

Major Crimes Police Interviewing in Dubai: an examination of the Investigative Interviewing Triangle

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Declaration

‘Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award’

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Abbreviations

5WH	The mnemonic acronym for questions starting with, ‘what?’, ‘why?’, ‘when?’, ‘where?’, ‘who?’ and ‘how’
ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BAI	Behavioural Analysis Interview
CD	Criminology Department (Specialist department within the Dubai Police)
CI	Cognitive Interview
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CM	Conversation Management
DPHQ	Dubai Police Head Quarters
ECI	Enhanced Cognitive Interview
FCPL	Federal Criminal Procedures Law
FIT	Framework for Investigative Transformation
FSCD	Forensic Science and Criminology Department (Dubai Police)
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GQM	Griffiths Question Map
liT	Investigative Interviewing Triangle
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin
KREATIV	Acronym for Communication, Rule of law, Ethics and empathy, Active consciousness, Trust through openness, and Information - Verified through science.
MSA	Measuring sampling adequacy
OIOC	Officer in Overall Command
PACE	Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984
PEACE	The mnemonic acronym for the police interview training course (Planning and preparation; Engage and explain; Account, clarify and challenge; Closure; Evaluation)
PIP	Professionalising Investigation Programme
PS	Police Station (within Dubai Police)
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SIO	Professionalising Investigation Programme
TED	A mnemonic acronym for questions starting with, ‘Tell’, ‘Explain’, ‘Describe’
UAE	United Arab Emirates

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Abstract

Most studies on police interviewing practices have been conducted in Western countries. The results of which may not be generalisable to other countries whose social, cultural, and legal norms differ. The research conducted for this thesis was the first to explore major crime interviewing in Dubai (and indeed the whole region) from the perspectives of three main parties in criminal investigations, namely, (i) police officers, (ii) victims, and (iii) suspects. These parties form what was termed the Investigative interviewing Triangle. In the present thesis, after a review of the investigative interviewing literature (Chapter 2) and an overview of the social and legal aspects of Dubai (Chapter 3), five empirical studies were conducted to explore the perspectives of the the three parties of the interviewing triangle.

The first empirical study (N=10) (Chapter 4) explored how police officers in Dubai conduct major crime interviews and how they viewed them, with the aim of understanding in-depth, major crime interviewing in Dubai and providing an empirical basis for the subsequent empirical studies. Informed by empirical Study One, empirical Study Two (N=62) (Chapter 5) aimed to understand the perspectives of a wider range of police officers, and helped form a broader picture of the practices of major crime interviewing in Dubai. Chapter 6 (empirical Study Three) (N= 16) examined the perspectives of major crime victims in Dubai, and how their experiences compared between being interviewed in a police station and being interviewed by a specialist unit, both of which they had experienced. Chapter 7 (empirical Study Four) (N=28) explored convicted offenders' perceptions of their own police interviews, and whether their perceived police interviewing practices effected their resultant interview outcomes. Finally, empirical Study Five (Chapter 8) examined (utilising a vignette experiment) the potential effects of police interviewing styles on interview outcomes, from the perspectives of convicted offenders (N=28). Overall, the findings from these studies were in line with much of the Western research findings, especially concerning the positive effects of a humanitarian based approach. However, there were a few discrepancies (e.g. it was found that victims and suspects in this research who reported experiencing attitudes and responses related to a humanitarian interview style, also experienced a more formal police interviewer), and those differences could be attributed to Dubai having a unique social, cultural, and legal norms.

**Part 1: Introduction to the thesis, literature review,
introduction to Dubai and the UAE**

Chapter 1: Major crime police interviewing in Dubai - An examination of the investigative interviewing triangle.

Introduction to the Thesis

Background to the thesis

During a criminal investigation police officers aim to obtain as much information about the alleged crime as possible (Milne & Bull, 1999). One of the most important sources of such information is the investigative interview (Baldwin, 1993; Hannibal & Mountford, 2005; Milne, Shaw, & Bull, 2007; Shawyer, Milne, & Bull, 2009). In the past three decades or so, police interviewing had advanced considerably, often as a result of high profile cases of miscarriages of justice (e.g. the Birmingham Six and Guilford Four, in the UK; Mallard case, in Australia; the Central Park Five, in the USA; Aoki, in Japan) (see Poyser & Milne, 2011, 2015). Legislative changes usually follow (e.g. in the UK, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act [PACE], 1984), as well as training protocols (e.g. PEACE¹, in the UK), and research examining police interviews (e.g. Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Clarke & Milne, 2001; King & Snook, 2009; Leo, 1996; Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1996; Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner, & Cherryman, 2009). The gist of the research examining police interviews is the need to focus on eliciting the ‘truth’ (Milne & Bull, 1999), and to move away from confession focused, confrontational tactics, that are, due to the aforementioned miscarriages of justice, becoming increasingly illegal to use in many countries.

Most police interview research focuses on one of two major themes. First, the perspectives of persons involved, such as police officers (e.g. Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Hill & Moston, 2011; Kebbell & Milne, 1998; Wachi, Watanabe, Yokota, Otsuka, Kuraishi, & Lamb, 2014), victims (e.g. Aspler, Cummins, & Carl, 2003; Holmberg, 2004; Monroe Kinney, Weist, Dafeamekpor, Dantzler, & Reynolds, 2005), and suspects (e.g. Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell, Alison, Hurren, & Mazerolle, 2010; Cleary & Bull, 2019). Second, a focus on the interview itself, such as the skills required to be an effective interviewer (e.g. Bull & Cheryman, 1995; Fahsing & Ask, 2016; Griffiths, Milne, & Cherryman, 2011; Risan, Binder, & Milne, 2016), training of interviewers (e.g. Clarke & Milne, 2001; Clarke, Milne, & Bull, 2011; Griffiths &

¹ The mnemonic acronym for the police interview training course (Planning and preparation; Engage and explain; Account, clarify and challenge; Closure; Evaluation)

Milne, 2006), and the interview techniques used by interviewers (e.g. Fisher, Milne, & Bull, 2011; Snook, Luther, Quinlan, & Milne, 2012; Soukara et al., 2009; Vanderhallen, Vervaeke, & Holmberg, 2011). The findings from these studies suggest that the interview process is dynamic and interpersonal, the quality of which is dependent on various elements such as mutual understanding, social chemistry, cultural norms, and other contextual and relational factors that may influence an individual's attitudes and responses. This effectively means that findings in, for example, UK studies may not be generalisable to Dubai and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Currently there is no standardised police interviewing training offered to all Dubai police interviewers. Furthermore, research on investigative interviewing is nonexistent in Dubai and the region as a whole, which means that there is no foundation to base methods upon. In addition, the use of foreign research may prove to be problematic due to differences in legal, social, and cultural norms.

Scope of the thesis

The aim of the research thus, reported in this thesis, examined the police interviewing within major crimes in Dubai. The thesis explored how major crime interviews are perceived and the factors that influence behaviours of the Investigative Interviewing Triangle (IiT) (i.e. police officers, alleged victims of crime, and convicted offenders), by providing more than one perspective. The implications of how this knowledge may contribute to our understanding of an effective major crime interview in Dubai is considered. The thesis was also written to be of benefit to the scholarship provider (i.e. the Dubai Police), and assist in establishing a service wide interview training regime.

Focus on major crimes

This research focused only on police interviewing in major crimes.² There are a few reasons for this decision. First, major crimes cause great concern to both the police and the general public. As regards the police, these cases can prove to be more difficult to solve (Benneworth, 2007) and usually require the investment of a great deal of resources to investigate (e.g. DNA examinations, fingerprint analysis tests, forensic

² Initially, the aim of the research was to focus exclusively on sex crimes. However, due to the taboo nature of this crime in Dubai, some individuals were reluctant to participate. It was then agreed with the supervision team to shift the focus from sex crimes exclusively to major crimes, which encompasses sex crimes

autopsy etc...). Second, there is usually a certain complexity in dealing with such cases, which means that interviews are usually more lengthy and may contain highly emotive details. Third, it is hoped that the serious nature of major crimes will help kickstart police interviewing research in Dubai and the wider region.

The term 'major crimes' encompasses a variety of different crimes such as murder, sex crimes, kidnapping, and terrorism. For the purposes of this thesis, the term will be restricted to cases of murder, sex crimes, kidnapping, and serious assault. These crimes form the bulk of the crime types that a specialist unit in the Dubai Police (i.e. the Criminology Department) considers as major crimes.

Structure of the thesis

The research conducted in this thesis focused on major crime police interviews in Dubai, and draws on the perspectives of the three components of IiT: police officers, (alleged) victims, suspects (currently convicted offenders).

First, two introductory chapters will introduce the reader to the research topic and research location. Chapter 2 provides a review of the current literature on police interviewing, including methods and training. Since the research is conducted in a city and country with very little research literature, Chapter 3 introduces the reader to Dubai and the UAE's history, culture, society, and legal systems.

Next, five chapters will introduce the reader to the five empirical studies conducted for this thesis. Each chapter begins with a review of the relevant literature, followed by an outline of the methodology, presentation of the results, and concludes with a discussion. Chapter 4 explored, in-depth, through semi-structured interviews, Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes. This exploratory study was the first ever to look at this topic in Dubai. Informed by findings from Chapter 4, Chapter 5 aimed to examine, through a questionnaire, a wider range of Dubai police officers' perceptions on interviewing individuals in major crimes. This study was the biggest (so far) ($N=62$) to ever be conducted on this topic in Dubai. Next, Chapter 6 aimed to explore alleged major crime victims' perceptions of their police interviews. This study also aimed to examine whether there were any perceived differences between two police interviewing units that work in parallel during major crime investigations, (i) police stations and (ii) a specialist unit. Chapter 7 examined the police interview from the perspective of convicted major crime offenders. This study was the first in the UAE

to analyse the perspectives of convicted major crime offenders on the police interview. Chapter 8 aimed to explore the influences of four police interview conditions on interviewees' response outcomes by utilising an experimental vignette approach. This study was the first police interviewing experiment to be conducted in Dubai and the UAE. The concluding chapter, Chapter 9, presents the key themes derived from the research, highlights practical implications arising from the research, suggests areas that could potentially benefit from further study, provides practice recommendations and discusses the limitations of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Review of the police interviewing literature

Introduction

Once a crime has been reported the main purpose of a criminal investigation is: (1) to find out what (if anything) happened, and (2) identify the culprit (Kebbell & Wagstaff, 1997; Milne & Bull, 2016). To achieve this target the police pursue information from a multitude of sources (e.g. physical evidence), including the police interview. Police interviews can be broadly defined as the questioning of someone who could provide potentially useful information to the investigator (O'Hara & O'Hara, 2003). As such, information gleaned from the interview has to be as accurate, relevant, and complete as possible (Gudjonsson & Pearse, 2011). However, many countries around the world, including the UAE, are yet to implement requirements for police interviewing standards. In the UK, until the early 1990's, it was commonly accepted practice for police officers, who had received minimal (if any) interview training, to conduct police interviews (Milne & Bull, 1999). These officers, would produce handwritten statements based on the information elicited from interviews with victims and suspects. However, since such statements were written by police officers based on their memory and this influenced by biases and the resultant hand written product is an inaccurate and abridged version of what was said during the interview (Köhnken, 1995; Milne & Bull, 1999). Given that perception of events is subjective (see Eysenck & Keane, 2015), it could thus be argued that each party of the IiT may have their own unique perspectives about the police interview and that not all police interviews are similar.

In order to examine the full range of police interviews, the research will be discussed, in accordance with the three sub-sections representing each perspective of IiT, as well as a sub-section representing a multi-party perspectives.

Police officers' perspectives of police interviewing

Police officers may be viewed as the strongest party within IiT dynamic. They have legislative powers given to them in order to solve crime and, usually, have better resources available to them. However, police officers' perspectives may vary based on a variety of factors, such as demographic details, type of crime, and perceived experience

dealing with previous crimes. These views may differ based on geographic location, contextual factors, or social and cultural norms.

In the UK, Soukara, Bull, and Vrij (2002) conducted a questionnaire and interview study with 40 detectives. It was found that detectives' approach to the interviews was influenced by various factors such as evidence, the nature of the crime, and preparation of the interview. Other factors included whether they had been provided specialist training and the social skills of the interviewer. They found that detectives view conducting interviews with suspects of serious crime as somewhat stressful, with interviews with suspects of child rape rated as the most difficult to conduct. Interviews in which suspects exercised their legal right to make 'no comment' were viewed as particularly stressful and tedious for interviewers. They found that for some crimes (e.g. child rapes), officers would show empathy to suspects only after they had made a confession. Importantly, the authors found that the focus of the interviews had shifted from seeking confessions (e.g. Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993) to a searching for the 'truth'.

In a later study, Oxburgh, Ost, Morris and Cherryman (2015) asked 90 police officers their perceptions of the characteristics of interviews with suspects of rape and murder involving both adult and child victims. They found that the police officers in the sample view murder cases as more stressful than rape cases. Out of the four crime types presented to officers: (1) adult murder, (2) adult rape, (3) child murder, and (4) child rape, they viewed adult rape as the least stressful. Even though they themselves viewed confessions as less important, when asked how important other officers would find the securing of a confession, participants believed that obtaining a confession was still very important to other officers. This finding may indicate that, contrary to studies that have found a shift in police interviewing focus from confession-seeking to truth-seeking, there could still be a confession culture within the police in England and Wales.

In the USA, Kassin, Leo, Meissner, Richman, Colwell, Leach, and La Fon (2007) conducted a large scale survey on 631 investigators from 16 police departments in five American States ($N= 574$) and customs officials from two Canadian Provinces ($N=57$). They found that participants in their study frequently isolated suspects from family and friends, and conducted interrogations in small, private rooms. They also found that interrupting suspects' denials was common practice, the eighth highest interview

technique used, as reported by participants. In addition, some participants said that they sometimes use two tactics that, although not illegal in the USA, can elicit false confessions from innocent individuals: (1) pretending to have independent evidence of guilt, and (2) minimising the moral seriousness of the crime. The results of the study also indicated that participants view themselves as quite proficient at eliciting confessions.

In another US study, Leo (1996) analysed 182 real-life felony crime (e.g. homicide, assault, rape) interviews in three police departments. Prior to the research, Leo identified 25 potential interrogation techniques, that were: (1) advocated in police manuals at the time, (2) taught in police interrogation training programmes, and (3) used by police detectives in popular culture. It was observed that nearly three-quarters (74.7%) of suspects waived their Miranda rights (which include the right to remain silent and a caution that any incriminating evidence would be used in court proceedings). It was found that a mean of 5.63 tactics were used by interrogators. The tactics included appealing to the suspect's self interest in confessing (88%), offering moral justifications or psychological excuses (34%), and presenting false evidence of guilt (30%). Further analysis showed that the most successful interview tactics used by interrogators to elicit incriminating evidence from the suspect were: (i) appealing to the suspects's conscience (97%, success rate), (ii) identifying contradictions (91%), (iii) using praise or flattery (91%), and (iv) offering moral or psychological excuses (90%).

Rich and Seffrin (2012) conducted a study in Northeastern USA to examine whether police officers attitudes (and biases) affects interview performance in sexual assault cases. They surveyed 429 police officers, nearly a quarter of whom were female (N=116). The study had four hypotheses/questions: (i) that rape myth acceptance [i.e. negative but commonly endorsed stereotypes about sex crimes and its victims, for more see Burt (1980)] will be a significant predictor of interviewing skill when gender, years of police experience, rank, age, education, specialised training, and number of victims known personally are controlled; (ii) female police officers have lower levels of rape myth acceptance than their male colleagues; (iii) female officers will be better victim interviews than their male colleagues; and (iv) what specific interviewing behaviours are strongly associated with rape myth acceptance. The survey measures various items such as Knowledge of Interview Techniques (KIT) (35-item scale); Rape Myth

Acceptance (RMA) (21-item scale); Sexual Assault Education (a single item); Number of Sexual Assault cases (how many cases that respondents had been involved in over the past year); Victims Known Personally (a single item); Years as Police Officer and Rank; General Education; and Agency type (e.g. federal, state or local). The researchers found that there was a significant association between Rape Myth Acceptance and interviewing skill. They also found that officer gender was related to interview skill (females tended to have better interview skills); however, this was mediated by Rape Myth Acceptance (which was lower within the female cohort). This study may have implications on who is assigned sex crimes cases and who is selected to interview victims. In addition, this study indicates that certain social and cultural factors may influence police behaviour and interview performance.

In Japan, Wachi et al. (2014) analysed surveys collected from 276 police officers from across Japan. They argued that Western research findings may not be generalisable to Japan, given the differences in legal, social, and cultural norms and regulations. They examined Japanese police interrogation techniques and, after a factor analysis, identified five practices, which they labelled: (1) presentation of evidence, (2) confrontation, (3) rapport building, (4) active listening, and (5) discussion of the crime. Subsequent cluster analysis revealed four interview styles: (i) evidence-focused, (ii) confrontational, (iii) relationship-focused, and (iv) undifferentiated. They found that police officers reported that they were more likely to obtain full confessions if a relationship-focused style was used and less likely to obtain one if a confrontational style was used. Given that even the confrontational police officers in their study rated active listening quite highly, the researchers believed that the Japanese confrontational style may be less extreme than Western dominant/confrontational styles. This could prove to be important when interviewing both suspects and victims.

In Korea, Yi, Lamb and Jo (2015) examined the quality of Korean police investigative interviews with alleged victims of child sexual abuse, who were provided with NICHD Protocol but not trained to use it. All 32 of the participants were female. This was a two-part study utilising (i) self-report questionnaires about officers' perceptions of their interview practice and (ii) observation of the interviews by way of verbatim transcripts of interviews that were conducted with alleged child victims of sexual abuse. The questionnaire contained four phases: (1) general information (e.g. age

and gender); (2) investigative interviewing experience (e.g. 'I fully understand the guidelines for interviewing alleged victims'); (3) interview practice (e.g. 'I make clear to children that they are obliged to tell the truth'); (4) comments (e.g. courses that they would like to attend in the future). The objectives of the study were to examine (i) how Korean police officers perceive recommended interview practice and their interview behaviour and (ii) how well do they adhere to the recommended interview practice. The researchers found that most Korean police officers believed that they had adhered to the recommended interview protocols, when, in fact, only a few did. For example, most police officers reported that they view invitation questions as useful and reported using such techniques, however, this question technique was rarely used, and officers tended to prefer option-posing and directive questions. In addition, some very important components of the interview protocol (e.g. rapport building) were neglected. This study highlights the case for adapting interview guidelines to suit the local police force that aims to use it, as well as, providing social and cultural contexts that may aid in understanding the local practice (e.g. why all the participants in Yi et al. (2015) study are female). Additionally, the results of this study emphasize the need to provide police officers with adequate training in order to ensure compliance to interview protocols.

Victims' perspectives of police interviewing

Victims, the second party in IiT, are of utmost importance to the criminal justice process (see Stephens & Sinden, 2000). They are usually the first to report a crime and are usually the first party to be interviewed by the police. Even though their perspectives are important to potentially develop police practice, there are few studies that have examined their perspectives.

In Sweden, one of the first studies to examine crime victims' experiences of police interviewing was conducted by Holmberg (2004), and based upon written interviews collected from 178 crime victims. Participants were asked to rate 38 items regarding their own interviews with the police, on a seven-point Likert scale. The study hypothesised that: (1) crime victims' perceive different interviewing styles from their police interviewers, (2) crime victims' respond differently depending on perceived interviewing styles; and (3) different interview styles and different interview responses are associated with different interview outcomes. Most crime victims reported that their interviewers were calm and showed an obliging manner. A factor analysis on crime

victims' perceptions of interviewing styles yielded two factors: (1) Dominance and (2) Humanity. Factor 1 (dominance) covered items such as, 'interviewer acted rushed and subject had not time for reflection' and 'interviewer acted with aggression'. Where as, factor 2 (humanity) covered items such as, 'interviewer showed a personal interest and created a personal conversation' and 'interviewer expressed empathy'. A factor analysis was conducted on crime victims' responses during the police interview, and yielded three factors: (1) Anxiety (covered items e.g. subject became frightened), (2) Respect (covered items e.g. subject felt acknowledged as a human being), and (3) Cooperative (covered items e.g. subject felt obliging). Subsequent analysis showed that when crime victims' perceived a humanity interview style as well as responses of being respected and cooperative, more information was provided to the police. However, a dominant interviewing style and responses of anxiety were related to crime victims' consciously omitting information during the police interview.

In the UK, research on crime victims' perceptions of interviewing are rare. Wheatcroft, Wagstaff, and Moran (2009) examined how rape victims experience the UK legal system as a whole, with police interviews forming a part of the process. They conducted semi-structured interviews with 5 participants, only 2 were victims of rape. The victims reported extremely negative experiences of the legal system. Ten years earlier, Temkin (1999) conducted a study to examine crime victims' reporting of rape in London. Of the 183 victims that fulfilled their study criteria (e.g. are over 17 years old and have had their cases processed), only 13 agreed to participate. The results showed that, although some rape victims have a positive initial police contact, many reported having a negative experience. Rape victims reported greatest dissatisfaction at being interviewed by male police officers or police officers who seem to doubt the veracity of their claims or seemed unsympathetic to their accounts.

In the USA, Stephens and Sinden (2000) conducted a study to examine domestic assault victims' perceptions of police demeanour. They conducted interviews with 25 victims in a rural county of New York. They found that it was the participants beliefs that police officers did not believe their version of what happened. The disbelief was expressed in several ways, such as verbally challenging the victims' explanations, and accusing the victim of being partly responsible. Victims also reported that police officers seemed indifferent and unconcerned.

A much larger study in the USA was conducted by Monroe et al. (2005), to examine the experiences of sexual assault victims. They interviewed 125 adult victims receiving care at 19 sexual assault centres in the state of Maryland. Only a small section of the study looked at police services. The majority of victims (69.4%) indicated that they would not report a crime to the police. 46.2% of those that did file a police report, indicated that they were dissatisfied with the police.

Suspects' perspectives of the police interview

The third and final party of IiT are suspects. Unlike victims, the topic of police interviews with suspects has been researched by academics, particularly starting from the 1980's (see e.g. Baldwin, 1992; Bull & Cherryman, 1995; Irving, 1980; Stockdale, 1993), however, only a few have examined suspects' perceptions of police interviews. Suspect interviews are fundamental to a criminal investigation (Milne & Bull, 1999). They are also pertinent in sex crimes, which are notoriously problematic (Oxburgh, Ost, & Cherryman, 2012), difficult to prove (Greenfield, 1997), have little in the way of corroborative evidence, and are a word against word affair (Benneworth, 2007).

In Sweden, Holmberg and Christianson (2002), conducted one of the first studies to examine convicted offenders' perceptions of the police interview. They surveyed 83 prisoners convicted of either murder or sex crimes. They aimed to explore the relationship between police officers' behaviour during the interview and the suspects' inclination to confess or deny. They devised a 37 item questionnaire related to two topics: (1) the offenders' perceptions of the police interviewers' different attitudes and (2) offenders' perceptions of their own responses. Utilising a factor analysis, they identified two different interviewing styles: (1) dominance and (2) humanity. The first factor (dominance) was characterised by interviewers acting in a hostile, aggressive, and impatient manner. The second factor (humanity) was characterised by interviewers' acting with empathy, respect, and friendliness. A factor analysis on offenders' responses also yielded two factors: (1) respect and (2) anxiety. The respect factor included the subject becoming friendly and the subject feeling acknowledged as a human being. On the other hand, the anxiety factor included the subject becoming frightened during the interview and the subject feeling stressed. Further analysis showed that the humanity interviewing style and responses of respect were correlated with confessions. Whereas, the dominance interviewing style and responses of anxiety were correlated with denials.

However, since this was a self-report study, confounds (e.g. the strength of evidence in a particular case) cannot be excluded and causal relationships cannot be found. In order to eliminate confounds, an experimental approach could prove helpful.

In Australia, Kebbell, Alison and Hurren (2008) conducted an experiment with 43 convicted sex offenders to assess the effects of interviewing styles on confessions and denials. They devised four different sex crime vignettes involving a man forcing a woman (or child) into having nonconsensual sex, and intentionally kept the strength of evidence the same across each of the four vignettes. Each offence vignette was followed by a different interview condition: (1) humanity, (2) dominance, (3) showing an understanding of a sex offenders' cognitive distortions, and (4) a neutral, control interview. They found that the humanity interview condition was perceived as the most fair and best conducted. The dominance interview condition was viewed as the least fair and worst conducted. They also found that the humanity interview condition was the most likely to elicit a confession, whereas the dominant interview condition was viewed as the least likely to do so.

Kebbell et al. (2010) examined convicted offenders' perceptions of their own interview and what they perceive as an ideal interview. The sample consisted of 43 sex offenders and 20 violent offenders housed in two Australian prisons. Two related 35 item questionnaires were developed. One concerned the participants (i) own interview with the police and the other on their (ii) perceptions of the ideal police interview. The study aimed to explore the effects of seven interview strategies: (1) strength of evidence, (2) ethical interviewing, (3) humanity, (4) dominance, (5) minimisation, (6) maximisation, and (7) cognitive distortions, on interview outcomes. Each interview strategy was comprised of five statements within the questionnaire. They found that, when rating their own interview, participants rated their interviews as dominant. Participants suggested that an ethical interviewing approach will yield more confessions.

In Japan, Wachi et al. (2016a) examined Japanese interrogation techniques from convicted offenders' perspectives. They analysed self-report questionnaires on police interviewing techniques administered to 291 convicted adult male offenders who had been found guilty of murder, rape, robbery, arson, forcible indecency, or kidnapping. The focus of their study was to examine interrogations that led to confessions. They

asked participants to rate various items, such as ‘listening to your life stories, such as personal history’ and ‘being friendly with you’. They also asked participants whether they decided to confess or deny before their interview. Based on the results of their previous study on police officers (Wachi et al., 2014), they hypothesised that: (1) interview techniques reported by convicted offenders would include the relationship-focused interview style, (2) convicted offenders interviewed using the relationship-focused interview style would be more likely to confess than others were, and (3) convicted offenders who had been interviewed with the (i) relationship interview style and (ii) confessed, would be more likely to disclose new information. The researchers identified four interview styles: (1) evidence-confrontational (e.g. interviewer was aggressive and confronted with evidence), (2) relationship-focused (e.g. interviewer was willing to listen), (3) undifferentiated-high (combination of the two previous styles, e.g. willing to listen and to confront with evidence), and (4) undifferentiated-low (no specific perceived interview style). They found that for participants who had made a decision to confess prior to their interview, interview style had no effect on their tendency to make a confession. However, if the convicted offender was undecided about whether to confess or deny prior to the interview, the relationship-focused and undifferentiated-high interview styles were more likely to elicit a confession. The relationship-focused style was also associated with eliciting previously undisclosed information to the police.

Canvassing the perspectives of suspects is not only important for improving police interview practice but for suspects’ view of the legitimacy of criminal sanctions and the effect of that on recidivism (see Makkai & Braithwaite, 1991; Paternoster, Brachman, Brame, & Sherman, 1997). In Australia, Brown, Tramontano, McKillop, Smallbone, and Wortley (2018) examined sex offenders’ perceptions of the police and courts and whether there are spill-over effects (i.e. whether aspects of police treatment such as politeness and respect spill over onto offenders’ evaluations of experience of the courts). The researchers surveyed 116 male prisoners sentenced for committing a sex crime against children below the age of 16 years old in Queensland. The objectives of the study were: (i) to examine the impact of feelings of guilt on sex offenders’ perceptions of (a) the police and (b) the outcome of the police interview; (ii) the spill-over effects of perceptions of the police on the perceptions of the perceptions of the

courts. A 24-item survey was devised to measure those three objectives. The results of the study show that the more feelings of guilt that individuals had, the more positive the perceptions of the police they had. Individuals who (i) had feelings of guilt and (ii) had a positive perception of their encounter with the police, were more likely to admit committing the crime during the interview. In addition, it was found that perceptions of the police are directly related to perceptions of the courts. This study highlights important implications for police officers such as the importance of their role not only on individual cases but on the public's perceptions of the criminal justice system. This study highlights implications for police practice (e.g. the need to be more accommodating) and police interview training (e.g. to incorporate the communication skills that foster better experiences into police training programmes). For example, the presence of Rape Myth Acceptance, as shown by Rich and Seffrin (2012) (see police officers perspectives of police interviewing above), may reflect negatively on the whole criminal justice system, and not exclusively on the police.

Multi-party perspectives of the police interview

There are not many studies that have looked at police interviewing from perspective of the three parties of the IiT. Vanderhallen et al. (2011) study examined rapport building in police interviews from the perspectives of both investigators and interviewees. They administered self-report standardised questionnaires pertaining to 126 police interviews that took place in one of five different police departments in Belgium. In total they had responses from 59 police investigators and 126 interviewees. The researchers wanted to examine the working alliance (i.e. a measure of rapport) and the interviewing style in actual interviews. Specifically, (i) to what extent do investigators, in comparison with both witnesses and suspects perceive the interviewing style and the working alliance; and (ii) to what extent is the interviewing style predictive of the working alliance. They reported two interesting general observations. First, that the investigators' perceptions of the capacity of the interviewee does not match the interviewees' own perceptions of their capacity (investigators had identified 46.8% of interviewees as suspects, however, only 31.7% of interviewees identified themselves as such. Second, the validation of relationship between interviewer/investigator style and the reactions of the interviewee, earlier found by Holmberg and Christianson (2002) and Holmberg (2002). As regards the research questions, they

found that indeed there was a discrepancy between the perspective of the investigator and that of the interviewee with regards to both interview styles and perceptions of working alliance. In addition, they found that interviewing style is a good predictor of the working alliance. This study examined one (albeit extremely important) part of the investigative interview, but did not look at the potential impact that social and cultural factors could have on police interviewing (e.g. whether Belgian police officers are trained or more culturally prone to establishing such working alliances).

Impact of social and cultural factors on police interviewing

The research presented above indicate a difference in police officer behaviours based on social and cultural factors (more on social and cultural factors and how they relate to police interviewing is discussed in Chapter 3). For example, even when they used a confrontational interview style, Japanese police officers in the Wachi et al. (2014, 2016a) research, were still willing to listen to suspects, unlike US officers in the Kassin et al. (2007) study. This may be a result of the Japanese people having an interdependent view of themselves, compared to the independent view prevalent in Western societies (see Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Wachi et al., 2014; 2016a). Having said that, it was also found that there were differences in experiences within studies, suggesting that there may be other factors that influence police behaviour, such as police interviewing frameworks.

Impact of interviewing frameworks on police interviewing

Police interviewing frameworks can set the tone of the police interview to be, for example, focused on information gathering (e.g. PEACE, discussed later) or on obtaining a confession (e.g. the Reid Technique, discussed below). Police officers are usually trained to use a specific framework, thus are likely to be influenced by the objective of it. These two interviewing frameworks (i.e. PEACE and the Reid Technique) are the most well known interviewing frameworks in the USA, Canada, much of Europe, the UK, and Australia (Meissner, Redlich, Bhatt, & Brandon, 2012).

Interviewing Frameworks

The Reid Technique

The Reid Technique (Inbau, Reid, & Buckley, 1986; Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2001; 2013) is considered one of the most, if not the most, popular handbooks in

the world on the topic of police interviewing, since it was first published in 1962 (see Gudjonsson, 2003). The authors of this approach to interviewing suggest a two-stage process to a criminal interrogation. The first stage is a non-accusatory and non-coercive Behavioural Analysis Interview (BAI), in which the police officer is tasked with ‘establishing’ whether the suspect may be guilty or not, by ‘testing’ their verbal and non-verbal responses. If the police officer believes that the suspect has been deceitful or evasive, then guilt is assumed, and the second stage commences. However, many of the so called ‘tests’ recommended by the authors in order to ‘establish’ guilt or innocence, whether they be verbal or non-verbal (e.g. body language), have been repeatedly found to be extremely unreliable indicators of deception (Gudjonsson, 2003; 2018; Kassin, 2005; Vrij, 2000; 2006). These test behaviours may also be exhibited by innocent suspects (see Gudjonsson, 2003; 2018; Kassin, 2005), perhaps even more so than those that are actually guilty (Kassin, Drizin, Grisso, Gudjonsson, Leo, & Redlich., 2009). Furthermore, studies examining police officers’ ability to detect lies (e.g. Vrij, 2000; 2004; 2008) have shown that, contrary to their own beliefs, police officers are no better than other professionals or the general population at detecting deceit.

Inbau et al. (1986; 2001; 2013) have claimed that the second stage, their nine-step interrogation process, is an effective method for eliciting confessions from guilty suspects. The nine steps are as follows:

- 1- *The positive confrontation*
- 2- *Theme development (for questioning)*
- 3- *Handle denials*
- 4- *Overcome objections*
- 5- *Procure and retain the suspects’s attention*
- 6- *Handle the suspect’s passive mood*
- 7- *Present alternative questions*
- 8- *Have the suspect verbally relate various details to the offence, and*
- 9- *Convert the oral confession into a written confession.*

The process involves the use of *manipulation* (e.g. through persuasion), *minimisation* (e.g. though presenting an alternate, but no less incriminating, theory of motive to reduce the perceived moral seriousness of the crime), and *maximisation* (e.g.

of the consequences of not confessing or the benefits of doing so). Police officers are also encouraged to inform suspects that their continued denials would be futile, since they (i.e. police officers) are 'sure' of the suspect's guilt. Using this approach, interrogators may also present false evidence or lie about the strength of the evidence against the suspect to force a confession. This step is prohibited by other prominent interview frameworks (e.g. PEACE, discussed later, and Norway's KREATIV³), and by many legal systems, including the UAE's.

Psychologists had and still have concerns with the use of such an approach (see e.g. Gudjonsson, 2003; 2018; Kassin, 2005; Leo, 1996; 2008), due to the increased likelihood that innocent suspects (especially vulnerable ones) may falsely confess to a crime that they did not commit. Yet despite such concerns this method is still extremely popular in some parts of the world, most notably in the USA. Increased attention to the Reid technique and others that may also contribute to negative criminal justice outcomes may have contributed to an increase in psychological research to examine factors related to police interviews.

Psychological contributions

Over the past forty years, psychological research has enhanced our knowledge of how the interview process affects interviewees (see, Milne & Bull, 1999). Of particular significance are the findings that indicate the fragile nature of memory and how retrieval is a reconstructive process that can be influenced by police questioning and interviewer attitudes (see Baddeley, Eysenck, & Anderson, 2009). For example, research has found that it is easy to contaminate interviewees' memory by using leading questions (see e.g. Loftus, Miller, & Burns, 1978; Loftus & Palmer, 1974), such as (if the suspect denies the rape) 'did you plan the rape or did it just happen?' or (if the witness did not talk about the weapon) 'did you see the knife used in the murder?'. For this reason, psychologists have advocated the use of open questions (e.g. tell me what happened), that are less likely to influence interviewees' narration, in order to elicit detailed accounts. Questions asked by interviewers have to be carefully worded. For example, follow up questions could be, (if the interviewee talked, during the narration,

³ Acronym for Communication, Rule of law, Ethics and empathy, Active consciousness, Trust through openness, and Information - Verified through science.

about a car at the scene of the crime) *open* (e.g. 'you mentioned a car at the scene of the crime, Tell me more about it?'), or *specific-closed* ('what colour was the car?').

Based on this understanding of memory, Fisher and Geiselman (1992) pioneered methods aimed at enhancing memory recall with their development of the Cognitive Interview.

The Cognitive Interview

The original Cognitive Interview (CI) consisted of four instructions given by the interviewer to the (cooperative) interviewee. (1) *the report everything instruction*, (2) *the mental reinstatement of context*, (3) *the change of temporal order of reporting*, and (4) *the change of perspective technique*. *The report everything instruction*, requires interviewees to report everything they can remember without editing anything out and even if they can only remember a particular aspect of the event (i.e. partial information) (e.g. I do not know what happened but I can remember that I felt cold) (Memon, Meissner, & Fraser, 2010). *The mental reinstatement of context*, instructs the interviewee to reconstruct mentally the contextual features (whether they are physical or emotional) at the event (e.g. how they felt at the time of the event). These two mnemonics are based on the principle of 'encoding specificity'. This principle theorises that overlaps between encoding (i.e. recording of memory in the brain) and retrieval conditions, produces retrieval; and the greater the overlap the more effective the retrieval is (see Tulving & Thompson, 1973).

The two other original CI techniques are based on the principle of the multicomponent view of a memory trace. It is theorised that this principle enhances memory retrieval by using different retrieval pathways (see Tulving, 1974). *The change of temporal order of reporting*, requires the interviewee to change the order of retrieval (e.g. from the end to the start). *The change of perspective technique*, requires the interviewee to recall the event from a different perspective (e.g. you said that the suspect was wearing an elaborate costume, can you tell me more about it from the perspective of a clothes designer?) (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Fisher, Ross, & Cahill, 2010).

The application of the original CI to real life situations did not change the problem of poor police interview skills nor the fact that interviewees may be nervous after

witnessing a potentially traumatic or highly emotive event. This led to the development of the Enhanced Cognitive Interview.

Enhanced Cognitive Interview

The Enhanced Cognitive Interview (ECI) incorporates primarily three new elements, which had been derived from the social psychology of communication, to the cognitive mnemonic strategies (see e.g. Köhnken, Milne, Memon, & Bull, 1999; Memon, 2006).

The first new element was a *rappport-building phase*. This phase was introduced in order to help the interviewee feel at ease within the police interview context (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992). This phase also included an instruction of transfer of control from the interviewer to the interviewee, the aim of which was to allow the interviewee to control the pace of the interview. The use of open questions during this phase would condition the interviewee to give longer answers during the rest of the interview (Milne & Bull, 1999).

The second new element was a *focused retrieval instruction*. Fisher and Geiselman (1992) noted that memory recall requires significant attention and mental concentration, thus this instruction was added to allow the interviewee to concentrate on specific mental images retrieved during free recall (i.e. the context reinstatement instruction in original CI).

The third new element was interviewee compatible questioning, which instructs the interviewer to guide questioning according to the interviewees' pattern of recall (Memon, 2006). The ECI has great impact on the outcomes of interviews when used correctly (see e.g. Akehurst, Milne, & Köhnken, 2003; Allwood, Ask, & Granhag, 2005; Paulo, Albuquerque, & Bull, 2016) and on cooperative interviewees (Milne & Bull, 1999; Paulo, Albuquerque, & Bull, 2013). However, these mnemonics cannot be used on a non-cooperative interviewee.

Conversation Management

Conversation Management (CM) (Shepherd, 2007; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013) was developed to be more useful for interviewing non-cooperative interviewees. This approach has three different phases: (1) the *suspect agenda*; (2) the *police agenda*; and (3) the *challenge* (Roberts, 2012). The *suspect agenda* phase stipulates that interviewer

must obtain an initial account. The interviewer must allow the suspect to speak freely in their own words without interruption. Once this phase has been completed, the interviewer will probe for information based on the *police agenda* (i.e. available evidence obtained by the police). The more detail obtained during this phase, the more the police interviewer can follow new leads and/or test the suspect's account (in the final phase). An important aspect of the information obtained during this phase is the ability to check lies and prove facts. After a full picture of account is obtained, the *challenge phase* begins. The interviewer would begin to challenge the interviewee on any discrepancies found and seek to resolve them. All of these steps have to be in line with suspect protections (e.g. not making threats and promises) provided by PACE, PACE Codes of Practice and subsequent legislation (e.g. The Criminal Procedures and Investigation Act 1996 and Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984)

Parallel in time to the contributions of psychology to our understanding of police interviews and after a series of high profile cases of miscarriages of justice (e.g. Birmingham Six and Guilford Four), PACE (1984) was introduced in the UK. PACE paved the way for change from traditionally coercive police interviewing styles that were considered common practice during that time (see Irving, 1980), to more information-gathering styles. Judicial concerns over police interviewing practices resulted in a Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure in 1981. Along with changes introduced with the aim to move from coercive to open minded approaches, was the requirement to audio-record all interviews with suspects, a key change mandated by this piece of legislation (see Shawyer et al., 2009).

This requirement, enabled researchers access to real-life interviews on a scale that were never previously available. One of the first studies to examine audio-recorded police interviews was by Baldwin (1993). The results of the study demonstrated that the majority of interviews were brief and timid, despite police officers reporting suspect interviews as difficult to conduct. A key finding of this study was that previously prevalent (pre-PACE) persuasive interview styles were replaced by more cautious, uncertain styles, that did not appropriately challenge suspects when the opportunity arose. Other studies conducted around the same time (e.g. Bull & Cherryman, 1996; McGurk, Carr, & McGurk, 1993; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston, Stephenson, &

Williamson, 1993; Stockdale, 1993; Williamson, 1993), found many more instances of ineffective interviewing practice. As a result of these concerns, police leadership in England and Wales embarked on a national training initiative based on a ‘new’ approach; the PEACE interviewing framework.

PEACE

PEACE, an acronym that stands for: (1) **P**lanning and Preparation, (2) **E**ngage and Explain, (3) **A**ccount, Clarification, and Challenge, (4) **C**losure, and (5) **E**valuation; is a framework that was developed by both practitioners and academics, and is based on two primary interview types (discussed earlier): (1) the Cognitive Interview (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992) and (2) the Conversation Management approach (see Shepherd, 2007). It is not a technique, per se (as e.g. the Reid Technique or the CI are) but rather an information-gathering framework that incorporates a variety of techniques within it, guided by the following seven principles (see College of Policing, 2019) of ethical interviewing:

1- The objective of investigative interviewing is to obtain accurate and reliable accounts from suspects, witnesses, or victims about matters under police investigation.

2- Interviewers must act fairly when questioning suspects, witnesses, of victims.

3- Interviewers must have an open-minded mindset, and test the accounts obtained during the interview against what is known to the police or what can be reasonably established.

4- Interviewers can explore various pathways to questioning and are not restricted by rules of evidence in court. However, these pathways must not be unfair or oppressive; and should be in accordance to law (e.g. PACE and PACE codes of practice).

5- Interviewers should recognise the positive impact of obtaining an early admission⁴

6- Interviewers are not bound by the first answer given. Persistent questioning is not inherently unfair.

⁴ This was not included in the original seven principles, and replaces the principle of treating vulnerable individuals with consideration at all times. It could also be argued that this principle may have a negative influence on an interviewers’ mindset and shift the focus from information-gathering to obtaining confessions.

7- Even in the event that a suspect exercises the right to silence, interviewers have a responsibility to put questions to them.

These seven principles act as a general set of guidelines to ‘set the tone’ for the five-phases of PEACE, a brief overview of which follows below (for a full description see Clarke & Milne, 2001; Milne, Shaw, & Bull, 2007):

Planning and Preparation

Planning is the mental process of taking into account all the available information and the key issues and objectives of the interview itself. Preparation refers to the administration of the interview (e.g. checking that the equipment are in working order and the interview room status and environment).

Engage and Explain

Engage refers to the advice given to police interviewers about the importance of a good first impression and the maintenance of rapport. Explain refers to the instruction to officers regarding the importance of being flexible to avoid being viewed as impersonal. It recommends that officers take the time to explain to interviewees the reason for the interview, as well as explain the routines that will be followed (e.g. writing down notes).

