Understanding Trauma Impacts on Behavior and Memory: Implications for Victim Interviewing



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Learning Objectives

- Explain how behavior and memory processes can be impacted during a traumatic event.
- Describe how memory retrieval and disclosure can be facilitated during victim interviews.
- 3. Explore the resilience and accuracy of memory.
- 4. Examine research identifying best practices for interviewing victims and suspects.

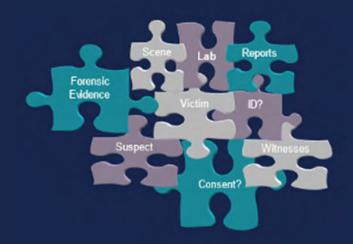
Polling Question

Have you already had training on trauma and the effects on victim behaviors and memories?

Yes No Maybe

Importance of Victim Interview

- Purpose of interview is to help victims (a) retrieve memories, and (b) share them.
- Investigator documents information, and evaluates in context of entire investigation.
- Not unlike a crime scene...



Traditional Approach: What *Doesn't* Work



What is Trauma?

"Traumatic events are shocking and emotionally overwhelming situations that may involve actual or threatened death, serious injury, or threat to physical integrity."

- International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies

What is Trauma?

- Traumatic events often include actual or perceived loss of control (helplessness)
 - Used to only have experiential definition
 - Now have neuroscience to explain what happens
 - However still subjective event, varies by person

What Else is Going On?

- Dynamics of sexual assault / partner violence
 - Internal Influence: Victims may feel ashamed...
 - External Influence: Victims may feel pressure...
 - System Influence: Victims may not feel supported...
 - Socio-cultural Influence: Victims may be reluctant...



Photo Credit: Life's Random Bits

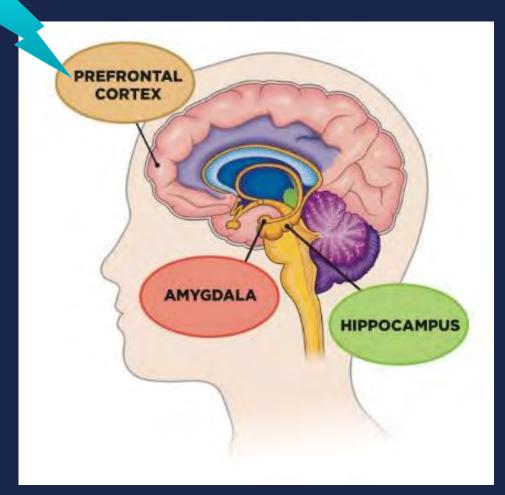


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Trauma and the Brain



Prefrontal Cortex

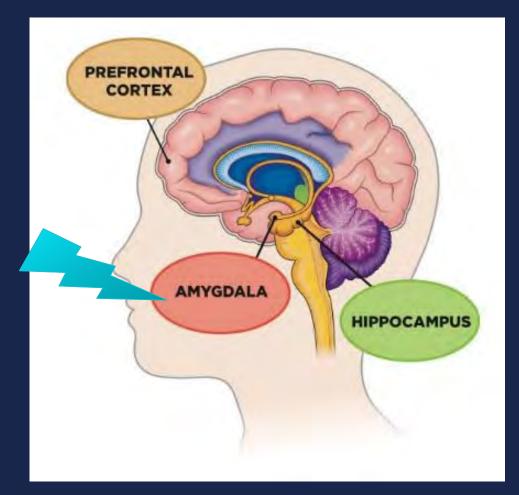


https://medium.com/@rohanpoosala/build-that-prefrontal-lobe-up-c72434186dfd "Build that Prefrontal Lobe up", Neuro4Kidz

- Logical thinking and planning
- Controlling attention
- Integrating memories into "stories"

