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Participant Perceptions of Investigative Interviewing Utilizing Archival Pre and Post-Implementation Data

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Abstract

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MPhil, Walden University, 2021

MPA, Texas Southern University, 2016

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Forensic Psychology

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Abstract

Scholars and practitioners have provided substantial literature and research into the efficacy of investigative interviewing as a method of police interrogation that mitigates false confession and coercion. This quantitative study examined archival data on participant perceptions of investigative interviewing before and immediately following an investigative course. Three areas representing principles of investigative interviewing and police investigator perceptions were examined: Confession and evidentiary testimony, confirmation bias, and deception detection through body language observation. Participants included sworn law enforcement officers, either newly employed or on the path to becoming an investigator. There were 206 responses for both the pre-test and post-test surveys. A one-way ANOVA was chosen as the data collected in each survey were the responses to the 25 items related to the Investigative Interviewing course. This analysis examined police investigators' perspectives on investigative interviewing, with results demonstrating either a lack of understanding of the course material or the predisposition to hold on to prior negative beliefs. The results indicated that participants were more likely to pursue confession and the idea that deception detection could be detected in non-verbal behaviors after the course. These perspectives contradict the principles that constitute investigative interviewing. Police administrators may utilize these findings for positive social change by modifying the course content and instruction approach.

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Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to my wife, Tiffany. She has inspired me to continue my doctoral journey. Her love and support have kept me motivated and moving forward to completion. I also want to dedicate this dissertation to police officers and their dedication to a life of service. It is my aspiration that my dissertation can support police officers and their quest to uncover the truth and bring justice to victims and their families.

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     I want to thank my chair, Dr. Jana Price-Sharps, for her leadership, guidance, and encouragement to move forward throughout the dissertation process. Your dedication to myself and all the other students in the dissertation process is inspiring and demonstrates the incredible strength of character and example of altruism. In addition, I would like to thank my second committee member, Dr. Scott Gfeller. Thank you for your extensive knowledge of methodology and insight and guidance in analyzing the data for this study. I would also like to thank my family and friends for their encouragement and interest in my research.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

False confession and coercion are global social concerns, with consequences that influence the lives of the individual affected, their families, the local community, and, as recent events demonstrate, the national and global communities. Police interviews and interrogations have long been associated with the adverse effects of false confession and coercion. According to Areh (2016), politicians, practitioners, researchers, and the general public have increased their level of interest in interrogation techniques used by law enforcement agencies, and the errors of judgment within the criminal justice system caused by law enforcement's mediocre skills and training, along with diminished awareness of the risks associated with psychological stressors that are placed on suspects in interrogation. Moreover, the general public has observed the impact of inappropriate and unethical police interview and interrogation practices in several recent high-profile criminal cases. Still, individuals question why someone would confess to a crime, especially a violent crime, if not guilty. Kassin (2017) explained that most individuals do not understand police interrogation practices, having only a superficial acumen that individuals would not voluntarily admit to wrongdoing when faced with dire consequences, thus trusting the statements made by individuals who appear to counter self-interest freely. Unfortunately, the common theme in the United States focuses on acquiring a suspect's confession or incriminating statement using various forms of coercion, leading to a false declaration of guilt, culminating in wrongful conviction in many cases.

  The primary objective of police interrogations in the United States is to obtain a confession; thus, interrogation concentrates on an accusatory approach with the central assumption that the individual at hand is guilty before receiving the complete statement. Moreover, when investigating officers are confronted with little to no forensic evidence, the interview or interrogation is vital to resolving the case (Chung et al., 2020). Thus, notwithstanding experiential learning, most police agencies employ the highly influential Reid Technique, developed by John E. Reid and Associates, a driving force of the confession-seeking theme predominant in the United States. The Reid Technique involves a series of predetermined responses, equipped with negative alternative questions and denial confrontation strategies, followed by a series of leading questions, intending to provoke an admission of guilt or confession response from the subject. According to proponents, interrogation is considered a guilt-presumptive process; therefore, the objective is to extract a confession from the individual that investigators have already presumed guilty of the crime being investigated (Areh, 2016).

  Exploration of available options has led many critics to advocate for a change to an investigative, fact-finding type of exploratory interview. Meissner et al. (2017) uncovered research from the United Kingdom and other countries that have shifted to a rapport-based, information-gathering approach. This search has led forensic psychology professionals, scholar-practitioners, and current practitioners within the criminal justice system to advocate for a change to the British PEACE Model of investigative interviewing. This quantitative study examined the participants' perceptions of investigative interviewing before and immediately following course implementation.

Background

The guilt-presumptive, accusatory, and confession-seeking interrogation theme utilized by law enforcement agencies in the United States precipitates false confessions and wrongful convictions. The intention of seeking confessions engages psychological stressors such as isolation, maximization, minimization, and leniency promises, all variables intended to trigger the guilty to confess and instigate the innocent to confess (Kozinski, 2017). Statistics have uncovered 367 post-conviction DNA exonerations since 1989, with 28% of these exonerations including false confessions (Lackey, 2020). As of November 24, 2016, the National Registry of Exonerations identified 1,927 cases from the general population (outside of DNA exonerations), of which 13% of all wrongful convictions from this population were from false confessions (Kassin et al., 2018). Lackey (2020) uncovered several additional psychological factors impacting false confession, including sleep deprivation, presenting false evidence, minimization, persons with developmental disabilities, mental illness, and juvenile status.

The accusatorial interrogation methodology originates from the formalized training of Ianbu and Reid (Meissner et al., 2017). The Reid Technique was popularized by John Reid, a polygrapher who utilized Fred Inabu's interrogation method in 1942 (Kozinski, 2017). The Reid Technique necessitates assumptions of the interviewee's behavioral responses through behavioral analysis during the non-accusatorial or interview stages (Jordan, 2016). The primary features of the Reid Technique include the minimization of denials, alternative questioning, and confrontation (Mason, 2016). Brandon et al. (2019) described this confession-seeking interrogation style as

accusatorial, suppressing denials, overwhelming objections, and supplying the subject with alternative conclusions that lead to a confession. Aside from the Reid Technique, experiential learning is utilized, following a similar guilt-presumptive, confession-seeking theme as Reid.

The Reid Technique is broken into two distinct sections: the (pre-interrogation) interview and the interrogation (Kassin, 2015). First, the interview consists of a neutral information-gathering interview to determine guilt or innocence (Kassin, 2015). The process then evolves to the next phase of the interview; positive confrontation (Kozinski, 2017). The positive confrontation is a predetermined response where the investigator advises the potential suspect that the investigation results have revealed that they are guilty of the crime under investigation (Kozinski, 2017). Investigators are then instructed to develop and employ strategies to handle denials, overcome objections, and provide negative alternative questions designed to give the individual alternative responses that lead to an admission of guilt (Kozinski, 2017).

Wrongful convictions involving false confessions uncovered by DNA exonerations have pressed policymakers and the criminal justice system to search for a change in methods utilized by police in the interview or interrogation process. Prolonged isolation, excessive time in custody, lengthy interrogations, insufficient explanation of Constitutional Rights, diminished capacity to understand the situation, and police ability to utilize deception in interrogation have led to issues related to false confession (Kassin, 2015).

False confession and coercion during police interview and interrogation are social issues that have impacted communities worldwide. As a result, scholars, and practitioners have advocated for the transformation of the police interview and interrogation to the rapport-building, information-gathering approach observed in the investigative interviewing method of police interview and interrogation (Aher, 2016). In accordance with Aher (2016), the information-gathering process of investigative interviewing is connected with the enforcement of human rights standards and awareness of risks linked to coercive interrogation methods. French (2019) advocated that current non-accusatory, information-gathering approaches elicit about the same number of confessions with far fewer false positives. French discussed the method known as the PEACE Model, which stands for Planning and Preparation, Engage and Explain, Obtain an Account, Closure, and Evaluation. PEACE focuses on fact-gathering through open-ended, non-suggestive questions; rapport development, explanation of the allegations and seriousness of the offense, emphasis on the importance of honesty and truth gathering, and allowing the suspect the chance to explain themselves uninterrupted are all critical components of this method (French, 2019).

Furthermore, the PEACE model is an investigative interviewing method based on the cognitive interview and conversation management, using three main themes: preparation and planning, rapport building, and information gathering (Mason, 2016). In preparation and planning, interviewers are encouraged to create a written plan, focusing on the objectives and order of the interview (Orlando, 2019). Engage and explain directs the interviewer to engage the individual through active listening and rapport development

(Orlando, 2019). In the account, interviewers are instructed to use appropriate questions and active listening skills to obtain the interviewee's complete account (Orlando, 2019). Closure involves planning to avoid an abrupt end to the interview by summarizing the individual's account of events, allowing the individual to clarify and ask the interviewer questions (Orlando, 2019). Finally, interviewers are to evaluate the interview to assess how the interviewee's account matches the investigation overall, determine if further action is needed, and reflect on their performance (Orlando, 2019).

The components of the PEACE Model permit an interview theme free from a presumption of guilt and makes fact-finding the primary goal of the process, not the confession. Investigative interviewing grew out of the U.K. model, PEACE. The U.K. suffered similar issues with false confession, coercion, and unethical practices, which led to the investigative interviewing method known as PEACE.

Statement of the Problem

Police interview and interrogation remains an underdeveloped field within the law enforcement community. Current formal and experiential training approaches focus on confession-seeking as the objective, demonstrating increased coercion and false confession incidence. Over 3 decades of research have shown the popularity of applying accusatorial interrogation approaches stems from investigators' proclivity toward confirmation bias and the influence such techniques have on eliciting a confession (Meissner et al., 2017). According to Meissner et al. (2017), investigators utilize a combination of methods: isolation and control, maximization or confrontational

accusations of guilt, and minimization through justifications for the criminal act, culminating in both true and false confessions.

The guilt-presumptive interrogation process provides the foundation for cognitive and behavioral confirmation bias (Kassin, 2015). Investigators create their guilt-assumption belief in the pre-interrogation interview, thus establishing a series of coercive strategies to confirm the assumption that the individual questioned is responsible for the crime. One significant issue with false confessions is confession's impact on jury decisions. Many of the complications of jury deliberations reside in the interrogation and the circumstances surrounding the post-admission, including the jury's trust in confessions that counter the defendant's self-interest and the jury's inability to judge deception.

Studies have shown that confessions significantly impact jury verdicts (Kassin, 2015). When a confession is presented to juries, most evidence is disregarded in their decisions to convict (Kozinski, 2017). Studies have shown that juries accept the confession even when informed that the individual has a mental illness, is coerced through interrogation-induced stress, has developmental disabilities, or is a juvenile (Kassin, 2015). Moreover, Kassin (2017) explained that most people believe an individual would never confess to a crime they did not commit and tend to believe a statement of guilt that contrasts with self-interest. The severity of the crime or the greater extent of the contradiction to self-interest leads juries to have confidence in confession, disregarding any retraction of the statement due to coercion (Bernhard & Miller, 2018).

Coercion

Leo and Drizin (2010) introduced three primary errors in false confession: misclassification, coercion, and contamination, which lead to the three categories of false confession: voluntary, compliant, and persuaded (as cited in Gudjonsson, 2021). Kassin (2014) augmented this explanation by isolating the three categories of false confession: voluntary, coerced-compliant, and coerced-internalized. According to Gudjonsson (2021), Leo and Drizin's three primary errors: misclassification, coercion, and contamination pathways, can be observed through the five-stage cumulative-disadvantage framework of Scherr et al. (2020).

The first stage, the precustodial interview, includes the misclassification error, where the police identify innocent individuals as suspects for questioning through the subjective interpretation of deception, bias, offender profiling, flawed evidence, investigative speculation, and reliance upon informants (Gudjonsson, 2021; Scherr et al., 2020). Furthermore, the precustodial interview encompasses the voluntary pathway, where the individual exhibits behaviors related to innocence, agreeing to waive their rights and speak with the police (Scherr et al., 2020). Provided the individual forgoes the protection of their Miranda Rights, the five-stage process transitions to the custodial interrogation stage (Scherr et al., 2020). The custodial interrogation stage includes strategies and tactics designed to elicit confession: the confrontation of the individual's statement, maximization, minimization, implied leniency, and false evidence (Scherr et al., 2020).

Once confession has been secured, the next stage, ensuing investigation, occurs, involving eyewitness and witness recantation of previous statements and confirmation of the confessed individual, as well as a bias to set in concerning forensic evidence collected (Scherr et al., 2020). The accumulation of coercive tactics and ensuing false confession build the case against the individual so compelling that it ensures wrongful conviction through a trial verdict or guilty plea (Scherr et al., 2020). The false confession in the third stage progresses to the fourth stage, guilty pleas and trial convictions (Scherr et al., 2020). The false confession is then corroborated by accurate details of the crime and witness testimony, culminating in a compelling case that ensures a wrongful conviction through a verdict or guilty plea (Scherr et al., 2020). Post-conviction appeals and exoneration are the final stages, demonstrating the lasting damage of false confession and subsequent contaminated evidence (Scherr et al., 2020). False confession impedes appeal efforts and leaves a persistent stigma on the individual even after an official pardon (Scherr et al., 2020). Coercion is a major contributing factor to a false confession and plays a significant role in the confirmation bias held by the investigator. Meissner et al. (2017) explained that the investigators' proclivity toward confirmation bias influences the utilization of strategies that elicit a false confession.

