

PROTOCOLS AND TRAINING STANDARDS:
Investigating Allegations of Child Sexual Abuse

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with
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WASHINGTON STATE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY

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The Washington Legislature created the Washington State Institute for Public Policy in 1983. A Board of Directors—representing both parties and both houses of the legislature, the governor, and public universities—governs the Institute, hires the director, and guides the development of all activities.

The Institute's mission is to carry out practical research, at legislative direction, on issues of importance to Washington State. The Institute conducts research activities using its own policy analysts, academic specialists from universities, and consultants. New activities grow out of requests from the Washington Legislature and executive branch agencies, often directed through legislation. Institute staff work closely with legislators, as well as legislative, executive, and state agency staff to define and conduct research on appropriate state public policy topics.

Current assignments include a wide range of projects in criminal justice, youth violence, social services, K-12 education, and state government organization.

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Executive Summary

A 1996 budget proviso to the Washington State Institute for Public Policy allocated \$35,000 to "collect data and information from jurisdictions within the state of Washington and outside the state of Washington, including other nations, that have experience with developing protocols and training standards for investigating child sexual abuse."

After a competitive bid process, the Institute selected the project team of Lucy Berliner, Research Director of Harborview Medical Center's Center for Sexual Assault and Traumatic Stress, and Patricia Toth, former Director of the National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse.

This project incorporated a review of the scientific literature, model protocols and standards from other states and jurisdictions, and legislation in other states. In addition, a panel of state experts visited four counties in the state to observe their practices.

Interview Guidelines

- Interviewing children about possible abuse experiences or criminal victimization is an important task and the stakes are high. Interview approaches that increase the probability of eliciting complete and accurate information have been developed and tested by researchers.
- Experts recommend establishing ground rules for interviews and emphasize using open-ended questions and prompts and proceeding to more specific questions only when necessary.

Investigation Skills and Training

- Child sexual abuse cases are complex and resolved most efficiently and effectively by well-trained investigators. The key to good investigations is a concentrated effort to find accurate information.
- Ongoing training in forensic interviewing is essential to a quality system, and needs to be available to every investigator. Training needs to include: didactic information regarding memory and suggestibility; interviewing techniques; and opportunities for practice and feedback.
- The state could assist local jurisdictions by encouraging advanced training and multidisciplinary cooperation in investigations. An incentive approach, used in Oregon, is one model. The federal Children's Justice Act offers one source for training funds.

Protocols for Coordinated Responses

- Communities in the state have selected several approaches to the investigation of suspected child sexual abuse cases. A single protocol is not recommended as preferable. The key ingredient is establishment of good working relationships among the professionals in law enforcement, Child Protective Services (CPS), and the prosecutor's office.

Videotaping Investigative Interviews

- Compelling arguments regarding videotaping of investigative interviews of suspected child sexual abuse victims are found on both sides of the issue. Videotaping is mandated in a few states and common practice in many jurisdictions and other countries.
- A research proposal is suggested to investigate the outcomes of a pilot project using videotaping in Washington State.

INTRODUCTION

Background

A 1996 budget proviso to the Washington State Institute for Public Policy allocated \$35,000 to "collect data and information from jurisdictions within the state of Washington and outside the state of Washington, including other nations, that have experience with developing protocols and training standards for investigating child sexual abuse."

The Institute issued a Request for Proposals for assistance with the project. The successful bidder was a team including Lucy Berliner, with the Harborview Center for Sexual Assault and Traumatic Stress, and Patricia Toth, a lawyer who was formerly the Director of the National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse. This team worked with Institute staff on the project.

Research Steps

The project involved the following sets of activities:

- State prosecutors were contacted by letter to determine which jurisdictions have protocols for multidisciplinary investigation of child sexual abuse and to request written documents.
- National organizations were contacted to obtain the names of jurisdictions across the country with model protocols and standards. Copies of these protocols and standards were gathered in addition to research related to their use.
- Inquiries about standards and protocols in other countries were made through international organizations and individuals who have conducted training in other countries. The international research literature was reviewed.
- An advisory panel of experts was formed to solicit views on best practices. This panel included:

John H. Hill, Director, Pierce County Department of Assigned Counsel

Ken Lanning, Special Agent, the Federal Bureau of Investigation

John Myers, law professor, McGeorge Law School

Karen Saywitz, Ph.D., Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Harbor UCLA Medical Center

Lt. Bill Walsh, Dallas Police Department, Crimes Against Children Unit

- An interdisciplinary team of Washington State experts visited four counties in Washington to review their procedures and protocols. The counties were: Clark, Kitsap, Spokane, and Yakima. Survey questionnaires on investigations, protocols, and training were distributed to professionals at each site. The team also reviewed the protocols in some smaller counties.

The interdisciplinary team was composed of the following individuals:

Charles Silverman
Deputy Prosecutor
San Juan County Prosecutor's Office

Molly McBride
Detective
Bellevue Police Department

Toni Sebastian
Intake Supervisor, Seattle
Division of Children and Family Services

Barb Huffman
LifeNet
Everett

Barbara Casey
Government Relations Director
Washington State Parent Teacher Association

- Finally, a draft report was issued in December 1996. Preliminary findings were presented at a December 1996 meeting with representatives from interested organizations.

Section One

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE INVESTIGATIONS

By Lucy Berliner

This section summarizes research on remembering and reporting events and the investigative interviewing of children.

REMEMBERING AND REPORTING EVENTS

Investigations of possible child abuse and crimes where children may be witnesses or victims depend in large part on obtaining accurate and complete information from the children. Victimized children must remember whether the abuse or the crime occurred and be willing to report it. Many sources of influence may cause memory errors or inhibit reporting. Just as important, children who have not been abused must be protected from influences that can lead to false beliefs or false reports.

Understanding how memory works, the circumstances under which it is fallible, and the emotional, developmental, and social forces that factor into whether children will tell what they know is an important ingredient of conducting a competent investigation.

Memory

Memory is a complex set of biological and cognitive processes that influence many aspects of human functioning. Making use of information acquired in the past governs what people do, know, believe and how they interpret their experiences. There are different memory systems for different kinds of memory. *Implicit memory* refers to automatic or unconscious forms of recall. For example, procedural memory allows the acquisition and performance of skills without requiring a specific remembering process on each occasion the acts are performed. The *explicit memory* system is concerned with recollecting information and experiences. Semantic memory pertains to factual and conceptual knowledge. Episodic memory relates to remembering events that have been personally experienced and making sense out of them.

Autobiographical memory is the type of episodic memory that involves personal and significant events. One of the most important tenets of autobiographical memory is that it is reconstructive. This means that it is not like a videotape where everything that happened is recorded and can be replayed later on. The experience of remembering is a construction of aspects of what happened, how it is understood in the context of what a person knows and has experienced, and the circumstances under which remembering takes place. Many different variables contribute to what is experienced as a memory. Memories can be wrong in part or altogether, even when they are vivid and the rememberer is confident about them. And memories can be quite accurate even when they are hazy, fragmented, or incomplete.

Remembering basically relies on three processes. First, information must be *encoded*. Some information is only encoded briefly. These short-term memories enter the working memory that holds the information for short time periods. Second, memories must be *stored*. Information that is not maintained in long-term memory cannot be recalled later. Third, memories must be *retrieved*. A process goes on in the brain where stored information is located and brought into awareness. Different components of a memory, for example the sensory or visual aspects, may be stored in different parts of the brain. The *linking together* of these various fragments becomes what a person experiences as a memory.

The context and cues that lead to remembering can greatly influence what is remembered and how accurate the memory is. Situations, places, people, sounds, smells, and tastes can trigger a

memory. For example, people are more likely to recall certain types of events when they are in the same emotional state during remembering as they were during the actual event or if they are in the same location where the event occurred.

There are many possible sources of influence on the accuracy and completeness of memory. One important factor is called *themisinformation effect*. If misleading or incorrect information is conveyed about an event that has been witnessed or experienced, some people will incorporate the misinformation as part of the memory. This may occur as a result of a failure to identify or monitor the source of the information. Recent research has revealed that under certain conditions some people will remember an entire event that did not occur because they are told by an influential interviewer that it did, and it seems plausible that it might have happened.

Emotional memories or memories for traumatic events do not entirely escape the susceptibility to distortion that can occur for ordinary or neutral events. But there is substantial evidence that the *central aspects of emotionally arousing events* tend to be remembered well and over long periods of time. The state of physiologic arousal and heightened emotional involvement may lead to memories that are better retained. The normal process of forgetting is slowed. The meaning and interpretation of these events may change over time, but the memory that the event occurred is especially strong.

A reading of the vast memory literature results in the conclusion that memory is both *detailed, accurate, and persistent* and at the same time *fragile and sometimes wrong*. There are important forensic applications of this body of research, since the investigation of crimes depends in large part on the memory of witnesses and victims. Laboratory or field studies that focus primarily on demonstrations that memory can be distorted should not become determinative or be used to discredit the memories of victims and witnesses. In many cases what is recalled is remarkably accurate, and certainly the gist of meaningful and emotional experiences is well remembered by most people.

Children's Memory

The capacity to recall and relate personally-experienced events is not acquired until a certain age. The early absence of autobiographical memory is called *infantile amnesia*. It is believed that the brain and the cognitive abilities that are necessary to perform this function are not yet sufficiently developed. The youngest age at which children can recall and relate personal experiences is somewhere between two and three years old. These memories are often fragmented and incomplete, but they are present. There is no scientific evidence that events experienced below this age can be recalled as an autobiographical memory. This does not mean that other forms of memory are not functional for younger children. They do remember how to perform skills, recognize people, and learn words and facts.

Children have good memories. Even children as young as two and three years old can accurately recall information about personally experienced events over extended periods of time. However, there are important developmental differences from adults, and these differences are most pronounced in preschoolers. By adolescence, memory abilities and the quality of narratives are essentially indistinguishable from that of adults. Young children tend to remember less, remember in the form of generalized representations or scripts, and recall different aspects of experiences on different occasions. Their memory retrieval strategies are not as developed and they have not yet acquired the knowledge and experiences that provide the framework for coherent narratives. This

results in a developmental progression in the quality and characteristics of accounts of events. Younger children's reports tend to be skeletal, idiosyncratic, and lacking in detail; as children grow older their accounts become more complex, detailed, and embedded in a more logical and abstract world view.

One of the most important differences between younger children and older children is that, although what younger children report in response to open-ended questions is as likely to be accurate, it is less complete. While younger children remember a great deal, they require far more external assistance to retrieve information. Young children rarely provide more information than what is directly requested. They rely on questions to trigger and organize recall and need prompts and cues to a greater extent than older children and adults. In order to obtain sufficient information to learn whether a crime was committed and what exactly happened to a child, especially a young child, it will invariably be necessary to ask questions and prompt memory.

Children's Memory for Stressful or Traumatic Events

The literature on children's memory for traumatic events is sparse. Because it is usually impossible to know exactly what happened in real life situations, reports about the event cannot be compared with an objective record. In addition, research on memory and traumatic events has generally been concerned with understanding the psychological impact of memory-related symptoms such as intrusive thoughts, nightmares, flashbacks, and traumatic amnesia. The few studies that have specifically investigated memory find that memory for the event itself is good, although aspects of the event may be incorrect or change over time. Children appear able to recall documented traumas experienced as young as two years old. These memories are fragmented and brief, but basically accurate. Studies of traumatized children find that they may be mistaken on certain details including time and sequencing of activities, and very occasionally be completely inaccurate about central aspects of events, such as the assailants. The memories of children exposed to extreme, violent events may be altered over time as a psychological coping mechanism. For example, children may later recall themselves as closer or farther away from the event, depending on the nature of initial exposure.

Another means of evaluating memory for traumatic events is through analogue studies designed to evaluate the impact of stress on memory. For example, children given inoculations are tested for memory of the event, the people, and the surroundings at subsequent points. Studies of an invasive genital medical procedure come closest to replicating real life trauma and reveal that children have good memories for what happens and that children whose parents discuss and explain the procedure are less susceptible to suggestion.

These results suggest that memory for aversive or traumatic events is generally strong for the fact of the experience and the central elements of the event. However, the stressfulness of the event or of the questioning environment may impair completeness of memory initially and after long delays. The impact on memory when an event is secret, forbidden, and not talked about has not yet been established.

Many adults report a period of not remembering some or all of traumatic childhood events that they now recall. There are at least two studies of adults with documented childhood abuse experiences where a significant minority appear to have no recall for the abuse. Current scientific debates have not resolved the question of whether forgetting and later recalling these events is

the result of a special memory mechanism for traumatic events or can be explained by ordinary processes of forgetting and remembering.

Children's Suggestibility

Suggestibility refers to the susceptibility of memory to distortion or error. Children are not distinct from adults in the sense that adults are also suggestible. A concise summary of the research findings is that young children, as a group, are more suggestible, older children are sometimes more suggestible, and by early adolescence there are no group differences between children and adults in suggestibility. These results do not mean that all young children are unable to resist the influence of misleading questions or improper questioning environments. In most laboratory studies, a majority of even young children successfully resist intentional efforts to mislead them, especially about the central aspects of personally experienced and emotionally relevant events. Errors about peripheral or irrelevant details are common among both children and adults.

In recent years, there has been an explosion of studies regarding children's suggestibility that are specifically designed to have application to child witnesses. *Analogue events* are used since it is not ethical to abuse children to study memory, and it is not possible to know exactly what happened in most actual abuse or victimization situations. The studies usually involve exposing children to or engaging children in an event and questioning them afterwards. The events are videotaped so that the researcher can compare the children's responses to an objective record. Questioning can be immediate, repeated, and/or delayed; ordinarily there will be efforts to both secure accurate recall and to be misleading. Various scenarios and attempts to produce errors are devised to clarify the circumstances under which memory is most vulnerable. Researchers have become increasingly inventive in creating or taking advantage of situations that will include the types of events or activities that might lead to misinterpretation or memory error and that might be relevant to abuse investigations. Most of these studies have focused on pre-school children.

The types of situations that have been used include having *research confederates* come to a classroom or waiting area and engage in an activity that children witness or having children participate with a researcher in games or activities. Several studies have used medical evaluations or procedures to produce situations where children are touched on their bodies or experience potentially stressful or embarrassing events such as inoculations or genital exams. One series of studies carried out by researchers in different laboratories involves a genitally invasive catheterization that is usually painful and often requires physical restraint. This striving for ecological validity is intended to make the results more generalizable to the real world.

The type of questions asked, the questioning environment, and the use of props and cues affect suggestibility. Leading questions are associated with increased acquiescence. When the information contained in the questions is correct, the responses tend to be as well; when the questions are misleading, errors can occur. Children are more easily misled about peripheral information than central aspects of events or when they are bystanders instead of participants. They are more resistant to efforts to mislead them with abuse-type questions (*Did the man kiss you?*), than other types of questions. The use of props to aid in recall, including anatomical dolls, can be helpful in some cases for children over five, but may increase suggestibility, be distracting, or be confusing for younger children.

Factors have been identified that are associated with heightened vulnerability which may be particularly relevant to forensic contexts. When memory for an event is weak, it is more susceptible

to influence, and since memory fades with time, the length of time since the event and the test of memory is important. Children are more suggestible when they perceive interviewers as authoritarian, unfriendly, or intimidating or when interviewers repeat the same questions or use leading and suggestive questions. Children repeatedly exposed to erroneous negative stereotypes about individuals are more likely to agree that the person engaged in a bad act.

It has been demonstrated that under some circumstances, young children remember aspects of an event or even, in some cases, an entire event that never occurred. Introducing incorrect information about an event during questioning or asking children to repeatedly imagine or think about a non-event can lead to confusion about the source of the memory. Young children may not be skilled at source monitoring and be unable to distinguish whether they heard about or imagined the event or whether it really happened.

Reporting Stressful or Traumatic Events

Memory for events is not the only relevant factor in accurate and complete reporting of abuse or crimes. There is substantial evidence that children are reluctant to report sexual abuse experiences. Studies of adults in the general population who report childhood abuse reveal that only a minority tell anyone at the time and in even fewer cases is the abuse reported to authorities. Among children whose cases become known, less than half the time is it because of spontaneous reports from children. Most often children reveal victimization because they are questioned when adults become concerned about behavioral reactions or statements. On the other hand, once children are being interviewed for investigative purposes, most will disclose abuse during the first interview.

Some children who have almost certainly been sexually abused will deny it even when questioned by trained interviewers. Studies involving children where there was corroborating evidence or the children had a sexually transmitted disease find that a significant percentage deny abuse or refuse to acknowledge sexual contact. Lack of parental support is associated with denial. Children's well-documented fears about reporting are thought to account for this failure to reveal abuse, even when given a direct opportunity to do so.

Analogue studies have also demonstrated children's reluctance to report embarrassing or aversive events. For example, a majority of young children in a study involving physical examinations that did or did not include a genital exam, failed to report the genital touching in response to open-ended questioning. In a study where children were asked about two actual events, one positive and one negative, and two manufactured events, they were much less likely to acknowledge the negative true event on initial questioning, and provided the fewest details over time about it when subjected to multiple risky interviewing practices. A substantial minority of children interviewed later about whether they had an invasive medical procedure denied any recollection of the experience. Studies testing the impact of adult misconduct on reporting usually expose children to a staged event, such as a theft or property destruction. A significant percentage of children do not report the acts when questioned afterwards.

Enhancing Recall and Minimizing Error

Analogue and field studies have tested various strategies to help children give more complete and accurate reports and resist suggestive questions. Children do not necessarily know the *rules for*

conversation with adults in which the objective is to secure a spontaneously delivered, uninterrupted, truthful account of an event. Ordinarily when adults ask children questions it is not with open-ended, general prompts, so they have little practice providing elaborated, free narratives. They may not realize the seriousness of purpose or the importance of telling only the truth. They may assume that adults already know the answers and acquiesce in deference when it appears that interviewers are soliciting particular answers. Children are reluctant to acknowledge lack of comprehension.

Pre-interview instruction and training has shown some success. Children are taught to admit not understanding, ask for clarification, and say they do not know the answer. Although there is some risk that children will claim to not know when they really do, children can acquire these skills. The effect is greater when children have an opportunity to practice the skills. Post-interview instruction to countermand biased information also produces more correct information.

Certain questioning styles and stances increase accuracy and resistance to misleading questions. Children make significantly fewer errors when questions are linguistically simple and do not contain legal or other jargon. Children interviewed in a warm, supportive manner are more accurate and resistant to misleading questioning than children interviewed in an intimidating fashion, as are children interviewed by their mothers as opposed to strangers. When questioners have a preconceived idea about what happened, they appear to inadvertently elicit or reinforce information that is consistent with their beliefs.

Several *questioning techniques* have been devised to increase the amount of spontaneous information reported about an event. In a field test with actual child abuse interviews, children were given the opportunity during the rapport-building phase to practice providing information about neutral topics in response to open-ended prompts. Children who had this practice gave twice as much information during open-ended questioning in the substantive portion of the interview compared to children who were asked many specific questions.

A strategy for dealing with *potential source monitoring errors* has been successfully demonstrated with children. Since children sometimes incorporate information from conversations or interviews into their accounts, they can be given an instruction to think carefully about how they know what they are remembering and sort out what they might have been told from what they actually recall from the event. A majority of children, except those under five years old, are able to correct previous mistakes that have been induced by misleading questioning.

Two approaches have been designed to increase completeness and reduce error in interviews about an event that has occurred. The *Cognitive Interview* includes pre-interview instructions, having children mentally reinstate the context of the event, and telling the story from the beginning to the end and then from the end back to the beginning and in some cases using mnemonic remembering strategies. Children provide more correct information using this method. *Narrative Elaboration* involves explaining the value of new ways to remember better, giving instructions to be complete and accurate, teaching a category system of remembering, and providing pictures to remind the children of the main categories of information. They are then given an opportunity to practice and get feedback before being questioned about the specific event. Children improve significantly without compromising accuracy, but the improvement is only noted when they are taught the organizational strategies and get feedback.

Summary

Memory is reconstructive, and autobiographical events recalled by both children and adults will ordinarily not be completely faithful replications of what happened. But children's memory for routine and traumatic events, even for events occurring from as young as two and three years old, can be remarkably accurate. Younger children recall less information on their own, but what they do recall is equally accurate. As children acquire more knowledge, cognitive skills, and memory retrieval strategies they become increasingly adept at remembering more information in a coherent fashion with less assistance. Freely recalled accounts are most accurate; opportunities for influence arise with questioning.

Questioning is virtually always necessary to gain complete information, but not all types of questions are equally risky. Factors particularly associated with increased suggestibility include repeated and suggestive questioning,; questioning after long delays, and questioning by authority figures seeking to obtain a desired answer. Pre-school children as a group are more vulnerable than older children and adults, but they can resist suggestion much of the time, especially for central aspects of experiences. Children's accounts can be quite accurate, contain errors as a result of external information or questioning, or be completely manufactured. Children may not tell the truth about embarrassing or traumatic events even when properly questioned. Striking the proper balance between avoiding questioning that has the potential to induce memory errors or acquiescence to incorrect information and using questions that will help frightened or embarrassed children report victimization depends on the circumstances. For young children and in situations where there is substantial reason to be concerned about the possibility of children at risk for abuse, it will often be necessary and proper to allow latitude in questioning approaches.

INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEWING OF CHILDREN

There is general agreement among researchers and practitioners on the principles that should be applied to investigative interviews with children who may be victims of crime. As Warren and McGough (1996) succinctly put it "interviewers wishing to elicit accurate reports, especially from young children, should encourage children to spontaneously and freely report information by establishing rapport, allowing sufficient time for response, and refraining from interruptions or premature use of specific questions." The underlying premise is that *reports about events are most likely to be accurate when they are generated by the interviewee* and that every effort should be made by interviewers to create *a questioning environment that enhances free recall and minimizes interviewer influence*

However, children who have actually been abused and younger children may not provide complete and accurate information under conditions designed for avoiding the potential to distort memory. A substantial percentage of children who have been victimized do not spontaneously report their experiences. There are studies documenting the reluctance or refusal of abused children¹ to disclose abuse even when questioned by properly-trained interviewers. Analogue studies have also found that children do not always tell the truth or the whole truth about embarrassing or negative events and wrongdoing by adults. *Social and emotional forces* play as important a role as the properties of memory in eliciting accurate accounts of victimization experiences.

The level of children's *developmental stage* influences the manner of questioning that is necessary and type of information that can be obtained. Young children do not have well-developed memory retrieval strategies and ordinarily require more specific questions to produce descriptions of events, even though they may recall them well. Children's cognitive and language capacities improve with age, and as a result, their ability to provide certain kinds of information that is routinely of interest in a criminal investigation. Adjustments of language, content, and questioning approaches are often necessary with younger children for a successful and competent interview.

The large body of clinical and scientific literature on interviewing practices identifies three important goals:

- protecting against *improper influences* on memory or accurate reporting;
- making sure that frightened or embarrassed children receive the *necessary assistance* to report crimes; and
- accommodating the *developmental differences* of children.

Differences can be found among commentators in their relative emphasis on strict adherence to interview protocols, as opposed to flexible application of general principles. *Researchers*, primarily working in an academic environment and interested in the study of memory, tend to focus on the possibility that error rates will increase with specific questioning. *Practitioners* who are charged with the responsibility of protecting children and investigating crimes, and who operate under real life circumstances, give more consideration to ensuring that actual victims who may be frightened or embarrassed receive sufficient opportunity to provide information. Some *principles apply equally to all interviews*. For example, having an open mind to all possible explanations for children's reports and exploring alternative hypotheses is important regardless of

¹ The abuse was substantiated by definitive medical evidence/corroboration.

the case circumstances. Interviewers who have a preconceived idea of what may have happened to children can inadvertently create the conditions where children incorporate false information into their accounts or acquiesce to suggested information. Coercive, insistent questioning or the use of bribes or threats to secure answers is never justified, no matter how strong the suspicion or how urgent the situation. Even if the children are telling the truth, confidence in the results is completely undermined.

Guidelines serve the very important purpose of providing an empirically-based method for interviewing. However, the fact that an interview is conducted properly or that it deviates in some way from recommended approaches cannot be used to ascertain whether a report is true or not. At this time, no scientifically proven method exists to determine if a statement is essentially accurate, contains misperceptions and errors, or is entirely false. Research on children's suggestibility reveals that many children, especially older children, resist suggestion most of the time. Significant errors tend to occur when the events are ambiguous and/or when the interviewing consists of many risky practices. Clinical and legal judgments about whether children have been victimized must be made based on evaluating all of the available information or evidence, not simply on how a particular interview was conducted.

Type of Questions

The following categories illustrate the kinds of questioning approaches that may be used by interviewers:

- *Open-ended*: Invitations to provide information about an event or possible event or prompts to elaborate on previously given information.
- *Specific*: Questions that focus the inquiry or ask directly about a particular topic.
- *Leading*: Questions that contain information that has not previously been mentioned.
- *Suggestive*: Questions that imply or include an expected answer.

Questions carry *different risks of influencing answers*. Open-ended questions that encourage children to provide freely-recalled information are desirable when possible. Interviewer influence is minimized and the probability of the resulting information being accurate is increased. However, it will always be necessary to ask some specific and/or leading questions to elicit complete information about abuse or crime. For example, interviews must begin with some reference to the purpose of the interview or to the behaviors or statements that led to the interview; otherwise, children will not know what is expected of them. Follow-up questions will be required to obtain forensically relevant information that is unfamiliar to children.

The general rules are to *begin with open-ended questions* and *only use specific or leading questions* when *open-ended questions are no longer productive*. Specific questions should primarily be used for focusing or clarifying and only when necessary be closed in a way that asks for yes/no answers or the selection of one of multiple choice responses. Once relevant information is elicited, interviewers should return to open-ended prompts and encourage free recall elaboration. *Suggestive questions should be avoided*, especially those that include "tag lines" that pull for an answer (*He touched you, didn't he?*).

Repeated Questioning

Research on repeated questioning within or across interviews has produced mixed results. Repeated questioning may result in reports that are more complete and accurate if the memory has been consolidated and the original report is correct, and studies have shown that children questioned more than once are not necessarily more suggestible. On the other hand, repeated questioning provides more opportunities to introduce error and is sometimes associated with an increase in inaccurate as well as accurate information. Asking the same question more than once in a single interview is especially risky because it can communicate that previous answers are not acceptable. Young children often change their answers under such conditions, presumably because they assume they have answered incorrectly. There is evidence that repeated questioning about events that have not occurred can lead some children to give detailed accounts of these nonevents.

In child abuse or criminal investigations, it will always be the case that children are interviewed more than once. The initial report will invariably be elicited by or responded to by a parent or other professional (e.g., teacher) before investigators become involved. Children will likely have medical and counseling interviews where a history of the abuse or crime may be taken. However, reducing the number of formal interviews and not repeating the same questions during investigative interviews reduces the likelihood of acquiescence, suggestibility, and confabulation.

Props and Cues

Developmental reasons have been advanced in support of the use of non-verbal means to aid recall in children. The research on props and cues has produced *equivocal results*. Some studies have shown that children provide more information with props and others have found no advantage or an increase in reporting inaccurate information. The very youngest children, three-year-olds, do not seem to benefit by anatomical dolls and other props, in part because they do not understand that the props are designed to be self-referential or to represent real world objects.

Research on anatomical dolls has examined the many questions that have arisen about their use. Children's free play interactions with dolls cannot be used to draw conclusions about possible sexual abuse. Although relatively rare and more common in sexually abused children, even sexually explicit doll-play is not determinative of a history of sexual abuse. Such behavior should be pursued and be a subject of inquiry because unusual sexual behavior in children is strongly associated with a history of sexual abuse. The simple presentation of dolls or their use in a properly conducted interview does not produce false reports and under some conditions increases accurate recall. However, there is little evidence that their use substantially improves reporting of events.

Props in the form of dolls, drawings, or representations of objects or places should be used with care, especially with younger children. Dolls and body drawings may be useful for labeling body parts but for younger children, demonstrating where they were touched by pointing on their own bodies rather than assuming they understand that the doll or drawing is supposed to represent them, is preferable. With older children, props may be most useful to clarify previous statements instead of as a primary means of determining what happened. When children are able to describe what happened without a non-verbal device, they may be unnecessary.

Cueing children's recall by encouraging them to think about whether they might have been abused may lead to *source monitoring errors*. There is evidence that when children or adults imagine or repeatedly think about a possible event, they are more likely to subsequently believe they remember the event. This may occur because once an event is imagined, it may become more

difficult to distinguish between a memory for a real event and one that has been imagined. Children should not be asked to imagine or think about a possible abuse experience because of the potential for source monitoring errors.

Language, Terminology, and Concepts

Use of *simple grammatical construction* that includes short sentences, readily understood words, and clearly identified referents will increase the likelihood that children understand questions and give accurate answers. The use of legal terms or jargon may very well lead to misunderstandings. Substantial research shows that the way questions are asked and the type of information solicited must be comprehensible and developmentally appropriate to obtain accurate responses. Younger children especially often do not understand certain concepts such as time, numbers, and spatial location. Unless it has been established that the children have acquired the necessary knowledge and cognitive capacity, asking certain kinds of questions may unfairly create expectations of children to respond.

Environment for Questioning

Children are more likely to provide accurate and complete information in a supportive atmosphere when *rappport* has been established. Studies have shown that young children are more resistant to misleading information and more responsive when the interviewer is friendly. Conversely, children are more suggestible when interviewers are intimidating or authoritarian. Children give more information and are less suggestible when interviewed in a familiar environment as compared to a strange situation, such as a courtroom setting. Interviewing settings that are private, comfortable, and free from distractions are desirable.

Interviewer Stance

Interviewers who begin with *no assumptions* about what may have happened and consider *alternative explanations* for children's reports of events are less likely to improperly influence or misinterpret children's reports. Interviewers who have preconceived ideas about what may have happened or who impose their own interpretations on ambiguous events can substantially affect what children report. Children's memories may be altered because they make errors about the source of memories or they may simply go along with authority figures. Since some genital touching may be legitimate or benign in intent, it is especially important not to derive a meaning without fully exploring the context. Children themselves, especially if they have been previously abused, may misinterpret innocent contact.

Inoculation Against Memory Error or Acquiescence

Pre-interview *instructions* and within-interview *clarifications* appear to be useful in minimizing the potential for children to make errors in their reports. One step is to explain the rules and expectations for investigative interviews by conveying that it is important that the children only tell what really happened. There is evidence that children are more accurate and resistant to suggestion when they are told that the interviewer is naive to the events and that it is permissible for children to say they do not know the answer to questions. Source monitoring errors can be reduced or corrected when children are asked whether what they are saying really happened or to think about whether they are actually remembering events or if they heard about it from others.

Interview Approaches

Many guidelines and suggestions for proper interviewing exist. They have many similar characteristics and contain the basic principles that have been identified from research.

Suggestions for *interviewer skill* have been offered by numerous commentators. One list includes the following recommendations: establishing rapport, listening actively, telling the rememberer to actively generate information and not wait passively for the interviewer to ask questions, asking open-ended questions, pausing after the rememberer's response before asking follow-up questions, not interrupting, explicitly requesting detailed descriptions, encouraging the rememberer to concentrate intensely, recreating the original context, adopting the rememberer's perspective, and following a protocol.

Specific Approaches

The following approaches are selected examples because they are *empirically derived* and have been subjected to some *scientific testing*. They are primarily influenced by concerns about enhancing the accuracy and completeness of reports. To a lesser extent, they assume a developmental sensitivity in the manner of questioning and recognize that children who have been abused will be likely to have discomfort or anxiety about the interview process.

Lamb and Sternberg Interview The important contribution of the interview approach developed by Michael Lamb, Ph.D., and Kathleen Sternberg, Ph.D., of the National Institute of Health and Human Development, is that it has been *field tested* with *actual child abuse investigative interviews*. In a study in which interviewers were randomly assigned to conduct the rapport-building phase in a very open-ended fashion or in the usual manner that involved asking many specific questions, children in the experimental condition reported twice as many details during the substantive portion of the interview. Although the validity of the abuse reports cannot be determined, information provided through free recall is generally more accurate. They conclude that when children have the opportunity to practice giving free narratives they are more likely to provide information without specific questioning about abuse experiences. During the research, this phase of the interview was relatively brief, only lasting about seven to ten minutes. Almost all children provided some information about the abuse experience. In addition, they found in their studies that requiring adherence to a strict protocol produced more uniform results in interviewer behavior and that most children gave statements about abuse experiences.

The protocol provides for interviewers to begin the interview with an introduction (*Hello, my name is XXX. I am a youth investigator and my job is to talk with children of different ages about things that have happened to them*) and statement that the interview will be taped. There is a discussion about the importance of telling the truth, and children are tested to see if they can distinguish between a true and a false statement. They are instructed to say *don't know* or correct the interviewer when appropriate.

The rapport-building phase begins with a statement about getting to know the child better and asks sequentially about three non-abuse related topics: school, family, and a recent event. Interviewers are instructed to begin with an open-ended question that invites the children to provide freely recalled information (*Tell me about your school.*) Children are subsequently prompted to tell more until they have exhausted the subject area (*Tell me about your teacher; what else can you tell me about the children in your class?*) without the interviewer resorting to specific questions. This portion of the interview can be relatively brief; in the studies it lasted only about seven minutes.

The substantive portion of the interview begins with a general statement to focus the interview (*Now that I know you a little better, I want to talk about the reason you are here today. I understand that something may have happened to you. Please tell me everything that happened; every detail, from the beginning to the end.* If this question is not productive, interviewers may proceed to more specific prompts in a progressively more explicit fashion (*heard that you told XXX that you were touched*).

Once children begin to provide information, interviewers repeat a variation on the statement (*want you to tell me everything that happened from the beginning to the middle to the end.*) Children are encouraged to keep elaborating until no more information is forthcoming. Specific questions are kept to a minimum and only used when necessary for clarification or elaboration purposes.

Stepwise Interview This interview approach was developed by John Yuille, Ph.D., a psychologist on the faculty at the University of British Columbia. It has been *field tested* with child protection social workers, police officers, and prosecutors in Canada, and *post-training surveys* have revealed high levels of satisfaction and reported improvements in interviewing techniques. However, reviews of videotaped interviews find that interviewers do not always use the recommended approaches, especially open-ended questioning.

The interview protocol specifies general considerations and identifies the components of the interview process.

1. **General considerations** A specifically designed interviewing room that is comfortable, quiet, and free from distractions is recommended. Either one interviewer or, in joint investigations both professionals, is present, but one person takes primary responsibility for the interviewing. The presence of support persons is discouraged based on an assumption that their presence would compromise the integrity or make it difficult for children to openly elaborate on details. The room is equipped with nonintrusive video and audio equipment, and all interviews are recorded. Interview aids may be used but are introduced in a step-wise fashion beginning with asking the child to make a drawing, then proceeding to providing a drawing without anatomical details. If dolls are used, nonanatomical dolls should be presented first and anatomical dolls used only as a last resort and after the child has disclosed details of an abuse experience. In some cases, where the interviewer has concerns about a child's susceptibility to suggestion, at the

end of the interview leading or suggestive questions about irrelevant events may be introduced for assessment purposes.

2. *Rapport Building* The first step is to establish rapport by discussing neutral topics until the child appears relaxed. The interviewer makes informal observations about various skills and developmental level during this period.
3. *Describing Two Events* During the rapport-building phase the child is encouraged to describe two specific past experiences that are memorable in some fashion but have no relation to the abuse allegations. This exercise provides an opportunity to show interest in the child's experiences and develop further rapport, to roughly gauge the amount and quality of detail the child is capable of providing, and to model the interview form of encouraging detailed recall by asking nonleading, open-ended questions.
4. *Telling the Truth* The interviewer establishes the need to tell the truth by asking questions about truth and lies and communicating the importance of telling the truth. An agreement is made between the interviewer and the child that only the truth will be discussed during the interview.
5. *Introducing the Topic of Concern* The purpose of the interview is introduced in a step-wise fashion beginning with very general, open-ended questions (*Do you know why you are talking with me today?*) and proceeding to somewhat more specific questions if necessary to elicit a response. If these questions are not productive, general questions about people are introduced. Body drawings may be used if the general questions do not lead to a statement about possible abuse.
6. *Free Narrative* Once the topic of sexual abuse is introduced, the interviewer encourages the child to provide a free narrative account of the event(s). The child is asked to describe the event from beginning to end without leaving out any details. The interviewer does not interrupt, correct, or challenge and uses only general prompts to keep the narrative flowing (*Then what happened? Tell me about that.*)
7. *General Questions* Follow-up questions based on information the child has already provided are used to help the child recall further details.
8. *Specific Questions* The purpose of this phase is to clarify or extend previous answers. Multiple choice answers should be avoided whenever possible and if used should include more than two alternatives. If a multiple choice question is used it should be repeated with the alternatives in a different order to ascertain whether the earlier answer was due to order of presentation. Inconsistencies or age-inappropriate answers should be gently probed.
9. *Concluding the Interview* The child is thanked for participating regardless of any conclusions the interviewer may have drawn; an explanation about next steps is provided, and any questions the child has are answered.

Cognitive Interview. This approach was developed by R. Edward Geiselman, Ph.D., currently a faculty member in the Department of Psychology at UCLA, and modified for use with children in collaboration with Karen Saywitz, Ph.D., a psychologist on the faculty of Department of Psychiatry, UCLA. It was originally designed for use with adult crime witnesses as a method of enhancing the amount of correct information recalled. The interview approach has been the subject of numerous

empirical investigations in which children are exposed to a staged event and later questioned. Use of this method produces approximately *25 percent additional accurate information* without increasing errors. It does assume that an event occurred.

1. *Rapport Development* The interviewer begins by greeting the child by name and introducing him/herself, then asking simple questions about the child's world. The use of positive, open-ended questions is recommended. The interviewer is expected to take a matter-of-fact approach but show genuine interest in the information that the child provides. If the child appears nervous, it is appropriate to empathize with his/her feelings. An explanation is provided that the interview will consist of asking some questions, and the child is put at ease about video or audio recording.
2. *Interview Preparation Instructions* The interview begins with a statement, *I am going to ask you some questions today*, and is followed by four instructions: (1) *There may be some questions that you do not know the answers to. That's okay. Nobody can remember everything. If you don't know the answer to a question, then tell me 'I don't know,' but do not guess, or make anything up. It is very important to tell me only what you really remember. Only what really happened.* (2) *If you do not want to answer some of the questions, you don't have to. That's okay. Tell me 'I don't want to answer that question.'* (3) *If you don't know what something I ask you means, tell me 'I don't understand' or 'I don't know what you mean.' Tell me to say it in new words.* And, (4) *I may ask you some questions more than one time. Sometimes I forget that I already asked you that question. You don't have to change your answer, just tell me what you remember the best you can.*
3. *The Narrative Report* This phase is introduced with a lead-in question to focus the child on the event to be discussed. Just before asking for the account the child is told *Picture that time as if you were there right now. Think about what it was like there. Tell me out loud*. The child can be prompted with questions about people present, sounds, smells, things, and feelings. Use of the terms "pretend" or "imagine" to elicit the description is not recommended. The next step instructs the child to *start at the beginning and tell me what happened from the beginning to the middle to the end. Tell me everything you remember, even little parts that you don't think are very important. Tell me everything that happened*. The interviewer does not interrupt at all while the child is talking and if the child requires prompting, uses neutral, encouraging statements such as *And then what happened?* or repeats part of what the child has already said.
4. *Specific Question Phase* Following the narrative report, specific questions may be asked to clarify information. They should be as open-ended as possible.
5. *Recalling the Events in Reverse Order* At some point during the specific questioning phase, the child is asked to recall the events in reverse order starting at the end, then proceeding to the middle and the beginning. To protect against giant leaps backward in time, the interviewer prompts the child by asking *then what happened right before that*.
6. *Memory Jogging Techniques* When it is appropriate, based on the child's age, certain techniques may be introduced. These include going through the alphabet to look for the first letter of a forgotten name, eliciting further characteristics of people or their voices by asking if they remind the child of anyone and if so why, or asking the child to take the perspective of a prominent person in the child's report and tell what that person might have seen or heard.

7. *Conclusion* Review the details of the report with the child and ask the child to check the review for accuracy or provide additional information if necessary. Provide the child with an opportunity to ask questions and dispel any misperceptions that may have arisen during the course of the questioning.

Narrative Elaboration This is an approach designed and tested by KarerSaywitz, Ph.D., a psychologist at UCLA, and her colleagues. Its purpose is to help children produce more accurate information about a topic. It contains four basic elements: 1) providing a rationale for learning new ways of remembering better; 2) encouraging children to be complete and accurate; 3) teaching children a method of categorizing types of information; and 4) providing pictures of the main categories of events to be remembered. Children are given an opportunity to practice their new skills with a neutral to-be-remembered experience and receive feedback before they are questioned about the substantive event. Children's performance *improves by 50 percent* with this procedure.

1. Children are taught that there are *better and worse ways to accomplish a goal* by engaging in a task of drawing freehand and using a stencil. This lesson is extended to memory tasks and examples are provided, such as it is easier to remember a grocery list if it is written down.
2. Children are taught a *retrieval strategy* that involves recalling four types of information: participants, settings, actions, and conversations. They are instructed that it is important to tell as much as they can remember about each of these parts of the incident, without guessing. Cards with pictorial representations of the different categories are provided.
3. The children *practice* using these techniques to elaborate on *narration of a neutral* and unrelated autobiographical event until they have mastered the strategy.
4. Questioning about the event under investigation begins with *open-ended questions*. Children are given the reminder cards and told they can use them to help recall more information if they like. After the narrative, interviewers hold up the cards and ask if the card reminds them to tell anything else.

Conclusion

Interviewing children about possible abuse experiences or criminal victimization is an important task and the stakes are high. Interview approaches that increase the probability of eliciting complete and accurate information have been identified and various interview formats have been developed and tested by researchers. The experts recommend establishing ground rules for interviews and emphasize using open-ended questions and prompts and only proceeding to more specific questioning when necessary. Ways to increase the amount and accuracy of information are available.

Unfortunately, research has shown that interviewers have difficulty resisting the temptation to become specific too soon and that they fail to return to open-ended approaches once information has been elicited through specific questions. In addition to training interviewers in proper methods, it is necessary to provide opportunities for practice and feedback for interviewers to learn the necessary skills.

Section Two

PROTOCOLS AND RELATIONSHIPS AMONG INVESTIGATING AGENCIES

This section describes the purposes of protocols in coordinating investigations and various models used in the country. Practices in seven Washington counties are reviewed, along with a discussion of protocols for cases with multiple parties.

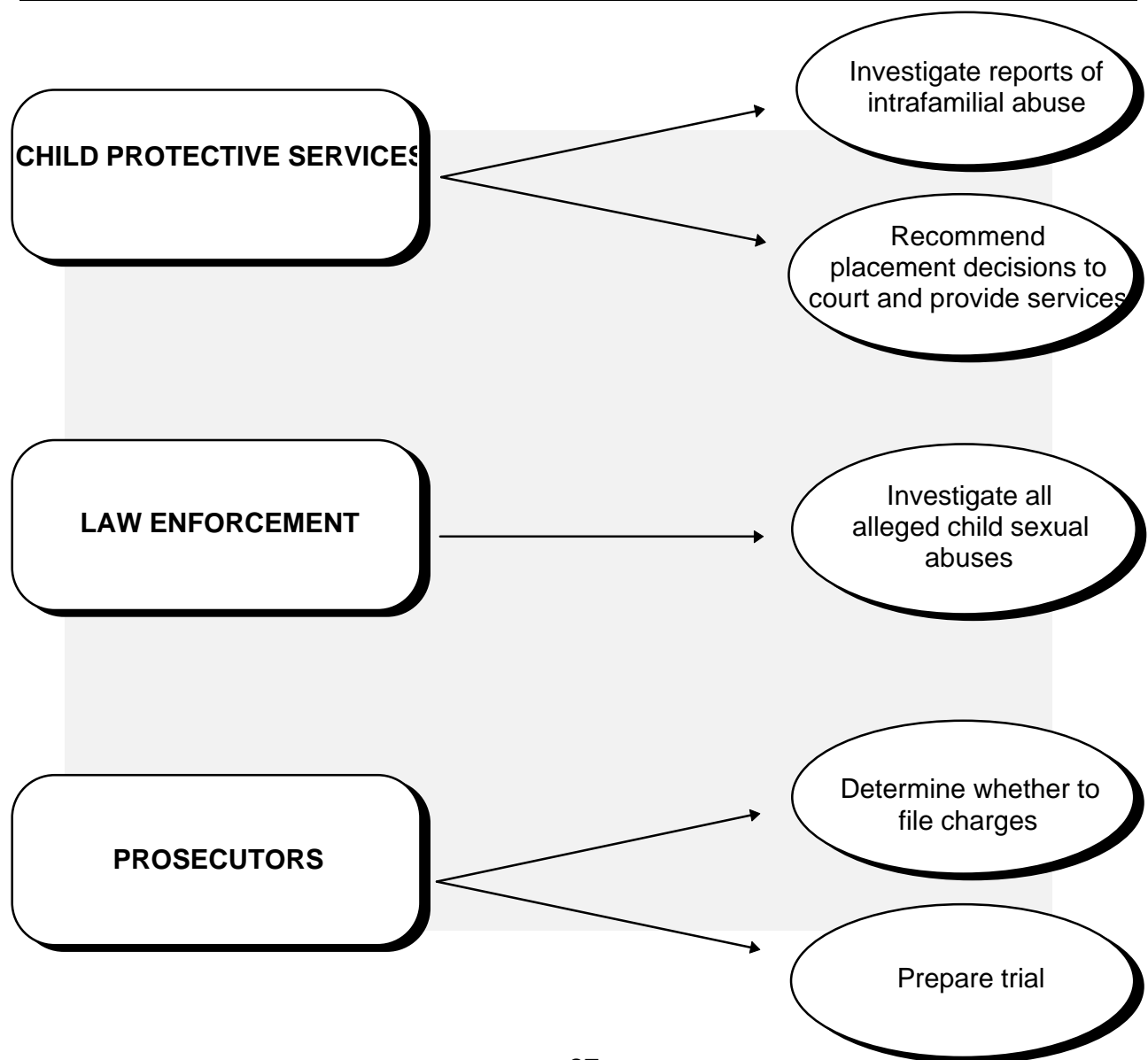
STRUCTURAL APPROACHES FOR INVESTIGATION PROTOCOL

Widespread agreement exists about the value of coordinated responses to suspected child sexual abuse by the criminal justice and child protective systems. The perceived value comes from the increased efficiency, improved evidence collection, and reduced trauma/inconvenience to the child and family.

Although Child Protective Services (CPS), law enforcement, and prosecutors share some common responsibilities, key differences in their roles also exist, particularly for CPS. Figure 1 describes these differences.

Figure 1

AGENCY RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ALLEGED CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE



These differences in responsibility influence differences among the organizations in their decision-making styles and desired outcome. Figure 2 illustrates these differences.

Figure 2
THE CHALLENGES OF WORKING TOGETHER

	Law Enforcement and Prosecution	Child Protective Services
Organization Goal and Approach	Collect evidence and convict.	Preserve the family, when possible. Social work tradition.
Decision-Making Styles	Rapid, autonomous decision-making.	Shared decision-making; frequent consultations.
Desired Outcomes	Long-term incarceration of offender.	Elimination of abuse and preservation of family, if safe and feasible.

The desire to improve the system's response to child sexual abuse has led many states to pass laws either mandating or encouraging cooperation between law enforcement and child protective services for investigation of these cases. At least 33 states mandate this cooperation.

Washington State law requires that when the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) and law enforcement both respond to a complaint of child abuse, each agency shall communicate and "coordinate the investigation and keep each other apprised of progress." [RCW 26.44.035]

Purpose of Protocols

Numerous jurisdictions have written protocols or agreements regarding child abuse investigations, with at least ten states (Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Michigan, Ohio, and Oregon) requiring or encouraging such protocols in legislation. Some protocols are general statewide guidelines for case investigation and coordination, while others are specific to individual counties/communities. They vary in length from a few sentences adopted by community leaders pledging coordination, to hundreds of pages providing detailed procedures for case handling and coordinated investigations.

Common components of protocols include reference to applicable state law, a statement of the purpose of the protocol, descriptions of the roles of all involved agencies, guidelines regarding the formation and function of multidisciplinary teams, and procedures for forensic interviewing of children. Figure 3 depicts the range of topics that protocols may cover.

Figure 3



The approaches taken by jurisdictions to improve joint investigations can be organized into three structural approaches.

Model One: Coordinated Community Response
Key Ingredients: Protocols, steering committee, joint meetings and training.

Model Two: Multidisciplinary Interview Center Model
Key Ingredients: Protocols, steering committee, program administrator, case monitoring system.

Model Three: Child Advocacy Center Model
Key Ingredients: One location with staff in same facility.