Impaired during stress or trauma

Defense Circuitry

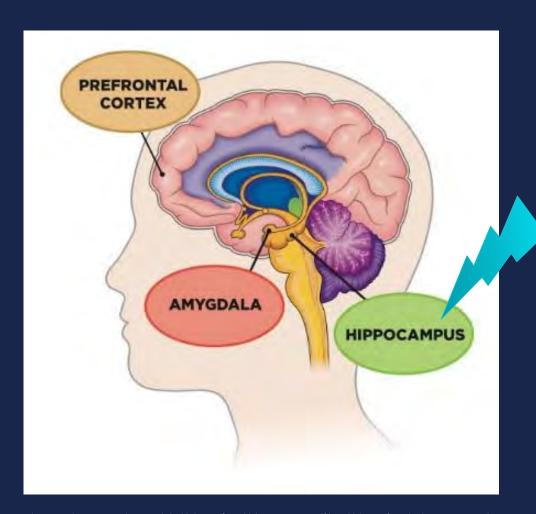


https://medium.com/@rohanpoosala/build-that-prefrontal-lobe-up-c72434186dfd "Build that Prefrontal Lobe up", Neuro4Kidz

- Monitors for threat
- Activates survival responses
- Mostly automatic

Takes control when prefrontal cortex is impaired

Hippocampus



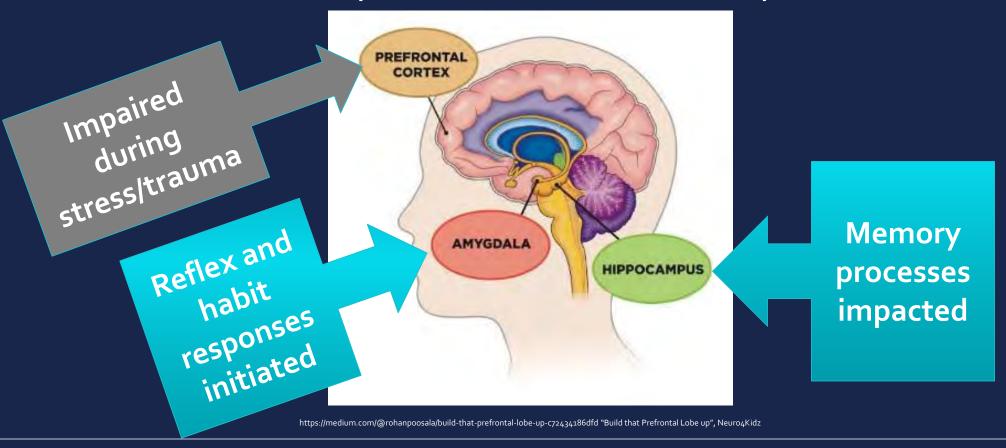
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- Where memories of experiences and their details are processed
- Encodes memory data with context and time

Can produce "flashbulb memories" of event

Summary

During a traumatic event: Rational part of the brain is impaired; Memory processes are significantly impacted; Reflex and habit responses are automatically initiated.



Possible Reflex Responses

- Brief freeze response: Threat is detected, movement stops, brain quickly assesses options
- Tonic immobility: Body goes rigid, not able to move or speak
- Collapsed immobility: Body goes limp, may faint or pass out
- Dissociation: Disconnection from physical and emotional experience, may be on "autopilot"

Possible Reflex Responses

Don't Label or Diagnose – Just Document



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What Can This Look Like?



What Can This Look Like?



Habit Responses

- Social conditioning: Including how girls/women respond differently than boys/men
- Learned responses: Including responses to dominance/aggression and past abuse

Automatic responses do not "go away"

"Reflexes and Habits"

Not "Fight" or Flight"



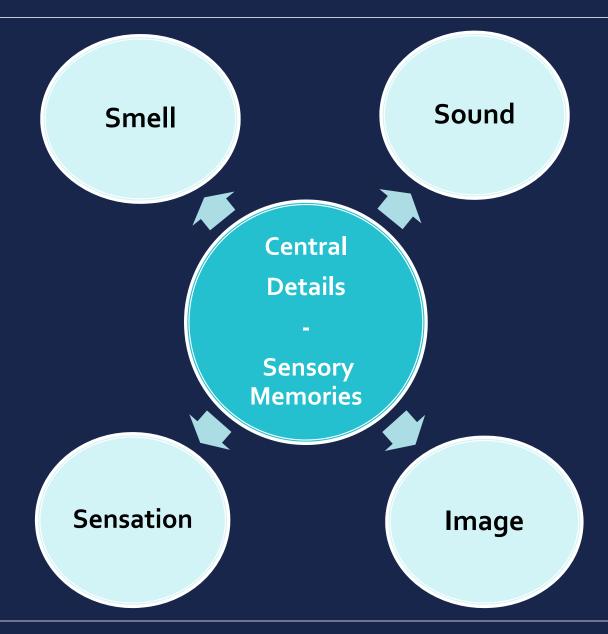
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Memory: Central vs. Peripheral Details