False Confession

Kassin et al. (2018) uncovered statistics indicating that false confession contributes to 13% of all wrongful convictions within 1,927 cases identified by the National Registry of Exonerations as of 2016. According to Kassin (2017), the psychology underlying false confession reflects the social influences of reinforcement

and decision-making. The coercive strategies involved in false confessions include contamination of the facts by investigators in the interrogation (Kassin, 2017). Garrett (2010) uncovered evidence from the Innocence Project demonstrating that 95% of proven false confessions contained accurate details of the crime, thus strengthening the acceptance of false confession as proof of guilt (as cited in Kassin, 2017).

Eighty percent of 87 experts found relevant evidence indicating that the risk of false confession increases by explicit threats and promises, false evidence, and minimization tactics (Kassin et al., 2018). Kassin et al. (2018) explained that psychologically potent police interrogation tactics increase the false confession rate to regularity. Lackey (2020) uncovered several additional psychological factors impacting false confession, including sleep deprivation, presenting false evidence, minimization, persons with developmental disabilities, mental illness, and juvenile status.

Nevertheless, further studies illustrate the influence of the investigator's suggestive memory retrieval techniques, inducing participants to generate criminal and non-criminal false memories (Shaw & Porter, 2015). Indeed, 70% of participants in a study conducted by Shaw and Porter (2015) reported false memories of committing a crime (theft, assault, or assault with a weapon), leading to contact with police, subsequently providing a detailed account of events. Shaw and Porter generated rich false memories of committing a crime through highly suggestive interviews within their study.

Juveniles and False Confession and Coercion

Cleary and Warner (2016) uncovered evidence that police officers often interrogate juveniles and persons with intellectual disabilities similarly to adults. False

confessions of juveniles and persons with mental disabilities illustrate a significant adverse effect of the guilt-presumptive style of police interrogations across the United States. Juveniles and individuals with mental disabilities have greater diminished capacity and susceptibility to coercion, leading to false confessions.

Luna (2017) explained that juveniles are more suggestible than adults, making them more easily persuaded or coerced and responsive to interpersonal pressure during interrogation. Another essential aspect Luna found was that the rate of false confession increases if the juvenile is interrogated more than once; this means that a juvenile experienced in the juvenile justice system is more likely to make a false confession than a juvenile with no experience. According to Luna, studies have shown that the false confession rate for an initial interrogation was only 3%, whereas juveniles who underwent interrogation more than once rose to 12%. The two-step police interrogation method has resulted in two types of false confessions: coerced-compliant and coerced-internalized (Luna, 2017). Coerced-compliant false confessions occur when a suspect confesses to evade an oppressive interrogation or obtain a promised or inferred incentive from the police or interrogators (Luna, 2017). "In coerced-internalized false confessions, suspects believe they committed the crime in question due to coercive interrogation tactics" (Luna, p. 306, 2017).

Mental Illness and False Confession and Coercion

Persons with mental disabilities are susceptible to the methods and stresses of interrogation, making them at particular risk for false confession (Rogal, 2017). Individuals with cognitive disabilities cannot comprehend and invoke their Constitutional

rights, protecting against coercive interrogation. Rogal (2017) explained that individuals with mental disabilities demonstrate greater suggestibility, a propensity to acquiescence, and inattentiveness to long-term outcomes, making them especially vulnerable to deceptive methods. Persons with intellectual impairments and psychotic disorders are more compliant with police requests, making them particularly vulnerable to false confessions (Rogal, 2017). Scholars documented three types of false confessions: voluntary false confessions that arise without police enticement and are generally prompted by a desire for notoriety, a need to protect the perpetrator or a psychotic break from reality. Compliant false confessions are a means of escaping the stress of interrogation or obtaining some other advantage. Finally, internalized false confessions occur when the interrogation process persuades suspects of their psychotic disorders and other severe mental health conditions as an influencing factor in compliant internalized false confessions (Rogal, 2017).

Rogal (2017) further explained that persons with intellectual disabilities have flawed perceptual reasoning, verbal comprehension, memory, abstract thought, and problem-solving. According to studies, individuals with intellectual disabilities are predisposed to acknowledge and incorporate information communicated by others into their own beliefs and memories (Rogal, 2017). Persons with intellectual disabilities are less likely to understand their situation, correctly interpret police questions, and are more likely to believe fictitious accounts of evidence told to them in interrogation (Rogal, 2017). Furthermore, existing police tactics involving isolation, pressure, and deception

amplify the risk of false confession regarding individuals with mental disabilities (Rogal, 2017).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this quantitative research was to discover how participants of investigative interviewing training rate the utility of the principles of investigative interviewing in mitigating the future risk of false confession and coercion while adding to the amount of valuable information in furtherance of the investigation. Extensive research into false confession and coercion leading to wrongful conviction has led scholars to search for new methods. Investigative interviewing has been recognized as a non-confrontational, evidence-based, fact-finding discovery, underscoring these areas and eliminating the psychological stressors related to the social problems of false confession and coercion. This quantitative study examined the participants' perceptions of investigative interviewing before and immediately following course implementation.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses were developed after a rigorous evaluation of the literature concerning investigative interviewing and the findings of a semantic differential scale survey of students' perceptions of investigative interviewing principles. Details of the study design and development of these research questions can be found in Chapter 3.

Research Question (RQ)1: Do participants change their perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation?

$H_0$1: Participants do not change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of

confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following

course implementation.

H_a1: Participants do change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of confession

versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course

implementation.

RQ2: Do participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as

helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately

following course implementation?

$H_0$2: Participants do not change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as

helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process

immediately following course implementation.

H_a2: Participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful

in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately

following course implementation.

RQ3: Do participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an

investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately

following course implementation?

$H_0$3: Participants do not change their perceptions regarding the ability of an

investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately

following course implementation.

*H*a3: Participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator

to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following

course implementation.

This study utilized a quantitative analysis to explore the results of a semantic

differential scale survey of students' perceptions of investigative interviewing principles

before and immediately following course implementation. The Houston Police

Department collected discrete data from the pre-and post-test data of a semantic

differential survey of participants in an investigative interviewing training program. The

specific research design included a repeated-measures analysis of variance design with

student self-assessment ratings before and after the investigative interviewing course

(Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2018). The quantitative analysis was drawn from

archival data collected from the pretest/post-test design, gauging how the participants of

the investigative interviewing course rated the utility of the principles of investigative

interviewing.

RQ1 was addressed using multiple linear regression analysis, with confession and

evidentiary testimony being the independent variables and the perceptions being the

dependent variables (Never True to Always True on a scale of $1 - 7$). RQ2 was addressed

using multiple linear regression analysis, with confirmation bias being the independent

variable and the perceptions of confirmation as helpful in interpreting evidence and

testimony being the dependent variables (Never True to Always True on a scale of $1 - 7$).

RQ3 was addressed using multiple linear regression analysis, with deception detection

through body language observation being the independent variable and the participant

perceptions being the dependent variable (Never True to Always True on a scale of 1 –

7). Each of the variables from the Research Questions was gathered from the pre and

post-test-survey responses, observing participant perceptions. Statistical Package for the

Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed to analyze the data collected, determining the

degree of relationship and change from pre-and post-test-survey responses. This analysis

intended to assess the rate of change in the participants' perceptions following course

implementation. These outcome measures can fill research gaps in understanding the

general beliefs of police investigators before completing an interview and interrogation

course and how this may have changed based on the knowledge gleaned within the

instruction.

Guiding Theories

The theoretical framework for this study included Shepherd's conversation

management and Fisher and Gieselman's cognitive interview. The cognitive interview

and conversation management have been used extensively to develop and refine the

investigative interview method. These two approaches define the investigative interview

and provide the structure and support to gather the most abundant and detailed

information within the interview process of witnesses, suspects, and complainants.

According to Dr. Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021), the previous police

culture of instant gratification resulted in flawed and unprincipled conduct within police

investigations and their subsequent questioning of witnesses and suspects. Investigators

engaged in shortcut reasoning and judgment illustrated by confirmation bias in the

justification of conclusions, leading to rapid interview closure and subsequent closure of

the investigation (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Confirmation bias and hasty and injudicious interrogation strategies fueled the confession culture universally in the United States (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021) observed that the focus of psychologists and psychotherapists centered around the conversation to facilitate full disclosure in the investigation and discovery of the subject individual. These practitioners created a positive relationship with the subject individual through managed conversation, increasing their willingness to engage and disclose, thus transforming their relationship into a working relationship of shared understanding of the aims, goals, and respective tasks, ultimately developing a positive bond (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

The conversation management approach was based on the clinician's commitment to ethical conduct and essential underpinning knowledge, understanding, and skill (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). The conversation management approach can be applied to witnesses and suspect testimony through verbal and non-verbal content of four distinct stages comprising the acronym GEMAC: Greeting, Explanation, Mutual Activity (monitoring/assertion), and Closing (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Engaging in conversation management commences with assessment, action planning, and preparation, which are necessary to maximize the testimonial evidence's value to the investigation (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

Key responsive behaviors are essential in ethically influencing mindful relationship-building behaviors to develop positively (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Shepherd (2021) created the acronym RESPONSE to explain the vital, responsive

behaviors and, as a mnemonic memory aid to the investigator, Respect, Empathy, Supportiveness, Positiveness, Openness, Non-judgmental attitude, Straight-forward talk, Equals talking 'across' to each other. Ethical conduct and supporting knowledge, understanding, and skill in planning and preparation are essential to each of the four stages of GEMAC (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). The Greeting stage sets the tone for a working relationship, leading to the Explanation stage, maximizing comprehension and building trust, preceding the Mutual Activity stage involving observation, active listening, and empathy, and ending with the Closing stage of the interview, reinforcing the positive working relationship (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

Research psychologists Ronald P. Fisher and R. Edward Gieselman developed the cognitive interview from the critical need to maximize witness interviews' effectiveness and enhance investigations' solvability (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). Cognitive interview techniques were developed to increase more accurate and abundant information from witnesses by integrating cognitive and social psychology (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). Cognitive interview techniques operate within three psychological processes between the witness and interviewer: social dynamics, thought processes, and communication (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). By developing personal rapport, interviewers can generate more beneficial social dynamics with the interviewee (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). The interviewer gains further enhancements by asking open-ended questions, instructing the interviewee to generate as many detailed narrative descriptions as possible, and informing them that they will not be interrupted (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). The interviewer can enhance the thought process of the interviewee through the recreation of the context

using all of the senses, including invoking the external (weather, room details), emotional (fear, mood), and cognitive (thoughts) factors surrounding the specific event (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). To enhance communication and avoid the loss of valuable information, interviewers must advise the interviewee of the crucial need to provide detailed and informative answers (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). Additionally, the cognitive interview method involves employing a sketch to draw out stored nonverbal information and obtaining a mental picture of the crime scene (Fisher & Reardon, 2020).

The cognitive interview follows two principles in sequence to understand and utilize compatible questions to gain the most abundant information from the individual (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). In the first phase, the interviewer discovers the individual's cognitive map of the incident, then applies questions relevant to the individual's mental representations, working from open-ended questions to more specific, closed-ended questions (Fisher & Reardon, 2020).

The cognitive interview has since been adapted for suspect interviews, maximizing the opportunity to detect deception and generate large amounts of information. The cognitive interview is an empirically validated method for interviewing witnesses and victims of crime, producing copious amounts of data and demonstrating reliability and validity (Frosina et al., 2018). The cognitive interview for suspects seeks to increase the individual's cognitive load by recounting the narrative provided in different orders and using a sketch or drawing (Frosina et al., 2018). An increase in the cognitive load will generate inconsistencies in the narrative and increase the deceptive non-verbal cues for further probing (Frosina et al., 2018).

Nature of the Study

This study involved a quantitative analysis of archival data collected from a pretest/post-test design that assessed students' perceptions before and immediately following course implementation. The research design included a repeated-measures analysis of variance to measure the student self-assessment ratings from a semantic differential scale survey. The values of the students' perceptions were discrete, as they were finite values appropriate for input into quantitative analysis.

This quantitative analysis provides insight into student perception before and after the investigative interviewing course. Utilizing a semantic differential scale of student perception explains how favorable investigative interviewing is perceived as an invaluable tool for police interview and interrogation. The repeated-measures analysis of variance design delivers insight into the students' perception of the course application.

Definition of Terms

Investigative interviewing is a police interview and interrogation method that underscores a non-confrontational approach through the development and cultivation of rapport, emphasizing evidence-based, fact-finding discovery to gather more reliable and abundant information from the subject. Investigative interviewing evolved from two theories: conversation management and cognitive interview. Conversation management accentuates a meaningful conversation managed by the interviewer to facilitate disclosure and discovery alongside the development of rapport, building a common bond of shared understanding, and developing a working relationship (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Conversation management is applied to witnesses' and suspects' statements by utilizing

verbal and non-verbal content within four distinct stages comprising the acronym GEMAC: Greeting, Explanation, Mutual Activity (monitoring/assertion), and Closing (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

The cognitive interview includes not only the initial component of cognitive interview for witnesses and complainants but also the recently developed cognitive interview for suspects. The cognitive interview was created initially for use with witnesses and complainants victimized by crime. The cognitive interview employs three psychological processes between the witness and interviewer: social dynamics, thought processes, and communication (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). The cognitive interview solicits rich responses via open-ended questions, encouraging an uninterrupted narrative that seeks to recreate the crime scene by invoking all of the senses surrounding the specific event and the external, emotional, and cognitive factors that shape memory (Fisher & Reardon, 2020).

