

disputes that often arise from some combination of forgetting and self-serving distortions in memory. In a study that illustrates this need for an accurate record, Morgan et al. (2004) randomly assigned trainees in a military survival school to undergo a realistic high-stress or low-stress mock interrogation and found, 24 hours later, that those in the high-stress condition had more difficulty identifying their interrogators in a lineup. In real criminal cases, questions about whether rights were administered and waived, whether detectives shouted or physically intimidated the suspect, whether promises or threats were made or implied, and whether the details in a confession emanated from the police or suspect are also among the issues that need to be recalled. Videotaping should thus increase the fact-finding accuracy of judges and juries. For all these reasons, a mandatory videotaping requirement has many advocates (Cassell, 1996b; Drizin & Colgan, 2001; Drizin & Leo, 2004; Gudjonsson, 2003b; Kassin, 2004b; Shuy, 1998; Slobogin, 2003).

In the United States, a National Institute of Justice study revealed that many police and sheriff's departments on their own have videotaped interrogations—and the vast majority found the practice useful (Geller, 1993). More recently, T.P. Sullivan (2004) interviewed officials from 238 police and sheriff's departments in 38 states who voluntarily recorded custodial interrogations and found that they enthusiastically favored the practice. Among the reasons cited were that recording permits detectives to focus on the suspect rather than take copious notes, increases accountability, provides an instant replay of the suspect's statement that reveals information initially overlooked, and reduces the amount of time detectives spend in court defending their interrogation conduct. Countering the most common criticisms, the respondents in this study said that videotaping interrogations is not costly and does not inhibit suspects from talking to police and confessing.

As a matter of policy, it is important not only that entire sessions be recorded, but also that the camera adopt a neutral "equal focus" perspective that shows both the accused and his or her interrogators. In an important program of research, Lassiter and his colleagues taped mock interrogations from three different camera angles so that the suspect, the interrogator, or both were visible to mock jurors. Those who saw only the suspect judged the situation as less coercive than those focused on the interrogator. By directing visual attention toward the accused, the camera can lead jurors to underestimate the amount of pressure actually exerted by the "hidden" detective (Lassiter & Irvine, 1986; Lassiter, Slaw, Briggs, & Scanlan, 1992). Additional studies have confirmed that people are more attuned to the situational factors that elicit confessions when the interrogator is visible on camera than when the focus is solely on the suspect (Lassiter & Geers, 2004; Lassiter, Geers, Munhall, Handley, & Beers, 2001). Under these neutral or balanced circumstances, juries make more informed attributions of voluntariness and guilt when they see not only the

final confession but also the conditions under which it was elicited (Lassiter, Geers, Handley, Weiland, & Munhall, 2002).

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