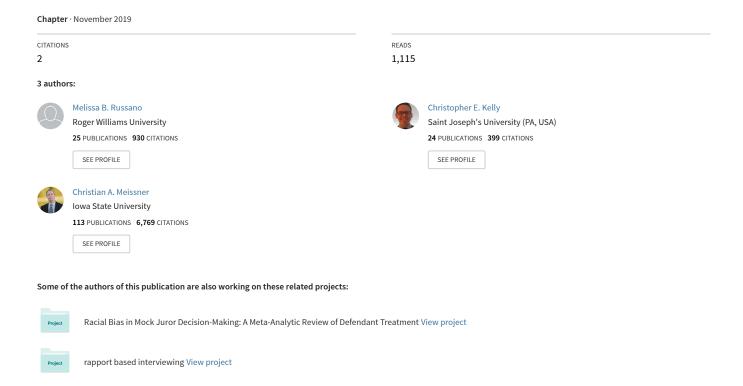# From the ivory tower to the interrogation room: Training and field evaluation research on suspect interviewing

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Project   rapport based interviewing   View project

From the Ivory Tower to the Interrogation Room:

Training and Field Evaluation Research on Suspect Interviewing

Melissa B. Russano, Christopher E. Kelly, & Christian A. Meissner

The critical need for interviewing and interrogation procedures to be grounded in evidence-based approaches is underscored by the tragedy of documented false confession cases (e.g., see Drizin & Leo, 2004), the revival of a national debate in the United States over the utility of torture (Chia, 2018), and the critical role that human intelligence plays in both law enforcement and intelligence domains (Evans, Meissner, Brandon, Russano, & Kleinman, 2010). Meissner, Russano, and Narchet (2010) discussed the importance of laboratory research for identifying techniques that may undermine or improve the diagnostic value of interrogations, arguing that only under controlled laboratory conditions could scholars draw the causal conclusions necessary to identify techniques that increase the likelihood of the elicitation of true information/confessions without increasing, and hopefully minimizing, the likelihood of false information/confessions (see also Meissner, Hartwig, & Russano, 2010). While acknowledging the contribution that field research had made up to that point (primarily survey and observational studies documenting current practice; e.g., Baldwin, 1993; Bull & Soukora, 2010; Irving; 1980; Irving & McKenzie, 1989; Leo, 1996; Moston, Stephenson, & Williamson, 1992; Softley, 1980), Meissner, Russano, and Narchet offered a call for increased laboratory research – and the community of scholars responded.

To date, laboratory interrogation paradigms have been used to explore individual difference factors such as age (Redlich & Goodman, 2003), gender (Abboud, Wadkins, Forrest,

Lange, & Alavi, 2002), suggestibility, fantasy-proneness, and compliance (Forrest, Wadkins, & Miller, 2002a; Horselenberg et al., 2006; Horselenberg, Merckelbach, & Josephs, 2003), and a preexisting state of stress (Forrest, Wadkins, & Miller, 2002b), as well as situational factors such as the presentation of false evidence (Kassin & Kiechel, 1996; Nash & Wade, 2009; Redlich & Goodman, 2003; Wright, Wade, & Watson, 2013), the bluff technique (Perillo & Kassin, 2011), investigator confirmation bias (Narchet, Meissner, & Russano, 2011), minimization and maximization techniques (Horgan, Russano, Meissner, & Evans, 2012; Klaver, Rose, & Lee, 2008; Russano, Meissner, Narchet & Kassin, 2005), and rapport-based, information gathering approaches (Evans et al., 2013; Wachi et al., 2018) (see Meissner et al., 2014 for a meta-analysis of laboratory research on interrogation tactics). Meissner, Russano, and Narchet (2010) noted that once a sizeable body of laboratory research had been accumulated identifying science-based approaches to interrogation, "further research employing field tests of the proposed techniques will be important for documenting the success of such alternative approaches in everyday practice" (p. 123), and that partnerships with the practitioner community would be critical to accomplishing this field validation work (Meissner, Hartwig, & Russano, 2010).

Over the past decade, a sizeable body of research on interviewing and interrogation has been funded by the U. S. government via its High-Value Detainee Interrogation Group (HIG) (Meissner, Surmon-Bohr, Oleszkiewicz, & Alison, 2017). In a review of this research program, Meissner and colleagues noted the translational approach to research in this area, in which the use of laboratory and field research methods had become cyclical in nature. In particular, field research has been used to assess the current state of practice, therein informing laboratory research in which scholars assessed the efficacy of current versus new approaches. Once refined in the laboratory, studies are conducted to determine whether new approaches can be effectively

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trained, and ultimately field validation work is used to evaluate whether the new approaches 'work' in the field (in a manner that is consistent with prior laboratory studies). As new approaches are adopted, the cycle begins anew with assessing the current (now novel) state of practice.

The purpose of this chapter is to survey the various training and field validation research that has been conducted that is helping to inform a new science of interrogation. A growing number of training and field validation studies have been conducted with respect to *interviewing cooperative witnesses/victims* (e.g., Fisher, Geiselman, & Amador, 1989; Fisher, Geiselman, & Raymond, 1987; Memon, Holley, Milne, Koehnken, & Bull, 1994; Schreiber Compo, Gregory, & Fisher, 2010; Snook, House, MacDonald, & Eastman, 2012) and *detecting deception in suspect interrogations* (e.g., Colwell, Colwell, et al., 2012; Colwell, Hiscock-Anisman et al., 2009; Colwell, James-Kangal, Hiscock-Anisman, & Phelan, 2015; Colwell, Miller, Lyons, & Miller, 2006; Dando & Bull, 2011; Kassin & Fong, 1999; MacDonald, Snook, & Milne, 2017; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; Vrij, Leal, Mann, Vernham, & Brankaert, 2015; Vrij, Mann, Leal, Vernham, & Vaughan, 2016). The present chapter will focus more narrowly on training and field validation studies that have evaluated *interview and interrogation methods for eliciting information from uncooperative individuals, including those suspected of crimes and individuals who may possess information of intelligence value for military and intelligence operations.* Consistent with the translational approach discussed by Meissner and colleagues (2017), this review considers three facets of existing training and field validation studies: i) research that evaluates current practice in the field via self-report and observational studies; ii) research that assesses the effectiveness of training new methods; and iii) research that validates new methods when they are deployed in the field.