The terms interview and interrogation are synonymously used throughout the law enforcement profession to describe questioning by a legal authority attempting to obtain valuable information in an investigation into a crime. Departing from the accusatory approach to interview and interrogation leads to exploring the PEACE Model, which stands for Planning and Preparation, Engage and Explain, Obtain an Account, Closure, and Evaluation (French, 2019). The PEACE Model is an example of investigative interviewing tailored to the laws of Great Britain. Investigative interviewing is based on conversation management and cognitive interview using three main themes: preparation and planning, rapport development, and information gathering (Mason, 2016).

False confession: This is a confession by an individual that is an admission of guilt for a crime the individual did not commit (Waxman, 2020). A false confession often results from coercive interrogation tactics primarily used across the United States.

Coercion: The risk of false confession within interrogation increases with coercive (psychological) pressures such as isolation and control, maximization or confrontational accusations of guilt, and minimization through justifications for the criminal act, culminating in both false confessions (Meissner et al., 2017).

Assumptions and Limitations

Utilizing the data provided by the Houston Police Department of a semantic differential scale of students' perceptions of an investigative interviewing course presumes that the participants who responded were truthful and answered carefully. This assumption is based on the instructions the Houston Police Department provided at the beginning of the pretest and post-test questions clarified within the "Confidentiality and Survey Instructions" (See Appendix A for survey instructions). The Houston Police Department advised participants of their anonymity with the organization and the survey collection services. It was also assumed that the study's questions would yield sufficient responses to explain whether investigators envisioned the utility of investigative interviewing principles within police interview and interrogation. Employing data collected from the opinions of current and new police investigators assumes an accurate representation of an expert opinion of the investigative interviewing course.

The data used in this study came from archival or secondary data collected by the Houston Police Department command staff. The use of secondary data limits the scope

and direction of this study to remain within the parameters of the data results to maintain

validity and reliability. It is assumed that the participants' responses accurately represent

their perceptions, which is limited in determining genuine responses. Another limitation

in gathering this data is that participants had to use a smartphone to access the QR code

embedded in the PowerPoint presentation. Participants are presumed to have correctly

utilized the QR code and instructions to participate fully in the surveys.

Significance

This research was conducted to determine how investigative interviewing

participants rate the utility of the principles of investigative interviewing in mitigating the

future risk of false confession and coercion while adding to the amount of valuable

information in furtherance of the investigation. Current police interview and interrogation

methods are accusatory and guilt-presumptive, fueled by confirmation bias that the

current coercive tactics have demonstrated confessions. Investigators commence the

interrogation process with a guilt-presumptive belief acquired in the pre-interrogation or

interview stage, establishing a series of coercive strategies that confirm their assumptions

that the interviewee is the person of interest in their investigation.

Investigative interviewing is a departure from the guilt-presumptive process that

dominates interview and interrogation methods in the United States. Scholars and

practitioners have provided substantial literature and research into the efficacy of

investigative interviewing as a method of police interrogation that mitigates false

confession and coercion. Investigative interviewing removes the psychological pressures

and negative and confession-seeking themes involved in law enforcement investigators'

current training and practices. Removing these pressures alone can eliminate false

confession, leading to coercion and wrongful conviction.

Providing a reliable and trustworthy interview and interrogation method to law

enforcement has the potential to save lives, families, and taxpayer dollars. Acceptance

and application of investigative interviewing will create positive social change, reach

communities, families, and lawmakers, make a positive difference in crime, and address

the systemic failures within law enforcement and the criminal justice system.

Summary

False confession and coercion have long been associated with police interview

and interrogation. Police interview and interrogation in the United States is considered a

guilt-presumptive process, concentrating on an accusatory approach that results from

training or experiential learning. The confession-seeking theme drives the objective of

extracting a confession from the subject that the investigators have already been

presumed guilty of the investigated crime (Areh, 2016). The injustice created through

substandard training has led to exploring new methods, such as investigative

interviewing. Investigative interviewing focuses on rapport development and

information-gathering to obtain accurate, reliable, and actionable data.

The following chapter focuses on the existing literature, research, and study of the

relationship between false confession and coercion, the confession-seeking agenda of the

current methodology, and the departure to the evidence-based investigative interviewing

method. Chapter 2 explains the elements of false confession and coercion and how this is

fundamentally tied to the current prevailing methodology of the accusatorial approach.

Chapter 2 will characterize how memory is linked to false confession and coercion through false memories implanted by contamination from the interviewer during the interview. Chapter 2 will conclude by explaining the investigative interviewing method based on two theories: conversation management and cognitive interview.

Chapter 3 will describe the methodology to analyze the research questions proposed by this study. Chapter 3 will also explain the survey design, including the justification for using the survey as a tool to collect data for this study; additionally, it will describe the population, research setting, data collection strategy, and the validity and reliability of the instruments to be employed. Chapter 3 will conclude with the ethical considerations and justification for using archival data for this study.

Chapter 4 presents the statistical analysis results gathered and comprehensively evaluates the data that will be collected. Chapter 5 will include an analysis of the implications of the results of each of the research questions. Moreover, the study's impact on social change and future actions will be examined in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 will conclude with the implications for future research and this study's overall significance and contribution.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Investigative interviewing is an established rapport-based, information-gathering approach derived from the British PEACE Model and recognized by scholars and practitioners as an ethical alternative to the current accusatorial methods in everyday use. As seen in existing processes, investigative interviewing is an inquisitorial approach based on rapport as the influential catalyst in increasing confessions without the high risk of false confession and coercion. Tedeschini and MacEwan (2018) indicated in their research that investigative interviewing is the ethically driven approach that increases the quality and quantity of information gleaned within the interview process. Tedeschini and MacEwan uncovered research revealing that offenders are more willing to offer accurate and more robust information, leading to incriminating or exculpatory evidence. This evidence is due to the departure from the confession-seeking, guilt-presumptive methodology presently prevalent in many law enforcement agencies to the rapport-based inquisitorial style of investigative interviewing.

Chung et al. (2021) explained that interviewing suspects, witnesses, and victims is vital to criminal investigations. The investigative interviewing method is critical, emphasizing the necessity for an accurate, complete, and detailed chronicle of the events surrounding the commission of the crime (Chung et al., 2021). The current methodology's theme is confession-seeking, which begins and ends with a guilt-presumptive process. The Reid Technique is at the forefront of the confession-seeking approach and is the prominent interview and interrogation training style taught since the

1950s. Aside from training, experiential learning perpetuates this same confession-seeking theme with a guilt-presumptive type of questioning. Areh (2016) uncovered research demonstrating investigators' presumption of guilt before the interrogation perpetuates the false sense of success investigators observe in confessions that may or may not result from coercive tactics leading to a false confession.

The coercive strategies involved in the current confession-seeking methodology significantly contribute to false confessions due to the contamination of facts presented by the investigator, jointly shaping the foundation of a false confession by the intended subject (Kassin, 2017). Shaw and Porter (2015) uncovered evidence that illustrates investigators' influence through suggestive memory retrieval, resulting in the participant generating false memories. Other risk factors for false confession and vulnerability to coercion are juvenile status and persons with a cognitive disability or mental health condition. Juveniles are considered more suggestible than adults resulting in a more significant risk of coerced-compliant or coerced-internalized false confessions (Luna, 2017). Individuals with cognitive disabilities demonstrate a more substantial propensity to suggestibility, have difficulty understanding their Constitutional rights, and appear more compliant with police officers, making them particularly vulnerable to false confessions (Rogal, 2017).

Investigative interviewing research thus far has encouraged the development and usage of investigative interviewing in police interview and interrogation; however, this has not been explored and provided to law enforcement at the local level. This research examined the perceptions of law enforcement participants of an investigative

interviewing training course before and immediately following course implementation. The subsequent sections of Chapter 2 incorporate information on the foundations and development of investigative interviewing and the current state of police interview and interrogation methods, false confession and coercion, and the accompanying underlying vulnerabilities.

Literature Search Strategy

The literature review begins with the central terms that constitute the research purpose, problem, and research questions: false confession, coercion, investigative interviewing, and police interview and interrogation. The focal point central to this study and the literature review is investigative interviewing, the motivations for the demand, the development, and the proliferation among law enforcement agencies. Various definitions are provided within this literature review of different investigative interviewing studies.

The literature foundation selected for the present study contained studies published between 2016 and 2021 in journal articles and texts associated with police interview and interrogation, false confession, coercion, and investigative interviewing. Online search engines and databases included Google, Google Scholar, EBSCOhost, ResearchGate, JAAPL, SAGE Journals, Springer, ScienceDirect, and APA PsychNET. The keywords used in the search included Boolean combinations of *false confession, coercion, cognitive interview, conversation management, investigative interviewing, PEACE Model, Reid Method, memory, contaminated confessions, police interview*, and *interrogation*.

Theoretical Foundations

As in the United States, the U.K. police were either untrained, inexperienced, or lacked adequate training (Milne et al., 2019). The combination of inadequate training or experiential learning in interview and interrogation skills was at the core of mounting injustices in the U.K. (Milne et al., 2019). The U.K. decided to make a cultural shift towards an investigative information-gathering framework and communication based upon two psychological theories, conversation management, and the cognitive interview, commencing with the strategic removal of the term interrogation from the U.K. police vernacular (Milne et al., 2019). Conversation management, helpful in interviewing more resistant individuals, and the cognitive interview, useful for cooperative individuals such as witnesses, formed the UK PEACE (Preparation and Planning, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure and Evaluate) model, an investigative interviewing methodology (Milne et al., 2019). Investigative interviewing is an ethical alternative, established as an inquisitorial approach based on rapport as the influential facilitator, acquiring testimonial evidence tied to forensic evidence, devoid of the high risk of false confession and coercion.

Lastly, insight into the prevalent accusatorial methods requires examining the Yerkes-Dodson law and how the Yerkes-Dodson curve explains the outcomes of increased stress placed upon the interviewee in a confession-seeking interrogation. The Yerkes-Dodson law describes how an individual's stress level relates to their ability to perform a given task (Ungvarsky, 2020). The Yerkes-Dodson law suggests that individuals operate at an optimal level with moderate stress and tend to operate at lower

levels when confronted with stress levels that are either too high or too low (Ungvarsky, 2020).

Conversation Management

Psychologist Eric Shepherd devised conversation management in 1983 as one of two guiding theories in the investigative interviewing method, which formed the British PEACE Model (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). According to Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021), conversation management maximizes disclosure from individuals interviewed in a police interrogation. Shepherd observed that investigators participated in injudicious and unethical behaviors in the interview process, illustrated in shortcut reasoning and judgment set in motion by confirmation bias resulting in the rapid termination of the interview and subsequent immediate termination of the investigation (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Shepherd observed methods used by psychologists and psychotherapists that concentrated on the conversation in the successful development of complete disclosure and discovery of the subject individual and their experiences (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021) observed a positive relationship between the subject individual and practitioner through managed conversation. The positive relationship generated an increased willingness to engage and disclose, resulting in a working relationship of shared understanding of the objectives, goals, and corresponding tasks, ultimately developing a positive connection (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Shepherd observed a correlation between the methods used by psychologists and psychotherapists and those necessary for police investigators to interview witnesses and suspects (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

The core features of conversation management include an awareness of the dynamics of conversation, commitment to authentic dialogue, appreciation of the mental, emotional, motivational, and contextual barriers to disclosure, aiding the individual's recall of both core and peripheral details of their experience (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Essential to ethically influencing mindful relationship-building behaviors within the conversation management approach is responding with a higher degree of emotional intelligence and valuing the individual perspective (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). The ethical foundations of conversation management include respect for the law, the individual, integrity of the information, and personal autonomy, valuing the individual's right to converse or disclose and when and where to do so (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021) encapsulated the mindful behaviors required for investigators within the acronym RESPONSE: respect, empathy, supportiveness, positiveness, openness, non-judgmental attitude, straightforward talk, and equality. According to Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021), pursuing RESPONSE behaviors will facilitate the investigation by fostering relationships and disclosure. Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021) suggested respecting the individual as a person originates with respect for the law and the individual's autonomy and right to being treated fairly, which is essential to the community that relies and depends on the ethical behavior of investigators in the execution of their investigative duties. The requisite professionalism skill within the interview originates with reflective practice and conscious debiasing (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Reflective practice demands mindfulness of one's performance before, during, and after the interview (Shepherd &

Griffiths, 2021). The core of the reflective practice is deliberative judgment, reflecting on past judgments and actions to improve future decisions, resulting in conscious debiasing (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Before the interview, the investigator must acknowledge the various forms of memory, including vulnerabilities, exposure to other information and physical or psychological trauma, and deportment, including intoxication and intellect (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). This reflection is essential to planning and preparation and will enable the mindful application of techniques within the interview to facilitate memory (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

Within the conversation or interview, the interviewer or investigator examines the non-verbal and verbal behaviors of the interviewee to establish a baseline, allowing the interviewer to note significant variations (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Essential to a productive interview is awareness of the focus of control, conversational control, and an understanding of resistance (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Productive conversation requires opening behaviors that include mindful conversation (active listening), gestures, offering refreshments, and mindful RESPONSE behaviors (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Mindful RESPONSE behaviors create the psychological conditions of rapport; rapport leads to the development of mutual understanding, supported by a conscious and explicit explanation of the motives for the interview, the topics to be discussed, and the activities that help facilitate the interview (recording, note-taking, evidence; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Shepherd (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021) developed the acronym GEMAC to explain the four phases of dialogue or conversation within the interview process. GEMAC – greeting (G), explanation (E), mutual activity (M.A.), and closing (C) explain

the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee, extending from the onset of the

meeting to the departure (Shepherd, 2021). Within the four phases of GEMAC, the

investigator remains conscious of the interviewee's vulnerabilities and working memory,

maintaining reflexivity through mindful RESPONSE behaviors, preparation, and

planning into the conversation facilitating full disclosure (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021).

