
Strategies to Avoid Interview Contamination

By VINCENT A. SANDOVAL, M.A.

© Mark C. Ide



The unmarked sedan carrying Detectives Barnes and Bailey screeches to a stop in front of a construction site, catching the workers in hard hats by surprise. The drone of city traffic, honking horns, and a vibrating jack hammer permeates the background. Slamming their doors as they exit the sedan, the two detectives investigating the disappearance of Donna Hudson converge upon one of

the men, and, in a demanding voice, Detective Barnes bellows, "Are you James Johnson?" Caught by surprise but not to be outdone, Johnson inflates his chest and retorts in an equally gruff voice, "Who wants to know?" Ignoring the other construction workers and the gathering crowd of curious onlookers, Detective Bailey crosses his arms and spits, "We're the police. And, *you* were with Donna

Hudson last night, weren't you?" Johnson begins to deny knowing anything about Hudson's activities the night before when he is interrupted abruptly by the scowling Detective Barnes who barks, "If you don't come clean, you're going downtown with us. Now what's it gonna be?" Johnson defiantly crosses his arms, looks Detective Barnes in the eye, and replies, "Well, I guess we're going downtown,



Special Agent Sandoval is an instructor in the Law Enforcement Communication Unit at the FBI Academy.

“
The objective of any interview should be to acquire accurate and complete information without contaminating the interview process.
”

aren't we?" Within moments, the detectives usher Johnson into the back seat of the unmarked sedan, which rushes off leaving the growing crowd of curious on-lookers perplexed at what they have just witnessed.

This scene plays out each week on television police dramas. Although effective at helping resolve major crimes in an hour or less, the interviewing strategy modeled in these fictional portrayals rarely produces the same results in the real world. To the contrary, the television scenario serves to illustrate how readily an interviewer *inadvertently* can contaminate the fact-finding process, hence producing less than the desired results.¹

Contamination occurs when investigators impede or negatively influence the interview process, thereby causing the subject² to provide inaccurate

information. Contamination can hinder subjects from fully disclosing what they know and, as a result, handicap investigators in their search for the truth. The concept of contamination, however, is not unique to law enforcement, but also touches other arenas, such as the world of professional psychotherapy and counseling. In an effort to arrive at the truth regarding allegations of possible sexual abuse, one of the dangers therapists face when counseling alleged victims involves distorting their memories, thereby causing them to recount events that may not be accurate.³ "Therapists can unintentionally plant suggestions that lead to the creation of false memories of abuse. Memories can be distorted, even created, by the tone of voice, phrasing of a question, subtle nonverbal signals, expressions of boredom, impatience."⁴

An early study on interviewing found that the single most important determinant of whether a criminal case would be resolved satisfactorily was the information gained from the interview of a witness, victim, or suspect in a crime.⁵ Despite advances in forensic science, experienced interviewers recognize that this principle still holds true.⁶ The objective of any interview should be to acquire accurate and complete information without contaminating the interview process. Yet, any number of factors can contaminate the interview. For example, the environment where the interview is conducted, to include the number of interviewers, can influence the subject adversely. In addition, the interviewers' own nonverbal behaviors, including the way they address subjects and how they deliver their questions, can result in incomplete or inaccurate information. Also, research has suggested that another source of contamination during an interview involves the specific questions interviewers ask subjects.⁷ Despite the fact that the amount of information obtained during the interview often will be in direct proportion to the kinds and the quality of questions asked, in reality, many investigators give little thought to the questions they ask at different stages in the interview. However, by considering the factors that can contribute to

contamination as they develop their interviewing strategy, investigators can minimize these effects and maximize the prospects of conducting a successful interview.

Depending on the subject of the interview and the circumstances surrounding it, an investigator's strategy, on occasion, can become very involved. On the other hand, extensive interview preparation is a luxury that busy investigators rarely can afford. While the interviewing techniques used by Detectives Barnes and Bailey illustrate how readily an interview can become contaminated, they also serve to introduce an interviewing strategy focused on three critical dimensions—the interview environment, the interviewer's behavior, and the questions posed by the interviewer—that could have improved the detectives' chances of learning the truth about the disappearance of Donna Hudson.

