

THE TRAINING OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

RALPH CRAWSHAW

“Ainsi que la vertu, le crime a ses degrés”¹

The prevention and detection of crime are virtuous activities, but not unreservedly so. The degree of virtue present in those activities can be, and is, diminished by the means adopted to carry them out. Sometimes those means are themselves criminal and take on varying degrees of criminality so that they can become more heinous than the crime against which they are directed. Crimes such as torture or those which subvert the right to a fair trial, committed by people dignified by the authority of the state to exercise power over their fellow citizens, are at least as serious as most crimes committed by common criminals.

Social, political and economic changes taking place at national and supra-national levels present significant challenges to police agencies and to police leaders throughout Europe. Some forms of serious criminality and some current concerns about policing derive from, or are exacerbated by, these changes. Concerns about policing revolve not only around the extent to which police are able to prevent and detect crime and maintain or restore order, but also around police behaviour.

It is a fundamental function of police to maintain social order and the rule of law so that change within and between societies can take place constitutionally, lawfully and peacefully. For this function to be fulfilled it is necessary for police leaders to have a sophisticated awareness of the nature and extent of that change and of its implications for the ends and means of policing. The ends of policing

¹ Racine (1677), “Phèdre” IV.ii.

include the prevention and detection of serious crime, and the means of policing include the requirement to respect human rights.

Police leaders then have to adapt the organisations they command and manage so that those organisations can respond effectively, lawfully and humanely to the changing environment within which they function. Training of police leaders to manage change is an essential element, perhaps the essential element, of a policing response to serious crime which requires respect for human rights. Furthermore leadership training must focus on the normative aspects of policing and police leadership, as well as on the technical aspects of policing and the technical aspects of the command and management of police organisations. In this way police leaders can be equipped to command and manage their organisations in such a way that the prevention and detection of crime become and remain entirely virtuous activities.

It is here argued that the normative and technical aspects of policing are inextricably linked; that there is no conflict, nor even tension, between human rights and policing; and that not only must police respect human rights in the process of policing, it is actually a function of policing to protect human rights. These arguments are made and illustrated by reference to human rights standards on the treatment of detainees, which include especially the prohibition on torture, and international standards on interrogation of suspects – a technical policing skill significant in relation to the investigation of crime and, when it is lacking, significant in relation to serious human rights abuses.

Ways in which normative aspects of policing are dealt with through courses, seminars and workshops for police arranged by organisations disseminating international human rights and humanitarian standards are considered, as are, to a lesser extent, national initiatives. However, it is first necessary to consider the relationship between human rights and policing.

1. Human rights and policing – A symbiotic relationship

In countries where democratic forms of government and the rule of law prevail, respect for human rights and effective policing are mutually dependent upon each other. Democratic government requires, in fact subsumes, democratic policing, for government by consent includes the notion of policing by consent. Principles of democratic policing are set out in the United Nations General Assembly resolution 34/169 of 17 December 1979 by which the United

Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials was adopted. The resolution requires, inter alia, that “every law enforcement agency should be representative of and responsive and accountable to the community as a whole”.

A number of human rights² are essential for democracy to prevail but, at the same time, human rights are more likely to be respected and protected under democratic government where policing is representative, responsive and accountable to the community. One of the factors necessary for effective policing in democratic states is the support and cooperation of the community for the police. This is more likely to be forthcoming if the relationship of the police with the community is governed by the principles of democratic policing and characterised by lawful and humane exercise of power by police. Lawful exercise of police power is another aspect of the relationship between human rights and policing.

1.1. The Lawful Exercise of Power

Human rights are protected by law, international law and the law of states, which expresses human rights and their legal limitations, and defines police powers which are largely a reflection of those limitations. For example, Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights guarantees the right to liberty and security of the person. It then defines the limits on that right by stipulating that there shall be no deprivation of liberty “save in the following cases and in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law”.³ This terminology means that the list of six permissible reasons

² See for example the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association in Articles 18,19 and 20 respectively of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and Articles 9,10 and 11 respectively of the European Convention on Human Rights.