The GEMAC acronym of Conversation Management became the underpinning of

PEACE's investigative interviewing method, developed by the British (Shepherd &

Griffiths, 2021). The acronym PEACE incorporated elements of GEMAC: Planning and

Preparation, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure, and Evaluation (Shepherd &

Griffiths, 2021).

The Cognitive Interview

Research psychologists Ronald P. Fisher and R. Edward Gieselman developed the

cognitive interview based on cognitive and social psychology to increase the quality and

quantity of information from interviewees in the wake of the critical need to maximize

witness interviews' effectiveness and enhance investigations' solvability (Ryan et al.,

2020). The underlying principle of cognitive interview techniques examines how memory

is encoded and employs various retrieval methods to unlock different memory traces

(Ryan et al., 2020). According to research, memory can be accessed through several

pathways using several techniques that can address the encoded memory input (Tulving

(1974), Flexser & Tulving (1978) as cited in Eisenberg, 2019). In the development of the

cognitive interview, Fisher and Gieselman observed avoidable errors in the current

condition of police interaction with witnesses (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). They discovered

that most police investigators lacked suitable training, relying on experiential learning, including observing senior investigators demonstrating suggestive or leading questioning techniques (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). Concurrently, police investigators frequently interrupted witnesses with short-answer questions unrelated to the witness's thoughts and mental images, resulting in minimal recall and incorrect information (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). In a study by Satin and Fisher (2019), the cognitive interview increased the rate of finding the perpetrator by 30%, increasing the number of descriptors by three times over the standard police interview. Using the cognitive interview, over 100 laboratory and field settings across different countries have demonstrated enhanced witness recall, with a rate between 25 and 50% accuracy over the standard police interview (Satin & Fisher, 2019).

The cognitive interview is built on the scientific disciplines, cognitive and social psychology, to improve three psychological processes between the witness and interviewer: social dynamics, thought processes, and communication (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). Social dynamics are improved through rapport development, while thought processes are improved by helping the interviewee recreate the context of the event, using all of the senses, and enhancing communication by providing explicit instructions that emphasize the importance of detailed and informative responses (Fisher & Reardon, 2020). The interviewer facilitates the interviewee's memory retrieval and general cognitive processes by reinstating the context of the original crime scene and avoiding complex questions, which tend to overload the interviewee's cognitive resources (Satin & Fisher, 2019).

The cognitive interview practitioner concentrates on the event, instructing the interviewee to reflect on the experience, and recreating it with minimal interference (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). This free recall sequence combines mental or context reinstatement with multiple retrievals (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Investigators provide explicit instructions, including requesting the witness to reflect on the event, focusing on a specific area, and not editing anything from their recollection (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). The next step is using reverse-order recall, then changing the perspective, asking the interviewee to realize the viewpoint of other witnesses (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). The recreation of the event is enhanced by the interviewer requesting the interviewee draw on sensory and physical context, including the weather, details of the scene, and emotional and cognitive factors surrounding the event (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Effective communication is gained through thorough instruction and encouraging the interviewee to generate nonverbal responses (e.g., sketches) for nonverbally represented information (Satin & Fisher, 2019).

The Cognitive Interview for Suspects

Empirical validation of the cognitive interview as a method of interviewing witnesses and victims of crime, producing abundant and accurate information that demonstrated reliability and validity, led Geiselman (2012) to develop the cognitive interview for suspects (as cited in Frosina et al., 2018). The cognitive interview for suspects examines three characteristics; information gathering to detect inconsistencies, reverse order recall to increase cognitive load and tendency to distinguish between deceptive and non-deceptive individuals, and increased interaction with the subject

individual (Logue et al., 2015). These characteristics demonstrate an increase in the cognitive load on the subject, thus increasing the non-verbal behavior, revealing a difference in truthful and deceptive conditions (Frosina et al., 2018). According to Frosina et al. (2018), the mechanism for change in non-verbal behavior is directly related to the increase in the cognitive load of the subject. Frosina et al. (2018) caution that detecting deception in the offender population may differ because offenders may find deception does not increase cognitive load. They may exert more control or attention to non-verbal behaviors than the university participants in various studies (Frosina et al., 2018). In their research, Frosina et al. (2018) supported their theory that non-verbal cues change when cognitive load increases, consistent with increased anxiety levels.

The Enhanced Cognitive Interview

Initially developed by Fisher and Gieselman in 1984, the cognitive interview included four cognitive mnemonics: free-recall, mental reinstatement of context, change order, and change perspective (Paulo et al., 2016). In 1992, Fisher and Geiselman observed the importance of the social-communicative components; rapport building, witness-compatible questioning, transferring control of the interview to the witness, and mental imagery, all of which are crucial components for conducting good investigative interviews (Paulo et al., 2016). Building on these social-communication components led to the Enhanced Cognitive Interview (ECI). The ECI focuses on rapport building, witness-compatible questioning, transferring control of the interview, and mental imagery through metacognition, changing the focus from improving report quantity to report quality (Paulo et al., 2016). The ECI depends on these metacognitive judgments to

enhance witness accuracy and the interviewer's evaluation of that accuracy (Paulo et al., 2016). The enhanced cognitive interview starts with the initial relationship with the interviewee, encouraging the interviewee to concentrate and recall as much information as possible with fine detail, no matter the perceived relevance (Ryan et al., 2020). The free recall should focus on smell, sound, and feelings, providing the interviewee with control of the flow of recalled memories and changing perspective and reverse order (Ryan et al., 2020). Indeed, in a study conducted by Evans et al. (2021), the enhanced cognitive interview facilitated the recollection of less accessible memories through multiple and varied retrieval methods in the episodic and semantic memory of the participants.

Yerkes-Dodson Law

In police interrogation, stress levels are at a high normative concentration. Compounding the stress of interrogation with the accusatorial methodology increases the tensity and may negatively affect the interviewee's testimony. According to Chaby et al. (2015), the Yerkes-Dodson law describes a context-specific relationship between performance and arousal in high and low-threat conditions. According to the Yerkes-Dodson law, moderate arousal can enhance performance by modulating motivation; however, high arousal levels can decrease performance by reducing information processed (Chaby et al., 2015). The Yerkes-Dodson law defines the emotional response of the fight, flight, or freeze system following these modulating stressors.

Maack et al. (2015) posit that fear is an underlying motivational state of the fight, flight, and freeze system, which is also a part of the body's defensive motivational

system. Maack et al. (2015) uncovered research that suggests that fear manifests as flight, if escape is available, freeze, which is a passive form of avoidance, or fighting if escape is not an option and a defensive tactic if needed. Marr et al. (2021) observed a range of stress effects on encoding and retrieval in their survey concerning the stress effects on memory. Nevertheless, many researchers agree that stress experienced at encoding enhanced memory, while high-stress levels were shown to impair memory accuracy. Furthermore, Pezdek et al. (2021) found that high-stress levels impair eyewitness accuracy. In their study, Pezdek et al. (2015) uncovered evidence that elevated stress impairs eyewitness accuracy overall. Indeed, according to Sharps (2021), fight or flight is not inherently dangerous in brief intervals. Fight or flight in short intervals provides the individual with enhanced response levels to recover from over the short term (Sharps, 2021). Dilevski et al. (2020) found evidence that compared to non-stressful scenarios, exposure to stressful scenarios revealed stressful scenario participants were less likely to confuse experiences with false memories. The findings suggest that emotional stress promotes long-term memory and is more accurate for stressful stimuli than nonstressful stimuli (Dilevski et al., 2020). Dr. Sharps (2021) explains that extended periods of fight or flight stressors have physiological hazards and diminish memory and learning skills. Research indicates that brief intervals of fight-or-flight stressors can benefit performance; only when the individual is exposed to long-term fight-or-flight stressors does performance begin to diminish.

Fight or flight stressors are usually observed through the lens of positive or negative, which does not establish the context of the response. Gwyer (2017) discovered

that observing emotions through the lens of intensity and function facilitates insight into

how intensely the emotion is felt and if this intensity is appropriate, proportionate, and

helpful to the current circumstances. Understanding the context in which the expressed

emotions occur directs understanding of the appropriateness of the response, what level

of performance the emotional response provided, and its utility (Gwyer, 2017). Using

these terms will facilitate understanding the context in which emotions occur, not merely

labeling them as positive or negative (Gwyer, 2017).

Fight, flight, or freeze is modulated by the amount and type of stress imposed on

the interviewee. Police interview and interrogations are high-stress events primarily

driven by the severity of the investigated crime. The room setting, interview and

interrogation methodology, and role within the investigation compound this stress. The

interviewee's role and commitment to truthfulness modulate the fight, flight, or freeze

emotional response to questioning. The Yerkes-Dodson law facilitates understanding of

stress within the interrogation setting and how stress is modulated through the severity of

the crime, methodology, environment, and interpersonal interactions between the

interviewer and interviewee.

The Reid Method employs isolation, confrontation, and minimization, leading to

the stressors of fight or flight and the reasons for false confession and wrongful

conviction. According to Schatz (2018), at the point of post-admission guilt, the

interrogator's use of the accusatorial method leads to the joint shaping of the confession

and supplying detailed information either explicitly or implicitly. The PEACE Model was

the first investigative interviewing method based on rapport-building and information

gathering. The investigative interviewing model changes the intentions from gathering a confession to gathering abundant and accurate information. Reformation in interrogation methods in countries like the U.K. and Australia has led to a decrease in false confession cases (Adam & van Golde, 2020). Research into the effectiveness of the PEACE model has demonstrated a reduction in false confessions and a general increase in the improvement of interviewing skills of law enforcement (Adam & van Golde, 2020). The Reid Method and other similar accusatorial methods increase the cognitive load of the interviewee, thus increasing the likelihood of false confession. The transformation of interrogation methods has demonstrated a decrease in false confessions, reducing the stressors placed on the interviewee.

<div align="center">**Key Variables and Concepts**</div>

Coercion

According to Gudjonsson (2021), Leo and Drizin identified three main sequential error pathways that produce false confessions; misclassification, coercion, and contamination, which lead to voluntary, coerced-compliant, and coerced-internalized false confessions. Coercive strategies employed by the interviewer in a police investigation are a prominent factor in false confessions. Psychological coercion is commonplace in interrogation and is recognized as a principal risk factor for false confession (Kaplan et al., 2020). Psychological coercion alters the interviewee's perception of reality, resulting in a mutual formation of a false confession.

Following the three sequential error pathways are the three psychological types of false confession: voluntary, coerced-compliant, and coerced-internalized (Kassin, 2014).

The five-stage cumulative disadvantage framework provides the lens of the three primary errors (Scherr et al., 2020). The cumulative disadvantage framework characterizes the development of false confession from the suspect's naïve persuadability to the interrogator's presumption of guilt (Scherr et al., 2020). The misclassification error is when the police identify innocent individuals as suspects for interrogation in the precustodial interview (Sherr et al., 2020). Within this stage, the police identify the individual as a suspect through the subjective interpretation of verbal and non-verbal behavior, flawed information and evidence, speculation, reliance on informants, and confirmation bias (Gudjonsson, 2021)(Scherr et al., 2020). Innocent individuals exhibit innocence-related behaviors, such as agreeing to waive their rights and speaking with the police (Sherr et al., 2020). At this stage, guilty individuals will be reluctant to discuss information, less inclined to waive their rights, and respond more quickly with cognitive resources that facilitate decision-making (Sherr et al., 2020).

The second stage, custodial interrogation, succeeds following the waiving of Miranda Rights, entering into strategies and tactics designed to elicit confession: confrontation, maximization, minimization, implied leniency, and false evidence (Scherr et al., 2020). At this stage, presenting false evidence and minimization themes that suggest leniency increases the risk of false confession, especially in vulnerable populations such as juveniles and adults with cognitive impairments and mental health issues (Scherr et al., 2020). Vulnerable populations are at greater risk of waiving their Miranda Rights and giving in to police-induced false confessions (Scherr et al., 2020).

The third stage, ensuing investigations, occurs following the procurement of confession, increasing the confirmation bias of the investigator and bias of the forensic evidence collected (Scherr et al., 2020). At this stage, any information about the confession provided to the witnesses can alter the retraction of support, change identifications, and bias forensic examiners' interpretation of physical evidence (Scherr et al., 2020). Guilty pleas and trial convictions mark the fourth stage, bolstered by the accumulation of coercive tactics, corroborated by accurate details of the crime, lay and expert witness testimony, and false confession (Scherr et al., 2020). Post-conviction appeals and exonerations are the final stages, revealing the influence and lasting damage of false confessions, impeding appeal efforts, and leaving a persistent stigma on the individual (Scherr et al., 2020).

The overarching premise of the confession-seeking theme is the investigator's proclivity toward confirmation bias and how this influences those tactics that elicit false confessions (Meisner et al., 2017). Coercion is the foremost contributing factor that engages confirmation bias, employing variables such as contamination of presumed suspect testimony, contamination of evidence, and contamination of witness testimony, ending in a false confession. In a study conducted by Cleary and Warner (2016), over half of the police officers sampled reported training in using psychologically coercive techniques to interrogate adults and juveniles.

False Confession

The 2016 National Registry of Exonerations statistics indicated that false confessions contributed 13% of all wrongful convictions within 1,927 cases (Kassin et

al., 2018). The underpinning psychological factors of false confession are the social influences of reinforcement and decision-making (Kassin, 2017). Prevalent police interrogation tactics include explicit threats, promises, false evidence, and minimization and maximization (Kassin et al., 2018). The overarching cause of false confession was contamination by revealing unpublicized information to the interviewee, then jointly shaping the narrative to produce a false confession. Further research indicates that false confession results from the investigator's suggestive memory retrieval techniques, inducing the interviewee to generate criminal and non-criminal memories (Shaw and Porter, 2015).