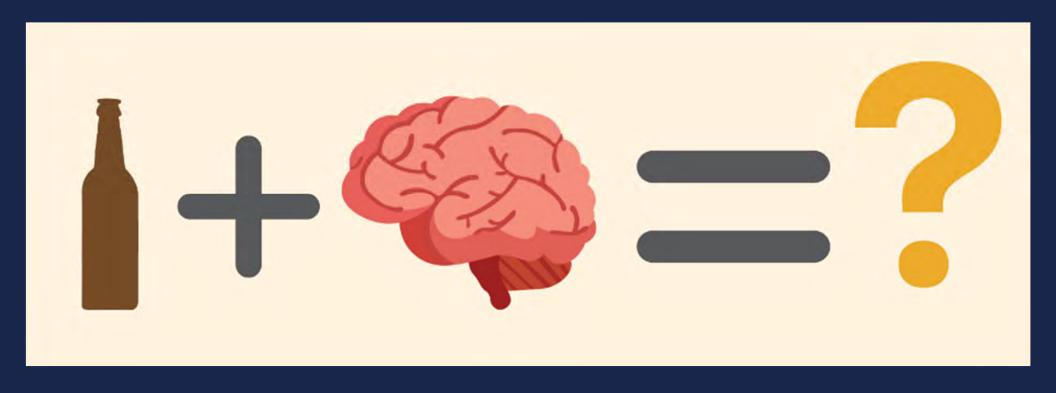
- Central details: Parts of experience given attention / emotional significance by the brain
- Peripheral details: Parts of experiences that receive little or no attention by the brain



Central Details: Often Sensory Memories



Impact of Alcohol or Drugs



Alcohol and Memory

- At higher levels of intoxication, may prevent storage of most or all details of experience
- But central details that DO get into long-term memory storage can be very accurate







- Automatic reflex responses?
- Responses based in habit or learning?
- Simplistic language (words or phrases)?

- What would her narrative sound like?
- What details could she provide?

- Would we question her story?
- How would you document it?

Summary: Theory to Practice

- How can understanding the neurobiology of trauma improve our interviewing skills?
 - More realistic expectations
 - More perceptive listening
 - More effective information-gathering

Support Memory Retrieval and Disclosure

Quick Review!

Which part of your brain is running the show right now?

Prefrontal Cortex Amygdala Hippocampus

Resilience of Memory

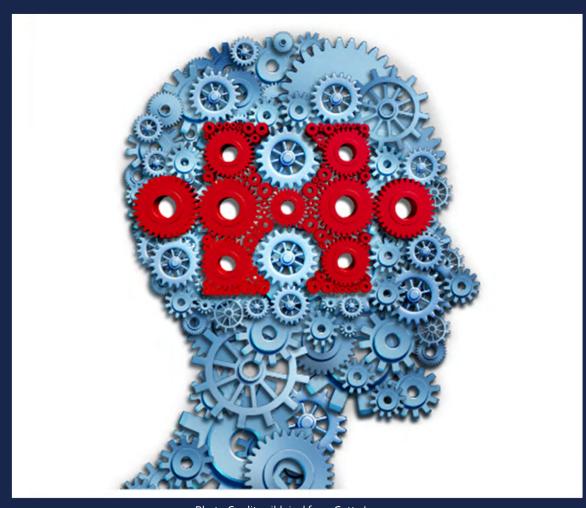


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REVIEW ARTICLE



Is the study of memory unduly preoccupied with its sins?

