



REVIEW OF INTERVIEW TRAINING IN THE MONTENEGRIN POLICE

EXPERT OPINION



Project "Stop Impunity for Torture and Other Forms of Ill-Treatment in Montenegro"
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EXPERT OPINION: REVIEW OF INTERVIEW TRAINING IN THE MONTENEGRIN POLICE

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training in the Montenegrin police**

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directed by Otto Preminger, 1944

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FOREWORD

Although interviews that police officers and state prosecutors conduct with witnesses, victims and suspects are crucial to detecting and punishing perpetrators of crimes and misdemeanours, in Montenegro these operatives are not sufficiently educated and trained for this form of information gathering. Only 7.5% of Police Administration inspectors have attended the tactical communication training organised at the Police Academy in Danilovgrad. This skill, however, is paid great attention in other countries. A new approach to interviewing is increasingly becoming a mandatory part of continuous professional development of even experienced police investigators, as well as their managers.

“Investigative interviewing” is a new and successful technique for interviewing people who can provide important information to the police and prosecution. It is very different from traditional “interrogation” based on domination, which is accompanied by various forms of coercion, contrary to human rights and essentially ineffective. Investigative interviewing, implying strict adherence to the presumption of innocence and prohibition of ill-treatment, proved to be a much more successful way of resolving crimes than interrogation, which led to extorted statements and overturned judgments, while real perpetrators of serious crimes remained undetected.

In its 2019 report, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) highlighted investigative interviewing as good practice in preventing ill-treatment and fighting crime,

praising its application in Norway, based on the model that was first developed by the British police.¹ Following this path, we contacted a well-known British investigative interviewer, Andy Griffiths, career police officer and doctor of psychology, who agreed - as part of the Human Rights Action project - to review the training of Montenegrin police officers in this area and recommend a new, better practice.

In December 2021, Mr. Griffiths gave two lectures on the topic of investigative interviewing to representatives of the Montenegrin Police Administration and the Police Academy. These lectures and the accompanying materials, which constitute a part of this publication, show why employees of the Police Administration and the State Prosecutor's Office of Montenegro should acquaint themselves with this new interviewing technique.

The Director of the Police Administration of Montenegro, Zoran Brdjanin, and the Director of the Police Academy in Danilovgrad, Svetomir Knežević, both agree that initial education and continuous training of police officers in this area are in fact necessary. We expect that the Police Academy will accept Mr. Griffiths' recommendations concerning the modernisation of the content and extension of the number of classes in the subject "Tactical Communication", and that the training of all police inspectors in this area will be organised as soon as possible.

¹ Preventing police torture and other forms of ill-treatment – reflections on good practices and emerging approaches, Extract from the 28th General Report of the CPT, published in 2019, point 76-80.

We thank the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Embassy in Podgorica for their trust in HRA and support for our project “Combating Impunity for Torture and Other Forms of Ill-Treatment in Montenegro”. All the results of the project - which, in addition to this publication, include materials from the training of physicians on documenting injuries caused by ill-treatment, and the report on the study of reports of ill-treatment in Montenegro - can be found on our website www.hraction.org, within publications.

We especially thank Mr. Griffiths, the management and employees of the Police Administration and the Police Academy for their cooperation with the Human Rights Action.

Tea Gorjanc Prelević

Editor and Executive Director of HRA

1. INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of this segment of the project led by Human Rights Action, with a goal to suppress ill-treatment as police practice, is to provide information that will assist the police in Montenegro to develop their capability in the professional discipline known as *investigative interviewing*.² One of the objectives within that overall aim is to “assess the existing training curriculum of the Police Academy in Montenegro and data on the continuing education of the acting criminal inspectors in Montenegro and provide recommendations for appropriate training courses for students of the Police Academy and the acting police inspectors”.