³ The cases listed are lawful detention after conviction by a competent court; lawful arrest or detention for non-compliance with the lawful order of a court in order to secure fulfilment of any obligation prescribed by law; lawful arrest or detention for the purpose of bringing a person before the competent legal authority on reasonable suspicion of having committed an offence; the detention of a minor by lawful order for the purpose of educational supervision or for the purpose of bringing him before the competent legal authority; lawful detention for the prevention of the spreading of infectious diseases, of persons of unsound mind, alcoholics or drug addicts, or vagrants; lawful arrest or detention to prevent unauthorised entry into the country or with a view to deportation or extradition.

for deprivation of liberty is exhaustive, and that, if deprivation of liberty is to occur, domestic law must establish procedures for the exercise of lawful power to arrest or detain.

Clearly the exercise of power in this domain, deprivation of liberty, as in all other domains, must be lawful. However in every state, to a greater or lesser extent, the power to arrest and detain, and other powers, are abused by police for a variety of reasons. These include ignorance of law and procedures, inadequacy of technical policing ability, and “necessity”. This last reason is in fact a justification for violating human rights in the interests of some perceived higher public good such as securing the conviction of a suspect in a particular case or maintaining social order generally. All of these reasons are destructive of human rights and of effective policing, but the last one is particularly so.

Basic police functions include enforcing the law, upholding the rule of law, and maintaining social order. When police break the law, for whatever reason, they subvert their own functions. They undermine the rule of law, and they commit a grave breach of social order – they create the disorder of criminal abuse of power. Considered in these terms, effective policing must include the notions of lawfulness and respect for human rights. Policing cannot be judged according to such limited criteria as the prevention and detection of a number of crimes, or the restoration of social order when social unrest has occurred on particular occasions. In democratic states governed by the rule of law the technical aspects of policing cannot be considered separately from the normative aspects, they are inextricably bound together.

This is the principal strand to the argument that the relationship between human rights and policing is symbiotic. It is also the main justification for stating that abuse of power by the police is destructive of effective policing, but there are other justifications. In the long term, human rights abuse by the police leads to loss of confidence by the community in the police and, hence, to diminishing support and cooperation. Furthermore, systematic or large-scale abuse of human rights seriously impedes the development of technical policing skills necessary for effective policing.

1.2. Respect for and protection of human rights

Two other aspects of the relationship between human rights and policing need to be considered briefly. The first is self-evident but needs to be expressed – human rights are to be respected in the

processes of policing. Human rights standards stipulate **the ways in which** policing is to be carried out. The second is rarely expressed but needs to be more so. The protection of human rights is a **function** of policing. It is so closely bound up with the other, more generally expressed, functions of policing that it deserves to be expressed as a function in its own right.

Police perform this function in a variety of ways. For example, the protection and delivery of various categories of rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural – are dependent upon sophisticated forms of government and of social organisation. For these to function there needs to be a certain level of peace and order in society, and one of the purposes of policing is to maintain that peace and order. In this sense policing contributes to the protection and delivery of every type of right – including rights not normally associated with policing. When the different rights are considered individually it can be seen that the police protect these in very specific ways. For example, treaty provisions protecting the right to life⁴ require that the right to life should be protected by law. One of the ways in which states meet this obligation is to outlaw certain forms of killing. It is a function of police to prevent and detect crimes of homicide, and in this way police contribute to the protection of the right to life.

From this account of the relationship between human rights and policing it follows that training in the normative aspects of police work is of paramount importance, and that effective, lawful and humane policing is dependent upon this type of training as well as on training in technical aspects of policing. This point is revisited when training in relation to the treatment of detainees and the technical policing skill of interrogating suspects of crime are considered.

Before this, however, it will be useful to review the work of some organisations which are involved in disseminating international human rights and humanitarian standards on policing, and to attempt to gauge the extent and nature of national initiatives in this area.