Confession statements require an admission of guilt and a detailed narrative of how or why the crime was committed (Niland & Ortu, 2020). False confessions are often the product of a narrative shaped by the interviewer and interviewee that undermines the individual's memory and confirms their guilt. These gaps in memory explain how confabulation, a form of contamination, leads to a false confession. Gudjonsson (2021) identifies additional factors of coercion that contribute to false confession as contamination and confabulation. Contamination may involve a suspect's eagerness to assist police, coping with the pressures of interrogation, and a lack of understanding of their rights (Gudjonsson, 2021). Confabulation is a form of contamination that involves the individual filling memory gaps with false experiences (Gudjonsson, 2021). This contamination, undermined by the investigator's interrogation methods, leads to false confession or culpability of the crime (Gudjonsson, 2021). Confabulation is a central component of internalized false confession, often leading to distrusting memory

recollection, making individuals particularly vulnerable to external cues and suggestions from the interviewer (Gudjonsson, 2021).

Memory

Memory contributes significantly to coercion, leading to a false confession and wrongful conviction. According to Sharps (2021), individuals questioned by police may not be incorrect in their responses; it is basically that their minds are filling in the gaps in memory with plausible alternatives. The investigator's suggestive memory retrieval techniques can activate these plausible alternatives, inducing participants to generate criminal and non-criminal false memories (Shaw & Porter, 2015). Other factors include the passage of time, rehearsal, and post-event memory (Sharps, 2022). Sharps (2022) identifies how Bartlett clarifies how memory reconfigures over time in conciseness, loss of event details, and fluctuations in the direction of personal belief. Reconfiguration may be partly due to the retelling of events following opportunities to obtain false information through time and post-event information from various sources, including media, family and friends, and new encounters and experiences (Sharps, 2022). As inquiries repeated over time, an experiment by Dr. Sharps and colleagues yielded far less information from the first query and a more significant portion of the new information contained false memories (Sharps, 2022).

Similar studies by Shaw and Porter (2015) reported that 70% of participants generated false memories of committing a crime (theft, assault, or assault with a weapon), leading to detailed accounts of false information reported to police in subsequent encounters. Shaw and Porter (2015) generated rich false memories of committing a crime

through highly suggestive interviews with participants in their study. The ability to create false memories fuses with the inability of attorneys, judges, and juries to discern the difference between real and false memories, further exacerbating wrongful conviction issues (Shaw, 2020). The suggestibility to create false memories increases in vulnerable populations such as juveniles and individuals with mental or intellectual disabilities.

Juvenile False Confessions

According to Cleary and Warner (2016), relevant data suggests that police investigators often interrogate juveniles like adults. Formal and informal police interview and interrogation training does not distinguish between adult and youthful offenders (Cleary & Warner, 2016). Numerous research studies have determined that juveniles are at an increased risk of false confession (Cleary & Warner, 2016). Well-documented vulnerabilities of juveniles originate from the interrogation's interpersonal pressures, including the juvenile's malleability, limited comprehension of Miranda Rights, general confusion, and propensity to comply with authority (Cleary & Warner, 2016). The juvenile's developmental status, lack of experience, and limited knowledge are essential factors when interviewing a juvenile. Lapp (2017) emphasizes two overarching circumstances to consider in the approach and application of juvenile interrogation: The juvenile's need to end the stressful interrogation encounter as soon as possible and the juvenile's need for approval from the interrogator as an authority figure. The psychological stressors and the juvenile's natural inclination to seek approval are powerful coercive tools that lead to false confession and wrongful convictions. According to Luna (2017), emotions and social influences significantly impact juvenile decision-

making. Juvenile receptivity to coercion can be traced to their impulsivity, predisposition

to be influenced by others, especially authority figures, increased sensitivity to short-term

or immediate rewards, and general lack of awareness of long-term consequences (Luna,

2017). Luna (2017) explains how the juvenile's reliance on short-term consequences is

the main factor in poor Miranda rights comprehension.

Most police departments employ the psychologically coercive methods of the

Reid Technique that are used with adults (Cleary & Warner, 2016). The Reid Method

does not provide a variation on technique from adult to juvenile, leading police officers to

utilize these techniques at times to a more considerable degree with specific tactics

(Cleary & Warner, 2016). Cleary and Warner (2016) uncovered research indicating that

police employed multiple coercive tactics in a single juvenile interrogation, with

maximization utilized four times more than minimization. Indeed, according to Lapp

(2017), out of the 10 minutes of training in the interrogation of juveniles, the Reid

Method encourages law enforcement to take advantage of the vulnerabilities of youths,

providing them with negative alternative scenarios, both of which present guilty

responses.

Research by scholars and juvenile advocates recognizes the psychosocial

difference between adults and juveniles (Cleary & Warner, 2016). The accusatorial

methodology results in two types of false confessions; coerced-compliant and coerced-

internalized (Luna, 2017). Coerced-compliant false confessions occur when a suspect

confesses to relieve an aversive interrogation's stressors or gain a promised or implied

reward (Luna, 2017). Coerced-internalized false confessions are situations where the

suspect believes they committed the crime through the deceptive and coercive tactics of the interrogation, where contamination creates a false narrative jointly shaped to produce the confession (Luna, 2017).

The Reid Technique begins with a presumption of guilt and continues with guilt-presumptive questioning that produces inconsistent statements and false confessions, especially within the vulnerable juvenile population (Spierer, 2017). Luna (2017) suggests that the current adversarial nature of interrogation creates incentives for police departments to use coercive methods and ignore the differences between juvenile and adult populations. Coercion and deception lead to alternative and negative alternative questioning tactics that confirm culpability by malice or mishap (Spierer, 2017). Winerdal et al. (2019) conducted a study exploring the types of questions employed by law enforcement in interrogating juvenile suspects. In their research, Winerdal et al. (2019) discovered that most questions involved questions that do not elicit a free recall response. The study results showed that 55% of the questions were specific-closed, forced-choice, and suggestive, limiting responses and contaminating the statements obtained (Winerdal et al., 2019).

According to Spierer (2017), the investigative interviewing PEACE method is an alternative as this method stresses the importance of rapport development and information-gathering in the interrogation process. The Reid Technique creates an adversarial atmosphere, leading to coercive tactics, followed by false confession; in contrast, the PEACE method fulfills the investigative role of interviewing (Spierer, 2017). In their study, Winerdal et al. (2019) found that the lack of a child-friendly

approach led to a disadvantaged position relative to the authoritative adult using coercive tactics against them. In their conclusions, Winerdal et al. (2019) recommended an evidence-based approach to interviewing juvenile suspects that consider juveniles' vulnerabilities relative to the authoritative position of police officers. Odeljan et al. (2015) recognize the consensus among experts on utilizing investigative interviewing, emphasizing the importance of adjusting the interview to the child's cognitive level, underscoring a free narrative and open-ended questions. Each of these aspects is at the core of investigative interviewing. Melinder et al. (2021) examined the effectiveness of an investigative interviewing protocol. They found that children may need additional communication aids to recount their stressful experiences in an investigative context rather than traditional interview protocols (Melinder et al., 2021). The procedures within the investigative interview will safeguard juveniles from coercive ways of questioning by emphasizing rapport development, providing a journey that includes shared interests in developing abundant and accurate information.

Mental Illnesses and False Confession and Coercion

Individuals with mental health disabilities are susceptible to coercion and false confession under traditional and non-traditional police interrogation (Rogal, 2017). Persons with mental health disabilities experience difficulty resisting the pressures of interrogation, beginning with the invocation of Constitutional Rights, further aggravated by coercive questioning methods (Rogal, 2017). Moreover, persons with mental health disabilities display greater suggestibility, the tendency to acquiescence, and

inattentiveness to long-term consequences, making them particularly vulnerable to deceptive interview tactics (Rogal, 2017).

Mental health disabilities, such as psychotic disorders, including schizophrenia, impair the individual's ability to ascertain reality and distinguish reality from delusions and hallucinations (Rogal, 2017). Individuals with these disorders are less likely to report vindicating information or evidence and more likely to form a confession jointly shaped by details supplied by police interrogators (Rogal, 2017). Bipolar, depressive, and attentional disorders also increase a person's vulnerability (Rogal, 2017). During mania, bipolar disorder can cause symptoms similar to psychotic disorders leading to recklessness, distractibility, and delusional self-belief (Rogal, 2017). Depression, on the other hand, causes excessive or misplaced guilt, sometimes resulting in delusions and impairing memory and concentration (Rogal, 2017).

The prevalent Reid Method perpetuates accusatorial methodology and psychological stressors that further exacerbate the likelihood of false confession in a police interrogation. Rogal (2017) identifies how the Reid Method exploits deception allowed in the interrogation room. In the Reid Method, the interviewer feigns sympathy for the suspect's current circumstances through rationalizations and blaming others, thereby cultivating a false sense of security in their current situation and opening the door to false confession by implying a benefit gained from admission (Rogal, 2017). Other deceptive practices include intimidation through false evidence and insistence on guilt, rejecting any plausible alternative (Rogal, 2017). Rogal (2017) points out that the Reid Technique acknowledges that their method may prove overwhelming to persons with

mental impairments; however, there is no mention of alternative practices for this vulnerable population.

Yet again, the investigative interviewing method, built upon rapport development and evidence-gathering principles, can mitigate the prevalence of coercion and false confession in police interrogations. According to Farrugia and Gabbert (2020), individuals with mental health conditions have limited cognitive abilities related to free recall and episodic memory, which call for open-ended questions to facilitate free recall of the events. According to a study conducted by Volbert et al. (2019), mentally ill offenders claimed they made false confessions to either stop police questioning, protect the actual perpetrator, surrender to the pressures of interrogation, or because they assumed through the course of the investigation that they were involved in the crime. The investigative interviewing methodology seeks rapport development, working toward a common goal of accurate and abundant information through free-recall and open-ended questions, eliminating the risk of contamination and bias in the accusatorial methodology.

Individuals With Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities

Persons with Intellectual disabilities are identified by poor perceptual reasoning, verbal comprehension, memory, abstract thought, problem-solving, impressionability, naiveté, incognizant of risk, and tendency to follow others (Rogal, 2017). Individuals with intellectual and developmental disabilities risk accepting and incorporating information communicated by others into their memories and narratives (Rogal, 2017). According to Schatz (2018), individuals with intellectual and developmental disabilities are disadvantaged at every stage of custodial interrogation, leading to the likelihood of

false confession. Schatz (2018) explains that the risks of false confession occur before, during, and after interrogation and are found within four steps: the interviewer's initial impression of the suspect, the Miranda warnings, the preadmission interrogation, and the postadmission interrogation. A significant miscarriage of justice occurs when the interviewer fails to recognize intellectual and developmental disability at the outset and can be traced to a lack of awareness and a tendency on the part of the individual to hide or overrepresent their abilities (Schatz, 2018).

Current methodology sheds light on the rationale for false confession in this vulnerable population. Most law enforcement agencies have confidence in the Reid Technique or similar experiential learned accusatorial methods, resulting in the risk of false confession, most notably in vulnerable populations. The manual for the Reid Technique acknowledges the risk of false confession; however, it lays blame on the interviewer and their introduction of a component such as harm or promise of leniency, not the method itself (Schatz, 2018). Schatz (2018) recognizes the investigative interviewing method, the PEACE Model, as a method less likely to elicit a false confession. The PEACE Model diminishes the prevalence of false confession due to a free narrative, encouraging interviewers to ask open-ended questions and providing closure by summarizing the interviewee's narrative and answering questions (Schatz, 2018). In working with individuals with intellectual and developmental disabilities, awareness of the risk of false confession associated with this vulnerable population is significant. Through free narrative and open-ended questions, investigative interviewing may enable the interviewer to understand that the individual may have mental health or

intellectual disability. Instead of contaminating the narrative and stressing the individual that already has the propensity to acquiesce, the interviewer will be able to acknowledge the individual's inadequate understanding of their current circumstances.

Investigative Interviewing

Aside from formal training, most law enforcement agencies follow the confession-seeking theme acquired within the Reid Technique. According to Adam and van Golde (2020), the coercive and confrontational methods of the Reid Technique have altered scholars' motivation for reforms that include the information-gathering approach of investigative interviewing. Scholars advocate the departure from the confession-seeking, guilt-presumptive methodology presently prevalent in many law enforcement agencies to the rapport-based inquisitorial style of investigative interviewing. Research has revealed that offenders are willing to offer more accurate and abundant information, validating forensic evidence when utilizing the investigative interviewing methodology (Tedeschini & MacEwan, 2018). The U.K. became the frontrunner for reforming police interview and interrogation that, began with academic research into the link between coercive interviewing and false confessions (Adam & van Golde, 2020). This research led to developing and implementing the PEACE model, an acronym for the various stages/structures of the investigative interview (Adam & van Golde, 2020). The PEACE model, the U.K. interpretation of investigative interviewing, is built upon two psychological theories: Conversation Management and the Cognitive Interview. The PEACE model encourages information-gathering over the Reid Technique's goal of securing confession (Adam & van Golde, 2020). The PEACE model requires preparing

and planning a detailed explanation of the process, with the final goal of obtaining the interviewee's account and the appropriate questions and challenges to the interviewee's statement (Adam & van Golde, 2020).