In relation to the objective I have been provided with an English translation of the Tactical Communication (TCM) module of the Police Officer Education Program for the Montenegro Police Academy and copies of OSCE documentation that describe a Tactical Communications Course. The OSCE documentation appears to be the source document for the TCM.³ This is an updated version of this report that has been amended following a conference call with the lead tutor for the Montenegro police academy Police Officer Education Program.

2 Ed. - In the law of Montenegro, the investigative interviewing correlates to police practices prescribed as “conversation” by the Arts. 74-76 of the Internal Affairs Act [Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 070/21, 123/21], and “collection of information from citizens” and “hearing of suspects and witnesses” when the police acts upon orders of the state prosecutor according to the Arts. 259-261 of the Criminal Procedure Code [Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 57/2009, 49/2010, 47/2014, 2/2015, 35/2015, 58/2015 - other law, 28/2018 and 116].

3 These documents were supplied through but not translated by Human Rights Action (HRA). The translation of the Tactical Communication (TCM) module from the Program of the Police Academy of Montenegro for the training of police officers was provided by the HRA.

The following review and recommendations are based largely on the content of TCM, with reference to the OSCE documentation where applicable. I understand that a only small percentage of Inspectors in Police Directorate⁴ have undertaken the TCM as part of their training, while the remainder have not received any training. Furthermore, in the absence of any other information about interview training in Montenegro I have made observations and recommendations based on my experience elsewhere.

2. THE TRAINING DOCUMENT

2.1. DURATION AND DESIGN OF TRAINING

The TCM is listed as 20 hours of classroom instruction with 16 hours of exercises, which equates to a total of 4.5 days of training (8-hour days). The curriculum indicates that this training covers all citizen officer interactions from encounters on the street to formal information gathering interviews as part of criminal investigations and mediation meetings.

The inclusion of both theory and practical elements within the curriculum is in accordance with best practice and research. There have been numerous research projects conducted globally that demonstrate the positive effect of training. Interviewing is a skills-based activity and while theoretical

⁴ According to the data submitted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Montenegro to HRA on 15 June 2021, it is only 7.5% of inspectors who attended this type of training at the Police Academy.

knowledge of the subject matter is important, practice and feedback are the only ways to convert that knowledge into officer behaviour. However, the design of that training is critical. The best training follows an experiential learning model. This is where students are taught new concepts and then given the opportunity to try them out in a realistic, but safe, learning environment and then reflect and receive feedback on their performance from competent trainers.

When looking at the amount of time allocated to the theory, it appears generous until it is compared with the number of training objectives. The 16 individual areas equate to little more than 1 hour's education for each area. Any one of the 16 areas could justify a day's training to teach the relevant theory and equate to undergraduate levels of knowledge in psychology and law. The areas cover, not only, interviewing of victims, witnessed and suspects for criminal investigations but also street encounters and mediation. Any one of these subjects would justify 20 hours of theoretical input for new recruits on their own. Therefore, it is apparent that the **number of hours allocated to the theory element of this training is insufficient** when one considers what the training aims to achieve.

In relation to the practical element of the module, the total allocation of 16 hours – or 2 days within the whole Academy course - **for practical exercises is inadequate** to develop the skills of the officers or build their confidence. Cross referencing the curriculum document with student figures for courses conducted in the Academy indicates that over the last four years (2018 – 2021) there have been four Academy courses for new recruits with between 21 and 34 students on each.

As the figure of 16 hours is a cumulative figure for the class⁵, then this means that either each student has less than 30 minutes each for any exercises, or that not all students participate in the practical exercises. In either case, this is a critical flaw in the training design. In a basic interview course for teaching the skills required to interview just an eyewitness in a criminal investigation I would expect to see a 45-minute practical exercise per officer which would include feedback time. The optimum design for such an exercise would involve the students working in small groups of 6, with an instructor where the students would rotate as interviewer, interviewee and observer taking one day (8 hours) to conduct 6 practicals. The students would take learning from each role they performed and acquire skills as a group.

This issue is exacerbated when considering the training objectives, as referred to above. The objectives are extensive, covering interviews with victims, witnesses, suspects, children, and elderly people. For skills-based training to be effective it must include a practical element that allows the student to practice the skills taught in the theory sessions. Therefore, for the training to be effective, it needs to incorporate practical exercises for each of the areas included. The practical element of the course is insufficient for the students to achieve competence in the areas included. It is difficult to provide an accurate estimate of how long it would take for students to acquire the knowledge and skills required to be competent.

5 If the figure of 16 hours is per student, then this represents an extensive investment of resources, but I would need more information on the course design to assess the effectiveness of the training.

As a comparison, police recruits in the United Kingdom equivalent of the Academy receive five days of interview training. However, that training is in relation to formal interviews with adult victims, witnesses, and suspects in criminal investigations only. The training includes approximately 3 days of theory and 2 days of practical exercises and follow the experiential learning design. The relevant law and theory are taught first in the classroom and then students work within small groups where officers interview each other – observed by colleagues. At the end of each exercise the trainer facilitates plenary feedback where everyone contributes. The theory lessons include relevant law, procedure, and basic psychology of communication. The practical exercises include one witness and one suspect interview practical per officer.

This initial training course for recruits is part of an agreed national structure in which officers receive further modular training according to the role they are required to perform. For example, officers receive a further two weeks training if they become a detective⁶, and an additional week for interviewing child victims of sexual abuse. **A fully trained specialist interviewer working on major crime investigation will have received 6 weeks interview training.**

⁶ It is understood that the role of “detective” does not exist within the Montenegrin police. For the purposes of this report detective can be defined as an individual working full time on pre-trial investigation of serious cases, e.g. physical assault causing serious injury, sexual assault, or major fraud. Rather than being part of team responding to incidents and crimes these officers are allocated investigations and are personally responsible for gathering a file of evidence to present to prosecutors. Their duties include interviewing victims, witnesses, and suspects, manage forensic submissions, engage experts, and compile reports.

2.2. OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND STANDARDS OF KNOWLEDGE

The objectives of the TCM training are extensive. They include theories of communication, principles, and rule relevant to Montenegro as well as interviews with victims, witnesses, and suspects, conflict resolution and mediation training. Each of these areas are specific and individually complex. In addition, within the investigative interviewing discipline, there are separate areas for suspects and perpetrators of crime, victims, the elderly, women, children, people with physical disabilities, and those with mental disabilities. I have cross referenced the material within the curriculum with the OSCE documents which seem to be the source documents, and these are consistent and accurate. The emphasis on the five areas of tactical communication is appropriate for the purposes outlined.

A strength of the objectives is the focus on communication, conversation, and critical thinking. These are vital elements of any effective interview training and underpin any interviewing activity – as well as mediation and conflict resolution. All interviewing is about communication and one of the criticisms of poorly designed interview training is that it is excessively focused on the process, e.g. producing a witness statement as the criminal justice product and not on the communication itself, which is a separate issue.

The Informative goals of the training under the “Concept and importance of communication” are in line with the empirical evidence of successful communication and current practice from developed countries. For example, the separation of communication into two channels – namely verbal

and non-verbal communication is an important part of understanding communication. The goals under “Conversation Method” also accord with research and best practice. In particular, they coincide with Conversation Management, a long-established interview technique at the centre of UK police training for the last 40 years. Similarly, the informative goals under “Tactical process of mediation”, “Stages of the meeting” are non-contentious.

