EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF REGISTERED INTERMEDIARIES AND POLICE OFFICERS IN UK OF WORKING WITH ADULT WITNESSES WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES

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Abstract

The Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 introduced a range of Special Measures to assist vulnerable witnesses whilst giving testimony. One of these was the use of Registered Intermediaries (RIs), who facilitate communication between the vulnerable witness and the practitioners of the Criminal Justice System (CJS). Using a mixed methods design, this research explored the experiences of RIs and police officers of working with each other and adult witnesses with intellectual disability (ID) and the attitudes of police towards ID.

In Study 1, 12 RIs were interviewed on their experiences of working with the CJS and adult witnesses. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) revealed that while they are being gradually accepted by the CJS, they face several challenges such as lack of awareness about their role among the police and legal professionals. The RIs, themselves, often felt isolated, unsupported, and stated that they needed personal and professional support.

Study 2 conducted semi-structured interviews with 11 police officers who work with RIs. IPA showed that the use of RIs is not widespread, mainly due to lack of awareness about them. When used, officers felt that the RI was beneficial in facilitating communication with vulnerable witnesses. However, waiting for long periods for an RI frustrated the officers, while some questioned the apparent contribution of the RI to the interview.

Study 3 examined whether working with RIs led to a more positive attitude towards ID. The Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability questionnaire was administered to 126 police officers. The results showed that officers had a more negative attitude towards individuals with severe ID as compared to mild ID. While working with RIs had no effect on attitudes, those that had worked with RIs believed it had changed their practice.

The three studies provide an in-depth understanding of the experiences of RIs and police of working with each other and with adult witnesses with ID. This research makes a significant contribution to knowledge, as it is the first empirical work that explores the experiences of RIs and police officers, while providing recommendations for future research and practice, such as training police on the role of RIs and IDs and supervision for RIs so that they feel supported.

Acknowledgements

This PhD has been a long cherished dream of mine and I feel extremely satisfied and happy to have taken this journey. I would like to thank my two wonderful and supportive supervisors, Dr. Hannah Fawcett and Prof. Rebecca Lawthom. Their guidance and expertise helped me develop the ideas for this research and opened my mind to new perspectives. They have been so encouraging, gentle, approachable, and warm. I am really grateful and lucky to have them.

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This journey is as much mine as it is of the two pillars of my life, my parents, Mala and Anand. Even though they are thousands of miles away, their unflinching emotional, financial, and moral support and their faith in me has been incomparable. As a gesture of my love, I dedicate this PhD to them.

Outputs from the Thesis

Awards

Awarded Research Student Award 2017 for excellent performance by Manchester Metropolitan University.

Conference Presentations

Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers. Presentation given at the Postgraduate Research Conference, 5th November 2015, Manchester Metropolitan University.

Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries. Presentation given at the Psychology student conference, 19th April 2016, Manchester Metropolitan University.

Working with the CJS: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries. Presentation given at the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group 9th Annual Conference, 22nd-24th June 2016, London.

Working with the CJS: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries. Presentation given at the Faculty Research in High Summer Conference, 4th-5th July 2017, Manchester Metropolitan University.

Experiences of Registered Intermediaries of working in the Criminal Justice System. Presentation given at the 5th Summer Institute in Qualitative Research, 10th-14th July 2017, Manchester Metropolitan University.

Guest lectures

Guest lectures for BSc (Forensic Psychology) and MSc (Forensic Psychology) students on 'interviewing vulnerable witnesses and the role of RIs'.

Glossary of Abbreviations

The following are the common abbreviations. Others are used where necessary throughout the thesis:

ABE	Achieving Best Evidence
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
ASD	Autism-spectrum disorder
ATTID	Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability
CI	Cognitive Interview
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
GRH	Ground Rules Hearing
ID	Intellectual disability
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
NCA	National Crime Agency
RI(s)	Registered Intermediary(ies)
RIO	Registered Intermediaries' Online
SLT	Speech and language therapist
WIS	Witness Intermediary Scheme
YJCEA	Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act

Overview of Thesis Chapters

This thesis was developed to empirically evaluate the experiences of RIs, who are a relatively new addition to the CJS, and police officers, who work with them. Currently, no research has looked at what the RIs and officers feel about being part of the scheme. Further, as far as is known, no recent research has examined the attitudes of officers towards intellectual disability, which may have an impact on their practice and interaction with vulnerable witnesses. With an objective to learn more about these areas, the thesis aims to discover:

1. From a practitioner perspective, how effective is the WIS in helping vulnerable witnesses achieve best evidence?

2. What is the relationship between the police and RIs while working together?

3. How are witnesses with ID treated by the police and RIs?

The research aims and research questions will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

The following section will provide a glimpse of the chapters contained within the thesis.

- **Chapter 1- Literature review- Eyewitness testimony in the Criminal Justice System**

The first part of the literature review provides an understanding of the nature and importance of eyewitness testimony in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) and presents general eyewitness research. It begins with an overview of the CJS and the evidence giving process and the role of the police, court, witness, and jury in the same. Then, a background of the evolution of eyewitness research is provided. This is followed by a discussion of the factors that affect eyewitness accuracy. Further, the reliability of eyewitnesses is debated. The chapter ends

with a section on the ways to minimise eyewitness errors and the procedural changes that could help improve the quality of eyewitness testimony.

- **Chapter 2- Literature review- Vulnerable witnesses in the Criminal Justice System**

Continuing the literature review, this chapter focusses specifically on vulnerable witnesses in the CJS. First, the definitions and characteristics of vulnerability in the legal, psychological, and societal context are discussed. The next section looks at the provision of Special Measures for vulnerable witnesses and specifically, the evolution, role, and background of Registered Intermediaries (RIs). This leads to a discussion on the problems faced by vulnerable witnesses in the CJS. This part is a combination of theory and practice as it breaks down each step in the evidence giving process and looks at the role played by the police, lawyers, judges, and RIs in it. The conclusion ties the existing findings to the current research.

- **Chapter 3- Research questions**

With a brief recapitulation of the literature, the need for the current research is addressed. First, the overall aims of the thesis are provided. Next, the research questions and rationale of the three studies are presented. The methods used to analyse each study are briefly described. The conclusion emphasises the importance and relevance of this research to the field of psychology.

- **Chapter 4- Methodology**

The qualitative and quantitative methodologies employed in this research are discussed. First, the qualitative methodology used in Study 1 and Study 2 is discussed in terms of the epistemology of Phenomenology and its history. Next, the characteristics of IPA, including its use in forensic psychology research are elaborated. This is followed by a short discussion on reflexivity in qualitative

research and the role of the researcher. The ethical considerations of the research and the process of obtaining ethical approval are described in detail. The next two sections focus on Study 1 and Study 2 and include brief information on recruitment of participants and access issues. The chapter moves on to the quantitative methodology used in Study 3 and provides a background on quantitative methods. This is followed by a short discussion on use of questionnaires as tools for data collection. The final section talks about the relevance and benefits of using a mixed methods design, as used in the current research.

- **Chapter 5- Study 1- Experiences of RIs of working with the CJS and adult ID witnesses**

This chapter focusses on Study 1 of this research, which explores the experiences of RIs of working with police officers and adult witnesses with ID. The first section revisits the research question, rationale, and methodology of this study. This is followed by the demographic information about the participants and the procedures involved in conducting this study. The next section entails the analysis and discussion. First, the themes generated from the interviews have been analysed using IPA. This includes five superordinate themes, sub-themes, and related quotes by the participants. Next is the discussion of the themes, using past research, relevant theories, and real-life examples. The conclusion outlines the contribution of the findings to research and practice.

- **Chapter 6- Study 2- Experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult ID witnesses**

Study 2 of this research explores the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult witnesses with ID. The first section examines the research question, rationale, and method of this study. This is followed by the analysis,

which was done using IPA, including the five superordinate themes, sub-themes, and related quotes by the participants. Next is the discussion of the themes, with past research and relevant theories. The final section talks about the strengths, limitations, and the contribution of this study to research and practice.

- **Chapter 7- Study 3- Attitudes of police towards ID**

The final study, Study 3, aims to examine the attitudes of police officers towards ID. First, the research question and rationale are discussed in light of previous literature. Next, the methods used in the study, including design, participants, materials, and procedure are provided. This is followed by the results of the Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability (ATTID) questionnaire and the discussion. The final section talks about the contribution of this study to knowledge and practice.

- **Chapter 8- General Discussion**

To conclude, this chapter integrates the findings from the three studies and discusses them against each of the overall aims of the thesis presented in Chapter 3. This is followed by the contributions of the research to knowledge and practice, and directions for future research.

Chapter 1

Literature review- Eyewitness Testimony in the Criminal Justice System

This chapter provides an understanding of the nature and importance of eyewitness testimony in the Criminal Justice System (CJS). It begins with an overview of the CJS and the evidence giving process and the role of the police, court, witness, and jury in the same. Then, a background on the evolution of eyewitness research is provided. This is followed by a discussion of the factors that affect eyewitness accuracy. Further, the reliability of eyewitnesses is debated. The chapter ends with a section on the ways to minimise eyewitness errors and the procedural changes that could help improve the quality of eyewitness testimony. The literature discussed in this chapter will help to contextualise the existing research on eyewitness evidence and provide a background for the following chapter on vulnerable witnesses and Registered Intermediaries, who operate within the CJS.

~~There is a lot of~~ Research in the area of eyewitness testimony is continually aiming to explore the different variables that may have an impact on it. Studies relating to eyewitnesses covers a range of areas such as age of witness, type of crime, police and court procedures, police interviewing techniques, and contextual factors such as confidence and accuracy (e.g. Loftus, 1979; Hope 2015). This literature review focusses specifically on research relating to adult eyewitnesses, particularly the effects of memory, misleading questions, discussion with co-witnesses, and delay on the quality of evidence elicited. Further, police interviewing practices and knowledge base of judges, lawyers, and juries with respect to the nature of adult eyewitness testimony are discussed.

Adult eyewitnesses need to be looked at in isolation as their challenges and needs are different from those of child witnesses and this, undoubtedly, has an impact on practice as well (see Knutsson & Allwood, 2014 for a review). For example, the amount of information, such as person descriptions, recalled by children may be less than adults (Pozzulo & Warren, 2003). Similarly, there are differences in recognition abilities between the two groups (see Pozzulo, Dempsey, Crescini, & Lemieux, 2009 for a review). Thus, this review mainly looks at adult witnesses and practitioners of the CJS.

The literature search began in January 2015 and continued throughout the duration of the research until January 2018. The search terms covered the different topics related to the current research and were not limited to a specific period. The search broadly comprised of topics, which are covered across two chapters, such as factors affecting eyewitness testimony, police attitudes, police interviewing, testimony in court, juror knowledge, witnesses with intellectual disability, cross-examination, police and lawyer training, registered intermediaries, and quality of evidence. Though the search was not geographically limited, materials related to the CJS such as its organisation, and legislations were restricted to England and Wales.

Overview of the CJS

The CJS is one of the major public services in England and Wales. The structure and organisation of the CJS is such that different institutions within the system have different roles and aims, and there is an absence of a single government department that is responsible for criminal justice policy (White, 2002). The Home Office, the Lord Chancellor's Department, and the Attorney-General's Office are the three main government departments that are in charge of criminal justice. Agencies such as the police, Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), the courts, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ), the National Offender Management

Service (NOMS), and the Serious Fraud Office are the responsibility of the above mentioned departments, and they work in partnership to ensure law and order is maintained.

The agencies play an important role in meeting the government's aims and objectives for the CJS. These include reduction of crime and its fear and the related social and economic costs, to be fair and efficient in dispensing justice, and to promote confidence in the system (Secretary of State for the Home Department, 2001). The focus of this PhD is on the police, the CPS, and the courts as they are the main parties involved in the investigation of criminal cases and preparing cases for trial. Further, these practitioners of the CJS are involved in eliciting information from witnesses and supporting them throughout the evidence giving process and are therefore, most likely to come into direct contact with Registered Intermediaries (RIs) and witnesses.

The Police

There are 43 police forces in England and Wales that are responsible for investigating crime, collecting evidence, and arresting or detaining suspected offenders. The police could be considered as the gatekeepers of the CJS as they exercise considerable discretion over whether someone enters the CJS (White, 2002). For example, a police officer has the right to stop and question a person on the street or to arrest an individual, who is then taken to the police station for further questioning. Similarly, an officer, to an extent depending on rank, can decide the amount of resources that will be used for a particular case or how certain resources will be allocated throughout a force. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) (1984), however, states that there has to be a good balance between the power of the police and the rights of the people. Thus, balancing discretion and accountability are important aspects of policing (White, 2002).

One of the core duties of policing is investigation and central to the success of investigation is interviewing victims and witnesses (National Policing

Improvement Agency, 2009). The framework used for investigative interviewing is in the form of an interview model known as PEACE (Clarke & Milne, 2001). There are five phases to this framework (National Policing Improvement Agency, 2009):

- P- Planning and Preparation
- E- Engage and Explain
- A- Account, Clarification and Challenge
- C- Closure
- E- Evaluation

These guidelines also form the basis for the Cognitive Interview (CI) or the Conversation Management models of interviewing (Clarke & Milne, 2001). This framework is also compatible with other interview formats such as Achieving Best Evidence (ABE) for interviewing vulnerable victims/witnesses (National Policing Improvement Agency, 2009) (see Chapter 2 for information on ABE).

Police interviewing has further evolved and a five-tier interview strategy, built on the PEACE model, has been conceptualised that aims to cater to officers who have different levels of expertise and deal with different types of crimes (Griffiths & Milne, 2012). Tier 1 is the introduction to interviewing for new police recruits. Tier 2 is for more experienced officers, who normally deal with theft and assault cases. Tier 3 aims to equip officers to deal with serious and complex crime and includes separate courses for interviewing suspects, witnesses, and vulnerable or intimidated witnesses (also known as ABE interview). Tier 4 involves the monitoring and supervision of the interviews to ensure a high standard is being maintained. Tier 5 has created the role of an interview co-ordinator for complex and serious crime (Griffiths & Milne, 2012). Officers have to be trained to a particular level before they are able to interview victims, witnesses, or suspects that fall into any of the above categories.

The CPS

The CPS, operational since 1986, is a national agency and acts as the principal prosecuting authority in England and Wales. It acts as a link between the police investigation and the trial of a case in the criminal courts (White, 2002). When the police charge a suspect, a case is filed and sent to the CPS. The CPS reviews the file and decides whether sufficient evidence is available for the case to proceed to court (Wilson, 2004). This decision is also based on the possibility of receiving a successful conviction of the accused in the court. The CPS is guided by the Code for Crown Prosecutors in deciding whether or not to continue with the prosecution. One of the main reasons for the creation of a separate CPS was to relieve the police of the responsibility for the decision to prosecute, thus saving their time and energy. It was also believed that the police lacked the objectivity needed to eliminate the weak cases out of the system, and thereby having a separate agency with this responsibility decreases the chances of miscarriages of justice (White, 2002).

The criminal courts in England and Wales comprise of the Magistrates' Courts, Crown Courts, and Youth Courts (Maras et al., 2017). The Magistrates' Courts deal with less serious or routine crimes, while the more serious criminal offences, such as murder, and rape, are handled by the Crown Courts. A jury of 12 members of the public sit in the Crown Court and play a role in deciding whether the defendant is guilty or innocent based on the evidence presented in the trial and any directions given by the judge. Youth Courts are for defendants who are between 10-17 years of age and deal with all offences, except in certain exceptional circumstances, where the case is referred to the Crown Court. Currently, there are 328 magistrates' courts in around 430 courthouses and 78 main Crown Court centres divided into six geographical regions (White, 2002).

Case Progression

To provide an overview of the process, almost all criminal cases begin with an offence being reported to the police. The police are the first point of contact for people entering the CJS. While conducting the investigation, the police interview the victim/s and/or witness/es pertaining to the case, according to the PEACE guidelines. Eyewitnesses, often, play an important role in providing first-hand information that could aid police investigations. After sufficient evidence has been collected, the police will either release the suspect without charge, or arrest them and recommend to the CPS that they be charged with a specific offence. If the CPS upholds the charge, the defendant either could be held in custody pending his/her trial or could be released on bail until the case goes to court. Once the case goes to court, the trial ensues. In the court, the Crown prosecutor and the defence lawyer question and cross-question the victim, witness, and defendant and examine the evidence. The magistrate or judge (Crown court) presides over the Court and is responsible for overseeing the hearing and ensuring a fair trial. This is based on the guidelines of the Crown Court compendium for jury and trial management and sentencing (Courts and Tribunals Judiciary, 2017). If the defendant is found guilty or pleads guilty, the judge passes a sentence that reflects the seriousness of the crime.

Given the topic of this PhD, the literature review will concentrate majorly on witnesses, the evidence-giving process, and factors that affect them. As per the definition of the College of Policing, UK, the term witness refers to a person, other than the defendant, who is expected to provide evidence in court. Therefore, all victims are also witnesses and will be treated as such (College of Policing, 2017b). Henceforth, the word 'witness' should, therefore, be considered as a witness or victim-witness, unless specified. Having covered the organisation of the CJS, the next section looks at the literature on eyewitness research.

The Evolution of Eyewitness Research

"Few kinds of evidence are as compelling, or as damning, as eyewitness testimony'' (Overbeck, 2005, p. 1895). This quote summarises the importance of information that is obtained from an eyewitness, as it plays an important role in forensic investigations and adversarial trials (McEwan, 2002). The evidence provided by an eyewitness could reveal key details about the case and help in identifying the culprit. Eyewitnesses are often heavily relied upon not only by the police, prosecutors, and judges but also by the jurors, who place a high amount of confidence in them (Wells, Memon, & Penrod, 2006).

The significance of eyewitness testimony in the CJS has been studied extensively by psychologists over the past four decades (Hope, 2015). Empirical research has aided in understanding the nature of eyewitness testimony and the various factors affecting it. This has helped in extending the laboratory findings to real-life and in doing so influencing the working of the CJS. Eyewitness psychology began around 1900 when French psychologist Alfred Binet observed the effects of suggestive questioning on responses. Later, German psychologist Louis Stern and American researcher Guy Whipple spoke about the importance of style of questioning on eyewitnesses (Wells et al., 2006). Hugo Munsterberg in 1908 recognised the potential that psychology had in informing the CJS about the nature of eyewitness testimony and the factors that could result in erroneous accounts (Münsterberg, 1908). The next few decades were largely devoid of research in this area.

The modern era of eyewitness research began in the 1970s when experiments focussed on eyewitness errors and the effects of post-event information on the same (Wells et al., 2000; Wells et al., 2006). Elizabeth Loftus was one of the pioneers of research on memory malleability and the resultant eyewitness errors (Loftus, 1979). Throughout the following years, there was a considerable increase in eyewitness research, especially in the USA, and many psychologists aimed to educate the legal system about the nature of eyewitness

evidence (Turtle & Want, 2008). In the UK, there was growing interest in the area due to the publication of the Devlin Report in 1976. The report, authored by Lord Devlin, encouraged researchers to establish ways in which the knowledge of psychology could be incorporated in police investigations and the practice of the courts (Devlin, 1976).

An important contribution that emerged in this period was the distinction between system variables and estimator variables (Wells, 1978). The idea behind this was that some variables or factors are or could be under the control of the justice system; these were known as system variables. On the other hand, there are variables that are beyond the control of the justice system and these were referred to as estimator variables. Examples of system variables are the way eyewitnesses are interviewed by the police or the suspect lineup is structured, as these are factors that can be controlled by the police while conducting the investigation. Estimator variables include things such as the age or race of witness or presence of a weapon in the crime. These factors cannot be controlled by the system and their impact on a case can only be estimated.

Research on both these variables has promoted academic and professional understanding of eyewitness errors. Of particular importance was the development of empirical research on system variables, as psychologists were able to demonstrate to the CJS the ways in which the police and legal professionals' practices had an impact on accuracy of eyewitness statements (Wells et al., 2000). Though the list is not exhaustive, the following sections will examine some of the factors that influence witness accuracy, especially those relevant to the current research area.

Factors Affecting Eyewitness Accuracy

Research on factors affecting eyewitness accuracy has included several variables such as age of witness, cross-race identification, presence of a weapon,

disguises, stress, witness confidence and accuracy, and witness intoxication (see Hope, 2015; Wells et al., 2006 for a review). Though important, these estimator variables are less relevant to the current research area, which focusses on the way the practitioners of the CJS, the RIs and police, work with vulnerable witnesses while eliciting evidence. The following section focusses on the relationship between eyewitness accuracy and psychological variables such as misinformation, misleading questions, discussion, false memories, and delay. Their impact can more likely be minimised by system variables such as effective interviewing, appropriate cross-examination, and better training for police, which are also the factors that are the focus of this research.

There are mainly two steps involved in a police investigation, with respect to witnesses: interviewing eyewitnesses and identification of suspects. The former usually involves recall memory while the latter, recognition memory (Wells et al., 2006). Recall memory denotes the ability of eyewitnesses to produce details about a particular event, while recognition memory refers to the ability of eyewitnesses to select a culprit from a live or video lineup or a set of photographs (Wells et al., 2000). Consequently, eyewitness research can be divided into two broad categories: eyewitness testimony and eyewitness identification.

One of the most important and, perhaps most researched factor, is the malleability of memory. Several experiments by Loftus (1979) and Loftus and Palmer (1974) demonstrated that eyewitness memory is prone to distortion and can be unconsciously altered in order to fit in post-event information. Early psychologists like Bartlett (1932) proved the reconstructive nature of memory. Bartlett argued that memories are reconstructed from our existing schemas and are changed to enhance the understanding of an event. Schemas are units of knowledge that relate to specific aspects of an individual's world, such as concepts, objects, and actions and enable one to form a mental representation of the world (Piaget & Cook, 1952). Thus, according to Bartlett, information from existing schemas can cause the memory for an event to be reconstructed,

essentially altering that memory. Similarly, Loftus stated that many events that are recalled from the past are reconstructed rather than retrieved. Several variables such as misleading questions (Hickman, 2017; Loftus, Miller, & Burns, 1978; Roebers & Schneider, 2000) post-event misinformation (Frenda, Nichols, & Loftus, 2011; Paz-Alonso, Goodman, & Ibabe, 2013), discussion with a co-witness (Zajac, Dickson, Munn, & O'Neill, 2016), and delay (Henderson, 2012) contribute to reconstruction of eyewitness accounts, thus severely compromising witness accuracy.

Exposure to misleading questions, particularly during police interviews, is a social variable that could influence memory (Wells et al., 2006). For example, a misleading question such as "what kind of hat was the shooter wearing?'', when in fact the shooter wore no hat, can increase the likelihood of an eyewitness developing a memory for a non-existent hat (Wells et al., 2006). Loftus (1975), in a series of experiments, demonstrated the impact of the wording of a question on memory and consequently on the answers provided to those questions. In one experiment, she showed her participants a film of a multiple car accident. In the film, a car fails to stop at a 'stop' sign and turns right on to the main road. In order to avoid a collision, the oncoming cars stop suddenly, resulting in a five-car accident. Then, half the participants were asked, 'how fast was the car going when it went past the stop sign?' and the others were asked, 'how fast was the car going when it turned right?' Later, when asked whether they had seen a stop sign, 53% participants from the first group said yes, whereas only 35% from the second group responded yes.

Loftus (1975) explained this result by calling it the construction hypothesis. Participants in the first group may have reconstructed or visualised a portion of the film to answer the first question and while doing so introduced a stop sign into their visualisation, irrespective of whether or not it was present in their memories. When questioned about the sign, their answer was based on their earlier reconstruction of the incident. Thus, the wording of the question created

a new memory of the incident. This effect would, therefore, not be present for the second group.

Another classic experiment by Loftus and Palmer (1974), which was based on a similar methodology, demonstrated that when asked misleading questions witnesses tended to integrate new information with existing information and reconstructed the incident. Loftus (1975) further suggested that by supplying witnesses with false information, it was possible to add something that was not present at the scene, to their memory. The misinformation effect is a powerful factor that could result in memory distortion (Okado & Stark, 2005). Post-event information could change a witness's memory and could lead to non-existent details being incorporated into memory (Loftus, 1979).

Yuille (1980) criticised most of Loftus' research and argued that it had not studied or integrated memory with aspects of attention and perception. For example, Loftus et al. (1978), in a study, showed participants slides of a car accident. Later, they were asked a series of multiple-choice questions, some of which included misinformation. One such question was if the red Datsun stopped at the 'stop' sign. In the slides, there was actually a 'yield' sign. During recall, only 41% of the misled subjects accurately recalled the traffic sign as compared to 75% of the non-misled subjects. Therefore, Yuille posed an important question, ''were the memories of the misled subjects changed or did they not notice the sign in the first place?''(p.337). He argued it was possible that post-event misinformation influenced memory only if the individual did not originally pay attention to that part of the incident.

Later research has demonstrated the impact of divided attention on the way a person pays attention to an event and the memories formed for ~~the~~ it (Pashler, 1999). In a forensic context, witnesses are often not able to direct their attention completely to the incident as their attention is focussed on multiple stimuli (Lane, 2006). Lane (2006) and Zaragoza and Lane (1998) found that divided attention caused participants to be more inclined to accept misinformation. In their

research on the effect of misleading questions on adults and children, Roebers and Schneider (2000) found that it was more difficult to alter the central items that were recalled with greater accuracy as compared to peripheral items, suggesting that it is difficult to mislead a witness with respect to aspects that they paid attention to.

Similarly, Powers, Andriks, and Loftus (1979), in their studies on gender differences in eyewitness accounts, found evidence that women and men showed higher accuracy for specific items in the witnessed event and were consequently more resistant to suggestion on those items. They concluded that accuracy for a particular item meant that there was solid information about that item in memory. Therefore, it was less likely that the witness would be misled by false information for that item.

Extensive research has since followed on understanding the impact of misinformation on eyewitness memory (Loftus, 2005). Several estimator variables such as personality traits (Pozzulo, Crescini, Lemieux, & Tawfik, 2007), age (Davis & Loftus, 2005), and linguistic markers (Thomas, Chen, Gordon, & Tenbrink, 2015) have been investigated as variables in susceptibility to misinformation.

Wright, Memon, Skagerberg, and Gabbert (2009) stated that memories are not accurate and people are often affected and influenced by what other people said, a phenomenon known as memory conformity. They argued that three processes contributed to memory conformity: normative influences, informational influences, and false memory.

Building on the work of Asch (1955) on normative influences, Wright et al. (2009) believed that in social situations people often complied with or said something that they did not believe in, in order to fit in or be socially accepted. This behaviour increased in a forensic context wherein the cost of disagreeing is high as the interviewer is seen as an authority figure. Thus, suggestive techniques such as praising the interviewees for providing important information or verbally

reprimanding them for lack of information could lead them to comply with the interviewer in order to gain approval and avoid disapproval (Schreiber et al., 2006; Wright et al., 2009).

Informational influences come into play when people, due to their own ambiguity, resort to depending on and reporting information said by other people (Gabbert & Hope, 2013). This is especially true of situations where eyewitnesses discuss the details of the crime with their co-witness. A survey of real eyewitnesses revealed that 86% discussed the witnessed incident with a co-witness present at the scene (Paterson & Kemp, 2006). Studies show that many witnesses then included these discussions as part of their testimony to the police (Reysen, 2005; Wright, Gabbert, Memon, & London, 2008). Reysen (2005) felt this happens because witnesses want to appear consistent with what the others have said. Festinger (1957) believed that the more trust we have in another person's information and the more we value that person's opinion, the more likely it is for us to be influenced by them. Indeed, Hope, Ost, Gabbert, Healey, and Lenton (2008) found that the likelihood of influence increased when the co-witness was a friend or partner. Vredeveldt, Groen, Ampt, and van Koppen (2017) found that paired participants remembered as much information as individual participants and made significantly fewer errors. They suggested that under certain conditions, discussion could aid memory.

However, Gabbert, Memon, and Wright (2006) warned against believing in the efficacy of such corroborative accounts. Although witnesses may have seen the same incident, their individual recall of it would be varied. This could be attributed to naturally occurring differences in attention, differences in the angle from which they witnessed the incident, and the differential rates of forgetting and recall. Given these findings, Eisen, Gabbert, Ying, and Williams (2017) argued that even though independent evidence obtained from corroborative accounts may seem convincing, it could be contaminated if one witness's erroneous

information was shared with other witnesses. In such cases, the police should not consider their testimony as independent evidence (Wright et al., 2009).

The normative and informational influences are often referred to as compliance and suggestibility in eyewitness literature (Gee & Pipe, 1995). Compliance occurs when witnesses tend to act in accordance to the interviewer's opinion and follow the lead given by the interviewer. On the other hand, suggestibility occurs when children and adults internalise suggested misinformation into their accounts and subsequently, tend to believe in its accuracy (Roebers & Schneider, 2000).

Another factor that arises from memory distortion is creation of false memories. Loftus (1993) used a Trojan horse metaphor to explain how new information invades our memory and we are unable to detect its influence. False memories could arise from different sources such as a subtle clue in a misleading question. There is an increased dependency on external cues to reconstruct memories due to the poor availability of cognitive resources (Frenda et al., 2011). This has been evidenced in cases of real eyewitnesses who created false memories based on what they heard others say (Memon & Wright, 1999).

Once embedded in memory, when people are later presented with the erroneous information, it may seem familiar as the false information is now encoded along with the original event (Wright et al., 2009). The fuzzy-trace theory points out that when witnesses try to remember the gist of the event, they use familiarity as a technique to aid recall. This can result in non-experienced items being perceived to be similar to experienced items, even though their occurrence is not explicitly recalled. These gist traces can be so strong that they could lead to phantom recollections for non-experienced items. As they are unaware of the inaccuracy of their memory account, witnesses could likely be highly confident about their recall (Brainerd & Reyna, 2002).

In other cases, people may explicitly encode the two pieces of information, the truth and the false suggestion, separately and be aware of their sources.

However, with the passage of time, even though they remember the information, the source of the information is forgotten (Horry, Colton, & Williamson, 2014). Johnson, Hashtroudi, and Lindsay (1993) attributed this to source-monitoring errors wherein the false information is wrongly assumed to be a part of the encoding of the original event. This error may come to the fore during collaborative recall, because in those situations, it is likely that witnesses will readily integrate suggestions from their partners as part of their own memories (Hyman Jr., Roundhill, Werner, & Rabiroff, 2014).

Kebbell and Wagstaff (1997) questioned the ecological validity of the studies that investigated eyewitness performance. Sammon and Bogue (2015) concurred that one of the limitations of laboratory findings is that there are several estimator variables, such as stress, that cannot be accurately replicated in simulated experiments. Yet, their contribution in isolating variables and examining them cannot be undermined, especially since researchers are able to exercise little control over factors in real-life cases.

The delay between witnesses observing a crime and the police questioning them is an important system variable that could affect accuracy. Additionally, it is rare that a court proceeding will commence soon after a crime has occurred (Shermer, Rose, & Hoffman, 2011), prolonging the delay between witnessing and recall of the crime in court. With increasing delay, memory is prone to further decay and is more susceptible to post-event misinformation (Hope, 2015). Studies have demonstrated the presence of a relationship between delay and post-event information and its impact on the quality and accuracy of recall; such that accuracy decreases over time (Loftus et al., 1978; Tuckey & Brewer, 2003).

As Ebbinghaus (1885) established more than a century ago, forgetting is rapid at first and it systematically decreases the amount of information that can be recalled. Valentine, Pickering, and Darling (2003) examined real eyewitnesses and found that their performance was compromised if the delay in questioning exceeded a week. The misinformation effect in adults was especially pronounced

if there was a long delay, such as two weeks, between exposure to misinformation and a later memory test (Paterson, Kemp, & Forgas, 2009). Memory reconstruction of the original event was also extremely active during this phase, thereby increasing the likelihood of the misinformation effect (Zaragoza & Lane, 1994).

Recent research has delved further into specific aspects of eyewitness testimony such as the effects of violence and personality (Pajón & Walsh, 2017), impact of question order (Michael & Garry, 2016), race biases in deception judgements (Lloyd, Hugenberg, McConnell, Kunstman, & Deska, 2017), hearsay evidence (Paterson, Kemp, & McIntyre, 2012), and using a timeline technique to facilitate recall (Hope, Mullis, & Gabbert, 2013). Thus, an understanding of the various facets of eyewitness memory provides some insight into issues relating to witness accuracy during testimony and identification. With eyewitness evidence heavily relied upon during criminal investigations, literature has demonstrated the influence of system and estimator variables on such accounts.

Is Eyewitness Testimony Unreliable?

With studies illustrating the potential fallacies of eyewitness testimony, a pertinent question is, what is the reliability of such accounts? Eyewitness memory is complex and is affected by several estimator and system variables, to various degrees (Wells et al, 2006). According to the statistics of the USA Innocence Project (2011), eyewitness errors were responsible for 75% of exonerations in cases handled by them. The advent of DNA testing in the 1990s, brought to light several cases of mistaken identification that led to conviction of innocent people (Wells et al., 2006). Furthermore, much of the scientific literature seemed to concur that eyewitnesses may be unreliable and that eyewitness memory is weak and subject to distortion (Howe & Knott, 2015; Lapaglia, Wilford, Rivard, Chan, & Fisher, 2014; Loftus, 2005).

Notwithstanding the extant of scientific literature, Kebbell and Milne (1998) interviewed 358 police officers in the UK and found that they relied heavily on eyewitnesses and believed that they were rarely incorrect. Though the latter supposition could be argued against, it still showed that eyewitness testimony is extremely influential. Despite the growth of forensic testing, eyewitnesses continue to remain one of the most commonly used evidence against defendants (Innocence Project, 2011). Therefore, it is extremely important to understand that eyewitnesses could be more reliable if certain system variables were improved upon (Wells et al., 2000).

Improving Eyewitness Testimony

A serious challenge for police and lawyers in court concerning eyewitness memory is that once it is altered, it is difficult to restore the witness's original memory of the crime (Loftus, 2004). Therefore, it is crucial that they exercise control over the system variables, by means of effective interviewing and questioning, in order to minimise the likelihood of eyewitness memory errors. Jurors also play a role in evaluating the witness statement and consequently, warning them about the malleable nature of memory is important.

Police Officials

The most effective ways of reducing eyewitness errors are by improving legal safeguards such as conducting proper interviews and identification procedures (Wise, Sartori, Magnussen, & Safer, 2014). The Cognitive Interview (CI) is one such interviewing technique that was developed by Geiselman and Fisher to improve police practices while extracting information from eyewitnesses (Geiselman et al., 1984). The CI is a part of the national interviewing

package in England and Wales and is currently taught to new police recruits (Dando & Milne, 2009).

In their review of police interviewing techniques in Florida, USA, Fisher, Geiselman, and Raymond (1987) found that a standard police interview was often characterised by features that had a negative impact on recall and accuracy. These included mistimed questions, following a list of questions with an expectation that the witness would provide answers to them, interrupting witnesses whilst they were talking, and close-ended questions. Similar results were found by George and Clifford (1992) in their investigation of British police officers' questioning of real witnesses.

The CI attempts to enhance eyewitness testimony by merging psychological processes of memory and cognition, the way people remember things, and communication between the interviewer and the witness (Geiselman & Fisher, 2014). The CI was revised in 1992 (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992) and was known as revised CI or enhanced CI. There are several phases of the enhanced CI, wherein the primary aim is to facilitate effective communication between the witness and interviewer in order to yield information. Here, the interviewer interrupts as little as possible allowing the witness to lead the interview.

The first step is rapport building, which allows the witness to feel comfortable and less stressed. The importance of this step is to transfer control to the witness. The second step is to ask the witness to reinstate the context of the original event and provide a free narrative of the event with all the details. Once the witness has provided the account, the interviewer can ask open-ended questions to probe for further details. The interviewer should be guided by the witness's recall rather than a prepared set of questions. Here the witness is encouraged to form mental images of different parts of the event.

Fisher and Geiselman (1992) suggested that alternative retrieval cues such as recalling the incident from a different perspective or in a different chronological order could also aid recall accuracy. These components are based

on the theory that recall can be maximised by exploring multiple retrieval routes that could lead to the memory of the event (Tulving, 1974). The final step is that of closure; wherein the interviewer should debrief the witness and inform them of the next steps in the investigation.

In a meta-analysis of 53 studies using CI, Köhnken, Milne, Memon, and Bull (1999) found that there was a 34% increase in the amount of correct information yielded from the CI as compared to a structured interview, which involved basic interviewing and communication without use of the mnemonic techniques. Other studies (Mello & Fisher, 1996; Memon, Meissner, & Fraser, 2010) have also demonstrated the efficacy of CI in increasing correct recall in adult witnesses.

However, alongside an increase in correct information, studies have shown that there was also an increase in confabulations (Köhnken et al., 1999; Memon, 2006) using the CI. Furthermore, Roberts and Higham (2002) found that only 50% of information generated from the CI was deemed useful and relevant to an investigation. Studies using CI with adults with IDs also do not seem promising. People with mild learning disabilities showed a disproportionate increase in the amount of confabulations compared to a structured interview (Milne, Clare, & Bull, 1999). Maras and Bowler (2010) cautioned against the use of CI for adults with autism spectrum disorder (ASD). According to the researchers, mnemonics such as context reinstatement or change of perspective could be difficult for vulnerable witnesses as problems with cognition may mean that they are unable to generate images about the incident or associate the context to the incident.

Even though the CI is a part of the national interviewing package, it seems that the training on interviewing witnesses is minimal (Milne & Bull, 2006). Kebbell and Milne (1998) stated that many UK police officers often did not have enough time to conduct satisfactory interviews and resorted to shortcuts to compensate for the same. In a national evaluation of investigative interview training, Clarke and Milne (2001) found little evidence to support the use of CI in

practice. Most of the officers tended to get statements by asking closed questions.

Milne and Bull (2006) suggested that there should be more resources directed toward improving witness-interviewing practice, especially from co-operative witnesses. However, field studies have shown that evidence-based interview training is limited and officers are not satisfied with the training that they receive (Snook, House, MacDonald, & Eastwood, 2012). Further, many officers did not receive any refresher after their initial training (Hill & Moston, 2011), and they were not provided supervision or feedback about their practice (Lamb, Hershkowitz, Orbach, & Esplin, 2008). Clarke and Milne (2001) found that officers who were given feedback and provided with supervision produced better quality interviews and sustained the effects of training for a longer period. Lapaglia et al. (2014) believed that the CI is one of the best techniques available for eliciting information, and perhaps providing a more simplified, accessible version could promote a wider use (Davis, McMahon, & Greenwood, 2004).

Alongside training, information on the disastrous effects of faulty testimony could be provided to new police officers (Savage & Milne, 2007). Surveys on police officers have demonstrated that their knowledge about influence of factors such as post-event information, wording of question, and relation between confidence and accuracy on testimony is limited (Benton, Ross, Bradshaw, Thomas, & Bradshaw, 2006; Wise, Safer, & Maro, 2011). Moraff (2017) reported the findings of a discussion on eyewitness errors by a panel of academics and law enforcement professionals in Pennsylvania, USA. According to the experts in the panel, to date, it is extremely rare for officers to receive basic training on the science of witness memory- recall and identification. Though the practices in UK and USA are very different, it seems that the lack of training for the police on the basics of eyewitness memory is a common issue.

Law Enforcement and Jurors

The court is another area of the CJS where eyewitnesses are expected to provide their statements. Eyewitness testimony plays a pivotal role in many court trials. Judges play an important role in allowing the admissibility of evidence in court (Gatowski et al., 2001), while jurors are involved in evaluating the evidence and passing the verdict (Judicial Studies Committee, 2012). Understandably so, it is essential that practitioners of the CJS and the jurors have a reasonable understanding of the malleability of memory, effects of post-event information, nature of forgetting, and other such factors on eyewitness testimony.

Surveys of judges in US, Sweden, and Norway revealed that their beliefs about the accuracy of eyewitness testimony did not match current research, especially on issues such as misinformation effect and memory decline (Granhag, Strömwall, & Hartwig, 2005; Magnussen et al., 2008; Wise & Safer, 2004). Houston, Hope, Memon, and Read (2013) found that beliefs of UK judges were consistent with experts 67% of the time. The highest consistency rate with experts were on opinions related to effects of alcohol intoxication and post-event information. However, they scored low on correct understanding of factors such as relation between confidence and accuracy and cross-race effect. Houston et al. (2013) argued that even though judges possessed certain amount of information about eyewitness testimony, the transfer of knowledge between them and researchers is still incomplete, given that there is variability in their level of knowledge. Incomplete knowledge about the fallibility of eyewitness memory could mean that there is a greater risk of wrongful convictions or unfair trials. The fact that their beliefs are not completely congruent with scientific evidence may lead judges to falsely accept myths about confidence and accuracy or juror capabilities (Magnussen et al., 2008).

Fraser, Bond-Fraser, Morrison, and Ready's (2017) study on Canadian prosecutors also yielded similar results. Fifty-two percent of prosecutors did not have sufficient knowledge about the nature of eyewitness testimony and 56% felt

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that judges needed more training on the issue as well. The majority of the prosecutors believed in the credibility of eyewitness memory for conviction of defendants, despite using information about memory fallibility to their advantage during cross-examination or closing arguments. Given their poor understanding, it may be highly unlikely that lawyers will make suitable adjustments in language or style during questioning witnesses or on their over-reliance on eyewitness testimony.

An interesting finding in the Houston et al. (2013) survey was that 73% of judges believed eyewitness testimony could be evaluated by common sense and 75% opined that experts were not needed for such matters of common sense. The question of allowing eyewitness experts to provide expert testimony in order to showcase the factors affecting eyewitness performance and thereby inform and assist the jurors in making a decision has been debated upon (Benton et al., 2006).

