ASK THEM THEY'LL TELL YOU! ELICITING POLICE PERSPECTIVES TO

IMPROVE INTERROGATION PRACTICES

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Traditional research on police interrogation practices provides etic perspectives on utilizations and frequencies of coercive techniques that act as contributing factors in false confessions. However, researcher reliance on predominantly male officer participants and quantitative methodologies perpetuate the exclusion of police organizational and female officer perspectives in the extant literature. This study provides new research-based insights into emic perspectives of police organizations and their officers. Specifically, this research examines current and former female police detectives and factors that influence their selection, and usage, of certain types of interrogation practices. Research-based definitions of coercive interrogation practices, while based on legal standards, are grounded in psychological influences on suspects that are likely to contribute to false confessions. Findings from this study provide unique information regarding how participant officers, who also define practices within legal contexts, define types of interrogation techniques as persuasive, aggressive, and abusive, with no apparent consideration for psychological influences on suspects. As such, research-based interrogation practices deemed coercive (but legal) by researchers are insufficient to restrain their usage during police interrogations. Study findings indicate that individual operating philosophies of participant detectives have the greatest influence on selections of, and more importantly restraints from, particular types of interrogation usages. Ultimately, increasing understandings of practitioner-based practices within police organizations, and the implementation of human resource development (HRD) strategies for improvement of investigative and interrogation

processes, will lead to positive individual and collective performances which can be

aimed at reducing rates of false confession.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my family and many friends. Thank you to my wonderful daughters, Kendall, and Sydney, for your unwavering support and for the many sacrifices you made during my journey. A special thanks to my husband, Dr. R. Anthony Rolle, who gave me a small silver token that simply asked, "What would you attempt to do if you knew you could not fail?" Anthony, your support, guidance, and love were beacons of lights throughout this process. You inspire me. You are simply amazing!

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NOMENCLATURE

KSA   Knowledge, skills, and abilities

KSAA   Knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes

OJT   On-the job training

USBJS   United States Bureau of Justice Statistics

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1931, Barry discussed the social changes affecting police organizations, and acknowledged the challenges presented by "the growth of cities, the wide dissemination of knowledge, the changed nature of public opinion, and the ascendancy of the "sciences" of human behavior" (p.173). Today, these challenges are ever-present, and expounded by rapid advancements in technology and forensic science (DNA), globalization, mass media, and demands for more ethical, and socially responsible organizations (Bing, Kehrhahn & Short, 2003). Widespread use of the internet and social media permits for the global transmission of, and sharing of information in a matter of seconds. It is within this context that the problem of wrongful convictions emerged as a significant problem for police professionals as well as the citizens they serve.

Police agencies are scrutinized repeatedly by community, media, and political organizations in response to three primary areas of alleged misconduct: (a) utilizing excessive force or brutality, (b) treating citizens – or groups of citizens – preferentially or prejudicially, and (c) subjecting suspects to coercive interrogation practices (Berger, 2006; Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenewald, 2006; Perry, 2007). Interrogation practices or tactic for the purpose of this dissertation refers to a system or systems of inter-related methods and strategies used by police investigators to elicit incriminating statements from a suspect. Interrogation practices/tactics may be directed by policy, learned through formal or informal training or devised through the ingenuity of the

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interrogator. A brief review of the history of interrogations was provided to provide insight into the historical context in which police interrogation and interrogation training and practice evolved

Background

Prior to the 1960s, police interrogations included the use of "the third degree" (Paulsen, 1954, p. 41), a physically, and emotionally abusive practice used to coerce suspect confessions (Keedy, 1937). However, in the landmark United States Supreme Court decision *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), the justices ruled that statements obtained from suspects must be voluntary, and not the result of abusive or coercive tactics. Despite the apparent specificity of the decision, researchers found that police responded to the decision, and developed interrogation practices that circumvented or reduced the significance of the intended protections (Leo, 2001; Leo & White, 1999). As a result, legal scholars, and researchers debated whether or not *Miranda* warnings provided sufficient protection to suspects from sophisticated and coercive police interrogation practices (White, 2001). Some researchers openly wondered if police were free to disregard *Miranda* altogether (Clymer, 2002; Weisselberg, 1998; White, 2001; Zalman & Smith, 2007).

In the decades that followed *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), researchers noted a shift in police interrogation practices from physical coercion, and abuse to psychological coercion that included manipulation, and deception (Leo, 1992; 1996). In their momentous *United States Supreme Court decision, the Supreme Court Justices referenced the Reid Meth*od of interrogation, and cited it as the most commonly used

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training by police organizations at that time (*Miranda v Arizona, 1966*). Despite a lack of evidence to support those claims, researchers echoed the sentiment of the Justices for the next forty years, and continued to assert the prevalence of the Reid Method of training among police organizations (Kassin, 1997; Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kostelnik & Reppucci, 2009; Leo, 1996). To the contrary, recent research by findings indicated there was no consensus on what constitutes as common police practices (Kassin, Leo, Meissner, Richman, Colwell, Leach & LaFon, 2007; Leo, 2004). Kassin et al. (2007), surveyed police investigators in an effort to identify common police practices, and found variations in the practices employed by police investigators (most notably between police with different levels of experience). Additionally, these authors found disparities among the types of specialized training investigators reportedly received, with only 11% of participants indicating that training received was in the Reid method, and some reporting no they received no specialized training at all. Increasing evidence of dissimilarities in the types of police practices, and methods for police interrogation training suggested that the issue of false confessions may not be entirely the fault of training.

Recently, coercive interrogations, and the notoriety of false confessions cases thrust police organizations to the forefront of public scrutiny, precariously juxtaposed between civil liability, and threats to police legitimacy (Hawdon, 2008; Magid 2001; Seron, Pereira, & Kovath, 2004). As the number of exonerations cases continued to rise, public support for a moratorium on the death penalty increased, and demands for scrutiny of judicial procedures increased (Berger, 2006). To date, over 300 men and

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women were exonerated by DNA. Among those exonerated, more than 20% confessed to the crime (Innocence Project, 2014).

Research on false confessions, coupled with recent media attention on DNA exonerations, implied that police interrogation practices potentially lead to false confessions, and ultimately the conviction of innocent men, and women in the United States (Kassin, 2006). Specifically, researchers posit that police use of coercive interrogation practices contributed to false confessions, and ultimately wrongful convictions (Kassin et al., 2010; Leo & Ofshe, 1996). Inarguably, wrongful convictions represent miscarriages of justice and therefore have implications for criminal justice professionals, and public safety (Huff, 2002) as the innocent are convicted, and the guilty remain free to commit additional crimes (Findley, 2002; Huff, 2002; Huff, Rattner, Sagarin & MacNamara; 1996; Magid, 2001). As Martin (2001) so poignantly points out, "When a crime is resolved through the conviction of an innocent person, a double failure of justice has occurred: not only is an innocent person wronged by the conviction but the guilty person is thereby allowed to go free" (p. 847).

While, faulty eyewitness testimonies were present in approximately 75% of exoneration cases, false confessions (25%) represented the second most commonly factor (Innocence Project, 2012). Considerable attention was devoted to false confessions primarily because of their significance in criminal trials. Researchers deemed confessions as the most compelling, detrimental, and unassailable evidence in the minds of judges, and jurors (Conti, 1999; Leo, 2005; Leo & Ofshe, 1998). To this point, Kassin and Wrightsman (1985) conducted a study to analyze the weight or

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prominence of a confession. Findings from their study revealed that confessions ranked the highest in the hierarchical scale of evidence in criminal trials (Kassin & Wrightsman, 1985).

Therefore, an examination of the interrogation practices associated with false confessions was necessary to identify opportunities to reduce the occurrence or likelihood of false confessions. Researchers examined police interrogation training in efforts to identify a relationship between specialized interrogation training and police use of coercive interrogation practices and attributed negative outcomes to training (Kassin, Drizin, Grisso, Gudjonsson, Leo & Redlich, 2010*).* Despite an abundance of research from the field of Human Resource Development (HRD), on training for professions, police organizations were largely neglected as a research territory. In fact, the preponderance of literature on police interrogations was generated by legal experts, and scholars from other fields of study such as sociology, and psychology (Kassin, Meissner, & Norwick, 2005; Magid, 2001; Ofshe & Leo, 1996).

Research on police interrogation practices and specifically those associated with false confessions offers an opportunity for both examination of the practices as well as the processes used by police in selecting, and implementing such practices. Through the identification of methods to improve police interrogation performance, police organization can better position them to reach their missions, address and reduce threats to police legitimacy, restore public confidence in police professionals and most importantly aid in the reduction of false confessions, which in turn can contribute to the reduction of wrongful convictions.

However, the lack of uniformity or a national organizational structure within law enforcement, impedes the facilitation of widespread change, and makes standardization of training, difficult (Maguire, 1993). In closed autocratic organizations like police departments, the traditional police management culture emphasized adherence to internal rules, procedures, and efficiency rather than effectiveness (Crank, 2003). Therefore, every level of the organization must be examined to identify processes that contribute to undesired outputs (i.e. false confession) to determine if the system can be modified or if a new system is necessary to remedy the problem (Akdere & Roberts, 2008).

Swanson (1995) discussed the systems perspective of HRD, and identified three performance levels: (a) organizational level, (b) process level, and (c) individual level. He also identified five corresponding performance variables including: (a) mission goal, (b) systems design, (c) capacity, (d) motivation, and (e) expertise. Additionally, he proposed taxonomy of performance that focused on outputs at the individual, team, and organizational levels (Swanson, 1995). Embracing this perspective, organization development (OD) is linked to the primary mission of the organization. Nonetheless, before HRD interventions can be developed or modifications to training made, police organizations must first have an opportunity to reexamine, and reflect on their individual and collective contributions to the problem of false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Although previous research contributed to our general knowledge of police interrogation practices, and false confessions, the knowledge gap on the role of training, organizational culture and other factors that influence police detective performance remained.

Interrogation are defined as a ' guilt presumptive process, a theory-driven social interaction led by an authority figure who formed a strong belief about the suspect, and who measures success by the ability to extract an admission from that suspect" (Kassin, Appleby & Perillo, 2010, p. 41). According to Kassin, Leo, Meissner, Richman, Colwell and LaFon (2007), the primary purpose of an interrogation is to elicit confessions by moving a presumed guilty suspect from denial to admission. Simply stated, researchers asserted that the goal and purpose of interrogations were to obtain confessions. The processes by which confessions were obtained included a wide variety of interrogation practices, and the multiple decisions made by police detectives in the selection of said practices. Within the context of false confessions, the interrogation itself is an organizational process which can, and should be examined as a viable leverage point for systemic changes to reduce false confessions

French and Bell (1999) stated "organizational processes are crucial leverage points for achieving organizational improvements" (p. 4). Leverage points represent tangible and intangible components of an organization that influence other aspects of the organization, and its culture. For example, the hierarchical chain of command, within police organizations are leverage points, in that changes to the chain of command influence all activities within police organizations, from the issuance of orders, and work assignments to the approval, and dissemination of annual police officer performance evaluations.

Within the realm of HRD, organizational development (OD) offers an opportunity for organizations to engage in activities to identify problems, and develop planned

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interventions to improve performance. Swanson and Holton (2001) defined OD as "the process of systematically unleashing human expertise to implement organizational change for the purpose of improving performance" (p. 90). One hallmark of organization development is the examination, and improvement of processes within the organization to improve individual and organizational performance (Swanson & Holton, 2001). The authors recommended the identification and use of leverage points to affect organizational change.

Interrogations as organizational processes represent potential leverage points within police organizations to influence the systemic changes available through organizational development, to improve individual, and collective police performance aimed at reducing false confessions. The collaborative nature of OD implores the inclusion of the police themselves in any self-analytical exercises, and the development of strategies for performance enhancement. Finally, systemic organizational change must include an examination of the organizational culture that serves as the context in which police performance occurs (Egan, Yang, & Bartlett, 2004).

Purpose of the Study

Like other organizations, police departments are concerned with performance, and the attainment of organizational objectives. According to Swanson and Arnold (1996), the purpose of HRD is to improve organizational performance. Hence, HRD can play a significant role in the examination of the phenomena of false confessions by examining the interrogation process, as well as cultural influences which may contribute to the negative outcomes observed as false confessions. Therefore, the purpose of this

study was to examine the constructed narratives of female police detectives to: (1) explore selected police interrogators' experiences of police interrogations through their constructed narratives regarding the selection, and use of interrogation practices, (2) describe selected police interrogators' justifications for their use of coercive interrogation practices; and, (3) perceived role of training, and organizational culture in affecting police investigators' decision, and selection of interrogation practices.