This project reviewed the organizational responses of 32 states and counties regarding the investigation of alleged child sexual abuse cases. Of these, over half relied on a coordinated approach based primarily on written protocols for joint investigation, with the remaining divided between used a multidisciplinary team approach, and Child Advocacy Centers².

Often, there are discrepancies between the protocol and what happens in practice. The pressures of time, the complexities of actual cases, and the conflicts among agency actors can lead to minor departures or independent practice. Written protocol is never as important as the *working relationships* among the professionals and their experience and training. The best functioning teams have the following:

- Active efforts to communicate and exchange information. This can vary from regular meetings to joint staffings to a location in the same facility.
- Specialization of members.
- Experienced members. The longer people do this work, the better their performance (with some exceptions).

Of the three main approaches used to coordinate investigations, each has its advantages and disadvantages. Because team investigations require active cooperation, the decision-making process that is used by a community to select an approach can be as important as the structural decision. Communities need to select an approach that is agreeable to all team members because it will require their active cooperation to be successful.

Clearly, sharing a facility when feasible, makes communication among team members easier and investigations more efficient. A common facility is, however, the most ambitious undertaking and not realistic for many jurisdictions, particularly small ones. Locating, supporting, and maintaining such a facility requires tremendous commitment. Frequently, an external funding agent is needed such as a non-profit board or an entity to underwrite some expenses (often a hospital).

Protocols for Multiple Party Cases

² A Technical Appendix is available summarizing protocols from states and other jurisdictions. Contact the Institute to request this Appendix.

Some of the country's and state's high profile cases of alleged child sexual abuse have necessitated interviews with multiple parties. These cases are the most time consuming and complex and require the investigators to respond quickly.

National experts have recommended special protocols for these cases. The key elements are as follows:

- Identify cases as multiple party cases at the *earliest possible point* in the investigation.
- Gather the investigative team and make a plan.
- Identify a prosecutor as the central coordinator at the outset.
- Ensure that more than one investigator is involved in the investigation in order to avoid cross-contamination and tainting.
- Document interviews and investigations carefully.
- Designate a single spokesperson to communicate with the media.
- Establish a support network for suspected child victims and their families.
- Smaller jurisdictions should request immediate assistance. The message that it is "okay to ask for help" needs to be disseminated.

A sample protocol for multiple party cases is included in the Appendix.

State Assistance

States sometimes assist local jurisdictions in protocol development and coordinated investigations. Oregon is one example of such assistance. There, state legislation requires each county district attorney to develop interagency teams for child abuse investigation, and requires the teams to develop agreements specifying interagency roles and procedures, as well as written protocols for child abuse investigation, child interviewing, and child fatality review [ORS 418.747]. The legislation also creates incentives for local communities to establish these interagency teams and protocols.

The Child Abuse Multidisciplinary Intervention Account (CAMI) is a dedicated fund composed of a percentage of the money collected as a unitary assessment levied against those convicted of crimes in the state, and has totaled around \$2.5 million each of the last two years. ORS 418.746 allows for the disbursement of money from the CAMI Account to eligible county multidisciplinary child abuse teams who demonstrate they are furthering the goals of the legislation. Each county team must submit an annual "coordinated child abuse multidisciplinary intervention plan" describing the services to be provided to child abuse victims, and including their written investigation and interviewing protocols.

CAMI resources are also used to fund a grant program to establish regional and community child abuse assessment centers. Community assessment centers are community based centers to which children can be referred for medical assessments to determine whether they have been abused or neglected. Regional assessment centers are "neutral, child-sensitive center[s] where a child may be referred to receive a thorough assessment consisting of a medical evaluation and a videotaped interview by trained professionals for the purpose of determining whether the child has

been abused...[and provide] education, training and technical assistance for community assessment centers." [ORS 418.782(2) and (3)] Applications for funding to establish regional assessment centers are required to include a description of services to be delivered, including a coordinated investigation of child abuse allegations, a medical examination, and "a neutral, nonintrusive videotaped interview," and must show that their staff includes a professional to conduct medical exams and an interviewer with an advanced human services degree who is not a law enforcement or children's services division employee.[ORS 418.790 (1), (4), and (8)]

CASE STUDIES OF FOUR COUNTIES

In an effort to determine how investigations are approached in this state, four counties in different locations, with established systems for child sexual abuse investigations, were visited by the project's Expert Panel. These included Clark, Kitsap, Spokane, and Yakima Counties. Based on survey responses and interviews with professionals in each county, their four different systems are described below. (A list of persons interviewed at each site is included in the Appendix.)

Clark County

Since 1990, Clark County in southwestern Washington has utilized its Child Abuse Intervention Center (CAIC) in Vancouver to coordinate the investigation of criminal sexual and physical child abuse cases in the county. An "Interlocal Agreement Establishing a CAIC," was signed in early 1993 by Clark County, the Clark County Sheriff, and the city of Vancouver. The agreement sets forth the purpose, the board, and manner of financing for the CAIC. A sergeant-supervisor from the Vancouver Police Department, four detectives from the Sheriff's Office, two Vancouver Police Department detectives, and three deputy prosecutors are assigned to the CAIC. Along with support staff, a director, and a social services coordinator, they are located together in rented space on the lower floor of a building separate from the county courthouse and police agencies.

At any one time, detectives have an estimated 6 to 14 open and active cases, reduced from an average of 30 to 50 at the time the CAIC started functioning. In a month, a detective will handle 6 to 12 child sexual abuse cases, and around 100 in a year. Prosecutors handle 50 or more child sexual abuse cases in a year and estimate about a 90 percent rate of guilty pleas.

The CAIC is governed by a non-profit board and supported by a combination of public resources and private donations, with an annual budget of approximately \$300,000. The director's job is primarily administration and fund-raising. Medical exams do not take place at the CAIC, and CPS workers involved in the cases are not located at the CAIC. However, efforts are made to coordinate with both CPS and the medical community. Attitudes vary about whether CPS should be located at the CAIC.

The CAIC contains a special interview room, but it does not have a one-way mirror to allow others to watch the interview. Comprehensive investigative interviews with children are usually conducted by the detective assigned to the case. It is estimated that from one to four interviews per day of children under 16 in suspected felony sexual abuse cases are conducted at the CAIC. Those interviews are documented by detailed note taking, followed by a written report. There is no written interviewing protocol, but detectives and others associated with the CAIC regularly attend available training conferences and are members of the national professional organization, the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (APSAC), which they feel helps them keep abreast of the most effective techniques for eliciting reliable information during child interviews. There is no videotaping equipment at the CAIC. In 1993, following a forum to discuss the issue of videotaping, the CAIC adopted a general policy that interviews would not be videotaped.

The detectives take the lead in the investigations and rely on written general investigation guidelines. However, resource constraints limit the ability of law enforcement to participate in a joint initial response with CPS in familial cases. Detectives generally become involved in such cases after an initial assessment by CPS. A primary focus of the investigation following the child

interview is obtaining a statement from the suspect. Detectives believe that they have improved greatly in their ability to conduct effective interrogations of suspects in these cases and that this has provided critical evidence in most cases. Referrals for medical exams are made by CAIC staff, when appropriate, to local physicians with child abuse expertise. Depending on the circumstances of the case, detectives will seek and execute search warrants and interview collateral witnesses to gather additional evidence. CPS investigations focus on gathering information to determine safety, protect the child, and provide needed services. As a result of sharing a facility at the CAIC, detectives are able to consult regularly with prosecutors, but regular interagency meetings to review cases do not currently take place.

The overall belief of professionals in the county is that this system is very effective. Concerns expressed included the need for a larger and improved facility, better coordination with CPS (including perhaps joint law enforcement/CPS interviewing), quicker response time by detectives, allowing prosecutors and detectives to stay at CAIC longer and doing away with mandatory rotation, medical exams in more cases (about 20 percent get exams now), more opportunities to attend training, developing ways for smaller police departments to improve their response to child sexual and physical abuse cases (perhaps by contracting with CAIC detectives to handle them), and the need for more victim advocates—paid rather than volunteer.

Kitsap County

Located on the Kitsap Peninsula in western Washington, Kitsap County established a Child Advocacy Center (CAC) under the supervision of the Prosecuting Attorney in 1990. Money from a Children's Justice Act grant was used in 1989 to employ a specialized child interviewer, and the prosecutor's office has continued to employ her at the CAC, where she interviews all children in cases of suspected sexual abuse. The CAC is located in a building behind the county courthouse in Port Orchard and also houses the Deputy Prosecuting Attorney assigned to handle all alleged child abuse cases with adult offenders in the county, a child advocate employed by the local victim advocacy organization, and a secretary/receptionist. With the exception of minimal donated funds used for furnishings at the CAC, all associated expenses are covered by the prosecutor's office budget.

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the heads of the five major police agencies in the county, the Prosecuting Attorney, and representatives of the Sexual Assault Center and CPS, on January 1, 1996. In this memorandum, the parties agreed to use the CAC as the first contact with the criminal justice system for alleged child sex assault victims and to use the CAC child interviewer and victim advocates. The memorandum also indicates that the parties will work toward establishing a facility or program for medical exams to be conducted through the CAC, toward the provision of mental health services through the CAC, and toward procurement of a facility to house all necessary CAC equipment and personnel in one place.

Following the agreed procedure, CPS and law enforcement both receive reports of suspected sex abuse, make an initial response, and then refer younger children to the child interviewer at the CAC who sets up an interview. The child interviewer has over 28 years of experience with child sex abuse cases, has handled over 5,000 cases in her career, and averages 40 interviews at the CAC each month. She interviews children in a special interview room at the CAC and documents the interview by taking detailed notes. Although there is a one-way mirror, other involved professionals such as law enforcement and CPS do not usually observe the interview, but rely on a written report prepared by the interviewer following the interview.

The Kitsap County Sheriff's Office (KCSO) and Bremerton Police Department (BPD) are the largest police agencies in the county and are responsible for the majority of child sexual abuse investigations. KCSO has a total of ten detectives, all of whom handle child sexual abuse cases, estimated at about 30 to 40 percent of their total caseload (25 to 30 cases per year per detective). BPD has a total of five detectives responsible for general investigations. They also do not specialize, although most of the child abuse cases, perhaps 200 per year, are assigned to a detective with special interest in these cases. The Deputy Prosecutor assigned to child abuse has been in her position for seven years and screens several hundred child sexual abuse cases each year, filing about 100. Figures provided by the prosecutor's office show the number of child abuse referrals to be around 600 to 700 annually since 1992, with a filing rate of 14 to 20 percent.

Law enforcement continues with their investigation once they receive the report from the child interviewer. If the child has described sexual abuse and penetration in a familial case, CPS makes a referral (often to Mary Bridge Children's Hospital in Tacoma) for a medical exam of the child. Currently, no physician in the area specializes in these exams; Mary Bridge is the closest facility with expertise and is thus preferred by most professionals (including CPS and law enforcement) in the county. Law enforcement usually try to interview suspects, contact other witnesses, and conduct searches as indicated by the facts of each case. There are no written investigation or interview protocols and no regular meetings to discuss cases.

Concerns were repeatedly expressed about the high caseload in the county. It was reported that a one- to three-week delay sometimes occurs before the written report of the CAC interview is received by law enforcement, thus also delaying the suspect interview and reducing its effectiveness. There was general agreement about the need for ongoing training regarding interviewing and multidisciplinary investigations, as well as the need for more personnel—detectives, CPS workers, and prosecutors—to effectively handle the number of cases. While the prosecutor and BPD want most of the investigative interviews with children conducted by the child interviewer at the CAC, KCSO prefers that detectives be responsible for most child interviews so they can act immediately to pursue the rest of the investigation. Because of high turnover, CPS workers currently lack experience and expertise, and there is a need for greater coordination between law enforcement and CPS.

Professionals in the area have different opinions about the usefulness of locating detectives at the CAC, although there was general agreement that it was best to have detectives specialize in these cases and stay in this position for a period of time. Local medical resources are needed to conduct exams of children.

Spokane County

Located in a building near Deaconess Medical Center in Spokane, the Regional Center for Child Abuse and Neglect (RCCAN) is a medically-based model for interagency coordination of child abuse cases, which was founded in 1988. To support RCCAN's total annual budget of approximately \$450,000, Deaconess Medical Center receives approximately \$190,000 through a continuum of care contract with the state's Division of Children and Family Services (DCFS) and \$100,000 from Medicaid (for expenses related to medical care). The balance of funding comes from a variety of smaller grants from the Office of Crime Victims Advocacy and DSHS, as well as private foundations and individual donors. RCCAN's work is overseen by a multidisciplinary coordinating board which meets twice a year.

Medical exams of suspected child abuse victims occur at this facility; medical staff consist of a medical director, a pediatrician, pediatric nurse practitioner, and registered nurse. RCCAN employs a child interviewer who conducts some, although not all, forensic interviews of suspected victims under the age of twelve. RCCAN sees about 450 children per year; approximately 350 because of suspected sexual abuse. Six specialized CPS abuse workers and a secretary have offices at the facility. Spokane's RCCAN is overseen by a manager who acts as the coordinator for interagency efforts, including organizing local training. She convenes a monthly meeting of the "Critique Group," made up of supervisors from the prosecutor's office, the Attorney General's office, DCFS, law enforcement, and treatment providers who discuss system issues and needed improvements in procedures. The RCCAN has a written protocol which was required for hospital accreditation. Weekly interagency casestaffings of problem cases take place at the RCCAN. RCCAN also employs an administrative secretary, a Coordinator for the Regional Diagnostic Team for the Prevention of Child Neglect, and a Children's Legal Advocate.

The two largest police agencies in the county are the Spokane Police Department (SPD) and Spokane Sheriff's Office (SSO). SPD used to have six specialized child abuse detectives, but no longer does since choosing community policing as an organizational approach. Currently, 18 SPD detectives are responsible for child abuse investigations and use internal written sexual abuse guidelines which include advice regarding interviewing children, are fairly general, and allow flexibility to deal with individual cases. The SPD's supervisor requires his detectives to review training tapes and accompany an experienced child abuse investigator before taking responsibility for a child sexual abuse investigation. Sexual abuse cases receive high priority and specialized training is routinely attended by SPD detectives. SPD handles over 500 child sexual abuse cases annually. SSO, on the other hand, maintains a specialized child abuse unit with three detectives and a sergeant-supervisor, which handles over 200 sexual abuse cases a year. They do not have written guidelines. Law enforcement has had an increased emphasis on suspect interviews over the last ten years, with more admissions as a result.

Currently, CPS Intake calls the appropriate law enforcement agency when receiving a report of possible sexual abuse (about 500 cases annually). Law enforcement then assigns a detective immediately. If the report is made at night or on a weekend, a patrol officer usually responds, but does not interview children under twelve unless absolutely necessary. Law enforcement is responsible for the investigative interview if the allegation involves third party abuse. CPS and law enforcement are responsible together if the allegation is one of familial abuse. Referrals to the child interview specialist at RCCAN are made in the more difficult cases, i.e., very young or developmentally disabled children. The CPS worker or detective can observe the interview at RCCAN (through a one-way mirror) and can communicate with the interviewer during the interview

if needed. Both the detective and interviewer take notes and write reports regarding the interview.

For 4 1/2 years, between 1988 and 1992, RCCAN's protocol involved videotaping evidentiary interviews. However, a decision was made to discontinue videotaping because it did not live up to expectations and was not a substitute for well-trained investigators carefully documenting all statements by a child and all steps in the investigation. Detailed reasons for discontinuing videotaping were set forth by the RCCAN inter-agency collaboration group in a statement dated November 23, 1992.³

The prosecutor's office has a Special Assault Unit (SAU) with three deputies who handle child abuse and adult sexual abuse cases, about 130 cases per deputy per year. About 80 percent of SAU cases are child sexual abuse. Of the charged cases, approximately two-thirds plead guilty and one-third go to trial. It was estimated that each deputy prosecutor tries about ten cases per year.

Spokane professionals believe that good working relationships, adequate resources to maintain the child interview specialist at RCCAN, and adequate personnel throughout the system, together with ongoing opportunities for state-of-the-art interagency training, are the keys to effective coordination and skilled investigations. A number of people expressed their desire that SPD detectives return to using specialists, while others emphasized the need for ongoing training in child sexual abuse when community policing is adopted. Concern was raised about the impact of frequent turnover—short rotations by prosecutors and detectives assigned to child abuse were seen as a drawback. Speedier resolution of cases was also identified as an issue. There was agreement that opportunities for high-quality training as a multidisciplinary group were needed on a regular basis and that RCCAN's resources (the manager and child interviewer) were important to fostering improved investigative responses to child sexual abuse cases.