Relying on jurors to use their common sense has proven to be disadvantageous. It appears that jurors rely heavily on eyewitness evidence, in spite of the presence of other types of evidence such as DNA. Thus, one can estimate its influence in the absence of any type of forensic scientific evidence (Shermer et al., 2011). Several studies on mock jurors' knowledge on eyewitness behaviour have found that they tended to rely on factors that are poor predictors of accuracy such as effect of delay on consistency, and that they underestimated the role of system variables (Schmechel, O'Toole, Easterly, & Loftus, 2006; Shaw, Garcia, & McClure, 1999; Wise et al., 2014). Even in the presence of such strong evidence, almost 64% of judges in the Houston et al. (2013) survey believed that jurors are able to distinguish between accurate and inaccurate eyewitnesses.

With respect to eyewitness expert testimony in UK courts, the law states that it is not admissible and that the process of cross-examination and judges' instructions are sufficient safeguards against any identified risks (Freckelton, 2014). One of the major reasons for non-admissibility is that jurors might get

swayed by the expert's opinion and thereby not perform their duty of evaluating the evidence to their full capacity.

Given these findings, researchers believe that the legal system should be aware that the scientific underpinnings of eyewitness research are beyond the scope of common sense (Benton et al., 2006). Limited research on the efficacy of jury instructions has shown that they are ineffective in sensitising jurors towards eyewitness testimony (Berman, 2015). Therefore, it is the responsibility of the court officials to be properly informed on the issues regarding eyewitnesses and educate jurors about it (Shermer et al., 2011). Judges and other law professionals, themselves, require training in matters relating to reliability and accuracy of eyewitness testimony and these lessons should be imparted in law schools and while training law officers (Wise, Dauphinias, & Safer, 2007; Wise et al., 2014). Wise et al. (2014) suggested that they should undertake periodic refresher courses to be updated about research in this area. These procedural changes could be a step in educating legal professionals and providing them with an evidence-based approach to relying on eyewitness testimony.

Conclusion

Eyewitness memory is extremely complex and several system and estimator variables could affect it in different ways. Therefore, in order to extract quality evidence from witnesses, it is essential that interviewing and questioning be carried out with caution. As it is difficult to exercise control over estimator variables, it is important to concentrate on how to improve system variables in order to achieve best evidence. Poor practice by the practitioners of the CJS can easily cause alterations to memory and could, ultimately, result in mistrials or wrongful convictions. Researchers have demonstrated the harmful effects of these bad practices and therefore, it is in the hands of the practitioners of the CJS to make changes.

Education and training are powerful ways of implementing change. With inputs from psychologists, the police and legal professionals could be updated on current research on eyewitness behaviour and thereby influence their beliefs and practice. Supervision and feedback are key to sustaining the effects of training for a long term. Conducting proper eyewitness interviews is another legal safeguard. Police are trained to interview using the PEACE guidelines that aim to facilitate recall in eyewitnesses. However, it is crucial that usage of the framework translates into practice as well. It is vital that the professionals from the different areas join hands and work together to minimise errors and maximise quality, thereby taking a step towards avoiding miscarriages of justice.

This chapter focussed on eyewitness research and witnesses from the general population. The needs of vulnerable witnesses are different as they may struggle with typical interviewing and questioning techniques. The following chapter looks at the challenges faced by vulnerable witnesses with ID and the provisions that are in place to assist with their communication.

Chapter 2

Literature Review- Vulnerable Witnesses in the Criminal Justice System

This chapter is the second part of the literature review. It provides a detailed understanding of vulnerable witnesses in the CJS and their additional needs, that may not be addressed by regular practice. First, the definitions and characteristics of vulnerability in the legal, psychological, and societal context are discussed. The next section looks at the provision of Special Measures for vulnerable witnesses and specifically, the evolution, role, and background of Registered Intermediaries (RIs). This leads to a discussion on the problems faced by vulnerable witnesses in the CJS. This part is a combination of theory and practice as it breaks down each step in the evidence giving process and looks at the role that the police, lawyers, judges, and RIs play in the process. The conclusion ties the existing findings to the need for the current research.

Section 16 of the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (YJCEA) 1999 defines vulnerable witnesses as those who are under the age of 18; those suffering from a mental disorder as defined by the Mental Health Act 1983; those who have a significant impairment of intelligence and social functioning; and those who have a physical disability or a physical disorder (Ministry of Justice, 2011b). The law recognises that due to their vulnerabilities, these sections of the population may need to be supported whilst giving evidence.

Of these different vulnerable groups, this research examines adult witnesses with intellectual disability (ID), their prevalence in the CJS, and the problems faced by them. The area involving these witnesses is generally under-researched. Overall, there is a lack of understanding, identification of, and training about witnesses with ID, all of which will be discussed in this chapter. As

each type of vulnerability has very different needs and has to be supported differently, focussing on one group of vulnerable witnesses was useful to maintain the succinctness of the PhD. Therefore, the research questions, results, and discussions will be in the context of adult witnesses with ID.

This research specifically uses the term intellectual disability (ID) to describe those who have a significant impairment to intellectual and social functioning (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). The term learning disability will be used interchangeably only in cases where the original paper/document cited it as such.

Definitions of Vulnerability and Vulnerable Witnesses

There are about 1.4 million people with ID in the UK, including 930,400 adults (Public Health England, 2016) and this number is increasing at over 1% per annum (Department of Health, 2001). There are no official statistics of people with ID who come in contact with the CJS, partly because many victim surveys exclude this group (Gudjonsson, Murphy, & Clare, 2000). Research shows that vulnerable people are over-represented in the CJS as victims, witnesses, and suspects (Baldry, Dowse, & Clarence, 2011; Hepner, Woodward, & Stewart, 2014). In their survey of vulnerable and intimidated witnesses in England and Wales, Burton, Evans, and Sanders (2007) found that these witnesses constituted 24% to 54% of all prosecution witnesses. Of these, the groups that were mainly not identified by the CJS were those with a mental disorder or learning disability. They are at a greater risk of being victims of sexual and physical crimes, assault, mugging, and hate crime (Beadle-Brown et al., 2014; Williams, 1995). This risk may be in part due to the nature of their vulnerabilities. According to Voice UK (2007; as cited in Clarke, Prescott, & Milne, 2013), a national organisation that supports vulnerable witnesses, adults with ID are more likely to be manipulated and less likely to file a report to the police. An understanding of the vulnerabilities

associated with ID and its implications for the CJS are, thus, extremely relevant, ethically and politically.

The DSM-V (APA, 2013) defines ID as a neurodevelopmental disorder characterised by problems in general mental abilities such as abstract thinking, reasoning, judgement, verbal comprehension, working memory, and learning from experience. This results in deficits in adaptive functioning where the individual is unable to fulfil the standards of social responsibility and personal independence in one or more aspects of daily life. People with ID also have phonological, lexical, syntactical, and pragmatic difficulties (Aldridge, 2010). These could result in problems with language development, language comprehension, poor vocabulary, and understanding aspects of conversation such as the listener's perspective and turn-taking (Aldridge, 2010). These features are visible in the areas of communication, social participation, and academic or occupational functioning, across multiple environments such as home, school, work, and community (Intellectual Disability Rights Service, 2009). Gullibility and lack of risk awareness are also potential features, which may lead such individuals to be victimised, exploited, or abused by others (Maras & Bowler, 2014).

ID occurs in four levels of severity- mild (IQ level approximately 50-55 to 70), moderate (IQ level 35-40 to 55), severe (IQ level 20-25 to 35-40) and profound (IQ level below 20 or 25), whereas the mean score of the general population would be 100 (APA, 2013). The levels are based on the adaptive functioning of the individual and are diagnosed by professionals such as psychologists. Practitioners have often criticised the practice of IQ testing (Whitaker, 2010). Flynn (2000) argued that IQ tests are systematically biased against certain populations such as African Americans as the majority of them have been generated and tested using a white American population. He was in favour of using tests that directly examined impaired adaptive behaviour. Currently, a majority of the countries around the world rely on IQ tests to diagnose ID and other developmental disorders.

The onset of ID is in the developmental period, typically in early childhood and it is a lifelong disorder, though its severity levels may change over time with early and ongoing interventions (APA, 2013). ID could result from a severe head injury during the developmental period (Hepner et al., 2014) or it could be associated with genetic causes, e.g., Down syndrome (Collins & Henry, 2016).

ID is also common among individuals with autism spectrum disorder (ASD). ASD is characterised by deficits in social communication and the presence of restricted and repetitive patterns of behaviour and activities (APA, 2013). Individuals with ASD have specific difficulties with memory, which influences the way they perceive, interpret, and make sense of the world (Maras & Bowler, 2014). The term autism spectrum denotes that the characteristics of persons with autism can vary highly, from individuals being mute to those who are at the high-functioning end of the spectrum, such as Asperger's syndrome (Chown, 2010).

The Achieving Best Evidence guidelines (Ministry of Justice, 2011a) puts ID and ASD in the category of impairment of intellectual and social functioning as it recognises that learning disability cannot be described by just one disability but it is a collection of several factors in varying degrees that could affect a person's ability in relation to learning and social functioning. Therefore, this research also views ID as a cluster of different causes and includes ASD under the umbrella term of ID.

It is important to acknowledge that vulnerability cannot be limited to mere psychological boundaries or diagnoses. Beyond the cognitive factors, vulnerability depends on social, emotional, situational, and physiological factors (Gudjonsson, 2003). As much as it is natural, disability is equally socially constructed. According to McKenzie (2013), the amount of social support and inclusion that the individual receives contributes to the status of ID. ID is not a static condition but is shaped and influenced by interaction of factors such as socio-economic background, age, and culture of the individual and, sometimes, could be a blurred concept (Williams, Swift, & Mason, 2015).

For decades, disabled people have faced discriminatory legislation. They have been subjected to exclusion not only from a legal standpoint but also from a socio-economic and cultural context (Goodley, 2017). Issues around communication, self-care, mobility and participation, and independent living surround people with disabilities worldwide (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017). Negative attitudes and perceptions of the public towards ID (Scior, 2011) make it difficult for such individuals to truly become included in society. Additionally, people with ID are often dependent on others for their daily needs, which may put them at an increased risk of victimisation; they may have a lack of understanding of their rights and thereby are unable to assert them effectively (Hayes, 1992).

It is vital that there is more emphasis on inclusivity and effective participation of people with disabilities in society (Viljoen, Bornman, Wiles, & Tönsing, 2017) for their wellbeing and to avoid victimisation. Communities have to be educated by improving their disability related knowledge (Scior, 2011). Steps such as introducing legislation that will support and enhance the lives of people with disabilities could play an important role in encouraging their inclusion and acceptance into the community and society (World Health Organization, 2011). Inclusive legislation will give such individuals a voice and an opportunity to access justice. Further, as more practitioners of the CJS interact with people with disabilities and become aware of their capabilities, it could reduce negative stereotypes about their credibility and reliability as witnesses (Kebbell & Hatton, 1999). The following few sections will discuss the vulnerabilities of witnesses with ID and the legislation that has been implemented to support them in the CJS.

Psychological Vulnerabilities of Witnesses with ID

When they come into contact with the CJS, people with ID are considered to be more vulnerable than those without ID (Gudjonsson & Clare, 1995). Gudjonsson and Henry (2003) stated that there are psychological vulnerabilities such as interrogative suggestibility, acquiescence, and compliance that come to the fore when they attempt to provide evidence. Interrogative suggestibility is characterised by two independent factors called yield and shift. Yield refers to yielding or giving in to leading questions whereas shift is described as the ability to cope with pressures of questioning such as negative feedback or repeated questioning (Gudjonsson, 2003). According to Gudjonsson and Clark's (1986) theory of suggestibility, people with ID are more suggestible than people from the general population. They are more likely to give in to leading questions due to their poor memory capacity, which makes them more susceptible to suggestion, and they are less able to cope with the unfamiliarity of the questions that are put to them to them by either the police or lawyers. Cross-examination techniques such as repetition of questions have shown to cause people with ID to change their responses, which in turn may have an impact on their credibility as witnesses (Hepner et al., 2014).

Cognitive limitations and the pressures of the police interview can make individuals with ID more prone to acquiescence (Clare & Gudjonsson, 1993). Acquiescence is the tendency of a person to answer questions in the affirmative, irrespective of the content (Gudjonsson, 1990). People with ID are more likely to acquiesce than their typically developed counterparts (Gudjonsson & Clare, 1995) as they think that it is what the interviewer is looking for. Additionally, they may try to please persons in authority and try to be compliant to them (Ridley, Gabbert, & La Rooy, 2013). According to Gudjonsson (2003), compliance makes individuals obey instructions and comply with requests that they may or may not agree with in private. For example, the interviewee may comply with a request by the officer to provide an account and leave the station quickly, even though

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he knows that this may result in an incomplete account (O'Mahony, Smith, & Milne, 2011). Suggestibility, on the other hand, is related to intellectual and memory processes and implies that the individual has accepted the suggestion even in private (Gudjonsson & Clark, 1986).

Gudjonsson (1990) found that suggestibility and compliance were significantly correlated and were related to factors such as social desirability, avoidance coping, and anxiety processes. Acquiescence was believed to be an intellectual construct and was influenced by factors such as vocabulary, comprehension, and concept formation. Consequently, witnesses with ID may not provide complete answers because they may not fully understand the questions and are unlikely to seek clarifications (Cossins, 2009).

However, Gudjonsson (2010) warned against using these psychological vulnerabilities as markers of unreliable testimony. Rather, they should be considered as risk factors and should not be misconstrued when viewed in isolation to other important factors, for example, using a high suggestibility score to challenge the credibility of a witness statement (Gudjonsson & MacKeith, 1997). Milne, Clare, and Bull (2002) found that though adults with mild ID were more suggestible and less resistant to leading questions than adults from the general population, there was no difference in the shift scores of the two groups. This indicates that the extent to which individuals change their responses after negative feedback does not solely depend on their vulnerability.

Rapley and Antaki (1996) criticised the notion that people with learning disabilities are uniformly acquiescent. They argued that there were a collection of factors such as the sequence of questioning, their level of attention to those questions, and the environment in which interview is conducted that have an impact on their behaviour. Using conversation analysis to evaluate the interviews of their participants, Rapley and Antaki found that people with learning disabilities used their own strategies to cope with their cognitive limitations and consequently, tried to make sense of the interviewer's questions and respond to

them accordingly. White and Willner (2005) found that when individuals with ID were asked questions about an event they had actually witnessed as opposed to something that had no personal significance to them, they were less suggestible.

Maras, Memon, Lambrechts, and Bowler (2013) tested the memory of 18 high-functioning adults with ASD and 18 counterparts in a live first aid scenario. They found that while the ASD group made more errors, both groups recalled equal number of correct details. Maras & Bowler (2014) acknowledged that research has often found contradicting predictions regarding memory and other psychological vulnerabilities of people with ASD. While heightened sensitivity to noise and light, which could be exacerbated in a police station (Dawson & Watling, 2000), may make it difficult for them to provide their best evidence; they may be less susceptible to post-event misinformation as they are less likely to fill gaps to fit with their schemas, making them good witnesses (Maras & Bowler, 2014). Researchers seem to conclude that with appropriate assistance and adjustments, vulnerable witnesses can provide reliable evidence (Gudjonsson, 2010; Ternes & Yuille, 2008)

Special Measures for Vulnerable Witnesses

Section 16 of the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (YJCEA), 1999 defines vulnerable witnesses as (Ministry of Justice, 2011a):

- children under 18 years of age (Section 16 [1]);
- witnesses who have a mental health disorder as defined by the Mental Health Act 1983 (Section 16 [2]);
- witnesses whose intelligence and social functioning is significantly impaired (witnesses who have a learning disability) (Section 16 [2]); and
- witnesses who have a physical disability (Section 16 [2]).

Further, while the law recognises certain groups of witnesses such as the elderly and frail as intimidated witnesses (Section 17 of the YJCEA 1999) (Ministry of Justice, 2011b), there may be differences in the research and practice, and layperson definitions of who constitutes as vulnerable. For example, a pregnant female or an intoxicated individual may be seen as vulnerable in society but not by practice. As the Special Measures are granted based on the legal definition, this research also uses the definition above.

In order for vulnerable witnesses to receive equal access to the CJS, just like any other witness (Ministry of Justice, 2011b), the YJCEA 1999 introduced a range of Special Measures to support them whilst giving evidence. The Special Measures that are available with permission of the Court are (Ministry of Justice, 2011a):

- use of screens (Section 23);

- use of TV live link (Section 24)

- giving evidence in private (Section 25);

- removal of wigs and gowns (Section 26);

- use of video-recorded interviews as evidence-in-chief (Section 27);

- video-recorded cross-examination (Section 28);

- communication through intermediaries (Section 29); and

- use of special communication aids (Section 30)

Vulnerable witnesses are eligible for the Special Measures (one or a combination) only if the quality of their evidence is likely to be diminished due to their disorder or disability. Quality of evidence is determined by the completeness, coherence, and accuracy of the statement as judged by the police and court. Thus, witnesses are able to use these measures only if they are likely to improve and maximise the quality of evidence.

Witnesses are accorded Special Measures when the police identify them as being vulnerable (Charles, 2012). This identification can be based on the police's own assessment such as collecting background information about the

witness, behavioural cues, or by the witness's self-disclosure (Cooke & Davies, 2001). Officers often rely on parents/carers, teachers, psychologists, or social workers of the witness to provide background information. The officer records the witness information in the witness statement form known as MG11. When the police identify that a witness may benefit from Special Measures, the witness assessment form for Special Measures MG2 is completed. This form addresses the witness's eligibility and should be submitted with the case file so that the prosecutor can make an application to the court. An early special measures discussion should be held between the prosecutor and officer in charge to assist with the case progression (Charles, 2012). When the court is satisfied that the use of a special measure or a combination of them will enhance witness evidence, an application will be granted (Ministry of Justice, 2011b).

Charles (2012) reviewed 74 CPS case files, of which 55 had a Special Measures application. She found that there were issues at several stages of the application process. Police often did not fill the MG11 form completely while the MG2 forms were not provided to the prosecutors early. They sometimes lacked the necessary details about the witness. In a few cases, the police did not provide the MG2 form at all, despite a follow-up by the prosecutor. Charles noted that because MG2 forms were insufficiently detailed, they were unsuitable for the needs of the witness. This also caused delays in the application process and in one case, the Special Measures application was rejected by the court. Thus, it seems that those in need of special measures are disadvantaged right from the start due to sub-standard methods of filing for the application and lack of training for police in understanding vulnerability. The section on page 45 discusses the difficulties faced by the police in identifying vulnerability in detail.

Hunter, Jacobson, and Kirby (2013) conducted a study for Victim Support where they examined experiences of 44 prosecution witnesses from two Crown courts in England. Nine participants had received Special Measures where they were allowed to give evidence from behind a screen via a video link. They found

that some witnesses were given the impression that they would receive Special Measures, only to be told later that the court had denied their application. Others did not receive proper information about what kind of support they would be getting, while some were told at the very last minute. The guide for vulnerable and intimidated witnesses (Ministry of Justice, 2011b) clearly states that witnesses must not be given the impression that they will receive Special Measures as the decision is based on the discretion of the court. On the positive side, witnesses were relieved to receive the Special Measures and said that they benefitted from it as it made them less anxious and emotional and that they could concentrate on giving evidence.

Registered Intermediaries for Vulnerable Witnesses

An RI assists the vulnerable witness throughout the evidence giving process and facilitates communication between the witness and the police and court officials. Of the different Special Measures available, the focus of this research is on the use of RIs for vulnerable witnesses (Section 29 of the YJCEA 1999) (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). The role of an RI is important, as there is an increase in the frequency of vulnerability in the CJS, while the police lack the training to identify and understand it. The majority of current research on RIs has mainly looked at their role as perceived by jurors (Collins, Harker, & Antonopoulos, 2017), judges and advocates (Maras et al., 2017), and police (Crane, Maras, Hawken, Mulcahy, & Memon, 2016) mainly by means of experiments and questionnaires. This research has focussed on the two important elements of the scheme, the RIs and the police, and has used qualitative methods to explore their experiences. The lack of research was also evident from the fact that much of the information about RIs had to be procured through grey literature such as policy documents and from a freedom of information request made to the MOJ.

The MOJ's Better Trials Unit set up the Witness Intermediary Scheme (WIS). The WIS was introduced as a pilot project in 2004 in the areas of Merseyside, West Midlands, Thames Valley, South Wales, Norfolk, and Devon and Cornwall (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2007). In September 2008 it was nationally rolled out, and has since been available in all 43 police forces and 14 CPS areas of England and Wales (Ministry of Justice, 2015).

Demographics and Background of RIs

As of February 2016, there were 184 RIs on the WIS database[1]. In a survey conducted by the Ministry of Justice in 2014[1], of 61 RIs, 57 were female, 38% were in the age range of 45-54 years and 28% were between 55-64 years of age. There was no one under 25 years of age, which may suggest that only those with extensive experience are likely to be recruited to this role. Ninety percent identified themselves as white-British. According to Chan (2011), of the 118 RIs that were active at the time, 81 were speech and language therapists (SLTs) and ten were psychologists. The rest were a mix of teachers, nurses, social workers, therapists, and educational consultants.

Cooper (2014) surveyed 38 RIs who indicated that, in total, they worked with 688 witnesses between September 2012 and August 2013 and on an average, they accepted a little less than two referrals per month. They worked with more child witnesses (318) than adult prosecution witnesses (293). Chan (2011) compared monthly requests to the WIS based on witness vulnerability and found that from February 2010 to July 2010, 71.5% of requests were made for witnesses with a learning disability.

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[1] This information was obtained from a Freedom of Information request made to the Ministry of Justice in February 2016.

Role and Function of RIs

The Procedural Guidance Manual (Ministry of Justice, 2012, 2015) provides the guidelines and principles of practicing as an RI. An RI facilitates a two-way communication between the vulnerable witness and the different practitioners of the CJS. The RI assists only the prosecution (victim), its witnesses, and defence witnesses. Section 104 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, which has not yet been implemented, will allow for the use of intermediaries for certain vulnerable defendants (O'Mahony, 2013). In the interim, judges are using their inherent jurisdiction to grant application to the defence to use an intermediary to assist the defendant with the trial. The intermediaries that work with the defence are termed as non-registered intermediaries and they work outside the WIS (Ministry of Justice, 2012). An RI can also work as a non-registered intermediary (O'Mahony, 2013).

The role of the RI could be split into two stages: the police and the court (Ministry of Justice, 2012, 2015). In each stage, the RI performs specific functions. The police usually make a request for an RI. However, if the police do not identify vulnerability and the need for an RI becomes apparent at a later stage, the CPS lawyer can make a request. Either end-user contacts the WIS matching service, which is run by the National Crime Agency (NCA). The NCA contacts an RI who has the appropriate skills, based on the case requirements, and who operates in the geographical area of the witness. The RI is expected to contact the end-user within 24 hours. Once contacted, the officer or lawyer provides the case details to the RI and they schedule a date and time for the assessment of the witness.

The first step of the RI's role is to conduct the assessment. The goal of the assessment is to examine the witness's communication abilities and needs. This includes evaluating whether the witness has the ability to provide evidence to the police and the court and whether the presence of the RI will enhance the quality of evidence. The RI assesses the witness's language, attention span, understanding of temporal and spatial concepts, abstract terms, and the extent

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of suggestibility and compliance (Department of Justice, 2013). Often RIs gather more information from other professionals, who may work regularly with the witness, such as teachers, psychologists, and social workers (O'Mahony, 2009). Then the RI provides a preliminary report to the police officer, which together enables them to plan the interview. The planning of the interview is essential as the RI advises the officer on the style of questioning, including suggestions about the room layout, use of props, and avoiding certain vocabulary (Ministry of Justice, 2011a, 2012). When the interview is conducted, the RI is present in the room with the officer to provide assistance, when required (Ministry of Justice, 2012). All interviews are video recorded (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). In situations where the RI is called after the completion of the interview, the RI first does the assessment and then watches the video interview.

Next, the RI writes a report for the court, with all the details and observations from the interview and other professionals that he/she may have contacted. This report, along with the special measures application form, is submitted to the court for permission to use the RI when the case is on trial. The RI can be present to assist the witness at trial only if the Special Measure request is granted.

Before the witness gives evidence in court, the RI is involved in a Ground Rules Hearing (GRH) in the presence of the trial judge and the prosecution and defence lawyers. The Criminal Practice Rules Part 3 and the Criminal Practice Directions 3D.7 dictate that a GRH should be conducted in all trials involving an RI (Ministry of Justice, 2015). This hearing sets out the ground rules for the conduct of questioning by the lawyers to the vulnerable witness. The RI may be asked to look at the counsel's proposed cross-examination questions. The RI examines the questions from the perspective of the witness's communication needs and advises the court to revise questions that may prove difficult for the witness to comprehend. The final decision, inarguably, lies with the judge. The RI's duty is to suggest rephrasing of questions so that the witness can answer

them and not to protect the witness from cross-examination (Ministry of Justice, 2015).

Prior to the trial, the RI may also attend a court familiarisation visit with the witness, which could include practicing on the live link or having a look at the courtroom. This step could help make the witness feel comfortable around the new environment and learn more about what they would be expected to do on the day of the trial. During the trial, the RI assists the witness in giving evidence and he/she sits alongside the witness. The judge should explain the role of the RI to the jury. The RI is expected to intervene if the line of questioning seems too complicated for the witness or if the lawyer does not adhere to the ground rules (Ministry of Justice, 2012).

The Code of Practice and Code of Ethics lays strict boundaries to the role of RIs (Department of Justice, 2013). The most important of all is that the RI is impartial and neutral and their paramount duty is to the court. The RI's role has to be transparent. The RI is never allowed to be alone with the witness as a neutral third party must always be present. The RI is not permitted to express an opinion of what may be the truth or comment on the reliability of the witness's evidence. The RI is neither an interpreter nor an expert witness. Thus, the principal goal of an RI is to facilitate complete, coherent, and accurate communication between the witness and the police and the court throughout the evidence giving process.

Recruitment and Training of RIs

Based on their extensive role, the application process to become an RI ensures that candidates demonstrate a range of competencies and skills based on their specialist background (Chan, 2011). After clearing the interview, candidates attend a week-long training course run by the MOJ. Here, their knowledge and skills, relevant to the intermediary role and CJS, are assessed

(O'Mahony, 2009). It is only after successfully completing the training that a candidate is registered on the national database (Chan, 2011).

RIs are self-employed and are paid for their services by the end-user, either the police or the CPS. They are expected to commit a minimum of 24 days in a year to the role, which must involve face-to-face contact with the witness (Ministry of Justice, 2015). They are required to participate in Continuing Professional Development (CPD) events that are aimed at maintaining and improving their knowledge and broadening their skills and professional qualities. As part of the scheme, RIs have to join one of the regional support groups, which are based across England and Wales, and participate in the discussions. Further, all RIs are part of Registered Intermediaries Online or RIO, which is an online support forum that they use to engage with other RIs and senior members (Chan, 2011).

The Procedural Guidance Manual (Ministry of Justice, 2015) states that the WIS's Quality Assurance Board (QAB) is responsible for the regulation and monitoring of professional standards in RIs. The Intermediaries Registration Board, which governs the WIS, and the QAB review the feedback on the work done by RIs with an aim to maintain proficient standards.

According to the Witness Charter (Ministry of Justice, 2013), witnesses should be treated respectfully and in an efficient manner by the professionals who work in the CJS. The professionals should also be sensitive to witness' needs and avoid any kind of discrimination against them. Standard 1 of the Charter specifies that witnesses should receive fair treatment, especially during police investigations, irrespective of race, religion, gender, age, sexuality, or any disability. Consequently, the Charter ensures that witnesses are helped and supported at every step of the way in their encounter with the CJS. Witnesses and the testimony they provide have been regarded as a crucial element in ensuring that justice is achieved. Thus, the law has recognised the need to support

vulnerable witnesses during the evidence giving process and thereby introduced the Special Measures to help them provide their best evidence.

Theoretically there may be provisions to assist vulnerable witnesses but they often face several barriers while accessing and participating in the CJS (Powell, Bowden, & Mattison, 2014). It is a requisite that evidence obtained from vulnerable witnesses should be complete, coherent, and accurate (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). Problems with production and comprehension of information may affect their ability to contribute effectively to every aspect of the CJS such as providing testimony, understanding court proceedings, and answering questions in court (O'Mahony, 2009). The following section will evaluate the problems faced by vulnerable witnesses in terms of theory and practice.

Challenges Faced by Witnesses with ID

The evidence giving process involves different elements such as being interviewed by the police, providing evidence in court, and facing cross-examination by lawyers. Research shows that vulnerable witnesses may be at a disadvantage during each of these stages (Murphy & Clare, 2006).

Identification of Witnesses with ID

The pre-requisite to obtaining Special Measures and other interventions is to actually be identified as vulnerable. The police usually carry out this procedure. Burton et al. (2007) pointed out that if the police do not notice the vulnerability, the CPS rarely identify it as they do not have contact with the witness until trial. This could result in the witness not receiving the necessary Special Measures or a delay in the trial as an application for it would then have to be made. Therefore, as the first point of contact, interaction with the police has an impact on the justice pathways that are to be provided to the vulnerable witness (Modell &

Mak, 2008). Early identification of vulnerability is, therefore, crucial in providing the right kind of support (O'Mahony et al., 2011). Police are expected to identify vulnerability and to respond appropriately. Despite the fact that they do not have any formal qualifications to make these decisions, officers often find themselves in this position of responsibility (Henshaw & Thomas, 2012).

As officers are increasingly exposed to different forms of vulnerability as part of their job, they accumulate experiential knowledge about the needs and possibly, risks, of vulnerable people. This has led to increased reliance on the skills acquired through practice and experience (Spivak & Thomas, 2013). These skills could include using visual and behavioural cues to identify ID. Police may rely heavily on physical or behavioural signs such as odd behaviour as evidence of ID (Douglas & Cuskelly, 2012; Henshaw & Thomas, 2012). While this may be something that is easy to do on a practical level (Henshaw & Thomas, 2012), it is highly unlikely that such methods encompass people with mild ID or those whose behaviour is not distinct (Harris, 2006). Over-reliance on these methods could potentially lead to false positive or false negative identifications (Henshaw & Thomas, 2012). Further, they also propagate a negative and false stereotype of people with ID and demonstrate a lack of awareness of their characteristics and needs (Eadens, Cranston-Gingras, Dupoux, & Eadens, 2016).

Police may also depend on other sources such as a formal diagnosis, and background information such as details from the school and whether the individual receives government benefits (Cooke & Davies, 2001), to make an identification. However, Murphy and Clare (2006) noted that even those with a formal diagnosis may not disclose it or may deny it in fear of being stigmatised by the police. In a study by Crane et al. (2016), only 39% of adults with ASD chose to self-disclose their diagnosis as they felt victimised by the police. Cooke and Davies (2001) suggested that it was essential to ask the vulnerable witness questions in order to gather as much information about them as possible before making an identification. Yet, significant time pressures on the police inarguably hampers

the identification process (Hayes, 2000). Hayes (2000) stated that police rarely tried to collect more information about a vulnerable witness from local disability support services, as it was time consuming.

Another point of concern with respect to identification is that police tend to confuse their perceptions of mental illness with that of ID (Douglas & Cuskelly, 2012; Henshaw & Thomas, 2012). Modell and Cropp (2007), in their study of American police officers, argued that officers might be influenced by their training and experiences of offenders with mental illness, especially those who may be violent. They may be unable to distinguish between the two vulnerable groups and project characteristics of people with a mental disorder on to those with an ID. This may impair their recognition of ID. Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2007) agreed and found that identifying witnesses with a learning disability was one of the challenges faced by police forces in England and Wales. Sharp (2001) noted that there is a lack of awareness, which may lead to police making inappropriate assumptions about people with learning disabilities. Consequently, they are unable to give vulnerable witnesses the required support to provide quality evidence.

Contradictorily, police officers seem to be quite confident in dealing with vulnerable witnesses. In Crane et al.'s (2016) study, out of 238 officers, 48% felt they were quite knowledgeable about ASD and a further 48% felt that they were well equipped to work with people with ASD. However, when adults with ASD were asked about their satisfaction with the CJS and the treatment they received from the police, 69% were unsatisfied. They added that the police lacked awareness about ASD, and that they did not meet their physical, emotional, and cognitive needs. Similarly, Chown (2010) surveyed 120 UK police officers on autism awareness and found that many of them significantly over-estimated their level of understanding. It is possible that the level of awareness and inconsistencies are reflective of the amount and nature of training that police receive with respect to ID (Henshaw & Thomas, 2012).

Viljoen et al. (2017) did a systematic review of research studies that evaluated disability sensitivity training for police and found that over the last 15 years, there has been very little empirical research in this area. Singh (1998) noted that only 35% of UK forces received awareness training that focussed on people with ID. According to a Home Office police research group report, 80% of officers did not receive any disability related training (Dukes, 1997). The majority of them pointed out that, problems with communicating with vulnerable witnesses was one of the main barriers in providing quality service to vulnerable people.

Recent findings also show similar results. In Chown's (2010) study, 62% of the participants had not undertaken training related to autism awareness and 30% had limited exposure to the same. Based on information from a Freedom of Information request, Archer and Hurley (2013) found that out of 42 police forces in England and Wales, only nine provided a good level of ASD training. Interestingly, 19 forces did provide a satisfactory level of training but it was not available to all the staff, especially those who needed it. Henshaw and Thomas (2012) surveyed 229 Australian police officers and assessed their knowledge of ID, identification methods, and training received. They found that officers were less confident in interacting with a witness with ID as compared to an offender with ID. Eighty percent relied on physical and behavioural characteristics and communication style as indicators of ID and 65% officers reported that they received sufficient training on ID. However, as Henshaw and Thomas remarked, most of them used overt and visible signs as markers of ID, which are not always accurate or necessarily related to the disability. All these findings indicate that the officers may not have a complete understanding of ID.

Alongside being insufficient, training related to ID is not universal and uniform across police forces (Sharp, 2001). Some regional forces, in collaboration with other agencies, provide specialised training programs to their officers. For example, the Hammersmith and Fulham learning disability clinical psychology team provided a learning disability awareness training to the Hammersmith and

Fulham police force in UK (Raczka, Williams, & Theodore, 2014). The training was conducted over two days. It comprised of information on learning disability, ASD, hate crime, communicating with people with learning disability, and details of the local support team. Participants also watched a short film and were given related handouts. The trainers measured the effectiveness of the sessions by means of a pre- and post-training evaluation. They said that majority of the participants found the training useful. Their knowledge level and confidence in interacting with a person with a learning disability increased after training. However, such training is unlikely to be effective as learning about IDs cannot be accomplished in a one-time event; the usefulness of training can be maximised only through reinforcement and renewal of learning material and by measuring practical outcomes (Viljoen et al., 2017).

In Crane et al.'s (2016) study, out of 242 officers, 37% received training on ASD, which was mainly provided by police services (70%) or by charities that work with ASD (16%). Most of the participants felt that aspects of the training were positive. The training consisted of modules such as knowledge about ASD, practical implications for the police role, how to minimise distress, and altering questioning styles. Though many reported that the training was overly simplistic and lacked focus on ASD in the context of the CJS, some found the modules extremely useful. Crane et al. highlighted that although there is some evidence of good training, it has to be widespread.

Herrington and Roberts (2012) rightly argued that it is not the job of the police to attempt diagnosis of ID or mental illness in the police station. They have neither the clinical expertise nor the time to carry out a detailed assessment of the witness. A holistic approach that would cover the general characteristics of the specific IDs, that officers are more likely to be faced with, may better equip them to deal with the varied situations that they may encounter (Chown, 2010). Coleman and Cotton (2010) suggested that training should consist of collaborative teaching from multiple disciplines such as psychology, mental

health, and by people with disability themselves. The National Autistic Society (2017) has collaborated with experts in autism research to develop a guide on autism for all police officers. The guide explains the characteristics of autism, signs for recognition, and several dos and don'ts whilst arresting and interviewing a person with autism. It could be argued that the information being disseminated is restricted to one group of vulnerable people, i.e., those with autism. The issue of educating officers across the country about the wide range of IDs seems to be unaddressed.

Interactive methods such as role play, use of videos, simulations, group discussions, and even direct contact with people with ID could be a platform for shared learning and may promote long lasting training effects (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Eadens et al. (2016) believed that the social distance theory could be used as a basis for providing better training. The theory proposes that the more experience officers have with people with ID, the more comfortable they would be around them (Cooke, 2014). Eadens et al. (2016) found that 62.9% of officers, in their study, had almost no contact with the ID population outside of their work. They argued that this could be a reason why the police lacked knowledge of the basic characteristics of ID and were unsure of the difference between mental illness and ID. Keith, Bennetto, and Rogge (2015) felt that interaction with people with ID should be rewarding and intimate, thereby increasing the quality of the contact. Studies have shown that quality of contact is associated with lower levels of bias against and an increase in positive attitude towards people with ID (Barr & Bracchitta, 2012; Keith et al., 2015). It is essential that police officers are educated about the problems that people with ID face in the CJS. This could be done by developing training that is rich in quality and could involve people with ID themselves and their family members, thereby encouraging positive interactions between these groups.

As stated earlier, learning has to be continuous and repeated exposure is essential (Crisp & Turner, 2009; Viljoen et al., 2017). More research is needed to

understand the practical effects of the police training such as nature of interaction of police with people with ID and staff and community satisfaction levels (Viljoen et al., 2017). Additionally, up-to-date research on police officers' attitudes towards ID is necessary to evaluate the effects of recent changes such as working with RIs, and the development of online resources such as those by College of Policing (2017a) on working with vulnerable witnesses. This will provide further information on the training needs of the police. The current research, therefore, addresses this gap in knowledge in Study 3 (Chapter 7).

Credibility of Witnesses with ID

Scior (2011), in a systematic review of 75 studies about knowledge and beliefs about ID held by the general public, found that across different cultures, there appears to be a stigma associated with ID. There is a lack of understanding about the nature of ID and a lack of social interaction with people with ID. Scior also argued that, over a period of time, providing information about the capabilities of such individuals and opportunities for interactions with them could help in reducing the negativity. Yet, the media often portrays people with ASD as violent and likely to be associated with criminal activities, which fuels the negative attitudes towards such individuals (Brewer, Zoanetti, & Young, 2017).

Negative presumptions towards with people with ID are not limited to the public alone. Police investigators (Aarons & Powell, 2003) and legal professionals (Nathanson & Platt, 2005) assume that witnesses with ID are not reliable and highly suggestible and would not be able to give evidence and consequently do not pursue proceedings. The stereotypical belief that they do not make competent eyewitnesses (Kebbell & Hatton, 1999) acts as a barrier to them accessing the CJS and has an impact on case outcomes and, ultimately, justice.

Given their problems with language and communication, people with ID may find it difficult to provide elaborate details and descriptions (Gawrylowicz, Gabbert, Carson, Lindsay, & Hancock, 2013). Yet, studies on people with ID and

those with ASD have demonstrated that with appropriate questioning, they were able to provide accurate information as compared to their typical counterparts (Manzanero, Contreras, Recio, Alemany, & Martorell, 2012; Maras & Bowler, 2014; Ternes & Yuille, 2008). More education that directly debunks these myths, encouraging discussions (Corrigan & Penn, 1999) among the police about witnesses with ID, and training on interviewing such witnesses is, therefore, essential.

The nature of the legal system is such that witness accuracy alone is not sufficient. For the criminal proceeding to be completed successfully, jurors have to believe in the credibility of the witness as well (Henry, Ridley, Perry, & Crane, 2011). Stobbs and Kebbell (2003) assessed mock jurors' perceptions of testimony of witnesses with ID. They found that while witnesses with ID were considered to be honest, the jurors were reluctant to rely on their evidence. Studies by Peled, Iarocci, and Connolly (2004) on youth with ID and by Brown and Lewis (2013) and Henry et al. (2011) on children with ID, showed similar results.

Bell and Loftus (1989) found that mock jurors rated testimony as credible when it included minor details. This may prove to be difficult for witnesses with ID, as they may not have complete memory for events (Stobbs & Kebbell, 2003). Kebbell and Hatton (1999) argued that even though witnesses with ID may provide less quantity of information, their memory for the important details concerning the crime may be good, and it is likely that such information is more pertinent to the case. Thus, there seems to be a discrepancy between the ability of such witnesses and jurors ideas regarding credibility (Stobbs & Kebbell, 2003). Stobbs and Kebbell (2003) suggested informing the jury of the abilities of the witness, by using an expert witness, so that their decisions are not prejudiced. However, the use of such an expert witness is not admissible in UK courts (Freckelton, 2014).

Recent research by Ridley, van Rheede, and Wilcock (2015) and Collins et al. (2017) examined the effects of the presence of an RI and the perceptions of

the jury about witness credibility. In both studies, mock jurors read or viewed a mock cross-examination of a child witness, either with or without an RI. In Ridley et al.'s (2015) study, RI presence did not have either a positive or a negative impact on the perception of the child. On the other hand, the children in Collins et al.'s (2017) study were rated as being more credible and more believable when the RI was present. Thus, the use of an RI for witnesses with ID could also prove to be beneficial in alleviating the negative beliefs about their competency as witnesses.

Interviewing Witnesses with ID

Kebbell and Hatton (1999) argued that because witnesses with ID find it difficult to describe their experiences in detail, they should not be considered as witnesses who are unable to provide quality information. The questioning technique used by the investigating officer plays an important role in eliciting an accurate account. Cederborg and Lamb (2008) analysed twelve interviews of Swedish police officers and examined the types of questions they asked alleged victims with ID. They found that officers mostly used option-posing and suggestive questions. Option-posing questions focus on details about the incident that the witness has not previously mentioned or asking the witness to affirm or negate an option given by the interviewer. Suggestive questions are where the expected response is powerfully suggested through the questions itself, for example, ''he forced you to do that, didn't he?'' Further, the officers did not use sufficient open-ended questions and did not provide the witnesses time to give a response. One limitation of the study was that the officers were not trained to interview people with ID.