⁴ The right to life is protected, for example, under Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

2. Human rights and policing – Training initiatives

2.1. *International Initiatives*

Earlier efforts in this field appear to have involved displacing and disorienting groups of high-powered international lawyers by flying them halfway around the globe and asking them to lecture groups of bemused police officials on the finer points of *jus cogens*, the travaux préparatoires for the Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, and the arcane workings of the Human Rights Commission.

This, somewhat overstated, parody of what actually did happen is concocted to make the point that, whilst training in technical policing cannot and should not be attempted in a human rights seminar or workshop, the content of such programmes should be related to day-to-day policing concerns.

The United Nations Centre for Human Rights, located at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, was one of the pioneers in this field, and the dedicated and industrious officials of the Centre responsible for organising human rights programmes for police, very quickly developed a set of nine working principles on which such programmes should be based.⁵ The principles are designed to ensure that human rights programmes for police are presented by resource persons who have expertise in policing; are relevant to the needs of each specific group of participants; contribute to the spread of good policing

⁵ These principles are set out in a background paper prepared for a Council of Europe Seminar on Human Rights and the Police held in Strasbourg between 6-8 December 1995, and in Chapter 1 of the Centre for Human Rights publication **Human Rights and Law Enforcement – A Manual on Human Rights Training for Police** (Professional Training Series No. 5). The Principles require, for example:

- collegial presentations (presentations on programmes to be made by resource persons expert in policing and training police);
- the training of trainers (so that the impact of programmes is multiplied through a commitment of trainers to conduct training programmes based on the one they attended);
- practical approach (providing practical information and examples of good practice in relation to each aspect of police work considered);
- teaching to sensitize (by extending the goals of programmes beyond the imparting of standards and the dissemination of good practice to include exercises designed to sensitize participants to their own potential to violate standards).

practice; and that there is maximum dissemination of human rights standards within the client agency.

The United Nations Centre for Human Rights draws from a continuously developing list of resource persons to conduct its programmes in a wide variety of countries. The principles have been successfully applied to training programmes for police officials engaged in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations, which is located in Vienna, has also organised training programmes for police officials in a number of countries. These combine a substantial practical element with human rights standards, and standards of particular relevance to the activities of the Branch.⁶

The presentation of practically based programmes, which at the same time are not attempts to provide technical training for police, is one of the objectives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in its dissemination activities in this particular field. The ICRC is best known for its primary activities of providing protection and assistance to military and civilian victims of armed conflicts, and for its dissemination of international humanitarian law – particularly through training programmes for members of armed forces.⁷

The increasing number of internal conflicts; the difficulty on occasions of distinguishing between armed conflicts (in which military are generally deployed), and conflicts falling below that threshold (in which police or paramilitary police agencies are deployed); and the fact that police operations to control internal violence increasingly give rise to humanitarian problems comparable to those arising during armed conflicts are all factors which led the ICRC to develop a dissemination programme for police.

Its programmes, which are flexible and adaptable to the needs of specific audiences, focus on the rules of international humanitarian law (and particularly those of relevance to police officials), as well as on appropriate human rights standards. Teaching material,

⁶ For example, as set out in the **Compendium of United Nations Norms in Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice**, United Nations, New York, 1992. (United Nations Publication Sales No. E.92.IV.1 ISBN 92-1-130148-3).

⁷ The mandate for the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross is based on the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977, as well as its own Statute.

including role play exercises, has been produced for these programmes, and, whilst the programmes and material have proved relevant and acceptable to civil police agencies not for the time being confronted with any form of conflict, they are particularly relevant to the needs of para-military police agencies and to civil police agencies responding to internal tension or conflict.

Another institution with expertise in international human rights law and international humanitarian law is the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law based at the University of Lund in Sweden. The Raoul Wallenberg Institute offers programmes based on these disciplines to politicians, government officials, the judiciary, lawyers, the military and police in many countries. It is particularly active in Africa. The Institute draws on the talents of its own staff and on external resource persons with the necessary expertise. Its programmes are practically based and, because of its administrative efficiency and the adaptability of its staff and resource persons, the Institute can respond at short notice to meet requests for a wide variety of training and educational needs.