Yakima County

Since 1982, Yakima County has used a joint interviewing process in child sexual abuse cases, which continues to be the central feature of their efforts to improve and coordinate investigations. In addition to the established interviewing process, professionals in Yakima County have instituted a practice of communication and coordination throughout the course of child abuse investigations, which they consider to be extremely effective.

The interviewing process was initiated by the Victim-Witness Administrator in the prosecutor's office, who has since taken on the additional role of Senior Investigator. She conducts investigative interviews with children under ten years of age, as requested by law enforcement and CPS. Another Victim-Witness Advocate/Investigator in the prosecutor's office has been available since mid-1995 to take referrals from "Lower Valley" law enforcement agencies and conduct child interviews. Together, they annually interview approximately 200 children in suspected sexual abuse cases. Law enforcement investigators handle many of their own child interviews and ask for assistance in difficult cases from the child interviewers in the prosecutor's office. Interviews conducted by these child interviewers take place at the prosecutor's office, where documentation consists of verbatim notes taken in shorthand by an assistant to the Senior

³ This statement is available from the Institute.

Investigator. These interviews are "joint"—detectives and CPS workers often sit in on the interview—although there is no specialized interview room.

A 24-page booklet (and additional attachments) authored by the Senior Investigator provides guidelines to professionals throughout the county regarding forensic interviewing of alleged child victims. These guidelines were first produced in 1982, with the most recent revision in October 1996. Professionals throughout the county referred to this document as their investigative protocol, which they rely on for general guidance in the conduct of investigations. In addition, the Senior Investigator disseminates information regarding court preparation and advocacy for children, organizes frequent interagency training for professionals in the county, and is widely respected as an expert on forensic child interviewing. Overall enthusiasm for the "team" effort in Yakima County is attributed in large part to the activities of the Senior Investigator.

The two largest police agencies in the county (out of about a dozen) are the Yakima Police Department (YPD) and the Yakima County Sheriff's Office (YSO), both considered "Upper Valley" agencies. They each have specialized units handling special assault investigations, with four detectives in YPD and the equivalent of 2 1/2 in YSO. About half of their cases are child sexual abuse, with the others being physical abuse and adult sexual abuse. The average annual caseload of child sexual abuse cases for both agencies' detectives is 120. YPD has a flexible rotation policy and YSO has a three-year rotation policy. Detectives who investigate child abuse in Yakima County believe longer assignments make sense for child abuse detectives because of the necessary time to develop expertise and interagency relationships. YPD has two special child interview rooms with one-way mirrors, but they do not videotape interviews. Some detectives do audiotape their interviews with children over the age of ten.

Three deputy prosecutors specialize in adult offender sexual abuse cases; half of another deputy's time is devoted to juvenile offender sexual abuse cases. The prosecutors handling adult offenders average over 100 child sexual abuse cases annually, which comprise about 80 percent of their caseload. About 90 percent of filed cases are resolved by guilty pleas, with about 10 to 12 child sexual abuse jury trials per deputy each year. Trials result in about 60 to 70 percent guilty verdicts.

Because of high caseloads and turnover, CPS's ability to respond is seen as perhaps the weakest link in Yakima County. Historically, however, CPS and law enforcement have had good working relationships with mutual respect and a lot of communication and coordination. One doctor in the county has performed many of the child sexual abuse exams until recently. Two new physicians have located in Yakima who also provide medical exam services to "Lower Valley" clients, and it is hoped that they will fill the need for more medical resources due to the high number of cases.

Professionals in Yakima County participate in Child Protection Team (CPT) meetings which take place twice a month to review cases. About five teams meet each month at different times, and a county-wide CPT training was planned for December 1996. In addition, a Task Force has been meeting for some time to develop a regional Sexual Assault Resource Center for adult and child sexual abuse cases.

Current plans call for a facility in Selah, that could conduct medical exams; referrals would be voluntary. Some concern exists among professionals in the county regarding the wisdom of establishing such a center, the lack of opportunity for broad input and participation in its development, and the non-central location of the designated facility. It is hoped that such a center will ultimately complement, rather than replace, ongoing efforts in the county.

Yakima County professionals agreed that more personnel are needed in all agencies to handle the increasing child abuse caseload, as well as a need for ongoing local training, especially for CPS and the smaller police departments in the county. There was concern about the possibility of rotation of experienced people and the detrimental impact that would have on investigations. Effectiveness of the Yakima County system is attributed to "personalities" and the excellent supportive relationships among different professionals ("from the bottom up"), rather than the existence of a formal protocol. Several people expressed the need for more consistency and greater utilization of the "team" approach throughout the county. Some people said that the development of written internal and interagency protocols could be helpful.

Comments From Defense Attorneys

In three of the four site visits—Clark, Kitsap, and Yakima Counties—members of the Expert Team met with a defense attorney with experience defending child sexual abuse cases. Team members elicited points of view regarding investigations and child interviewing. Views expressed by the three lawyers were very similar and will be summarized below.

Defense advocates had few serious complaints about child sexual abuse investigations and interviews in their counties. They expressed moderate satisfaction with the skill of interviewers, as well as moderate confidence in the quality of interviews. All three were strongly in favor of videotaping of investigative interviews. Their reasons for wanting interviews videotaped included being able to see and hear what was going on during the interview (e.g., body language, tone of voice, etc.), knowing exactly what was said by both the interviewer and child, and being able to later use the tapes to confront some clients in order to resolve cases more quickly and accurately. They also expressed the view that prosecutors could use the videotape to counter defense attacks on the interview.

The need for objectivity by those involved in the investigation was repeatedly stressed. Investigators were described as sometimes overlooking information or conducting insufficient follow-up investigations because they started with a closed mind. All three said they had seen at least one case filed that should not have been due to inadequate investigation and lack of critical evaluation by investigators and prosecutors. Despite this, most expressed overall satisfaction with the system and charging decisions.

The attorneys stated that interviewers, although basically doing a decent job, provided too much "reinforcement" to children during interviews. One individual recommended that those interviewing children should be "independent" and not associated with either law enforcement or the prosecutor, although he had no specific suggestion about how to accomplish this practice. All stated that efforts to improve interagency coordination, including increased specialization of law enforcement and prosecutors, specialized child interviewers (in Kitsap and Yakima), and the development of centers (in Clark and Kitsap), improved the system, as long as the people involved remained objective. Ongoing training was seen as important, with a recommendation that it emphasize the need for investigation or alternative explanations.

Team Observations

After the site visits, the team reviewed and compared their experiences at the sites. Although a one-day visit is never sufficient for a comprehensive understanding of a system's operation, the team was able to make several observations and comparisons. These observations are grouped into four sections: organizational approaches, working relationships, training and skill level, and professional and individual challenges.

Organizational Approaches:

- Spokane, Clark, and Kitsap Counties have center-based protocols. Each center is different: Spokane's is affiliated with Deaconess Medical Center, Clark's with its own non-profit board, and Kitsap's is supported by the prosecutor's office.
- Yakima operates with a multidisciplinary team approach. In practice, it appears that the child interviewer in the prosecutor's office functions as a "center" through her expertise and dedication.
- Kitsap County's center began as a pilot project funded by a state grant from the Children's Justice Act, rather than a grassroots agreement by local officials. This origin may have influenced the implementation and commitment toward the center, particularly over time.

Working Relationships:

- Professionals at each site demonstrated a strong commitment to excellence and dedication toward the value of working as a team.
- Whatever the organizational approach, the key to effectiveness comes from the working relationships. Protocols and working agreements require an ongoing commitment by professionals and leaders in order to work.
- Because CPS workers have a mission that is quite different from the other members, their integration into the team is the most difficult. They also operate with different confidentiality rules, thus they sometimes have greater limitations on what information they can share with other team members. In addition, because of the differences in discovery proceedings for civil and criminal cases, law enforcement and the prosecutor may worry that information significant to the ongoing criminal investigation that is shared with CPS may be passed on to a suspect through the civil discovery process.
- In addition to highly specialized training and years of hands-on experience, the team members must be motivated to do this type of work and must have personalities that "fit" with the team and enable them to work together harmoniously with respect for their individual abilities.

Training and Skill Level:

- Individual team members have a working knowledge of interview techniques.
- Professionals at all sites have actively pursued opportunities and view training as the key means to improve their skills and knowledge. Most seek and welcome additional training opportunities; however, the difficulty comes in having the time and resources to attend.
- There was a strong consensus that specialized team members can do this work more efficiently and effectively than can generalists. Other organizational goals sometimes conflict with the desirability of specialists. For example, some law enforcement organizations have mandatory rotation policies.

Professional and Individual Challenges:

- The topic is emotionally charged; people vary in their ability to approach it in a constructive manner.
- Multidisciplinary working relationships take time and dedication to maintain; specific opportunities to meet together are quite valuable.
- In some offices, sex offense cases carry a low status.
- The topic area subjects professionals to a high level of public scrutiny and criticism.

However,

- These pressures can be mitigated by having professionals who are well-trained and experienced, who have chosen this area of work because they like to do it, have personalities that are compatible, and are provided with adequate support.

PROTOCOLS IN SMALLER JURISDICTIONS

Based on telephone interviews and a review of written protocols where available, the following section summarizes the approach to child sexual abuse investigations in two smaller Washington State counties.

Jefferson County

Located on the Olympic Peninsula, Jefferson County has a population of 25,100. There are two police agencies, the Port Townsend Police Department and the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office. The Sheriff's Office employs approximately 16 officers who are responsible for criminal investigations in the county; the Police Department has 13 officers responsible for criminal investigations in the city of Port Townsend. Within each of these agencies, one officer specializes in child abuse cases. Each of these officers has a special interest in child abuse cases. The prosecutor's office has two deputy prosecutors assigned to handle child abuse cases, one in Superior Court with adult offenders and the other in Juvenile Court with juvenile offenders. Both deputy prosecutors previously worked for CPS.

Although there is little or no local funding dedicated for training, professionals here have received some specialized training by attending subsidized and low- or no-cost conferences. For example, in June 1996 a multidisciplinary team attended the week-long OJJDP-sponsored Child Abuse and Exploitation Team Investigative Process (CAE-TIP) training in Tucson, Arizona. They also attended the two-day forensic interview training conducted last year by the Harborview Center for Sexual Assault and Traumatic Stress in Seattle. Some individuals hope to be accepted at the OJJDP Child Abuse and Exploitation Investigative Techniques (CAE-IT) and Child Sexual Exploitation Investigations (CSE) courses in Seattle in August 1997.

Most child interviews in suspected sexual abuse cases are conducted by law enforcement. Although videotaping is not used, these interviews are audiotaped if the child gives permission (although many older children apparently do not). There are no facilities or equipment available for videotaping in Jefferson County—they reportedly tried to videotape once at the jail visitor's room but it did not turn out to be a feasible way to conduct the child interview.

Jefferson County uses a 5 1/2 page "Joint Practice Protocol Agreement for Investigations and Assessment of Child Abuse and Neglect Cases" which has been in place since about 1994. This protocol specifies policies and procedures for the handling of investigations, with the goals of promoting coordination and sharing of information between DSHS and law enforcement. Law enforcement is specified as the lead for investigative interviews of both alleged victims and suspects. The protocol is silent regarding interview documentation.

Professionals who were interviewed believe the system works well. Relationships among the various agencies involved in child abuse investigations are good. Individuals said that Jefferson County's primary needs are a full-time victim advocate and local medical resources, including a physician to conduct medical exams of suspected child victims and a colposcope (a piece of medical equipment which provides magnification of the child's vaginal and anal areas and is equipped with a camera to take photographs).

Cowlitz County

With a population of 89,400, Cowlitz County has an interagency network for child abuse, described in a 4 1/2 page "Child Sexual Abuse Protocol." The protocol describes the responsibilities of the various agencies involved in abuse cases—DSHS, mental health, prosecution, medical, and law enforcement—and expresses a commitment to coordination, cooperation, consolidation of interviews, improved response time, and the assignment of specially trained individuals to child abuse cases. It further specifies that law enforcement will have primary responsibility for investigative interviews of both children and suspects, with joint investigative interviews of children by law enforcement, CPS (when appropriate), and a prosecutor. These interviews take place at either the Hall of Justice or the Family Health Center which has a specially designed interview facility with a one-way mirror.

The protocol is silent about the method of interview documentation. Following the investigative interview, agencies are directed to discuss plans for further investigation. Police agencies with specially trained investigators are encouraged to assist outlying police agencies without such investigators, as needed.

Section Three

INVESTIGATIVE INTERVIEWS: TRAINING FOR QUALITY

This section discusses the training requirements for quality forensic investigations and reviews the training opportunities available to state professionals.

EFFECTIVE TRAINING: COMPONENTS AND TECHNIQUES

Professionals involved in investigation and prosecuting child sexual abuse cases agree that acquiring and maintaining the expertise needed to conduct skilled interviews with suspected child sexual abuse victims, as well as effective overall investigations, requires specialized training. With regard to interviewing, it is essential that law enforcement investigators, CPS workers, and prosecutors know how to question children appropriately. Law enforcement is responsible for determining during investigations whether children have in fact been abused, and if so, who was responsible. CPS must assess the safety of children and gather facts to protect them. Prosecutors must prepare children to be effective witnesses, and elicit the facts about abuse from them when cases go to trial. Consequently, knowing how to talk to young children is a core skill for all these professionals. Other professionals, such as doctors, who regularly come into contact with children about alleged sexual abuse during the course of a child abuse investigation, also have a need for specialized training regarding interviewing.

Washington State professionals interviewed during the site visits stressed the value of training focused on forensic interviews. Because of turnover in personnel, especially in CPS and law enforcement, basic training in the necessary skills for a thorough and objective investigation must be continually offered. In addition, because of additions to the research literature on children's memory and suggestibility, as well as effective interviewing and investigative techniques, these professionals stressed the import of access to advanced training. Training sessions that are jointly attended by a county's multidisciplinary team received high marks from participants. In these situations, the individuals can learn new information and at the same time, develop working relationships.

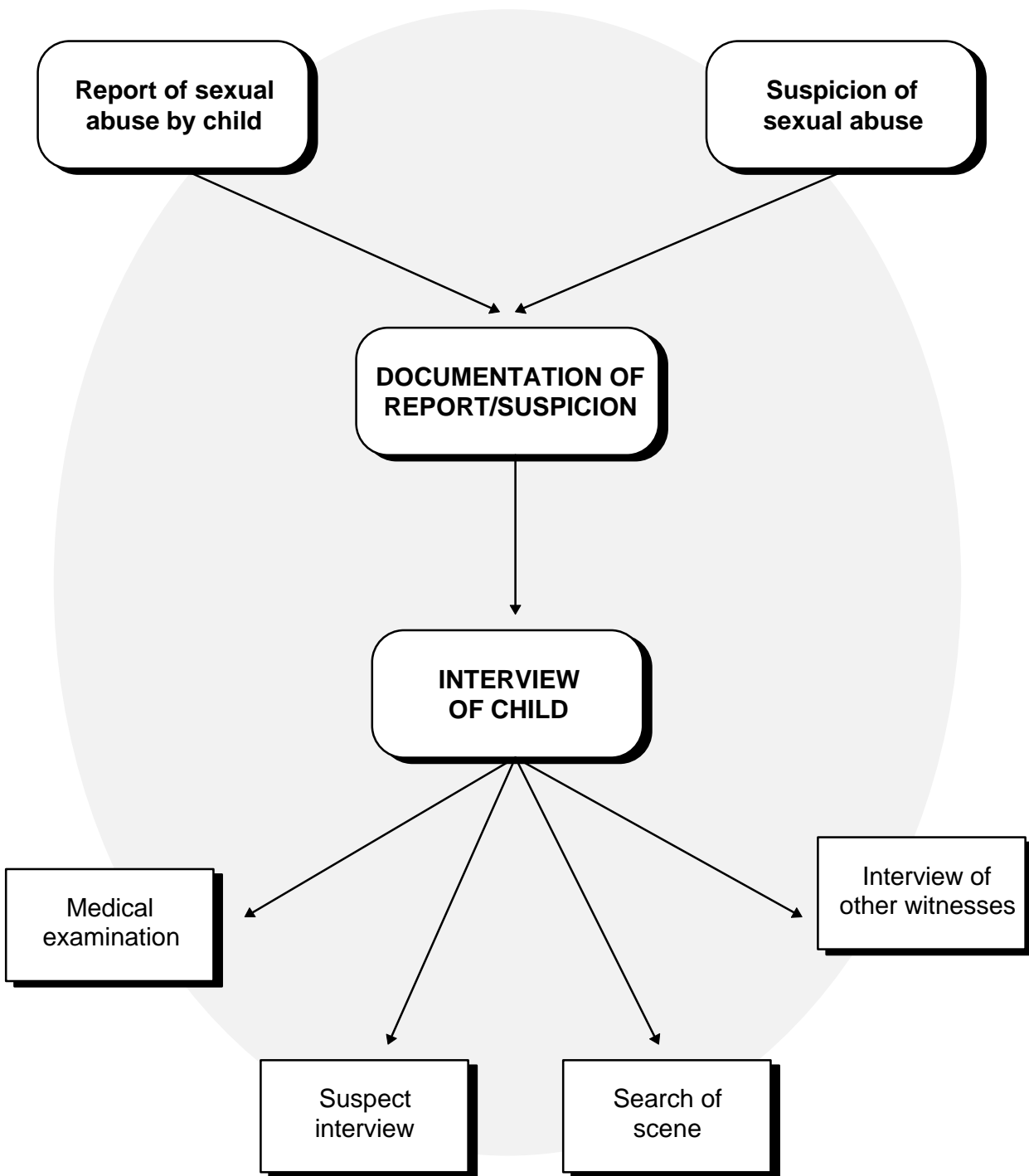
Effective training on child interviewing needs to cover research about children's memory and suggestibility, patterns of disclosure and reporting, and recommended interview techniques. In addition, the most effective training includes opportunities for students to *practice* interviewing skills and receive feedback from experts. Hearing about something, and even seeing it, are not nearly as productive as actually doing it. Very few professionals in the state have attended training on forensic interviewing that includes a practice component.