MacDonald, Snook, and Milne (2017) stated that those officers who were trained to interview witnesses, including children, asked more open-ended and fewer leading questions than those who were untrained. However, training had no significant impact on the amount of closed yes/no, forced choice, and multiple

questions that were asked. They suggested that transferring skills from the classroom to the field is neither seamless nor immediate. Officers required support post training in order to maximise learning.

Ebbinghaus's (1885) theory of forgetting posited that the forgetting of new information is rapid at first, which leads to a systematic decrease in the recall of the learnt material. Based on this theory, information acquired during training cannot be retained accurately without the regular renewal of the material (Viljoen et al., 2017). It is, therefore, essential that officers undergo refresher courses and are provided with easily accessible learning materials, so that their level of knowledge is regularly updated and monitored.

The Ministry of Justice (2011a) has provided guidelines for an interview structure to enable vulnerable witnesses to give an account of what they experienced. This method of interviewing is known as Achieving Best Evidence (ABE). As such, all officers who interview vulnerable witnesses are trained in this interviewing technique (Griffiths & Milne, 2012). This approach is suggested as a best practise method but it is not legally enforceable. The MOJ asks interviewers to be flexible based on the requirements of the witness. However, as noted earlier, officers may encounter difficulties in identifying the type of vulnerability and adapting their practice accordingly. All ABE interviews are video recorded. There are four main phases to ABE interviewing:

- establishing rapport
- free narrative account
- questioning and
- closure

The rapport-building phase is essential to make the witness feel comfortable with the officer. It gives the officer an opportunity to understand how the witness communicates and establish rules such as saying, ''don't know'' or ''don't understand'' is ok (Gudjonsson & Joyce, 2011). In the free narrative phase, the interviewer encourages the witness to provide an uninterrupted free

narrative account of the incident (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). Interviewers should be aware of the psychological vulnerabilities of the witness such as the tendency to acquiesce or be compliant. Therefore, they should try not to appear too authoritative or consciously or subconsciously indicate approval or disapproval.

The third phase of questioning aims to elicit specific information from the witness based on what was freely recalled. It is suggested that interviewers introduce a topic using open-ended questions and use specific closed questions only to probe for more details. Open-ended questions usually begin with, ''tell me'' or ''describe'', whereas specific closed questions could be framed using ''who'', ''when'', and ''where''. The guidelines state that forced choice questions such as, ''was the car large or small?'' should be used as a last resort. Multiple and leading questions should be avoided as they could create misunderstanding, distort memory, or could lead the witness to agree or disagree with the interviewer's questions (Ministry of Justice, 2011a).

Interviewers must ask only one question at a time and questions should be simple (Bull, 2010). Abstract words, jargon, and double negatives should be avoided. The witness's understanding of time, dates, frequency, age, weight, and height have to be considered when questioning and, therefore, planning the interview is crucial (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). The final phase is closure, where the interviewer recapitulates briefly the witness's account. The aim is to make the witness feel comfortable as they may have been distressed while narrating the events (Gudjonsson & Joyce, 2011).

This phased interviewing approach has proven to be helpful to vulnerable witnesses in providing an accurate account (Gudjonsson & Joyce, 2011), as compared to the CI, which has shown to cause more errors in adults with ASD (Crane, Henry, Maras, & Wilcock, 2015). Milne et al. (1999) found that although adults with ID recalled more information using CI as compared to a structured interview, there was also an increase in the amount of confabulations. Maras and Bowler (2010) reported that people with ASD made more errors and were less

accurate than their typical counterparts when CI was used. Yet, Clarke et al. (2013) found that CI enhanced recall in people with mild ID without increasing inaccuracies or confabulations, as compared to a structured interview. These contradictory findings could be due to the inherent differences in the capacities of people with ID and those with ASD, in areas of language, memory, and cognition. The findings also emphasise the need for flexibility based on the needs of the witness, rather than a rigid structure.

Due to lack of research (Clarke et al., 2013) and the unsuitability of CI for different groups, the ABE interview is currently deemed the best practice method to interview vulnerable witnesses. However, as stated earlier, officers often lack the skill and expertise to understand the challenges that different vulnerable witnesses face (Herrington & Roberts, 2012) and consequently, may not be able to alter their interviewing technique to cater to the requirements of the witness. With the introduction of RIs, it seems possible to tailor the interview to suit the needs and capabilities of the witness (Crane et al., 2015). RIs help in assessing the witness and planning the interview and their support and expertise could be beneficial to the officer. Crane et al. (2016), in a survey, asked 113 police officers to rate their perceived helpfulness of RIs. Forty-two percent found them helpful, while 23% said they were unhelpful. RIs' role in facilitating communication was deemed to be an important reason why the officers used them.

The use of RIs is likely only if the investigating officer has knowledge of this Special Measure. In Crane et al.'s (2016) survey, 61% of 240 respondents had little or no knowledge of the WIS. One reason could be that the majority of the participants in this study were frontline uniformed officers and were not responsible for interviewing vulnerable witnesses. Uniformed officers are often the first point of contact for vulnerable victims and witnesses. It is essential that they are provided with basic information on the support available, so that the process of the witness being considered eligible for Special Measures is more efficient. For those officers who are involved in interviewing, they are unlikely to

be able to do so effectively without appropriate support, especially when they encounter particularly challenging witnesses such as those with severe ID or communication difficulties. Therefore, training officers in using best practice methods should include detailed information on working with RIs (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). This is to ensure that officers have working knowledge of the availability and understanding of the necessity of this Special Measure in supporting vulnerable witnesses.

Currently, no research has looked at the relationship between the police and RIs, which the current thesis aims to do. Knowing about how they work together, could address the gap in knowledge by providing an understanding of their challenges and the ways to improve the efficacy of the scheme.

Cross-examination of Witnesses with ID

In the adversarial system in England and Wales, the witness is examined through the evidence-in-chief and cross-examination. Evidence-in-chief is usually an account of what occurred as told by the witness and is followed by direct examination by the prosecution. Cross-examination takes place immediately after and is conducted by the opposing counsel (Kebbell, Hatton, & Johnson, 2004). The role of cross-examination is not finding out the truth but it is to try and discredit evidence (Evans, 1995). The methods used in cross-examination are known to forcibly shape, modify, and limit witness testimony.

Research has documented that the questioning strategies used often confuse witnesses with ID. Lawyers heavily rely on the use of negatives, double negatives, multi-part questions, advanced vocabulary, and legal jargon (Kebbell & Johnson, 2000; Kranat & Westcott, 1994). Given their limitations with short-term memory, witnesses with ID tend to find it difficult to follow multi-part questions and are likely to respond to only one question (Ericson, Perlman, & Isaacs, 1994). Usage of complex syntax and abstract words could be difficult to

process and lead to reduced understanding, particularly of questions relating to time and order of events (Ellison, 2002; Perry et al., 1995).

Cross-examination is most likely to feature closed questions, such as forced choice, yes/no questions; and leading questions which are highly suggestive, such as, ''she was carrying a newspaper when she got on the bus, yes?''(Beckene, Forrester-Jones, & Murphy, 2017; Zajac, 2009). Witnesses with ID are more suggestible to leading questions than those without (Clare & Gudjonsson, 1995). This may be a result of poor encoding, storing, and retrieval of information from memory (Kebbell & Hatton, 1999). They may also try to please authority figures or may feel intimidated to put forward their own views (Milne & Bull, 1999). These types of questions are, therefore, more likely to yield acquiescent responses, which could make them less reliable (Clare & Gudjonsson, 1993).

Kebbell et al. (2004) analysed court transcripts of sixteen cases each involving witnesses with ID and witnesses from the general population. They found that the questioning of witnesses from both groups was identical, which suggests that lawyers did not make any adaptations to suit the witnesses with IDs' needs. In a related study on judicial intervention, O'Kelly, Kebbell, Hatton, and Johnson (2003) found that there was no difference in the way judges treated witnesses with ID and those without. According to Pattenden (1990), it is the duty of the judge to intervene and disallow any kind of questioning that is unfair, improper, or oppressive and ensure that the trial is being conducted fairly. O'Kelly et al. (2003) argued that despite their well-documented problems with language, cognition, and memory, judges failed to make suitable adjustments for witnesses with ID.

The YJCEA 1999 has made provisions to support vulnerable witnesses in court by means of an RI. At the GRH, the RI can examine the suitability of the cross-examination questions based on the witness's needs. The RI is also present during trial to assist with communication. Beckene et al. (2017) evaluated the

court experiences of four victims with ID and four carers who attended the trials. The participants expressed their trauma while giving evidence. Both groups felt that the cross-examination was harsh and aggressive. In three cases, RIs were not allowed to assist the victims during trial and they were reduced to being a mere chaperone. According to the researchers, this was due to poor knowledge of the prosecution barristers about IDs, and consequently, they were unable to justify the need of the participants to have an RI. Beckene et al. strongly argued that it is crucial that RIs are present from the police interview through to the end of trial. Further, lawyers must have a basic understanding of ID, so that they can defend the need of an RI for their clients, when required.

Maras et al. (2017) surveyed 33 legal professionals and 20 witnesses with autism and their parents with an aim to understand their experiences in the courtroom. Seventy-five percent legal professionals felt they had knowledge about autism and were well equipped to work with such individuals, while 31% also stated that they had received training on autism. On the other hand, majority of participants with autism rated their overall satisfaction with the CJS as unsatisfactory. One of their biggest complaints was that legal professionals did not fully understand the complexities of autism. When questioned further, the legal professionals acknowledged that change was necessary in areas of training, understanding, and flexibility of court proceedings.

With respect to RIs, 90% of the legal professionals had knowledge about the WIS and 88% felt that the RI was helpful. However, only 38% lawyers and 50% judges were comfortable working with one. Most participants deemed that the GRHs were useful. Cooper and Wurtzel (2013), however, noted that the recommendations made by RIs during GRH were not followed at all times. Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2007) highlighted the presence of misunderstandings pertaining to the role of RIs in the CJS, especially regarding the extent to which they can intervene during or correct inappropriate questioning (Davies, Henderson, & Hanna, 2010).

In order to educate lawyers and judges and improve practice, the Advocate's Gateway website hosted by The Inns of Court College of Advocacy (ICCA), has published several evidence-based toolkits (The Advocate's Gateway, 2017). These toolkits provide good practice guidelines on a range of topics such as GRH, RIs, and vulnerable witnesses and defendants. The Lord Chief Justice's Criminal Practice Directions (2013) have endorsed these toolkits as essential reading material for lawyers and judges. The ICCA has also introduced mandatory training from 2016 for advocates who wish to work with vulnerable witnesses in serious sexual offences cases (ICCA, 2017). However, the training seems to exclude those working with vulnerable witnesses in all other types of cases. The training takes place in three stages and has been created in consultation with judges, practitioners, RIs, academics, and organisations that work with vulnerable victims/witnesses. It aims to help advocates use developmentally appropriate language as part of cross-examination of vulnerable witnesses. Cooper (2017b) and Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2017b) illustrated recent judgements wherein judges have made accommodations for vulnerable witnesses such as ensuring they were cross-examined fairly and the RI's recommendations were followed. These steps, though small, may go a long way in promoting understanding of vulnerable witnesses and the role of RIs in assisting them through the court process.

However, without the recognition of vulnerability in the earlier stage by the police, it is unlikely that the process will be smooth. Thus, it is crucial that police are trained about the range of IDs and the needs and capabilities of such witnesses. Having this knowledge forms the basis of them applying for an RI to assist the witness in giving evidence.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the vulnerabilities of witnesses with ID, the problems they may face while giving evidence, and the provision of Special Measures to support them. The nature of ID is complex and therefore, there cannot be a one size fits all approach. Whilst it is understandable, that it is highly improbable to train police officers and legal professionals in the complexities of ID, there must be more awareness of the support that they need and the adjustments that these professionals need to make to their own practice. It is, indeed, essential that the practitioners of the CJS adapt to the witness and not the other way round.

The role of RIs seems to fill the gap in knowledge and expertise of officers and legal professionals in dealing with vulnerable witnesses. Yet, the few studies conducted have shown that this measure is not widely publicised amongst the practitioners and consequently, there is lack of awareness and understanding about RIs. Thus, vulnerable witnesses seem to be disadvantaged by this cycle of poor knowledge about ID and of the resources available to support such individuals. It seems that there are certain steps being taken in this direction by way of cross-disciplinary training, seminars, and development of evidence-based toolkits.

The research on RIs, their work and their impact on the CJS is not extensive (Collins et al., 2017). The studies that have been undertaken have mainly looked at the role of RIs as perceived by jurors (Collins et al., 2017), by judges and advocates (Henderson, 2015; Maras et al., 2017), by police officers (Crane et al., 2016), and their role as non-registered intermediaries working for vulnerable defendants (O'Mahony, 2013). Currently, there has been no research on the experiences of RIs from their perspective, of working with adult vulnerable witnesses with ID and the CJS. There has also been no research that has qualitatively examined experiences of police officers, of working with RIs and

vulnerable witnesses with ID. The next chapter will outline the aims and research questions of this PhD.

Chapter 3

Research Questions

This chapter provides a brief recapitulation of the literature and highlights the need for the current research. First, the overall aims of the thesis are provided. Next, the research questions and rationale of the three empirical studies are presented. The following chapters on each of the studies will discuss them in greater detail. The methods used to analyse each study are described in short as the next chapter on Methodology will provide more detail. The conclusion emphasises the importance and relevance of this research to the field of psychology.

Aims of the Thesis

The literature review presented in Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted several issues related to eyewitness testimony and particularly, those that witnesses with ID face whilst giving evidence. Recent legislation, in the form of Special Measures, has been formulated as a way to assist them in this process.

There is a lack of research that answers questions such as what are the experiences of RIs in the CJS, why are they not being used regularly by the police, what are the training needs of officers with respect to RIs and ID, and what are the effects of working with an RI on officers' attitude towards ID. These questions will inform policy and practice, as they will highlight the steps to be taken by the CJS to help witnesses with ID achieve best evidence. This has numerous benefits in the form of enhanced witness experience, improved police confidence and interview ability, improved police understanding and sensitivity towards ID, a better chance of achieving best evidence and, ultimately, the facilitation of fair

and effective trials. With an objective to learn more about these areas, the thesis aims to discover:

1. From a practitioner perspective, how effective is the WIS in helping vulnerable witnesses achieve best evidence?

2. What is the relationship between the police and RIs while working together?

3. How are witnesses with ID treated by the police and RIs?

The aims will be evaluated by means of three empirical studies; the rationale and research questions of which are presented below.

Study 1- Experiences of RIs

RIs are instrumental in helping vulnerable witnesses get access to justice. According to Cooper (2017a), they have brought fresh insights into the CJS on the complex nature of ID and are the best way that such witnesses could be assisted in. She added that several influential members of the CJS, including the senior judiciary, have endorsed RIs' evidence-based guidance. Nonetheless, unanswered questions remain.

The majority of current research has quantitatively examined the RI's role, particularly with child witnesses, and has not explored further. As each type of vulnerability is different, so are the support needs of such individuals. Consequently, the experiences of the RIs working with them will also vary and currently, no study has looked at their experiences of working with adult witnesses with ID using a qualitative methodology. Not much is known about the RIs' feelings, expectations, and motivations while carrying out this role, and how it affects their working relationship with other practitioners in the CJS and adult ID witnesses themselves.

Research that looks at these aspects will provide a better understanding about RIs, as they are an important constituent of the WIS. Further, it will throw

light on their challenges while working with the CJS. This could help improve the running of the scheme by providing recommendations for practice in order to ensure that the practitioners of the CJS work together to provide witnesses the necessary support whilst giving evidence. Thus, the research question for Study 1 is:

Research question 1: What are the experiences of RIs of working with the CJS and adult witnesses with ID?

Method

Since the topic is under-researched, using a qualitative methodology is most appropriate as it provides rich data and allows for an in-depth reflection of the research question. The study used Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA uses semi-structured interviews to encourage participants to provide richly detailed descriptions of their experiences (Howitt, 2013). An explanation of IPA and the method, procedures followed, and participants used in this study are detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Study 2- Experiences of Police Officers

Officers who interview vulnerable witnesses are trained in ABE interviewing (Griffiths & Milne, 2012). Often being the first point of contact, police officers work closely with vulnerable witnesses and now, RIs. They work with the RI during assessment and interviewing of the vulnerable witness. While theoretically there may be policy and protocols in place, the practicalities depend on the professionals who are working with each other. It is, therefore, important to understand police officers' experiences of and attitudes towards RIs and the vulnerable witnesses they interview.

There are many unanswered questions about how much officers know about the RI role, what they feel about working with them, and how it influences their understanding of witnesses with ID and their interactions with them. An understanding of these experiences will provide their perspective of working with RIs and perhaps identify the factors that are essential for building the RI-police relationship. This, in turn, could positively influence the service provided to the witnesses and the quality of evidence provided by them.

This study provides an original contribution to knowledge as no study has explored the experiences of the police in this context. By using a qualitative methodology, the study explores a totally new area and aims to answer questions that will help in strengthening the WIS and the administration of justice for vulnerable witnesses. Thus, for Study 2-

Research question 2: What are the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult ID witnesses?

Method

Similar to Study 1, the research question was explored using a qualitative methodology and analysed using IPA. As this research area is new, semi-structured interviews were conducted, which would provide an opportunity for a more personal and in-depth understanding of officers' experiences. Chapters 4 and 6 entail further information about the methodology, recruitment of participants, and their demographics.

Study 3- Attitudes of Police towards ID

Previous research has demonstrated that stereotypical beliefs about vulnerable adults coupled with lack of understanding of the nature of ID leads to such individuals having negative experiences with the police (Spivak & Thomas,

2013). It is possible that such beliefs exist because police, often, have very little quality interaction with people with ID outside of their work (Eadens et al., 2016).

With the introduction of RIs, some officers now have the opportunity to work closely with someone with an expertise in language and communication. It may influence their understanding of the complex nature of ID and the different ways to communicate with such people. Further, with increasing awareness about vulnerability among police forces, the previous findings about their negative attitudes may not hold true. In addition, the attitudes that police hold towards ID could affect their knowledge about ID, their ability to identify vulnerability and consequently, ensure such witnesses are provided with the appropriate Special Measures to assist their evidence giving. Thus, by factoring in these recent developments, this study is up-to-date and relevant.

By examining attitudes held by the police, the study aims to understand the impact of RIs on the behaviour of police towards vulnerable adults. This has practical implications as it could demonstrate if working with RIs has led to a change in attitude towards vulnerability and how police attitudes could be improved more widely. Study 3, therefore, examines police officers' attitudes towards ID and assesses whether police with experience of working with RIs feel more knowledgeable and confident working with adults with ID than those without this experience.

While Study 2 specifically looked at the police and their working with RIs and witnesses with ID, this study aims to examine the attitudes of officers towards ID. Thus, using a wider and larger sample to understand attitudes and the measureable effect of working with an RI, could lead to findings that are more generalisable and have considerable practical utility to police forces across England and Wales. Thus, for Study 3-

Research question 3: Do officers who have worked with RIs have a more positive attitude towards individuals with ID than those without experience of working with RIs?

Method

Study 3 employed a quantitative quasi-experimental methodology and the Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability questionnaire (ATTID) (Morin, Crocker, Beaulieu-Bergeron, & Caron, 2013) was used as a measure. The questionnaire examined attitudes by using questions and vignettes. Chapters 4 and 7 provide details about the questionnaire, method of distribution, and information about the sample.

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Summary of Research Studies

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The idea behind the Special Measures is to provide support to vulnerable witnesses whilst giving testimony. It is important that this scheme is effective and user-friendly. Thus, there are three elements to this research; two qualitative elements that look at experiences of RIs and police officers and a quantitative element that explores attitudes of police towards ID. By using mixed methods, the research is able to provide stronger inferences and reflects divergent perspectives (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

While the three studies explore the experiences and attitudes of the service providers, the researcher has chosen not to include the witness perspective. First, the focus of this research is the RIs and the police. The police are the first point of contact for the vulnerable witnesses, who then make the decision of calling an RI. Thus, these two groups play an important role in ensuring that vulnerable witnesses benefit from the WIS. Second, as it is a new and unexplored area, it is important to understand the functioning of the scheme, the working of the different practitioners, and the areas that need improvement. Third, interviewing the vulnerable witnesses would have involved administrative and ethical complications such as getting access to the cases, approaching the witnesses, and making them re-live a sensitive and traumatic experience during the interview.

Fourth, due to the nature of their vulnerability, the researcher, herself, would have needed the services of a communication expert to interview the witnesses.

Although not insurmountable, it was decided that examining service user perspectives would be more effective once a body of research has established the perspectives of other key stakeholders. Therefore, a more specific focus within the current thesis on police and RIs will provide an effective, useful and coherent picture of the current WIS, and enable clear and actionable recommendations for both the police and WIS to be made. It is envisioned that following successful implementation of recommendations arising from this thesis, gaining service user perspectives (in the form of ID witnesses) will be the next logical and useful step in improving the scheme in general.

With the focus, thus, being on the RIs and the police, the results will contribute to psychological research by providing an in-depth analysis of their experiences and putting forward their perspective of being the key stakeholders of the scheme. With this knowledge, the research could provide suggestions for improvements for the WIS and police forces in the UK. Study 3 on police attitudes could demonstrate the level of awareness and knowledge of police towards ID as it uses a larger sample. While it may reflect recent developments in policy that emphasises on educating and sensitising police towards vulnerability, it could highlight the areas that police need further training in with respect to ID.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter discusses the qualitative and quantitative methodologies employed in this research. First, the qualitative methodology used in Studies 1 and 2 is discussed in terms of the epistemology of Phenomenology and its history. Next, the characteristics of IPA, including its use in forensic psychology research are elaborated. This is followed by a short discussion on reflexivity in qualitative research and the role of the researcher. The ethical considerations of the research and the process of obtaining ethical approval are described in detail. The next two sections focus on Studies 1 and 2 and include brief information on recruitment of participants and access issues. The chapter moves on to the quantitative methodology used in Study 3 and provides a background on quantitative methods. This is followed by a short discussion on the use of questionnaires as a tool for data collection. The final section talks about the relevance and benefits of using a mixed methods design, as used in the current research.

Qualitative Methodology

Studies 1 and 2 used a qualitative approach for data collection and analysis. As research in the current area of experiences of RIs and police officers of working in the CJS is sparse, a qualitative methodology was considered to be the most suitable as it would provide rich data and allow for an in-depth reflection of the research questions. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), since research questions in qualitative methods are general and open-ended, it allows the researcher to have freedom and flexibility to explore a phenomenon or process

in depth. The research questions guide the researcher and help in determining where to focus attention, rather than prescribing a direction to the research (Ridenour & Newman, 2008).

Epistemological Approach- Phenomenology

Willig (2013) stated that it is essential that a methodology's epistemological roots be clearly identified as it helps evaluate research in a meaningful manner. She suggested that three kinds of questions help us identify the same. First, what kind of knowledge does the methodology aim to produce? Descriptions produced in qualitative research can have different aims such as giving a voice to the marginalised, identifying patterns of experience among a group of people and so on. Thus, a viewpoint of what can be known from the data depends on the epistemological position employed. Second, what kinds of assumptions does the methodology make about the world? This question explores the area of ontology. Ontology is concerned with the nature of the world and can be either realist or relativist. The realist ontology assumes that the world comprises of structures that have cause-effect relationships with each other whereas the relativist ontology argues that the world is not a law-bound place and there is diversity in the way it functions. Third, how does the methodology define the role of the researcher in the research process? The methodology chosen has an impact on the part played by the researcher during data collection and analysis. Some methodologies see the researcher as someone who constructs the findings, while others see him as someone who is simply unearthing information from his participants.

To answer the first question, Willig (2013) stated that there are three types of knowledge that can be produced; realist, phenomenological, and social constructionist. The current research questions (Chapter 3 for overview) identify with the phenomenological approach. The aim of this research was to understand the subjective experiences of the participants. Phenomenology also aims to

understand experience from the participants' perspective, without delving into what the truth may actually be. Therefore, I solely aimed to explore the experiences of RIs and police officers, irrespective of what was really going on or what the 'truth' may have been. Secondly, using a relativist ontology, the research understands that participants' experiences may be varied. Their accounts may not be always be an accurate reflection of what happened, perhaps due to their inherent bias and individual perspective. In this case, it does not matter as the researcher is trying to obtain phenomenological knowledge, i.e., knowledge of the quality and texture of the experience. To answer the third question, the role of the researcher has, therefore, been likened to that of a person-centred counsellor who listens to the client with unconditional, positive regard but does not question the external validity of their account (Willig, 2013).

Phenomenological research assumes that different people can experience what appears to be the same event, in many different ways, with the underlying thought being, 'what is the world like for this participant?' (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Phenomenological approaches can differ with respect to knowledge generation. Some researchers focus on the description of the experience, known as descriptive phenomenology while others look into the underlying meaning or interpretative phenomenology. The current research explores the research questions from an interpretative phenomenological viewpoint.

An interpretative phenomenological approach does not merely consider a participant's account at its face value. Instead, it seeks to generate knowledge about the quality and texture of the experience and its meaning based on the social and cultural context of the participant. This approach argues that it is not possible to produce a pure description of a person's experience, as the researcher's interpretation is always present in the description (Osborn & Smith, 1998). This idea that description and interpretation cannot be separated is derived from the hermeneutic tradition that argues that lived experiences are

meaningful and when these experiences are captured in words, they are inevitably interpreted (Van Manen, 1990).

History of Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach to studying experience (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Husserl, in the early 20th century, formulated phenomenology on the principle of it being transcendental (Husserl, 1927). He believed that phenomenology is a detailed evaluation of human experience. He was interested in finding a means by which an individual understands their own experience so well that they could define the essential qualities of that experience in depth. If this were to happen, Husserl (1927) argued that the essential features of the experience would transcend the circumstances in which these experiences occurred. Husserl's phenomenological method intended to identify the core structures and features of human experience. The aim of this method was to understand the world as it was experienced by human beings within particular contexts and bracket out or put aside, our existing perceptions of that world.

Even though Husserl's ideas were very much rooted in philosophy, it helped develop the hermeneutic and existential emphases in phenomenology. Heidegger, a student of Husserl, embraced a hermeneutic version of phenomenology wherein the interpretation and analysis of the researcher were crucial. As mentioned earlier, description and interpretation cannot be separated and the individual's experience becomes the phenomenon with which the researcher engages (Willig, 2013). Interpretative phenomenological analysis draws inspiration from the hermeneutic tradition in order to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of an individual.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used in Studies 1 and 2. IPA recognises that the analysis produced by the researcher is always an interpretation of the participant's experience as it is impossible to gain complete access to the participant's world, though the researcher can get close to doing so. Therefore, even though it explores an individual's experience from his perspective, the researcher's own views of the world also play a major role in how the phenomenon is understood (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Consequently, the researcher is part of a double hermeneutic, as they are making sense of the participant, who is making sense of the experience or phenomenon (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

IPA is based on understanding how individuals experience phenomena and the psychological interpretations and meanings they attach to their own experiences. It works on the assumption that each individual who experiences something is an expert on his own experiences. The meanings used by the individuals to understand their own experiences and the insights that they attach to it produce accounts, which are then interpreted by the researcher. IPA does not involve hypothesis testing since it is an exploratory approach (Howitt, 2013). The research questions are based on understanding personal experiences of individuals. Given that Studies 1 and 2 were looking at a new area, the research questions were exploratory and involved exploring the experiences of RIs and police officers, respectively, of working with each other and adult witnesses with ID.

Another reason that I considered using IPA was that as a researcher, I wanted to prioritise the experience of my participants. The experiences of these participants are relatively unknown to me as I am not a part of their world, in the literal sense. As an outsider, I found myself truly exploring the lived experiences of my participants without any bias, which is the essence of IPA.

IPA in Forensic Psychology

IPA has been frequently used to explore areas in health and clinical psychology in order to recognise how people understand and experience significant events in their lives (e.g., Macleod, Shepherd, & Thompson, 2016; Spiers & Smith, 2015). This is because IPA helps researchers view people's experiences through a phenomenological lens (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003), wherein they reflect on an event from a personal viewpoint as opposed to producing an objective statement of the event.

Research in forensic psychology has always had an over-reliance on the use of psychometric tests and questionnaires (Banister, 2010). However, there is a growing realisation that it is often necessary to get an insider's perspective to answer certain research questions and this requires involving participants in the research process. Qualitative methods are, therefore, being favoured especially when researching relatively unexplored topics. For example, in a study on male fire setters with mild IDs (Rose, Lees-Warley, & Thrift, 2015) and experiences of learning disability nurses working in a forensic service (Dalgarno & Riordan, 2014).

The exploratory approach in qualitative methods ensures that the data is essentially stemming from the participant's experiences, rather than the researcher's preconceptions (Banister, 2010). Duff (2011), in his study of apology letters of child sex offenders, used IPA because it explored the perceptions, views, and the ways an individual had experienced an event. O'Sullivan, Boulter, and Black (2013) found that qualitative research had the potential to bring the voices of services users to the fore of rehabilitative practice and used IPA to explore their ~~research on~~ experiences of mentally disordered offenders with dual diagnosis. Similarly, O'Mahony (2013) used IPA in his study of intermediaries who work with defendants. However, IPA has not yet been used to study RIs and police, and their experiences of working with witnesses with ID. Thus, using this method will provide a deeper understanding of this unexplored topic.

Working with IPA

Semi-structured interviewing is the most suitable style for data collection in IPA. Questions should be open and non-directive such that participants are able to talk freely at length (Smith et al., 2009). This helps participants to provide richly detailed descriptions of their experiences (Howitt, 2013). The main idea is to give participants an opportunity to share their experiences without making assumptions about those experiences or leading them towards expected answers (Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2013).

Questions are used merely as an interview guide, which outline the topics the researcher wants to cover. The interview structure has to be flexible with respect to phrasing and the order in which questions are asked as it is the participant who leads the conversation and the direction of the interview (King & Horrocks, 2010). Probes such as, 'could you elaborate on that?' and 'is there anything else you want to add?' may be used to encourage participants to provide an in-depth response to an initial answer or comment that they may have made.

Patton (1990) suggested six question categories, which included background, experience, opinion, feeling, knowledge, and sensory questions. The interview questions in both Study 1 and 2 followed the pattern recommended by Patton (Appendix 1 for interview questions). For example, an experience question from Study 1 was, 'what do you think are your areas of expertise that enable you to perform the job effectively?' Similarly, in Study 2, 'what is your opinion of the RI's role?' was an opinion question. The interviews began with basic demographic questions and as the interview progressed, different areas within the topic were explored.

Smith et al. (2009) suggested that an interview schedule with around 6 to 10 questions and possible prompts is appropriate. The interview schedule for Studies 1 and 2 had thirteen and seventeen questions, respectively, which included warm-up questions, such as demographic questions, questions about experience, and current role, and cool down questions, like ''what has been the

most positive aspect of working as an RI?'' (Study 1), which aimed to end the interview on a non-stressful note. However, the questions were used only to guide the direction of the interview.

Some qualitative researchers have advocated the use of remote interviews for reasons such as availability of participants, nature of the interview topic, and physical distance from the participants (King & Horrocks, 2010). In Study 1, all the participants were from different areas in England. It would have been difficult, physically and financially, to travel to their locations and find a quiet and undisturbed spot to conduct the interview. In addition, the RIs had very busy schedules and often had to cancel my interview appointments at the last minute due to the time-pressured nature of their role.

Given these circumstances, I decided that it was best to conduct the interviews over Skype, with the advantage being that they could be done at any time of the day or week and even if there were cancellations, it would not be an issue for either party. Pretto and Pocknee (2008) also found that Skype was the most reliable and preferred method of communication for their research project on the use of communication technologies in conducting qualitative and quantitative research.

Smith et al. (2009) clearly state that there is no correct sample size for IPA studies. The sample could depend on various factors such as quality of data generated from individual cases and organisational constraints. Single case studies are also being encouraged in IPA (Smith, 2004). IPA focusses on generating rich, meaningful data and therefore, Smith et al. (2009) suggest between four to ten participants for a doctoral study. It is recommended that the sample consists of relatively homogeneous cases rather than extremely varied cases (Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA does not aim for generalisation and therefore, a homogenous sample keeps the focus on the experience of the phenomenon for that particular group (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011). In this case, homogeneity

was achieved in each study by keeping the focus on RIs (worked with ID) in Study 1 and on the police (worked with RI and ID) in Study 2.

IPA follows an idiographic approach, wherein the analysis begins with specific examples and slowly works its way to general categorisation (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). Transcription of an interview consists of 4 to 6 main steps. I followed the steps outlined by Smith and Osborn (2008) for analysis.

1. Initial case familiarisation and comments- this stage involved reading the printed transcript several times. This helped me become familiar and comfortable with the data. The left-hand margin was used to write comments to highlight or summarise significant points raised by the participant. Other features of the data such as use of language, observations, and associations that came to mind were also noted down. This process continued for the entire first transcript.

2. Transforming notes into emergent themes- the right-hand margin was used to record emerging theme titles. The initial notes were transformed into concise phrases to capture the essence of the text. The themes were psychologically conceptualised, rather than being abstract. If similar themes appeared elsewhere in the transcript, the theme names were repeated.

3. Connecting the themes- all the emergent themes were then listed and I tried making theoretical connections between the emerging themes by clustering them. Some themes could be dropped if they did not have a strong evidential base. At every point it was important to ensure that the analysis was iterative, i.e., a close connection between the text and the themes was maintained. I also compiled all the participant's phrases that supported each theme.

4. Producing a table of themes- next, all the themes were systematically ordered. Clusters of themes, which strongly captured the participant's experience on a particular topic, were identified. The clusters were given

a name, which represented the superordinate theme and instances from the transcript, along with page and line number, were provided as examples.

5. Continuing analysis with other cases- Smith and Osborn (2008) suggested that one could either use themes from the first case to form the basis for the other cases or work on the next transcript from scratch. I followed the second approach, being mindful of the possibility of repeated patterns or emergence of new issues. Once all the transcripts had been analysed, a final table of superordinate themes was created. Themes were selected on their prevalence in the data, and how the theme helped illustrate the research question.

6. Writing up- this stage involved translating the themes into a narrative account. With the table of themes forming the basis of the participants' responses, each theme was expanded with illustrations. The narrative account included both, the participants' accounts of their experiences and my interpretative comments, with the two being clearly distinguished.

Reflexivity in Qualitative Research

The researcher and the methods used in the research have an entwined relationship. Reflexivity is the realisation that undertaking research is a dynamic and interactive process that is shaped not only by the participants and their stories but also by the experiences and ideas of the researcher (King & Horrocks, 2010). Willig (2013) referred to two types of reflexivity- epistemological and personal. Epistemological reflexivity is the way in which the theoretical assumptions of the world influence the research and consequently, considering the impact of such assumptions. Personal reflexivity looks at the role that the researcher's background, experiences, and beliefs play in the understanding and development of the research. Finlay and Gough (2003) believed that reflexivity

requires the researcher to be self-critical and acknowledge the influence of their own assumptions and behaviours on the research process.

With an academic background in psychology, I had an interest in eyewitnesses in the CJS. This acted as a framework for me to develop my research interests and work towards an idea for this thesis. Coming from a culturally diverse background was beneficial as I educated myself on the structure of the CJS in the UK, the working of the police, the policies, the legislations, and RIs. My understanding of the police was extremely different as I have often viewed them as forceful and would have never even contemplated doing research with them. I think that this insider-outsider perspective enabled me to have a different viewpoint, as I have not personally interacted with these agencies in the UK before and they had no bearing on my personal life. At times, this has worked against me as I have been met with scepticism due to me being an outsider, particularly during my attempt at sharing my findings at a conference. However, I have used myself as a resource and by using IPA, explored my participants' experiences with an impartial objective, while getting an insight into the real-world working of the system.

Ethical Considerations

The three studies have obtained ethical approval from the MMU Ethics Board (Appendix 2). The British Psychological Society (BPS) has emphasised that researchers should maintain good research governance by conducting research in an ethical manner (The British Psychological Society, 2009). Accordingly, this research has taken into consideration various ethical issues such as privacy and confidentiality, information about the study, informed consent, debrief, voluntary participation, and honest and accurate depiction of the research questions.

All data from the interviews and questionnaires were anonymous. Each participant was assigned a participant number, known only to the researcher. The participants were not identified in any manner and pseudonyms were used for interview participants to protect anonymity. Information about court cases or of people or places referred to by the participants was also anonymised. The questionnaire (Study 3) did not require the participants to provide any identifying information.

Further, all data was safeguarded as stated in the Data Protection Act, 1998. During recruitment and data collection, all communication was done via my secure MMU email account. The emails will remain stored on secure email servers for the duration of the project. The interviews were transferred to a password protected computer and account and were encrypted. All recordings from the recorder were deleted after the transfer. Copies of the consent form will be stored in a secure hard disk for up to five years. The data was transcribed electronically. All anonymised notes and material were stored securely in a password protected computer and account.

All participants in all studies were provided an information sheet (Appendices 3, 4, 5), which was tailored to suit the participant group of each study. The information sheet clearly stated the purpose of the study, advantages and disadvantages of taking part, procedures involved while participating in the study, and details of my supervisor and myself. The participants were fully aware of the aims of the project before data collection.

Informed consent was obtained from all participants before the commencement of data collection. For Studies 1 and 2, the consent form was (Appendices 6, 7) provided to each participant and was duly signed by both the participant and researcher. For Study 3, the consent form (Appendix 8) was part of the online questionnaire. Participants were able to proceed only after they consented to the terms of the study.

Participation in the research was voluntary. The information sheet and consent form clearly stated that the participant was free to withdraw while taking part or up till 3 weeks after, the interview was conducted/questionnaire was completed, without giving a reason. No participant asked to be withdrawn from any of the studies.

At the end of the interview/completion of questionnaire, participants were given/shown a debrief sheet (Appendices 9, 10, 11), which outlined the aims and objectives of the study. The research is an honest depiction of the experiences of RIs and police officers of working with adult vulnerable witnesses. The data has been collected, analysed, and presented in a scientific manner. This research did not involve giving the participants payment or any other form of financial compensation and was not funded by any organisation.

Study 1

Recruitment Process

The advertisement for the study was placed on RIO, an online forum for RIs, by my external advisor, who is an RI herself. The advertisement contained my email address and interested participants emailed me directly. I also recruited some participants at one of the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) days for RIs, hosted by a regional group. Thirteen interviews, including a pilot, were conducted. The pilot interview was excluded from the analysis, as it was a step in learning the interviewing style and checking validity of the questions. Data collection started in September 2015 and was completed in November 2015. Detailed information about the participants, materials, and procedure is provided in Chapter 5.

Study 2

Recruitment Process

The recruitment process for participants for Study 2 was extremely lengthy and difficult. At first, my supervisors and I approached a North-west police force through the Research and Knowledge Exchange (RKE) department of the University in November 2015. Though they initially seemed quite positive, in February 2016 we were told that my research did not fit in with their current research plans.

Immediately, we approached another North-west based police force. The process was quite slow as there were several administrative delays and a lack of response from their end. The police gatekeeper was also not clear on the difference between RI scheme and the Appropriate Adult scheme (used for vulnerable suspects), and accordingly, the required information was provided. In September 2016, I was sent a list of five potential participants. Of those five, three people showed an interest in participating. I recruited more participants on site from the police station by speaking to other officers and by word of mouth.

The role of gatekeepers, who control access to potential participants, can be a complex and challenging one (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016). Obtaining access can often be obstructed by poor communication between staff members or lack of understanding about research, and consequently, can affect the information that is conveyed to the researcher. McFayden and Rankin (2016) argued that, despite having the necessary approval, obtaining access to participants can be difficult, especially at the institutional level, and can hamper the progress of the research. Eleven interviews were conducted with police officers. Data collection began in September 2016 and was completed in November 2016. Chapter 6 entails information about participants, materials used, and procedure of the study.

Having undertaken Study 1 and Study 2 around experience of RIs and police officers, Study 3 explored quantitatively whether working with RIs impacted on police attitudes towards people with ID.

Quantitative Methodology

Study 3 used a quantitative approach to examine attitudes of police officers towards ID. This study was used to supplement data produced from the earlier qualitative studies. The research question aimed to quantify attitudes in order to understand impact of working with RIs on the police, thereby trying to understand the practical implications of their experiences. According to Bryman (2012), quantitative research exhibits certain preoccupations that embody the method's epistemologically grounded beliefs about what constitutes acceptable knowledge. These preoccupations are- measurement, causality, generalisation, and replication.

Measurement develops the basis for drawing estimates of the degree of relationship between different concepts. It allows the researcher to discover differences between people in terms of a measured variable and has proven to be a consistent way of doing so. Reliability and validity are two ways to evaluate measures for different concepts. Good quantitative research is concerned with the extent to which there is confidence in the researcher's causal inferences. A strong experimental design is more likely to enjoy greater confidence as it is more likely to produce causality. The current study aimed to compare the attitudes of police officers, who have worked with RIs and those who have not, towards ID, thus demonstrating an experimental design measuring different variables.

It is essential that research, which uses quantitative methods, can be generalised beyond the precincts of the particular area in which the research was conducted. This is known as external validity. To achieve this, the sample for the study is usually as representative as possible so that the results are not unique to

the group that was part of the study. Probability sampling, which seeks to eliminate bias by using a process of random selection, is one of the favoured sampling techniques. Of course, this does not guarantee that the sample will be wholly representative of the population being studied. In this study, officers were from different areas in England and were of various ranks.