In addition to the programmes it runs abroad, the Institute holds seminars for a variety of officials, including police officials, at its premises in Lund. It also organises study visits for such officials. Some participants in the seminars in Lund have already benefited from programmes offered by the Institute in their home countries and, by attending the Institute, are able to extend their knowledge and awareness of human rights and humanitarian standards.

The final, but not the least significant, player on the international scene referred to in this context is the Council of Europe which seeks to promote its statutory principles of parliamentary democracy, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. The Directorate of Human Rights of the Council of Europe has taken a number of initiatives in relation to police training which include: the publication of a handbook⁸ "Human Rights and the Police" by John Alderson, a distinguished former chief officer of police; the holding of a meeting of directors and representatives of police academies and police training institutions in Strasbourg in 1990; the publication and

⁸ J. Alderson, **Human rights and the police**. Council of Europe Press, Strasbourg, 1994.

distribution of a document⁹ on “The Police and the European Convention on Human Rights” by Peter Duffy, a barrister; human rights training for Turkish police officials through study visits to Sweden, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Germany; human rights training for Albanian police officials and members of the Albanian Police Academy through seminars, workshops and study visits; and the holding of a Seminar on Human Rights and the Police in Strasbourg during December 1995.

Other Directorates of the Council of Europe have undertaken activities in this field, including a number of training courses for police organised by the Directorate of Legal Affairs for the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

2.2. *National Initiatives*

For the purposes of the Seminar it organised in Strasbourg in December 1995, the Directorate of Human Rights of the Council of Europe requested participants who were directors or representatives of police academies or police training institutions to provide details of human rights and training for police in their own countries. Representatives from all member States were invited together with representatives from Belarus, Croatia, Russia, “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and the Ukraine.

Representatives from eleven member States¹⁰ responded to this request and, of these, it appeared that human rights were dealt with as a separate and specific subject in training institutions of four states¹¹, and that instruction on international instruments expressing human rights was included on the curricula of training institutions of five states.¹² Other responses indicated that human rights were taught during lessons on other subjects such as “constitutional law” and “police theory”.

Clearly this is inadequate data from which to draw very firm conclusions because of the small number of states responding and

⁹ Peter Duffy, **The Police and the European Convention on Human Rights**. Council of Europe Human Rights Information Centre, Strasbourg, 1995. (DH-AW-PO (95) 23).

¹⁰ Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, Poland, Romania, San Marino, Sweden and Turkey.

¹¹ Denmark, Norway, Poland and Turkey.

¹² Denmark, Finland, Poland, Romania and Turkey.

because the amount of detail provided varied considerably. Furthermore, it is not possible to evaluate the extent or quality of the teaching provided from the responses, and it may be that an institution incorporating the teaching of human rights with other lessons is dealing with the topic adequately.

However, it is possible to form some idea of the state of human rights teaching or training from these responses, and the author of this paper is able to supplement this information with his impressions, having conducted seminars and workshops on human rights for police in many states in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia and Asia.

The responses of participants as described above and the author's impressions from his teaching experiences enable him to conclude, with a fair degree of certainty, that most national training programmes do not address human rights as a separate and significant topic, and that the international dimension of human rights protection is not covered to any great extent. Furthermore, the author concludes from his own involvement in teaching human rights to police that there is fairly widespread resistance to the notion of human rights among police, and that many police officials do feel that they are entitled to violate, or justified in violating, human rights in the course of their duties.

The author also concludes that, whilst the extent to which human rights are respected or protected in the numerous countries in which he has conducted programmes varies enormously, the attitudes of police officials to human rights, and expressions of the perceived justification for violating them, do not vary to the same degree.

These conclusions emphasise the importance of human rights training for police officials; the importance of proper command, management and supervision of police officials; and the importance of ensuring the legal accountability of individual police officials for their own acts or omissions. The conclusions also suggest that, with few exceptions, human rights training for police officials is inadequate, and this is inimical to enjoyment of human rights and to effective policing.

