The official journal of the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group

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INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEWING

Research & Practice

Exploring Supportive Interviewing Practices

Supporting Vulnerable Suspects with Appropriate Adults

Police Interviewing in Nigeria

Enhancing the Contribution of Interview Monitors in Child Forensic Interviews

Facility Dogs in Forensic Interviews with Children

Book Review on Interviewing Vulnerable Suspects

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A Note From the Editors

Hello everyone! We have many exciting contributions and updates in this issue of *Investigating Interviewing: Research & Practice.*

Firstly, it was excellent to talk about our journal at this year's 2024 iIIRG Conference at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. Well done to Dr. Kirk Luther and colleagues for organising such a wonderful conference! There were many fantastic presentations on cutting-edge research in investigative interviewing, with some of the studies featured in this issue of II:RP.

The current open-access issue includes four peer-reviewed journal articles and one book review by authors and practitioners from around the world. The articles shed light on supportive interviewing practices for vulnerable suspects and witnesses, including adults and children. They also highlight investigative interviewing practices in different regions across the globe (e.g., Nigeria, England, Canada).

In line with the international nature of iIIRG, we are also delighted to announce a callout for a special bilingual issue of II:RP. Articles will be published in English, along with executive summaries in Spanish. This will be an excellent opportunity to promote research findings in different languages and reach broader audiences. Submissions are currently open and will close on 31st May 2025.

We invite researchers, academics, and practitioners from various disciplines to submit their original research papers, case studies, and theoretical articles related to investigative interviewing.

The II:RP Journal is currently working on some updates to promote the accessibility and searchability of articles. We are also continuing to enhance the reach and impact of articles by working with Web of Science, and regularly disseminating articles to our wide network of academics, practitioners, and trainers who implement investigative interviewing policies and practices in the field. If you want to publish work that makes a real difference to investigative interviewing knowledge and practice on the frontline, then this journal is for you!

Additionally, we regularly share articles on our social media pages, so please follow us on LinkedIn and X to keep up to date with the latest news and articles on investigative interviewing (@iIIRG_IIRP). Sharing articles on social media is a great way to receive more views and citations.

Please get in touch with us if you have any questions or suggestions for the journal. We look forward to receiving your submissions and working together to advance the field of investigative interviewing!

Best wishes,

Dr. Gemma Hamilton

Editor-in-Chief

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"Ethical, evidence-based practice is the best way to ensure an interview is evidentially robust"

Hello all and welcome to this latest edition of *Investigative Interviewing: Research & Practice*.

This edition focuses on supporting vulnerable subjects in interview and illustrates the development arc of interviewing in an international context. However, the lessons learned here refer to two themes that lie at the heart of the need evidence-based interview practice.

The first is the need to see interviewing within the context of the whole legal process. What happens in the interview room, whether the subject is a suspect, witness or victim, will eventually be scrutinised in the courtroom. Ethical, evidence-based practice is the best way to ensure an interview is evidentially robust. While this is particularly important when dealing with those identified as being vulnerable, it applies to any interview where the objective is to obtain the truth. That is why it is so encouraging to see the transition away from coercive interview methods.

The second is the need for us all to ensure we continue to develop in our interview practice. Reflecting on an interview, whether it goes well or not so well, is an essential part of this process. Observers are often better placed than interviewers to recognise investigative opportunities, monitor best practice and identify interviewer strengths and areas for development. As detailed in the studies here, observer training and experience is essential to this important role.

On a personal note, I'd like to thank all the law enforcement agencies I have had the privilege of working with during the last year. You are too numerous to mention here, but you know who you are. As always it has been an honour and an absolute pleasure.

To all the readers of this journal, be safe and be well.

Wayne Thomas

Deputy Journal Editor (Practitioner)

Dr. Cody Porter

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Submission Guidelines

Given the multi-disciplinary nature of the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group (iIIRG), the worldwide circulation of this Journal 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 journal.editor@iiirg.org

As a general guide, articles should not exceed 8,000 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).

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. All articles must be submitted online via https://iiirg.org/resources/ii-rp-journal-new/

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INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEWING: RESEARCH & PRACTICE

BILINGUAL (ENGLISH & SPANISH) SPECIAL ISSUE CALL FOR PAPERS

Submissions open: 1 October 2024
Submissions due: 31 May 2025

The International Investigative Interviewing Research Group (iIIRG) is pleased to announce a special edition of our journal *Investigative Interviewing: Research & Practice* dedicated to promoting research findings in different languages. In this first special issue, we will be publishing articles i English, and executive summaries in Spanisl

We invite researchers, academics, and practitioners from various disciplines to submit their original research papers, case studies, and theoretical articles related to any topic of investigative interviewing.

For more information, see https://iiirg.org/resources/ii-rp-journal-new/
Questions? Email Dr Gemma Hamilton, journal.editor@iiirg.org

Supporting a Vulnerable Suspect with Appropriate Adults in High-Stakes Crime Investigations Managed by an Interview Manager

Do they really provide a safeguard in an investigative interview?

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study explored the performance of Appropriate Adults (AA) when operating in high stakes crime investigations involving suspects with a range of vulnerabilities, and whether the presence of an Interview Manager (IM) within the interview process enhanced the impact of the AA, in this critical stage of the Criminal Justice System.

Method. This study examined 50 real-life interviews in England and Wales conducted by specialist interviewers between January 2016 and December 2019 (25 with an IM and 25 without) to establish what effect the IM had on the quality of an interview with a vulnerable suspect. Suspects were identified as vulnerable by means of mental health problems, learning and physical disabilities, as well as juvenile status.

Results. Overall, it was found that in every interview some form of assistance was deemed necessary, and the AA should have interjected. When sub-divided into the three key areas of safeguarding; (i) legal and procedural; (ii) communication; and (iii) welfare support, the most need was required in the welfare support areas. When in need of the AA, this was missed by inaction. Even when the AA did appropriately interject, this was found to be inadequately conducted. There were more missed AA safeguarding opportunities during interviews conducted with an IM than without. When there was a required intervention which was missed by the AA, there was also no intervention made by the IM across all domains in any of the 25 interviews.

Conclusion. The presence of the IM had very little bearing on the activity of the AA across all areas assessed within this paper. There should be greater emphasis on working together between the IM and the AA. This would include a joined-up approach, to ensure the safeguards of legal, communication, and welfare are sufficiently met to maximise the protection of the vulnerable suspect and alleviate the potential for a miscarriage of justice.

Key Words: Appropriate Adult, Interview Manager, vulnerability, investigative interview.

Introduction

It is now 40 years since the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure chaired by Sir Cyril Philips was published (1981) which was instrumental in the inception of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE). Over those 40 years, and in response to a series of miscarriages of justice, police interviewing has seen great change in the way vulnerable suspects are dealt with (Poyser et al., 2018). The introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) 1984 and its accompanying Codes of Practice, which came into effect in January 1986, made a significant impact on policing throughout England and Wales and has led to the professionalising of the investigative interviewing process (Milne et al., 2007).

In order to safeguard the vulnerable suspect through detention and interviewing, PACE Code C introduced the role of an appropriate adult (AA) (see Dehaghani, 2019). The role of the AA can be performed by either (i) a lay person, (e.g., parent or carer), or (ii) a dedicated practitioner (e.g., a social worker of a local authority or a trained volunteer of an appropriate adult scheme) (Bath, et al., 2015) and is acknowledged as an important safeguard for children and vulnerable adults in criminal investigations (Dent and O'Beirne, 2021). However, both trained and untrained AA's have received criticism in recent years especially in understanding the functions of their role. Notably, there is a lack of clarity in legislation and practice; lack of intervention when police are acting unfairly; and a failure to understand a suspect's characteristics and their potential impact on the forensic interview environment (Cummins, 2011; Dehaghani and Bath, 2019; Jessiman and Cameron, 2017; Nemitz and Bean, 2001, Pierpoint, 2000; Richards and Milne, 2020).

Role of the Appropriate Adult

Guidance provided by the National Appropriate Adult Network (NAAN) outlines that AAs have a role in assisting children and vulnerable adults to (i) understand their rights, (ii) use their rights, and (iii) participate effectively in the interview (NAAN, 2022). Further, Medford et al. (2003) identified three areas associated with the role of an AA: (i) legal and procedural formalities; (ii) facilitating communication; and (iii) welfare. If an AA fails to intervene when required, then it heightens the potential of the vulnerable interviewee providing misleading and inaccurate information (Farrugia and Gabbert, 2019).

The AA is expected to navigate complex areas of law. Legally the AA role is to support, advise, and assist the detainee in accordance with PACE Codes of Practice. When the AA is present at the interview, they are not expected to act simply as a passive observer. The purpose of their presence is manifold: to advise the person being interviewed; observe whether the interview is being conducted properly and fairly; and facilitate communication with the person being interviewed (Home Office, Code C, 11.17, 2019). However, the Codes fail to provide any practical guidance on the AA's application of advice in the interview room (White, 2002) especially surrounding the role requirement of ensuring the interview is conducted fairly (Dehaghani and Newman, 2019). The AA role is

complex, demanding, and full of contradictions (Cummins, 2011; Pierpoint, 2006).

Research based evidence suggests that whilst the contributions of an AA during an interview is limited in respect of what they say and do (Farrugia and Gabbert, 2019) their presence appeared to influence a more considered and fair approach to the interview by the police interviewers (Medford et al., 2003). It should not be assumed that even trained appropriate adults can adapt to the specific communication needs of the suspect (Dehaghani and Newman, 2019). Research conducted by Jessiman and Cameron (2017) suggested a series of attributes an ideal AA should possess when engaged with two groups of vulnerable suspects—those with mental health problems or learning disability. These included being calm, caring, protective, kind, a good listener, good communicator and operating with confidentiality.

Consequently, following a Home Office commission on the role of AA, it has been recommended, but not yet implemented, that AA should receive mandatory training and that the service should be professionalised (Bath et al., 2015; Bradley, 2009; Pierpoint, 2011; Thomson and Darjee, 2007). This is a view supported by findings from research conducted with Interview Managers (IM) whose role it is to facilitate and manage interviews with vulnerable suspects in high-stakes[1] crime investigations (see Vaughan et al., 2024).

Role of Interview Manager

The IM role was introduced following a national evaluation of the PEACE investigative interviewing training programme (Clarke and Milne, 2001) and forms part of the National Investigative Interviewing Strategy for the UK (NPIA, 2009). The IM should be someone who is highly trained and experienced in investigations and can provide interviewing advice during an investigation (Williamson, 2006). Managing, developing strategies, and planning and preparing interviews of vulnerable suspects in high stake cases is a complex task, requiring well-trained and knowledgeable staff (Cook, 2019). IMs are responsible for implementing effective and ethical processes for interviewing vulnerable suspects (see Vaughan et al., 2022).

Whilst not a legally required role, the IM is responsible for ensuring that all interview processes are conducted in compliance with PACE Act 1984 and Codes of Practice requirements (Home Office, Code C, 2016; 2018; 2019). The PACE Act sections 76 (oppression) & 78 (fairness) and Codes of Practice, provide the legal framework surrounding the fairness and admissibility of evidence obtained by interviewing. The Crown Prosecution Service of England and Wales (2023) suggest that unreliable confessions may stem from interview practices which include inducements; confessions obtained as the result of an inducement; hostile and aggressive questioning (e.g., R v Paris, Abdullai and Miller (1993) 97 Cr App R 99); failure to record accurately what was said; failure to caution; failure to provide an appropriate adult where one is required; failure to comply with the Code of Practice in relation to the detention

[1] 'High stakes crime' types include crimes that involve significant risk or serious consequences for either the victim, witness or suspect and includes crime types such as, rape child or adult abuse, complex investigations, substantial financial crime, homicide, terrorism and fatal road traffic incidents.

of the accused; and failure of the Defence Solicitor or Appropriate Adult to act properly, for example, by making interjections during interview which are hostile to the defendant. Section 78 of PACE enables a court to exclude evidence which would otherwise be admissible against a defendant on the basis it would be unfair to adduce it. However, there is no definition of what is unfair (Gooch and von Berg, 2019). Guidance provided by the Crown Prosecution Service of England and Wales (2023) suggest successful challenges may be made as a result of breaches of the European Convention on Human Rights; breaches of the Codes of Practice issued under PACE; and evidence acquired as a result of bad faith on the part of the police. Thus, the IM must ensure the interview is conducted legally and fairly.

The role of the IM includes four main areas: (i) to provide strategic advice on interview processes; (ii) to co-ordinate interview processes; (iii) to monitor interview processes; and (iv) to evaluate interview processes (see Vaughan et al., 2023). IMs are generally called to the most complex cases involving the most vulnerable interviewees (Cook, 2019). The IM, in essence, assists a Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) by managing the interview process, including liaising with custody management and medical assessments teams to ensure vulnerability is considered at the Fitness to Interview stage of custody procedures (Home Office, Code C, para. 12.3, 2016; 2018; 2019) and the relevant vulnerability is taken into account during the interview process. The coordination of the interview process requires the IM to produce a series of briefings to key stakeholders engaged in the interview which include, custody management teams, appropriate health care professionals, legal advisers, interpreters, and appropriate adults. The briefing should provide sufficient information to enable the stakeholder to effectively perform their role (Vaughan et al., 2024).

Working together

It is not expected that interviewers have, and maintain, detailed knowledge of different conditions that potentially make an individual particularly vulnerable. Nonetheless, a level of awareness regarding the different facets of vulnerability and how they can affect the quality of an interview should be attainable (Mattison et al., 2024). It is acknowledged that 'although juveniles or vulnerable persons are often capable of providing reliable evidence, they may, without knowing or wishing to do so, be particularly prone in certain circumstances to providing information that may be unreliable, misleading or self-incriminating.' Vulnerability can be connected to many different aspects of the individual (e.g., having physical or psychological health issues), the circumstances (e.g., having been exposed to a traumatic event), the interview situation (e.g., experiencing the interview process as stressful), or the interaction between these factors. Furthermore, vulnerability may manifest itself and influence interviewees in various ways and to different degrees, from mild to severe (Mattison et al., 2024). In other words, vulnerability is complex in both theory and practice, which could also be one reason there is no international agreement on the definition of the term (Bull, 2010). Therefore 'special care should always be taken when questioning such a person, and the appropriate adult should be involved if there is any doubt about a person's age, mental state or capacity' (Home Office, Code C, para 11C, 2016; 2018; 2019).

Gooch and von Berg (2019) suggested that complex welfare needs associated with a juvenile's interaction with the criminal justice system affect their ability to provide a reliable and accurate account of matters under investigation. These complex issues include speech, language and communication needs; mental health problems; learning disabilities; attention deficit hyperactivity disorder; impaired intellectual and emotional functioning; delayed brain development and reasoning ability (Hughes, 2015; Mercurio et al., 2020; Steinberg, 2013; Talbot, 2010). Therefore, the IM and the AA should develop a constructive working relationship to ensure the vulnerable suspect interview is planned and conducted in accordance the with needs of the vulnerable suspect, legislation, guidance, and current procedures thereby seeking to safeguard the integrity of the interview process and ensure the right to a fair trial (Vaughan et al., 2023).

The planning process is a complex legal arena, multi-faceted and time consuming but a necessary process to ensure the integrity and legality of the investigation, especially with child suspects. Interviewers need to consider the above factors in relation to each individual child and not include assessments based on assumptions and stereotypes. In addition, as Méndez (2021) identified, assessments must be ongoing and thus should constantly be subject to review. Therefore, the role of the AA and IM are an important part of the safeguarding of an accused's legal rights during an interview process. This study thus sought to examine firstly the performance of an AA when operating in high stakes crime investigations involving suspects based on age and with a range of vulnerabilities. Secondly, and for the first time, significantly, this study examined the interaction of the IM and the AA and whether the presence of an IM within the interview process had an impact on the performance of the AA.

METHOD

Design

A purposive sampling method was used because of the features and characteristics of the desired group to be researched. Specifically, the interviews needed to be (i) visually recorded; (ii) concerning high stakes crime typology such as murder and rape; and (iii) all suspects must have been declared vulnerable as part of their fitness for interview assessment. The interviews were collected from two sample groups. Group 1 consisted of 25 interviews conducted by advanced interviewers (PIP 2/Tier 3[2]) and managed by an IM utilising an interview strategy in line with overarching Investigative Strategy written by the SIO. Group 2 consisted of 25 interviews conducted by another set of advanced interviewers (PIP 2/Tier 3), but these interviews were not managed by an IM. There is no separate guidance or legislative framework in the England and Wales based on whether the AA is a professional or lay person. Both are expected to perform to the same standard based on the Code of Practice requirements. Therefore, this study combined both lay and professionals together to examine performance.

[2] PIP2/Tier3 is the level requirement in the UK for interviewing suspects as part of a serious or complex investigation. See the National Investigative Strategy (NPIA, 2009)

Data

The police interviews available for analysis were provided by three police forces across England and Wales.

Table 1 provides an overview of the data set subject of the analysis.

TABLE 1. ***Characteristics of data set***

Data Characteristics	
Crime Typology	
Murder	**19**
Rape	**15**
Attempted murder	**4**
Death by dangerous driving	**4**
Assault	**3**
Sexual assault	**2**
Theft	**2**
Kidnapping	**1**
Appropriate Adult Characteristics	
Lay Person	**17**
Professional	**33**
Male	**34**
Female	**16**
Vulnerability Typology	
Juvenile	**17**
Mental Health Problem	**28**
Physical Disability	**3**
Learning Disability	**2**

Each interview had two police officers present, trained to advanced interviewer level (PIP2/Tier3), who acted as one interview team. The mean length of an interview was 2 hours and 10 minutes (shortest interview was 20 minutes; longest interview was 7 hours and 12 minutes). In total, 103 hours of police interviewing was analysed.

Procedure

Ethical approval was obtained from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences ethics committee at the University of Portsmouth. The research was also registered with the College of Policing, UK. Access to the UK police was gained following an 'introduction' email which outlined the research, and this was sent to all England and Wales Police Force leads for Interview Management. The email contained two documents (i) an organisational invitational letter which outlined the nature of the planned research and (ii) an organisational consent form. A nominated 'gatekeeper' was appointed by each participating force who had the responsibility for communicating

with the lead researcher. Confidentiality was of utmost importance, therefore, an anonymity guarantee was provided for those who agreed to participate.

Once the force agreed to take part in the research, the gatekeeper was responsible for collecting the required sample from their respective interview databases before supplying these to the lead researcher. Care was taken to ensure that the sample interviews were not the subject of continued proceedings and that they did not have any appeal processes currently ongoing. Interview recordings were provided either on hard copy disks or electronically via a secure file sharing platform. All data was stored in an encrypted database.