Alan D. Baddeley

Department of Psychology, University of York, York, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

A broad functional approach is taken to the analysis of human memory. The overall importance of episodic memory, the capacity to remember specific events, is illustrated by the devastating effect that loss of this aspect of memory has on the capacity to cope in the case of densely amnesic patients. Recent applied research has however focussed heavily on factors compromising the reliability of eyewitness testimony in the forensic field and on the creation of false memories. While acknowledging the progress made on this issue, it presents two dangers. The first is practical, the danger of generalising too readily from laboratory-influenced simulations that differ in important ways from the context to which they are applied. This suggests a need for fewer but more realistically representative studies. The second is a broad theoretical issue, that of extending the findings from this important but limited applied area, within which precise detail may be crucial, to the whole of memory, consequently failing to appreciate its many strengths.

ARTICLE HISTORY

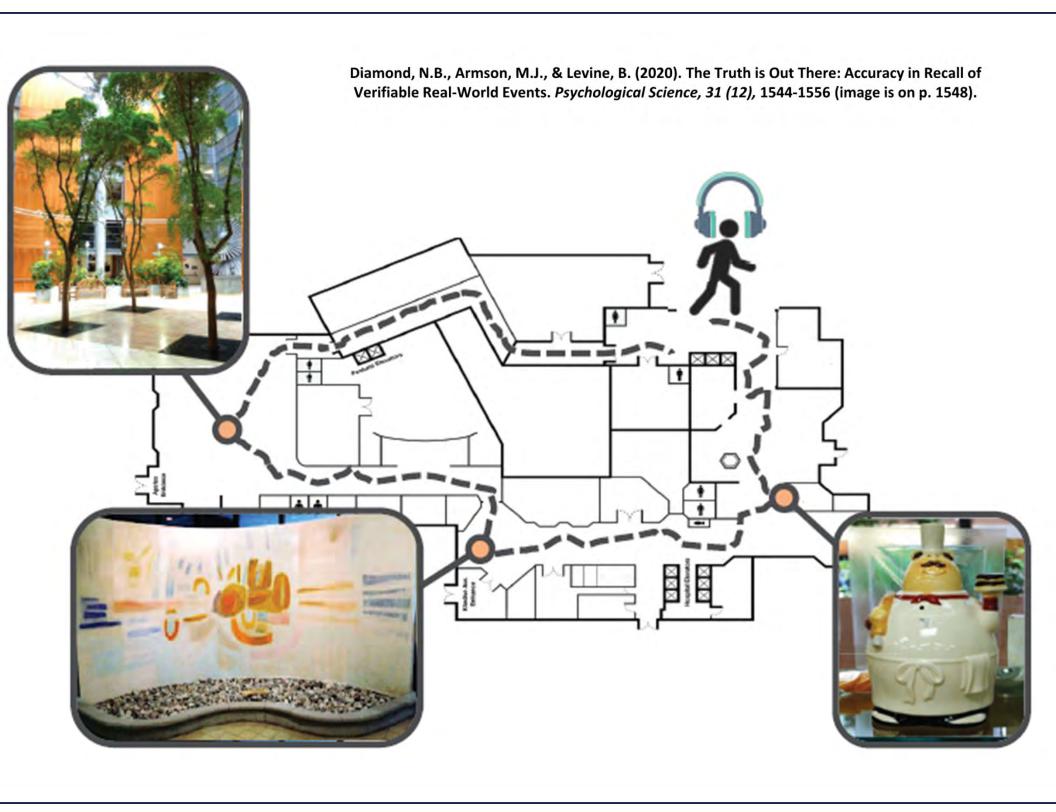
Received 12 January 2021 Accepted 23 February 2021

KEYWORDS

Amnesia; false memory; eyewitness testimony; everyday memory; retrieval



Photo Credit: Canva



"... I was told to look at the piano and then walk further and look at the market that was Int – perceptual – inaccurate³ Int – event – accurate Int – perceptual – accurate going on at the left... I looked around the gift shop and then on the shelf at the back left – not the very last one, but the second or third last, was a cookie jar or a ceramic Int - perceptual - accurate Int - perceptual - accurate x3 Int - perceptual - accurate figure of a, uh, large chef with a hat and an apron, both white, holding a cake I believe Int - perceptual - inaccurate⁴ Int - event - accurate Ext - other with a cake lift in the other hand... | walked down the hallway... | don't remember this

Int - thought - unconfirmable

chunk of the tour. I was still thinking about the Andy Warhol portraits"

Accuracy of Recall

- Number of details recalled, on average:
 - 80 for younger people (19-35)
 - 52 for older people (65-75)
 - Many recalled more than 100
- Accuracy of recall, on average:
 - 93-95% across age groups

"Memory for remote (days to years old) real-world episodes is more accurate than expected."