Excluding forensic evidence, the interviewee's statement provides context for physical evidence, explaining how the evidence fits within the investigation (Akca et al., 2021). The interviewer's skill in generating an abundant amount of accurate information is essential to the interview process, which is the framework of the evidence-based method, investigative interviewing. Investigative interviewing is built upon the theories, Conversation Management and the Cognitive Interview, and relies upon rapport-building, positive attitude, elicitation of a free narrative with appropriate open-ended, non-leading questions, and the use of the Cognitive Interview's memory enhancement protocols (Akca et al., 2021). Information disclosure within the interview context is further facilitated through significant rapport development and matching forensic evidence to statements of witnesses, complainants, and suspects. The creation and implementation of investigative interviewing have been shown to mitigate the risks of coercion and false confession; however, the complexities of interviewing require more than a single training session to enhance meaningful rapport development and questioning approaches (Akca et al., 2021). Continuous and significant educational programs on ethical methodologies, such as investigative interviewing, can mitigate the pitfalls of the prevalent confession-seeking theme.

According to Akca et al. (2021), the previously developed evidence-based interview models, such as the PEACE model, have several common principles. These

principles include rapport development, projecting a positive attitude toward the interviewee, requesting free-recall narratives, appropriate open-ended, non-leading questions following the 80-20 rule of communication, and memory enhancements, such as context reinstatement, change temporal order, and change perspective (Akca et al., 2021). Investigative interviewing seeks to obtain accurate and reliable accounts from victims, witnesses, or suspects while acting reasonably in the investigative approach and mindset that facilitates a free narrative recall of the events (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2021). Most law enforcement agencies still follow the guilt-presumptive model in interviewing suspects, which is reinforced through confirmation bias resulting from contaminating suspect testimony and jointly shaping the confession. The necessity to shed light on the confirmation bias of experienced investigators and educate new and upcoming investigators in investigative interviewing is essential to achieving a transformation that ensures justice and avoids wrongful convictions or unsolved investigations.

Strengths and Limitations

The data to be utilized in this study is archival or secondary data collected by the Houston Police Department Command staff of an investigative interviewing course provided to investigators. The Houston Police Department has granted access to this data and permission to use this data to complete this study. The survey data is derived from a semantic differential scale of students' perceptions of the implemented investigative interviewing course. This data presumes the participants' responses are truthful and the participants answered thoughtfully and carefully.

Summary

The research presented throughout this literature review illustrated the complications created by the current guilt-presumptive methodology of police interview and interrogation. The guilt-presumptive model presupposes the individual being interviewed is guilty of the crime through confirmation bias, leading the investigator to seek a confession of guilt through coercive methods, which leads to false confessions and wrongful convictions. The Reid Technique is at the forefront of current law enforcement training and practice. The Reid Technique utilizes the accusatorial approach to interview and interrogation with the presupposition of guilt and a lack of distinction between the adult populations and juveniles and individuals with mental or intellectual and developmental disabilities. The Reid Technique seeks to exploit these populations' lack of knowledge and sophistication as these populations are briefly mentioned within the training manuals. Lapp (2017) reveals that only 10 minutes of training is devoted to juveniles, which encourages participants to take advantage of the vulnerabilities of youths by providing negative alternative settings, which both imply the culpability of the crime in question.

The guilt-presumptive methods of the Reid Technique and similar approaches have sparked research and motivation for reforms that include a divergence from accusatorial practices to the information-gathering and rapport-building process of investigative interviewing (Adam & van Golde, 2020). Research examples such as Tedeschini and MacEwan (2018) reveal how offenders are willing to offer more accurate and abundant information that substantiates forensic evidence using investigative

interviewing techniques. While research illustrates the positive impacts of investigative interviewing, there has not been evidence of how law enforcement investigators perceive this methodology. Akca et al. (2021) caution that due to the complexities of the interview process, investigators will need more than a single training session to enhance their skills to develop meaningful rapport and questioning approaches. Investigative interviewing encourages investigators to seek more accurate and reliable information through mindful and reflective practices that rely on rapport and reciprocity, valuing the individual and their circumstances that encourage disclosure. Directed by the literature presented in this chapter, Chapter 3 will supply details on the participants, research design, data collection tools, the methodology used to analyze the participant sample's research questions, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

Chapter 3 outlines the research design and rationale, the methodology to be employed, plans for data collection and analysis, and finally, threats to the validity of this quantitative study. This quantitative study examines archival data on participant perceptions of investigative interviewing before and immediately following course application. Within the archival data, participants responded to a series of questions, rating the utility of the principles of investigative interviewing in mitigating the future risk of false confession and coercion while adding to the amount of valuable information in furtherance of the investigation. Investigative Interviewing is an evidence-based approach to interview and interrogation that mitigates the risk of false confession and coercion while increasing the quality and amount of information. Investigative interviewing emerged through a literature review on the pitfalls of coercion and false confession and the prevalent confession-seeking, accusatorial methodology. However, literature has focused on implementing and using investigative interviewing in several countries, except the United States. Exposure to investigative interviewing in the United States remains limited to a select number of federal law enforcement agencies and even fewer local jurisdictional partners.

The literature primarily addresses the need to reform police interview and interrogation, with the solution of implementing investigative interviewing programs. There is a need to assess the training participants' perceptions of investigative interviewing in a local law enforcement setting due to the change from the prolific

confession-seeking methodology. The exclusion of state and local law enforcement

agencies from exposure to specialized interview and interrogation training has confirmed

outdated, flawed, and unethical practices in current local and federal law enforcement

agencies.

This chapter presents the research design this study employed, the data, and the

data collected from the population of the archival data. Furthermore, this chapter will

explain the methodology used by the Houston Police Department used to assess the

research questions guiding this study. Finally, the instruments to gather data and the data

collection analysis strategies will be presented, concluding with a discussion of any

threats to validity and ethical considerations.

Research Design and Rationale

This study applied a repeated-measures analysis of variance design with student

self-assessment ratings before and after the investigative interviewing course (Frankfort-

Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2018). A quantitative analysis was drawn from archival data

collected from the pretest/post-test design, gauging how the participants of the

investigative interviewing course rate or perceive the utility of the principles of

investigative interviewing. This design assumes that responses are honest and accurate

based upon the instructions provided by the Houston Police Department before the pretest

and post-test questions, which clarified the study in the "Confidentiality and Survey

Instructions" (See Appendix A for survey instructions). In the survey provided by the

Houston Police Department, participants were advised that their anonymity would remain

intact with the organization and survey collection services in these instructions. The

assumption that responses were truthful and accurate representations of participant

perceptions is a limitation in determining their legitimacy. As this was archival data,

there was a lack of control over the sample size, participants, collection process, and

appropriateness of the survey questions. The use of archival data follows a non-

experimental research design that includes an examination of the natural relationships

among variables with no researcher manipulation (Burkholder et al., 2020).

A strength of secondary data is that it reduces the time to recruit participants and

collect data. Tied to this strength is the availability of resources for the primary

researcher to gather participants, develop relevant questions, and gain more informed

responses to the survey. A limiting factor is acquiring permission from the Houston

Police Department to use the data. The survey questions and answers are provided for

each course, leading to efficient data analysis. This non-experimental, quantitative

research design utilizes the archival data presented in these surveys, which is appropriate

and relevant to this study. The data considers the participants' perceptions of the utility of

implementing the investigative interviewing method within their investigations.

Population

The target population of this archival data consists of police officers either

currently employed as police investigators or on the path to becoming police

investigators. This Investigative Interviewing program is unique to the Houston Police

Department and local law enforcement. Students are considered unaware of the

investigative interviewing method before course implementation.

Sampling and Sampling Procedures

The use of archival data precludes the selection of the participants, and the sample was limited to either current or potential police investigators in a law enforcement agency. This survey was only open to course participants and was administered at the beginning and end of the course application. The research applies a repeated-measures analysis of variance design to student self-assessment ratings before and after the investigative interviewing class implementation (Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2018).

RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3 were examined using multiple linear regression analysis. Each of the variables appears to apply to the Research Questions assembled from the pre and post-test-survey responses, observing participant perceptions of the investigative interviewing course. The appropriate sample size for this study was calculated using a multiple-regression sample calculator (Soper, 2018). Calculating the appropriate sample size will be accomplished using an anticipated effect size (f^2) of 0.15, a statistical power level of 0.9, a probability level (p) of 0.05, and six predictors (Soper, 2018). Using this calculation, the minimum number of participants should be 123 (Soper, 2018).

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

The use of archival data permits access to present an efficient but limited lack of control over the sample size, participants, collection process, and appropriateness of the survey questions. The Houston Police Department gave the authorization to analyze and publish the survey data in this study. The Houston Police Department's survey gave participants informed consent at the beginning of the pre-and post-test survey

questionnaires. The informed consent detailed the research goal of the Houston Police Department, and the authorization of the study advises the participants' that their anonymity will remain intact with the organization and survey collection services in these instructions.

The Houston Police Department collected data for this study through Survey Monkey. This cloud-based, online survey tool utilizes smartphones and QR codes for the pretest and post-test questions embedded in the Houston Police Department Training's PowerPoint presentation. The surveys included questions requesting participants to rate their responses using a semantic differential scale for each question. According to the American Psychological Association (2017), the original data remains the property of the Houston Police Department; these data were exported into SPSS and stored safely with the Houston Police Department after use and will be destroyed after 5 years.

Instrumentation and Operationalization of Constructs

Several variables were measured to assess participant perceptions for this research. The dependent variable in each Research Question involved participant perceptions. The independent variables are RQ1, confession, and evidentiary testimony; RQ2, confirmation bias; and RQ3, deception detection through body language observation. The rating scale for each question consisted of never true to always true on a scale of 1 – 7.

Data Analysis Plan

The data set was placed on an Excel spreadsheet and put into the SPSS. Partial responses or abandoned surveys were determined as what constitutes an incomplete

survey. The internal consistency of the data was examined using Cronbach's alpha with the aim of a reliability coefficient of .70 or higher to indicate internal consistency. The following questions were examined in this study:

RQ1: Do participants change their perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation?

$H_0$1: Participants do not change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation.

H_a1: Participants do change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation.

RQ2: Do participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation?

$H_0$2: Participants do not change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation.

H_a2: Participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation.

RQ3: Do participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following course implementation?

$H_0$3: Participants do not change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following course implementation.

H_a3: Participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following course implementation.

Threats to Validity

External validity in this study, or the extent to which the study's results can be generalized across contexts, is significant to generalizing the results to the broader law enforcement community (Burkholder et al., 2020). A thorough literature review addresses threats to external validity and finds ways the study results apply to other settings (Burkholder et al., 2020). Application of the study results to other law enforcement agencies in the training and education of their investigators and prospective investigators maintains validity as these are similar populations.

In quantitative research, internal validity, or the confirmation that the data collected matches the research question, is essential and manifested in this research (Burkholder et al., 2020). As these are archival or secondary data, it is assumed that no internal validity threats exist, such as attrition, testing, and instrumentation issues. According to Burkholder et al. (2020), internal validity or causal inference in quantitative

research is the extent to which the independent variable is responsible for the dependent variable. The research questions are the independent variables in this study, and the dependent variables are participants' perceptions.

Ethical Procedures

Each survey included an explanation of confidentiality and survey instructions. This information included informing participants of the information collected and assuring participants that identifying information such as name, email address, or IP address would not be collected. The confidentiality statement advised participants that no one would be able to identify them or their responses, and no one would know that they participated in these surveys.

The Houston Police Department approved access to analyze and publish the survey data in this study. Walden University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) established approval to use this data for this study. The data in this study were kept anonymous and confidential, with no identifying information that could be traced back to any participants. The SPSS data file created when exporting this data was stored at the Houston Police Department. Destruction of data used for this study will occur after 5 years in accordance with the procedures outlined by the American Psychological Association (2017). The original data remain the property of the Houston Police Department and will be handled under their regulations.

Summary

Chapter 3 outlined this study's methodology, instruments, research questions, hypotheses, data collection, analysis plan, and ethical considerations. This study observed

a quantitative, non-experimental research design utilizing archival data collected by a municipal law enforcement agency. The research design included a repeated-measures analysis of variance to measure the student self-assessment ratings from a semantic differential scale survey. The values of the students' perceptions are discrete, as they are finite values appropriate for input into quantitative analysis. The repeated-measures analysis of variance design will deliver insight into the students' perception precursive to the course application. The purpose of this study was to discover how participants of investigative interviewing training rate the utility of investigative interviewing in mitigating the future risk of false confession and coercion while adding to the amount of valuable information in furtherance of the investigation. Chapter 4 includes the potential results gleaned from this study.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

This quantitative study examined the participants' perceptions of investigative interviewing before and immediately following course implementation. This research provided a historical account of the systemic issues with police interview and interrogation that have led to the Investigative Interviewing Method. The review of the literature on police interview and interrogation has described how the confession-seeking, guilt-presumptive style of interview and interrogation in the United States coerces individuals into false confessions that lead to wrongful convictions. More than 3 decades of research have exposed the popularity of applying accusatorial interrogation approaches stems from investigators' proclivity toward confirmation bias and the influence such techniques have on eliciting a confession (Meissner et al., 2017). Research into investigative interviewing has established the necessity to develop and apply the investigative interviewing method in police interview and interrogation; however, this has been limited to the federal level and not explored and provided to law enforcement at the local level. This quantitative research aims to discover how participants of investigative interviewing training rate the utility of the principles of investigative interviewing in mitigating the future risk of false confession and coercion while adding to the amount of valuable information in furtherance of the investigation. Equally important is the need to understand the perspective of local law enforcement investigators. This study examined the perceptions of local law enforcement participants before and immediately after the implementation of an investigative interviewing course.