Replicability is often regarded as an important characteristic of quantitative research. Researchers often explicitly state the procedures used in their study so that it can be reproduced, failing which seriously brings to question the validity of the findings. However, Davis (2003) argued that it would be incorrect to disregard a study on this basis as replicating the findings of a study is difficult. This is mainly because when similar variables are tested on a different sample, the results could be varied and this demonstrates the need for continued replication.

Study 3

Method of Data Collection

It is essential that there is a good fit between the research question and methodological approach (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011). In Study 2, officers were interviewed about their working with adult witnesses with ID, especially during the interview stage. Study 3 aimed to build on those findings to examine their attitudes towards ID in general, and on a larger sample, thus lending the results to be more generalisable. Thus, based on the requirements of the research question, using a questionnaire was thought to be the best way to collect the data. In addition, given that the topics of ID and attitudes towards it are controversial, there could be a risk of participants providing socially desirable responses in a face-to-face interview. Also, a questionnaire can include a range of scenarios assessing different aspects of attitude, which are not practical to

cover in an hour-long interview. The several other advantages of using this method are stated in the following paragraphs.

Based on the research question, a literature search was conducted to select a questionnaire that specifically measured attitudes towards ID. After examining several questionnaires, the Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability questionnaire (ATTID) (Morin, Crocker, et al., 2013) was thought to be most suitable. Detailed information about the ATTID is provided in Chapter 7.

The use of a validated questionnaire based on the specific research area saves time and resources needed in developing a new questionnaire, and it allows for comparison with already existing data (Boynton & Greenhalgh, 2004). The ATTID was distributed to participants in an online format created using Qualtrics. Qualtrics is a web-based survey creator that allows flexibility in creating the questionnaire based on the researcher's needs.

Ahern (2005) identified several advantages of using an online questionnaire for research. These included cost efficiency, accessibility to larger pool of participants, increased anonymity, participants can respond in their own pace, and data is collected and recorded efficiently and accurately. As the sample for Study 3 was police officers, using an online questionnaire was effective given that the participants were from different parts of England and it would not have been economical to post paper questionnaires. Further, sending the questionnaire link was quicker. It was sent to a large number of officers and was easily accessible via a computer or mobile.

One of the biggest disadvantages of using a questionnaire, paper or online, is poor response rates (Cantrell & Lupinacci, 2007). This was a concern in the current study as well. Apart from the low participant numbers, there were also several incomplete responses (more information in Chapter 7), which meant that they could not be included in the final sample. Factors such as long periods of inactivity due to technical problems or interruptions (Stieger & Reips, 2010) and viewing questions without responding to them (Heerwegh, 2003) could influence

completion of a questionnaire. Nonetheless, the advantages of using an online questionnaire (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004) outweigh the few negatives, and thereby, was the most suitable method for Study 3.

Mixed Methods Design

The current research has three elements; two qualitative elements that explore experiences of RIs and police officers and a quantitative element that looks at attitudes of police towards ID. Bernardi, Keim, and von der Lippe (2007) stated that a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches are most appropriate to answer two research questions. Research questions in mixed methods try to answer questions about a topic that is relatively unexplored (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Creswell and Pano Clark (2007) argued that lack of empirical literature calls for the use of mixed methods research questions. Campbell and Fiske (1959), in their discussion of multitrait-multimethods, stated that in order for a phenomenon to be thoroughly understood, it must be viewed from more than one perspective. However, it is crucial to choose methods that enhance each other so that a balance between the strengths and weaknesses of each method is maintained (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008).

Waszack and Sines (2003) provided three categories of mixed methods designs- sequential, parallel, and complex. A sequential design could comprise of a single study with multiple phases or could be a series of studies conducted over time. In a parallel design, data for two or more independent phases of a study are collected simultaneously and the results are integrated in the end. The complex design usually includes a combination of the above two designs, where the data is analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The current research has employed a sequential mixed methods design. In the majority of studies in psychology reviewed by Waszack and Sines (2003), the

sequential design began with a qualitative phase and was followed by a quantitative one. As part of a single study, the current research also started with a qualitative phase that shed light on the experiences of RIs and police officers, while the quantitative phase attempted to demonstrate officers' real-world behaviour toward people with ID and the influence of RIs, if any, on the same. A meaningful combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study provides stronger inferences and divergent perspectives (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

As the studies are conducted sequentially, the research questions, criteria of the sample, and method of data collection of the first phase influence the second (Tashakkori, Teddlie, & Sines, 2013). Tashakkori et al. (2013) argued that the second strand of study cannot be initiated until the data in the earlier phase has been collected and analysed. In the present research, the interview questions for Study 2 were drafted only after the initial analysis of Study 1. The themes from the earlier phase provided direction and identified gaps in knowledge that helped in formatting the Study 2 interview structure. Similarly, the data generated from Study 2, strengthened the rationale for the study on attitudes towards ID (Study 3). Tashakkori et al. (2013) stated that planning the sequence of studies before commencing the research is possible, especially when it is known that data from one phase will influence the implementation of the next.

A mixed methods design affords flexibility in employing different data collection strategies, such as using open-ended interviews for qualitative data and structured questionnaires for quantitative data (Wesley, 2010). The answers derived from such techniques are then integrated to provide a complete picture of the research question(s) (Lieber & Weisner, 2010). For example, Eggleston, Jackson, and Hardee (1999) used a survey and a focus group discussion to explore sexual attitudes and behaviour of adolescents in Jamaica. The combined findings provided significant information about their behaviours and beliefs, including possible reasons for gender differences. Researchers have been increasingly

drawn to using a mixed methods research as it has an ability to provide high quality and complex data (Rauscher & Greenfield, 2009).

By using mixed methods, the results of the three studies contribute to psychological research by providing an in-depth analysis of the experiences of RIs and police officers by putting forward their perspective of being important elements of the WIS. By examining police attitudes towards ID, the research aims to understand the impact of RIs on the behaviour of police towards vulnerable adults. As Fuentes (2008) quoted, ''choosing mixed methods leads to a triangulation of findings and richer detail than either method can generate alone'' (p.1592).

Chapter 5

Experiences of RIs of Working with the CJS and Adult ID Witnesses

This chapter focusses on Study 1 of this research, which explores the experiences of RIs of working with the CJS and adult witnesses with ID. The first section revisits the research question, rationale, and methodology of this study. This is followed by the demographic information about the participants and the procedure involved in conducting this study. The next section entails the analysis and discussion. First, the themes generated from the interviews have been analysed using IPA. This includes five superordinate themes, sub-themes, and related quotes by the participants. Next is the discussion of the themes, using past research, relevant theories, and real-life examples. The conclusion outlines the contribution of the findings to research and practice.

Research Question and Rationale

Alongside England and Wales, intermediaries are also used internationally ~~as well~~, albeit with different roles and function under different governing bodies. Some other countries that use intermediaries include South Africa, Japan, Australia, Republic of Ireland, Namibia, and Hong Kong (Hepner et al., 2014; Matthias & Zaal, 2011; Schoeman, 2006). For example, in South Africa, intermediaries have been used to protect child witnesses and assist with their communication since 1993 (Matthias & Zaal, 2011). Coughlan and Jarman (2002) interviewed ten South African intermediaries to learn about their experiences and their impact on the system. Findings revealed that although intermediaries felt they were making a positive contribution by helping child witnesses, there was a lack of respect and appreciation for their role by the legal professionals.

The authors argued for better support for and acceptance of intermediaries among the legal professionals. Recent research has shown that South African intermediaries are being viewed in a positive light by the courts and their role in supporting children has been recognised (Matthias & Zaal, 2011). However, apart from a few such as those by Henderson (2015) and Collins et al. (2017), there has not been extensive research that has explored the work or experiences of intermediaries, globally or locally.

In England and Wales, the WIS was introduced nationally in 2008 (Ministry of Justice, 2015). Given its relatively recent introduction and gradual rollout to different police and CPS areas, there is little knowledge on the operation of this scheme, or the characteristics and motivations of people who elect to become intermediaries. Cooper (2009, 2011, 2012, 2014) has conducted regular surveys that provide a glimpse of RIs' experiences. The surveys comprise of a range of questions about the number of cases they were called for, number of trials, occurrences of GRHs, whether their recommendations were followed, and overall feedback about their work. Throughout the years, it seems that the number of referrals accepted by RIs has increased. However, as the sample size of RIs in the survey varies every year, it is difficult to make a direct comparison. Further, the occurrence of GRHs increased from 42% of cases in the 2009 survey to 76% of cases in the 2012 survey. This pattern is reflective of the guidance in the Criminal Practice Directions 2013, which mandates that GRHs must be conducted in trials that involve an RI. Also, the development of the Advocate's Gateway toolkits may have played a role in educating judges and lawyers about the importance of these hearings.

Despite some evidence of good practice, RIs stated that they faced issues such as lack of clarity about their role, GRH recommendations not being taken seriously or not being followed, hectic work schedules, working alone, and managing administrative and financial paperwork without help (Cooper, 2014).

These results, however, provided a very brief description of the complexities that are associated with working as an RI.

Further, much of the research pertaining to RIs has examined quantitative factors such as the impact of their role on juror perceptions of child witnesses (Collins et al., 2017; Ridley et al., 2015), opinions of legal professionals about RIs (Maras et al., 2017), and presence of RI during interviews of children with autism (Henry et al., 2017). O'Mahony (2013) and Henderson (2015) are the only examples wherein intermediaries, non-registered and registered, respectively, were interviewed. The former aimed to understand their experiences of working with defendants and how it could impact future policy decisions, whereas in the latter RIs, judges, and advocates were asked about their experiences of working with each other. The interviews were conducted individually and in small groups. However, neither of them focussed on intermediaries working with witnesses with ID.

Evaluating the literature presented in Chapter 2, RIs play an important role in protecting witnesses with ID throughout the evidence giving process. There has been no research that has qualitatively looked at RIs by exploring their opinions of working in the CJS and adult ID witnesses. Research that specifically focusses on RIs and their experiences, feelings, expectations, and motivations while carrying out this role will provide a deeper understanding about them, as individuals and as flagbearers of the WIS. This will provide new insights into the strengths and challenges of the WIS. This study explored the RIs' experiences of performing the job, barriers faced, interactions with the police and court officials, training provided, and suggestions for improvements. Implementations for change in practice will be easier and more tailored when this rich data is available. Thus, for Study 1-

Research Question 1: What are the experiences of RIs of working with the CJS and adult witnesses with ID?

Method

Design

The study used IPA, which uses semi-structured interviews to encourage participants to provide richly detailed descriptions of their experiences (Howitt, 2013). A detailed discussion of IPA was provided in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 4).

Participants

Thirteen interviews, including a pilot, were conducted. The pilot interview was excluded from the analysis, as it was a step in learning the interviewing style and checking validity of the questions. The final sample had twelve participants and all were female. They were of white-British origin and their average age was 50 years. Out of 12, ten were speech and language therapists (SLTs) and the others, an occupational therapist, and a public health visitor, respectively. The RIs worked in different areas of England and Wales. They assisted child and adult witnesses with a wide range of vulnerabilities such as those with learning difficulties, communication difficulties due to stroke or head injury, ASD, and cerebral palsy.

Even though the RIs in the current sample work with different vulnerabilities, it was ensured that they all work with adults with ID. Those who worked only with children were not interviewed. As stated in Chapter 4, keeping in the mind the norms of IPA, the sample was homogenous. The current sample seems to be representative of the typical characteristics of RIs in England and Wales as a majority of RIs are female, white-British, and SLTs (based on information from the Freedom of Information request) (Chapter 2).

The average number of years spent working as a RI was 5.5, with some working since the scheme's inception in 2007. Individuals across the sample had

worked on a total of approximately 1199 cases (adults only). Some RIs also worked for the defence as non-registered intermediaries. However, the number of cases is only an approximation of the total number of cases (prosecution and defence) as participants were unable to recall exact figures. Table 1 provides the participants' pseudonyms, age, background, and their RI experience in years.

Table 1

Participants' demographic information

Name	Age	Background	Years as RI (as of 2015)
Lynn	62	SLT	8
Sandra	68	SLT	7
Rochelle	57	SLT	6
Gloria	52	SLT	1.5
Jennie	60	SLT	1.5
Lorraine	40	SLT	8
May	59	Occupational Therapist	7
Judith	59	Public health visitor	8
Helen	34	SLT	5
Joanne	35	SLT	2
Sylvia	52	SLT	4
Juliet	74	SLT	8

Materials

The interview schedule had thirteen questions (Appendix 1). As the interviews were semi-structured, the questions were amended as the interview went along based on the points raised by the participants. The main focus of the questions were around duties as an RI, areas of expertise, experiences of working with witnesses and police, barriers to effective performance, feedback, training, improvements, and positive aspects of working as an RI.

Eleven interviews were conducted over Skype. They were audio recorded using a Skype call recorder software, downloaded on my laptop. A physical recorder was used for back up purposes and for the face-to-face interview as well.

Procedure

The advertisement for the study was placed on RIO, an online forum for RIs, by my external advisor, who is an RI herself. The advertisement contained my email address and interested participants emailed me directly. I also recruited some participants at one of the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) days for RIs, hosted by a regional group.

The participants were sent an information sheet (Appendix 3) about the study and a consent form (Appendix 6) to sign before the interview. They were requested for information on the number of cases completed, especially with adult witnesses and the vulnerabilities that they had worked with. All interviews, except one, were conducted over Skype. One interview was conducted face-to-face at a location suitable to the participant. To ensure that the effect of social desirability was minimized, participants were made aware that the study was being conducted mainly for academic purposes and that the researcher did not have any vested interests. The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions. They were audio recorded, with the average interview being 31 minutes long. At the end of the interview, participants were given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and the research. A debrief sheet (Appendix 9) was emailed to the participants after the interview.

Analysis

Participants were asked about their areas of expertise, barriers, experiences of working with witnesses, police, and court officials, training opportunities,

expectations, and suggestions for improvements. The participants' accounts generated five superordinate themes: feel professionally neglected, feeling unsupported, feeling unrepresented, invested in strengthening the scheme, and making a difference (Table 2 for superordinate themes and sub-themes). All participants have been assigned pseudonyms for purposes of confidentiality.

Table 2

Themes generated from RIs' experiences

Superordinate themes	Sub-themes
Feel professionally neglected	Poor communication Face indifference
Feeling unsupported	Feeling lonely Seeking appropriate supervision and mentoring
Feeling unrepresented	Concerned about poor accountability Knowing our practice is variable
Invested in strengthening the scheme	Understand each other's roles Learning on and off the field
Making a difference	Gradual acceptance Giving a voice to the vulnerable Doing an important job

Theme 1: Feel professionally neglected

At times, participants felt a lack of teamwork and spoke about not being considered professionally important by police officers and barristers. This theme comprised sub-themes of poor communication and face indifference.

Poor communication

RIs felt that even though liaison with the police and court officials was an important aspect of their role, information about a case going to court or changes in trial or other dates was not conveyed to them, which often left them feeling *''bottom of the pack''* (May, p.5, line 123).

''I think intermediaries can get left out of the loop sometimes… I drove 2 and a quarter hours in a complete different direction [from my home] to a ground rules hearing… And it hadn't occurred to them to let me know. So I didn't know the fact that it's been postponed until I arrived'' (Sandra, p.4, line 112)

Several others felt they had to follow up with the police to arrange an interview date or had to contact the barrister themselves to request the questions before the GRH. Sandra also added that as RIs are communication experts, they take on the role of being *''the lynchpin and making sure that everybody communicates all the information''* (p. 4, line 101).

For some of them, this poor communication has led them to feel that they are not yet an integral part of the system.

''I'd like to see us warned for court at the same time as witnesses because I sometimes only find out there is a court case running just cause I've rung up a police officer saying, can I have an update please? And they go, oh yeah, it's going to trial in a fortnight and I go, what? I'd like to see a place in the system where we can be an integral part of the team rather than, oh we haven't remembered the intermediary'' (May, p.8, line 192)

Given that RIs co-ordinate with other professionals such as care workers and teachers, this lack of communication also becomes a source of frustration for some. Describing doctors and psychiatrists as *''the worst''* (p.6, line 157), Lynn felt that it is indeed a barrier to obtaining background information. Sylvia indicated

that overall lack of clarity about RIs and their role could be a reason why they are not informed appropriately.

"I think sometimes the lack of communication between different departments, for instance, between the CPS and police and the court that can be quite frustrating at times. When you're trying to get, gather information or whether you are trying to give them information, sometimes that's quite difficult. And I suppose the other thing is in the court situation, again similar to some police officers, sometimes barristers and judges aren't clear about our role as they should be'' (Sylvia, p.3, line 61)

''Police officers who don't understand the role….We've put lot onto training now for interviewing for police. But there are many thousands of police officers. They often don't really understand and they may think our role is like the expert witness, able to tell them whether they're [witnesses] *telling the truth, whether they have the cognitive ability to give evidence and so we can't actually spend a lot of time making them understand what our role is. Or they think we're trying to tell them what to ask or may even ask for advice about, you know, what do I ask, thinking we're involved with the evidence giving process, in the sense of advising them for the case''* (Juliet, p.3, line 70)

Sandra suggested that *''if all the different professional groups work with vulnerable witnesses were more aware of each other's roles and communicated better together, that, that would benefit witnesses''* (p.11, line 312) but felt that even though it would be *''ideal''*, it may *''take a long time''* or *''maybe it'll never happen''*.

Face indifference

Once again highlighting the lack of awareness about their role, many RIs felt that the officers and barristers they worked with, did not understand their necessity. They worked with an RI only because it was a legal requirement.

"I think largely they have no idea. They're just ticking the box of having got an intermediary involved and their learning. In the court, there's slightly more that kind of feeling of a nuisance person, got to take her on board'' (Gloria, p.9, line 240)

Many RIs have also experienced reluctance on behalf of officers to engage with them and take into consideration their recommendations.

"Oh, one in particular who just sort of said that, you know I've been doing this job for 20 years with vulnerable witnesses, so I don't think you'd probably going to need to chip in very much" (Sandra, p.6, line 168)

Juliet added that intermediaries have to be *"constantly vigilant"* (p.9, line 258) and often play a dual role, in doing their job and being proactive in explaining why they are needed during the interview.

"[Experience is] very dependent on the officer who is going to do the interview. Because they're suspicious of you. And they, well I don't want you to say anything, you can sit in the corner ((laughs)). But its two people who work together, we can produce better evidence to put forward to court…Well don't say, oh I don't want you to come in. You can sit in the other room and we'll call you when we need you. The whole spectrum of that kind of treatment. And I think the role the intermediary really has to have, primary role, primarily is to be incredibly adaptive and proactive in being able to manage and say, oh I'm not going to be able to do it that way, have to do it a different way. We're not on the side of the witness, in the sense of advocating for them. We're neutral, we work for both. And I think if that is prescribed and is quite clear, then some of the prejudices can be got rid of" (p.5, line 129)

Similarly, participants have often faced inflexible attitudes from judges and barristers, both prosecution and defence. Joanne, Jennie, and Juliet all echoed similar sentiments about their experience in court.

"I did have one defence counsel who more or less at the ground rules hearing asked the judge, why should he change the way he talked" (Jennie, p.3, line 73)

A recent trend that is worrying some RIs is the barristers' overconfidence in questioning vulnerable witnesses, after reading the Advocate's Gateway Toolkit,

which could give rise to the idea that they do not need the RI's help. As Lynn put it,

''the toolkits are generic, whereas the witness is an individual. And so you can't just grab something and say this fits everybody'' (p.6, line 138). She added, ''they all know about the toolkits, the Advocate's Gateway toolkit. But then they tend to think that means they know everything. So there is a danger there. Little learning can be a dangerous thing because they think that I'll get past if they say, oh ya I've read the toolkits. But that doesn't mean that he or she is going to actually put things into practice'' (p.6, line 134).

May, laughing nervously, felt that, ''barristers…they now think that they just need to read the toolkit! And perhaps they don't need us'' (p.6, line 137).

Theme 2: Feeling unsupported

RIs have a challenging and stressful role, which includes extensive travelling, new work environments like the police station and court, lack of financial stability, and having to do a competent job in a short period. Given the nature of the job, many participants expressed feeling alone and missed having personal and professional support, something they were accustomed to in their alternate profession. This theme encompassed sub-themes of feeling lonely and seeking appropriate supervision and mentoring.

Feeling lonely

''You don't have a lot of support for colleagues because you don't work with them, you work in isolation. And you are working with people who don't understand your role and they may have a different expectation of your role than what you are actually meant to deliver. The court system is not the most friendliest place ((smiles)). It's pretty horrible ((laughs)). It's a bit like swimming in a shark pool'' (Judith, p.2, line 42).

This quote by Judith, though strong, describes what it is like for an RI to be in a new work environment without formal support.

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Gloria supplemented this by saying, *"it is a completely new area. You're working in new context, with the police or within the court and both of those are extremely challenging... I think that it is an extremely lonely job. You know you're there on your own"* (p.3, line 69).

With all the RIs coming from a healthcare background, they have been used to having a system of support in place, especially from colleagues and seniors. However, with them now working on their own, getting regular peer support is difficult. This feeling was exemplified by Jennie and was also discussed by Gloria.

"Having worked as a part of a clinical team for most of my life where you could, if something was bothering you or weren't sure how to handle something, you go and talk to somebody, we are very isolated" (Jennie, p.5, line 118)

Seeking appropriate supervision and mentoring

Being part of a job where accuracy and thoroughness is essential, most RIs felt that they needed someone to share their experiences with and seek clarifications. Even though they may have such opportunities at group meetings, annual conferences, or on RIO, they needed something on a more personal level.

Lynn is among the many RIs who get supervision at their own financial expense.

"I have an external person, I've found myself...So I might bring a case that can cause difficulties for whatever reason, whether it's brought up because it's such a harrowing case or because of ((laughs)) disorganisation or because of the stress at court etc. And then I, we talk about it, or the amount of work I'm doing, you know, feeling overwhelmed or feeling burnt out or whatever and we just talk it through. So I have gained a lot of insight into my working practice from that. I've also been able to, sort of, adapt my practice so I've actually put in, I've changed things that I wasn't comfortable with or sure about but I was just going round in circles maybe with them. I've been able

to think it all through in a, in a secure environment, if you like. So it's been extremely helpful and I mean, I always say, I think supervision is essential'' (p.9, line 239).

Some RIs have set up a mentoring system with their peers, either through periodic phone calls or through group messaging, especially since meeting them in person is not always possible.

''I think most training and most support that I've got has been from peers. So, you know, because of the kind of person I am, I very quickly identified people that I thought, oh they're good intermediaries and I asked them lots of questions and we continue to offer peer support. So, yeah, you have to be quite motivated I think to generate your own'' (Rochelle, p.12, line 331)

''I have an informal mentoring system with colleagues, so that's in place. And I learn every day from them'' (May, p.7, line 160)

Judith strongly argued that supervision should be mandatory for RIs, so that they could talk to someone to relieve their stress, when needed.

''…most importantly, I think we should have supervision. I think that's something that's really lacking and I get my own supervision but it costs quite a lot of money. And we don't get any guidance on how to find supervisors, so it's really down to us. So I think, sometimes when we are dealing with such distressing things and difficult things, it would be ethical practice that we have supervision compulsorily. But it's up to us whether we want to do it'' (p.4, line 98)

Speaking of recent developments, Juliet said that,

''…more recently, just in the last 18 months, we have established people as mentors. So now there's mentoring available from intermediaries for people as they start and boy is it needed! Because every case, even when you're experienced brings up something new ((smiles))'' (p.8, line 215).

Yet, as a senior RI, she also spoke about the challenges of being a mentor, especially with more RIs being recruited. She seemed to criticise the MOJ for not

fully understanding the investment required by an RI, in terms of time and money, while undertaking a mentoring role.

''And though there's going to be more new intermediaries than there are existing ones, so we have a huge mentoring role, which again takes away time from doing our job…More mentoring being available at the hours for intermediaries, which is ludicrous. Many of us end up doing 20, maybe 30 hours in the first year of a new intermediary's life and we get paid for 3 hours ((smiles)). So most of us are passionate about the role, we're willing to do that but, and it's an indication that the Ministry of Justice do not realise what the mentor role involves'' (p.10, line 276)

Theme 3: Feeling unrepresented

Some of the participants raised concerns about not knowing much about who represented them at the higher level in the system. This also concerned them because they felt that the performance of RIs was not regularly monitored, which has led to variability in practice. This theme included the subthemes of concerned about poor accountability and knowing our practice is variable.

Concerned about poor accountability

A couple of participants were disappointed with the lack of representation and accountability for them. They needed to know that they were a priority and that the relevant authorities were looking into the suggestions or feedback they provided.

''And I also think that there is a feeling of a lack of representation within the CJS as well. I think the people who, or my impression is the people who are representing us are very busy with lots of other things. You know we could do with a champion really, who…represents what we do. I just feel a bit distant'' (Gloria, p.4, line 105)

''I would love to see somebody who has RIs as part of their job brief. When the scheme was first set up, there was a lot clearer role given to, given to the RIs as a part of MOJ and somebody had, probably I expect more time dedicated to it while it was a pilot

scheme. Now that's not the case. It can be very difficult to know who's sort of leading on it at a higher level. We might have a name, but they don't necessarily have us as a priority in their job'' (Lorraine, p.6, line 173)

Knowing our practice is variable

Many RIs, especially those who are quite experienced at this job, were dissatisfied with the variability in practice among themselves, as it seemed to influence police or court officials' attitude towards them. Rochelle felt that since *''there aren't enough people and structures''*, this has led to *''the governance of the scheme''* being *''weak''* and therefore *''the monitoring of our practice, our feedback, it's just very limited''* (p.13, line 365). She further added, *''I think there's some variability of practice that I think if you looked at it closely, would concern us but there's no, there's not enough of a system to deal with that''* (p.14, line 383).

Lynn, a senior RI, felt that, perhaps, this lack of monitoring has allowed some bad practice to creep in. She saw this as a problem as she has seen a few RIs take on cases which they were not professionally equipped to handle.

''…but there's been an issue about people taking on cases for which professionally they're not really as well equipped to deal with as they should be. And I think that's been an issue to do with the, the professional areas that we feel to skilled to work in, we tick boxes and I think some people, and I've noticed this…recently… people had ticked boxes, they were being asked what areas they would want to work in, client areas. And some people had just ticked every box under the sun! And when we questioned them on it, they said well you know I thought I should be flexible or something. Not really seeing ((laughing)) how important it was actually have those skills. So I think that's, I know that's being looked at and it's being looked at for ages and ages and ages'' (p.11, line 294)

Theme 4: Invested in strengthening the scheme

      RIs felt that the success of the scheme lay in the different professional groups understanding each other's roles and working together. According to them, training police and court officials would be a step in that direction and most RIs are personally involved in doing so. Similarly, they suggested the need for a more practical and continuous learning experience for themselves, especially for new recruits. The sub-themes under this theme are understand each other's roles and learning on and off the field.

Understand each other's roles

      Participants felt that even though there has been progress, many officers still struggle with identifying vulnerability in witnesses and understanding the role of RIs. Sandra noted that it is crucial that first response officers are trained in identification of vulnerability, as they are the initial contact point for witnesses.

      ''…there are thousands and thousands of police. You know we're always going to have a problem of not everybody knowing. I'll tell you one thing which is a problem and we've not, I think any of us have managed to work out how to address it. The person who should really, really know about how to identify a vulnerable witness is the first response officer, the one who goes out as a result of a phone call. But they, in a way, they're really down the pecking order in the police and they may have actually interviewed that witness, tried all that, before anybody goes to the fact that really they should have, you know, a videoed interview…You have to teach all of those first response officers to help them so that they just hold and get into a proper discussion with their senior before doing an interview or getting written statement, for example. And that's, that's something that hasn't yet been cracked'' (p.7, line 185)

      Sylvia, who like many other RIs, is involved in training police forces, added that more education and more information could result in more officers knowing about RIs and using their services, when needed.

"I think there is some training to be done, I train…police in achieving best evidence course for officers, on the role of the intermediaries, so I do that with them and every session and I do the safeguarding course. But I think just more education, more information out there" (May, p.6, line 134)

Similarly, participants felt the court officials should be more aware about the role of RIs and good practice guidelines, such as having a GRH before the trial. Lynn narrated her court experiences wherein in the past she would *"beg them [court] for ground rules."*

Even though ground rules are a regular feature now and are conducted before the trial, there are still times when they are done on the day, *"first thing in the morning…when the witness is already there waiting"* (Lynn, p.6, line 144). Lynn added that in these situations it became difficult to keep the witness in a good state. She felt that it caused *"a lot of undue stress and anxiety and it's quite difficult to get, in my experience, quite difficult to get the court to really take that on board, even when it's been on my recommendations and I've said it to them on the day of the trial. They're very inflexible about that, pay lip service to it although actually it's in good practice guidelines"* (p.6, line 172).

"I think more education at the top level I guess and maybe a bit more enforcement because I guess the judges are so experienced and so high up in their profession; people don't really like to tell them what to do ((smiles)). But I think if they could have more awareness about how helpful it could be for the whole court, that would be a positive thing" (Helen, p.4, line 115)

Alongside training, many RIs have *"contributed in large measures"* (Sandra, p.8, line 226) to the development of the Advocate's Gateway toolkit. Rochelle is involved in a committee that has compiled mandatory training for barristers *"on questioning vulnerable people. Several intermediaries have been involved in providing, for example, sample reports, assisting on the training video and we're going to assist on the training"* (p.9, line 246).

She further added that the different professional groups must understand each other's expertise and challenges, which in turn would foster teamwork.

''I think people understanding each other's role is always key to getting relationships right. So I think the more intermediaries understand barristers' role, because I think that in the past perhaps there's not been as good an understanding amongst us about what they need to do and what their role is and when they understand our role, then I think the better relationships'' (p.9, line 249)

''…I learnt a huge amount, I do a lot of training. I've learnt a huge amount that we go into it to understand that you can learn as much from them about your role and what their difficulties are and that then can have an effect, meaning that you can work more and more understanding with other people'' (Juliet, p.10, line 286)

''Joint training would be good…I think by working all together, with counsel, I think they can understand a bit and ensure there will be less hostility'' (Judith, p.3, line 65)

Learning on and off the field

Most participants were quite happy with their initial training with some describing it as *''really, really intense…excellent, absolutely excellent''* (Gloria, p.8, line 229) and *''it's probably one of the best training courses I've ever been on''* (Joanne, p.6, line 158).

Some RIs, such as Gloria, said that *''more information and more experience, more practice''* is needed. *''Whether you could do more online, some online learning associated with it maybe''* (p.8, line 226). Lynn raised an interesting point as she spoke about the importance of peer observation or shadowing, especially for new recruits.

''I think more being able to observe real things happening, perhaps like a period of post, post-qualification, you know a bit like you're in the speech and language

therapist, you do some, almost like a probationary period. And I think that would be very helpful and supportive for the people because it is such a massive, however good you are with the communication difficulties, the whole set up is so different and so strange'' (p.8, line 206)

Theme 5: Making a difference

RIs felt there has been a gradual increase in positive attitude towards them. They have received appreciation from their professional colleagues as well as from witnesses and their parents/carers. They were aware of their impact on the CJS in a short span of time. Gradual acceptance, giving a voice to the vulnerable, and doing an important job are the resultant sub-themes.

Gradual acceptance

''From not being allowed in court, literally not being allowed in court with a witness, told to sit outside, to people just going yeah, yeah...we don't really need you to actually now being engaged, you know, talking to judges, talking to barristers. People have a better understanding of our role'' (Judith, p.5, line 123). This quote aptly summarises the journey of RIs, especially those working since the introduction of the scheme. She reminisces that she has *''seen a lot of changes''* and that now RIs have *''developed professionally''*.

Rochelle felt that the police *''try quite hard to change. And the more complex the person's communication is, the more likely they are to understand where my role fits in''* (p.7, line 190). Similarly, many participants observed that judges have been *''more proactive in directing the barristers to following guidelines and how they are expected to adapt their communication''* (Lorraine, p.4, line 110).

With what seems to be an indication of improvement in the attitude towards RIs, Joanne, who recently qualified, stated that she has *''never had a negative experience. I think I've been very lucky. I've been very, very positively received*

and people are very grateful for the help that you, you know, that you provide. The reports are well received, the planning meetings…I think initially they're a bit, oh, I don't need a planning meeting, I've done lots of interviews before. Then when you sit down and go through with them, it becomes apparent that maybe you'd been a bit more helpful than they'd realise'' (p.5, line 129).

''I think no negative experiences come to my mind with the police…They've either had a good understanding to start with or they've been very open to my help and advice and learning more about the role'' (Helen, p.4, line 94)

Sylvia felt that such positive work experiences created a sense of teamwork.
''I think…once you've worked with a police force and you know you work well with them, then they'll come back and they'll often request you, which is great for working relationships because then it means you'll know how that force works, how the individual works and you know you can work as part of that team and that is very rewarding I think. I've got a few forces where that's happened. And I find that really rewarding because you feel that you really are making a difference…'' (p.5, line 142).

Giving a voice to the vulnerable

All the participants emphasised that RIs have played an important role in providing the vulnerable with equal access to justice, which was not always available to them before the introduction of the scheme. As Sandra clearly put it, *''…intermediaries make the difference between a child or a vulnerable witness being able to give evidence and them just simply not being called to a trial… We have made a huge ((emphasising)) difference''* (p.12, line 326).

Joanne, like many others, felt emotionally connected to the cause of giving a voice to the vulnerable, *''…enabling somebody that has got learning difficulties or a diagnosis like autism to actually enable them to go through that process, whether or not they get a guilty outcome…just to enable them to have been through that process and*

not feel that they've not been listened to or they've not been given a chance to tell their story, I think that's been one of the most beautiful things'' (p.8, line 225).

''Seeing somebody who no way…would have ever been taken through the court system, it would've been a no, actually going through the system and comin' out feeling, I really did my very best and I said what I needed to say'' (May, p.9, line 210)

The RIs were also proud of the incredible changes in the system because of the special measures and were extremely happy to be a part of it.

''With the amount of special measures and the variety and flexibility that courts have adopted for the past 10 years is astounding compared to where we were 10 years ago and I think contributing to that, I think I'm quite proud of that. It's only been, I imagine, less than 100 of us, really involved over the past 10 years, probably fewer, doing many cases and the impact we've had is quite astounding I think'' (Lorraine, p.7, line 201)

''I think it's a wonderful thing of our CJS that these things have been put in place to enable them [vulnerable witness] *at least to have a chance to be heard and to be part of that is, is rather wonderful. It's easy to sort of forget, one gets sort of caught I think. I think you get a bit caught at the end of the evidence and exam and you stop and think what they've really done. What they've achieved is stunning. What that witness has achieved, to be a part of that, the whole team approach is brilliant''* (Lynn, p.12, line 318)

''I've met some fantastic police officers, really good attitude and it's given me a lot of encouragement that things are actually changing'' (Jennie, p.6, line 156)

Parents/carers and the vulnerable witnesses, themselves, have been appreciative and relieved to receive the kind of help they do from RIs. Participants did not report any negative experiences.

''Witnesses are always very, very appreciative and always thank you. Some of them don't have the, the level of language skills to thank me, so you get a big hug'' (May, p.6, line 148)

''I think for a lot of parents it's just knowing that somebody is there to help, to make sure that they understand, to make sure they can have a break, you know, it's for all the things that they've been worrying about. And I think that makes it worthwhile really'' (Sylvia, p.10, line 271)

Doing an important job

It is no doubt that being a RI, *''it's all challenges, it's absolutely challenges''* but Gloria echoed the sentiments of all the participants by emphasising, *''but it is a fantastic job. Absolutely fantastic job''* (p.5, line 118). They felt stimulated by the variety of their role and felt satisfied knowing that they were able to help a vulnerable witness achieve the best that he/she could.

''I really like the variety. I really like the challenge of the unknown and how you have to really respond to the moment and go with it and get what you can… And for me as a person, I think that that's been enlightening. It doesn't help them but it's enlightening for me. But I do actually think it makes a difference'' (Gloria, p.10, line 262)

''Although it's awful seeing a small child being cross-examined, you know or somebody with a quite marked learning disability…Nonetheless, you know that you've given them their best chance of giving good evidence, is a very, very satisfying feeling. You know, I am going to retire…and I shall feel that I have spent, you know, 8 and a half, nearly 9 years doing a extraordinarily important job'' (Sandra, p.12, line 329)

Discussion

This study explored the experiences of RIs of working with the CJS and adult witnesses with ID. It aimed to provide an in-depth understanding of the needs, expectations, and motivations of RIs and their practical and emotional experience of doing this job. The participants' accounts resulted in the generation of five superordinate themes: feel professionally neglected, feeling unsupported,

feeling unrepresented, invested in strengthening the scheme, and making a difference. The analysis demonstrates the importance of training for police and barristers, integration of RIs into the CJS, and provision of a better support structure for the RIs.

The theme 'feeling professionally neglected' reflected the implications of the lack of awareness in the CJS, especially among the police, about RIs. Crane et al. (2016), in their survey, reported that 61% police officers had little or no knowledge of the WIS. Similarly, Maras et al. (2017) found that only 38% lawyers and 50% judges were comfortable working with an RI. Poor awareness also has an impact on inclusion of RIs into the existing work culture and the way information is communicated to them. Maslow (2000) stated that social integration in the workplace involves pleasant working relationships and acknowledgement by co-workers and peers. This helps people experience belongingness and they feel connected to their work community (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Baumeister and Leary (1995), in their belongingness hypothesis, proposed that people have an intrinsic drive to form and maintain positive and significant interpersonal relationships. Lack of such attachments could cause anxiety and maladjustment, which is exacerbated when one is excluded from social groups (Barden, Garber, Leiman, Ford, & Masters, 1985). RIs said that often they were not informed about changes in court schedules or trial dates. They felt there was poor communication among the different professionals and they were kept out of the loop. Leary (2001) argued that the mere perception of being excluded could affect one's relational evaluation, i.e., the extent to which an individual believes that their relationship with another person or group is valued. Indeed, some RIs stated that officers, sometimes, did not deem their role important and considered them only a legal requirement.

Being appreciated and acknowledged for their work could help decrease these feelings (Maslow, 2000). Appreciation improves the morale of employees

as they feel valued by the people they work with and that their contributions make a difference (White, 2015). Thus, an enhanced morale could increase the RIs' motivation towards their job and make them more productive (Elmer, 2007), which could lead to them to invest further into eliciting better quality evidence from witnesses. It could also influence their decision and interest in continuing to be an active part of the WIS.

The RIs' feelings of being professionally neglected could also stem from the police and court officials' historically negative perception of the necessity of the role of the RI. Poor understanding of vulnerability amongst them may be a reason that affects their perception. Surveys of police (Crane et al., 2016) and legal professionals (Maras et al., 2017) have demonstrated that although they stated they were well-equipped to work with vulnerabilities such as ASD, participants from the ASD community felt the opposite. They were unsatisfied with the treatment they received and felt that the police and legal professionals did not fully understand their physical, emotional, and cognitive needs. Chown (2010) argued that police officers often over-estimated their understanding of vulnerability. On the other hand, RIs are experts in the areas of speech and communication and are experienced in working with a range of vulnerabilities. Thus, it is essential that the training provided to police and legal professionals addresses the evident gap in their knowledge, and emphasises on the ways in which the RI could benefit vulnerable witnesses.

Eadens et al. (2016) found that 62.9% of officers, in their study, had almost no contact with the ID population outside of their work. They argued that this could be a reason why the police lacked knowledge of the basic characteristics of ID. They suggested that the social distance theory, which proposes that the more experience officers have with people with ID, the more comfortable they would be around them (Cooke, 2014), could be used as a basis to design training. It is essential to educate officers about the problems faced by people with ID in the CJS by involving people with ID themselves and their family members, thereby

encouraging positive interactions between these groups. This in turn could influence their understanding of the importance of an RI in facilitating communication with vulnerable witnesses and ultimately improve evidence and trial outcomes.

Another reason for RIs' feelings of exclusion could be the officials' resistance to change. RIs have been part of the system only since 2008. Being a part of the CJS would have, undoubtedly, created a work culture and an in-group attitude, which leads to the development of deeply ingrained working practices among the professionals (Hall, 2007). Kotter (1997) believed that the presence of such a culture often acts as a barrier to change. This could result in the inflexible attitudes from barristers towards RIs as, over the years, they may have developed particular ways of working and therefore, find it difficult to accept the change to their routine. The organisational culture model states that cultural change involves unlearning existing behaviour, in order to learn something new (Schein, 2010). Thus, according to Schein (2010), cultural change is a process of transformation and it is important that employees are comprehensively supported through this change. Henderson (2015), during her interviews with RIs, judges, and advocates, found that many advocates were still reluctant to accept the RIs' suggestions. It is possible that they saw the suggestions as questioning of their own ability and practice with regard to vulnerable witnesses.

Murtagh, Gatersleben, and Uzzell (2012) stated that resistance to change is often an unavoidable and universal response to organisational change. Coping with change is especially difficult when there is not enough information about the change itself or the perceived benefits of it (Bull & Brown, 2012). Acceptance of RIs could be even more difficult as they work independently and are not completely a part of the CJS as an organisation. Therefore, Wittig (2012) suggested that it is important to efficiently communicate the information about the change to all those associated with it. The RIs felt that many officers and court officials were unclear about the nature and extent of their role and consequently,

were reluctant to work with them. As the officials seem uncertain about RIs, it could negatively affect their readiness to accept them as part of the system.

To improve the situation, many RIs are involved in training police forces and barristers to educate them and spread awareness about their role. The ABE guidelines provide information on the use of Special Measures, including the role of RIs (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). Additionally, the evidence-based toolkits published in the Advocate's Gateway are a practical step in implementing change and improving practice (The Advocate's Gateway, 2017). Experts in the field of language, communication, psychology, and law have developed these toolkits for lawyers and judges. They include best-practice guidelines on a range of topics that are relevant to vulnerable witnesses and defendants. However, few participants were concerned that barristers felt that the toolkits enabled them to work without an RI. Thus, legal professionals must be made aware that these toolkits only serve as guidelines and they cannot replace the expertise and contribution of the RI to the trial and in facilitating communication with vulnerable witnesses.