Diamond, N.B., Armson, M.J., & Levine, B. (2020). The Truth is Out There: Accuracy in Recall of Verifiable Real-World Events. *Psychological Science*, *31* (12), 1544-1556 (quote is on p. 1552).

Memory Errors

- At least one error in most people's recollections
- But errors were typically not essential details (e.g., dates and specific locations of objects)

"Grain Size" of Memories

- Surface information (verbatim)
- Central / perceptual features ("gist")
- 3. Judgments / inferences from knowledge base

"Grain Size" of Memories

- 1. Surface information
- 2. Semantic content ("gist")
- Judgments or inferences from knowledge base



Photo Credit: Wikilmages from pixabay

"Satisficing" Model

 Use cognitive monitoring to decide whether to report an item (or not)



Photo Credit: Jacob Lund

- And if so, what level of detail (grain size)
- To maintain accuracy



Photo Credit: A and N Photography

Interviewing Research



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"Trauma Informed" Interviewing

- > Establish safety, trust, rapport, comfort
- > Encourage disclosure, as much as possible
- > Use non-leading, open-ended prompts
- > Encourage narrative, active generation
- > Allow pauses, silence to gather thoughts
- Not rushing, interrupting responses
- Focus on thoughts, feelings in experience
- > Express patience, empathy, understanding

"Trauma Informed" Interviewing

- No need for sequential, chronological order
- > Advise not to guess, say "I don't know"
- Avoid "why" questions
- May recall more information in the future

Rapport

"A positive and productive affect between people that facilitates mutuality of attention and harmony"

Bernieri, F.J. & Gillis, J.S. (2001). Judging Rapport: Employing Brunswik's Lens Model to Study Interpersonal Sensitivity. In J. A. Hall & F. J. Bernieri (Eds.), *Interpersonal Sensitivity: Theory and Measurement* (pp. 67–88). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum (p. 69).

Rapport

Communicate respect

Personalizing

Address concerns

Acknowledge autonomy

Humanizing

Instill calm

Show real interest

Attentiveness

Establish common ground

Express genuine empathy

Friendliness

Permit "I don't know"

Avoid judgment

Openness

Collaborative,

not

Drawing out

Explain the process

confrontational

Elements of Rapport

- 1. Mutual attention
 - Involvement, immediacy, active listening
- 2. Coordination
 - Reciprocal responses, matching, "in sync"
- 3. Positivity
 - Pleasant, encouraging, smiling, avoid judgments

Rapport Works!

- Cognitive Interviewing (Fisher & Geiselman)
 - Elicits 35-50% more information than typical police interviews, rapport is key element
- Holmberg & Christianson (2002)
 - 83 sexual offenders more likely to give full confessions with "empathic and humanitarian" approach, not "judgmental and dominant"

Rapport Works!

- Kelly et al. (2015)
 - Suspect interviews with "rapport and relationship tactics," greater cooperation, more confessions
- Alison et al (2013, 2014)
 - 418 interviews with 29 terrorism suspects in UK
 - Investigators with "conversational rapport and adaptative interpersonal skills," reduced resistance and increased information provided

Elements of Good Interview

- No matter who is being interviewed!
 - Establish rapport
 - Clear description of rules, expectations
 - Start the conversation, and then LISTEN
 - Open-ended questioning style
 - Encourage future disclosures

Other Recommendations

- Refer to person by name, preferred title
 - Make sure you are pronouncing it correctly!
- Avoid "chit chat"
 - Person is anxious, conversation has a purpose
- Self disclosure of personal information
 - Be careful!
 - Personalize, but not too much, can backfire
 - Limited, sensitive to context, for common ground

