

RHETORIC IN 'PSYCHIC DETECTION'

by CIARÁN O'KEEFFE and LAURENCE ALISON

ABSTRACT

This study examined the differences between the account-giving styles of psychic detectives compared with a control group. It was hypothesised that psychics would employ many devices commonly associated with known cold reading strategies, a distinct style of account-giving or 'psychic rhetoric'. Eight psychics and twelve controls examined 3 objects from 3 crimes and were asked for their opinions about the likely characteristics of the offender. Although independent *t*-tests confirmed that psychics were no more accurate than controls, content analysis confirmed the hypothesis that psychics relied more heavily on a variety of rhetorical devices.

Key words: psychic detectives, rhetoric, cold reading

INTRODUCTION

There are no studies of sufficient scientific rigour to suggest that psychics are superior to controls in assessing the likely characteristics of an offender from an examination of the details of an offence. Indeed, the few studies that do exist suggest they are no better than comparison groups (Wiseman, West & Stemman, 1996). As well as a paucity of studies on the accuracy issue, there are no studies that directly examine the potential qualitative differences in the style in which accounts are given. This is despite the fact that there are many other areas of research, particularly within the domain of 'cold reading' (Hyman, 1989) that suggest that some psychics use a variety of devices that may enhance the persuasive power, or 'convincingness', of the account.

Wiseman et al. (1996) allude to some aspects of these in their comparison study of students and psychics, stating, "... the psychic detectives' statements sounded more *confident* and *dramatic* than those produced by either the students or the homicide detectives" (p.39, italics added). Reiser and Klyver (1982) also report interesting stylistic features of psychics' accounts. They stated that the psychic detectives produced descriptions that were, on average, six times the length of the student descriptions in addition to sounding more dramatic and confident (Reiser & Klyver, 1982). Indeed, Reiser speculated, in his conclusion, that "possibly, individuals listening to the productions of 'psychics' are persuaded more by the dramatic character of the information produced rather than by its objective merit," (Reiser et al., 1982). Although these speculations allude to ways by which psychic detectives may convince and persuade people to accept the accuracy of information, it has not yet been established what those devices are, how they compare with a control group's account-giving style, or how the devices may be used in conjunction. We refer to this set of devices collectively as 'psychic rhetoric'.

Psychic Rhetoric

Rhetoric is commonly associated with the forms of persuasive discourse employed by 'rhetores', or public orators in Classical Greece (Cockroft & Cockroft, 1992). Rhetoric was considered a strict discipline and students of it

were taught to employ a variety of devices in order to increase the persuasive power or convincingness of their arguments. A significant part of the success of the speech relied upon the way in which the account was delivered, potentially irrespective of its content. Demosthenes, one of the most successful public orators, stated, when asked what branch of oratory occupied first place in importance, "delivery first, delivery second and delivery third" (Quintilian, 1921, XI, iii, 6). Although it has its roots in ancient Greek and Roman culture, rhetoric is a pervasive activity in contemporary society and a variety of social psychologists are developing arguments based on many of the principles of the ancient texts (Billig, 1996). However, in the psychological study of psychic readings, there is no research that directly examines the range of devices that psychics may employ to make their accounts more convincing. This is despite the fact that many of the devices highlighted by previous researchers fall within the more general area of rhetoric. These are outlined below.

Vague Or Ambiguous Statements

The psychologist B. R. Forer found that people tend to accept vague and ambiguous personality descriptions as uniquely applicable to themselves without realising that the same description could be applied to just about anyone (Forer, 1949). This effect has been given the name 'Forer' or 'Barnum' (in deference to circus man P. T. Barnum's reputation as a master psychological manipulator). It is also known as the subjective or the personal validation effect. The Forer Effect essentially provides the listeners with what they want to hear. Hyman (1989) suggests that "once the client is actively engaged in trying to make sense of the series of sometimes contradictory statements issuing from the reader, he becomes a creative problem solver trying to find coherence and meaning in the total set of statements" (Hyman, 1989).

Base Rate Information

Base-rate information, or high-probability statements disguised to appear as though they are obtained through some extraordinary means, may also be employed to make an account look more remarkable than it is.

