individual sentences showed a significant difference between the two groups on sentence 4. In the Aboriginal group, four out of ten participants were able to accurately interpret sentence 4, whereas in the non-Aboriginal group eight out of ten participants were able to accurately interpret sentence 4.

Across both tests the Aboriginal participants performed more poorly than the non-Aboriginal participants. The results suggest that there should be a legal advisor or cultural consultant on hand during police questioning of Aboriginal people.

Box 1: The Queensland Police Cautioning Statement

Sentence 1 - *Before I ask you any questions I must tell you that you have the right to remain silent.*

Sentence 2 - *This means you do not have to say anything, answer any question or make any statement unless you wish to do so.*

Sentence 3 - *However, if you do say something or make a statement, it may later be used as evidence.*

Sentence 4 - *Do you understand?*

Sentence 5 - *You have the right to telephone or speak to a friend or relative to inform that person where you are and to ask him or her to be present during questioning.*

Sentence 6 - *You also have the right to telephone or speak to a lawyer of your choice to inform the lawyer where you are and to arrange or attempt to arrange for the lawyer to be present during questioning.*

Sentence 7 - *If you want to telephone or speak to any of these people, questioning will be delayed for a reasonable time for that purpose.*

Sentence 8 - *Is there anyone you wish to telephone or speak to?*

Table 1: Mean Recall and Comprehension of the Police Cautioning Statement

	Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal	
	Recall	*Comp.*	*Recall*	*Comp.*
All sentences	**7.77**	**14.26**	**10.11**	**16.76**
Sentence 1	0.73	0.74	0.68	0.65
Sentence 2	0.88	1.63	1.04	2.12
Sentence 3	0.92	1.51	1.00	1.73
Sentence 4	0.19	0.42	0.04	0.81
Sentence 5	2.60	3.65	3.45	3.65
Sentence 6	1.88	3.03	2.45	3.53
Sentence 7	0.57	2.43	1.45	3.08
Sentence 8	0.00	0.85	0.00	1.19

CONFERENCE ROUNDUP

A review of the 2nd International Investigative Interviewing Research Conference, University of Teesside, 14-16th April 2009.

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"this was a truly enjoyable conference indicative of strivings of both practitioner and academics to work together."

The conference of this burgeoning research group was attended by over 120 delegates drawn from both the academic and practitioner communities. Its overarching theme of 'Putting theory into practice: The dilemmas of law and psychology' was therefore indicative of the aim to encourage mutual dialogue between these two groups. Further, this aim was not solely focussed on a domestic perspective as the presence of delegates from around fifteen countries ensured a global voice was heard at the conference. Whilst it could be argued that increased representation from North America and parts of mainland Europe, so important to the international debate and development of the discipline, might have brought further benefit to the conference, there could be little argument that the general high quality of the presentations was impressive. The practitioner community was largely represented by policing professionals whilst academics included those from criminological, psychological and forensic linguistic disciplines, reflecting the widening involvement and interest from a range of research perspectives. What follows here are details of some of the highlights of a conference that examined contemporary thinking into the area of interviewing.

Proceedings were commenced with an address by Hans Sverre Sjøvold, Director of the Norwegian Police University College, Oslo who discussed, initially, the suspicion that practitioners viewed academics (and given the amount of adverse criticism they received concerning the state of practice this was not a surprising state of affairs). Hans continued to show, however, that gradually overcoming these suspicions has led to advancements in practice and brought benefits to the processes of criminal and social justice. This was a view echoed throughout the conference.

The first keynote speaker, Professor Aldert Vrij, from the University of Portsmouth, reflected

accounts of some of the latest thinking into the detection of deception. Aldert discussed the contemporary research that had examined the effects of increasing cognitive load upon suspects which has tended to show that despite views that liars are more animated when practising their deceit, this was not the case as the concentration required to fabricate and maintain consistency of their false story has been found in experiments to restrict the movements of lying individuals. Moreover, increased durations of pauses and silences and latency responses to questions put to them were also constituent in deceptive strategies. The prolific amount of research by Vrij and his colleagues, whilst not universally accepted, was felt to be a thought provoking session that indeed was a hallmark for much of the rest of the conference.