Other Recommendations

- Repeated contact, more positive over time
 - Assuming initial contact is positive or neutral
- Don't lie!
- Avoid techniques to influence a suspect's perception of consequences of confessing
 - Minimizing (implying leniency)
 - Maximizing (inducing fear of harsh punishment)

Conceptual Priming

- Certain concepts increase disclosure:
 - Self-worth: Positive values, traits, experiences
 - Autonomy: Options, words like "choice," "free"
 - Attachment security: Thinking of loved ones
 - Openness: Room, objects, symbols

Takeaways: Memory

- Recalled memories are typically accurate
 - Some things impair memory encoding
 - But these factors don't typically affect accuracy
 - If detail DOES get encoded, it is likely accurate
 - We maintain accuracy over time by deciding whether to report detail, and adjusting "grain size"
- Interviews can facilitate accurate recall by encouraging free-flowing, narrative responses without interference (e.g., leading questions)

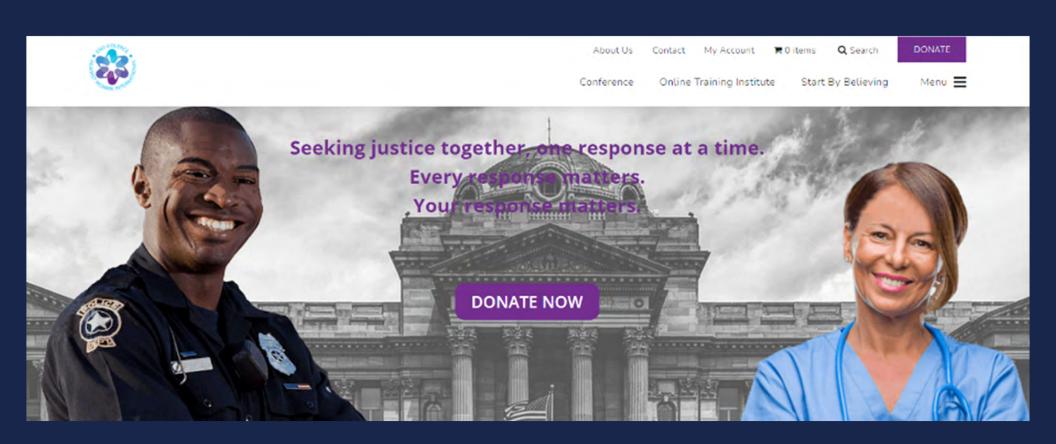
Takeaways: Trauma

- Stress and trauma affect brains and behaviors
 - Responses best summarized as "reflexes and habits"
 - Understanding helps set realistic expectations
 - Listen and document, don't label or diagnose
- Interviews can facilitate accurate recall by focusing on central details, not peripheral
 - These will often be sensory and emotional details

Takeaways: Interviewing

- Traditional strategies are often ineffective
- Research documents effectiveness of many techniques often described as "trauma-informed"
 - Rapport, autonomy, open-ended prompts, etc.
- Same techniques work for suspects AND victims

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End Violence Against Women International (EVAWI)

Effective Victim
Interviewing: Helping
Victims Retrieve and
Disclose Memories of
Sexual Assault

Kimberly A. Lonsway, PhD Sergeant Joanne Archambault (Ret.)

On EVAWI website: evawintl.org/olti

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Webinars

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LAW ENFORCEMENT SEXUAL MISCONDUCT: INTRODUCING A MODEL POLICY RESOURCE FOR PREVENTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

November 23, 2020 10:00 am

The overwhelming majority of those who serve in the noble profession of law enforcement are professionals who uphold their path of office. However, we cannot ignore the numerous headlines, arrests, convictions, and lawsuits describing norrific acts of sexual misconduct perpetrated by law enforcement officers. When a predatory sexual officence has the power and authority of the colice, this presents an extremely serious preach of the ethics of the profession, a visiation of the color of law, and a traumatic victimization of a colleague or citizen whom law enforcement has subon to protect.