The exploration of selected police interrogators' experience of police interrogations through an analysis of their constructed narratives about how they select, and use interrogation practices could possibly stimulate dialogue among police professionals. In turn, this dialogue could generate solutions for reducing the incidence of false confessions without jeopardizing the ability of police to elicit truthful confessions. The following research questions guided this this research study:

- What do female police detectives with 10+ years of law enforcement experience, perceive about the role of training in their selection of interrogation practices?

- What important roles do the participants perceive that the organizational culture, and their unit subculture, plays in influencing or discouraging their choices in the selection of interrogation practices?

- Do the participants perceive external influences such as community, and media that influenced their decision making in the selection of interrogation practices?

- Do the participants perceive personal influences, such as religion, family, and personal values that impacted their decision making in the selection of interrogation practices?

Significance of the Study

Findings from this study have practical and research implications for multiple stakeholders. HRD professionals and an orientation towards multiple stakeholders produce results that are significant for the profession, the organization, and individuals it serves, and for society at large (Bing, Kehrhahn & Short, 2003, p.345). Findings from this study will expand current knowledge about the topic under study. The focus on police organizations and actual police detectives provided voices to those who were overlooked in the extant literature. This study provided additional insights on the existence of performance problems and areas for performance improvement. Finally for police interrogators, this study offers and opportunity for critical self-reflection on their own practice, and their decision making processes. Through this type of self-reflection, and self-examination, it is hoped that police interrogators will gain a deeper self-understanding, and become reflective practitioners who contribute to ongoing efforts by researchers and practitioners to reduce miscarriages of justice.

Methodology

An emergent research design was selected for this research study. The purpose of the qualitative emergent design is to accommodate context specific data collection strategies that contribute to the relevance of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The decision to employ an emergent research design was based on three initial assessments of the extant literature: 1) a dearth of qualitative research 2) an absence of representative voices in the literature (i.e. actual police detectives and more specifically, female police

detectives), and 3) an absence of replicable research studies and validated surveys to answer the guiding research questions from this study.

Despite a century of research on miscarriages of justice, the problems persists (Gould & Leo, 2010). While past research contributed to general knowledge about police interrogations, there was a dearth of qualitative research on the topic of false confessions associated with the factors that influence police detectives' selection and use of interrogation practices. Specific insights from the perspective of actual police detectives were largely absent in the extant literature. Research to date, offered an etic (outsider) glimpse of interrogations. Guba and Lincoln (1994) discussed the disjunction of grand theories with local context whereby research inquiry may have little or no meaning within the context of the individuals or group studied (p. 106). Researchers cited the closed nature of police culture as a challenge to researcher access to police organizations and police participants (Armacost, 2003; Paulsen, 1954), leading researchers to rely on mock simulations (Dando, Wilcock & Milne, 2009; Kassin, Goldstein & Savitsky, 2003; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; Memon, Bull & Smith, 1995; Vrij, 2008). Researchers relied on mock simulations in attempts to recreate police interrogation, and generalize findings to real police interrogations (Hartwig, Anders, Granhag, Strömwall, & Kronkvist, 2006; Lassiter & Irvine, 2006; Simcoe, 2006). However, mock simulations were critiqued for their low ecological validity a point not missed by researchers who conduct them (Hasel & Kassin, 2009; Kassin & Meissner, 2002). According to Breau and Brook (2007), ecological validity asks whether a simulation is conducted under conditions that are similar to those in the real world such

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that the results from the simulation are generalizable. It may be difficult to accept that any mock simulated interrogation can recreate the unique dynamics of the interaction between a police interrogator (Breau & Brook, 2007). Additionally, mock simulations are void of context, and offer little insight into the perspectives of police interrogators.

Qualitative research provides an opportunity to obtain contextual information that contributes to the relevance of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Naturalistic Inquiry and qualitative research methods allow the researcher to understand, and portray the participants' stories (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This holistic approach to inquiry allows the researcher to examine a phenomenon using a working hypothesis that is value-bound within a context that is most conducive to the participant rather than the researcher. Qualitative research can contribute to the literature on police interrogation practices in multiple ways: (a) capturing the individual's point of view, (b) examining the constraints of ever day life, and (c) securing descriptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Specifically, this study sought to provide insight, and obtain "thick descriptions" (Denzin, 1989, p. 83) on what factors influence police in their selection of interrogation practices, and obtain information on the role of training in their decision process. Thick description includes "an understanding, and absorbing the context of the situation or behavior; it also involves ascribing present and future intentionality to the behavior" (Ponterrotto, 2006, p. 539). According to Geertz (1973;1994) thick description is more than a simple compilation of facts or a retelling of information, but rather an interpretative characteristics of the topic being studied that differentiate a particular phenomenon.

Consistent with Naturalistic Inquiry, the researcher served as the primary instrument for data collection, and data analysis for this dissertation (Lincoln, 1985). Furthermore, several techniques were utilized to establish credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability including: (a) Purposive sampling of female police officers with more than ten years of experience, including experiences investigating UCR Part I crimes, (b) Reflexive journaling throughout the data collection, and data analysis (c) Pursuit of thick description, (c) Use of a peer debriefer and, (d) Member checking, and participant corroboration to triangulate the data. A minimum of three interviews were conducted with each of the 5-7 participants. Constant comparative analysis was utilized in order to gather data, and organize the data based on similarities, and differences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Themes or patterns were derived from the data to construct a coded category or concept

Data collected and analyzed from the first round of interviews were used to frame the interview guide for the second round of interviews to allow for elaboration, and clarification of previously collected data. The third round of interviews was used framed following the same method described. The intent of the this research is to increase the authenticity of the data collected, and make certain that the voices of the participants were represented in a manner that resonates with their actual lived experiences. According to Guba (1990), this approach increases the "goodness, and trustworthiness" of the data by lessening the structural divide between the researcher, and the participants thereby demystifying, and clarifying the studied phenomena (p.84).

Limitations and Assumptions

One potential limitation of this study is that my perspective as a Black female Doctoral student with over ten years of law enforcement experience, including investigative experience undoubtedly influenced my perception, understanding, and interpretation of information. However, the purpose of this naturalistic inquiry according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) was to obtain the perspectives of a select group of experienced police investigators in order to understand these particular participants' experiences in interrogations, and possibly build on the findings to improve police interrogation practices.

There were five primary assumptions made by the researcher during this study: (1) data collected, and transcribed would be accurately recorded: (2) participant responses would be reasonably honest accounts of their experiences during interrogations, and within their organizations; (3) participants would recognize, and embrace the researcher as an "insider" based on her years of police, and investigative experience; (4) recognition of the researcher as an "insider" might increase the use of police jargon, and colloquialism, and (5) participants may not fully disclose all aspects of their experiences to a researcher. In accordance with the principles of qualitative research, this research is context, and participant specific. The focus of this research was to provide insight into the unique perspective of experienced police investigators of the interrogation process, and the interrogation practices used. The results of these finding are not intended as generalizable to a larger population, a hallmark of quantitative inquiry. Instead, this study was conducted with the intent of allowing for transferability

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to similar context, and participants by offering clear instructions to allow future researchers to replicate the study.

Organization of Study

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter provided an introduction to the problem, pertinent background, historical context, as well as a discussion of the significance, and need for this particular study. Chapter I also included an overview of the methodology, research questions, definition of key terms, and the limitations, and assumptions associated with the study. Chapter II provided a review of the extant literature on police interrogations. The review of the literature identified historical research trends encompassing the topic. Furthermore, Chapter 2 provided descriptions of police organizations, police officers, police culture and police performance. In sum, the literature review provided additional contextual information to support the pursuit of research on police interrogation practices to reduce false confessions. Chapter III described the methodology and research methods used to select study participants, collect and analyze data, and examine findings for evidence of rigor including authenticity and trustworthiness. Chapter IV includes the presentation of study findings utilizing excerpts of participants' narratives, as well as a discussion of emergent themes, and sub-themes. The final Chapter, Chapter VI, provided a provided a discussion on study findings with researcher interpretations and the identification of implications for research, policy and practice. Chapter VI concludes this research study and includes final discussions, conclusions and researcher reflections for this dissertation.

Definitions

Coercion/Coercive Action – Threatening to use and/or use of physical or psychological pressure to compel a person to act or select a particular choice from more than one option.

Investigators/Detectives – Sworn law enforcement officers who routinely examine, analyze, and collect additional evidence after a preliminary investigation conducted by a patrol or street officer. Investigators identify persons who witness, are victimized by, or perpetrated a crime. Some investigators or detectives may be assigned to a specialized division, such as homicide or robberies, within a police organization.

Interrogation Practices/Tactics – Interrogation practices or tactic refers to a system or systems of inter-related methods and strategies used by police investigators to elicit incriminating statements from a suspect. Interrogation practices/tactics may be directed by policy, learned through formal or informal training or devised through the ingenuity of the interrogator.

Journey Level – Previously, a journey man referred to a person who serves as trainer to an apprentice during training. The term was changed in multiple states to provide a gender neutral term for the inclusion of journey women.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Miscarriages of justice, and associated instances of false confessions, and wrongful convictions represent a complex multi-faceted problem and, therefore, difficult to assess from a review of a single body of literature. In order to gain better understandings of -and perspectives on-the problem, a review of literature from multiple disciplines was conducted. The literature review that follows provided a glimpse of historical research trends encompassing the topic of miscarriages of justice associated with false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Additionally, this literature review contained nuanced findings from multiple disciplines that illustrated the complexity, and inter-connectedness of multiple aspects that collectively construct an environment rich in opportunities for the perpetuation of conditions that potentially contribute to false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Due to the expansiveness of the criminal justice system, the context in which miscarriages of justice occur, the scope of this literature review was limited to police organizations. An examination of the relevant HRD literature on training, organizational culture, and performance was included to provide both theoretical, and contextual framing to guide this research.

Human Resource Development (HRD)

The purpose of Human Resource Development (HRD) is for the development or unleashing of human expertise through organizational development, and training for the purpose of improving performance (Swanson, 1995, p.208). According to Swanson (2001) the domains of performance include the organization, work process and group or

individual levels (p.304). Through training and development and the process of OD, police organizations can systematically implement organizational change for the purpose of improving police detective performance. As such, HRD interventions can aid in the identification of performance problems including unintended and undesired behaviors that produce negative outcomes, such as false confessions. The engagement in HRD research to examine and improve police interrogation performance demands a careful examination of interrogation processes, police organizations, police individuals and the context in which police perform.

The field of HRD is uniquely well positioned to explore false confessions through an examination of human behavior within an organizational context. According to Swanson and Holton (2001), the field of HRD practice and research is currently divided into two paradigms, learning, and performance. The learning paradigm includes individual learning, performance based learning, and whole systems learning, and the performance paradigm includes individual performance improvement, and whole systems performance improvement (Swanson & Holton, 2001). Prior research on police organizations suggested that systemic organizational change efforts aimed at producing sustainable and institutionalized change faced internal challenges due to police organizational culture (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994, p. 304). Therefore, an examination of the organizational culture and subculture offers researchers an opportunity to examine contextual factors that produce, and reproduce desired and/or undesired behaviors among police investigators. The examination of police performance demands attention to the unique context in which police perform, the organization, the culture, and

subcultures become relevant in the establishment of a lens through which police performance can be examined.

Jacobs (1990) described HRD as "both an area of professional practice, and an emerging inter-disciplinary body of academic knowledge" influenced by five major bodies of knowledge: education, systems theory, economics, psychology, and organizational behavior that interact in complex, and bidirectional ways (P.66). While each of these bodies of knowledge could be used to examine the phenomenon of false confessions, Systems Theory, as a foundation for HRD, specifically addresses individual and organizational performance. Systems Theory provides a suitable method for HRD professionals to examine organizations to develop planned interventions aimed at improving organizational performance. The basic system theory model includes: (1) inputs, (2) processes, and (3) outputs of a system, as well as a feedback loop (Swanson, 2001, p.305). Furthermore, basic system theory acknowledges that the system is influenced by its larger surrounding system or environment (Swanson, & Holton, 2001, p.16). An examination of performance through the lens of systems theory allows researchers to examine performance in the context in which it occurs and; this lens aids in the identification of potential leverage points for HRD interventions to reduce, correct or promote performance behaviors.

Police Organizations

According to the most recent report from the Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics on the '*Census of State, and Local Law Enforcement Agencies*' (2008) there were 12,501 local police departments with approximately 765, 000 sworn officers.

These agencies represented multiple organizations across multiple jurisdictions. Despite wide variations in the size, location, and demographics of police organizations, their organizational structures were relatively similar.

Police Organizational Structure

Maguire (1997) described organizational structure as the way an organization divides, controls, coordinates, and organizes its workers, and work (p. 550). According to researchers, police organizations were generally precinct based with both sworn and non-sworn personnel that include large administrative units (Maguire, 1997; Reiss, 1992). The organizational structure of police departments was, to a degree, readily apparent through the use of the following: uniform markings with specifications, insignias, and patches for each rank; special vehicle assignment based on rank, and public organization charts depicting a clear chain of command. According to Crank (2003), police organizations are exemplars of institutionalized organizations who served a variety of competing constituents under the scrutiny of the courts, and politicians (p.187).

Traditionally, police organizations represented classic bureaucratic systems where organizational goals were defined, and rigid hierarchical structures existed (Hampton, 2011). As such bureaucratic systems imposed rules, and prescribed behaviors to control, and manage behaviors among workers, insured compliance, and regulated relationships (Hampton, 2011). Others described police organizations as quasi or para-military organizations characterized by a rigid rank hierarchy of authority, impersonality, and an authoritarian command system (Jermier & Berkes 1979; Reiss &

Bordua, 1964; Steinheider &Wuestewald, 2008). According to researchers, the purpose

of the para military model was to provide discipline, structure, and clear line of

command, and authority that was needed in crisis situations (Drake & Simper, 2003).

Law enforcement organizations are led by a Chief of Police, Sheriff or

Constable. Police organizations are guided by their mission statements, goals, written

policies, and standard operating procedures, as well as the laws governing their actions

(Hampton, 2011). Although the role of the police officer is largely prescribed by

legislatures, courts, and rigid operating policies, actual police performance is mostly

discretionary in nature (Armacost, 2003; LaFrance, 2011). The discretionary power of

police within the constraints of the authoritative decision making, and control systems of

police organizations was labeled by Lefkowitz (1977), and embraced by others as the

discretionary paradox (Fry & Berkes, 1983; Jermier & Berkes, 1979). This discretionary

paradox allowed police to meet their formal obligations while affording them the

autonomy to engage in behaviors that deviated from prescribed behaviors. In other

words, the policies, and procedures outlined what, and how work should be done, while

officers exercised discretion in choosing how they carried out the job.

In addition to police policy, prescribed behaviors, and behaviors produced within

the discretionary paradox there are a multitude of other behaviors that are produced in a

variety of other contexts through human interaction, and social constructions. According

to McGregor (1960) organizations are the products of human interactions, and social

constructions rather than an anonymous expression of an underlying natural order. For

example, police organizations are more than a collection of people who gathered to

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enforce the laws of the land, instead they represent a planned, and coordinated effort by workers selected to serve a purpose within the organization. Like other organizations, police organizations rely on the performance of their employees to carry out organizational operations, and pursue organizational goals. The performance behaviors of police are influenced by a variety of factors including police organizational culture, and training.

Police Organizational Culture

Organizational culture as described in the literature included: common attitudes, shared value, norms, perceptions, and beliefs which are shaped by, and influence employee behavior, and interactions between members of the organization as well as external participants (Glomseth, Gottschalk & Solli-Saether, 2007; Hampton, 2011; Paoline, Myers & Worden, 2000). Historically, research on police organizational culture identified behaviors that pointed to a collective and orthodox view or culture marked by cynicism, strict adherence to norms, exaggerated commitment to role or mission, concerns with inherent danger of job, and resistance to outside intervention, distrust of citizens, and a male ethos (Delone, 2007; Westley, 1970).

However, researcher challenged previously held assumptions about police culture as new study findings emerged. For example, Terrill, Paoline, and Manning (2003) examined data collected from The Project on Policing Neighborhoods (POPN). The authors analyzed interviews with police officers from two police departments, the Indianapolis Police Department, and the St. Petersburg Police Department. They examined the role of police commitment to the traditional police culture, and the use of

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coercion against suspects. Terrill, Paoline, and Manning (2003) defined coercion as "acts that threaten or inflict physical harm on citizens (p. 1019). The results of their study indicated that there were attitudinal differences between police officers with variations in levels of commitment to the traditional view of police culture; those differences produced differences in the use of coercion against suspects (Terrill, Paoline & Manning, 2003). Later, Paoline, Myers and Worden (2006) compared seven outlooks associated with police officer's conceptions of the police role, and police culture. They classified these outlooks as: orientation to law enforcement, orientation to order maintenance orientation to community policing, aggressiveness, selectivity, distrust of citizens, and perceptions of officer's cooperation. They found that officer's perceptions of their work environment, and culture were more positive than described in the literature, and that their affinity to aggressive policing was less than anticipated. They also concluded that the role of culture on officers appeared weaker than previously asserted by researchers in the extant literature (Paoline, Myers & Worden, 2006).

Loftus (2010), also challenged previously held assumptions about police culture, and speculated that earlier findings were outdated, and failed to account for changes in social and political influences on police organizational culture. Loftus (2010) also contended that despite new evidence of the evolution of a new police culture, researchers should not overlook the significance of those aspects of orthodox police culture that persisted (2010). Specifically, he suggested that these enduring themes of police culture were significant, and pointed to the continued persistence of the occupational risks, and inherent potential of danger that remained in police work.

In addition to examining police culture in terms of a collective group of characteristics exhibited by members of police organizations, researchers examined police culture through an occupational culture framework (Christensen & Crank, 2001; Glomseth, Gottschalk & Solli-Saether, 2007; Loftus, 2010; Manning, 1989). Crank (2001) defined occupational culture as a reduced, selective, and task-based version of organizational culture that was shaped by the socially relevant worlds of the occupation (p.70). The occupational culture framework focused on the nature of the work itself over the individual traits of the police themselves. Farkas and Manning (1997) added that the occupational cultures of police, and corrections officers should be examined in three distinct segments: lower participants (patrol), middle management, and top command. This limited focus of police culture provided a useful and manageable tool to examine police culture, and its relationship with police performance. Specifically, this framework allowed for the acknowledgement of a common police culture but recognized that sub-police-cultures existed at various ranks within police organizations. Though, Farkas and Manning's (1977) proposed segmentation of police by rank, for the examination of occupational culture does not accommodate the role of police detectives; the concept of occupational culture offered a framework that was consistent with those used in the field of Human Resource Development (HRD).

Police Culture and Social Capital

Swanson (1999) discussed the importance of examining the structures, and strengths of relationships between employees to understand the types of capital (intellectual or social) that exist. Within the context of police organizations,

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occupational culture, and organizational context offer frameworks to examine individual police officers as well as police organizations to understand the types of capital they possess, and how those intellectual, and social capitals aid or detract from police performance, and success within the organization. Swanson (2001) emphasized the importance of determining the level of support for HRD interventions, and the existence of networks in the organization that can be used to leverage support for HRD. These levels of support and networks contribute to social capital.

In addition to the natural talents, interests, and experiences each member possesses, organizations invest in their employees in many ways including training, education (formal and informal), transfer of knowledge, and wellness programs that in turn translate into resources that can produce returns on those investments (Becker, 1960). Social capital, refers to those resources embedded in the meaningful social networks, and interpersonal relationships (Nahapiet & Ghosal, 1998) that exists between members that is reinforced, and nurtured over time (Storberg, 2002), and that benefits both individual members as well as the collective groups of members (Putnam, 1994; 1995). Social capital therefore, is a conduit for cooperation, trust, communication, facilitation, coordination negotiation, compromise, and ultimately productivity among organizational members, and the organization or community as a whole (Sweetland, 1996). Brooks and Nafukho (2004) stressed the importance, and interconnectedness of HRD, Social Capital (SC), and Emotional Intelligence (EI) with organizational performance. Referencing systems theory, they stated, that "by investing in people

through HRD, by attending to people's emotional intelligence, and social capital issues, organizations should be better able to harness, and allocate people's talents "(p.12).

Jackson and Wade (2005) also examined the influence of social capital possessed by the community patrolled on the police officer's behaviors. The authors were particularly interested in the role of social capital in influencing police proactive behaviors. Proactive policing referred to those activities that increased police contact with residents in a targeted neighborhood in the form of increased: patrol, stop, and frisks, drug sweeps, searches, and arrests (Jackson & Wade, 2005, p. 51). They found that police employed more proactive behaviors in communities with low social capital compared to communities with high social capital (Jackson & Wade, 2005). Scott (2002) low social capital in communities referred to residents who possessed little political influence, few resources, and lacked the ability to organize, and leverage greater resources; these communities were usually low income, and minority communities. According to Jackson and Wade (2005) the increased attention through proactive behaviors was positively perceived by the police organization but had posed potentially detrimental effects on police-community relationships, thus producing social distance separating the public, and the police (p. 51). In addition to research on police and social capital, researchers focused on the selection procedures for police, and the identification of evidence to support the concept of a police working personality. The working personality of police was described, in the literature, as a unique subculture characterized by constant danger, and social isolation (Skolnick; 2010; Twersky-Glasner, 2005). Twersky-Glasner (2005) noted that despite different personalities

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among police officers, there were mechanisms (e.g. formal and informal training), that created, and then reinforced the working personality or cultural shield that unified police in solidarity. The implications for a working police personality is that regardless of the individual traits of police, existing police culture influenced, sustained, and perpetuated particular aspects of police culture particularly those associated with danger, isolation, and a need for solidarity.

Police Officers

Police organizations were, and continue to be dominated by white males (Doerner, 1995). According to the most recent report from the USBJS (2008) titled '*Census of State, and Local Law Enforcement Agencies*' indicated police organizations we overwhelmingly comprised of white males with approximately 8-10% minorities, and approximately10% women (USBJS, 2008). In the last decade, however, researchers reported a steady increase in the hiring of minority, and female officers (Zhao, He & Lovrich, 2005). Despite these increases, the National Center for Women in Policing (2013) reported that women remained severely under-represented in police departments, and accounted for only 13.0% of police officers across the country.

Female Police Officers

While females remain underrepresented in police organizations, research findings offered indications that women in law enforcement appear to be committed to the profession. Findings from a 2007 survey of 531 female police officers found that female officers were motivated to pursue a career in law enforcement to satisfy a desire to help people as well as the variation, and excitement of the job (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007).

They also found that the primary reasons for remaining in law enforcement were job security, and the desire to help people. Finally, the study found that the majority of those surveyed did not intend to leave the profession; while those who did plan to leave the job cited personal, and political reasons as well as a desire to pursue other career in Criminal Justice (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007).

According to He, Zhao and Archbold (2002) female police officers in police worker were subjected to a higher degree of stress than their male counterparts, and more likely to suffer from depression (p. 698). For example, female officers were exposed to sexual harassment, both traditionally (overt) as well as in more nuanced ways including exposure to pornographic materials, innuendos, and jokes (Martin, 2006). Many of these stressors female officers experienced began during their recruitment and training periods and carried on throughout their careers. If women completed the police academy they faced additional issues of role ambiguity as they attempted to assimilate into a male dominated culture while trying to retain their individual personal and sexual identities (Paoline, Myerss & Worden, 2006). In addition to role ambiguity at work, female police often pursued professional goals while remaining committed to meeting their familial demands. In turn, the resulting work-family conflicts that arose added to the female police officer's stress (He, N., Zhao, J. & Ren, L, 2005). Without positive coping mechanisms, the associated stress posed a potential threat to officers' relationships with family, and friends that would potentially lead to additional stress. This seemingly never ending perpetuation of stressors posed a potential threat to

officers' health (McCarty, Zhao & Garland, 2007; Richmond, Wodak, Kehoe & Heather, 1998) as well has performance (Band & Manuele, 1997).

Those female officers who endured, and remained in law enforcement faced challenges to their upward mobility in organizations in which less than 5% of women attained ranks in the top echelons of police organizations (Martin, 2006; Price, 1974; USBJS, 2008). Sekleki and Paynich (2007) conducted a national survey of female police officers (n=531), and found that 69.3% were at the rank of patrol, 16% were sergeants, and approximately 3% attained the rank of chief (p.23). With so few women in the profession, and among the higher ranks, the issue of tokenism emerged as a real threat to their professional success. The term tokenism, according to Kanter (1977) refers to a theory of tokenism which described the status of members of the non-dominant group, within an organization, where there is a gender imbalance, and the members face pressures as they attempt to assimilate to the dominant group, are placed in positions of high visibility, and simultaneously isolated, and with increased performance pressure (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Yoder, 1994). In studies on female police officers, 70-80% of participants reported that they experienced interpreted increased pressure to perform as a belief that they must work harder than male officers (Archbold & Schulz, 2008, p. 68; Wertsch, 1998).

Police Recruitment and Selection

Research on police officers found that while there was no clear consensus of what constituted a good police officer, there were some characteristics that police agencies valued, and preferred in officers including: honesty, good moral character,

bravery, authoritarianism, emotional stability, dependability, and intelligence (Sanders, 2007, p. 132). Other researchers like Sanders (2007), studied personality traits associated with good police performance using participants' standard yearly evaluations which included 8 content areas: (1) job knowledge, (2) quality of work; (3) cooperation, (4) responsibility, (5) initiative, (6) quantity of work; (7) dependability, and(8) interactions with public (p 135). Each content category was accompanied by a description of the criteria that constituted how well an officer performed in comparison to the best officer's performance. Evaluation of employees by comparing individual performance to the best officer's performance may not fully accommodate the contextual factors that influence, and limit officer performance. Furthermore, Sanders (2007) noted that the values preferred by police agencies may not be reflective of actual police performance.

Personality Inventories and Pre-Hiring Screenings

Police administrators' concern for individual police performance often begins before the hiring process, and was evidenced in the measures police organizations take to attract, and select the most qualified candidates. In 2007, the USBJS reported that 4 in 5 local police officers were employed by a department that used physical agility tests (86%), and written aptitude tests (82%) in the hiring process. More than 3 in 5 police officers were employed by a department that used personality inventories (66%). Two inventories widely used by police departments were the Learning Style Inventory (LSI) (Kolb, 1971), and the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) (Myers, 1976) which are process-based learning style, and personality-based learning style respectively (Kissack,

Rolle, Kurup & Dooley (2009). The Myers Briggs Type Indicators is one of the most

popular, and widely used personal assessment instruments used to measure Jungian

personality (Furnham, 1996). The Jungian personality was developed by Carl Jung

(1971) who examined the human psyche, personality, and temperament, and asserted

that the actions of individuals are influenced, and guided by their preferences in how

they perceive, analyze, feel, and thus experience, and make sense of events. However,

Sanders (2003) asserted emphasis on individual personality traits may fail to account for

the influence of the work environment, occupational culture, and department style.

Specifically, he argued that an individual's performance as well as the means by which

the organization measures performance may change over time (p.322).

Other studies on police personalities included an examination of police outlooks.

For example, Paoline, Myers, and Worden (2006) compared seven outlooks associated

with police officer's conceptions of the police role, and examined the associations

between officers' outlooks, and officer characteristics namely: gender, race, education,

length of service. They found most of the observed differences in outlooks were

between officers with no college education, and those with some college education.

Additionally, the researchers found that college educated officers were less positive

toward aggressive patrol, and more positive toward selective enforcement. These

findings have implications for police management as they suggest a benefit of matching

college educated officers with particular policing styles, and assignments

Finally, Rorberg and Bonn (2004) examined the extant literature on college

education, and police performance, and reported mixed findings on the significance of

education in predicting police performance. Rorberg and Bonn (2004) noted that the examination of the impact and/or predictive value of a college education on police performance were challenging tasks because of associated difficulties in measuring police performance. The authors specifically attributed difficulties in measuring police performance to the diversity among, and between police organizations, and a lack of standardized police performance measures and an overall lack of consensus on constitute good police performances (Rorberg and Bonn, p.474). The systems perspective of HRD, according to Swanson (1995), and the associated levels of performance (i.e. organizational level, process level, and individual level) offer a framework in which to examine and evaluate police performance. These aspects of police performance within the context of false confessions resulted in a demand for researchers to examine the relationships between police training and police performance. More specifically researchers focused on the relationship between specialized training for police interrogators and police interrogation practices. For the purposes of this research, an examination of HRD, training and police training was provided to highlight the many potential aspects of training to affect police performance.

Training

As the purpose of HRD is to improve organizational performance, training represents a means by which this task can be accomplished (Swanson & Arnold, 1996). According to Fitzgerald (1992) the purpose of training is to provide employees with the knowledge, skills, and behaviors necessary to perform successfully within an organization (Fitzgerald, 1992). Training represents an investment in human capital

through the development of knowledge, skills, and attitudes within an organization, and serves as a demonstrated desire to achieve organizational and individual goals (Smith, 1990; Swanson & Arnold, 1996). Through training, the sharing of information and the creation of knowledge, can improve performance, and contribute to organizational competencies (G.N. McLean, personal communication, April 1, 2009).

Police Training

Training within police organizations occurred in many forms, under a multitude of conditions, and with varying levels of support for individuals, and groups of individual learners. Police training can be categorized in five ways: 1) police academy training; 2) field training; 3) on-the-job training (OJT); 4) in-service training; and, 5) specialized training. The introduction of individuals into the police profession occurs during the police academy training period. The purpose of Human Resource Development (HRD) is for the development or unleashing of human expertise, and the improvement of performance is key (Swanson, 1995). Training is the means by which organizations seek to improve employee performance, which in turn, translates to an improvement in organizational performance (Aguinas & Kraeger, 2009). Training includes both formal and informal training.

Formal Police Training

Formal training is purposeful, organizationally sanctioned, and is often prescribed for employees. Formal training for police encompasses police academy training, and in-service training, field training for patrol officers, and specialized training.

Police Academy Training

According to Heslop (2012), police applicants enter the academy in one of two ways; either they are recruited, and employed by a law enforcement agency (pre-hire) or they self-fund their basic police training, and seek employment with an agency after successful completion of academy (p.14). Police academy training represents an extension of the employment selection process in that it represents an opportunity for organizations to both "weed out" (Ho, 2001), and identify the best possible candidates (Sanders, 2007). Failure to complete the academy training is grounds for termination for most agencies or to refrain from hiring a potential applicant. Police academy training represents an opportunity for police organization to provide information, prescribe behaviors, instill cultural norms, and indoctrinate recruits into the police profession (Mahoney, 1996). This indoctrination period was also referred to as organizational socialization (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). Van-Maanen, (1975) described socialization as the process by which a person learns the values, norms, and required behaviors which permit him/her to participate as a member of the organization."(p.207). Academy training contributes to a police officer's explicit knowledge, and skills necessary to perform the job. Police academy training in the United States varies in content, and required numbers of hours, however, there are many commonalities in courses taught, and thus somewhat uniform (Birzer, 2003, p. 29).

According to the Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (2006) '*Census of Law Enforcement Training Academies*' (CLETA) there were approximately 648 police academies including local/municipal, state/POST, and academic/college or

university academies. The average length of basic recruit (academy) training was approximately 761 hours, or about 19 weeks. Of those 761 hours, a median of 60 hours was devoted to firearms instruction, 51 hours to self-defense, and 46 to health, and fitness training, and conditioning (USBJS, 2006). Police training academies were conducted following one of two models, the stress or traditional training model, and the academic or non-stress model (Chappell &Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Mahoney, 1996). The traditional stress-based model of training was characterized by paramilitary drills, demands of strict compliance, and the dispensing of harsh, and public disciplinary measures for violations (Conti, 2009; Heslop, 2012). Advocates of this approach believed it promoted self-discipline in recruits resulting in a commitment to follow departmental policies, better time management, and completion of duties even when undesirable (Mahoney, 1996). The non-stress academic model differed from the traditional model in its emphasis on academic achievement in a supportive environment (Heslop, 2006; 2012). Despite the inclusion of physical training, and measures to address violations, the atmosphere of the non-stress model was more relaxed than its counterpart. Proponents of this approach believed it produced officers more suitable for problem-solving, and community involvement (Mahoney, 1996). Both models of police academy training represented a learning environment in which police recruits were exposed to new information, and materials. Further socialization of recruits into the police culture occurred during the period following the academy called field training, in a setting that matches the environment in which the officer was ultimately expected to perform.

Police Field Training

Field training describes a period of time, immediately following the academy, when recruits are paired with a field training officer. This post academy training period was described as the "most important stage in the process of becoming an independent officer" (Warners, 2010, p.1). The purpose of field training is to introduce recruits to police culture, and provide opportunities to apply academy training in practice. Field training also provides an opportunity for officers to demonstrate their explicit knowledge in the field while increasing their tacit knowledge of the job.

Police recruits matriculate into field training immediately following the police academy. A survey in Field Training quarterly found that all major police departments (500+ officers), and most mid-size agencies (200-500 officers) implemented field training programs (Sun, 2002; Webb, 1993). Most field training programs (FTO) programs formally paired a recent academy graduate with an experienced police officer who received specialized training as a Field Training Officer (Chappell, 2007). During the field training period, the training officer modeled appropriate practices, and documented deficiencies in recruit performance (Chappell, 2007). Failure to demonstrate proficiency in police practices could result in the trainee's termination (Sun, 2003).

According to Warners (2010), the post-academy period represents the most important stage in the process of becoming an independent officer. Field training serves two purposes, to fill the gap between academy training, and to assess whether or not the recruit can function effectively as a police officer in the real world setting

(Hundersmarck, 2010; McCampbell, 1987) stated that the field training period was an extension of the police selection process whereby the organization continued to assess the suitability of the recruit for the job.

The first police field training program was developed by Lieutenant Allen of the San Jose Police department in the 1970's (Moore & Womack, 1975). The San Jose program was acknowledged by the International Association of Chiefs of police (IACP) in 1973, and was modified into the field training, and evaluation program (FTO) in 1975 (Moore & Womack, 1975). The San Jose FTO model was based on a behaviorist approach to learning where learning was measured by the ability of the student to perform or demonstrate a task (Hundersmarck, 2010). The behaviorist approach originated, and evolved from the works of several psychologist including Pavlov, Skinner, Bandura, Watson, Thorndike, Watson and Rayner (Bargh & Ferguson, 2000). Early behaviorist like Skinner (1963) focused on stimuli, and consequences, where the behavior of an individual was identified as a response to, or a result of, conditioning, and the probability of observing the response could be increased through reinforcement (Herrnstein, 1977; Skinner, 1963). Later, researchers like Bandura (1995) challenged previous behaviorist approaches, and argued that self-efficacy, or a person's belief in their ability to complete a task could alter behavior. In other words, a person does not have to receive external reinforcement to produce behaviors; their belief in their ability to perform a task is sufficient for the production of new behaviors. Bandura illustrated his point in his reference to people with phobias who observed others incorporating

coping strategies, in turn their self-efficacy was raised, and they were able to perform (Bandura, 1995).

Recently, a new model of field training called the Police Training Officer model (PTO), emerged following the Community Policing model (Walker, 2005; Hundersmarck, 2010). The PTO model differs from the traditional San Jose Model (FTO) of field training in that it incorporates Problem Based Learning (PBL) from the field of Adult Education (Warners, 2010). The model was introduced in 2003 by the Community Oriented Policing (COPS) program operated by the United States Department of Justice following a pilot of the program across six major law enforcement agencies, and most notably the Reno Police department (www.cops.usdoj.gov.; Rushing, 2010). The PTO program incorporated the adult-learning theory, and problem solving tools into a process designed to promote problem solving, and proactive behaviors among police recruits (Rushing, 2010; Walker, 2005). The completion of academy and field trainings represents the beginning of an ongoing training process for police officers. Annual, compliance, and legal updates are presented to police officers in the form of in-service training.

Police In-Service Training

In-service training, for police officers, provides ongoing training on essential topics for police to maintain current standards in the field. An internet search of the terms "in-service training" using common search engines revealed 185, 000 results. Within these search results were listings for police training and standards governing bodies for all fifty states. Additionally, universities, across the United States of

America, offered police training program. Despite an abundance of evidence of training

programs, internet searches within the expansive, Texas A & M library system for

journal articles, using the same key words, "police, in-service, and training" revealed

only twenty-two results. The vast majority of scholarly journal articles retrieved for

police in-service training referred to specific topics related to training for special

populations such as mental patients (Hails & Borum, 2003).