The formative goals under “Conducting an informative interview with the suspect and the perpetrators of the crime”, however, are potentially **problematic**. The lead tutor for the course has explained that these subjects are taught carefully, but it is still worth noting the scientific view on this subject. It is now accepted by social scientists that there are no reliable psychological characteristics that differentiate perpetrators and innocent suspects. Such beliefs, which were widely held at one time, have been discredited by empirical research. In particular, *the belief that guilty suspects displayed certain physical behaviours such as fidgeting, or sweating has been disproved*. This type of belief and its consequences have been extremely damaging to policing and criminal justice. There have been thousands of miscarriages of justice across the world because of police officers forcing confessions from innocent suspects, who they falsely believe to be guilty due to misreading their behaviour. The notion of identifying guilty suspect through their behaviour is linked to the flawed belief that police officers are skilled at detecting liars and deceit. This is another popularly held belief that has been comprehensively debunked by social science. The complexity of human behaviour is such that the average person is not that skilled at detecting deceit and police officers are no better than the average person. In a meta-analysis of detecting de-

ceit studies the average success rate is 55%. This means that people can detect lies about half the time.

One case of note is the 2007 murder of Meredith Kercher, in Perugia, Italy. Kercher was a UK national who was found stabbed to death in a house she shared with other foreign language students included an American woman, Amanda Knox. The police and prosecutor quickly suspected Knox, due to unsubstantiated reports of her promiscuity and her seemingly nonchalant reaction to the murder of her friend, interrogating her through the night until she confessed. Knox's confession was the central pillar of the prosecution case and she was convicted despite evidence suggesting another person committed the crime. It took four years until Knox was exonerated and declared innocent by Italy's most senior judges. The real offender was subsequently identified and convicted.

Therefore, the inclusion of the course objectives "lists the psychological characteristics of suspects and perpetrators of criminal offenses"; and "lists the similarities and differences in behavior and symptomatic picture of innocent suspects and perpetrators of criminal offenses"; "explains the psychological and tactical rules of conduct and conducting of interview with the suspect and the perpetrator of the crime"; and "establishes that in addition to the common characteristics and similarities, each category exhibits the typical characteristics and specifics in behavior and response" within the informative goals suggests **inclusion and an emphasis on outdated and controversial content within the training material**. *Officers using such techniques incorrectly are likely to presume guilt and breach human rights in their subsequent treatment of individuals.*

The same comments apply to the goals relating to victim and witness interviews. In addition, the goal “lists the psychological factors of credibility of witness statements” is also problematic as it suggests the teaching of credibility assessment based on the written content of a statement. This is also largely discredited as a technique. These techniques generally use criteria, such as the quantity of detail, to evaluate the validity of witness statement and therefore the credibility of the witness. However, research has shown that this is not a reliable method of evaluating witness testimony. Firstly, because the dynamics of the memory encoding process affect the level of detail remembered, and secondly because the way in which the witness is interviewed can have a significant effect on the amount of information recalled. The formative goals for dealing with women also raise concerns. *There are gender differences between men and women, but the author is not aware of empirically based research that “lists the characteristics of female criminality” as a category of knowledge that justifies an individual subset of training in relation to interviewing and communication.*

The formative goals in relation to children, the elderly and those with mental or physical vulnerabilities are not controversial. These are all identifiable special groups and there are psychological characteristics that can be applied to them. In addition, the phrasing of these goals does not appear to be focused on guilt or innocence. However, there is no detailed information within the translated documents about the content of the lessons in relation to these subjects. The concern, based on the suspect and witness goals discussed above, is that the reference material used is either inaccurate or outdated.

The informative goals within the education program are obviously linked to the formative goals. Therefore, all comments in relation to the informative goals can be applied to the formative goals. There is no information within the translated documents as to how the student's performance is assessed, and this is a critical part of assessing the value of any training. For example, under "Conducting an informative interview with people with disabilities and with sick people" there is a formative goal of "distinguishes the psychological characteristics of persons with disabilities". This is a complex and specialist task, and it is not possible to see how either a student educated through this program could achieve this goal or how they could demonstrate their competence.

The informative goals for this tactical communication education program are too broad. Although the principles of communication included are applicable to all the areas, the individual differences between the areas – for example between interviewing an adult offender and a child victim are greater.