Training about interviewing should occur in the *context* of training about the *overall investigation*. While the forensic interview with a child in a suspected sexual abuse case is almost always the key evidence, by no means is it the only evidence. *Investigations should begin, not end, with the forensic interview of the child*. The interview should provide information which investigators can use to pursue other facets of the investigation, such as the suspect interview, interviews with collateral witnesses, a medical exam, and a search for other physical evidence. Forensic interviewers need to know the kind of information which will assist investigators in pursuing other leads, in addition to the child.

Figure 4 illustrates an interview of a suspected child abuse victim in the context of the overall investigation.

Figure 4

**INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE:
THE INTERVIEW IN CONTEXT**



Training in Washington

RCW 43.101.270 requires the Criminal Justice Training Commission (CJTC) to offer a self-supporting "intensive, integrated training session on investigating and prosecuting sexual assault cases" each year. It further specifies that the training should "be an integrated approach to sexual assault cases so that prosecutors, law enforcement, defenders, and victim advocates can all benefit from the training." Other than this proviso, which directs the commission to make training available, there is no requirement that state professionals involved in child abuse investigations receive specialized training.

Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Training Commission

The 280 police agencies in Washington State include approximately 8,000 sworn officers. Of the 280 agencies, 170 have ten officers or less. Thus, the majority of law enforcement agencies require their officers to investigate everything, and specialization in child abuse or sexual abuse is not an option. About 500 new individuals are hired each year in law enforcement.

All law enforcement officers must complete the Basic Academy offered by the CJTC, which lasts 11 weeks and provides 440 hours of instruction. The Basic Academy curriculum does not currently contain a special block of instruction on child abuse. A 20-hour block on crisis intervention, which provides some information on family violence, may cover some information on child abuse.

The Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs (WASPC) conducted a study regarding the sufficiency of the Basic Academy and released a report in December 1996. The report recommends expanding the Academy, and adding a requirement for 30 hours of training per year as a condition of continued certification (effective in 1998). Most experts believe specialized training on child sexual abuse is best done after the individual has worked on the job, rather than as a component of basic training.

The CJTC sponsors a course once a year on "Child Physical and Sexual Abuse Investigation." In 1996, this 40-hour course was attended by 28 people who were accepted out of 74 who applied. A four-hour didactic block on "Interviewing Children" is part of the agenda. The course is budgeted at \$5,800, with the majority of instruction provided by volunteers. Students do not pay a registration fee, but they or their agencies must cover transportation, per diem, and lodging costs associated with the training. Although there appears to be a demand for more than one course per year, the CJTC does not have the resources to offer it more often. They do not believe police agencies in the state have the money to allow the CJTC to pick up its costs and offer the course more often.

Another CJTC "official" course which includes information on child interviewing is the four-day "Interviewing and Interrogation In-Service" taught by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and offered four times each year. It includes a four-hour block on child molestation cases in which the instructor discusses both child interviewing and suspect interrogation. The course philosophy is to approach the investigation as if the child were deceased and no statement is available, thus the trainees must look for corroboration.

Child Protective Services

At any one time, approximately 430 workers are assigned to CPS in Washington. Up to 80 percent of them handle child sexual abuse cases. Turnover is usually around 10 percent annually. Only a half dozen of the most populated areas in the state have workers who specialize in child sexual abuse.

DSHS operates a Training Center, overseen by the Office of Quality Assurance and Training of the Children's Administration. Their Academy lasts three weeks, was offered nine times in 1996, and trains about 25 people per cycle, or 200 to 220 per year. One day of general information on sexual abuse and the process of sex abuse investigations is included, with some information on interviewing. However, as with the basic Academy for law enforcement, this is not considered the best place for CPS workers to absorb detailed information on sex abuse investigations and interviewing.

The Training Center offered a special two-day forensic interview training in 1996 and will be offering it 12 times in 1997 throughout the state. Three contractors will provide the training—Harborview Center for Sexual Assault and Traumatic Stress in Seattle, Deaconess Medical Center's RCCAN in Spokane, and a private consultant. It is expected that 25 to 50 people will attend each session. This training will cost the Center \$21,000 in 1997, approximately \$1,700 per session. Harborview's training in 1996 was well received, attended by both CPS and law enforcement, and included a practical interview exercise.

In November 1996, DSHS arranged for a 4 1/2 day technical assistance training in Olympia for about 75 CPS employees, "Child Abuse and Exploitation Investigative Techniques," sponsored by the federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). OJJDP covered the cost of the faculty's airfare and labor; DSHS paid for the facility and materials reproduction, as well as lodging, per diem, and car rental of faculty, at a total cost of about \$5,000. Five hours of instruction on interviewing techniques were included in this program.

Prosecutors

Washington State employs approximately 750 to 800 prosecutors (criminal and civil) in 39 counties. The Washington Association of Prosecuting Attorneys (WAPA) coordinates training for the prosecutors, sponsoring two conferences each year in the spring and summer and other specialized training throughout the year, such as on death penalty litigation, drug prosecutions and forfeitures, etc. They do not routinely offer specialized training regarding child abuse prosecution, although they would like to be able to do so. The spring and summer conferences have included sessions covering child abuse, and occasionally child interviewing, but only 15 to 16 hours are available to cover all topics relevant to prosecutors. WAPA receives \$80,000 per year from the Criminal Justice Training Commission for the training of prosecutors and spends \$200,000, with the difference made up by the individual prosecutors' offices.

Because sexual abuse cases (including child sexual abuse) are much more likely to go to trial than other crimes—a 20 percent trial rate for sex crimes compared with a 1 to 2 percent rate for other crimes—specialized training for prosecutors is deemed important. Some offices send their deputies to training conferences offered by organizations such as the National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse, the National College of District Attorneys, the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (APSAC), and others. However, this training is costly, often

around \$2,000 per person to cover conference registration, airfare, lodging, and meals. Many prosecutors, especially from the smaller jurisdictions, simply cannot afford this specialized training.

WAPA has a Special Assault Committee composed of prosecutors experienced with child abuse and rape cases. This committee provides prosecutors with an informal network of peers and has provided expertise to WAPA on legislative issues.

Figure 5 summarizes the advanced training sessions on interviewing techniques that state professionals attended last year.

Figure 5

**ADVANCED TRAINING IN INTERVIEWING CHILD WITNESSES:
ATTENDANCE BY WASHINGTON PROFESSIONALS**

AGENCY	Approximate Number of Employees	1996 Participants (Approximate)	Sponsor and Topic
Law Enforcement	8,000	28 100	Criminal Justice Training Commission "Child Physical and Sexual Abuse Investigation" (40-hour course) Federal Bureau of Investigation "Interviewing and Interrogation In-Service" (4-hour block on child investigation)
Child Protective Services	430	75 75	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency "Child Abuse and Exploitation Investigation Techniques" (5 hour block on interviewing) Children's Administration Training Center Forensic Interview Training (2-day course)
Prosecutors	750-800	Minimal* Minimal*	National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse Conferences National College of District Attorneys Conferences

* Minimal is fewer than 5.

Children's Justice Conference

Washington State currently receives funds each year through the federal Children's Justice Act [42 U.S.C. 5106c] Grants to the states are for the purpose of "developing, establishing, and operating programs designed to improve (1) the handling of child abuse...particularly child sexual abuse in a manner which reduces trauma to the child; (2) the handling of child abuse or neglect fatalities; and (3) the investigation and prosecution of cases of child abuse and neglect, particularly child sexual abuse and exploitation." Washington received \$193,360 in 1996, \$192,470 in 1995, and \$217,104 in 1994.

Since 1993, approximately \$60,000 of available CJA funding has been used to support a multidisciplinary "Children's Justice Conference" which annually attracts over 2,000 attendees statewide. The program for this two-day conference presents national speakers who address a number of state-of-the-art issues related to child abuse investigation and prosecution. The remainder of CJA funds have been used to fund/support a variety of other short-term activities over the last several years, including demonstration projects on multidisciplinary handling of child abuse cases, and training for Indian tribes across the state.

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Training

In August 1997, OJJDP will sponsor two 4 1/2 day regional training classes in Seattle, "Child Abuse and Exploitation Investigative Techniques" (CAE-IT) and "Child Sexual Exploitation Investigations." Those interested may apply and if chosen, registration fees and hotel costs are covered. About 60 to 75 students are allowed per class, and both classes are expected to fill early. Since 1983, OJJDP has trained 388 people from Washington at the CAE-IT course. This training was mentioned most often by those interviewed during the site visits as the best they received.

Training Opportunities Outside the State

Each year a number of high quality multidisciplinary national child abuse training conferences take place in various locations throughout the country. Sponsored by organizations such as the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (APSAC), the National Children's Advocacy Center in Huntsville, Alabama, the San Diego Center for Child Protection, and others, these conferences attract hundreds of participants from diverse perspectives. Registration usually costs from \$300 to \$500 for three to five days of training. Approximately 10 percent of conference agendas are typically devoted to topics related to child interviewing. Demonstrations are sometimes a part of the conference; practical exercises almost never are.

In California, Children's Institute International has developed a five-day Forensic Interview Training Clinic, which involves 14 hours of student-conducted interviews and critiques, as well as lecture presentations. Twenty-eight students attended the Clinic the last time it was offered; about 15 people are involved as faculty and adjunct faculty to provide the training. Costs to provide this training are estimated at about \$20,000. While considered state-of-the-art training, the cost is prohibitively high for many. Other organizations are developing similar training opportunities. It remains to be seen if these can be subsidized or the costs scaled down so that more people can afford to participate.

Summary

Professionals in Washington have had limited opportunities for training in effective investigative and interviewing techniques. With the exception of the Harborview training, the training opportunities have been primarily presented in a lecture format, without the practice component that is considered essential by experts.

More opportunities are needed within the state for comprehensive and multidisciplinary training. It is cost-effective to provide such training within the state, with local agencies organizing and presenting the topics, rather than sending people out of state. The Children's Justice Act funds could be used to support some of this training.

Section Four

**VIDEOTAPING INVESTIGATIVE
INTERVIEWS OF CHILDREN**

This section summarizes the points of view regarding videotaping, then covers the laws and practices regarding its use in other states and countries.

PROS AND CONS OF VIDEOTAPING INTERVIEWS

Videotaping interviews with children who may have been victims of sexual abuse is a subject of controversy in Washington State and across the country. Debates about the merits of videotaping have taken place in professional journals and newsletters, at conferences and meetings, in legislatures and communities, and in courtrooms. Videotaping is currently not the standard of practice for investigative interviews of children, other victims and witnesses, or suspects in any community in Washington State⁴.

The debates about videotaping almost always center on children who may have been ~~sexually~~ sexually abused. However, no argument that is made from the scientific and practical knowledge bases can be exclusively applied to this one crime. It is important that policymakers distinguish public and professional controversies about sexual abuse per se from the examination of the merits or problems of videotaping investigative interviews.

The following summary is designed to concisely present the arguments surrounding videotaping. In order to cover the full spectrum of the debate, the arguments in favor of videotaping will be presented, including the counter arguments, followed by a similar review of the opposing arguments.

Arguments in Favor and Counter Arguments:

1. Videotaping is the most complete and accurate form of documentation.

Evaluating the validity of an interview requires assessment of the interview's quality and the presence or absence of improper interviewing approaches. Written documentation is unlikely to be complete and audio recording does not provide information about interviewer demeanor or non-verbal behaviors or the emotional or behavioral responses of children.

Counter:

The basic premise is not disputed, but the necessity of videotaping has not been proven in the field. Most communities do not routinely videotape and are able to successfully prosecute cases with no evidence that the absence of such documentation has resulted in miscarriages of justice.

2. Videotaping a single investigative interview may obviate the need for multiple interviews.

Multiple interviews increase the risk for inaccuracies and errors and increase distress for children. Professionals can agree upon a single designated interviewer and make the videotape available for review instead of conducting separate interviews. A system that relies on videotaped interviews encourages fewer interviews.

⁴ Spokane County videotaped investigative interviews of suspected child abuse victims from 1988 to 1992. The multidisciplinary team elected to discontinue this practice; their rationale for this decision is available from the Institute.

Counter:

Many communities have accomplished the same goal by developing coordinated, multi-disciplinary interview teams which reduce the number of interviews without videotaping. There is no evidence that videotaping decreases the total number of interviews conducted, compared to communities with child advocacy centers or special protocols for limiting interviews of children.

3. Videotaping will promote successful prosecution and lead to increased support for abused children.

Suspects may be more likely to confess when confronted with videotapes and plead guilty. Children then are spared testifying. Videotaped statements may be helpful in cases where children subsequently recant. Parental support may be increased when parents have an opportunity to observe their children actually describing what happened. This may reduce parental interrogations of children.

Counter:

The only evidence for these arguments is anecdotal. No empirical evidence exists that more confessions, convictions, or increased parental support occurs with videotaping.

4. Communities support the use of videotaping.

Many communities around the country have adopted videotaping and have had successful experiences. A survey of involved professionals in two demonstration projects studied in California revealed widespread satisfaction with videotaping.

Counter:

Just because it works in some communities does not mean it should be imposed as a requirement. There are significant implications to making videotaping the standard for all communities.

5. Videotaping is a form of quality control.

Interviewers may be more aware and careful about how they conduct interviews when they are being videotaped. Many interviewers, even when instructed to use open-ended approaches and avoid direct or leading questions, still do so. Direct observation is an effective feedback mechanism to change interviewing behavior. Teaching and supervision are enhanced with opportunities to observe interviewing.

Counter:

This argument is not disputed, although it has not been proven to be necessary or sufficient to achieve competent interviewing skills.

6. Videotaped interviews can be introduced as evidence.

In the United Kingdom, legislation permits the introduction of videotaped interviews conducted according to protocol in lieu of live testimony. Videotaped interviews are admissible under exceptions to the hearsay rule in many jurisdictions in the United States by statute or case law.

Counter:

Videotaped interviews are not generally admissible in lieu of testimony at trial in the United States. In the United Kingdom, children must still be available for cross examination. Videotapes may be allowed as exceptions to the hearsay rule but not as a substitute for children's live testimony. Verbal testimonial descriptions of interviews are routine and serve the same purpose.

Arguments Opposed and Counter Arguments:

1. The investigative interview is neither the first nor the only interview, and videotaping one interview places excessive emphasis on one of several interviews.

Children's first statements are almost always made to or elicited by parents, family, friends, or non-expert professionals like teachers, doctors, or therapists. First interviews are considered the most important because there has been the least opportunity to influence the children's memory. These interviews will never be subject to videotaping. In addition, children may give more information in informal conversations or non-criminal justice interviews. Since all interviews cannot be videotaped, it weakens the argument that it is essential to have a videotape of the investigative interview to evaluate the validity of the report. It also creates a standard that will invariably result in less weight being placed on initial or non-videotaped interviews. This could result in relevant and important evidence being discounted or discredited.