Account, Clarification, and Challenge

This phase contains a few instructions. If the interviewer chooses to use a cognitive approach (because e.g. the interviewee is cooperative), they were instructed to try free recall a few times before questioning on relevant subjects. If the interviewer decides to use a Conversation Management approach, they were instructed to obtain an initial account, divide it into sections, and then probe for further details. The framework includes details on the use of question types for clarification, *open-ended* (e.g. ‘Tell me’, ‘Explain’, and ‘Describe’, known as TED questions), and *specific-closed* (e.g. ‘who did that’). The framework also includes instruction on how and when to present evidence and challenge accounts.

Closure

This phase allows the interview to end in a planned and structured manner. It allows both the interviewer and the interviewee to have a clear understanding of what had been said during the interview. The interviewee is also explained what the next steps are.

Evaluation

This phase allows the interviewer to evaluate what has been said in order to determine if any further action is necessary and how the interview's findings fit within the criminal investigation. This phase also allows the interviewer to reflect on their own performance during the interview.

It should be noted here, that adopting an interview framework does not guarantee individuals' application of the guidelines (see Kassin, Goldstein, & Stavitsky, 2003). What differentiates performance are the intent and objectives of the interviewer (e.g. information gathering versus confession focused) and interviewers' skill sets. Researchers (e.g. Bull & Cherryman, 1996; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993; Oxburgh et al., 2012) have identified this and have examined what makes an effective interview.

Effective interview skills

Starting in the 1990's, a series of high profile cases of miscarriages of justice (e.g. the 'Birmingham Six' and the Nikki Allen murder) resulted in an interest in the interviewing skills of police officers (Cherryman & Bull, 2001). Of special interest were cases that needed specialist skills (e.g. major crimes). Bull and Cherryman (1996) conducted a programme of research for the Home Office, in order to formulate a definition and scope of specialist interviewing. Their definition of a specialist interview can be summarised as the fair questioning by an officer with an in-depth knowledge of a specific area, whether this relates to suspect, victim, or witness interviews of a special nature or extraordinary circumstances. This means that the crime can be complex or be of a sensitive nature (e.g. sex crimes in Dubai) requiring the police interviewer to possess additional skills, that are in line with both rules of evidence and general principles of an information gathering interview, with the purpose to obtain an accurate, complete, and reliable account of what happened in order to assist in establishing the truth.

A plethora of studies, followed this new focus on specialist skills needed for a police interview to be effective and yield accurate and reliable outcomes and indicated the need for: (i) building rapport (e.g. Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Vallano & Compo, 2015;

Vanderhallen et al., 2011; Walsh & Bull, 2015), (ii) enhanced communication skills (e.g. O'Neill & Milne, 2014; Risan, Binder, & Milne, 2017), (iii) the use of empathy (e.g. Oxburgh & Ost, 2011; Oxburgh et al., 2012), (iv) the appropriate use of questioning (e.g. Milne & Bull, 1999; Walsh & Bull, 2012), (v) importance of an open-minded approach (e.g. Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993), and (vi) interview preparation (e.g. Köhnken, 1995; Walsh & Bull, 2010). Each of these skills will be presented in more detail in subsequent chapters, where necessary. Acknowledging the need of the skills highlighted above is not enough, it is also crucial to understand that there is also a need to transfer this knowledge to interviewers, through a methodical, empirical-based training programme.

Training

Police interview training is essential to (1) ensure a minimum level of skill is standardised throughout a police force (e.g. current PEACE standard PIP level 1 training, more on tiers below), and (2) ensure that interviewers for specialist crimes are sufficiently skilled (see e.g. Oxburgh et al., 2012). Many researchers have emphasised the importance of training to produce organised, planned, and effective interviews (e.g. Bull, 2013; Cherryman & Bull, 2000; Clarke et al., 2011; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). Yet many countries, for example, Germany (Volbert & Baker, 2016), Belgium (Vanderhallen, de Jong, & Vervaeke, 2016), and the USA (Kelly & Meissner, 2016) all lack standardised national interview training. However, countries that have implemented national interview training (e.g. PEACE in England and Wales) have seen improvements in their interview practices (Bull & Milne, 2004; Milne & Bull, 1999; Walsh & Bull, 2015; Walsh & Oxburgh, 2008). Even then, police interview training is not a 'one size fits all' approach and the introduction of training tiers has been credited with providing relevant interviewers in England and Wales with specialist skill sets (see e.g. Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006).

Training tiers and the Professionalising Investigation Programme

Initially, after its introduction by the Association of Chief Police Officers, PEACE was a week-long national training programme that covered (within this timeframe) both suspect and victim interviews. However, following Clarke and Milne's (2001) national evaluation of PEACE in the UK (first ever), a tiered structure of interview skills was developed and introduced into England and Wales. The five tiers were categorised as:

- 1- Probationer training (for new recruits, one week long);
- 2- Detective training (one week long, in addition to a prerequisite of attending the Initial Crime Investigators Development Programme);
- 3- Specialist interviewers (three weeks long)
- 4- Investigative interview supervisor (assessor); and,
- 5- Specialist interview advisor.

Clarke and Milne (2001) found that some aspects of PEACE, such as skilled preparation and planning, adequately challenging suspects' accounts (when and if necessary), and rapport building, were all not of a high enough standard. However, even though police officers in their study reported that PEACE training had not altered their approach to interviewing, the authors identified several good interview practices that had been implemented in practice (e.g. using open questions and providing suspects the chance to give their own account of the events). The authors also found that police officers demonstrated that ethical interviewing standards (i.e. the original seven principles) had become ingrained within the police interviewing practice in England and Wales.

In 2007, investigative interview training as well as the five tiers were enhanced and incorporated into the Professionalising Investigation Programme (PIP), which was introduced with the aim of increasing the professionalism of all police interviewers and establishing a methodical framework for investigations and interviews (For a full description see McGrory & Treacy, 2012). The current PIP levels are:

PIP Level 1- This level is aimed at training police officers that conduct priority and volume crime (e.g. thefts) interviews and investigations, such as uniformed constables and police staff.

PIP Level 2- This level aims to provide dedicated investigators (e.g. Detectives) with the necessary knowledge to plan and conduct serious and complex investigations, as well as plan, conduct, and evaluate interviews of crimes that fit that criteria.

PIP Level 3- This level aims to provide Senior Investigating Officers (SIOs) with the knowledge base necessary to lead criminal investigations in cases of murder, stranger rape, or other similarly complex crimes, as well as to manage major crime

investigations. This level is split into various core and specialist roles (e.g. sex crime unit).

PIP Level 4- The highest PIP level provides SIOs and Officers in Overall Command (OIOCs) with the necessary skills to manage critical and complex serious crime cases, including protracted and linked ones. Officers may also be responsible for the review of investigations in other force areas.

Even though these various levels provide a clear hierarchy, they do not guarantee interviewing prowess, nor knowledge. As Griffiths and Milne (2006), and others (e.g. Powell, 2002; 2008), reported, there may be challenges in transferring knowledge from the classroom to the field.

Knowledge transference

As outlined earlier, there is now an extensive body of research that has examined what constitutes best police interviewing training and practice. However, there seems to be an issue with the transference of these skills from the (1) classroom to the police interviewer and (2) from the police interviewer's knowledge to the application in a practical setting (see Milne, Griffiths, Clarke, & Dando, 2019). This, in turn, may hinder the application of police interviewing best practice guidelines into real-life interviews (see Griffiths & Milne, 2010). There are various definitions of knowledge transference (one of the most prominent of which is by Kirkpartick, 1959). However, for a complex training programme, the definition that was deemed to be most appropriate is that by Hoffman, Ward, Feltovich, DiBello, Fiore and Andrews (2014; p.51) who define knowledge transference as: '*[w]hen knowledge, skill or strategy in one context or learned from one problem/task type is successfully utilized in learning or performance in some other context or for some other problem task/type, where either the context or problem/task types have both important similarities and substantive differences.*' However, given that not all individuals that undergo training reach the required level (see e.g. Clarke & Milne, 2001, 2016; Griffiths et al., 2011; Snook et al., 2012), there may be other factors that influence knowledge transference, or lack thereof.

The 'X' factor of interviewing: Ability and skill sets

It is reasonable to speculate that individual, personality and/or cognitive factors can influence police interviewers' acquisition of knowledge and skill sets (see Milne et

al., 2019). For example, regarding individual factors, Griffiths and Milne (2006) examined 60 interviews conducted by 15 basic PEACE trained (i.e. Tier 2 pre-PIP) police officers. Using a novel paradigm known as the Griffiths Question Map (GQM) to assess the level of skill and presence of question types (e.g. use of open, probing, or closed questions), they found that the skill level of participants was below that expected of Tier 2 trained officers. However, some police officers were identified as ‘having potential’ and were subsequently enrolled in an advanced training course (the three week long Tier 3 course). These individuals showed an improvement overall, but, with regards to complex skills (e.g. rapport building) some depreciation was noticed as soon as they were back to interviewing in the field, and further depreciation was noticed 18 months later (see below for a brief discussion on the importance of continuous training and quality assurance).

With regards to personality factors, some individuals are perceived as better communicators, which could influence applying their knowledge to the field (see Milne et al., 2019). For example, across three studies using Eysenck’s big three personality dimensions (i.e. extraversion, neuroticism, and psychoticism) and communication traits as variables, McCroskey, Heisel, and Richmond (2001) were able to find correlations between personality dimensions and communication skills. Their findings support the common-sense notion that some individuals are naturally better at communicating than others. As regards cognitive factors, recent studies (e.g. Risan et al., 2016) have shown the importance of interviewers being self-aware during interviews. These findings indicate that some factors influencing interviewing practice may not be ‘trainable’.

Griffiths and Milne (2018) have outlined an 8-step framework that could assist police organisations improve and transform their current interview practices.

Framework for investigative transformation

In order to aid organisations in being able to transfer the current knowledge and evidence-based police interviewing and investigation research into professionalising police practice, Griffiths and Milne (2018) outlined the Framework of Investigative Transformation; FIT. FIT was devised to be applicable to investigations as a whole, or to a specific area within it, for example, FIT for police interviewing. The application of this framework on police interviewing will be considered in the following overview of the eight factors of FIT.

The first factor is **leadership**, which also impacts upon the other seven factors. Leaders have a tremendous impact on organisational structure, since they define the aims and objectives (see Yukl, 2005). It is also important to point out that leaders in organisations are not necessarily the highest ranked, in fact, police leadership can be very effective if it starts from the bottom up, with individuals across the various hierarchy spectrum, sharing the innovation and development mantle (see Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008). Beckard and Harris (1977) note that it is critical for leadership to recognise the need for change and consistent improvement within an organisation. However, within the realm of police interviewing, self-initiated change is rare (Griffiths & Milne, 2018). The developments of police interviewing as a result of high profile cases of miscarriages of justice seem to support this notion. An example of the importance of leadership in fostering change, is the 1992 publication of the seven principles of ethical investigative interviewing by ACPO, which stated their commitment to ensuring the fair treatment of interviewees.

The second factor is the presence of an appropriate **legislative framework**, encompassing the whole criminal justice process. For example, the introduction of a right to legal aid during a police interview will have a very limited effect on the use of lawyers by suspect, if legal aid provisions are not also implemented (see Dixon, 2006a, 2006b). It is also unreasonable to assume that police officers will adopt ethical and moral standards that are not reflected in law (Griffiths & Milne, 2018). In the area of police interviewing, legislation is key to improving practice, as evidenced by the change in England and Wales following the introduction of PACE.

The first two factors provide the basis for the third, interviewers adopting an appropriate **investigative mind-set or cognitive style** to conduct professional investigations and interviews. Research has demonstrated that adopting an investigative mind-set (e.g. an open-minded approach with no preconceptions and indication around guilt or innocence) is key to obtaining successful and just outcomes (see e.g. Bull, 2013; Milne & Bull, 1999; Walsh & Bull, 2012, 2015). This is where the importance of leadership is highlighted, since it is responsible for providing organisations with directions, as well as setting working cultures.

The next factor identified by the authors is making sure that **investigators' knowledge base** is sufficient enough to allow them to execute their roles effectively. As

has been previously discussed, researchers have indicated that a ‘one-stop shop’ method of interviewing is not optimal and, instead, investigators should possess a wide variety of skills (e.g. knowledge of memory and appropriate use of questioning) and have them available in their repertoire. This factor goes hand in hand with the next one, training.

It is crucial that organisations have in place a **training and knowledge regime** that allows the transference of evidence-based knowledge to working practice (see Powell, 2002). This means that, since a police interview is a complex process between two or more individuals who may be influenced by a number of factors (e.g. social and cultural differences) training should not be merely theoretical, but should encompass scenario-based training and practical assessments with expert feedback (Powell, 2008).

However, implementing a training programme does not, by itself, improve and maintain adequate performance (see e.g. Bull & Soukara, 2010; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Walsh & Milne, 2008). This means that organisations need to establish robust **quality assurance mechanisms** to ensure that standards are maintained (Powell, 2002). This factor is critical, as previously mentioned studies (e.g. Griffiths & Milne, 2006) have shown that there can be a deterioration of skills application to real-life cases after the end of training programmes and in subsequent months as well. This is where the evaluation part of PEACE is crucial, as individuals will be able to critically evaluate their performance, which is itself is linked to personal development (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013).

As described earlier, in order for training to be effective and cost efficient, organisations have to be able to identify and assess the **ability/skill set** of investigators prior to training (i.e how able are the investigators at transferring the knowledge gained into practice). For example, Griffiths et al. (2011) found that not every police officer can attain an advanced level of interviewing, only those officers identified as having ‘potential’ seem to be able to.

The final factor of FIT, is **technology**. The current accessibility of technology has the potential to improve the individual and organisational performance, positively influence transparency and fairness of the justice system, and increase the output of research. For example, there have been huge improvements across these elements in England and Wales, since the implementation of PACE and mandatory audio-recording of suspects. Taken together these factors provide policing organisations the necessary

framework to build upon their own interviewing protocol. Since this framework requires organisations to adjust their interviewing practices to be in line with current best practice guidelines, this will ensure that police organisations have the tools necessary to interview both effectively and ethically. This would mean that police organisations do not only obtain better interview outcomes, but also, given that ethical principles are central to best practice, obtain results that could impact positively the public's relationships with the police (see Milne & Bull, 1999).

The following chapter reviews the geographical area of the research, with respect to various factors that influence human interaction. Since this area of the world is rarely researched, at least in the policing literature, it would be beneficial to understand the social and cultural dynamics, the changes that happened over time, and how these elements influence policing and police interviewing. Chapter 3 will introduce Dubai and the UAE and how their legal systems interact with each other.

Chapter 3: Introduction to Dubai and The UAE and their legal systems

Introduction

The UAE, during the past 45 years or so, has experienced great economic growth and accelerated urbanisation (Nassar, Blackburn, & Whyatt, 2014). A once unknown part of the world, the UAE has become a major hub for business, leisure, and tourism (AlHinai, 2019). This economic expansion has led to an influx of people looking for a better future in the UAE; in fact, there are eight foreigners living in the UAE for every UAE national (UAE Government Website, 2019). This influx, in turn, has led to huge changes to the societal fabric of the UAE from a closed, arid land to one that is open, tolerant, and with an economy that is strong and, increasingly, diversified (Dubai Economic Report, 2019). The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with an overview of the UAE, in order to understand the shift in societal fabric and to provide an overview of the legal system in the UAE. The reader will thus be able to situate police interviewing in the context of the UAE and, specifically, Dubai, since interactions between individuals are governed by social and cultural norms. Culture has been found to influence police interviews (Giebels & Taylor, 2009), increasing the need to understand the influencing factors of an interview in a culturally rich city like Dubai. Research on the moderating role of culture on police interviews, across the world, is not common (Gudjonsson, 2003), and is absent in the UAE and Dubai. This chapter is divided into two parts: part one, overviews the historical, cultural and societal elements of the UAE, and part two overviews its legal system.

Overview of the UAE

This section will provide the reader with some background information about the UAE and Dubai; a brief history of the UAE; the UAE political system; and will end with an overview of Dubai.

The UAE

The UAE, of which Dubai is part, is a federation of seven absolute monarchical emirates (i.e. states). The seven emirates that make up the federation are: Abu Dhabi, the capital of the country; Dubai; Sharjah; Ajman; Fujairah; Umm Al Quwain; and Ras Al Khaimah. Islam is the main religion of the federation/country and Arabic is the official language. The UAE is located in the south-eastern area of the Arabian

Peninsula. As Figure 3.1 shows, the UAE shares its borders with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the south and west, the Sultanate of Oman to the east, and the Arabian Gulf to the north. The UAE's land is mainly made up of sand dunes and salt flats, with some desert oasis in the south and west of the country. The total area of the UAE is about 71024 square kilometres (44132 square miles) (UAE Government Portal, 2019). Abu Dhabi, the capital, is by far the largest emirate, occupying around 87% of the total land area. Each emirate has a port city of the same name on the coast (i.e. the emirate of Dubai has a port city called Dubai...etc.). These port cities are historically more cosmopolitan than the more 'Bedouin' interior.

Figure 3.1: Map of the UAE



*Adapted from Zayed University (2018)

The population of the UAE, according to the latest estimate in 2017, is around 9.27 million (Baldwin, 2018). The population of UAE nationals is 1,066,050, or 11.5% of the total population. There are 8.2 million expatriates living in the UAE, or 88.5% of the population. Most of the expatriates are from south-east Asia, who make up around 50% of the population. Table 3.1 demonstrates the estimated expatriate population by nationality according to 2016 data compiled by Chaudhary (2016). The vast majority of the nationalities shown in Table 3.1 do not speak Arabic or English as a first language, but Urdu, Farsi, and Tagalog. Of the seven emirates, Dubai has the largest population at 2.98 million (DSC, 2018), followed closely by Abu Dhabi at 2.91 million (Statistics Centre - Abu Dhabi, 2017). This means that these two emirates account for nearly two

thirds of the total population of the UAE. Regarding share of the UAE national population, Abu Dhabi has 551,535 (i.e. 51.7%) and Dubai has 245,200 (i.e. 23%).

Table 3.1: UAE Expatriate Population by Nationality (2016)

Nationality	Population
India	2,600,000
Pakistan	1,200,000
Bangladesh	700,000
Philippines	525,530
Iran	450,000
Egypt	400,000
Nepal	300,000
Sri Lanka	300,000
China	200,000
All Other Nationalities	1,696,334
Total	8,371,864

*Adapted from Chaudhary (2016)

Brief historical overview of the UAE and Dubai

Before the creation of the United Arab Emirates in 1971, the seven emirates were known globally as the Trucial States. The name is derived from the ‘truces’ and agreements between the seven sheikdoms (i.e. an area or society ruled by a sheikh) and the British Government. The area was under British control between 1820-1971. In 1892, the British Government signed an exclusive agreement with the sheikdoms and had complete control over foreign affairs. This was done to protect British interests and hegemony in the Arabian Gulf region from external threat (Heard-Bey, 2001). Locally, the sheikdoms had complete autonomy, from the British and other sheikdoms; but, were regionally and globally dependent on the British. This meant that sheikhs could decide local policies (e.g. taxes and infrastructure), but could not build international alliances.

Life during the period before the discovery of oil in the mid and late 1960’s was very hard. People depended on the waters of the Arabian Gulf to a very large extent. Pearling was the main source of income for the population and the backbone of the UAE economy until the Second World War (Al Autaiba,1977). The dependence on pearling led to a scarcity of public revenues, and the individual emirates had limited

public services and little opportunity for infrastructure development. This together with the Great Depression of the late 1920's and the Japanese invention of the cultured pearl led to the decline of the pearling industry. This drastic change in demand posed a challenge to the livelihood of Dubaians, they had to evolve their trading practices to survive. This led to a boom in entrepreneurs wanting to use Dubai's reputation and location as a hub for commerce.

Rise of commerce

Commerce was then the main economic activity for people living in coastal cities until the end of the 1950's (Al Abed & Hellyer, 2001). Dubai was the centre of commercial activity in the region, having adopted competitive trading practices and having some infrastructure as a result of the British Protection Forces having established Dubai as the main port of their operations in the Trucial States. Traders from the west (e.g. leather traders from Africa and coffee traders from Yemen) and traders from the east (e.g. rice and spice traders from India and carpet and sugar traders from Iran) used Dubai as a hub for their commercial activities. This meant that the inhabitants of Dubai came into contact with people from different cultures and religions who were trading and living in Dubai. It was the start of societal development in the region, that will encompass various aspects of life like crime and criminal justice.

Crime and criminal justice in the Trucial States

Initially, the British did little to improve the economic and social well-being of the country and figured that they should stay away from interfering with internal affairs of the sheikdoms. Crime was limited at the time and usually dealt with internally by elders and sheikhs, according to religious and cultural teachings (Heard-bey, 1996). When the frequency of crime started to increase (e.g. more simple thefts and assaults) the British Protection Forces created police forces in Dubai in 1956 (Dubai Police Website, 2018) and Abu Dhabi in 1957 (Abu Dhabi Police Website, 2019). The role of the police was to maintain order through a fatherly and religious model derived from tribal and religious traditions. In time, sheikhs ordered the creation of courts which applied religious and tribal laws and customs. These courts developed over time, especially after the discovery of oil.

The discovery of oil

Abu Dhabi was the first emirate to discover oil in the late 1950's and started exports in 1962. This meant that they could start infrastructure development before any of the other emirates. In contrast, oil was only discovered in Dubai in 1966 and exporting began in 1969 (Dunston & Carter, 2007). This new found wealth contributed to a rise in public spending to improve the economic and social wellbeing of the people. This included public spending on health, education, and security. Dubai, which has less oil reserves than neighboring Abu Dhabi, decided to use most of the new revenue to build infrastructure to maintain its competitive advantage as a commercial hub for the region. This meant that foreign workers were needed to help with infrastructure development and thus many workers, especially from south-east Asia, immigrated to the Emirates (Khalaf & Alkobaisi, 1999).

It was in 1968 that the British informed members of the Trucial States of their intention to withdraw from the area and suggested a federation between the nine emirates (the seven that eventually made up the UAE, Bahrain, and Qatar). Bahrain and Qatar opted for independence in August and September of 1971, respectively. Other emirates were not as fortunate with finding natural resources, so, during the negotiations for the union, Abu Dhabi agreed to shoulder most of the federal budget and invest in developing the other emirates (Mordechai, 1974). It had been the largest contributor to the Trucial States Development Fund, which financed development projects for poorer emirates starting in the late 1950's and early 1960's (Al Abed, 2001). Britain withdrew formally from the region in December 1971, leaving behind seven independent states. On 2nd December 1971, six of the seven eventual members signed the provisional constitution, Ras Al Khaimah would join three months later.

The UAE political system

The composition of the UAE Federal Government is unique in that it relies on a heredity system based on the federation of seven tribal hereditary monarchies (i.e. the seven emirates). Each emirate is ruled by a single family and the head of each family is the ruler of the emirate. Each ruler appoints an heir (i.e. a crown prince) based on the individual's skills and competency, rather than the order of birth, unlike in many monarchies (e.g. the United Kingdom and Spain). For example, the current Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi, His Highness Sheikh Mohammad Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, is the

third eldest son of the founder of the UAE and the former Ruler of Abu Dhabi, the late Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan, and the brother of the current President of the UAE and the Ruler of Abu Dhabi, His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan. There are five main federal authorities in the UAE: the Federal Supreme Council; the UAE presidency and vice-presidency; the Federal Council of Ministers (i.e. the cabinet); the Federal National Council (i.e. parliament); and the Federal Judiciary (explained in the UAE law section below).

The Federal Supreme Council

Article 46 of the Constitution of the UAE, thereafter the Constitution, states that the Federal Supreme Council is the highest authority in the union. The council consists of the seven Rulers of the Emirates or those who act on their behalf (i.e. a deputy or a crown prince). Each emirate has one vote in the council. Article 47 stipulates that, among other things, the Federal Supreme Council ratifies union laws and international treaties and agreements; agrees on the appointment of the prime minister; appoints the president and judges of the Federal Supreme courts; and has supreme control over the affairs of the Union generally. Decisions on substantive matters shall be taken by a majority of five votes that shall include the votes of Abu Dhabi and Dubai (Article 49 of the Constitution), effectively giving the two emirates the right of veto.

The Federal Supreme Council picks from its members both the President and the Vice-president of the Union (Article 51). The terms of each position is five Gregorian years and there are no limits on re-election (Article 52). The prevailing custom is that the President of the Union is the Ruler of Abu Dhabi and the Vice-president and Prime Minister is the Ruler of Dubai. The President, among other responsibilities, Chairs the Federal Supreme Council; represents the union internally, vis-a-vis other states and in all international relations; appoints the Prime Minister and sets the executive agenda; and sign laws and decrees ratified by the Federal Supreme Council. In addition to their federal authorities, the President and Vice-president also direct the local affairs of their respective emirates.

The Federal Council of Ministers

The Federal Council of Ministers (the cabinet) is the executive body tasked with implementing laws and policies in line with directions from the Federal Supreme Council and the President. The Federal Council of Minister oversees the various federal

entities and compiles draft laws and agreements that aid in the achievement of the goals set by the Constitution, the Federal Supreme Council, and the President. The draft laws are then passed to the Federal National Council for consultancy before being passed to the President to present to the Federal Supreme Council for ratification (UAE Cabinet Website, 2019).

The Federal National Council

The Federal National Council's (the UAE's equivalent of a parliament) role in the UAE's federal system is more consultative than it is legislative. The Federal National Council is responsible for discussing draft laws that are passed to them by the Federal Council of Ministers before either approving the laws, amending them, or rejecting them. The Federal National Council is also tasked with providing opinions on international treaties and agreements. One of the main powers of the Federal National Council is the ability to oversee the activity of various federal ministers and to ask them parliamentary questions. It also has the responsibility to advise the Federal Council of Ministers on issues that are important to the UAE people, whether they be political, social, or economic. The council is made up of 40 members and each emirate has a specific number of seats according to the number of citizens in the emirate. Previously, the members of this council were appointed by the Ruler of each emirate. However, in order to increase political participation, the Federal Supreme Council agreed in 2006 to hold elections for half of the seats. Political participation in the UAE has always been, and still is, present through the tribal system of governing (discussed in the cultural aspects of the UAE, later); but, has also been systemised and codified with the 2006 Federal Supreme Council Resolution (no.4).

Interaction of federal organizations with their local counterparts

It is also important to highlight how federal organisations interact with local governments. Article 5 of the Constitution gives each emirate the right to exercise sovereignty over its land and territories in all aspects that are not exclusive to the federal government; as laid out in Article 120 and Article 121 (e.g. foreign affairs). In addition, Article 3 stipulates that the natural resources of each member state is owned by that state. Although UAE nationals hold the same nationality, each member state has the duty to issue its citizens with passports and nationality documents (i.e. Dubai has to issue Dubai nationals with passports and nationality documents). The individual

emirates may also provide services and social security exclusively to its citizens (e.g. housing, education, healthcare). So essentially, the federal government provides the citizens of the union with essential services (e.g. housing, education, healthcare) but each individual emirate may provide additional services to its citizens exclusively. For example, those with Dubai issued UAE nationality may be granted a free piece of land in Dubai for building a family home; those with a Sharjah issued UAE nationality may only be granted that land in Sharjah, even if they live in Dubai. This is done so that each emirate addresses the specific needs of its citizens and to cut federal bureaucracy. Since this dissertation focuses on Dubai, the next few paragraphs will provide the reader with an overview of Dubai, its government, culture, and its police force.

Dubai: A brief overview

Dubai is the largest emirate by population and second largest by area. Nearly three million people live in Dubai, only 8% of whom are UAE nationals (DSC, 2018). During working hours, it is estimated that 4.1 million people are in Dubai, this means that there are over one million people that travel to work, study, or leisure in Dubai everyday from surrounding emirates and abroad. The size of the emirate of Dubai is 4114 square kilometers, or 1588 square miles, roughly the size of Rhode Island and nearly three times as big as Greater London. The port city itself is smaller, measuring approximately 55 km by 23 km; meaning that, traffic permitting, you can drive from one end of it to the other in under 30 mins.

Dubai is home to people from 200 different countries (Khalfan, 2007), making it one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. It is estimated that 100 languages are spoken in Dubai, with the majority of the population speaking either Arabic or English. Other prominent languages include: Urdu, Hindi, Farsi, and Tagalog. This unique blend of people from all around the world has made Dubai, and its citizens, become more open to new ideas and philosophies. The UAE population generally, and Dubai's population, specifically, are accepting to people practicing their respective faiths. For example, there are 13 Christian churches in Dubai serving the 9% Christian community. In addition, there are also Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist temples serving those religious communities. This welcoming attitude contributes to people wanting to work and live in Dubai and the UAE.

Dubai is also the most economically dynamic emirate in the UAE. It is considered the region's hub for innovation, business, investment, and real estate (see Winkler, 2018). For example, since the discovery of oil, Dubai has expanded its airport three times and, in the process, made it the busiest international airport in the world (Airport Council International, 2018). It also built a different new airport (which upon completion will be the largest in the world) and built the busiest seaport in the Middle East in Jebel Ali. Dubai also invested in promoting the city as a tourism hotspot, attracting 16 million tourists in 2017; making it the fourth most popular city for international visitors (Millington, 2017). Indeed, Dubai's economy is now diversified and oil revenues account for less than 1% of its Gross Domestic Product (Winkler, 2018).

Governance and Political Structure

His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al-Maktoum is the current ruler of Dubai; and he is also the Vice-president of the UAE and the Prime Minister (posts that are customarily given to Dubai's Ruler). Sheikh Mohammed was instrumental in the talks to form the UAE and was given the post of Minister of Defence in the first cabinet (a post he retains to this day). He is credited with accelerating the development that Dubai (in his role as ruler) and the UAE (in his role as prime minister) have witnessed over the past ten years. His vision made Dubai a global hub for tourism, aviation, and business (Bekker, 2017). He is also credited with UAE Government policies that aim to drive innovation and productivity. Under his leadership, the World Economic Forum (WEF) ranked the UAE as number one in the world for efficiency of government spending (Saadi, 2018).

In order to ensure stability, each emirate ruler has to choose an heir from the ruling family. The current Crown Prince of Dubai is His Highness Sheikh Hamdan bin Mohammed Al Maktoum, Sheikh Mohammed's second eldest son. The Crown Prince is the chairman of Dubai's Executive Council, the main decision-making entity in Dubai tasked with: maintaining security and order; providing public utilities; and achieving economic and social progress in the city. In addition to the chairman and his two deputies, the council is made up of the directors of 18 of the most important public authorities in Dubai (e.g. police, municipality, health authority, courts, prosecution). Part of the system of governance in Dubai is to have continuous updates and to have

many personal inspections from the ruler, his crown prince, or deputies (this system is part of the tribal system and will be discussed below).

Dubai's system of informal governance, similarly across the UAE, is based on a tribal system. This system is based on being able to address any concerns (which can range from housing to political opinions) a citizen may have through a 'majlis' or a place of gathering, where the ruler, crown prince, or a deputy is in attendance. Rulers, for centuries, and to this day, meet regularly with sheikhs (i.e. chiefs) of the various tribes in the UAE. Additionally, the ruler, crown prince, and deputies perform regular surprise inspections to make sure that everything is running smoothly (e.g. see Dean, 2016; Fitzgerald, 2018). During those inspections, the sheikhs ask individuals (both locals and non-locals) what they think of the services and how they can improve. This makes the sheikhs close to the people both physically and mentally.

Identity and Culture

Before introducing the culture of Dubaiians, it is important to highlight what culture means, in order to use to as a conceptual model during further discussions in this thesis. There have been many definitions of culture (see for example, Herron, Cole, Corrie & Dubriel, 1999; Matsumoto, 1996; McCarthy & Carter, 1994), but one of the most widely accepted concepts (and the one used throughout this thesis) is that by Spradley (1981, p.6) in which culture is defined as 'the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behaviour'. In other words, culture is the set of ideas, ideals, beliefs, identities, and attitudes that are shared among members of a society (see Spencer-Oatey, 2008; Watson, 2014). Spradley (1981) argues that cultural knowledge is both explicitly and tacitly shared, and can be acquired by studying (i) 'cultural behaviour' (i.e. what people do), (ii) 'cultural artifacts' (i.e. what people make and use), and (iii) 'cultural knowledge' (i.e. what people know).

The culture and traditions of Dubaiians (i.e. people from Dubai) is derived from the culture and traditions of the Emirati people (i.e. people from the UAE⁵). Life was, and to some extent still does, revolve around religion, family, tribe, country, and notions of Arabism (i.e. being Arabic). For example, Simadi (2006) noted that people in the UAE view religion as a major part of their identity. Most people in the UAE have a

⁵ It should be noted that UAE nationals are those born to a UAE father, irrespective of where they are born. There are provisions in law for those born to a UAE mother and for those that have UAE spouses.

collectivist view of identity (i.e. that the whole family and country are reflected in one's identity, and that one's actions could bring pride or shame to family and country) (Suliman, 2006). Indeed a person's dignity and honour in the Arab world are important and viewed as affecting the entire family, tribe, country, or even their religion (Nydell, 2006). People usually care for others that share: a blood relationship with them; family or tribe; emirate and country; Arabism; and religion (possibly in that order). There is an old Arabic saying 'me and my brother against my cousin; me and my cousin against a foreigner (i.e. someone unrelated to us)'. This mindset built generations that are protective of each other and have respect to public figures representing them and sheikhs that are part of the social structure of the UAE. In fact, the UAE ranks second in world for trust in politicians (WEF, 2018). People also tend to have the utmost respect for people working in militarised organisations like the UAE Armed Forces and the various entities under the Ministry of Interior (including the Dubai Police). The next few paragraphs provide an overview of the Dubai Police and the Departments that are tasked with interviewing in major crime.

Dubai Police: an overview

The Dubai Police force was established in 1956 at Naif Fort, a defense fort built in 1939 in the heart of Dubai (at the time). It was originally tasked with simple policing operations like maintaining the peace, guarding markets, and enforcing the rulings of courts (or what were considered courts at the time) rulings. Initially, the Dubai Police had a modest organisational structure and only 29 employees. This number grew to 430 in 1967; and Dubai's population at the time was less than 30,000 (Al Theeb, 2006). After the discovery of oil, Dubai's ruler, the late Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, began the process of developing public institutions, of which the Dubai Police was part. He decreed that the Dubai Police Force be under the supervision of his son, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, the Chief of Police and Public Security in Dubai (a position he still holds, in addition to being the Vice-president and Prime Minister of the UAE and the Ruler of Dubai).

Under the leadership of the Chief of Police and Public Security, the Dubai Police Force could be viewed as having evolved into one of the most progressive, if not the most progressive, police force in the region (Chu & Abdulla, 2014). The police force has evolved from its modest beginnings and is now tasked with a multitude of

operations including, but not limited to: criminal investigation; traffic management; emergency response; protection of assets and VIPs; and airport security. The Dubai Police Force is also known for using the latest technological and scientific advancements. It was the first police force in the region to introduce DNA testing to aid in criminal investigations and the first Arab police force to introduce electronic fingerprinting (Dubai Police Website, 2018). In 2015, the Dubai Police Force also opened a new building for the General Department of Forensic Science and Criminology, which is not only tasked with applying forensic expertise to help solve and prosecute crimes, but also as a research centre to benefit the region. It is also the first police force to introduce a fully automated 'smart police station'.

Organisationally, the Dubai Police Force, which has over 15000 police officers and employees (The National, 2019), has three bodies supervising, overseeing, and monitoring it (each according to its mandate). Administratively, the Police Force is managed by the Government of Dubai, which sets targets and approves strategic plans. The Dubai Police Force is also an integral part of the Ministry of Interior, which sets operational targets and issues policies and decrees to the police force, as part of the Ministry's mandate of ensuring security and order. Similar to how the UAE functions, the federal government is responsible for various tasks and the rest is left for each emirate to decide on its own (e.g. what tools and skills are used by police to investigate, as long as they are not illegal). The Dubai Police Force is also subject to the supervision of the Public Prosecutor, with regards to the police's mandate of aiding criminal investigations.

As explained above, people in Dubai and the UAE have a very strong relationship with public figures and public services (including the Dubai Police). Community service is not only part of the culture, but also part of the police's vision to make Dubai a happier and safer place. Relationships between Dubai Police and the public could be considered strong and friendly. Police officers help with various tasks like: finding a location (Al Shouk, 2017), roadside assistance (AlKawn News, 2017), and participating in school activities (see KidZone, 2018 for an example). The vast majority of Dubai police officers are UAE nationals, with a some provisions available to those who are from Arabic countries. The Dubai Police Force is always looking for ways to enhance cooperation with the public through continuous improvement of services including the

way that they interview individuals (hence why they have provided funding for this dissertation to be completed).

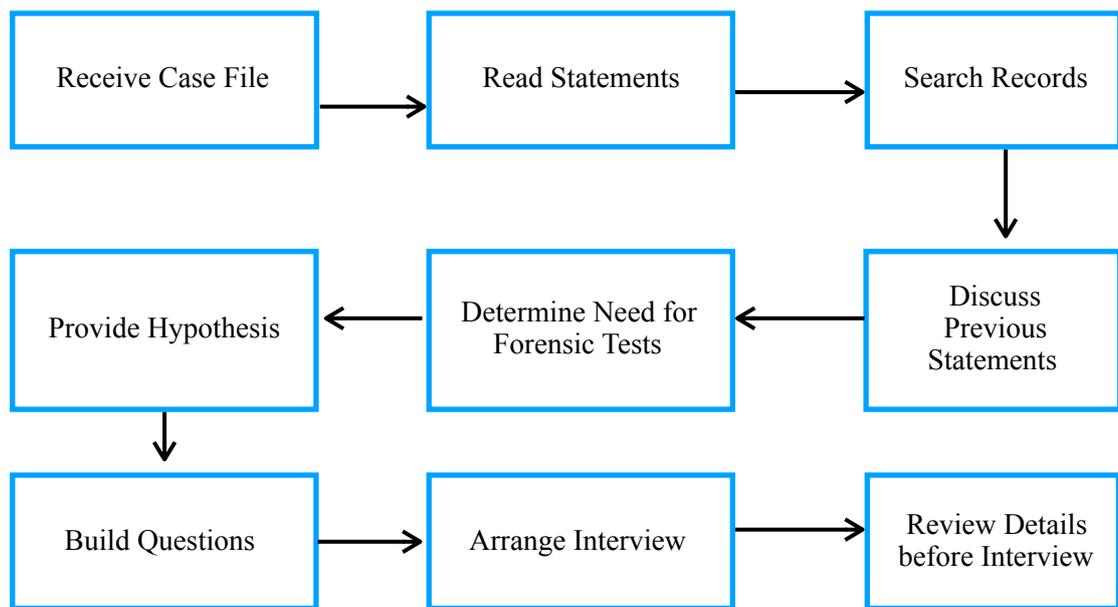
There are three departments within the police system that are involved in interviewing individuals involved in major crime: The General Department Criminal Investigations (CID); The General Department of Forensic Science and Criminology (FSCD); the eleven police stations in Dubai and their sub-stations. Each department has a reason for interviewing. The CID interview individuals in order to aid in arrest or to transfer arrested suspects to the Public Prosecutor (via the police station). The FSCD interview individuals in order to attain detailed accounts and produce forensic psychology reports that are forwarded to the Public Prosecutor. The police stations interview for opening the initial case file and for taking statements that are then used to either send the suspect to the Public Prosecutor or to release him/her. The process of each department will be described in the following three paragraphs.

The CID in the Dubai Police have a variety of policing tasks from finding suspects, finding stolen goods, and reducing crime. One of the most important tasks for the CID is to find suspects of major crimes. This usually involves interviewing witnesses and victims and, eventually, suspects. Additionally, the CID may be required to take the statement of a wanted suspect before transfer to the Public Prosecutor. This means that the CID have two main interviewing tasks, which are handled by different departments within the CID, each according to crime type and suspect status. The 'Crimes Against the Persons Department' deal with homicide, sexual assault, and kidnapping (in addition to any other crime they are mandated to aid in investigating according to internal policies). The 'Administrative and Criminal Interviewing Department' is tasked with interviewing suspects that have been arrested by the CID and are due to be transferred to the relevant police stations for further processing (e.g. suspects that have an active arrest warrant against them). CID interviewers, most of whom have a degree in Law or are high school graduates, are usually trained in the classroom prior to starting work. These classes are currently run by 'more experienced' colleagues who have been 'in the business' for a long time. Moreover, the classes focus on the legal aspects of interviewing rather than techniques, and of those classes that discuss interview techniques most are not evidence-based [e.g. the Reid Technique

(Inbau et al., 1986)]. Interview planning usually only involves reading case files and arrest documents, and not actual preparation of questions.

The FSCD is part of the Dubai police and, while not a separate entity like in many other countries, does have autonomy and independence to carry out its work. This means that while the reports produced by this department may aid the police in arresting a suspect, they produce scientific forensic reports conforming to the highest ISO standards (a quality management certification for the standards of procedures and, in this case, steps taken by the expert in preparing, analysing, and writing the report). The 'Department of Criminology' (CD) is part of the FSCD and is tasked with producing forensic psychology reports that are sent to the courts (via the police stations and the Public Prosecution). A key part of the report is the interviews conducted with witnesses, victims, and suspects. All personnel in this department have a university degree in a social science or in psychology. This department has no pre-work training programme (i.e. not in the classroom) but experts are trained on the job and attend specialist training courses (e.g. courses on administering forensic tests and courses on interviewing children). As part of interview preparation officers and civilians in this department use what they refer to as 'indirect profiling' or indirect personality assessment (see Figure 3.2). This method of interview preparation is inspired by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) indirect personality assessment (RCMP, 2018). It is worth noting that there are no published research data that examine the evidence behind using such a technique.

Figure 3.2 Dubai Police Indirect Profiling (Indirect Personality Assessment)



*Adapted from conversations with Experts in Department of Criminology at FSCD

Police stations are the most important policing component of the criminal justice system in Dubai. The police station is responsible for accepting claims from the public and for opening and assembling a criminal case file. They are responsible for a multitude of different tasks within their jurisdiction. For example, making sure the crime scene is preserved; requesting forensic tests be carried out; taking the statements from victims, witnesses, and suspects; making decisions about arrest and detention; and making decisions about transferring the case to the Public Prosecutor. In order to be able to do their job well, police officers working in police stations have to interview witnesses, victims, and suspect; in fact, they are legally obligated to take statements from both the victim and the suspect (see the gathering evidence and searching for perpetrators section below). Interviewers in police stations are usually not university educated and have not undergone any interview training before starting work as interviewers (they may have had a short lecture on interviewing during their initial police training).

UAE Law

The aim of this section is to provide the reader with the information to understand the UAE legal system. This section will first situate the legal system within a

philosophical framework before overviewing the organisation of the criminal justice system.

Philosophical roots and constitutional provisions

The UAE is a civil law jurisdiction, inspired by Corpus Juris Civilis (i.e. body of Civil Law). This means that the country has a structured and systematised branch of law that relies on broad, general principles. UAE law is heavily influenced by the legal system of Egypt; which, in turn, is influenced by French and Roman law. Moreover, the laws in the UAE are influenced by the 'principles' of Islamic law (Article 7 of the Constitution). The Constitution also guarantees the rights of individuals and the accused. Article 26 states that individuals have the right to liberty and that no one shall be arrested, searched, detained nor imprisoned except in accordance with provisions of law. This article also states that nobody shall be subjected to torture or other indignity. Article 27 states that all crimes and punishments shall be prescribed by law (i.e. no punishment without law). Article 28 decrees that individuals have a right of presumption of innocence, right to have legal counsel and the right to a fair trial. Crucially, Article 28 also states that inflicting physical or mental harm is prohibited.

Organisation of the criminal justice system

The UAE Federal Criminal Procedures Law - FCPL (1992) covers every step of the process of criminal cases, from the very beginning until the conclusion of all judicial procedures. The FCPL (1992) specifies the roles of the three main institutions involved in the criminal justice process: the judicial officers (including the police); the public prosecution; and the courts. The law splits the steps taken into two categories: (1) the gathering of evidence and searching for perpetrators and (2) the criminal case.

(1) The gathering of evidence and searching for perpetrators

The stage of examination of crimes, collection of evidence, and searching for perpetrators is considered as preparatory work (the literal translation for this stage from Arabic to English is collection of inferences); this stage is carried out by judicial officers (including the police). It precludes the criminal case, when the Public Prosecutor starts an investigation. Article 33 determines who falls into the category of judicial officer: (1) members of the Public Prosecution; (2) officers, non-commissioned officers, and constables of the police; (3) officers, non-commissioned officers, and constables of

the coast guard; (4) passport officers; (5) officers of seaports and airports from the police or armed forces; (6) officers and non-commissioned officers of the civil defence; (7) municipal inspectors; (8) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs inspectors; (9) Ministry of Health inspectors; and (10) employees authorized by judicial officers in accordance to laws, decrees, and decisions. Article 34 stipulates that the Minister of Justice has the power to grant some employees the status of judicial officer for crimes within their jurisdiction and that relate to the commission of their duties. For example, the Minister of Justice can grant some employees working for the Federal Authority for Nuclear Regulation (FANR) the status of judicial officer within their jurisdiction of overseeing nuclear power sites.

According to Article 30 of the FCPL (1992), the role of the police in the criminal process is limited to examining crimes, searching for criminals and collecting the necessary information and evidence for subsequent investigation and indictment. Police officers do not have the power to investigate nor indict an individual. One of the roles of police officers according to Article 35 is to accept notifications and complaints they receive in relation to crimes. They, along with their superiors, have to seek clarifications and commence any necessary examinations needed to facilitate the validation of the facts they receive or that have come to their knowledge by any means; and they shall take all the necessary precautions to maintain the evidence. In order to execute these tasks, police officers have to be able to conduct interviews with victims, witnesses and suspects. Article 40 states that police officers shall, during evidence collection, hear statements from those who have information about the possible crime and the perpetrators and they shall ask the accused the same. This allows the police to question victims, witnesses and suspects about various aspects of the alleged crime. This law does not include instructions on how to conduct police interviews but rather what cannot be done during the interview. During examination of crimes, police officers have the right to arrest individuals, if needed.

There are a few conditions that need to be met in order for an arrest to be lawful. There has to be sufficient evidence to suggest that the arrestee: (1) has committed a felony; (2) is in the act of committing a misdemeanour that is punishable by a penalty other than a fine; (3) committed a misdemeanour that is punishable by a penalty other than a fine, in the event that the arrestee is under surveillance or may flee; (4) in cases

of misdemeanours including theft; deceit; breach of trust; severe transgression; assault of public authority officer; violation of public morals; and misdemeanours concerning weapons; ammunition; intoxicants and prohibited drugs. The law, however, does not specify what constitutes sufficient evidence. In a legal ruling, the Dubai Court of Cassation (2005) (i.e. the highest court in Dubai) stated that sufficient evidence means that it could be concluded from available evidence (e.g. witness testimony or a fingerprint match) that the arrestee is the perpetrator. In order for an arrest to be legal, the evidence has to be clear, and not built on mere beliefs. This is not to say that the evidence has to be proven beyond reasonable doubt but is sufficient enough for the arresting officer to believe that a criminal procedure can be initiated.

Article 47 of the FCPL (1992) states that the judicial officer must hear the arrestee's statement immediately upon arrest, if the arrestee cannot substantiate his/her innocence, then he/she must be sent to the Public Prosecution within 48 hours. The Public Prosecution then have a maximum of 24 hours to interview the arrestee and then decide whether to indict, place the arrestee under provisional detention, or set her/him free (as shown in figure 3.3 below). During the investigative interview, the Public Prosecution should discuss and present evidence to the suspect. According to Federal Circular no.(1) of 1992 regarding the judicial work for members of the Public Prosecution and procedures for criminal cases, there are four main areas to be addressed during this stage: (1) confirmation of the identity of the suspect and the suspect's biographical data like name, age, place of work, place of residence, place of birth; (2) caution the suspect about the crime under investigation in a clear manner (for example, we are investigating your role as a suspect in the murder of Maryam Saeed in the Business Bay area yesterday); (3) confront the suspect with the available evidence and discuss this in detail; (4) allow the suspect to refute those claims. The final two steps are exclusively executed by the Public Prosecutors.

The UAE Legislator provided the investigative interview (conducted by the Public Prosecutor) with several guarantees: (1) it could only be carried out by the Public Prosecutor, and that it cannot be delegated to any of the judicial officers (e.g. the Public Prosecutor can issue a warrant for a home search and can delegate the task of the search to one of the judicial officers); (2) the suspect has a right to silence during the interview and it shall not be inferred from the suspect's silence that he/she is guilty, the principle

behind this is that a person is innocent until proven guilty by a court of law (Article 28 of the Constitution); (3) the suspect has the right to appoint a lawyer to aid in the defense, however, the role of the lawyer is reactive in that the lawyer cannot tell the suspect how to answer but only object the the Public Prosecutor's questions (this right is also available during the preliminary stage of the investigation, but only if the suspect can afford to appoint a lawyer; however, during this stage (i.e. the investigative interview), the suspect can ask for a government appointed lawyer); (4) the lawyer has the right to view all the investigative files against his/her client, with the exception of files regarding active lines of investigation. Laws and decrees have been issued relating to how to deal with children and youth (known as Wadeema's Law) and decrees for dealing with people of determination (i.e. UAE way of referring to people with disabilities).

(2) The criminal case

Once the Public Prosecutor decides to take further investigative procedures, the case is not considered preliminary, but moves to the investigation stage. During this stage the Public Prosecutor has an array of powers that are not available in the preliminary stage. Therefore, it would be beneficial to understand the role of the Public Prosecutor in order to understand forensic interviewing in the UAE and in Dubai.

Article 5 of the FCPL (1992) states that the Public Prosecution is part of the Judiciary and that they undertake investigations and prosecutions in accordance with provisions of this Law. Article 7 states that the Public Prosecution have the exclusive jurisdiction to file and pursue criminal cases, except in circumstances specified in this Law. This means that the role of the Public Prosecution is twofold: the investigator, and the instigator of the criminal case (i.e. prosecution). The highest federal court, the Federal Supreme Court, ruled in (2005) that the court regards the Public Prosecution as an impartial adversary that acts to ensure access to justice. The Public Prosecution's dual role in the UAE is not unique; for example, Japan (see Wachi et al., 2014), Jordan and Egypt (for both see Jihad, 2010) all have a similar set up for investigation and prosecution.

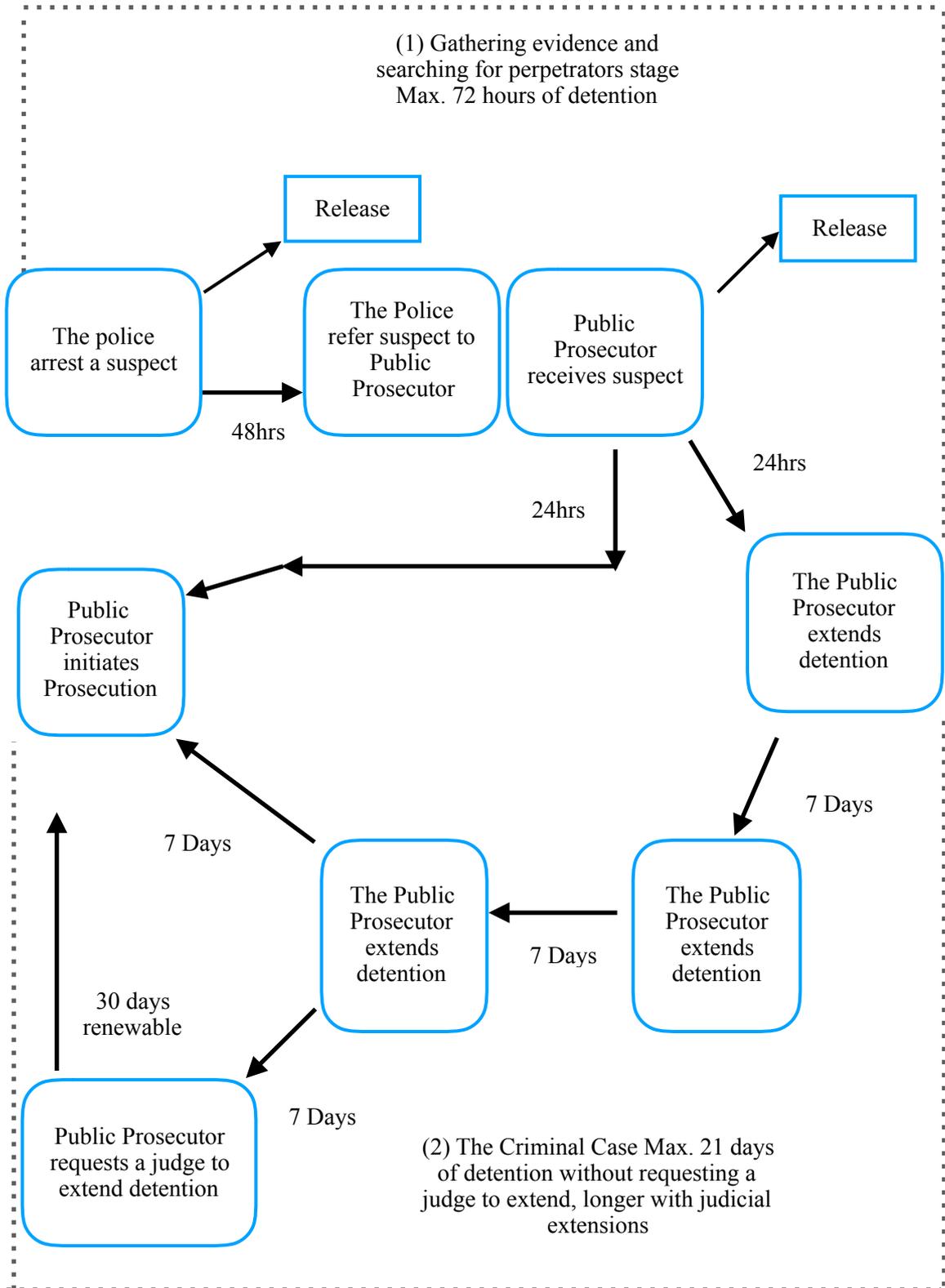
Nevertheless, this kind of set up raises genuine questions about the authority of the Public Prosecution, as they could be seen as having too much power (i.e. the power to investigate and then indict). This could lead to the Public Prosecution to be biased

towards their own investigation (Jihad, 2010). The UAE Legislator gives the Public Prosecution an array of powers, but still retains some for judges only. For example, there is no upper limit to the provisional detention period; however, the Public Prosecutor can only order provisional detention for three, seven day periods (i.e. 21 days maximum), after which the Public Prosecutor has to present a case for provisional detention in front of a judge (see Figure 3.3).

The criminal case stage consists of three phases: (1) initiation (investigation); (2) indictment; and (3) trial. Each phase will be explored in turn. The initiation phase starts as soon as the Public Prosecution decides to instigate its first procedure as a judicial authority with the intent to criminally investigate a particular crime (since the Public Prosecution can, according to Article 33, be considered a judicial officer during the preliminary stages). During the initiation phase, the Public Prosecutor has to make sure that the act fulfills the criteria of a criminal offence; that there is enough evidence to support a criminal case; that the court is competent for this crime (i.e. the offence that happens in Dubai, must be tried in Dubai); that the investigation is carried out in a clear (i.e. well documented and following established procedures) and legal manner; and other procedures that need to be taken in the initiation phase for a case to be eligible to be tried in a court of law.

The second phase is related to the indictment of the suspect. During this phase the Public Prosecutor begins the process of prosecuting the suspect. The Public Prosecutor must make the decision of whether to prosecute or not (either because of, for example, a lack of sufficient evidence or because the suspect is vulnerable or in need of psychological or mental assistance). It is during this phase the the Public Prosecutor acts on behalf of the public's will (Jihad, 2010). The third and final phase is the trial. During this phase the Public Prosecution becomes an adversary (formally) and acts on behalf of the public against a transgression on the part of the suspect. This stage starts from the first procedure the Public Prosecutor takes to initiate court proceedings against a suspect and ends after a final decision is passed. The next two paragraphs will discuss, briefly, the different courts in the UAE and how they are organised in this federal country.

Figure 3.3: Flow chart of UAE criminal process from arrest to prosecution



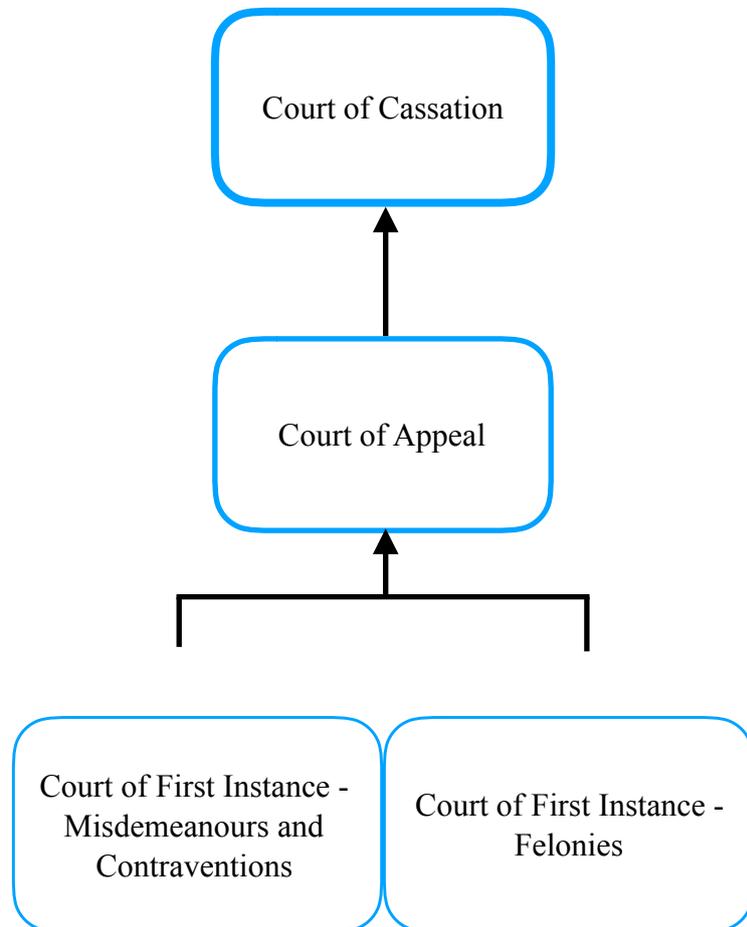
There are three levels of courts in Dubai and the UAE. Article 104 of the Constitution of the UAE gave individual emirates (i.e. states) the right to establish their own court systems, in cases that are not dealt with exclusively by Federal Courts (e.g. terrorism cases or cases related to forgery of currency). Three emirates (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and Ras AlKhaimah) have decided to have their own court system. The organisation of the courts is almost identical across the seven emirates; however, the focus will be on Dubai (since it is geographical area that this dissertation is situated within).

There are three levels to the Dubai court system (see Figure 3.4, below). The first level, the Court of First Instance, has two divisions: (1) the Court of First Instance for Misdemeanours and Contraventions (made up of a single judge); (2) the Court of First Instance for Felonies (made up of a three-judge bench, with one of them acting as Head-Judge). These courts investigate the criminal case for the first time, evaluate all the details presented in front of them, and make a judgement on the criminal case. Regardless of the level of court, in making a judgement, there are five main characteristics to the UAE court system: (1) the judge shall decide on the case based on his/her personal conviction (i.e. the judge is not bound by a particular forensic report or testimony) (Article 209 of FCPL); (2) the judge is not bound by the the results of the preliminary investigation (e.g. a confession in front of the police or the public prosecution) (Article 208); (3) the judge has an active role in the investigation (e.g. may order a test to be administered or a witness questioned); (4) the judge is bound by what has been discussed in court (i.e. the judge may not make a judgment based on covert intelligence or information which has not been available for either the defence or the prosecution to scrutinise) (Article 209); (5) the ruling must include the reasons that led the judge to reach a conclusion (Article 216).

The second level of courts is the Court of Appeal (made up of a three-judge bench). This is the first court to retry the case again if a party feels that the judgement is not right. This court will go through the process from the start and may examine any details further. The final level of courts has a more complex division. As previously mentioned, Article 104 of the Constitution allows individual emirates to have their own version of a Supreme Court. Only Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Ras Al-Khaimah have their own versions of a Supreme Court. The rest of the emirates have their cases heard in the

Federal Supreme Court. In addition, federal crimes (e.g. terrorism) are tried by a federal court.

Figure 3.4 Dubai Criminal Court System Organisational Chart



The highest court in Dubai is the Court of Cassation. This court is comprised of a five-judge bench and mainly investigates questions of law or jurisprudence. According to Article 244 of the FCPL (1992), this court only examines criminal cases in the following circumstances: (1) if the challenge to a judgement is based on a violation of the law or its misapplication or misinterpretation; (2) if a judgment or procedure affecting the ruling is invalid (e.g. evidence of the Public Prosecution using illegal means to obtain a confession are made available); (3) if the ruling in a civil court litigation exceeds the demands of the litigant; (4) if the ruling/judgement does not stipulate reasons, or that the reasons could be insufficient or invalid; and (5) according to Article 249 of the FCPL (1992) if the rulings are contradictory (e.g. if the Court of First Instance ruling in favour of the Public Prosecutor and the Court of Appeals ruled in

favour of the suspect). This court's ruling can have great influence on the administration of justice by providing direction on how certain laws should be interpreted.

Interaction of law, culture, and policing practice

Interaction between law and culture

The interaction between law and culture is evident in two ways; one, law influences culture and, two, culture influences law. On the one hand, for example, the introduction of laws that enforce the equal rights of both men and women may influence a change in cultural values as to the position of both genders within a society (Varner & Varner, 2014). This process can take some time but, ultimately, the objective of such laws is to create a more equal society. In the case of the UAE, the President directed that Emirati women occupy 50% of the country's parliament (i.e. Federal National Council) (Badam, 2019). This would, or at least it is hoped, will create better representation of women within society as a whole including the police. On the other hand, culture influences law by providing general principles for law makers to abide or give them the power to change laws and evolve (e.g. recent law changes and policing practice directives regarding the status of marijuana in some U.S. states).

Influence of law and culture on policing practice

As mentioned above, the police in Dubai regularly go above and beyond what is expected of them, as a consequence of various cultural influences including saving face. A police officer may act as a conflict resolver in many cases, especially when there are long term consequences if a criminal case is brought forward. For example, a police officer may try to solve in-family fighting by giving the parties various options ranging from counseling to referrals to specialized institutions for conflict resolution. If they refuse and prefer criminal proceedings, then the officer is obligated by law to start them. These cultural norms have profound implications on policing practice in the UAE.

Influence of culture and policing practice on interviewing

Police officers in Dubai interview individuals from over 180 different cultural backgrounds (Khalfan, 2007), and it has been well documented that culture influences the way that we communicate (Beune, Giebels, & Taylor, 2010). Since the officers themselves are from a very similar background, they have to be mindful of the influence of culture on the interviewees' communication. Utilising Hall's (1976) theory of low/

high context communication, individuals fall within a spectrum of low context to high context communication. According to Hall, low context communication involves the use of direct and clear messages in which meanings are contained within the words spoken (generally more prevalent in individualistic cultures like the UK). High context communication involves the use of indirect messaging to communicate (generally more prevalent in collectivist cultures like the UAE). This type of communication permits individuals to maintain face and avoid jeopardizing any relationship.

With the above in mind, police officers, wanting to establish rapport, have to be aware of an interviewee's culture and plan and prepare accordingly. Police officers from a high context communication culture or a collectivist cultural tradition (e.g. Dubai) tend to demonstrate higher levels of cooperative behaviors due to shared notions of kinship (Cox, Lobel, & Mcleod, 1991). Which means that if they are matched with individuals from a similar culture, then communication lines could be easier to maintain, as opposed to communication with individuals from low context communication traditions. This topic (i.e. cultural differences between low and high context cultures) could be introduced during interview training. This will enable officers to effectively plan and prepare for an interview and help reduce any kind of in-group/out-group bias that may be present.

The aim of this chapter was to provide the reader with background information that is necessary to understand subsequent chapters and the research. This chapter provided an overview of the UAE and its historical, social, and cultural contexts; the different entities within the federation. It also provided an overview of Dubai and its institution, including the police; as well as an overview of the UAE and Dubai legal system and the roles of the three institutions (i.e. the police, the public prosecution, and the courts) within it. The next chapter introduces the reader to the first of the five empirical studies.

**Part II: Exploring the major crime investigate interviewing triangle in
Dubai, Empirical research**

Chapter 4: Exploring police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes

Introduction

Once a crime has been committed and reported, one of the main tasks of the police is to gather relevant information about the reported crime (Milne & Bull, 1999). An essential source for gathering such information is the investigative (or law enforcement) interview (Milne & Powell, 2010). Gudjonsson and Pearse (2011) argue that in the interest of fairness and justice, the information gathered by the police has to be accurate, intelligible, coherent, and credible; whilst being obtained fairly and legally. This is especially true for sex crimes (one of the main crime types designated as 'major crime' in Dubai, discussed in Chapter 1), where it is often a 'word versus word' challenge between the alleged victim and the alleged suspect (Benneworth, 2007; Kebbell, Hurren, & Mazerolle, 2006). Suspects in sex crimes may also be more likely to deny their involvement due to perceived social condemnation (Thomas, 2002; Ward, Hudson, Johnston, & Marshall, 1997) which may add a layer of complexity to the interview process. This is particularly true in socially conservative countries, like the UAE.

Studies examining police interviewing have been mainly conducted in English-speaking and European countries (Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Baldwin, 1993; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Häkkänen, Ask, Kebbell, Alison, & Granhag, 2009; Hershkowitz, Lamb, Katz, & Malloy, 2013; Kassin et al., 2003; Kassin et al., 2007; Read, Powell, Kebbell, Milne, & Steinberg 2014; Snook & Keating, 2011; Vanderhallen et al., 2011; Volbert & Baker, 2016; Walsh & Bull, 2015; Westera, Kebbell, & Milne, 2016) or in Far East Asia (Wachi et al., 2014; Goodman-Delahunty, 2016). The findings from these studies may not be entirely generalizable to countries whose culture and policing practices differ. For example, the police in the UAE (and Dubai) cannot confront suspects with evidence, as this is part of the Public Prosecution's mandate (See Chapter 3 and below).

This chapter (empirical Study One) examined Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing individuals in major crime. The chapter starts with a brief overview of Dubai, its police force and interviewing laws before moving on to describe the methods, results and discussion.

Dubai: An overview

As noted in Chapter 3, since the discovery of oil in 1966, Dubai has evolved from a quiet fishing village to an international city (Hirst, 2001). The Emirate (i.e. state), the second largest of the UAE, has experienced great economic growth and accelerated urbanisation which turned a village of the desert into a city that is home to a multitude of residential, commercial, sport, medical, and tourism projects (Nassar et al., 2014). The scale of these massive development projects is evidenced by the estimate that a quarter of the world's cranes operate in Dubai (Badouri, 2007). More than 2.7 million people live in Dubai, with around four million in the city during working hours (Dubai Statistics Centre, 2016). Dubai's population consists of 200 different nationalities, each of which may have its own cultural traditions. It is estimated that there are nearly 100 different languages spoken in Dubai (Khalfan, 2007). The local population may seem conservative to Western audiences, but are considered moderate within the region. However, some issues, like sex, are still considered taboo.

Unlike cities such as New York, London, Paris, or Zurich that have been gradually shaped and developed, Dubai can be considered an 'instant city' (Davis, 2007; Junemo, 2004), one that has evolved as a result of extremely fast urbanism and global flow (Acuto, 2010; Bagaen, 2007; Elsheshtawy, 2008, 2009). This rapid growth in both economy and population, means that the government has identified certain areas for improvement, including how to police people from all walks of life. The Dubai Government has embraced its cosmopolitan composition and seems intent to be as accommodating as possible. This has accelerated the Dubai Government's efforts to modernise its institutions, including its police force, especially as it regards itself as a model for development in the region.

Dubai Police

The Dubai police force can be considered the most progressive police force in the region (Chu & Abdulla, 2014). The force has been known to introduce the latest scientific and technological developments for law enforcement. For example, it is the first Arabic police force to introduce electronic finger printing and DNA testing (Chu & Abdulla, 2014). Despite such advancements, maintaining security in a city with rapid population growth (nearly 6% annually) and economic growth (5% average annually) is challenging (Chu & Abdulla, 2014). Whereas applying scientific knowledge in the areas

of the 'hard sciences' and technology (e.g. DNA and electronic finger printing) may well be easily transferable between different countries, this may not be the case with sciences involving interpersonal skills (e.g. interviewing) that are constrained by cultural and legal considerations.

UAE interviewing laws

As discussed in Chapter 3, in the UAE the laws regarding police interviewing place officers in a unique position. While the police are responsible for examining crimes, searching for criminals, collecting evidence (Art. 30 of the Criminal Procedures Law), seeking clarifications (Art. 35), and hearing the statements of witnesses and suspects (Art. 40), they may not confront the suspect with evidence, as this is part of the Public Prosecutor's mandate (Art. 65 through Art. 70). Nonetheless, police interviewing is integral to the investigative process, as the statements made by all (potentially) relevant parties (i.e. victims, witnesses, and suspects) are collected via the interview and, subsequently, evidence is gathered based on these statements. The police are also responsible for hearing the accused's statement, and if he/she cannot substantiate his/her innocence (e.g. through providing a credible alibi) they send him/her to the relevant Public Prosecutor within 48 hours (Art. 47). This effectively means that the police have to gather enough information for the case without confronting the suspect with evidence. Since the UAE Criminal Code does not allow conviction to be based on confession evidence alone (See Chapter 3), the rationale behind this is to provide protection to the suspect, by separating the gathering of evidence (the role of the police) and the evidence presentation components (the role of the Public Prosecutor). This distinction makes it impossible for the police to use interview systems like PEACE (at least not in its current form), and the Reid technique, which often involve the disclosure of evidence (Walsh, O'Callaghan, & Milne, 2016). [a review of these interview techniques can be found in Chapter 2]

International studies of police interview techniques

There have been many studies examining police interview techniques over the past 25 years and across the globe (Baldwin, 1992; Häkkänen et al., 2009; Kassin et al., 2007; Leo, 1996; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1999, 2003; Wachi et al., 2014). The current study built upon the work of Häkkänen et al. (2009), Kassin et al. (2007), and Wachi et al. (2014), and aimed to add to the international outlook by

examining both policing practice and cultural norms in the UAE. Häkkänen et al. (2009) asked 30 violent crime investigators in Finland to rate 39 interrogation tactics used in two hypothetical interviews [consisting of either technical evidence (e.g. DNA or fingerprints) or soft information (e.g. tips from informers or gossip)] with a homicide suspect. The research aimed to assess the effects of case-specific facts and investigators' discomfort with ambiguity on the investigators' beliefs and interview tactics. The tactics included asking the participants if they use tactics such as humor, if they discuss the suspects' personal matters (even if unrelated to the case), if they are compassionate, or if they adopted a hostile attitude. It was found that investigators emphasised the utility of using a humane approach to interviewing.

Kassin et al. (2007) surveyed 631 police officers in the USA and Canada to examine the most popular interview techniques employed by them. The participants reported that the most common interview techniques (from a list of 16 items) were: 'Isolating suspect from family and friends'; 'Conducting the interrogation in a small, private room'; 'Identifying contradictions in the suspect's story'; 'Establishing rapport and gaining the suspect's trust'; and 'Confronting the suspect with evidence of his guilt'.

In Japan, Wachi et al. (2014) using a questionnaire examined interview techniques employed by Japanese police officers (N=276). The participants were asked to respond to 39 items, however, only 27 items were retained for further analysis. These items included, 'treated the suspect in a friendly manner', 'expressing impatience and anger towards the suspect', 'identifying some inconsistencies between the suspect's account and witness version', and 'confronting the suspect with actual evidence'. They identified four interviewing styles: (i) Evidence-focused, (ii) Confrontational, (iii) Relationship-focused, and (iv) Undifferentiated and they found that investigators reported that they were more likely to get confessions from suspects if they employed a Relationship-focused approach. Investigators also reported that if they used Evidence-focused approaches then suspects are more likely to provide partial confessions and are less cooperative (but this may well depend on how the evidence is presented - Bull, 2014), suggesting that, contrary to many Western studies, presentation of evidence may not always be an effective method. However, most of Wachi et al.'s (2014) findings (i.e. the importance of a relationship-focused approach) are similar to findings in Western

studies about the importance of building rapport (Holmberg and Christianson, 2002; Milne & Bull, 1999; Walsh & Bull, 2012).

Since there is not a word in Arabic for rapport, the following theoretical model by Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) in which they define rapport as : ‘...participants in the interaction form a cohesiveness, become unified, through the expression of mutual attention to and involvement with one another’, was used to gather the participants’ views. This model has become widely accepted as a framework for rapport (e.g. Walsh & Bull, 2012; Holmberg & Madsen, 2014; Vallano & Compo, 2015; Clarke & Milne, 2016).

The nature of police interviewing currently in Dubai is rather unknown, and an examination of police interviewers’ perceptions may well provide a better understanding. Additionally, by focusing the current, new study on a controversial issue like sex (along with other major crimes like homicide and kidnapping), it is hoped that this study will create greater awareness. In Dubai there is no standardised evidence-based interview method being used by police. This is not to say that the current methods are grossly inadequate, but rather that they have not been evaluated, and thus, not empirically supported. This study aimed to explore how one part of the interviewing triangle (i.e the officers) perceive interviewing in major crimes and provide an empirical basis for a much larger study utilising a questionnaire (Chapter 5).

Method

Participants

Dubai police officers involved in the investigation of major crimes (homicide, sex crimes, and kidnapping) with at least two years experience were invited to participate in this study by a gatekeeper, a psychologist employed by the Dubai police. Due to the fact that the researcher was part of the Dubai police and in order to limit pressure to participate (e.g. because of social desirability or saving face), the gatekeeper contacted potential participants twice. The first time was to invite potential participants to indicate whether they would like to participant in this research project, without knowing the biographical details of the researcher. The second time was to send willing participants, the participant information document and informed consent forms, which did include the researcher’s details. In both instances willing participants had to reply to the gatekeeper to indicate whether they would like to participate.

The participants contacted by the gatekeeper were from two separate units within the Dubai Police. The first unit (six participants, 60% of the unit) was a specialized Forensic Psychology unit that deals with major crime exclusively, and officers in this unit are tasked with conducting detailed interviews (which are audio-recorded for transcription purposes) and providing forensic psychology expertise (e.g. evaluation of personality and risk assessments). Officers in this unit have to have a degree in Psychology, Criminology, or a Social Science-related degree. The second unit (four participants, ~16% of the unit) is an interviewing unit situated within the Criminal Investigation Department and officers in this unit are tasked with interviewing (this unit does not audio-record interviews) individuals before they are transferred to the prosecution for further questioning.

The gatekeeper received responses from ten officers to participate in this exploratory study (No information is available on how many officers declined to participate). Since research in this area is still developing, officers may have been reluctant to participate. To help facilitate participation the Dubai Police Head Quarters (DPHQ) allowed officers to be interviewed during their working hours. The mean age of the participants was 30 years (ranging between 24 and 51) and their length of service ranged between 2.5 and 25 years ($M=7.3$ years, $SD=6.9$); eight of the participants were male and two were female.

Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were devised in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the process of police interviewing in Dubai (see Adams, 2015 for more on the use of semi-structured interviews). A semi-structured interview (see Appendix A) was developed and then refined after being piloted on five police officers, by improving the lay out and changing some questions that may cause confusion and/or cultural outrage (e.g., the focus was transferred from talking only about sex crimes to talking about major crimes) (see Appendix A, questions 1, 2, and 7). The interview questions explored police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes and were based on research by Wachi et al. (2014), Häkkinen et al. (2009), and Kassin et al. (2007). The questionnaires devised by these researchers were adapted to ask the current participants open questions about interviewing suspects and victims involved in major crime, and how they (i.e. the officers) felt about this; interviewing individuals from a different

culture; and training; monitoring and supervision methods. The research interviewer also asked questions about interview preparation methods and interview techniques/tools used. In addition, the research interviewer also asked questions about officers' beliefs, attitudes, and presumptions about sex crimes and any unique complexities when dealing with those kinds of crimes. For purposes of facilitating conversation, the semi-structured interview guidelines were translated into Arabic by the researcher (who is fluent in both Arabic and English) and then reviewed for accuracy by two researchers within DPHQ. The interviews were audio recorded and ranged in length between 10 and 51 minutes (M= 29, SD= 13). Before being interviewed, potential participants were invited by the gatekeeper to read a participant information sheet (Appendix B) and sign a consent form (Appendix C).

Analysis for themes

The research interview tapes were transcribed and then translated from Arabic into English before being reviewed for accuracy of translation by two other researchers. The data were then imported into NVivo 11. Thematic analysis based on a hermeneutic-phenomenological epistemology (Duke, 1977; Heidegger, 1962; Smith, 2007) was used to analyse the interview responses. Thematic analysis is a method used to identify, analyse and report patterns (i.e. themes) within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The process of analysis was informed by Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Phases of thematic analysis (taken from Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.87)

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

The analysis of the responses yielded seven themes, as follows: (1) training⁶, (2) planning and preparation, (3) building rapport, (4) active listening, (5) confrontation, (6) discussion of the crime, and (7) attitudes towards sex crimes (see Appendix D for more on the coding and analysis process). In addition, two researchers were asked to analyse the data set to ensure that the themes identified were consistent within the data. Inter-rater reliability was assessed using the percentage of agreement method and was 91.6%. Any discrepancies were resolved by discussion and the first rater's codes were used for analysis (Appendix D for the coding map). The researchers independently found seven and eight themes respectively that are consistent with the themes found by the author (for example, planning and preparation was labelled interview planning and preparation and interview planning). In addition, the extra theme identified by the second researcher was present as a subcategory theme (the researcher viewed the theme of confrontation as two separate themes).

Results

1) Training

Six participants reported that they had not been formally trained before starting work as interviewers. They described their 'training' process as being one of observation and learning through trial and error.

'I didn't have any training regarding police interviews... but I observed my colleagues on how to interview... they observed me as well and gave me feedback' - Participant 3

'... at the beginning... me observing... ya so I used to go with my colleagues to observe how they interview... I had some of my colleagues explain to me how it is' - Participant 2

Even when some were 'trained' after they started interviewing, the training focused on the same process of trial and error, and 'expert' feedback.

'... he (an external trainer/ expert from a European Police Academy) was more like commenting on what we are doing and giving us feedback... but in terms of courses or lecture... I can't think of any' - Participant 1

⁶ It is important to note that although the semi-structured interview sheet (Appendix A) included a question on interview training, all of the participants talked about training before they were asked, hence why this theme was included.

There were others who stated that they were trained before starting work (three were internally trained and one externally). The method of training that they described seemed to be heavily based on the legal aspects of the interview process.

‘we learned that when a suspect is transferred to us (in custody)... that we look at his arrest report and prepare for the case... we ask questions about the incident and he answers... we learned what we can talk about and what to not talk about (legally)’ - Participant 5

This process was described as a combination of classroom based lectures and observation of more experienced colleagues.

‘We were trained on forensic interviewing... for a period that was (long pause) satisfactory (upon further clarification about 5 to 10 days)... we then observed our more experienced colleagues before we started interviewing’ - Participant 9

It is important to note that the participants who did undergo formal training were trained by their more experienced colleagues, who themselves were not formally trained in interviewing methods being in turn trained by more experienced colleagues.

2) Planning and Preparation

Another theme was how (if at all) the participants planned and prepared for interviews. Seven reported that they prepare extensively for an interview, six of whom were trained on the job. Six (five trained on the job and one externally) reported using a RCMP-inspired protocol (known as indirect personality assessment or indirect profiling) for the preparation of an interview.

‘we prepare for the interview... using a protocol called indirect profiling (i.e. personality assessment) as a checklist to cover all the necessary gaps’ - Participant 6

‘... we do indirect profiling... where we bring out the most important information and set up questions for the interview... we try to keep them open questions and avoid leading questions...’ - Participant 3

Three (all formally trained) reported that they read the case documents but do not prepare questions. Two (of the three) reported that preparing questions affected their flexibility during the interview.

‘I don’t prepare a great deal of questions... I find that if I prepare... or over-thinked it... that this will effect my ability to adapt to the interviewee’s answers... I will be more mechanical’ - Participant 9

‘I read the arrest documentation.. make sure that they are comprehensive... and then start taking his statement... you start slowly and then get to where you want’ - Participant 5

3) Building Rapport

Another theme identified was building rapport with interviewees. Seven participants (six trained on the job) reported using what could be classified as rapport building [according to Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal’s (1990) definition, above].

‘... we would meet the person (interviewee) and we would start by asking about himself or herself... how are you?... and then we would tell them to tell us about their lives... hobbies... what they are doing as expats here (if they were expats)... try to form an understanding of the person I am talking to... and the same for him...’ - Participant 1

Two reported that a formal approach is more appropriate, especially with suspects. ‘It all depends on the case files... all that I have to do is to take his statement... try to find contradictions... things to be used against him (by the prosecutor)’ - Participant 9

One reported that building rapport is appropriate in some cases but not others.

4) Active listening

The fourth theme identified was 'active listening'. Eight participants (six trained on the job) emphasised that active listening is extremely important, including listening to the interviewee’s life story and to their stories about friends and family, even if those details were not pertinent to the case. They were also uniform in stressing that an interviewee should not be interrupted.

‘The questions we use are open ended... we don't ask yes and no questions... we listen to the interviewee and don't interrupt... we will then ask clarification questions if they are needed...’ - Participant 6

Others acknowledged the importance of active listening in identifying signs of distress and working to alleviate them.

‘We ask open questions... and try to listen to what they say without interrupting but also encourage them to feel safe... there are cases when people begin opening up... they show signs of distress... I think that is why it is important to train people in handling distressed individuals...’ - Participant 3

However, two participants (formally trained) reported that it is appropriate to interrupt interviewees, even during recall, to ask 'important questions'.

'I would say that... sometimes you have to keep track of the interview and ask important questions to clarify... even if that means stopping him' -Participant 5

5) Confrontation

The participants acknowledged that the UAE Criminal Procedure Law does not allow them to confront and challenge interviewees with evidence. However, they are allowed to make it clear in their subsequent case files that the interviewee gave contradictory statements or that the interviewee's statement does not match the evidence. The case files are then transferred to the public prosecution, who will take over the investigation. In addition, participants agreed that it is both unethical and impractical to be aggressive. This includes expressing anger towards the interviewees, or about something they said, or telling them that they are lying.

'It is important to not be deemed threatening or aggressive... for the interviewee to share information' - Participant 3

'We try to be calm and not lose our patience... being aggressive means that the person may be scared and that is not good... both in the short-term and the long-term' - Participant 8

The idea here is that the conduct of the interviewer has consequences in both the short-term, with regards to eliciting information from the interviewee, and the long-term, with regards to police-community cooperation and partnership. However, two participants reported that raising one's voice may help control a very disruptive interviewee.

'For some individuals it may be necessary... if all other methods fail... to raise your voice or change your tone... nothing aggressive but more like assertive' - Participant 5

6) Discussion of the Crime

Participants acknowledged that the discussion of the crime is imperative. They reported that the interviewer needs to maintain composure and not rush the interviewee.

'...we gradually build up to the incident.. most of our questions are open ended.. we don't interrupt the person.. we don't ask yes and no questions.. we give them their space.. they can talk for as much as they want.. it is unrestricted...'- Participant 4

All the participants reported that they discuss the alleged crime 'in detail'. This is a critical phase as the police only elicit statements (hence the need for an interviewing method that has been designed to gather information), and the more detail provided, the better the case file will be. This phase of the interview helps police officers provide more analysis in the case files with regard to contradictions or how the statement compares to other testimony (e.g. witness or victim statements) or to the physical evidence (e.g. DNA).

'you need from the beginning.. you need to know the whole story even before the actual incident.. the amount of detail both during before and after.. people tend to jump up and down between those times.. I think this aspect is more intense in a sex crime.. than any other crime... they keep adding information.. retrieving information.. and those outbreaks that happen sometimes..' - Participant 3

The participants emphasized the importance of their role to make sure that the interviewee understands the meaning of the alleged crime.

'...It is important for the interviewee to understand what the crime means... for example.. a rape can only be perpetrated by a male and the victim has to be female... there are also other considerations like penetration.. etc...' - Participant 1

7) Attitudes towards sex crime

The seventh theme identified was the participants' attitudes towards sex crime. Four participants (including both females in this study) reported that they feel uncomfortable discussing sex crime.

'I personally don't feel comfortable.. for me if the suspect was a [of other gender].. I would always prefer to have someone with me' -Participant 2

'... it is a bit hard for me to ask.. personal questions.. sometimes I feel uncomfortable... embarrassed... due to our culture' - Participant 6

The four participants all agreed that cultural restrictions hamper their efforts to become accustomed to talking about sex, in general, or, sex crimes, specifically. They acknowledge the need for a thorough investigation and report that they do their best to contain these feelings, nonetheless, the feelings are there. They note that even though they feel this way, they try not to allow themselves to be influenced by their reservations and, for example, try to rush the interviewee.

Four participants reported feeling neutral about discussing sex crime.

‘It my job... I try to be as impartial as possible... and to take a statement that may help in the justice process...’ - Participant 8

This latter group noted that even though they feel slightly uncomfortable discussing sex crime, they view this as part of their job. They acknowledge that sex is considered taboo, but argue that other things are considered taboo (e.g. stealing or being fraudulent) and are still discussed. The position they seem to take is a combination of cultural restrictions (e.g. talking about sex) and the need for a thorough investigation.

Two other participants reported that they are comfortable discussing sex crime, as this is part of their job. They noted that as soon as they start work, what may be considered taboo is no longer that. The rationale, they stated, was that what they are doing is necessary to the justice process and if they can act comfortably, it will be easier for the interviewee to talk later in the public prosecution and the courts. One compared this with working as a physician, who is not allowed to, for example, view a woman’s naked body, in general; but if her body was viewed as part of a check up or surgery then that is acceptable.