One participant even suggested that there should be more media presence about RIs, especially in documentaries and TV shows. This may help in more people knowing about this measure. Recent court cases published in the news highlighted the contribution of an RI in assisting a two-year old girl in convicting her abuser, and helping a man with motor neurone disease by using eye-tracker technology (Bowcott, 2017). Such publicity may be useful in promoting the role of RIs so that more people are aware of the Special Measures that are in place to assist vulnerable witnesses.

RIs have quite a challenging and stressful role as they work closely with vulnerable witnesses. They are expected to be thorough in their assessments of the witnesses and provide recommendations, which they often have to do within a short period. Their work involves considerable emotional content, as their responsibility is to work with witnesses, who may be vulnerable due to many

reasons including their age, disability, and nature of the crime. Miller (2002) has labelled such work as emotional work as the nature of the job itself is marked by the presence of positive and negative emotions, compassion, and the need to help others. Importantly, as they are independently employed, they spend a lot of time working alone.

As all the RIs were from a clinical background, they had always worked as part of a team where they could rely on colleagues for personal and professional support. In this job, they found themselves to be working alone and without any peer support. They are in a different work environment, wherein they have to establish their identity and at the same time, bear the responsibility of assisting the witnesses. Thus, there is a remarkable shift in their work pattern. Some participants felt frightened and lost, as they did not have anybody to guide them, while many of them had feelings of isolation.

Loneliness could reduce their emotional commitment to the job, which may impact performance and participation (Ozcelik & Barsade, 2011). Previous research has shown that this is less likely to make employees feel that they belong to the organisation (Meyer, 2009). Sherony and Green (2002) added that work colleagues often share crucial information with each other as they are part of a team and have formal or informal relationships. When co-workers are not the recipients of this exchange, their feelings of loneliness are likely to increase. This was highlighted in the case of the RIs, as they did not feel that they were an integral part of the system, which was exacerbated by poor awareness of their role and lack of communication.

RIs felt the need for emotional and professional support by means of supervision. All RIs are part of RIO, which is used as a forum to share experiences and seek advice. They also have to join a regional group, which may hold few meetings in a year. However, due to their work schedules, RIs are not always able to attend the meetings. The participants felt that even though there were these opportunities, they wanted something on a more personal level. They needed

someone to whom they could talk to about what was distressing them at work or someone who could provide another perspective when they were struggling with a case, something almost akin to therapy.

Supervision improves supervisee's clinical skills, strengthens personal and professional identity, enhances cognitive and affective learning, and increases self-esteem (Schamess, 2006). Schamess (2006) also believed that supervision has therapeutic potential as it can help supervisees' address their own shortcomings, those that may be a barrier to performing their job effectively. The social support theory states that social support can often act as a buffer against stress by providing the individual with necessary resources to cope with the demands of the situation (Cohen & Wills, 1985). In light of this theory, the presence of a supervisor or mentor has an impact on providing emotional and informational support to the RI (Nijman, 2004).

Participants felt that supervision helped them reflect on their work and made them feel more confident. However, they had to get it at their own financial expense. They added that they did not receive guidance on how to find a supervisor and consequently, some of them found an external person, whereas some depended on peers or seniors who were willing to help. Although it does seem to be an added financial burden, many RIs felt that it was crucial for their well-being. In fact, some argued that ethically, supervision should be mandatory as RIs dealt with distressing and difficult situations, which often takes a toll on them. For example, prison staff are provided with mandatory post-incident care and appropriate support and interventions, when they encounter traumatic incidents as part of their job (National Offender Management Service, 2010).

Yet, one of the issues that needs addressing is 'who could make a good mentor?' Some of the RIs approach an external expert, such as a former SLT senior colleague, for advice. However, many senior RIs are, themselves, mentors to new recruits. This is an additional responsibility, in terms of managing the time they invest as mentors and doing their job. One participant also mentioned that

they were not compensated very well financially for being a mentor. Thus, it would seem that the MOJ and the proponents of the WIS need to prioritise RIs' well-being and work out a balance between these two, equally important, roles.

Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2015) reported that the intermediary register loses around ten RIs each year. As no exit interviews are conducted, the reason for this attrition is not entirely clear. They were also concerned that given that the cost of recruiting and training RIs is quite high, the regular drop in numbers may be a burden on the MOJ's financial resources. From the above discussion, it may be possible that the RIs' experiences of feeling unsupported could contribute to their dissatisfaction with this job and lead them to drop out.

Another cause for concern for a few participants was the lack of performance monitoring. The RIs, particularly the seniors, noticed the presence of certain bad practices within their role. They felt that as everyone had different set of skills, there was bound to be variability in practice but sometimes this had negative consequences. One example is that few RIs, especially those who are newly recruited, take on cases that they are not skilled to handle. This in turn influences their way of working with the witnesses, which may not always be satisfactory. Some participants felt that this created a negative impression about RIs and influenced the police or court officials' attitude towards them. Regular monitoring will enable assessment of performance, opportunities to develop and improve skills, and incorporate employee feedback to strengthen the service (Grant & Higgins, 1989).

If there was a structure that facilitated performance monitoring it could help in maintaining a high standard of the scheme. The Procedural Guidance Manual (Ministry of Justice, 2015) states that the WIS's Quality Assurance Board (QAB) is responsible for the regulation and monitoring of professional standards. The Intermediaries Registration Board, which governs the WIS, and the QAB review the feedback on the work done by RIs with an aim to maintain professional standards. Yet, participants were not clear about who actually represented the

RIs in the MOJ and appraised their feedback and suggestions. They complained about poor accountability and responsibility that the authorities involved in the development of the scheme had shown towards RIs. Thus, there seems to be some discrepancy between policy and practice. Perhaps, more direct information about the hierarchy of the scheme, and individuals or committees responsible for RIs, could help alleviate their doubts about the same.

Participants acknowledged that in order for the scheme to run smoothly, it was essential that the different professional groups understood each other's roles. They suggested that cross-disciplinary training could be useful in learning about the challenges that each group may face as part of their job. For example, Crane et al. (2016) noted that waiting for an RI could be extremely frustrating for the police. On the other hand, few RIs stated that as the police are the initial point of contact for witnesses, it is crucial that officers, including patrol officers, are trained in identifying vulnerability and have information about the Special Measures available for such witnesses. However, it could be argued that the police have neither the clinical expertise nor the time to try to diagnose the vulnerability of a witness (Herrington & Roberts, 2012). This situation could be complicated by the fact that vulnerable witnesses often do not disclose their diagnosis in fear of being stigmatised by the police (Crane et al., 2016).

One way to break this cycle could be to train officers on the general characteristics of the specific IDs, that they are more likely to be faced with, which may better equip them to deal with the varied situations that they may encounter (Chown, 2010). Alongside, officers who are ABE trained, should be provided with detailed information on the Special Measures, including working with RIs (Ministry of Justice, 2011a) so that they are aware of them and use them when required. Another possibility could be to assign RIs on an ad-hoc basis to particular police forces so that they could advise officers on questions regarding identification of ID.

Yet, it is important to remember that even though the scheme was nationally rolled out in 2008, it would be quite a task to educate the large numbers of police officers across the 43 forces in England and Wales about the role of RIs. Training could also be dependent on several factors such as size of the force, location, and availability of resources and funding. To contribute to training, most participants were personally involved in educating officers and wished to spread more awareness about their role in helping vulnerable witnesses. Joint training could also help in alleviating some of the issues faced by RIs in court such as lack of adaptability regarding ground rules or keeping the witness waiting for long before being called to the stand. The latter, especially, can make witnesses anxious and stressed and it may take substantial effort on behalf of the RIs to keep them calm (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015). Participants felt that at times the court was inflexible about adhering to good practice guidelines and did not always follow their recommendations.

As mentioned earlier, RIs have played an important role in the development of the toolkits, which clarify many aspects of their role. In 2016, The Inns of Court College of Advocacy introduced mandatory training for advocates who wish to work with vulnerable witnesses in serious sexual offences cases (ICCA, 2017). The training has been created with contributions from judges, practitioners, RIs, academics, and organisations that work with vulnerable victims/witnesses. It aims to help advocates use developmentally appropriate language as part of cross-examination of vulnerable witnesses. However, the training targets only those working with one group of vulnerable witnesses and excludes those in other cases, which seems to be a crucial limitation. While the practical impact of this training is yet to be seen, the overall increase in academic material could be beneficial in educating and sensitising a wider group of legal professionals about vulnerable people, their needs, and the role of RIs in this process.

The participants stressed on the importance of the different practitioners working as a team. Teamwork can foster efficiency, co-operation, communication

(Kossaify, Hleihel, & Lahoud, 2017) and a sense of respect for colleagues. It is an adaptive and dynamic process that involves interaction of team members as they work towards a common goal (Salas, Shuffler, Thayer, Bedwell, & Lazzara, 2015). In this scenario, that goal would be to give vulnerable witnesses a voice and help them achieve best evidence.

The participants agreed that apart from joint training, improving and updating their own practice was also crucial. One of them felt that a way to redress the variability in their practice was by having a probationary period or shadowing for new RIs. Shadowing allows for greater transference of skills acquired from training, gives the new recruits a chance to observe their mentor on the job and ask questions, and provides them with a practical understanding of the role (Blake & Stalberg, 2009). Shadowing could also be useful in overcoming the feelings of being alone in a new work environment that was expressed by many RIs.

Despite the many challenges, participants seemed devoted to their role and were passionate about working with and helping people with vulnerabilities. They understood that change is not easy and felt that they were slowly making their mark in the CJS. Those RIs who have been part of this scheme since its inception were, in retrospection, able to notice the difference in attitude towards them over time. Many participants have built a professional rapport with certain police officers, as they work together regularly. This has fostered positive working relationships and better understanding of the RI's role.

Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2017b) illustrated recent court cases wherein judges made accommodations for vulnerable witnesses based on the RI's recommendations such as allowing a witness with autism, whose comfort object was a lion's tail, to wear it whilst giving evidence, or letting the RI hold the witness's hand when she showed signs of psychological disturbance. Cooper (2017b) reported that judges are being persistent to ensure that poor questioning does not create additional problems for vulnerable witnesses and that barristers

use appropriate language during cross-examination. These examples definitely reflect the gradual realisation of the importance and acceptance of the RI's role in the CJS.

Considering that the WIS has been in place for less than 10 years, the participants were amazed at the amount of flexibility demonstrated by the CJS in executing the Special Measures. They were extremely proud to be part of this scheme and felt extremely passionate about helping those who are vulnerable to receive equal access to justice. Being part of change and enabling it to happen can lead to feelings of satisfaction and pride (Wilson, Meininger, & Charnock, 2009). As the RIs said, change could even be something as simple as giving these witnesses an opportunity to tell their side of the story, something which may not have necessarily been possible earlier.

Participants were aware that they were doing an important job and confidently expressed that they make the difference between a child or a vulnerable person being able to give evidence or not being given that opportunity. Keilty and Connelly (2001) found that officers and lawyers doubt the credibility of such witnesses, especially when they are dependent on their evidence, and prefer to abandon cases than carry it forward to the trial stage. The RIs strongly believed in giving a voice to the vulnerable and thus, were very proud to be a part of the WIS. They also felt that if the different professionals made an effort to communicate better and understand each other's roles, the experience for the vulnerable witnesses would be seamless. These thoughts of the participants seem to have a similar ideology as that of the notion of procedural justice.

The proponents of the procedural justice theory state that people's belief in justice does not solely depend on the outcome of the trial but on how they perceive they have been treated by the system and the quality of that experience (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Tyler (2008) believed that there are four principles of procedural justice, namely, voice, neutrality, respect, and trust. The principle of

voice indicates that the individual had the opportunity to narrate his side of the story, whereas neutrality means that the court experience was transparent and the judge was open about how the decision was made. Respectful treatment from all officials within the CJS will affirm an individual's belief that he was valued and his concerns were taken seriously. Lastly, the principle of trust indicates that the authorities sincerely cared about the individual and were acting in the best interest of all the involved parties. Thus, relating to the participants' accounts, the main essence of the scheme is that vulnerable witnesses have a positive experience whilst giving evidence, irrespective of the nature of the outcome. Undoubtedly, the RIs play an extremely important role in facilitating this but it is equally important that the other professionals contribute to ~~facilitate~~ this process.

Strengths of the Study

The main strength of this study is that it is the first of its kind. Looking beyond their role, it explored the RIs' needs, challenges, experiences, and motivations of working with adult ID witnesses, police officers, and court officials. This could shed light on ways to improve the journey of these individuals as RIs, which could ultimately influence their performance and their interest in continuing to be part of this scheme. By conducting semi-structured interviews, the accounts provided a personal and in-depth understanding of the various facets of their role and how they are affected by it. They shared a myriad of emotions, which allowed for an intricate understanding of their experiences. The sample consisted of RIs who worked in different areas in England and who were part of this scheme for varying number of years.

One of the limitations of the study was that it did not include RIs who directly influence policy-making or sit on committees that make decisions regarding RIs. Those RIs may have had a different experience as they are in a more

privileged position. A follow-up study could be conducted with such RIs to understand their perspectives in light of the results of this study.

Contributions to Knowledge and Practice

This study on the experiences of RIs of working with adult ID witnesses and the CJS has highlighted three important and relevant findings:

1. The RIs are extremely passionate about working with people with vulnerabilities and their years of clinical expertise is proof of that. The drive that they have as individuals is one of their main motivations of being part of this scheme. Their expertise is crucial in ensuring that vulnerable witnesses get an opportunity to achieve best evidence.

2. Given that the nature of this job is challenging and stressful, they find themselves feeling isolated and unsupported, both personally and professionally. They felt the need for a supportive and personalised mentoring/supervision system.

3. There is a need for better integration of the RIs into the CJS. It is crucial that police and court officials are trained appropriately, in order to overcome misconceptions and promote a better understanding of the RI's role.

Based on these findings, the following recommendations for practice can be made:

1. Formal exit interviews should be conducted with RIs who intend on leaving the WIS or those who have been inactive for long periods. This will help determine the reasons that cause them to do so and consequently, take necessary steps to address them.

2. RIs should be provided with clearer guidelines during training about working within their expertise so that they do not take on cases that are beyond their realm.

3. In order to tackle the feeling of poor accountability, RIs should be regularly updated on how the WIS has acted on their feedback or critique and what policies and guidelines are put in place to address their concerns.

4. Supervision and mentoring should be made available to all RIs in order to prioritise their well-being. However, there must be an attempt to strike a balance so that senior RIs are not over-burdened by the dual role of being RIs and mentors.

5. The ICCA should expand its mandatory training to all lawyers who work with vulnerable people so that they are educated on and sensitised to the needs and capabilities of such individuals and apply that to practice.

6. Training for police and court officials should detail the role and contribution of RIs in facilitating communication with vulnerable witnesses in the different stages of the evidence-giving process. Providing clear information about RIs could help foster better working relationships among these practitioners.

Police officers should have more detailed information about RIs during their ABE training. This could include direct input from an RI or video examples about their role, especially during the interview process. Based on the results of Charles' (2012) study, it seems that officers need more relevant and practical information such as in what situations can they use an RI or what forms need to be completed when they need one. Such information should be easily accessible so that officers can always be updated and in the loop.

With respect to training court officials, though the Advocate's Gateway toolkits are highly informational and continuously updated, judges should continue to be proactive in ensuring that GRHs are held and barristers

incorporate the RI's recommendations in their questioning. Of course, the deeper issue lies in barristers not completely comprehending the complexities of ID (Beckene et al., 2017), which reflects in their manner of cross-examination. Sensitisation to these matters can, however, only be acquired over time and must be part of their training as barristers.

The analysis brought to the fore the importance of support for RIs in this role. Supervision could increase their self-esteem, both in a personal and professional sense. It could help them do their job more confidently, knowing that help is available if they needed it. Whilst it is possible that some RIs take on jobs that they may not be skilled to do either because they feel they could manage or because the police urgently need an RI, it is important that this does not lead to bad or incompetent practice. Therefore, shadowing, especially for new recruits, could be a step to regulate practice and monitor variability. It will also help them ease their way into this role, and could be a more hands-on approach of applying the knowledge gained during training, to practice.

All the participants explained in their own way the impact they had on helping vulnerable witnesses get access to justice. This study explored the experiences of RIs and in the process, shed light on their challenges and successes. However, the success of the scheme relies on all the practitioners collaborating and working together. The underlying ideology should be that the system has to adapt to the needs of the witness and not the other way.

Another important element of this scheme is the police. It is essential to understand their perspectives on working with RIs and what changes it has had on their practice. The next chapter provides the analysis and discussion of Study 2, which explored the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult witnesses with ID.

Chapter 6

Experiences of Police Officers of Working with RIs and Adult ID

Witnesses

This chapter looks at Study 2 of this research, which explores the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult ID witnesses. The first section examines the research question, rationale, and method of this study. This is followed by the analysis, including the five superordinate themes, sub-themes, and related quotes by the participants. Next is the discussion of the themes, with past research and relevant theories. The final section talks about the strengths, limitations, and the contribution of this study to research and practice.

Research Question and Rationale

Officers who interview vulnerable witnesses are trained in ABE interviewing (Griffiths & Milne, 2012) and they use the phases of this style flexibly to suit the needs of the witness (Ministry of Justice, 2011a) (Chapter 2). Prior to the introduction of the WIS, the responsibility to identify vulnerability and appropriately interview such witnesses wholly lay with the police. This practice was often criticised as there was a growing realisation that the manifestation of vulnerability is different for each individual and thereby, the support provided to them needs to personalised (Crane et al., 2015), which officers were neither skilled nor qualified to do (Henshaw & Thomas, 2012).

As they are often the first point of contact, police officers work closely with vulnerable witnesses and now, RIs. They work with the RI during assessment and interviewing of the vulnerable witness. The literature review has established that officers need to know about the working of the scheme in order for it to be

accorded to vulnerable witnesses. While theoretically there may be policy and protocols in place, the practicalities depend on the professionals who are working with each other. It is, therefore, important to understand police officers' experiences of and attitudes towards RIs and the witnesses as they play an important role in the efficient working of the scheme.

Empirically speaking, Crane et al. (2016)'s survey on police officers' experiences of working with people with ASD is one example where the 'use of RIs' was a variable. This study was mainly quantitative in nature. The results, discussed in Chapter 2, demonstrated that the impact of RIs on police practice is yet to be uncovered.

There are many unanswered questions about how much officers know about the RI role, what they feel about working with them, and how it influences their understanding of witnesses with ID and their practice. An understanding of their experiences will provide their perspective of working with RIs and perhaps identify the factors essential for building the RI-police relationship, which Study 1 highlighted as being important for RIs. This, in turn, may influence the service provided to the witnesses. Thus, for Study 2-

Research question 2: What are the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult witnesses with ID?

Method

Design

IPA was used as the method of analysis for this study. IPA uses semi-structured interviews to encourage participants to provide richly detailed descriptions of their experiences (Howitt, 2013). A detailed discussion of IPA was provided in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 4).

Participants

The sample for this study was 11, 8 females and three males. Ten of them were of British origin, while one was Asian-British. Their average age was 48 years. The sample comprised of eight Detective Constables, one trainee Detective Constable, one specialist interview advisor, and one retired Detective Constable. The police officers were primarily from three different constabularies in north-west England. The average number of years that they had worked in the police was 21.5 years. All participants had used RIs and had worked with adult witnesses with ID. Those who had used RIs only in cases with children were not interviewed. The current sample had worked with RIs in approximately 48 cases. Table 3 provides the participants' pseudonyms, rank, and their department.

Materials

The interview schedule had 17 questions (Appendix 1). As the study was participant-led, the questions were amended based on the flow of the interview. The questions were focussed on understanding officers' roles and how they use RIs as part of that, their experience of working with the witnesses, their opinions of RIs, nature of training received, impact of RIs on their relationship with the witnesses, challenges, and positive aspects.

Ten interviews were conducted face-to-face and were audio recorded using a transcriber. One interview was done via Skype and it was recorded using a Skype call recorder software and a physical recorder, for back up.

Table 3

Participants' name and background

Name	Rank	Department/Area
Alvin	Detective Constable	Public protection unit- CID
Patricia	Detective Constable	Public protection unit
Melissa	Detective Constable	Hate crime and diversity unit
Alia	Trainee Detective	Hate crime and diversity unit
Priscilla	Detective Constable	Public protection unit
Samuel	Detective Constable	Public protection unit
Cathy	Detective Constable	Public protection unit
Matilda	Detective Constable	Public protection unit- CID
Mary	Detective Constable (retired)	Public protection unit
Gary	Detective Sergeant-Specialist interview advisor	Crime investigation
Khloe	Detective	Murder investigation team

Procedure

Participants, with whom I had made contact prior to the interview, were emailed an information sheet (Appendix 4) and a consent form (Appendix 7) (Chapter 4 for details on the recruitment process). Those who were recruited and interviewed in the police station were presented with the information sheet and asked to sign the consent form. Of the 10 face-to-face interviews, one took place in an interview room at MMU while the others were conducted at the work place of the participants. Going to the police stations myself was the easiest way to do the interviews as; a) I was able to recruit more participants while I was on the site and b) it was more convenient for the police officers as they had busy schedules and it was difficult for them to commit to a set date and time.

In order to minimise the effects of social desirability, at the beginning of each interview, it was made clear to the participants that the researcher was impartial and that she did not represent or belong to either the WIS or any police force. Thus, reasonable steps were taken to ensure that the participants' answers were honest and based on their experiences. The interviews comprised of semi-structured questions and lasted around 30 to 45 minutes, with the average interview lasting 32.31 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded. After completion, participants were given a chance to ask questions about the study. A debrief sheet (Appendix 10) was emailed to them later.

Analysis

Participants were asked about their experiences of working with adult witnesses with ID and RIs, their opinions on the role of the RI, training, how they identified vulnerability, police attitudes towards vulnerability, and improvements they would like to see in the scheme. They were encouraged to illustrate their thoughts with examples.

The participants accounts generated five superordinate themes: lack of awareness about RI's role, I am trained and I have experience, waiting for RI is frustrating, RI's presence is comforting, and RIs influential in safeguarding vulnerable witnesses (Table 4 for superordinate themes and sub-themes).

Table 4

Themes generated from officers' experiences

Superordinate themes	Sub-themes
Lack of awareness about RI's role	Lack of clarity and training Learning on the job
I am trained and I have experience	I would do it anyway Streamline RI service
Waiting for RI is frustrating	Slows the investigation Need more RIs
RI's presence is comforting	It's like a safety net Working as a team
RIs influential in safeguarding vulnerable witnesses	Protecting vulnerable witnesses Positive addition to the CJS

Theme 1: Lack of awareness about RI's role

Almost all participants said that they received little to no training about RIs and their role. Some of them learnt about RIs from their colleagues while others shared information with their juniors and counterparts. The sub-themes under this theme are lack of clarity and training and learning on the job.

Lack of clarity and training

One of the biggest challenges faced by officers in using RIs is that knowledge about them is not universal. Participants said that certain departments like the Hate crime unit or the Public Protection Unit may be more likely to be aware of RIs but it may not be the case with uniformed officers on patrol. This could result in cases involving vulnerable witnesses going unnoticed and thereby not being referred to the appropriate departments.

"However, there are still a lot of police officers that are not using intermediaries. We're currently just going in to apply for another intermediary for another job and had we not picked it up the police would have just, and when I say the police I'm talking about uniform response not a specialist unit like ours. If it hadn't had touched our base, it would have just been left unknown. So there is lot of work that needs to be done with the use of intermediaries. People think there has to be a serious crime for an intermediary to be used. But it's not necessarily the case'' (Melissa, p.1, line 23)

One issue that the majority of participants felt very strongly about was that there was not enough emphasis on teaching officers about vulnerabilities and directing cases involving vulnerable witnesses to the appropriate specialist unit.

"…new cops should have an intermediary input. They should perhaps see and speak to an intermediary on an input or see a video of the evidence, you know, and the report that they write. And what a difference that would make! I think sergeants, who are newly promoted or on refreshers, intermediaries should be there. I think for all courses like family liaison officers, I think it should be in there, consider the use of intermediaries, how better could we make this and certainly on ABE interviewing course, it's a massive part. It should be a huge ((emphasising)) day'' (Melissa, p.12, line 345)

"Even in like just regular CID, whether they would think, yeah we need to get an intermediary. I don't know. So I think raising awareness is good. I do think that the CID arena…it is more aware of it. But the uniformed side probably aren't and they might recognise that the witness is vulnerable but they might not recognise how to go about sorting something else out…I don't think we need necessarily to leave it up to someone like me to say, oh yeah we're gonna have to get an intermediary. Just get on with it and then we can right from the beginning'' (Alvin, p.8, line 217)

Even though the WIS has *"been going for years''*, they are *"still not used''* (Mary, p.6, line 151). This gap in knowledge reflected prominently in Khloe's interview, as she was *"not sure what you're classing as an intermediary really''* (p.2,

line 36). Even though she had years of experience interviewing vulnerable people, she often referred to RIs and experts as two separate services.

'' I have used intermediaries but I'd say it predominantly has been. They're not RIs but they are people who, professionals who will work with the witnesses'' (p.2, line 53).

Such lack of clarity and guidance means that many officers did not use RIs because they did not know that such a service existed. Many of them received minimal RI input during training or refresher courses and thereby did not completely understand the RI's role and more importantly, how to get one when needed.

''It's funny because there's not a massive amount of guidance. It were like one minute…they were used very rarely and next minute, it were like we really should be using these. And we didn't, we had a bit of an input on a re-training for the ABE about the intermediary's role but I don't think it were ever explained properly about what they could do, why they should do it, why you should consider it. Because like I say, I've used a few or it's one of the things on mi ticklist when I'm doing a case. Do I need that?...Whereas I think for some officers it would never even be a consideration. Not for any other reason apart from they don't know what they're doing. They don't know how you get one. And I think that's a training issue probably on part of constabularies'' (Matilda, p.6, line 159)

''But I think for police officers to be clearer about when, when do they need to make that sort of contact. Because I don't think that's clear yet. It's not used enough really. Better awareness that there is a RI service because I think some still don't know. What it's about so that it's always considered. It should always be considered where anybody has any sort of difficulty, and children, an intermediary should always be considered…when, you know, an investigation starts…that question needs to be considered, is, consider the use of a RI, has that been looked at?'' (Mary, p.10, line 282)

Lack of knowledge could also fuel negative attitudes towards RIs. Samuel had an RI input during his ABE training and felt that *"people were largely quite negative about them"* (p.4, line 100). He added that *"because their role hasn't been explained to them"* (p.7, line 177), officers were apprehensive about using them.

"What is it they do, what is it they offer?...I can walk right into my office and there might be what 25 detectives in there. If I said to them, how many of you used an intermediary in the last 12 months, I'd struggle to count on one hand. If you looked at all those cases and said, when could you have used an intermediary? Would it have been better to use an intermediary? I bet going by you could say, quite a few more people, don't quite maybe understand the need (p.7, line 196)

Cathy, who is a Tier-5 interview advisor, felt that *"it's still an area we're learning an awful lot about"* (p.1, line 27). She questioned the minimal amount of information that they receive about RIs and wondered whether, *"has it been practical stuff or has it been theory? Probably been the theory and theory I think to practice is probably quite different"* (p.8, line 229).

Even Alia, who has recently been promoted to Detective, rued the fact that the training was not deeply informative and had no practical aspects to it. She added that the trainers, themselves, did not know much about RIs.

"They give you a very small input on intermediaries when you do your ABE course but that's probably the only input you get. And all it does it basically explain the role. But I don't think the trainers who train us have even experienced using them because now in hindsight I can see that they haven't because if they had they would have told it how I've told it to you. But that's the first bit of input I had and it was quite small. Nobody came to speak to us from the intermediary side, we didn't spend a day with one, we didn't watch a video where one had been used or anything like that" (p.7, line 183)

Samuel reiterated that having an RI speak to them directly would clear misconceptions that people may have about them.

"…it wouldn't be a bad thing for, you know, for an intermediary to go to the police headquarters and say, on an afternoon, I'll tell what I do, come and ask me your questions, give me some stake, tell me what you really feel, don't be scared of what I

might think of you, what your bosses might think of you and that would be good. I'd go ((smiles))'' (p.7, line 177)

Melissa said that even though she did not get any training about RIs, *''nothing, not once''* (p.8, line 220), she was insistent that officers at different ranks, in different departments, especially at the grassroots, should be educated about the use of RIs.

''I think they're [RIs] *still unknown. They need to be pushed and they need pushed in the police. There needs to be more advocacy of, you know, this is what an intermediary does…I think it should be part of the Sergeant's program, the Inspector's program, the…people don't know what an intermediary is, they don't know what they do. If you've never used one, people are like blank ((expressively))''* (p.7, line 182)

Melissa added *''it's better to learn them to identify that these people have got those problems and if they have to seek advice and always think intermediary''* (p.9, line 235). She hoped that better understanding about use of RIs could prevent situations wherein vulnerable witnesses were not given the right kind of help.

''because if, like the uniformed officers that dealt with this young man that I'm dealing with, had they thought about intermediary then they, you know, would have gone to the specialist units to ask for an ABEer'' (p.9, line 237).

An obvious disparity in the level and amount of training given to officers in different constabularies and possibly different ranks was noticeable in Gary's account. Gary, who is a specialist interview advisor, spoke very highly of the training imparted, which seemed to be quite contradictory to the statements made by Melissa and others.

''We don't go into massive depth because we don't expect our practitioners to be SLTs or intermediaries even or anything like that. But we make them, we try and give them a practical awareness that if they had a communication problem, that they will seek to liaise with the Tier 5 advisors, who will then put them in touch with an

intermediary or a SLT or some specialist other who might be able to determine what the problems are'' (p.7, line 182)

On the other hand, Alia, who was a uniformed patrol officer prior to her current position, said that *''…before when I was in uniform, I don't think we received any training at all, if I'm completely honest with you and I was in uniform for probably about 3$^{1/2}$ years. I don't remember receiving any when I first joined, even in my initial training and I certainly don't remember receiving any after that. It's just been through meeting people that you pick up on certain conditions, disabilities, things like that. But I've never had any training''* (p.6, line 158). She added, *''the first time that I heard the word intermediary was on my ABE course, when somebody mentioned that they could use an intermediary''* (p.7, line 182).

These two accounts seem to reflect that training is not universal and unfortunately, may not be always available in equal measure to every constabulary.

Learning on the job

Due to insufficient expertise about when and how to use RIs, many participants said that those who had experience of working with RIs often shared information with their team members and helped each other out.

''…the one good thing about this job is that we all talk to each other and that's the best training you've got going because if you've got a young person or somebody who's come in to see I need, sort of, I'm really having difficulties talking to this person or I can't get them to go where I need to go, me or that office will go, have you considered an intermediary. And then you'd end up referring to where all the forms are, where all the information is, so a lot of it is to do with internal learning as well as external learning'' (Priscilla, p.9, line 241)

Mary clarified that though it is *''not like having proper training on it''* (p.7, line 192) it is *''like learning on the job, isn't it?''* (p.7, line 193). Learning on the job and

through word-of-mouth seem to be the way others like Matilda heard about RIs for the first time.

''Yeah, I think the first time I came across one, one of my colleagues…she'd booked one. And we're like, oh that's interesting and I went to the…meeting and interview with her and so I followed it through that way. It was like, oh what made you decide to get one? And that's just how it came about…I was like, oh that's a good idea. Didn't really know much about that. So like I say, the word's getting out or got out'' (p.7, line 183)

Melissa was quite shocked to learn that even new recruits did not learn much about RIs in their ABE course and it was *''only because of my use of intermediaries that I told her* [junior] *to use an intermediary''* (p.13, line 356). Similarly, according to Alia asking questions from her senior and the RIs themselves, was the only way to learn more about the service.

''…I'll be honest with you, a lot of it I've relied on people like [senior's name], who've used them before to tell me what to do. And also by asking the actual intermediary, what do you do here, what are you going to say at court, what's that gonna mean, it's just been a case of winging it a little bit, which isn't really good but that's what we do a lot of the time in situations like that ((laughs))'' (p.7, line 198)

Theme 2: I am trained and I have experience

All the participants were ABE trained and had several years of experience of working with different types of vulnerability. Therefore, many of them felt that an RI was not always needed for the interview and perhaps an advice helpline could be in place to help them when in doubt. This theme was comprised of the sub-themes I would do it anyway and streamline RI service.

I would do it anyway

As all the participants were ABE trained, they were well-versed with interviewing vulnerable witnesses, both adults and children. Alongside this, they

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also reported working regularly with *"vulnerable adults, vulnerable children and domestic violence victims…victims of serious sexual assaults and also serious physical assaults in relation to the domestic violence"* (Patricia, p.1, line 15).

With experience that *"counts for an awful lot"* (Priscilla, p.5, line 122) and often communicating with vulnerable people, the participants were confident in their skills as interviewers.

"…because I've got so much service and people know that I've dealt with difficult cases or people with vulnerabilities of any description, whether it be learning difficulty, mental health, you're the experienced one" (Melissa, p.4, line 87)

Therefore, given her background, Patricia argued that RIs were not required for all cases, especially those that involved high-functioning vulnerable adults.

"I think it would be necessary for, let's say someone with Down's syndrome or somebody who needed a visual aids in order to communicate, obviously they're a necessity then. But low level things, I don't think, I don't think she was necessary to have been used for that lady [vulnerable witness]. *I think we're experienced enough in the way we interview anyway, how we're trained anyway to be able to identify when somebody is, do you understand me? Somebody with learning disabilities or limited education. Yes, they are a necessity for some of the more serious people with serious learning disabilities or who have to communicate with communication aids"* (p.4, line 108)

She stood her ground and added that being vulnerable did not always necessitate the use of a RI for a witness. She often mistakenly referred to high-functioning individuals as someone with low IQ.

"So somebody with educational, low-level educational, low IQ, for example, doesn't need an intermediary to tell you what's happened because they can generally converse with themselves anyway. Just because they were intellectually challenged doesn't necessarily mean they need an intermediary…" (p.7, line 183)

"…in the same circumstances let's say for example, if there was somebody similar to this girl who had, she was on the autistic spectrum but it was only low-level, I think,

perhaps, we would go ahead and interview anyway without. For more serious cases of disability or communication certainly I would still use intermediaries because it is not for me to jeopardise the case and make a wrong decision… but I don't think you do need to…they don't have to be used all the time for low-level, people with low-level mental health and low-level disabilities'' (p.9, line 236)

Given everyone's experience and skill, it would seem natural that they had differences of opinion with the RI's way of working. In some situations, participants felt that the RI was not very effective and that they would have probably handled the interview differently.

''I felt last time around…I felt that she [RI]*, she interjected, which I had no problem with, but sometimes I felt that she asked questions of him* [vulnerable witness]*…that I thought weren't right. It took me by surprise, things that I thought well he's not gonna understand that. I thought she would be better. I thought she would be a little bit better. Not all the questions but there were some questions I thought…I'm surprised you've asked him that. I thought that could have been put better. Better use of words. That's just a difference of opinion between me and her. I didn't say anything to her. It was fine''* (Samuel, p.7, line 184)

''…well we've had an intermediary involved already who was not effective with her [vulnerable witness] *at all and went through some very basic assessments and…the young girl…turned to her dad…She whispered to her dad, he thinks I'm 5 years old. Because the tests were so basic so the intermediary could try and evaluate where she was at. All that the intermediary needed to do was ask the teacher. They will tell you where she's at cognitively. That's what I'd do…So it was a bit disappointing when we got, brought a relevant specialist in who hadn't got a clue. We've got more idea than they had''* (Gary, p.5, line 137)

Though Matilda agreed that such things were not *''ground breakingly negative''* (p.6, line 157), Alia felt that some of the suggestions regarding the

questioning style made by the RI were contradictory to what she had learnt during her ABE training.

"But there were somethings that she [RI] *did introduce which actually didn't work. She said from her assessment that he* [vulnerable witness] *wouldn't respond well to being asked open questions like tell me about that or describe to me. Now when we get trained to ABE people, we get told to ask, tell me, describe me, and explain me questions, to leave it open. But she said that wouldn't work with [witness name]. But in fact it actually worked really well with [witness name] and it was only through me sort of throwing the odd one in and him responding to that, that I thought, actually it does work…I think the only side where I thought I don't agree was on this particular case because my colleague who came with me said the same thing we both said, well she's quite clearly sort of said no to that but he's actually really responded to that really well. So I don't know. There was a little bit of a…''* (p.4, line 107)

Few participants opined that some of the recommendations made by the RI were obvious and they did not need an RI to tell them to use open-ended questions or to pace the questions slowly as these were things they would have done anyway.

"I think, a couple of times when we've got the reports back, a couple of seemed to state the obvious ((mockingly)) with what they're recommending. And like I say, because we're trained to do the Achieving Best Evidence, there's certain things that we would and wouldn't do anyway. So a couple of them, it were like, I know that, I would have done that. I don't know if it's just a set formula that they follow ((smiles)), I'm not sure or if they, I don't know, I don't want to say that they're just sort of waffling on ((laughs)), I don't mean it like that. But on some of them it seemed that they were just stating the obvious'' (Matilda, p.4, line 100)

Though not speaking about his own experience, Samuel felt that this could be the reason for some of the negativity towards RIs.

"Maybe because the advice and the assistance that they offer, you know, in terms of…I wouldn't do pretty long with him, he's got a very short attention span, don't

interview for longer than this period or have breaks or don't speak too fast. Some people might go yeah, it's not ground breaking, it's, it's probably something that I would do anyway. If I am in with another colleague who's ABE trained as well, he or she, if I don't pick up on it, he or she would pick up, so collectively. You're not telling anything we don't already know. But I don't think you can know everything, so. Nobody can know everything'' (p.4, line 105)

At least half the participants thought that the RI service was expensive and *''overpriced''* (Alia, p.6, line 144). Consequently, some officers were bothered that they spent the department's money on someone who did not offer anything 'new'.

''…they've [RI] *come back with the recommendations and I thought, that probably is what we know already…Really simple ones, where you think, that's really obvious. I've just paid for somebody there to produce a really obvious thing that would have been followed anyway but we've just gone through a process with those two…I had one who'd done a pre-interview assessment with me which probably just confirmed what we had already decided with the social worker. So I don't think there's any surprises on what they say but equally all the people who are intermediaries are probably a lot better qualified to draw the conclusion than what we draw''* (Cathy, p.4, line 94)

''…but it didn't annoy ((laughs)) me when some of things she [RI] *put but it were like, I know I'm not as highly trained as you to deal with things but I'm trained to do this and I've been doing it a long time. You don't need to tell me to use open questions. I've got to anyway. You don't need to tell me to do that. You don't need to tell me to do that ((animatedly)). Perhaps that were just me… I've seen how they charge. How do you become one? ((laughs)) Mi inspector's glasses nearly fell off when he saw the bill ((laughs)). How much? ((imitating)) It's got to be done and it's got to be done''* (Matilda, p.13, line 377)

Streamline RI service

Apart from the cases where the need of an RI was necessary, Alia suggested that there could be an advice centre from where officers could get quick help. This could save time and money, especially if they did not need an RI to come and could do the interview themselves.

''There should be some sort of an advice line I think if you wanted to just ask a general question, you know, do I need one in this case. The answer probably will be yes from them and I don't mean this to sound bad but sometimes it's because there's money involved and you do question whether you do really need one but I think there should be a little bit more of a structure about which cases you need one in'' (p.10, line 278)

Matilda questioned whether RIs were open to saying they were not needed for a particular case if the officer was skilled and the witness had sufficient professional support.

''…this is gonna sound awful and I don't mean to. If they're self-employed it's in their interest to take on work, won't it? …if they come and do that initial assessment and they think they don't need my services, the officer's trained, they've got a social worker or whoever else to support them. They don't need me. Do they do that? …I'm assuming then if they don't think their services are needed ((laughs)), then they're gonna say so. I'd like to think that's what they do'' (p.13, line 365)

Cathy suggested that rather than always asking RIs to make recommendations, they could be consulted to confirm the interview strategy that the officer had planned; more so in cases where the vulnerable witness may not be able to provide accurate information.

''There's no great rocket science about it, is there? To be honest…Probably should use them more to confirm that our thought process is right and that's the same with people with dementia. When we say we're not interviewing them, we probably should use an intermediary to say, actually you're not going to get anything if you try to

interview this person as opposed to me who's not trained and I'm sure you won't be that wrong that many times'' (p.12, line 326)

Theme 3: Waiting for RI is frustrating

Long waiting periods for an RI to come meant that it slowed down the already lengthy investigation process and could cause anxiety in the witness. This theme encompassed two sub-themes of slows the investigation and need more RIs.

Slows the investigation

Getting an RI to come, assess the witness, and plan the interview with the officer is not an easy and quick process. It is essential that the RI is skills matched to the witness so that witness has the appropriate specialist as per his/her needs. All the participants complained that waiting for an RI was the most frustrating part of the process.

''It can be from application to actually getting them to do the assessment, can be about 2 weeks and then obviously they have to do the assessment and then you have to arrange a time for them to come back because an assessment's 2 hours. So on most occasions, realistically by that time that person is quite tired and not in a position to an ABE so you've got to pick a time again for that person to be interviewed. So, it's not a quick process'' (Priscilla, p.2, line 43)

''It's certainly not ideal but trying to get an intermediary is not a speedy process. My experience with using my intermediary, it was the third intermediary we had got because bizarrely the first two had personal issues ((smiles)) and couldn't come out to assist unfortunately. But it did take a long time. It took probably about 3 months to get the intermediary to be able to come out'' (Alvin, p.2, line 35)

The longer the wait for an RI, the slower the interviewing process is and this was not ideal according to some participants. They said that it was contradictory

to what they had been taught about interviewing vulnerable people and were in conflict between theory and practice.