The first of the symposia to be undertaken was a truly joint reflection of practice and research as it was delivered by serving and former practitioners all of whom are involved in academic endeavours. For example, Coral Dando, a former police officer, presented some elements of her recently completed PhD research, enlightening delegates to the reasons why cognitive interviewing (CI) by inexperienced police officers (and those investigating less serious crime) were often found to only use certain components of the cognitive interview in practice due to the demands they felt were placed upon them in terms, for example, the time taken to obtain information from witnesses to crime when following the CI model. Interviewing officers, it was found, frequently made conscious decisions to forego certain parts of the CI framework as the costs that this potentially meant in terms of lost information were not felt as severe as the extra time and effort required to obtain that extra information. Becky Milne's session broadened the investigative discipline to include other forms of policing such as those undertaken by law enforcement units of government agencies. Becky focussed upon social security benefit fraud interviews (a theme enlarged upon by the author of this paper later in the conference) where she presented research that she had conducted with Andie Shawyer at the University of Portsmouth. This research had found similar problems that had been seen

elsewhere in other studies undertaken into police attitudes and practice concerning interviewing of suspects in terms of guilt presumption, for example. Becky also alerted us to the question whether the PEACE model, seen by some as best practice when interviewing suspects, was applicable to benefit fraud interviews (as those in Andie Shawyer's survey had indicated). Chris Ambler, a senior serving police officer, introduced his research which broke new ground as it examined the area of the potential impacts that emergency call centre operators' questions of witnesses and victims may have upon their later testimonies. Interesting stuff indeed!

The first afternoon's parallel sessions contained a range of interesting and varied material beginning with Karl Roberts and Gary Shaw's presentation of the role that behavioural specialists may have on advising interviewers how to undertake interviewing strategies. Their joint presentation from both academic and practitioner viewpoints illustrated how such advice may benefit interviews with particularly difficult suspects. However, Karl and Gary also pointed out that there are dangers concerned with an over-reliance upon such advice faithfully accepted without question from perceived experts. Meanwhile, Harriet Jakobsson-Ohrn offered timely advice of the problems that may arise with the generation of a single hypothesis too early in the investigation and, through a case study, showed how this approach may well lead to false confessions. Coral Dando examined approaches to witness interviewing examining whether there was any benefit in attempting to retrieve from witnesses a chronological account of events (as opposed to allowing free recall versions). Coral found from her study that after examining multiple attempts by investigators to elicit witness testimony an interview structured around allowing free recall and then guiding that later in a chronological format provided more accurate testimonies than immediately trying to obtain that witness account in a chronological order followed by requests for a free recall of events. Indeed it was found that this latter method was less accurate than solely asking for a free recall of events. Whilst this was only a small scale study, the examining of fresh perspectives into

interviewing was a conference characteristic. The second day finished with a second keynote address by Peter Van Koppen. This was a lively and entertaining affair that showcased the problems that can occur in the interviewing of suspects by the Dutch police who still to attend to more interrogational strategies than, say, is the case in Norway, Sweden, New Zealand, and England and Wales.

The evening's poster session though containing just a few samples of research nevertheless possessed a high quality of study. For example, Professor Eunkyung Jo showcased two pieces of research from South Korea. The first showed through a case study that investigative interviewing in that country was in need of overhaul as currently approaches to case investigation and interview meant that false confessions were inevitable. Her second piece of collaborative research further emphasised this point as it examined questioning strategies and types again actually used police professionals in her home country and highlighted several dangers associated with closed and forced –choice question types and the absence of open questions. Questioning was also a theme contained in the poster presented by Sarah Henderson and Janet Caughey which summarised an experimental study concerning witness evidence in the courtroom and specifically the negative effect that the nature of lawyers questioning of witness can have both upon accuracy and confidence of responses by witnesses. It is thought most useful that other forms of questioning contexts such as courtroom interactions are welcomed at the conference. However, despite the high quality of these other presentation, Brendan O'Mahoney's poster concerning the emerging role of registered intermediaries when asked to assist vulnerable defendants when communicating evidence in the courtroom was the was thought to have the edge as the prizewinner. Again examining the conference theme from less traditional perspectives, Brendan highlighted that the Registered Intermediary scheme had not undergone any evaluation when used for defendants which in itself was not a legal requirement but subject to judicial discretion. In the interests of justice it was argued that this was something that should be attended to in the legislature and that reliance

of lawyers to alone to perform the role of assisting vulnerable defendants in the police interview or courtroom did not provide sufficient safeguards to prevent miscarriages of justice.

Witness interviewing was a key theme on the second day which began with a compulsive keynote from Michael Lamb which explored that accurate accounts can be elicited from young witnesses and victims but their accounts are often flawed not by their own cognitive or developmental shortfalls, but by poor interviewing techniques. Conversely, he proceeded to show that well trained interviewers can facilitate robust and accurate accounts that may well bring perpetrators to justice. After Michael's presentation, further examination of the child witness interview took place with a succession of presentations. One of these was a presentation of a Canadian study that concentric the benefits of having practice interviews with children preceding the interview concerning the offences themselves. Kim showed that such an intervention benefited the later interview in comparison to those interview where there hand been no preceding practice interview by way of gathering more information that was offered by the child from open ended questions (thereby reducing any notions of suggestibility). Fiona Gabbert, and Lorraine Hope also showcased their innovative research conduced with their colleagues which argued that there may be possible advantages to professionals if witnesses were first to supply a self administered interview (SAI) particularly when police professionals were confronted with having to interview multiple witnesses with limited human resources and the added pressure of time to obtain information. When also considering other exacerbating factors, such as memory decay and the possible corruptive influences of post event information before any account can be given, it was explored whether the SAI might provide a solution to overcome these difficulties. Reporting on a series of experiments, Lorraine and Fiona concluded that SAI did overcome some these stated challenges whilst not having any adverse effects on the accuracy of the account but they claimed it offered protection against post event information and misleading questions that may be asked by their