Sundberg (1955) gave the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) to 44 students. Two psychologists, highly experienced in interpreting the outcome of the MMPI, wrote a personality sketch for each student on the basis of his or her test results. Each student then received two personality sketches—the one actually written for him or her and one prepared by Sundberg prior to the study (a 'stock spiel'). When asked to pick which described him or her better, 26 of the 44 students picked the fake sketch (Hyman, 1989). Part of the reason for this relies on the fact that the information in the profile could be applicable to anyone.

Co-Operative Strategies

Robert Hicks, a criminal justice analyst and police specialist with the Virginia Department of Criminal Justice who has an interest in psychic sleuths, noted of many of them that "the psychic becomes attuned to the officer's behaviour and is using the officer's cues—the detective leaning forward or raising an eyebrow—to figure out things that haven't been released to the public" (Warchol, 1989). The information provided by the cues is then fed back

to the client. Hyman recommends to potential 'psychics' emphasising to the client that the success of the reading depends "as much upon his sincere co-operation as upon your efforts" (Hyman, 1989). Psychics will often say that they do not always convey the exact meaning which they intended. This relies then on interpretation by the listener.

Staging Modesty

Frequently psychics profess modesty about their talents (Hyman, 1989). Even the most reputable psychics use this technique (i.e. appeal of personality). The person with little self-confidence can expect to win little confidence. The person consumed by self-admiration can expect to win little admiration. Modesty and humility concerning one's qualifications are more effective. The Israeli psychic, Uri Geller, in a recorded experiment in New Zealand, stated, "... today, I'm not in the exact mood to do it, so it'll take longer ..." and then proceeded to complete four apparent ESP feats in less than 20 minutes (Marks & Kammann, 1980).

Fishing

A major element in a good cold reading consists of obtaining the information from the listener in order to feed it back later on in the reading. The client usually will not recall the original source of the information and attribute it to the psychic even though he or she initially generated it. For example, a psychic may say, "I see the letter R." The client may indicate some reaction, a body or verbal cue, in which case the psychic will say, "Robert or Roger," at which point the client may say, "It must be Rodney Smith!"

Dramatisation and Melodrama

An imaginative use of language can evoke particularly strong emotional responses in a listener (Ng & Bradac, 1993). 'Loaded words', such as 'smash', 'bump' or 'collide', can influence the way in which a car accident is perceived by a listener. Competence and lexical diversity can be highly influential emotional tools for individuals trying to make an account convincing (Tannen, 1992).

Confidence

This is essentially the psychic's belief in him or her self and his or her abilities. Exuding confidence inspires confidence in the listener. This has been alluded to in previous studies of psychic detectives (Wiseman et al., 1996; Rieser & Klyver, 1982) but never systematically explored.

The aim of the present investigation was to establish whether these devices were peculiar to the psychics in the study. The first phase involves establishing whether psychics are any more accurate than a control group. The second phase involves an examination of the transcripts and tapes of all the accounts to establish whether the rhetorical devices outlined are peculiar to the psychics and not the control group.

METHOD

Subjects

The study compared the narrative styles of two groups of participants: psychic detectives and a 'control' group of university students. Four of

the psychics were professional, the remaining four were semi-professional. None had been directly involved in criminal investigations, although all had commented on previous murders or missing person cases in which they had recorded (verbally or otherwise) psychically obtained information pertaining to the victim or offender. Professed abilities of the subjects included precognition, clairvoyance, telepathy, spiritualism, psychometry and channelling. The psychics were originally contacted through local directories and an announcement in the local press, at which time they were provided with an explanation of the experiment, asked about any specific environmental requirements (e.g. comfortable chair, no video, lighting, etc.) and requested to arrange an interview date and time at their earliest convenience (see Appendix 2).

All of the controls were post-graduate students. Five were studying Investigative Psychology and had a particular interest in crime. The other seven were neither psychology students nor professed an interest in crime. None of the students declared any psychic abilities. A summary of the demographic details of the participants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographic Details of Sample Groups

	PSYCHICS	CONTROLS
Number	8	12
Age range	26-51	23-30
Sex	7F, 1M	9F, 3M
Occupation	4 Pros, 4 Semi-pros	Postgraduates

Materials

Following completion of a short background questionnaire and consent form (see Appendix 2), each participant was presented with objects or photos associated with recent sexual and/or violent crimes. Each object was either from the crime scene or owned by the offender. Each photo was of a crime scene (not including photos of the victims) or of an object belonging to the offender. Specific details cannot be given regarding these objects for reasons of confidentiality.