For example, Hails, and Borum (2003) surveyed 84 police agencies and inquired

about their recruit, and in-service training provided for specialized response to personal

with mental health issues. The authors noted that only half the responding agencies

provided usable data on in-service training with a median of 1 hour allocated for the

topic of mental health issue responses (p. 55). Despite a lack of research on police in-

service training, police professional associations, and credentialing, and accreditation

agencies, frequently cite the significance, and need for in-service training (Rose,

O'Brien & Guenther, 2007). Furthermore, most states have an annual in-service training

requirement for law enforcement officers, and their continued employment depends on

their completion of said requirements (Etter & Griffin, 2003).

Research based evidence on in-service training for police agencies, was often

embedded in studies on other aspects of policing. For example Larson et al., (1980)

conducted a study of the Metro Davidson County Nashville Police department's use of

the tachograph to examine police vehicle operations, and police vehicle accidents.

Within their study were references and examples of the participating agencies' use of in-

service training for traffic section sergeants. Though these specialized trainings are

categorized as in-service training for officers in special assignments, there was little research on the more routine, but equally important forms of in-service training associated with compliance, such as legal case law updates, and sexual harassment trainings. These compliance oriented training are essential to police organizations in that they continuously send the message to employees that these topics are important, and non-compliance will not be tolerated. Additionally, compliance oriented in-service training provide documentation of the police departments overt position on sensitive subjects, and may provide some insulation from civil liability when officers deviate from the training, and violate policies) (Rutledge, 2009).

Police Specialized Training

Another form of police training is specialized training. Specialized training refers to courses, and instruction provided to select individuals within the police organization based on identified needs. Officers may receive specialized training to address deficiencies or correct problems in performance. For example, officers who are unable to demonstrate proficiency in firearms may be sent to specialized or remedial training (Morrison & Garner, 2011). Even though there is a distinction between remedial training, and specialized training, both are selective in nature with identified individuals receiving the training. For example, specialized training on firearms can be readily found by search police firearms training but is less prevalent when searching specialized police training. When officers are promoted or transferred to new assignments, they are often sent to specialized training schools, such as crisis negation training, and special weapons, and tactical, or SWAT training (Clark, Jackson &

Schaefer & Sharpe 2000). Newly promoted officers who are assigned to specialized units within police organizations receive specialized training that is targeted preparing them to perform new police performances in addition to those they possessed (Kassin et al., 2007, p.388).

Officers assigned to specialized units possess a general knowledge of police related skills in general, as well as tacit, and explicit knowledge they uniquely acquire, possess, and share within the unit that are critical to the unit's success (Glomseth, Gottschalk, Solli-Saether, 2007). However, training for officers in specialized units varies with some agencies offering no specialized training, others send officers to outside training seminars, and some conduct their own inside training seminars (Walker & Katz, 1995). According to Walker and Katz (1995) the provision of specialized training for officers assigned to specialized units is an indirect measure of the organizational commitment to the problem. In the absence of specialized training officers in specialized units rely upon their personal knowledge, and experiences. Unfortunately, reliance on the knowledge and skills an officer brings to a specialized unit is often insufficient to address the complex, and specialized nature of their work. In turn, officers are "inclined to do the work as it has been done before, and largely in terms of their sense of what is valued by their colleagues" (Manning, 1980, p. 71).

Specialized Interrogation Training

Specialized training for police interrogations is generally reserved for officers promoted to or assigned to detective divisions or assignments (Kassin et al., 2007; Kostelnick & Reppucci, 2009). Specialized training for detectives differs somewhat, in

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that detectives may receive both specialized training for general investigations,

specialized training for their particular assignment (e.g. sexual assaults) as well as

specialized training on interrogations. There are many forms of interrogation training.

However, the Reid Technique was the most cited in the extant literature on police

interrogation training (Kassin et al., 2007; Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kostelnick &

Reppucci, 2009; Leo, 1996).

The interrogation method pioneered by Inbau and Reid is most often referred to

as the Reid interview and interrogation method, or the Reid technique (RT). In the

decades that followed *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), and the justices' reference to the Reid

Method of Interrogation researchers alleged that there was a paradigm shift in police

interrogation practices from physical coercion, and abuse to psychological coercion that

included manipulation, and deception (Leo, 1992; 1996). Critics of the Reid Technique

(RT) attempted to link the Reid Technique, of interrogation training, to false confessions

(Kassin, 2006; Kassin & Fong, 1999; Russano, Meissner & Natchet, 2010. Leo and

Ofshe (1998) noted that the Reid technique rarely mentioned false confessions or

advised police how to recognize false confessions or the potential of their practices to

induce false confessions. Redlich, and Meissner (2009) argued that police interrogation

practices which included the Reid technique, were little more than art, and not based on

scientific method. The authors also questioned the basics of the Reid technique which

included the presumption that interrogators only subject a guilty person to interrogation

techniques. Perhaps, however, the greatest critique of the Reid Technique involved

researchers who questioned if the training could one's ability to detect deception.

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In response to their critics, the founders of the Reid Technique, and more

recently, Reid, and Associates asserted that their techniques were misinterpreted, and

updated, and made changes to their training, and manuals (1967; 1977; 2000, 2005,

2011). Although newer iterations of the Reid technique emphasized the use of Miranda

warnings, and discouraged the use of deception, threats, and promises (Gohara, 2005)

the emphasis on the detection of deception was, and remained a pervasive theme within

the techniques. Inbau (1998) in an article titled *Legal Pitfalls to Avoid in Criminal*

Interrogations asserted that in order to modify interrogation methods to the extent

demanded for Supreme Court approval would require the establishment of police

practices to be employed only by specifically selected investigators with specialized

training in interrogations, and not simply good investigators (p 1369). To meet this need

for highly trained police interrogators, the training aspect of the Reid Technique became

increasingly more proprietary with Reid, and Associates offering certifications for law

enforcement officers, and trainers (Reid.com/training Programs, retrieved 2013). Kassin

and Gudjonsson (2004) summarized the nine steps of the Reid Technique as:

> "an interplay of three processes: custody, and isolation, which increases
> stress, and the incentive to extricate oneself from the situation;
> confrontation, in which the interrogator accuses the suspect of the crime,
> expresses certainty in that opinion, cites real or manufactured evidence,
> and blocks the suspect from denials;, and minimization, in which the
> sympathetic interrogator morally justifies the crime, leading the suspect
> to infer he or she will be treated leniently, and to see confession as the
> best possible means of escape" (p.43).

 To address misrepresentations of their technique the Reid and Associates

website included a document titled '*Clarifying Misinformation about The Reid*

Technique' in the critic's corner section of their website (Reid.com/training Programs,

retrieved 2013). In this document, the authors refuted the summarization of their

technique, and instead stated that the Reid Technique consisted of a three phase process

beginning with Fact Analysis, Behavior Analysis Interview, and followed by, when

appropriate Nine Steps of Interrogation. According to Buckley (2006) the nine steps of

the Reid Interrogation were designed to obtain an admission of guilt (p.7). The nine

steps were preceded by a Behavior Symptom Analysis, and the Behavior Analysis

Interview (BAI); both were intended to assess the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of a

person to distinguish a truthful person from a deceitful one, and to provide guidance for

continued investigation. If the initial two steps indicated that a person was withholding

information, and likely guilty of an offense, nine steps of interrogation followed. The

nine steps of Reid Interrogations are: 1) Positive Confrontation 2) Theme development

3) Handling of Denials 4) Overcoming objections 5) Procurement, and retention of

suspect's attention 6) Handling the suspect's passive mood 7) Presenting an alternative

question 8) Developing the details of the offense 9) Written confession (Buckley, 2006,

p.28).

The Behavior Analysis Interview (BAI) Buckley (2006) referred to, reportedly

aided police in assessing guilt, and innocence by presenting special questions aimed to

elicit different responses from the innocent, and guilty. Inbau, Reid, Buckley, and Jayne

(2001) proposed that the innocent, confident in their innocence, was more helpful, and

forthcoming, and the guilty would be less helpful, and more secretive. With regards to

nonverbal cues, the BAI protocol indicated that the guilty will demonstrate higher levels

of discomfort that translated to more movement. Vrij, Mann, and Fisher (2006) conducted an analysis of the BAI to determine responses to the BAI questions would result in discernible differences between guilty and innocent respondents. They conducted a mock simulation in which some participants engaged in a theft of $10 from a wallet; participants were then given a script to be used to deny their commission of the crime to a uniformed officer. The incentive would be the $10 if they were convincing. Participants in the second group were innocent (i.e. did not take the $10), but they were also told that if they were convincing, they would be rewarded with the $10. A rater observed the interviews, and assessed the verbal and non-verbal behaviors of both the innocent, and guilty. Though the authors found evidence that the BAI questions in fact produced different responses between guilty and innocent respondents, their responses were in the opposite direction to that anticipated by Inbau, Reid, Buckley, and Jayne (2013) where liars were more helpful, and moved less than truth-tellers (Vrij, Mann & Fisher, 2006, p. 342). The results of this study had implications for the innocent who would seem at a higher risk for interrogation than the guilty (Kassin & Norwick, 2004).

The use of the Reid Fact Analysis and Behavior Analysis Interview to assess the deception or truthfulness of a person is then used to determine if a full interrogation will ensue (Buckley, 2001; Inbau, Reid, Buckley & Jayne, 2013). This early assessment of perceived deception could potentially launch a subsequent interrogation full of practices primarily aimed at soliciting a confession. The area of research on police deception detection is significant because officers trained in methods like the Reid technique who believed that the training would increase their ability to detect deception could

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subsequently interrogate a suspect even if their earlier assumptions were wrong (Leo, 2008). To assess the veracity of claims that the Reid technique could increase police ability to detect deception, researchers examined the topic with fervor (Colwell, Miller, Lyons & Miller, 2006; Hartwig et al., (2006).; Kassin & Fong, 1999; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; Porter & Yuile, 1996; Vrij, E & Bull, R., 2000).

Researchers were interested in determining if interrogation training could improve a person's ability to detect deception. Researchers enlisted students, and other non-police participants in the roles of suspect/perpetrator or police/deception detector in mock simulations to determine if interrogation training improved one's ability to detect deception (Kassin & Fong, 1999; Kassin, Goldstein & Savitsky, 2003; Kassin & Norwick, 2004; Vrij, & Bull, R., 2000). There were few studies on deception detection that included actual police officers as participants (Colwell, Miller, Lyons & Miller, 2006; Dando, Wilcock, & Milne, 2009; Huff, 2010).

Researchers found evidence that police trained in the trained in Reid Technique (RT), and other forms of specialized interrogation training, exhibited high levels of confidence in their ability to detect deception (Kassin et al., 2007; Kassin & Fong, 1999; Vrij, & Bull, 2003), and some police claimed to have a "sixth sense" for detecting deception (Leo 1996, p. 268). However, researchers consistently found evidence that trained police officers were no better at detecting deception than laypersons (Memon, Vrij, & Bull, 2003; Kassin & Fong, 1999; Vrij, 2000; Zuckerman, DePaulo, & Rosenthal, 1981). According to Kassin et al. (2007) and Kassin et al. (2010) police overestimated their ability to detect truth at 77% compared to a lay persons'

demonstrated ability at 54% and; trained police performances were only slightly better than the lay person.

Some researchers reported evidence that trained officers could, in fact, detect truthful and deceptive statements at a rate better than chance (Fugita, S. S., Hogrebe, M. C., & Wexley, K. N. (1980); Vrij, and Bull, 2002). However, these findings were challenged based on the research methods used to conduct the studies. For example Vrij and Winkel (1991) argued that previous studies those studies were conducted in laboratory settings using all white participants. Their point was particularly important in the context of findings from their own study (Vrij& Winkel, 1991). They found that a person's non—verbal behaviors varied significantly from one ethnic group to another perhaps making reliance on non-verbal behaviors racially, and ethnically biased (Vrij & Winkel, 1991). Their findings were later supported by Johnson (2007). To assess the influence of race in non-verbal behaviors, Johnson (2007) examined videotaped encounters of actual police, and suspect interactions from the television show, COPS. Johnson (2007) concluded that "race appeared to be a confounding variable of considerable importance where race was a significant predictor of individual differences in three of the four non-verbal cues evaluated [smiles, eye contact, and hand gestures]," (p. 286). Furthermore, he found that Blacks who were not involved in crime generally displayed higher levels of the suspicious non-verbal behaviors than Whites who were involved in crimes. Therefore, officers looking for non-verbal behaviors to assess truthfulness, and deceit were more likely to find these behaviors in law abiding Blacks, and Hispanics than in Caucasians involved in crime, (Johnson, 2007, p.287).