''You know a job might come in now. We go and see the aggrieved and we ascertain they need an intermediary. And if that person is there and ready and wanting to do it, it would be nice to get it done sooner rather than waiting a number of days, a week or more than a week because when you do your ABE course, you are told to try and get the interview done as quickly as possible because people's recollection fades over time. If you could allocate one out and get them quicker, that would be better…We have our own language line and wanted a Polish interpreter, he or she would be here within the time frame of a custody clock. So why can I not get that for a victim?'' (Samuel, p.3, line 86)

''It was problematic with intermediaries because the biggest problem was that it was not a quick process. So say we have a situation where you've got a vulnerable domestic abuse victim, for example, that's got a learning difficulty or a language barrier because of a learning difficulty. Ideally, you need to interview that person quite swiftly'' (Mary, p.3, line 81)

The entire evidence taking process is quite lengthy and involves a lot of administrative work for the police. They have to work with different professionals and agencies throughout this period. Waiting for an RI aggrieved some participants as they now had an additional set of people with whom they had to deal with and also manage their availability.

''…but if we've got a victim and say that they've got a professional that supports them. So you want them in the mix. And then there's you. And then the availability of an ABE suite or a meeting room. That's quite a lot of people to co-ordinate when it's all convenient for ya. And then when you've got an intermediary who can do only certain times, days or whatever, it's almost it's another person you're pulling in and it just extends it and extends it and some cases are so long anyway…So it's a long enough process as it is, erm, without sort of waiting ages and ages and ages for an intermediary but that's gonna be down to the numbers, int it?'' (Matilda, p.12, line 329)

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''Just another layer of people to get in, you know. It's another layer of people. Maybe because people are, you know, we want people to come here and deal with it quickly and get on with it. And there's that many obstacles to try and get what we want, whether it be solicitors, requests from the CPS to do more, and more, and more and then, you know, an intermediary, maybe some people will say, another layer, another add-on, another hurdle. Somebody else you've got to get involved, you know. Some of the negativity might be around that'' (Samuel, p.6, line 170)

Cathy echoed Samuel's thoughts that waiting for RIs could fuel negativity about them and could cause reluctance to using them.

''Just getting one is quite difficult. I suspect people shy away from trying to start the process'' (p.12, line 322)

Along with waiting, Mary and Alvin had to deal with pressure from their seniors to progress with the case, which was not ideal.

''And the problem some police officers have, is that, I mean I think it's right, although it holds up the process which isn't ideal. You get perhaps senior managers in the police who are putting pressure on to get interviews, do you know what I mean and this is where it goes wrong really…'' (Mary, p.4, line 113)

Seven participants argued that there were serious consequences of waiting for an RI as that could make witnesses anxious, they may start to forget things or even change their stance.

''…the only improvement [that could be made to the RI system] *is the time factor. Because we had to wait 3 weeks, you can't, you can't expect a victim to wait 3 weeks or longer to be interviewed because they start to change their mind or they forget things or for one reason or another and the police want things doing yesterday, not in 3 weeks' time. So that would be the only improvement I think. There isn't, I don't think there are enough of them to able to provide the service that the police want in relation to the time factors. I'm not saying, they're probably very good, I'm not saying they're not suitable, what I'm saying is it's more of a time factor''* (Patricia, p.8, line 214)

''I think that will help a lot more [calling the RI early]*, certainly in terms of speeding up investigations because a lot of time is spent waiting around and it only makes people more anxious the longer it goes on''* (Alvin, p.8, line 226)

Need more RIs

All participants unanimously agreed that recruiting more RIs, to keep up with their demand and the time pressures of the investigation, was crucial for the smooth running of the process.

''And there is not enough intermediaries. Just ain't enough of them. You know that, don't you?…there's not enough. We get it from colleagues. I hear it all the time just in my force that it can take weeks before one's available. That is frustrating especially when you're trying to move an enquiry forward. And I think pound-for-pound that's the biggest complaint we get. You can't always get them as soon as you need them'' (Gary, p.13, line 359)

''That's my biggest bumper in the fact that, you're supposed to be able to get sort of in emergency, you know, intermediary should you need one. Like say for instance…you had a really, really vulnerable person doesn't really happen because the process does take some time and also there's not enough of them. I know they're recruiting and I know they've got better on numbers but the volume of them is not sufficient for the demand…It's not a quick hit. So there just needs to be more of them so we can access them more readily'' (Priscilla, p.8, line 210)

Matilda was very vocal in expressing her views about the poor number of RIs. She was frustrated that although the RI service was deemed essential and officers were encouraged to use it, there were not enough of them available when required.

''… if they're wanting us to use them more, they're gonna have to bring the numbers up…And I think the more people are encouraged to use them or need to use them or even cause I think the courts, even the courts are sort of even questioning why some people haven't had them. They're just gonna need more, aren't they? You can't

advertise a service and say it's almost an essential service but then say, we can't see you for three months. You can't, can ya? So I can see that probably being an issue. I think they just did a big recruitment drive last year. So I don't know... I just think to really push a service but not have enough sort of to go around'' (p.12, line 343)

Theme 4: RI's presence is comforting

Even though they are trained and experienced, participants felt the RI was a source of comfort and support. They knew the RI was there to guide them and provide inputs. Many of them developed a sense of teamwork with the RI. It's like a safety net and working as a team are the two sub-themes under this theme.

It's like a safety net

Interestingly, even though many officers were critical about the nature of recommendations made by the RI, they still saw the RI as a source of comfort and guidance during the interview process.

Participants appreciated the support that they received from the RI. They felt reassured that they were doing their job well and that encouraged them to do even better.

''You know, I always plan and structure my interviews but obviously having an intermediary in your interviews, another person...you're used to just dealing with you and that person in the interview, you've got another third party in there...So you're aware that you're under the spotlight. But you also have the report from the intermediary who says this person needs very short, direct questions, you know, don't ask two questions in one sentence, don't use any long or difficult words. As an ABEer I wouldn't do anyway but it's in that report. So it's a reaffirmation. So if I were to interview somebody and somebody was to review that interview and, how come you used those words, when in the report you shouldn't? It's for me to be subjectively more professional about things. But for me it's about helping me do my job better'' (Melissa, p.12, line 319)

''Just having that, it's like a comfort blanket there. If I do get carried away, which is easy to do. He or she is there and can just, you know, give me nudge and say do this, do that. You're going too fast, slow it down! He needs a break…he's been in here too long now or it's too warm, too stuffy. Use a different word to describe it, you know, don't use such and such a word. That assurance that when you come out of there, you think well'' (Samuel, p.8, line 223)

Samuel and Melissa got over their initial reservations of working with RIs and realised the important role they played not only for the witness, but also in assisting the officers.

''At first I thought, yeah I probably would have done that anyway, you know. Not teaching me anything that I probably wouldn't have done. But having said that when you get to the interview, their presence for me has been a little bit of a reassurance. I always know that that person's there and he or she has this specialism and if we do this wrong, speaking too quickly or using the wrong words, then they'll pull me up on it…Well they're necessary because they do, they've got experience and training in their field and they can help you plan and prepare your interviews…they can direct us, that's good. But it's also just that safety net that you know in months to come, in trial, I'm not going to be criticised because I got an intermediary'' (Samuel, p.2, line 49)

The presence of an RI tended to relax the atmosphere and reduce the stress for some of the officers. This meant that they could concentrate on interviewing the witness and ask questions pertinent to the investigation.

''But I would say they're helpful and it just takes that bit of pressure off you when you're trying to think about your next questions anyway because you're thinking all the time ahead and listening to what they're telling you and that brings out another 20 questions you want to ask. So I think it does take that pressure off a little bit knowing if they do need any assistance with their vulnerabilities or their learning disabilities or anything else, you've got that support there with ya as a team sort of thing'' (Matilda, p.10, line 283)

''…police officers I think we go into interviews with a job do it…That job is try and get information out. Whereas I think if you've got a third party with you and particularly intermediary, it cools it down a little bit. It can be more natural whereas before I worked with intermediaries I'd think, oh god, you know what's this going to be like? What sort of work in interviews and stuff like that. But I think it cools it down. Takes the pressure off rather than the other way round'' (Mary, p.6, line 158)

Alia, being a new Detective, felt relieved that she had a professional to support her whilst interviewing. It gave her a sense that she had someone who shared responsibility for the witness. She reckoned she *''felt a lot more confident''* (p.9, line 252) and *''that everything's being done the right way and that I won't be criticised''* (p.9, line 253).

''…just having that intermediary there, puts that responsibility on them and takes it off you and in way it is quite, sort of, reassuring for us to be able to relax a little bit ((laughs)) about that because otherwise it's all on us and if it goes to court and we've said the wrong thing or done the wrong thing, then its only you to be hold responsible for that…for me still being quite new in the role and still being sort of in the training role, for me it's just took off a lot of responsibility off me that otherwise I would have been going home worrying about. So in a personal sense that's been the positive side for me'' (p.10, line 260)

Alvin was glad that he had a professional guiding him and giving him suggestions to interview the vulnerable witness in the best way possible.

''I think the way they do tell you where I'm quite out with people might not be understanding ya. They do give you a different way of approaching, questioning somebody or asking the question, getting the right question to that person. And that is based on this very in-depth assessment…'' (p.9, line 231)

Working as a team

Working together as a team has led to many participants developing an excellent professional relationship with RIs. Some of them work with the same RI

on a regular basis, thereby cementing this relationship further. This feeling of teamwork has a positive impact on the service provided to the vulnerable witnesses.

''…very good, very professional. I think they bring a specialism to the table that sometimes we as police officers or investigators don't have. And we can discuss with them. We can discuss the case. What they think is the best means of securing the testimony of the person. And they will help us prep and plan for the interview'' (Gary, p.12, line 324)

''If you've had a good experience, you wanna use them again…so that's what we're tending to do at the moment is to ask for that same intermediary because…we've had some good experience and the victim liked them'' (Melissa, p.6, line 151)

Whilst working together, officers felt there was an exchange of knowledge. They observed the RI's way of working and acquired new ideas for interviewing and dealing with vulnerable witnesses.

''Every time you work with an intermediary, you pinch tools off those intermediaries that you quite like…you pinch their ideas. So if you think, ooh that's a really good idea! And I'll just pinch that idea, see whether or not it helps me…on the cases that I've worked on, so it's been good…they've always come out with something that I can use. Even on some occasions when…we haven't achieved what we wanted, it's still been a really good relationship and the good thing is it's a good relationship with the victim as well'' (Priscilla, p.7, line 181)

Another positive aspect about working with RIs was that they often used techniques or introduced ideas that the officers may not have thought of or may not have been confident in executing. Speaking of their skill and professionalism, Mary reminisced, *''my experience is that the ones I met, they were highly qualified, very skilled, very keen, professional, knew what they were doing and I was quite in awe of them really. I thought it worked, the system worked''* (p.5, line 131)

''…if you have someone with serious OCD and autism, they need a really clean place with no distractions. So it's a case of we would have to go into the room, take all clocks down, take anything that might disturb 'em, distract them, close curtains. Just simple things that we wouldn't necessarily think of to do to actually put somebody at ease…Just little, sometimes the little things that maybe we overlook, that they [RIs] *can see because they* [RIs] *don't know anything about the job, just purely looking at that individual and their skill sets''* (Priscilla, p.6, line 150)

Many participants gave examples from their cases to illustrate the usefulness of the RI in eliciting information in ways, which they themselves would not have thought of or could have easily overlooked.

''Some of things that the intermediary sort of suggested…were really, really helpful. She actually suggested that we use bits of card with topics, so that every time we talked about a topic, we put that in front of [witness name] because he quite easily sort of went off on tangents and he struggled to stick to the subject that we were talking about. But just having it there and sort of pointing to it occasionally kept him on that topic and it just helped him understand that once we'd finished with that, that was gone ((action)) and we were going to move on to the next and the next. So there was little things like that, that she introduced, which I would have never have thought about…when I first met [witness name], I would've said, we could have probably managed the interview without her [RI]*. But having used her, I could see the benefits now of using her because there were some things that she brought out in the interview that I wouldn't have thought of by myself''* (Alia, p.4, line 98)

''And after I think the second interview we knew we weren't going to get what we needed from [witness name] because [witness name] intellectual level was a lot lower and he couldn't grasp time and he couldn't grasp context. So we got an intermediary in, who basically assisted us, in ways of trying to best assist him to actually come up with a timeline and giving an idea of who had hit him and when they'd hit him. And it worked really, really well because it gave us a complete picture in the end, which we could not get otherwise. So it was just a case of getting somebody else's eyes to look at how to

best actually, get the best from [witness name]. And we got some significant convictions from that so'' (Priscilla, p.1, line 19)

''… she'd [RI to the witness] *say, no, no, no. We've said haven't we? You're not going to get fixed on that. You know, in that sort of tone ((smiles)) and it was good. Whereas I thought, oh my god! ((laughs))…These are skilled people, aren't they? And then police officers however good, I mean I'm retired now and I think police are fantastic but you're jack of all trades, you know. You're managing everything and the police have learnt they've got to bring people in...''* (Mary, p.5, line 145)

Gary believed that together the police and the RI were powerful and could influence change.

''He was a tremendous intermediary. Did a great job. And the defence attacked him terribly on the trial suggesting that he was coaching her [vulnerable witness]*, he was getting her to say things that hadn't happened. It was awful. And it went to the Court of Appeal and the Court of Appeal completely vindicated everything we did. They said we acted with integrity, truthfulness and everything. And they were massively critical of the trial judge and the defence for the tactics that they employed. So that was a great result for us, great result for justice, great result for [witness name]''* (p.3, line 79)

Theme 5: RIs influential in safeguarding vulnerable witnesses

All the participants spoke volumes about the role of RIs in protecting vulnerable witnesses in court and providing them with an opportunity to access justice. They felt that RIs were now an important part of the CJS. The two sub-themes under this were protecting vulnerable witnesses and positive addition to the CJS.

Protecting vulnerable witnesses

Participants believed the most crucial aspect of the RI's job was the role in court. They supported witnesses during the stressful court environment and protected them from the harsh cross-examination.

''They just give you the right and suitable advice. And I think they just do offer victims, vulnerable victims protection at court from something that can actually be pretty horrific being cross-examined. But if it's controlled. And the only way you'll get it controlled, is if you have an intermediary. Cause other the barristers will just go for it till the judge says enough is enough'' (Cathy, p.12, line 341)

Alia recognised that without the support of the RI, witnesses could be easily misinterpreted and barristers could use their words or actions against them.

''In a professional sense, it's very positive for the victim, I think. One, that they get that extra support and its specifically for communication purposes and that they can't be tripped up at court because with the victims that I've dealt with where we used them, they would be very easily led by barristers at court, if we hadn't used one. And if they don't understand a very simple term and they got that wrong, they could interpret that to mean anything, so. It makes a massive difference, I think, for the trial, when it gets to that stage'' (p.11, line 297)

Five officers stated that the police could not support vulnerable witnesses in every way possible due to lack of time and skill. Having a RI ensured that witnesses were not traumatised and they had a more positive experience.

''With just police in general, unless they've done something in the background cannot be skilled enough to talk or to get information from a difficult, tricky, vulnerable person with a difficulty, properly without causing that person unnecessary distress really. So for me to have somebody there that can help you when it's in their day job, well that's just golden, int it?'' (Mary, p.12, line 320)

''But someone who's got a learning difficulty or a mental health issue needs more support...The police can't do that. We're not in a position. There's not enough hours in

the day to do that with everybody. So for me an intermediary should be able to help support that process'' (Khloe, p.6, line 146)

The officers, themselves, were passionate about and committed to ensuring that vulnerable witnesses were given a chance to give evidence and that their voices were heard. If RIs were, in some way, able to accomplish that, participants stated that they would definitely use them. In some sense, they were reassured that they did the best they could for the witness.

''So I guess it was just for me personally, it was just in my blood. I wanted to do the best for my witnesses and victims and if that was gonna help, then I would just grab it'' (Mary, p.8, line 220)

''I have come across it now and again where the bosses have sort of said, oh well she's got a learning difficulty or you know, not sure whether we should use her. But I've always argued that no we should give her…we should give them the chance and see whether and use the experts to say whether we can, that person is capable of going towards the court process'' (Khloe, p.7, line 192)

''…the positive is…your victim or the person you're taking in the worst day of their lives, which is a cross-examination situation in court because I have to say, the offence may have been there and the offence was bad. But having to put them in a court room where they're questioned about it and you know, challenged about what they're saying. To have that extra support and you know full well that person has got somebody who's willing to stand up for them…I think is brilliant. That's what I take. I take the fact that I've got that extra support in the courtroom for my person and during the process it makes it easier for, does it make it easier for me? Yes, it does because I've got somebody else there who can relate and also have a conversation with that young person'' (Priscilla, p.13, line 362)

Alvin felt that previously police were reluctant to approach vulnerable witnesses because they did not know how to communicate with them effectively. However, the introduction of RIs seems to be instrumental in bridging that gap.

''I think we've been a bit more reluctant in the past to approach the people because of the difficulties in getting that communication but having used the intermediary service, I think it makes it a lot easier to go and do that kind of work with them. It's slow work. It's never gonna be fast but you've got to allow these people to have a voice. They're never gonna be heard if we don't use these kind of services'' (p.8, line 208)

Positive addition to the CJS

Participants were optimistic about the inclusion of RIs into the system and felt that they were a positive influence in many ways. Once again, the sense of working together as a team to bring about change reverberated.

''We have come a long way in a good way. And that's the thing. But we were very ignorant back in the day. But intermediaries, brilliant. They are such a positive addition to our efforts to communicate with people when normal communicative things are failing'' (Gary, p.10, line 279)

''I think for the right type of witness they're vital. We couldn't really go ahead without them because we'd be then putting words in people's mouths, cases would fall apart, we'd be criticised, you know you could end up getting, the organisation could be sued...the organisation could be sued based on poor decisions that I would be responsible for. But they're absolutely vital for those sort of things. And I can only see that their role will expand because as likely it is, it will be identified, more and more people will benefit from having an intermediary'' (Alvin, p.4, line 102)

Participants felt RIs had set a benchmark that raised the system to a higher level.

''…it helps streamline. Make it more professional, both to me, the court…and also from a victim perspective. They've had a positive experience about it. So subliminally, they've not been left scarred. And in the past…they may have had their evidence taken badly or not as professionally as it could be and that will have left them with a marked experience of the police. Whether they want to go forward and use the police again to report something, whether they don't. I think it is a benchmark standard, I think it's good'' (Melissa, p.13, line 365)

Melissa revealed that RIs were influential in creating change in the best interest of the witness. She experienced it first-hand when *''the court had to open at 8 am, for it to be in process because she* [witness] *was best first thing in the morning. I've never known that happen before but the power of an intermediary spoke volumes''* (p.7, line 177)

Cathy felt that there was a *''new wave''* in the CJS that is encouraging the use of RIs.

''So I think when it came it was gripped with open arms and then I think, perhaps, because it weren't the magic wands that made everything better, perhaps we've put it down a little bit. Maybe, but I think it's started to have a new wave of actually, we should use these people. We should use them and we should use them more'' (p.12, line 318)

Samuel was applauded by the court for using an RI, reflecting the growing acceptance of RIs.

''When it went to the CPS, the lawyer said, it was excellent you used an intermediary. So it worked out well'' (p.3, line 72)

Perhaps the most salient and silent contribution of RIs was their role in reducing stereotypes of officers towards vulnerability and opening their eyes to a new perspective.

''…it opens my eyes and to me personally made me less fearful about it really…when you have somebody with a disability or a difficulty, it can go out of

proportion I think in your head. When that's unnecessary. They're just a person, aren't they?'' (Mary, p.9, line 255)

''…I suppose it made me appreciate more how difficult it is for some people to actually get across their point of view and I perhaps took that for granted…because I don't have learning disabilities…So having seen that in action it is, I found it really interesting and impressive how to get that across and do those assessments'' (Alvin, p.9, line 235)

Discussion

This study explored the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult witnesses with ID. It aimed to know more about the police-RI relationship, especially what the police felt about working with RIs, and if it influenced their understanding of the vulnerable witnesses' needs. The participants' accounts generated five superordinate themes: lack of awareness about RI's role, I am trained and I have experience, waiting for RI is frustrating, RI's presence is comforting, and RIs influential in safeguarding vulnerable witnesses. The analysis ~~brought~~ highlighted the issues regarding understanding of the RI's role, the negativity around waiting for RIs and their apparent contribution to the interview, and contrastingly, feeling comforted by the presence of an RI.

The theme 'lack of awareness and clarity about the RI's role' seems to lead to issues such as not knowing about who RIs are, when they are to be called, and the procedures involved in doing so. In a review of 55 Special Measures application case files, Charles (2012) found that errors were made by the police at several stages in the completion and submission of the forms. Some lacked sufficient information about the witness, while at times the form was not submitted in time to the prosecutor. These caused delays in the application process and in one case, the Special Measures application was even rejected by

the court. This demonstrates one of the effects of lack of guidance on the administrative processes, which ultimately seems to disadvantage the witnesses.

Participants expressed confusion regarding the exact nature of the RI's role and felt that there was not enough information provided to them during the ABE training or refresher courses. They also stated that the refresher courses were not a regular occurrence and could take place yearly or every three years. This could mean that officers, especially those who were trained years ago, may not have the opportunity to learn and be updated about the latest developments regarding RIs, consequently leading to lack of clarity.

According to Lyons (1971), objective role clarity refers to the presence or absence of sufficient information about a role due to restriction of information or variation in the quality of information provided to employees. On the other hand, subjective role clarity is the feeling of not having as much role-relevant information as one would like to have. Both these definitions seem to be applicable to the current sample. Crane et al. (2016) reported that 61% of respondents in their survey, from across England and Wales, had little or no knowledge of the WIS. The majority of those were frontline uniformed officers, who are not directly involved in interviewing vulnerable witnesses. However, the many participants from the current study argued that officers of various ranks, including uniformed officers, should be made aware about RIs. This would ensure that cases did not fall through gaps and were referred to the appropriate departments for further action, after which Special Measures applications could be made, if required.

Yet, the sheer numbers of officers means that it is difficult to ensure that everyone in the workforce is trained about the Special Measures. Further, there are financial and administrative factors pertaining to each force that may have an impact on the quality of information that is disseminated (Sharp, 2001). This was very evident from contrasting accounts of some participants, as one of them spoke highly of the training provided to his force with regard to RIs and their use,

whereas many others felt that even their own colleagues in specialist units did not fully comprehend the role of the RI.

Even though the WIS has now been around for around nine years, participants still used words such as 'unknown' and 'not sure' to describe their understanding of the RI's role. It seemed that most of them needed specific practical guidance and direct RI input, especially during training and refresher courses. From the accounts of the officers, it could be deduced that some of them had heard about RIs whilst they did their ABE training. However, the nature and amount of information provided to them during this training was not entirely clear.

Research has shown that role ambiguity, in this case, regarding RIs, affects job performance in several ways. It could cause stress (Von Emster & Harrison, 1998), affect mood (Stewart & Barling, 1996), and lead to negative attitudes towards organisational change (Iverson, 1996). Elizur and Guttman (1976) believed that an individual's or group's responses towards change could be classified into three types- affective responses, cognitive responses, and instrumental responses. Affective responses are feelings of being associated with, satisfied with, or anxious about change. Cognitive responses are the views that individuals have regarding the advantages and disadvantages of change; including its usefulness and the knowledge needed to face it. Instrumental responses are those actions that have been or should be taken, for or against the change.

With respect to the sub-theme of 'lack of clarity', affective and instrumental responses seem to be present. Most of the participants felt that there should be more education about the use of RIs as they were currently not satisfied with the level of information accorded to them. Consequently, they had mixed feelings about the WIS, which in some cases seemed to fuel negative attitudes towards RIs. In their meta-analysis, Fisher and Gitelson (1983) found that role ambiguity was negatively correlated to satisfaction with co-workers.

Further, as role ambiguity increases, acceptance of organisational change decreases (Iverson, 1996). Thus, the instrumental response, of those officers who had experience of working with RIs, was the suggestion that training about RIs should be more accessible and universal. For instance, there could be direct input from RIs, where they discuss and clarify their role and how they fit in with current interviewing practices. Relevant, practical information about the steps involved in procuring an RI and perhaps, evidence-based videos demonstrating the usefulness of RIs should be readily available to officers.

To reduce role ambiguity, individuals often rely on and collaborate with their co-workers to gain information and fill the missing gaps in their knowledge (Chen, Mao, & Hsieh 2012). Participants felt that learning on the job was one of the main ways through which they had actually heard about RIs and acquired information about them. A couple felt fortunate that they had close working relationships with their colleagues, which facilitated information exchange and knowledge sharing. Berman, West, and Richter (2002) noted that supportive workplace friendships helped in improving job performance.

The theme 'I am trained and I have experience' clearly reflected the participants' cognitive response to change (Elizur & Guttman, 1976). Most participants were not entirely convinced of the alleged benefits of using RIs and at times, were not happy with their way of working. One officer, in particular, believed that RIs were not necessary for high-functioning vulnerable adults. Another common narrative was that the RIs did not offer anything new, as their suggestions such as using open-ended questions or not prolonging the interview for too long, were fairly obvious and would have been followed anyway as part of the ABE guidelines.

The ABE guidelines provide an interview structure to enable vulnerable witnesses give an account of what they experienced (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). It is suggested as a best practice method and requires the interviewers to be flexible around the needs of the witness. Some of the techniques involved in ABE

interviewing are rapport building, free narrative, open-ended questions, asking simple questions one at a time, avoiding abstract words and double negatives, and closure (Ministry of Justice, 2011). Officers who work with vulnerable witnesses are trained in this interviewing technique (Griffiths & Milne, 2012). Given that all the participants were ABE trained and had extensive experience of working with vulnerable adults and children, they seemed to question the necessity of calling an RI every time a vulnerable person was involved. In a way, it could be that officers were undermining the role of the RI in the interview process.

It is natural that there would be clashes of opinions when different professionals work together. Indeed, some officers felt that the RIs were not always effective and that they would have handled certain aspects of the interview differently. It is also possible that the RIs did not meet the expectations of the participants as they did not always necessarily provide 'new' suggestions, and as such, they were disappointed by the results. Expectation bias occurs when an individual's expectation about an event or outcome influences one's perception of that event or outcome (Williams, Popp, Kobak, & Detke, 2012). Training for police should focus on negating this expectation by acknowledging that while at times, the RI's suggestions may seem simple, they are assessment-based and are tailored to the particular witness's needs.

It seemed that participants' confidence in working with vulnerable witnesses stemmed from not only experience and skill, but also their tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is defined as a combination of an individual's skill, training, education, and experience and is dictated and influenced by one's beliefs, intuition, emotions, and attitudes (Burnette, 2017). It is a form of knowledge that cannot be taught formally and often, cannot be verbalised (Polanyi, 1966). An increase in an individual's professional experience is thought to also increase one's expertise and tacit knowledge, which in turn positively informs performance (Cianciolo et al., 2006).

Inarguably, the officers would have extensive tacit knowledge. However, based on their accounts it would also seem that they felt capable to make diagnostic assumptions regarding the vulnerabilities of the witnesses and consequently, on how to interview them effectively. Interestingly, the majority of the participants did not receive any training that specifically focussed on the range of IDs. During their ABE training, they were given general information about a range of vulnerabilities, which also included mental health problems. Hepworth (2017) was concerned that combining mental health disorders and IDs during training is misleading and could cause confusion among officers. Studies by Chown (2010) and Crane et al. (2016) have shown that police officers often over-estimated their level of understanding and knowledge regarding IDs, including ASD. Of course, this is not to say that officers would intentionally risk jeopardising a case by conducting the interview themselves, especially where an RI was essential. However, they may unwittingly risk it if they are unaware of the limitations of their own knowledge and skills.

The high financial costs involved in calling an RI seemed to be something that bothered at least half the participants, more so when they felt that the RI was not particularly useful. There seemed to be a presumption that RIs were paid very much for this job and therefore, they would not refuse a referral that comes their way. Based on the information acquired from a Freedom of Information request made to the MOJ in February 2016, the standard professional fee for RIs is £36.80/hour, while that for unsocial hours is £53/hour. As a minimum, each case involves around seven hours, including assessment, interview, GRH, and trial attendance. This is excluding time for writing the report and travel. Given that RIs invest their time and skill in this job and are professionals with years of experience, this amount does not seem to be sizeable. Further, as this is freelance work, it can be unpredictable. Even the RIs from Study 1 agreed that it is not a reliable and regular source of income. Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2015) noted that while cost should not be a deciding factor for requesting an RI, there have been

reports that some senior officers discourage their use due to budget constraints of their forces. This issue could be further aggravated if officers felt that RIs did not always contribute to the cases.

As a possible solution to this, a couple of participants suggested that there could be an advice centre or helpline available so that officers could consult an RI to, perhaps, confirm their interview plan or check whether an RI was needed for a particular case. They felt that streamlining the service would save time and money, especially if the officer was able to proceed without an RI. However, the feasibility of such a service may not be optimal. With the RIs being overworked and a regular drop in their numbers (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015), there may not been enough of them to facilitate the running of a helpline. There may also be issues around conducting an assessment over the phone without direct contact with the witness. Further, there would be several administrative processes involved in setting it up, which again may put further pressure on the MOJ. Nonetheless, it is, an avenue to explore in the future.

At the same time, it must be highlighted that waiting for an RI was the biggest grouse of all the participants. The officers complained that it frustrated them as it slowed down the investigation. Crane et al. (2016), in their survey of police officers, also reported that the delay in obtaining an RI was considered the main reason why RIs were perceived to be unhelpful. Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2015) argued that RIs were not like interpreters, who could just turn up when required. Primarily, an RI needs to be skills matched to the vulnerability of the witness involved (Ministry of Justice, 2015). Further, being an RI involves immense preparatory work and practical challenges, such as gathering background information about the witness and building a rapport with the witness so that the assessment can be done (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015). Each case involves administrative paperwork and it is possible that it is their 'behind the scenes' work that leads to a delayed interview.

Yet, the concern regarding waiting for an RI is valid and cannot be undermined. The victims' commissioner highlighted that witnesses were often denied a chance to get support due to the shortage of RIs and the long waiting periods, in some cases upto four weeks, for an RI (''Vulnerable witnesses denied,'' 2018). Participants spoke at length about the ways in which it affected the witness and the case. Most importantly, they felt it was contradictory to what they had learnt in their ABE training and therefore, felt conflicted between theory and practice. The ABE guidelines state that the possibility of memory contamination increases if the interview is delayed (Ministry of Justice, 2011a). Research has consistently demonstrated the adverse effects of delay on memory (Loftus et al., 1978; Tuckey & Brewer, 2003). A study on real eyewitnesses by Valentine et al. (2003) showed that delay of more than one week resulted in rapid decline in performance. With increasing delay, memory is prone to further decay and is more susceptible to post-event misinformation (Hope, 2015). Further, given their deficits in memory, vulnerable witnesses may be more likely to be prone to suggestion (Gudjonsson & Clark, 1986), which could impact the quality and accuracy of their recall. Delays in giving evidence could also cause anxiety and frustration among witnesses, keep them from moving on from the incident, and lessen their trust in the CJS (Hanna, Davies, Henderson, Crothers, & Rotherham, 2010; Manarin, 2009).

The evidence taking process in itself is lengthy and requires the police to undertake administrative work as well as co-ordinate with different professionals and agencies. Recent reports show that the police are increasingly under strain due to budget and workforce cuts (Pidd, 2017), while hate crime and terrorism are on the rise (Travis, 2017). For example, Scheerhout (2017) reported that the Greater Manchester Police had lost around 2000 officers since 2010 and faced a £215 million cut from their annual budget. Thus, the police, themselves, seem overworked and under-staffed. Though not of direct consequence, waiting for an RI and managing availability seemed to be another task that participants had to

undertake, which impeded their investigation. Additionally, they had to bear pressure from their seniors to ensure the investigation was completed on time. All these factors could also fuel negative attitudes towards RIs.

Recruiting more RIs and increasing their numbers to make this service more accessible was an important point raised by all the participants. In 2014, there was an 86% increase in the number of requests for RIs as compared to the previous year (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015). Based on numbers obtained from a Freedom of Information request made to the MOJ, as of February 2016, there were 184 RIs on the WIS database. Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2015) reported that the intermediary register loses around ten RIs each year. Apart from being a financial burden on the MOJ's resources, it also suggests that it does not seem to be easy to keep up the demand for RIs. The Advocate's Gateway (2017) website mentions that RIs are recruited in response to need and resources, though there are no official figures on the number of recruits. Given that police are expected to use RIs, there is definitely a huge gap between demand and supply and there does not seem to be a straightforward solution to this.

Even though participants were sceptical about RIs, contradictorily, they also felt comforted by the presence of an RI. They said that having an RI during the interview was reassuring and they felt supported. One of the main reasons for this was they knew that if they made any errors, the RI was there to guide them. This also meant that they had to be mindful of how they conducted the interview. Additionally, officers felt less burdened and could focus their attention towards asking the questions that were pertinent to the investigation. Consequently, it has led to officers developing fruitful relationships with RIs. Harris and Kacmar (2006) observed that relationships with colleagues often acted as a buffer against the stressors at work and helped individuals deal with their personal and professional problems more effectively.

The social capital theory puts quality relationships as the main form of social capital that is requisite for an individual's well-being (Häuberer, 2011). According

to Chow and Chan (2008), social capital has three dimensions- structural, relational, and cognitive. The structural dimension involves the social connections and patterns among individuals. Next, the level of trust that develops between people while they are working together towards a common goal is the relational dimension. Finally, the cognitive dimension is the exchange of resources and knowledge between the individuals that foster mutual understanding and respect. All these dimensions operate in a variety of social contexts and promote collective action (Coleman, 1988). Similarly, the police-RI relationship seems to fulfil the structural and relational dimensions as both groups are working together towards a common goal, which is to ensure that vulnerable witnesses are able to achieve best evidence.

With respect to the cognitive dimension, participants felt there was an exchange of knowledge as they could observe the RI's way of working, learn more about vulnerabilities, borrow useful ideas and tips from them, and discuss what was best for the witness. This, in essence, is the definition of knowledge sharing (Wang & Noe, 2010). Knowledge sharing has shown to increase an individual's intellectual and creative skills, improve the quality of interpersonal relationships, and promote positive social interactions (Bontis, Richards, & Serenko, 2011; Wang & Noe, 2010). In his social exchange theory, Blau (1964) stated that such behaviour enhanced overall satisfaction levels of an individual because it fostered the development of quality professional relationships. This seems to be true in case of the participants, as investing in a relationship with RIs could have many positive results, not only for themselves, but also for the witnesses.

Officers provided several examples that demonstrated the usefulness of the RI in paying attention to details, which may have been overlooked, and in eliciting information through innovative ways. RIs are experts from fields such as speech and language therapy, psychology, and teaching (O'Mahony, 2009) and have extensive experience of working with vulnerable people. Police, on the

other hand, are skilled in interviewing and investigation. As a team, they could be powerful and influence change.

As some participants recognised, the police neither have the time nor the skill to support vulnerable witnesses in all possible ways. They clarified that the roles of the police and of the RI were not mutually exclusive. Therefore, it would be quite difficult for the police to attempt to take over the RI's responsibilities as well. They felt that it could also endanger the best interests of the vulnerable witnesses. Consequently, participants stated that the role of the RIs, particularly in court, was invaluable. They emphasised their contribution in protecting witnesses during the cross-examination and preventing their words from being misinterpreted.

Several studies have demonstrated that question strategies used by lawyers often confuse witnesses with ID. These included the use of negatives, double negatives, multi-part questions, forced questions, leading questions, complex syntax, and abstract words (Ellison, 2002; Kebbell et al., 2004; Kebbell & Johnson, 2000). It is during the GRH that the RI looks at the counsel's proposed cross-examination questions. The questions are evaluated from the perspective of the witness's communication needs and the RI advises the court to revise questions that may prove difficult for the witness to comprehend (Ministry of Justice, 2015). However, this is done so that the witness can answer them and not to protect the witness from cross-examination (Ministry of Justice, 2015), as stated by the participants. Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2017a) interviewed ten intermediaries, who illustrated their role in facilitating questioning, helping witnesses remain calm whilst they are waiting, and managing the witness's emotional needs, among other things. Thus, RIs provide a level of support for the witness that may not always be possible for the police. Additionally, RIs are also able to provide continuity of support from initial contact prior to police interview right through to the end of the trial, something that is clearly beyond the remit of the police.

The participants acknowledged that being in court was very stressful for witnesses and was almost like the worst day of their lives. Beckene et al. (2017) evaluated the court experiences of four victims with ID and found that they were treated harshly during cross-examination. There was a lack of understanding of the needs of the victims by the lawyers. Furthermore, in three cases, RIs were not allowed to assist the victims and were reduced to being mere chaperones. According to the researchers, this was due to poor knowledge of the prosecution attorneys about IDs, and consequently, they were unable to justify the need of the participants to have an RI. Notwithstanding such situations, the officers felt relieved knowing that the witnesses had the best support possible in the form of the RI. They were passionate and committed to the cause of helping vulnerable witnesses achieve best evidence.

Thinking retrospectively, officers spoke about the changing times and the massive improvements in interviewing processes, especially with the introduction of RIs. In the last nine years, the amount of flexibility demonstrated by the CJS in incorporating the Special Measures has indeed been remarkable (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015). Many of them were appreciated by the court for their use of RIs, which depicts the RIs' gradual acceptance into the CJS. They felt that RIs had made the system more professional and influential. One participant, in the current study, was amazed by the influence of an RI, when she spoke about how on the RI's recommendation, the court opened, earlier than usual, at 8 am to ensure that the witness was in the best possible state to give evidence.

Apart from the positive changes to the system, RIs seem to have influenced participants on a personal level as well. Officers spoke about the impact that the RIs have had in reducing stereotypes about vulnerability and bridging communication gaps between the officers and the witnesses. Historically, police have been known to make inappropriate assumptions about people with ID (Sharp, 2001) and demonstrate reluctance in engaging with them (Eadens et al., 2016). However, working with an RI closely on tasks such as

planning and conducting the interview, and keeping in mind the needs of the witness, could have promoted a better understanding about ID and made the participants appreciate the challenges faced by such witnesses.

Strengths of the Study

The strength of this study was that it explored an entirely new aspect of research by providing an insight into the relationship of police with RIs. No past research has explored this area and thus, this study provides an original contribution to knowledge. It delved into understanding police experiences, opinions, and challenges of working with RIs, and its effects on their interactions with witnesses with ID. The findings will help initiate a dialogue between the WIS and police and take steps towards making the scheme more efficient and beneficial for the vulnerable witnesses. The use of semi-structured interviews enabled the accounts to be personal and interviewee-led. Further, the range of viewpoints presented by the participants provide further support for lack of the effects of social desirability in the interviews.

One of the limitations of this study was that all the participants were from north-west England and therefore, their accounts may not be generalisable to officers from other constabularies. Yet, it is also important to acknowledge that IPA does not aim for generalisation and a homogenous sample keeps the focus on the experience of the phenomenon for that particular group (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011). However, as a new piece of research and from an outsider perspective, this study proved to be an in-depth starting point in generating valuable ideas.

Additionally, majority of the participants had worked with a maximum of 4 to 6 RIs. Thus, their opinions could be based on their limited experience. However, as the analysis revealed, the use of RIs is not widespread and therefore, it is likely that the sample embodies the current situation. For example, the

Victims' Commissioner's report on the provision of RIs found that one of the constabularies that was part of this study, had a five-times higher RI use than forces in London (''A voice for the voiceless'', 2018). Further, as the findings were supported by past research, future studies could examine forces in terms of experience of working with RIs and nature of training provided to them.

Contributions to Knowledge and Practice

This study on the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult witnesses with ID revealed three new and important findings:

1. There is a lack of awareness and clarity about the role of RIs, which could inhibit police officers from using them when required. This, in turn, could have an impact on vulnerable witnesses, as the use of RIs is likely only if the investigating officer has knowledge of this Special Measure.

2. There is negativity surrounding the use of RIs, particularly in relation to the nature of their suggestions for the interview and the long waiting time involved in procuring an RI. While it is understandable that officers may feel competent in dealing with certain types of vulnerabilities, every witness would have different challenges and needs, which may be beyond the officer's realm of knowledge. Further, leaving the decision of using an RI entirely to the discretion of the officer may not be in the spirit of equal access to justice. However, the issue of waiting for an RI needs to be addressed as a matter of importance, as it could severely affect the quality of the witness' recall.

3. When used, the officers generally felt the RIs provided them with a sense of comfort and security. They felt less stressed in their presence and illustrated the importance of teamwork and knowledge sharing.

Based on the findings, the following recommendations can be made in order to improve the WIS and police practice:

1. All officers, irrespective of rank, should have information about RIs. This information can be designed in a manner that is relevant to the officer's job role. It also important that such training is uniform across constabularies.

2. Educating officers about RIs should form an important part of their training, particularly ABE training. There should be direct input from RIs and examples of how they have contributed to specific cases. Officers who have used RIs could speak about their benefits such as the feelings of reassurance and comfort during the interview, their contributions in facilitating communication, and their importance in helping witnesses in court.

3. Training should focus on negating officers' expectation bias by clearly outlining the role and remit of RIs, thus, promoting role clarity.

4. More RIs must be recruited to keep up with the increase in referrals and to minimise waiting times. The advertising strategy to recruit RIs should be reviewed, as it must be proactive to ensure that it is effectively reaching the target populations, namely, professionals skilled in working with vulnerable children and adults.