Coding

Coding was conducted by the lead author and an independent researcher. The second coder was chosen based on previous work (see Clarke and Milne, 2001) and had to have (i) experience of teaching 'PEACE'[3], (ii) experience of using PEACE during high stakes crime investigations, and (iii) experience of conducting research/ evaluating PEACE interviews. An additional requirement that they had to be trained as an IM was also included. A Coding Manual was created for coders to follow. As part of coding training, one interview was then selected at random and was coded by each coder independently to make sure that (i) each coder fully understood the coding scheme and (ii) the coding was well calibrated across coders. This training exercise confirmed that coders were able to follow the manual appropriately (see inter-rater below).

There were 38 coded items that were aligned with PACE Code C and past research (see Farrugia and Gabbert, 2019 and Medford et al., 2003). The current paper examines 25 of these coded items and sub-divided into 3 sections: (i) appropriate AA intervention (made in accordance with their role requirement); (ii) missed AA intervention (intervention required but not made e.g., doubt as to whether suspect understood officer's question); and (iii) inappropriate AA intervention (beyond the role of the AA, purposeless or obstructive).

The behaviours observed were scored using Likert Scales (1 being inadequate, 3 being fit for purpose and 5 being highly accomplished). In addition, a series of 'yes' 'no' responses, where appropriate, were included to score whether a behaviour was witnessed or not (e.g., did the AA verbally answer questions on behalf of the suspect). A 'not applicable' category was included when examining items that were not relevant to the assessment and also to reduce a potential bias estimate (Holman et al., 2004). To establish inter-rater reliability, a selection of interviews (n = 5, 10%) were coded by an independent researcher. Cohen's Kappa showed there was an almost perfect agreement (see Altman, 1999) between the two coders, $_{K}$= 0.93, p <.001 [95% CI = .87 – .99]. (For copy of coding framework contact author).

[3] PEACE – refers to model of interviewing adopted in UK in 1992 and is an acronym for Planning and Preparation; Engage and Explain; Account; Closure; Evaluation.

RESULTS

The results will firstly present the findings relating to potential AA intervention points areas split into three domains (legal, communication and welfare) and whether across the 50 interviews with suspects, there was a need for an AA to intervene. At this stage the results will examine the contributions of lay and professional AA within all the 50 interviews. As the focus of this research is centred on the IM and AA, the results will then investigate the interventions of the AA as a combined group. Where it was deemed essential for the AA to intervene, the results will then outline if this was missed, or if the AA responded appropriately. If the AA responded, then the results will illustrate if this was done well (i.e., a quality assessment). The next section will examine inappropriate interventions by the AA before finally exploring the positioning of the AA within the interview room and whether their positioning allowed for observation and full assessment of the suspect.

Lay or Professional AA Intervention – Three Areas: Legal, Communication, Welfare

Safeguarding is a key element of the role of the AA when supporting vulnerable adults and juveniles throughout the custody process. Table 2 highlights the type of intervention that an AA is expected to perform as per current guidance (legal, communication, and welfare) and whether they are a lay person or a professional AA. Across both role requirements there were three areas that required no intervention at all from the AA as these areas were considered appropriately covered by the interview team during the interview (i.e., explained interview process including use of legal advisor; assisted in the reading of a prepared statement; and assisted in requirements for signing documentation).Within the legal and procedural domain the majority of interviews require no intervention. However, when an intervention was required, there were more missed interventions than appropriate ones. The professional AA made more appropriate interventions. However, the professional AA missed more intervention than a lay person, especially in the domain area of welfare. The main areas an AA failed to support the vulnerable adult were, 'Enquired into the suspects physical and mental state' and 'Checked suspects ability to continue with the interview,' (41% conducted with Lay AA and 45% with professional AA in both areas).

TABLE 2

Type of intervention made by either Lay or Professional AA during interview

Type of Intervention	Frequency Lay (N = 17) Professional (N = 33)					
	Not required		Appropriate		Missed	
	Lay	Prof	Lay	Prof	Lay	Prof
Legal and Procedural						
Prompt officer to inform suspect of role and duties of AA	16	27	0	1	1	5
Explain interview process including use of legal advisor	17	33	0	0	0	0
Prompt officer to check suspects understanding of caution	11	20	0	2	6	11
Clarified use of legal adviser	17	31	0	0	0	2
Remind suspect of legal rights	17	28	0	0	0	5
Confirmed to the officers that they understood their role	0	0	17	26	0	7
Advised suspect of their right not to answer questions if they do not agree with them	13	23	0	2	4	8
Facilitate communication						
Clarified the meaning of questions	4	13	4	5	9	15
Challenged inappropriate questions	9	21	0	3	8	9
Ensured suspect understood officer's questions	4	15	4	6	9	12
Assisted in the reading of a prepared statement	17	33	0	0	0	0
Ensured officers correctly interpreted the suspect's reply	4	22	5	5	8	6
Ensured suspect had an opportunity to answer in an unhurried manner	16	32	0	0	1	1
Advised the officers not to interrupt the suspect during their response	15	31	0	0	2	2
Assisted suspect during presentation of evidence (e.g., CCTV, Phone Data, Medical Reports)	12	24	1	3	4	6
Assisted in requirements for signing documentation	17	33	0	0	0	0
Welfare						
Highlighted the suspect requires a break	11	17	1	5	5	11
Enquired into the suspects physical and mental state	8	8	2	10	7	15
Checked suspects ability to continue with the interview	8	12	2	9	7	12
Asked for break	12	16	1	5	4	12

An evaluation of the interventions made by both Lay and Professional AAs across all 50 interviews demonstrated, as shown in Table 3, that there was no significant difference in contributions of either group with *inadequate* interventions across the three domains of (i) legal and procedural; (ii) facilitating communication; and (iii) welfare.

TABLE 3

Mean scores of evaluations of the intervention during interviews with Lay and Professional AAs (1 = inadequate, 3 = fit for purpose, 5 = highly skilled)

Type of Intervention	Lay (n =17)		Professional (*n* = 33)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Legal and Procedural	**1.68**	**0.61**	**1.38**	**0.94**
Facilitate Communication	**1.31**	**0.89**	**1.44**	**0.94**
Welfare	**1.40**	**0.87**	**1.84**	**1.12**

Combined AA Intervention – Three Areas: Legal, Communication, Welfare Interview Manager or no Interview manager

As can be seen in Table 4, in 17 areas, some form of assistance was assessed as being required by the vulnerable suspect. As can be seen, there was greater need of AA assistance by interview teams when an IM was involved especially in the welfare area of business.

When interjection was required by an AA, there were two possible responses: (i) inaction - missed opportunities, and (ii) appropriate interventions. There was a higher degree of missed opportunities (N = 214) seen as opposed to appropriate interventions (N = 77). In respect of the appropriate interventions, 56% (*n* = 43) were made during interviews conducted with an IM and 44% (*n* = 34) were made in interviews without the involvement of an IM. With regards to the missed opportunities, 66% (*n* = 142) were missed in interviews with the presence of an IM as opposed to 34% (*n* = 72) when there was no IM.

The results illustrated that the requirement for an AA to intervene was less likely during the *legal and procedural* element of the interview where they were only believed to be required in 20% (n = 54) of potential intervention incidences. However, when they were required, they were more likely to miss the opportunity to intervene 91% (*n* = 49) rather than providing an appropriate intervention 9% (*n* = 5). Additionally, during this area, the AAs missed the opportunity to intervene on 59% (*n* = 29) of the required occasions when an IM was managing the interview compared to 41% (*n* = 20) of interviews without an IM. During the requirement to *facilitate communication* AAs were required to intervene on more occasions 37% (*n* = 128). In this area the AAs were more likely to miss the opportunity to intervene 72% (*n* = 92) as opposed to providing an appropriate intervention 28% (*n* = 36). Further, during this area, the AAs missed the opportunity to intervene on 53% (*n* = 49) of the required occasions when an IM was managing the interview compared to 47% (*n* = 43) of interviews without an IM. The most common area that required AA intervention related to *welfare* 55% (*n* = 109). During this area the AAs were more likely to miss the opportunity to intervene 67% (*n* = 73) as opposed to providing an appropriate intervention 33% (*n* = 36). However, during this area, the AAs missed the opportunity to intervene on 74% (*n* = 54) of the required occasions when an IM was managing the interview as opposed to 26% (*n* = 19) of interviews without an IM.

TABLE 4

Type of intervention made by AA during interview with an IM (n = 25) and without an IM (n = 25)

Type of Intervention	Frequency					
	Not required		Appropriate		Missed	
	With IM	Without IM	With IM	Without IM	With IM	Without IM
Legal and Procedural						
Prompt officer to inform suspect of role and duties of AA	20	23	1	0	4	2
Explain interview process including use of legal advisor	25	25	0	0	0	0
Prompt officer to check suspects understanding of caution	16	15	1	1	8	9
Clarified use of legal adviser	23	25	0	0	2	0
Remind suspect of legal rights	22	23	0	0	3	2
Confirmed to the officers that they understood their role	21	22	0	0	4	3
Advised suspect of their right not to answer questions if they do not agree with them	17	19	0	2	8	4
Facilitate communication						
Clarified the meaning of questions	6	11	5	4	14	10
Challenged inappropriate questions	15	15	2	1	8	9
Ensured suspect understood officer's questions	9	10	4	6	12	9
Assisted in the reading of a prepared statement	25	25	0	0	0	0
Ensured officers correctly interpreted the suspect's reply	15	11	4	6	6	8
Ensured suspect had an opportunity to answer in an unhurried manner	24	24	0	0	1	1
Advised the officers not to interrupt the suspect during their response	23	23	0	0	2	2
Assisted suspect during presentation of evidence (e.g., CCTV, Phone Data, Medical Reports)	16	20	3	1	6	4
Assisted in requirements for signing documentation	25	25	0	0	0	0
Welfare						
Highlighted the suspect requires a break	9	19	4	2	12	4
Enquired into the suspects physical and mental state	2	14	7	5	16	6
Checked suspects ability to continue with the interview	3	16	8	4	14	5
Asked for break	9	19	4	2	12	4

Additionally, when there was a required intervention which was missed by the AA, there was also no intervention made by the IM across all domains in any of the 25 interviews.

Examples of *Missed* interventions include:
Int 6 – Suspect appears confused and highly emotional. No Intervention or support from AA.
Int 22 – Suspect asks AA if he could have a cup of water (suspect presents an empty cup to the AA) AA ignores suspect and does not interact with suspect.
Int 46 – Suspect yawning, leaning on table with head in hands. No AA interaction.
Int 50 – Suspect becomes distressed, crying, struggles to provides answers in response to 'oppressive' interview style. No support or intervention from AA.
Examples of *Appropriate* interventions include:
Int 15 – AA enquires several times about welfare of the suspect. Assisted in clarifying questions and ensured the interview team had accurately interpreted the suspect's replies.
Int 16 – AA asked for a break in interview when suspected appeared tired.
Int 18 – AA checked if suspect was ok to continue.
Int 37 - Discussion re prescribed drugs. AA advises interviewer to rephrase the question. This was done and the suspect provided a response.

Quality of Appropriate AA Intervention

The quality of the appropriate invention of the AA in respect of the three areas of role requirement (i) Legal and Procedural; (ii) Facilitating Communication; and (iii) Welfare, are illustrated in Table 5. As can be seen from Table 5, no area was completed to a level considered *fit for purpose* across the three domains. Only one element (Confirmed to the officers that they understood their role), was considered to have been performed *adequately in some respect* in interviews either managed or not by an IM. In one area (welfare) two elements (Enquires into the suspect's physical and mental state, and Checks suspect's ability to continue with the interview) were considered to have been performed *adequately in some respect* in interviews without the presence of an IM as opposed to being performed *inadequately* in interviews managed by an IM

TABLE 5

Mean scores of evaluations of the AA Intervention during interviews with an IM and without an IM.. (1 = inadequate, 3 = fit for purpose, 5 = highly skilled)

Type of Intervention	Frequency			
	With IM (*n* =25)		Without IM (*n* = 25)	
	M (*n*)	SD	M (*n*)	SD
Legal and Procedural				
Prompt officer to inform suspect of role of role and duties of AA	1.60 (5)	1.34	1.00 (2)	0
Explain interview process including use of legal advisor	1.00 (1)	0	-	-
Prompt officer to check suspects understanding of caution	1.22 (9)	.67	1.20 (10)	.63
Clarified use of legal adviser	1.00 (2)	0	-	-
Remind suspect of legal rights	1.00 (3)	0	1.00 (2)	0

Confirmed to the officers that they understood their role	2.38 (24)	.92	2.52 (25)	.77
Advise suspect of their right not to answer questions if they do not agree with them	1.00 (7)	0	1.83 (6)	.98
Facilitate Communication				
Clarified the meaning of questions	1.47 (19)	.84	1.54 (13)	.78
Challenged inappropriate questions	1.40 (10)	.84	1.30 (10)	.95
Ensured suspect understood officer's questions	1.47 (17)	.80	1.80 (15)	.94
Assisted in the reading of a prepared statement	-	-	-	-
Ensured officers correctly interpreted the suspect's reply	1.50 (10)	.85	1.87 (15)	1.06
Ensured suspect had an opportunity to answer in an unhurried manner	1.00 (1)	0	1.00 (2)	0
Advised the officers not to interrupt the suspect during their response	1.00 (2)	0	1.00 (2)	0
Assisted suspect during presentation of evidence (e.g., CCTV, Phone Data, Medical Reports)	1.67 (9)	1.00	1.20 (5)	.45
Assists in requirements for signing documentation	-	-	-	-
Welfare				
Highlights the suspect requires a break	1.56 (16)	1.03	1.67 (6)	1.03
Enquires into the suspects physical and mental state	1.74 (23)	1.10	2.00 (11)	1.18
Checks suspects ability to continue with the interview	1.82 (22)	1.10	2.00 (9)	1.22
Asks for break	1.56 (16)	1.03	1.67 (6)	1.03

AA Inappropriate Intervention

As can be seen from Table 6, there were few inappropriate interjections made by the AA across the 50 interviews 4% (n = 9); the biggest issue was answering questions on behalf of the suspect, which happened in five interviews (M = 1.90, SD = 0.30). All the inappropriate interjections were made by a 'Lay' AA. The presence of an IM had little impact on the behaviour of the AA in this respect.

TABLE 6

Type and frequency of inappropriate intervention by AA across N = 50 vulnerable suspect interviews

Intervention	Frequency			
	With IM (n = 25)		Without IM (n = 25)	
	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Verbally answering questions on behalf of the suspect	2	23	3	22
Providing written replies for the suspect to quote	1	24	0	25
Adopting the role of the interviewing officer	1	24	0	25
Prevents or unnecessarily obstructs questions to suspect	1	24	0	25
Provides opinion on veracity of evidence	0	25	1	24

DISCUSSION

The role of an AA in the UK is to provide legal, communication, and welfare support to vulnerable adults and children throughout custody detention and the investigative interviewing in criminal cases. It is widely accepted that AAs provide an important safeguard in allowing the suspect to effectively participate throughout their investigative interview and thereby minimising the potential for a miscarriage of justice (Dehaghani, 2022) though not all AAs do this (Farrugia and Gabbert, 2019). However, it is suggested that the role of the AA has been under researched (Macdonald et al., 2021). This study was designed to explore (i) the performance of an AA when operating in high stakes crime investigations involving suspects with a range of vulnerabilities and (ii) importantly, whether the presence of an IM within the interview process had an impact on the performance of the AA. The findings concluded that there was no significant difference in the performance of the AA whether the role was performed either a lay or a professional individual. Overall, it was found that in every interview some form of assistance was deemed necessary, and the AA should have interjected. However, there was a high level of passivity of the AA throughout the investigative interviews and the IM's presence had no bearing on the AA performance at all. Missed opportunities were more prevalent than appropriate interventions which is a finding that supports previous research (Farrugia and Gabbert, 2019). The examination of the AAs involvement in an investigative interview illustrated a significant under performance which has the potential, through the failure to provide adequate support for a vulnerable suspect, for a miscarriage of justice to occur (Gudjonsson, 2018).

When sub-divided into the three key areas of safeguarding, (i) legal and procedural; (ii) communication; and (iii) welfare support; the most need was required in the welfare support areas. The IM performs an important role in safeguarding vulnerable suspects. For example, the IM should ensure that an AA plays an active part in the interview and does not simply act as an observer, thereby reducing the potential for the evidence obtained during the interview being ruled inadmissible. When in need of the AA, in the majority of areas, this was missed by inaction. AAs missed opportunities to intervene especially in respect of the *welfare* areas (55%) and on more occasions when there was an IM involved (67%) than not (33%). Thus, the mere presence of an IM and AA did not necessarily provide a safeguard for the vulnerable suspect in these interviews.
The additional level of safety, the presence of an IM, failed in most cases. Was this attributable to the lack of the IMs ability to understand vulnerability per se and the role of the AA? Vaughan et al., (2024) found that IMs lacked the knowledge base underpinning the AA role and that IMs receive little if no training about suspect vulnerability. Thus, this finding should not be a surprise. Additionally, it has been identified that IMs fail to adequately brief AAs prior to interviews (Vaughan et al., 2023). Therefore, it would appear that the collective lack of understanding and appreciation of the role of the AA may have contributed to the failure of the IM to provide an extra level of safeguarding in these interviews. There was

little if any impact on the behaviour of the AA when an IM was present and thus there is a critical requirement for training for IMs regarding vulnerability, vulnerability management, AA role, briefings, and safeguarding considerations.

Even when the AA did appropriately interject, this was found to be inadequately conducted. However, one positive finding from the study revealed that inappropriate AA interventions were made in only 4% of the interviews, (similar to Farrugia and Gabbert, 2019; Medford et al., 2003).
This research supports the notion that the role of the AA is "ambiguous and contradictory" (Pierpoint, 2006), and additionally "complex and onerous" (Medford et al., 2003). The AA plays a significant role in safeguarding the vulnerable suspect throughout their time in custody. However, parents taking on the role of an AA find themselves in a complex legal and emotional environment with the potential of not effectively upholding the PACE safeguards (Kemp et al., 2023). To ensure a more professional role performance, explicit guidelines and training are required to assist the AA to operationalise their role and purpose in an investigative interview.

Limitations and future implications
This present exploratory study is the first to be conducted in the UK that examined the role of an AA in respect of interviews conducted in high-stakes crime investigations whilst managed with an IM. However, this study is not without limitations. Three police forces from across England and Wales took part in the research consisting of 50 interviews (25 with an IM – 25 without). Therefore, more in-depth analysis incorporating a larger number of police forces, to understand the context more fully needs to be undertaken in future endeavours. The research contained an analysis of AA performance during visually recorded interviews. Some AAs were trained. As there was no knowledge of the type of training, it was deemed inappropriate to examine training as an independent variable in this research. Future research should examine the best type of training that AAs require. Nevertheless, this is the first insight into interviews conducted with AAs in high-stakes crime investigations in England and Wales, whilst managed with an IM—a crucial area of investigative interviewing practice.

Conclusion

There is a raft of research that suggests that vulnerable suspects are not afforded the safeguard of an AA during the investigative interview even though their role is recognised as important in reducing and mitigating risks. The IM also plays an important role in ensuring that the interview with a vulnerable suspect is conducted fairly, ethically, and legally. Both these safeguarding roles should combine in a high stakes crime investigation to create an interview environment that promotes the rights to a fair trial for the vulnerable suspect. There should be greater emphasis of working together between the IM and the AA, a joined-up approach, to ensure the safeguards of legal, communication, and welfare are sufficiently met to maximise the protection of the vulnerable suspect. Thus, surely it is now time to rewrite the PACE AA legal requirements to ensure a professionally trained individual performs this much needed task.

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Enhancing the Contribution of Interview Monitors to Child Forensic Interviews

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ABSTRACT

Investigative interviews with children are often conducted with the assistance of an interview monitor in an adjacent room who watches the interview live via video and can consult with the interviewer as needed. Yet, little is known about the characteristics of the most effective interviewer-monitor interactions. The aim of the present research was to explore experienced interviewers' perceptions of the interview monitor role and, ultimately, to provide guidance on effective use of the role. In the present study, 13 experienced interviewers and monitors were interviewed about their perceptions and experiences with interview monitoring. There was a general perception that the role of the interview monitor was underappreciated and had the potential to make more substantive contributions to the quality of the investigative interview. Several key elements to enhance the effectiveness of interview monitoring were identified, including the development of clear guidelines, how to effectively use within-interview consultation, and the potential for the monitoring role to enhance professional practice of both interviewers and monitors. Recommendations for clarity and guidelines surrounding the interview monitor role and considerations for future research are discussed.

Key Words: Investigative interviewing, interview monitor, child witness, child forensic interviews, interview training

Introduction

Children's statements provide critical – and often the only – evidence in cases of child physical and sexual abuse and neglect (e.g., Walsh et al., 2010). The clarity and completeness of children's statements impact the likelihood of charges, prosecution, and conviction (Westcott & Kynan, 2004). The most credible, detailed, and persuasive child statements are elicited through evidence-based investigative interviews (e.g., Lamb et al., 2007). Effective investigative interviews of children are cognitively challenging to conduct, with many concurrent considerations including monitoring the developmental appropriateness of questions, adherence to established investigative interviewing protocols, and detecting external influences on children's reports (e.g., suggestive questioning, parental coaching). Attending to these competing demands while managing a child's behaviour can be challenging for interviewers (Hanway et al., 2021; Powell et al., 2010). As a result, interviewers may have difficulty picking up and following up on many subtle, yet crucial, parts of a child's statement, including inconsistencies, disclosures that require clarification, and potential additional charges or areas of investigation to pursue.

One way to assist overtaxed interviewers is to have a trained interview monitor with whom the interviewer can collaborate before, during, and after the interview (Stewart, Katz, & La Rooy, 2011). Many investigative interviews with children are conducted with a live monitor (sometimes called an 'observer'; e.g., American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children Taskforce (APSAC), 2012), but there are few consistent guidelines or recommendations on how monitors can provide optimal support for investigative interviewers. With appropriate role understanding and training, interview monitors can assist in identifying gaps in a child's account, note points of clarification or resolution of apparently inconsistent statements, provide direction for further questioning, suggestions for behaviour management, fact-check time-sensitive details, suggest question phrasing, and ensure that the recorded interview accurately reflects the child's report and capabilities (Danby & Sharman, 2024; Scottish Government, 2011; Stewart et al., 2011). Further, an effective interview monitor can provide in-the-moment feedback to an interviewer, both during interview breaks and immediately following the interview. This immediate feedback model is crucial to ongoing interviewer development and will contribute to maintenance of skills (Stewart et al., 2011). Effective use of an interview monitor can form an important cornerstone of a peer review program. Yet, despite the many potential benefits of skilled interview monitoring, very little empirical attention has been paid to this important role.

The present study aimed to compile the existing knowledge base about effective interview monitoring and add to this base through conversations with experienced interviewers and monitors. A central long-term aim of this work was to provide clear guidelines to interview monitors to enhance the contribution of monitors to the investigative interview. Improving the quality of interview monitoring will enhance the quality of the investigation and can enhance

the professional skills of both interviewers and interview monitors (e.g., Stewart et al., 2011). Ultimately, improved interview monitoring should lead to enhanced quality of children's statements and thus, improve access to justice for children and families involved in investigations.

The Monitor's Role

Despite the lack of empirical study of the role, it is common practice internationally to have an interview monitor who observes a child forensic interview via live video feed from a nearby room[4] (e.g., American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (APSAC), 2012; Ministry of Justice, 2022; National Children's Advocacy Center (NCAC), 2019; National Police Chiefs' Council, 2016; New Zealand Police and Child, Youth and Family (NZPCYF), 2016; Scottish Government, 2011). The role of the monitor is consistently described as a person who can operate/troubleshoot video equipment, take notes on interview content, and provide feedback to the interviewer during the interview (e.g., at a break in the interview). More recent guidelines describe the "vital" role of the interview monitor as focusing on the child's needs and emphasize that the monitor is frequently and inappropriately relegated to equipment operator (Ministry of Justice, 2022). Increasingly, there is acknowledgement that the role of interviewer is cognitively taxing and requires support both during the interview and after the interview (Hanway et al., 2021; Powell et al., 2010) because it is too difficult to monitor one's own performance during the task, given its complexity (Bull & Milne, 2004; Wright & Powell, 2006). As a result, guidelines for child interviewing have begun to include more specific descriptions around monitor/interviewer interactions including:

- The monitor should assess child and interviewer demeanor and discussion content (Scottish Government, 2011);
- The monitor should provide constructive feedback to the interviewer on what is working/not working well in the interview – both during (i.e., at a break in the interview) and immediately after the interview – to promote interviewer skill development and maintenance (Stewart et al., 2011);
- Options for the method of communication between the interviewer and the interview monitor (e.g., conference during a break, passage of notes, signals for a need to communicate) should not be disruptive to the child (NCAC, 2019);
- Interviewer and monitor should meet after the interview to evaluate the investigation and the interviewer's performance (e.g., NZPCYF, 2016).

These expanded role descriptions may also be accompanied by the highlighting of potential benefits of effective interview monitoring that expand on those introduced earlier, including:

- Reduces the pressure on the interviewer to keep track of offense elements, interviewee responses, and follow-up questions. This assistance increases the

[4] In some jurisdictions, there is discussion of having a second interviewer/monitor in the room with the interviewer (Ministry of Justice, 2022; Scottish Government, 2011), but in many jurisdictions, interview monitors are located in a separate room (e.g., Brubacher, Roberts, Cooper, Price, Barry, & Vanderloon, 2018).

likelihood that the interviewer can be fully present in the interview;
- Increased communication about needs of all involved professionals (e.g., police, child welfare; APSAC, 2012; NCAC, 2019);
- Increased clarity will increase the statement's value in court (Ministry of Justice, 2022) and may decrease the need for a follow-up interview;
- Monitors can provide a trier of fact perspective of the child's statement, which may allow for potential remedies of areas of concern while the interview is ongoing (e.g., Duke, Uhl, Price, & Wood, 2015; Westcott & Kynan, 2006);
- Can result in the provision of new information (Hamilton, 2012);
- Contributes to professional growth – peer-review and feedback (e.g., Cyr, Dion, McDuff, & Trotier-Sylvain, 2012);
- Improves monitor's own interviewing skills through critical assessment of others' interviews (Lamb et al., 2002; Price & Roberts, 2011).

Thus, the scope of the interview monitor's contribution, and the value they can bring to the interview environment, is far beyond the role description often provided.

Importantly, the above role descriptions come from practical experience and logical conclusions, rather than empirical study. There is a remarkable dearth of empirical research regarding the role of the interview monitor in child forensic interviews. In a national survey of interviewers associated with Child Advocacy Centres (CACs) in the United States, Fessinger and McAuliff (2020) found that interviewers frequently took breaks to consult with interview monitors (most often police and social work/child welfare colleagues). However, the value of the break to confer with an interview monitor elicited mixed feedback. Most interviewers reported that there was a moderately positive effect of the consultation, but that advice was only sometimes consistent with best practice interviewing principles. Thus, even among regular users of interview monitors, there is room for improvement in how to enhance the value of the role. Fessinger and McAuliff (2020) called for research focusing specifically on the role of the break during an interview to confer, including a study of interviewer behaviour after a break as well as the quality of the advice provided.

More recently, Danby and Sharman (2024) reported findings from one of the only studies to explore the use of a break during a child forensic interview. In a study of 54 police child interviewers in Australia, they found that police interviewers sought information during the break about missing evidential details and the monitor's perception of whether or not the child's free recall was exhausted, or to receive general feedback. Most of these interviewers perceived the break as somewhat helpful, though many participants also noted that a monitor's lack of expertise in child forensic interviewing resulted in a less helpful break.
One reason that a break to confer with an interview monitor may not be perceived as highly positive by interviewers could be directly linked to the lack of prior research and clarity on the interview monitor's role. In several protocols, there is a warning that the role of an interview monitor is not merely to take notes (e.g., APSAC, 2012; Ministry of Justice, 2022; Scottish Government, 2011). Yet, there is surprisingly little complementary detail provided throughout the relevant literature about what exactly the role entails beyond note-taking. It has also been noted

that a lack of familiarity between interviewer and monitor can lead to challenges in role understanding. When a monitor is unfamiliar with the interviewer, they may be less likely to provide constructive feedback to the interviewer (Davis et al., 1999). Monitor guidelines can help to clarify the role and make clear the critical contribution of the monitor to the quality of the interview, regardless of the familiarity between parties.

METHODS

The aim in the current work was to gather information directly from experienced interviewers and monitors to more thoroughly conceptualize the role of the interview monitor in child forensic interviews. We anticipated that the shared experiences of these interviewers and monitors would contribute to the development of recommendations to enhance the contribution of monitors to interviews. Thirteen experienced interviewers and monitors (all but one had performed in both roles) were interviewed about their perceptions of interview monitoring. Participants were either police officers (n = 9) or social workers (n = 4) who specialized in investigations related to children. Professionals had been interviewing children for an average of 11 years (range 1.5-18 years), and all but one had a current connection to a Child Advocacy Centre in Canada. Interviewers had received a wide variety of training (e.g., StepWise Interview Training, RCMP Phased Interview Model-Child, academic training and review, in-house expert training, webinars), the most recent of which had most often taken place within the last 3 years (longest duration since any type of training was 8 years). All participants who served in both roles indicated that they had been monitoring for approximately as long as they had been interviewing. Participants were recruited through invitation from participating agencies and through word of mouth from colleagues. Participants were informed that the researchers were interested in their experiences and thoughts on effective interview monitoring. The researcher explained that the conversation was not recorded, that no statements would be attributed to participants individually, and that they could end the conversation at any time without consequence. All participants completed the full interview. No compensation was offered for participation in the study.

After answering background questions related to prior interviewing/monitoring experience, each semi-structured interview focused on 4 primary areas of interest:

- Perceptions of the monitor role;
- Pre-interview communication between interviewer and monitor;
- Within-interview communication between interviewer and monitor;
- Post-interview communication between interviewer and monitor.

Interview questions were co-developed by the authors. Each interview (see Appendix for interview script) lasted between 15-20 minutes and all were conducted by the same interviewer (the first author) who took extensive notes during the conversation. Interviews took place between November 29, 2023 and February 20, 2024. Interviews were not recorded at the request of a participating agency. This project was deemed exempt from ethical board review.

It is important to note that in the jurisdiction in which these participants worked, some

interview/monitor pairings did not cross professional roles. If police were involved, they always conducted the interview: sometimes with a fellow police officer as monitor, sometimes with a social worker as monitor. When social workers conducted interviews, they were only monitored by fellow social workers. If a social worker interview began to enter a domain in which a criminal offense might be discussed, social workers are instructed to stop the interview until a police officer can attend. Given that the latter scenario is not the norm in investigative interviewing, we do not focus on these exceptional circumstances here.

RESULTS

The first author performed thematic analysis of participant responses to each of the four primary areas of inquiry. This analysis resulted in identification of several themes per area of inquiry and three overarching themes that ran through all of the areas of inquiry. Participant responses to each area of inquiry were compiled and reviewed to extract key themes in each response. These key themes were assessed across participants to identify those that repeatedly arose. Finally, responses to all questions for all participants were reviewed holistically to identify overarching themes in effective interview monitoring. Table 1 summarizes the results of the analysis.

TABLE 1. ***Themes in effective monitoring***

The monitor's role	Pre-interview communication between interview and monitor	Within-interview communication	Post-interview communication	Overarching themes
Pay attention	Pre-interview meeting	Feedback timing	Lacking time and structure	Differences in police/ social worker roles
Identify areas in need of follow-up	Familiarity	Feedback content	Possibilities for immediate feedback and peer review	Familiarity
Watch for things the interviewer missed			Dependent upon interview/monitor experience	Monitor expertise

The Monitor's Role

Participants described their understanding and hopes for the monitor role in response to several questions. Overall, participants noted that monitors allow the interviewer to focus on the interview and be present in the moment with the child, that they can assist in monitoring the comprehensibility of the child's statement (i.e., provide the perspective of a trier of fact), and that they can monitor the quality of an interview (e.g., moving away from open-ended too quickly, repeating questions). The role of the monitor in conducting an optimal child interview was described as "*underappreciated*" by almost all

participants. Another participant noted that, "*It's critical to appreciate how important the monitor role is. I wish people would put more emphasis on the monitor. If both roles understood that better, the monitor would feel more confident.*" (P6) A second participant noted that, "*… just because you're not the one interviewing doesn't mean that your role as a monitor isn't important. There will still be other ways your skills can be utilized. Don't focus on how you would do things – it doesn't matter who does the interview. The monitor role is important*" (P8).

In addition to these monitor benefits, three features emerged as the most common desired roles of monitors, each of which was raised by almost all participants:

Pay attention. While seemingly obvious, monitors are often professionals whose roles pull them in many directions at once with a heavy workload. Almost all participants emphasized the need to have the undivided attention of the monitor for the duration of the interview.

Identify areas in need of follow-up. All participants discussed the critical role that monitors played in identifying areas of the child's statement and interviewer's behaviour that required additional attention. Interviewers wanted monitors to make note of observations that could lead to feedback at a break in the interview (see "Within-interview feedback" below for additional detail).

Watch for things the interviewer missed. Most participants discussed the heavy cognitive load of conducting a child forensic interview and relied on the monitor to pick up on things that the interviewer may not have noticed. As one interviewer noted, "*There is never a time when I don't miss something or couldn't go back and ask something more*" (P6). Other interviewers noted particular types of information that they experienced as often missed: First, when a child speaks quickly, or provides long narrative details about multiple offences, missing details is common. Second, behavioural nuances in the room (e.g., signs of reluctance, discomfort, the need for a break) can be difficult to track when an interviewer is focused on posing appropriate questions. In one example, P12 noted, "*Almost every interview with my police monitor, he noticed that when I moved closer to the child, the child jumped back and didn't like the physical closeness. I didn't notice that. They can physically see the reactions of the child that sometimes we don't.*"

Pre-interview communication between interviewer and monitor

Pre-interview meeting. Participants were asked about optimal practices for pre-interview communication between the interviewer and monitor. All participants described a pre-interview meeting as important to ensuring that interviewers and monitors understood the basic background of the case (e.g., the nature of the events under investigation, names of relevant parties, history of police or child protection interaction, steps taken to date in the investigation, cultural or behavioural considerations). Without such a meeting, participants noted that the ability of the monitor to meaningfully engage in the interview was limited. Most participants also valued ensuring that monitors were aware of the interview plan and the objectives of the interview so that they could provide feedback on whether or not the interviewer was

achieving the objectives. Being aware of the objectives also included awareness and familiarity with the legal elements of the offence(s). Most participants wanted as much information as they had the time and resources to obtain for both the interviewer and monitor, prior to the interview. Sharing this information was seen as a way to get the interviewer and monitor "on the same page" and working towards common goals.

Familiarity. Several participants emphasized the value of familiarity between the interviewer and monitor and noted that such familiarity (e.g., through regular participation on a multi-disciplinary team) made communication efficient and expectations clear. Ultimately, this familiarity resulted in higher quality contributions to the interview from the monitor. As P9 described, "*I was asking questions like 'tell me what' or 'tell me when' and my partner told me I was asking questions in a way I don't normally ask. This can happen out of fatigue or stress and having someone who knows what you want to accomplish in there is valuable.*"

Within-interviewer communication

Feedback timing. All participants preferred a break, taken at a time of the interviewer's discretion, for within-interview communication between the monitor and the interviewer. With the exception of circumstances that were considered "fatal" to the interview (e.g., video equipment failure), both interviewers and monitors agreed that children's statements should not be interrupted. Some participants found the potential for interruptions to be disrespectful to both the child and interviewer and noted that many times, issues that may have been raised through interruption would have been addressed simply by allowing the interviewer to "get there themselves". Knowing that a break would be taken allows both the interviewer and the monitor to anticipate the opportunity for input. Only one of the 13 participants expressed a positive interest (though mild) in the use of any interruption strategies (e.g., smartwatches with texting, phones, knocking on doors, earpieces). All participants noted that such strategies would divert interviewer attention from the child and communicate to the child that they did not have the interviewer's full attention. Importantly, all participants noted that the method of communication between the interviewer and monitor should be established prior to the interview.

Feedback content. Participants emphasized the importance of the monitor being prepared with organized thoughts and feedback during the break. Several participants also noted a desire for critical feedback, rather than a simple "keep going". One participant noted that it would be ideal "*…if the monitor and interviewer both agree there's no perfect child statement*" (P6). Another participant summed up their hopes for critical feedback "*I don't mind constructive criticism, not offended. It's a partnership, we're working as a team*" (P11).

In terms of specific feedback content, participants provided several examples that focused on desiring:

(i) Identification of unclear statements made by children that require interviewer assistance to clarify;

(ii) What is going well, so the interviewer can continue successful behaviours;

(iii) Details that the interviewer may have missed and that require follow-up;

(iv) New avenues to explore;

(v) Additional options for approaching particular topics;

(vi) Suggestions for follow-up question topics and question wording;

(vii) Holistic impression of how the interview appears to be going;

(viii) Evaluation of whether or not legal requirements are met/elements of the offence are covered;

(ix) Assistance in focusing on the primary aims of the interview;

(x) Identification of the potential for corroborating evidence (e.g., a child mentions a bedroom and interviewer fails to get a description of the bedroom);

(xi) In-the-moment feedback so mistakes can be fixed before it's too late;

(xii) Thoughtful two-way consultation during the break (e.g., the interviewer may also raise questions for the monitor's feedback);

(xiii) An to answer the question, "*Have we covered everything*?"

Interestingly, several participants also raised the issue of the monitor's role in improving morale during tough interviews. Encouragement and emotional support were discussed as helping interviewers gather themselves during a break. As one interviewer noted, "*We're all human. It's a lot in the moment. You forget things, get rattled, are exhausted. Know that there's a human component...someone help me out*" (P1).

Post-interview communication

All participants indicated that they engaged in some form of interview/monitor post-interview communication, but most were dissatisfied with their current practices. Several participants indicated that the focus of the conversation was on case processes or "next steps" in the investigation. However, all but one police participant and only one social work participant noted that they wished they had a more deliberate process in place for evaluation of the interview and feedback on what went well and what could be improved. This difference appeared to reflect the varying goals of these two positions: Police were more likely to be focused on the potential for criminal charges and a desire to conduct the quality of interview that would support charging (as appropriate), and social workers focused largely on the need for making timely child safety decision.

Lacking time and structure. Although most participants discussed a desire to review the interview in-depth immediately after the interview, many also discussed resource pressures that often made that difficult. When participants were able to engage in meaningful discussion about the interview quality, it was described as informal or unstructured, and often took place while walking to another location or getting coffee. Several participants wanted a more formal process with record-keeping, and one noted how beneficial a formalized process would be for new interviewers, "*I wish we had something more formal for new people that came into the unit*" (P12).

Possibilities for immediate feedback and peer review. Several participants noted the potential for post-interview communication to provide immediate feedback on interview quality, when the interviewer still remembered the justification for particular decisions or what they were thinking in the moment (see Stewart et al., 2011 for a discussion). Participants noted how beneficial this timely form of peer review would be to enhancing their overall interview skills. They discussed the potential for reviewing question types, developmental considerations, different styles or strategies, and how to be more efficient in getting to their objectives. A breakdown of the full interview was noted as very important in developing interviewers. One participant described it as, "*Real scrutiny in a constructive way so I can do better next time*" (P9). Another participant noted the importance of regularly embedding such practice in their work, "*You can't do too many of these – really valuable even if you are experienced*" (P3). Finally, one interviewer noted the benefits of such discussion, "*Almost every interview we talk about what was good and what was bad about that interview – my confidence has skyrocketed*" (P9).

Dependent upon interviewer/monitor experience. For many participants, the opportunity and desire to work collaboratively on developing interview skills after the interview depended on who was in the role of interviewer and monitor. Several participants again noted the difference in interview training between police and social workers and between police with varying training and backgrounds (e.g., some with specific child interview training, other general duty members that had been assigned as lead investigators on a child file). Given the substantial variability in background knowledge about child interviewing, many interviewers noted that only monitors with appropriate training backgrounds would be valuable in critical evaluation of the interviews.

Overarching themes

In addition to the primary areas of interest described above, there were several themes observed throughout participant responses.

Differences in police/ social worker roles. Social workers noted the importance of note-taking for monitors of interviews they conducted. In the jurisdiction in which they worked, recording of interviews was not routine and thus, they relied on written notes. However, there were similarities in the overall aim of a monitor: to allow the interviewer to focus on the interview. Police often indicated that because all of their interviews were video recorded, their preference was that the monitor avoid extensive note-taking and instead, pay close attention to the interview and provide a perspective on issues that could be addressed and problems that could be remedied during the interview. It was noted that having a monitor both take notes and provide helpful feedback was a challenge. A monitor that focused primarily on the provision of feedback was desired.

Familiarity. Working regularly with the same colleagues was a frequent desire expressed by participants. Participants noted that familiarity increased the efficiency of pre-interview meetings, the value of the contributions within-interview, and the quality of the feedback provided following an interview. As one participant noted, "*My*

partner and I are so familiar with each other, we know when we're off our game or doing something different" (P9). The comfort and background knowledge of familiar colleagues was reported to substantially enhance the quality of the interview.

Participants also noted the benefits of working with familiar others in understanding the needs of various partners. For example, one Child Advocacy Centre multi-disciplinary team member social worker noted that the police interviewers on their team were so familiar with what social workers needed for their investigations, that police were able to embed those questions within their standard interview plan, thus reducing the likelihood that the child would need to be questioned by another person.

Monitor expertise. Interviews were described as being monitored by highly trained child forensic interviewing specialists, colleagues with similar levels of training (either police or social workers), trainees who were learning about child interviewing, or patrol officers with no specialization in interviewing children. Thus, it is understandable that the issue of the knowledge level of the monitor was raised as being critical in determining how the interviewer would interact with the monitor. As one interviewer noted, an inexperienced monitor may well waste time during a break in the interview by providing suggestions that did not help to focus on essential details, or by suggesting gathering information that was not relevant to the investigation or unlikely to be reported accurately (e.g., time details). This comment, foreshadowed by the findings of both Danby and Sharman (2024) and Fessinger and McAuliff (2020), demonstrates interviewers' sensitivity to the quality of interview monitor feedback.

Some participants described inexperienced monitors as most often unhelpful and, at times, a distraction. Participants noted that inexperienced monitors raised ideas that were irrelevant, but that seemed intuitively interesting. They noted that an experienced person would know both what feedback to provide, but also why we may not ask particular questions (e.g., not necessary, leading, we have enough information, we don't need to go that much further): "*An inexperienced person will come up with ideas that are not relevant – things they think need to be done, but an experienced person will know not to do that for a number of reasons*" (P3). As one interviewer noted, "*When I know more than the monitor, it's hard – need to have someone experienced in interviewing to give good feedback*" (P2). Participants also noted that inexperienced monitors were often not aware that the role of a monitor extended beyond note-taking and a "thumbs up", with some interviewers suggesting that this lack of knowledge might result in insufficient confidence to tell the interviewer that a question was not clear or that they may have missed something.

DISCUSSION

Prior understanding of the role of the interview monitor in child forensic interviews has been extremely limited. Yet, this role has great potential to enhance interview quality. The limited previous research has been consistent in its conclusion that although consultation with an interview monitor produces mixed results, it can be incredibly valuable to interviewers (e.g., Danby &

Sharman, 2024; Fessinger & McAuliff, 2020). The thirteen experienced child interviewers and monitors in the present study were largely consistent in their description of the optimal roles and guidelines for interview monitors. All participants emphasized the critical importance of the monitor in helping an overloaded interviewer ensure that they were thorough and appropriate during the interview, and to help the interviewer in obtaining as much reliable information as possible. Participants also noted how the monitor could enhance professional development and provide important learnings for the interviewer. However, a frequent concern expressed by participants was that the current systems in place did not facilitate the monitor role to the extent that the monitor was able to consistently contribute to the interview. At least part of the underutilization of monitors purportedly comes from a lack of guidelines related to the role. The thoughtful responses received by the present participants lead to several recommendations going forward.

Recommendations

1. Provide clear guidelines for interview monitors. Ensure interviewers and monitors are familiar with these guidelines.
Clear and open communication between the interviewer and monitor is essential to success. Any barrier to communication – such as confusion about what topics are 'appropriate' for monitors to raise – can reduce the effectiveness of the interview monitor.

2. Ensure sufficient time for a pre-interview meeting in which expectations for the monitor and interviewer are clear and the objectives of the interview are understood by all parties.
Getting both interviewer and monitor "on the same page" prior to the interview will help to ensure that the needs of both are met, and will also increase familiarity and comfort between parties.

3. Discuss method of within-interview communication prior to the interview.
In the present sample of interviewers and monitors, it was clear that the optimal method of interviewer/monitor communication was a break in the interview at a time determined by the interviewer. Regardless of which method is chosen, it should be established prior to the interview.

4. Break for conference should focus on actionable items that enhance the quality of the child's statement.
The interviewer should seek advice on difficult issues from the monitor and the monitor should be prepared to share important observations and potential remedies. Importantly, though the break for the interviewer and monitor to confer will provide the interviewer with feedback that will enhance their professional skills, the break should not be used for this purpose. The break should be used to communicate about issues that will help the child convey information in the present interview.

5. Allow time for immediate feedback on interview and interview monitoring after the interview.
The opportunity for professional development is maximized immediately after the interview. Feedback should be bidirectional – both on the interview quality and on the utility of feedback provided by the monitor.

6. Integrate peer review feedback from monitors into regular practice.
Establish a regular peer-review system that includes both interviewers and monitors. This system will increase familiarity and comfort in giving feedback in the moment and will sensitize monitors to areas for potential feedback during the interview break. Importantly, it will improve the skills of all professionals involved. See Stewart et al. (2011) for an extensive review of such arrangements.

Limitations

Given the context within these interviews were conducted, recording was not possible. Thus, there is potential loss of the complexity of participant contributions, and subtle points that may not have been fully captured. Certainly, accessing the experiences of these professionals is valuable in any form, but in the future, recording the interviews may provide additional opportunity for richer quotations and analysis. It is important to note that the participants in the present study were all Canadian police and child protection workers, most of whom had access to a Child Advocacy Centre, and who were able to conduct interviews in a room with video equipment that allowed for a live monitor in a nearby room watching the video within a facility that was designed to be child-friendly. In Canada, this is an optimal interviewing environment and, unfortunately, one that not all interviewers can access. Thus, we cannot speak to the experience of interviewers without such resources, nor to the generalizability of the findings beyond this select group. Further, all of the professionals interviewed reported taking a break as a means to communicate with their interview monitor. As a result, the findings are restricted to that context. However, the basic monitor practices described in the findings and recommendations have application to the circumstances of investigative interviewers around the world. Of course, it is critically important that additional research in different jurisdictions further explores the role of the interview monitor. It is our hope that this work provides a starting point for articulation and maximization of this underappreciated, and under-researched, role in investigative interviewing.

Moving forward

As the interview monitoring literature moves forward, it is worth considering ways in which the present findings can enhance overall child forensic interviewing practices. We have known for a long time that immediate feedback is most helpful to behaviour change and learning (e.g., Barker, et al., 2019; Dihoff et al., 2004). Thus, even when within-interview feedback is not provided with that purpose (but rather the purpose of improving the present child's statement), the opportunity for professional development is maximized with timely feedback. Of course, the present participants also noted that deliberate feedback immediately following the interview was possible (and desirable) with expert interview monitors. This latter clause is critical: For many reasons, monitors with *expertise* will be able to provide the effective and useful feedback. In contrast, monitors without expertise can derail the break and may even result in negative effects on the interviewer. As in Danby and Sharman (2024), these findings emphasize the crucial role of expertise in effective interview monitoring.

Finally, recording of interviews as regular practice is already recognized as a best practice for obtaining statements, given what we know about the limited completeness of 'verbatim' notes (e.g., Lamb et al., 2000), but is also critical step in improving investigative interviewing (i.e., having a video that can be used for review). However, the present study extends this observation into interview monitoring. As noted more than a decade ago by the Scottish Government, "Visual recording provides a far superior record of an interview than 'verbatim' note taking, and frees the second interviewer [monitor] to devote more attention to the child and interview" (2011, p. 20). The job of the monitor is much easier – and likely much more effective – when they can focus on attending to the interview and watching the interactions, rather than when their attention is divided between taking notes and watching the interview.

CONCLUSION

The findings from the present study confirm earlier research (Danby & Sharman, 2024; Fessinger & McAuliff, 2020) about the promise of the interview monitor role. However, there is much work to do to further define this role for both interviewers and monitors. Clearly articulating the monitor role and interviewer/monitor relationship prior to the interview, ensuring that the monitor has expertise in child forensic interviewing, and implementing thoughtful and systematic practices around the interview monitor role will capitalize on what is a potentially extremely effective contribution to a child forensic interview.

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APPENDIX

Interview Schedule

When you are a monitor:

1. What do you believe your key role is?
2. What do you think is the most effective way of communicating information to the interviewer during the interview?
3. What information do you need prior to the interview to be an effective monitor?

When you interview with a monitor:

1. What is the most important thing you want from the monitor?
2. Provide an example of when your monitor provided you with info that was very helpful.
3. Provide an example of when a monitor did not provide you with info you could have used/needed.
4. If you could give instructions to your monitor before the beginning of the interview, what would those instructions be?
5. What information do you want your monitor to have before the interview?
6. What do you think is the most effective way of receiving information from a monitor during the interview? (light in room, break, ear piece etc.)

Post-interview:

1. What communication takes place between the monitor and the interviewer after the interview? Formal? Informal?

Do you have anything else to add that might help us make recommendations about interview monitoring?

Police Interviewing in Nigeria: Examining Self-reported Investigative Interviewing Practices of Police Investigators in Lagos, Nigeria

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Ethical approval
All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the Ontario Tech University Research Ethics Board (File No. 16890).

ABSTRACT

In the criminal justice system, investigative interviewing is crucial for getting information that helps law enforcement agencies resolve cases. While there is a relative wealth of scholarly studies on investigative interviewing procedures in the West, there is a paucity of empirical research assessing this concept in an African context. Specifically, very few studies have sought to assess how police investigators conduct investigative interviews in Africa. To begin to fill this gap in the literature, police investigators (N = 64) in the Criminal Investigation Department of the Nigeria Police Force in Lagos State were surveyed regarding their investigative interviewing practices and training. Most officers reported receiving some interview training, but only a few had been specifically trained on evidence-based investigative interviewing techniques. Most police officers also reported not favouring the application of coercive techniques in their interviews. These findings provide important insights into investigative interviewing practices in Lagos, Nigeria and highlight the need to consider non-WEIRD samples in interviewing research.

Key Words: Investigative interviewing, criminal investigation, interrogation, police interviewing

Introduction

Investigative interviewing involves systematically questioning an individual to gather comprehensive details of an event or occurrence as part of a larger investigative procedure (Meissner et al., 2021). The information gained from interviewees is vital in successfully resolving criminal cases, as they are often the primary or sole source that can provide details regarding the target event (Akca et al., 2021). Even if other tangible evidence exists, questioning the individuals involved can provide the context necessary to fill in knowledge gaps and further put the evidence in perspective (e.g., issues surrounding consent in sexual assault cases; Westera et al., 2016). Over the past century, various investigative interviewing concepts and procedures have been studied in psychological science literature (Milne et al., 2008). More recently, there has been a growing consensus that information-gathering questioning approaches should be favoured over more confrontational and confession-focused approaches (Meissner et al., 2021).

While several studies have examined the real-world application of investigative interviewing practices (Chung et al., 2022; Hill & Moston, 2011; Kassin et al., 2007; Schell-Leugers et al., 2023 & Soukara et al., 2009), this topic is rarely examined in African settings. The current study, therefore, sought to begin addressing this gap in the interviewing literature by assessing investigative interviewing practices in Nigeria. Specifically, the goal was to survey police investigators in Lagos, Nigeria, regarding their current interviewing practices and the training they had received. With very little literature highlighting the African context, a study like this provides vital information regarding investigative interviewing practices outside of previously studied regions (e.g., North America, United Kingdom, Asia). This will both provide insights into how current approaches match suggested best practices, while also identifying any cultural aspects that may suggest a need for techniques tailored to the unique Nigerian and African context.

Investigative Interviewing Practices

Scholars have studied the art and science of investigative interviewing for at least a century (e.g., Munsterberg, 1908), and many different questioning techniques have been developed and implemented during this time. As outlined by French (2019), physical abuse and schemes referred to as third-degree were adopted in police interrogations in Western contexts until the mid-1930s. The incorporation of third-degree schemes like isolation, starvation, verbal abuse, and physical assault with rubber hoses (Kozinski, 2018) was initially executed discreetly, but as the details of these approaches became public, juries and judges began to question the reliability of confessional statements arising from these techniques. This resulted in widespread reforms in the United States (Chen, 2021), including a switch to psychologically persuasive approaches such as the Reid Technique, which was devised by Fred Inbau and John E. Reid but was made popular by John E. Reid (Kozinski, 2018; Vrij et al., 2017).

The overarching approach of Reid's interrogation aspect is to generate admissions from suspects believed to be guilty by expressing certainty in their guilt and minimizing the moral seriousness of the crime while maximizing the consequences of denying involvement (Kassin, 2006). Although the Reid technique has been widely implemented, its confrontational approach, overreliance on non-verbal cues and potential risk of false confessions are highlighted as some of its flaws (Kozinski, 2018; Moore & Fitzsimmons, 2011).

More recently, The PEACE model was developed due to police reforms in England and Wales (Bull & Rachlew, 2020). The PEACE (Preparation and Planning, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure and Evaluation) model is a newer approach widely regarded as the current best practice in suspect interviewing (Akca et al., 2021). This model promotes a non-accusatory and information-gathering approach to investigative interviewing, and its key aspects include rapport building, evidence presentation, proper question types and sequence, and questioning inconsistencies in the interviewees' account in an inquisitorial manner (Snook et al., 2010). There has been a fundamental shift in countries worldwide from confrontational techniques, such as the Reid Technique, to information elicitation strategies underpinned by rapport building, such as the PEACE model (Meissner et al., 2017).

Another key interviewing model is the Cognitive Interview, developed in the 1980s by Geiselman and Fisher. It was created as a response to continued requests for an improved method for interviewing witnesses made by law enforcement agencies and legal practitioners. This model comprises various memory retrieval techniques and is rooted in the psychological science of remembering (Memon et al., 2015). Empirical findings based on laboratory studies have revealed that incorporating the CI in witness interviews can greatly increase the likelihood of recalling correct details while only increasing the likelihood of recalling incorrect details on a smaller scale (Memon, 2006; Schrieber & Fisher, 2006, as cited in Memon et al., 2015).

The PEACE model involves aspects of the Cognitive Interview (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992) and seeks to maximize information disclosures by building rapport with interviewees, asking open-ended questions and remaining open-minded throughout the interview, and challenging inconsistencies in an inquisitorial manner where necessary (Snook et al., 2010). The PEACE model is widely regarded as the current best practice in interviewing suspects, and law enforcement agencies worldwide have now adopted the principles of the approach (Akca et al., 2021).

Interviewing Techniques and Training Used in Practice

While evidence-based interviewing procedures such as PEACE have been developed to improve investigative interviewing practices in real-world settings, research suggests that law enforcement agencies follow them rarely (Akca et al., 2021; Chung et al., 2022). This research has been centred primarily within Western countries (e.g., Australia, United States, Canada, Spain and England: Hill & Moston, 2011; Kassin et al., 2007; Schell-Leugers et al., 2023; Soukara et al., 2009) and, to a lesser extent, Asia (e.g,

Indonesia & Malaysia: Chung et al., 2022; Sumampouw et al., 2020).