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Kassin and Gudjonsson in a (2004) study, challenged previous research findings by Mann, Vrij and Bull (2000), who had reported accuracy rates above layperson' for deception detection in their study participants. Kassin and Gudjonsson (2004) argued that results from the Mann, Vrij and Bull (2000) study were modest, and that study had tested participants on a per-statement basis, rather than assessing global judgments of guilt or innocence. Finally, the use of mock simulations in laboratory settings were a limitation noted in research on deception detection, and police interrogations in general (Hasel & Kassin, 2009; Meissner & Kass, 2002; Hartwig, M., Anders, P., Granhag, A., Strömwall, L.A., & Kronkvist, O. (2006).). Mock simulations in particular, are unable to simulate the real life high stakes, high stress, and complex context in which police interrogations occur. Researchers speculated that there were compounding factors associated with training and deception detection. Researchers speculated that the problems identified in research on deception detection have implications for concerns for the likelihood that prosecutors, jurors, and judges are also unable to determine truth from deception, and therefore unable to recognize true versus false confessions (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kassin & Sukel, 1997; Blandón-Gitlin, Sperry & Leo, 2011).

In spite of the alleged popularity, and self-proclaimed widespread use of the Reid technique, by the creators, researchers found that fewer police reported training in the technique than expected. For example, Kassin et al. (2007) surveyed police, and reported that 85% of participants said they received special training on interrogations in some form. However, of the 85%, only 11% reported their training was in the Reid technique. Similarly, Kostelnick and Reppucci (2009) surveyed 1,828 law enforcement

officers from 10 police agencies in the United States, and reported that 29% stated they

received Reid training with 53% of detectives reporting training in methods other than

Reid. While research on police interrogation training focused broadly on the Reid

technique, researchers recognized that the techniques offered in RT were commonly

employed by investigators trained in both Reid or non-Reid techniques (Dixon, 2010;

Kassin et al., 2007). Kostelnick & Reppucci (2009) noted that the Reid trained numbers

were lower than expected, yet no single common training other than Reid emerged

(p.366). One possible explanation for the low usage of the Reid Technique training in

recent years may be due to the cost. According to the John Reid, and Associates

Seminar Schedule, and Product Catalog for 2013, the price for the four day training

seminar is $770 for one person and $505 for five or more officers. A single day seminar

was $275 for, and individual, and still $200 per person for five or more officers.

According to the Council on Foreign Relations (2012), the most recent economic

recession began in 2007 which is incidentally the timing of the Kassin et al. (2007) and

Kostelinick and Reppucci (2009) studies. According to the United States Department of

Justice COPS program (2013), economic downturn of the past several years devastated

local economies including the budgets of local law enforcement agencies. That is not to

say that police organizations stopped training officers but simply agencies were likely

more selective about how they spent training dollars.

Informal Police Training

According to Black, Noel and Wang (1999) informal training represents

opportunities for organizations to capitalize on the benefits of training without incurring

the initial financial investment associated with formal training. Informal training

includes the unplanned, learning experiences where employees receive instructions, and

guidance on how to complete work related tasks or new knowledge related to their job.

On-the-job training (OJT) is what many think of when they hear informal training.

On-the-job training (OJT)

Becker (1962) stated that on-the-job training, is a process that raises future

productivity, and differs from school training in that an investment is made on the job

rather than in an institution that specializes in teaching"(p. 11). According to Van der

Klink and Streumer (2002) research on police "on-the job" (OJT) training was nearly

non-existent yet inarguably where the majority of police learning occurs. On the job

training referred to the informal learning that occurs within an organization over the

course of a person's career through daily interactions, encounters, and experiences. On

the job training refers to the informal learning that occurs within an organization over

the course of a person's career through daily interactions, encounters, and experiences.

On –the-job training as an essential form of training, and education represents an

investment in human capital (Becker, 1962 p. 85; Jollevett, 2008, p.19).

On-the-job training and associated socialization that occurs increases police

officers' tacit knowledge (Wang, 2009, personal communication). Tacit knowledge

refers to the informal knowledge associated with experience, competence, and skills to

perform the job (Luen & Al-Hawamdeh (2001). According to Luen, and Al-Hawamdeh

(2001) tacit knowledge in police work, and the scope of knowledge management is

primarily in the areas of the creation, and sharing of knowledge, and information

(p.314). The authors distinguished tacit knowledge in police work from explicit knowledge which they described as the guidance for police actions, and decision making captured in the form of policies, and standard operating procedures (p. 311). While on-the job-training was often referred to in terms of specific and general skills (Becker, 1962), in police organizations the true emphasis is on how to increase tacit knowledge to enhance the application of explicit knowledge in field settings. Many of these field settings cannot be readily replicated for training purposes. In other words, an indoctrination of officers into the police culture with positive, and negative aspects – occurs during on-the job training. Police OJT was not limited to the early years of service but instead occurred across an officer's career as new assignments, cross-training, and roll call (Hails & Borum, 2003). The purpose of formal and informal training including OJT is to improve, and support police performance including interrogations. However, training alone doesn't provide absolute assurance that the transfer of training will occur.

Transfer of Training to Performance

According to Baldwin and Ford (1988) transfer of training occurs, when the learning or knowledge gained through training, is generalized to the job context, and maintained over a period of time on the job. Laker (1990) took exception with the simplicity of this definition of transfer of training, and instead examined multiple definitions of transfer of training. As a result, he argued that transfer of training was more complex than simple definitions implied, and stated that "Most work on transfer (of training) tends to view it from a one-dimensional perspective that does not

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distinguish among various aspects of transfer" (p.222). In turn, he offered a dual

dimensional model of transfer of training that incorporated a temporal dimension and a

generalizability dimension. The temporal dimension included aspects of transfer of

training related to transfer initiation and transfer maintenance. The temporal dimension

accounts for those instances where a trained employee attempts to apply the newly

learned skills or knowledge to their job or assignment (transfer initiation). Training

maintenance refers to the degree to which the trainee persists in applying the training to

their job (p. 210). While the generalizability dimension included aspect of transfer of

training related to near and far transfer. Near, and far transfer of training describe how

employees apply training to similar or new contexts. Laker's (1990) broadened

definition of transfer of training accommodates multiple aspects of transfer they might

be overlooked by researchers and practitioners who examine performance to identify if

employees are applying knowledge from training to performance. In other words, the

Laker model provided a means to examine the specific points, situations or

circumstances under which transfer of training occurs or fails. Laker's (1990) model is

an acknowledgement that attempts to transfer training are in fact a measure of training

success, to a degree and; observations of transfer failure represent useful feedback, and a

means to evaluate the instructional design, and delivery of training. Through the use of

instructional design models like ADDIE (Analyze, Design, Development, and

Implement) instructional designers, and trainers can use the feedback obtained from

transfer of training, successes, and failures, to continuously analyze, and modify the

training as necessary (Molenda, 2003). Though there are other instructional design

models, the ADDIE model is the most widely used methodology for developing new systematic training programs, and a useful guide for HRD professionals, and instructors (Hunter-Johnson & Closin, 2012, p. 199).

Factors that Influence Transfer of Training

Other research on transfer of training provided indications that several factors had a significant and positive influence on transfer of training. For instance, researcher found that training itself including the reputation of the training (Facteau, Dobbins, Russell, Ladd & Kudisch, 1995), and the relevance of the training content to the trainees job (Yamnill & McLean, 2005) were essential to transfer of training. Other significant factors found to positively influence transfer of training included the organizational context in which the training, and transfer of training is to occur, specifically, the opportunities to transfer the newly acquired skills, and knowledge to the job performances (Bates, Holton, Seyler & Carvalho, 2000). Researchers also found that peer, and supervisor support for use of the new skills (Facteau et al., 1995) the overall organizational climate (Baumgartel & Jeanpierre's, 1972), and transfer climate (Rouiller & Goldstein, 1993) were found to be significant to transfer training. Finally, researchers examined factors more closely associated with the individual trainees such as autonomy (Axtell, Maitliss & Yearta, 1997), and self-efficacy (Stevens &Gist 1997), and found that they also had significant and positive effects on transfer of training. Whereas autonomy may be considered an aspect of the organizational climate, the role of autonomy in police organizations is unique, and complex. Unlike other organizations

where autonomy is granted to employees, police officers can both assume, and be granted autonomy in the performance of their duties.

Axtell, Maitliss and Yearta (1997) found that autonomy, or how much control the trainee had on his/her work job, had the strongest effect on long term transfer of training. This particular factor had potential implications for police officers. Police officers in general have a great deal of autonomy in the execution of their duties through their use of discretion (Armacost, 2003; Fry & Berkes, 1983; Jermier & Berkes, 1979; LaFrance, 2011). Police detectives and interrogators are often assigned to specialized units or teams (Maguire, 1997) which results in a team culture where they often need less supervision, and may be afforded even greater degrees of autonomy (Glomseth, Gottschalk & Solli-Saether, 2007, p. 101). Baumgartel and Jeanpierre (1972) found that organizational climate was the single most significant factor in employee efforts to apply new knowledge to their job setting. Because the organizational climate has a significant impact on transfer of training, an assessment of the organizational climate should be including in both the original instructional design, and any proposed modifications to the training design.

Police Performance

DeLone (2007) stated that the organizational mission is the core purpose of the organization, and represents, and communicates to others, the reason for their existence. The goals of the organization are the means by which members pursue the mission. Goals guide members' performance behaviors to those activities that support the organizations' mission (DeLone, 2007). Bolton (2003) added that "the critical success

factor for a public sector organization is the degree to which it fulfills its mission" (p. 20). Ibbetson's (2011) research on police agency mission provided evidence that police chief's utilized the agency's mission statement to guide officers in the pursuit of organizational goals. In fact, he found that some police chiefs were so confident in the power of the mission statement to direct, and control police behavior that he actually printed, and distributed affirmation cards with the mission statement to remind officers of their commitment, and reinforced the desired police culture. The role of organizational mission, and goals is relevant to performance based HRD as it focuses on the means by which the goals, and strategies of organizations are realized (Swanson & Arnold, 1996; p. 15).

The performance-based HRD view advocates for a complementary approach, to performance improvement, that involves both "advancing performance and enhancing human potential" (Swanson & Holton, 2001, p. 132). Moore, and Braga (2003) proposed such an approach that measured police performance, and suggested that law enforcement agencies should strive for a "balanced scorecard" to measure police performance using multiple measures of police efficiency of operational methods, and the quality of customer, and employee relations (p.30). The scorecard contained seven dimensions included: 1) reduce crime/victimization 2) hold perpetrators of offenses accountable 3)reduce fear, and enhance personal security 4) guarantee safety in public spaces 5) use financial resources fairly, efficiently, and effectively 6) use force, and authority fairly, efficiently, and effectively 7) satisfy customer demands/achieve legitimacy with those policed. While the items listed in the scorecard are useful for

police managers to measure individual police performance and general detective investigative performance; the scorecard lacks clear measures for specific police detective performance such as police interrogations.

Police interrogations represent a critical point in criminal investigations (Kassin & Wrightsman, 1985). Confessions obtained during interrogations are a vital part of the prosecution of suspects (Kassin & Wrightsman, 1985). However, false confessions, and the subsequent DNA exoneration cases illuminated the growing and expansive problem of wrongful convictions. In an effort to identify viable means to reduce wrongful convictions researchers called for an examination of police performance as false confessions occur within the context of police interrogations.

Measuring Police Performance

"Sir Robert Peel, the acknowledged founder of organized policing in England in the early 1800s, suggested as the first principle of policing that police agencies be judged primarily by the absence of crime"(Greene, 2000, p.360). However, Levitt (2004) found that the absence of crime is a poor indicator of police performance. Levitt (2004) examined the decline of crime rates in the United States in the 1990's. The author attributed the decline to factors other than police performance which included increased incarcerations, increase in the number of police, and the receding crack epidemic. Of the factors listed, only the increase in the number of police had a direct relationship with police performance. According to Marvell, and Moody (1996) the increase in police may change criminal activity as criminals engaged in petty crimes at a higher frequency to avoid the risk of arrests for more serious crimes. Additionally, some crimes such as

rape may go unreported for a variety of reasons including shame, and embarrassment (Williams, 1984). Thus the absence of reported crime may not be synonymous with the absence of actual crime, and therefore cannot easily be attributed to police interventions. Researchers also found that arrest rates, and citation issuance were also poor measures of police performance, and often measured activity not effectiveness (Bayley & Bittner, 1984; Moore & Braga, 2003).

With demonstrated difficulties associated with the external measurement of police performance, researchers examined internal measurements of police performance. Researchers reported that police bureaucracies implemented formal performance appraisals for each employee Hampton (2011). Lilley (2002) found that among 600 police organizations surveyed, those who implemented community policing were content with their performance appraisals. However, Lilley and Hinduja (2007) later found that some police organizations were dissatisfied with performance appraisals methods they deemed inaccurate measures of police performance. Hampton (2011) examined police performance and concluded that police performance appraisals were based on police function, and offered little insight into actual police daily and routine performance.

Other researchers proposed that potential measures of police performance could be conducted directly through the assessment of performance process measures, and outcome measures through direct observation, and evaluation of tasks (Larson et al., 1980). However, the authors stated that measuring each task performed by each officer was infeasible based on the sheer volume of officers, and potential observations.

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Instead, they recommended the assessment of performance through the measurement of outcomes such as official police reports, and in their particular study, tachograph results (Larson et al., 1980). The tachograph is a device affixed to patrol cars to measure speed, use of emergency equipment, and distance traveled. These tangible outcomes provided useful information but failed to account for the breadth, and complexity of police activity. For example a tachograph report that showed an officer drove 10 miles during their shift which would imply a lack of proactive patrol or productivity. However, could very well have spent his/her time cultivating an informant, assisting a citizen or meeting with a local business owner. Therefore, the use of multiple outcome measures would be necessary to assure that the measurement was representative of a variety of police performance

Greene (2000) noted that a performance measurement was an outward illustration of what police organizations valued, and whether or not the individual officers complied with the measures to achieve organizational objectives. However, according to Greene (2000) the organization values may not be readily apparent, and like police performance were also difficult to isolate from other factors. The problem associated with the measurement of police performance is that there was no clear definition of what constitutes success for police organizations or an accurate way to measure police activities beyond arrests, and citations. According to Maguire and Uchida (2000) police organizations have no definable "bottom line" (p. 492). They added if police organizations identified activities they wanted to measure, the social, and

political pressures would likely influence those decisions as would the difficulty they'd face in identifying measurement methods.

Furthermore, the complexity of police work made it difficult for researches to evaluate police performance. Mastrofski (1999) argued that the police performance measured in terms of arrests or citations ignores the importance of intangibles like equity and fairness. Therefore, he proposed a model for policing for people that included six markers to assess the quality of police-citizen interactions, and police effectiveness that included: 1) attentiveness, 2) reliability, 3) responsive client-centered service, 4) competence, 5) proper manners, and 6) fairness (Mastrofski, 1999, p.2). This model of police measurement would appeal to citizens but may not appeal to police administrators or officers (Mastrofski, 2012). Greene (2000) expressed concern that "American policing is in a catch-22 situation where it announces to the community, and to the police that they should expect something different from the police, and yet measures those things that are most associated with traditional policing, such as crime reporting, and arrests" (p. 359).

In addition to determining what, and how to measure police performance, researchers raised an equally challenging issue about who should measure or assess police performance (Crank, 2003). Police performance is informally measured by multiple stake holders including the public it serves, local political figures, state legislatures, and officers in the judicial system (courts), and often, stakeholder desires are in direct conflict with one another (Crank, 2003). An example of informal measurements of a police organizations' performance is citizen's reported confidence

levels in police, which is collected in polls and surveys. Thus, police agencies attempted

to address the desires of often conflicting constituencies through the use of loose-

coupling practices (Crank, 2003, p.188). Cranks (2003) application of Loose-coupling

to police organizations included his description of a relationship between the formal

goals of an organization, and how the workers carry out their day to day duties (Crank,

2003; Darroch & Mazerolle, 2013; Maguire& Katz, 2002; Carter, Phillips & Gayadeen,

2014). Jiao and Rhea (2007) expanded the concept of loose coupling in the form of

incongruence between police leaders, and officers in the field where police policies, and

police practices may be divergent from one another. Police organizations could thereby

satisfy their constituents with outward expressions of the organizations mission, and

goals while officers' conducted themselves in manners that allowed them to meet their

work related goals, even when the two conflicted.

Client Based Police Performance Measurements

Following a premise that police constituents should have a role in the

measurement of police performance, Mastrofski (1981) proposed a method to evaluate

police performance by examining the police-client encounter where the clients

represented a broad spectrum of the types, and categories of people police interact with

regularly. Examples of police clients included witnesses, suspects, bystanders, and any

person that could come within the purview of police in the performance of their

professional duties. Not surprisingly, Mastrofski (1981) found notable differences in the

assessment of police performance by various clients depending on their relationship or

purposes for interacting with police. Weitzer (2006) examined the role of race, and class

on citizen attitudes, and perceptions associated with police misconduct. He found that while race had a significant impact on citizen attitudes about police misconduct, the collective class status of the community, and not the individual citizen, had the most impact on citizen's attitudes towards police misconduct.

Peer-Based Performance Measurements

In addition to police constituents' measurement of police performance, researchers examined the utility of peer ratings to measure police performance. Researcher examined, and compared peer ratings to supervisory ratings of police to determine if the ratings would be consistent (Schumacher & Scogin, 1988). The authors examined 64 police recruits living in a dormitory as they completed their academy training. Researchers compared the peer rankings of police recruits, to instructor evaluations, and personality inventories for the same officers. Researchers asked peer raters to rank the officers using a Likert scale with response ranges from most likely to success to least likeliness of success based on their perception of the recruits' likelihood to succeed in law enforcement (Schumacher & Scogin, 1988, p.3). Next the researchers compared the peer scores to the instructor evaluations, and the results of two personality inventory measures. They found that the peer ratings were highly correlated with the instructor ratings for both likely to succeed, as well as recruit responses on the personality inventory measurement tools. However, the authors cautioned that longitudinal, and on the job testing of the predictive power of both the peer ratings, and the personality inventories was necessary to make more conclusive findings (Schumacher & Scogin, 1988).

Self-Rated Police Performance Measurements

Other means of measuring police performance identified in the literature included self-ratings. Krimmel (1996) found that the traditional performance evaluations were eliminated by some agencies because of the morale problems they caused as well as the lack of standardization of criteria, and evaluation time periods. Krimmel (1996) conducted a study of over 200 police officers to determine if college-educated police officers performed better than non-college educated officers. In determining how best to examine police performance, the author incorporated a self-rating measurement tool. He found that college educated officers rated themselves higher than officers without bachelor degrees. Kakar (1998) examined police in a large South Florida law enforcement agency, and found evidence to support Krimmel's (1996) findings that college educated officer self-ratings were higher than self-ratings by non-college educated officers.

Love and Hughes (1994) enlisted the aid of police sergeants to conduct a job task analysis, and used the data to develop a 13 dimensional performance self-measurement tool, and an associated 65 question written examination. Next they administered the 13 dimensional self-measurement instruments to police sergeant candidates. A week later they administered the written examination to the same respondents. Love and Hughes (1994) found a high correlation between candidates' self-ratings, and the written examination results. In their discussion, the authors acknowledged police agency mistrust, and reluctance to use self-ratings, but suggested

these obstacles could be addressed through the development of sound self-rating instruments, and training on self-ratings.

Overall, no lone performance measurement emerged as the best or most consistent measure of police performance. In fact, literature on police performance measurements provided some evidence that the use of multiple performance measures offer a more robust assessment of police performance than traditional annual evaluations. However, neither traditional annual evaluations (Sanders, 2007) nor the police measures proposed by researchers (Mastrofski, 1999; Moore & Braga, 2003) were examined in the context of police detectives' performance.

Police Performance Measurements for Specialized Units

Researchers reported a significant increase in the numbers of specialized police units in the 1990's (Maguire, 2003; Weisel & Shelley, 2004). Specialized units gained popularity partly because of the implementation of new models of policing such as community policing (Maguire, 1997). The creation of specialized units offered a means by which police agencies could devote resources to specific problems, target crimes, or communities, as they deemed necessary (Reiss, 1992). Members of specialized units, like SWAT (special weapons, and tactical) received customized, and task specific training to aid them in their unique duties (Clark, Jackson, Schaefer & Sharpe, 2000). Other examples of specialized units include gang units (Katz, Maguire & Roncek, 2002), and homicide units (Davies, 2007).

The selection of officers for specialized units represents an organizational investment in the officer's professional development. However, Polk (1995) found that

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despite limited promotions, of minorities, to higher ranks within police organizations, ethnicity contributed to the selection of minorities for specialized assignments. The lack of minority, and females in the upper-echelons of police organization indicated that assignment to specialized units may be more obligatory (tokenism) than purposeful in creating the appearance of promotion for minorities, and females (Schein, 1978). Although assignments to specialized units or transfers come with higher status they do not necessarily translate to higher pay or higher rank (Polk, 1995, p.5).

Police performance for specialized units, like that for police in general is often measured in terms of clear-up rates or clearance rates (Feeney, 2000). According to Davies (2007) among the most visible measures of law enforcement effectiveness, and performance in the political environment, are the reported murder rate, and the clearance of homicides by arrests. However, Davies (2007) in an examination of homicide clearance rates reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), for 59 agencies, found that "an increase in police expenditures, and additional sworn officers did not appear to improve murder clearance rates but instead, may actually hinder murder clearance rates"(p.143). In addition, Davies (2007) found that the murder clearance rate was higher when warrant issuance standard were based on the beyond a reasonable doubt standard instead of probable cause standard; and that murder clearance rates were higher when the prosecutor, and police investigator relationship was fruitful. In her examination of factors associated with murder clearance rates, Davies (2007) concluded that police departments often aspire for approval from external stakeholders, (social, political, judicial, and municipal) she refers to collectively as the authorizing

environment, in lieu of performance maximization. In other words, police organizations

and, more specifically, police investigative units may seek to satisfy the demands of

external stakeholders as opposed to other organizational goals. Specifically, police

investigators in specialized units may measure success, and perform in a manner that is

valued by their colleagues (Manning, 1980). According to Manning (1980) "what is

salient for police investigators self-esteem maintenance is the how other officers

evaluate what one is doing, and this sense of doing well is more important than any

formal written evaluation of the work"(p.71).

Police Interrogations and Miscarriages of Justice

Within police investigative subunits a primary measure of success includes the arrest of

a suspects, as well as the attainment confessions, and conviction of the perpetrator of a

crime (Leo, 2008; Kassin, 1997). The pursuit of truth is often touted as the purpose or

goal of an interrogation, yet there were no apparent rewards, referenced in the literature,

for investigators who exclude a person of interest. According to Skogan (1976),

"wholesale confessions by one individual can produce multiple case clearances, which

have long been measures of police performance (p.10)". In this context, confessions

feed a traditional system of police performance measurement whereby one confession

had the potential to produce multiple arrests and directed police organizations back to

the use of arrests to measure performance.

Research on the phenomena of false confessions is broad and complex and

demands that researchers examine multiple aspects of the role of police performance in

false confessions and conversely the role of false confessions on police organizations.

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The remaining section of my literature review provides a review of the literature on miscarriages of justice which includes false confessions, wrongful convictions and DNA exonerations.

False Confessions and Miscarriages of Justice

The Innocence Project was founded by Barry Scheck and Peter Neufeld (1992) "to assist prisoners who could be proven innocent through DNA testing" (Innocence Project, 2014). Members of the Innocence Project included leaders of legal and social campaigns who wanted to bring attention to the plight of men/women wrongfully convicted of crimes. In light of recent exonerations opponents of the death penalty intensified their demands for a moratorium on the death penalty. According to Kirchmeire (2002) the call for a moratorium on the death penalty, stemmed from growing public mistrust of the justice system, and concerns that innocent people were convicted, and possibly sentenced to death. The Gallup Poll reports (2003, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010) indicated a steady rate of support for the death penalty, they also showed an increase in the percentage of American's who believed an innocent person was executed in the last five years (Gallup, 2010).