5. To meet the time pressures of an investigation, an RI helpline service could be initiated. The service could be used to assist officers, when unsure, to decide whether an RI is needed for a case or to receive quick guidance on their planned interview strategy. It must be governed by strict guidelines and must not be considered to be a replacement for an RI.

The issue of poor understanding of the RI's role can only be improved by more training and information. Educating officers, including uniformed officers, about the availability of such measures and equipping them with relevant, practical information about the processes involved in getting an RI is essential. This information should be easily accessible and regularly updated so that officers can refer to them anytime. In addition, training across forces should be universal,

which may not always be the case (Sharp, 2001). This will ensure uniform distribution of knowledge, which will ultimately influence the accessibility of the Special Measures for the vulnerable witnesses.

Recruiting more RIs could help increase their numbers and reduce the time involved in waiting for one. It would also minimise the issues around delay and memory of witnesses. Though there have been efforts towards recruitment, many RIs leave the role (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015) and the irregularities in the number of RIs active at any given point of time, make it difficult to maintain the numbers. Study 1 on RIs (Chapter 5) discussed some of the possible reasons for RIs leaving the role.

Further, the approach used by the MOJ to recruit RIs is also not entirely clear. RIs in Study 1 mentioned that while some of them coincidentally noticed an advert in a SLT journal, others heard about it from their colleagues. Recently, an advert for recruiting RIs in the areas of East Midlands was placed on the Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists website (RCSLT, 2017). While the majority of RIs do tend to come from a SLT background (Chan, 2011), this strategy of recruitment does seem restrictive, as it does not target the wide range of professionals who could potentially be suitable for this job.

The analysis revealed the nature of the relationship between the police and RIs. The police showed immense respect for the RIs' work in the courtroom and felt that their contribution in helping witnesses was invaluable. They felt that they had a good, professional relationship with RIs, which led to sharing of knowledge and shedding of stereotypes. This level of teamwork will not only foster their relationship and encourage to them to use RIs more often, but also ensure the smooth running of the scheme to the benefit of the vulnerable witnesses.

Study 2 demonstrated that while officers may not necessarily receive training on ID, they seemed confident in working with witnesses with ID. The following chapter will look at Study 3 which examined police attitudes towards ID and whether working with an RI has an influence on it.

Chapter 7

Attitudes of Police Officers towards ID

This chapter focusses on Study 3, which aims to examine the attitudes of police officers towards ID. First, the research question and rationale are discussed in light of previous literature. Next, the methods used in the study, including design, participants, materials, and procedure are provided. This is followed by the results of the ATTID questionnaire and the discussion. The final section talks about the contribution of this study to knowledge and practice.

Research Question and Rationale

Attitude is defined as a ''psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor'' (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p.1). This evaluation comprises of cognitive, affective, and behavioural components, each of which encompass aspects of behaviour, beliefs, feelings, emotions, and intentions (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). Attitudes are, thus, constructs that are central to our understanding of evaluative predispositions that motivate social behaviour (Krosnick, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2014).

Attitudes can be classified into explicit and implicit attitudes. Explicit attitudes are those evaluations that the person holding them is consciously aware of, whereas implicit attitudes are largely outside of conscious awareness. The former is usually measured by self-reported measures such as questionnaires, while the latter is measured using word sorting tests that help detect implicit positive or negative biases towards particular categories (Scior & Werner, 2015).

The functional value of the study of attitudes is to understand public opinion, the psychological motivations behind people's attitudes (Katz, 1960), as

also to identify the implications of certain negative attitudes and make attempts to change them. Keeping in mind the focus of the current research, the following sections will review literature pertaining to attitudes towards ID and its implications. Research on attitudes of people towards ID has found that across different cultures, there appears to be a stigma associated with it (Scior, 2011). In her review of 75 studies, Scior (2011) also found that there was a lack of understanding about the nature of ID and a lack of social interaction with people with ID. These factors seem to have an impact on the status of people with ID in society, who have faced social, economic, and legal exclusion for decades (Goodley, 2017). Alongside, their dependency on others for their daily needs puts them at an increased risk of victimisation (Hayes, 1992) and the increase in the number of hate crimes is proof of that (Travis, 2017).

Viljoen et al. (2017) believed that it is vital that there is more emphasis on inclusivity and effective participation of people with disabilities in society. Seewooruttun and Scior (2014) reviewed 22 studies that conducted empirical interventions to increase knowledge about ID and reduce negative attitudes among different populations. Although not universal, they found that direct and indirect contact with people with ID had positive effects on attitudes. Of all the studies that were reviewed, only one study (Bailey, Barr, & Bunting, 2001) evaluated the impact of group intervention on Irish trainee police officers. Empirical research on the nature and efficacy of disability sensitivity training for police, over the last 15 years, has been very limited (Viljoen et al., 2017). It seems that training related to ID is not universal and uniform across police forces (Sharp, 2001). Depending on their constabulary, officers may receive training from the police service itself or from external organisations such as charities (Crane et al., 2016).

The study by Bailey et al. (2001) demonstrated the positive impact of role-play and specific information on the stereotypes about people with ID. The two drawbacks of the study were that the sample size was small and there was no

follow-up to assess the effects of the intervention over time. In an another example, officers from the Hammersmith and Fulham police force in UK, who underwent a learning disability awareness course, showed an increase in knowledge levels and confidence in interacting with people with ID after the training. However, there was no change in their attitudes towards people with ID (Raczka et al., 2014). As Viljoen et al. (2017) noted, learning about IDs cannot be accomplished in a one-time event and the usefulness of training can be maximised mainly through renewal of learning material.

Bailey et al. (2001) argued that police officers did not receive sufficient opportunities to develop awareness about the needs and abilities of people with ID. Consequently, their stereotypical beliefs could have an effect on the methods used to identify ID (Douglas & Cuskelly, 2012), their interactions with such people (Eadens et al., 2016), and assumptions about their credibility (Aarons & Powell, 2003). This could cause individuals with ID to have negative experiences with the police (Spivak & Thomas, 2013).

With the introduction of RIs, some officers now have the opportunity to work closely with an expert in the areas of language and communication. As RIs are able to support them to achieve quality evidence, it may influence their understanding of the complex nature of ID and the different ways to communicate with such people. Additionally, there is an increasing emphasis on spreading awareness about vulnerability among police forces, which has involved the input of researchers as well. With such new developments, it is possible the previous findings will not hold true.

The attitudes that police hold towards ID could also play a role in their knowledge about ID, their ability to identify vulnerability and consequently, provide these witnesses with the Special Measures, when needed. Such a study is, therefore, important and relevant. By examining attitudes, this study aims to understand the impact of RIs on the behaviour of police towards vulnerable

adults. In order to address this question, a large generalisable sample was needed and for that purpose, a quantitative design was considered to be appropriate.

In Study 2, officers illustrated the ways in which they found the RI helpful and many of them had a positive experience of working with RIs. Thus, it would be useful to know whether police with experience of working with RIs feel more knowledgeable and competent about areas such as causes of ID and abilities of individuals with ID than those without this experience. Thus, for Study 3-

Research question 3: Do officers who have worked with RIs have a more positive attitude towards individuals with ID than those without experience of working with RIs?

H_1: Police officers who have worked with RIs will have a lower score on the total ATTID (Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability) questionnaire and on each of the factors of the ATTID.

Method

Design

The study had an independent measures design. The independent variable (IV) was- worked with an RI with two levels, yes or no. The dependent variables (DV) were the total score on the ATTID (Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability) and the factors of the ATTID.

Participants

Three different police forces across North-west England and Midlands were approached to recruit participants. As participants were requested to forward the study link to their colleagues, it is possible that officers from other forces were also part of the sample. Although 226 participants attempted the survey, the final sample was 126. Ninety-eight participants were excluded

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because they did not complete the entire questionnaire, with the majority of them only entering the demographic information. The incomplete questionnaires were discarded because based on the terms of consent (Appendix 8), participants could withdraw from the study at any time, without any explanation. Therefore, ethically, their responses could not be included in the analysis as their exiting the questionnaire without completion was considered as their withdrawal from the study, particularly because they did not progress very far into the questionnaire. Further, data from two participants was deleted on account of them being outliers (Figure 1 for boxplot). Field (2013) suggested that the use of boxplots is a useful way to detect outliers. Data collection started in February 2017 and was completed in November 2017.
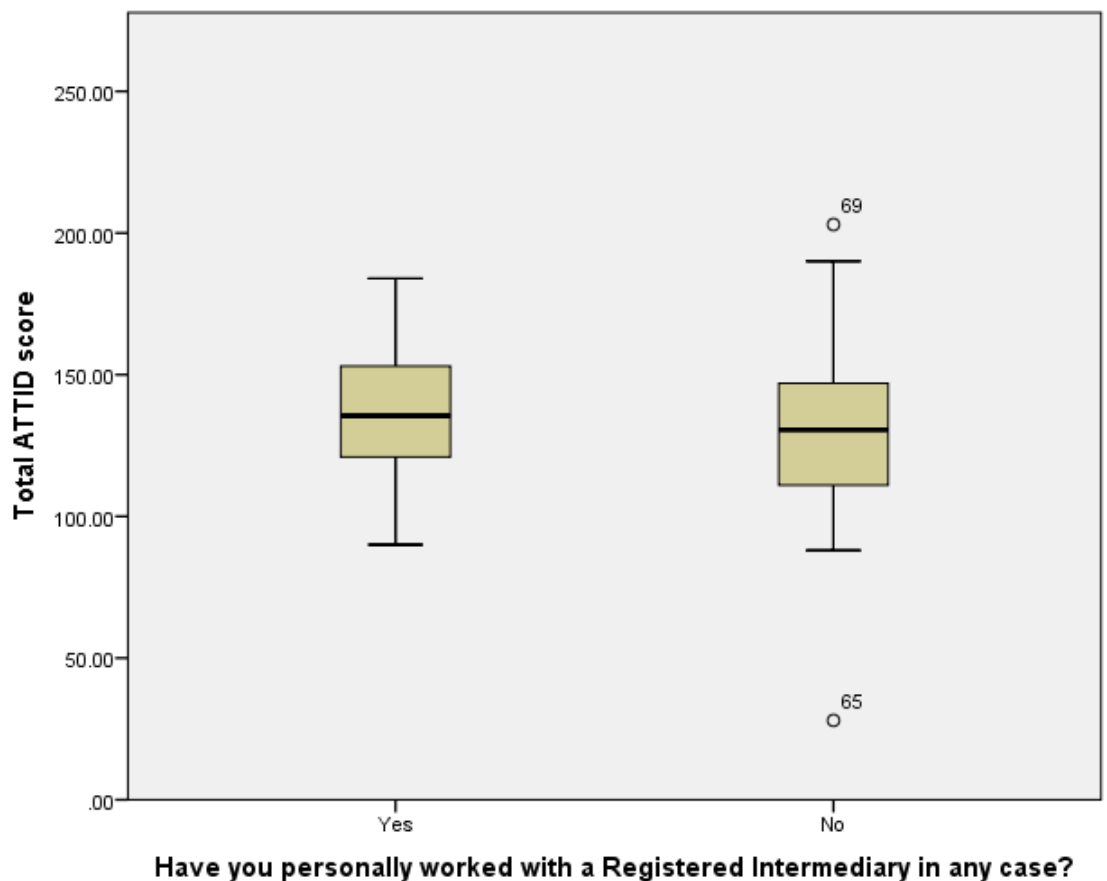

Figure 1. Boxplot of the total ATTID scores detecting outliers for the two groups

Of the 126 participants, 81 were males and 45 were females. Thirty-five percent were in the age group of 40-49 years, 26% were between 30-39 years, and 21% were in the range of 50-59 years. Eighty-nine percent participants identified themselves as being of white-British/Scottish/Welsh ethnic origin. The rest identified themselves as white-Irish, Asian British, white-African, white-European, mixed white-Chinese, and white-Asian. The majority of the participants (57) were Constables or Detectives. Of the rest, 33 were uniformed officers, 20 were Sergeants, 7 were Inspectors, 2 were Chief Inspectors, and 1 was a Superintendent. Three others had specialist roles such as civilian investigator, safeguarding practitioner, and police community support officer. One participant stated her rank as non-uniform, while two participants did not mention their rank. Thus, the sample comprised of officers of varying ranks.

In the current sample, 36 officers had personally worked with RIs and 90 officers had not. Of those who had not worked with RIs before, only 29 had heard about RIs, whereas the majority (61) answered in the negative. Participants, who knew about the role of RIs, acquired this information mainly at the ABE training or via word-of-mouth from other colleagues in their department.

Materials

The Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability questionnaire (ATTID) (Morin, Crocker, et al., 2013) was used to measure attitudes of police towards ID (Appendix 12). The questionnaire and the scoring manual was obtained by personally contacting the first author, Dr. Diane Morin and requesting a copy. The ATTID was developed by administering the questionnaire to 1605 men and women in Quebec, Canada and it looked at the general population's attitudes towards people with ID.

The questionnaire comprised 67 items on a Likert-type 5-point scale ranging from totally agree (1) to totally disagree (5). There was also an option of not applicable or don't know (9). It also included two vignettes, in which the main

characters (Dominic and Robert) had two different levels of intellectual and adaptive capacity. In vignette 1, Dominic is described as an individual who has a higher level of functioning, whereas in vignette 2, Robert is characterised as having a lower level of functioning. Based on the original questionnaire (Morin, Rivard, et al., 2013) and for the purposes of analysis, Dominic was categorised as having mild ID and Robert as having severe ID. However, these terms were not stated in the vignettes and therefore, it was expected that participants' answers would be based on their own interpretations. The vignettes had 20 and 17 questions, respectively.

The higher the score on the different items, the more negative the attitude towards ID. The scores were divided into three types of attitudes- positive (scores 1 or 2), negative (scores 4 or 5), and neutral (score 3). The score of 9 (don't know) was converted to 0. Twenty questions (ten from each vignette) were reverse scored.

The questionnaire has a five-factor structure- discomfort, knowledge of capacity and rights, interaction, sensitivity/tenderness, and knowledge of causes of ID. It measures attitudes by means of three dimensions- cognitive (30 items), affective (18 items), and behavioural (19 items). The cognitive component includes questions that fall into six categories- societal integration of people with ID, myths and beliefs about ID, rights of people with ID, capacity and abilities of people with ID, aetiology of ID, and tendency to view them as a homogenous group. Knowledge of capacity and rights (items 1Ca- 1Da, 1Dc- 1Di, and 1Ec- 1Ed) and knowledge of causes of ID (items 1Aa- 1Ba) come under the cognitive component. The former is related to the perception of people with respect to the capabilities of persons with ID, while the latter measures the population's knowledge about the causes of ID.

The affective and behavioural components are mainly assessed by means of the two vignettes, which aim to examine attitudes as a function of an individual's level of disability (high- or low-functioning). Discomfort (items 2Aa, 2Ad- 2Ag, 2Ai,

2Ba- 2Bc, 2Be, 3Aa, 3Ad- 3Ag, 3Ba, and 3Bb) and sensitivity/tenderness (items 2Ab, 2Ac, 2Ah, 3Ab, 3Ac, and 3Ah) tap into the affective component. They distinctly measure the feelings of embarrassment, anxiety, and level of comfort around people with ID and the feelings of sadness or pity for them. The fifth factor, interaction (items 1Db, 1Ea, 1Eb, 2Bd, 2Bf- 2Bk, 3Ai, 3Bc- 3Bh) is the behavioural component that determines an individual's attitude in a variety of social contexts involving people with ID (Morin, Crocker, et al., 2013).

An online version of the questionnaire was created on Qualtrics. Qualtrics is a web-based survey tool that can be used for research purposes. Once designed, a link to the questionnaire is created. All the questions in the main section of the ATTID were used without any modifications. Except the consent form, none of the questions were compulsory and participants could skip questions, if they wanted.

Since the questionnaire was created in Canada, minor changes were made to the language to suit the understanding of people from UK (Appendix 12 for questionnaire). These were using the term 'football team' instead of 'baseball team', and the name of the character in the second vignette was changed from 'Raphael' to 'Robert'. In the section of demographics, certain questions on job status and annual income were omitted. A question asking, 'what is your current rank as a police officer?' was added.

Apart from this, a few yes/no and quantitative questions such as 'have you personally worked with an RI?', 'how many RIs have you worked with?', and 'have you heard about RIs?' were added. Qualitative questions like 'how did you find out about RIs?', 'state your experience of working with RIs', and 'how has working with RIs changed your practice?' supplemented the above questions. These questions were in the context of the current research area and was thought to be useful information, especially since the sample would be quite big and varied as compared to Study 2. The questionnaire was designed in such a way that certain questions such as those on experience of working with RIs and change in practice,

were displayed only if participants selected 'yes' to the question on whether they had personally worked with RIs.

Procedure

The link to the questionnaire was emailed to the gatekeepers of the police forces from the researcher's university account, which they then posted on their respective intranets. The link enabled participants to access the questionnaire and complete it. The responses were automatically collected by Qualtrics and could be viewed only by the creator at any time. No identifying information was recorded by the tool. The information sheet was attached to the email (Appendix 5). Before starting the questionnaire, the participants had to complete the consent form (Appendix 8). After completion, they were able to view the debrief sheet (Appendix 11).

Results

The questionnaire was subjected to internal consistency analysis. Results indicated that the reliability for the total ATTID was high, $\alpha = .91$. The Cronbach's alpha for each of the factors was .87 (discomfort), .92 (capacity/rights), .87 (interaction), .86 (sensibility), and .72 (causes). Morin, Crocker, et al. (2013) also found similar values for their sample; the reliability for the ATTID was $\alpha = .92$, while the reliabilities for the subscales ranged from .59 to .89.

Descriptive statistics were carried out on the entire sample for each of the five factors and the total score on the questionnaire (Table 5 for mean scores and standard deviations). Further, based on the scoring manual of the questionnaire, the scores were divided into three groups- positive attitude (scores 1 or 2), negative attitude (scores 4 or 5), and neutral attitude (score 3). These values were expressed in percentages (Table 5).

Next, mean scores, standard deviations, and attitude percentages were calculated for the two groups- worked with RI and did not work with RI (Table 6). The descriptive statistics show that across all factors, the majority of officers had positive attitudes towards ID. They had the most positive attitudes towards capacity and rights and the most negative attitude towards sensibility (Table 5).

Table 5

Mean scores, (standard deviations), and attitude percentages of ATTID factors and total

Factors	Mean (S.D.)	Positive attitude	Neutral attitude	Negative attitude
Discomfort	1.77 (1.09)	81.98%	6.96%	9.54%
Capacity/Rights	1.89 (0.79)	83.42%	11.26%	3.95%
Interaction	1.91 (1.11)	73.84%	12.09%	10.34%
Sensibility	2.45 (1.21)	49.28%	23.73%	25.16%
Causes	1.96 (1.07)	67.08%	17.87%	6.97%
Total score	1.92 (1.04)	75.86%	12.18%	9.21%

Note. n= 126

Table 6

Mean scores, (standard deviations), and attitude percentages for officers who worked with RIs and those who did not

| Factors | Worked with RI[a] | | | | Not worked with RI[b] | | | |
	Mean (S.D.)	Positive attitude	Neutral attitude	Negative attitude	Mean (S.D.)	Positive attitude	Neutral attitude	Negative attitude
Discomfort	1.95 (0.41)	82.84%	8.01%	7.68%	1.95 (0.52)	81.64%	6.55%	10.27%
Capacity/Rights	1.95 (0.48)	80.97%	14.17%	4.72%	1.86 (0.42)	84.39%	10.12%	3.65%
Interaction	2.05 (0.58)	73.16%	15.71%	10.15%	1.93 (0.63)	74.10%	10.68%	10.42%
Sensibility	2.57 (0.79)	48.84%	24.65%	26.51%	2.42 (0.94)	49.46%	23.37%	24.64%
Causes	2.05 (0.69)	63.75%	18.33%	9.16%	1.94 (0.59)	68.39%	17.68%	6.10%
Total score	2.04 (0.36)	74.80%	14.36%	9.26%	1.96 (0.35)	76.28%	11.33%	9.19%

Note. [a]*n*= 36. [b]*n*= 90.

To examine whether working with an RI had an effect on attitude towards ID, an independent-measures t-test was carried out (Appendix 13 for SPSS outputs). For the total score on the ATTID, the variances were equal for both groups, $F(1, 124) = .000$, $p = .998$. Thus, the unequal groups were not a problem for the t-test and homogeneity of variance can be assumed. The mean scores of the not worked with RI group was lower ($M = 1.96$, $SD = .35$) than the group that worked with RI ($M = 2.04$, $SD = .36$). The scores on the ATTID of the two groups were not significantly different, $t(124) = 1.143$, $p = .255$. The effect size was small, $r = 0.1$ (Cohen, 1992). Thus, working with RIs did not have a significant effect on the attitudes of police towards ID.

Next, independent-measures t-tests were carried out comparing the two groups on each of the five factors (Appendix 14 for SPSS outputs). For all the factors, the variances for both groups were equal, thus, homogeneity of variances can be assumed. As none of the results were significant, working with RIs did not have an effect on the attitudes of the police on any aspect of ID measured by the ATTID.

The questionnaire additionally asked participants whether working with an RI had changed their practice. Of those who had worked with RIs, 58% believed that it did and 42% said that it did not. The mean scores on the ATTID for those who answered yes ($M = 1.98$, $SD = .32$) was lower than those who answered no ($M = 2.12$, $SD = .40$), indicating that those who answered yes had more positive attitudes. An independent-measures t-test was conducted (Appendix 15 for SPSS outputs). The variances for both groups were equal, $F(1, 34) = .946$, $p = .338$. Thus, homogeneity of variance can be assumed. However, there was no significant difference between the two groups, $t(34) = -1.193$, $p = .241$. Participants were also given an option to elaborate their thoughts on the matter. However, there was not sufficient material to carry out any analysis on that.

A repeated-measures t-test was carried out to compare scores of the sample on the two vignettes (high functioning and low functioning) (Appendix 16 for SPSS outputs). Attitudes towards the two levels of functioning were significantly positively correlated, $r = .764$, $p < 0.001$. Thus, participants with a positive attitude towards Dominic (high functioning), also had a positive attitude towards Robert (low functioning). The mean for the low functioning vignette ($M = 2.22$, $SD = .56$) was more than that for the high functioning vignette ($M = 1.89$, $SD = .49$). The scores on the two vignettes were significantly different, $t(125) = -10.251$, $p < 0.001$. The effect size was large, $r = 0.68$ (Cohen, 1992). Thus, participants tended to have a more negative attitude towards Robert (low functioning) as compared to Dominic (high functioning).

Two separate supplementary analyses were conducted to test the effects of knowledge about ID and frequency of contact with people with ID on the ATTID. Knowledge about ID had four levels- nothing, not much, quite a bit, and a lot (Appendix 17 for SPSS outputs). A one-way independent-measures ANOVA was carried out to examine its effect on the ATTID. The variances for each of the groups were equal, $F(3, 122) = .258$, $p = .856$, thus, homogeneity of variance can be assumed. There was no significant effect of knowledge about ID on the total ATTID, $F(3, 125) = 1.291$, $p = .281$. Further, one-way ANOVAs conducted on each factor of the ATTID also revealed that the results were not significant (Appendix 18 for SPSS outputs).

Similarly, a one-way independent-measures ANOVA was carried out to check the effects of frequency of contact on the total ATTID score. Frequency of contact had four levels- never, sometimes, often, and very often (Appendix 19 for SPSS outputs). The variances for each of the groups were equal, $F(3, 121) = 1.356$, $p = .260$, thus, homogeneity of variances can be assumed. There was no significant effect of frequency of contact on the total ATTID score, $F(3, 125) = .945$, $p = .421$. One-way ANOVAs on each factor of the ATTID also showed no effect of this variable (Appendix 20 for SPSS outputs).

Discussion

This study aimed to understand whether officers who worked with RIs had a more positive attitude towards ID. The results were not significant, which suggests that working with an RI had no effect on attitudes towards ID. Additionally, working with an RI did not have an effect on any of the factors of the ATTID ~~as well~~. While the majority believed that working with an RI had changed their practice, it did not have an effect on their attitudes. Supplementary analysis showed that officers had more negative attitudes towards adults with severe ID compared to those with mild ID. Further, knowledge about ID and frequency of contact with people with ID had no effect on attitude.

Though working with an RI had no effect, the descriptive statistics showed that the majority of the police officers had a positive attitude towards ID. This is contradictory to other findings such as those by, Scior (2011) and Seewooruttun and Scior (2014) which showed that the different groups such as students, lay public, and ethnic populations had limited knowledge about ID and mostly held negative attitudes. The findings are however, similar to Morin, Rivard, Crocker, Boursier, and Caron (2013), who administered the ATTID to the general public and found that they demonstrated positive attitudes towards ID.

With the rise in the numbers of hate crimes (Travis, 2017), police constabularies all over England and Wales are increasing their emphasis on spreading awareness about vulnerability. Researchers are working with the police to develop concise and relevant material that will educate officers about vulnerabilities, particularly ID. For example, The National Autistic Society (2017) has collaborated with experts in autism research to develop a guide on autism for all police officers. Similarly, the College of Policing (2017b) website has easily accessible information on working with vulnerable victims and witnesses. Thus, these steps may be seen as attempts in reducing the stereotypes and negativity around ID, and thereby encouraging a positive attitude. The current results may be reflective of these recent developments.

Interestingly, the majority of those who had worked with RIs believed that RIs had changed their practice. While the factor itself did not have an effect on their attitude towards ID, it demonstrated the role of RIs in educating officers about ID and adapting their practice. Many participants mentioned that RIs helped them understand more about the needs of such individuals, while some stated that they learnt new techniques and ideas to communicate with them. These statements are encouraging and echo the thoughts of officers from Study 2.

Table 5 shows the attitude percentages for each factor of the ATTID for the entire sample. Based on that, participants had the highest positive attitude towards capacity and rights, while they had a high negative attitude towards sensibility. The factor capacity/rights assessed the knowledge and perception of the capabilities and rights of people with ID. A positive attitude suggests that officers opined that people with ID have the ability to make their own life decisions and should be accorded basic rights such as the right to vote, to have children, and to have a job. While previous literature has shown that people often show reluctance and hostility towards integrating people with ID with the community (Scior, 2011; Yazbeck, McVilly, & Parmenter, 2004), the current findings are similar to those by Morin, Rivard, et al. (2013). Given that officers showed confidence in the capability of people with ID to make important decisions, it could be used to demonstrate their abilities as witnesses and in providing quality evidence (Maras & Bowler, 2014), and reduce negative stereotypes surrounding their credibility (Aarons & Powell, 2003).

The factor sensibility measured sensibility and tenderness towards people with ID. A negative attitude towards this factor could mean that officers showed feelings of sadness and pity rather than respect towards individuals with ID. These results are similar to those found by Findler, Vilchinsky, and Werner (2007) in their administration of the Multidimensional Attitudes Scale toward persons with disabilities to Israeli adults. Crane et al. (2016) found that when people with ASD

were asked about their satisfaction with the CJS and treatment received from the police, 69% were highly unsatisfied and felt that the police lacked awareness about ASD. It is possible that the police's feelings of pity hampered their realisation of the cognitive capabilities of individuals with ID, which, in turn, led to them feeling dissatisfied with the police.

Morin, Rivard, et al. (2013) argued that feelings of pity did not promote social inclusion and autonomy of people with ID in society. Link and Phelan (2001) stated that such emotional reactions are beneficial in understanding more about stigma-related behaviours. Ali, Strydom, Hassiotis, Williams, and King (2008) said that emotions of pity or changes in tone/voice while talking to people with ID contribute to perpetuating stigma, as they tend to suggest that the individual is different. This could lead to such individuals feeling patronised or ashamed (Scheff, 1998).

Further analysis on attitudes towards the two types of vulnerabilities revealed that officers demonstrated a more negative attitude towards the individual with severe ID. Ouellette-Kuntz, Burge, Brown, and Arsenault (2010) highlighted that the more severe the level of ID, the higher is the desire to maintain to social distance from such individuals. Social distance refers to the degree to which an individual is willing to engage with a member of another group across varying situations and levels of intimacy (Bogardus, 1959). Thus, the social distance theory proposes that the more experience officers have with people with ID, the more comfortable they would be around them (Cooke, 2014).

However, officers often do not receive sufficient opportunities to interact with people with ID (Bailey et al., 2001), especially those with more severe levels of ID. In the current sample, 43% stated they knew more than 11 people with ID (accounting for all their years as officers), 40% knew between 1 and 10 people, while 16% said they had not met anyone with ID. However, frequency of contact had no effect on their attitudes. Eadens et al. (2016) found that 62.9% of officers, in their study, had almost no contact with the ID population outside of their work.

While their negative attitudes may stem from lack of knowledge, contact, or incomplete information (Modell & Cropp, 2007), they may have repercussions on their role as police officers. Daruwalla and Darcy (2005) argued that irrespective of their exposure to people with various levels of ID, officers must be educated and sensitised to the needs of such people and be equipped to handle any challenges. While knowledge about ID had no effect on attitude, in the current sample, 54% participants stated that they did not know much about ID, while 9.5% said they knew nothing. Chown (2010), in his survey, found that 62% officers from England and Wales did not receive any formal training on ASD. Further, Hepworth (2017) stated that new police recruits received a two-hour online session on mental health, which included a section on ASD. The author raised concerns on the categorisation of ASD under mental illness, which could be responsible in propagating misleading information.

Viljoen et al. (2017) recommended that training programmes should not only cover a wide spectrum of IDs but also traits or features of specific IDs, in a way that is beneficial to officers. This could promote wider acceptance and recognition. They also added that the usefulness of training could be maximised only through reinforcement and renewal of learning material and by measuring practical outcomes. Further, the proponents of the contact hypothesis believed that increasing contact among members of different social groups plays a role in reducing stereotypes and prejudices (Allport, 1954). Thus, training could also include interactive methods such as role-play, videos, group discussions, and direct contact with people with ID, to encourage positive interactions (Crisp & Turner, 2009) and debunk existing biases (Corrigan & Penn, 1999).

Strengths of the Study

The systematic review by Seewooruttun and Scior (2014) on attitudes towards ID identified 22 studies between 1990 and 2014. Of these, only one study (Bailey et al., 2001) comprised of a sample of police officers. The current study examined attitudes of officers across three forces in England, and is relevant and up-to-date; as it has been conducted post the introduction of the WIS.

The questionnaire used in this study was specifically aimed at ID. A recent report by Scior and Werner (2015) made special mention of the ATTID as a methodologically sound tool to assess attitudes towards ID. The ATTID measured different aspects of one's attitude such as discomfort, knowledge of causes, and capacity and rights. Additionally, as the ATTID was administered in an online format, participants had complete assurance of anonymity, which should reduce any influence of social desirability.

The main limitation of the study was the unequal sample sizes for the two groups- worked with RI and did not work with RI. However, this could be a reflection of reality, wherein not many officers are familiar with the concept of RIs. The difficulty in getting officers who had worked with RIs to participate in Study 2 and Study 3 is further evidence of this. Even in this sample, 68% officers had not heard of RIs. As seen in Study 2, officers tend to have limited information about RIs and they are not regularly used across different departments, therefore there is reason to believe that the uneven samples in this study reflect actual levels of exposure to working with RIs in practice, rather than a flaw in the study design. Similarly, the statistical tests applied to the data were robust enough to allow for the differences in sample sizes without causing problems with analysis and interpretation (Field, 2013).

Incomplete responses also played a major role in decreasing a potentially larger sample. Additionally, calculation of response rate was problematic as the study link was distributed through the intranet sites of the police constabularies and social media. As readership of these sites is unknown, calculation of the size

of the target population was, therefore, not possible. This study was constrained by difficulties in accessing a police sample. Perhaps an insider's influence or presence could be advantageous for future research, which could aim to look at a larger group of officers who have worked with RIs.

Contributions to Knowledge and Practice

This study examined whether working with RIs had an effect on attitude towards ID. Even though the main results were not significant, there were three important findings:

1. Officers had a more negative attitude towards severe ID than mild ID.
2. While working with RIs had no effect, the majority of officers demonstrated a positive attitude towards ID. Further, those who worked with RIs believed that it had changed their practice.
3. The ratio of officers who have not worked with RIs to those who have is heavily skewed.

Based on these results, the following practice recommendations can be made:

1. A strategy to increase awareness about RIs needs to be in place. In the current sample, more than 50% of the participants had not heard of RIs. During training, the role of RIs should be promoted among officers. Further, the benefits of using an RI such as their influence in changing practice should be emphasised upon.
2. Officers should receive ID-specific training to educate them about the range of IDs that they may encounter as part of their job. This training should also aim to overcome sensibility and tenderness and instil respect towards people with ID by demonstrating their capabilities.
3. More relevant and easily accessible materials pertaining to ID, especially severe IDs, should be developed for the use of the officers. The idea is to sensitise officers and make them comfortable around such individuals. The

materials could comprise of evidence-based videos that illustrate their needs, the ways officers could adapt their practice while working with them, and the sources of help available to officers such as RIs, when needed.

4. There should be more effort made to increase contact between the police and individuals with ID. An opportunity to have positive interactions with each other could help in reducing officers' negative attitudes and increase people with IDs' confidence in the CJS.

The lack of training and tailored knowledge about ID can have severe implications on their attitudes and performance as police officers. With an increasing emphasis on hate crimes, attempts have been made to educate officers about the needs of people ID and encourage positive attitudes (Bailey et al., 2001; Scior & Werner, 2015). Between November 2017 and March 2018, the College of Policing will trial a one-day vulnerability-training package for all frontline officers to help them identify signs of vulnerability (College of Policing, 2017a). However, it is not clear whether this training is mandatory or voluntary. Additionally, their website has resources on working with vulnerable people. Yet, the latest report by Justice (2017), on mental health and fair trial, states that such resources are not widely circulated and not all officers are aware of their existence. Further, majority of them fail to mention the important role of RIs, in not only assisting vulnerable witnesses but also the police.

The results of this study emphasise that while officers do tend to show positive attitudes, there is still much to be done to promote inclusivity, engagement, and sensitivity towards people with ID, irrespective of the severity. All ranks of officers must undergo training that is specifically aimed at learning about ID. These programmes must also include information about RIs, so that they are used when necessary. The results of this study will be disseminated to the police forces that took part, so that they are aware of the gap in knowledge among their officers and can take steps to implement change.

Each of the three studies explored the experiences, opinions, and attitudes of the RIs and police towards each other and adult witnesses with ID. The next chapter will integrate these findings and discuss them in light of the thesis aims.

Chapter 8

General Discussion

This chapter integrates the findings from the three studies and discusses them against each of the overall aims of the thesis presented in Chapter 3. This is followed by a summary of the contributions of the research to knowledge and practice.

Aim 1: From a Practitioner Perspective, How Effective is the WIS in Helping Vulnerable Witnesses Achieve Best Evidence?

Prior to the introduction of the WIS, the responsibility to identify vulnerability and appropriately interview such witnesses wholly lay with the police. This practice was often criticised as there was a growing realisation that the manifestation of vulnerability is different for each individual and thereby, the support needs to be personalised (Crane et al., 2015). The introduction of RIs as part of the Special Measures (YJCE 1999), seems to have enabled a two-way communication between the vulnerable witnesses and the practitioners of the CJS. There are several aspects to the role of the RI, which include assessing witnesses, planning the police interview, pre-trial familiarisation visit with the witness, GRHs to assess suitability of cross-examination questions, and being present with the witness during the trial (Ministry of Justice, 2015). Research has well documented the lack of skill, understanding, and adaptability by the police (Herrington & Roberts, 2012) and court officials (Kebbell et al., 2004) while working with vulnerable witnesses. Therefore, each of the RI's functions serves a specific purpose, and they are invaluable not only to the witnesses, but also to the practitioners of the CJS.

RIs are experts in the field of speech and communication. Study 1 documented their role in giving the witnesses an opportunity to be heard, irrespective of their level of vulnerability. The police in Study 2 acknowledged that there were several cases where they could not have managed without the presence of an RI. They share responsibility of the interviews by focussing on the witness' needs and this has enabled the police to direct their attention to the investigation process. They felt that the contribution of RIs in court was invaluable as they protected the witnesses against the harsh nature of cross-examination, something that the RIs were also self-admittedly proud of. The majority of officers who worked with RIs in Study 3 believed that working with an RI had changed their practice.

In Studies 1 and 2, many participants spoke about the unimaginable level of collaboration and flexibility demonstrated by the CJS in the last 10 years, to incorporate RIs into the system. According to Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2015), RIs have played an important role in helping adults and children, especially those with hidden communication problems, as the police would have never even interviewed them. The RI model used in England and Wales has now influenced other countries such as Australia, Ireland, and Northern Ireland, where pilot programmes are underway (Cooper, 2017b; Hepner et al., 2014).

Even though RIs are being gradually accepted and their inputs are being welcomed (Study 1), there are still a large proportion of officers who have neither worked with them nor heard of them. Study 3 clearly demonstrated this as the majority of officers from the sample fell in the above two categories. This shows that there is still work needed in publicising the WIS even after nine years. When asked about this, participants in Study 2 spoke at length about the various issues relating to the use of RIs such as lack of clarity about their role and long waiting times for an RI. Some of them also felt that RIs were not always needed due to their own expertise and that the suggestions made by RIs were obvious. The RIs, themselves, stated that the issue of lack of awareness has led to problems such

as poor communication and feeling left out by the police (Study 1). The majority of officers in Crane et al.'s (2016) survey had little or no knowledge of the WIS. Such issues could hamper the working of the WIS because the use of RIs is likely only if the investigating officer has knowledge of them. This, in turn, is disadvantageous for vulnerable witnesses as they would not be able to benefit from this provision.

RIs expressed similar problems with judges and lawyers (Study 1). Some of them faced inflexible attitudes, which led to the RIs having an unpleasant and stressful court experience. Maras et al. (2017) found that while 90% of lawyers and judges knew about the WIS, less than half were comfortable in working with one. Henderson (2015) and Cooper and Wurtzel (2013) noted that barristers could be reluctant in following the RI's recommendations. Research has often shown that the language used during cross-examination is confusing and difficult to follow for witnesses with ID (Kebbell & Johnson, 2000). With the development of evidence-based toolkits, it is hoped that they will help in educating lawyers and judges about good practice, especially for vulnerable people (The Advocate's Gateway, 2017). However, these toolkits cannot act as a replacement for RIs as these professionals do not have the expertise required to adapt their practice to the witness's needs.

For the WIS to run smoothly, it is vital that the flagbearers of the scheme, the RIs, feel supported and included as part of the CJS. Study 1 discussed their feelings of loneliness and the need for better emotional and professional support. Unarguably, if employees feel dissatisfied at the workplace, it may compromise with their performance and participation (Ozcelik & Barsade, 2011). RIs often work with distressed witnesses and face extremely delicate situations (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015). Thus, it is important that supervision be mandated to help them cope against the stress and for their mental well-being. This may also ensure that RIs continue to remain active on the register, especially with there being a regular drop in their numbers (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015).

With the referrals for RIs on the rise (Chan, 2011), it may be indicative of the role of the WIS in helping witnesses as also of the police in recognising their importance (Study 2). Professional bodies such as Intermediaries for Justice (Intermediaries for Justice, 2018) are also working towards increasing awareness about RIs and improving professional links between RIs and the practitioners of the CJS. While the scheme still faces several challenges, it has demonstrated that a collaboration among the practitioners of the CJS and the RIs can be extremely influential in ensuring that vulnerable witnesses have equal access to justice.

Aim 2: What is the Relationship between the Police and RIs While Working Together?

As evidenced in Studies 1 and 2, the relationship between the police and RIs could be called complementary, yet contradictory. Officers in Study 2 stated that the RI's help during the interview was immense. They illustrated this with several examples from practice, which documented the RIs' innovative use of props and other communication techniques to elicit evidence. Fifty-eight percent officers in Study 3 believed that working with an RI had changed their practice and some of them appreciated the RIs' expertise in helping them communicate with the witnesses. Thus, this exchange of knowledge could help in enhancing their relationship and promote trust and respect (Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007). Further, it accentuates the role of RIs in reducing stereotypes and promoting positive interactions with people with ID.

Interestingly, officers spoke positively about the nature of support and that they experienced security and comfort in the presence of an RI (Study 2). A couple of newly recruited RIs in Study 1 said that they have never had a negative experience with the police, which again indicates a gradual increase in awareness, acceptance, and respect for their work. Participants in both studies agreed that they have developed a good working relationship with each other. As they get

familiar, officers often request to work with the same RI, if appropriate, as they are comfortable with their working style (Study 1 and Study 2). Working as a team has a positive impact on job performance, effectiveness, efficiency, communication, and quality of work (Warrick, 2016). Ultimately, this will play a role in ensuring that the witnesses have a positive experience whilst giving evidence and increase their trust in the CJS.

Yet, there are several concerns that seem to fuel negative attitudes towards RIs. RIs (Study 1) felt that officers thought of them as a mere requirement and did not understand their necessity. Consequently, this led to a failure on their part to communicate necessary information to the RIs. This issue was clarified in Study 2, as officers did not seem to be convinced about the need for an RI in all cases. They stated that they felt confident and skilled to manage certain types of cases, particularly those involving high-functioning adults, as they were experienced and trained. While studies have shown that officers tend to over-estimate their level of knowledge and confidence regarding individuals with ID (Chown, 2010; Crane et al., 2016), the resistance against accepting RIs could stem from other underlying issues such as the delays in procuring an RI and lack of role clarity (Study 2).

Officers did not always feel satisfied with the suggestions made by the RI, especially since they were all ABE trained. It would seem that the officers are expecting the RI to provide new and novel recommendations and are disappointed when they hear something they already knew or would have done themselves. Such an expectation bias (Williams et al., 2012) could further cause reluctance to work with RIs. Perhaps, this could be attributed to lack of clarity about their role.