Procedure

A Senior Police Officer (blind as to the details of the outcome of the enquiry and to who the offender was) provided the participant with minimal detail regarding each crime. For example, in the first crime, participants were told; "These are photos from a homicide crime scene. One body was found at this scene." The subject was then asked for any impressions about the crime and, subsequently, any characteristics of the offender. The crimes were presented successively and the participants were encouraged to speak freely and take as much time as necessary. All comments were recorded via audio. A second experimenter operated a video camera behind a one-way mirror and also took notes on behaviour.

RESULTS

Coding Accuracy and Inaccuracy

Because the accuracy issue is not of central interest and procedures for measuring accuracy are mentioned elsewhere (O'Keeffe & Alison, 1998) we note the following brief results. Firstly, inter-rater reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of accuracy across the three cases was as follows: 0.87, 0.82, 0.95. Inter-rater reliability of inaccuracy coding was as follows: 0.95, 0.98, 0.92. Tables 2 and 3 present a comparison of the number of accurate and inaccurate statements made by both groups respectively. An independent samples *t*-test showed no significant differences for the number of accurate statements made by psychics and controls on each case. However, *t*-tests showed significant differences for the number of inaccurate statements made by psychics and controls for each case, with the former making significantly more inaccurate statements.

Table 2

Number of Accurate Statements

	CASE #1		CASE #2		CASE #3	
	Mean		Mean		Mean	
PSYCHICS	2.38	$t = -1.09$	2.75	$t = 0.90$	3.88	$t = 1.58$
CONTROLS	3.17	$(p = 0.29)$	1.92	$(p = 0.381)$	1.42	$(p = 0.132)$

Table 3

Number of Inaccurate Statements

	CASE #1		CASE #2		CASE #3	
	Mean		Mean		Mean	
PSYCHICS	8.25	$t = 2.61$	7.89	$t = 2.91$	3.75	$t = 2.61$
CONTROLS	4.00	$(p = 0.017)^*$	3.00	$(p = 0.009)^{**}$	1.57	$(p = 0.017)^*$

* significant at $p = 0.05$

** significant at $p = 0.01$

Content Analysis

Firstly, a word count of the transcripts for each participant reveals that, as with previous studies (Wiseman et al., 1996), the accounts from psychics are

substantially longer than those of controls (see Table 4). In this case, on average, they were more than three times as long.

Table 4

Average Word Count of Psychics and Control Group's Accounts Showing Mean and Standard Deviations

	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
PSYCHICS (N = 8)	1705.00	364.01
CONTROLS (N = 12)	485.33	208.34

Content Category Dictionary

A content category dictionary using the following content categories was used to examine the texts (a full description of these categories can be found in Appendix 1).

Confidence Co-operation Fishing Knowledge Vague statements
Base-rate Deduction Staging Gimmicks Dramatisation

These were coded dichotomously (i.e. used/did not use 'base-rate') rather than as frequencies throughout the accounts. A reliability analysis (alpha score) for the coding of each variable revealed an average alpha score of 0.86. Table 5 shows the number of participants using each of the devices.

Table 5

Number of Participants Using Each Device

Device	Psychics (N = 8)	Controls (N = 12)
Dramatisation	8	0
Gimmick	8	0
Knowledge	8	0
Vague	8	7
Base-rate	8	10
Fishing	8	12
Staging	6	0
Confidence	5	0
Co-operation	4	0
Deduction	0	11

This figure illustrates that, across many of the devices, the psychic group tended to use devices rather more frequently (with the exception of fishing,

base-rate and deduction). In the case of confidence, co-operation, staging, gimmick, knowledge and dramatisation, these were devices that were the exclusive domain of the psychic group. In contrast, none of the psychic group employed deduction. All of the psychics employed gimmicks, dramatisation, knowledge, vague statements, base-rate statements and fishing. The three most frequently used devices by the control group were fishing (all participants), logical deduction and base-rate statements.