Counter:

While it may be true that initial conversations or interviews cannot be videotaped, official investigative interviews can be. Simply because some interviews cannot be videotaped does not detract from the benefits of videotaping available interviews. It is even possible to videotape medical and therapeutic interviews since they are planned.

2. Videotaping will focus attention on interviewer behavior instead of children's statements.

It is virtually impossible to conduct an interview without asking specific questions, some of which will be leading. Even mildly suggestive questions may be indicated when there is corroborating evidence. Just because an interviewer asks questions or even uses improper interviewing methods does not mean the answers are inaccurate. Providing the opportunity to critique every question and point out how it might increase suggestibility will create an exaggerated lack of confidence in children's responses.

Counter:

Opposing counsel and fact-finders have a right to know how children were interviewed in order to form an opinion about the validity of statements. If interviewers use improper interviewing techniques it is only fair and responsible to provide the record. Criticism of interviews is a legitimate tactic and may increase accurate judgments and verdicts. If there are major inconsistencies, it is proper to require their explanation. Direct and cross examination can give children an opportunity to clarify any discrepancies. Properly conducted interviews that can be viewed serve to dispel criticism and enhance children's credibility.

3. Only requiring videotaping of investigative interviews with children discriminates against children as a class of citizens.

Videotaping is based on the premise that the opportunity to observe how witnesses are interviewed is essential to evaluating validity because people are suggestible, especially under certain interviewing conditions. However, research shows that only *young* children, as a group, are significantly more suggestible than older children and adults. By applying this standard to interviews with *all* children, an impression is created that children of all ages are especially susceptible to improper interviewing. Arguments could be made that there are other groups who are equally vulnerable including: non-English speakers, minorities, immigrants, the elderly, the developmentally disabled, and even suspects.

Counter:

Videotaping of all significant criminal justice interviews is a desirable goal. The argument that all witnesses are potentially suggestible is supported by research. In many jurisdictions it has become standard practice to video or audiotape most or all interviews.

4. Videotapes of children's interviews are especially sensitive materials and public dissemination would be harmful.

It is possible that defendants, the media, or others could obtain copies of the interviews. There have been cases where videotaped interviews have been provided to the media in violation of court orders. This results in humiliation and further victimization of children. It is impossible to guarantee security of videotapes, especially in high profile cases.

Counter:

Procedures can be put in place to ensure that copies are not disseminated. There have been few instances of release, publication, or bootlegging of children's investigative interviews.

5. Financial and logistical problems preclude the universal adoption of videotaping for all investigative interviews.

Most CPS interviews are conducted in the field, many in response to urgent situations where planning and preparation is not possible. Setting up the equipment in homes, day care centers, and schools is not feasible and could substantially interfere with children's comfort and cooperation. Interview approaches that recommend videotaping advocate special interviewing rooms with unobtrusive equipment placement.

In order for routine videotaping to be implemented, all CPS units and police departments would have to acquire the equipment. Workers would have to be skilled in the proper use. Substantial expense would be associated with training and acquisition of equipment. Back-up systems that are recommended add additional costs.

Counter:

The equipment is not all that expensive and is worth the cost. Some interviews are truly urgent and could be exempted from a videotape requirement, but most are not and, therefore, could be conducted in a special interviewing facility that is videotape equipped.

6. If videotaping is adopted as the standard for investigative interviews, no logical basis exists not to extend this practice to all other interviews with the child. The result will be that children will be discouraged from talking about their experiences.

The critical underlying premise of the videotaping argument is that memory is vulnerable to distortion and therefore knowing how interviews are conducted is essential to evaluating validity of statements. Yet children will be interviewed by other professionals to ensure proper medical care and for psychosocial evaluation and treatment. They may talk to their family or friends about what happened. If memories are as vulnerable as claimed, then all talking about the events should be discouraged and/or videotaped until after resolution of the legal case. On the other hand, there is evidence that talking about traumatic events decreases distress. Parental and adult expressions of belief and support are the most important factors in reducing harmful effects of victimization and aiding children's recovery. This standard would create an incentive for families to not do what is best for their children in order to satisfy arguments that the children have not been influenced. Since legal resolution of cases always takes months and often takes years, child victims would be denied the healing environment that is regarded as a routine expectation for adult crime victims.

Counter:

It is unavoidable that there will be some conversation about what happened with children, and this is not necessarily fatal to the case. However, it may be better to minimize discussions or therapy that directly address victimization experiences to ensure that reports are not contaminated before the legal case is completed.

Summary

Compelling arguments regarding videotaping are found on both sides of the issue. Two primary advantages of videotaping investigative interviews exist. First, it is the best documentation available of the event. Second, it serves as an important mechanism for ensuring the quality of interviews. The primary disadvantages rest with the costs and logistics and that the videotapes could be used to highlight even minor departures from ideal interviewing approaches. Most of the other arguments in favor or opposing videotaping are based on anecdotes, assumptions, or hypothetical scenarios. There is no research evidence connecting the use or lack of use of videotaping to specific case outcomes.

The scientific basis for heightened concern about susceptibility to suggestive influences during investigative interviews is limited to younger children. For older children or teenagers, there is no logical basis for distinguishing them from adults in general or vulnerable sub-populations of adults. And, there are individual differences. Many young children can resist improper interviewing and older children, teenagers, and adults can fall prey to suggestive interviewing.

Observing how an interview is conducted does not help determine whether the responses are accurate. Such observation does provide information regarding the probability that answers were influenced.

Setting a standard of videotaping interviews imposes resource requirements on CPS, law enforcement, and prosecutors offices. The costs would vary depending on the jurisdiction and which interviews were covered.

Whatever direction is taken, it is important that the state's social policy regarding child sexual abuse, and the practices surrounding it, support a social climate that encourages children to report such experiences and for adults to support them during the investigative process. The progress made by our society in being willing to acknowledge sexual abuse of children, and support children as legal remedies are pursued, should not be lost.

LEGISLATION AND PRACTICE IN OTHER STATES

Statutory Provisions

This section reviews the statutes and practices in other states regarding videotaping interviews of suspected child abuse victims. Although these interviews are videotaped in a number of jurisdictions, only Idaho, Minnesota, and New Hampshire have legislation which requires taping. The relevant statutory language from each of these states follows:

- **Idaho** Idaho Code @ 16-1609B (1996) Investigative interviews of alleged child abuse victims

"Unless otherwise demonstrated by good cause, all investigative or risk assessment interviews of alleged victims of child abuse will be documented by audio or video taping whether conducted by personnel of law enforcement entities or the department of health and welfare. The absence of such audio or video taping shall not limit the admissibility of such evidence in any related court proceeding."

- **Minnesota** Minn. Stat. @ 626.556 (1996) Reporting of Maltreatment of Minors

Subdivision 10. Duties of local welfare agency and local law enforcement agency upon receipt of a report.

"(j) The local welfare agency shall use a question and answer interviewing format with questioning as nondirective as possible to elicit spontaneous responses. The following interviewing methods and procedures must be used whenever possible when collecting information:

- (1) audio recording of all interviews with witnesses and collateral sources; and
- (2) in cases of alleged sexual abuse, audio-video recordings of each interview with the alleged victim and child witnesses."

- **New Hampshire** RSA 169-C:38 (1995) Report to Law Enforcement Authority

"IV. Law enforcement personnel or department employees who are trained caseworkers shall have the right to enter any public place...for the purpose of conducting an interview with a child...[suspected of having been abused]."

"V. For any interview conducted pursuant to paragraph IV, every effort shall be made to video-tape the interview with the child. If the interview cannot be video-taped, it shall be recorded."

All these laws are relatively recent. Only Idaho's applies to law enforcement investigations of criminal cases. The Minnesota and New Hampshire statutes are part of their legislation concerning the state social services agency and civil child protection investigations. New Hampshire requires recording only of interviews conducted in "public place[s]."

California's legislature authorized funding for several three-year pilot projects (until January 1, 1994) whose purpose was to implement and evaluate recommendations of the California Child

Victim Witness Judicial Advisory Committee, including the recommendations that investigative interviews of children be videotaped. The relevant statute is summarized below.

- **California** Cal Pen Code @ 14008(*operative until January 1, 1994*)

Authorized the Attorney General, in 1989 to establish and fund up to three investigative pilot and demonstration projects for a three-year period, to implement and evaluate recommendations of the California Child Victim Witness Judicial Advisory Committee. Each pilot project was to "require the mandatory use of videotaping of the comprehensive child interview, with the understanding and agreement of the child. This videotaping shall be conducted only after initial interviews and contacts have been made, if necessary, by the district attorney, local law enforcement agencies, or social services agencies."

Despite widespread support by both prosecutors and defense advocates in California, videotaping is not currently a mandated activity. Each jurisdiction within that state determines how to document investigative interviews.

Implementation Experiences

In an effort to determine how videotaping was being implemented in other states, telephone interviews were conducted with several professionals who have day-to-day responsibility for investigation and prosecution. Because practices vary significantly within the state, and the interviews covered only some key counties, the responses do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive description of each state's situation. Oregon's experiences are also included; although state law does not mandate videotaping in this state, it is common practice.

Idaho: County prosecutors in Idaho are responsible for both civil child protection actions and criminal prosecutions of child abuse cases. (In Washington State, county prosecutors are responsible for criminal prosecutions, while civil child abuse proceedings are handled by the state Attorney General's Office.) Although the law mandating videotaping by both law enforcement and CPS became effective in 1996, several jurisdictions in Idaho have videotaped their investigative interviews of children for years. The Idaho Supreme Court previously expressed its preference for videotaping in *Idaho v. Wright*, 775 P. 2d 1224 (1989), which later was heard by the United States Supreme Court. It should be noted that neither the Idaho Court nor the U.S. Supreme Court considers videotaping necessary to a trial court finding of reliability of a child's statement. The Idaho law directs that the absence of taping will not limit admissibility of evidence regarding the child interview.

Videotaped interviews are considered fully discoverable in Idaho and are routinely provided to the defense as discovery. Witnesses, including children, have the right under state law to decline to be interviewed by the defense before trial and there is no right to depose them (as in Washington) if they refuse. Idaho's law also differs from Washington's in that it allows statements to be recorded with only the consent of one party to the conversation. This provision permits investigators to utilize covert recordings of suspects in abuse cases, and is considered an important investigative tool.

The CARES (Child at Risk Evaluation Services) Unit of St. Luke's Regional Medical Center in Boise is an assessment center in the state's largest county, and has a well-established system for conducting medical examinations and videotaped interviews of children in suspected sexual abuse

cases. They receive referrals from both law enforcement and CPS. Interviews are conducted by specially trained registered nurses at this facility, and Boise professionals appear to be very satisfied with their system. Despite defense objections, some CARES videotaped interviews have been offered by the prosecution under Idaho's residual hearsay exception and admitted as evidence in criminal sexual abuse trials. *Idaho v. Ransom*, 864 P. 2d 149 (1993).

In two smaller counties in the northern part of the state, (Kootenai County with a population of 90,000 and Bonner County with a population of 30,000) investigative interviews are routinely videotaped at local facilities of the Idaho Department of Health and Welfare. A CPS caseworker in Bonner County assists law enforcement and conducts most of the interviews there, even in alleged third party abuse cases with no official CPS involvement, because she has the most experience with such cases. However, most other Idaho counties are rural and sparsely populated, and it was reported that many lack the facilities and training necessary to conduct videotaped interviews. Many police agencies see their biggest problem as having neither video nor audio tape equipment, nor specially trained personnel to do the interviews. Some Idaho professionals have suggested the formation of regional task forces to assist with sexual abuse investigations, but this suggestion has yet to be funded and implemented.

Minnesota: Like Idaho, Minnesota county attorneys handle both civil child protection and criminal child abuse cases. Minnesota is also similar to Idaho in that it requires only one-party consent to taping, videotapes are fully discoverable, and witnesses can refuse to speak to defense attorneys before trial. In addition, videotaping has been voluntarily utilized to document investigative interviews of children in various locations in the state, long before the 1996 law requiring CPS personnel to do so. Their statute mandating taping also requires the use of "non-directive" questioning, and apparently emanated from a concern about the quality of interviews conducted by social workers. The statute is said to be consistent with a Minnesota preference for taping in other areas. For example, Minnesota and Alaska are the only states which require that custodial interrogations of suspects be recorded in order to be admissible.

The two largest counties in Minnesota, Ramsey and Hennepin, have been videotaping child interviews for ten years or more. Each county has its own advocacy center program, the Midwest Children's Center in Ramsey and Corner House in Hennepin. Both facilities conduct medical exams and forensic interviews of children in suspected abuse cases. Specialized child interviewers are employed at Corner House to conduct the videotaped interviews, and specially trained medical personnel do so at the Midwest Children's Center. CPS and law enforcement are often present and observe the interviews. The professionals at these centers often conduct training sessions in smaller jurisdictions across the state, where the interviewers are more likely to be law enforcement investigators or CPS workers. Those who were interviewed for this report said that videotaping is used throughout the state.

Videotaping is considered to work well by prosecutors, in part because of the Minnesota law which allows the use of taped statements as substantive evidence by the prosecution in many child abuse cases. Minn. Stat. @ 595.02(3) specifies that the recorded statement of an alleged victim of sexual or physical abuse under the age of ten, may be admissible if the court finds sufficient indications of its reliability, and the child either testifies or, if the child is unavailable, there is corroborative evidence of the act of abuse. Although videotapes are rarely used to substitute for the child's testimony in Minnesota, they are routinely admitted as evidence at the prosecutor's request in most child abuse trials.

New Hampshire: New Hampshire's law requiring videotaping is part of its juvenile code and applies to civil child protection cases, not to criminal child abuse investigations, and only to child interviews conducted in "public places." The county attorney is responsible for criminal child sexual abuse prosecutions, while agency or contract attorneys handle civil child protection cases. Investigators in New Hampshire are able to conduct covert recording of conversations with suspects if they first get the approval of their county attorney or the state Attorney General. Witnesses aged 16 and under can decline to be interviewed by the defense before trial, and cannot be deposed when they refuse.

New Hampshire has ten counties and the individual practices with videotaping vary greatly. The decision about taping in most counties is left up to individual investigators. In one of the larger counties, Rockingham, with a population of 250,000, it is estimated that 33 out of the 34 towns in the county never videotape their interviews with children. Some law enforcement investigators, however, audiotape their interviews with all witnesses, including children. There are efforts underway to develop a child advocacy center in Portsmouth, the biggest town in the county, which would include equipment and facilities to videotape investigative interviews of children.

Stafford County, with a population of 100,000 is the one county in the state which, since 1987, has a policy to videotape all investigative interviews of children in alleged sexual abuse cases. Stafford's 16 police agencies have all agreed to refer their cases of alleged sexual abuse to the prosecutor's office for forensic interviews of children. The prosecutor has hired two people in the victim witness assistance program who conduct the videotaped interviews with children. These professionals have received specialized training on interviewing and themselves now provide training for police departments and employees of the Division of Children, Youth and Families (DCYF). Through a grant from the New Hampshire Attorney General's Task Force, Stafford County has purchased \$6,000 worth of high-quality videotaping equipment and the prosecutor provides the facility (which has a one-way mirror) at which the interviews are conducted. Approximately 135 interviews were conducted last year.

Local judges in Stafford County have never ordered the prosecution to provide copies of the videotaped interviews to the defense. Instead, defense attorneys are allowed to observe the tape at the prosecutor's office and can receive a transcript. This policy resulted from concern about potential violations of children's privacy with illegal tape distribution. It was reported that videotapes are not admitted very often as evidence during trials, but that when they have been admitted, the outcome has almost always been a conviction.

Videotaping could be more widely used in New Hampshire if resources for personnel, equipment, and training were available. The rural nature and sparse population of the state make it difficult for investigators to specialize and have the ability to tape, but where specialized interview facilities are available, videotaping is much more likely to occur.

Oregon: While videotaping is not a legal requirement in Oregon, it is used voluntarily across the state.

Some key differences exist, however, between the legal systems of Oregon and Washington. Among these differences is the right of a witness in Oregon to decline to be interviewed by the defense prior to a trial. There is no ability to obtain a deposition under such circumstances as there is in Washington. Also, Oregon is a "one-party consent" state, and investigators can use covert recording of suspects to gather additional evidence during an investigation. Such

recordings are especially useful in child sexual abuse cases where the alleged child victim is old enough to place a call to a suspect and confront him or her about the abuse early in an investigation. This approach is widely used in other "one-party consent" states such as California.