interviewers. Zoe Walkington's session on the challenges presented by interviewee bias revealed that witnesses generating hypotheses concerning what happened was likely to influence their future recall of the event. Accordingly, Zoe argued that investigators must prepare for this and be ready to test any witness formulation to show whether their supplied account was an accurate account or not. Once might safely conclude from these various presentations that there is real quality of innovation being conducted in studies around the world to assist professionals in their witness interviews of children and adults.

In other sessions, Kate Haworth, from a forensic linguist's view, highlighted the many steps that were undertaken between initial suspect utterances and the actual presentation of that account in the courtroom. These various steps allowed for interpretations that may well lead to distortions from that first offering which had the potential to influence the various judgments when making decisions whether to proceed with the case or what sentence should be appropriate. Alex Sandham, Ray Bull, Coral Dando and Tom Ormerod next proceeded to introduce details of their ongoing and fascinatingly designed experiment. Building on Hartwig et al.'s (2006) study of deception detection (which only covered relatively simple matters) this experiment was set in the context of the construction of the London 2012 Olympic stadium and involved participants who were either innocent (but dodgy) builders and terrorists. However, this study involved no single obvious evidence of wrongdoing but a suggestion emanated from a combination of factors that emerged from the conduct of both incident and guilty suspects. The interviews were undertaken using early, late or gradual presentations of possibly incriminating information to examine the effects both on interviewers and suspect in terms of cognitive load. It was found that later and gradual presentation of information provided the most burdensome load for interviewees but less so for interviewers. When turning to interviewers being able to detect depiction between the terrorists and the builders it was found that interviewers could through either verbal or behavioural strategies that the terrorists were lying (at a highly impressive rate in the region

of 85%). It is thought that this is a piece of research that will be worth looking out for as further findings emerge!

The final keynote speech given by Professor Malcolm Coulthard once again reminded the audience of the usefulness that the study of linguistics can help with interviewing. For example, he suggested that the official caution need to be treated with great care as its complexity was commonly found to be beyond the comprehension of most suspects in the setting of a forensic interview. However, he did note that most suspects at first agreed that they did understand the caution when asked even though this was later found to be an untrue statement when asked for an explanation.

On the final morning two interesting talks were given in two distinct, but much needed, areas of study. The first, from Hazel McMurtrie, highlighted the paucity of research into the elder eyewitness. Given that this age group (i.e. the over 60's) is the fastest growing sector in the population their potential to be any eye witness to crime demands increased attention. Hazel found that in her comparative experiment younger adults consistently outperformed older adults but withheld forming sustained conclusions given the development of her ongoing research. Yvonne Fowler, on the other hand, discussed the role of interpreter in witness interviews. Yvonne showed through her study that as yet we were still to locate what might be termed as best practice as she found various advantages and disadvantages to a range of approaches. She also concluded that there is a need for police officers to have further training to work through interpreters as well as raising the awareness of the various impacts interpreters can have on the actual interview account finally arguing that these types of witness interviews should be subject to mandatory recording.

The final discussant panel was at times a highly contested session particularly when international comparisons were attempted to be drawn over what practice occurs in differing countries. Despite the sometimes heat of the debate it is still felt that these issues should be discussed openly to understand relative positions and generate further understanding

as to where practice requires improvement so that justice might be done. The mater of justice was one that a panel member (a Crown Court Judge) rightly and timely reminded the audience is the real purpose of all our efforts to ensure that we get it right in the courtroom!

In summary, whilst it is extremely interesting and necessary to learn what research is taking place, practitioners have to be wary that most of what they have heard, whilst being cutting edge material, still requires more research before it can be relied upon faithfully. More, it is acknowledged that a greater practitioner focus may be required for future conferences. Nonetheless this was a truly enjoyable conference indicative of strivings of both practitioner and academics to work together and I look forward immensely to Stavern, Norway in June 2010.

The 19th conference of the European Association of Psychology & Law. Sorrento, 2-5 September, 2009.

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It may be argued that theory and practice are, to an extent, symbiotically connected. Each one requires the other, in order to thrive optimally. Worthwhile applied research is less easily achieved without at least some practical insight and context. Effective practical expertise, on the other hand, requires the input that only applied research may be able to offer. Both appear fundamental for growth and progress. It has been 12 years since Italy last held the meeting and, judging from this year, it seems that, due to over a decade of research and practice, Psychology and Law has seen some major improvements and advancement. The delivery of ground-breaking applied theory in the form of keynotes, symposia, paper and poster presentations (which will be talked about in more detail below) cemented and demonstrated this.