This study sought to answer the following questions:

RQ1: Do participants change their perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation?

$H_0 1$: Participants do not change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation.

$H_a 1$: Participants do change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation.

RQ2: Do participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation?

$H_0 2$: Participants do not change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation.

$H_a 2$: Participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation.

RQ3: Do participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following course implementation?

$H_0$3: Participants do not change their perceptions regarding the ability of an

investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately

following course implementation.

H_a3: Participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator

to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following

course implementation.

Data Collection

Archival data were provided by the Houston Police Department of a semantic

differential scale of students' perceptions of an investigative interviewing course in pre

and post-test surveys for each class. The use of archival data permitted access to present

an efficient but limited lack of control over the sample size, participants, collection

process, and appropriateness of the survey questions, with no participant recruitment

procedures and no discrepancies from the data collection plan of Chapter 3. There were

448 responses total, with 206 responses for the pre-test and 242 responses for the post-

test, yielding only 206 responses for both the pre-test and post-test surveys. The use of

archival data follows a non-experimental research design that includes an examination of

the natural relationships among variables with no researcher manipulation (Burkholder et

al., 2020). The minimum number of participants needed was 123, calculating the

appropriate sample size using the anticipated effect size ($f^2 = 0.15$), a statistical power

level of 0.9, a probability level (p) of 0.05, and six predictors (Soper, 2018).

The archival data for this study was collected from a pretest/post-test design that

assessed students' perceptions before and immediately following course implementation.

The research design includes a repeated-measures analysis of variance to measure the student self-assessment ratings from a semantic differential scale survey. The values of the students' perceptions were discrete, as they were finite values appropriate for input into quantitative analysis. The archival data was placed into an Excel spreadsheet and then imported into SPSS for analysis. No data on individual demographics were collected, so specific information such as sex and age were unknown for this study. Partial responses or abandoned surveys will be determined as what constitutes an incomplete survey. The internal consistency of the data will be examined using Cronbach's alpha with the aim of a reliability coefficient of .70 or higher to indicate internal consistency. The final sample of this study included only those police officers of the Houston Police Department that completed the Investigative Interviewing course. Although the final sample size was a specific portion of the total population of police officers within the Houston Police Department, this is consistent with other police departments in terms of the size of investigative units. Therefore, there is generalizability with the broader population of law enforcement agencies within the United States.

Results

A one-way ANOVA was chosen as the data collected in each survey were the responses to the 25 items related to the class content. No demographic data or participant IDs are included to match the data provided by the Houston Police Department. The response ID and IP addresses in the downloaded data do not correspond throughout the two surveys. One-way ANOVA determines if there are significant differences between the means of two or more groups (Warner, 2021). The initial expectation of establishing

internal consistency was to calculate Cronbach's alpha; however, the data did not meet the criteria for using this procedure.

There are six assumptions of the one-way ANOVA to evaluate to determine the validity of this test choice. Three assumptions are based on the study's design, and three were tested statistically based on the data gathered. The assumptions include the following: the dependent variable is continuously measured, and the independent variable is categorical; observations are independent, with no significant outliers; the dependent variable is normally distributed, and there is a homogeneity of variances in the dependent variable based on the independent variable (Warner, 2021).

The data obtained by the Houston Police Department observe these assumptions. The three dependent variables were analyzed in the current one-way ANOVA test:

RQ1: Do participants change their perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation?

RQ2: Do participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation?

RQ3: Do participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following course implementation?

These variables were considered continuous as they were measured on a $1 - 7$ scale and, therefore, are appropriate to be analyzed. The categorical independent variable will be the time point. Participants responded to questions at times one and two,

indicating two separate categories of collected data. This variable is categorical and

appropriate for analysis (See Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1

Frequencies for Categorical Variable

	Timepoint	
	f	*%*
Before Class	206	45.90%
After Class	242	53.90%

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables by Time

Variable	Timepoint	Descriptive Statistics					
		M	*SD*	Min.	Max.	Skew	Kurtosis
"Perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony"	Before Class	2.96	1.49	1	7	0.48	-0.28
	After Class	3.63	1.41	1	7	0.07	-0.13
"Perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process"	Before Class	4.78	1.88	1	7	-0.60	-0.61
	After Class	4.11	1.57	1	7	-0.15	-0.31
"Perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception"	Before Class	4.88	1.62	1	7	-0.45	-0.49
	After Class	5.33	1.20	1	7	-0.53	0.33

Related to the independent variable, the assumption, independence of

observations, would assume that those in one category (e.g., time 1) are not in the other

category (e.g., time 2). However, this is not the case here. This analysis was selected

despite this violated assumption, as there is no way to pair the data required to conduct a

paired samples t-test.

There are no significant outliers flagged in the:

"Perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony"

"Perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and

testimony in the interrogation process"

There are outliers in: "perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to

diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception."

The Shapiro-Wilk test of Normality was applied (see Table 3). In assessing the

Shapiro-Wilk test of Normality, times 1 and 2 are normally distributed in each outcome,

indicating this assumption has been met.

Table 3
Shapiro-Wilk Normality Test

Outcome	Group	Shapiro-Wilk		
		W	df	*p*
"Perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony"	Before Class	0.94	206	.939
	After Class	0.97	241	.969
"Perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process"	Before Class	0.89	206	.894
	After Class	0.94	241	.939
"Perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception"	Before Class	0.92	206	.919
	After Class	0.91	241	.909

Levine's Test for Equality of variances was employed to determine if the

variances of the two groups were equal (Homogeneity of Variance). Levene's test can be

overly sensitive for the homogeneity of variances test, with typical violations occurring

with unequal sample sizes and a lack of data independence, as observed in this study. The assumption was violated in two of the three outcomes:

"Perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony" = $F(1, 446) = 1.39$, $p = .239$. This has met the assumption of the equality of variances.

"Perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process" = $F(1, 446) = 12.80$, $p < .001$. The assumption was violated.

"Perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception" = $F(1, 446) = 21.79$, $p < .001$. The assumption was violated.

When there are violations of homogeneity of variances, there is the likelihood of falsely rejecting the null hypothesis. One-way ANOVA is robust to violations of homogeneity of variances, making this violation less of a concern in this particular test (Warner, 2021). Violations of homogeneity may have occurred due to the difference in sample size from the pre-test to the post-test. The results indicate that 206 participants (45.9%) responded to the pre-test, while 242 participants (53.9%) responded to the post-test, with one missing from the system (0.2%). According to Warner (2021), having small groups with many participants in ANOVA is appropriate. The Shapiro-Wilk test of Normality was applied (see Table 3), demonstrating that times 1 and 2 are normally distributed in each outcome, indicating this assumption has been met.

The Kruskal-Wallis test is the non-parametric alternative to the One-Way

ANOVA when the assumptions of one-way ANOVA are not met. Nwobi and Akanno

(2021) discovered in comparing the one-way ANOVA to the Kruskal-Wallis test that the

Kruskal-Wallis test was more robust and safer to use than the F-test mainly when the

distributional assumptions of data sets are in doubt. Utilizing the Kruskal-Wallis test, the

pattern of results is identical to the one-way ANOVA. (See Table 4).

Table 1

Hypothesis Test Summary

Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
The distribution of Confession is the same across categories of Timepoint.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	<.001	Reject the null hypothesis.
The distribution of ConfirmationBias is the same across categories of Timepoint.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	<.001	Reject the null hypothesis.
The distribution of Deception is the same across categories of Timepoint.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.005	Reject the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

Interpretation of the Test

There is significance with "Perspectives on pursuing confession versus

supportable evidentiary testimony" between time 1 (M= 2.96, SD= 1.49) and time 2 (M=

3.63, SD= 1.41), $F(1,446)$= 23.81, p< .001. Participants are more likely to report that

pursuing a confession is more important after the course than before the course (See

Table 5 and Figure 1).

There is significance with "Perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in

interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process" between time 1 ($M=$

4.76, $SD=$ 1.88) and time 2 ($M=$ 4.11, $SD=$ 1.56), $F(1,446)=$ 16.60, p< .001. Participants

are more likely to report that confirmation bias is helpful before and after the course (See

Table 5 and Figure 1).

There is significance with "Perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to

diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception" between time 1 ($M=$ 4.88, $SD=$

1.62) and time 2 ($M=$ 5.33, $SD=$ 1.20), $F(1,446)=$ 11.29, p<.001. Participants are likelier

to report that deception can be detected in non-verbal behaviors after the course (See

Table 5 and Figure 1).

Table 2

One-Way Analysis of VarianceResults

		ANOVA				
		SS	df	MS	*F*	*p*
Confession	Between Groups	49.75	1	49.75	23.81	<.001
	Within Groups	931.75	446	2.09		
Confirmation Bias	Between Groups	49.07	1	49.07	16.60	<.001
	Within Groups	1315.70	445	2.96		
Deception	Between Groups	22.31	1	22.31	11.29	<.001
	Within Groups	881.18	446	1.98		

Figure 1

Differences Between Study Variables Based on Time
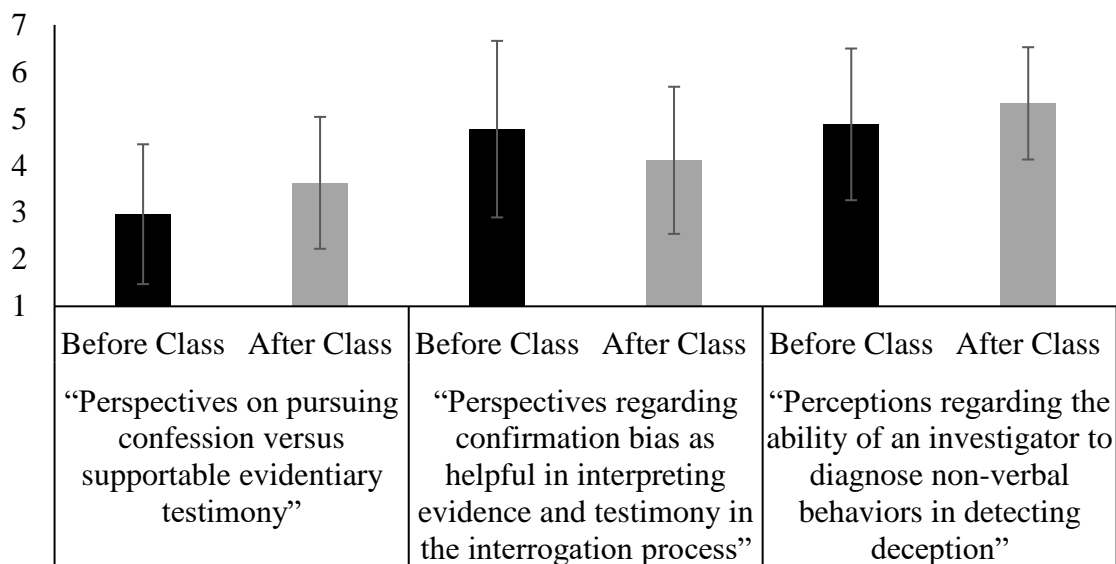
Summary

Chapter 4 demonstrated the analysis and results of the current study. The archival data obtained from the Houston Police Department contained no demographic data or participant IDs to match the data. The response ID and IP addresses in the downloaded data do not correspond throughout the two surveys. Therefore, the one-way ANOVA test was chosen to determine if there are significant differences between the means of two or more groups. (Warner, 2021).

The null hypothesis can be rejected in research question one, proving the alternative hypothesis as the change illustrated an effect in perspective from the pretest to the posttest. The null hypothesis can be rejected in research question two as this analysis demonstrated a slight variation in participant perspectives from the pretest and posttest results. Finally, the null hypothesis can be rejected in research question three as there was

a slight increase in variation in participant perspectives. Chapter 5 outlines possible explanations for the results and further identification of the limitations of this study that may have contributed to the results. Chapter 5 will also provide recommendations for future research and implications for social change this research may provide.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to ascertain participant perceptions of an investigative interviewing course via archival data obtained from the Houston Police Department. Investigative interviewing is a novel method of police interview and interrogation, proliferating in European countries yet relatively unexplored in the United States. Investigative interviewing is based on the theories of conversation management and cognitive interview using three main themes: preparation and planning, rapport development, and information gathering (Mason, 2016). Conversation management, beneficial in interviewing more resistant individuals, and the cognitive interview, productive for cooperative individuals such as witnesses, formed the UK PEACE (Preparation and Planning, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure and Evaluate) model, an investigative interviewing methodology (Milne et al., 2019). The PEACE Model was the first investigative interviewing method based on rapport-building and information-gathering. Investigative interviewing is an ethical alternative, established as an inquisitorial approach based on rapport as the influential facilitator, acquiring testimonial evidence tied to forensic evidence, devoid of the high risk of false confession and coercion.

The theme and objective of most law enforcement agencies are to gain a confession, often at a high cost, exhibiting unethical and duplicitous tactics to gain such admissions. Investigative interviewing is a divergence from traditional coercive methods, highlighted by psychological ploys, to a rapport-based, fact-finding experience that leads

to more copious and beneficial information in the favorable resolution of a criminal investigation. The significant feature of such a novel training is the perception of the audience receiving an evidence-based approach such as investigative interviewing. The archival data from the Houston Police Department included participants that were sworn law enforcement officers, either newly employed as an investigator or on the path to becoming an investigator. The perceptions each of these participants have on the training supplied directly impact the usage of the training in their everyday work life. Falling back to experiential learning or previous accusatorial methods coincides with a negative perception. In contrast, a positive perception appears linked to understanding and applying the principles of investigative interviewing and positively impacting society at all levels, beginning with the local community served.