Another significant factor influencing Oregon's use of videotaping is their state's case law upholding the admissibility of videotaped forensic interviews when introduced at trial as evidence by the prosecution, where the interviews were conducted at a hospital-based child abuse assessment center. *State v. Wilson*, 855 P.2d 657 (1993). The Oregon appellate court in *Wilson* found that the child's statements to the interviewer met the hearsay exception requirements for, and thus qualified as statements made for the purposes of medical diagnosis or treatment. Many practitioners believe it is unlikely that Washington appellate courts would agree with this analysis. Clearly, Oregon prosecutors are confident that videotaped interviews will be frequently admitted as evidence at trial when a child makes convincing statements describing abuse during the interview. Washington prosecutors do not view such practice as likely in this state.

VIDEOTAPING LAWS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

This section reviews the laws and practices in other countries.

Canada

Similar to the experiences in the United States, coordinated investigations conducted by Children's Aid (the CPS equivalent) and law enforcement are common and considered the desirable standard of practice. Community protocols, multidisciplinary teams, and specialized units are common, especially in the larger jurisdictions. Videotaping is not mandated but is used in some jurisdictions. Videotapes can be introduced at trial but not in lieu of testimony. Children can testify by closed circuit television.

United Kingdom

I. England and Wales

In 1992, the Criminal Justice Act containing provisions for investigations involving juvenile witnesses was implemented. It called for joint investigative interviewing by police and social workers and mandated videotaping of the interview. The Memorandum of Good Practice established the method and approach for interviews. The intent of the law was to allow the introduction of videotape in lieu of testimony, although children would need to be available for cross-examination. Children may also testify via live-link.

An evaluation of the implementation of the Act was conducted. During the first 27 months, police produced over 15,000 videotapes of which approximately one-fourth were submitted to the Crown Prosecution Service. During this period, 1,199 trials took place in England and Wales; in 640 cases, there were applications to show the videotapes. Most applications were from the prosecution and most were accepted by the court; but, in only 202 cases were the tapes actually played at trial. Of these cases that went to trial, slightly less than half resulted in convictions. The outcomes of the trials were not affected by the use of either videotapes or live examinations.

II. Scotland

Although Scotland is a part of the United Kingdom, it has a separate judicial system for criminal matters. In 1992, a working group was established to provide guidance and identify training requirements for police and social workers who participated in investigations of cases of alleged child abuse. A draft report was issued in June 1995 and the final report is expected soon. This document will be the equivalent of the Memorandum of Good Practice that established the method and approach for investigative interviewing in England and Wales. Since 1994, it has been possible for the prosecution and defense to request that the court accept testimony from the child in private. The crown and defense conduct direct and cross examination on videotape. At the judge's discretion, the videotape may be admitted in place of live testimony.

A provision to allow the use of videotaped interviews in lieu of testimony was introduced in April 1996.

Children may testify via live-link. An evaluation of the use of the procedure revealed that: applications for use were made in about half the cases and are most often accepted; children had positive reactions because they did not have to confront the defendant; there were relatively few differences in the quality of the testimony and emotional reactions of children; and, lawyers continue to have reservations about lack of confrontation.

Joint investigations by police and social workers are common and considered the desirable standard of practice.

New Zealand

Police and social workers from the Children and Young Persons Service have formed sexual abuse teams in each geographic area. They conduct the videotaped evidential interview with the child. The videotape may be introduced at trial, but not in lieu of testimony. The police and social workers are trained together and follow strict guidelines for the interview process. The social worker usually conducts the interview with the police observing, but that is not always the case nor is it required.

In 1990, the Evidence Amendment Act and the Summary Proceedings Act came into force. These laws were designed to improve and promote prosecution and improve the process for child witnesses. They addressed child witness competency requirements and permitted alternative means by which children could give evidence: prerecorded videotape; screening; or closed circuit television. Regardless of the procedure, the defense is permitted cross-examination. If a videotape is used, a judge reviews it prior to admission to ensure the rules of evidence are observed. Experts are explicitly permitted to testify.

The Netherlands

Child abuse is most often handled outside the civil or criminal justice system. A "confidential doctor" system permits designated doctors to accept referrals and to organize care for the child and/or family. They can, but are not required or even expected to, refer cases to the Child Protection Boards which are the equivalent of child protective services and located under the Ministry of Justice. The Boards accept referrals and carry out investigations, but do not usually interview children about sexual abuse; the focus is not on proving that abuse occurred.

Police accept reports of sexual abuse and interviews are usually conducted by qualified and specially trained officers or a professional expert. Interviews are audio or videotaped. There is a high attrition rate with only about half of the cases being investigated; the other half are often dropped between the police investigation and the court proceedings. The legal system is inquisitorial; children under twelve do not testify; experts are appointed by the court and testify; and, the police officer or expert who conducted the interview occasionally testifies.

Israel

The Law of Evidence Revision Protection of Children was passed in 1955 and established uniform procedures regulating the manner in which information is obtained from witnesses and suspected

offenders under 15 years old. The law was based on the belief that testifying in court would cause irreversible harm to children and that an expectation of testifying would deter reporting and cooperation. Only youth investigators who work for the probation department have the authority to interview children and make decisions about whether cases should proceed. Police, social workers, health professionals, and others are required to refer all allegations to youth investigators and are prohibited from conducting interviews. Since 1991, interviews must be audiotaped. If youth investigators conclude it is not in a child's best interest to testify, investigators may testify in the child's place. It is estimated that only ten percent of cases are prosecuted; children rarely testify.

Widespread dissatisfaction with the current system from police, social workers, judges, and legal scholars led to the establishment of the Melamed Committee in 1985. In spite of numerous recommendations, the Committee's only recommendation was to require audiotaping of interviews.

EVALUATING VIDEOTAPING: A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Background

If Washington policymakers want to research the consequences of videotaping on case outcomes for child sexual abuse investigations, a pilot study could be established. Legislation authorizing such a study was introduced to the 1996 Legislature and may be reintroduced.⁵ A scientific study could assist the state in evaluating the merits of videotaping. This section outlines a potential research proposal.

Research Proposal

In order to isolate the role of videotaping, the study would randomly assign half the cases for videotaping of the forensic interviews and the others would not be videotaped. The study would focus on cases involving younger children because they have been shown, as a group, to have heightened vulnerability to suggestive interviewing and therefore special documentation procedures may be warranted. Information would be collected about key demographic and case-variables, case activities, and outcome. Costs associated with acquiring and using the video equipment, transcribing, and the use of experts would be calculated. Statistical analyses would determine whether there are differences between videotaped and non-videotaped cases and identify variables that are associated with differences.

The results would reveal the costs and impact of videotaping in this jurisdiction. Future discussions and policy considerations could be informed by this systematically gathered knowledge.

Methodology

Site: A community with a sufficient volume of cases to provide a sample size that can detect differences, and a willingness to participate in a scientific study.

Subjects: All cases involving children 7 or 8 years old and younger where an investigative interview is conducted for the purpose of deciding whether criminal charges should be filed.

Procedure:

- An advisory group consisting of prosecutors, police, defense lawyers, and victim advocates would be formed to oversee the project, help determine variables of interest, and establish procedures for protection of the videotapes.
- An interview room would be equipped with state-of-the-art videotaping equipment.
- A randomization procedure would be devised and all interviews with the target population would be videotaped or not videotaped based on the procedure.
- Data collection measures would be created to collect information on the witness, the case characteristics, the case activities, and case outcome. In cases where there is a trial, the

⁵ SB 6159

testimony of the child and the presentation of the videotape would be observed and rated. Jurors/judges would be asked to complete a questionnaire about factors they considered in reaching a verdict, including the weight given a videotape and experts when present.

Measures/Variables:

Child Witness: Age, gender, ethnicity, family income, family composition.

Case Characteristics: Nature of the allegation including type of act, frequency, use of force, relationship of accused; other evidence including witnesses, medical or forensic evidence, confession, delay to report/recantation.

Case Activities: Charging/decline decision, nature of charges filed, number of subsequent interviews, length of time to case resolution, plea/dismissal/trial, trial outcomes.

Documentation of Interview as an Issue: Whether the videotape/videotaping is noted as a factor in charging decisions, admissions, or is raised as an issue at trial; whether the videotape is introduced at trial and if so the nature of direct and cross examination regarding the videotape; whether experts on interviewing testify; whether tapes are disseminated improperly to defendants or the media.

Impact of Documentation Method on Jurors/Judges: Questionnaire on the weight accorded testimony, videotapes, experts; whether a videotape is considered helpful.

Costs: The cost of setting up the videotaping system, tapes, transcriptions, and experts.

Statistics: Descriptive statistics and group (videotape/non-videotape) comparisons on all variables and multivariate analyses to identify the contribution of group assignment to key dependent variables (e.g., case outcome).

Training

The selected jurisdiction could be awarded funds to train personnel in state-of-the-art interviewing techniques, including opportunities to practice their skills and receive feedback from experts.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: KING COUNTY PROTOCOL FOR MULTIPLE PARTY CASES

A. Definition—These cases involve referrals where abuse may be occurring in a setting where many children may be at risk or where many individuals may be offenders. This includes any case where a victim indicates the possibility of a group of offenders with a high degree of cohesiveness and membership control.

B. Specialized Response—Special treatment of these cases is required (i.e., systematic and coordinated initial response in the investigation and prosecution) for the following reasons:

- The children and parents are likely to know and communicate with each other and potentially contaminate the individual reports.
- These cases often involve very young children who may have limitations in their capacity to recall and describe multiple acts of abuse and may be more vulnerable to threats and intimidation.
- Children subjected to extreme forms of intimidation or abuse in groups by trusted authority figures may be more fearful of reporting. Additionally, they may only tell gradually over time, in fragments, in very secure settings, or with significant prompting.
- It is inherently difficult to accurately recall specific, separate acts/incidents where they involve many occurrences, with different individuals, over time.

C. Procedure

Initial response by law enforcement

- Immediate referral to supervisor of law enforcement investigative units.
- Supervisor assigns a single investigator to coordinate the case.
- Investigator identifies representatives from other relevant systems (e.g., victim advocates, CPS, day care licensing, and prosecuting attorney) to respond.
- Investigative team decides on case approach and creates documentation system.
- Investigator designates one person as media contact if necessary.
- Prior agreement upon information to be disclosed is made.

Investigation by law enforcement

- Identify all possible victims.
- Arrange for interviews through the prosecutor's office utilizing their protocol.
- Interview as many victims and witnesses as possible as close in time as possible—RUSH.
- Explore with victims all other possible victims and suspects at initial interview.
- Elicit from parents any information regarding possible victims and suspects.
- Investigate ALL allegations thoroughly.
- Use surveillance, search warrants, criminal records checks, evidence collection, lab analysis, etc., as required.
- Interview all suspects and obtain a statement.

Response to victims

- Set up a forensic medical evaluation as soon as possible with one of the specialized sexual abuse medical providers, including colposcopic exam, drug/toxicology screen when indicated. It is preferable in cases involving multiple victims that medical exams be obtained at the same facility.

- Therapy—Therapists will not conduct investigative interviewing or act as agents of the criminal justice system. Unless the child makes spontaneous disclosure, there should not be contact between the investigator and therapist/counselor.

Response to parents and/or guardians

- Identify the group of involved parents or guardians of the victims.
- A team is designated to attend a meeting with this group to provide specific instructions regarding the following:
 - Therapy/counseling for children—the issues that will be addressed and who provides.
 - Group support network with ground rules regarding interaction between group members. For the good of the case, it is necessary that there be no identification of issues or specific details discussed. In addition, group participants will be aware that team members will be present during support meetings.
- Discussion of the incident(s) should not be initiated by adults with the child.
- Document and notify law enforcement of any disclosure.
- Document and notify parents and guardians of the way the "System" works regarding the case. Provide them with a knowledge base of how the case will be responded to and the timelines to anticipate.
- Advise parents not to conduct investigative activities on their own.

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL EXPERTS CONSULTED AND INTERVIEWING RESOURCES

Jan Bays, MD and Emy Sloan
Emmanuel Hospital CARES Unit
Portland, Oregon

Barry Black
Assistant County Attorney
Kootenai County, Idaho

Bette Bottoms, Ph.D.
UIC Department of Psychology
Chicago, Illinois

Graham Davies, Ph.D.
University of Leicester
Department of Psychology
United Kingdom

Bob DuCharme
Portsmouth City Prosecutor
Former Rockingham County New Hampshire Assistant County Attorney

Tevis Hull
Former Bonner County Attorney in Idaho now in private practice with Prohaska Law Firm

Judy Johnston
Assistant County Attorney
Hennepin County, Minnesota

Michael Lamb, Ph.D.
Section on Social & Emotional Development
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
Bethesda, Maryland

Kee MacFarlane, MSW
Children's Institute
Los Angeles, California

Tom McBride, Executive Secretary
Washington Association of Prosecuting Attorneys
Olympia, Washington

Keith Meisenheimer, JD
Senior Deputy District Attorney
District Attorney for Multnomah County
Portland, Oregon

Mark Ponsell
Assistant County Attorney
Ramsey County, Minnesota

Debra Poole, Ph.D.
Central Michigan University
Department of Psychology
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan

Brad Russ, Commander
Portsmouth Police Department
Portsmouth, New Hampshire

Paul Stern, JD
Snohomish County Prosecuting Attorney's Office
Everett, Washington

Sue Whitford
Child Interviewer
Strafford County, New Hampshire

John Yuille, Ph.D.
Yuille and Daylen
Psychological Consultants
Salt Spring Island, British Columbia, Canada

Additional Interviewing Resources

Forensic Interview Training for the Investigation of Child Sexual Abuse Multidisciplinary Interview Centers—resource materials

Children's Institute International
Los Angeles, California

Giaretto Institute
San Jose, California

John Yuille, Ph.D. has developed and offers interviewing training for investigative interviewers.

The National Network of Child Advocacy Centers has commissioned interviewing guidelines for the member advocacy centers. It will be developed by Eriq Sorenson, Director of the Child Advocacy Center of Hoffman Estates, Illinois and Dr. Bette Bottoms of the University of Illinois. Dr. Debra Poole has a contract to develop and test an investigative interview training approach in the state of Michigan.

Dr. Graham Davies of the University of Leicester is developing a standardized interview protocol for law enforcement in the United Kingdom. It will be field tested.

The APA will publish two books next year on forensic interviewing. One will be authored by Karen Saywitz and Diana Elliott, the other by Debra Poole and Michael Lamb.

Site Visit Interviews

Clark County

Bob Kanekoa, CAIC Director
Marlene Watkins, CAIC Social Services Liaison
Kim Farr, Deputy Prosecuting Attorney
Detective Steve Norton, Vancouver Police Department
Amy Swingen, Assistant Attorney General
Betty Johnson, CPS Supervisor
Margaret Files, CPS Caseworker
Dr. John Sterling
Joan Renner, Director, YWCA Sexual Assault Program
Lee Dane, Defense Attorney
Judy Butler, Clinical Supervisor at CARES Program, Portland, Oregon

Kitsap County

Russell Hauge, Prosecuting Attorney
Ione George, Deputy Prosecuting Attorney
Cynthia Conrad, Child Interview Specialist
Nita Mize, Child Advocate
Sergeant Jim Harris, Kitsap County Sheriff's Office Detective
Tim Lopez, Bremerton Police Department Detective
John Long, Assistant Attorney General
Tom Stokes, CPS Supervisor
Tim Kelly, Defense Attorney

Spokane County

Critique Group Members
Mary Ann Murphy, RCCAN Manager
Sergeant Earl Ennis, Spokane Police Department Detective
Dawn Cortez, Deputy Prosecuting Attorney
Nora Scott, CPS Supervisor

Yakima County

Robyn Light, Office Senior Investigator
Brent Ryan, Child Interviewer/Investigator
Ed Campbell, Yakima Sheriff's Office Detective
Rod Light, Yakima Police Department Detective
Joe Scherschligt, Yakima Police Department Detective
Detective Shelley Upton, Yakima Police Department
Jerie Betschart, Yakima Police Department Detective
Susan Muggoch, Department of Children and Family Services Facility Investigator
Steve Krous, Former CPS Caseworker
Joe Brusica, Deputy Prosecuting Attorney
Kevin Eilmes, Deputy Prosecuting Attorney
Donda Waggoner, Therapist/Advocate
Rick Hoffman, Defense Attorney

APPENDIX C: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources: Remembering and Reporting of Events

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