FOCUS ON INTERVIEW ENVIRONMENT

Interview Location

In the police television drama cited in the opening scenario, a number of factors contributed to a less-than-successful interview. The background noises and curious onlookers only served to detract from Detectives Barnes and Bailey's abilities to conduct the

interview and Johnson's willingness to cooperate and provide them with information about the disappearance of Donna Hudson. Interviewing a subject on a noisy and busy city street with multiple onlookers is fraught with danger. An investigator must be wary of prematurely interpreting a subject's behavior as disinterested, unwilling to cooperate, or even deceptive when conducting the

“

Interviewing a subject on a noisy and busy city street with multiple onlookers is fraught with danger.

”

interview in an environment that contains distractions or contaminants. For example, if a subject breaks eye contact after an interviewer asks a question, the interviewer may prematurely conclude that the subject is being deceptive. Instead, the subject merely could be distracted by a passing vehicle or someone casually walking by.⁸ Selecting a quiet place free of distractions⁹ and without any physical barriers between the interviewer and the subject of the interview is critical.¹⁰

Prior to arriving at the construction site in search of James Johnson, Detectives Barnes and Bailey would have been better served by considering the importance of the interview environment. They would have enhanced their prospects of enlisting Johnson's cooperation into the disappearance of Donna Hudson if they had chosen to conduct their interview somewhere other than the construction site. It could have taken place at their department, at Johnson's residence, or even at a neutral location. By recognizing the danger inherent in asking Johnson any questions at his place of employment while surrounded by his peers and curious onlookers, the detectives would have avoided the risks of misinterpreting Johnson's responses and behavior and prematurely concluding that he was hiding information about Donna Hudson—a crucial mistake difficult to repair. In reality, Johnson may have reacted to nothing more than their haughty approach and to the fact that they confronted him in the presence of his coworkers on a busy and noisy city street.

Number of Interviewers

Popular television shows can lead the public to believe that multiple investigators normally interview a victim or even a suspect. Viewers often see two or more investigators asking the

subject of a television police interview a barrage of questions. However, common sense and experience have shown that people tend to talk about what they know, including confessing their deepest secrets and crimes, when in the company of one or, at the most, two investigators. The late, renowned polygraph examiner John Reid underscored this obvious, yet often overlooked, principle. He recommended that only one investigator should be present in the room when conducting an interview and interrogation of a suspect and also said, "The principle psychological factor contributing to success...is privacy."¹¹

As part of their interviewing strategy, Detectives Barnes and Bailey should have decided *beforehand* the benefits of having one, versus both, of them present during the interview of James Johnson. If they had chosen to conduct the interview as a team, then one of them should have taken the initiative and become the "lead interviewer," making the necessary introductions, building rapport, and asking Johnson the majority of the questions. The second detective then could have focused his attention on taking thorough interview notes or on assessing Johnson's verbal and nonverbal behavior. Experienced interviewers who work in pairs often "work off of each other," with one taking the lead in asking questions and the

other filling in any gaps in the gathering of information that may become apparent as the interview progresses. In addition, by ensuring that no physical barriers, such as a desk or even an object as seemingly insignificant as a drinking glass or an ashtray, stood between themselves and Johnson, Detectives

“
Experienced investigators recognize the strategic importance of using their voices to gather information and elicit confessions.
”

Barnes and Baily then would have been in a better position to not only observe Johnson's entire body but to maintain the psychological advantage by not allowing a barrier for him to "hide" behind.¹²

FOCUS ON INTERVIEWER'S BEHAVIOR

Nonverbal Behavior

Experienced investigators are acutely aware of the importance of observing the nonverbal behavior of the subject of the interview, especially when they

suspect the person of concealing information or having committed a crime.¹³ However, investigators also should realize that the subject of the interview is observing them as well and that through their own body language they can either encourage or discourage the subject from providing information. People communicate volumes through their own nonverbal behavior.¹⁴ Investigators should heed the advice imbedded in the observation that "...the interview is a process in which interviewee and interviewer exert mutual influence on the results of the interview."¹⁵ Body language supplements what a person says verbally with dozens of messages, such as small gestures, eye movements, changes in posture, and facial expressions.¹⁶ In the opening scenario, the detectives' body language sent James Johnson a very clear message. By crossing their arms, staring, scowling, raising their eyebrows, and a host of other nonverbal behaviors, they placed Johnson on the defensive and truncated the prospect of gaining his cooperation.