3. Concomitants – The normative and technical aspects of policing

The effective performance of the profession and craft of policing depends on awareness of, and compliance with, the rules according to which it is to be practised, and the application of technical skills.

Whilst many police officials emphasise, and take a pride in, the practical and pragmatic approach they bring to their duties, and their ability to apply “common sense” to situations they face, all of the technical skills they require have sound theoretical bases and they ignore these at their peril.

These essential links between the normative and the technical aspects of policing, and between the theory and practice of policing, are particularly apparent in the area of policing taken to illustrate these points – that concerning the treatment of detainees and, more specifically, the interrogation of detainees suspected of crime. The power and ability to deprive a person of his or her liberty and to question that person is an essential element of the investigative process, especially in relation to the investigation of serious crime.

3.1. International standards on the protection of detainees

In essence the international standards on the treatment of detainees express the total and absolute prohibition on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment¹³, and they express the right to humane treatment as a detainee.¹⁴ They also set out a number of other rights and safeguards upon which these are contingent, for example rights designed to prevent incommunicado detention and to ensure basic standards of hygiene and comfort for detainees.¹⁵

Torture is defined in Article 1 of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment¹⁶, and part of that definition reads:

“The term ‘torture’ means any act by which severe pain or

¹³ For example: Universal Declaration on Human Rights (Article 5); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 7); European Convention on Human Rights (Article 3).

¹⁴ For example: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 10); Body of Principles for the Protection of all Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (Principle 1).

¹⁵ For example: European Convention on Human Rights (Article 5.3 and 5.4); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 9.3); Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (Principles 12, 16, 17 and 19); Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Rules 9-20).

¹⁶ Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly, resolution 39/46 of 10 December 1984.

suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or confession.”

The definition also stipulates that torture is an act committed “by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity”. As far as police officials are concerned, the prohibition on torture under international law is expressed in the following way in Article 5 of the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials¹⁷:

“No law enforcement official may inflict, instigate or tolerate any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, nor may any law enforcement official invoke superior orders or exceptional circumstances such as a state of war or threat of war, a threat to national security, internal political instability or any other public emergency as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”

In spite of the fact that torture is universally condemned and outlawed, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on torture, in his report to the 43rd Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, stated that torture remains a “widespread phenomenon” and that “no society, whatever its political system, is totally immune”.¹⁸ Furthermore, since the Special Rapporteur on torture was first appointed in 1985, most of his annual reports to the Human Rights Commission stress the importance of training police in the prohibition on torture and the humane treatment of detainees.

Recommendations of this nature echo provisions of the Convention against torture (referred to above), and the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment¹⁹ which require training of police officials to take full account of the prohibition against torture.²⁰ Both of these instruments also require states to keep under systematic review interrogation methods and practices as well as arrangements for the custody and treatment of detainees.²¹

¹⁷ Adopted by United Nations General Assembly, resolution 34/169 of 17 December 1975.

¹⁸ Reference E/CN. 4/1987/13.

¹⁹ Adopted by General Assembly, resolution 3452 (XXX) of 9 December 1975.

²⁰ See Article 10 of the Convention and Article 5 of the Declaration.

²¹ See Article 11 of the Convention and Article 6 of the Declaration.

In his report dated 18 December 1989²² to the Commission, the Special Rapporteur called for training of police officials to incorporate teaching in “how to interrogate in a manner which recognises and respects the detainees’ rights and dignity”. This recommendation is important because, whilst his other recommendations could be read as calls for training simply in the standards on the treatment of detainees, this is an explicit call for training in a technical policing skill. The question then arises as to what should form the basis of such training.

3.2. *International standards on interrogation of detainees suspected of crime*

One source could be found in a recommendation of the Committee for the Prevention of Torture (established under the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment). In seeking to compile standards, the Committee recommended²³ that legislative provisions could be usefully supplemented by a code of conduct for interrogations which would cover such issues as the systematic informing of detainees of the details of officials conducting the interrogation; rest periods between, and breaks during, interrogation; places where interrogation may take place; and the questioning of vulnerable suspects.