DISCUSSION

The psychic detectives in this study provided, on average, three times the amount of information as the control group. Despite this, they were no more accurate. In fact their accounts produced more inaccurate material. These results are in accordance with the results of previous controlled studies. However, although these results are commensurate with previous research, we were also able to illustrate profound qualitative variation in the way in which the accounts were delivered. Previous studies have only mentioned these issues anecdotally. Frequency counts revealed that certain devices were employed more frequently or exclusively by the psychic group and were demonstrably at variance with the more rational, deductive methods of the control group. This ranges from, at the most frequent level, 'base-rate', through to 'vague', 'drama', 'staging', 'confidence, and, at the least frequent, 'co-operation'.

The more frequent devices, such as 'fishing', 'base-rate' and 'vagueness', rely heavily on the interpretative, cognitive framework of the listener, whilst the mid-frequency variables impact, potentially, more upon the affective response to the psychic ('dramatisation', 'staging'). Finally, the least frequent devices necessitate a more overt manipulation of the listener by actually generating the material from him or her. However, at the same time, these devices also result in an explicit projecting of conviction in, and forceful attempt at an impression upon the listener, to accept the psychic's version of the account. These issues may in fact also relate to processes of self-deception, rather than necessarily any intended duplicity on the part of the psychic, as with increasing confidence the psychic may be more comfortable in making more certain statements, in involving the listener directly and in becoming more dramatic. Such issues might be tested in future by asking the psychics and control groups for their perceptions of their own accuracy both before and after feedback. Similarly, one might test how convincing the accounts are to listeners. Would the accounts that rely on deduction and rationalisation be more, or less, convincing than the dramatic accounts of the psychics? That is, are the psychics any more convincing than the control group as a result of the types of devices that they employ? If the devices relate to persuasiveness or convincingness, again predictions could be made on the basis of the extent of the usage of each of the devices.

Limitations

Future research should consider vocal and non-verbally-expressive qualities of the accounts (extended silence, heavy breathing, accent changes, variances in intonation, volume, gesticulation and dramatic actions, such as mimicking the actions of the dying victim — at one point, one psychic closed her eyes

and moved her head to 'listen' to the dead victim). It was evident during the transcribing process that these elements may differ between psychics and controls, and even between psychics. The value of these differences is lost in exclusive examination of linguistic devices and further exploration of these differences would be a useful supplemental.

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis that psychic detectives' reports, despite being no more accurate than those of a control group, would be qualitatively different from those of controls was supported. The precise nature of this variation may lie in the self-projected certainty of the account and may, therefore, relate to processes of self-deception. Alternatively, it may lie in the attempted and deliberate expert manipulation of the listener.

The implications of this and subsequent studies are manifold. In high profile murder and rape cases there is a pressure on the police to follow up any leads, however seemingly obscure. Any information volunteered to the police has to be recorded. The study has implications for assessing the opinions given by psychics and, potentially, other individuals external to the enquiry, particularly if the way in which the account is given is associated with confidence and certainty and/or with convincingness. Of the devices examined, many are associated with methods employed in cold reading—a related set of techniques known to convey convincingness about advice/opinions, though there is no substantive evidence within the account. Whether these processes relate to self or other deception is uncertain, though clarification of their existence and structure may go some way to exploring the distortions that they may present to an enquiry.

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APPENDIX 1

CONTENT CATEGORY DICTIONARY

Confidence

The subject makes statements with confidence. The use of words such as: sure, certain, convinced, secure, satisfied, confident, positive, confidence, obvious, definitely, assure. Confidence does not necessarily have to be positive; it can also be negative (e.g. It is definitely not . . .).

Examples: There's something wrong with this person's left leg, with the victim, actually walked with a limp, I feel a large stiffness in the leg. *Definitely something wrong with the lower part of the leg.*

But I have to say whoever this was I really don't think, well obviously not stable, although you don't know, sometimes they are quite cool about it, certainly not stable.

Co-operation

This is an emphasis by the subject that the success of the statements depends as much upon the listener's co-operation and interpretation as upon their own efforts. A subject may say that they will not always convey the exact meaning which they intend. Co-operative phrases could include: "Co-operate with me . . .", "I'm sure you understand, please help me", "Work with me."

Examples: If you could say to me, "Well, there is somebody called . . ." then I could home in. So, afterwards when I say something, make sure they don't pertain to you.

Fishing

This is simply a device for getting the listener to tell the subject details about the crime or the offender in question. Fishing can come in the form of a question or repetition of the same word in order to provoke a reaction. Fishing in a form other than a question is difficult to gauge, sometimes if the experimenter inadvertently replies this may indicate fishing.