Discussion

This study examined Dubai police officers’ beliefs regarding interviewing in major crimes. Based on a thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews, seven themes were identified. Although widely used, thematic analysis may lack clarity about what it is and how it should be conducted (Boyatzis, 1998; Bryman, 2008; Tuckett, 2005). This has led some researchers to criticise the method (Bryman, 2008). However, when researching a new, unknown area (as the present study did), thematic analysis can provide a method to build knowledge and suggest further research on the topic (e.g. Chapter 5 of this thesis).

Despite four participants reporting some kind of formal training, the lack of standardised formal training is evident in the current analyses. This is not unique to Dubai. For example, Germany (Volbert & Baker, 2016); Italy (Zappa, Pompedda, Rossini, & Scarabello, 2016); Belgium (Vanderhallen et al., 2016); and the USA (Kelly & Meissner, 2016) each lack uniform, standardised training for interviewing suspects. Many studies emphasise the importance of training to produce methodical, organised, planned, and effective interviews (e.g. Bull, 2013; Cherryman & Bull, 2000; Clarke et

al., 2011; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013; Walsh & Bull, 2015). Countries that have nationally introduced formal interview training (e.g PEACE in England and Wales, and KREATIV in Norway) have seen improvements in interview practice. For example, Walsh and Bull (2010) found that interviews that demonstrated satisfactory PEACE skills were more likely to obtain a comprehensive account.

In his study, Baldwin (1992) found little correlation between officers' training (albeit only for one week at the time) and interview performance. Indeed, many participants in Baldwin's study did not acknowledge the importance of what Powell (2002) describes as the 'essential elements of an investigative interview'; namely, the importance of rapport building and effective planning and preparation (both are discussed below). One reason for this could be that in many countries officers are 'trained' by their 'more experienced' colleagues, without the use of a national training course and strategy. Powell (2002) found that instructions, even when taught in training are not followed, and concluded that standardisation and a stricter enforcement are probably required. This likely requires creating a standardised programme of training that is informed by relevant research and professional expertise. For it to have an effect on improving interviewing, the methods emphasised in such training need to be enforced and continually reviewed.

Planning and preparing for an interview is considered an essential step for good practice (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Kim, Walsh, Bull, & Bergstøm, 2017; Scott, Tudor-Owen, Pedretti, & Bull, 2015; Walsh & Bull, 2010; Walsh & Milne, 2008). The majority of participants in the current study reported that they plan and prepare for an interview. Six participants reported using a structured method for planning and preparing inspired by the RCMP indirect personality assessment. No published literature is available on this topic; however, the RCMP Website describes indirect personality assessment as 'the assessment of a known individual believed to be responsible for committing a violent crime' (RCMP, 2018). The website goes on to describe a multitude of uses for this 'assessment' include interview preparation.

Walsh and Bull (2010) found that officers displaying good planning and preparation skills were more likely to conduct a better quality interview and to obtain a more comprehensive account than officers who did not display such skills. Six of the seven current participants who reported planning and preparing, however, were not

formally trained. Two participants reported that planning and preparing impaired their flexibility during the interview. They reported that they read the case documents, but that they do not prepare specific interview questions. This could be a result of them being trained to use a rigid system of planning and preparing that, not only affects their interview method, but also adds to their workload. This kind of rigid system could lead officers to think that planning and preparation skills are less important (O'Neill & Milne, 2014). However, planning and preparing for an interview can be beneficial, not only to the interview itself, but the mindset of the interviewer. For example, Köhnken (1995) suggested that adequate planning and preparation skills may help interviewers to reduce their cognitive load and, therefore, increase their cognitive capacity to process information within the interview itself.

Seven participants acknowledged that rapport building is integral to the interview process. They explained that they view rapport building as an effort to help the interviewee feel more comfortable and, thus, provide a more comprehensive account; something akin to the information gathering approach propagated by PEACE guidelines in the UK and not a manipulative approach to build trust propagated by the advocates of the Reid Technique (Inbau et al., 2013). Information gathering approaches that utilise effective rapport building skills produce more comprehensive accounts than accusatorial and interrogational based approaches (Meissner, Redlich, Michael, Evans, Camilletti, Bhatt, & Brandon, 2014; Walsh & Bull, 2012); thus increasing the diagnosticity of the evidence produced (Vallano, Evans, Compo, & Kieckhaefer, 2015).

Walsh and Bull (2012) found that rapport building skills were not always evident during the initial 'engage and explain' phase. It is at this phase that interviewers should explain the interview purpose, how it will be conducted, and make sure that the interviewee understood the caution. They suggest that this phase is critical for developing rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee. They found that during this time interviewers tended to focus on the administrative and legal aspects of the interview, failing to fulfill Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's (1990) criteria for rapport building.

In the present study, two participants reported that they prefer a formal, purely legalistic approach. This could be related to a number of factors including not being effectively trained on the importance of rapport building and by focusing more on the

legal aspects of the interview. This seems to contradict the fact that people from collectivist cultures, like Dubai, seem to be more eager to build rapport with people in general and prefer not to lose face (see e.g. Wachi et al. 2014; 2016a). This may explain why some Dubai police officers prefer to focus more on the legal aspects of the interview than a comprehensive discussion of the crime in some cases where the crime could be considered taboo (e.g. sex crimes). The fact that the majority of participants indicated that building rapport is critical is promising and this information could be used to tailor a training course. However, acknowledging the importance of rapport building and applying it in practice are not one and the same thing. In order to establish if rapport building exists in practice and what are the methods that interviewers use to build rapport, a study analyzing actual Dubai police interviews could be beneficial.

Another theme was the need for active listening. 80% of participants emphasised the importance of active listening for the development of the interviewee narrative. Similarly, Wachi et al., (2014) found that, even though the officers in their study were talking about interviews with serious offenders, they recognised the importance of listening to the suspect's account, relevant to the alleged crime or not. This is particularly important in the UAE since, as previously stated, the police cannot confront interviewees with evidence, which, in turn, means that the more comprehensive and accurate the initial statement is, the better equipped the prosecution will be.

Acknowledging the importance of listening to an interviewees' account is not new. In fact, police officers in the Cherryman and Bull (2001) study reported that they rate listening as the most important skill of the many they were asked to assess. Active listening can be seen as a crucial part of rapport building, and part of one of the three dynamic interrelated components of rapport identified by Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) (i.e. mutual attentiveness, positivity, and coordination). For example, if an interviewer is actively listening to the interviewee, this gives the interviewee the impression that s/he is listened to, thus, encouraging their narration. Bull and Soukara (2010) found that interviewers were more likely to demonstrate greater willingness to listen if met by suspect resistance. This could suggest that interviewers may 'invest' more time in developing rapport and active listening when the suspect is uncooperative.

Six of the eight participants who acknowledged the importance of active listening, regularly audio-recorded their interviews. It could be surmised that, since the interview

is being recorded, officers do not need to make extensive notes of it and had more time to listen carefully to what the interviewee is saying and encouraged narration, this leading to better rapport building. These six participants also emphasised the importance of rapport building. The two officers that did not acknowledge the importance of active listening, do not audio-record interviews. One could surmise that, since they have to write down notes and ask questions, they feel that active listening is an enormous task and, thus, prefer a more formal approach to the interview process. Köhnken (1995) emphasised the likely benefit of audio-recording the interviews in reducing the cognitively difficult task of trying to remember what was said during the interview in order to produce a written statement, thus, providing the interviewer with more time to listen to the interviewee and respond with appropriate follow ups. In addition to the benefits that audio-recording may have on the quality of the interview (Westera et al., 2016), it has a functional benefit of having the actual recording later transcribed verbatim for a more thorough understanding of what was said. For example, Köhnken, Thurer, and Zoberbier (1994) found that only two-thirds of the information provided by the witness during the interview was included in written statements (with no recording). While Gregory, Compo, Vertefeuille, and Zambruski (2011) found that 40% of crime relevant information was omitted from police officers' reports.

Participants in the present study also highlighted the importance of active listening in helping them identify signs of distress. Research on police interviews after potentially traumatic events has shown that some police investigators are conscious of how distress can influence the interview process (Risan et al., 2017). Participants also reported that they noticed that some interviewees' statements are disorganised. Indeed, research on traumatic recall has found that voluntary memory is likely to be fragmented, disorganised, and, incomplete (Brewin, 2007). Sexual assault is a common source of trauma and research estimates that 17% to 25% of women and 1% to 3% of men will be sexually assaulted in their lifetime (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, & Stevens, 2011; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, 2006). The experience of sexual assault can be a highly stigmatizing experience (Kennedy & Prock, 2016), that is often associated with societal 'rape myths', such as attributing blame to the victim rather than the assailant (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds, & Gidycz, 2011). Cultural aspects like societal pressure and

stigmatization could lead victims to internalize these feelings, potentially leading to self blame and shame (Kennedy & Prock, 2016). It could be argued that this is even more profound in conservative countries like the UAE. These issues could lead victims to be less likely to feel comfortable speaking to someone about their experience.

Another theme identified was confrontation of interviewees. This theme had two manifestations: (1) confrontation (i.e. aggression towards the interviewee) and (2) confronting the interviewee with evidence. The former will here be addressed first. Participants were unanimous in condemning aggression towards the interviewee. Indeed, it has been documented that being aggressive towards interviewees is, not only unethical, but, also, unproductive (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2010). Two participants, those that viewed active listening as unimportant, reported that it may be useful, in extreme cases, to raise their voices. Moston and Stephenson (1993) and Moston and Engelberg (1993) found that when met with repeated denials and resistance, some officers resorted to repeating the question in a louder voice. This could be as a result of not having the skills necessary to overcome suspect resistance [see Walsh and Bull's (2012) study of skills involved in overcoming denials]. In addition, those two participants reported that it is appropriate to interrupt interviewees during their narration, in order to ask 'pertinent' questions. Many studies have shown that interrupting an interviewee, especially during recall or free narration may well be detrimental to the quality of the forensic interview (see Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Fisher, 1995; Milne & Bull, 1999; Powell, Fisher, & Wright, 2005; Westera, Kebbell, & Milne, 2011).

The second manifestation of the confrontation theme was confronting interviewees with evidence. The participants acknowledged that confronting the interviewees with evidence is unlawful and could result in the case being thrown out of court in the UAE. This is a particular disadvantage, not only because confrontation of evidence is becoming accepted as an effective way to elicit accounts (Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Moston, Stephenson, & Williamson, 1992; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999, 2000), but also, because planning and preparing for an interview should include thinking about the strategic use of evidence (Granhag, Strömwall, & Hartwig, 2007; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). Moston et al., (1992) found that 67% of suspects confessed when the evidence against them was strong, whereas only 10% confessed

when the evidence was considered weak. In the UAE, it doesn't matter how strong the evidence is considered by the officers to be, as the objective of the interview is to let the interviewee give a statement and, in the case of suspects, provide them with a chance to substantiate their innocence, and not, challenge them on their accounts. This means that officers have to be able to get a thorough account of the crime, in order for them to make decisions on the progress of the case. This usually means having to try to discuss the crime in detail. This is especially challenging since suspects have a right to silence, it is up to the interviewer to try to engage them in the interview (this is where building rapport is crucial).

In the current study, discussion of the crime was considered important. The discussion of the crime is important but it seems that there are various barriers to discussion or disclosure. Three reasons may contribute to this: (1) the inability to confront interviewees with evidence; (2) the social stigma that may surround a person convicted of a crime, and; (3) the implications the crime may have on the interviewee. It may be that the interviewer cannot begin the discussion of the crime in order for the interviewee to talk about it. For example, the interviewee may deny being at the location of the crime or deny ever knowing the accuser, this effectively means that the interviewer cannot include any evidence of involvement in a crime. However, the interviewer, in his/her report, may highlight the discrepancy between the statement and the evidence. And if the interviewee does not provide any information to substantiate his/her innocence, the case gets transferred to the public prosecution, who will be able to confront with evidence.

Participants reported that interviewees may be reluctant to discuss the crime because of fears of social stigma attached to the crime. The social composition of the UAE is unique for two main reasons. The first is that the all of the UAE citizens are muslims and nearly all would view Islam as a major part of their identity (see Simadi, 2006). The second is the fact that expatriates comprise 80% of the population with the majority being from other Arab and Asian countries (more than 70% of the whole population) (Suliman, 2006), who are more likely, along with the UAE citizens, to have an interdependent view of self (i.e have a more collectivist view of self and are thus more prone to external influences) than their Western counterparts (Dwairy, Achaoui, Abouserie, & Farah, 2006; Fernandez, Paez, & Gonzalez, 2005; Taher, Kazarian, &

Martin, 2008). These two Dubaian culture specific factors may have a negative influence on interviewees discussing the crime with the fear that this may result in social stigma (e.g. bring shame to the family name or the fear of being shunned by society). The third reason for the lack of discussion during police interviews is the fact that most expats face the risk of deportation if they are found guilty of a felony.

These factors could raise the risk of false confessions if manipulative interview techniques are used. For example, the proponents of the Reid technique advocate that during the interrogation stage, an interviewer should present the interviewee with two legally equivalent options, but with different moral explanations (Inbau et al., 1986). For example, the interrogator may propose that the suspect raped because that the victim was leading him (i.e. the suspect) on and he (the suspect) made a mistake, or, that the suspect raped because he is an immoral monster who preys on vulnerable women. This dichotomy of choices could potentially lead innocent suspects to ‘confess’ to a crime that they did not commit in order to ‘preserve face’. This is why it is crucial to promote ethical interviewing and discredit manipulative techniques that were designed to elicit confessions, without regard to the veracity of those confessions.

Drawing on the point made above about the UAE and Dubai being socially conservative, the final theme identified was the participants’ attitudes towards sex crimes. Four participants reported feeling uncomfortable, four reported being neutral, and two reported being comfortable. It is important that officers are comfortable or, at least, neutral when interviewing individuals involved in sex crimes. Contrary to the notion of the police ‘checking their attitudes at the door’ (see Rich & Seffrin, 2012), social norms seem to influence officers attitudes, at least in this study. If the uncomfortableness of the officers is apparent, it could mean that sex crime interviewees, especially victims, are potentially subjected to feelings of victimisation by the legal system and could lead to distress, and, ultimately, a lack of engagement with the forensic interview (see Campbell, 2006; Jordan, 2001).

One way that some officers may use to minimise the level of uncomfortableness when dealing with sex crime is for the interviewer and the interviewee to be the same gender. This approach is not unusual, as some police departments were found (some years ago) to assign female rape victim interviews to female officers (Gregory & Lees, 1999; Hodgson & Kelley, 2002). Some studies have shown that rape victims tend to

prefer female interviewers (Martin, 1997; Temkin & Krahe, 2008), however it is not yet known if female officers are more skilled than their male counterparts in interviewing rape victims (Rich & Seffrin, 2012).

Conclusion

The thematic analysis presented here explored the perceptions of participants and their experiences, being a topic researched for the first time in this region of the world. This approach enables us to explore what the participants thought without much input from researchers (apart from an interview guide), in order for us to understand how the interview process works and how it is viewed by officers. However, since this is a qualitative approach with a small sample size (N=10), results of the interviews could be influenced by factors such as interviewer-interviewee rapport. In order to minimise any such effects, rapport building skills were utilised with the participants and handing over the control of the interview to the participant with minimal input from the researcher.

Despite being employed by the Dubai Police and being sponsored by them to conduct research to enhance their understanding of the interviewing process, it was made clear to the researcher, prior to sponsorship, that as an independent researcher he is free to conduct studies that are relevant to police interviewing in Dubai. It is also important to note that the participants were informed that the researcher conducted this study as a University of Portsmouth PhD student, and not as a member of the Dubai police force. The fact that the Dubai police force were willing to fund a PhD, indicates their willingness to improve their understanding of forensic interviewing conducted by them. It is also worth noting that access would have not been granted, at least not to study this sensitive area, if the researcher was not a Dubai police officer.

Implication and future directions

The results of this study suggest that some Dubai police officers do have a grasp of what Powell (2002) terms the 'essential elements of an investigative interview', namely; building rapport, active listening, and planning/preparation. However, there is, currently, no standard interview training for officers. This study was the first of two studies researching police officers' perceptions of interviewing in Dubai. Other than the valuable data that this study produced, it also contributed in increased participation in the second study (N=62) (see Chapter 5, Empirical Study Two) compared to ten participants in the present.

Chapter 5: Police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes

Introduction

The objective of an interview is to gather credible and reliable information to provide prosecutors, judges, and juries with a comprehensive account of the alleged crime (Memon, Vrij & Bull, 2003). This could be why interviews are perceived by most police officers as the critical stage in a criminal investigation (Baldwin, 1994). The importance of an interview within an investigation is influenced by various factors like the strength of evidence and availability of witnesses. On the one hand, in cases where the evidence is substantial, the interview can be utilised as a means to resolve pending enquiries like the motives of the suspect (Memon et al., 2003). On the other hand, in cases where the evidence is weak, the interview can be used to acquire credible information that links the suspect to the crime.

However, good interview performance and a subsequent comprehensive account of the alleged crime can only be achieved when several elements are present. Oxburgh and Dando (2011) note that training has had a tremendous impact on the quality of interviews conducted by the police. This is evidenced by the plethora of studies that have looked at police interviewing in the UK and beyond (Baldwin, 1993; Bull and Cherryman, 1995; Cherryman, 2000; Clarke and Milne, 2001; Goodman-Delahunty, 2016 ; Milne and Bull, 1999; Stockdale, 1993; Volbert & Baker, 2016; Wachi et al., 2014; Walsh & Bull, 2015; Westera et al., 2016; Williamson, 1993).

As part of the development of officers' skills, training should also encompass good interview planning and preparation. Cherryman and Bull (1996) and Williamson (1993) highlighted the significance of adequate interview preparation. Cherryman and Bull (2001) found that police officers considered preparation to be very important. Indeed, preparation (or lack thereof) was the most frequent answer to what determines the success of an interview. Köhnken (1995) emphasised the importance of planning as a means to reduce the cognitive load on the interviewer during the interview. Planning also assists officers in the managing of emotional experiences prior to an interview (e.g. emotions of bias towards a suspected child rapist or uncomfortableness towards a culturally awkward situation). It is imperative that an interviewer is aware of such

emotions (Risan et al., 2016). This could minimise negative countertransference in establishing and maintaining rapport (St-Ives, 2006).

Interview preparation alone does not guarantee that a comprehensive account of the crime will be elicited. Interviewers have to be able to transfer their knowledge of interview techniques into practice. However, the use of poor questioning (i.e. closed; direct; leading; suggestive; and inappropriate questions) by interviewers is routine (Oxburgh and Dando, 2011). Wright and Powell (2006) noted that unlearning old techniques can be difficult, as officers will usually regress to ‘tried and tested’ interview techniques that could be, at the very least, not ideal. This has led many researchers (e.g. Clarke & Milne, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; and Oxburgh & Dando, 2011) to emphasise, amongst other potential improvements, the importance of continuous monitoring and assessment of police interviewers, as well as regular refresher courses.

Most of the studies mentioned above have been conducted in Western countries, and whilst they do provide insights into their respective countries, they may not reflect the issues and challenges of Dubai and the UAE. In fact, research into police interviewing practices in Dubai, and indeed the whole Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region, is still in its infancy. It is important to gain insight into the police’s perspective on training, interview preparation, interview techniques, and emotional stability during awkward social contexts (e.g. sex crime in Dubai) in order to generate and maintain critical discussions on how to improve current practice. It is imperative to understand police officers’ perceptions of interviews before improving police interview practice and subsequent training (Oxburgh & Dando, 2011). This chapter (empirical Study Two) provides an insight on Dubai police officers’ involved in major crimes perceptions of their training, planning and preparation, interview techniques, and comfortableness towards sex crimes; and complete the first angle of the triangle of investigative interview knowledge of the Dubai police [the other two being: victims (Chapter 6) and offenders (Chapters 7 and 8)]. The chapter starts with a brief overview of previous studies that have looked at police officers’ perceptions before moving on to methods, results and discussion.

International studies on police officers’ perceptions of interviewing

As mentioned in Chapter 4, many international studies have looked at police interviewing (e.g. Baldwin, 1992; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Häkkinen et al., 2009; Kassin

et al., 2007; Vanderhallen et al., 2011), however, as Wachi et al. (2014) noted, the finding from these Western studies may not be generalisable to other areas of the world. Building on the same premise (i.e. that findings of Western studies may not be generalisable to Dubai and the UAE) of empirical Study One in Chapter 4 where semi-structured in-depth interviews with 10 Dubai police officers involved in interviewing individuals in major crimes were conducted. The participants were asked open questions about interviewing suspect and victims involved in major crime in Dubai. Additionally, the researchers asked officers about how they felt about interviewing people from a different culture or gender. Other questions asked revolved around interview training and preparation, interview techniques, and feeling and beliefs about interviewing individuals involved in sex crime. The interviews were thematically analysed and yielded 7 themes: (1) training, (2) planning and preparation, (3) building rapport, (4) active listening, (5) confrontation, (6) discussion of the crime, and (7) attitudes towards sex crimes. The analysis showed that cultural barriers are still present for officers in interviewing individuals in major crime, generally, and sex crime, specifically. The officers in Study One, Chapter 4 seem to understand the basic foundations for an evidence-based approach to interviewing, but more needs to be done to standardise training and interview methods. Study One was used to gain an insight into Dubai police interviewing practices and act as a tool for a more thorough investigation. Building on this, Study Two aims to gain a better understanding of Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing individuals in major crime by canvassing views of a larger sample of Dubai police officers, using a questionnaire devised from the findings in Study One.

Method

Participants

90 Dubai Police officers involved in interviewing individuals in major crimes (homicide, sex crimes, kidnapping) for at least two years were invited to participate in the study by a gatekeeper, a psychologist working for the Dubai Police. Due to ethical considerations previously discussed in Chapter 4, potential participants were contacted using the same two-step process). 62 (51 males, 11 females) returned the questionnaire (Appendix G). The participants contacted by the gatekeeper were from three separate units within the Dubai Police. The first unit (seven participants, 70% of the unit) was a

specialised forensic psychology and criminology unit that deals almost exclusively with major crime (they also investigate crimes against children or where children are suspected of committing a crime). This unit is tasked with conducting detailed interviews to be used as reports in courts. The interviews conducted by this department are audio-recorded (the only unit within the Dubai Police to regularly audio-record interviews) for transcription purposes. The audio-recording is intended to help forensic psychology experts within the unit to produce forensic reports for the consumption of the Public Prosecution and courts (e.g. personality evaluations). Officers in this unit have to have a university degree in Psychology, Criminology, or an approved social science.

The second unit (15 participants, around 60% of the unit) is an interviewing unit situated within the Criminal Investigations Department and officers in this unit ($N \approx 25$, actual number is not available) are tasked with interviewing individuals before they are transferred to the Public Prosecution for further questioning. For example, a crime has been committed and the perpetrator is unknown, after a few weeks a person fitting the description has been arrested, this unit interviews said suspect.

The third unit is the investigative section within a number of police stations in Dubai. Technically, officers within these units are not considered to be part of one unit, they are in a sense doing the exact same job with the difference being area of jurisdiction. This unit is present within all 11 Dubai Police stations and is tasked with taking statements about any crime within its jurisdiction. Officers in this unit deal with every kind of crime including major crime. They are usually the first point of contact for alleged victims and suspects after reporting a crime. The statements taken by this unit usually set in motion the criminal investigation process in Dubai. 40 officers (around 44% of the total number of officers in the investigative section of police stations) agreed to participate in this study.

To help facilitate participation DPHQ allowed officers to complete the questionnaires during working hours. The mean age of participants was 35.1 years old ($SD=8.9$) and ranging between 23 years and 60 years. Participants' experience in investigating major crime ranged between 2 years and 39 years ($M=10.7$, $SD= 8.5$).

Procedure

Self-report questionnaires were completed between December 2016 and February 2017 by police officers who met the above criterion (i.e. involved in interviewing individuals in major crimes for at least two years). The participants were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix E) after reading the participant information sheet (Appendix F). All the documents for this study have been prepared in English (i.e. the forms that were submitted for ethical review and those in the appendices). These documents were subsequently translated into Arabic by a bilingual researcher, piloted on 5 police officers, and checked for accuracy by two other bilingual researchers before being sent to potential participants.

All the participants in this study were treated according to the ethical guidelines mandated by the University of Portsmouth and the Dubai Police.

Materials

The questionnaire focused on the following topics (for a full review of the questionnaire see Appendix G):

Training and interview preparation: statements in this section (Table 5.1) were based on Study One (Chapter 4) and aimed to quantify police officers' perceptions of training and interview preparation. For example, 'The suspect interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient'. Each statement was rated on a five point Likert scale (1= 'Strongly Disagree'; 2= 'Disagree'; 3= 'Neither Agree nor Disagree'; 4= 'Agree'; 5= 'Strongly Agree').

Interview techniques: Participants were asked about their beliefs regarding 16 statements (Table 5.2) concerning interview techniques based on previous research (e.g. Häkkänen et al., 2009; Kassin et al., 2007; Wachi et al., 2014). For example, participants were asked to rate 'I attempt to build rapport with the interviewee regardless of the interviewer-interviewee power dynamic' and 'I stop the interviewee during his/her narrative, in order to ensure that I type what he/she has said so far'. The wording of the first example (i.e. rapport) was a delicate issue, since there is a cultural element of respecting authority figures in the UAE, Wachi et al. (2014) used a similar wording method. Each statement was rated on a five point Likert scale (1= 'Never'; 2=

‘Rarely’; 3= ‘Sometimes’; 4= ‘Mostly’; 5= ‘Always’) to quantify how often the participants’ use such techniques.

Sex crime specific: Participants were asked to share how comfortable they feel towards investigating sex crimes, based on Study One (Chapter 4). Seven statements were given (Table 5.3), such as ‘How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect in an alleged sex crime’. Each statement was rated on a five point Likert scale (1= ‘Very Uncomfortable’; 2= ‘Uncomfortable’; 3= ‘Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable’; 4= ‘Comfortable’; 5= ‘Very Comfortable’) to quantify how the participants felt about interviewing individuals involved in sex crimes.

Participants information: Participants were asked about their gender, age, and number of years spent investigating major crimes. All the quantifiable data were analysed using SPSS.

Definitions: Participants were asked to answer 5 questions in written form towards the end of the questionnaire, such as ‘What is rapport’ and ‘what is a vulnerability’. This was done to provide more context to their ratings of rapport and vulnerability. Only 27 participants provided at least some answers. Written answers were analysed using NVivo 11.

Analysis

Initially, based on the results of Study 1 - Chapter 4, a principal component analysis was mooted to be used to help understand if there are any underlying factors that influenced officers’ responses, and whether any were correlated to certain variables (e.g. training or department within the police). However, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Test showed that the data were not suitable for such dimension reduction (KMO= 0.53). Additionally, it was also initially mooted to understand if there were any correlations (based on the results of Study 1, Chapter 4) between various variables, such as skills (e.g. rapport or active listening), training, gender, age, length of service, department within the police and cultural views regarding sex crimes. All the correlations were not significant. This meant that traditional statistical analysis could not be completed.

Results

The aim of the current study was to examine, through the use of a questionnaire, a wider range of Dubai police officers' perceptions on major crime interviewing compared to the what was possible during Study One (Chapter 4). The results of this study will be displayed in the seven themes (i.e. those found in Study One, Chapter 4) that were used to devise the questionnaires for the current study: (1) training sufficiency and content; (2) interview preparation; (3) rapport building; (4) active listening; (5) confrontation; (6) discussion of the crime; and (7) attitudes towards sex crimes.

Training sufficiency and content

Table 5.1 Self-reported training sufficiency

Training statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. The suspect interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient.	0%	3.2%	6.5%	58.1%	32.3%
2. The victim interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient.	0%	6.5%	6.5%	54.8%	32.3%
3. The witness interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient.	0%	4.8%	8%	58.1%	29%

As shown in Table 5.1, overall, nearly all the participants 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that the suspect, victim, and witness interview training they received prior to becoming an interviewer was 'sufficient'. Participants who completed the definitions section helped provide an insight regarding how they view a good interview. For example, when answering what do you consider as a successful suspect interview: five participants noted that an interviewer should have a sense of the suspect's 'psychological state' and 'social background', seven noted closed questions shouldn't be used (in general terms), whereas five participants noted that a interviewer should 'confront and ask specific questions'.

Table 5.2 Self-reported training content

Training content statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
4. The training introduced and explained different interview techniques and methods to use during an interview.	0%	9.7%	19.4%	46.8%	24.2%
5. The training introduced and explained the various vulnerabilities an interviewee may have.	0%	6.5%	14.5%	50%	29%
6. The training introduced and explained how to interview a vulnerable interviewee.	1.6%	9.7%	22.6%	50%	16.1%
7. The training introduced how to prepare methodically for an interview.	0%	9.7%	24.2%	40.3%	25.8%

Table 5.2 illustrates the type of topics that were introduced during training. Even though there are slight discrepancies, the vast majority of participants seem to agree in their assessments of what was introduced during training. For example, 79% of participants agree that ‘the training introduced and explained the various vulnerabilities an interviewee may have’. In the written answers ($N= 18$), participants noted that they consider the following as ‘vulnerability’: 1) age; 2) gender; 3) physical illness; and 4) mental illness. Two noted that lying and aggression were also vulnerabilities. Overall, the results displayed in Table 5.2 indicate that Dubai police officers were provided similar materials during their training, this is despite a lack of uniform training programme administered force-wide.

Interview preparation

As shown in Table 5.3, the vast majority of the participants (85.5%) think they use ‘an approved structured methodology’ before interviewing, even though the Dubai police does not have one. Over a third (37.1%) find that ‘preparing investigative questions before an interview impacts negatively on [their] flexibility within the interview’. Nearly all of the participants note that they take into account the interviewees’ culture (87.1%), gender (95.2%) and age (95.2%) when preparing for an interview.

Table 5.3 Self-reported interview preparation views

Interview preparation statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
8. I use an approved structured methodology to review the case before starting an interview	0%	3.2%	11.3%	56.5%	29%
9. I find that preparing investigative questions before an interview impacts negatively on my flexibility within the interview.	9.7%	35.5%	17.7%	25.8%	11.3%
10. I always take into account the interviewee's culture when preparing for an interview.	0%	1.6%	11.3%	59.7%	27.4%
11. I always take into account the interviewee's gender when preparing for an interview.	0%	0%	4.8%	61.3%	33.9%
12. I always take into account the interviewee's age when preparing for an interview.	0%	0%	4.8%	66.1%	29%

Rapport building

Table 5.4 Self-reported interview rapport building methods

Rapport building statements	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Mostly	Always
13. I attempt to build rapport with the interviewee regardless of the interviewer-interviewee power dynamic	3.2%	12.9%	27.4%	35.5%	21%
14. I treat all suspects, even those accused of very serious crimes, in a kind manner	3.2%	6.5%	24.2%	41.9%	24.2%
15. I attempt to identify a common interest with the interviewee to facilitate a conversation	1.6%	1.6%	40.3%	35.5%	21%
16. I try to connect with the interviewee by using a personal story	19.4%	21%	29%	19.4%	11.3%
17. I always explain to the interviewee that I am interested to hear about their side of the story	4.8%	17.7%	11.3%	29%	37.1%

As demonstrated in Table 5.4, just over half of the participants (56.5%) acknowledged that they 'mostly' or 'always' '... attempt to build rapport with the

interviewee regardless of the interviewer-interviewee power dynamic'. Of those that provided written answers, most participants ($N=17$) noted that rapport is an understanding or a working relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. Participants ($N=14$) noted that they aim to achieve this understanding by: 1) listening; 2) respecting the interviewee; 3) talking about various topics (e.g. their birthday, favourite football team, day so far etc...); and 4) letting the interviewee control the break times. A third of the sample (33.9%) say that they 'never', 'rarely', or 'sometimes' treat all suspects, even those accused of very serious crimes, in a kind manner. Two-thirds (66.1%) of the participants say that they 'explain to the interviewee that I am interested to hear about their side of the story'. Overall, Table 5.4 demonstrates that Dubai police officers in this sample find rapport to be unimportant and that they prefer a more formal approach to interviewing. The police officers also seem reluctant to share personal connections with the interviewees.

Active listening

Table 5.5 Self-reported Active listening

Active listening statements	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Mostly	Always
18. If the interviewee decides to share a personal story, that may be irrelevant to the case, I allow him/her the chance without interruption	4.8%	19.4%	29%	33.9%	12.9%
19. I stop the interviewee during his/her narrative, in order to ensure that I type what he/she has said so far	11.3%	21%	21%	21%	25.8%
20. I play close attention to the interviewee's words and phrases	1.6%	1.6%	6.5%	29%	61.3%
21. I stop an interviewee during his/her narrative to ask an important question, directly related to what he/she has said so far	4.8%	3.2%	29%	33.9%	29%

Table 5.5 shows that nearly half of the sample (46.8%) 'mostly' or 'always' allow an interviewee to share a personal story that may be irrelevant to the case, without interruption. However, only a third (32.3%) 'never' or 'rarely' stop an interviewee 'during [their] narrative' in order to type what has been said so far. Additionally, less than 1 in 10 (8%) 'never' or 'rarely' stops an interviewee 'during [their] narrative' in

order to ask an important question. Overall, this shows that Dubai police officers have a tendency to interrupt interviewees during the interview.

Confrontation

Table 5.6 demonstrates how participants rated statements regarding the confrontation of an interviewee. A fifth of the sample (19.4%) say that was appropriate to express anger towards an interviewee that was being difficult to manage. Only 6.4% say that it was appropriate to raise one’s voice when confronting an interviewee. However, nearly a third (29.4%) say they viewed not allowing an interviewer to repeat denials as important. This indicates that police officers prefer not to engage in overt confrontation with interviewees.

Table 5.6 Self-reported confrontation measures

Confrontation statements	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Mostly	Always
22. It is appropriate to express anger towards a difficult interviewee	33.9%	25.8%	21%	12.9%	6.5%
23. It is appropriate to raise my voice when confronting an interviewee	41.9%	29%	22.6%	4.8%	1.6%
24. It is important not to let the interviewee repeat denials	25.8%	19.4%	25.8%	17.7%	11.3%

Table 5.7 Self-reported discussion of crime methods

Discussion of crime statements	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Mostly	Always
25. I try to make sure that the interviewee knows the meaning of the alleged crime	1.6%	3.2%	9.7%	25.8%	59.7%
26. I attempt to appeal to the interviewee’s conscience to talk about the alleged crime	3.2%	1.6%	12.9%	27.4%	54.8%
27. I attempt to talk about the other person involved directly in the alleged crime	9.7%	4.8%	25.8%	35.5%	24.2%
28. I communicate to the interviewee that it is important to tell me everything they can remember even if they think that it is trivial or irrelevant	0%	1.6%	4.8%	22.6%	71%

Discussion of the crime

As demonstrated in Table 5.7, the vast majority (85.5%) of the participants say they make sure that the interviewee knows the meaning of the alleged crime. Similarly,

82.2% of the sample say they attempt to appeal to the interviewee's conscience to talk about the alleged crime as a means to facilitate communication revolving around the discussion of the crime. Over a third of the population (40.7%) say that they do not regularly attempt to talk about the other person involved in the alleged crime.

Attitudes towards sex crimes

Table 5.8 Self-reported levels of comfort during sex crime interviews

Sex crime specific statements	Very Uncomfortable	Uncomfortable	Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	Comfortable	Very Comfortable
29. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect in an alleged sex crime	1.6%	14.5%	16.1%	30.6%	37.1%
30. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a victim in an alleged sex crime	8.1%	17.7%	17.7%	27.4%	29%
31. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a witness in an alleged sex crime	3.2%	1.6%	19.4%	38.7%	37.1%
32. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect of the opposite gender in an alleged sex crime	8.1%	22.6%	25.8%	24.2%	19.4%
33. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a victim/witness of the opposite gender in an alleged sex crime	11.3%	21%	24.2%	19.4%	24.2%
34. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect from another culture in an alleged sex crime	1.6%	9.7%	27.4%	38.7%	22.6%
35. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a victim/witness from another culture involved in an alleged sex crime	0%	12.9%	29%	37.1%	21%

As demonstrated in Table 5.8, officers say that they are more comfortable interviewing a suspect from the same gender (67.7%) compared to one from the opposite gender (43.6%). This is also the case for interviewing victims, 56.4% say they are comfortable when the victim is of the same gender, compared to 43.6% if the victim is from the opposite gender. Officers were nearly as comfortable speaking to suspects from another culture (61.3%) as they are when the suspect is of the same culture (67.7%). Similarly, 58.1% of officers rated that they feel comfortable when interviewing a victim from another culture, compared to 56.4% when interviewing a victim from the same culture.

Discussion

The questionnaire, the first of its kind in the region, was designed to understand Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing individuals in major crime. The results obtained show that while some findings are consistent with previous international research, others were not.

On the subject of training, nearly all the participants in the current study agreed that the suspect, victim, and witness interview training was sufficient. This is by far higher than the 61% 'usefulness' rating of the the PEACE method reported by Shawyer and Milne's (2015) study of fraud investigators (an area of interviewing that requires specialised skills, like major crimes). In Australia, only 20.2% of the 2796 police officers in Hill and Moston's (2011) study of current Queensland Police Service investigative interviewing training reported that they were satisfied with their training.

In the current study, (a) participants' high rating of statements regarding training content (e.g. 71% agreed that the training introduced interview techniques) together with their rating regarding (b) rapport and (c) active listening, seems to indicate that either, (i) the training did not focus enough on those topics, or (ii) that there are issues regarding skills transference from the classroom to real-life. Clarke and Milne (2001) in their large evaluation of the PEACE method, similarly expressed concern with a number of aspects with the application of the method, namely skilled preparation and planning and rapport building. Bull and Soukara (2010) also note that training interviewers how to implement interview skills does not always lead to desirable improvements. In other studies, only a modest increase in desirable interviewing techniques was noticed (see Walsh & Milne, 2008). An interview can be a complex process between two or more

persons with the potential to be influenced by a number of factors (Dickson & Hargie, 2006). They note that interview training should encompass both classroom and practical training and assessment. However, unlearning old habits is problematic, and officers tend to revert back to their established techniques.

Having said that, training has increased over the past twenty years or so, a sign that police services wish to improve officers' skills (Griffiths & Milne, 2006). MacDonald, Snook, and Milne (2016) argue that a commitment to quality interview training is required if an organisation wishes to improve their interviewing capabilities. Griffiths et al. (2011) found that officers' interview techniques improved after advanced suspect training courses, it should be noted that those officers were generally supported by interview advisors (part of the development of PIP). In addition, Griffiths and Milne (2006) found that there was a difference between retaining complex interview techniques (e.g. rapport building) and simple techniques (e.g. delivery of caution). They argue that refresher courses are necessary to maintain the levels of complex interview techniques.

On the issue of vulnerabilities, participants in the current study seemed to agree that they were introduced to various vulnerabilities an interviewee may have. The answers provided in the question and answer section of the questionnaire seem to confirm that the majority of participants understood what vulnerabilities are. Police interviewing of vulnerable individuals (such as those in a poor mental state, with limited intellectual capacity, children, and the older adult) is of particular interest to psychologists. Due to the fact that when exposed to inappropriate interview methods, these groups are more likely to make a false confession to crimes that they did not commit (See Gudjonsson, 2003; 2018; Kassin, 2005; Leo, 2008).

Unlike the UK, with its adoption of a specified legislation to deal with vulnerable individuals through the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 (in addition to other legislation such as PACE), the UAE has still not crafted such legislation (it should be noted that some specific legislation has been passed, such as a child protection act known as Wadeema's Law). As a result of the UK legislation and its 'special measures' provision, no longer should it be assumed that vulnerable individuals are not competent to provide evidence. Additional protocols, such as the Achieving Best Evidence (ABE) interview document (Home Office, 2002; 2007; 2011) for interviewing vulnerable

individuals, instruct police officers to use open questions (i.e. those that are framed so that the interviewee is able to give an unrestricted account) with follow up questions specified as ‘What?’ ‘Why?’ ‘When?’ ‘Where?’ ‘Who?’ and ‘How?’ (known as the 5WH questions).

This means that interviewing vulnerable individuals is a specialised task. According to Cherryman and Bull (2001), an interview becomes specialist when it requires a skill set beyond what is considered ‘everyday’ investigative interviewing. For example, interviews with vulnerable individuals, cases that need specialised knowledge (e.g. fraud and financial crime), or cases that are very serious (e.g. major crimes). This skill set encompasses various elements like the proper use of interview techniques and adequate planning and preparation.

The vast majority of participants in the current study say that they use an ‘approved’ (i.e. formally endorsed by the Dubai police) method for interview preparation. In empirical Study One (Chapter 4), participants in only one specialised unit reported using a structured ‘approved’ method. It would seem that this ‘new’ method does not suit every officer in this study, as a third of the sample reported that this kind of preparation negatively influences the interview. Good planning and preparation has been associated with overall interview quality and an increased likelihood of a more comprehensive account (Walsh & Bull, 2010).

Of no less importance in obtaining a thorough account of the crime is the actual interview techniques that officers use after they have been trained and they have planned and prepared for an interview. Research has shown that, on the one hand, adequate interview techniques lead to favourable outcomes and more comprehensive accounts of the crime (see Alison, Alison, Noone, Elntib, & Christiansen, 2013; Collins, Lincoln, & Frank, 2002; Fisher et al., 2011; Holmberg, 2004; Holmberg & Madsen, 2014; Kieckhaefer et al., 2014; Milne & Bull, 1999; Vallano & Compo, 2011; Vanderhallen et al., 2011; Walsh & Bull, 2012). On the other hand, inadequate interview methods (e.g. those that use force or other coercive and manipulative means) lead to miscarriages of justice (Gudjonsson, 2003; 2018; Kassin, 2005; Leo, 2008).

One of those methods that is of particular importance to investigative interviewing researchers is rapport building (Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Vallano & Compo, 2015). In the current study just over half the participants reported that they attempt to build

rapport with the interviewee on a regular basis. This percentage seems to be quite low for a country with a collectivist culture and may be a result of a not enough training to highlight the utility of rapport building or a cultural conflict between being a collectivist country and the traditional roles of the police (i.e. as father-figures). Hill and Moston (2011) reported that over 40% of their sample considered their rapport building skills to be 'average' or worse. This is despite rapport being fundamental to investigative interviewing (Caproni, 2008); since it can increase the amount of information provided (Collins et al., 2002). Rapport building tactics can be considered during the interview planning and preparation stage (Abbe & Brandon, 2014). St Ives (2006) notes that rapport building prior to questioning is crucial in providing an environment that can help facilitate cooperation and a more comprehensive account.

This is a reason that rapport building is considered by many researchers, along with explaining the interview process at the beginning and using open questions to elicit detailed free narratives, to be the foundation of interviewing best practice (e.g. Milne & Bull, 1999; Powell et al., 2005). In order for an interviewer to build and maintain rapport with the interviewee, the interviewer must be: (1) open; (2) flexible; (3) able to adapt to the state and expressions of the interviewee though the use of various communication methods or other relational approaches (e.g. active listening) (Risan et al., 2016).

On the subject of active listening, less than half of the participants in the current study reported that they regularly allow an interviewee to share a personal story, that may be irrelevant to the case, without interruption. In contrast, Wachi et al. (2014) found that even when interviewing individuals suspected of serious crimes, Japanese police officers recognised the importance of listening to the interviewee's stories, whether they are relevant to the current case or not, in order to form a more comprehensive picture of the crime. Additionally, less than one in ten participants in the current study reported that they 'never' or 'rarely' stop an interviewee during their narrative, in order to ask an important question. Active listening skills, such as not interrupting an interviewee and using non-verbal and para-verbal behaviour to enhance communication, have been widely identified by researchers as imperative for a good interview (Baldwin, 1992; Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Milne & Bull, 1999; Paulo et al., 2013; Stockdale, 1993; Soukara et al., 2002; Walsh & Bull, 2010). Shawyer and Milne

(2015) reported that participants in their sample rated active listening as the most important characteristic of a good interviewer. In fact, communication techniques such as active listening help the interviewer get closer to the experience of the interviewee and help foster greater engagement, adaptation, and understanding (Risan et al., 2017); and help interviewers avoid repeating unnecessary questions (Snook et al., 2012).

The fact that only 11.3% of participants in the current study regularly recorded interviews may have contributed to the high volume of participants who have said that they regularly interrupt interviews (either in order to write down what had been said or to ask a pertinent question). Only a third of participants reported that they ‘never’ or ‘rarely’ stop an interviewee during their narrative in order to type what has been said so far. Research suggests that written statements negatively limit both the quality and quantity of information provided by the interviewee (Köhnken, 1995; Lamb, Orbach, Sternberg, Hershkowitz, & Horowitz, 2000). This is due to the fact that remembering information for a written statement is a cognitively difficult task (Köhnken, 1995). As a consequence, recording interviews will allow the interviewer to actively listen and engage and allow the interviewee to control the flow of the interview. An active listening approach, together with other elements like appropriate questioning, is indicative of a system that allows interviewees the chance to share their story and be listened to [hopefully promoting better accounts] (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Powell et al., 2005); with central topics noted for additional probing in the questioning phase of the interview (Beune, Giebels, Adair, Fennis, & Van Der Zee, 2011).

A fifth of the sample reported that it was appropriate to express anger towards a difficult interviewee and nearly a third reported that it was important to not let interviewees repeat denials. These factors, together with raising one’s voice, formed the confrontation assessing statements. Their presence may indicate that some Dubai police officers prefer a more confrontational approach, that could still be influenced by the fatherly model of policing that was previously prevalent. Wachi et al. (2014) found that Japanese police officers believed that a confrontational style of interviewing leads suspects to exhibit avoidant behaviour. However, due to the nature of the study, Wachi et al. (2014) were not able to interpret whether the suspect’s denials led to a confrontational style or that the confrontational style led to the suspect’s denials. Some controversial confrontational interview techniques, such as the Reid Technique (Inbau et

al., 1986; 2013), encourage interviewers to inform a suspect that denials are unproductive as they (i.e. the interviewers) are sure of the suspect's guilt.

A meta analysis showed that information gathering approaches (e.g. PEACE), with their focus on non-confrontational interview that aim to build rapport, engage and explain, actively listen, and utilise open questions are more likely to elicit a more comprehensive account, a higher likelihood of a true confession and a lower likelihood of false ones compared to an accusatorial approach (e.g the Reid Technique). Which are known to focus on accusations of guilt and use psychologically manipulative techniques such as isolation, confrontation, and maximisation and minimisation (Meissner et al., 2012).

On the issue of officers' perceptions of sex crimes, nearly two thirds of the participants reported that they feel comfortable interviewing suspects in sex crimes and over half said the same about interviewing victims. Generally speaking, officers were more comfortable speaking to interviewees from the same gender than they were speaking to interviewees from another gender. Not much differences between levels of comfortable-ness was observed between interviewing individuals from the same culture or a different one. In empirical Study One (Chapter 4) police officers reported that they feel uncomfortable interviewing individuals involved in sex crimes, because of the socially conservative nature of UAE and Dubain culture (empirical Study One). For example, nearly all public schools are gender segregated, as well as many private schools. Investigating these types of serious crimes can be particularly problematic for police officers (see Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2006; Oxburgh et al., 2012).

Dubaian police officers may feel that the information provided by the suspect (or, indeed, the victim) to be distasteful and culturally outrageous, so, to offset this, they may limit emotional exposure to them. Police officers should be aware of their emotions as they communicate their current state and influence perception, thinking and interpretation of events (Risan et al., 2016). A potential consequence of a visibly uncomfortable interviewer, is a lack of engagement on behalf of the interviewee and feeling of not being listened to or believed; which will effect the outcome of the interview (see Campbell, 2006; Jordan, 2001; Powell et al., 2005).

Risan et al. (2016) suggest, to help alleviate such negative emotions, officers can take steps before, during, and after an interview. Prior to the interview, an officer may feel self-consciousness about their interviewing capabilities under special conditions (e.g. in sex crimes) or about having culturally taboo discussions. It is important for an officer to be aware of such emotions and their impact (e.g. interviewee disengagement). During the interview, an interviewer may hear some gruesome or taboo details of the event, in this case, the interviewer must be aware of their emotions and take steps to regulate them; by, for example, taking a break and talking about them with colleagues (Chambers, Gullone, & Allen, 2009). After the interview, Risan et al. (2016) note, officers have to be conscious of the stressful nature of policing and its potential impact on health and psychological well-being. Given the high occupational stress on police officers (Pasillas, Follette, & Perumean-Chaney, 2006); organisations should provide services to help officers that may be effected by such emotions.

Conclusion

This was the first large scale questionnaire study that looked at police officers' perceptions of interviewing individuals involved in major crimes in the whole region. It explored various perceptions linked to interviewing such as training, interview techniques, and attitudes towards sex crimes; in order to gain insight into Dubai Police interviewing practice. This study built upon previous work (empirical Study One, Chapter 4). Being a sponsored Dubai Police officer helped with access, in fact, such access would not have been available other wise. It is also important to note that the findings of this study seem to indicate that Dubai Police officers' perceptions of interviewing and training; does not differ markedly from their international peers. However, there are some differences regarding interview style preference (e.g. some officers seem to prefer a more formal approach to interviewing and/or feel uncomfortable in sex crime when talking to an interviewee from a different gender). This may be due to cultural aspects where locals are not usually immersed with the other gender until university or work. Additionally, some police officers seem to indicate that they prefer a more confrontational approach. This could prove troublesome and training courses to deal with equipping police officers with the best interview practice are essential to a good interview. The next chapter will look at the perceptions of second party of IiT, the victims.

Chapter 6: Major crime victims' perceptions of their police interviews

Introduction

Researchers have emphasised the importance of obtaining accurate and comprehensive accounts victims for successful crime investigations (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Holmberg, 2004; Milne & Powell, 2010). In many cases, such as adult and child sex crimes, the victim may be the only source of information (Lamb, Sternberg, Orbach, Hershkowitz, Horowitz, & Esplin, 2002; Larsson & Lamb, 2009); where the word of the victim is pitted against that of the alleged offender (Greenfield, 1997). In fact, there are many economic, political, social and psychological implications of sex crimes which impact upon both the individuals concerned and the wider population (Mhuri & Donald, 2006). For example, victims of crime frequently exhibit signs of psychological distress such as post traumatic stress disorder and anxiety, due to the event (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). Yet despite the importance of this stage and the vast amounts of time and resources invested into it by the police, some major crimes like sex crimes fail to regularly advance beyond the investigation stage (Daly & Bouhours, 2010; Hohl & Stanko, 2015).

Also, victims have been found to rate their satisfaction of police interviews consistently poorly (Campbell, Adams, Wasco, Ahrens & Sefl, 2009; Jordan 2004; Martin & Powell, 1994; Mason & Lodrick, 2013; Matoesian, 1993; Walker, Archer & Davies, 2005). Furthermore, research has highlighted that some victims report feeling blamed by the police for their victimisation (Ullman, 1996). This could be a result of negligence, workload or time considerations (Martin, 2005), or police eagerness to establish probable cause before an arrest is made (Maier, 2008). Either way, police officers are often the first people whom alleged victims encounter after their ordeal and the officers have to be aware of the possibility of victim re-traumatisation (Monroe et al., 2005; Maddox, Lee, & Barker, 2011).

Such secondary victimisation will likely be experienced by crime victims who have undergone poorly conducted police interviews (Dahl, 1993; Monroe et al., 2005). Dahl (1993) found a significant correlation between (i) secondary victimisation caused by police interviewers' distrust and (ii) rape victims' development of depression. Holmberg (2004) argued that it would seem reasonable to assume that different police

interviewing practices yield different interview outcomes regarding both psychological well-being and information gathering. Some researchers have also found that crime victims weigh up the pros and cons of their possible participation in the police interview (Doerner & Lab, 1998). Those that perceive that the cons outweigh the pros may decide to forgo participation in a system that can cause negative consequences (e.g. secondary victimisation). Such negativity can breed public distrust, resulting in many people forgoing the criminal justice process (Jordan, 2004).

Cultural factors may also inhibit participation in police and criminal justice processes (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen & Turner, 2003). The likelihood of a crime victim, especially of a sex crime, reporting an offence hinges on various factors such as the relationship with the alleged perpetrator, the presence of alcohol or drugs, the type of clothing worn, and cultural and wider societal influences around victim blaming (Fisher et al., 2003; Jordan, 2004; Menard, 2005, Sleath & Bull, 2017; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). Police interviewers' beliefs are likely to be in coherence with those displayed by the general public (Edward & McLeod, 1999; Sleath & Bull, 2017), which can lead to victims' feeling judged or condemned, even before the case is investigated (Jordan, 2004). In fact, researchers have found that police officers are likely to overestimate the prevalence of false reports and may react in a condemning or judgmental manner, thus reducing the likelihood of victim participation in the criminal justice process (Ask, 2010; Jordan, 2004). In addition, biases held by police interviewers may contribute to, among other things, dismissing evidence that does not align with their beliefs (Ask & Granhag, 2005; Shepherd & Milne, 1999). These cultural biases are prevalent around the world (See Edward & McLeod, 1999; Jordan, 2004; Menard, 2005, Sleath & Bull, 2017; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Suliman, 2006).

There are also cultural biases and beliefs that may be unique to a certain city, country, or region. As explained in Chapter 3, Dubaians' lives revolve around notions of religion, country, tribe and family. It is believed that one's actions may bring pride or shame (Suliman, 2006). These perceptions of one's responsibility in bringing pride or shame to a whole group of people, can be problematic. For example, in Dubai, pre-marital sex is considered taboo or *haram* (forbidden/sin), so there are some beliefs that a woman may claim that she was raped when in fact she consented, in order to lessen the effects of shame to the family. Even though there may be some actual cases of this

happening, police officers, worldwide, seem to overestimate the prevalence of such false reports (Ask, 2010; Jordan, 2004; Temkin, 1997); potentially impacting upon their judgement and attitudes (see Jordan, 2004; Vrij, Granhag & Porter, 2010). Dealing with victims within such a condemning and judgmental attitude may well discourage victims to come forward and speak freely and honestly against their offenders, out of fear of being insulted and ostracised by their family and community (Haniff, 1998).

Having said that, a skilled police interviewer can gain a better account and give a better impression of the police. Risan et al. (2016) emphasised the importance of the interviewer allowing emotion to be shown by the victim in a safe and benevolent environment, in order to build rapport and elicit quality information. This environment must allow victims to feel that they can share extremely personal information in a private setting (e.g. interview specific room) and without interruption (e.g. by other officers and customers). This can be achieved if officers abide by ethical principles of a non-directive interview style, active listening, and treating the interviewee with respect and dignity (See Griffiths & Rachlew, 2018; Shepherd & Milne, 1999; Walsh & Bull, 2015). Research has emphasised the importance of using empathy and calmness throughout the interview in order to yield quality information (Alison et al., 2013; Oxburgh & Ost, 2011; Oxburgh et al., 2012). Thus, interviewers need to be highly skilled, and providing specialist interview training may improve crime victims' experiences of police interviews (Apsler et al., 2003; Yuille, Marxsen & Cooper, 1999). While this seems positive, research also suggests that long term effectiveness of victim interviewing training is still below the standards found for suspect interviews (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Milne & Bull, 2006).

The topic of investigative interviewing was, prior to empirical Studies One and Two, uncharted in Dubai, and most studies have been conducted in Western countries (e.g. Holmberg, 2004; Monroe et al., 2005; Vanderhallen et al., 2011; Westera et al., 2016). As a result, non-Western victim experiences of police interviews are underrepresented in the literature. This means that whole regions do not have research to inform police practice and training, given the likelihood that foreign studies do not capture the uniqueness of such regions (Naka, 2014). Given the importance of the victim interview and the information gleaned from it, it is imperative to understand how crime victims in Dubai perceive police interviews. The aim of this study was to explore

and compare Dubai crime victims' experiences of being interviewed by two police departments working in cohesion (for more on this see Chapter 3). In addition, this study examined how victims perceive their response to police interviewers' attitudes.

Method

This study involved written questionnaires collected from female and male victims of assault, rape, and a form of sexual assault (roughly translated to non-consensual indecent assault or involuntary debasement) who had been interviewed by, first, Dubai police officers based in police stations and, subsequently by Dubai police officers based in the Criminology unit (both departments are involved in investigating such cases as described in Chapters 3, 4, and 5). There are usually 40 such cases per year that involve the two departments to jointly interview. All 23 crime victims who reported one of the crimes stated above between 1 January 2018 and 31 July 2018 were invited by a gatekeeper, a psychologist working for the Dubai police, to participate in this study after they had completed the interviews with both departments. A total of 16 participants (69.5%) elected to participate in this research, which was conducted at the Dubai Police HQ based on a mutually agreed time and date. Of these participants, 9 (56.3%) were female and 7 (43.8%) male. The participants' age ranged between 23 years old and 54 years old ($M= 35$, $SD= 9.5$).

Due to concerns regarding anonymity, there are no data on the specific date that the participants were interviewed (for the offence) by the police. However, the maximum time that had elapsed between the participants' first interview and the completion of the questionnaire was four weeks (this was the maximum agreed timeframe with the gatekeeper). There are also no data about the educational and training background of the police officers who interviewed the alleged victims. [However, both empirical Study One (Chapter 4) and empirical Study Two (Chapter 5) explored Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing, including their views on training and interview skills.]

Procedure

The self-report questionnaires (see below, Tables 6.1 and 6.3)(Appendix H) were completed between 7 January 2018 and 10 August 2018 by participants who had been a victim of one of the previously stated crimes and were over the age of 21 (age of maturity in the UAE). The participants were asked to read a participation information

sheet (Appendix I), which contained information such as stating the aims of the study, confidentiality, and the right to withdraw; and, subsequently, participants were also invited to sign a consent form (Appendix J). All the documents for this study had been prepared in English (i.e. the forms that were submitted for ethical review and those in the appendices). These documents were then translated into Arabic by the bilingual lead author, piloted on five participants, and checked for accuracy by three other bilingual researchers before being reviewed by the Dubai Police for ethical approval.

All the participants in this study were treated according to the ethical guidelines mandated by the University of Portsmouth and by the Dubai Police. In addition, participants were also given the questionnaire by a psychologist, trained to deal with psychological trauma. Participants were also given a phone number to contact a Dubai Police psychologist should they feel that the questionnaire brought back painful memories and wanted someone to talk to. This step was included in order to provide victims help and support (e.g. help them get in touch with social resources), aid in providing closure to the police interviews, and foster a sense of therapeutic jurisprudence. This was done to minimise the chances of victim re-traumatisation.

Materials

Each participant was given two questionnaires to fill out, one related to their perceptions of the police station interview, and the other related to their perceptions of the Criminology Department interview. The questionnaires were based on previous studies by Holmberg and Christianson (2002) and Holmberg (2004). Each questionnaire included 27 statements to be rated on five point Likert scales (1= 'Strongly Disagree'; 2= 'Disagree'; 3= 'Neither Agree nor Disagree'; 4= 'Agree'; 5= 'Strongly Agree'). Each questionnaire (identical apart from the interviewing department condition) focused on two topics: (1) *Victims' perceptions of their interviewers' attitude*: victims were asked to respond to 17 statements in each questionnaire about their views of their interviewers' attitude during the interviews, such as 'Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you' and 'Interviewer acted in a rushed manner' (table 6.1). (2) *Victims' emotional responses*: victims were also asked to respond to ten statements in each questionnaire about their emotional responses during the interviews, such as 'You became frightened' and 'You felt confident' (table 6.3). In addition, participants were asked to provide their gender and age. Some statements had to be altered to make sense

in Arabic (e.g. the addition of ‘genuine’ in Holmberg and Christianson’s (2002) statement ‘interviewer showed empathy’).

Statistical analysis

As demonstrated in the literature review (Chapter 2), there are differences between regular police interviewers and specialist police interviewers, especially in regards to crimes of a sensitive nature. In order to measure whether there were any perceived differences between (i) regular police station interviewers and (ii) specialist police interviewers in Dubai, a Wilcoxon signed rank test was used to compare the crime victims’ perceptions when interviewed by police officers based in police stations and by police officer based in the Criminology Department. In addition, a principal component analysis was intended to be used on perceived attitudes and responses to identify interviewing styles and categories to interviews. However, a series of KMO tests utilised to measure how suited the data are for factor analysis yielded low scores, indicating that the sample was not large enough for factor analysis.

Results

The results of this study examining crime victims’ perceptions with two police units, will be displayed in two main parts: (1) crime victims’ perceptions of their police station and specialist unit interviewers (Table 6.1), and (2) their responses to these interviews (Table 6.3).

Crime victims’ perceptions of police station interviewers’ attitude

Participants were asked to respond to statements relating to their perceptions of police station (PS) interviewers’ attitude towards them during the interview (Table 6.1). Nearly all the participants (87.5%) reported that PS interviewers acted with calmness and three-quarters (75.1%) say that the PS interviewer was friendly. Just over two thirds (68.3%) reported that the PS interviewer expressed a positive attitude towards them and over half (56.3%) reported that the PS interviewers showed genuine empathy. However, nearly two thirds (62.6%) reported that the PS interviewer was impatient and over a third (37.5%) say that the PS interviewer acted in a rushed manner. Two fifths (43.8%) reported that the PS interviewer was confrontational, but only 12.5% said that the PS interviewer was aggressive. Over two thirds (68.8%) indicated that the interviewer was only focused on facts.

Table 6.1 Percentages of strongly agree or strongly disagree and means for the crime victims' perceptions of police station and criminology department interviewers' attitudes and Wilcoxon signed-rank test scores with Bonferroni correction

Statements	Police station interviewers			Criminology dept. interviewers			Test Statistics	
	Strongly disagree %	Strongly agree %	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Strongly disagree %	Strongly agree %	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
1. Interviewer acted with calmness	0	50	4.31 (0.87)	0	88	4.88 (0.34)	-2.53 ^d	0.016*
2. Interviewer showed genuine empathy	19	25	3.31 (1.49)	0	56	4.38 (0.89)	-2.49 ^d	0.014*
3. Interviewer showed sympathy	0	25	3.38 (1.15)	0	56	4.5 (0.63)	-2.97 ^d	0.002*
4. Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you	6	38	3.88 (1.2)	0	75	4.75 (0.45)	-2.49 ^d	0.016*
5. Interviewer was cooperative.	0	31	3.94 (0.93)	0	75	4.69 (0.6)	-2.59 ^d	0.008*
6. Interviewer was helpful	0	44	3.94 (1.18)	0	81	4.69 (0.7)	-2.64 ^d	0.008*
7. Interviewer acted in a rushed manner	31	13	2.63 (1.5)	63	0	1.44 (0.63)	-2.42 ^e	0.014*
8. Interviewer was aggressive	56	0	1.88 (1.15)	81	0	1.25 (0.58)	-1.71 ^e	0.11
9. Interviewer was friendly	0	19	3.94 (0.68)	0	63	4.63 (0.5)	-3.05 ^d	0.002*
10. Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude	0	13	3.75 (0.76)	6	31	3.6 (1.25)	-0.31 ^e	0.699
11. Interviewer was nonchalant	19	6	2.81 (1.22)	38	0	1.88 (0.86)	-2.4 ^e	0.02*
12. Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional	19	6	2.63 (1.2)	31	0	1.94 (0.85)	-2.16 ^e	0.047
13. Interviewer showed a condemning attitude	13	13	2.56 (1.15)	63	0	1.44 (0.63)	-2.87 ^e	0.002*
14. Interviewer was confrontational	19	13	2.94 (1.39)	44	0	1.75 (0.78)	-2.75 ^e	0.005*
15. Interviewer focused only on facts	6	13	3.56 (1.09)	0	44	3.88 (1.15)	-0.81 ^d	0.53
16. Interviewer was impatient	13	19	3.5 (1.27)	63	0	1.5 (0.82)	-3.07 ^e	0.001*
17. Interviewer was unfriendly	31	0	2.44 (1.21)	75	0	1.25 (0.48)	-2.7 ^e	0.004*

Note: Strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (5) correspond with the Likert scale in the questionnaires. The means are computed on the scores 1 to 5.

^d Based on negative ranks (Criminology < Police stations)

^e Based on positive ranks (Criminology > Police stations)

* Significant exact (2-tailed) with Bonferroni Correction

Crime victims' perceptions of Criminology Department interviewers' attitude

Participants were asked to respond to statements related to their perceptions of Criminology Department (CD) interviewers' attitude towards them during the interview (Table 6.1). All the participants agreed that the CD interviewers acted with calmness and expressed a positive attitude, and nearly all (93.7%) agreed that they showed sympathy. Nearly all (93.7%) reported that the CD interviewer did not act in a rushed manner or acted impatiently. Over three quarters (81.3%) reported that they did not find the CD interviewers confrontational. However, nearly two thirds (62.6%) say that the CD interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude and over half (56.3%) reported that the CD interviewer focused only on facts.

Wilcoxon signed-rank test: Crime victims' perceptions of interviewer attitudes

A series of Wilcoxon signed-rank tests with Bonferroni Correction on the critical values of ($p < 0.05$) were utilised to examine any differences in crime victims' ratings of interviewers' attitudes between the police station interviewers and the Criminology Department interviewers (see Table 6.1). A test indicated that CD interviewer showed genuine empathy (mean rank= 7) was rated more favourably than PS interviewer showed genuine empathy (mean rank= 4), $Z = -2.49$, $p = 0.014$. Another test indicated that CD interviewer expressed a positive attitude towards you (mean rank = 5.67) was rated more favourably than PS interviewer expressed a positive attitude towards you (mean rank= 4), $Z = -2.49$, $p = 0.016$). On the question of interviewer cooperation, CD interviewers (mean rank= 4.5) were rated more favourably than PS interviewers (mean rank = 0), $Z = -2.59$, $p = 0.008$. In fact, further tests (Table 3), showed that CD interviewers were rated more favourably than PS interviewers for helpfulness ($Z = -2.64$, $p = 0.008$) and friendliness ($Z = -3.05$, $p = 0.002$).

Another series of tests indicated that PS interviewer acted in a rushed manner (mean rank= 6) was rated more favourably (i.e. higher agreement to the statements) than CD interviewer acted in a rushed manner (mean rank= 6), $Z = -2.42$, $p = 0.014$. In addition, a test indicated that participants rated PS interviewer was non-chalant (mean rank= 5.31) more favourably than CD interviewer was non-chalant (mean rank= 2.5), $Z = -2.4$, $p = 0.02$). PS interviewers' statements were also rated more favourably than CD interviewers' statements in other cases, for example, 'Interviewer was indifferent/

unemotional' ($Z = -2.16$, $p = 0.047$); 'Interviewer showed a condemning attitude' ($Z = -2.87$, $p = 0.005$); and 'Interviewer was impatient' ($Z = -3.07$, $p = 0.001$).

Table 6.2 was included to help non-academic readers in the Dubai Police understand the differences in ranks between the two groups.

Table 6.2 Difference in ranks in crime victims' perceptions of interviewers attitudes during interviews in the police station and in the Criminology Department*

Test	Negative ranks ^a			Positive ranks ^b			Ties ^c
	<i>n</i>	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	<i>n</i>	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	
CD Interviewer acted with calmness - PS Interviewer acted with calmness	0	0	0	7	4	28	9
CD Interviewer showed genuine empathy - PS Interviewer showed genuine empathy	2	4	8	10	7	70	4
CD Interviewer showed sympathy - PS Interviewer showed sympathy	1	2.5	2.5	11	6.86	75.5	4
CD Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you - PS Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you	1	4	4	9	5.67	51	6
CD Interviewer was cooperative - PS Interviewer was cooperative	0	0	0	8	4.5	36	8
CD Interviewer was helpful - PS Interviewer was helpful	0	0	0	8	4.5	36	8
CD Interviewer acted in a rushed manner - PS Interviewer acted in a rushed manner	10	6	60	1	6	6	5
CD Interviewer was aggressive - PS Interviewer was aggressive	6	4	24	1	4	4	9
CD Interviewer was friendly - PS Interviewer was friendly	0	0	0	10	5.5	55	6
CD Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude - PS Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude	4	6.25	25	5	4	20	7
CD Interviewer was nonchalant - PS Interviewer was nonchalant	8	5.31	42.5	1	2.5	2.5	7
CD Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional - PS Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional	7	4.71	33	1	3	3	8
CD Interviewer showed a condemning attitude - PS Interviewer showed a condemning attitude	10	5.5	55	0	0	0	6
CD Interviewer was confrontational - PS Interviewer was confrontational	10	6.35	63.5	1	2.5	2.5	5
CD Interviewer focused on facts - PS Interviewer focused on facts	3	5.33	16	6	4.83	29	7
CD Interviewer was impatient - PS Interviewer was impatient	12	7.42	89	1	2	2	3
CD Interviewer was unfriendly - PS Interviewer was unfriendly	9	5	45	0	0	0	7

Notes:

a Criminology < Police stations, *b* Criminology > Police stations, *c* Criminology = Police stations.

* This table was included in order to help non-academic readers in the Dubai Police understand the differences in ranks between the two groups

Crime victims' perceptions of responses to PS interviews

Participants were asked to respond to statements related to their responses, as a direct result of the interviewer's actions, during the PS interview (Table 6.3). One fifth (18.8%) reported that they felt frightened; similarly, one fifth (18.8%) reported that they felt stressed. Three quarters (75.1%) reported that they did not distance themselves from the interview. In fact, over half (56.3%) reported that they felt confident and over three quarters (81.3%) felt respected. Only 18.8% reported that they and their interviewer talked about trivialities.

Crime victims' perceptions of responses to CD interviews

Participants were asked to respond to statements related to their responses, as a direct result of the interviewer's actions, during the CD interview (Table 6.3). None of the participants reported feeling frightened, angry, stressed, or insulted. Nearly all (93.6%) reported that they felt confident and 81.3% reported that they became friendly. Crucially, all the participants reported that they felt respected. Just over a third (37.5%) reported that they and their interviewers talked about trivialities.

Table 6.3 Percentages of strongly agree or strongly disagree and means for the crime victims' responses during police station and criminology department interviews and Wilcoxon signed-rank test scores with Bonferroni correction

Statements	Police station interviews			Criminology dept. interviews			Test Statistics	
	Strongly disagree %	Strongly agree %	<i>M</i> (SD)	Strongly disagree %	Strongly agree %	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>Z</i>	<i>p</i>
18. You became frightened	31	6	2.44 (1.26)	75	0	1.25 (0.45)	-2.84 ^e	0.002*
19. You became angry	44	6	2 (1.16)	69	0	1.31 (0.48)	-2.64 ^e	0.008*
20. You became stressed	44	6	2.19 (1.33)	75	0	1.25 (0.45)	-2.57 ^e	0.008*
21. You felt insulted	44	6	2.06 (1.29)	88	0	1.13 (0.34)	-2.57 ^e	0.008*
22. You distanced yourself from the situation	31	0	1.94 (0.77)	81	0	1.19 (0.4)	-2.76 ^e	0.004*
23. You felt confident	19	25	3.38 (1.46)	0	63	4.56 (0.63)	-2.57 ^d	0.01*
24. You became friendly	0	31	3.81 (0.98)	0	50	4.31 (0.79)	-2.13 ^d	0.055
25. You felt respected	6	31	4 (1.03)	0	75	4.75 (0.45)	-3.05 ^d	0.002*
26. You became cooperative	0	38	4.13 (0.81)	0	56	4.5 (0.6)	-2.12 ^d	0.063
27. You and the interviewer talked about trivialities	31	6	2.38 (1.26)	38	13	2.63 (1.5)	-1.16 ^d	0.4

Note: Strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (5) correspond with the Likert scale in the questionnaires. The means are computed on the scores 1 to 5.

d Based on negative ranks (Criminology < Police stations)

e Based on positive ranks (Criminology > Police stations)

* Significant exact (2-tailed) with Bonferroni Correction

Wilcoxon signed-rank test: Crime victims' perceptions of their responses

A series of Wilcoxon signed-rank tests with Bonferroni Correction on the critical values of ($p < 0.05$) were utilised to see if there were any differences in crime victims' rating of their responses to interviews conducted in police stations and in the Criminology department (see Table 6.3). A test indicated that PS 'you became frightened' (mean rank= 5.5) and PS 'you became stressed' (mean rank= 4.5) were rated more favourably than CD 'you became frightened' (mean rank= 0) ($Z = -2.84$, $p = 0.002$)

and CD ‘you became stressed’ (mean rank= 0) ($Z= -2.57$, $p= 0.008$). Crime victims were also more likely to distance themselves during the police station interview than the Criminology Department interview. Another two tests showed that participants rated CD ‘you became confident’ (mean rank= 5.83) and CD ‘you felt respected’ (mean rank= 5.5) more favourably than PS ‘you became confident’ (mean rank= 2.5) ($Z= -2.57$, $p= 0.01$) and PS ‘you felt respected’ (mean rank= 0) ($Z= -3.05$, $p= 0.002$).

Table 6.4 was included to help non-academic readers in the Dubai Police understand the differences in ranks between the two groups.

Table 6.4 Difference in ranks in crime victims’ perceptions of their responses during interviews in the police station and in the Criminology Department*

Test	Negative ranks ^a			Positive ranks ^b			Ties ^c
	<i>n</i>	Mean rank	<i>Sum of ranks</i>	<i>n</i>	Mean rank	<i>Sum of ranks</i>	
CD You became frightened - PS You became frightened	10	5.5	55	0	0	0	6
CD You became angry - PS You became angry	8	4.5	36	0	0	0	8
CD You became stressed - PS You became stressed	8	4.5	36	0	0	0	8
CD You felt insulted - Crm You felt insulted	8	4.5	36	0	0	0	8
CD You distanced yourself from the situation - PS You distanced yourself from the situation	9	5	45	0	0	0	7
CD You felt confident - PS You felt confident	1	2.5	2.5	9	5.83	52.5	6
CD You became friendly - PS You became friendly	1	3.5	3.5	7	4.64	32.5	8
CD You felt respected - PS You felt respected	0	0	0	10	5.5	55	6
CD You became cooperative - PS You became cooperative	0	0	0	5	3	15	11
CD You and the interviewer talked about trivialities - PS You and the interviewer talked about trivialities	3	4.5	13.5	6	5.25	31.5	7

Notes:

a Criminology < Police stations, *b* Criminology > Police stations, *c* Criminology = Police stations.

* This table was included in order to help non-academic readers in the Dubai Police understand the differences in ranks between the two groups

Discussion

The current study, the first of its kind in the UAE and the whole region, was designed to seek to understand Dubai crime victims' perceptions of police interviews. The results demonstrate that police interviewing in Dubai is well perceived by crime victims, illustrate some areas of consistency with international studies, and highlight some areas for improvement.

Perceived interviewer attitudes

Crime victims in the current study reported that both PS interviewers and CD interviewers acted calmly. This is promising, as the first few moments of an interview are crucial to building rapport, and an interviewer should make a positive impression to facilitate cooperation through acting calmly (Walsh & Bull, 2012; Yeschke, 2003). Furthermore, even though most crime victims in Holmberg's (2004) study reported that the interviewers were calm, a lack of calmness in an interview was in that study linked to a dominance-focused approach.

On the subject of empathy, participants in the current study provided higher rating to CD interviewers than to their PS counterparts. The two notions (i.e. empathy and sympathy) are often intertwined (e.g. Olinick, 1984) or equated to one another (e.g. Langer, 1972); however they actually mean different things. Whereas showing empathy means understanding a person's plight without putting oneself in their position; sympathy means understanding a person's plight and experiencing such emotions (Oxburgh, 2011). Many researchers have argued that the use of empathy in police interviews can have a positive impact on the rapport building process (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2010; Kebbell et al., 2006; Oxburgh & Ost, 2011). An interviewer may convey empathy by, for example, using verbal remarks such as 'I understand how you are feeling right now'. Cherryman and Bull (1996) found that skilled interviewers were more likely to show empathy than their less skilled counterparts. This could explain the differences between the two groups in crime victims' rating regarding empathy and sympathy.

Sympathy can play an important role in police interviews (Stephens & Sinden, 2000). For example, crime victims are more likely to view the interview experience as positive, if they feel that the interviewer was sympathetic. However, especially in highly traumatic cases, interviewers have to be cautious not to let sympathy take charge at the

risk of over-identifying with the interviewee (Shepherd, 2007). In addition, highly coercive and manipulative interview techniques (e.g. the Reid Technique) have identified (false) sympathy as an important tool for manipulation (Kassin & McNall, 1991). Proponents of the technique (Inbau et al., 1986) urge investigators to demonstrate signs of understanding and sympathy in order to entice the interviewee into a false sense of security, by minimising the severity of the crime.

Crime victims in the current study also rated CD interviewers higher than their PS counterparts with regards to how friendly, cooperative, and helpful they are and whether they expressed a positive attitude towards them. In general, PS officers were rated quite highly in these items as well. Researchers have argued that these characteristics are crucial to police interviewing as they are the building blocks for developing rapport, creating a pleasant environment, establishing trust, and maintaining these fundamental elements throughout the interview (Abbe & Brandon, 2014 ;St-Ives, 2006;Walsh & Bull, 2015).

In addition, displaying such emotions conveys a humanitarian approach to police interviewing (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002) - a positive demeanour on part of police officers who understand crime victims' hardships (Stephens and Sinden, 2000). This, in turn, may engage previously reluctant individuals with the police (Milne & Bull, 1999) and help facilitate crime victims' psychological well-being (Wexler, 2000; Winick, 2000). This is crucial, as, has been previously mentioned in this thesis, cultural norms in Dubai already act as an extra barrier to engagement with the police for some crime victims. A pleasant environment may make the process seem a little less daunting for them.

On the other hand, PS interviewers were viewed as more aggressive and confrontational, with a higher propensity to show a condemning attitude than their CD counterparts. Generally speaking, however, PS interviewers were still not rated highly on any of those items. This is crucial as those characteristics, if highly present, may indicate coercion (Leo, 1992), are often associated with a dominance-focused approach (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002), and are deemed unproductive to obtain a comprehensive account (Milne & Bull, 1999; Shepherd, 1991; Williamson, 1993). The fact that the vast majority of participants reported that their interviewers, especially those in the Criminology Department, did not show a condemning attitude towards them

is crucial in the context of Dubai and the UAE. It may have been the case in the past that victims were reluctant to come forward out of fear of social condemnation and shame, but such non-condemning attitudes may foster a cultural shift into increased positive engagement with the police by future interviewees (see Brown et al., 2018 for more on spill-over effects). An increase in any of these interviewer characteristics may have an adverse effect on victims' engagement with the police. For example, Elntib, McPherson, Ioannou, and Addy (2018) found that several participants in their study of a specialised unit of police officers' perceptions of interviewing sex crime victims in Jamaica, reported that victims were reluctant to talk to the specialised police unit because of their negative initial interactions with the regular police.

However, in the current study crime victims seemed to agree that both PS interviewers and CD interviewers were formal and showed a non-accessible attitude. In addition, they rated PS interviewers higher than CD interviewer on nonchalance and indifference. Police interviewers that display unemotional and indifferent demeanour are more likely to use a dominance-based approach, which may lead victims to omit information (Holmberg, 2004). Furthermore, such demeanour is also a barrier to building rapport (Moston & Engelberg, 1993; St-Yves, 2006). However, since the victims did not report the use of dominant focused interview methods, the use of a formal attitude may have been a response to the potentially culturally taboo issues that some victims would report during the interviews (e.g. information pertaining to sexual activities).

Before the introduction of the 'PEACE' method, Baldwin (1993) found that interviewers did not invest in rapport building, opting instead for a more formal approach. Clarke and Milne (2001) also found that 40% of the interviews that were examined did not contain evidence of rapport building. This suggests that some police officers may prefer a more formal approach (or that some are not skilled enough to establish rapport, or, indeed, a combination of the two factors). Unfortunately, crime victims in the current study did rate both sets of interviewers as 'formal and inaccessible'. This may be related to how police officers view themselves in Dubai, as formal state actors (which they are) that need to be formal and serious. Or this could be a result of the police officers in both groups actively trying not to let their beliefs (which as mentioned earlier in this chapter, are part of wider social and cultural beliefs)

interfere with their interview, hence adopting a business-like approach. This notion warrants further investigation and should be addressed in training programmes for both PS and CD interviewers; as this attitude may inhibit further cooperation in the future.

In addition to the three factors noted above (i.e. expressing a formal, indifferent, or nonchalant attitude), there are a couple of factors that are also associated with a dominance-based approach used by the interviewer: acting in a rushed manner or being impatient. Unfortunately, crime victims in the current study rated one group (police station interviewers) highly for 'impatience' and quite highly for 'acting in a rushed manner', higher than the second group (Criminology Department) [and the crime victim rating reported by Holmberg (2004)]. Impatience in interviewers is likely to negatively influence their sound judgement and decision making, which may lead to unprofessional conduct (Gudjonsson, 2003). In addition, if the interviewees feel rushed, they may be less likely to openly share information with the police, that they would have if not for feeling rushed, in what is known as the 'boomerang effect' (Gudjonsson, 1994). The difference between the two groups could be explained by the difference in work load and educational background. Police station officers take far more statements than their Criminology Department counterparts, deal with a wide range of crime from petty theft to murder, and are, generally speaking, not university educated. On the other hand, the Criminology Department interviewers deal with fewer (i.e. 40 to 70 cases per year), specialise in investigating a limited number of crime types, and are university educated in a social science.

It is quite clear that, even though they were rated highly in many positive aspects, PS interviewers might need to improve their interpersonal skills, especially their propensity to act with impatience and in a rushed manner. Crime victims rated CD interviewers higher on the positive aspects and lower on the negative, leading to the conclusion that crime victims in Dubai had a better overall experience with CD interviewers. Having said that, CD interviewers have to reevaluate their perceived formal/non-accessible attitude as an interviewer's attitude may have a profound effect on how an interviewee behaves.

Crime victims' reactions to interviewers' attitude

Overall, crime victims in the current study did not report adverse reactions as a direct consequence of their interviewers' actions. On the issue of becoming frightened,

the majority of participants did not feel frightened in either police station interviews or Criminology Department interviews. However, some crime victims did, as a consequence of the interviewer's actions, feel 'frightened' during the police station interviews. Crime victims should not have to deal with such avoidable emotions because being in a police station can be frightening enough without the unwelcome attitudes shown by some police officers. Being a victim of crime, especially a sexual assault, is distressful and emotionally traumatic (Dahl, 1993; Doerner & Lab, 1998; Renk, 1997), which may be aggravated as a consequence of a negative police interview experience (Dahl, 1993). This has two major consequences: first, this can lead to a breakdown in communication between this particular victim and the police; and, second, may contribute to a breakdown in trust between the public and the police.

Another emotion that may impact upon police relations with the public is anger. Researchers and interview training manuals seem to agree that such an emotion is undesirable as it inhibits constructive communication between the interviewer and the interviewee (Gudjonsson, 2003). In the current study, only one participant reported feeling angry. This is promising as anger, along with other negative emotions, functions to make the interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee more suspicious; impacting upon the likelihood of building trust which is crucial for the development of rapport (See Gudjonsson, 2003; Gudjonsson & Clark; 1986). Another implication of such negative emotions is the adverse impact upon much needed cooperation between an interviewer and an interviewee for specific interview techniques (e.g. Cognitive Interview; Fisher & Geiselman, 1992).

Crime victims may also experience several forms of psychological stress such as anxiety and post traumatic stress disorder as a result of victimisation (Dahl, 1993; Frieze, Hymer & Greenberg, 1987; Kilpatrick & Acierno, 2003; Roth & Lebowitz, 1988; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Unlike crime victims in Holmberg's (2004) study, participants in the current study reported very low levels of becoming stressed in their interviews. Even though narrating a traumatic event during a police interview may reactivate an interviewee's psychological stress (Risan et al., 2016), adequate police interviewing can moderate it (Fisher & Geiselman, 2010; Holmberg, Christianson & Wexler, 2007; Shepherd et al., 1999). In addition, high levels of stress and emotional arousal during an interview may impair memory retrieval and cognitive functioning

(Eyre & Alison, 2007; Janis & Mann, 1977; Means, Salas, Crandall, Jacobs, 1995; Stawski, Sliwinski & Smyth, 2009 ; Pezdek & Taylor, 2002). This implies that interviewees may retrieve fewer experiences when asked open questions or have difficulty answering closed, probing questions (Vrij, Meissner, Fisher, Kassin, Morgan III & Kleinman, 2017). As a consequence, stressed and anxious interviewees are less likely to provide comprehensive accounts (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002).

On the other hand, there are some interviewee reactions such as becoming friendly, cooperative, confident, and respected that indicate that an interviewer has a better chance of obtaining a more comprehensive account. Crime victims in the current study rated these specific reactions quite highly, especially during the Criminology Department interview. These factors are crucial for a variety of objectives during an interview such as building rapport (Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Vallano & Compo, 2015), free recall (Milne & Bull, 1999; Powell et al., 2005), and context reinstatement (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992). They also have positive impact on an interviewee's psychological well-being and relationship with the police (Milne & Bull, 1999).

Conclusion

The present study demonstrates that the vast majority of the crime victims had good experiences being interviewed by two police departments working in cohesion in major crime investigations in Dubai. Both sets of interviewers were, generally, viewed as calm, cooperative, helpful, and seemed to have expressed a positive attitude towards crime victims. Unfortunately, some interviewees felt that their police station interviewers acted in an impatient and rushed manner. Most police officers seemed to have a formal and non-accessible attitude and were focused only on facts. Having said that, crime victims did not report being adversely affected by the interviewers' attitudes, as they reported feeling confident, respected, and cooperative.

There are two points that need to be addressed for the Dubai Police to improve current victims' perceptions of their interviews. First, an in-depth analysis of taped or video-recorded police interviews needs to be commissioned, in order to examine real life interviews of the various police departments involved in investigating crime. Second through training and development, the current areas that need improvement are the formal, non-accessible officer attitudes and perceived impatience. In addition, the wide range of correlations found after utilising KMO tests, seem to indicate the lack of

standardised training and quality assurance methods between the various police officers, even within a single unit (i.e. not all the officers seems to have a common standard).

This study formed the second aspect of this thesis's aim of examining and understanding the 'triangle' of investigate interviewing in Dubai. The previous two empirical studies examined the perceptions of police officers in Dubai and the next step examines convicted offenders' perceptions of their police interviews, as well as carry out an experimental manipulation designed to understand offenders' perceptions of four different interview styles.

Chapter 7: Convicted offenders' perceptions of their own police interviews

Introduction

Police interviews with suspects are integral in criminal investigations (Read, Powell, Kebbell, & Milne, 2009). Fundamental improvements have been made in police interviewing techniques during the past two decades or so (see e.g. Clarke & Milne, 2001; Kelly, Miller, Redlich, & Kleinman, 2013; Milne & Bull, 1999). Much of the existing literature on suspect interviewing is based on police officers' self-reported use of techniques or analysis of real-life interviews (e.g. Baldwin, 1993; Häkkänen et al., 2009; Hill & Moston, 2011; Kassin et al., 2007; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Shawyer & Milne, 2015; Wachi et al., 2014) and research concerns countries other than Dubai and the UAE (e.g. Kebbell et al., 2008; Kebbell et al., 2010; Wachi, Watanabe, Yokota, Otsuka, & Lamb, 2016a, 2016b), where the legal systems, policing practices, and cultural and social norms are different. There have been a limited number of studies that have examined convicted offenders' perspectives on their police interviews (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Cleary & Bull, 2019), yet their insights might be very useful since their perceptions of the interview experience can help us understand suspects' decision making processes, especially in major crimes.

Some details provided by interviewees during major crimes can prove to be problematic for some police officers (Oxburgh et al., 2012). For example, empirical Studies One (Chapter 4) and Two (Chapter 5) found that some Dubai police interviewers had a difficult time interviewing suspects of sex crimes, possibly as a result of being part of a conservative country where sex is still considered taboo. In addition, police interviewers investigating major crime have to comprehend and manage very powerful emotions, which may make these interviews difficult to conduct (Oxburgh, Williamson, & Ost, 2006). For example, Soukara et al. (2002) found that police interviewers' became stressed when interviewing suspects of child sex crimes and would only display understanding after a confession was made. With the above in mind, eliciting quality information and genuine confessions in major crimes can be a highly emotive process that is difficult to navigate successfully (see Oxburgh et al., 2012).

Identifying interview methods that aid in eliciting genuine confessions and in avoiding false ones is essential. Sex crime offenders may be unique and are less likely

to confess due to how they perceive the severity of their crimes, the behaviour of police interviewers towards them, and personal experiences with stigmatisation and humiliation during a police interview (Beauregard, Deslauriers-Varin, St-Yves, 2010). Sex crimes can be especially difficult to investigate because they are usually a word versus word affair (Kebbell et al., 2006), that have very little, if any, corroborative evidence (Benneworth, 2007). This means that obtaining comprehensive accounts and genuine confessions can prove to be very important for law enforcement (see Wachi et al., 2016a).

Gudjonsson and Petursson (1991) as well as Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1999) found that a suspect's decision to make a confession or not is based on at least one of three factors, (i) *external pressure*, (ii) *internal pressure*, and (iii) *proof factors*. *External pressure* such as a confrontational approach by the police interviewer or fear of being confined. *Internal pressure* encompasses an internal need to confess due to a suspect feeling guilty and needing to feel relieved. *Proof factors* encompass a suspect's perceptions of the police having enough evidence to charge, so there would be no benefit in denying. Gudjonsson and colleagues (1991, 1999) also found that external pressure was the least common reason to make a confession, behind proof factors and internal pressures, and the most associated with dissatisfaction.

Research on police interviewing has tended to focus upon police interview training methods (Cleary & Bull, 2019), such as the Reid technique (Inbau et al., 2013) and the PEACE model (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Milne & Bull, 1999). Some studies have concerned how the interview is perceived (e.g. humane versus dominant), other have examined the objective of the interview (e.g. information gathering versus confession focused), while others have looked at the specific interview techniques (e.g. isolating the suspect or displaying a positive attitude) (see Kelly et al., 2013; Meissner et al., 2014). Overall, research has shown that police officers usually employ a wide variety of interview strategies ranging from being open-minded, having an information gathering approach to having confrontational and accusatorial ones. For example, Wachi et al. (2014) found that the most frequently used strategies by Japanese police interviewers were humane, such as respecting the suspect as a human being, attempting to persuade the suspect to think about the meaning of the crime committed, and appealing to the conscience of the suspect. On the other hand, techniques found by Kassin et al. (2007)

in the US, were more dominant, such as isolating the suspect, conducting the interrogation in a small room, and identifying contradictions in the suspect's story. Research has also shown that strength of evidence is frequently reported to have the highest influence on obtaining genuine confessions (see e.g. Gudjonsson, 2003, 2018; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999; Kebbell et al., 2010; Moston et al., 1992). However in the case of Dubai, presenting evidence by the police is considered illegal, as it (i.e. presenting and discussing the evidence) is the public prosecutions' job. In cases where the presentation of evidence is not available (e.g. for lack of it or not legal to do so) and police officers have to rely on suspects' accounts, an 'ethical interviewing' approach is recommended (Milne & Bull, 1999). This is an open-minded approach that seeks to determine the 'truth' without being biased one way or another.

Milne and Bull (2006) argue that there are two main aims of a criminal investigation: (i) to determine what (if anything) happened and (ii) to find out who did what. This approach is crucial in investigating major crimes, and especially important in investigating sex crimes given the reasons divulged earlier regarding the strength of evidence typically found in sex crimes. Additionally, this approach is helpful because, clearly, not all suspects are actually guilty. For example, there may be cases of victims mistakenly identifying an innocent person as the perpetrator (see e.g. Connors, Lundregan, Miller, & McEwan, 1996). Furthermore, even though they are not as prevalent as some officers believe (Ask, 2010; Jordan, 2004), there are cases of individuals making false allegations (see e.g. Oates, Jones, Denson, Sirotiak, Gary, & Krugman, 2000). As discussed earlier in this thesis (see Chapter 6), in Dubai, some alleged victims may report to the police that they have been raped when sex was consensual, out of fear of social stigma related to pre-marital sex and issues associated with family and tribe honour. An open-minded, ethical approach to interviewing may be particularly helpful for innocent suspects (Milne & Bull, 1999).

Even so, most of the current research seems to be focused on police officers' self-reported questionnaires (e.g. Kassin et al., 2007; Shawyer & Milne, 2015; Vanderhallen & Vervaeke, 2014; Wachi et al., 2014; Walsh & Bull, 2015; Empirical Studies One and Two); or experiment-based studies (Kebbell et al., 2008; Empirical Study Five). Very few studies have examined suspects' own perceptions of their police interviews (Bull,

2013). However, since suspects are involved in cognitive processes to decide whether to confess or deny, or even to cooperate or not, it is wise to examine suspects' perceptions of their police interview (Cleary & Bull, 2019). Such research can help us understand current patterns in interview cooperation, especially given the fact that different legal, cultural, and social aspects need to be considered. For example, in a US sample, Leo (2008) found that most decisions, especially those regarding major crimes, are made after sustained psychological pressure. Meaning that suspects rarely made spontaneous decisions to confess or deny. However, in Australia, Kebbell et al. (2006) reported that 50% of convicted offenders had not yet, prior to their police interview, decided whether to confess or deny. In Japan, 30% of convicted offenders reported that they did not decide, in advance of their police interview, whether they would confess or deny (Wachi et al., 2016a). Findings from these studies, and from others, indicate that not all crime suspects have decided whether to confess or deny, or cooperate or not, thus, this highlights the need to examine how suspects themselves perceive police interviews. Expanding on the current literature regarding suspects' perceptions of their police interview may prove to be beneficial in promoting better practice, especially in a different country with its own culture and laws.

One of the first studies to examine suspects' perceptions of their police interviews was conducted in Sweden by Holmberg and Christianson (2002). They surveyed 83 men convicted of either a murder or a sex crime. Each participant was asked to rate the police interviewer who interviewed them for their most recent offence, across a variety of items on a seven point Likert scale where '1= not at all' to '7= very much so'. In addition, they were asked to rate how they responded to the interviews. A factor analysis yielded two interview styles - *dominant* or *humane*. The dominant style was associated with suspect denials, whereas the humane style was associated with confessions. In addition, factor analysis of suspects' responses yielded two factors - *respect* or *anxiety*. Respect was associated with confessions, whereas anxiety was associated with denials. This study highlighted two fundamental notions - first, that suspects perceived a wide variety of interview experiences, and, second, that suspects' perceptions are associated with their decision making.

In Australia, using an experimental design, Kebbell et al. (2008) asked 43 convicted sex offenders to read four offence vignettes revolving around sex crimes.

Subsequently, they were given one of four interview conditions: (1) humanity, (2) dominance, (3) showing an understanding of a suspect's cognitive distortions, and (4) a neutral, control interview. Participants were asked to rate each interview across ten factors. They found that the humanity interview yielded the best results regarding perceived fairness of the interview and the likelihood of making a confession. The dominance interview was rated as the worst regarding those two items. Furthermore, Kebbell et al. (2010) asked 43 convicted sex crime offenders and 20 convicted violent crime offenders whether several factors, namely, (1) ethical interviewing, (2) humanity, (3) dominance, (4) minimisation, (5) maximisation, (6) strength of evidence, and (7) cognitive distortions influenced their likelihood to confess or deny. The results showed that sex offenders that confessed, perceived their interviewers are more humane, more ethical, and less dominant. These results echo the findings of a former study (Kebbell et al., 2008).

Empirical Study Five (see Chapter 8) aimed to replicate, in Dubai, the Kebbell et al. (2008) study, to examine whether the findings yielded would differ due to legal, cultural, and social considerations. Four sex crime vignettes followed by four interview condition vignettes (i.e. humanity, dominance, showing an understanding of a suspect's cognitive distortions, and a control interview) were completed by 28 convicted major crime offenders based in the Dubai Central Prison (see Chapter 8).

The current study (empirical Study Four) aims to further explore the relationship between police interviewers' attitudes during the suspect interview and the suspects' inclination to confess or deny. In addition, the study aimed to explore how interviewees' responses differ (if they do) based in the interviewers' attitudes. This study aimed to explore whether suspects' experiences and perceptions differed based in whether they confessed or denied. Understanding how suspects perceive their interviews in Dubai is crucial, since the decision to confess or deny and to cooperate or not, ultimately lies with them.

Method

Participants

28 convicted major crime male offenders (i.e. murder, sex crime, and kidnapping) housed in the Dubai Police General Department of Punitive and Correctional Establishments participated in this study. Potential participants were contacted by a

gatekeeper who invited them to participate in two studies, empirical Study Four (this chapter) and empirical Study Five (Chapter 8). All 28 convicted offenders who accepted the gatekeeper's invitation agreed to participate in both studies. The mean age of the participants was 34.2 years (SD = 8.46), with a range of 19 to 50 years old. The offences for which the participants had been convicted and are currently in prison for ranged from 'pre-meditated murder and sexual assault' to 'rape' and 'sexual assault'. Due to ethical concerns about potentially identifying factors, the Dubai Police Criminology Ethics Board meeting prevented the research team from asking participants about the exact length of their prison sentence and the specific crime type. However, since all the convicted offenders were held in a felony prison, the duration of their sentences ranged between three years and life imprisonment. In addition, the gatekeeper exclusively invited potential participants that were currently in prison for a major crime conviction. The ethics board also prevented the research team from sampling child sex offenders, due to the stigma and dangers associated with being thought of as a child sex offender in prison.

Design and Materials

Each participant was asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding his experience of being interviewed by the Dubai police for his most recent conviction (i.e. the crime that he is currently in prison after being found guilty for). The questionnaire (Appendix K) was based on previous studies by Holmberg and Christianson (2002) and Holmberg (2004). Each questionnaire contained 27 items to be rated on five point Likert scales (1= 'Strongly Disagree'; 2= 'Disagree'; 3= 'Neither Agree nor Disagree'; 4= 'Agree'; 5= 'Strongly Agree'). The questionnaire focused on two topics: (1) convicted offenders' perceptions of their interviewers' attitude (items 1-17, Table 7.1) and (2) convicted offenders' perceptions of their responses during the interview (items 18-27, Table 7.2). The former contained statements such as, 'Interviewer expressed a positive attitude towards you' and 'Interviewer showed a condemning attitude'. The latter contained statements such as, 'You felt confident' and 'You felt stressed'. Participants were also asked to state their age and whether they had confessed or denied the offence during the police interview.

All the documents for this study were, initially, prepared in English. Subsequently, these documents were translated into Arabic by the bilingual lead researcher, piloted on

5 volunteers, and checked for accuracy by 3 other bilingual researchers before being reviewed by the Dubai Police for ethical approval.

Procedure

After being granted ethical approval, the gatekeeper invited, through a prison research liaisons officer, potential participants. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaire in a private room housed inside the Central Prison compound, during the period between 18 June 2018 and 28 June 2018. Due to concerns raised during the ethics board meeting regarding the possibility that some participants may have literacy problems that may prevent informed consent, the participants were read the participant information sheet (Appendix L) by a researcher. If willing, they were subsequently asked to sign an informed consent document (Appendix M). The participant information sheet made it clear that the participants' potential participation, or lack thereof, will not influence their treatment during the prison sentence, nor will it influence its length. Due to the aforementioned concerns regards literacy, participants were asked whether they prefer to complete the questionnaire on their own or have a researcher read the material for them and have them respond orally. Eight participants decided to respond in the latter manner.

All the participants were treated in accordance with the ethical guidelines mandated by the University of Portsmouth and the Dubai Police.

Statistical analysis

Student t tests were used to analyse the differences between (i) confessors (N=16) and (ii) deniers (N=12) concerning perceived attitudes of their police interviewers and their responses to their interviews. Principle component analysis with varimax rotation was utilised in order to identify interviewing styles and categories of responses to interviews. A series of Pearson's correlation tests were also conducted to evaluate the associations between interview styles and categories of responses to interviews.

Results

The results of this study examining convicted major crime offenders' perceptions of their own police interviews based on whether they had confessed or denied, will be displayed in five parts: (1) convicted offenders' perceptions of their own police interviewers (Table 7.1); (2) their responses to these interviews (Table 7.2); (3) principle

component analysis of interviewer attitudes; (4) principle component analysis of their responses; and (5) the associations between the principle component analyses and their decision to confess or deny.

Offenders' perceptions of police interviewers' attitudes

In response to the statements regarding the police interviewers' different attitudes, participants' responses indicated that confessors (N=16) perceived a slightly higher degree of open-minded interviewer attitudes (i.e items 1-6) than the deniers did. In addition, upon inspection of 'agree' and 'disagree' score in Table 7.1, it is clear that deniers experienced a higher degree of coercion than confessors did (58.3% of deniers and 31.3% of confessors perceived their interviewer as confrontational). Table 7.1 shows the distribution of confessors and deniers perception scores regarding police interviewers' attitudes. As shown in this table, only a minority of confessors and a minority of deniers perceived their interviewers as having displayed sympathy, cooperativeness, and helpfulness. Nevertheless, nearly half the participants in both groups rated their interviewer as calm. Although not statistically significant, there was a tendency for confessors compared to deniers to perceive their interviewers as displaying genuine empathy and a positive attitude. However, it should be noted that those individuals are a minority.

Table 7.1 Percentages of scores and means for the offenders' perceptions of interviewers' different attitudes by confession or denial. Disagree (1, 2) and agree (4,5) correspond to the Likert scale in the questionnaire. The means are computed on the scores 1–5

Statements	Confessors, <i>n</i> =16			Deniers, <i>n</i> =12			<i>t</i> _{M1-M2}
	Disagree %	Agree %	<i>M</i> ₁	Disagree %	Agree %	<i>M</i> ₂	
1. Interviewer acted with calmness	31.3	50.1	3.13 (1.2)	50	41.7	2.67 (1.3)	0.96
2. Interviewer showed genuine empathy	56.3	43.8	2.81 (1.28)	66.7	33.3	2.42 (1.24)	0.82
3. Interviewer showed sympathy	43.8	31.3	2.69 (1.14)	66.6	33.3	2.42 (1.44)	0.56
4. Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you	43.8	43.8	2.94 (1.06)	66.7	25	2.33 (1.16)	1.42
5. Interviewer was cooperative.	56.3	37.5	2.75 (1.07)	66.7	25	2.42 (1.08)	0.81
6. Interviewer was helpful	50.1	37.5	2.81 (1.38)	66.7	33.3	2.42 (1.24)	0.79
7. Interviewer acted in a rushed manner	66.8	33.3	2.44 (1.32)	41.7	58.3	3.25 (1.55)	-1.5
8. Interviewer was aggressive	43.8	50	3.25 (1.65)	50	33.3	2.75 (1.66)	0.79
9. Interviewer was friendly	37.5	43.8	3.06 (1.29)	58.4	41.7	2.83 (1.47)	0.44
10. Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude	12.5	62.5	3.63 (0.89)	58.3	41.6	2.67 (1.44)	2.18*
11. Interviewer was nonchalant	37.5	56.3	3.00 (1.42)	33.3	58.3	3.42 (1.38)	-0.78
12. Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional	43.8	43.8	2.88 (1.31)	33.4	66.7	3.58 (1.62)	-1.28
13. Interviewer showed a condemning attitude	43.8	55.8	3.13 (1.5)	25	75	3.67 (1.5)	-0.95
14. Interviewer was confrontational	50.1	31.3	2.63 (1.15)	33.3	58.3	3.25 (1.22)	-1.38
15. Interviewer focused only on facts	43.8	43.8	3.06 (1.24)	41.7	58.4	3.08 (1.56)	-0.04
16. Interviewer was impatient	50.1	50.1	3.00 (1.21)	33.4	66.6	3.50 (1.57)	-0.95
17. Interviewer was unfriendly	43.8	50.1	3.06 (1.18)	33.4	66.7	3.42 (1.5)	-0.7

Note: The difference in the means has been computed with Students t test

* $p < 0.05$

Although not statistically significant, there was a tendency for deniers to perceive higher degrees of negative behaviours from their police interviewers than the confessors. The values in Table 7.1 indicate that deniers tended to report that they experienced a higher degree of condemnation, unfriendliness, impatience, indifference, and confrontation than the confessors did. It should be noted that these data were not statistically significant. Deniers also tended to perceive their interviewers to have acted in rushed manner compared to confessors. Interestingly, confessors tended to perceive their interviewers to be more aggressive than the deniers. The only statistically significant finding between the two groups was confessors perceived their interviewers to be more formal and non-accessible than deniers, $t(26)= 2.18, p<0.05$.

Offenders' perceptions of responses to police interviews

An inspection of 'agree' and 'disagree' scores in Table 7.2 indicates that there was a tendency for confessors to experience feeling more frightened than deniers. Also, two-thirds of deniers tended to report feeling insulted compared to only half of the confessors. Mean values presented in Table 7.2 reveal that the distributions of responses were fairly equal across the two groups regarding their experiences of feeling stressed and angry. As can be seen in Table 7.2, confessors tended to report feeling more positive than the deniers did. Nearly two-thirds of confessors tended to feel respected compared to only a third of deniers. A summary of the means in this table suggests that confessors tended to be likely than deniers to report feeling confident and cooperative. These differences were not, however, statistically significant.

Table 7.2 Percentages of scores and means for the offenders' different responses by confession or denial. Disagree (1, 2) and agree (4,5) correspond to the Likert scale in the questionnaire. The means are computed on the scores 1–5

Statements	Confessors, <i>n</i> =16			Deniers, <i>n</i> =12			<i>t</i> _{<i>M</i>₁-<i>M</i>₂}
	Disagree %	Agree %	<i>M</i> ₁ (SD)	Disagree %	Agree %	<i>M</i> ₂ (SD)	
18. You became frightened	31.3	68.8	3.63 (1.36)	33.3	58.3	3.25 (1.6)	0.67
19. You became angry	68.8	31.3	2.63 (1.31)	50	41.7	2.83 (1.53)	-0.39
20. You became stressed	37.6	62.6	3.38 (1.31)	33.3	66.7	3.5 (1.73)	-0.22
21. You felt insulted	43.8	50	3.00 (1.1)	33.3	66.6	3.42 (1.68)	-0.8
22. You distanced yourself from the situation	50	43.8	3.00 (1.1)	50	41.7	2.75 (1.22)	0.57
23. You felt confident	25.1	56.3	3.31 (1.08)	58.3	41.7	2.75 (1.55)	1.14
24. You became friendly	31.3	43.8	3.19 (0.98)	41.7	41.7	2.92 (1.51)	0.58
25. You felt respected	31.3	62.5	3.19 (1.17)	58.3	33.4	2.58 (1.56)	1.17
26. You became cooperative	12.5	50.1	3.44 (0.81)	50	50	2.9 (1.56)	1.15
27. You and the interviewer talked about trivialities	43.8	37.5	2.94 (1.29)	75	25	2.25 (1.36)	1.36

Note: The difference in the means has been computed with Students t test

* $p < 0.05$

Principle factor analysis of offenders' perceptions of police interviewers' attitude

A factor analysis of the items displayed in Table 7.1 was performed using the principle component analysis method of extraction. After Bartlett's test of Sphericity⁷, which tests the overall significance of all correlations in the matrix, was significant ($\chi^2(136) = 422, p < 0.001$), indicating that it was suitable to use factor analysis on this data set. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy indicated that the relationships among the variables in this matrix were adequate (KMO = 0.77), thus it was possible to proceed with the analysis. Initially, 4 factors with eigenvalues greater than one were extracted. A series of factor analyses were conducted which suggested

⁷ The process of measuring sampling adequacy (MSA) is included here for the Dubai Police students that may not be familiar with the process.

that two factors (aggregated from 14 perceived attitudes) gave the most interpretable solution (KMO= 0.87). A varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation was performed and only items with factor loadings of above 0.5 are shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Principal component analysis with varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation of offenders' perception of police interviewing style. Eigenvalue > 1.6. N=28

Variables	Factor 1, Humanity	Factor 2, Dominance	Final Communality
Interviewer showed genuine empathy	0.85		0.74
Interviewer was friendly	0.83		0.84
Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you	0.8		0.67
Interviewer acted with calmness	0.79		0.66
Interviewer showed sympathy	0.72		0.68
Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional	-0.71	0.64	0.92
Interviewer was unfriendly	-0.7		0.76
Interviewer was cooperative.	0.69		0.65
Interviewer was impatient	-0.66	0.68	0.9
Interviewer showed a condemning attitude	-0.58	0.72	0.85
Interviewer was nonchalant		0.78	0.72
Interviewer was aggressive		0.73	0.65
Interviewer was confrontational		0.71	0.75
Interviewer acted in a rushed manner		0.7	0.49

Note: Only loadings >|0.50| are shown. Variables sorted by factors and size. Perceived humanity (factor 1) accounts for 42.2% of the variance and perceived dominance (factor 2) accounts for 31.1% of the variance.

The two factors extracted explained 73.3% of the total variance. Table 7.3 shows the structure of the factor loadings. Factor 1 (Humanity) explained 42.2% of the variance and covered items concerning participants' perceptions of interviewers as empathetic, friendly, calm, and showing a positive attitude. This factor also covers participants' perceptions of interviewers as sympathetic and cooperative. From this analysis it seems that indifference, unfriendliness, impatience, and condemnation negatively impact upon the factor. On the other hand, factor 2 (Dominance) explained 31.1% of the variance and covered items such as nonchalance, aggressiveness, condemnation, and confrontation. The two different loadings suggests that

condemnation is related to a Dominance and an absence of condemnation is related to Humanity. Cronbach's alpha was utilised to measure the internal consistency of the factors: Humanity 0.91 and Dominance 0.94. Upon aggregating the scores for the two groups, it is clear that participants' in this study experienced more Dominance (M = 3.1, SD = 1.18) than they did Humanity (M = 2.73, SD = 1.02).

Principle factor analysis of offenders' perceptions of responses to police interviews

After a test for variables' appropriateness yielded a significant result for Bartlett's test of sphericity [$\chi^2(45) = 234, p < 0.001$], and a KMO test score of 0.8, the data were deemed suitable for factor analyses. As shown in Table 7.4, the principle component analysis with varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation aggregated 10 items concerning participants' perceptions of their own responses during the interview into two factors, which accounted for 73.8% of the variance. Factor 1 (Respect) accounted for 40.9% of the variance and covered items indicating participants responses of feeling cooperative, friendly, confident, and respected. Feeling insulted showed a negative loading to factor 1 (Respect) whereas it showed a positive loading to factor 2 (Anxiety). Factor 2 (Anxiety) accounted for 32.9% of the variance and covered items indicating participants responses to feeling stressed, angry, and frightened; as well as distancing themselves from the situation. Alphas for these two factors were: 0.9 for Respect and 0.88 for Anxiety. Overall, participants in both groups experienced more Anxiety (M = 3.14, SD = 1.13) than they did Respect (M = 2.99, SD = 1.08).

Table 7.4 Principal component analysis with varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation of offenders' responses during police interview. Eigenvalue > 1.0. N=28

Variables	Factor 1, Respect	Factor 2, Anxiety	Final Communality
You became cooperative	0.92		0.88
You became friendly	0.87		0.8
You felt confident	0.85		0.8
You felt respected	0.78		0.82
You and the interviewer talked about trivialities	0.64		0.4
You felt insulted	-0.56	0.69	0.79
You became stressed		0.83	0.86
You became angry		0.81	0.67
You distanced yourself from the situation		0.77	0.61
You became frightened		0.71	0.73

Note: Only loadings >|0.50| are shown. Variables sorted by factors and size. Experiences of respect (factor 1) accounts for 40.9% of the variance and experiences of anxiety (factor 2) accounts for 32.9% of the variance.

Perceived interviewer factors in relation to perceived response factors

Since the alphas for both the participants' perceptions of the interviewers attitudes (i.e. Humanity and Dominance) and participants' perceptions of their responses to police interviews (i.e. Respect and Anxiety) were high, a series of Pearson's correlations were conducted. Humanity showed a positive correlation to Respect, $r = 0.72, p < 0.01$, and showed a negative correlation to Anxiety, $r = -0.68, p < 0.01$. Whereas, Dominance correlated negatively with Respect, $r = -0.73, p < 0.01$, but correlated positively with Anxiety, $r = 0.74, p < 0.01$.

Factors in relation to confessions and denials

The aggregated factors were used to analyse whether they had an influence in the participants' decisions to confess or deny (see Table 7.5). Although not statistically significant, confessors tended to perceive higher degrees of their interviewers displaying Humanity than deniers did. On the other hand, deniers perceived higher degrees of their interviewers displaying Dominance than confessors did. Also, confessors were more

likely to experience feeling Respect than deniers did. The two groups experienced similar feeling of Anxiety.

Table 7.5 Means and standard deviations for offenders' responses to the aggregated factors by confession or denial. The means are computed on the scores 1–5

Factors	Confessors, <i>n</i> =16		Deniers, <i>n</i> =12		<i>t</i> _{<i>M</i>1-<i>M</i>2}
	<i>M</i> ₁	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i> ₂	<i>SD</i>	
Humanity	2.9	0.88	2.51	1.18	0.98
Dominance	2.92	1.15	3.35	1.22	-0.95
Respect	3.2	0.8	2.68	1.35	1.29
Anxiety	3.13	0.93	3.15	1.39	-0.06

Note: The difference in the means has been computed with Students t test

* *p*<0.05

Discussion

This study was the first to examine Dubaian major crime convicted offenders' perceptions of their police interviewers' attitudes and their own responses in the police interview. This study also assessed whether those elements had an effect on major crime offenders' decision, during the police interview, to confess or deny the offence for which they are currently in prison for. Overall, participants perceived their interviews as more dominant than humane. Additionally, participants rated themselves feeling more anxious than they did respected. These findings are similar to those found in other studies (e.g. Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2010), and are contrary to achieving best practice outcomes (see e.g. Clarke & Milne, 2001; Gudjonsson, 2003; Walsh & Bull, 2015).

Best practice outcomes are associated with the six items that had positive loadings on the humanity factor identified in this study. These items also form the foundations of an ethical interviewing approach, which is a fair and neutral approach to finding out the truth (Milne & Bull, 1999). This approach to interviewing also promotes more accurate crime accounts and more comprehensive confessions (Walsh & Bull, 2015). For example, research in Australia suggests that sex and violent crime offenders are more likely to make a confession if ethical interviewing approaches were utilised during their police interviews (Kebbell et al., 2010). This approach is essential to developing rapport, a crucial concept in interviewing, that aids in allowing an interviewee to share

information of serious consequences (e.g. criminal behaviour) (Abbe & Brandon, 2014). Although confessors in this study rated their interviews as more humane than deniers did, a finding that is shared with Kebbell et al. (2010), the fact that the humanity factor score was low may have prevented more confessions being made than a higher score would have. This indicates that elements that help facilitate confessions by revealing an internal pressure to admit crime (Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999), were lower than is desired in this study.

Convicted offenders in this study were more likely to rate their interviewers as displaying dominance. Previous research has indicated that police interviews with suspects are more often confrontational and coercive than they are open-minded and cooperative (see e.g. Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al. 2010; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993). Other studies have also suggested that when confrontational and dominant behaviours on behalf of the interviewer were displayed, suspects were more likely to show avoidant behaviour (e.g. Wachi et al., 2014). The premise behind this is that when suspects feel pressured into an account, reactance is likely to increase (Brehm, 1966; Miller & Rollnick, 1991), and cooperation would be limited. Such experiences of dominance and confrontation may be indicative of perceptions of external pressures (e.g. confession focused superiors) and expressed by dominant interviewers in the form of aggression and confrontation (Gudjonsson, 2003; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999; Williamson, 1993).

In fact, research with police officers indicates that displays of negative affect, such as anger or confrontation, occur in police interviews and may contribute to suspect avoidance behaviour and reactance (see e.g. Brehm, 1966; Oxburgh et al., 2006; Wachi et al., 2014). Inconsistent displays of humanity may not be enough to make the suspect feel comfortable enough to confess. Findings from the current study indicate that offenders did not experience high levels of humanity, which could be a result of having an unsustained humanity approach throughout the interview. Thus, displaying higher degrees of humanity and lower degrees of dominance throughout the interview may result in more comprehensive accounts (Kebbell et al., 2010).

Given the stigma of sexual crimes (McGrath, 1990; Quinn, Forsyth & Mullen-Quinn, 2004), displaying an understanding of sex offending may indicate to the suspect

that the interviewer will not act in an aggressive manner should the suspect confess, which is a legitimate fear suspects may feel when they are about to share criminalising information. In fact, in the current study, confessors experienced more aggressiveness than deniers. One possible explanation for this is that after confessing, officers became more aggressive due to the details of the crime. On the other hand, officers in Dubai have to be cautious and not conflate understanding a suspect's cognitive distortions with minimisation of the crime, especially given that suspects are usually in fear of social condemnation because of their crime. This may make the perceived cultural and social consequences of confessing to the crime seem less severe, and thus more appealing to the suspect, but may also become a tool to elicit false confession (by way of 'saving face').

In the current study, the vast majority of deniers rated their interviewers' as showing a condemning attitude, compared to just over half of the confessors. Similar results were also found by Holmberg and Christianson (2002). It is possible that sex offenders find it more difficult to talk about their offence due to fear of social condemnation and the disgust displayed towards them (Bahroo, 2003; Gudjonsson, 2006). This could be even more critical in a collectivist conservative city like Dubai, where the actions of one person reflect onto their family and tribe. This suggests that police officers have to be aware that interview styles need to be modified to take into consideration the offender and offence type. Given the social stigma and fear of social condemnation associated with being thought of as a sex offender, especially in Dubai, it would be interesting to see, in future research, whether the deniers were sex offenders.

Indeed, one explanation for the difference in condemnation ratings between confessors and deniers could be as a result of different interview styles. Confessors' ratings of the interview displaying a formal attitude was significantly higher than deniers' ratings. It could be surmised that in order not to seem condemning, some police officers portrayed a formal interview approach to limit their biases from interfering with the suspect interview. It could also be surmised that the observed difference between confessors and deniers regarding an indifferent interviewer could be related to this premise. Meaning, if an interviewer is not successful in portraying a formal approach, it could be perceived as indifferent.

Deniers, in the current study, also perceived higher degrees of interviewers acting impatiently and in a rushed manner than confessors did. This may be a result of officers exerting external pressures to force a confession (Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991), as a result of other factors such as a heavy workload or a backlog of cases. These findings suggest that the current processes may influence negative outcomes, similar to findings by Moston and Engelberg (1993). In addition, these findings indicate that the current process does not take into consideration social aspects of the interviewing process, as suggested in therapeutic jurisprudence (Finkelman & Grisso, 1994; Slobogin, 1996).

From a practice point of view, allowing interviewees to provide a narrative account of the crime can produce better results (Powell et al., 2005). Eliciting narrative accounts through the use of open-ended, non leading questions can offer many advantages, such as obtaining more comprehensive and accurate accounts and reducing the potential of contamination (Read & Powell, 2011). The use of open-ended questioning to encourage suspects to provide uninterrupted accounts, in fact, is central to the police interviewing model (i.e. PEACE) used in England and Wales (See Clarke & Milne, 2001; Milne & Bull, 1999). Thus, adopting a narrative approach to interviewing may help Dubai police interviewers obtain more comprehensive accounts from suspects.

According to therapeutic jurisprudence, a narrative approach to interviewing may also be beneficial to the suspect's social and psychological wellbeing (Slobogin, 1996). An interviewing style that is characterised by humanity reveals an interest in viewing suspects, first and foremost, as human beings that are worthy of respect. This approach may also influence suspects in Dubai to feel comfortable sharing personal crime details, without fear of being stigmatised and condemned. Whereas, dominant approaches may negatively impact upon a guilty suspect's decision to confess, out of fear of social stigmatisation and condemnation. Suggesting that interview outcomes may be linked to interview styles.

In the current study there is a relationship between interviewer style and interviewee response. Those interviewed in a humane way felt more respected and less anxious. Whereas those interviewed in a dominant manner felt less respected and more anxious. Although not statistically significant, convicted offenders who rated their interviewer as more humane were more likely to confess than those that rated them as

dominant. This could be because feeling respected indicates to the suspect that they can reveal criminal behaviour in a safe manner without fear of being condemned as human beings (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002). This approach could be seen as a way to facilitate confessions by increasing an offender's internal pressure (see Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999). On the other hand, feeling anxious may be counter productive to eliciting a comprehensive account. This approach may be indicative of what Gudjonsson and Colleagues (1991, 1999) regard as external pressure from police officers.

In considering the results of the current study, a few limitations have to be acknowledged. First, the results rely on convicted offenders' perceptions of how they were interviewed and how they perceived their responses to be (including self selecting whether they had confessed or denied). Clearly there may be issues arising from memory contamination and degradation, as well as discrepancies between perceptions and reality. There may also be other influences that may have impacted participants' perceptions of the interview, such as previous engagements with the police and the circumstances of arrest and interviewing. Second, it is not clear if positive attitudes on behalf of the interviewer led to positive suspect responses, or is it the other way around? This may also be the case for negative interviewer attitudes and negative interviewee responses. It is clear, though, in this study, that there is a correlation between them, not a causation. Third, this study does not take into account potential confounds on a suspect's decision to confess or deny, such as the strength of evidence that the police have acquired (or in the Dubai, where confronting the suspect with evidence is illegal, the suspect's perceptions of the strength of the evidence). Empirical Study Five (Chapter 8) utilises an experiment to explore the causal relationships between interview style, interview response and confession, all while eliminating such potential confounds.

In sum, this study was the first in Dubai and the UAE to explore the effect of police interviewing on suspects' responses. The current study shows that interviewee responses are influenced by interviewer attitudes. Police interviews that show humanity are more likely to elicit a positive response from interviewees. Whereas police interviews that show dominance are more likely to elicit a negative response from interviewees. Some police officers limited suspects' exposure to condemnation by adopting a more formal approach to interviewing. It is argued that in order to promote

accurate and comprehensive crime accounts, police officers in Dubai have to adopt a more humane approach to interviewing. Such approach will not only lead suspects to gain more confidence and increase their willingness to admit criminal behaviour, but also have positive impacts on their psychological wellbeing and wider relationships between society, suspects, and the police.

Chapter 8: Convicted offenders' perceptions of the effectiveness of interviews styles: A vignette study

Introduction

The ability to skillfully question suspected criminals is essential to being a professional police officer (Burns, 1993), and is central to achieving social justice (Milne, et al., 2007). This is especially the case in sex crimes, which are notoriously problematic (Oxburgh et al., 2012) and difficult to prove (Greenfield, 1997), due to the fact that many cases do not have much corroborative evidence (Benneworth, 2007; Kebbell et al., 2006). This usually means that sex crime cases often rely on the word of the victim against that of the suspect (Greenfield, 1997). Thus, obtaining a comprehensive account and a genuine confession is of utmost importance to secure a conviction (Kassin & Neumann, 1997).

Given the social stigma and negative attitudes towards sex offenders (McGrath, 1990), police interviews with this group can be different compared to interviews with other kinds of offenders (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Quinn et al., 2004; Thomas, 2000). Keeping in mind that, in Dubai, sex is still considered a taboo subject and interviewing sex crime suspects can be problematic. Most of the studies examining police interviews, in general, and police interviews of suspects, in specific, have been conducted in Western countries (e.g. Baldwin, 1993; Bull & Cherryman, 1995; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Read et al., 2014; Snook & Keating, 2011; Vanderhallen et al., 2011); and their findings may not be generalisable to Dubai and the UAE, due to differences in social and legal aspects. Even so, interviewing sex crime suspects can be a sensitive, highly emotive, and a difficult task (Oxburgh et al., 2012).

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 7, in order to successfully navigate this task, researchers have emphasised the need for the use of interview techniques that display humanity, rather than aggression and dominance, in order to increase comprehensive accounts and genuine confessions (Bull & Milne, 2004; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Milne & Bull, 1999). In contrast, interviews that display aggression and/or dominance are likely to elicit less cooperation and genuine confessions (Kebbell et al., 2008). They found that participants rated suspects as more likely to confess if they were interviewed with humanity than if they are if interviewed in by any other means. The

dominance interview condition was rated by the offenders as the least likely to elicit a confession. They also found that displaying an understanding of offenders' cognitive distortions did not have a positive impact on perceived likelihood to confess, compared to the neutral control interview. They stipulated that it could be that sex offenders' cognitive distortions are too idiosyncratic or that they are more concerned with being condemned than they are about being understood.

Having said that, most police interviewers may not be mindful of the cognitive distortions that sex offenders employ (Swaffer, Hollin, Beech, Beckett, & Fisher, 1999; Ward et al., 1997). Recognising these distortions may help police interviewers elicit confessions, since the suspects may (in their own minds with their cognitive distortions) provide a justification for their transgressions (Kebbell et al., 2008). There are not any studies that have looked at the effect of cognitive distortions on police interviews in Dubai. The results of the studies conducted in Western countries may not be representative of the cultural and social factors of sex crime interviews in Dubai. Some offenders may justify rape as consensual sex, due to cognitive distortions on their part, that are shaped by cultural and social aspects. For example, a suspected sex offender in Dubai may argue that the rape was in fact consensual sex since his date was going out with him and wearing 'revealing' clothes. The concept of dating is still alien to many Dubaians, is considered taboo (see e.g. Walsh, 2007), and there are stereotypes regarding 'these' women. An understanding of the offenders' way of thinking may help officers elicit genuine confessions.

In the present study, we aim to replicate the work by Kebbell et al. (2008) (see Chapter 7 for an overview of this study) in Dubai - their study was conducted in Australia. For this reason, we adapted some aspects of the Kebbell et al. study to suit the Dubai setting. For example, we changed the content of one vignette from drinking alcohol to drinking Pepsi, since drinking alcohol is seen as taboo by Muslims and only acceptable for non-Muslims and may have influenced convicted offenders' decisions regarding this vignette. It was also crucial that this method allows us to factor out potential confounds such as strength of evidence, since police officers in Dubai cannot confront suspects with evidence.

In order to test the relationships between an offenders' decision to confess or not, and police humanity, dominance, and acknowledgement of cognitive distortions, four

sex crime vignettes and four interview conditions all concerning the interviewing of a guilty offender, were designed. It was hypothesised that the humanity and understanding of cognitive distortions interview conditions would be associated with an increase in participants' perceptions that a guilty suspect would confess. It was also hypothesised that the dominance interview condition would be associated with a decrease in participants' perceptions that a guilty suspect would confess.

Method

Participants

Twenty-eight convicted offenders of major crime (i.e. murder, sex crimes, kidnapping, and serious assault) resident in Dubai Police General Department of Punitive and Correctional Establishments, who had been invited by a gatekeeper agreed to participate in the study (for a full description see participants section in Chapter 7).

Design

A within-participants design was utilised in which the convicted offenders were each provided with four different written offence vignettes that involved a male forcing a female into having sex. Each of the four vignettes was followed by a different type of a police interview: (1) humanity, (2) dominance, (3) displaying an understanding of a sex offenders cognitive distortions, and (4) a neutral, control interview. Both the order of the offence vignettes and of the interviews were randomised independently to counteract order effects (i.e. each interview vignette had four versions and the order interview conditions were randomised for each participant). Participants were asked to rate each interview based on a ten dimensions:

- (1) likelihood of the offender confessing,
- (2) the fairness of the interview,
- (3) how well was the interview conducted,
- (4) displaying an understanding of sex offenders' way of thinking,
- (5) maximising the crime,
- (6) showing aggressiveness,
- (7) showing humanity,
- (8) minimising the crime,

- (9) the strength of evidence,
- (10) the seriousness of the crime.

Materials

Four similar offence vignettes were adapted from Kebbell et al. (2008) in order to suit Dubai (eg. change of names). All four vignettes were designed by Kebbell et al. (2008) to be somewhat similar and to include two instances where the offender may have believed that the victim encouraged the offence. For example, in offence vignette 1 below, Rodha said ‘yes, please’ when asked by Khalid if she would like to pet his pet dog, and also talked to Khalid about how quiet the park is. Each vignette was also designed to include two clear instances where the victim states that she does not want his behaviour to continue. In the example (Offence vignette 1) below, Rodha says ‘please stop doing that’ to Khalid when he put his hand on Rodha’s leg, and he forcibly pulled her into the bushes and made her take off her trousers. The other three offence vignettes can be found in Appendix N.

Offence vignette 1

Rodha, a 25 year old woman was walking through a park on her own. She saw a 30 year old man, Khalid, with a small black dog on a lead. She knew Khalid, as he lived near to her. Khalid was sitting on a park bench. Khalid said the dog is very friendly, and asked Rodha if she would like to pat him. Rodha said ‘yes, please’ and sat next to Khalid. Khalid and Rodha talked about how much they liked the park and how it was so quiet. Khalid put his hand on Rodha’s leg and rubbed her thigh. Rodha said, ‘Please stop doing that’ but Khalid didn’t take his hand away, or stop rubbing her leg. He took Rodha’s hand and pulled her into some bushes. He made her take off her trousers. He then had sex with her behind the bushes, a little way from the path. Rodha told her mother what had happened and they reported what had happened to the police. The police asked Rodha where Khalid lived and she told them. The police arrested Khalid and he was interviewed by the police.

Each offence vignette was 188 words long in the initial English version. However, since Arabic is the language preferred by most prisoners, the vignettes were translated into Arabic by the bilingual lead researcher, checked for accuracy by four other bilingual researchers located in the Dubai Police Criminology Department, and piloted

on four volunteers. The translation yielded a 160 word count for all four of the Arabic offence vignettes.

After each offence vignette a depiction of a police interview was presented. Each interview included five statements relevant to the condition. The humanity and dominance interview conditions were based on statements from Holmberg and Christianson's (2002) questionnaire that had the highest loading on each of the respective factors (i.e. humanity and dominance). For example, the humanity interview included the following statement, 'the police officer seemed to show a positive attitude towards him (i.e the offender)'; which was adapted from Holmberg and Christianson's item, 'interviewer expressed a positive attitude towards subject' (p.45). Concerning the dominance interview condition, the following statement was included, 'the police officer was impatient with Khalid', adapted from Holmberg and Christianson's item, 'was your interviewer impatient?' (p.45).

For the cognitive distortions condition, five statements were developed by Kebbell et al. (2008) based on the Bumby Cognitive Distortions Scale (Bumby, 1996). For example, the statement 'the police officer suggested that Khalid may believe that society makes a much bigger deal out of sexual offences than they really are', was adapted from item 25 on the Rape Scale, 'I believe that society and courts are too tough on rapists' (P.52). Caution was taken by Kebbell et al. to ensure that the contents of the statements would be accepted in court, and a further check was also made to ensure that the statements would be admissible in a Dubaian court.

The English interview vignettes were initially adapted to have the same word length as in Kebbell et al. (2008), that is 124 words. The Arabic vignettes went through the same process of translation, revision, and piloting as the offence vignettes. The final word count for the Arabic versions was 98 words. In addition, the versions have undergone some changes to make the story seem more realistic to the local population. For example, the officers in this version were wearing a *kandora*, a long garment worn by men in the GCC region, instead of a long sleeved button down shirt in the Kebbell et al. version. In order to eliminate potential confound that a less lengthy interview might be perceived as being, for example, more humane, additional innocuous information was added to achieve a uniform word count. For example, the statement 'There was a

ceiling light in the room and a light switch by the door' was added to the control interview. The four interview conditions are presented below.

Control interview. The interview room at the police station was fairly plain. It contained some furniture and there was also a clock with a white face and black hands hanging on the wall. The room was a pleasant temperature, neither being too hot nor too cold. There was a ceiling light in the room and a light switch by the door. The police officer wore a white *Kandora, a Ghutra, and Aqal*. In addition, he had a black pen in his kandora's front pocket, on the left side, and was wearing brown sandals. He also had a standard silver watch on his left wrist. The police officer took Khalid's statements regarding the crime. The police officer said that Rodha had identified Khalid as the offender.

Humanity interview. The interview room was plain. The police officer wore a white *Kandora, a Ghutra, and Aqal*. In addition, he had a black pen in his kandora's front pocket, on the left side, and was wearing brown sandals. He also had a standard silver watch on his left wrist. The police officer took time to get to know Khalid before starting the interview. The police officer also seemed to be trying to understand just how Khalid was feeling. The police officer took Khalid's statement. The police officer said that Rodha had identified Khalid as the offender. The police officer showed sympathy towards Khalid, and seemed to show a positive attitude towards him. The police officer was also co-operative with Khalid throughout the interview.

Dominance interview. The interview room at the police station was fairly plain. The room was set at a pleasant temperature. The police officer wore a white *Kandora, a Ghutra, and Aqal*. In addition, he had a black pen in his kandora's front pocket, on the left side, and was wearing brown sandals. He also had a standard silver watch on his left wrist. After starting the interview, the police officer showed some agitation towards Khalid. The police officer was also aggressive towards Khalid. The officer took Khalid's statement. The police officer said that Rodha had identified Khalid as the offender. The police officer was impatient towards Khalid. The police officer was unfriendly towards Khalid. The police officer was also unsupportive towards Khalid during the interview.

Cognitive distortions. The police officer took Khalid's statement. The police officer said that Rodha had identified Khalid as the offender. The officer suggested that

Khalid may have believed that Rodha had encouraged him to commit the offence. The police officer showed an understanding of how people who commit sexual offences think. The police officer suggested that maybe Khalid believed that Rodha had enjoyed, or may not have been particularly upset by the offence. The police officer suggested that Khalid may believe that society makes a much bigger deal out of sexual offences than they really are. The police officer suggested that Khalid may believe that if Rodha did not want the sexual offence to occur, she could have done more to prevent it from happening.

A short questionnaire followed each police interview vignette. In order to prevent potential biasing effects from any subsequent questions, the following question was presented first, 'Based on the story, how likely would Khalid be to confess to the police by the end of the interview?' A ten point Likert scale was provided, where responses ranged from 1='Not at all likely' to 10= 'Extremely likely'. Next eight statements were provided, 'The police interviewer was fair to Khalid'; 'The police interviewer understood how Khalid was thinking about his sexual offending'; 'The police interviewer made Khalid's crime seem more serious than it was'; 'The police interviewer was aggressive towards Khalid'; 'The police interviewer showed humanity towards Khalid'; 'The police officer made Khalid's crime seem less serious than it was'; 'The evidence against Khalid was strong'; 'The police interview was well conducted'. A 10 point Likert scale was also used to gauge participants' responses, where 1= 'Very strongly agree' to 10 = 'Very strongly agree'. The final item on the questionnaire was, 'How serious was the crime Khalid committed?', a ten point Likert scale was used, where 1= 'Not at all serious' to 10 = 'Extremely serious'. Participants were also asked to provide their age and whether they confessed during their own police interview.

Procedure

After being granted ethical approval, the gatekeeper contacted potential participants through the research liaisons officer in the Dubai Police Central Prison Department. During the period between 18 June 2018 and 28 June 2018, participants were asked to complete the study in a private interview room inside the Central prison compound. Even though they were given the chance to read the sheets beforehand, all the participants were read the information sheet (Appendix K) by a researcher, since it was feared that some may have literacy problems that may have prevented their

informed consent (which they were required to provide in written form, Appendix L). The information sheet contained information to make it clear that participation, or lack thereof, will not influence their treatment during their sentence, nor will it influence the length of their prison sentence. In addition, the information sheets contained information on the participation in two research studies, empirical Study Four, their perceptions of their own police interview (Chapter 7) and empirical Study Five (this chapter). Participants were given the chance to participate in both studies, if they wished. All 28 agreed to participate in both, and the data collected regarding age and confession during their police interview was obtained from their responses to the questionnaire in empirical Study Four.

Due to the aforementioned concern regarding literacy problems, participants were asked if they preferred to complete the questionnaire themselves or have a researcher read the material for them and have them respond orally. Eight participants decided to respond in the latter manner. All the participants were treated in accordance to the ethical research guidelines mandated by the University of Portsmouth and those mandated by the Dubai Police.

Statistical Analysis

A series of one way within-subjects ANOVAs were conducted to analyse the differences in responses across interview conditions. In addition, a series of follow up t-tests ($p < .05$) with Bonferroni correction were conducted in order to assess possible differences between each interview condition compared to the other conditions. Finally, a 2x4 (confessed/denied x control interview/ humanity interview/ dominance interview/ cognitive distortions interview) ANOVA with repeated measures on the second factor was conducted to analyse the differences between confessors and deniers in responses regarding confession during the different interview conditions.

Results

The results of this study examining convicted major crime offenders' perceptions of different interview styles and their effects on confession will be displayed in four parts: (1) manipulation checks (between the four interview conditions; (2) perceptions of fairness and how well the interview was conducted; (3) perceptions of the seriousness of the crime; and (4) likelihood of confession.

Manipulation Checks

A series of one way within-subjects ANOVAs (control interview/ humanity interview/ dominance interview/ cognitive distortions interview) were utilised on participants' interview ratings to examine if there are any perceived differences between the various interview styles. Table 8.1 shows the means and standard deviations of their ratings. For humanity the ANOVA was significant $F(3, 81)= 109.9, p< 0.001, \eta^2= 0.80$.

Table 8.1 Means and standard deviations (in parentheses) of participants' responses to questions according to vignette condition

Questions	Vignette condition			
	Control	Humanity	Dominance	Cognitive Distortions
The police interviewer showed humanity towards the suspect***	6.18 (1.93)	8.75 (1.67)	2.00 (1.39)	7.75 (1.73)
The police interviewer was aggressive towards the suspect***	3.04 (2.44)	1.75 (1.32)	8.00 (2.46)	2.86 (2.3)
The police interviewer understood how the suspect was thinking about his sexual offending***	5.07 (2.09)	7.21 (2.04)	3.46 (3.06)	7.96 (2.2)
The evidence against the suspect was strong	6.07 (2.83)	7.07 (2.31)	6.79 (2.39)	6.86 (2.32)
The police officer was fair to the suspect***	6.17 (2.3)	8.79 (1.83)	2.61 (2.13)	7.67 (1.47)
The police interview was well conducted***	5.64 (2.78)	8.21 (2.2)	3.86 (3.08)	7.46 (2.03)
The police officer made the suspect's crime seem more serious than it was ***	4.32 (2.48)	3.08 (2.05)	7.00 (2.46)	3.64 (2.53)
The police officer made the suspect's crime seem less serious than it was **	5.04 (2.08)	6.00 (2.05)	3.71 (3.04)	5.64 (2.63)

Note: 1= Very strongly disagree to 10= very strongly agree

* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$

Follow up t tests ($p<0.05$) with Bonferroni correction showed that the humanity interview condition was rated as displaying significantly more humanity than the cognitive distortions interview and the control interview, and more than the dominance interview. The cognitive distortions interview condition showed more humanity than the control interview and the dominance interview, which was rated the least 'humane'. For aggression the ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction, which was needed since

the assumption of sphericity was violated, showed a significant effect of the interview technique $F(1.89, 51.04) = 50.25, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.65$. Follow up t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni correction indicated that the dominance interview was viewed as significantly far more aggressive than all of the other interview conditions.

As regards the participants' perceptions of the officers' understanding of the offenders' thinking about his sexual offending, a one way within-subjects ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction showed a significant effect of the interview condition, $F(2.32, 62.62) = 31.39, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.54$. Follow up t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni correction indicated that, while there was no significant difference between them, the humanity interview and the cognitive distortions interview were both significantly rated as having more understanding of the offenders' thinking. However, the dominance interview was significantly viewed as displaying the least understanding of the offenders' thinking than all the other interview conditions. In addition, to ensure that there was no confound effect, a one way within-subject ANOVA was conducted concerning participants' ratings of the strength of evidence. The result was not significant, $F(3, 81) = 1.85, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.06$.

Perceptions of fairness and how well the interview was conducted

Two one way within-subjects ANOVAs with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction were conducted on participants' rating of fairness and how well the interview was conducted. The ANOVAs for both fairness and how well the interview was conducted were significant, $F(2.35, 63.33) = 54.89, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.67$ for fairness and, $F(2.22, 60) = 17, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.39$ for how well the interview was conducted. A series of follow up t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni correction indicated, concerning fairness, that the humanity interview was significantly viewed as more fair than all the other interview conditions. The cognitive distortions interview was significantly viewed as the second most fair, whereas the dominance interview was significantly viewed as the least fair. As regards how well the interview was conducted, the t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni correction indicate both the humanity interview and the cognitive distortions interview were perceived to be better conducted than both the dominance interview and the control interview. In fact, the dominance interview was viewed to be significantly the worst conducted interview.

Perceptions of seriousness of the crime

Two one way within-subjects ANOVAs were conducted on participants' ratings of whether the police interviewer made the crime committed by the suspect seem more or less serious than it really was. For making the crime seem more serious than it really was, the ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction showed a significant effect of the interview condition, $F(2.11, 57) = 17.73, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.4$. Follow up t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni correction indicated that the dominance interview made the crime seem more serious than it really was. For participants' ratings concerning the police interviewer making the crime seem less serious than it really was, an ANOVA showed a significant effect of the interview condition, $F(3, 81) = 4.84, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.15$. Follow up t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni correction indicated that both the humanity and cognitive distortions interview conditions significantly made the crime seem less serious than it really was. The dominance interview was significantly the least likely to make the crime seem less serious than it really was. A one way within-subjects ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction was conducted on participants' perceptions of the seriousness of the crime. As expected, no significant difference between the different interview conditions was found, $F(2.48, 66.83) = 1.13, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.04$.

Likelihood of confessing

A 2x4 ANOVA (confessed/denied x control interview/ humanity interview/ dominance interview/ cognitive distortions interview) with repeated measures on the second factor was conducted on participants' ratings of likelihood of confessing. Participants were grouped into either confessors or deniers based on their responses to the question 'Did you confess during your police interview?' for the crime that they were sentenced for most recently. Table 8.2 shows the means and standard deviations.

Table 8.2 Means and standard deviations (in parentheses) of participants' responses to the question 'How likely would the suspect be to confess to the police by the end of the interview?' according to vignette condition.

Questions	Vignette condition				
	Control	Humanity	Dominance	Cognitive Distortions	Combined
Confessors (n=16)	3.94 (1.73)	7.00 (2.56)	6.25 (2.44)	6.94 (1.84)	6.03 (1.49)
Deniers (n=12)	5.92 (2.81)	6.67 (2.81)	3.17 (2.44)	6.08 (2.5)	5.46 (1.25)
Combined (n=28)	4.79 (2.42)	6.86 (2.62)	4.93 (3.34)	6.57 (2.15)	5.79 (1.36)

Note: 1= Not at all likely to 10= extremely likely

An ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference between confessors and deniers on their ratings of the likelihood of an offender confessing across the different interview styles, $F(1, 26) = 1.22, p > 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.05$. However, an ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction showed a significant difference of the offender confessing between the interview conditions $F(2.02, 52.62) = 5.21, p < 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.17$, and the interaction was also significant, $F(2.02, 52.62) = 4.8, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.16$. Follow up t tests ($p < 0.05$) with Bonferroni corrections indicated that participants rated the likelihood of confession during both the humanity and cognitive distortions interview conditions as significantly higher than both the dominance and control interview conditions. There was no significant difference between the dominance and control interview conditions. The statistically significant interaction between offender confessing and the interview conditions, was due to the deniers rating the offender as more likely to confess during the control interview and the confessors rating the offender as more likely to confess during the dominance interview.

Discussion

Convicted major crime offenders in this study rated suspects as being more likely to confess during the police interviews if they were treated with humanity (humanity interview condition) and understanding of the suspects' way of thinking (cognitive distortion interview condition) than being interviewed in a dominant (dominance interview condition) or neutral (control interview condition) manner. The humanity finding in Dubai is consistent with that of Kebbell et al. (2008) and of Holmberg and Christianson (2002), as well as in a growing number of studies that have examined the

usefulness of adopting an empathetic, humanitarian and open-minded approach to police interviewing (e.g. Bull, 2013; Collins et al., 2002; Fisher et al., 2011; Holmberg, 2004; Holmberg & Madsen, 2014; Milne & Bull, 1999; Vallano & Compo, 2011; Vanderhallen et al., 2011; Walsh & Bull, 2012).

Importantly, the present study had found that this also applies in Dubai's societal ecology (i.e. collectivist and conservative), where sex is considered taboo and actions (e.g. sex crimes) have both individual and wider familial consequences (see Chapter 3 for more on this). Studies have indicated that admissions are more likely when offenders perceive feeling more comfortable with disclosing details about their crimes in a non-judgmental way (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002) and are interviewed in a manner that does not impose societal stigma associated with sexual offending (McGrath, 1990; Quinn et al., 2004). This means that the style of interviewing may have an influence on whether an admission is made by a suspect who is in fact guilty.

Research has shown that techniques associated with a humanity interview approach can produce better interview outcomes (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2008), as well as societal justice outcomes such as perceptions of fairness (Slobogin, 1996). For example, humanity interview approaches that are characterised by an inherent interest in suspects and their well-being, have been associated with helping facilitate more genuine confessions (Oxburgh et al., 2006). In addition, this approach is critical to help interviewers build rapport with interviewees (Abbe & Brandon, 2014), which, in itself, is considered one of the most crucial components of a successful police interview (Milne & Bull, 1999; Vallano & Compo, 2015; Walsh & Bull, 2012). Rapport building entails many elements of the humanity interview such as having a positive attitude, displaying empathy, and being friendly and helpful (see Milne & Bull, 1999; Powell et al., 2005; Risan et al., 2016). Furthermore, these elements, along with active listening and having an open-minded non-judgmental approach, may help interviewees feel comfortable and confess; due to the internal pressure of 'needing' to tell the truth (Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999) and alleviating the notions of stigma imposed on sex offenders by the general public.

The positive effects of the humanity interview approach are not limited to interview outcomes, but also notions of societal justice. Participants in this study viewed the humanity interview as fairer and better conducted than the other interview

conditions. This is important in two ways. First, perceptions of fairness and of a well conducted interview reflect positively upon the police, which, in turn, may help reduce any stigma associated with the police interview in Dubai, thus possibly leading to more engagement with the criminal justice system. In addition, according to the social exchange perspective, this engagement and cooperation with the police will facilitate disclosure of actual information about the crime by reciprocity and social exchange (See Cialdini & Goldstein, 2003; Cosmides, 1989). Second, these perceptions can be essential to the psychological wellbeing of the interviewee and form an integral part of the therapeutic jurisprudence approach of justice (Slobogin, 1996).

As regards the dominance interview, offenders in the current study reported that other offenders were less likely to confess if interviewed in a dominant manner. Unfortunately, research has also demonstrated that real-life interviews of suspects, especially those suspected of committing sex crimes, can be confrontational, not well conducted, and perceived as less fair (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2010; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Moston & Stephenson, 1993; Oxburgh et al., 2006). Similar findings associated with dominance were also found in empirical Study Four (Chapter 7). Participants in the current study also associated these elements of the dominance interview with a reduced likelihood of making a confession.

The reduced likelihood of confession when interviewed in a dominant manner versus, for example, a humanitarian manner, may be linked to the principles of 'reactance', where individuals may feel pressured to provide a confession by someone they do not trust (i.e a dominant interviewer), thus, leading to them denying (Brehm, 1966; Miller & Rollnick, 1991). In the current study deniers said they were less likely to confess during a dominant interview than all the other interview conditions. Also participants rated the dominance interview as more likely to make the crime seem more serious than it really was, which, may, have an effect on the suspect's decision not to confess.

Researchers stipulate that experiences of a dominant interview may be a result of perceptions of external pressure (Gudjonsson, 2003; Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999; Williamson, 1993). Such as interviewers adopting a more confrontational approach as they are focused on obtaining a confession than than on obtaining a comprehensive, genuine account (Kelly, Miller, Kleinman & Alison,

2013; Meissner et al., 2014). This could also impact public perceptions of the police, especially since dominant police interviewers are regarded as unsympathetic and confrontational (Williamson, 1993). This can lead to an increase in resistance and denials by suspects. In turn, this hampers any possible therapeutic effect (Fisher & Geiselman, 2010).

Displaying an understanding of a suspect's way of thinking (cognitive distortions condition) had a positive effect in participants' perceptions of the offender making a confession compared to the control interview. The difference in perceived social stigma between cultures may help us understand why participants in the current study perceived a higher likelihood of confession compared to the absence of a positive impact on confession in Kebbell et al. (2008). In a conservative city, like Dubai, where the public still views sex as taboo and sex crimes as attacks on social cohesion, a deviation from this consensus may account for the positive impact of understanding on confession, in the present study.

Police interviewers who are aware of an offender's cognitive distortions may be less inclined to display negative emotions and thus perceived as better. However, police interviewers should not conflate understanding with minimisation of the seriousness of the crime, due to potentially negative consequences. Researchers have cautioned against using minimisation as it may cause suspects to erroneously believe that the severity of their crime is reduced and thus would not incur severe punishments (Kassin & McNall, 1991). In a lab experiment to measure the effects of minimisation on confession rates, Russan, Meissner, Narchet, and Kassin (2005) reported that 81% of participants in the minimisation category confessed, compared to only 46% in the control. Such findings underscore the need for police officers to be aware of the possible problems associated with conflating understanding and minimisation. Given the taboo nature of sex in Dubai, manipulating the offender into making a confession could be quite easy to do. For example, the officer may imply that, although the victim rejected the offender's approaches, the offender may have believed that those were actually signals of wanting sex. This does 'save face' for the offender and may be understood to imply a less severe crime, when in fact it does not.

In considering the results of the experimental approach utilised in the current study, a few limitations have to be acknowledged. First, we had to rely exclusively on

the participants' perceptions of the interview conditions and how they think an offender may respond when interviewed under these conditions. Second, we had to choose one language to utilise during the study. Even though, choosing Arabic meant that we had a higher participation rate, since most of the prisoners have some kind of command of Arabic, we were forced to overlook others. Third, the scenarios presented were categorised by researchers and may not necessarily correspond to how participants may view them. For example, our depiction of the dominance interview, may in fact be the stereotypical police interview that the participants have experienced, thus, may be having a potentially higher impact than can be expected. Fourth, it could be argued that the cognitive distortions vignette presented here may not be applicable to all the prisoners, given that cognitive distortions may not be uniform across a prisoner population.

Having said that, this methodology eliminates potential confounds to help us explore causal relationships. For example, the strength of evidence in this study was consistent throughout the four conditions. This is important as police interviewers in Dubai can not confront suspects with evidence, which is considered one of the crucial influences on a suspect's choice to confess or deny (Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 1999; Kebbell, Hurren, & Roberts, 2006b; Moston et al., 1992). The use of different methods and a process of triangulation increases our confidence in the current study's findings. Previous experiments (e.g. Kebbell et al., 2008), surveys (e.g. Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Snook, Brooks & Bull, 2015), and experiences (e.g. Moston & Engelberg, 1993; Vanderhallen & Vervaeke, 2014; Wachi et al., 2016a, 2016b; Williamson, 1993, empirical Study Four), and the present study produced similar findings that interviewing in an open-minded, nonjudgmental, and humane way produces better results.

In sum, the current study shows that, even in a different culture, interviewing in a manner consistent with the humanity approach not only can produce better interview outcomes, but can also have a positive impact on the perceptions of the police. In contrast, dominant approaches are less likely to obtain genuine confessions and may have a negative impact on how the public view the police.

Part III: Discussion and conclusions

Chapter 9: Major crime interviewing in Dubai - general discussion, limitations, and conclusion

Overview

The new research presented in this thesis is the first of its kind to critically explore Dubai major crime interviews from three different, unique perspectives, whom make up IiT. This thesis examined major crime interviews in Dubai and the interactions between police officers and victims and/or suspects. It also situated the perceived attitudes and responses of IiT within social, cultural, and legal norms, and studied their associations within the interview process. In addition, this thesis examined how perceived interview styles were associated with interview outcomes.

This chapter introduces the key themes derived from the various studies, acknowledges the limitations and challenges associated with conducting this kind of research in Dubai, and suggests areas needing further research. The following sections will assess how these studies have informed our understanding of major crime interviewing in Dubai, based on IiT parties (i.e. police officers, victims, and suspects), as well as how they inform theory and research.

Police officers

There are a few themes regarding police officers that have been derived from the research conducted in this thesis. This section will discuss key findings regarding: (1) the need to improve training; (2) positive interview practices; (3) interview practices that need improvement; (4) the formal approach used by police officers; (5) importance of audio recording; and (6) the impact of culture on police officers' perceptions. Each sub-section will be introduced below.

Improving training

Nearly all Dubai police officers investigating major crimes rated their training as sufficient, which is, by and large, higher than participants in both Shawyer and Milne's (2015) study (61%) and Hill and Moston's (2011) study (20.2%). However, serious questions are raised regarding the appropriateness of this training, since not all police officers viewed rapport or active listening as important. These two elements are in line with best practice guidelines (see Clarke & Milne, 2001; Milne & Bull, 1999; Oxburgh et al., 2002; Wachi et al., 2014). This indicates that either (i) the topics were not covered

well enough in training, (ii) there is an issue with knowledge transference from the classroom to real-life, or (iii) there is an issue with retaining complex interview skills (e.g. rapport building and active listening, see Griffiths & Milne, 2006). In order to rectify this, the Dubai Police would benefit from considering a training programme that incorporates essential interviewing elements such as rapport building, active listening, and planning and preparation (see Milne & Bull, 1999; 2016; Walsh & Bull, 2012; 2015). In addition, it is critical to include both practical and theoretical coursework into training in order to aid in knowledge transference to real-life cases (Powell, 2002; 2008), as well as maintaining refresher courses to limit knowledge and practice deterioration (see Griffiths & Milne, 2006). The thesis' findings are not dissimilar to the concerns raised by Clarke and Milne's (2001) national evaluation of PEACE, in which they noted that while positive interview practices were noticed (e.g. move from confession focused interviews to truth-seeking ones), significant improvements are needed for building rapport as well as planning and preparation.

Positive interview aspects

There are a few positive aspects that were noted, such as police officers asking participants to tell them everything they can remember even if they feel it is trivial. This instruction is part of the CI and can positively influence narration (Loftus, Miller, & Burns, 1978; Loftus & Palmer, 1974). Another positive aspect noted was making sure an interviewee knows the meaning of the alleged crime, which may indicate a focus on legal-style interviews, influenced by the interview training courses provided to police interviewers (see Study One, Chapter 4 for more on the contents of the training courses given to Dubai police officers). Police officers also acknowledged that they treat all suspects, even those accused of serious crimes, in a kind manner, indicating that police officers believe that this can produce positive outcomes (either in the interview or in social contexts as well). Some police offices (in Study One, Chapter 4) stated that, by actively listening, they noticed signs of distress and were able to deal with such cases. Most of these officers are based in the specialised unit, and were also more likely to acknowledge the importance of rapport and active listening than officers from other units.

Interview aspects that need to be improved

There are some critical interviewing elements that need to be improved across the Dubai Police (as described in the *improving training* section, above), namely skilled rapport building, active listening, and planning and preparation. The importance of these elements has been emphasised consistently in the research literature (e.g. Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Walsh & Bull, 2012; 2015). Crucially these interviewing elements are essential to obtaining accurate and complete accounts (see Milne & Bull, 1999). For example, planning and preparation has been linked with reducing an interviewer's cognitive load (Köhnken, 1995), whereby freeing up space for processing the information during the interview. Active listening can help foster greater engagement and understanding between the interviewer and interviewee (Risan et al., 2017), whilst also helping interviewers avoid repeating unnecessary questions (Snook et al., 2012). Rapport building enables both the interviewer and the interviewee to feel more comfortable talking to each other (see Abbe & Brandon, 2014; St-Yves, 2006). However, in the current thesis police officers have indicated that in some instances rapport building is not necessary and that they frequently interrupt interviewees to make sure that they have typed everything that was so far said or to ask a pertinent question. From this one could surmise that police officers in Dubai may prefer a more formal, legal approach.

Preference for a formal interview style

One possible explanation for the formal and indifferent/unemotional approach perceived by not only the victims but also convicted offenders may be the police officers' attitudes towards sex crimes. Although the majority of participants in Study Two reported that they were comfortable interviewing in sex crimes, they were less comfortable interviewing individuals from the opposite sex. The in-depth interviews conducted in Study One (Chapter 4), demonstrated that there are social and cultural factors, such as being in a socially conservative city, that probably influence interviewers' attitudes towards sex crimes. It could be surmised that police officers in Dubai adopt a more formal approach to interviewing in major crimes in general, and specifically sex crimes, as a mechanism to limit their exposure to material that is socially and culturally taboo. This (i.e because they have created a barrier), in turn, would make them feel comfortable interviewing in sex crimes. Having said that, this

approach is not sustainable nor helpful, as Risan et al. (2016) argued that police officers should be aware of their emotions as they communicate their attitudes and demeanour. Given that cultural aspects can not be easily changed, a possible solution is to pair interviewers and interviewees together according to their gender, thus reducing the possibility of a culturally inappropriate scenario. In addition, another way to help police officers portray a more positive demeanour, is to reduce their cognitive load (e.g. by eliminating the need for them to remember what was said in order to write it down, by audio-recording interviews) (Köhnken, 1995), thereby freeing up cognitive space for processing potentially highly emotive details.

Importance of audio recording

Most of the police officers in Study Two (Chapter 5) indicated that they stop interviewees during their *narration* in order to type what so far was said or to ask a pertinent question. This is highly discouraged in the literature (see e.g. Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Paulo et al., 2013; Stockdale, 1993; Soukara et al., 2002; Walsh & Bull, 2010), since it stops the interviewees' 'train of thought' and may portray an indifferent and unemotional attitude. It should be noted that only a very small minority (11.3%) of participants audio-record their interviews. Participants from this group, reported that active listening and rapport building were essential to an interview. Given that research has shown that written statements negatively impact upon both the quality and quantity of information obtained from an interview (see Köhnken, 1995; Lamb et al., 2000), it would be reasonable to deduce that mandated audio-recordings of interviews and other technological aids (e.g video recording) will not only aid in rapport building and active listening, but also in obtaining more high quality information. From a legal point of view, the Dubai Legislator does not prohibit audio-recording explicitly. However, any kind of recording has to be done (1) overtly **and** (2) with the interviewees' explicit permission. Based on the above premise, it is recommended that the Dubai Police HQ mandate audio-recording for all police interviews with both victims and suspects. This will not only provide a better platform for police officers to be able to elicit better accounts, but also provide more transparency and trust in the process.

Impact of culture on police officers' perceptions

The impact of culture on police officers' perceptions has two main manifestations: (i) the traditional roles of the the police and (ii) attitudes towards sex crimes in

particular. As regards the former, police officers in Study Two (Chapter 5) had a tendency to not rate rapport and other lines of communication (e.g. finding a common interest or connecting with a personal story) as important. As introduced in Chapter 3, the Dubai police has a strong relationship with the public, partly due to the fact that public figures are highly respected in Dubai. Thus, some police officers may view rapport and other lines of informal communication as detrimental to their image, given that power differences potentially influence interactions (Abbe & Brandon, 2014).

As regards the latter manifestation, police officers in both Studies One and Two indicated that interviewing individuals in sex crimes can be uncomfortable. Since UAE locals are usually gender segregated in schools and universities, dealing with the other gender can prove problematic. As found in Study Two, most police officers are more comfortable interviewing individuals from their same gender. There were not any noticeable effects when dealing with interviewees from other cultures, which is understandable given that Dubai has long been a cultural melting pot. Also, this may be linked to the fact that the local people of the UAE have an interdependent view of themselves (see Dwairy et al., 2006; Fernandez et al., 2005; Simadi, 2006; Taher et al., 2008), where they are very protective of society's 'image' when dealing with their own countrymen and less so when dealing with foreigners.

Crime victims

Some themes regarding crime victims' perceptions of interviewing emerged: (1) the importance of specialist training; (2) the perceptions of a formal approach; (3) the impact of different interview styles on perceptions of interviews.

Importance of specialist training

Generally speaking, victims in Study Three (Chapter 6) indicated that their experiences of the police were positive. This is promising, as previous studies (e.g. Stephens & Sinden, 2000; Temkin, 1999, Wheatcroft et al., 2009) have found that crime victims usually feel that they are not treated well by the police. Crucially, participants in Study Three perceived interviews with the specialist unit as significantly better than interviews with regular police station officers, which supports previous research on the importance of advanced and specialist training (see e.g. Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Oxburgh et al., 2012). Identifying and training officers with 'potential' can help produce better results across the board (see Griffiths & Milne, 2006;

Griffiths et al., 2011), as demonstrated in Study Three (Chapter 6). Providing this training to interviewers in police stations, may improve interviewees' perceptions of the police (see Cherryman & Bull, 2001), and help shift the police interviewers' approach from a formal (see below) to humanitarian.

Formal approach

Crime victims experienced a formal approach that was focused on facts. As mentioned earlier, one explanation for this is police officers may feel that using an informal approach may be taboo. However, this kind of approach may hinder narration and cooperation (see Baldwin, 1993; Moston & Engelberg, 1993; St-Yves, 2006), given that rapport building requires the interviewer to have a positive attitude, display empathy, and be friendly (Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Vallano & Compo, 2015; Walsh & Bull, 2012) - skills which are usually difficult to portray if a formal approach is being used. Having said that, portraying a formal approach is still better than a condemning one. Feeling condemned can have negative consequences on the police relationship with the public and can hinder victims from reporting crime. As mentioned earlier, providing specialist training can help police officers deal with such emotions in a way that does not negatively impact upon interviewees' perceptions and can help provide better interview outcomes.

Impact of different approaches on perceptions of interviews

Like in Holmberg's (2004) study, crime victims in Dubai perceived two interview styles, one humanitarian and one dominant. In addition, they also perceived two of the three interviewee responses found in Holmberg's study, namely respect and anxiety. It was found, in this thesis, that there are significant correlations between perceived interview styles and interview responses, lending further validation of the relationship between them (see e.g. Holmberg, 2004; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Vanderhallen et al., 2011). In order to portray a welcoming image, the Dubai police should ensure that police interviewers are aware that, as Study Three (Chapter 6) demonstrates, humanitarian interview styles are associated with feelings of respect, whereas dominant interview styles are associated with feeling anxious. Given the importance of these two feelings (i.e. respect and anxiety), as discussed in Chapter 2, to the people of the UAE, it would seem culturally appropriate to implement interview practice that reflects the notions of respect.

Suspects

Some themes regarding suspects'/convicted offenders' perceptions of interviewing that emerged from the current research: (1) the prevalence of dominant interview styles; (2) the positive impact of using a humanitarian style; (3) the impact of culture on convicted offenders' perceptions of being interviewed.

Prevalence of dominant interview styles

Convicted major crime offenders in Study Four indicated that, whilst not unethical or illegal, their interview experiences were not very pleasant and are aligned with a dominant style. Like Holmberg and Christianson's (2002) study, participants in Study Four (Chapter 7) perceived two different interview styles, a humanitarian interview style and a dominant interview style. In addition, convicted offenders perceived two different interview responses, respect and anxiety. Given that interview styles were positively correlated with interview responses, the findings from this study highlight the importance of using a humanitarian approach and forgoing the use of dominant interview styles and lend further support to the plethora of international research on this matter (e.g. Clarke & Milne, 2001; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2008, 2010; Walsh & Bull, 2015; Wachi et al., 2014).

Positive impact of using humanitarian interview styles

Using a humanitarian interview style and one that displays an understanding of a sex offender's cognitive distortions have been found to be more likely to elicit confessions in Dubai (see Study Five, Chapter 8). These findings support previous research (e.g. Kebbell et al., 2008) in that humane interview styles produce significantly better results. Interestingly, the findings from Study Five differed from Kebbell et al.'s (2008) in that displaying an understanding of a sex offender's cognitive distortions had a positive impact on confessions in Dubai (but not in Australia). This suggests that social and cultural factors seem to influence decision-making in confessions, lending support to research that has emphasised the impact of culture on police interviewing practice (e.g. Beune, Giebels, & Taylor, 2010; Giebels & Taylor, 2009; Wachi et al., 2014). In addition, like many other studies (e.g. Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2008; Kebbell et al., 2010), dominant interview styles were viewed as the least fair and the least likely to elicit confessions. In fact, for deniers, displaying a

perceived dominant interview style was here found to be worse than any other style, and may increase reactance (see Brehm, 1966; Miller & Rollnick, 1991).

Impact of culture on convicted offenders' perceptions of being interviewed

The impact of culture on convicted offenders' perceptions of being interviewed can be deduced from the results of Study Four (Chapter 7). Confessors reported experiencing a significantly more formal interview style than deniers did. Given that experiencing a more formal interview style was linked with lower levels of experiencing condemnation (which in itself was linked to dominance), this would indicate that convicted offenders' who experienced a more formal approach did not experience high levels of condemnation. However, confessors reported that they experienced higher levels of aggressiveness, which could indicate that either (i) aggressiveness led to confessions or (ii) that after making a confession, confessors were subject to a aggressiveness because police officers were 'disturbed' by the details of the crime. Culture could have also played a part in convicted offenders denying involvement because of fear of social condemnation (Bahroo, 2003; Gudjonsson, 2006). Thus, the Dubai police have to adopt an approach that is less condemning in order to both elicit better accounts and portray a more favourable experience of interviewing (i.e. one that demonstrates respect). In addition, deniers say that they are less likely to confess if they are subjected to dominant interview styles - this could be linked to not wanting to shame themselves by 'giving in' to police pressure or as a result of reactance (see Brehm, 1966; Gudjonsson, 2003; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Miller & Rollnick, 1991). Furthermore in Dubai, unlike Kebbell et al. (2008) in Australia, displaying an understanding of sex crime suspects' cognitive distortions was associated with a higher likelihood of making a confession. This would suggest that police officers have to be aware that fear of condemnation may have a big influence on offenders' decision to deny involvement (see McGrath, 1990; Quinn et al., 2004).

Why perceptions of IiT are important?

The focus of the research conducted in this thesis was regarding perceptions of IiT and there are three main reasons why these perceptions are important: (i) perceptions influence behaviour, (ii) perceptions influence decision making, and (iii) perceptions aid in understanding what is effective.

Perceptions influence behaviour in a variety of ways. Perceptions of social and cultural aspects effect how people treat each other (Giebels & Taylor, 2009), and effect general demeanour (see Holmberg, 2004; St-Yves, 2006). Police officers' attitudes towards crimes can influence their behaviours to display, for example, a formal or indifferent interview style. From the perspectives of suspects and victims, perceptions of police interviews attitudes can influence whether they feel respected and/or anxious (Holmberg, 2004; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2008).

Since victim and suspect cooperation during a police interview is their decision, it is imperative that researchers examine how they perceive such interactions. Perceiving a humanitarian interview was positively associated with feelings of respect, which in turn were associated with cooperation. On the other hand, perceiving a dominant interview was positively correlated with feelings of anxiety, which in turn were associated with feeling insulted. These feeling ultimately influence whether interviewees decide to cooperate or not (see Gudjonsson, 2003; Holmberg, 2004; Kebbell et al., 2008).

Understanding what impacts positively on cooperation can aid in developing interviewing tools that provide police officers with a better platform to obtain accurate and credible accounts of crimes. Interviewers who display humanity and an understanding a sex offender's cognitive distortions are more likely to elicit confessions from guilty suspects, whereas those who display a dominant style are less likely to do so. Understanding perceptions also allows researchers and practitioners to develop interview training courses and frameworks that reflect positively upon the police, by, for example, increasing offenders' and victims' feelings of respect during the police interview.

Impact of culture on police interviewing in Dubai

Research conducted in this thesis demonstrated that cultural factors impact upon the perspectives of each of IiT. As a whole, police officers' perspectives on major crimes and sex crimes influenced whether they adopted a formal interview style, an indifferent/unemotional interview style, or a condemning interview style. From the perspectives of victims and suspects, less condemnation was perceived when police officers adopted a formal interview style. When a condemning attitude was perceived, this was usually accompanied by experiencing a dominant interview style. Cultural aspects also

influenced how police officers viewed interviews with individuals from the opposite gender, which may have influenced victims' and suspects' experiences.

What is culture vs what is trainable?

The findings of the research conducted in this thesis indicate that there are a few challenges that may negatively impact upon police practice in a conservative, yet cosmopolitan city, like Dubai; some of which may be attributed to culture, whereas others can be attributed to specialist training and officer selection.

As regards the cultural challenges, there are some concepts that may be alien to some police officers or that are surrounded by negative stereotypes. For example, dating is becoming increasingly more prevalent than before, but mostly within population circles that are not local (and thus not part of the police force), thus creating a tension between what is allowed and what is not. As reported by Rich and Seffrin (2012), police interviewing prowess may be influenced by their attitudes and beliefs, and Rape Myth Acceptance may well be a crucial factor to contend with, even in the UAE. This kind of negative stereotype may also extend beyond the police and negatively influence perceptions of the criminal justice system as a whole (see Brown et al., 2018), thus may contribute to reducing the therapeutic value of the criminal justice system (see Finkelman & Grisso, 1994; Slobogin, 1996).

As regards the challenges that can be attributed to training and officer selection, this programme of research showed that specialist training can produce better results and improve crime victims' experiences with the police. Technical challenges such as the importance of rapport building and active listening can be effectively implemented by a combination of specialist training and 'X factor' officer selection (see Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Griffiths et al., 2011; Walsh & Bull, 2012; 2015). However, any such introduction of interview protocols must be evaluated in light of social and cultural nuances and implemented with a planned training strategy (see Yi et al., 2015).

There have not been any studies to this day that have examined the direct effects of culture on police interviewing practices, controlling for training and legislative frameworks. However, culture has been shown to influence the way that individuals communicate with each other (see Beune et al., 2010). In fact, according to Hall's (1976) theory of low/high context communication, individuals from different cultures

fall within a spectrum of low to high context communication based on both social and cultural factors. Police forces operating in multi-cultural cosmopolitan areas such as Dubai, have to be aware of such differences in communication strategies in order to minimise the risk of alienating individuals from the criminal justice system.

Taken together these findings have shed light on an important process in Dubai and can help aid in the development of practice. These findings will now be discussed in light of how they fit into the Framework for Investigative Transformation [FIT] (Griffiths & Milne, 2018) (introduced in Chapter 2) and its potential application to the Dubai Police.

FIT

The Dubai Police HQ and the Commander-In-Chief have shown **leadership** and a will to improve. First, they commissioned and funded the work contained in this thesis, whilst emphasising the importance of the independent nature of this research and their willingness to consider its findings. They have also provided unparalleled access, previously unthinkable, to conduct research in an area that is sensitive and critical. The Commander-In-Chief has instructed most departments to adopt empirically-evidenced practice. As Griffiths and Milne (2018) noted, self-initiated change is rare and the Dubai Police has taken a step forward with regards to police interviewing by showing a leadership willing to develop. This was reiterated during conversations with police officers in Study One, who indicated that they believe that the current Dubai Police leadership is more determined than ever to modernise current policing practice.

Police officers in this study noted that not being able to confront suspects with evidence makes their job harder. However, this is unlikely to change, given that this would mean the overhaul of the whole legal system as well as the underlying principles within it, which require the separation of the ‘searchers’ for evidence (i.e. the police) and the ‘presenters’ of evidence (i.e. the prosecution). However, some incremental changes to the law may be possible and would aid in developing an appropriate **legislative framework**. For example, introducing mandatory audio-recordings may make the interviewers’ objectives during the interview clearer (i.e. not a typewriter but an investigator) (see *importance of audio-recording* section, above). This change can be proposed by the police to the legislator, and the steps are much shorter than changing the whole system.

These two factors (i.e. leadership and legislative framework) have a tremendous impact on the third, which is adopting an appropriate **investigative mind-set or cognitive style**. The leadership indicates the way forward by, for example, ordering the application of ethical interviewing principles to all interviews and the legislator provides, by way of legislation, the tools necessary for adopting such a mind-set. There is evidence from within this thesis (see Study Three, Chapter 6 and Study Five, Chapter 8) that adopting a humanitarian, open-minded approach yields better outcomes, thus, it would be beneficial for the police to implement this.

The next factor of FIT, is ensuring that **investigators' knowledge base** is sufficient enough to execute their roles. This means that a 'one size fits all' approach is not optimal (Griffiths & Milne, 2006), and instead officers should possess a variety of skills to enable them to interview effectively. Study Three (Chapter 6) demonstrates the benefits of providing specialised training on how police interviews are perceived (see also *importance of specialist training* section, above). However, currently the level of skill in some key areas (e.g. rapport building and active listening) is lacking for the Dubai Police. This means that in order to be FIT-ready, the Dubai police needs to have in place a **training and knowledge regime** to aid in acquiring knowledge and transferring it from classrooms to practice (see Powell, 2002). The current training apparatus seems to be, at best, haphazard, given that there are no standardised training programmes for interviewers. Using this thesis' findings regarding interviewer attitude and interviewee responses can aid in the development of an empirically-evidenced training programme that addresses the specific needs of the Dubai Police (e.g. tailor the training courses to encompass techniques that aim to reduce uncomfortableness when discussing sex crimes without officers' portraying a formal interview approach).

Having said that, training programmes do not, independently, maintain adequate performance (see Bull & Soukara, 2010; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Walsh & Milne, 2008). This means that the Dubai Police have to implement a **quality assurance mechanism** in order to ensure that acquired skills and interview standards are maintained. Currently, as shown in Study One, police interviewers are supervised by more senior officers, who are not necessarily more proficient or knowledgeable on interviewing. An interview tier system (similar to PIP) may help in creating this knowledge hierarchy and provide officers at higher tiers the ability to develop their skills as supervisors (e.g. by training

them how to assess the quality of interviews, see McGrory & Treacy, 2012). Additionally, refresher training courses need to be implemented in order to ensure interview quality and minimise the deterioration of knowledge and practice over time (see Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Griffiths et al., 2011; Oxburgh et al., 2012).

Creating this tiered approach may help inform decision making on the quality assurance mechanism, but in order for training to be efficient and cost effective, the Dubai Police has to implement a system to assess the **ability/skillset of investigators** prior to training. Currently there are no relevant assessments of uniformed police officers who wish to become investigators. As previous studies have shown (e.g. Griffiths et al., 2011), not every police officer can attain an advanced level of interviewing (see Milne et al., 2019 and the '*X*' factor of interviewing: *Ability and skill sets* section in Chapter 2 for an overview of the effect of how individual, personality, and/or cognitive factors can influence police interviewers' acquisition of knowledge and skill sets).

The final factor of FIT, is using **technology** to improve current practice. It has been noted in this thesis that not all police interviewing audio-record interviews, and those who do seem to benefit from doing so. Given the current accessibility of technology, it would seem logical for the Dubai Police to implement mandatory audio-recording to produce, not only better quality interviews, but also a fairer and more transparent system. One way to do this is to implement a pilot programme and to study the effects of audio-recording on interviews and interview outcomes.

The findings of this thesis seem to indicate that the Dubai Police can be a suitable candidate for the implementation of FIT. Importantly, the Dubai Police have an eager leadership willing to accept constructive criticism and work towards developing current practice, which is rather rare worldwide.

Limitations and challenges

As with any empirical work, especially in a research-shy country, there are limitations that need to be acknowledged. The first one is overarching, this being both employed and funded by the Dubai Police. It should be noted, that the Dubai Police have given me the responsibility of being objective in reporting my research findings. Also, access would have never been approved for civilian researchers. The novelty of this research means that police officers in the field could prove to be better assets, due

in part to the ingroup/outgroup dynamics that can come into play between researchers and police officers (Brown, Bradley, & Lang, 2006).

A challenge presented during the fieldwork for this thesis was the need to change the focus of the study from sex crimes to major crimes. Police officers indicated that they do not wish to be specifically asked about sex crimes, since this is considered taboo. The compromise was to change the focus to something that included sex crimes as part, and not the focus. This was especially true when asking female police officers to participate in the study, as the gatekeeper kept informing me that people are unsure of participation because of the focus on a taboo subject. To make matters worse there were no research data to build upon, which meant that a lot of ground work had to be undertaken to establish what are the scopes of the major crime interview in Dubai and how the organisations within the legal system interact with each other.

A further limitation was the low participation in Studies One and Three. There are a few reasons. Firstly, as mentioned above, some officers may view this whole subject area as taboo and would rather be socially cautious than participate and risk condemnation. Secondly, Study One (Chapter 4) was the first ever in Dubai to examine police interviewing, and, understandably, some officers may have been skeptical about the motivations of the research team. This skepticism seems to have gone away, as Study Two had a response rate of 69% and included 62 police interviewers, which is impressive given that only 10 agreed to participate in Study One. Even if it was slightly low, the participation rate in Study Three (Chapter 6) was understandable. During the period of the study, 23 cases were deemed eligible by the gatekeeper, and 16 participants elected to participate (nearly 70%). This is by far greater than the participants in Wheatcroft et al. (2009) and slightly higher than Temkin (1999), but with a much higher response rate (69.5% vs 7%).

Another limitation to contend with was the potential that some police officers were influenced by social desirability (see Grimm, 2010), in participating and/or answering. The two-step process explained in the the gatekeeper process in Chapters 4 and 5, were aimed at minimising the likelihood that police officers participated in this research out of social desirability towards the author. However, there are other ways to find out who the researcher is such as searching for people funded by the police force on

the staff portal. Another social desirability bias may have been present in the answers of police officers to both the semi-structured interview and the questionnaire.

As far as challenges go, the most tedious and time consuming was having to prepare everything in two languages and translating back and forth between Arabic and English. Although my language skills improved markedly, the process involved many steps to make sure that the translations are not only accurate but make sense.

Recommendations for future research

This thesis has analysed the perceptions of IiT in order to aid understanding of the current process, as well as how to achieve better practice. However, no empirical research could be conducted on actual police interviews. This area would benefit from being explored, as real-life interview analysis shed light on actual interview practice. Implementing mandatory audio-recording of interviews would aid researchers to access data that has not previously been available. This would provide valuable information on questioning techniques and interviewing strategies. Also it would be beneficial to study why police officers in Dubai do not rate rapport as highly as their international peers. An in-depth study can help shed light on this and inform rapport building training. As can be deduced from the sample in Studies Four and Five, some participants reported that they felt condemned. It would thus, be beneficial to explore whether sex crime offenders are more inclined to deny than other major crime offenders, due possibly to fears of social stigma and condemnation.

Thesis conclusions

Even though there were some findings that may be unique to Dubai, overall, the findings of the research conducted within this thesis are in line with many of the studies conducted elsewhere. Like Italy (Zappa, Pompedda, Rossini, & Scarabello, 2016); Belgium (Vanderhallen et al., 2016); Germany (Volbert & Baker, 2016); and the USA (Kelly & Meissner, 2016), police officers in Dubai lack any kind of standardised interview training. Not dissimilar to the England and Wales (Clarke & Milne, 2001; 2016; Walsh & Bull, 2012; 2015), police officers in Dubai need to improve their rapport building and active listening skills, especially with regards to suspect interviews. Like previous studies (Holmberg, 2004; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell et al. 2006; Kebbell et al., 2010) it was also found that interviewees in Dubai perceive different interview styles and respond differently to each. Due to cultural and social

considerations, police officers are also influenced by the type of crime and may adopt a more formal approach in order to not seem condemning. Adopting a humanitarian interview style has been shown to be more likely to elicit genuine confessions from guilty suspects, where as adopting a dominant interview style has been shown to lower the likelihood of doing so. The novelty of this thesis is that it explores uncharted territory and provides further support to the benefits of applying humanitarian approaches and moving away from dominant ones.

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Appendices

Appendix A semi structured interview plan for Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes (Empirical Study One)

1. Please describe the process of interviewing a suspect involved in a major crime.
2. How do you feel about interviewing a suspect involved in a major crime?
3. Please describe the process of interviewing a victim involved in a major crime.
4. How do you feel about interviewing a victim involved in a major crime?
5. How would you describe the process?

Check points:

- A. Complexities, if any
- B. Interpreters
- C. Female-male interaction
- D. Intimate details.

6. How would you describe the process if the suspect interviewed is not from a similar culture or background?
7. How would you describe the process if the victim interviewed is not from a similar culture or background?
8. Can you describe any general training that you underwent before you started interviewing? any that is specific to crime type?
9. Can you describe the supervision and monitoring procedures in place for interviewing in general?
10. Is there anything that you would like to add regarding interviewing suspects involved in major crimes?
11. Is there anything that you would like to add regarding interviewing victims involved in major crimes?
12. Can the current interviewing framework be improved? How so?

*Appendix B Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes
participant information sheet (Empirical Study One)*

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: 'An exploratory study of Dubai police officers perceptions of interviewing individuals involved in major crimes'

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study to help us understand police interview practice in Dubai. Before you decide we would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear.

What is the purpose of the study?

There are 2 main purposes of the study: (a) as part of a plan to understand how we can improve police interview practice in Dubai, and (b) as part of a PhD requirement. To do this, we aim to understand the current interviewing practices, methods, and techniques.

Why have I been invited?

You have been identified through a gatekeeper (a person independent from the research team and acting as an intermediary) as a police officer interviewing individuals involved in major crimes.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide to join the study. We will describe the study and go through this information sheet. If you agree to take part, we will then ask you to sign a consent form.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be asked to take part in an audio recorded interview. The interview will take around one and a half hours. Your interview transcript will be anonymised.

What will I have to do?

You will be asked to have a chat with the researcher about police interviewing in Dubai with a focus on major crimes.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is a slight inconvenience of participation as you will be asked to take around 1 and a half hours of your time to be interviewed. Interviews will take place in the Dubai Police HQ at a time that is convenient to you; alternatively, if you wish, the researcher may conduct the interview at your office. Clearance has been given by the Dubai Police HQ to conduct the interview during working hours. If you prefer to participate outside of work hours please let the researcher know, and he will arrange a time and place that is convenient for you. Please note that any statements that identify any malpractice (for example, physical, psychological, or emotional abuse) on your part or on the part of your colleagues will be reported to the Gen. Dep. Of Human Rights at the Dubai Police HQ.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The study is aimed to help improve our understanding of police practice in Dubai, and possibly aid in the improvement of police interviewing in major crimes.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

The information you provide will be kept confidential and anonymised. If you wish to conduct the interview after work hours or in another location please contact the researcher to arrange an interview in a place and time that are convenient to you. If you

agree to participate in this study, certain authorised individuals may want to check that the study is carried out correctly, these individuals are bound by a duty of confidentiality. Consent forms will be retained for 30 years, whilst other data will be stored in the Dubai Police HQ for a period of 10 years, only authorised individuals will be allowed to view this data, if deemed necessary by a research ethics committee.

Personal data will be disposed of in a secure and ethical manner after the suggested time period. Anonymised data will be stored on the University of Portsmouth Research Data Repository, and will only be accessed if approval is obtained from an accredited REC and the Dubai Police HQ. Additionally, you have the right to view the data held about you and correct any errors. As stated above, you are also asked not to disclose detailed information to the researcher about unprosecuted offences or malfeasance, if this occurs the interview will be terminated and the appropriate professional will be informed.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide to withdraw, after giving consent, then that is your choice. It is possible to withdraw during the data collection period, however, once the data has been analysed (and anonymised) it will be impossible to withdraw any individual contribution.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher (Rashid Almansoori) on (up793931@myport.ac.uk) or their supervisor (Prof. Becky Milne) on (becky.milne@port.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your questions. It is also possible to contact the head of the department (ICJS) Dr. Phil Clements on (phil.clements@port.ac.uk).

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the University of Portsmouth Complaints Officer at (samantha.hill@port.ac.uk)

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research study will be published in the form of a journal article and/or as a chapter of a PhD dissertation. If you are interested in finding out the results of this study please email the researcher and he will forward the published article, if and when, that happens. Alternatively, the PhD dissertation will be available to view at the Dubai Police Academy, upon graduation. Additionally, it is worth noting, that you will not be identified in both forms, unless an explicit written consent is obtained from you

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is organised by the University of Portsmouth and is funded by the Dubai Police HQ.

Who has reviewed the study?

Research in the University of Portsmouth is looked at by independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by an approved Research Ethics Committee.

Further information and contact details

Please contact 1st Lt. Mohammad AlDhawyani (Gatekeeper) on [Mobile Number, Redacted] or the researcher Rashid Almansoori by email (up793931@myport.ac.uk).

Concluding statement

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to inform the gatekeeper of you desire to do so or contact the researcher by email (up793931@myport.ac.uk). You will also be asked to complete a consent form and will be provided with a copy of this information sheet.

Please do not hesitate to contact the gatekeeper or the researcher with any queries you may have about this study.

Appendix C Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes consent form (Empirical Study One)

Consent Form

Study Title: 'An exploratory study of Dubai police officers perceptions of interviewing individuals involved in major crimes'

Name of Researcher: Rashid Almansoori

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet 2 dated 27/09/2016 (version 3) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, (up to the point when the data is collected).

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from The University of Portsmouth, or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

4. I agree to the data I contribute being retained 'anonymously' for future, REC and Dubai Police approved, research.

- x. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Person taking consent :

Date:

Signature:

When completed: 1 for participant; 1 for researcher 's file;

Appendix D Coding procedure for Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes (Empirical Study One)

Primary Codes	Secondary Codes	Themes	
Pre-work training	<i>Mandated Training</i>	Training	
Supervised training			
Work training			
Observed colleagues	<i>Learning through observation</i>		
Observing			
Legal training	<i>Legalistic training</i>		
Procedural training			
Indirect profiling	<i>RCMP planning and preparation</i>		Planning and preparation
Structured protocol			
Question preparation			
Prepare questions	<i>General planning and preparation</i>		
Prepare case			
Prepare room			
Do not prepare	<i>Do not prepare</i>		
Lack of flexibility			
Read some case documents			
Talking to interviewee	<i>Rapport building skills</i>	Building rapport	
About life			
About hobbies			
About job			
About relationships			
Emphasis understanding			
Take statement only	<i>Formal approach</i>		
Ask questions			
No side chats			

Primary Codes	<i>Secondary Codes</i>	Themes	
Life story	<i>Listening actively</i>	Active Listening	
Listening			
Listening about friends			
Listening about family			
Do not interrupt			
Do not stop			
Say aah, ok ...			
Keep them on track	<i>Formal/utility</i>		
Interrupt			
Stopping them			
Stopping them to write			
Not threatening	<i>Lack of physical confrontation</i>		Confrontation
Not aggressive			
Calm			
Patient			
Raise voice	<i>Physical confrontation</i>		
Change tone			
Nothing aggressive			
Assertive			
Cannot confront with evidence	<i>Legal confrontation</i>		
Evidence			
Cannot confront CCTV			
Cannot confront DNA			

Primary Codes	<i>Secondary Codes</i>	Themes
Talk about where they were before time of crime	<i>Indirect questions about crime</i>	Discussion of the Crime
Talk about how they go there		
Who they talked to that day		
Gradually build up		
Who knows about the crime		
What happened	<i>Details of crime</i>	
Where it happened		
Why it happened		
Who was the other person		
What where you both wearing		
Why were you there		
With whom where you there	<i>Use of open-questions</i>	
Do not ask yes/no		
Space and time		
Scattered detail		
Understand meaning	<i>Understand meaning</i>	
Understand what was going on		
Do not feel comfortable	<i>Uncomfortable</i>	Attitudes towards sex crimes
If other sex, then not comfortable		
Hard to ask personal questions		
Embarrassed		
Not culturally acceptable		
Try to not be influenced	<i>Neutral</i>	
Take statement		
Impartial		
My job, comfortable	<i>Comfortable</i>	
No issues my job		

Appendix E Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes consent form (Empirical Study Two)

Consent Form

Study Title: 'An exploratory study of Dubai police officers perceptions of interviewing individuals involved in major crimes'

Name of Researcher: Rashid Almansoori

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet 2 dated 27/09/2016 (version 3) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, (up to the point when the data is collected).

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from The University of Portsmouth, or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

5. I agree to the data I contribute being retained 'anonymously' for future, REC and Dubai Police approved, research.

x. I agree to take part in the above study.



Name of Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Person taking consent :

Date:

Signature:

When completed: 1 for participant; 1 for researcher 's file;

*Appendix F Dubai police officers' perceptions of interviewing in major crimes
participant information sheet (Empirical Study Two)*

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: 'An exploratory study of Dubai police officers perceptions of interviewing individuals involved in major crimes'

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study to help us understand police interview practice in Dubai. Before you decide we would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear.

What is the purpose of the study?

There are 2 main purposes of the study: (a) as part of a plan to understand how we can improve police interview practice in Dubai, and (b) as part of a PhD requirement. To do this, we aim to understand the current interviewing practices, methods, and techniques.

Why have I been invited?

You have been identified through a gatekeeper (a person independent from the research team and acting as an intermediary) as a police officer interviewing individuals involved in major crimes.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide to join the study. We will describe the study and go through this information sheet. If you agree to take part, we will then ask you to sign a consent form.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be asked to fill out a questionnaire during work hours (or outside work hours, if you prefer), about issues concerning interviewing people involved in major crimes in Dubai. You will be sent the questionnaire to your office. The questionnaire consists of 43 questions and should take around 30-45 mins. Your questionnaire results will be anonymised. You will be asked to complete the questionnaire within 5 working days, if possible.

What will I have to do?

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire regarding police interviewing in Dubai, with a focus on major crimes.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is a slight inconvenience of participation as you will be asked to take around 30-45 mins to answer the questionnaire. Clearance has been given by the Dubai Police HQ to conduct the questionnaire during working hours. If you prefer to participate outside of work hours please let the researcher know, and he will arrange a time and place that is convenient for you. Please note that any statements that identify any malpractice (for example, physical, psychological, or

emotional abuse) on your part or on the part of your colleagues will be reported to the Gen. Dep. Of Human Rights at the Dubai Police HQ.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The study is aimed to help improve our understanding of police practice in Dubai, and possibly aid in the improvement of police interviewing in major crimes.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

The information you provide will be kept confidential and anonymised. If you wish to conduct the questionnaire after work hours or in another location please contact the researcher to arrange the questionnaire delivery, in a place and time that are convenient to you. If you agree to participate in this study, certain authorised individuals may want to check that the study is carried out correctly, these individuals are bound by a duty of confidentiality. Consent forms will be retained for 30 years, whilst other data will be stored in the Dubai Police HQ for a period of 10 years, only authorised individuals will be allowed to view this data, if deemed necessary by a research ethics committee. Personal data will be disposed of in a secure and ethical manner after the suggested time period. Anonymised data will be stored on the University of Portsmouth Research Data Repository, and will only be accessed if approval is obtained from an accredited REC and the Dubai Police HQ. Additionally, you have the right to view the data held about you and correct any errors. As stated above, you are also asked not to disclose detailed information to the researcher about unprosecuted offences or malfeasance, if this occurs the questionnaire will be terminated and the appropriate professional will be informed.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide to withdraw, after giving consent, then that is your choice. It is possible to withdraw during the data collection period, however, once the data has been analysed (and anonymised) it will be impossible to withdraw any individual contribution.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher (Rashid Almansoori) on (up793931@myport.ac.uk) or their supervisor (Prof. Becky Milne) on (becky.milne@port.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your questions. It is also possible to contact the head of the department (ICJS) Dr. Phil Clements on (phil.clements@port.ac.uk).

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the University of Portsmouth Complaints Officer at (samantha.hill@port.ac.uk)

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research study will be published in the form of a journal article and/or as a chapter of a PhD dissertation. If you are interested in finding out the results of this study please email the researcher and he will forward the published article, if and when, that happens. Alternatively, the PhD dissertation will be available to view at the Dubai Police Academy, upon graduation. Additionally, it is worth noting, that you will not be identified in both forms, unless an explicit written consent is obtained from you

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is organised by the University of Portsmouth and is funded by the Dubai Police HQ.

Who has reviewed the study?

Research in the University of Portsmouth is looked at by independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by an approved Research Ethics Committee.

Further information and contact details

Please contact 1st Lt. Mohammad AlDhawyani (Gatekeeper) on [Mobile Number, Redacted] or the researcher Rashid Almansoori by email (up793931@myport.ac.uk).

Concluding statement

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to inform the gatekeeper of you desire to do so or contact the researcher by email (up793931@myport.ac.uk). You will also be asked to complete a consent form and will be provided with a copy of this information sheet. Please do not hesitate to contact the gatekeeper or the researcher with any queries you may have about this study.

Appendix G Dubai police officers perceptions of interviewing individuals in major crimes

Questionnaire on Interviewing Individuals in Major Crimes

You will be asked to answer a series of questions relating to your own experience as a police interviewer. Please read the instructions for each section before proceeding to answer.

Section 1: Training and Interview Preparation

Please indicate if you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, where:

- 1. Strongly Agree**
- 2. Agree**
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree**
- 4. Disagree**
- 5. Strongly disagree**

1. The *suspect* interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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2. The *victim* interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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3. The *witness* interview training that I underwent, before becoming an interviewer, was sufficient.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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4. The training introduced and explained different interview techniques and methods to use during an interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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5. The training introduced and explained the various vulnerabilities an interviewee may have.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

6. The training introduced and explained how to interview a vulnerable interviewee.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

7. The training introduced how to prepare methodically for an interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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8. I use an approved structured methodology to review the case before starting an interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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9. I find that preparing investigative questions before an interview impacts negatively on my flexibility within the interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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10. I always take into account the interviewee's culture when preparing for an interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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11. I always take into account the interviewee's gender when preparing for an interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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12. I always take into account the interviewee's age when preparing for an interview.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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Section 2: Interview Techniques

Please indicate if you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, where:

- 1. Always**
- 2. Often**
- 3. Sometimes**
- 4. Rarely**
- 5. Never**

13. I attempt to build rapport with the interviewee regardless of the interviewer-interviewee power dynamic.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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14. I treat all suspects, even those accused of very serious crimes, in a kind manner.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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15. I attempt to identify a common interest with the interviewee to facilitate a conversation.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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16. I try to connect with the interviewee by using a personal story.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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17. I always explain to the interviewee that I am interested to hear about their side of the story.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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18. If the interviewee decides to share a personal story, that may be irrelevant to the case, I allow him/her the chance without interruption.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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19. I stop the interviewee during his/her narrative, in order to ensure that I type what he/she has said so far.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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20. I play close attention to the interviewee's words and phrases.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
-----------	----------	--------------	-----------	----------

21. I stop an interviewee during his/her narrative to ask an important question, directly related to what he/she has said so far.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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22. It is appropriate to express anger towards a difficult interviewee.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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23. It is appropriate to raise my voice when confronting an interviewee.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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24. It is important not to let the interviewee repeat denials.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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25. I try to make sure that the interviewee knows the meaning of the alleged crime.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
-----------	----------	--------------	-----------	----------

26. I attempt to appeal to the interviewee's conscience to talk about the alleged crime.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
-----------	----------	--------------	-----------	----------

27. I attempt to talk about the other person involved directly in the alleged crime.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
-----------	----------	--------------	-----------	----------

28. I communicate to the interviewee that it is important to tell me everything they can remember even if they think that it is trivial or irrelevant.

1. Always	2. Often	3. Sometimes	4. Rarely	5. Never
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Section 3: Sex Crime Specific

Please indicate if you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, where:

- 1. Very comfortable**
- 2. Somewhat comfortable**
- 3. Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable**
- 4. Somewhat uncomfortable**
- 5. Very uncomfortable**

29. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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30. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a victim in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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31. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a witness in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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32. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect of the opposite gender in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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33. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a victim/witness of the opposite gender in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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34. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a suspect from another culture in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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35. How comfortable do you feel about interviewing a victim/witness from another culture involved in an alleged sex crime.

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Neither Comfortable nor Uncomfortable	4. Somewhat Uncomfortable	5. Very Uncomfortable
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Section 4: Participant Information

Please answer the questions below.

36. Gender. Male Female

37. How old are youyears old.

38. How many years have you spent interviewing individuals in major crimes
.....

Section 5: Definitions

Please answer the following questions.

39. What is vulnerability with regards to an interviewee?

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40. What is rapport?

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41. What would characterise a good suspect interview?

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42. What would characterise a good witness interview?

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43. What would characterise a good victim interview?

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Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Appendix H Dubai alleged major crimes victims' perceptions of being interviewed self-report questionnaires (Empirical Study Three)

Questionnaire on Interview Feedback
Police Station

You will be asked to answer a series of questions relating to your own experience as an interviewee at the police station. Please only answer this questionnaire with regards to your experience at the police station interview.

Please indicate if you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, where:

- 1. Strongly Agree**
- 2. Agree**
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree**
- 4. Disagree**
- 5. Strongly disagree**

1. Interviewer acted with calmness.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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2. Interviewer showed genuine empathy.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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3. Interviewer showed sympathy.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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4. Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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5. Interviewer was cooperative.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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6. Interviewer was helpful.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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7. Interviewer acted in a rushed manner.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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8. Interviewer was aggressive.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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9. Interviewer was friendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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10. Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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11. Interviewer was nonchalant.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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12. Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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13. Interviewer showed a condemning attitude.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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14. Interviewer was confrontational.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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15. Interviewer only focused on facts.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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16. Interviewer was impatient.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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17. Interviewer was unfriendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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As a direct consequence of the interviewer's demeanour towards you:

18. You became frightened.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

19. You became angry.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

20. You became stressed.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

21. You felt insulted.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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22. You distanced yourself from the situation.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

23. You felt confident.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

24. You became friendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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25. You felt respected.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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26. You became cooperative.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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27. You and the interviewer talked about trivialities.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	----------------------------------	-------------	-------------------------

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Questionnaire on Interview Feedback Criminology Department

You will be asked to answer a series of questions relating to your own experience as an interviewee at the Criminology Department. Please only answer this questionnaire with regards to your experience at the Criminology Department.

Please indicate if you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, where:

1. **Strongly Agree**
2. **Agree**
3. **Neither agree nor disagree**
4. **Disagree**
5. **Strongly disagree**

1. Interviewer acted with calmness.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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2. Interviewer showed a genuine empathy.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

3. Interviewer showed sympathy.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

4. Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

5. Interviewer was cooperative.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

6. Interviewer was helpful.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

7. Interviewer acted in a rushed manner.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

8. Interviewer was aggressive.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

9. Interviewer was friendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

10. Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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11. Interviewer was nonchalant.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

12. Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

13. Interviewer showed a condemning attitude.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

14. Interviewer was confrontational.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

15. Interviewer only focused on facts.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

16. Interviewer was impatient.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

17. Interviewer was unfriendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

As a direct consequence of the interviewer's demeanour towards you:

18. You became frightened.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

19. You became angry.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

20. You became stressed.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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21. You felt insulted.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

22. You distanced yourself from the situation.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

23. You felt confident.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

24. You became friendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

25. You felt respected.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	----------------------------------	-------------	-------------------------

26. You became cooperative.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	----------------------------------	-------------	-------------------------

27. You and the interviewer talked about trivialities.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	----------------------------------	-------------	-------------------------

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

*Appendix I Dubai alleged major crimes victims' perceptions of being interviewed
participant information sheet (Empirical Study Three)*

Participant Information Sheet English

Study Title: 'Interviewee's experiences of the Dubai Police interview'

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study to help us understand police interview practice in Dubai. Before you decide we would like you to look at why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear.

What is the purpose of the study?

There are 2 main purposes of the study: (a) as part of a plan to understand how we can improve police interview practice in Dubai, and (b) as part of a PhD requirement. To do this, we aim to understand the current interviewing practices, methods, and techniques.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited to take part in this research in order to improve interview practices in the Dubai Police. The Dubai Police is concerned with providing a satisfactory experience for you and others.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide to join the study. We will describe the study and go through this information sheet. If you agree to take part, we will then ask you to sign a consent form.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited on a printed questionnaire to, in writing, indicate your strength of agreement with each of the statements provided regarding being interviewed by the police. You will not be asked about your case. In addition, we would like to have an audio-recorded chat about your experience with a researcher.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is a slight inconvenience of participation as it will take around 40 mins to answer the questions.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Your participation (or not) does not impact upon your case. The study is aimed to help improve our understanding of police practice in Dubai, and possibly aid in the improvement of police interviewing.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential and anonymous?

The information you provide will be kept confidential and redacted for publication. This means that we will make every effort to remove certain identifying characteristics from your contribution (anonymised), for example, we will conceal your real name and will not mention the details of crime you reported. Certain authorised individuals (e.g from the Dubai Police HQ and/or a research ethics committee), bound by a duty of confidentiality, may want to check that the study is carried out in a professional manner.

Personal data will be stored in the Dubai Police HQ for a period of 30 years, and only authorised individuals (the researchers and research oversight committees) will be allowed to view this data.

Personal data will be disposed of in a secure and ethical manner after the suggested time period. Anonymised data will be stored on the University of Portsmouth Research Data Repository, and will only be accessed if approval is obtained from an accredited REC **AND** the Dubai Police HQ.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide to withdraw, after giving consent, then that is your choice. It is possible to withdraw up to the data anonymisation period, however, once the data have been anonymised it will be impossible to withdraw any individual contribution, 3 days after data collection.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher (Rashid Almansoori) on (rashid.almansoori@port.ac.uk) or his supervisor (Prof. Becky Milne) on (becky.milne@port.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your questions. You can also contact the Head of the Department (ICJS) Dr. Phil Clements on (phil.clements@port.ac.uk).

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the University of Portsmouth Complaints Officer at (samantha.hill@port.ac.uk)

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research study will be published in the form of a journal article and/or as a chapter of a PhD dissertation. If you are interested in finding out the results of this study please email the researcher and he will forward the published article, if and when, that happens. Alternatively, the PhD dissertation will be available to view at the Dubai Police Academy, upon graduation. Additionally, it is worth noting, that you will

not be identified in both forms (as the data will be redacted for publication), unless an explicit written consent is obtained from you.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is organised by the University of Portsmouth. In addition, it is part of the Dubai Police practice to improve customer satisfaction, and thus, funded by them.

Who has reviewed the study?

Research in the University of Portsmouth is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by an approved Research Ethics Committee.

Further information and contact details

Please contact the research liaison officer in the Criminology department at the Dubai Police HQ, 1st Lt. Mohammad AlDhawyani on [Redacted] or the principle researcher Rashid Almansoori on (email rashid.almansoori@port.ac.uk).

Concluding statement

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a consent form and will be provided with a copy of this information sheet. Please do not hesitate to contact the gatekeeper or the researcher with any queries you may have about this study.

*Appendix J Dubai alleged major crimes victims' perceptions of being interviewed
consent form (Empirical Study Three)*

Consent Form

ورقة موافقة

Study Title: 'A Study of Dubai Police Interviewees' Perceptions of Police Interviews'

عنوان الدراسة: دراسة تصورات الأشخاص الذين يتم مقابلتهم من قبل افراد شرطة دبي

REC Ref No:

Name of Researcher: Rashid Almansoori

اسم الباحث: راشد المنصوري

Please initial box

يرجي وضع حرفك باللغة الانجليزية في كل مربع

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 09/03/2017 (version 2) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

١- أؤكد بأنني قمت بقراءة وفهم الورقة التعريفية للمشاركة (النسخة الثانية) والمؤرخة بتاريخ 9/3/2017 للدراسة المشار إليها أعلاه. كانت لدي الفرصة لاتخاذ قرار، لطرح الأسئلة، ولقد تمت الإجابة عليهم.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, (up to the point when the data is collected).

٢- أفهم بأن مشاركتي في البحث اختيارية، وأنه يمكنني الانسحاب في أي وقت من غير توفير أي سبب للانسحاب. (إلى حين مرحلة تحليل البيانات)

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by authorised individuals from The University of Portsmouth, or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

٣- أفهم بأن البيانات التي سيتم جمعها أثناء هذه الدراسة قد يتم الاطلاع عليها من قبل بعض الأشخاص المخولين من جامعة بورتسموث أو من أي جهات رقابية أخرى، وعليه أوافق لهؤلاء الأشخاص الاطلاع على البيانات.

4. I agree to the data I contribute being retained 'anonymously' for future, REC and Dubai Police approved, research.

٤- أوافق على الحفاظ على البيانات التي تم ضمان خصوصيتها وسريتها لاستخدامها في المستقبل، شريطة الحصول على موافقة من لجنة اخلاقيات ابحاث علمية معتمدة وموافقة خطية من القيادة العامة لشرطة دبي.

5. I agree to fill in the questionnaire.

٥- أوافق على تعبئة استنارة الاستبيان.

x. I agree to take part in the above study.

<>. أوافق على المشاركة في البحث اعلاه

Name of Participant:

اسم المشارك:

Date:

التاريخ:

Signature:

التوقيع:

Name of Person taking consent :

اسم الباحث او الوسيط:

Date:

التاريخ:

Signature:

التوقيع:

Appendix K Self-report questionnaire for Dubai convicted major crimes offenders' perceptions of being interviewed study (Empirical Study Four)

Questionnaire on Interview Feedback

You will be asked to answer a series of questions relating to your own experience as an interviewee of the Dubai Police.

Please indicate if you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 5, where:

- 1. Strongly Agree**
- 2. Agree**
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree**
- 4. Disagree**
- 5. Strongly disagree**

1. Interviewer acted with calmness.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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2. Interviewer showed genuine empathy.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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3. Interviewer showed sympathy.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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4. Interviewer expressed a positive attitude toward you.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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5. Interviewer was cooperative.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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6. Interviewer was helpful.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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7. Interviewer acted in a rushed manner.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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8. Interviewer was aggressive.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

9. Interviewer was friendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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10. Interviewer showed a formal/non-accessible attitude.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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11. Interviewer was nonchalant.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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12. Interviewer was indifferent/unemotional.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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13. Interviewer showed a condemning attitude.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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14. Interviewer was confrontational.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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15. Interviewer only focused on facts.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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16. Interviewer was impatient.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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17. Interviewer was unfriendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

As a direct consequence of the interviewer's demeanour towards you:

18. You became frightened.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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19. You became angry.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

20. You became stressed.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
-------------------	----------	-------------------------------	-------------	----------------------

21. You felt insulted.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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22. You distanced yourself from the situation.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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23. You felt confident.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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24. You became friendly.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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25. You felt respected.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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26. You became cooperative.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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27. You and the interviewer talked about trivialities.

1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree	3. Neither agree nor Disagree	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
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Demographics:

Age:

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Appendix L Participant information sheet for Dubai convicted major crimes offenders' perceptions of being interviewed study (Empirical Study Four) and Dubai convicted major crimes offenders' perceptions of interview styles and outcomes (Empirical Study Five)

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: 'Interviewee's experiences of the Dubai Police interview and rating of police interview short stories'

REC Ref No:

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study to help us understand police interview practice in Dubai and how best to conduct police interviews. Before you decide we would like you to look at why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear.

What is the purpose of the study?

There are 2 main purposes of the study: (a) as part of a plan to understand how we can improve police interview practice in Dubai, and (b) as part of a PhD requirement. To do this, we aim to understand the current interviewing practices, methods, and techniques, as well as how best to conduct police interviews.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited to take part in this research in order to improve interview practices in the Dubai Police. The Dubai Police is concerned with providing a satisfactory experience for you and others.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide to join the study. We will describe the study and go through this information sheet. If you agree to take part, we will then ask you to sign a consent form. Please note that your participation, or lack thereof, will not influence your treatment in the correctional facility nor will it influence your sentence.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited on a printed questionnaire to, in writing, indicate your strength of agreement with each of the statements provided regarding being interviewed by the police. In addition, we will provide you with four short adult sex crime stories, followed

by four short follow up interview stories, which you will be asked to rate. You can choose to participate in both or, just one of them.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is a slight inconvenience of participation as it will take around 60 mins to answer the questions.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Your participation (or not) does not impact upon your sentence. The study is aimed to help improve our understanding of police practice in Dubai, and possibly aid in the improvement of police interviewing.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential and anonymous?

The information you provide will be kept confidential and redacted for publication. This means that we will make every effort to remove certain identifying characteristics from your contribution (anonymised), for example, we will conceal your real name and will not mention the details of crime you reported. Certain authorised individuals (e.g from the Dubai Police HQ and/or a research ethics committee), bound by a duty of confidentiality, may want to check that the study is carried out in a professional manner.

Personal data will be stored in the Dubai Police HQ for a period of 30 years, and only authorised individuals (the researchers and research oversight committees) will be allowed to view this data.

Personal data will be disposed of in a secure and ethical manner after the suggested time period. Anonymised data will be stored on the University of Portsmouth Research Data Repository, and will only be accessed if approval is obtained from an accredited REC AND the Dubai Police HQ.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide to withdraw, after giving consent, then that is your choice. It is possible to withdraw up to the data anonymisation period, however, once the data have been anonymised it will be impossible to withdraw any individual contribution, 3 days after data collection.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher (Rashid Almansoori) on (rashid.almansoori@port.ac.uk) or his supervisor (Prof. Becky Milne) on (becky.milne@port.ac.uk), who will do their best to answer your questions. You can also contact the Head of the Department (ICJS) Dr. Phil Clements on (phil.clements@port.ac.uk). In addition, you can choose to speak to prison guards who can assist you in sharing your concern with the Dubai Police Human Rights department.

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the University of Portsmouth Complaints Officer at (samantha.hill@port.ac.uk)

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research study will be published in the form of a journal article and/or as a chapter of a PhD dissertation. If you are interested in finding out the results of this study please email the researcher and he will forward the published article, if and when, that happens. Alternatively, the PhD dissertation will be available to view at the Dubai Police Academy, upon graduation. Additionally, it is worth noting, that you will not be identified in both forms (as the data will be redacted for publication), unless an explicit written consent is obtained from you.

Who is organising and funding the research?

It is part of the Dubai Police practice to improve customer satisfaction and understand best police interview practices, and thus, funded by them.

Who has reviewed the study?

Research in the Dubai Police is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by an approved Research Ethics Committee.

Further information and contact details

Please contact the research liaison officer in the Criminology department at the Dubai Police HQ, 1st Lt. Mohammad AlDhawyani on [Redacted] or the principle researcher Rashid Almansoori on (email rashid.almansoori@port.ac.uk).

Concluding statement

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a consent form and will be provided with a copy of this information sheet. Please do not hesitate to contact the gatekeeper or the researcher with any queries you may have about this study.

Appendix M Consent form for Dubai convicted major crimes offenders' perceptions of being interviewed study (Empirical Study Four) and Dubai convicted major crimes offenders' perceptions of interview styles and outcomes (Empirical Study Five)

Consent Form

Study Title: 'Interviewee's experiences of the Dubai Police interview and views on best police interview practice'

REC Ref No:

Name of Researcher: Rashid Almansoori

Please initial box

6. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 15/02/2018 (version 2) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, (up to the point when the data is anonymised).

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from The University of Portsmouth, or from regulatory authorities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

4. I consent to filling out the questionnaires.

5. I consent to taking part in the short story study

6. I agree to the data I contribute being retained 'anonymously' for future, REC and Dubai Police approved, research.

x. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Person taking consent :

Date:

Signature:

When completed: 1 for participant; 1 for researcher 's file;

Appendix N Offence vignettes for Dubai convicted major crimes offenders' perceptions of interview styles and outcomes (Empirical Study Five)

Offence vignette 1

Rodha, a 25 year old woman was walking through a park on her own. She saw a 30 year old man, Khalid, with a small black dog on a lead. She knew Khalid, as he lived near to her. Khalid was sitting on a park bench. Khalid said the dog is very friendly, and asked Rodha if she would like to pat him. Rodha said 'yes, please' and sat next to Khalid. Khalid and Rodha talked about how much they liked the park and how it was so quiet. Khalid put his hand on Rodha's leg and rubbed her thigh. Rodha said, 'Please stop doing that' but Khalid didn't take his hand away, or stop rubbing her leg. He took Rodha's hand and pulled her into some bushes. He made her take off her trousers. He then had sex with her behind the bushes, a little way from the path. Rodha told her mother what had happened and they reported what had happened to the police. The police asked Rodha where Khalid lived and she told them. The police arrested Khalid and he was interviewed by the police.

Offence vignette 2

Sara, a 25 year old woman living in an apartment with her mother, was asleep in her bed. At 2.30 am in the morning, a man, Abdulrahman, climbed into her apartment through a window that she had left open. The 30 year old man awakened Sara by placing his hand over her mouth. Abdulrahman said to Sara, 'Don't scream and don't make any noise. If you stay quiet and do exactly as I say, then I won't hurt you'. Sara was scared and said 'Go away', but Abdulrahman did not go away. After that, Sara did not say anything. Sara was sleeping without any clothes on, so Abdulrahman did not have to ask her to take her clothes off. Abdulrahman had sex with her. Afterwards he put the bathroom light on and washed himself. As he was leaving her home, Abdulrahman told Sara he thought she was a beautiful woman. Sara told her mother what had happened and they reported what had happened to the police. Sara picked out Abdulrahman from photographs that the police showed her. The police arrested Abdulrahman and he was interviewed by the police.

Offence vignette 3

Jassim, a 30 year old man, asked his next-door neighbour if she would like to watch television with him. She said, 'yes'. His next-door neighbour, Samar, was a 25 year old woman and her mother had lived next door to Jassim for about three months.

Jassim and Samar had always gotten along very well. Jassim often took Samar to see movies, while her mother was out or at work. During the evening, Jassim had been drinking pepsi and watching television with Samar. After drinking six bottles of pepsi, Jassim started to stroke Samar's hair. She did not say anything. Later on, he tried to kiss her. Samar said 'get off me'. Jassim grabbed her and lifted up her skirt and pulled down her knickers. Samar became upset and told Jassim to stop and that she wanted to go home. Jassim did not stop, and had sex with her. Samar told her mother what had happened and they reported what had happened to the police. The police asked Samar where Jassim lived and she told them. The police arrested Jassim and he was interviewed by the police.

Offence vignette 4

Each morning, Reem, a 25 year old woman, would go and fetch the mail from the postbox at the end of the garden at the house where she lived. She would usually wear a dressing gown. Sometimes the cord tying the dressing gown would come loose, leaving her dressing gown open. This would embarrass Reem. Marwan, a 30 year old man, would often walk by and tell Reem what a pretty woman she was. Reem would smile and laugh at Marwan's comments. One day, Reem went to pick up the mail, and Marwan was waiting outside in his car playing music on his stereo. Marwan said 'You're looking very pretty today, would you like to come for a drive in my car?'. Reem said, 'No thank you'. Marwan grabbed Reem's arm and forced her into the car. He took her to a car park where he had sex with her. Reem told her mother what had happened and they reported what had happened to the police. Reem described the car that Marwan was driving and identified him. The police arrested Marwan and he was interviewed by the police.

FORM UPR16

Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Research Degrees Operational Handbook for more information)

Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information		Student ID:	793931
PGRS Name:	Rashid Ahmad Almansoori		
Department:	ICJS	F i r s t Supervisor:	Prof Becky Milne
Start Date: (or progression date for Prof Doc students)	01-10-2015		
Study Mode and Route:	Full-time	PhD	

Title of Thesis:	Major Crimes Police Interviewing in Dubai: an examination of the Investigative Interviewing Triangle
Thesis Word Count: (excluding ancillary data)	57,419

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study

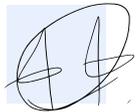
Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:

(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: <http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/>)

a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?	YES
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?	YES
c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?	YES
d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration?	YES
e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?	YES

Candidate Statement:	
I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)	
Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):	15/16: 44 16/17: 40
If you have <i>not</i> submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:	
<div style="background-color: #cccccc; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	
Signed (PGRS):	
D a t e :	27-09-2019