Detectives Barnes and Bailey could have gained the psychological advantage by understanding the role that the interviewer's nonverbal behavior plays in the interview and then taking deliberate steps to ensure that their body language encouraged Johnson to talk. They could have employed such

appropriate nonverbal communication as maintaining an open posture without crossing their arms; being frontally aligned and facing Johnson, as opposed to being canted away from him; leaning forward to show interest in what he said; and acknowledging what he said by maintaining consistent eye contact, physically nodding their heads to encourage him to continue speaking, and, above all, not interrupting him when he spoke.¹⁷

Verbal Behavior or Paralanguage

Psychologists have long recognized the importance that the interviewer's voice plays in the interview.¹⁸ An interviewer's voice can affect the outcome of the interview, especially during the information-gathering stage. If the investigator speaks in a loud voice or even stresses one word over another, it will act like any other source of distraction or contamination and will deflect the subject's concentration.

Detectives Barnes and Bailey immediately placed James Johnson on the defensive with their abrasive, demanding, and demeaning style. Investigators inadvertently can contaminate an interview through their paralanguage (i.e., the manner in which they say what they say).¹⁹ Most interviewers readily recognize the importance of

the words that they use or the content of their speech. However, interviewers also should pay careful attention to the manner in which they speak to subjects and the way that they pose their questions.

Experienced investigators recognize the strategic importance of using their voices to gather information and elicit



confessions. In fact, a seasoned polygraph examiner maintains that one of the most important qualities that interviewers and interrogators can possess is their ability to use their voices to project sincerity to the subject.²⁰ Drawing upon years of experience in conducting interviews and interrogations, this examiner has concluded that to project sincerity, investigators should consciously and deliberately slow down their rate of speech and speak very softly. This ability, while unnatural for many, is complicated by the fact that investigators themselves may become nervous or excited

during the interview. The natural tendency for someone who becomes nervous is to speak faster and louder. Similar to fledgling public speakers who consciously and deliberately try to slow down their rate of speech, interviewers can transform the dynamic of the interview by intentionally manipulating their voices. "Some investigators may find it difficult to master the art of speaking softly at first because they are not used to playing their professional roles as soft-spoken figures...but minimal practice combined with concentration and self-monitoring should promote better interview habits."²¹

The loud volume and abrasive tone of Detectives Barnes and Bailey's voices did nothing to create a mood that encouraged Johnson to cooperate. The detectives failed to consider that through the quality of their voices they placed Johnson on the defensive and, thus, discouraged him from providing the information they sought. Research has shown that the pitch of a person's voice constitutes the best vocal indicator of emotion.²² Approximately 70 percent of individuals studied experienced higher pitch in their voices when they became angry or afraid.²³ Had Detectives Barnes and Bailey monitored the pitch of their voices and spoken slowly, softly, and deliberately, they would have fostered an

Tragic Consequences of Interview Contamination

The results of interview contamination can produce devastating consequences, such as those that occurred in the case of a man falsely convicted of rape in the early 1980s. Investigators conducted an interview of the rape victim, wherein they coached her into selecting the man out of a photo array of individuals.⁴⁵ It constituted a classic example of contamination as the investigators subtly manipulated the victim, leaving her no alternative but to select the man, whose general physical description and vehicle matched those she previously had provided. A series of investigative and prosecutorial errors followed, leading to the man's conviction for rape. For years, he fought to clear his name and have the conviction overturned. Subsequently, the conviction not only was overturned but a jury awarded his estate a \$2.8 million settlement.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, he did not live to see his name cleared; he died a few months before the settlement at the age of 35. It was a tragedy ignited by investigators who contaminated an interview of a distraught victim and led her to believe that they had caught her attacker.

environment that encouraged Johnson to cooperate and to talk.

During the information-gathering phase of the interview, investigators should make every effort to deliver their questions without placing more vocal stress or emphasis on any one word over any other, referred to as phrasing questions in a "leveler mode."²⁴ For example, instead of asking, "Did *you* rape the girl?" or "Did you *rape* the girl?" wherein an emphasis is placed on the subject or on the crime itself, the interviewer merely should ask, "Did you rape the girl?" Although this may represent a valid question designed to assess a suspect's verbal and nonverbal behavior, interviewers who place more vocal stress on one word as opposed to another inadvertently can contaminate the response, thereby

running the risk of misinterpreting the suspect's behavior.

Detective Bailey immediately contaminated Johnson's response by asking, "*You* were with Donna Hudson last night, weren't you?" Johnson may not have had anything to do with the disappearance of Donna Hudson, but his reaction to Detective Bailey's question, delivered in an accusatory manner, prompted the detectives to interpret it as evasive and deceptive behavior. In reality, Johnson may have wanted merely to defend himself and felt the need to verbally retaliate to what he perceived as a threat to his masculinity or pride. This does not suggest that an investigator never should accuse or confront a suspect. Most investigators recognize when to appropriately transition from an interview to

an interrogation and to mark this transition by convincingly accusing the suspect of involvement in or knowledge of a crime.²⁵

FOCUS ON INTERVIEWER'S QUESTIONS

Most investigators define an interview as a conversation with a purpose²⁶ and recognize that a list of questions does not, in and of itself, constitute an interview.²⁷ This does not suggest, however, that investigators should not formulate relevant questions to address specific topics to explore prior to conducting an interview. To the contrary, proper interview preparation must include this aspect as well.²⁸

The skillful and adept handling of questions can encourage

subjects to participate in the interview process. On the other hand, improper questioning techniques can create barriers, stifle the flow of information, and, hence, contaminate efforts to arrive at the truth. Experience has shown, however, that even when investigators have specific questions in mind going into an interview, they tend to pose those questions in a random and haphazard manner, giving little thought to the psychology behind eliciting the subject's cooperation. Although it appears deceptively easy, asking questions in a cohesive manner designed to arrive at the truth is, in itself, a complex skill. In reality, interviewers often ask subjects a barrage of questions with little or no forethought to a deliberate order or purpose. As one investigator has said, "We often fly blind into verbal combat."²⁹ Experienced investigators can identify with the observations that "...we ask too many questions, often meaningless ones. We ask questions that confuse the interviewee, then we interrupt him. We ask questions the interviewee cannot possibly answer. We even ask questions we don't want answers to, and, consequently, we do not hear the answers when forthcoming."³⁰

One approach proven effective with many investigators involves thinking of the questioning process as a funnel, similar to a funnel used to pour a liquid.

In its design, a funnel is broad near the top and gradually narrows until it culminates in a very small opening at the bottom. Using this analogy and employing the categorization of questions as either closed or open-ended,³¹ interviewers should begin the information-gathering phase with broad open-ended inquiries designed to obtain as much information as possible and culminate the process with very direct and specific closed questions.

Open-ended questions minimize the risk of interviewers imposing their views or opinions of what happened on the subject.

The Value of Open-Ended Questions

Open-ended questions minimize the risk of interviewers imposing their views or opinions of what happened on the subject. Beginning with open-ended questions takes advantage of the psychology of active listening as a skill that encourages the use of broad inquiries to gather as much information as possible. An open-ended question, such as

"Tell me what happened?" encourages the subject to provide a broad, amplified response. Other open-ended questions can begin with phrases, such as "Tell me your side of the story...", "Explain to me...", "What happened when...?" and "Describe the person..."

Many recognize that open-ended questions constitute the most effective questions for gathering information.³² For example, crisis negotiators use this technique to help resolve volatile confrontations successfully.³³ Negotiators recognize that open-ended questions, by design, encourage individuals to talk. As long as people keep talking, negotiators can gain insight into their concerns, desires, and motives. Negotiators then can use this insight to attempt to diffuse a crisis. By the same token, investigators also can take advantage of the benefits inherent in open-ended questions by concentrating on them at the beginning of the interview.

The Value of Closed Questions

Closed questions, on the other hand, elicit more narrowly defined responses from the subject, such as a yes, no, or other brief answer. Examples of closed questions include "Who was with you?" "What time was it?" "Where did you go?" and "When did this happen?" Closed questions, which are specific and

Tips for Avoiding Interview Contamination

Focus on Interview Environment

Questions to Consider

Where should the interview take place?
How should the room be configured?
Who should conduct the interview?

Strategies to Use

A location free of distractions.
Without barriers (e.g., desk or plants) between interviewer and subject.
One interviewer builds rapport and engenders trust more easily. Two interviewers should use team approach; one asks questions and the other takes notes.

Focus on Interviewer's Behavior

Questions to Consider

How can interviewers encourage subjects to talk?
How can interviewers encourage subjects to listen?

Strategies to Use

Use an open and relaxed posture, facing the subject; lean forward, make eye contact, nod, and occasionally say "uh huh" and "ok."
Speak slowly, softly, and deliberately; avoid stressing or emphasizing one word over another.

Focus on Interviewer's Questions

Questions to Consider

What is a model for posing questions?
What are the benefits of open-ended questions?
What are the benefits of closed questions?
How can interviewers ensure thoroughness?
What are other cautions during questioning?

Strategies to Use

A funnel, with open-ended followed by closed questions.
Gather complete information, minimize the risk of imposing views on subject, and help assess subject's normal behavior.
Elicit specific details, ensure accuracy, and help detect deviations/changes in subject.
Address the basics of who, what, when, where, how, and why.
Never ask questions that disclose investigative information and lead the subject toward a desired response.

direct, ensure that interviewers elicit details from the subject. Closed questions that prompt a yes or no response are referred to as bipolar questions inasmuch as these represent the only two answers that the subject logically can provide.³⁴ By design, closed questions limit the subject's response. As such, they generally are not the most effective questions for obtaining information. Closed questions, however, can help corroborate information and secure specific details. Often, as investigators prepare to document their interviews by reviewing their notes, they find that they neglected to obtain detailed and specific information. To alleviate this, they should bear in mind the importance of thoroughness, which includes obtaining answers to the basic closed questions of who, what, when, where, why, and how. By doing so, they stand a better chance of having acquired all of the details.

The Balanced Approach to Asking Questions

Over the last 70 years, numerous researchers have studied the benefits of open-ended, or narrative reporting, versus the use of specific, more direct questions, or interrogatory reporting.³⁵ One conclusion from this research revealed that the use of open-ended questions generated more complete information, but potentially less

accurate information, than the use of more direct closed questions. Being aware of this, investigators should take advantage of the benefits inherent in each kind of question—open-ended questions for obtaining complete information and more direct closed questions for ensuring the accuracy of the information.

Using this strategy, Detectives Barnes and Bailey would have had more success by beginning their interview of James Johnson with broad open-ended

“

Interviewers can influence the subject by the words they choose to use.

”

questions, such as “Tell me about your relationship with Donna Hudson.” After establishing that Johnson, in fact, had spent time with the victim the evening before, the detectives could have continued with additional open-ended questions, such as “Tell me everything you did yesterday from the time you left your job until you went to sleep.” As the interview progressed, the detectives gradually could have incorporated more specific and direct questions to

ensure that they obtained all of the details concerning Johnson's relationship with Hudson and the night in question. Other questions could have included “What was Hudson wearing when you last saw her?” “What was her ‘state of mind’?” “What time was it when you last saw her?” “Where were you when you last saw her?” “When did you last see her?” “Is there anyone who can vouch for your activities last night?” “Where did this take place?” and “How did this happen?”

The Danger of Leading Questions

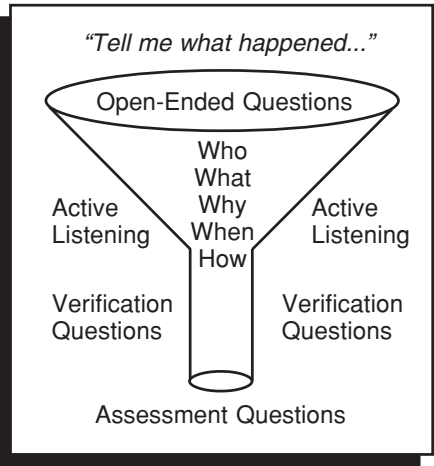
Interviewers can influence the subject by the words they choose to use. The precise questions asked during an interview prove crucial because even slight changes in the wording can cause the subject to provide a different answer. For example, researchers designed an experiment to see whether substituting one word for another would affect a subject's recall of an event.³⁶ Forty-five subjects viewed films of an automobile accident. Then, they were interviewed, with each subject being asked the same questions except for one variation. Some subjects were asked, “About how fast were the cars going when they hit each other?” Other subjects were asked, “About how fast were the cars going when they smashed into each other?” Additional

words used to describe the same action of the two cars coming together included *collided*, *bumped*, and *contacted*. All of the subjects who were asked the question with the word *smashed* estimated the speed of the cars higher than those questioned with the words *collided*, *bumped*, and *hit*, where the speed estimates were progressively lower.³⁷ The experiment illustrated that the wording of a question can influence the answer. “This effect has been observed when a person is reporting his own experiences, describing events he has recently witnessed, or answering a general question, for example, How short was the movie?”³⁸

During the information-gathering phase, interviewers should consider carefully their choice of words, especially descriptive adjectives and action verbs. Investigators should refrain from using words that could lead a person in a specific direction. A leading question indicates to the interviewee the response that the interviewer wants.³⁹ In the automobile accident experiment, the interviewers intentionally contaminated the fact-finding process by using the more volatile word *smashed* as opposed to the more benign words *collided*, *bumped*, and *hit*. Through the use of emotionally laden words, investigators can contaminate an interview by leading

or suggesting to the subject the answer they want.