Examples: I feel the gentleman who ran from the scene, his head, you know the close-shaven heads that they have, I feel his hair was really close to the head, okay? I want to say, I want to say around 25–30 age group, okay? I want to say there was marking on his face, could well have been a scar please, on the offender's face, okay?

I've got the name 'Fox', to start with, and I don't know whether it's a name . . . or I'm seeing the country with a fox in it . . .

I seem to have a real feeling in my throat there where the victim is concerned, I'd even say a penetration, more than being squeezed, do you understand what I mean? [E says 'yes']

Vagueness

Subject provides vague and/or ambiguous information with no concrete facts. The subject may appear to ramble and/or contradict themselves. They may present an open statement with no clarification (e.g. "The victim was hurt.").

Examples: I feel as if this man regularly looks and watches people, there's a devious side to him, I feel very split between them as though there's two personalities. I feel as if he could quite comfortably live with himself . . .

I sense an animal as well. I've obviously got to think about it, the first thing that springs to mind would be a dog, but that's because I'm familiar with dogs. Also some form of animal as well around, unless the dog found the bodies, which sometimes can happen.

Um . . . single male, or married male, quite well-built guy.

Knowledge

The subject gives the impression that they know more than they are saying. This is different from 'vagueness', as the subject may actually discuss the possibility of knowing more information. Phrases may include: "I feel there is more that I could say", "I have other impressions but I can't, I can't quite see the offender . . ."

Examples: If I was pushed and pushed and it was really really important I would sit in an interview room like this and try and get it, but at the moment I feel I want to close that down, I don't want to go into it, upsets me.

And I see a lady now, grey-haired, well over 60. She could be this gentleman's wife, very well-to do . . . [sighs heavily] Could have been blows to the head somewhere . . . bloody mess . . . I want to be violently sick . . . I've exhausted that piece of paper . . .

Base-rate

The presence of facts that are commonplace events (i.e. base-rate information). Some predictions are bound to be correct and are of a high probability (e.g. male offender, water or electricity nearby, offender drinks and/or smokes, average height). The statements may also relate to the mental or physical state of the victim or even offender. Additionally, speculations about the actions that occurred could be base-rate statements (e.g. "The offender killed him", "The victim screamed", "The offender was in an emotional state when he committed this crime").

Examples: In terms of who did it I wouldn't be able to say anything apart from guess wildly and say a single male, average age, height, whatever. Bit tough to pull anything out of it.

I do feel that this person [murder victim] would have actually fallen to the floor.

Deductive

Essentially deductive reasoning. Stating the logical reasons why a conclusion is made. That which is deduced or drawn from premises by a process of reasoning.

Examples: The scene is an old-style, old-fashioned, house. The decor brings to mind someone who's more elderly, there's a shopping trolley here in the corner and the style of the paintings—you know 'The Haywain', the way this is all laid out here on the dresser brings to mind someone that is going to be more elderly. Plus the photo here, that's obviously an old photo but it will be the couple that lived in the house.

A smoker. I guess; I mean he's not hard-up if (a) he can afford to smoke, (b) he's got a Zippo lighter, rather than a 50p disposable, plus a Marlboro' one.

Staging

Giving reasons why the reading may not be successful. Normally external reasons. Professing a modesty about talents. Not making any excessive claims. Giving excuses and justifications for an expected poor performance.

Examples: That's all that comes to mind, sorry . . . If I had it my way I wouldn't have had you say anything to me, once you start speaking to me you influence my imagination, that's why I didn't want anybody to say anything.

Can I just say something, I don't know where the message comes from sometimes, sometimes they come, sometimes they don't, sometimes maybe I'm making them up, but we'll find that out soon enough.

Gimmick

The subject may use a gimmick such as a crystal ball, crystals and even an unusual technique (e.g. holding photo up to forehead). In terms of the transcript this is specifically concerned with verbal gimmicks such as heavy breathing, long pauses (indicated by dots) or constant periods of silence, mimicking pain and the emotions of the victim.

Examples: Difficulty seeing, and I do feel a bit of panic here because I can't see what's going on and I can hear a lot of noise.

I've now got hold of the lighter Coloured, young man, dreadlocks. Possibly 20s, 20—30 . . . Handsome . . . Slippery . . . likes chains, gold, a lot of jewellery . . .

Drama

The subject may dramatise their account through the use of metaphors, analogies, excessive description, emotive words (e.g. feel, hear, see), Building word pictures around each divulgence (essentially 'hamming it up').

Examples: I'm getting told that when they were found they didn't have a stitch on, I don't know why, but the person that's telling me is telling me 'cause he's saying he was always in his nice bloody clothes type thing and this is our way of getting our own back on him. I don't know why but this is why I'm getting from the person who's talking to me at the moment . . . Tears of bloody joy at the moment, is what he's saying.

I feel his mind, there was something missing, he wasn't altogether there, though the motive was robbery, he didn't always think very logically about things, he did things without thinking, the saying 'penny short of a shilling'. Something not right, he's the sort of person that would give you the creeps, creepy, slimy. He used to peer at people when they didn't know he was looking at them. He liked to just creep up on people, look through windows, that sort of thing.

APPENDIX 2

LETTER, CONSENT FORM AND QUESTIONNAIRE

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

RE: PSYCHIC DETECTIVE STUDY

Participation is requested in a study to examine your ability to help in major enquiries into serious/violent or sexual offences. It is not necessary for the psychic to have worked directly with the police or investigations previously. The purpose of the research is to examine the accuracy of reports given and the variety of approaches or styles used by a range of different psychics. Publicity appears in *Liverpool Echo* and *Psychic News* and all publications are proposing a follow-up article. Subjects will remain anonymous at all times, including any future publications, unless requested otherwise.

Once interest is confirmed (contact number above), a convenient date and time for you will be arranged for the experiment, to be conducted at the University of Liverpool (address shown above). I will meet you at the University, answer any questions I can, and escort you to the experiment room where you will complete a consent form and short background questionnaire.

To prevent experimenter bias I will not be present during the actual experiment. A Senior Police Officer will conduct the experiment. He/she is provided with minimal details of the crime that would be available during a routine investigation. He/she is unaware whether the crime is solved or unsolved.

You will be presented with an object from three different crimes. All objects are associated with genuine serious, violent or sexual offences. A total of three or four objects:

- 1) *Photograph*: crime scene, or object associated with crime.
- 2) *Personal object*: an object associated with the offender or victim.
- 3) *Object*: taken from crime scene.

The objects are presented successively. Minimal details of the crime are given. Questions can be asked at any point. You will be asked for *any* impressions of the crime and the characteristics of the offender. The session will be recorded by video and audio (unless requested by you otherwise). The video camera will be behind a screen to prevent distraction. My colleague will also make notes.

Accuracy of the reports will be assessed by independent judges. A summary of the completed study will be forwarded if requested at the time of the experiment.

Every attempt has been made to replicate a psychic's assistance in an actual criminal investigation. If you operate under differing conditions to those provided above, do not hesitate to explain them to me when arranging a date and time and I will do my best to accommodate you.

Please contact me at the number above if you are interested in participating.

Thank you.

CONSENT FORM
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

FACULTY OF SCIENCE, INVESTIGATIVE PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Ciarán James O'Keeffe, M.Sc. student at the University of Liverpool

I am conducting a study at the University of Liverpool. I would be very grateful if you could help me by filling out a short background questionnaire.

Any information or personal details, gathered in the course of the study, are confidential. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. All the subjects involved will be given a code number. At all times I will be the only one allowed access to any raw data thus ensuring confidentiality and anonymity of all the participants.

I, have read and understood the information above. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw at any time.

Participant's signature: Date:

Participant's name:

Researcher's signature: Date:

Researcher's name: Ciarán James O'Keeffe

'PSYCHIC' DETECTIVE STUDY: SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE

Please respond to the following statements by circling the appropriate response or providing answers in the spaces provided.

- 1) Age 18-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41+
2) Marital Status single married divorced
3) Occupation
No. of years (in above profession)years
4) Have you previously assisted in criminal investigations? yes no
Please give details, if possible
.....
.....
.....
5) Please circle your ability/abilities, if relevant
clairvoyance precognition telepathy empathy
psychometry psychic dreams waking psychokinesis
realistic / symbolic impressions
hallucinations spiritualism channelling OBE
realistic / unrealistic (out-of-body experiences)
other (please explain):
.....