Whilst provisions of this nature express standards of behaviour, and do not address the technical, or skills based, aspects of interrogation, the proposal to add to the, all too few, standards on technical policing matters is noteworthy. Such standards can provide a sound guide for action and a solid basis for training.

The Convention against torture, and the Declaration, require states to keep interrogation methods and practices under review, but provide no benchmark for such reviews – apart from the fact that torture and ill-treatment should not form part of those methods and practices. Some standards on the actual practice of interrogation are, however, set out in the Body of Principles for the Protection of

²² Reference E/CN. 4/1990/17.

²³ Recommendation referred to in a paper by Professor Jim Murdoch, **The European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and its Relevance to Police**. Presented at Council of Europe Seminar on Human Rights and Police at Strasbourg, December 1995 (DH-AW-PO (95) 3).

All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment²⁴, and this is an example of how an instrument expressing international human rights standards can also express standards on a technical policing matter.

Another set of international principles doing this, and doing so more completely, are the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials.²⁵ The fact that international instruments, essentially setting norms of behaviour and conduct, should also embody standards of a practical or technical nature supports the argument that the normative and technical aspects of policing are inseparable.

The standards on interrogation in the Body of Principles are brief and succinct, and they are informed by an awareness of some of the psychological processes involved during interrogation, and by insights into what amounts to "bad practice" in police interrogations of persons suspected of crime. Principle 21 prohibits taking "undue advantage of the situation of a detained or imprisoned person for the purpose of compelling him to confess, to incriminate himself otherwise or to testify against any other person". It also prohibits subjecting a detained person, while being interrogated, "to violence, threats or methods of interrogation which impair his capacity of decision or judgement".

These provisions represent a tentative step into a technical, skills-based area of policing. It is a tentative step because it does not venture very far into that area, and because it expresses prohibitions rather than positive examples of good practice.

Concluding remarks

International standards expressing norms of good behaviour for policing are well established and are probably complete. There is now a pressing need for the formulation of international standards which address key areas of policing and which are informed not only by existing normative standards, but also by sound theory and existing best practice on the technical aspects of those key areas. The absence

²⁴ Adopted by United Nations General Assembly, resolution 43/173 of 9 December 1988.

²⁵ Adopted on 7 September 1990 by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

of standards combining the normative and the technical is one reason why the plethora of normative standards continues to be breached.

The interrogation of persons suspected of crime is an example of one such key area. The results of research into the psychological processes involved in interrogation and confessions provide the necessary theoretical basis²⁶, and examples of good practice in lawful and humane interrogation methods can be found in the publications of various people who have developed and who teach those methods.²⁷

Especially in the absence of standards which expressly and convincingly combine the normative and the technical, police training programmes need to seriously and systematically address the requirements for good behaviour in policing. Good behaviour in policing means police respecting human rights without reservation, and acknowledging and embracing their function to protect human rights. This, in turn, means that human rights must be treated as a separate and significant topic in police training programmes, and that all aspects of technical training must be fully imbued with the requirement to respect and protect human rights.

One way of achieving this is to encourage more extensive co-operation between police academies and the various organisations, referred to above, which already offer human rights training programmes for police. Teaching the international dimension to human rights protection is an indispensable element of human rights education. Good behaviour is an indispensable element of effective policing.

Ralph Crawshaw is extensively involved in the field of human rights and law enforcement, working with the UN Centre for Human Rights, the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Council of Europe.

²⁶ See for example Gisli Gudjonsson, *The Psychology of Confessions, Interrogation and Testimony*. Wiley, Chichester, 1992.

²⁷ See for example E. Shepherd (ed.), *Aspects of Police Interviewing. Issues in Criminal and Legal Psychology*, No. 18. Leicester: British Psychological Society. Teaching of "investigative interviewing techniques" (psychologically based interviewing techniques for questioning victims of crime and witnesses to crime, as well as suspects of crime) is also undertaken, for example, by Aspley Limited of St Albans, Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom.