

Multiple and Repeated Interviews of Children

A Bibliography



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Scope

This bibliography lists citations and abstracts to research publications that examine many issues related to both repeated and multiple forensic interviews of children. Included are peer-reviewed articles, chapters, and dissertations.

Organization

Publications are listed in date descending order. Author abstracts are provided unless otherwise stated. Links to full text documents are provided when possible.

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Multiple and Repeated Forensic Interviews of Children

A Bibliography

Blasbalg, U., Hershkowitz, I., Lamb, M. E., & Karni-Visel, Y. (2021). Adherence to the Revised NICHD Protocol recommendations for conducting repeated supportive interviews is associated with the likelihood that children will allege abuse. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 27(2), 209-220. <https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000295>

Because intensely reluctant children often fail to report being abused even when they are supportively interviewed, the Revised NICHD (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development) Protocol (RP) guides interviewers to delay discussion of sensitive topics and build rapport before scheduling a follow-up interview in which children might feel more comfortable. We sought to determine whether adherence to these recommendations was associated with the children's propensity to make allegations. Repeated forensic interviews were conducted with 202 Israeli children aged 3–14 who did not make allegations in the first interview, but of whom 104 made allegations during the second interview. The interviews were coded to identify interviewers' provision of support and types of substantive questions (invitations vs. closed-ended), as well as children's signs of reluctance, responsiveness, and informativeness. Interviewer behavior was represented with a latent variable reflecting the interviewers' expression of support, use of invitations, and the avoidance of closed-ended questions. Structural equation modeling (SEM) showed that adherence to the suggested interviewing model was positively associated with children being more likely to allege abuse (total effect: .29). This association was mediated by children's enhanced cooperativeness in the second interview (indirect effect: .16). These findings suggest that repeated interviews can be useful despite the additional financial costs.

Eisen, M. L., Goodman, G. S., Diep, J., Lacsamana, M., Ristrom, L. J., & Qin, J. J. (2021). Disclosures of sexual and physical abuse across repeated interviews. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 30(8), 932-952. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2021.1960457>

This study examined the recorded interviews of 132 children between 3 and 16-years of age who were involved in a forensic investigation evaluating allegations of sexual and/or physical abuse. As part of this investigation, two interviews were conducted over a 5-day period. The interviews were analyzed to examine how frequently these children disclosed substantiated allegations of abuse when asked directly about these experiences in one or both interviews. Results revealed that

39.2% of children with substantiated sexual abuse and 55.6% of those with substantiated physical abuse denied these experiences in one or both interviews. The denial rate was highest among school aged children (6- to-10-year- olds), as over a third of the girls and more than half of the boys in this age group denied the substantiated allegations in one or both interviews. Recantations were also relatively common, as 24% of the children who disclosed sexual and/or physical abuse prior to the assessment denied the allegations in one or both interviews. The youngest children (3- to 5-year-olds) were most likely to be inconsistent in their denials/disclosures across interviews. Custody status and relation to the perpetrator also predicted denials/disclosures of sexual, but not physical abuse. Overall, the data suggest that denials of both sexual and physical abuse are quite common and higher than rates found in most archival file reviews.

Hershkowitz, I., Lamb, M. E., Blasbalg, U., & Karni-Visel, Y. (2021). The dynamics of two-session interviews with suspected victims of abuse who are reluctant to make allegations. *Trauma and Psychopathology*, 33, 739-747. <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.62017>
[Full text](#)

Supportive forensic interviews conducted in accordance with the NICHD Revised Protocol (RP) help many alleged victims describe abusive experiences. When children remain reluctant to make allegations, the RP guides interviewers to 1) focus on rapport building and non-suggestive support in a first interview, and 2) plan a second interview to allow continued rapport building before 204 children who remained reluctant in an initial interview, we focused on 104 who made allegations when re-interviewed a few days later. A SEM model revealed that interviewer support during the first session predicted children's cooperation during the rapport-building phase of the second session, which, in turn, predicted more spontaneous allegations, which were associated with the interviewers' enhanced use of open-ended questions. Together, these factors mediated the effects of support on children's free recall of forensically important information. This highlighted the importance of emphasizing rapport with reluctant children, confirming that some children may need more time to build rapport even with supportive interviewers.

Szojka, Z. A., Nicol, A., Frenguelli, N. D., La Rooy, D., & Henderson, H. (2021). The impact of multiple interviews on the accuracy and narrative coherence of children's memories. *Psychology, Crime & Law*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2021.1984479>
[Full text](#)

This study investigated the accuracy and narrative coherence of children's accounts of a staged event across two interviews in comparison to a control condition to discern between the effects of repeated recall and delay between interviews. Seventy-six 8–11-year-olds took part in a first aid training session. Half of the children were randomly assigned to be interviewed using open-ended questions twice, one week after the event and five weeks after the event, whilst the other half were interviewed only once, five weeks after the event. Supporting the hypotheses, children reported more details over the course of two interviews than in a single interview either 1-week or 5-weeks after the event, and details that remained consistent across the two interviews were more accurate than reminisced details. The increased completeness of children's accounts in two interviews was accompanied by an increase in the use of markers of causal-temporal connectedness. The hypothesis regarding the negative effect of delay on the accuracy of children's testimony was partially supported, as details reported in the first, 1-week interview were more accurate than details in the single 5-week interview. Results demonstrate that multiple interviews can increase the narrative coherence of children's testimony without decreasing their accuracy.

Duron, J. F., & Remko, F. S. (2020). Considerations for pursuing multiple session forensic interviews in child sexual abuse investigations. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 29(2), 138-157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2018.1504263>

Multiple session forensic interviews (MSFI) are a useful tool in the field of child sexual abuse forensic interviewing given the complexity of disclosures and the variety of child-centered needs observed in practice. This paper focuses on the Children's Advocacy Centers of Texas (CACTX) model for conducting MSFIs, illustrated by a description of the statewide training models offered to member centers and enumeration of the MSFI protocol guidelines implemented by one center. A brief history and review of the single session forensic interview (SSFI) is provided followed by considerations for MSFIs in order to establish the development of current and new practices. Clarification of terms are outlined with examples of cases to distinguish between multiple sessions and subsequent sessions. The MSFI guidelines presented demonstrate how an MSFI can fit with the SSFI model.

Szojka, Z. A., Nicol, A., & La Rooy, D. (2020). Narrative coherence in multiple forensic interviews with child witnesses alleging physical and sexual abuse. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 34(5), 943– 960. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3673>
[Full text](#)

This study investigated the narrative coherence of children's accounts elicited in multiple forensic interviews. Transcriptions of 56 police interviews with 28 children aged 3–14 years alleging physical and sexual abuse were coded for markers of completeness, consistency and connectedness. We found that multiple interviews increased the completeness of children's testimony, containing on average almost twice as much new information as single interviews, including crucial location, time and abuse-related details. When both contradictions within the same interview and across interviews were considered, contradictions were not more frequent in multiple interviews. The frequency of linguistic markers of connectedness remained stable across interviews. Multiple interviews increase the narrative coherence of children's testimony through increasing their completeness without necessarily introducing contradictions or decreasing causal-temporal connections between details. However, as 'ground truth' is not known in field studies, further investigation of the relationship between the narrative coherence and accuracy of testimonies is required.

Waterhouse, G. F., Ridley, A. M., Bull, R., & Wilcock, R. (2020). A study space analysis for multiple interviewing of child witnesses. *Child Abuse Review*, 29(6), 544-558.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2604>
[Full text](#)

This article presents a study space analysis of 44 published research studies examining the use of multiple interviews with child victims/witnesses. Study space analysis is a method of detecting gaps in the existing literature and thus determining whether ecologically valid situations that arise in practice have actually been addressed and studied. The use of this methodology is particularly useful for techniques which are being considered for changes in policy or practice, ensuring that the literature is sufficient to warrant change. Multiple or repeated interviewing has been argued by some authors to be ready for change. However, in the present study space analysis, it is concluded that despite a growing literature, there are still some key variables which require research examination prior to policy change. In particular, research is needed involving samples of children between 11 and 18 years old, participants with multiple needs and interviews regarding repeated

events. Findings from the online supplementary material also identify the need for studies with longer delays between the event and the initial interview, more than two interviews of a child, phased multiple interviews and interviews conducted by professional interviewers. © 2020 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Brubacher, S. P., Poole, D. A., Dickinson, J. J., & Zsofi Szojka, D. L. R., & Powell, M. B. (2019). Effects of interviewer familiarity and supportiveness on children's recall across repeated interviews. *Law and Human Behavior*, 43(6), 507-516.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000346>
[Full text](#)

Child witnesses often describe their experiences across multiple interviews. It is unknown whether talking with a familiar interviewer increases disclosures, however, or whether any benefits of a familiar interviewer could be achieved by ensuring that interviewers (regardless of familiarity) behave in socially supportive ways. This study tested the effects of interviewer familiarity and social support on children's reports of an adult's transgressions. We predicted that familiarity and supportiveness would increase transgression reports at a second interview and that children who spoke with familiar, supportive interviewers would disclose the most transgressions. Children (N = 160, 5 to 9 years) participated in a science event involving 6 transgressions. Across 2 interviews, they spoke with the same trained university student interviewer or different interviewers, and these interviewers engaged in supportive or neutral behaviors. Interviews were coded for overall information reported, number of transgressions, and confabulations. There were no effects of support in the first interview or on total details reported in either interview. Children reported more transgressions to supportive than neutral interviewers in the second interview (IRR = 1.19), even during open-ended prompting (IRR = 1.26), and they omitted fewer transgressions that had been reported in the first interview (IRR = 0.69). Confabulations were infrequent. There were no condition differences in the total number of confabulations reported across interviews, but these errors occurred more often in the second interview in the supportive condition. Interviewer support may play a greater role than familiarity in facilitating children's testimony.

Hudson, C. A., Vrij, A., Akehurst, L., & Hope, L. (2019). The devil is in the detail: Deception and consistency over repeated interviews. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 25(7), 752-770. DOI: 10.1080/1068316X.2019.1574790

Research indicates that truthful statements typically contain more details than fabricated statements, and that truth tellers are no more consistent than liars over multiple interviews. In this experiment, we examine the impact of (i) multiple interviewers and (ii) reverse order recall on liars' and truth tellers' consistency and amount of reported detail over repeated recall attempts. Participants either took part in a mock crime (lying condition) or an innocent event (truth telling condition) which they were subsequently interviewed about in two separate interview phases. Truth tellers provided more details overall, and more reminiscent details than liars. There were no differences between veracity groups for the number of omissions made or repetitions reported. Despite the popular belief that inconsistency is a cue to deception, we found little support for the notion that consistency (or lack of consistency) offers a diagnostic cue to deception. We found little evidence that switching interviewer or recalling in reverse order induced inconsistencies in liars. In fact, due to the number of reminiscent details in truth tellers' accounts, our findings suggest that accounts provided by liars tend to be slightly more consistent than those provided by truth tellers.

Waterhouse, G. F., Ridley, A. M., Bull, R., La Rooy, D. J., & Wilcock, R. (2019). Mapping repeated interviews. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 34(4), 392-409.

The present study introduces an adaptation of the Griffiths Question Map (GQM; Griffiths and Milne 2006) which extends the chronological, visual map of question types used in an investigative interview to include child interviewee's responses (through the addition of the Interview Answer Grid, IAG). Furthermore, it provides a rare evaluation of repeated interviews with children. From a sample of transcripts of Scottish repeated interviews with child victims, two 'good' and two 'poor' first interviews were chosen based on interviewer question types. First and second investigative interviews of these four children were mapped using the GQM and IAG in order to examine across the two interviews the similarity of interviewer and interviewee behaviours and the consistency and investigative-relevance of information provided. Both 'good' and 'poor' interviews were found to include practices discouraged by interviewing guidelines, which would not have been identified by examining question proportions alone. Furthermore, 'good' first

interviews were followed by second interviews which began with poor question types, suggesting a possible impact of confirmation bias. Social support was also assessed and found to be used infrequently, mainly in response to the child being informative rather than pre-emptively by interviewers in an attempt to encourage this. Children were also found to disclose throughout their second interviews, suggesting that rapport-maintenance is vital for single and multiple interviews. The use of the GQM and IAG is encouraged as a technique for determining interview quality.

Stolzenberg, S. N., McWilliams, K., & Lyon, T. D. (2018). Children's conversational memory regarding a minor transgression and a subsequent interview. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 24(3), 379-392. <https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000176>
[Full text](#)

Children's memories for their conversations are commonly explored in child abuse cases. In two studies, we examined conversational recall in 154 4- to 9-year-old children's reports of an interaction with a stranger, some of whom were complicit in a transgression and were admonished to keep it a secret. Immediately afterwards, all children were interviewed about their interaction. One week later, children were asked recall questions about their interaction with the stranger, their conversations with the stranger, and their conversations with the interviewer. Overall, interaction recall questions elicited few details about children's conversations, whereas conversation recall questions were effective in doing so. Accuracy was high in response to both the interaction and conversation recall questions, with no differences observed. Questions explicitly inquiring about coaching elicited higher error rates, as well as apparent attempts to maintain secrecy. Source errors were rare. Conversation recall questions elicited new transgression disclosures among a substantial percentage of children. The results provide tentative support for the use of recall questions in eliciting conversational information from children.

Langballe, Å., & Davik, T. (2017). Sequential interviews with preschool children in Norwegian barnahus. In S. Johansson, K. Stefansen, E. Bakketeig, & A. Kaldal (Eds.), *Collaborating Against Child Abuse* (pp. 165-183). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Hubbard, K., Saykaly, C., Lee, K., Lindsay, R. C. L., Bala, N., & Talwar, V. (2016). Children's recall accuracy for repeated events over multiple interviews: Comparing information types. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 23(6), 849-862.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13218719.2016.1256015>

The present study examined children's recall accuracy for a repeated event over multiple interviews. Participants took part in three play sessions and were then questioned in three separate interviews a week later. The sample included 87 children between 4 to 10 years of age. Repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted to examine total accuracy and accuracy for action (i.e., what happened during the play session) and detail (i.e., descriptions of objects, people, time, and locations) information. Older children were more accurate in their recall than were younger children, but total accuracy did not differ across interviews. Conversely, children were more accurate when recalling detail information compared to action information, and accuracy for detail information improved across the interviews, while accuracy for action information deteriorated from Interview 1 to 3. Implications for judging the accuracy of children's witness testimony in real-world forensic contexts involving multiple events and interviews are discussed.

Price, H. L., Connolly, D. A., & Gordon, H. M. (2016). Children who experienced a repeated event only appear less accurate in a second interview than those who experienced a unique event. *Law and Human Behavior*, 40(4), 362-373.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000194>
[Full text](#)

When children have experienced a repeated event, reports of experienced details may be inconsistently reported across multiple interviews. In 3 experiments, we explored consistency of children's reports of an instance of a repeated event after a long delay (Exp. 1, N = 53, Mage = 7.95 years; Exp. 2, N = 70, Mage = 5.77 years, Exp. 3, N = 59, Mage = 4.88 years). In all experiments, children either experienced 1 or 4 activity sessions, followed at a relatively short delay (days or weeks) by an initial memory test. Then, following a longer delay (4 months or 1 year), children were reinterviewed with the same memory questions. We analyzed the consistency of children's memory reports across the 2 interviews, as well as forgetting, reminiscence, and accuracy, defined with both narrow and broad criteria. A highly consistent pattern was observed across the 3 experiments with children who experienced a single event appearing more consistent than children who experienced a repeated event. We conclude that inconsistencies across multiple

interviews can be expected from children who have experienced repeated events and these inconsistencies are often reflective of accurate, but different, recall.

Waterhouse, G. (2016). Investigating the forensic interviewing of children: Multiple interviews and social support (Doctoral dissertation, London South Bank University).

[Full text](#)

Despite a burgeoning literature on the most effective ways to interview child victims/witnesses and resulting changes in interviewing guidelines in the UK, many children's cases still do not progress to court. The present thesis focuses on two under-researched aspects of interviewing that have the potential to improve children's informativeness and their willingness to support case progression; namely, multiple interviews and social support. Multiple interviewing entails formally interviewing a child more than once about an alleged event. Social support involves building rapport with a child to ease their anxieties about the interview. These techniques were addressed in four studies. The first comprised a survey of police officers and ascertained their opinions about and use of multiple interviews and social support. Officers reported conducting child interviews in a supportive manner. Their opinions of multiple interviewing were cautiously positive, including concerns over causing further distress to a child interviewee and the possibility that children might provide inconsistent details. The following studies addressed these risks. The second study analysed interviewer and interviewee behaviours in a real-life sample of multiple interview transcripts. The findings showed first, second, and third interviews to be conducted similarly in terms of the amount of support provided, and question types used. Children also provided many new details in second and third interviews, and very few contradictions of their previous testimony. The third study comprised an experiment examining the current UK police guidelines' rapport-building phase in multiple interviews with children. Again, children provided many new details and few contradictions in multiple interviews, but there were no significant differences between the recall and well-being of children who had and had not experienced rapport building. The final study examined how multiple interviewing and viewing the rapport building phase of an interview affected mock jurors' perceptions of a child witness, the interview, and the case. Multiple interviews resulted in more positive views of the child, whereas viewing the rapport-building led to more negative ones. Based on the previous chapters' positive findings regarding multiple interviewing, and some recent calls for the guidelines to be relaxed regarding the contexts

in which multiple interviewing should be encouraged, a Study Space Analysis was conducted. However, this revealed that the literature is not yet sufficient for policy change to be enacted. In conclusion, multiple interviewing shows potential to be an effective way of obtaining additional, accurate information from children, but an alternative, more effective technique for building rapport with, and providing social support to children may need to be developed.

Waterhouse, G. F., Ridley, A. M., Bull, R., La Rooy, D., & Wilcock, R. (2016). Dynamics of repeated interviews with children. *Applied Cognitive Psychology, 30*(5), 713-721.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3246>

[Full text](#)

Concerns regarding repeat interviews with child witnesses include greater use of suggestive questions in later interviews due to bias, and that children may appear inconsistent and, therefore, be judged as less reliable in court. UK transcripts of first and second interviews with 21 child victims/witnesses (conducted by qualified interviewers) were coded for question types and child responses. Interviewers were consistent in their proportional use of question types across interviews. Furthermore, children were as informative in second interviews as in first, mostly providing new details consistent with their prior recall. Despite the apparent lack of training in conducting repeated interviews, no negative effects were found; second interviews appeared to be conducted as well as initial interviews and they provided new details without many contradictions. It is suggested that when a child's testimony is paramount for an investigation, a well-conducted supplementary interview may be an effective way of gaining further investigative leads.

Williams, J., Nelson-Gardell, D., Faller, K. C., Tishelman, A., & Cordisco-Steele, L. (2016). Perceptions of the value of extended assessments to resolve allegations of sexual abuse: It's the performance that counts. *Journal of Social Service Research, 42*(1), 57-69.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2015.1077493>

Recently, child welfare researchers and professionals have turned their attention to strategies for resolving challenging allegations of sexual abuse. An extended assessment, usually 4–6 child interviews by a single interviewer, is one such strategy. Using data from an online survey of 932 child maltreatment professionals about the utility of extended assessments, a mixed methods study examined differences in views of professionals who had actually conducted extended assessments and those who had not. Respondents possessing extended assessment experience perceived fewer

barriers and viewed a smaller number of types of cases as appropriate for extended assessments. Respondents who had conducted extended assessments were more likely to see extended assessments as beneficial to legal cases whereas those who had not were more likely to see them as a detriment to legal cases. Respondents identified several practical issues that need attention: standards and guidelines related to extended assessments, the need for training and supervision, and clearer definitions of the practice. Practice implications include recognition of a niche for experienced, graduate credentialed practitioners who can conduct extended assessments, forming a rung on a professional development ladder. Findings highlight a need to understand the circumstances under which extended assessments help or hinder child wellbeing and prosecutions.

Azad, A., Christianson, S. Å., & Selenius, H. (2014). Children's reporting patterns after witnessing homicidal violence—the effect of repeated experience and repeated interviews. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 20(5), 407-429.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2013.793337>

For both legal and clinical purposes, it is of importance to study children's memories and reports of stressful events. The present study investigated the reporting patterns of 83 children who had witnessed homicidal violence, which is considered to be a highly stressful experience. More specifically, we explored the possible effects of prior violence exposure and of repeated questioning on the amount of details reported. Results showed that the majority of children provided details concerning what happened before, during, and after the violent act. The children provided detailed and vivid testimonies from their experiences, whether they witnessed the event for the first time or had prior experience of witnessing severe violence against the victim by the perpetrator. Children with no prior experience of repeated violence who underwent repeated interviews provided more details than those interviewed once. The present data indicate that children are competent witnesses when questioned in legal contexts after having been exposed to extremely stressful events. These findings have implications for research related to children's memories and reporting of traumatic experiences, as well as practical implications for future treatment and evaluation of children's testimonies.

Brubacher, S. P., & La Rooy, D. (2014). Witness recall across repeated interviews in a case of repeated abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 38(2), 202-211.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.06.010>

[Full text](#)

In this illustrative case study we examine the three forensic interviews of a girl who experienced repeated sexual abuse from ages 7 - 11. She disclosed the abuse after watching a serialized television show that contained a storyline similar to her own experience. This triggered an investigation that ended in successful prosecution of the offender. Because this case involved abuse that was repeated on a weekly basis for 4 years we thus investigated the degree to which the child's narrative reflected specific episodes or generic accounts, and both the interviewer's and child's attempts to elicit and provide, respectively, specific details across the 3 interviews collected in a 1 month period. Across the 3 interviews, the child's account was largely generic, yet on a number of occasions she provided details specific to individual incidents ('episodic leads') that could have been probed further. As predicted: earlier interviews were characterized more by episodic than generic prompts and the reverse was true for the third interview; the child often responded using the same style of language (episodic or generic) as the interviewer; and open questions yielded narrative information. We discuss the importance of adopting children's words to specify occurrences, and the potential benefits of permitting generic recall in investigative interviews on children's ability to provide 'episodic leads.' Despite the fact that the testimony was characterized by generic information about what usually happened, rather than specific episodic details about individual occurrences, this case resulted in successful prosecution.

Hobbs, S. D., Goodman, G. S., & Goodman-Shaver, D. (2014). Repeated interviews about repeated abuse: Evaluation of a case study. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 38(2), 212-216.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.01.001>

Although the current commentary notes that the case analyzed provides an opportunity to learn anecdotally about the elicitation and provision of "generic" and "episodic" information in a child forensic interview context, it questions whether, as a rule, interview evaluations based on a single case should be published in scientifically based journals. The commentary argues that the single-case evaluation adds little to the extant body of research, except as a teaching tool that indicates what could have been done differently in this particular case. The commentary also questions making generalizations from single cases, given particulars inherent in one evaluation. In addition,

the commentary provides reasons why interpretation of case findings and resulting suggestions for interview best practices may, at times, be questioned. Further, the commentary indicates ethical considerations are an issue. One ethical issue is the need to avoid offending whoever conducted the interviews or whoever provided the interviews to the researchers. Problems of this type are particularly likely in studies that evaluate interviews.

Block, S. D., Foster, E. M., Pierce, M. W., Berkoff, M. C., & Runyan, D. K. (2013). Multiple forensic interviews during investigations of child sexual abuse: A cost-effectiveness analysis. *Applied Developmental Science, 17*(4), 174-183.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2013.836033>
[Full text](#)

In cases of suspected child sexual abuse (CSA) some professionals routinely recommend multiple interviews by the same interviewer because any additional details provided might improve decision-making and increase perpetrator convictions. We analyzed alternative policies about child interviewing to estimate the probability that a policy of all children receiving multiple interviews will increase criminal convictions and better protect children. Using decision analysis, we prepared a decision tree reflecting the structure through which a case of possible CSA passes through the health care, welfare, and legal systems with an estimated probability of conviction of the offender. We reviewed the CSA disclosure, criminal justice, and child welfare literature to obtain estimates for the median and range of rates for the steps of disclosure, substantiation, criminal charges, and conviction. Using the R statistical package, our decision analysis model was populated using literature-based estimates. Once the model was populated, we simulated the experiences of 1,000 cases at 250 sets of plausible parameter values representing different hypothetical communities. Multiple interviews increase the likelihood that an offender will be convicted by 6.1% in the average community. Simulations indicate that a policy in which all children seen for a CSA medical evaluation receive multiple interviews would cost an additional \$100,000 for each additional conviction. We estimate that approximately 17 additional children would need to be interviewed on more than one occasion to yield one additional conviction. A policy of multiple interviews has implications for the children, for the costs of care, for protecting other children, and for the risk of false prosecution.

Katz, C., & Hershkowitz, I. (2013). Repeated interviews with children who are the alleged victims of sexual abuse. *Research on Social Work Practice, 23*(2), 210-218.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049731512467511>

The present study was designed to test the effects of repeated retrievals in the course of forensic investigations with children who are the alleged victims of sexual abuse. Using the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development protocol, 56 children participated in a first free-recall interview that was followed by a second interview composed of a repeated free-recall phase that was then followed by closed questions. In the second interview, children reported 58% new forensically relevant details. Increased production in the repeated retrieval was especially marked for younger children and for children who provided poor narratives in their first interview. This study provides practical guidelines for social work practitioners. The study stresses the importance of repeated retrieval when interviewing children on alleged abuse. The results of the current study emphasize that the first retrieval from memory is never enough. Rather, repeated open-ended questioning can produce richer narratives from children that contain forensically relevant information.

Odinot, G., Memon, A., La Rooy, D., & Millen, A. (2013). Are two interviews better than one? Eyewitness memory across repeated cognitive interviews. *PLoS One, 8*(10), e76305.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0076305>
[Full text](#)

Eyewitnesses to a filmed event were interviewed twice using a Cognitive Interview to examine the effects of variations in delay between the repeated interviews (immediately & 2 days; immediately & 7 days; 7 & 9 days) and the identity of the interviewers (same or different across the two repeated interviews). Hypermnnesia (an increase in total amount of information recalled in the repeated interview) occurred without any decrease in the overall accuracy. Reminiscence (the recall of new information in the repeated interview) was also found in all conditions but was least apparent in the longest delay condition, and came with little cost to the overall accuracy of information gathered. The number of errors, increased across the interviews, but the relative accuracy of participants' responses was unaffected. However, when accuracy was calculated based on all unique details provided across both interviews and compared to the accuracy of recall in just the first interview it was found to be slightly lower. The identity of the interviewer (whether the same or different across interviews) had no effects on the number of correct details. There was an

increase in recall of new details with little cost to the overall accuracy of information gathered. Importantly, these results suggest that witnesses are unlikely to report everything they remember during a single Cognitive Interview, however exhaustive, and a second opportunity to recall information about the events in question may provide investigators with additional information.

O'Neill, S., & Zajac, R. (2013). The role of repeated interviewing in children's responses to cross-examination-style questioning: Cross-examination and repeated interviewing. *British Journal of Psychology*, *104*(1), 14–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8295.2011.02096.x>

The negative effect of cross-examination-style questioning on children's accuracy is likely to be due to the complex and credibility-challenging questions that characterize the interview. Given that cross-examination occurs after at least one prior interview, however, it is equally possible that repeated interviewing per se impairs children's accuracy, and that the questions asked have little bearing on children's responses. To examine this issue, 5- and 6-year-old children (n= 82) and 9- and 10-year-old children (n= 103) took part in a surprise event and were then interviewed using an analogue of direct examination. Either 1 week or 6 months later, half of the children were re-interviewed with an analogue of cross-examination designed to challenge their direct examination responses. Remaining children were re-interviewed with the same questions that were asked during direct examination. Children's accuracy decreased following their second interview, irrespective of age or delay; however, delay particularly impacted younger children's second interview performance. Children's accuracy was most impaired following a cross-examination-style interview. Overall, cross-examination-style questioning appears to be particularly detrimental to obtaining accurate event reports from children.

Saykaly, C., Talwar, V., Lindsay, R. C. L., Bala, N. C., & Lee, K. (2013). The influence of multiple interviews on the verbal markers of children's deception. *Law and Human Behavior*, *37*(3), 187-196. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000023>

This study investigated different verbal expressive markers of children recounting both true and false events. Seventy-eight children (M age 7.58 years) interacted with a research assistant on 3 consecutive days. All children played a game that included a touching component in which the research assistant placed stickers on the child's body. Parents were then asked to coach their children to lie during subsequent interviews occurring 1 week later. Children were interviewed

over 3 consecutive days. Results indicated that verbal expressive markers (e.g., cognitive operations, spontaneous corrections, admissions of lack of knowledge, temporal markers) of true and intentionally false reports were different in the first interview. However, these differences disappeared over subsequent interviews. Results of the current study highlight the importance of recording the first interview in which children disclose, particularly when using verbal markers as indicators of deception.

Williams, J., Nelson-Gardell, D., Faller, K. C., Cordisco-Steele, L., & Tishelman, A. (2013). Is there a place for extended assessments for evaluating concerns about child sexual abuse? Perceptions of 1,294 child maltreatment professionals. *Journal of Forensic Social Work*, 3(2), 88-105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1936928X.2013.763504>

This article reports findings from an online survey of child maltreatment professionals about use of extended assessments when maltreatment concerns cannot be resolved in a single interview. Respondents from 50 states, the District of Columbia, and three territories reported mean years of experience of about 15 years. The overwhelming majority of respondents saw the need for and endorsed a wide range of child and context characteristics appropriate for extended assessments. The most common were cases where children denied abuse despite evidence to the contrary, cases with multiple types of maltreatment, cases with preschool age children, and cases with children with disabilities. On average about a fourth of the children seen in their work would benefit from an extended assessment. More than one fourth of respondents actually conducted extended assessments. Respondents identified barriers and drawbacks to extended assessments, including lack of funding and training, and concerns about contaminating the child's account.

Brown, D., Pipe, M. E., Lewis, C., Lamb, M. E., & Orbach, Y. (2012). How do body diagrams affect the accuracy and consistency of children's reports of bodily touch across repeated interviews?. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 26(2), 174-181. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.1828>

We examined the amount, accuracy, and consistency of information reported by 58 5- to 7-year-old children about a staged event that included physical contact/touching. Both 1 and 7 months following the event, children were asked both open and yes/no questions about touch [i] when provided with human body diagrams (HBDs), [ii] following instruction and practice using the HBDs, or [iii] without HBDs. Children interviewed with HBDs reported more information at 7

months, but a high proportion of inaccurate touches. Children seldom repeated touch-related information across the two interviews and did not incorporate errors made in the 1-month interview into their open-ended accounts 6 months later. Asking children to talk about innocuous touch may lead them to report unreliable information, especially when HBDs are used as aids and repeated interviews are conducted across delays that resemble those typical of forensic contexts. © 2011 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Orbach, Y., Lamb, M. E., La Rooy, D., & Pipe, M. E. (2012). A case study of witness consistency and memory recovery across multiple investigative interviews. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 26(1), 118-129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559509351742>
[Full text](#)

Access to audio recordings of five interviews (Interviews 2–6), and to the interviewer’s contemporaneous notes during an initial unrecorded interview, made it possible to assess consistency across repeated attempts by a 9-year-old to describe her older sister’s abduction from their shared bedroom. Information provided in each of the interviews was systematically analysed to determine whether each unit of information was new, consistent (repeated) or contradictory in relation to earlier reported information and whether any informative detail provided in the witness’ initial interview was subsequently omitted. In addition, the witness’ accounts were compared with details provided by the victim upon her rescue. This case analysis is particularly informative in light of widespread professional concerns about the effects of repeated interviewing on the quality and accuracy of children’s accounts of experienced events. Copyright © 2011 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Faller, K. C., Grabarek, M., Nelson-Gardell, D., & Williams, J. (2011). Techniques employed by forensic interviewers conducting extended assessments: Results from a multi-site study. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 20(3), 237-259. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2011.557031>

This study employs multi-site data from extended assessments of 137 children suspected of sexual abuse to examine what interview techniques evaluators use and what techniques yield information related to sexual abuse. Frequently used techniques were general assessment activities; touching education; nonleading, abuse-focused questions; and prevention education. Infrequently used techniques were anatomical dolls, standard anatomical drawings, and narrative elaboration.

Techniques with higher yields of confirmatory details about sexual abuse were anatomical dolls, cognitive interviews, and narrative elaboration. Lower yield techniques were general assessment activities, touch education, hand-drawn anatomical drawings, and prevention education. Techniques associated with a rating of sexual abuse likely were the use of anatomical dolls and anatomical drawings.

Faller, K. C., Cordisco-Steele, L., & Nelson-Gardell, D. (2010). Allegations of sexual abuse of a child: What to do when a single forensic interview isn't enough. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 19*(5), 572-589. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2010.511985>

This article describes the state of knowledge about extended assessments/forensic evaluations in situations of possible sexual abuse. It provides a critical review of the modest body of relevant research, describes two models for extended assessments, and presents descriptive survey findings of 62 professionals conducting extended assessments, most of whom conduct extended assessments intermittently as part of their other work on sexual abuse cases. Agencies should consider conducting extended assessments with young or traumatized children whose sexual abuse allegations are not resolved with a single interview as well as in complex child sexual abuse cases.

Faller, K. C., & Nelson-Gardell, D. (2010). Extended evaluations in cases of child sexual abuse: How many sessions are sufficient?. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 19*(6), 648-668. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2010.522494>

This article provides new findings from a national study involving 18 forensic interview sites of 137 children who were randomly assigned to a four or eight session extended evaluation. Cases assigned to the eight session protocol were significantly more likely to be classified “credible disclosure” of sexual abuse (56.6%) than cases assigned to the four session protocol (29.5%) and significantly less likely to be classified “credible nondisclosure” of sexual abuse (9.2%) than cases in the four session protocol (24.6%). When four versus eight sessions, demographic variables, and case characteristics were entered into a regression, variables that predicted likelihood of sexual abuse were eight session protocol, older victim age, and caretaker belief the child had been sexually abused. When new disclosures were examined by session in the eight session protocol, 95% of new disclosures occurred by the sixth session.

La Rooy, D., Katz, C., Malloy, L. C., & Lamb, M. E. (2010). Do we need to rethink guidance on repeated interviews?. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 16(4), 373-392.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019909>

[Full text](#)

Within the legal system, children are frequently interviewed about their experiences more than once, with different information elicited in different interviews. The presumed positive and negative effects of multiple interviewing have generated debate and controversy within the legal system and among researchers. Some commentators emphasize that repeated interviews foster inaccurate recall and are inherently suggestive, whereas others emphasize the benefits of allowing witnesses more than 1 opportunity to recall information. In this article, we briefly review the literature on repeated interviewing before presenting a series of cases highlighting what happens when children are interviewed more than once for various reasons. We conclude that, when interviewers follow internationally recognized best-practice guidelines emphasizing open-questions and free memory recall, alleged victims of abuse should be interviewed more than once to ensure that more complete accounts are obtained. Implications for current legal guidelines concerning repeated interviewing are discussed.

La Rooy, D., Lamb, M. E., & Pipe, M.-E. (2009). Repeated interviewing: A critical evaluation of the risks and potential benefits. In K. Kuehnle & M. Connell (Eds.), *The evaluation of child sexual abuse allegations: A comprehensive guide to assessment and testimony* (pp. 327-361). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Despite the universal preference for single forensic interviews, children are rarely questioned about abuse only once. Although repeated interviewing has been the subject of previous reviews, this chapter includes many studies that have been undertaken in the past decade. The studies in this review involved children ranging in age from 2 to 13 years, with a small number of studies also including adult comparison groups. The experiences that children were asked to recall ranged from short video clips to medical emergencies, with retention intervals ranging from a few minutes to many years. In every study, however, researchers interviewed the children more than once about an experience. This chapter focuses on three basic issues: First is the most basic question, what happens to the amount and accuracy of information reported in response to free recall and open-ended questioning across repeated interviews? Stated differently, when children are interviewed in a manner that is consistent with best practice and are not influenced suggestively outside the

interview context, do repeated interviews have beneficial or detrimental effects on children's accounts? Second, how should information that is consistently reported across repeated interviews, and that which is newly reported in repeated interviews, each be characterized? In particular, is it possible to generalize about the likely accuracy of each of these types of information? Third, what is the relationship between repeated interviewing and suggestibility? Does repeated interviewing necessarily increase suggestibility, as many commentators seem to believe? These basic issues are framed within a developmental context. (PsycINFO Database Record © 2016 APA, all rights reserved)

Leander, L. (2010). Police interviews with child sexual abuse victims: Patterns of reporting, avoidance and denial. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 34(3), 192-205.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2009.09.011>

The present study investigated 27 sexually abused children's reports about abuse photographs or video films), proving that abuse had occurred. The interviews with the children were analyzed regarding amount and type of information reported, and the frequency of denial and avoidance. Furthermore, children's reporting on different interview occasions was investigated. Children reported significantly more neutral information from the abusive acts per se than sexual information. The children were also highly avoidant and, on several occasions, denied that (documented) sexual acts had occurred. Furthermore, the second and third interviews generated twice as many (new) sexual details as the first interview. The children also produced more denials and avoidances at the first interview compared to subsequent interviews. The present study indicates that sexually abused children maybe highly resistant to reporting about the abuse in police interviews, and that two or three interviews may be needed to enable children to give complete and informative reports. It is of vital importance that professionals within the legal system be aware of this problem when conducting child interviews and when evaluating the reliability of child sexual abuse reports. © 2010 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Cederborg, A. C., La Rooy, D., & Lamb, M. E. (2008). Repeated interviews with children who have intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, 21(2), 103-113. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-3148.2007.00372.x>
[Full text](#)

We predicted that repeated interviewing would improve the informativeness of children with intellectual disabilities who were questioned in criminal investigations. The chronological ages of the 19 children, involved in 20 cases, ranged between 4.7 and 18 years ($M = 10.3$ years) at the time of the first alleged abuse. The utterances used by interviewers to elicit information in both initial and later interviews were examined. We then assessed the substantive information provided in both interviews and compared information elicited using focused questions in the initial interview with responses about the same topic elicited using open questions in the second interview. The hypothesis was supported: over 80% of the information reported in the repeated interviews was about completely new topics or was new information elaborating upon previously discussed topics. However, because the interviewing techniques were so poor in both first and second interviews, information provided in the repeated interviews may have been contaminated irrespective of the children's capacities. When children with intellectual disabilities are given a second chance to provide information about their abuse, they can further develop the information that they report and even provide entirely new information about their experiences. When interviewers are not specially trained in how to interview children with intellectual disabilities, we cannot assume that repeated interviews provide reliable and accurate information, however.

Goodman, G. S., & Quas, J. A. (2008). Repeated interviews and children's memory: It's more than just how many. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 17(6), 386-390.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2008.00611.x>

A crucial issue in the study of eyewitness memory concerns effects of repeated interviews on children's memory accuracy. There is growing belief that exposure to repeated interviews causes increased errors. In some situations, it may. Yet, several studies reveal increased accuracy with repeated interviewing, even when the interviews include misleading questions. We review repeated-interview research in relation to event veracity, interviewer bias, and delay. We conclude that when and how children are interviewed is at least as important for their accuracy as is how many times they are interviewed.

La Rooy, D. J., & Lamb, M. E. (2008). What happens when young witnesses are interviewed more than once?. *Forensic Update*, 95, 25-28.

[Full text](#)

Hershkowitz, I., & Terner, A. (2007). The effects of repeated interviewing on children's forensic statements of sexual abuse. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 21(9), 1131-1143.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.1319>

Multiple interviews with children alleging sexual abuse are not uncommon. Researchers expressed concern that repeated investigations may create and preserve inaccurate details. However, studies indicated that repeated open-ended interviews are not necessarily harmful and may have advantages. Forensic interviews were conducted with 40 children, alleged victims of sexual abuse, according to the NICHD investigative protocol. The children were re-interviewed after a short break. The information obtained in the second interview was almost 25% new. The first interview yielded a larger number of details, both central and peripheral, but the proportion of central details was larger in the second interview. The proportion of details repeated in both interviews was surprisingly low, and most of the original information was not included. Older children repeated more information than younger ones. The data suggest that a repeated forensic interview may elicit new information and preserve central details. © 2006 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Quas, J. A., Malloy, L. C., Melinder, A., Goodman, G. S., D'mello, M., & Schaaf, J. (2007). Developmental differences in the effects of repeated interviews and interviewer bias on young children's event memory and false reports. *Developmental Psychology*, 43(4), 823-837. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.4.823>

[Full text](#)

The present study investigated developmental differences in the effects of repeated interviews and interviewer bias on children's memory and suggestibility. Three- and 5-year-olds were singly or repeatedly interviewed about a play event by a highly biased or control interviewer. Children interviewed once by the biased interviewer after a long delay made the most errors. Children interviewed repeatedly, regardless of interviewer bias, were more accurate and less likely to falsely claim that they played with a man. In free recall, among children questioned once after a long delay by the biased interviewer, 5-year-olds were more likely than were 3-year-olds to claim falsely that they played with a man. However, in response to direct questions, 3-year-olds were more easily manipulated into implying that they played with him. Findings suggest that interviewer

bias is particularly problematic when children's memory has weakened. In contrast, repeated interviews that occur a short time after a to-be-remembered event do not necessarily increase children's errors, even when interviews include misleading questions and interviewer bias. Implications for developmental differences in memory and suggestibility are discussed.

Melnyk, L., & Bruck, M. (2004). Timing moderates the effects of repeated suggestive interviewing on children's eyewitness memory. *Applied Cognitive Psychology, 18*(5), 613-631. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.1013>

The relative role of the timing and repetition of misinformation on the accuracy of children's recall was examined in two experiments. Kindergarten children participated in a magic show and about 40 days later had a memory test. Between the magic show and the memory test, the children were suggestively interviewed either one time in a relatively 'early' interview (temporally closer to the magic show than the memory test) or a relatively 'late' interview (closer to the memory test than the magic show), or in both suggestive interviews. The timing of the suggestive interviewing was manipulated so that the interview was temporally distant from the event or memory test or temporally close to the event or memory test. Repeated interviewing heightened misinformation effects only when the children received the two interview sessions temporally close to the event and memory test. © 2004 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Santtila, P., Korkman, J., & Kenneth Sandnabba, N. (2004). Effects of interview phase, repeated interviewing, presence of a support person, and anatomically detailed dolls on child sexual abuse interviews. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 10*(1), 21-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316021000044365>

A non-representative sample of 27 investigative interviews with suspected victims of child sexual abuse (CSA) in Finland were analysed. Aspects such as the effects of interview phase, repeated interviewing, another (related) person attending the interview, as well as the use of anatomically detailed (AD) dolls were considered. The number of new details reported by the child was higher in the beginning, while the number of focused and suggestive question types increased towards the end of the interviews. The results of repeated interviewing were mixed: repeated interviews contained more words and descriptive answers by the child, while, however, also containing more suggestive questions. Another person attending the interview was found to be associated with the child being less informative and the interviewer posing more suggestive questions than when

another person was not present. Similar effects were found to be associated with the use of AD dolls. The implications of the findings for child abuse investigations were discussed.

Carnes, C. N., Nelson-Gardell, D., Wilson, C., & Orgassa, U. C. (2001). Extended forensic evaluation when sexual abuse is suspected: A multisite field study. *Child Maltreatment*, 6(3), 230-242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559501006003004>

A subset of children referred due to suspected sexual abuse require more than one interview for professionals to reach an opinion about the veracity of allegations. The National Children's Advocacy Center's forensic evaluation model was designed for that specific group of children. The multisite study of the model reported here followed a 2-year pilot study. Professionals in 12 states adopted the model and collected data for 2 years on a total of 147 participants. In 44.5% of the cases, a credible disclosure was obtained, with 73% of these cases supported in the legal system. The forensic evaluation procedure yielded clear information to be used in child protection and prosecutory decisions in 64% of the cases (combining cases with credible disclosures and abuse unlikely findings). Finally, the study examined the effects of the length of the evaluation and of the case and child characteristics on evaluation outcomes.

Peterson, C., Moores, L., & White, G. (2001). Recounting the same events again and again: Children's consistency across multiple interviews. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 15(4), 353-371. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.708>

Children (2–13 years at time of injury) were interviewed four times about an injury that required hospital Emergency Room treatment, namely at 1 week, 6 months, 1 year, and 2 years. The consistency of children's reports was assessed and all children gave mostly the same information at each interview, although consistency was higher for older children and for injury rather than hospital details. Furthermore, details recalled at every interview were virtually always accurate while details that were sometimes omitted were a little less likely to be accurate. New information that was introduced after 6 months was more likely to be accurate than inaccurate but new information introduced at 1 or 2 years post-injury was just as likely to be wrong as right (except for 12–13-year-olds). Implications for forensic situations are discussed. Copyright © 2001 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Salmon, K., & Pipe, M. E. (2000). Recalling an event one year later: The impact of props, drawing and a prior interview. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 14(2), 99-120. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-0720](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0720)

One hundred and one 5-year-old children were interviewed about a routine health assessment carried out at school following delays of both 3 days and 1 year or 1 year only. Children were interviewed with prototypical medical items and a doll (props), with verbal prompts only (verbal), or with drawing (drawing). There was a decrease in both the amount and the accuracy of the information children reported over the 1-year delay, but no effect of the prior (3-day) interview. Children interviewed with props recalled more information than those asked to draw or interviewed with verbal prompts only, particularly at the long delay. Correct information was more likely to be repeated across interviews than were errors, and, whereas information repeated across interviews was highly reliable, information introduced for the first time after 1 year was not, particularly when children drew. These findings have important implications in applied contexts such as when children are called upon to provide testimony following very long delays. Copyright © 2000 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Carnes, C. N., Wilson, C., & Nelson-Gardell, D. (1999). Extended forensic evaluation when sexual abuse is suspected: A model and preliminary data. *Child Maltreatment*, 4(3), 242-254. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559599004003005>

This article describes an extended forensic evaluation model, designed and piloted at the National Children's Advocacy Center (NCAC). The design and rationale of the NCAC forensic evaluation model are described. Outcomes achieved by using the model for 2 years are documented. Also described is a multisite research project, which is currently under way, that involves more than 30 Children's Advocacy Centers across the United States. This project will further test the efficacy of the model and refine its practice.

Powell, M. B., & Thomson, D. M. (1997). The effect of an intervening interview on children's ability to remember one occurrence of a repeated event. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 2(2), 247-262. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8333.1997.tb00346.x>

The effect of an intervening interview on 4–5- and 6–8-year-old children's ability to remember an occurrence of a repeated event at six-weeks' delay was examined. The timing of the interpolated

interview and the final test were also systematically examined. Children experienced six occurrences of an event which were highly similar; each occurrence had the same underlying structure but included unpredictable variations in the specific exemplars of items or ‘instantiations’ across the series. All children were required to recall the instantiation of each item that was included in the final occurrence in the series. The results indicated that inclusion of a one-week interpolated interview enhanced the number of correct instantiations that could be recalled about the occurrence in a six-week interview compared to when there was no interpolated interview. However, the effect of the interpolated interview on subsequent recall was reduced when the second interview was extended to three months. In fact, the decline in performance of children who were interviewed at a one-week delay and again at a three-month delay was such that these children received no more benefit from the initial interview than children who received their first interview at a six-week delay. Interestingly, the performance of the latter children improved rather than declined in the second interview. The implications of the findings for children's eyewitness testimony are discussed.

Fivush, R., & Schwarzmüller, A. (1995). Say it once again: Effects of repeated questions on children's event recall. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 8(4), 555-580.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.2490080404>

In this paper, we review research examining the influences of repeated questioning on children's event recall. Issues addressed include how children's free recall changes across multiple recounts of the same event, whether responding to specific questions about an event affects subsequent responses to those same questions, and whether there are developmental differences in how children respond to repeated questioning. Both naturalistic studies of conversational remembering and more controlled studies using standardized interviews are discussed. Effects of repeated questioning both within and across interviews are assessed. In integrating the research findings, we present a developmental framework for understanding the effects of repeated questioning that relies on children's developing memory and narrative skills as well as their social understanding of the recall context.