Interpretation of the Findings

The literature suggests that Investigative Interviewing is a sustainable countermeasure for the social problems of false confession leading to wrongful conviction. This analysis examined police investigators' perspectives on Investigative Interviewing, with results demonstrating either a lack of understanding of the course material or the predisposition to hold on to prior negative beliefs. The results indicated that participants were more likely to pursue confession and the idea that deception detection could be detected in non-verbal behaviors after the course. These perspectives contradict the principles that constitute Investigative Interviewing. Participants did improve their understanding that confirmation bias is not helpful within an investigation in post-test results.

Interpretation of Hypothesis 1

RQ1: Do participants change their perspectives on pursuing confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation?

The analysis showed that the participants are likelier to report that pursuing a confession is more important after the course than before the course. The results demonstrate that the null hypothesis can be rejected in research question one, confirming the alternative hypothesis as the change illustrated an effect in perspective from the pretest to the posttest. Participants do change their perspectives regarding the pursuit of confession versus supportable evidentiary testimony immediately following course implementation. Again, this contrasts the tenants of investigative interviewing and confirms traditional law enforcement perspectives that emphasize confession-seeking behaviors.

Interpretation of Hypothesis 2

RQ2: Do participants change their perspectives regarding confirmation bias as helpful in interpreting evidence and testimony in the interrogation process immediately following course implementation?

The analysis showed that participants are likelier to report that confirmation bias is helpful before and after the course. The results demonstrate that the null hypothesis can be rejected in RQ2, as this analysis revealed a slight variation in participant perspectives from the pretest and posttest results. These results demonstrate an improved understanding and acceptance of confirmation bias as a negative aspect of the interview and interrogation process and align with the tenants of investigative interviewing.

Interpretation of Hypothesis 3

RQ3: Do participants change their perceptions regarding the ability of an investigator to diagnose non-verbal behaviors in detecting deception immediately following course implementation?

The analysis showed that participants are likelier to report that deception can be detected in non-verbal behaviors after the course than before. The results demonstrate that the null hypothesis can be rejected in research question three as there was a slight increase in variation in participant perspectives. Investigative interviewing does utilize non-verbal communication; however, investigative interviewing does not determine deception from non-verbal cues. Investigative interviewing uses non-verbal behavior as a tool for further questioning.

The analysis of the archival data was limited by the lack of the corresponding ID and IP addresses between the two surveys. The limitations within the archival data led to the choice of the one-way ANOVA test to determine if there were significant differences between the means. The findings indicate that the null hypothesis can be rejected in the three research questions. The null hypothesis can be rejected in RQ1, proving the alternative hypothesis as the change illustrated an effect in perspective from the pretest to the posttest. Although the null hypothesis can be rejected in each of the three research questions, the findings indicate that participant views did not favor the principles of investigative interviewing. Participants were more likely to report pursuing a confession was more critical after the course, marking a departure from the principles of investigative interviewing and adherence to old values. Confirmation bias was considered

less helpful following course instruction, aligning with the principles of investigative interviewing. Finally, participants believed that deception could be detected in non-verbal behaviors following course instruction. This belief in the ability to detect deception through non-verbal cues is contrary to the principles of investigative interviewing.

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitation of this study was the use of archival data. The data from the Houston Police Department presumed the participants responded truthfully and answered carefully per the instructions. The use of archival data limits the scope and direction of the study, keeping it within the parameters of the data results to maintain validity and reliability. The data of this study included only those police officers of the Houston Police Department that completed the Investigative Interviewing course. Although the final sample size was a specific portion of the total population of police officers within the Houston Police Department, this is consistent with other police departments in terms of the size of investigative units. Therefore, there is generalizability with the broader population of law enforcement agencies within the United States.

Participant perspectives shifted with each research question; however, not precisely in the direction confirming the acceptance of investigative interviewing. Instead, as demonstrated in the results of RQ1, participants showed an increase in the importance of pursuing confession over supportable evidentiary testimony. In RQ2, participants demonstrated an understanding that confirmation bias is a negative aspect of interview and interrogation, aligning with the tenants of investigative interviewing. In RQ3, participants showed a regression toward the accusatorial approach. Participants

believed to a greater degree after course implementation that deception detection can be achieved through observing non-verbal communication. The belief that non-verbal communication is a method of deception detection is in slight contrast with investigative interviewing principles, as investigative interviewing utilizes non-verbal communication in determining the direction and emphasis of further questioning, not as a deception detection tool

Recommendations

While the analysis demonstrated a change in participant perspective, these were not always positive or correlated with an understanding of the principles of investigative interviewing. In RQ1, participants were asked their perspective on seeking a confession versus using evidentiary testimony. The results from the pre-test to the post-test indicated that participants found favor in seeking a confession, illustrating a departure from the curriculum of investigative interviewing. In RQ2, both pre-test and post-test results indicated the participants favored using confirmation bias; however, there was a decrease in the belief that confirmation bias was a helpful or useful tool in interview and interrogation. Finally, RQ3 indicated participants felt strongly that an investigator could detect deception through observation of non-verbal behaviors.

These results indicate participants may not fully comprehend investigative interviewing principles or may be inclined to continue using accusatorial methodologies learned through training or the teachings of senior investigators (experiential learning). Additional training in investigative interviewing is recommended to clarify the underlying cause. Continuing education in investigative interviewing may well aid in

understanding the principles, providing adherence to the principles of investigative

interviewing, and creating a benchmark for upholding ethical tenets. Continuing

education in investigative interviewing can also reinforce and build the foundation for

future investigators and how they approach the interview and interrogation process.

Implications

The primary limitation of this study was the use of archival data, thus concluding

that a primary study consisting of data gathered through interviews, surveys, and

observations may resolve the issues uncovered in this study of why investigators held on

to beliefs counter to the tenets of investigative interviewing. The archival data limited the

scale and path of the investigation, holding it within the boundaries of the data outcomes.

The findings indicated that police officers maintained beliefs contrasting with the

principles of investigative interviewing, demonstrating that police officers continued to

support the principles of the confession-seeking methodology. Investigative interviewing

is a departure from the guilt-presumptive, accusatorial method currently employed

throughout the United States. The theme of seeking a confession is deep-rooted within

law enforcement, strengthened by confirmation bias, and confirmed by faulty

interrogation practices. This study's findings indicate that improved class instruction may

improve police officers' perspective. This study suggests that class instruction that

acknowledges previous training and deeply held beliefs in old methods, adjusting and

accommodating these perspectives, and providing enhanced education within the areas

highlighted by this study can lead to enhanced understanding and acceptance of the

principles of investigative interviewing. Additionally, continuing education and review of

the investigative interviewing methodology can mold police officer perspectives and create an acceptance and evolution in communication and improved criminal justice processes.

Conclusion

The literature and research into police interview and interrogation reveal that reformation is vital to bring much-needed change. Currently, police interview and interrogation is entrenched in the idea of seeking a confession at all costs. The guilt-presumptive, accusatorial method now practiced nationwide has created the social issues of false confession and coercion within the United States. Research suggests that the leading cause of false confession and coercion is the consequence of the approach police employ in interviews and interrogations. Leading scholars, practitioners, and content experts of police interview and interrogation have long advocated for change to eradicate the social problems of coercion, leading to false confessions and wrongful convictions.

Investigative interviewing is the recommended reform advocated by scholars and practitioners, initiated with the first investigative interviewing method, the UK PEACE Model, which stands for Planning and Preparation, Engage and Explain, Obtain an Account, Closure, and Evaluation. The PEACE model is an investigative interviewing method based on the cognitive interview and conversation management, using three main themes: preparation and planning, rapport building, and information gathering (Mason, 2016). Investigative interviewing is an ethical alternative, recognized as an inquisitorial approach grounded on rapport as the influential facilitator, obtaining testimonial evidence linked to forensic evidence devoid of the hazards of false confession and coercion.

False confession and coercion are the social concerns in criminal justice that have led to innovative methods, such as cognitive interview and conversation management, which are the foundational theories that built the technique known as investigative interviewing. Scholars and practitioners recognize investigative interviewing as an information-gathering approach built on the foundation of rapport development to facilitate more abundant and accurate information from witnesses, victims, and suspects. Investigative interviewing has been established as an evidence-based, fact-finding discovery, emphasizing information-gathering and eliminating the psychological stressors of false confession and coercion.

This study focused on participants' perceptions of an investigative interviewing course, observing the acceptance of the principles of this methodology. In this study, participants demonstrated a predisposition toward accusatorial methods and a lack of understanding of investigative interviewing principles. This information is vital to understanding how to improve instructional practices and how to encourage the use of investigative interviewing methods. Continuing education following initial instruction may lead to greater acceptance and adherence to investigative interviewing principles. Investigation into this action with further research and utilization of a mixed methods analysis may demonstrate the change required to diminish the social issues of coercion leading to a false confession and wrongful convictions.

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Appendix A: Pre-Test Survey

Interview & Interrogation Pre-Test Survey

Thank you for participating in our survey. Your feedback is important. You are invited to

participate in an online survey on the course, Interview & Interrogation. This research is

being conducted to determine the efficacy of this course. Your participation is voluntary

and greatly appreciated.

Confidentiality & Survey Instructions

Your survey responses will be sent to a link at SurveyMonkey.com, where data will be

stored in a password-protected electronic format. Survey Monkey does not collect

identifying information such as name, email address, or IP address. Therefore, your

responses will remain anonymous. As a result, no one will be able to identify you or

your answers, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study.

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the following statements and then select the box that most

represents you and your knowledge of the statement or question.

1. The goal of interrogation is to gain a confession.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

2. Confession outweighs evidence that may contradict a Subject's statements.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

3. How familiar are you with the term Investigative Interviewing?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

4. A trained and seasoned investigator can detect deception during a formal interview if done properly.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

5. Planning is essential prior to beginning an interview.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

6. Preparation is essential prior to beginning an interview.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

7. How important is rapport-development to the Interview and Interrogation Process?

(1) Not at All Important (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Important

8. How familiar are you with the term Implicit Bias?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

9. Confirmation Bias is helpful to interpret evidence and testimony.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

10. How familiar are you with the term "Conversation Management"?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

11. How familiar are you with the term "Cognitive Interview Method"?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

12. I formulate strategy prior to encounters with suspects.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

13. I develop sufficient rapport with individuals that I encounter.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

14. I engage the public by addressing my name, department, position, the reason for the investigation, and the individual's participation in the investigation.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every time

15. I provide the individual being questioned ample opportunity to provide their account of what happened.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

16. I always provide a summary of the account provided at the closing of the encounter with the individual.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

17. I frequently review or evaluate the information provided to ascertain the relationship to evidence and the accuracy of what has been collected (i.e., physical evidence and previous testimony from other individuals).

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

18. The Interview Room should be set up in the Competitive/Defensive Position, where the Interviewer and Interviewee face one another from across a desk.

(1) Strongly Disagree (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Strongly Agree

19. Interviews should never be conducted in the Field.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

20. When interviewing a Juvenile Suspect, it is vital to take them to be provided their Magistrate Warnings.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

21. Police officers are permitted to use deceptive tactics in the interview room.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

22. Miranda Warnings should be given every time you encounter a suspect.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

23. Once a suspect invokes their statutory rights, the interviewer is not permitted to speak to that suspect again.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

24. A person would Never Confess to a Crime unless they were Guilty.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

25. Deception can be detected by observing the subject's Body Language.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

Appendix B: Post-Test Survey

Interview & Interrogation Post-Test Survey

Thank you for participating in our survey. Your feedback is important. You are invited to

participate in an online survey on the course, Interview & Interrogation. This research is

being conducted to determine the efficacy of this course. Your participation is voluntary

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stored in a password-protected electronic format. Survey Monkey does not collect

identifying information such as name, email address, or IP address. Therefore, your

responses will remain anonymous. As a result, no one will be able to identify you or

your answers, and no one will know whether or not you participated in the study.

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the following statements and then select the box that most

represents you and your knowledge of the statement or question. 1. The goal of

interrogation is to gain a confession.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

2. Confession outweighs evidence that may contradict a Subject's statements.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

3. How familiar are you with the term Investigative Interviewing?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

4. A trained and seasoned investigator can detect deception during a formal interview if done properly.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

5. Planning is essential prior to beginning an interview.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

6. Preparation is essential prior to beginning an interview.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

7. How important is rapport-development to the Interview and Interrogation Process?

(1) Not at All Important (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Important

8. How familiar are you with the term Implicit Bias?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

9. Confirmation Bias is helpful to interpret evidence and testimony.

(1) Never True (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Always True

10. How familiar are you with the term "Conversation Management"?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

11. How familiar are you with the term "Cognitive Interview Method"?

(1) Not at All Familiar (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Extremely Familiar

12. I formulate strategy prior to encounters with suspects.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

13. I develop sufficient rapport with individuals that I encounter.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

14. I engage the public by addressing my name, department, position, the reason for the

investigation, and the individual's participation in the investigation.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every time

15. I provide the individual being questioned ample opportunity to provide their account

of what happened.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

16. I always provide a summary of the account provided at the closing of the encounter

with the individual.

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

17. I frequently review or evaluate the information provided to ascertain the relationship

to evidence and the accuracy of what has been collected (i.e., physical evidence and

previous testimony from other individuals).

(1) Never (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) Every Time

18. The Interview Room should be set up in the Competitive/Defensive Position, where the Interviewer and Interviewee face one another from across a desk.

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24. A person would Never Confess to a Crime unless they were Guilty.

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25. Deception can be detected by observing the subject's Body Language.

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