Another barrier that hampers the police-RI relationship is delays caused in the investigation by waiting for an RI (Study 2). Police face high levels of stress while doing their job (see Waters & Ussery, 2007 for a review). That coupled with the increasing hate crimes, terrorism threats (Travis, 2017), and budget cuts

(Pidd, 2017) further add to their burden. Participants noted that they did not necessarily have the time to wait for an RI as it had a domino effect on several aspects of the case such as speed of investigation, witness memory, and co-ordinating with other professionals. Thus, they felt that it would be more efficient if they called an RI only when it was essential, and not for all cases. Of course, leaving such a decision to the discretion of officers may be inappropriate and unsuitable, as ID training provided to them has often been criticised for being inaccurate (Hepworth, 2017). Some officers recognised this as a problem and suggested a phone advice service where they could call an RI to receive guidance.

As mentioned earlier, the relationship between the police and RI is complementary and contradictory. The police seem to benefit from the expertise of RIs and think of them as a safety net. Yet, they are not always satisfied with their way of working and are confident of their own skill set. RIs, on the other hand, sensed a feeling of reluctance to engage with them, mainly due to poor communication but felt that things were gradually improving. It is hoped that as more officers work with RIs, they are able to develop mutual respect and trust, which in turn will benefit the vulnerable witnesses.

Aim 3: How Are Witnesses with ID Treated by the Police and RIs?

Study 3 found that police officers have a more negative attitude towards individuals with severe ID. A possible reason could be the lack of ID-specific training for the police. None of the officers in Study 2 had received training related to ID and its manifestations. Some of them stated that as part of the ABE training, they visited a centre for learning disability and received minimal input about the nature of ID itself. Sharp (2001) pointed out that the disability awareness training provided to police forces focusses largely on mental health and ignores ID. For example, Hepworth (2017) found that newly recruited officers in England and Wales received a two-hour online session on mental health, which

included a section on ASD. She was alarmed at the categorisation of ASD under the umbrella of mental health and felt that it would cause confusion among the officers. Further, it seems that even the information that is being disseminated is restricted to ASD, and the issue of educating officers about the range of IDs is unaddressed. For instance, the guide developed by The National Autistic Society (2017) for police officers only provides information related to ASD and ignores the other types of IDs that they may come across.

Given that officers do not receive ID-related training, the pertinent question would be, from where do they get information about ID? In Study 2, participants felt confident in interviewing witnesses with ID, with no prior ID training. Many of them attributed this to experience, being ABE trained, and as discussed in Chapter 6, their tacit knowledge. While the importance of these factors cannot be undermined, it is equally essential to have knowledge about ID to help them with identification, and understanding such individuals' needs, abilities, and capacities (Jones, 2003). According to Crane et al. (2015), specific training for different levels of police officers was to be trialled in 2016. However, it is not known whether this training focusses only on ASD or whether it will include the range of IDs.

The introduction of Special Measures, particularly RIs, to assist witnesses has been extremely valuable (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015). However, with the shortage in the number of RIs, coupled with long waiting times (Study 2), may lead to witnesses not always benefitting from the support of an RI (''Vulnerable witnesses denied,'' 2018). Additionally, as seen across the three studies, the awareness about RIs is less than satisfactory. If officers do not know about these provisions, they will not consider their use when required. This, of course, could prove to be disadvantageous for the witnesses as they may not be able to make use of RIs early in the evidence giving process. Few officers in Study 2 had received minimal input about RIs during their ABE training, while the rest relied upon word-of-mouth or information from seniors. The majority of participants in

Study 3 had not heard of RIs. The difficulty in acquiring officers who had worked with RIs as participants for Studies 2 and 3 further illustrates the problem. There has been an increase in online resources about working with vulnerable witnesses and defendants (College of Policing, 2017a, 2017b). However, most of them either do not mention RIs (Justice, 2017) or have limited information about their role, with no guidance on the procedures in procuring one.

While working with RIs had no effect on attitude towards ID, the majority of officers tended to show a positive attitude (Study 3). This seems to be an indication of improvement from earlier studies. As there have been few recent studies on attitudes and efficacy of disability training programmes, it could be an avenue for future research. The individual success stories that the RIs and police mentioned in Studies 1 and 2 where witnesses were supported to achieve best evidence illustrated the invaluable contribution of the RIs. The majority of officers in Study 3 believed that working with an RI had changed their practice for the better. The WIS has established that the right to justice should not be a privilege for some and ''rest on the luck of the draw'' (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2015, p.304), but should be available to all.

Practitioners in the police and court are becoming increasingly aware that the system has to adapt to the needs of vulnerable people. Cooper (2017b) presented a report on the statements of judges in different cases, which stressed on the importance of using suitable language and vocabulary and following the RI's recommendations while cross-examining vulnerable witnesses. The flexibility demonstrated by the CJS and the degree of collaboration among the various professionals have been instrumental in the smooth running of the WIS and it needs to continually increase. This, undoubtedly, plays an important role in ensuring that witnesses with ID have a voice and an opportunity to access justice.

Triangulation of findings

The answers derived from a mixed methods research are based on the integration of different methodologies to provide a complete picture of the research questions (Lieber & Weisner, 2010). In Study 1, some RIs spoke about the variability in their practice and were apprehensive about it negatively influencing police or court officials' attitudes towards them. The RIs' concerns were substantiated, when officers in Study 2 perceived that, in some situations, RIs were not very effective in the way they handled the witness interviews. Further, some participants in Study 2 argued that RIs were only needed for extremely vulnerable witnesses. This thought process could be attributed to varied reasons such as officers' recognizing their own lack of skill and the RI's expertise in facilitating communication with these witnesses (Study 2) or the presence of a more negative attitude towards severe ID (Study 3).

The need for more awareness and training about RIs was reflected in each of the studies. In Studies 1 and 2, the participants expressed their concerns about the lack of role clarity, while in Study 3, more than half the participants had not even heard of RIs.

On a positive note, officers in Study 2 provided several examples of the contribution of RIs in helping the witnesses and themselves. These thoughts were not specific to Study 2 alone and were echoed in Study 3 as well. Participants, who had worked with RIs, believed that RIs had changed their practice by demonstrating better ways of communicating with the witnesses and increasing awareness of their needs. Similarly, the RIs also spoke about their gradual acceptance and the positive feedback that they received from the officials (Study 1). Both, RIs and officers, spoke of an increasing sense of teamwork and mutual respect, with officers often requesting to work with the same RIs, when suitable (Studies 1 and 2).

As discussed in this chapter, each of the studies has played an important role in answering the three aims of the research. With respect to aim 1, as a

whole, the findings suggest that while the WIS has been positive in helping vulnerable witnesses achieve best evidence, there are areas that need improvement, particularly in terms of the process and understanding of the RI role. In relation to aim 2, the studies demonstrated that the relationship between the police and RIs has certain aspects that are characterised by an exchange of knowledge and a sense of comfort. Yet, there are underlying concerns that act as barriers to developing a more professional and effective team. Finally, in undertaking aim 3, the results acknowledged the increasing awareness about IDs, but highlighted the negative impact of the lack of ID-specific training for the police on their attitudes towards severe ID. Inarguably, these empirical findings suggest opportunities for improvements in order to ensure that witnesses with ID have an enhanced evidence-giving experience, a better chance at achieving best evidence, and the opportunity to have fair trials.

Thus, the three studies have built on each other by not only producing new narratives but also providing answers to them. The interplay of the findings have helped in answering the overall aims of the thesis and filling in the gaps in existing literature. They have also lent themselves to providing recommendations that are empirical in nature and have implications for practice, based on the participants' experiences and attitudes.

Contributions to Knowledge and Practice

The findings from this thesis lend themselves to avenues for further research. The following are the ideas for future research that will contribute to knowledge and practice:

1. An examination of the attitudes of legal professionals towards individuals with ID.

2. Administration of the ATTID on a larger sample of police officers, especially those who have worked with RIs.

3. A review of the standard and efficacy of the disability training programs currently provided to the police, particularly those related to ID.

4. Exploring the experiences of witnesses who have used RIs during the evidence giving process.

5. An understanding of what the RIs require from supervision and initiating suitable steps in that direction.

The three studies looked at different aspects of the experience of the RIs and police officers of working with adult witnesses with ID. This research makes six key recommendations to improve practice for RIs and police, improve the running of the WIS, and to facilitate justice for vulnerable witnesses:

1. Recruit more RIs by targeting appropriately skilled professional groups. Increasing the numbers of RIs will help in reducing waiting times, which was a major grouse for participants, and make them easily available. While there seems to have been a recent round of recruitment, the official figures are not known.

2. Training police officers to educate them on the wide range of IDs. This would help officers become familiar with their prevalence, techniques for identification, how they could adapt to suit that individual's needs, and the role of RIs in facilitating communication.

3. Relevant and easily accessible information about RIs. During the ABE training, officers should receive evidence-based information about the role of RIs such as direct RI input, videos of cases where they helped and so on. This would also help with role clarity. Officers who have worked with RIs could emphasise on their positive effects on practice, and feelings of security and comfort during the interview.

4. It is important that officers, at various ranks, receive tailored information about RIs based on their role. This would ensure that officers at each level know not only about RIs but also about the follow-up steps. This

could prevent cases of vulnerability, which are suitable for RI involvement, from falling through the gap or going unnoticed.

5. Implementation of formal peer mentoring and support structure for RIs. Though this research recognises the need for supervision, it also acknowledges that it may be a burden on RIs to expect them to supervise or mentor new recruits. The MOJ and the proponents of the WIS must take steps to address this such that RIs are adequately supported.

6. More awareness and information about RIs should be disseminated to the public, victim-related charities, those who work with the vulnerable such as social workers, and relevant professionals outside the CJS, via use of the media. This could help in more people knowing about them and the ways in which they could assist vulnerable witnesses.

By using a mixed methods design, this research has integrated the findings of two qualitative elements and one quantitative element to inform policy and practice. According to Torney-Purta (2009), such research is more appealing to a non-academic audience as it goes beyond an abstract statistical procedure and provides evidence for the need of action in a relevant context. Tashakkori et al. (2013) stated that one could assess the value of the findings and recommendations of a mixed methods research by understanding the credibility of the findings and their use in policy and practice. Each of the chapters have clearly indicated the contributions of the studies to knowledge and practice. These findings will be disseminated to research publications, the College of Policing, the police forces that participated in the studies, and at RI conferences. Further, the ideas generated are the result of an interactive relationship between the methods used in the research and my own role and reflection as a researcher.

This research is the first piece of work, since the inception of the WIS, which has explored the experiences of RIs and police officers and examined attitudes of police towards ID. It has provided a closer understanding of their opinions, emotions, challenges, and attitudes. The findings from the studies are empirically

driven. They have documented the current trends in the CJS with respect to vulnerable witnesses and have established key implications for change in the WIS and police. By focussing on witnesses with ID, the recommendations are tailored and relevant to this particular group. This thesis, thus, makes an original contribution to knowledge and endeavours to improve police and RI practice, which will, ultimately, enhance witness experience and facilitate fair trials.

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Appendix 1

Interview questions for Study 1 and Study 2

Interview pattern for Study 1

Research question: What are the experiences of RIs while working with the justice system?

Warm up questions:

1. Demographic questions- May I know your name please?

2. Could you tell me more about yourself and how you became a RI?

For how long have you been working as a RI and how many cases have you worked on? (Clarification probe)

Main questions:

3. Please state in detail your role as a RI. What are your various duties? (Experience)

4. What do you think are your areas of expertise that enable you to perform the job effectively? (Experience)

5. What are the barriers that you encounter that prevent effective performance? (Experience)

6. Could you tell me about your experiences of working with adult ID witnesses? (Opinion)

7. What has your experience been of working with the police and other officials? (Opinion)

  Is there anything that can be done to improve the relationship? (Elaboration probe)

8. Have you received any feedback from anyone whilst working on a case? (Feeling)

  Could please elaborate on that? (Elaboration probe)

9. What is the standard of training provided to you? (Opinion)

10. What do you think is expected from a RI? (Opinion, Feeling)

11. What improvements, if any, would like in this system? (Opinion)

Cool down questions:

12. What is the most positive aspect of working as a RI? (Feeling)

13. Do you have any questions?

Additional prompts:

Could you tell me more about…?, What is your opinion about…?

Interview pattern for Study 2

Research question: What are the experiences of police officers of working with RIs and adult witnesses with ID and CD?

Warm up questions:

1. Demographic questions- May I know your name, age, and ethnic origin please?

2. Could you tell me more about yourself? - Years as a police officer, rank

In how many cases have you worked with adult ID/CD witnesses? In how many cases have you worked with a RI? (Clarification probe)

Main questions:

3. Please state in detail your role

4. Could you tell me more about your experiences of working with adult ID/CD witnesses?

5. When working with a RI, what are the procedures that you follow?

6. Could you tell me more about your experience of working with RIs?

7. Could you give me an example of a case where the process with a RI went well or where it did not go well?

How did the negative case affect your working with RIs?

8.   What is your opinion of their role?

9.   Is there anything that can be done to improve this relationship?

10.   What training do you receive on ID/CDs and/or RIs? If not, how did you find out about them?

11.   Is the process of calling an Appropriate adult prevalent?

12.   How has working with a RI affected your way of dealing with adult ID/CD witnesses?

13.   Do you think police mind set has shifted with respect to vulnerable witnesses?

14.   What improvements, if any, would you like in this scheme?

Cool down questions:

15.   Have there been any problems while working with a RI?

16.   What are the positive aspects of working with a RI?

17.   Do you have any questions?

Appendix 2

MMU Ethical Approval

MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF HEALTH, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL CARE

M E M O R A N D U M

FACULTY ACADEMIC ETHICS COMMITTEE

To: Amuda Agneswaran

From: Prof Carol Haigh

Date: 26/06/2015

Subject: Ethics Application 1290

Title: Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered
         Intermediaries and Police Officers

Thank you for your application for ethical approval.

The Faculty Academic Ethics Committee review process has recommended approval of your
ethics application. This approval is granted for 42 months for full-time students or staff and
60 months for part-time students. Extensions to the approval period can be requested.

If your research changes you might need to seek ethical approval for the amendments.
Please request an amendment form.

We wish you every success with your project.

Prof Carol Haigh and Prof Jois Stansfield
Chair and Deputy Chair
Faculty Academic Ethics Committee

Appendix 3

Participant information sheet- Study 1

Study Title

Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study is a part of the research being undertaken for completion of the MPhil/PhD programme at the Manchester Metropolitan University. The current study explores the attitudes and experiences of Registered Intermediaries (RI) of working with the police and adult witnesses with intellectual disability (ID).

Why have I been invited?

You have been chosen to participate as you are a Registered Intermediary.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this study is voluntary. The information sheet provides details of the study. You will sign a consent form to show that you agree to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview has been conducted, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in this study, you will be interviewed, individually, to explore your experiences of working as a Registered Intermediary in the justice system. The interview will be voice recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The interview will last around 45-60 minutes.

All data will be anonymous and stored securely by the researcher.

Expenses and payments?

There is no payment involved for participating in this research.

What will I have to do?

On a mutually agreed day and time, you will be individually interviewed by the researcher. The interviews are semi-structured and open-ended questions will be asked.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no known risks or disadvantages of taking part. If you are uncomfortable at any point, you can inform the researcher and decline to answer. You are also free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview has been conducted, without giving a reason.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The researcher cannot promise the study will help you but the information obtained from the study will help to increase the understanding of the working and applicability of the Special Measures available to adult vulnerable witnesses.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you can contact the researcher directly:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mm.u.ac.uk

Alternatively, you can contact the researcher's supervisor:

Name: Dr. Hannah Fawcett

Email: h.fawcett@mmu.ac.uk

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Data will be protected as stated in the Data Protection Act, 1998. All data will be collected via interviews. Interviews will be voice recorded. The interviews will be transferred and stored on a password protected computer and account, known only to the researcher.

The data will remain anonymous and participants will be identified with a number, known only to the researcher. Only the researcher and her supervisors, if necessary, will access the data. It will be used only for the purpose of this study. The interviews will be stored for a period of 5 years by the researcher.

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

If you withdraw from the study, all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed and your name will be removed from all the study files. You are free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview has been conducted, by emailing the researcher.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be published in the thesis of the researcher. They will also be published in external academic or professional conferences and publications. You will not be identified in any report or publication.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

The research is being undertaken for the completion of MPhil/PhD programme at the Manchester Metropolitan University.

Further information and contact details:

The researcher's details are:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Appendix 4

Participant information sheet- Study 2

Study Title

Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study is a part of the research being undertaken for completion of the MPhil/PhD programme at the Manchester Metropolitan University. The current study explores the experiences of police officers of working with Registered Intermediaries (RI) and adult witnesses with intellectual disability (ID).

Why have I been invited?

You have been chosen to participate you are a police officer.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this study is voluntary. The information sheet provides details of the study. You will sign a consent form to show that you agree to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview has been conducted, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in this study, you will be interviewed, individually, to explore your experiences of working with RIs and adult ID witnesses. The interview will be voice recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The interview will last around 45-60 minutes. All data will be anonymous and stored securely by the researcher.

Expenses and payments?

There is no payment involved for participating in this research.

What will I have to do?

On a mutually agreed day and time, you will be individually interviewed by the researcher. The interviews are semi-structured and open-ended questions will be asked.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no known risks or disadvantages of taking part. If you are uncomfortable at any point, you can inform the researcher and decline to answer. You are also free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview has been conducted, without giving a reason.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The researcher cannot promise the study will help you but the information obtained from the study will help to increase the understanding of the working and applicability of the Special Measures available to adult vulnerable witnesses.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you can contact the researcher directly:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Alternatively, you can contact the researcher's supervisor:

Name: Prof. Rebecca Lawthom

Email: R.Lawthom@mmu.ac.uk

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Data will be protected as stated in the Data Protection Act, 1998. All data will be collected via interviews. Interviews will be voice recorded. The interviews will be transferred and stored on a password protected computer and account, known only to the researcher.

The data will remain anonymous and participants will be identified with a number, known only to the researcher. Only the researcher and her supervisors, if necessary, will access the data. It will be used only for the purpose of this study. The interviews and questionnaires will be stored for a period of 5 years by the researcher.

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

If you withdraw from the study, all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed and your name will be removed from all the study files. You are free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview has been conducted, by emailing the researcher.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be published in the thesis of the researcher. They will also be published in external academic or professional conferences and publications. You will not be identified in any report or publication.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

The research is being undertaken for the completion of MPhil/PhD programme at the Manchester Metropolitan University.

Further information and contact details:

The researcher's details are:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

To know more about Registered Intermediaries, visit: http://www.theadvocatesgateway.org/intermediaries

Appendix 5

Participant information sheet- Study 3

Study Title

Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study is a part of the research being undertaken for completion of the PhD programme at the Manchester Metropolitan University. The current study explores the attitude of police officers toward intellectual disability (ID).

Why have I been invited?

You have been chosen to participate as you are a police officer.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this study is voluntary. The information sheet provides details of the study. You will sign a consent form to show that you agree to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the questionnaires have been completed, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in this study, you will be asked to complete the Attitude toward Intellectual Disability questionnaire (ATTID). It will take around 20-25 minutes to complete.

All data will be anonymous and stored securely by the researcher.

Expenses and payments?

There is no payment involved for participating in this research.

What will I have to do?

You will have to complete the ATTID questionnaire, which will be distributed at your workplace, posted or sent via email by the researcher.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no known risks or disadvantages of taking part. If you are uncomfortable at any point, you can inform the researcher. You are also free to

withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the questionnaire has been completed, without giving a reason.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The researcher cannot promise the study will help you but the information obtained from the study will help to increase the understanding of the working and applicability of the Special Measures available to adult vulnerable witnesses.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you can contact the researcher directly:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Alternatively, you can contact the researcher's supervisor:

Name: Dr. Hannah Fawcett

Email: h.fawcett@mmu.ac.uk

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Data will be protected as stated in the Data Protection Act, 1998. All data will be collected via questionnaires. The questionnaires will be stored securely, in a locked cabinet, accessed only by the researcher.

The data will remain anonymous and participants will be identified with a number, known only to the researcher. Only the researcher and her supervisors, if necessary, will access the data. It will be used only for the purpose of this study. The questionnaires will be stored for a period of 5 years by the researcher.

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

If you withdraw from the study, all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed and your name will be removed from all the study files. You are

free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the questionnaires have been completed, by emailing the researcher.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be published in the thesis of the researcher. They will also be published in external academic or professional conferences and publications. You will not be identified in any report or publication.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

The research is being undertaken for the completion of PhD programme at the Manchester Metropolitan University.

Further information and contact details:

The researcher's details are:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

To know more about Registered Intermediaries, visit: http://www.cps.gov.uk/Publications/docs/RI_ProceduralGuidanceManual_2012 .pdf

Appendix 6

Consent form- Study 1

Title of Project: Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers

Name of Researcher: Amuda Agneswaran

You have been chosen to participate, as you are a Registered Intermediary.

Participant Identification Code:

Please tick the box

1.   I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the interview procedure.

2.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview without giving any reason to the named researcher.

3.   I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and used for analysis for this research project.

4.   I understand that excerpts of my interview will be used in written reports associated with the project

5.   I give permission for my interview recording to be archived as part of this research project, making it available to future researchers.

6.   I understand that my responses will remain anonymous.

7.   I agree to take part in the above research project.

8.   I understand that at my request a transcript of my interview can be made

available to me.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Researcher   Date   Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Title of Project: Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers

Name of Researcher: Amuda Agneswaran

You have been chosen to participate, as you are a Police Officer.

Participant Identification Code:

Please tick the box

1.   I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and have had the

opportunity to ask questions about the interview procedure.

2.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the interview without giving any reason to the named researcher.

3.   I understand that my responses will be sound recorded and used for analysis for this research project.

4.   I understand that excerpts of my interview will be used in written reports associated with the project

5.   I give permission for my interview recording to be archived as part of this research project, making it available to future researchers.

6.   I understand that my responses will remain anonymous.

7.   I agree to take part in the above research project.

8.   I understand that at my request a transcript of my interview can be made

available to me.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Researcher   Date   Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Appendix 8

Consent form- Study 3

Title of Project: Working with adult vulnerable witnesses: Experiences of Registered Intermediaries and Police Officers

Name of Researcher: Amuda Agneswaran

You have been chosen to participate, as you are a Police Officer.

Please tick the box

1.   I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project. ☐

2.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study and upto 3 weeks after the filling the questionnaires without giving any reason to the named researcher. ☐

3.   I understand that my responses will remain anonymous. ☐

4.   I agree to take part in the above research project. ☐

Appendix 9

Debrief sheet- Study 1

Thank you for taking part in my research. The data you contributed will help me complete my PhD, which explores the attitudes and experiences of Registered Intermediaries (RI) of working with the police and adult witnesses with intellectual disability (ID).

As this scheme has been in operation since 2007, there is little knowledge on the operations of the RI system. The current research will provide a perspective of RIs and those who work alongside them to understand the efficacy of the system. Results obtained will also help provide suggestions for improvements for smooth working of the system.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact me:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

I hope that you enjoyed your participation in my study. However, if, as a result of participating in this study, you feel that you need counselling or support please find contact details below:

Samaritans

Telephone: (0161) 236 8000

Email**:** jo@samaritans.org

Your data will be kept securely and anonymised. If you wish to withdraw your data you can do so at any point up to 3 weeks, after which I will have commenced my data analysis.

Appendix 10

Debrief sheet- Study 2

Thank you for taking part in my research. The data you contributed will help me complete my PhD, which explores the attitudes and experiences of police officers of working with the Registered Intermediaries (RI) and adult witnesses with intellectual disability (ID).

As this scheme has been in operation since 2007, there is little knowledge on the operations of the RI system. The current research will provide a perspective of the police to understand the efficacy of the system. Results obtained will also help provide suggestions for improvements for smooth working of the system.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact me:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

I hope that you enjoyed your participation in my study. However, if, as a result of participating in this study, you feel that you need counselling or support please find contact details below:

Samaritans

Telephone: (0161) 236 8000

Email**:** jo@samaritans.org

Your data will be kept securely and anonymised. If you wish to withdraw your data you can do so at any point up to 3 weeks, after which I will have commenced my data analysis.

Appendix 11

Debrief sheet- Study 3

Thank you for taking part in my research. The data you contributed will help me complete my PhD, which explores the attitudes of police officers towards intellectual disability (ID) and Registered Intermediaries (RI).

As this scheme has been in operation since 2007, there is little knowledge on the operations of the RI system. The current research will provide a perspective of RIs and the police to understand the efficacy of the system. Results obtained will also help provide suggestions for improvements for smooth working of the system.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact me:

Name: Amuda Agneswaran

Email: 14060419@stu.mmu.ac.uk

I hope that you enjoyed your participation in my study. However, if, as a result of participating in this study, you feel that you need counselling or support please find contact details below:

Samaritans

Telephone: (0161) 236 8000

Email**:** jo@samaritans.org

Your data will be kept securely and anonymised. If you wish to withdraw your data you can do so at any point up to 3 weeks, after which I will have commenced my data analysis.

Appendix 12

Attitudes toward Intellectual Disability (ATTID) questionnaire- Morin, Crocker, et al. (2013)

Start of Block: Default Question Block

Page Break

Demographic Information

Are you:

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

In what age group are you?

○ 18-29 (1)

○ 30-39 (2)

○ 40-49 (3)

○ 50-59 (4)

○ 60 or above (5)

What is your first language?

_____

What is your ethnic origin?

○ White- British/Scottish/Welsh (1)

○ White-Irish (2)

○ Asian/Asian British- Indian (3)

○ Asian/Asian British- Pakistani (4)

○ Asian/Asian British- Bangladeshi (8)

○ Black/Black British- African (5)

○ Black/Black British- Caribbean (6)

○ Other (7) _____

What is your marital status?

○ Married/Living together (1)

○ Same-sex civil partnership (6)

○ Widowed (2)

○ Divorced (3)

○ Separated (4)

○ Single (5)

What is your highest level of education completed?

_____

What is your current rank as a police officer?

○ Uniformed officer (8)

○ Constable/Detective (1)

○ Sergeant (2)

○ Inspector (3)

○ Chief Inspector (4)

○ Superintendent (5)

○ Chief Superintendent (6)

○ Other (7) _____

Page Break

Q43 **Registered Intermediaries are professionals with expertise in areas like speech therapy, psychology who work to facilitate communication between vulnerable witnesses and the police and the Court. They also participate in court-familiarisation visits, assist with communication when the witness is at trial, and advise the Court on preferable questioning styles for the witness. They work with prosecution, prosecution witnesses, and defence witnesses only. They are separate from Appropriate Adults.**

Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Skip To: QID38 If Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case? = No

 How many Registered Intermediaries have you worked with? In how many cases? (In numbers)

_____

Skip To: QID39 If How many Registered Intermediaries have you worked with? In how many cases? (In numbers) Is Displayed

 Have you heard about Registered Intermediaries?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Skip To: QID26 If Have you heard about Registered Intermediaries? = No

 How did you find out about them?

_____

Page Break

Before you start to answer the questions, it is important to mention that people with an intellectual disability experience limitations in daily living and often have a slower rate of development.

In order to streamline the survey, we'll use the abbreviation 'ID' instead of intellectual disability.   Please use the scale below for the following questions. For each of them, select the option that best represents your answer. There is no right or wrong answer.

Totally agree	**1**
Agree	**2**
Neither agree nor disagree	**3**
Disagree	**4**
Totally disagree	**5**
Not applicable or don't know	**9**

1A In your opinion, intellectual disability may be caused by:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
Malnutrition in the mother (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Serious head injury in a child (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Lack of stimulation during childhood (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Chemicals in the	○	○	○	○	○	○

environment (4)						
Consumption of drugs or alcohol by the mother during pregnancy (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Problems during birth (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○

1B Do you believe that:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
ID is more common in underprivileged settings (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○

1C In your opinion, the MAJORITY of people with an intellectual disability are able:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
To hold down a job (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○

	1	2	3	4	5	6
To use public transport on their own (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To handle money (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To carry on a conversation (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To report their physical problems (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To play sports (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To walk about town unaccompanied (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To read short sentences (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To learn (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○
To make decisions (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○

1D In your opinion, people with ID:

1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)

	○	○	○	○	○	○
Should give their consent to receive medical care (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Who work should be paid the same wage as other employees even if they are less productive (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Have just as much right as people who do not have ID to make decisions about their life (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Should have the right to get married (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Should have the right to drink alcohol (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Should have the right to have sex (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Should have the right to vote (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Should have the right to have children (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Should have the same rights as	○	○	○	○	○	○

everyone

else (9)

1E In your opinion, the MAJORITY:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
of children with ID should have the opportunity of attending a regular primary school (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
of adolescents with ID should have the opportunity of attending a regular secondary school (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

of people with ID should have the opportunity of working in an ordinary workplace (3)

○　　　○　　　○　　　○　　　○　　　○

of people with ID should participate in community leisure activities such as a football team, the scouts etc. (4)

○　　　○　　　○　　　○　　　○　　　○

Page Break

For the next few questions, it is important to carefully read both descriptions.
After each description, there will be questions about what you read.

Please use the scale below for the following questions. For each of them,
select the option that best represents your answer. There is no right or wrong
answer.

Totally agree	**1**
Agree	**2**
Neither agree nor disagree	**3**
Disagree	**4**
Totally disagree	**5**
Not applicable or don't know	**9**

Description 1 **Dominic is an adult with ID. Dominic is able to take care of his**
own health and personal needs (showering, hair, dressing, etc.), but sometimes
needs reminding. Dominic is able to carry on a conversation, but has difficulty
discussing things that are abstract or complex. Dominic knows how to use the
telephone and can write.

2A If you met Dominic on the street and Dominic tried to talk to you, do you think
you   would:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
feel afraid? (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel pity? (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel sad? (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

feel embarrassed? (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
experience anxiety? (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel insecure? (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
be wary? (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel touched/moved? (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel comfortable talking to him? (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○

2B In your opinion:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
Would you move away if Dominic was next to you on a bus? (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If Dominic asked you a question on the bus, would	○	○	○	○	○	○

you answer him? (2)

Would you agree to work with Dominic? (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you accept Dominic's working at your child's daycare centre or school? (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you accept being served in a cafe by Dominic? (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you agree to supervising Dominic at your work? (6)	(	(	(	(	(	(
Would you accept being advised by Dominic in a clothing store? (7)	(	(	(	(	(	(

Would you accept being advised by Dominic in an electronics store? (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you accept Dominic as your son/daughter's friend? (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you wanted to adopt a child, could you adopt Dominic? (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you were a house owner, would you rent to Dominic? (11)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Description 2 **Robert is an adult with ID. He communicates using sounds and gestures. He is able to show by gestures that he needs to go to the toilet. Since Robert has major coordination problems, he requires constant assistance when he moves around and always has to be accompanied on outings. He also has**

trouble with various movements. He is able to feed himself with an adapted spoon, but he drops food.

3A If you met Robert on the street and Robert tried to talk to you, do you think you   would:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
feel afraid? (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel pity? (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel sad? (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel embarrassed? (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
experience anxiety? (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel insecure? (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
be wary? (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel touched/moved? (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel comfortable talking to him? (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○

3B In your opinion:

	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	9 (6)
Would you move away if Robert was next to you on a bus? (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If Robert asked you a question on the bus, would you answer him? (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you agree to work with Robert? (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you accept Robert working at your child's daycare centre or school? (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Would you agree to supervising Robert at your work? (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Would you accept Robert as your son/daughter's friend? (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you wanted to adopt a child, could you adopt Robert? (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you were a house owner, would you rent to Robert? (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Page Break

D1 *Your familiarity with ID or your experience with people who have ID*
How much do you know about ID?

○ Nothing (1)

○ Not much (2)

○ Quite a bit (3)

○ A lot (4)

D2 How many people with ID do you know or have you met? (Write the approximate number)

_____

D3 When was your last contact with someone who has ID?

_____

D4 How often have you had contact or interactions during your lifetime with people with ID?

    ○ Never (1)

    ○ Sometimes (2)

    ○ Often (3)

    ○ Very often (4)

D5 *Please tick yes or no for each of the following questions:* Are the people with ID that you know:

	Please select	
	Yes (1)	No (2)
members of your immediate family? (1)	○	○
members of your extended family? (2)	○	○
neighbours? (3)	○	○

people for whom you do volunteer work? (4)	○	○
people for whom you work? (5)	○	○
students in your daycare centre/school? (6)	○	○
people you have met during leisure or sporting activities? (7)	○	○
other people? (8)	○	○

D6 How would you describe your relations with the people you know who have ID?

○ Excellent (1)

○ Good (2)

○ Neutral (3)

○ Bad (4)

○ Very bad (5)

Page Break

Display This Question:

If Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case? = Yes

Please answer the following in as much detail as you can: Please state your experience of working with Registered Intermediaries

_____

Display This Question:

If Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case? = Yes

Has working with Registered Intermediaries changed your practice?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case? = Yes

Q42 Please elaborate

_____

End of Block: Default Question Block

Appendix 13

SPSS outputs- independent-measures t-test for total mean score on ATTID for the two groups

Group Statistics

	Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total_mean	Yes	36	2.0403	.36118	.06020
	No	90	1.9602	.35374	.03729

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Total_mean	Equal variances assumed	.000	.998	1.143	124	.255	.08018	.07018	-.05871	.21908
	Equal variances not assumed			1.132	63.344	.262	.08018	.07081	-.06130	.22167

Appendix 14

SPSS outputs- independent-measures t-test for each factor of ATTID

Appendices

Group Statistics

	Have you personally worked with a Registered Intermediary in any case?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
F1_mean	Yes	36	1.9493	.40806	.06801
	No	90	1.9506	.52062	.05488
F2_mean	Yes	36	1.9514	.48558	.08093
	No	90	1.8651	.42200	.04448
F3_mean	Yes	36	2.0474	.58229	.09705
	No	90	1.9275	.62998	.06641
F4_mean	Yes	36	2.5704	.79193	.13199
	No	90	2.4204	.94189	.09928
F5_mean	Yes	36	2.0483	.68735	.11456
	No	90	1.9407	.58962	.06215

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
F1_mean	Equal variances assumed	2.551	.113	-.013	124	.990	-.00123	.09692	-.19305	.19060
	Equal variances not assumed			-.014	81.780	.989	-.00123	.08739	-.17508	.17263
F2_mean	Equal variances assumed	1.142	.287	.992	124	.323	.08627	.08694	-.08581	.25835
	Equal variances not assumed			.934	57.286	.354	.08627	.09235	-.09863	.27118
F3_mean	Equal variances assumed	.058	.811	.986	124	.326	.11993	.12165	-.12085	.36072
	Equal variances not assumed			1.020	69.459	.311	.11993	.11759	-.11463	.35450
F4_mean	Equal variances assumed	2.299	.132	.843	124	.401	.15000	.17790	-.20210	.50210
	Equal variances not assumed			.908	76.217	.367	.15000	.16516	-.17893	.47893
F5_mean	Equal variances assumed	.107	.745	.881	124	.380	.10754	.12202	-.13398	.34906
	Equal variances not assumed			.825	56.704	.413	.10754	.13033	-.15347	.36855

Appendix 15

SPSS outputs- independent-measures t-test for question on change in practice

Group Statistics

	Has working with Registered Intermediaries changed your practice?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Total_mean	Yes	21	1.9800	.32326	.07054
	No	15	2.1248	.40465	.10448

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Total_mean	Equal variances assumed	.946	.338	-1.193	34	.241	-.14485	.12137	-.39150	.10180
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.149	25.905	.261	-.14485	.12606	-.40402	.11432

Appendix 16

SPSS outputs- repeated-measures t-test for low functioning and high functioning vignettes

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	HighF_mean	1.8913	126	.48915	.04358
	LowF_mean	2.2240	126	.55643	.04957

Paired Samples Correlations

		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	HighF_mean & LowF_mean	126	.764	.000

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences							
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Lower	Upper	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	HighF_mean - LowF_mean	-.33276	.36439	.03246	-.39701	-.26851	-10.251	125	.000

Appendix 17

SPSS outputs- one-way independent-measures ANOVA for knowledge about ID on mean scores of ATTID

Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable: Total_mean

Your familiarity with ID or your experience with people who have ID How much do you know about ID?	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Nothing	2.0075	.41027	12
Not much	1.9868	.35460	68
Quite a bit	2.0066	.34148	41
A lot	1.6806	.33133	5
Total	1.9831	.35629	126

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: Total_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
.258	3	122	.856

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Total_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.488[a]	3	.163	1.291	.281	.031
Intercept	183.004	1	183.004	1451.682	.000	.922
D1	.488	3	.163	1.291	.281	.031
Error	15.380	122	.126			
Total	511.366	126				
Corrected Total	15.868	125				

a. R Squared = .031 (Adjusted R Squared = .007)

300

Appendix 18

SPSS outputs- one-way independent-measures ANOVA for knowledge about ID for each factor of ATTID

Factor 1

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F1_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.642	3	122	.183

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F1_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.664[a]	3	.221	.921	.433	.022
Intercept	176.394	1	176.394	734.791	.000	.858
D1	.664	3	.221	.921	.433	.022
Error	29.287	122	.240			
Total	509.175	126				
Corrected Total	29.951	125				

a. R Squared = .022 (Adjusted R Squared = -.002)

Factor 2

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F2_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.442	3	122	.234

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F2_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.842[a]	3	.281	1.460	.229	.035
Intercept	161.042	1	161.042	837.795	.000	.873
D1	.842	3	.281	1.460	.229	.035
Error	23.451	122	.192			
Total	474.266	126				
Corrected Total	24.293	125				

a. R Squared = .035 (Adjusted R Squared = .011)

Factor 3

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F3_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.751	3	122	.160

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F3_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.983[a]	3	.328	.858	.465	.021
Intercept	178.116	1	178.116	466.548	.000	.793
D1	.983	3	.328	.858	.465	.021
Error	46.577	122	.382			
Total	532.450	126				
Corrected Total	47.559	125				

a. R Squared = .021 (Adjusted R Squared = -.003)

Factor 4

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F4_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
.293	3	122	.831

Tests the null hypothesis that the error
variance of the dependent variable is equal
across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F4_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	1.659[a]	3	.553	.676	.568	.016
Intercept	282.587	1	282.587	345.353	.000	.739
D1	1.659	3	.553	.676	.568	.016
Error	99.827	122	.818			
Total	865.990	126				
Corrected Total	101.486	125				

a. R Squared = .016 (Adjusted R Squared = -.008)

Factor 5

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F5_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.355	3	122	.260

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F5_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.533[a]	3	.178	.459	.711	.011
Intercept	200.551	1	200.551	517.919	.000	.809
D1	.533	3	.178	.459	.711	.011
Error	47.241	122	.387			
Total	537.496	126				
Corrected Total	47.774	125				

a. R Squared = .011 (Adjusted R Squared = -.013)

Appendix 19

SPSS outputs- one-way independent-measures ANOVA for frequency of contact on mean scores of ATTID

Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable: Total_mean

How often have you had contact or interactions during your lifetime with people with ID?	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Never	2.0528	.50020	6
Sometimes	2.0077	.34676	61
Often	2.0026	.38789	37
Very often	1.8671	.28109	21
Total	1.9847	.35724	125

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: Total_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.356	3	121	.260

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Total_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.362[a]	3	.121	.945	.421	.023
Intercept	244.029	1	244.029	1909.618	.000	.940
D4	.362	3	.121	.945	.421	.023
Error	15.463	121	.128			
Total	508.212	125				
Corrected Total	15.825	124				

a. R Squared = .023 (Adjusted R Squared = -.001)

307

Appendix 20

SPSS outputs- one-way independent-measures ANOVA for frequency of contact for each factor of ATTID

Factor 1

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F1_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.734	3	121	.164

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F1_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	1.497[a]	3	.499	2.122	.101	.050
Intercept	236.272	1	236.272	1004.900	.000	.893
D4	1.497	3	.499	2.122	.101	.050
Error	28.450	121	.235			
Total	505.632	125				
Corrected Total	29.946	124				

a. R Squared = .050 (Adjusted R Squared = .026)

Factor 2

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F2_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
.953	3	121	.417

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F2_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.649[a]	3	.216	1.124	.342	.027
Intercept	223.078	1	223.078	1158.790	.000	.905
D4	.649	3	.216	1.124	.342	.027
Error	23.294	121	.193			
Total	472.576	125				
Corrected Total	23.943	124				

a. R Squared = .027 (Adjusted R Squared = .003)

Factor 3

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F3_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
6.379	3	121	.000

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F3_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	1.953[a]	3	.651	1.727	.165	.041
Intercept	248.649	1	248.649	659.718	.000	.845
D4	1.953	3	.651	1.727	.165	.041
Error	45.605	121	.377			
Total	528.450	125				
Corrected Total	47.558	124				

a. R Squared = .041 (Adjusted R Squared = .017)

Non-parametric test- Kruskal-Wallis test

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of F3_mean is the same across categories of How often have you had contact or interactions during your lifetime with people with ID?.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.215	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Factor 4

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F4_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
.589	3	121	.623

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F4_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	4.968[a]	3	1.656	2.077	.107	.049
Intercept	328.489	1	328.489	411.987	.000	.773
D4	4.968	3	1.656	2.077	.107	.049
Error	96.477	121	.797			
Total	858.879	125				
Corrected Total	101.445	124				

a. R Squared = .049 (Adjusted R Squared = .025)

Factor 5

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

Dependent Variable: F5_mean

F	df1	df2	Sig.
1.044	3	121	.376

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + D4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: F5_mean

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.391[a]	3	.130	.334	.801	.008
Intercept	248.217	1	248.217	636.022	.000	.840
D4	.391	3	.130	.334	.801	.008
Error	47.222	121	.390			
Total	535.027	125				
Corrected Total	47.613	124				

a. R Squared = .008 (Adjusted R Squared = -.016)