The Hilton Sorrento Palace hosted this year's EAPL Psychology and Law conference. The conference itself took place over four days, following on from the pre-conference workshops on detecting deception and the "risk assessment in cases of intimate partner violence and prevention of femicide" delivered by Professor Aldert Vrij and Dr. Anna Costanza Baldry respectively. A large number of academic and applied forensic delegates attended, possibly owing to the combination of both: (a) the quality of the keynotes, symposia, papers and poster presentations and (b), of course, the splendid venue of Sorrento. The organisers certainly delivered successfully the intended merging of scientific quality and a relaxing and invigorating setting. With the large number of delegates came the large number of abstract submissions, a consequence being that some paper sessions did end up being fairly tight. There appeared to be a general consensus that a maximum of five papers per sessions may have been better, as this would ensure sufficient time for the presentations and some subsequent questions and/or discussion. Questions/discussion can be relatively important for progress and improvement – which is, at the end of the day, one aim of a conference; that is, to give delegates, especially those in their early stages of career, a chance to learn and grow in the field. This aim was accomplished, but ensuring sessions are less full may have helped to achieve this to a greater degree. Overall, the conference programme catered for a wide range of interests across the vast area Psychology and Law, with perhaps a slight weighting towards the criminological subject areas (for example: topics such as psychopathy, victims, offenders, crime, and delinquency). Each day three out of the five parallel sessions were on the above or related themes. Legal psychology and investigative interviewing sessions comprised the remainder. The theme of the conference was *crime victims and the violation of rights* and the programme emphasis seemed in concert with this.

There were several memorable moments over the four days. During the opening ceremony Peter van Koppen stepped down as President of the EAPL. The baton was passed onto the President-elect, David Cooke, who has now taken on the role for the next few years. The five keynote addresses were a further highlight:

Ernesto Savona and Salvatore Siena delivered their talks on the opening afternoon of the conference. Ernesto Savona is a Professor of Criminology at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. He spoke on the topic of crime analysis and prevention. Salvatore Siena immediately followed Ernesto Savona's talk. Salvatore joined the Italian National Police in 1975 as Commissario di P.S. In 1993, he was promoted to the rank of Primo Dirigente. His address focussed on "A practical example of integration of disciplines in training the police: The Cepol." CEPOL's main function is to support the training of senior police officers of the Member States by optimising cooperation between the national training institutes. CEPOL therefore supports and develops a European approach to the main problems facing Member States in the fight against crime, crime prevention, and the maintenance of law and order and public security, in particular the cross-border dimension of those problems.

On the first full day of the conference, Ray Bull, who is Professor of Forensic Psychology at the University of Leicester, delivered an insightful keynote discussing "what really works in the interviewing of suspects by Police". The presentation discussed the major change in the way that police officers are now trained to interview in England; that they are now trained 'to seek the truth' rather than 'to gain confessions'. The address highlighted recently published research showing that good and less coercive interviewing skills are related to a higher level of cooperation and responsiveness - and to less reactance/interview resistance from suspects.

Stefan Bogaerts, a full professor in Forensic Psychology at the department of Law at the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium) and at the department of Social Science and Law at the Tilburg University (The Netherlands) spoke in the morning of the 4th September. He offered an alternative way of approaching risk management of sexual offenders, citing Forensic Social Network Analysis as the tool by which to estimate the relationship between the personal networks of forensic psychiatric patients and the risk of recidivism/re-offending. He suggested that this method may provide an effective way of managing the risk that sexual offenders may pose in the community.

That afternoon, David P. Farrington, O.B.E. delivered a competent keynote on "risk factors and the development of violence from childhood to adulthood". He discussed the continuity of violence from adolescence to adulthood and the childhood risk factors for violence convictions at age 31-50, self-reported violence at age 48, and partner violence (reported by the female partner) at age 48.

David is Professor of Psychological Criminology at the Institute of Criminology, Cambridge University and Adjunct Professor of Psychiatry at Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, at the University of Pittsburgh. He is also this year's much deserved award winner for his 'Life-time Contribution to Psychology and Law'.

The final keynote speaker of the conference was Dr. Raymond R. Corrado who is a full-professor in the School of Criminology and the Department of Psychology at Simon Fraser University and a Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall College and the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge. He is also a founding member of the Mental Health, Law, and Policy Institute at Simon Fraser University. His keynote on the "early onset of psychopathy and its development" reviewed the debate that led to the development of the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathy Personality (CAPP) and presented an empirical assessment of its internal validity, using a sample of 200 incarcerated young offenders.

For the second year running, the conference dinner saw the distribution of the EAPL senior and junior awards. This year's winners were David Farrington and Karl Ask; as mentioned above, David Farrington was presented with the senior EAPL award by the new EAPL President, David Cooke. This is in recognition of his 'Life-time Contribution to Psychology and Law'. Dr. Karl Ask, who is a researcher at Göteborg University, Sweden, won the junior award in the light of his distinguished early career research into judgement and decision-making in criminal investigations, witness psychology, social cognition and moral judgement.

The conference was stimulating and rewarding and reflected the hard work, effort and dedication of Anna Baldry and the rest of her organisational committee. It was a worthwhile and enjoyable few days. Next June the EAPL comes to Gothenburg, closely succeeded by the 3rd iIIRG Annual Conference in Stavern, Norway, from June 22nd – 24th. It will undoubtedly be a conference series not to be missed. So: mark your calendars and see you all next year!

iIIRG 2009: Conference and Masterclass evaluation

The 2nd iIIRG Conference was held at Teesside University, Middlesbrough, UK, between the 14th and 16th April 2009. There was a Forensic Linguistics Masterclass over a two-day period immediately following the conference. Below is a detailed breakdown of the feedback, with selected extracts, from the Conference and Masterclass:

Number of delegates in attendance: = 140

Evaluation completion response: = 20 (14%)

Despite the very poor survey response, many delegates spoke to members of the organising committee in person, by phone or by e-mail, and expressed great satisfaction with the conference and/or made suggestions for improvements.

Who responded to the surveys?

Numbers add up to more than 20 because of multiple responses.
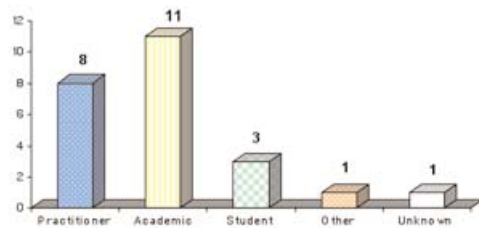
Conference Evaluation

All scales range from 1 (unsatisfactory) to 5 (excellent). All vertical axes refer to the frequency of responses to each scale item.

1. **Overall, did the conference meet your professional and educational needs?**
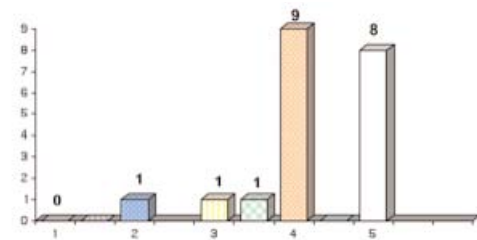
Comments

'Excellent examples of research which I can use both operationally and in the training of my staff'

'I give this conference a 5, because I think it was very good. I am a detective, and do interviews every day. I am also an instructor in investigative interviewing. Most of the presentations were very relevant for my job, and gives me a lot of motivation. I also got the opportunity to get to know a lot of interesting people.'

'I found this a very useful and interesting conference. It is important for researchers to have a dialogue with the police and other practitioners – as both can benefit from the experience.'

'An impressive programme both in range and depth. Perhaps could there have been a bit more focus on practitioners needs and how to achieve best practice in operational work.'

'This is, without doubt, the best conference I have ever been to in every respect' (personal written message to the Chair of iIIRG from a senior academic).

2. **Regarding the conference fees, were they:**
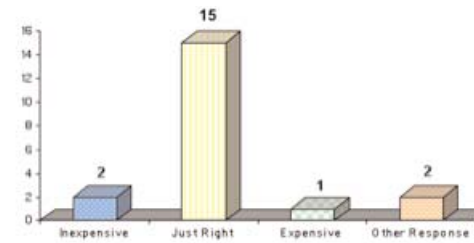
Comments

'I didn't have to pay, but I thought they seemed ok—and so was able to sponsor several associates. I think that's important!'

3. **With regards to the organisation of the conference:**

(i) How well was everything organised PRIOR to attending the conference (response to e-mails; notification of any changes/ updates; directions to venue etc.)?
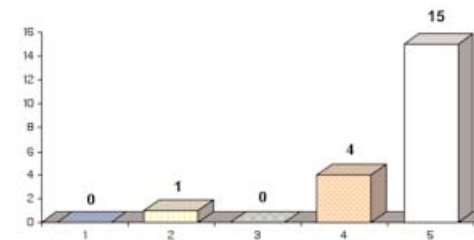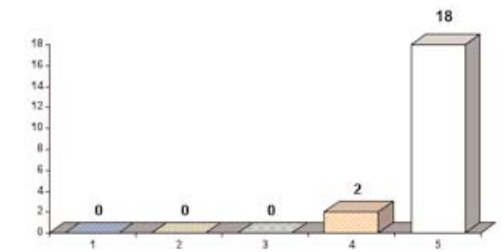

Comments

'Direct emails from the organiser who had a handle on everything made it all far easier than usual'

'Great and the student helpers were a great addition'

'Everything was fine although I had problems registering as member in the first place but once that was sorted all was fine'

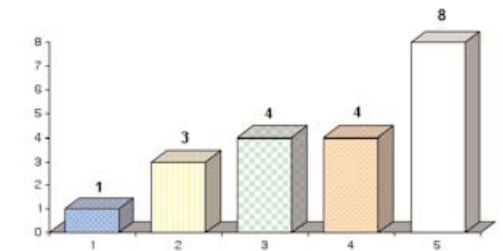(ii) Whilst at the conference, how smoothly did the registration process go?

Comments

'Was very straightforward and I loved the conference pack'

'Very fast and easy'

(iii) Whilst at the conference, how would you rate the food (excluding the buffet and dinner)?
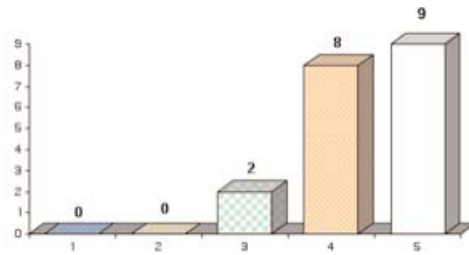

Comments

'The lunch and snack breaks were very welcome and there was more than enough (both in quantity and variety) to suit everyone!'

'Could have done with tea and coffee at lunchtime and perhaps not instant coffee'

'Sorry, but white bread and all sorts of stuff fried in oil is just not my cup of tea.'

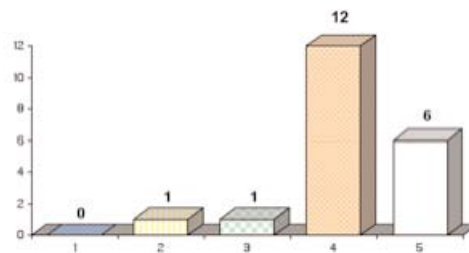(iii) Whilst at the conference, how would you rate the buffet and dinner?

Comments

'The buffet and dinner were very nice, and a great way of rounding off each day'

'I liked the buffet better than the dinner, but it was all excellent'

3.   How would you rate the conference in regard to content?

Comments

'As a practitioner, there was too much detailed content about how research was carried out as opposed to the effects research conducted could have on the workplace.'

'It is, by name, a 'research group' so biases against research aren't very helpful! Same is true of bias against 'international content in the INTERNATIONAL iirg!'

'I found the content very useful and interesting. There seemed to be a good mix of practitioner input and academic research. I made some useful contacts and am hoping to learn more about the techniques and research I heard about in the talks.'

5.   Which session(s) particularly stood out for you?

Comments

'I thoroughly enjoyed the detecting deception key note speech. It covered things that I haven't heard of before and was just interesting all round. I also liked Lindsay Malloy's session on motivation as this was all very relevant to my own research. Michael Lamb's session was also of particular relevance to my work and I found out quite a few things that will be useful for my PhD'

'Peter Van Koppen for entertainment, Michael Lamb for relevance to my interests, and associated parallel sessions.'

'The use of drawings in soliciting additional information. The use of interpreters. The effect of adding cognitive load. The forensic linguistics Masterclass'

6.   How did you enjoy the Discussant Panel on the last morning? (Seven respondents were not present for this session.)
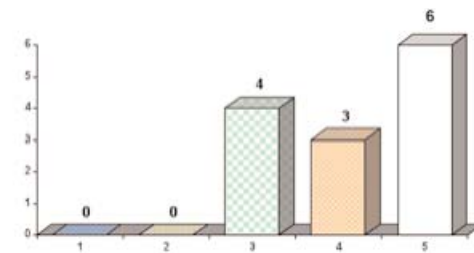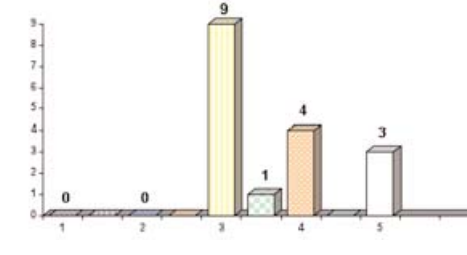

Comments

'It was more interactive which was great and was facilitated well but I felt that we got a bit bogged down in places. I'm not sure what I expected it to be but maybe if the audience had spent some time in small groups working out what questions they wanted answered and then each group had a chance to put their questions to the panel it would have been more representative of the whole group'

'A very good idea, but the focus of the discussions could perhaps have been better pitched...'

'Very useful and important to have the opportunity to discuss what we had been through during the convention.'

7.   How would you rate the poster presentations?

Comments

'I was surprised that there were only a few posters. You'd think it would be a great opportunity for some more junior researchers/students to showcase their work. Maybe there could be more posters included at the next conference?'

'To be honest, I didn't see many of them. It was a bit odd that the posters were in a separate room than the food, wine, etc. I think that the posters would have generated more attention if they were not in the hallway'

8.   i) Would you consider attending future iIIRG conferences?

One delegate did not respond. The remaining 19 respondents all said 'yes.'

ii) Are you considering attending the 2010 conference in Norway?

One delegate did not respond. Eighteen respondents said 'yes' and one said 'maybe.'

9.   What would you like to see at future conferences (e.g. more workshops, case studies etc?):

'More workshops based around operational issues in conjunction with research matters'

'Interviewing of suspects in organised crime'

'I wonder whether it might be worth running workshop sessions where practitioners and academics are put into groups with shared interests to actually discuss how best to proceed with research together on particular topics (truncated)'

'Less listening to lectures and a bit more hands on. Some more police presentations perhaps of a non academic nature educating us academics on what really goes on in policing so we can create suitable and useable research.'

10.   Which specialist workshops would you like to see organised on your behalf?

'How the practitioner could benefit more when working with researchers to gain the best result possible during an investigation, especially investigative interviewing strategies and the investigation in it self'

'A session looking at the dynamics of interviews with challenging suspects and how best to overcome the tactics they use to deviate from the course of the interview. This could include both practitioner experience and research findings.'

11.   Any other overall comments (for example what you would like to see at next year's conference)?

'Joint research projects?'

'I got a lot out of the conference and I am proud to be a member of iIIRG. I commend you all for the work that went into it and I appreciate that it's not easy to please everyone. Take credit for the fantastic way in which you brought people from different backgrounds, disciplines and cultures together to share knowledge and experience in a way that will enhance the credibility and application of investigative interviewing worldwide. Good job guys, be proud.'

'Thank you very much, all of your work is appreciated and admired. The amounts of effort put in must be staggering!'

'Fjords'

Summary of Conference Evaluation

In summary, the vast majority of delegates were very satisfied with the conference and felt that they gained much in terms of information, ideas, and new associations. Many expressed the need to continue building bridges in future meetings between academics and practitioners – not just to share knowledge but to engage in hands-on, interactive workshops, and to better understand how each profession can better inform the other.

Several delegates noted the importance of increasing the international profile of iIIRG. On a procedural note, nearly all delegates were extremely satisfied with the conference organisation, communication and registration procedures. Impressions of the conference lunches were a bit mixed, with some being very happy with the selection, while others felt they were lacking (e.g. one delegate expressed the desire for more vegetarian and fresh food). The dinners, on the other hand, were generally a hit!

Masterclass Evaluation

In total, sixteen delegates attended the 2009 Forensic Linguistics Masterclass and participants responded to evaluations e-mailed the day after the course with a one week follow-up email. A selection of their feedback is available below.

1.   Administration

Were you happy with the administrative arrangements for the course?

Can you suggest any improvements we could make in the arrangements?

'Excellent and timely admin-which was far more efficient delivered direct by email by someone directly involved in the conference.'

'Circulating delegate details ahead of time and a detailed agenda including evening activities would assist us to plan the week'

'Overall, yes.'

'I didn't think that the (classroom) accommodation contributed as much as it could have done to the learning experience! Too cramped and shouldn't be having refs in the classroom.'

'Everything was fine for the administrative arrangements, the classroom could have been a bit bigger but it was not too much of a problem.'

'Enrolment administration was handled flawlessly. Pity about the training room though.'

2.   Content

Did the content of the course meet your expectations?

If not what might we change on future occasions?

'Exceeded expectations-group size ideal'

'Course content exceeded my expectations and addressed some real current practical challenges, particularly in the field of interpreters.'

'Yes, I found that the content was very informative and it met my expectations, there could have been more on the linguistic side of investigation as that was new territory for me and very interesting'

'Exceeded expectations'

'Invite of SIO having used FL services to highlight benefits'

'Yes the content was very helpful for my particular needs.'

Was the content of the course presented in an accessible way?

Can you make any suggestions as to how we might improve?

'Disc to take away presentation is always ideal but difficult to organise in advance'

'Yes, the only real issue was somewhat beyond your control, that of physical accommodation which does impact on accessibility to content.'

'The workshop format was great. Opportunities for interaction were provided and although it may have frustrated your time schedule a bit, it was appreciated by the participants because we were able to get answers to real concerns.'

'I found Kris's sessions about working with interpreters a real challenge and gained valuable insight from all of the sessions.'

'I was happy with the presentation of the course'

'Yes'

'Room unsuitable due to size, but will change with location etc'

It is one of our objectives to provide material which can be truly applied. Practically do you feel you learnt something on the course which will have impact on your research or practice? If so please explain?

'The sessions on working with translators and interpretation of texts were particularly relevant and I have booked the speakers for a training session for my tier 5s.'

'Yes.'

'The entire content was practically relevant, to the extent that I have publicised the course, its content, presenters, and relevancy force-wide and aim to invite you to address our SIOs at a CPD Day! (Cost dependant of course!).'

'Yes my police force currently do not offer any training for officers when dealing with interpreters and this is an area I will press for change. I will be in touch with your team to see if you can facilitate some training, if my line managers agree that we need it.'

'Yes - Interpreter issues addressed and FL use in crimes in Action'

'Absolutely. I can recommend new strategies for working with interpreters. I learned more about the nature of the way we use language and can apply that checking over suspect interviews for collusion.'

As well as practical applicability we are concerned to ensure our training has a good grounding in theory. In this sense what was the most interesting or valuable insight you heard on the course?

'The presentation on use of experts-best practice'

'Difficult one!! - I really appreciated the value of academic underpinning (forensically) of issues that have been causing some professional discomfort for a while – interpreters, translation, transcription etc.'

'I found that Christoph's input was very good mixing theory with practical examples.'

'Comparison of text messages'

'Interpreter perspective'

'That some aspects of forensic linguistics is counter intuitive and simple once you know how to look at it differently.'

3. Generally

Do you have any further suggestions or comments you wish to make either on this course?

'No.'

'No. it was a very enjoyable course'

'I think FL has good possibilities in use of chat rooms etc by child sex offender to identify authors'

'Well done guys, worth travelling half way around the world for!'

Do you have any suggestions for future courses you feel we may be qualified to offer?

'No.'

'I'd like to know more about ascertaining authorship.'

Final Comments from the iIIRG Executive Committee and iIIRG Scientific Committee

Overall, the 2009 Conference and Masterclass can be viewed as great successes and testament to the hard work and tenacity of all the iIIRG Committees. The iIIRG has made a small profit from this year's conference and Masterclass, which means the iIIRG is now financially viable and able to invest in its membership by way of offering free Masterclass places for limited numbers of iIIRG members. We are also able to continue offering bursaries for a limited number of PhD students and discounted places for other students. It is the intention of the group to keep future conference costs to an absolute minimum, thereby maintaining interest from all interested parties. Next year's conference is testament to this desire, with outstanding value for money being offered – many thanks to the Norwegian Police University College for all their efforts in making the 2010 conference a reality and for keeping it extremely inexpensive for all.

Since last year, the iIIRG has grown beyond belief and we now have over 250 members worldwide. We now also have a international Steering Group and Scientific Committee, both of whom continue to take this new group from strength to strength – without the members of these two groups, and their sheer hard work, determination and professionalism, we would not be in such a good position in terms of membership, finances and international standing. A huge thank you must also be given to our two new administrators, Michelle Mattison and Sonja Brubacher, both of whom are doing a fantastic job in terms of the day-to-day running of the group, but also in the preparation of this conference evaluation report and the organisation of next year's conference.

Thank you to everyone for your continued support and involvement in this group and I look forward to meeting you again in Norway!

Gavin E Oxburgh   Martine Powell
Chair of iIIRG   for iIIRG Scientific Committee
for iIIRG Executive Committee

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Professor Ray Bull, Professor of Forensic Psychology, University of Leicester

Professor Pär Anders Granhag, Professor of Psychology, Göteborg University, Sweden and Visiting Professor, Scottish Institute for Policing Research

Professor Günter Köhnken, Professor of Psychology, Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel, Germany

Professor Martine Powell, Personal Chair (School of Psychology), Deakin University, Australia

For further details about the conference and masterclass visit: **www.tees.ac.uk/iiirg**.

Investigative Interviewing of Child Witnesses Masterclass

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Professor Michael Lamb, University of Cambridge, UK, a renowned expert in the area of investigative interviewing of children. The masterclass will greatly assist practitioners who are currently working in the field of investigative interviewing, and will be of great benefit to academics/researchers currently working in this specialised area.

Places are limited, so book early to avoid disappointment.

The iIIRG shares a collaborative (working) relationship with the Association of Chief Police Officers Interviewing Group, both of which are committed to improving investigative interviewing and in ensuring that such improvements are underpinned by a robust evidence base.

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The MSc in Forensic Linguistics is delivered as a predominantly distance learning programme with optional short courses offered at Aston University. It is possible to study the programme entirely at a distance from anywhere in the world.

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- 'OFFENDER PROFILING' & CRIME LINKING (CCA)
- DETECTING DECEPTION
- EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY
- GEOGRAPHICAL PROFILING; CRIME MAPPING & ENVIRONMENTAL CRIMINOLOGY
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KEY BOOKS

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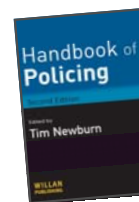
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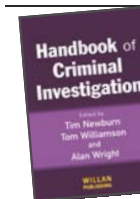
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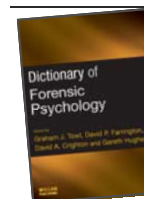
Dictionary of Forensic Psychology
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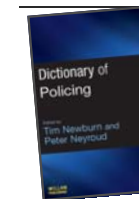
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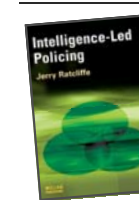
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