As an example, investigators searching for a robbery suspect who repeatedly used a chrome-plated .357-magnum revolver interview a female victim who tells them, “He pointed a gun at me.” If the investigators respond, “Was it a chrome-plated .357-magnum revolver?” before she can describe the weapon, then they have contaminated her response by leading her in a very



specific direction. The legal system has recognized the danger of the use of leading questions and even has formulated rules indicating when they are permitted in that context.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, no rules governing investigative interviews exist that prevent investigators from leading the subject in a specified direction. The consequences of such actions can include inaccurate information, which can complicate an

investigation and even taint the subject’s testimony.

The Importance of Assessing Behavior

The objective at the outset of the suspect interview should be to fully identify the subject by using innocuous questions to obtain information, such as the person’s complete name, any aliases, age, residential address, and other pertinent background information. Throughout the interview, the investigator is endeavoring to determine what involvement, if any, this particular suspect had in the commission of the crime under investigation. The suspect interview, designed to ascertain if a person has knowledge of or is involved in the commission of a crime, often is referred to as the behavioral analysis interview⁴¹ or relevant issue questions interview.⁴² The use of open-ended questions at the outset of the interview serves the primary purpose of gathering information and, at the same time, a secondary purpose, especially strategic when interviewing a subject who may have reason to deceive either through concealment or by fabrication. Open-ended questions help investigators determine and assess subjects’ baseline behaviors or “norms.” If subjects do not perceive a question as a threat, they generally respond in a manner

consistent with their normal way of speaking and behaving. Experienced interviewers pay close attention to subjects' verbal and nonverbal behaviors as they respond to a question and continue to assess subjects' behavior, looking for any deviation from their "norms" when they respond to more sensitive questions later in the interview. Skillful questioning of suspects includes not only asking the right questions at the proper time but also monitoring and assessing suspects' behavior during and following their responses to these questions.

Using this approach, Detectives Barnes and Bailey would have proceeded much differently in their interview of James Johnson. After obtaining biographical information, they would have asked Johnson a series of open-ended questions to obtain as much information as possible about his relationship with and knowledge of the disappearance of Donna Hudson. Throughout the process, the detectives would have monitored Johnson's behavior closely as he responded to these questions to establish his behavioral "norms." The detectives then would have asked Johnson more direct questions designed to assess any changes in his behavior, such as "Did you have anything to do with Donna Hudson's disappearance?" "Why do you think

somebody would harm Donna?" "What do you think should happen to the person who harmed Donna?" and "Would you be willing to take a polygraph exam in an effort to get this matter cleared up?"⁴³ Any success that Detectives Barnes and Bailey would have had in determining if Johnson was responsible for Donna Hudson's disappearance

“

Investigators should refrain from using words that could lead a person in a specific direction.

”

would have been in direct relation to the kinds of questions they asked, the timing of those questions, as well as their ability to detect any deviations from his "norms," both during and after they asked the question.⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

Interview contamination can result in devastating consequences not only for law enforcement professionals but for the public they must protect. Impeding or negatively influencing the interview process, whether knowingly or unknowingly,

leads to a breakdown in communication, which greatly hinders the search for truth. But, by examining some basic interview principles, investigators can develop more in-depth strategies to minimize the effects of contamination.

Although every interview is unique, by focusing on three fundamental elements—the interview environment, the interviewer's behavior, and the questions posed by the interviewer—before the interview and by implementing some time-proven guidelines, investigators psychologically will create an environment that encourages the subject to provide more complete and accurate information. This, in turn, will lead to discovering the truth, the investigator's ultimate goal. ♦

Endnotes

¹ The author is indebted to Mr. Avinoam Sapir with the Laboratory for Scientific Interrogation (SCAN) for coining the phrase *interview contamination* in *The L.S.I. Course on SCAN Workbook*.

² In this article, the term *subject* refers to the person being interviewed or the interviewee, whether the person is a victim, witness, or suspect.

³ Katherine Ketcham and Elizabeth Loftus, *The Myth of Repressed Memory: False Memories and Allegations of Sexual Abuse* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁵ Ray Bull and Rebecca Milne, *Investigative Interviewing, Psychology and Practice* (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, LTD, 1999), 1.