3. OTHER TRAINING AND PERFORMANCE ISSUES

Initial training is only one element of interview competence and effectiveness. Research and best practice from countries around the world demonstrate that professionalism in this area of policing requires a multi-faceted approach. This report has already outlined the UK's tiered approach to training that matches an officer's training to their role and experience. This is only one aspect of a successful strategy. Other aspects are:

3.1. SUPERVISION AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

Communication and interviewing are complex skills. In the same way that not every officer can be accurate with a firearm, not every officer can be an effective communicator. It is up to supervisors to take an active role in quality assuring interviews conducted by officers, using skilled officers as role models and providing feedback to others.

3.2. CONTINUOUS PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Interviewing is also a fragile skill. While there is ample research demonstrating the positive effect of well-designed training, there is also evidence that skills degrade over time. Therefore, an effective organizational approach to interviewing should include refresher training to ensure officers are informed of new and relevant research and encouraged to reflect on their own practice.

3.3. LEADERSHIP AND CULTURE

Interviewing has been described as the most controversial area of policing due to miscarriages of justice caused by coerced confessions. In countries where this has been exposed it has become clear that successful reform needs leadership as it is often culture that prevents change.

In the US, for example, it has taken several decades for police officers to accept that innocent people can and do confess to crimes that they have not committed. Part of this problem has been the role of Police Chiefs in challenging the decisions of Courts in quashing unsafe convictions and adopting an attitude of denial. Conversely, in the UK it was **police leadership** that initiated a national training program for all officers and led the development of the tiered approach to training.

3.4. TECHNOLOGY

Whereas the recording of interviews was once only possible with expensive and unwieldy equipment, modern technology is now lightweight and unobtrusive. This includes not only fixed recording equipment in police stations but also portable equipment for field interviews and body worn technology for recording street interactions. It also includes recording victim and witness interviews as well as suspect interviews. The recording of interviews provides additional safeguards to the citizen and officer and ensures accuracy of what took place. It also facilitates supervision and quality assurance. There is no reason not to record all interviews conducted by officers and use the recordings not only for cases but also to quality assure the skills of officers.

3.5. LEGAL SAFEGUARDS

The psychology of human behaviour demonstrates that people in positions of power can abuse that position. Police officers do this when interviewing victims, *witnesses*, and suspects. Sometimes this abuse is in the form of bullying and coercive behaviour. Often it is more subtle and consists of confirmation bias that accompanies a fixed view of what has happened in an incident or premature decision as to who has committed a crime. For this *reason*, it is **very important that police officers' behaviour is controlled by an effective set of laws affecting the admissibility of interview evidence and internal discipline regulations that include sanctions for misbehaviour.**

4. CONCLUSION

The Montenegro police are to be commended for the inclusion of an interview training program within their Academy course for new officers, and particularly one which has specific learning objectives and practical exercises. The inclusion of special groups within the curriculum and the recognition of the need to exercise the skills taught in the classroom are evidence of a considered approach that form the basis for effective training. However, the Academy training program as reviewed for this report has two significant flaws. Firstly, several key subject areas appear to include potentially controversial content that is empirically complex. Secondly, and most importantly, the design of the training program does not allow sufficient time to achieve its objectives.

Separately, the fact that the Academy course is the only interview training available to officers is another significant issue that needs to be addressed. The absence of a training program that includes all staff reduces the impact of the Academy course and allows untrained, but time served, officers to operate without the necessary knowledge or skills. Furthermore, organizational culture can lead to these more experienced but less knowledgeable officers discouraging less experienced officers from using the trained techniques, through ignorance. *There is now a large body of evidence which shows that experience is not correlated to skill in this subject, and that training is important for all officers.* The absence of training for serving officers who have not attended the Academy TCM indicates the need for a comprehensive training needs analysis across all operational staff, followed by the provision of appropriate training. There are successful models to learn from which are effective and support both human rights and procedural justice.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS TO MONTENEGRO