I. Evaluating Current Practice

A first step towards improving and reforming interrogation practice is to understand the current state of affairs – and the majority of survey and field research has been conducted in this category. Historically, interrogations in law enforcement, intelligence, and military contexts have been shrouded in secrecy because they were rarely electronically recorded. Even today, only 25 U.S. states mandate recording of interrogations under certain conditions (Bang, Stanton, Hemmens, & Stohr, 2018; Sullivan, 2016), although many local U.S. police departments, absent a statutory requirement, are increasingly opting to record at least some of their interrogations (Garrett, 2015; Sullivan, 2004, 2008). In 2014, the U.S. Department of Justice implemented a recording requirement for custodial interrogations conducted by federal law enforcement agencies (Department of Justice, Office of Public Affairs, 2014). In contrast, recording of suspect interviews in Australia (Dixon, in press) and the United Kingdom (U.K.) has been a required and routine practice since the early 1990s. In England and Wales, this was a result of the passing of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE; Bull & Soukora, 2010; Home Office, 1985; Richman & Draycott, 1996). Organizations in Japan (Wachi, Watanabe, Yokota, Otsuka, Kuraishi, & Lamb, 2014) and China (Zhu & Siegel, 2015) have also recently expanded their recording requirements, and The Netherlands made audio recording of interrogations in serious cases mandatory in 2010 (Malsch et al., 2018). Outside of the law enforcement context, the frequency of recordings of U.S. military and intelligence interrogations is unclear (see Semel, 2013; Sullivan, 2016), whereas recordings of this nature in the U.K. appear to be more commonplace (Alison, Alison, Noone, Elntib, & Christiansen, 2013). Given this variation in an accessible window into the interrogation room, a variety of methodologies have been used to document what occurs during suspect interrogations, including surveys and interviews with

interrogation professionals and those that have been the subject of such interrogations, as well as systematic observations of live and recorded interrogations. In this section, we review studies that have sought to a) document which techniques are generally used during interrogation, b) evaluate the perceived effectiveness of various interrogation approaches, and c) examine the relationship between current practice and interrogation outcomes.

Documenting the Use of Interrogation Tactics: Accusatorial vs. Information Gathering Approaches

Two broad approaches to suspect interviewing emerge from the body of research documenting current interrogation practice: accusatorial versus information gathering (Gudjonsson & Pearse, 2011; Meissner, Kelly, & Woestehoff, 2015; Meissner et al., 2014). In the U.S., Canada, and some Asian countries, an accusatorial-style of interrogation is most common (Costanzo & Redlich, 2010; Kassin, 2015; Kassin et al., 2010; King & Snook, 2009; Leo, 2008; Ma, 2007; Smith, Stinson, & Patry, 2009). In short, an accusatorial-style interrogation is often precipitated by a strong belief in guilt on the part of the investigator, and therein involves isolating the suspect, offering a direct accusation of guilt and refusing to allow the suspect to deny involvement, maximizing the stress and anxiety associated with continued denial, and providing face-saving excuses (e.g., blaming the victim, suggesting the offense could have been much worse) to persuade the suspect to confess (see Kassin et al. for an overview). The *Reid Technique* is arguably the most well-known and widely used accusatorial method used in North America (Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2013; for a thorough description of the *Reid* technique, see Kassin, 1997; King & Snook, 2009). Researchers often describe accusatorial interrogation techniques as involving facets of minimization and maximization (Kassin & McNall, 1991). Minimization tactics are described as 'soft-sell' techniques in which the investigator expresses

sympathy and provides moral or psychological justifications for the crime. In contrast, maximization techniques are generally defined as 'scare tactics' that include direct confrontation, exaggerating the seriousness of the situation, and confronting the suspect with true or false evidence of guilt (Kassin et al., 2010; Kassin, 1997). Studies have found that some forms of minimization and maximization pragmatically imply leniency and harsher punishment, respectively (Horgan et al., 2012; Kassin & McNall, 1991).

In contrast, an information gathering approach (or 'investigative interviewing') is more common in the U.K. and countries such as New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, and Australia (Bull & Soukora, 2010; Clarke & Milne, 2016; Fahsing, Kepinska Jakobsen, & Ohrn, 2016; Goodman-Delahunty, Martschuk, & Dhami, 2014). This approach is characterized by a truth-seeking frame of mind, the use of rapport-building and displays of empathic understanding, careful preparation for the interview, explaining the allegation and emphasizing the importance of telling the truth, the use of open-ended questions and active listening techniques (e.g., not interrupting), and challenges to the suspect's account by identifying contradictions and via the strategic presentation of evidence (Clarke & Milne, 2016; Granhag & Hartwig, 2015). In England and Wales, this approach forms the basis of the nationally-recognized and trained PEACE model (Planning and Preparation, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure, Evaluation), adopted in 1992 in response to high-profile false confession cases (Bull & Soukora, 2010; Gudjonsson & Pearse, 2011; Milne & Bull, 1999; also see the chapter by Bull, this volume, for a full discussion of the history and methodology of this approach). An information gathering approach often incorporates elements of the Cognitive Interview (CI) (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon, Meissner, & Fraser, 2010), an interviewing technique first developed for witnesses and victims, but which has been more recently adapted for use with suspects (e.g., Evans et al., 2013; Frosina

et al., 2018; Geiselman, 2012; Meissner, Russano, & Atkinson, 2017). The CI incorporates techniques specifically designed to improve memory recall (e.g., context reinstatement) and the social/communication dynamics of the interview situation (e.g., detailed instructions on type/amount of information to provide, establishing the interviewee as an active participant).

Survey and field studies documenting the use of accusatorial approaches. A number of studies document the widespread use of accusatorial approaches in North America, although evidence of occasional use of elements of an information gathering approach also exists. For example, in the first observational study of its kind in the U.S., Leo (1996) observed 122 live and 60 video recorded local law enforcement interrogations in California. Leo noted the use of classic accusatorial techniques, some of the most common tactics being appealing to the suspect's self-interest, confronting the suspect with true and false evidence of guilt, shutting down suspect denials, appealing to the importance of cooperation, using praise or flattery, and offering moral justifications and psychological excuses. However, identifying contradictions in the suspect's story (a strategy that is often incorporated into the information gathering approach) was also commonly employed. Feld (2013) conducted content analyses of 373 interrogations of older adolescents in the U.S. state of Minnesota. In doing so, he documented the frequent use of closed-ended and leading questions, as well as maximization and (to a lesser extent) minimization techniques. In addition, Feld found somewhat frequent use of echoing (an active listening technique of repeating back key words or phrases), as well as the infrequent use of interruptions - two strategies consistent with an information gathering approach. Several observational studies have also been conducted of Canadian police interrogations. King and Snook (2009) observed a sample of 44 video recorded interrogations and noted widespread use of various accusatorial and guilt-presumptive techniques, while Snook, Luther, Quinlan, and

Milne (2012) observed that interviews were dominated by closed-ended, rather than open-ended, questions.

Self-report data also provide insight into current practice. Kassin et al. (2007) surveyed 631 U.S. and Canadian law enforcement officers. The use of isolation, identifying contradictions in the suspect's story, rapport-building, evidence confrontation, and appealing to self-interest were the most commonly used techniques reported; other minimization and maximization techniques were less frequently reported, but still common among investigators. A series of studies focused on juvenile interrogations conducted by Reppucci and colleagues with U.S. police investigators likewise found that the use of accusatorial techniques to be widespread (and that adolescents were generally subjected to the same interrogation techniques as adults; Kosetelnik & Reppucci, 2009; Meyer & Reppucci, 2007; Reppucci, Meyer, & Kostelnik, 2010). For example, Kostelnik and Reppucci surveyed more than 1,800 officers from ten U.S. states, and found that 26 to 73% of officers reported using psychologically coercive techniques (namely, the presentation of false evidence, minimizing the seriousness of the offense, and deceit) with adults in the past year, while 18 to 53% reported using them with children and adolescents (with *Reid*-trained detectives being generally more likely to use these techniques overall). In a more recent survey by Cleary and Warner (2016), in which 340 U.S. law enforcement officers reported on their use of techniques with adult and juvenile offenders, rapport-building was cited as the most frequently used technique; however, most investigators in this sample also reported having been trained to use a host of accusatorial techniques with juvenile and adult suspects, and reported using a number of classic minimization and maximization techniques at least some of the time.

In an effort to develop a taxonomy of interrogation methods, Kelly, Miller, Redlich, and Kleinman (2013) categorized nearly 70 specific interrogation techniques into one of six conceptual domains: *rapport and relationship building*, *context manipulation*, *emotion provocation*, *confrontation/competition*, *collaboration*, and *presentation of evidence*. Kelly and colleagues argued that these 'meso-level' domains were a parsimonious alternative to the many micro-level techniques or the dualistic macro-level categories of accusatorial versus information gathering described above, and that the six domains could be useful for researchers intending to study the full range of methods employed by practitioners (with the notable exception of torture and physical abuse). In an initial survey using this taxonomy, Redlich, Kelly, and Miller (2014) recently reported that *rapport-building techniques* were most favored by U.S. interrogation professionals. On the other hand, the domains of *confrontation/competition* (i.e., more traditional accusatorial techniques of direct confrontation and disallowing denials) and *emotion provocation* (i.e., techniques that manipulate a suspect's emotions, including those related to their perceptions of consequences, such as appealing to self-interest, offering rationalizations) were reported at lower rates. (Note that many classic minimization techniques fall under the emotion provocation domain.)

Across self-report and observational studies, congruence is largely found in the interrogation and interviewing methods used by practitioners, but a more explicit comparison of this was performed using a sample of interrogation recordings provided by the Los Angeles Police Department. Employing the language of the interrogation taxonomy domains, Kelly, Redlich, and Miller (2015) reported that the methods reportedly used by practitioners (in prior studies) corresponded to a substantial degree with those observed in the LAPD recordings. In a subsequent analysis of the data, Kelly, Miller, and Redlich (2016) explored the 'dynamic' nature

of the interrogation domains by coding the use of tactics within five minute intervals (for similar approaches, see Pearse & Gudjonsson,1999; Bull & Soukara, 2010, Study 4). As might be expected, the first third of interrogations primarily involved the use of *rapport and relationship building*; however, this changed significantly in the middle third with an emphasis of *presentation of evidence* and *emotion provocation* rising and the use of rapport falling (see Walsh and Bull, 2012, for issues related to rapport maintenance). In the final third of interrogations, levels of *rapport and relationship building* had recovered to somewhat higher levels, especially among those that ended in a confession. Of particular note regarding the interrogations when the suspect denied involvement, investigators increased their use of the *confrontation/competition* domain, the one most closely associated with accusatorial interrogation, between the middle and final segments.

Intelligence, military, and law enforcement interrogations may differ in important ways (Evans et al., 2010; Redlich, 2007), and studies have recently assessed whether the tactics used across these contexts may vary. For example, Russano, Narchet, Kleinman, and Meissner (2014) conducted structured interviews with 42 highly experienced military and intelligence/counterterrorism investigators, some with high-value target experience (these investigators were purportedly among the most experienced/effective interrogators). Russano and colleagues found that these professionals most often cited the use of *rapport and relationship-building* and *emotion provocation* techniques. Similarly, Semel (2013) surveyed 132 U.S. military interrogators and found that rapport-building was reported as being most commonly used, followed by identifying contradictions, appealing to self-interest, emotional love (a technique from the emotion provocation domain in which the interrogator leverages a subject's positive feelings toward someone or something by convincing them that cooperation will result

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in some benefit related to the object of his/her affection [Army Field Manual, 2.22-3, 2006]),

downplaying the consequences of confessing, isolation, evidence presentation, shutting down

denials, and appealing to conscience or religion. Finally, Redlich et al. (2014) reported no

significant differences in the reported use of any of the six domains (Kelly et al., 2013) between

U.S. law enforcement personnel and a combined category of U.S. military and intelligence

operators. Moreover, no differences were reported with respect to the use of deception detection

techniques or endorsement of interrogation approaches across three distinct interrogation

scenarios. Overall, it appears that the interrogation approaches used by U.S. military,

intelligence, and law enforcement personnel are relatively consistent.

Survey and field studies documenting the use of information gathering approaches. In

contrast to the accusatorial approach, techniques consistent with an information gathering

approach appear to currently dominate practice in the U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and Norway

(although some behaviors inconsistent with an information gathering approach have been

observed as well). For example, Soukora, Bull, Vrij, Turner, and Cherryman (2009) coded 80

audiotaped suspect interviews from England. These authors found that interviews were generally

consistent with a PEACE approach, including the use of open-ended questions, emphasizing

contradictions, evidence disclosure, and challenging the suspect's account. Furthermore, Soukara

and colleagues found that many of the most controversial accusatorial techniques were absent (or

only occurred once) - including aspects of minimization, maximization, making the suspect feel

like his/her situation was futile, and intimidation - while the use of leading questions and

repetitive questions remained commonplace (hallmark features of an accusatorial approach). Bull

and Soukora (2010) report on two similar studies that examined suspect interviews from a police

force in England. Consistent with an information gathering approach, open-ended questions,

evidence-disclosure, and emphasizing contradictions were among the most common approaches used; however, investigators also occasionally used repetitive and/or leading questions and interrupted suspects. Clarke, Milne, and Bull (2011) similarly found evidence for the use of PEACE tactics in a sample of police interviews in England and Wales, though they noted continued deficiencies in use of the more sophisticated techniques (such as the Cognitive Interview; see also Clarke & Milne, 2016).

Although limited, a growing body of research documents interrogation practices outside of the U.S. and the U.K. In one study examining interrogations of convicted child-sexual abuse offenders in the U.K. *and* Australia, the use of interruptions, intimidation, and leading questions were relatively rare, although the use of open-ended questions (as opposed to closed-ended questions) was also infrequent (Read, Powell, Kebbell, Milne, & Steinberg, 2014). Moreover, in approximately two-thirds of the interviews, imposing questions were asked (questions that were biased and/or accusatorial in nature). Although evidence presentation was common, evidence was typically disclosed early in the interview (as opposed to later in the interview as recommended by the PEACE method). Sivasubramaniam and Goodman-Delahunty (under review) surveyed an international, though predominantly Australian, sample and found that investigators reported using rapport and relationship building techniques more often than accusatorial-based approaches. However, a small sample of Australian offenders (Kebbel, Alison, Hurren, & Mazerolle, 2010) reported that they more frequently experienced a dominant (accusatorial) interrogation style characterized by aggressiveness and hostility when compared with a humanitarian, information gathering style (see also Holmberg & Christianson, 2002).

Verhoeven (2018) observed 70 Dutch homicide interrogations in real-time and found that the use of accusatorial techniques (such as suggesting moral justifications, interrupting the

suspect, making promises, and showing anger) were *absent* in the vast majority of cases, although the use of leading questions and emphasizing the consequences of not confessing were observed in more than one-third of interrogations. Presentation of evidence was used in approximately half of the interrogations observed, while challenging inconsistencies were noted in only a third of cases. In Japan, Wachi and colleagues surveyed both police officers (Wachi et al., 2014) and prisoners (Wachi, Watanabe, Yokota, Ostuka, & Lamb, 2016a, 2016b) about what interrogation techniques are most commonly used. Both samples reported that the most common approaches included being friendly and respectful, and the use of active listening techniques (consistent with an information gathering approach); however, interviewers also emphasized the serious nature of the crime (a technique more consistent with an accusatorial style). Investigators also reported somewhat frequently using other information gathering (e.g., rapport-building, identifying contradictions) and accusatorial-based approaches (e.g., appealing to conscience, appealing to the suspect's self-interest), while only rarely using approaches such as confronting with evidence, expressing impatience/anger, and interrupting suspect denials. One self-report study of practitioners in Slovenia by Areh, Walsh, and Bull (2015) offers insight into interrogation practices there, and found that the most common techniques used are information gathering in nature (e.g., presenting true evidence of guilt, identifying contradictions in story), though some accusatorial techniques are occasionally used as well (e.g., minimization).

In a study examining interrogation practices with high-value targets (HVTs), Goodman-Delahunty et al. (2014) interviewed 30 high-value targets (HVTs) and 34 law enforcement investigators with HVT experience from Australia, Indonesia, Norway, Philippines and Sri Lanka. Three-quarters of the HVTs reported being subjected to an accusatorial interrogation, whereas the majority of investigators (67%) reported using an information gathering approach.

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Moreover, the use of cognitive interview and evidence presentation strategies were rarely reported, while reports of physical and/or psychological coercion were noted by more than half of the HVTs. Finally, a recent analysis of survey data compared interrogation practices across the U.S., Canada, and seven other countries that have implemented an information gathering model (Miller et al., 2018). Findings showed that the "EANZ" group – consisting of European, Australian, and New Zealander interviewers who used PEACE or PEACE-like methods – were most notably distinct from their American and Canadian counterparts. Specifically, North American interrogators were more likely to employ those techniques related to the *confrontation/competition*, *emotion provocation*, and *presentation of evidence* domains that are associated with an accusatorial model of interrogation. Although it is important to note that elements of accusatorial and information gathering approaches have been documented in virtually all samples, it appears that such approaches are more common in the U.K., Australia, New Zealand and Norway, while accusatorial approaches are more common in the U.S., Canada, and some Asian countries.

Which Techniques are Most Effective?

Practitioner and suspect perceptions and self-reports. One goal of recent studies has been to understand what methods practitioners believe to be most and least effective for eliciting reliable information from uncooperative subjects. It is important to document these beliefs both because this type of customary knowledge allows us to learn from subject matter experts in the field, and because these beliefs can stimulate research ideas (with an eye toward assessing whether empirical support for these perceptions exist). Experienced investigators from the U.S. in Russano et al.'s (2014), Redlich et al.'s (2014) and Semel's (2013) studies were most likely to cite *rapport and relationship* building techniques as *most* effective at eliciting reliable

information, and *confrontational/competitive* techniques as generally *least* effective. Likewise, police officers and convicted sex offenders from Australia cite the effectiveness of treating suspects humanely and the use of rapport-building, and note that confrontational and aggressive tactics tend to be counterproductive (Kebbell, Hurren, & Mazerolle, 2006; Kebbell et al., 2010). In further support for a rapport-based, information gathering approach, investigators in the U.K., Nordic countries, and Asia-Pacific region have emphasized the importance of rapport (e.g., Bull & Soukara, 2010; Fahsing & Rachlew, 2009; Goodman-Delahunty, 2016; Sivasubramaniam & Goodman-Delahunty, 2015), the value of careful planning and preparation (Bull & Cherryman, 1996), and the avoidance of trickery and deception (Bull & Soukara, 2010; Soukara, Bull, & Vrij, 2002).

Researchers have also examined the associations between investigators' and suspects' reports of interrogation methods used and self-reported interrogation outcome. Generally speaking, and across diverse samples, self-reports suggest that a rapport-based, relationship-focused approach is associated with greater cooperation and self-incriminating disclosures, while coercive and confrontational approaches are associated with resistance (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Snook, Brooks & Bull, 2015; Wachi et al, 2014; Wachi et al., 2016a; Wachi et al., 2016b). For example, Goodman-Delahunty, Martschuk, and Dhami (2014) found that the use of coercive techniques (defined as physical and/or psychological abuse) was not related to perceived suspect cooperation or information gain. A greater number of rapport and relationship building techniques and certain social strategies (e.g., reciprocity) were reported to be associated with a higher likelihood of incriminating disclosures. Participants also reported that a comfortable interview room facilitated suspect disclosure, and that evidence presentation was related to *decreased* cooperation (however, Wachi et al., 2014, found evidence presentation to be

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associated with a higher likelihood of partial confessions; see the next section for a more complete discussion of evidence disclosure tactics).

Assessing the objective relationship between interrogation approaches and key outcomes. Perceptions of efficacy and self-reported outcomes, while informative, may or may not be accurate – it is critical to examine actual interrogations and objectively determine the relationship between the use of certain interrogation methods and key investigative outcomes. Most commonly, confessions or incriminating admissions have been the focus of such research. Using a meta-analytic approach across five field studies that had coded the use of accusatorial or information gathering approaches, Meissner and colleagues (2014) found that the use of both accusatorial tactics ($g = 0.90$) and information gathering tactics ($g = 0.86$) were associated with a significant increase in the likelihood of obtaining a confession or incriminating admission. Additional studies have been conducted since this analysis was conducted (as described below), offering some nuance and further validation of these effects.

With respect to accusatorial approaches, Leo (1996) found that the techniques most associated with suspects providing incriminating statements included appeals to the suspect's conscience, identifying contradictions in the suspect's account, using praise or flattery, and offering moral justifications. In contrast, a technique that Leo reported as least successful involved confronting the suspect with evidence of guilt (though the timing of evidence disclosure was not assessed). These techniques and others were identified as 'influence tactics' by King and Snook (2009) who found that suspects were more likely to fully confess when more of them were used. Kelly et al. (2015) found that the *presentation of evidence*, *confrontation/competition*, and *emotion provocation* domains were all significantly more emphasized in interrogations

where suspects maintained their denial of guilt, while Pearse et al. (1998) found that emphasizing the seriousness of the offense was also associated with continuing denials.

Examining confessions among a British sample of PEACE-trained police interviewers, Bull and Soukara (2010, Study 2) and Soukara et al. (2009) found that few of the tactics they studied were associated with confessions, including minimization, maximization, emphasizing contradictions, and challenging the suspect's account; however, the use of open questions and disclosing evidence were associated with confessions. As to the associations between the most commonly used techniques related to rapport-building and self-incrimination, both Walsh and Bull (2010) and Kelly et al. (2015) reported no significant differences in the use of rapport tactics between suspects who offered confessions and those who maintained their innocence. In contrast, Walsh and Bull (2010) found that interviewers who were more skilled in core PEACE competencies were more likely to elicit a comprehensive account.

Of course, confessions are not the only investigative outcome that is of interest to researchers. Alison and colleagues (2013) found that a common therapeutic strategy known as Motivational Interviewing (MI; Miller & Rollnick, 2002) that promotes acceptance and an empathic approach resulted in increased information yield from terrorism suspects (see also Christiansen, Alison, & Alison, 2018), and in subsequent analyses found that MI and rapport-based interviewing reduced suspects' use of counterinterrogation strategies (Alison et al., 2014). Although the use of empathy was not related to information gain among a sample of sex offenders, Oxburgh, Ost, and Cherryman (2012) did find that asking appropriate questions increased information yield.

Using a measure of suspect cooperation, Kelly et al. (2016) found in a study of interrogations of individuals accused of serious, violent crime that *rapport and relationship*

building significantly increased cooperation, but that three other domains – *presentation of evidence*, *confrontation/competition*, and *emotion provocation* – significantly reduced cooperation. Moreover, the use of *confrontation/competition* approaches was found to suppress cooperation for up to 15 minutes after being employed. On the other hand, Verhoeven (2018) found some evidence in her sample of Dutch homicide interrogations that psychologically persuasive techniques associated with an accusatorial style (e.g., leading questions, moral justifications, stressing consequences of not cooperating), as well as a mix of confrontational techniques (e.g., confronting with circumstantial evidence, interruptions, physical intimidation, challenging inconsistencies) were associated with an increased likelihood of an initially silent suspect subsequently providing a statement – but only in cases in which the suspect's lawyer was not present.

Techniques related to the overall efficacy of evidence disclosure are at best mixed (see above); however, research on *when* evidence is presented appears to be somewhat more conclusive. Walsh and Bull (2015) found that when investigators disclosed evidence gradually or late in the interview, suspects were more likely to offer a full account. In contrast, when evidence was disclosed early, suspects were less likely to confess. Similarly, Kelly et al. (2016) found that subjects were more likely to deny involvement when the *presentation of evidence* was emphasized in the beginning or middle third of interrogations. On the other hand, a study of sexual assault suspects found no relationship between the timing of evidence disclosure and likelihood of self-incrimination (Read et al., 2014).

Similar to observing which interview methods are employed by practitioners, these studies have assessed various outcomes in the absence of any formal training on a particular method. That is, the research described above has focused on evaluating the current practice of

investigative interviewing to understand which methods produce desirable or undesirable outcomes. In the following section, we discuss studies that have evaluated the effectiveness of training evidence-based methods of interrogation.

II. Assessing the Effectiveness of Training Evidence-Based Interrogation Methods

The translational research process described by Meissner and colleagues (2017) assumes that scholars learn about existing practice via the surveys, interviews, and field studies described in the prior section, and that experimental laboratory methods are then used both to evaluate the causal effects of existing practices and to develop novel, theoretically-informed approaches that have the potential to be more diagnostic in eliciting reliable information. As noted by Meissner and colleagues, a significant research effort over the past decade has introduced evidence-based alternatives to the traditional interrogation methods used by law enforcement, military, and intelligence professionals – including novel approaches for developing rapport and trust, effective questioning and elicitation strategies that ensure reliable information is provided, and strategic approaches to presenting evidence in a manner that facilitates admissions. In recent years, scholars have begun to engage the next phase in translating these laboratory findings by assessing the extent to which such tactics can be effectively trained and deployed by professionals. In this section, we review two aspects of the training literature, including surveys that have assessed interrogation training programs and their perceived effectiveness by interrogation professionals, and studies in which the training of evidence-based approaches to interrogation have been experimentally evaluated.

Interrogation Professionals' Perceptions of Training Efficacy and Tactic Use

A number of surveys and systematic interview studies have explored the views of interrogation professionals with respect to the efficacy of and need for training in the interview

and interrogation of non-cooperative subjects. For example, Russano, Narchet, Kleinman, and Meissner (2014) interviewed 42 experienced military and intelligence interrogation professionals in the U.S. Half of their sample had completed *Reid* training while the remainder received training at a federal law enforcement, military, or intelligence training facility that similarly consisted of accusatorial tactics. More than half of respondents did not believe that their training prepared them for the challenges faced in the interrogation setting – suggesting that it failed to capture real world elements, that it was oversimplified, or that it did not apply to a contemporary environment. As a result, nearly all respondents noted that they had benefited from informal training, either 'on the job,' via the observation of others, or by working with a professional mentor. A large survey of Queensland police officers in Australia similarly observed that nearly 40% of respondents were dissatisfied with the quality of their training in investigative interviewing skills (Hill & Moston, 2011). In contrast, a recent survey of U.S. interrogation professionals by Cleary and Warner (2016) found that although respondents were generally satisfied their formal training experiences, 91% reported also receiving some informal 'on the job' training. Finally, with respect to the interrogation of juveniles, Meyer and Reppucci (2007) noted that one-third of law enforcement professionals in their U.S. sample emphasized a need for more structured training related to interviewing youths. Overall, it appears that many professionals perceive the need for improved training opportunities, including the development of specific skill sets related to developing rapport, working with interpreters, and interviewing across cultures and developmental ranges.

Surveys have also examined the relationship between prior training and the purported use of certain techniques. Kassin and colleagues (2007) found in their sample of U.S. law enforcement respondents that prior training was associated with a greater use of minimization

and false evidence ploys (consistent with an accusatorial framework). A more recent survey of U.S. law enforcement professionals by Cleary and Warner (2016) similarly found that training (in this case, the *Reid* technique) was associated with a higher likelihood of using rapport development, baseline assessments of verbal and non-verbal behaviors, and certain minimization tactics such as suggesting a scenario that blames the victim or implies lesser consequences. Kostelnik and Reppucci (2009) similarly examined differences between *Reid* and non-*Reid* trained interrogation professionals in the U.S. by administering one of three surveys focused upon children, adolescents, or adults, respectively. *Reid* trained professionals were more likely to support the use of minimization tactics regardless of a subject's age, and also supported the use of false evidence and deception in both the adolescent and adult contexts when compared with non-*Reid* trained professionals. Taken together, it appears that training U.S. professionals in accusatorial tactics consistently leads them to endorse the use of minimization and false evidence tactics.

Training of Interrogation Professionals in Evidence-Based Approaches

Studies have also investigated the influence of training evidence-based approaches to interrogation. In some cases, studies compare the use of certain tactics and outcomes of interviews conducted by trained and untrained samples of professionals (between-subjects designs), while others examine the use of tactics in interviews conducted both prior and subsequent to training (within-subjects designs). Further, some studies have evaluated actual interrogations conducted by trainees, while others have used interview paradigms that engage participants who are interviewed about real events they experienced or (in some cases) about a role they are asked to play. While the latter type of study entails less ecological validity, researchers are often focused more simply on whether interrogation professionals can

successfully comprehend and adopt novel interview strategies. We briefly note these aspects of the design for studies highlighted below. This section is organized by the type of approach being trained, wherein we describe studies that have assessed the influence of training in the PEACE method (in the U.K.), as well as tactics for eliciting information (such as the Cognitive Interview, CI) from suspects and sources, for developing rapport and cooperation, and for presenting evidence in criminal cases or information in HUMINT contexts.

PEACE Method. After England and Wales implemented the PEACE approach in 1992, scholars took an interest in assessing the new training that interviewing professionals were receiving. Griffiths and Milne (2006) describe the 'tiered' training approach that was undertaken, with Tier 3 representing advanced courses on investigative interviews involving suspects and witnesses. In an early assessment, Bull and Cherryman (1996) evaluated differences in suspect interrogations conducted by skilled and unskilled investigators – finding that those who excelled within the PEACE method demonstrated superior communication skills, were more likely to show empathy and compassion, were flexible and responsive to interviewee responses, used appropriate pauses and silence, and kept an open mind throughout the interview. McGurk, Carr, and McGurk (1993) first formally evaluated PEACE training using a between-subjects design involving trained and untrained officers. They found that officers' interviewing skills and knowledge improved both immediately and six-months following training. Further, McGurk and colleagues examined real interviews of suspects conducted prior to and following training for a subset of officers (a within-subjects design), finding significant improvements in key interviewing skills such as obtaining the suspect's version of events, effective questioning techniques, maintaining an open mind, structuring the interview, active listening skills, and covering elements of the alleged crime. Walsh and Milne (2008) similarly examined the

performance of investigators in actual interviews who had been trained (or not) in the PEACE method. They found few differences between the two groups when interviews were coded, though trained interviewers were more likely to be rated as 'skilled or highly skilled' in their performance and were more likely to elicit a comprehensive account from the suspect. Clarke, Milne, and Bull (2011) similarly found few performance differences in suspect interviews conducted by those trained vs. untrained in PEACE, although trained investigators conducted more lengthy interviews and some of the (as yet) untrained investigators had begun to model the PEACE method. Griffiths and Milne (2006) similarly examined the performance of officers who underwent a three-week advanced training (see also, Griffiths, 2008; Griffiths, Milne, & Cherryman, 2011), assessing pre- and post-training performance via a role-play exercise and by evaluating two actual interviews conducted by each trainee subsequent to the training. Griffiths and Milne found a significant improvement in interviewing skills from pre- to post-training assessment in nearly every skill assessed, and that these improvements translated to interviews conducted in the workplace (although some skill degradation was noted for more complex skills such as the structuring of topics within an interview).

Eliciting Information with the Cognitive Interview. While the Cognitive Interview (CI) was originally developed for eliciting information from witnesses and victims (Geiselman & Fisher, 1992), its utility for suspect interviews and eliciting from HUMINT sources has since been recognized by scholars (Geiselman, 2012; Meissner et al., 2017). Further, elements of the CI have also been found to not only increase the amount of information from truthful and deceptive subjects, but also to aid in assessments of credibility (see Vrij & Granhag, 2012). Prior training research with the CI in a witness context has suggested that interviewers may have a difficult time effectively applying some aspects of the technique (e.g., Memon et al., 1994). Two

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recent studies using a between-subjects design have demonstrated that the CI can be trained effectively – for example, Rivard, Fisher, Robertson, and Mueller (2014) found that training experienced interviewers in the CI led to a nearly 80% increase in information elicited within a simulated HUMINT context when compared with a standard, five-step interview method traditionally trained at the U.S. Federal Law Enforcement Training Center. Molinaro and colleagues (under review) have also similarly demonstrated that training in the CI can be 'given away,' in that trainers who learned the CI were able to effectively train the technique to a novice set of interviewers. Interviews conducted by trainees of the CI technique (compared with a standard technique) resulted in greater information and more accurate responses being elicited. Several additional studies have trained elements of the CI with the primary goal of improving deception detection – using a between subjects (Vrij et al., 2016) and a within subjects design (Vrij, Mann et al., 2015), both studies found that trained investigators who deployed the techniques elicited more information from subjects (see also Ormerod & Dando, 2015). Several recent training studies with U.S. federal (Meissner et al., 2018, under review) and local law enforcement (Russano et al., 2018, under review) used a within subjects design to assess the influence of an evidence-based training course on interrogations of suspects conducted prior to and following training. The CI for suspects was a core element of this week-long training. Across both samples, these authors found a significant increase following training in the likelihood that interrogators utilized the CI and its various elements in a suspect interrogation. As described below, this increase in the use of the CI also significantly increased the amount of information collected from suspects.

Developing Rapport. Research on the effectiveness of certain interrogation approaches on perceived rapport is still developing, though (as described above) there is now clear evidence for

the benefits of developing rapport for establishing cooperation and information disclosure with an initially uncooperative subject (see Meissner et al., 2015, 2017). A number of techniques or approaches have been identified as useful for facilitating perceptions of rapport (see Abbe & Brandon, 2013, 2014). For example, principles of social influence (such as liking and reciprocity; see Cialdini, 2006) have been shown to be used by interrogators and found to be effective in eliciting cooperation from the subject (Goodman-Delahunty et al., 2014; Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2016). The evidence-based training evaluated by Meissner et al. (2018, under review) and Russano et al. (2018, under review) included elements of liking and reciprocity. While the local law enforcement sample was more likely to incorporate these elements into post-training interrogations, federal law enforcement investigators showed no change in their use of such tactics. However, in both instances (as noted below) use of the tactics significantly increased perceived rapport between the investigator and the subject, leading to enhanced cooperation.

A second approach in the U.K. was based upon an assessment of interrogation skills that influenced the cooperation of terrorism suspects. Having coded more than 1,200 hours of interviews, Alison and colleagues developed the Observing Rapport Based Interpersonal Techniques (ORBIT) framework (Alison, Alison, Elntib, & Noone, 2010), finding that key elements of conversational rapport and active listening were critical to the development of rapport and elicitation of information. In a recent training using this framework, Alison, Alison, and Christiansen (2018, under review) found that trainees showed fewer maladaptive interpersonal errors, used significantly more of the rapport-based components of the ORBIT model, and elicited more information.

Effective Presentation of Evidence and Information. Novel methods have also been developed to enhance the presentation of evidence or information that have the potential to both increase cooperation (and therein enhance the elicitation of information) and facilitate assessments of credibility by investigators. For example, the Strategic Use of Evidence (SUE) technique has been shown to be effective at both highlighting statement-evidence inconsistencies and encouraging suspects to be more cooperative and forthcoming (see Granhag & Hartwig, 2015; Luke, Dawson, Harwig, & Granhag, 2014; Luke, Hartwig, Shamash, & Granhag, 2016). Several training studies have demonstrated that the SUE technique can be effectively taught and deployed – both Hartwig, Granhag, Stromwall, and Kronkvist (2006) and Luke, Hartwig, Brimbal et al. (2016) used between subjects designs with law enforcement samples and evaluated performance in a mock suspect interview paradigm, finding that trained investigators were more likely to use the SUE methods and therein to improve the likelihood of eliciting statement-evidence inconsistencies in their statements (see also, Dando & Bull, 2011; Dando, Bull, Ormerod, & Sandham, 2015).

Another approach developed recently by Oleszkiewicz and colleagues (Oleszkiewicz, Granhag, & Kleinman, 2014; Oleszkiewicz, Granhag, & Montecinos, 2014) is based upon the subtle elicitation methods used by Hanns Scharff, a highly successful German World War II interrogator. The 'Scharff technique' is conceptualized as a set of five interrelated tactics: (a) a friendly approach, (b) not pressing for information, (c) creating an 'illusion of knowing it all,' (d) using confirmations/disconfirmations, and (e) appearing to ignore new information that is offered by the subject. At the core of this approach is a manipulation of the information that the interrogator holds and therein shares with the subject. While this technique has been shown to be effective under controlled laboratory conditions, Oleszkiewicz, Granhag, and Kleinman (in

press) recently demonstrated that a group of Norwegian police professionals could be successfully trained to use of the approach (via establishing an illusion of 'knowing it all' and asking fewer direct questions), therein improving their collection of information compared with an untrained group.

III. Validating New Methods in the Field

As we learn if and how we can effectively train evidence-based methods for suspect interviewing, it is critical that we then complete the research cycle by validating the methods directly in the field via field experiments and field validation studies. Field experiments and field validations on suspect interviewing is still in its relative infancy, likely because of the challenges associated with conducting such research (see below); however, it is exactly this type of research that is critical to demonstrating the efficacy of evidence-based approaches and ultimately for reforming current practice.

Field Experiments Relevant to Interviewing and Interrogation

To our knowledge, only one randomized field experiment involving suspect interviewing has been conducted. Kassin, Russano, Amrom, Hellgren, and Kukucka (2018) randomly assigned criminal suspects from one local law enforcement department in the U.S. state of Rhode Island to be informed or not informed that their interviews were being video-recorded. Informing suspects that they were being recorded had no impact on suspect cooperation, confession/admission rates, rights waiver rates, detectives' perceptions of the suspect, or case outcome, suggesting that mandating recording does not adversely affect the interrogation process.

Two additional field experiments, although conducted with witnesses and victims, are arguably relevant to suspect interviewing. First, Vredeveldt, Tredoux, Nortje, Kempen, Puljevic,

and Labuschagne (2015) examined whether an eye closure procedure, an element often trained as part of the Cognitive Interview (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Memon et al., 2010), would improve memory recall. Eye closure has been shown to significantly increase the amount of information reported by subjects, as it facilitates episodic recall and context reinstatement (Vredeveldt, Baddeley, & Hitch, 2012; Vredeveldt, Tredoux, Kempen, & Nortje, 2014), and it may similarly promote recall in suspect interrogations once a suspect has decided to be cooperative. Vredeveldt et al. (2015) randomly assigned investigators to be trained or not trained on giving an eye closure instruction to eyewitnesses of serious crimes in South Africa. Analysis of subsequent interviews indicated that although eye closure did not increase the amount of information witnesses recalled, the information that was reported in the eye closure condition was deemed more forensically helpful than the information in the non-eye closure condition.

Second, Kelly, Dawson, and Hartwig (2016) examined the effect of the physical context in which an interview takes place. Accusatorial-style approaches typically advise investigators to interview suspects in a small, bare, isolated room (see Inbau et al., 2013) in order to assert control over the suspect and heighten anxiety. This may contribute to a situation that psychologically coercive, or at the very least, psychologically manipulative (Gudjonsson, 2003); however, the *context manipulation* domain (Kelly et al., 2013) can also be understood to also include elements that may facilitate rapport between investigator and subject (Meissner et al., 2015). In a series of laboratory studies testing the effects of room setting on disclosure, Dawson, Hartwig, Brimbal, and Denisenkov (2017) found that participants in mock interrogations were more forthcoming with information and had more positive impressions of the interrogator in a room that was designed to be more comfortable than in a room resembling a traditional interrogation booth. To test these findings in the field, Kelly and colleagues (2016) randomly

assigned witnesses and victims (to crimes involving non-lethal shootings and armed robberies) to one of two interview rooms in a single precinct in Philadelphia - a standard interview room and an experimentally-manipulated room. The standard room resembled the typical interrogation room: bright, overhead florescent lights, hard plastic chairs, and bare walls and floors. The experimental context involved a more comfortable, inviting space that included softer lighting and area rugs to absorb the echo that would otherwise exist in the room. Kelly and colleagues observed no differences between the two contexts from either detectives or witnesses for self-reported measures related to the interpersonal dynamics between the interviewer and subject, or with respect to witnesses' contributions to the investigation. However, witnesses in the experimental room did appear to perceive the room as more spacious than the control room.

Field Validations of Evidence-Based Interrogation Approaches

For the purpose of this chapter, we have defined field validations as studies that evaluate the introduction of an evidence-based method in the field in order to evaluate whether those methods operate in the field in the manner expected based upon prior research. In essence, field validation studies seek to answer the question: do the new methods 'work' in real-world interrogations? At present, few studies have been conducted with this goal in mind. Below we describe several such efforts conducted in the U.K. and the U.S. to evaluate the introduction of evidence-based (PEACE or information gathering) practices, respectively.

Several studies have been conducted in the U.K. to assess implementation of the PEACE model, although some of this work involved coding interviews of cooperative witnesses or victims rather than suspects (e.g., Bull & Soukara, 2010; Clarke & Milne, 2001; Hall, 1997; Walsh & Bull, 2010). Overall, it appears that although getting investigators to successfully adopt all components of the PEACE model can be a challenge (see Clarke & Milne, 2001, for a review

of this issue), PEACE-based skills are generally associated with improved interview outcomes. For example, Walsh and Bull (2010) examined suspect interviews conducted by PEACE trained fraud investigators and found that better use of PEACE interviewing techniques was associated with a higher rate of obtaining complete accounts. In an early field validation effort of the Cognitive Interview, Fisher, Geiselman, and Amador (1989) also found that CI trained detectives elicited 63% more information from witness and victims in real-world local law enforcement interviews than non-CI trained detectives.