Speakers:





NEW FRONTIERS IN INVESTIGATING AND PROSECUTING SEXUAL ASSAULT BY INTOXICATION

December 9, 2020 10:00 am

This presentation addresses the issues that investigators, prosecutors, victim advocates, and medical personal offer encounter in alcoholifacilitated saxual assaults, invisigators and prosecutors face many hundles, including the consent defence perceptions about the said she said leads and uttime suffering from memory loss, as well as challenges relaced to victim shame, embarrassment, and lack of trust in law enforcement.

Speakers:



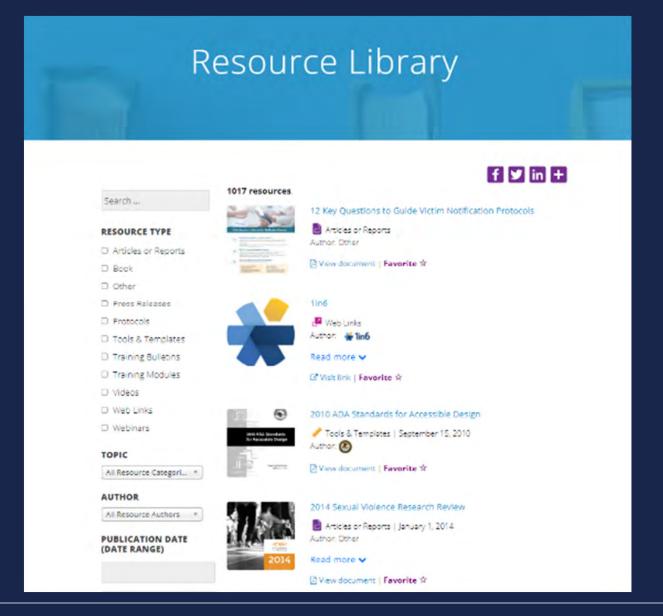


Webinars: Victim Interviews

- Neurobiology of Sexual Assault (2-part series)
- Effective Victim Interviewing
- Trauma Informed Interviewing Turning Understanding Into Outcomes
- After the Interview Now the Work Begins: Corroborating Evidence and Case Review

On EVAWI website: evawintl.org/past-webinars

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EVAWI Training Bulletins

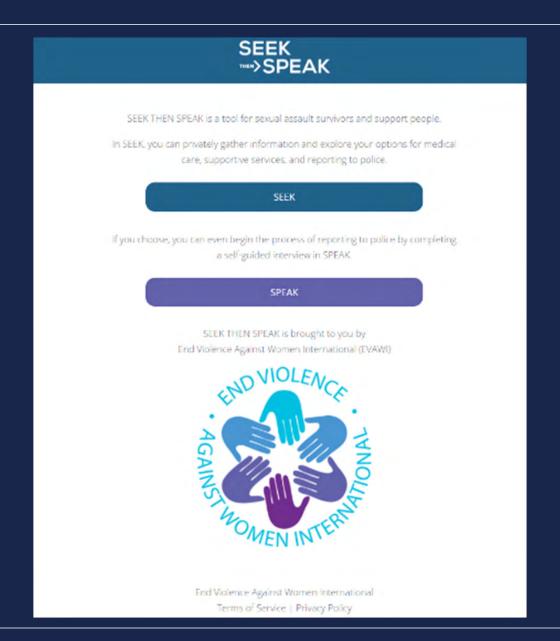
- Important Things to Get Right About the 'Neurobiology of Trauma' (3-part series in handouts)
- Understanding the Neurobiology of Trauma and Implications for Interviewing Victims
- Becoming Trauma-Informed: Learning and Appropriately Applying the Neurobiology of Trauma to Victim Interviews
- Trauma-Informed Interviewing and the Criminal Sexual Assault Case: Where Investigative Technique Meets Evidentiary Value

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Training content is based on the National Protocol for Sexual Assault Medical Forensic Examinations (2013).



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Sexual Assault: The Medical Forensic Examination





The Virtual Practicum offers training on every aspect of a patient-centered sexual assault medical forensic examination. It is a valuable training tool for health care professionals as well as law enforcement, prosecutors, forensic scientists, emergency medical services, victim advocates, and others.

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