1. The content of the TCM should be reviewed to ensure that it is compliant with empirical evidence.
2. The design of the TCM should be reviewed to ensure that the time allowed is sufficient to meet all required objectives - or – the goals of the TCM should be reduced to fit the time available within the overall curriculum.
3. The goals of the TCM should be linked to the practical exercises conducted by the students to ensure that they demonstrate competence in the required areas.
4. The Montenegro police should implement and deliver an initial interview skills training program to all serving officers who have not attended the Academy TCM, and those who have attended the TCM before redesign.
5. The Montenegro police should implement a program of continuous professional development in TCM for all officers and Inspectors.
6. The Montenegro police should design and implement a program of training for supervisors so they can support officers and quality assure interviews conducted as part of investigations.
7. The Montenegro police should review their use of technology to record interviews to ensure that it supports professional practice and training.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM BEST PRACTICE IN INTERVIEW TRAINING IN THE POLICE

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERVIEW TRAINING TO POLICE LEGITIMACY

Different countries have individual policing and criminal justice systems where the police role varies. In particular, the United Kingdom and commonwealth countries have systems where the police have greater autonomy and present completed cases to prosecutors. The US, in contrast, has a system where prosecutors are part of the evidence gathering process, which is similar to Montenegro. Whatever the differences between the systems and processes in different countries, officials within the system need to have the requisite professional skills.

One of the core roles for police officers and prosecutors in every country is to gather information and evidence by interviewing. As a result, the way in which police officers conduct victim, witness and suspect interviews has been widely scrutinised by legal and academic research over last forty years. This research is broadly divided into research into (a) false confessions instigated by coercive interrogation, (b) incorrect suspect identification by eyewitnesses and (c) other unreliable witness evidence, (d) children's evidence as victims of sexual abuse and (e) vulnerability and disability as factors in interviewing.

There is now broad agreement from the extant literature that interviewing is a complex activity. It places high cognitive load on the interviewer, interplays with inherent memory fallibility and is subject to human bias. As a result it is accepted that interviewing skills are not acquired naturally through membership of the police or assimilated from working with experienced colleagues. Developing interview skills requires commitment from the individual and systematic support from their organisation in training, leadership and support.

This finding is very significant because interviewing is such an important part of citizen-police contact and an indication of police legitimacy where it is carried out fairly, objectively and with due regard for human rights. Citizens are interviewed by the police when they have been subject of a crime, as a victim, observed a crime, as a witness, or are believed to have committed a crime, as a suspect. In any of these situations the conduct of the police officer and the perception of their behaviour is significant in (a) collecting relevant information and (b) demonstrating a just society.

This document draws together guiding principles for interview training and a summary of best practice and necessary knowledge which can be applied across all organisational structure types and where police officers have diverse roles within a system.

2. GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF INTERVIEW TRAINING

1. Interview training programs should comprise both initial training and refresher or continuous professional development training for all officers who interview as part of their role. Skills acquired on initial training courses fades over time, and officers need periodic re-training. Officers who joined before current training was devised should be included in a retrospective program.
2. Course design should include a mixture of theory and practice, with opportunities for all officers to carry out scenario-based role play interviews relevant to their role. Even short practice-based courses improve skill levels.
3. Training should be supported by supervision at a tactical level and leadership at a strategic level. It is important that supervisors and senior officers demonstrate their support and commitment to interviewing by providing feedback to officers, facilitating attendance at training, and evaluating effective interviewing.

2.1. INITIAL AND REFRESHER TRAINING

The first interview course for British police officers was the five-day PEACE course and covered interviewing both witnesses and suspects. An initial post implementation review of this course provided favorable results. Officers transferred the skills taught into the workplace and appeared to retain the skills for 6 months after training. However, closer scrutiny of that evaluation shows that officers studied were new recruits investigating minor offences. A later evaluation of a larger number of officers with varied service demonstrated mixed results and led to a realization that training needed to be more closely aligned to the roles that an officer performed and their experience. This led to the development of the tiered approach where officers receive initial training which covers general police duties and then customized training for different roles and work types (e.g., counterterrorism).