There have been two recent field validation efforts in the U.S. involving the introduction of evidence-based methods of interrogation. While the training validation facet of Meissner, Russano, and Atkinson's (2017) study was mentioned above, the authors also evaluated the effectiveness of these interrogation tactics deployed in the field. In their sample, techniques associated with an information gathering approach, including building rapport (e.g., liking and reciprocity), active listening skills, and CI techniques were associated with better perceived rapport between the interviewer and the suspect, which in turn elicited greater suspect cooperation. Greater suspect cooperation was also directly associated with increased information gain. Interestingly, the use of accusatorial-based techniques was associated with an increase in suspects' use of counter-interrogation strategies, while the use of counter-interrogation strategies was associated with increased suspect resistance, and indirectly, with less information gain. Similarly, in a field validation assessment involving local law enforcement in the northeastern U.S., Russano, Meissner, and Atkinson (2018) found very similar results in that the use of accusatorial techniques was associated with increased resistance, whereas the use of CI techniques and information gathering questioning tactics predicted information gain, and the use of rapport tactics was associated with increased cooperation, and indirectly, information gain.

Although limited in its scope to date, research emerging from field validations of evidence-based approaches is encouraging. Interrogation approaches and techniques assessed in the laboratory (e.g., information gathering approaches) can be effectively trained, and more importantly, appear to operate in the field as we would expect them to. These promising findings suggest that such evidence-based approaches can be effective alternatives to traditional, and oftentimes problematic, accusatorial approaches.

IV. Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a broad overview of training studies and field research on suspect interviewing conducted to date. Not surprisingly, the majority of field research falls under the umbrella of surveying current practice via self-report and observational studies. A clear finding that emerges from that body of research is that accusatorial-based methods are commonplace in North America and some Asian countries, whereas an information gathering approach dominates practice in the U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and some other European countries. Training studies and field validations examining evidence-based methods are comparatively few and far between – but those that exist suggest that at least some evidence-based methods can be effectively trained and that some of those methods are associated with better interview outcomes in real-world suspect interviews. Clearly there is still much to be done. In 2010, Meissner and colleagues urged the research community to conduct more laboratory research aimed at identifying diagnostic interrogation techniques, and collectively, we have made great strides in that context (see Meissner et al., 2014). Nearly nine years later, we believe now is the time to come full circle – to push back out of the laboratory and into the field, particularly with respect to increasing the number of training studies and field validation tests of science-based techniques. We conclude our chapter with a discussion of the challenges and

lessons learned with respect to conducting field and training studies, in the hope that they prove helpful to others who undertake this type of research.

Challenges and Lessons Learned

Whether eliciting self-report data from practitioners, observing interviews and interrogations, or changing and evaluating new methods employed, working in the field can be a challenging endeavor. It is a critical effort, however, in order to fully understand what techniques are effective, which are not, and perhaps, what may actually be counterproductive to an investigator's mission. In this section, we briefly describe some of the challenges that researchers can expect to face when working in the field and strategies for overcoming them.

Based on the current authors' experiences, the greatest barrier to working with law enforcement, military, and intelligence personnel is gaining buy-in from those practitioners who will be most affected by the research. Be it in terms of the inconvenience of participating in a survey or interview, the obtrusiveness of observing and evaluating current practice, or most especially, asking interviewers to do something new or different, resistance to outsiders – especially academic researchers – is to be expected. This is not at all unusual or specific to this population; all manner of professionals – especially academic researchers, for instance – bristle at the prospect of being critically evaluated or required to deviate from customary practice. The key for researchers to get buy-in from practitioners is to be able to clearly express the potential benefits to the operational community specifically. Whether it is a way to be more efficient, more effective, or something else entirely, practitioners must be convinced that it is in their interests to cooperate with researchers (much like investigators attempt to convince suspects of the same). To the extent that the proposed study's hypotheses allow it, researchers should emphasize the expected benefits of the research, or at the very least, promise to report the results

of the study back to the agency and the individuals who participated. Being available to engage in a dialogue with practitioners is more than just a courtesy; it is an opportunity for the researcher to better understand how a study was perceived and implemented by those who participated in it. Such lessons can be taken to the next field study.

It is patently obvious that researchers need official approval from high-level administrators in any agency prior to commencing a study, but the buy-in at the operations level is vastly assisted when there is an 'in-house' champion of the research effort. For instance, in the field experiment with the Philadelphia Police Department, Kelly, Dawson, and Hartwig (2016) were supported by two very influential, high-ranking officials who facilitated the project despite some vocal opposition coming from other areas of the administration. Moreover, these key supporters can keep a project alive amid administrative turnover, which happens fairly frequently in law enforcement agencies, and the command-and-control structure of such agencies can insulate the adherence to research protocols despite changes in administrative personnel. Furthermore, we urge researchers, when possible, to invite practitioners to be more than just partners, but rather, collaborators (see McIntyre, 2007 for a discussion of participatory action research). There is great utility to working in hand in hand with practitioners of the agency you will be working with at the design stage of a study; more often than not, we have found that practitioners' feedback can improve the relevancy to and the likelihood of buy-in (and adherence) from the practitioners who will be involved in the study. Furthermore, extensive discussions in advance of may reduce the likelihood that you will encounter practical (and often time-consuming) challenges (e.g., Who will be in charge of collecting recordings? How will they be delivered from practitioner to researcher? Will confidentiality agreements need to be signed? Are your selection criteria and timetable feasible within the organization's structure?)

Speaking of adhering to research protocols, a successful field study must consider the realities of working in an agency and with practitioners whose primary daily responsibilities do not ordinarily include ensuring the validity of data. Clear instructions must be developed within the context of individuals attempting to gather information, solve crimes, and protect the public, and this is another instance where the key contact within the agency can assist in developing the protocols. As little disruption to the practitioners' work is desirable, though we have found that if they are enthusiastic about the research, the participants will be more willing to thoughtfully contribute to it. Further, researchers must account for the possibility that data collection can occur at any time of the day or night, as law enforcement and intelligence agencies are around-the-clock operations. It is unlikely that a researcher can be with the practitioner at all times when collecting prospective data, so the research protocol must be developed with this in mind. Finally, we must note several potential ethical issues when conducting field research. Research ethics boards may be sensitive to the inherent conflict between practitioners' voluntary participation in a study and their occupational mandate to follow orders from commanding officers who endorsed the study. Researchers should be prepared to gain consent – explicit or implicit – from the practitioners and explain to superiors the importance of this voluntariness clause. Likewise, in observational studies, the suspect, witness, or victim may (or may not) also be considered participants, subject to the same rights of voluntariness and confidentiality, to say nothing of their legal and due process rights. Navigating these sticky wickets is not impossible, but researchers need to be sensitive to these issues and be prepared to consider the competing interests of operational objectives, research aims, and human-subjects protections.

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