For example, Kassin and colleagues (2007) used a self-report survey to assess police practices and beliefs in North America. Respondents were 631 investigators from police departments in America and customs officials in Canada. Investigative interviewing techniques that were reported to be commonly used involved physically isolating the suspects, identifying contradictions in suspects' accounts, establishing rapport, confronting suspects with the evidence of their guilt and appealing to their self-interests. This study's respondents believed they were usually successful at obtaining admissions and confessions. Respondents also reported they were 77% accurate at truth and lie detection and elicited self-incriminating statements from 68% of suspects and approximately 5% of innocent individuals. Overall, 81% of participants felt that interrogations should be recorded.

Schell-Leugers and colleagues (2023) conducted a similar study examining police beliefs and practices in Spain. Participants [Guardia Civil (n = 89) and Policía Nacional investigators (n = 126)] in this study completed an online survey. It was reported that when compared to the North American findings, Spanish investigators were less likely to favour coercive interrogation techniques and conducted fewer and shorter interviews. Police investigators in this study estimated that they could determine truth and deception about 80% of the time. This figure is relatively close to what Kassin and colleagues (2007) obtained in the study involving North American investigators. We should note, however, that the North American study was published in 2007, and there might be a shift in North American officers' investigative interviewing practices in recent years.

In an Australian study, Hill and Moston (2011) surveyed 2,769 police investigators from the Queensland Police Service. The study assessed their current training and supervision and usage of investigative interviewing techniques. Results showed that only 52% of the respondents had received training on investigative interviewing, while 48% had not. When asked to rate their satisfaction regarding the training they had received, 42% reported they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 38% reported they were dissatisfied, and 20% reported they were very satisfied. Most of the respondents in this study reported that they could detect deception during suspect interviews. Results showed that in the Australian study, police investigators reported using a combination of informational gathering approaches (i.e., asking open questions) and confrontational techniques (i.e., positive confrontation) during suspect interviews. Over 40% of the respondents reported using intimidation tactics at one point or the other.

Soukara and colleagues (2009) were interested in the operational investigative interviewing techniques police investigators employed during practice in England. Eighty interview recordings that were audio-taped were assessed by forensic psychologists. Results showed that police investigators preferred information-gathering techniques, and coercive tactics were not frequently applied during practice.

In a study conducted in Asia, Chung and colleagues (2022) assessed the perception and investigative interviewing practices of

Malaysian police officers. The participants were 44 Royal Malaysian Police investigators in the Sexual, Women and Child Investigations Divisions (D11), a part of the Crime Investigation Department. Based on the results of this study, the authors recommended that police officers should strive to gain the requisite knowledge of best practices for investigative interviews and apply them in practice. Half of the respondents were confident in their deception detection ability, similar to the results from studies using a Western sample of participants. Results also showed that 61% of trained and untrained police investigators in this study rated their investigative interviewing skills as average, which may reflect their lack of confidence in their practice.

Sumampouw and colleagues (2020) examined forensic child interviewers in Indonesia. They found that police interviewers relied on suggestive and option-posing questions when conducting forensic interviews involving children—a common trait of police investigators without training in evidence-based practices on child interviewing (see Powell et al., 2016).

While these studies have provided some excellent insights into police interviewing training and practices globally, little is known about police investigative interviewing practices in Nigeria and Africa in general. The current study aimed to address this critical gap in the literature by assessing the beliefs, practices and training of police officers working in Nigeria.

Criminal Investigation in Nigeria

Ladapo (2011) identified eight challenges plaguing criminal investigations in Nigeria: (1) insufficient training of police officers in the criminal investigation process, (2) scarcity of police funding, (3) inadequate record keeping, (4) corruption, (5) reluctance to report illegal activities, (6) shortage of forensics, (7) delays in duplicating case files for further usage and (8) loss of investigation case files. Similarly, in Chinwokwu's (2013) study on police criminal investigation in Enugu state, Nigeria, it was highlighted that corruption, inadequate training, lack of skills and equipment, and lack of regard for due process and best practices were the underlying causes of the increased level of pending and unresolved cases in the criminal investigation process in Enugu State and Nigeria at large.

The Nigeria Police Force's inadequacy in criminal investigation has led to a shift in investigative procedures from seeking, interpreting, and analyzing evidence to forcefully obtaining "confessional" statements from suspects (Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019; Ladapo, 2011). Ladapo (2011) puts forward that 53% (n = 8) of prosecutors in Oyo state, Nigeria, rated the police investigators as poor, while 94% (n = 14) held the opinion that the results of police investigations adversely contributed to their criminal prosecutions. This lack of adherence to due process has led to the enforcement of torture and abuse of power by the Nigerian police (Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019; Amali & Nwafor-Orizu, 2019; Maiyaki et al., 2019). Therefore, it seems that a suspect-centred approach is adopted in criminal investigations in Nigeria, where criminal investigations heavily rely on the suspect's actions (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2006). The implication is that during

prosecutions, many "confessional statements" are challenged in court based on it being obtained involuntarily or by coercion (Ladapo, 2011).

The dependence on information obtained in investigative interviews is further necessitated by the lack of adequate forensic facilities and the application of forensic science in criminal investigations (Agbiboa, 2015; Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019; Amali & Nwafor-Orizu, 2019). Alisigwe and Oluwafemi (2019) noted that experts had linked several cold cases in Nigeria to the lack of forensic evidence. The lack of these forensic facilities has led NPF to rely heavily on eyewitness testimonies, confessions, and circumstantial evidence in the criminal investigation process (Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019; Amali & Nwafor-Orizu, 2019).

In the few studies available on criminal investigations in Nigeria, the lack of adequate personnel training involved in the process has been heavily emphasized (Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019; Chinwokwu, 2013; Ladapo, 2011). Unprofessionalism when dealing with evidence and ineptitude were highlighted in these studies. According to Chinwokwu's (2013) study on a criminal investigation in Enugu state, Nigeria, 61% of respondents were not trained before being posted to the investigation department, and only 18% attended a form of detective training. Furthermore, the author asserted that police officers were posted to the department based on corruption. Ladapo (2011) opined that information sharing between junior officers and seemingly experienced senior officers who have not received training might be how information is obtained to make up for the lack of organized training or refresher courses. The scarcity of capacity-building training among Nigerian police officers results in the enablement of fraudulent acts and practices, and it diminishes motivation to properly carry out their duties (Umar et al., 2013).

It is difficult to precisely ascertain the investigative interviewing procedures adopted in Nigeria as very few studies have examined this concept in the Nigerian context. The available studies examined investigative interviewing from a linguist's perspective. For example, linguists have suggested that the term "interrogation" is more commonly used to refer to investigative interviewing in the Nigerian literature (Farinde et al., 2021; Maiyaki et al., 2019). Ajayi (2016) highlighted that interrogation was more commonly used among police officers in Nigeria and further delineated between interrogation and interviewing. Interviewing was defined as non-accusatory and involved information elicitation, while interrogation was more accusatory and confrontational.

Criminal Justice and the Nigerian Government

There have been some progressive efforts by the legislative arm of the government of Nigeria to enhance the criminal justice system. In recent years, the enactment of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act (ACJA), 2015, has been the most significant. The Act is universally applied in Nigeria, where law enforcement agencies instituted by the constitution or federal legislation operate (Administration of Criminal Justice Act, 2015). The Administration of Criminal Justice Act (ACJA) presents comprehensive provisions for suspects, victims, witnesses, and other aspects of the criminal justice system. Section 15(4) of the ACJA mandates that confessional

statements voluntarily divulged by suspects with or without warrants must be documented in writing. It also encourages electronic documentation on a video compact disc or audiovisual medium but does not mandate this. Nevertheless, the provision of section 15(4) of the Act, section 15(5), permits an oral confession to be admissible as evidence (Administration of Criminal Justice Act, 2015). However, scholars have questioned the implementation of this Act in the practice of law enforcement agencies in Nigeria (Adewumi & Dawodu, 2016; Maiyaki et al., 2019).

Additionally, in an attempt to provide a guideline for criminal justice within the context of terrorism, which has increased over the years in Nigeria, while also addressing the human rights concerns underpinning investigative interviews in terrorist cases, the *Nigeria Training Module on Investigative Interviewing, the Right to Remain Silent and the Prohibition of Torture* was developed. This module was developed as a joint effort by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and Nigerian stakeholders under the Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (NIALS) and was published in 2022. The module offers strategies for training different parties in the criminal justice system: law enforcement officials, judges, defence lawyers, public prosecutors and legal advisers within the Nigerian context. It addresses human rights and terrorism investigations, effective investigative interviews with a focus on *The Principles on Effective Interviewing for Investigations and Information Gathering* (The Mendez principles), the right to remain silent, barring and preventing torture and other inhumane acts, the inadmissibility of evidence obtained under coercive circumstances, gender differences and child victims/witnesses in investigative interviewing related to terrorism cases (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2022).

As highlighted above, recent developments by the Nigerian government and its agencies reveal some efforts to improve the criminal investigation and criminal justice process. However, the extant literature reveals very little about what occurs during investigative interviews in the Nigerian context.

THE CURRENT STUDY

While there has been some research on the broader topic of criminal investigations in Nigeria, no study appears to directly assess investigative interviewing practices in the Nigerian context. Based on the limited literature on this topic and the study's exploratory nature, hypotheses were not posed. Rather, the study sought to answer the following research questions:

What is the current state of investigative interviewing practices in Lagos State Nigeria from the perspective of police investigators?

What type of interview training, if any, are officers receiving?

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The initial sample consisted of 80 police officers. Sixteen police officers who were not in the Force Criminal Investigation Department (FCID) but officers in the Nigeria

Police Force were dropped from the sample[5], resulting in a final sample of 64 police officers (Mage = 46 years, *SD* = 8, Range = 27 - 58 years) in the FCID at the Lagos State Command in Nigeria. According to World Population Review (2022), it is estimated that Lagos State has a population of 21 million as of 2016, ranking it as Africa's largest city. Lagos State had the highest number of crimes recorded out of the 36 states in Nigeria (Sasu, 2022), making it an ideal location for the study.

Of the 64 participants, 47 identified as male, 14 as female, and three did not include their gender. The self-report demographic breakdown was as follows: Yoruba (47%), Igbo (16%), Hausa (8%), and Others (23%); the remaining participants preferred not to include their tribe (7%).

Participants reported that the average number of years they had been in the Nigeria Police Force was 24 years (Range = 6 - 34 years, *SD* = 8), while the average number of years participants had been in the Force Criminal Investigation Department (FCID) was 12 years (Range = 2 - 30 years, *SD* = 8). For interviewing experience, 67% of the participants reported conducting investigative interviews weekly, 13% reported monthly, 6% reported quarterly, and 14% preferred not to answer the question. Similarly, 37% of the participants reported they had carried out approximately over 100 investigative interviews, 11% reported having carried out about 90 - 100 investigative interviews, 10% reported having carried out about 60 - 89 investigative interviews, 24% reported having carried out 30-59 investigative interviews, 8% reported to have carried out between 1 - 29 investigative interviews and 11% of the participants preferred not to disclose this number.

Materials

Paper and Pen Questionnaire

A paper and pen questionnaire (for the complete questionnaire, see OSF portal: https://osf.io/cu6hv/?view_only=08e7c059b0844c6791178bf424193fb1) was created using similar questions from studies that assessed investigative interviewing practices in other parts of the world (See Chung et al., 2022; Kassin et al., 2007). Other elements to fit the Nigerian context were considered while developing the questionnaire (i.e., the inclusion of the question about the Anti-torture Act). The survey consisted of seven pages. The first page consisted of demographic questions (i.e., age, gender, tribe) and participants' years in the Nigeria Police Force and Force Criminal Investigative Department. The second page contained questions on participants' training level, confidence, and satisfaction with their investigative interviewing skills. The third page contained questions on their truth and lie detection skills, confidence level, awareness, and application of several investigative interviewing techniques, which continued on pages four to six. The seventh page contained questions about criminal investigation, specifically in the Nigerian context. The Consent Form, which highlighted the purpose and procedures, was presented in a separate booklet.

[5] For this study, data analysis was limited to officers in the FCID who are primarily tasked with carrying out police interviews, future analysis might be explored incorporating all 80 police officers.

Procedure

Participants were police officers in the Force Criminal Investigation Department (FCID) at the Lagos State Command in Nigeria. The FCID is the division in charge of the investigation in the Nigeria Police. It is responsible for investigating and prosecuting minor and complicated criminal cases within and outside Nigeria. It coordinates various crime investigations across the Nigeria Police Force (Nigeria Police Force, n.d.).

Participants were recruited through the convenience sampling method, and ₦500 ($1.58) was offered as an incentive for their participation. A research assistant based in Nigeria, alongside a supervisor at the police station, informed the police officers of the study by announcing it at the police station, and officers indicated their interest in the study by verbally answering the call out. The interested officers were then given the Consent Form and Paper and Pen Questionnaire to fill out on a first-come, first-serve basis. The interested police officers completed two copies of the consent forms on their desks, after which they indicated they were done by raising their hands. Participants retained one copy of the consent form and completed the paper and pen questionnaire. Upon completing the document, they submitted the questionnaire by raising their hands and were thanked by the research assistant/supervisor for completing the study. The incentive was disbursed at the end of completion. After the completion of the study, the study materials were shipped to Canada to be analyzed.

RESULTS

Note that some participants in this study did not give a response to one or more items; therefore, there are slightly different sample sizes across the analyses reported in this section.

Research Question 1. *What is the current state of interviewing practices in Lagos State Nigeria from the perspective of police investigators?*

Respondents (n = 62) rated their satisfaction with their existing knowledge of investigative interviewing techniques on a five-point Likert scale. In terms of results, 37% reported being very satisfied, 24% reported they were somewhat satisfied, 13% reported they were neither unsatisfied nor satisfied, 8% reported they were somewhat unsatisfied, 8% reported they were very unsatisfied, and 10% preferred not to disclose their answer.

Similarly, respondents (n = 63) rated their confidence level in their skills to carry out criminal investigative interviews on a five-point Likert scale: 52% reported being very confident, 21% reported being moderately confident, 18% reported being confident, 5% reported to be somewhat confident, 2% reported to be very unconfident and 3% preferred not to answer the question. In an open-ended question, participants were asked to approximate the minutes/hours they spent before preparing for an interview. They reported varying times they spent preparing for an interview. The most common responses were 30 minutes (n = 11), 1 hour (n = 11), 20 minutes (n = 5), depending on the case (n = 5), 2 hours (n = 4).

Recording of Interviews

When asked if respondents recorded their investigative interviews, 89% reported 'yes,' 8% reported 'no,' and 3% preferred not to answer the question. In terms of recording format, 43% of the respondents reported that they recorded the interviews in a written format, 38% recorded in a video format, and 19% recorded the interviews in an audio format. Most (91%) respondents (n = 58) agreed that suspect interviews should be recorded, 2% disagreed, and 6% preferred not to answer the question.

Truth and Lie Detection

Respondents were asked to rate the accuracy of their truth and lie detection skills on a scale of 1 to 100. Results are displayed in Table 1. 31% of respondents rated their ability to detect lies as 80 on the scale. Likewise, 30% of respondents rated their ability to detect truth as 80 on the scale. They were also asked to provide the basis for their assumption of truth and deception in an open-ended format.

TABLE 1. ***Participants' lie and truth detection accuracy level on a scale of 1 to 100***

% of respondents (lie detection)		% of respondents (truth detection)	
30	3	5	3
40	6	50	24
45	3	55	5
50	11	60	14
60	17	65	3
65	3	70	3
70	8	72	3
75	6	75	5
80	31	80	30
90	3	90	14
100	11	95	3
		100	3

Familiarity and Application of Investigative Interviewing Techniques

Participants were asked to rate their familiarity with various interviewing techniques (Reid technique, PEACE model, Cognitive Interview) on a five-point Likert scale (Table 2). As can be seen, for the Reid technique, 31% of respondents were extremely aware, and 9% were not at all aware; for the PEACE model, 36% of respondents were extremely aware, 5% were not at all aware; and for the Cognitive Interview: 32% respondents were moderately aware, 6% were not at all aware. Similarly, participants rated the frequency of applying these interviewing techniques (Reid technique, PEACE model, Cognitive Interview) in their practice on a five-point Likert scale (Table 3). As can be seen, for the Reid technique, 21% of respondents applied this technique almost every time, and 9% never applied this technique; for the PEACE model: 30% of respondents applied the PEACE model almost every time, 4% never applied this model, and for the Cognitive Interview: 27% applied the Cognitive Interview occasionally, and 4% never applied this technique.

TABLE 2. ***Participants' ratings of their familiarity with various investigative interviewing techniques on a 5-point Likert scale***

% of respondents						
Interview Techniques	Not at all aware	Slightly aware	Somewhat aware	Moderately aware	Extremely aware	Prefer not to answer
REID Technique	9	14	14	21	31	12
PEACE Model	5	14	12	22	36	10
Cognitive Interview	6	15	6	32	30	11

TABLE 3. ***Participants' ratings on the frequency of the application of various investigative interviewing techniques on a 5-point Likert scale***

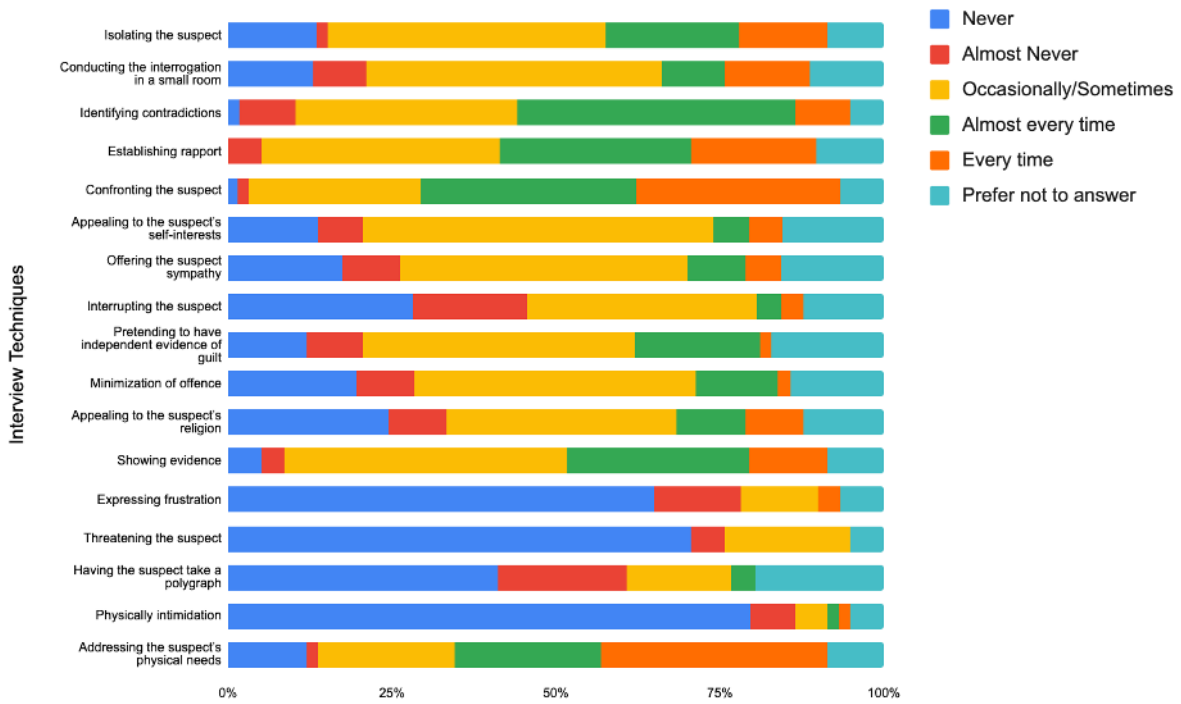
% of respondents						
Interview Techniques	Never	Almost Never	Occasionally/Sometimes	Almost every time	Every time	Prefer not to answer
REID Technique	9	7	38	21	14	12
PEACE Model	4	4	32	30	18	13
Cognitive Interview	4	15	27	22	14	18

Interviewing Tactics

To further understand the current investigative interviewing practices of police officers in NPF, participants were asked to rate the frequency of their practical application of various investigative interviewing tactics on a five-point Likert scale (Figure 1).

As can be seen, 42% occasionally isolated the suspect, 29% established rapport almost every time, 44% occasionally offered the suspect sympathy or moral justification and excuses, 80% never physically intimidated the suspects, 65% never expressed frustration or anger at the suspect, and 71% never threatened the suspect with consequences for not cooperating.

FIG. 1 ***A chart displaying the frequency of respondents' application of interviewing tactics***



Investigative Interviewing Practice in Nigeria

When asked if participants read any interviewing-related rights or laws to suspects before an interview, 86% reported that they did, 7% reported they did not read any interviewing-related rights or laws to suspects, and 7% preferred not to answer. 85% of participants in this study were aware of the Anti-torture Act of 2017, 2% were unaware, and 14% did not disclose the information.

Additionally, 59% of the participants in this study reported that they did not interview suspects and witnesses in the same manner. In comparison, 31% of the participants reported they did, and 10% preferred not to answer. When asked to further elaborate on this difference, open-ended responses revealed that *interviews* were usually conducted with victims and witnesses, and *interrogations* were conducted with suspects. Also, suspects were given a *word of caution* (i.e., similar to Miranda's right) while witnesses were free to speak.

When asked if there was a name for the interviewing technique adopted in Nigeria, 40% of the participants reported yes, 24% reported no, and 36% preferred not to answer the question. Participants who reported that there was a name for the investigative interview technique adopted in Nigeria had a variety of responses (i.e., *interview is interview*, UNODC, ACJA) when asked to name the technique. The most common response was the Reid technique. However, this was from only 6 of the 19 respondents.

Research Question 2. *What type of interview training are officers receiving, if any?*

When asked if participants had received training on skills for criminal investigation or interviewing, 71% reported 'yes,' 18% reported

'no,' and 12% preferred not to answer the question. Participants who reported having received some training provided more details in an open-ended response. Respondents reported having received detective training, human rights training, crime, police training courses, cybersecurity, and basic intelligence courses. Respondents (n = 62) rated their satisfaction with their current level of investigative interviewing on a five-point Likert scale: 37% reported being very satisfied with their current training level, 27% reported being somewhat unsatisfied, 10% reported being neither unsatisfied nor satisfied, 9% reported being somewhat satisfied, 9% reported being very unsatisfied, and 7% preferred not to answer the question.

DISCUSSION

This study assessed the current investigative interviewing techniques and officers' training in the Force Criminal Department of the Nigeria Police Force in Lagos State. In terms of interviewing tactics, many police officers in this study reported that they never physically intimidated suspects during investigative interviews. Similarly, many reported not expressing impatience, frustration, or anger at the suspect. This result is inconsistent with other studies that have reported the NPF's use of force and other physically intimidating tactics during criminal investigations (Alisigwe & Oluwafemi, 2019; Maiyaki et al., 2019). Various reasons could explain the difference in the results. Police officers might have become more aware of the negative reputation associated with physical intimidation and might be reluctant to admit that they engage in such acts. Another explanation for this is that police officers might now be valuing building rapport as the study's findings reveal a substantial number of police officers reported establishing rapport in their interviews and also addressing the suspect's physical needs, such as bathroom breaks and food. Therefore, with these measures in place, there might be less concentration on forcefully eliciting information.

Additionally, rapport building is an essential technique in various investigative interviewing frameworks (Cognitive Interview, Reid technique, PEACE model; Geiselman & Fisher, 2014; Inbau et al., 2013; Milne & Bull, 1999; Snook et al., 2010). Hence, if police officers know these investigative interviewing strategies, there might be less emphasis on physically and forcefully eliciting information. This result is similar to the Spanish and English studies (see Schell-Leugers et al., 2023; Soukara et al., 2009), where more police investigators favoured using non-coercive methods in the interview process but inconsistent with the North American findings (Kassin et al., 2007). Our findings, paired with the results of Schell-Leugers and colleagues (2023), point to a pattern whereby investigators might be departing from using coercive techniques and embracing non-confrontational interviewing techniques. It is also essential to note that interview practices in North America might have changed since 2007. At the same time, it is important to highlight that many police officers in this current study reported using minimization tactics (i.e., minimizing the moral seriousness of the offence), which have been criticized as coercive and linked to false confessions (Kassin, 2014).

Many police officers also reported appealing to the suspect's religion or conscience during interviews. As a society where religion is deeply entrenched (Ngbea & Achunike, 2014),

it is unsurprising that police officers use religion-based persuasion techniques in their interaction with suspects. Similar to Chung and colleagues (2022) Malaysian study, this study is not based on a sample collected from Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) countries (Henrich et al., 2010). We believe this finding draws attention to the reality that strategies and practices may differ within non-WEIRD countries.

Concerning perceptions of deception detection skills, more than half of the police officers in this sample were confident in their truth and lie detection skills. This finding is consistent with literature where people often overestimate their ability to detect deception (Vrij et al., 2019). The literature also reveals that law enforcement officers, like laypeople, could be better discerners of truth and deception, and training cannot be relied on to improve this skill (Granhag & Stromwall, 2004; Memon et al., 2003). It is consistent with literature for law enforcement agencies to be more confident in differentiating truth and false confessions than lay people, but they are not necessarily more accurate (Kassin et al., 2005). While some police officers reported they would base their assumption of truth and lie on the evidence at hand, many police officers reported they based their assumptions on non-verbal cues, which research has shown to be unreliable (Vrij et al., 2019). On average, police investigators in this study reported a 70% self-reported accuracy rate when the suspect was telling lies and a 68% self-reported accuracy rate when the suspect was telling the truth. While this figure is concerning, it is lower than some figures researchers examining the concept have obtained from other countries (Hill & Moston, 2011; Kassin et al., 2007; Schell-Leugers et al., 2023). This specific result should be interpreted cautiously as various factors might explain these inconsistencies (i.e., the smaller sample size used in the current study).

Regarding training, we found that a substantial number of police officers in the study were familiar with investigative interviewing frameworks (Reid technique, PEACE model, Cognitive Interview) and occasionally applied them in their practice. While this is promising, further directed questioning would be needed to assess officers' actual understanding of these techniques, their practical applications, and police investigators' awareness of their shortcomings.

While the police officers have received some form of training, from the open-ended questions, it can be inferred that most of them received this training at the beginning of their career (i.e., detective training), which is insufficient and might not be well equipped to meet today's needs. Respondents indicated training as far back as 1992 and, more recently, in 2022. However, the recent training was based on cyber security and personal safety and not specifically on investigative interviewing. Very few respondents alluded to receiving training that could be classified as evidence-based for investigative interviewing. This result is consistent with findings that show that most police investigators in the NPF only go through the three-month basic training where priority is placed on physical training and not necessarily crime investigation (Tamuno, 1970 as cited in Ladapo, 2011). Police investigators reporting a lack of adequate training, specifically on best practices for investigative interviewing, is not unique to Nigeria alone. Researchers examining this

concept also report similar findings in countries worldwide (e.g., Indonesia, Australia, and Spain; Chung et al., 2022; Hill & Moston, 2011; Schell-Leugers et al., 2023; Soukara et al., 2009).

Regarding participants' satisfaction with their training level, findings reveal varying degrees of satisfaction, which might reflect the different levels of training received. This highlights the need for further training and refresher courses to boost police officers' satisfaction levels.

It might be concerning that a substantial amount of police officers in this study were very confident in their knowledge of investigative interviewing skills and satisfied with their training even though a substantial amount still occasionally engaged in "inappropriate investigative interviewing techniques" (i.e., isolating the suspects from family and friends). This finding is inconsistent with a similar study where police officers reported their proficiency more on an average scale (Chung et al., 2022). Their confidence and satisfaction in the skills and knowledge beg the question of whether Nigerian police officers will be receptive to further training, as some of their responses reveal the deficiencies in the strategies adopted in interviewing.

This study also revealed that most suspect interviews are recorded in a written, video or audio format. This insight provides a good basis for further research studies in the future, as self-reported studies can be compared to what is obtainable in real-life scenarios.

Limitations and Future Directions

Nigeria is a large country with over 200 million people (United Nations Population Fund, n.d.) with diverse cultures. Even though the study was conducted in Lagos State, the small sample size is not a representation of all the police officers in Nigeria, which may impact the generalizability of its findings. Importantly, Lagos State is just one of the thirty-six states in Nigeria. There is a need to examine what is obtainable across Nigeria.

In recent years, the Nigeria Police Force has been associated with much bad press. Police officers, therefore, might feel the need to represent their institution positively, which might influence their responses. In addition, although the responses were anonymous, participants may still have felt pressured to answer in a socially desirable manner. Given the self-report nature of the study, it would be beneficial to investigate interviewing practices by examining real-life transcripts, audio recordings, and videotapes. Using the self-reported opinions of police investigators alone should not be the basis for further decisions (i.e., policy development), and therefore examining objective real-world interviews is a logical next step.

There is also a need to assess the perceptions of individuals who have interacted with the Nigeria Police Force and compare them with self-reported data obtained from police investigators. Despite the weaknesses of self-report data, our results provide a promising avenue for insights and a basis for conducting other research studies in this area. It is important to emphasize that this study is exploratory and hopefully provides foundational knowledge while also

highlighting the need to pursue further knowledge in an African context.

CONCLUSION

This study provides foundational insights into investigative interviewing practices in Lagos, Nigeria. In this study, police investigators were aware of key interviewing frameworks (PEACE model, Cognitive Interview, Reid technique), they reported the application of non-coercive investigative interviewing approaches in their practices, and were confident in their lie detection skills. Some of the results of the study differ from results obtained from Western countries (e.g., North American officers' reliance on coercive techniques). The study also amplifies some culturally specific techniques in investigative interviews (i.e., religion-based persuasion techniques) that might be unique to the Nigerian context. This highlights the significance of the present study as it is not based on a sample from a Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) country (Henrich et al. 2010). We call for more research using non-WEIRD samples as the application of evidence-based investigative interviewing techniques can be further understood while also assessing how rapport is developed and maintained in investigative interviews across various cultural contexts. By identifying investigative interviewing practices and pivotal gaps in training, the current findings contribute towards a strong roadmap for investigative interviewing training programs in Nigeria moving forward.

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How Facility Dogs Impact Interviewer's Questions and Details Provided by Children in Forensic Interviews

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ABSTRACT

To date, no study has examined whether the presence of a facility dog during forensic interviews assists children in sharing their abuse accounts, without altering the non-suggestive behaviors desired by the investigators and children. This study's purpose was to compare 92 forensic interviews conducted by the same investigators, with and without a facility dog, by examining whether in the presence of a dog: 1) children provided more details about the alleged events, and 2) interviewers continued to adhere to the protocol and use non-suggestive questions. These interviews were conducted by 14 investigators, using the NICHD protocol, with children aged between 4 and 15 years who were suspected of being sexually or physically abused. A generalized linear mixed model analysis revealed that a facility dog's presence showed no significant effect on the proportion of details in the interview's transition and substantive phases. No significant difference was observed between the two groups on three of the four scales of the protocol adherence and no significant difference was found on questions asked during the interview. Overall, this study's results did not support the hypothesis that the presence of a dog facilitates children's accounts. These findings should be replicated through interviews conducted using different types of interview protocols.

Key Words: Investigative interviews, facility dogs, children, details, questions

Introduction

Conducting forensic interviews with children can be challenging, as nearly 30% of children do not disclose an alleged abusive episode during interviews (Hershkowitz & Lamb, 2020; London et al., 2007). Research has identified several relational and motivational factors that prevent disclosure (Alaggia et al., 2017; Cyr, 2022; Manay & Collin-Vézina, 2021). Various strategies have been used to facilitate disclosure by children during forensic interviews, including anatomically detailed dolls, drawings, and cue cards (e.g., persons, houses, and objects). However, research has documented that such strategies tend to increase the suggestibility in children and investigators and are ineffective when conducting high quality forensic interviews (Otgaar et al., 2016; Pipe & Salmon, 2009; Poole et al., 2011; Wolfman et al., 2018). Over the past decade, facility dogs have been introduced into the judicial process, primarily to assist witnesses in testifying in court (Courthouse Dogs Foundation, 2023). More recently, they have been introduced during forensic interviews to reduce the stress and anxiety of the situation and enhance children's cooperation with the investigator (Howell et al., 2021). It has been reported that the presence of a facility dog may reassure and comfort the alleged victims, thereby enabling them to communicate more clearly during their police interview (Howell et al., 2021; Spruin, Mozova, et al., 2020). This is based on the perceptions of stakeholders and victims. It is also important to ensure that the presence of a facility dog does not prompt interviewers to use more specific or suggestive questions, as is the case with other props. Nevertheless, this possibility has yet to be investigated. The objective of this study was to document the impact of facility dogs on objective measures of both child and interviewer behaviors in the context of real forensic interviews.

Investigative Interviews

Research has clearly demonstrated that as children get older, the length, informativeness, and complexity of their memory recall increases (Brown & Lamb, 2019; Poole, 2016; Saywitz et al., 2018). The likelihood of misinformation also steadily increases as interviewers move from open-ended free-recall questions (e.g., "You say he took off his shirt; tell me more about that?"), to directive questions (e.g., "What color was his shirt?"), and finally to leading or suggestive questions (e.g., "You do remember that his shirt was blue, don't you?") (Brown et al., 2013; Korkman et al., 2024). This is explained by the fact that information elicited via free recall prompts (recall memory) is more likely to be accurate than information derived from recognition memory but information a child freely retrieves from recall memory may be incomplete (Cyr, 2022; Lamb et al., 2018).

To primarily elicit recall memory, most forensic interview protocols recommend using open-ended questions as often as possible (Brubacher et al., 2020; see Cyr et al., 2022; Fernandes et al., 2023; Korkman et al., 2024; Lamb, 2016). These protocols typically include two phases: 1) pre-substantive phase—designed to prepare children for the

substantive phase with some instructions (e.g., ground rules, rapport building, and narrative practice); and 2) substantive phase—designed to collect the children's narratives with as many open-ended questions as possible. The NICHD protocol was developed on this basis (Lamb et al., 2008). The pre-substantive phase included an introduction to the setting and recording of the interview; discussing things that children like to do to build rapport; explaining and practicing of ground rules to counteract children's suggestibility (e.g., say I don't understand, I don't know, correct the interviewer and tell the truth); and memory practice about a recent pleasant event using open-ended questions. The substantive phase begins with a transition phase aimed at addressing the allegation and includes a series of open-ended to more suggestive questions to elicit the children's events under investigation. When an initial narrative is obtained, the interview is then conducted with open-ended utterances, followed by directive questions, and after a break, with option-posing questions that are asked only when necessary to obtain important forensic details that are still missing. Disclosure information, if any, is also collected before the end of the interview (Lamb et al., 2008). Studies conducted using the NICHD protocol have reported an improvement in the quality of the interviews, as evidenced by an increase in the number of open-ended questions used by the interviewers, as well as more details being obtained with open-ended questions (Lamb et al., 2008). In the present study, interviews were conducted using the NICHD protocol.

Use of Props

Despite good interview protocols designed to help children feel competent during the interviews, some children were still reluctant to disclose the maltreatment they experienced (McGuire & London, 2020). To assist children with this difficult task, while taking into account age-related language and cognitive limitations, various props were introduced into forensic interviews, before empirical studies examined their usefulness. These props have included a variety of options, including the use of normal or anatomically detailed dolls, as well as Human Figure Drawings (HFD), comprising front and back outlines of a child's body, naked or clothed, either of the same sex as the child, or gender neutral. Research has shown that using dolls and HFD did not elicit more accurate details in the children's reports (Pipe & Salmon, 2009; Poole et al., 2011). In addition, interviewers tended to move away from open-ended questions to more specific questions in the presence of these tools, thus increasing the suggestibility of their questions (Aldridge et al., 2004; Salmon et al., 2012; Teoh et al., 2010).

Drawing has been tested in a variety of settings, such as in studies of memory for medical examinations, hospitalizations, emotionally arousing events, and staged events in laboratory settings with non-victimized children. Children are asked to draw freely or specifically (e.g., draw a person or object) and then talk about the event, or to simultaneously draw and talk. The results showed that this technique helped children recall more information (Gross et al., 2006; Katz et al., 2014; Lev-Weisel & Liraz, 2007; Salmon et al., 2003; Wesson & Salmon, 2001). Indeed, when drawing was combined with open-ended questions, the information was accurate. However, when drawing was combined with misinformation or suggestive questions (Gross et al., 2006), more errors

were observed in the reported information. These findings suggest the importance of empirically testing the effects of new tools and props before implementing them in forensic settings.

Facility Dogs

The use of facility dogs is another strategy that has been implemented in legal contexts to help victims and witnesses experience lower levels of stress and anxiety when testifying (Caprioli & Crenshaw, 2017; Courthouse Dogs Foundation, 2023). Facility dogs are selected and trained to work alongside professionals within institutions. Training is provided by nonprofit organizations (e.g., Courthouse Dogs Foundation, 2018). The facility dogs were initially introduced to victims testifying in court. Results from case studies and from the perceptions of legal professionals indicate that the presence of facility dogs in the courtroom is perceived as a positive change. The introduction of these dogs has been shown to reduce the stress and anxiety of witnesses, allowing them to give evidence with greater confidence. Furthermore, the presence of dogs has a limited negative impact on the courtroom and the legal process (Holder, 2013; Howell et al., 2021; Rock & Gately, 2024).

In the context of forensic interviews, two randomized studies conducted by Krause-Parello et al. (2014, 2015, 2018) found that the presence of a facility dog was associated with a reduction in physiological stress responses. However, other research conducted in the forensic context has methodological limitations (Serpell et al., 2017). Most of the research comprise case studies, or report the opinions of stakeholders working either with family violence, and/or in a legal context (Howell et al., 2021; Spruin, Dempster, et al., 2020) or of the victims and their family (Spruin, Mozova, et al., 2020). These participants reported they felt that the dogs' presence facilitated the witnesses' ability, and willingness to communicate, feeling more comfortable discussing their experiences and remaining calm enough to provide reliable testimonies. Thus, it can be hypothesized that children's testimonies may be more accurate and complete in the presence of a facility dog. However, this hypothesis has not been empirically tested, although it is supported by professionals, who use facility dogs (Howell et al., 2021; Spruin, Dempster, et al., 2020).

To date, no study has been conducted involving a dog to examine children's reports in the context of forensic interviews. In analogous studies with university students, Capparelli et al. (2020) found that when a dog was present, students reported more details about a negative event they had experienced (e.g., death of a loved one, illness/injury, divorce of parents, and stress at school/work), than when no dog was present. No difference was found in the recall of positive events. Using a randomized group of students, Hunt and Chizkov (2014) examined the effect of a dog's presence on a traumatic or non-traumatic written narrative (expressive writing paradigm) (Pennebaker & Beall, 1986), and self-reported symptoms of anxiety and depression. The results indicated that the presence or absence of a dog did not alter the components of a traumatic story, assessed as negative emotions. However, the group of students who wrote these traumatic stories in the presence of a dog, reported fewer symptoms of stress and depression two weeks later, suggesting that the experience of writing a traumatic story was less unpleasant for them. Finally, Trammell (2019) observed

no effect of a dog's presence on a word pairs memorization task, and recognition test of these word pairs, a week later. Again, college students reported less stress and arousal, and more happiness in the presence of a dog.

Some analogous studies with children are relevant to this study's purpose. In small groups of preschool children (20 children), Gee et al. (2012) compared the effect of the presence of a dog with that of a person or stuffed dog, on children's abilities in several cognitive tasks. In the presence of a dog, children had better speed and accuracy in both, object recognition (Gee, Belcher, et al., 2012), and attentional restriction in an object categorization task (Gee, Gould, et al., 2012). However, their performance on a series of gross motor skills tasks showed mixed results, with accuracy improving on some tasks and weakening on others in the presence of a dog, compared to no dog (Gee et al., 2007).

In summary, there is a positive perception among stakeholders working in criminal justice contexts that the presence of a facility dog could help traumatized victims or witnesses to testify with less stress and more comfort. This perception is supported by research results on the influence of a dog's presence on stress biomarkers (Krause-Parello et al., 2014, 2015, 2018). However, the effects of a facility dog's presence on cognitive variables, such as memory or recall, have shown mixed results. When the methodological quality of the studies is taken into account, the results are also more nuanced and less conclusive. However, no data are available on the effect of a dog's presence on the sequence of interview steps and questions used in forensic interviews with children. Non-suggestive behavior on the part of the interviewer is critical for protecting the truthfulness of the victims' accounts. It is also important to follow the general principles of phasing the interview, as recommended in the protocols, and prepare and train children for the task of disclosure.

The Present Study

Previous research on facility dogs has primarily focused on the calming effect of dogs on stress and anxiety levels experienced by victims and observed by forensic professionals. Furthermore, these professionals have indicated that victims communicate more clearly during their interviews with the police. However, this perception has not been subject to objective measurement. In addition, this study aims to verify that the presence of dogs does not result in interviewers being more suggestive in their questioning, as has been observed particularly with the use of some interview props. Therefore, this study's purpose was to compare forensic interviews conducted by the same investigators with and without the presence of a facility dog to examine whether: 1) children provided more details about the alleged events, and 2) the interviewers continued to follow the recommended steps of the forensic interview using non-suggestive utterances to elicit disclosure.

METHOD

Participants and Procedures

Totally, 92 forensic interviews (47 and 45 with and without a dog, respectively) were conducted with children between 2014 and 2019. The interviews, that were analyzed from the verbatim transcripts of video recordings, were conducted by 14 investigators from two police organizations in Canada as part of their

regular duties, using the standard NICHD protocol, for which they were trained. Each police organization had its own dogs—Labrador, Bernese Mountain Dog Lab mix (Labernese)—that had been trained by the Mira Foundation to assist police officers during forensic interviews. These dogs were selected for their affectionate behavior and trained to remain calm and still for long durations. Of the 61 available interviews conducted with a dog, 14 were excluded from the analyses—12 because the children did not disclose, making it impossible to count the number of details, and 2 because the disclosures did not involve sexual or physical abuse. Additionally, 91 interviews conducted by the same investigators, but without a dog, were reviewed. Of these, 30 interviews were not with the target age group, 10 were with a perpetrator, and 1 was conducted in Spanish. Of the remaining 50 non-dog interviews, 45 were matched to dog interviews. While 71.4% investigators conducted both dog and non-dog interviews, 28.6% had only dog or non-dog interviews (see Appendix). The investigators' mean age was 46.2 years (*SD* = 6.5), and half were female. Their mean number of years of experience as police and forensic investigators were 24.3 years (*SD* = 6.8) and 6.2 years (*SD* = 5.3), respectively.

Interviews conducted with and without a dog were matched for the children's gender, age, and victim-perpetrator relationship (intrafamilial versus extrafamilial). Their ages ranged between 3 and 15 years (M = 8.7, *SD* = 2.9); 71.7% were girls and 75.6% Caucasians (Table 1); 70.7% comprised sexual abuse allegations, including 2.2% of both sexual and physical abuse and 29.3% of only physical abuse. Interviews conducted in the presence of a dog, included significantly more cases of sexual abuse, $\chi^2(1) = 4.82$, $p = .03$, repeated sexual abuse, $\chi^2(1) = 3.92$, $p = .04$, and a male perpetrator, $\chi^2(1) = 4.96$, $p = .03$. These abuses were reported by victims to be more severe (more touching under clothing) when the dogs were present, $\chi^2(2) = 8.10$, $p = .02$. Perpetrators were more likely to be adults, when the interview was conducted without a dog present, $\chi^2(1) = 3{,}61$, $p = .05$.

Data Coding

Interviews were transcribed and coded by two independent raters (graduate student and PI), using the manual developed and used by NICHD researchers to code investigative interviews (Lamb et al., 1996; Orbach et al., 2000), translated in French (Cyr et al., 2001). For the types of utterances, three phases of the interview (pre-substantive, transition to allegation, and substantive) were considered. For the number of details, only those in the transition and substantive phases were coded for each type of question. The inter-raters' reliability was assessed throughout the coding of 21% of the interviews. The kappa values were: 0.98 for the number of details, 0.83 for question types, 0.83–1.0 for adherence, 0.67 for distractions, and 0.79 for comments about the dog.

TABLE 1 ***Means (Standard Error) and Percentage of Characteristics of Child, and Sexual (SA) and Physical (PA) Abuse for Dog Group Conditions***

Characteristics	With Dog (*n* = 47)	Without Dog (*n* = 45)	*p*	*Phi*
Child age	8.7 (2.7)	8.6 (3.1)	0.255	2.897[1]
Child gender (% female)	72.3	71.1	0.540	0.014
Types of abuse				
Sexual abuse (+2SA/PA)	80.9	60	0.024	0.229
Physical abuse (PA)	19.1	40		
More than one SA	37.1	16.1	0.042	0.251
More than one PA	34.5	51.7	0.507	0.107
Child and perpetrator's relationship				
Intrafamilial	26.4	24.2	0.543	0.011
Extrafamilial	25.3	24.2		
Perpetrator gender (Male)	93.6	77.2	0.026	0.233
Perpetrator age (Adult)	72.3	88.4	0.050	0.200
Severity of the SA				
Touches over the clothes	36.1	50.0	0.017	0.361
Touches under the clothes	52.8	19.2		
Penetration	11.1	30.8		
Severity of PA				
Slap. push. shove	27.3	33.3	0.943	0.064
Kick/punch. hit. throw an object	36.4	33.3		
Other	36.4	33.3		

Note. p values obtained from chi-square tests and independent samples t-test, [1]*Cohen's d*

Children's Details

The number of forensic details for each type of question was counted based on the number of words for the forensic responses, excluding hesitations (uh, um, etc.), questions, or clarifications asked. Research has shown that the number of words counted is highly correlated with the number of details (Dickinson & Poole, 2000). Only the forensic details used by the children to describe the

abusive event, including actions, places, persons, moments, thoughts, and feelings, were coded.

Types of Questions

Each question was coded into one of the five categories. Invitations included general invitations (e.g., "Tell me everything that happened from beginning to end"), time-segmenting invitations, that served to break the event into smaller sections, using details provided by the victim (e.g., "Tell me everything that happened from the time he walked into your bedroom until he grabbed your arm"), and cued invitations that emphasized details revealed by the children (e.g., "Tell me more about his hand touching your belly"). The directive questions provided additional information about something the victims had previously addressed (e.g., Why-How). Option-posing questions included all questions that offered a choice, as well as "yes-no" questions (e.g., "Was he in the bathroom, bedroom, or living room?" "Were you wearing underwear?"). Suggestive questions included any prompt that communicated what answer was expected, or introduced new forensic information not disclosed by the child (e.g., "He told you not to tell, didn't he?"). The final category included accurate summaries that were intended to restate content previously provided by the victim (e.g., "You said you were in the kitchen, he put his hands on your shoulders and [...]"), without adding information not provided by the child.

Adherence to the Protocol

The NICHD protocol provides a structure for forensic interviewing, that includes a sequential series of phases and steps. For the protocol's pre-substantive phase, these steps included the interviewer's introduction (one item), four ground rules—tell the truth, correct the interviewer, say I don't know, say I don't understand—(four items), rapport building—ask children about things they like to do, invitation with action verbs, no specific questions—(three items), and episodic memory training—general invitation, at least one cued invitation, relevant choice of cued, at least one time-segmenting invitation, short and clearly worded time-segmenting invitations, no specific question—(six items). Its substantive phase covering the transition and disclosure consisted of six items: getting the allegation, obtaining a first full account of the abuse, verifying one or more episodes of abuse, obtaining a majority of forensic details, pausing to check for missing forensic information, and checking for any disclosures.

Digression

Digressions were defined as an interruption of the account about the abuse or the pre-substantive phase tasks (think what you like to do, ground rules, episodic memory practice) due to the dog's movement, or a comment by the child or investigator about the dog.

Comments about the Dog

Comments about the dog were documented for both the children and investigators. The children's comments about the dog were coded as positive (e.g., "A chance he is here"), neutral (e.g., "He wanted to put his head here") or negative (e.g., "That is disgusting, he pissed me off"). For the investigator, all comments (e.g., "He has been quiet, hasn't he?" "You can pet him," "He's here for you"), commands to the dog (e.g., "OK (dog's name sit here") or dog-related questions (e.g., "Do you have a dog at home?") were coded.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses and Data Transformation

Analyses were based on generalized linear mixed models (GLM) in SPSS v.25, which controlled for each participant's repetition of observations (Hayes, 2006). As a preliminary step, we tested several variables related to the characteristics of the abuse, the child, and the police officer to identify possible covariates. These included the relationship to the perpetrator, the type and frequency of abuse, the age and gender of the child, and the age, gender, and experience of the police officer. We used ANOVAs, t-tests, and correlations to identify any factors that could affect the study's outcomes: the proportion of details, the total adherence to the protocol, and the proportion of question types. As these variables were not significantly related to either outcomes or groups, they were not used as covariates, with the exception of child's age which correlated, $r = 0.50$ ($p < .001$), with the number of details for the substantive part of the interview. To account for differences in interview length, the proportions of details for each type of question, and proportions of types of questions, digressions, and comments were calculated, and used as outcomes in the analyses. For comparing the presence of dogs on outcomes, GLM analyses were also done for the different phases of the interview. In order to facilitate a more accurate interpretation of the strength of the effect size ($\eta 2$) obtained, we have employed the benchmarks proposed by Cohen: small ($\eta 2 = 0.01$), medium ($\eta 2 = 0.06$), and large ($\eta 2 = 0.14$) effects (Cohen, 1988).

Proportion of Details

Two GLMs 2 x 4 (Dogs [with, without] x Questions [invitation, directive, option-posing/suggestive, summary]) on the proportion of details were conducted: one each, for the transition and substantive phases. These analyses were carried out with the child's age as a covariate. The results (Table 2) showed no significant effect of the presence of a dog for either the transition or substantive phase, and no interaction effect of dog by details for these two phases. Medium and large interaction effects of the question type by age were found for the transition and substantive phases, respectively.

The age variable was grouped into three categories (1 = under 6 years, 2 = 7-10 years, 3 = 11 and over) for the post hoc analysis. For the transition phase, simple effects analysis revealed that older children provide more proportion of details in response to invitations ($M = 47.7$, $SD = 118.69$) than the youngest ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 6.83$) and middle age group ($M = 13.74$, $SD = 22.89$) ($p < .001$). No age-related differences were observed for the other types of questions. In the substantive phase, children aged 11 years and older provided more proportion of details to all types of questions, while children under 6 years old gave more proportion of details for invitations only. The 7–10-year age group provided more proportion of details for directive and invitation questions ($p < .001$).

TABLE 2 ***Means (Standard Deviations) and GLM Statistics for the Proportion of Details by Types of Question during the Transition and the Substantive Phase for the Dogs (n = 47) and no Dogs Groups (n = 45).***

	Means (Standard Deviations)		*GLM*		
Questions	With Dog	Without Dog	Effect	F (1, 89)	η^2
Transition Phase					
Invitation	17.2 (57.6)	25.7 (77.3)	Dogs	0.37	.00
Directive	1.98 (8.1)	0.83 (5.4)	Questions	1.05	.01
Option-posing/suggestive	0.53 (1.9)	0.65 (2.5)	Dogs X Questions	0.10	.00
Summary	0 (0)	0.36 (2.4)	Age X Questions	4.92*	.05
Substantive Phase					
Invitation	19.70 (2.4)	22.50 (14.2)	Dogs	0.10	.01
Directive	11.37 (1.8)	11.24 (7.4)	Questions	0.82	.01
Option-posing/suggestive	7.95 (6.7)	7.38 (4.9)	Dogs X Questions	1.45	.02
Summary	6.53 (5.9)	5.45 (5.1)	Age X Questions	20.16***	.19

* $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$

Adherence to the Protocol

For protocol adherence (see Table 3), a 2 x 4 ANOVA analysis (Dogs [with, without] x Sub-Phases [ground rules/rapport building, episodic memory training, transition/substantive, total] showed a medium significant difference between the two groups, with a higher adherence in the substantive phase when the dog was present (M = 4.6; SD = 1.1), than when the dog was not present (M = 4.0; SD = 1.4). This difference was due to a higher percentage of discussions about any disclosure, $t(91) = 7.56$, $p = 0.01$, *Phi* = 0.310, with and without a dog present (74.5% and 46.7%, respectively). No significant difference was observed for the ground rules/rapport building, episodic memory practice, or global adherence score.

Types of Questions

For the proportion of question types (Table 4), three GLM 2 x 4 (Dogs [with, without] x Questions [invitation, directive, option-posing/suggestive, summary]) were conducted according to each phase of the interview. For the pre-substantive phase, the results showed a large significant effect based on the question types, no significant effect of the presence of a dog's, and no interaction effects. Analyses of simple effects indicate that the proportion of each type of question differed significantly between them, with more invitations (M = 0.43; SD = 0.03) than directives (M = 0.24; SD = 0.02), option-posing/suggestive (M = 0.14; SD = 0.02), and summary questions (M = 0.06; SD = 0.01) ($p < .001$).

For the transition and substantive phases, the analyses revealed a large significant effect based on the question types, no significant effect of a dog, and no interaction. For the transition phase, an analysis of the simple effects of the proportions of types of questions indicates that the questions differed significantly between them ($p < .01$), except for the proportions of summary, which did not differ significantly from the proportions of directive questions (invitation: $M = 0.80$, $SD = 0.03$; directive: $M = 0.04$, $SD = 0.01$; option-posing/suggestive: $M = 0.10$; $SD = 0.02$; summary: $M = 0.02$, $SD = 0.01$). For the substantive phase, simple effects analyses indicated that the proportions of summary ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.01$) were significantly lower ($p < .001$) than those of invitation ($M = 0.29$, $SD = 0.02$), directive ($M = 0.29$, $SD = 0.02$), or option-posing/suggestive questions ($M = 0.29$, $SD = 0.02$).

Effect of Dogs in Interviews

In addition to the main variables, other aspects of these interviews were documented to provide additional insights into the presence of dogs during forensic interviews. The mean length of the interviews was 54.3 minutes ($SD = 25.0$). No significant mean differences, $F(1, 92) = 2.77$, $p = .09$, $d = 0.348$, were observed between those conducted with dogs ($M = 58.5$, $SD = 22.1$) and without dogs ($M = 49.9$, $SD = 27.4$).

The distractions, defined as an interruption in the narrative process, represented an average of five occurrences per interview. On average, the dog was responsible for three of these interruptions ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 4.2$), one in the pre-substantive phase ($M = 0.65$; $SD = 1.2$), and two in the substantive phase ($M = 2.36$; $SD = 3.0$), while the child interrupted the interview to talk about the dog for a mean of 2.57 other times ($SD = 4.8$), two of which were done during the substantive phase ($M = 2.17$; $SD = 3.9$). Interviewer distractions about the dog were rare ($M = 0.32$; $SD = 4.8$). When comparing the pre-substantive and substantive phases that included transition, no significant difference was observed for distractions coming from the interviewer, ($F(1, 46) = 2.00$, $p = .16$, $\eta^2 = 0.042$), but significant effects were observed for the dog and child, $F(1, 46) = 31.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.407$ and $F(1, 46) = 35.5$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.436$ respectively, with more distractions during the substantive phase. The same results were obtained when the proportion of distractions per minute were calculated, by taking into account the different lengths of the interview phases.

On an average, children made 16.3 ($SD = 17.4$) comments about the dog per interview while the investigators made slightly more comments about the dog ($M = 22.2$; $SD = 19.3$). Children were more likely to make neutral comments ($M = 11.9$, $SD = 4.2$) than positive ($M = 3.7$, $SD = 1.9$) or negative ($M = 0.27$, $SD = 0.9$) comments about the dog. The children's ratio of comments (number of comments by phase/total number of comments) differed significantly among the three phases, $F(2, 46) = 5.04$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = 0.099$ with simple tests ($p < .01$), indicating a lower proportion of comments during the transition phase ($M = 0.07$; $SD = 0.2$) than during the pre-substantive ($M = 0.35$; $SD = 0.32$) or substantive ($M = 0.57$; $SD = 0.37$) phases; which did not differ from each other. A significant difference was also found for police officers, $F(2, 46) = 15.6$, $p <.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.253$, with a significantly higher proportion of comments made during the substantive phase ($M = 0.63$; $SD = 0.31$) than pre-substantive ($M = 0.31$; $SD = 0.28$) or transition ($M = 0.06$; $SD = 0.20$) phases.

TABLE 3 ***Means (Standard Deviations) and Two-Way ANOVA Statistics for the Adherence to the Steps of the Protocol for Dogs (n = 47) and no Dogs Groups (n = 45).***

	Means (Standard Deviations)		*Anova*	
Adherence	With Dog	Without Dog	F (1, 91)	η^2
Ground Rules/ Rapport Building	6.4 (0.6)	6.2 (1.1)	0.39	.00
Episodic Memory Training	3.1 (1.3)	2.8 (1.7)	0.83	.01
Substantive Phase	4.6 (1.1)	4.0 (1.4)	5.43 *	.06
Global Adherence	14.0 (2.0)	13.0 (3.1)	3.60	.04

* $p < .05$

TABLE 4 ***Means (Standard Deviations) and GLM Statistics for the Proportion of Types of Question during the Episodic Memory Training (EMT), the Transition and the Substantive Phase for the Dogs (n = 47) and no Dog Groups (n = 45).***

	Means (Standard Deviations)		*GLM results*		
Questions	With Dog	Without Dog	Effect	F (df_1, df_2)	η^2
EMT Phase					
Invitation	0.44 (0.23)	0.42 (0.29)	Dogs	3.83 $^{\Delta}$ (1, 90)	.04
Directive	0.26 (0.18)	0.21 (0.20)	Questions	66.92 *** (3, 90)	.43
Option-posing/suggestive	0.16 (0.17)	0.11 (0.13)	Dogs X Questions	0.17 (3, 90)	.00
Summary	0.07 (0.09)	0.05 (0.07)			
Transition Phase					
Invitation	0.83 (0.25)	0.76 (0.34)	Dogs	3.28 (1, 90)	.04
Directive	0.07 (0.14)	0.02 (0.06)	Questions	257.83 *** (3, 90)	.74
Option-posing/suggestive	0.09 (0.19)	0.12 (0.22)	Dogs X Questions	1.06 (3, 90)	.01
Summary	0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.15)			
Substantive Phase					

Invitation	0.26 (0.11)	0.31 (0.19)	Dogs	0.02 (1, 90)	.02
Directive	0.30 (0.15)	0.29 (0.16)	Questions	66.84 *** (3, 90)	.43
Option-posing/suggestive	0.30 (0.10)	0.29 (0.14)	Dogs X Questions	2.13 (3, 90)	.03
Summary	0.13 (0.6)	0.11 (0.8)			

$^{\Delta}$ $p = .053$ *** $p < .000$

DISCUSSION

This study's purpose was to increase knowledge on the effect of the presence of facility dogs during forensic interviews with children based on the number of details reported by them, and also to verify that a facility dog's presence did not alter the non-suggestive behaviors desired by the investigators. Overall, the results of this study do not support the perceptions of justice stakeholders (Howell et al., 2021; Spruin, Dempster, et al., 2020; Spruin, Mozova et al., 2020), that the presence of a dog, helps witnesses to more clearly communicate the alleged facts during the interview. The lack of a significant difference in the number of details between the children in the dog and non-dog groups did not confirm this general perception. This study's results are, therefore, consistent with those of Hunt and Chizkov (2014), who showed that the presence of a dog did not affect the components of students' traumatic stories, and Trammell (2019), who did not observe a significant effect of the presence of a dog when students were learning a memory task. However, its results differ from those of Capparelli et al. (2020), who observed that university students reported more details in the presence of a dog for a negative, but not for a positive event. The participants' age, context of the task, and content of the narrative are some of the reasons that could explain these divergent results. This study included children under the age of 15 years, while three other studies included undergraduate students. This difference is important because both age and trauma affect participants' cognitive (memory, language, etc.) and relational abilities (Cyr, 2022 for a review). The task contexts in these three analogous studies (specific memory task, written or brief oral report of an event) are also quite different from those of a forensic interview, which involves a face-to-face interview lasting approximately 45–60 minutes. The third dimension is the content. In two studies (Capparelli et al., 2020; Hunt & Chizkov, 2014), undergraduate students reported a traumatic event that they had experienced (death of a loved one, illness, injury, divorce, stress at school, etc.). Reporting sexual or physical abuse to an investigator may involve socio-legal consequences for themselves or others, and other emotional and relational issues (shame, fear of punishment, embarrassment, concern for others, etc.) (Malloy et al., 2011; McElvaney et al., 2020), that need to be addressed during forensic interviews. Thus, even though the presence of a dog may affect the children's levels of biological markers of stress, the reassuring presence of the investigator and their non-suggestive supportive interventions are necessary to overcome the children's reluctance to disclose (Blashbag et al., 2018;

Hershkowitz et al., 2017) and have been shown to be effective in the revised NICHD protocol.

For the investigators, as the presence of a dog did not change their interview techniques, the interviews were not more suggestive. It was important to ensure that the interview protocol was used in its entirety, and that the interview was based on open-ended questions and did not become suggestive, as had been observed with the use of props, such as dolls or HFDs (Poole et al., 2011). For the adherence to the protocol, dog's presence was associated with a slight increase in questions during the interview's substantive phase regarding any disclosure, suggesting a greater adherence to the protocol's steps. Otherwise, the results indicated no difference between the two groups, in terms of adherence to the various phases and activities recommended for forensic interviews (Korkman et al., 2024). However, it is important to note that adherence to the protocol can be improved in several ways to achieve better cooperation from children and quality of details. For example, more invitation questions and no specific questions should be asked during episodic memory training, or the children should be better supported with follow-up invitations to obtain a full account in the substantive phase. This finding is in line with those of other studies that advocate better support for investigators through regular follow-up or post-training feedback. Such support may have influenced their competence during the interviews, which was associated with improved performance (Cyr et al., 2012, 2021; Lamb, 2016; Powell, 2013).

In addition, the presence of a dog could interrupt the flow of the forensic interview and distract both the children and investigators (Holder, 2013; Howell et al., 2021). While the average of five distractions may not seem excessive, each interruption represents a disruption in the child's ability to narrate the facts. In the absence of other studies that have quantified these distractions, it is challenging to assess whether they are prevalent or not. It would be beneficial for future studies to examine this variable in order to determine the impact of these distractions. It is likely that the number of distractions was due to the fact that the dogs were trained to remain calm and quiet. In addition to the distraction, this study also found that both the children and police officers talked frequently about the dog during the interviews, with a mean over 15 turns of speech, each. Given that young children have a limited capacity to concentrate and participate in an interview, it would be beneficial to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of these comments on the interview process. Furthermore, as the majority of the children's interventions about the dog were neutral and consisted of questions about the dog (e.g., "Is he old ?") or comments about his behavior (e.g., "He snores"), it is speculative to what extent the dog is seen by children as a source of comfort. Conversely, the more frequent comments made by the investigators during the substantive part of the interview suggest, that they used the dog to encourage the children to feel comfortable with it ("You can pet him," "He is there for you"), or perhaps to overcome some reluctance or discomfort observed by them. Further studies should verify the hypothesis that the presence of a dog is reassuring for interviewers, and that it represents a tool in case of difficulties.

Limitations

This study had some limitations despite its rigor and pre-experimental design, with two matched groups based on real forensic interviews. Its most important limitation was the lack of control over the investigator variable. As a result, it was unable to balance interviews with and without dogs by the same investigators or include this variable as a

control in the statistical analyses because some investigators conducted too few interviews. Although investigators can influence the frequency of disclosures (Hershkowitz et al., 2014), interviews were only used, when children have disclosed. As these interviews were conducted in the usual context of the investigators' work, it was not possible to randomly assign children, which would have increased the rigor of the research design. As with other studies on forensic interviews with children, the accuracy of the details reported cannot be verified, as in analogous studies.

CONCLUSION

This study's findings suggest that the presence of a facility dog has little effect on the behaviors of children and investigators; children do not provide more detailed accounts. Recent studies with and without facility dogs have shown that their presence does not decrease children's reluctance during forensic interviews (Côté, Cyr, Brillon, Dion, et al., 2024) or increase their attentiveness (Côté et al., 2024). Further studies examining the interview experiences of children and investigators (expectations, satisfaction, and children's long-term symptoms) are needed to better understand a dog's contribution to forensic interviews. For example, in studies conducted with undergraduate students, it was observed that they reported more happiness and less stress and arousal in a memory test session (Trammel, 2019), and fewer symptoms of stress and depression two weeks after reporting about traumatic events (Hunt & Chizkov, 2014). This last finding suggests that the experience of writing a traumatic story may have been less unpleasant for the group accompanied by a support dog.

For the investigator, the use of a structured protocol, in the present study the NICHD standard protocol, may have helped to maintain non-suggestive questions, as well as the steps recommended for forensic interviews (Brubacher et al., 2020; Korkman et al., 2024). Thus, the effect of a dog's presence should be studied using other interview protocols to ensure that the interviewers do not become more suggestive.

This study's results did not show a benefit from the presence of a dog, particularly on the number of details reported. In the absence of rigorous studies conducted in forensic interviews, and the large number of variables that need to be studied (type of dog, dog training, child-dog interaction, forensic protocol used, supportive interventions, child reluctance, etc.), it seems premature to recommend the widespread use of dogs in forensic interviews. There is a need to increase scientific knowledge on the positive, negative, or neutral effects of having a dog present during forensic interviews, as well as the mechanisms underlying these effects (Capparelli et al., 2020). More rigorous studies, as well as the publication of negative results derived from high-quality research, would help police organizations make decisions about the use of canines in forensic interviews.

Implications for Policy and Future Directions

Conducting investigative interviews with children is a complex task for investigators, and a stressful and demanding cognitive task for children. Hence, the desirability of searching for strategies or techniques to support both the children and investigators during the interview. Facility dogs are one of these strategies being increasingly used in the context of investigative interviews. Although facility dogs may appear to be a promising strategy, further studies are needed to ensure that it is empirically supported before promulgating and making its presence widespread in forensic contexts.

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Distribution of interviews with and without dog for each interviewer.

Interviewer	Interviews	
	With Dog	Without Dog
1	4	3
2	8	5
3	2	1
4	5	2
5	0	2
6	6	4
7	2	3
8	3	2
9	1	1
10	0	4
11	2	0
12	1	0
13	10	14
14	3	4

Book Review

Tudor-Owen, J., van Golde, C., Bull, R., & Gee, D. (Eds.). (2022). Interviewing Vulnerable Suspects: Safeguarding the Process. Taylor & Francis

Review by Finley MacDonald

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In an era where the ethical treatment of vulnerable individuals within legal proceedings is paramount, *Interviewing Vulnerable Suspects: Safeguarding the Process* offers a timely and insightful exploration of the challenges involved in the investigative interviewing process. In recent years, police interviewing processes, particularly in the context of interviewing vulnerable suspects, have received notable attention from public authorities. In England and Wales, such issues are noted on government and College of Policing agendas, with the *Interviewing Suspects* (2023) report addressing the investigative procedures for vulnerable suspects. The importance of upholding standards within interviewing processes has been noted within research for decades, with an extensive proportion of research stating that police interviewing processes carry a substantial burden of accountability for miscarriages of justice (Poysner & Milne, 2011). This book helps to address this by exploring ethical interviewing practices that prioritise fairness, transparency, and consideration for human rights.

Divided into two parts, this book covers various aspects including theoretical frameworks, practical strategies, and legal considerations. The first part focuses on the conceptualisation of vulnerability and the initial processes of interviewing a vulnerable suspect, including training interviewers and the importance of the PEACE model: Planning and preparation, Engage and explain, Account clarification and challenge, Closure and Evaluation. The second part explores the interview approaches and implications for individuals often considered vulnerable, including culturally and linguistically diverse (CaLD) suspects and children as suspects. Throughout the book, the authors examine the challenges and best practices associated with interviewing vulnerable individuals.

Tudor-Owen and van Golde draw attention to the "bigger picture" of vulnerability in Chapter 1: vulnerability might be pre-existing, but criminal justice systems and processes can create and exacerbate vulnerability. The two lead authors also argue that although the notion of vulnerability can be narrow, the definition of vulnerability must remain consistent across the criminal justice system to ensure that individuals are receiving fair treatment throughout their interactions. In addition, they argue that individuals should be considered vulnerable from their initial encounter with the criminal justice system, to ensure that safeguarding processes are upheld and effective throughout the process.

Chapter 2 draws upon the PEACE model of interviewing, the interview method most used within England and Wales (Williamson, 2006). Tudor-Owen and van Golde emphasise the importance of utilising the stages within the PEACE model appropriately. They argue that following the PEACE model will help to raise interviewer awareness of potential suspect vulnerabilities, which can then be managed in an appropriate manner. Additionally, the authors discuss the evidence-based approaches in building rapport with vulnerable suspects, including, verbal, para-verbal and non-verbal behaviours.

Within Chapter 3, Tudor-Owen and van Golde examine the dynamic differences of third-party presence within an interview. They identify a third party, or parties, as 'an intermediary, lawyer or interpreter' (p. 19), and explore the benefits and flaws of each third-party role. Tudor-Owen and van Golde draw upon the research of Medford et al., (2003), who states that appropriate adults (AA) often do not challenge inappropriate interview tactics, questioning how beneficial the role of an AA is. They conclude that whilst intermediaries, lawyers and interpreters are vital to mitigate risks for vulnerable suspects within an interview setting, individuals within these roles must ensure that they prepare and plan for interviews appropriately.

Chapter 4 considers the impact of training on interview performance and the guidance that is applied to police interviewing processes. Within this chapter, Bull and Milne examine the *phased approach* outlined in the Achieving Best Evidence (ABE) protocol and PEACE model. By drawing upon the research of Geijsen et al. (2018), Bull and Milne identify that a large proportion of suspects are interviewed inappropriately, and they highlight the lack of guidance surrounding interviewing vulnerable adults. They emphasise that the appropriate application of the PEACE model and ABE protocol will "best safeguard the process" (p. 32) and the importance of following formal guidance is vital to the protection of vulnerable suspects.

In the final chapter of Part One, Chapter 5, Bull and Milne discuss interview supervision and management. They indicate that engaging with the Behaviourally Anchored Rating Scale (BARS)-PEACE method developed by Clarke and Milne (2001) will allow good and bad interview practices to be noted, improving the overall standard of interviews. The need for a consistent approach is argued within this chapter, by concluding that "supervision needs to be fair, transparent, and conducted by well-trained individuals" (p. 39) to improve the practices of interviews for vulnerable suspects.

The second part of the book focuses on the interview process for specific vulnerabilities. Chapter 6 examines the interviewing of intoxicated suspects, with specific analysis of the perceptions of intoxicated suspects and the implications within these interviews. van Golde et al. note that memory loss is a common issue amongst intoxicated suspects. As a result, intoxicated suspects are more likely to incriminate themselves. Moreover, "suspects may misinterpret evidence against them" (p.48), suggesting the severity of their vulnerability. The chapter concludes that an individualistic approach should be taken with intoxicated suspects to accommodate their vulnerabilities.

Chapters 7 and 8 shift their focus to the analysis of interviewing young and older individuals. van Golde et al. state that whilst there is an increase in offending rates amongst

older adults, this demographic often receives sympathetic treatment, due to police perceiving older adults as mentally confused. Considering the likelihood of older adults suffering with dementia and Alzheimer's, the authors suggest that police officers should follow guidelines set out by The American Alzheimer's Association, to ensure that a factual response from a vulnerable suspect is retrieved. Similarly, within Chapter 8, it is suggested that children do not understand the importance of legal concepts, including their rights, which creates unfair judicial outcomes. This chapter concludes that an appropriate adult should be present when interviewing children to mitigate false confessions and ensure that the process is just. This conclusion, however, seems to contradict the conclusion in Chapter 3, which states that the presence of AAs is likely to change the dynamic of the interview. Although the authors imply that the role of an AA is vital, they state that the individuals within this role do not often act accordingly, resulting in an unjust interview process. Further consideration on this would be beneficial for readers.

Tudor-Owen et al. focus on interviewing suspects with mental illnesses within Chapter 9. Individuals with mental illnesses, they argue, are at a higher risk of falsely confessing and might not understand the potential implications of these statements. It is stated that specialised police training, adhering to the PEACE model, and ensuring an AA is present, can improve the interviewing approach. The recommendations noted within the next chapter are similar. Chapter 10, interviewing suspects with intellectual and learning impairments, identifies the range of support which can be tailored to specific vulnerabilities, with a focus on Autism Spectrum Disorder and Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder. The difference between specific intellectual and learning impairments must be understood by police staff and third parties to ensure that the appropriate support is provided, whilst understanding the need for an individualistic approach.

Chapter 11 discusses the interviewing of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse and First Nations suspects. Referring to *R v Anunga* (1976), the authors present guidelines to interviewing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals. The guidelines consider the perceptions that individuals may have towards police interviews, which could be impacted by the history of colonisation and police violence towards Aboriginal people. van Golde et al. argue that it is important to consider suspects who are non-English speaking, and/or have a historically complicated or oppressed relationship with the police, and therefore, may find it difficult to engage with the interviewing process. In relation, Chapter 12 highlights the negative perceptions that LGBTQIA+ communities have with the police, and the importance of considering historic relationships when interviewing. Gender and sexuality information must be approached sensitively, (i.e., ensuring that pronouns are communicated effectively). Authors note that in doing so, "it has the potential to impact rapport building positively… improving the likelihood of a positive interview outcome" (p. 93).

In Chapter 13, van Golde et al. analyse the interviewing implications for suspects with a hearing impairment. The authors argue that d/Deaf individuals are significantly disadvantaged throughout the criminal justice process, and the communication from staff to suspects must be transparent (i.e., translated using a qualified interpreter). Whilst

interpreters are a legal right for d/Deaf individuals, they are not always present within interview settings due to the time-consuming and costly process that police must undergo. Notwithstanding, this lack of presence can lead to d/Deaf suspects falsely confessing and being wrongfully convicted. The authors note that communication is vital between police and d/Deaf suspects and suggest that further training on interviewing individuals with physical disabilities is necessary.

This book discusses the complexities of interviewing vulnerable suspects and emphasises that all suspects should be considered vulnerable to attain accurate and reliable information. Overall, a key message from this book is that interviewing vulnerable suspects requires interviews to approach the process with empathy, professionalism, and a commitment to upholding the principles of justice and fairness. This book will be a thought-provoking read for anyone involved in the criminal justice system, from law enforcement officers and legal practitioners to psychologists and social workers. It will provide particularly useful for students in criminology, law, sociology, forensic psychology, and policing.

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