The issue of skills fade is now appearing more consistently in studies. This issue is consistent with general skills transference literature where it is normal to see low skills transference from training courses to real life. There are numerous reasons for this. However, without continuous professional development officers' skill levels will deteriorate over time. Therefore, police organizations need to invest resources into ongoing training for established officers as well as recruit training. How this is accomplished is dependent on the individual organization with factors of geography, resources, and organizational structure all relevant. Some forces have attempted to implement a formal reaccreditation process like driving and shooting qualifications. In reality, this system is prone to fail as the direct correlation between fail-

ure to attend training and the health and safety issues of an unlicensed firearms user or driver is less obvious.

In addition to formal training events skills management can be carried out through effective supervision and “soft” training where supervisors provide regular feedback as part of staff appraisals or meetings.

2.2. COURSE DESIGN

The duration and design of any interview training is critical in both its effectiveness and the message it sends. Training should be allocated sufficient space and priority within a curriculum to allow teaching of the relevant theory and practice of the required competencies. These should be relevant to the officers’ needs, work environment and experience.

As an example, the UK system has a recruit training program that lasts about 12 weeks. This is a full-time program that is timetabled differently from force to force but addresses the same nationally agreed curriculum. This training includes 40 hours basic interview training relating to victims, witnesses, and suspects. In this module officers receive training about the relevant law and the basic principles of interviewing victims, witnesses, and suspects. Most of the module is theory with some short practical exercises for every officer based on the situations they will encounter as a new officer. Once the officers start street duties, they will combine further study with work-based placements and assessments – some of which relate to interviewing – before becoming fully accredited as an officer.

They will receive further interview training alongside their duties, as their careers progress. As part of detective training, they will receive two further weeks interview training (80 hours). This training will be equally split equally between witness and suspect disciplines and the *majority* will be practical exercise based. This training will be focused on dealing with the more serious crime they will manage as a detective. After that, they will receive additional training in interviewing vulnerable people (40 hours).

As detectives, they can apply for specialist interview training to interview significant victims and witnesses (120 hours), major crime suspects (120 hours), counter-terrorism witnesses (40 hours) counter-terrorism suspects (40 hours), and interview advising (where they will learn how to co-ordinate teams of interviewers on major cases -80 hours). Other countries have similar systems – although there is a variation in Academy training where some countries have a longer initial recruits' course.

2.3. SUPERVISION AND LEADERSHIP

Law enforcement organizations are important part of the criminal justice system, no matter how they operate within a nation's specific criminal justice system. They are hierarchical and operate under a rank structure. Therefore, leadership and supervision are an integral part of their operation. Whatever the formal system leaders and supervisors demonstrate the things that matter most by the way in which they prioritize activities. Furthermore, where prosecutors direct police activity, as in Montenegro, they must be consistent in the actions they request and behaviour they value.

All supervisors, managers, senior officers, and lawyers must demonstrate leadership by demonstrating a working knowledge of interviewing skills, challenging unethical or unprofessional poor behaviour where they see, and supporting training. Studies have shown higher performance where supervision are engaged and knowledgeable. However, as stated above, interview skill is not naturally acquired and therefore supervisors are not qualified to provide feedback to officers just because of their rank or position. Therefore, interview training programs should include first level supervisors. In addition, all supervisors should receive training in how to identify effective interviewing and provide evidence feedback.

At a strategic level senior officers should endorse interview training, allocate sufficient resources to set up and sustain interview training programs and support officers in those programs. In addition, they should include effective interviewing in policing plans and public statements wherever appropriate.

3. BEST PRACTICE AND KNOWLEDGE

The research on interview skills has built progressively over the last forty years. It started by developing a catalogue of unacceptable practices, e.g., lying to interviewees about evidence, and has now built a collection of effective practices that should be the mainstay of any training. A professional approach to interview training needs to include skills and knowledge drawn from empirical research. The skills are:

- Planning and preparation – research studies have repeatedly found that interviewers who are well prepared conduct better interviews than those who are not. Preparing to interview consists of two main aspects; the logistical and physical preparation of the interview room and material, and the mental preparation of formulating a plan to cover the relevant investigative material. Planning demonstrates professionalism and consideration for the interviewee, a core element of empathy.
- Evidence management – interviews are part of investigations. Interviewers need to understand how the interview they are conducting contributes to the investigation it relates to.
- Rapport building – rapport is the development of a working relationship with an interviewee that allows the interviewer to obtain the maximum information from the interview. Studies have shown the police officers are not

naturally skilled in this area, lacking empathy, and failing to explain the process of interview in a manner that builds a relationship.

- Verbal and non-verbal Communication Skills - questioning, explanation, listening, and being assertive when needed are all complex communication behaviours. They are challenging for many professions and police officers are required to have difficult conversations with interviewees where they are managing charged emotions. Good communication skills are vital in conducting skilled interviews, more so where the interviewee is vulnerable or has an intellectual disability.
- Reflection and evaluation – interviewing requires an officer to understand and assess their own behavior, in order that they can adapt to different situations, understand how to improve, and manage complex situations. People with low skill levels frequently overestimate their own competence, fail to recognize their own development needs, and fail to develop their skills. Interviewing is a complex activity so an ability to recognize and work within one's own limitations is important.

The underpinning knowledge:

- Legal – interviews are all conducted as part of the legal process of investigation. Interviewers must gather evidence in support of these investigations. Therefore, they must possess good knowledge of statutes, case law and defences in order that they can cover these points in interviews they conduct.

- Memory – every interview is an attempt to retrieve memory. However, memory is complex and fallible. Interviewers need a working knowledge of the way that memory works to avoid bad practice that weakens the reliability of testimonial evidence.
- Vulnerability – society comprises individuals of many different types. Adults with no intellectual or physical disability are often referred to as the “general population”. However, officers will also encounter other groups. Some, such as children or the physically impaired are easily identifiable. Others, such as adults with intellectual disability or autism are not visibly different and so interviewers need education to raise awareness of other groups and to learn handling strategies.
- Communication skills – as well as communication as a skill, officers need knowledge of communication. Not only how it operates from their own perspective but also knowledge of how it works for other groups in society.

The exact design of any organizational approach to this vitally important area of policing is dependent on a range of factors. These are linked to the organization’s size, resources, and role. However, this document has summarized the recommended elements that need to be included in any policy or plan.

Note on the author

Dr Andy Griffiths is recognised as international subject matter expert on investigative interviewing through unique combination of extensive career as an operational investigator, academic qualifications and international experience.

He completed a thirty-year UK police career with “exemplary” service. He has a wide operational experience as an investigator having served as a detective at all ranks across intelligence, major crime, covert operations, and strategic crime management, leading homicide and other serious crime investigations. He served as head of major crime, intelligence, and serious and organised crime, and was vetted to highest security level. He is consulted as subject matter expert in the UK, on EU funded missions and international miscarriage cases.

He also has extensive involvement in training design, delivery and policy implementation, including development and delivery of specialist interview training, and has made a significant contribution to development of strategic interview policy both in the UK and abroad, including representing British policing in the USA, France, Canada and South Korea. He was awarded with Bramshill Police College fellowship to complete a doctorate alongside police career, evaluating specialist interview training, has published numerous papers and book chapters, is co-author of the leading practitioner book on investigative interviewing, and is co-editor of recent volume on criminal investigation. He was selected as Visiting Professor to John Jay College, New York, where he taught Masters in comparative criminology, as well as Affiliated Scholar, New York University Asia Law Institute, Visiting Research Fellow, University of Portsmouth, and Associate Tutor College of Policing. In 2010 he was awarded with “Senior Practitioner” award - International Investigative Interview Research Group (IIIRG) for career span contribution to investigative interviewing.