Among the nearly 300 men and women exonerated by DNA, more than 20% had confessed to the crime and according to Garrett (2008); this number only represented those exonerated, and was not a full account of how many people have falsely confessed. Faced with compelling evidence of miscarriages of justice, researchers remained steadfast that the problem was not as widespread or prevalent as other researchers asserted (Cassell, 1998; Gross, Jacoby, Matheson, Montgomery &

Patil, 2005). For example, Magid (2001) stated that there were a "handful of undisputed

cases of wrongful convictions" however, false confessions were not pandemic in the

American criminal justice system; but instead concentrated in a narrow but vulnerable

population of people with mental disabilities"(p. 526). She also added that there was

insufficient objective, and academic research to support claims that false confessions

were a significant problem in the judicial system and research to date was simply

advocacy (p. 1172). White (2001) disagreed, and argued that sufficient evidence existed

to support claims that there were substantial numbers of false confessions that warranted

societal attention. He added that unreliable confession should be the test for determining

if police interrogation practices were egregious (p. 1214).

Kassin et al., (2007) acknowledged that false confessions were over represented

in the exoneration cases but noted that the true extent of the problem remained unknown,

and in the absence of an adequate method to calculate the precise incidence rates. Other

researchers declared that the numbers of exonerations represented a fraction of an even

larger problem of wrongful convictions (Gross et al., 2005; Kassin et al., 2007). In the

absence of information on the exact numbers of false confessions, and wrongful

convictions, researchers explored the existence of an acceptable or tolerable rate of error.

Predictably some argued that even one wrongful conviction was too many (Halvorsen,

2004). While others stressed that the benefits of convictions and even executions of

criminal exceeded the error rate of wrongful convictions (Cassell, 1998; Markman &

Cassell, 1988). Risinger (2007) examined the provocative cost-benefit stance, on the

issue of wrongful convictions, and executions. Risinger (2007) discussed multiple

statements made by attorneys, prosecutors, and even a Supreme Court Justice that

embraced the position of the existence of an acceptable margin of error in convictions.

Risinger (2007) referred to this implied, acceptable margin of error, as the

"Scalia/Marquis rate" (p.761). The term was used as a reference to a statement made by

Joshua Marquis in an Op-Ed. A New York Times article by Adam Liptak (2008),

Joshua Marquis was an Oregon District Attorney who stated that "an error rate of 027%

in felony convictions was in, other words, a success rate of 99.73% "(New York Times,

March, 25, 2008, Risinger, 2007). According to Risinger (2007) and Liptak (2008),

Justice Scalia supported the error rate argument, posed by Marquis. Following the logic

of the Scalia/Marquis rate, Ramsey and Frank (2007) surveyed Ohio criminal justice

professionals (police, judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys), and found that

participants estimated that system errors (errors or misconduct by police, prosecutor,

defense attorney, and judge) that lead to wrongful convictions occurred in their own

jurisdictions between one-half (.5%), and 1% of the time (p.453). Among those

participants, they also found that a little over half (51.4%) believed that only a rate of

0% is acceptable. While 26.6% of their participants thought a rate of less than.5% was

acceptable. Approximately 11.5% of participants would tolerate an error rate of 0.5% to

1%, and; the remaining 10% of participants would tolerate a wrongful conviction rate

equal to or greater than 1% (Ramsey and Frank, 2007, p.454). While these percentage

rates seemed relatively low, researchers argued that even if the U.S. criminal justice

system had an accuracy rate of 99.5%, it would still generate more than 6,000 wrongful

convictions a year for index crimes alone (Huff et al., 1996; Huff ,2004; 2002)!

Additionally, researchers noted that various perspectives and contexts must be examined to fully encompass, and understand the pervasiveness, and magnitude of the problems of false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Poveda (2001) stated "estimating the prevalence of wrongful convictions is not merely a matter of academic interest: knowing the magnitude, and scope of the problem has important public policy implications" (p.705). Poveda (2001) compared the phenomena of wrongful convictions to the problem of medical mistakes where the admission of the problem opens the dialogue, and facilitates efforts to reform flaws in the system.

Researchers disagreed on the exact number of wrongful convictions or the statistical significance of the problem when compared to all convictions; however, there was irrefutable evidence, in the form of DNA exonerations, those innocent men, and women were convicted of crimes they didn't commit. As advocacy research extended the political and social agenda of proponents of the death penalty, continued research is needed to determine the context in which false confessions occur, and identify remedies to the problem. In the pursuit of identifying the causes of wrongful convictions or miscarriages of justice researchers examined several factors that were most frequently observed in exoneration cases.

Factors Associated with Wrongful Convictions

According to the Innocence Project (2012) the following factors are associated with false confessions: 1) faulty eyewitness testimony or 2) improper forensics 3) false confessions 4) Government misconduct 5) Informants, and snitches, and Bad Lawyering. These factors were found most often among all DNA exoneration cases with most cases

containing more than one factor. For the purpose of this dissertation, a review of the literature on wrongful convictions was limited to false confessions as it is the factor most attributed to police interrogation performance.

Police Interrogation Practices Associated with False Confessions

The Innocence Project (2010) estimated that approximately 20-24% of prisoners exonerated by DNA had confessed to police, with higher rates for death penalty cases (Kassin, 2008 p. 239; Neufeld, 2001; White, 2003). Despite the prominent role confessions play in convictions, false confessions may be the most contested, and possibly misunderstood factor discussed in the literature on wrongful convictions.

Disbelief, by the public that an innocent person would confess created significant problems for researchers, and advocates for the wrongfully convicted. According to White (1997), people find it hard to believe that an innocent person facing a lengthy sentence would confess to a crime he/she didn't commit, and those who do must be guilty. Leo (2008) referred to this disbelief as the myth of psychological interrogation, and attributed the propagation of the myth partly to the limited information available on what actually occurs inside the interrogation room. However, media emphasis on wrongful convictions, and DNA exonerations aided in a slow shift in opinions toward an acknowledgement that false confessions, and wrongful convictions occurred within the justice system. According to Gallup Poll (2010) there was an increase in the percentage of American's who believed an innocent person was executed in the last five years. Kassin et al. (2007) also found evidence of police acknowledgement that false confessions occurred. Participants from their study on

interrogation practices, and confessions estimated that they witnessed approximately

2.97 false confessions in their lifetime (p. 396).

Among the factors identified by the Innocence Project (2012) as contributors to

wrongful convictions, false confessions were examined more extensively than any other

factor. Though false confessions were only found among 20-24% of exoneration cases

they represented a unique flaw in the judicial system, and process. Though multiple

factors may work in tandem to contribute to wrongful convictions; false confessions,

alone, represent a tangible point where an innocent person wrongfully entered the

judicial system. Researchers examined police interrogation practices to identify those

practices found in exoneration cases.

Researchers found that four interrogation practices were most commonly found

in false confessions, and wrongful conviction cases included: (a) isolating the suspect,

(b) lengthy interrogations, (c) presentation of false evidence, and (d) minimization

tactics (Kassin & McNall, 1991; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; White, 2003). Until

recently, it was unclear how often police investigators used each of the practices listed

above. Kassin et al., (2007) conducted a ground-breaking study in which they surveyed

631 police officers to identify which practices they used, and with what frequency. They

found that investigators reportedly used direct confrontation, and the presentation of

evidence more frequently than any other interrogation practices. Their participants also

estimated that an average of 67.57% of suspects made self-incriminating statements with

38.40% providing partial admissions, and 30.01% providing full confessions (p.392).

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Coercive Interrogation Practices

Within the literature on false confessions, and wrongful convictions frequent references were made to the use of coercive interrogation practices (Kostelnik & Reppucci, 2009; Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner & Cherryman, 2009). However, researchers offered several definitions, and implied definitions of coercive interrogation practices. One definition provided by Posner, and Vermeule (2006) stated "coercive interrogation, involves (1) the application of force, physical or mental (2) in order to extract information (3) necessary to save others"(p.1) . The inferred definitions of coercive interrogation practices in the literature emerged through reference or listing (Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1999) of particular practices within the context of research on the phenomena of false confessions, and wrongful convictions. The police interrogation practices listed ranged from the seemingly innocuous, such as, establishing rapport (White, 2001), isolating the suspect (Kassin & McNall, 1991), and expressions of empathy (Oxburgh & Ost, 2012), to more overtly coercive practices like threats, and physical abuse (Posner & Vermeul, 2006; Redlich & Meissner, 2009). Additional examples of coercive practices resided between the extremes, and included lying/deception (Slobogin, 2007), minimization (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kassin & Mcnall, 1991), and promises of leniency (Kassin & McNall, 1991; Leo, 2008).

Impact and Significance of False Confessions

Once a confession was obtained, the damaging effects permeated every aspect of the investigation. The evaluation of evidence is undoubtedly influenced by the knowledge that a suspect confessed to the crime. According to Neufeld (2011), the

defendant who confessed to a heinous crime may be threatened with the death penalty unless they plead guilty (Neufeld, 2001). The confession and guilty plea are then categorized as factors that prohibit individuals, who aided in their own conviction, from recovery or relief from the states, even if the confession and plea were, coerced (Bernhard, 2004). Gross and Shaffer (2012) examined exoneration cases from 1998-2012, and found that exonerations were issued in one or more methods including: pardons, dismissals, acquittals, certification of innocence, and posthumous exonerations. However, innocent individual's fortunate enough to be granted exoneration were often required to forfeit any and all rights to pursue relief in the courts for the wrongful conviction (p.644). According to Bernhard (2004), Exonorees may never receive a public or formal apology or be paid for the loss of income, reputation, and liberty they experienced as a result of their wrongful conviction (Bernhard, 2004).

False Confessions as Threats to Police Legitimacy and Public Confidence

When an innocent person is convicted a guilty person remains free to commit additional crimes, and justice for the victim is averted (Findley, 2002). According to Huff (2002) false confessions tarnished the image of the judicial system as an impartial pursuer of justice that protector of the general public. Miscarriages of justice threaten police legitimacy, and erode public confidence in police professionals (Ramsey & Frank, 2007) as evidenced by Gallup poll (2005) results. Specifically, Gallup poll (2005) indicated that there was a 10-year decline in public confidence in Police Institutions. More recent Gallup poll (2010) results reported similar findings for public confidence in the ethics, and trustworthiness of police. Despite the apparent threats to police

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legitimacy and public perception of police, Blackerby (2003) found that public opinion on the likelihood an innocent person was executed had little impact on state legislatures. He stated that no state had enacted legislation to address the problems, and none provide restitution or assistance to the wrongfully convicted (p.1209). These findings highlight the need for continued research to reduce wrongful convictions.

Summary of the Literature

Both false confessions and wrongful convictions are indicative of miscarriages of justice. However, the relationship between the many interrogation practices police use, and false confessions remains unclear. Although this point is seemingly simplistic, it is significant in that research to date, was shaped by the pursuit of causal factors, and assumptions that absolute relationships existed. Leo (2005) observed that scholarship on miscarriages of justice was primarily conducted by lawyers, and journalist thus their findings were framed by a legal lens, and assumptions made that factors observed were actual causes of wrongful convictions. Leo (2005) characterized the lists of factors believed to cause wrongful convictions as simplistic, and misleading, and stated "this list of causes has impeded our theoretical understanding and development of the deeper psychological, sociological, and institutional causes of wrongful conviction". In order elevate scholarship on wrongful convictions; Leo (2005) called for researchers to re-conceptualize the study of miscarriages of justice, as about the study of human behavior, and human error in social, and organizational contexts to seek root causes, not legal causes, of wrongful conviction (p.213).

Within this literature review several trends emerged. Specifically, the vast majority of studies on police interrogations were quantitative studies that used non-police participants in mock simulations aimed at recreating police interrogations. Although the limitations were noted by researchers themselves, questions concerning the ecological validity of the findings persist. Specific concerns about ecological validity were associated with the reliance of researchers on mock simulations. Within these mock simulations, researchers often used non-police participants who were exposed to a modified or abbreviated training that presumably was representative of actual police interrogation training. Researchers frequently cited perceived and real barriers to access, including the closed culture associated with police organizations, as justification for their use of mock simulations, and non-police participants. In spite of research findings that indicated police support for the videotaping of police interrogations, researchers rarely conducted studies to analyze actual police video footage to identify police interrogation practices. To date, few studies used this method, and the majority those that did were conducted nearly 20 years ago. This is a possible indication of continued challenges associated with organizational access, and of concern for researchers who continue to examine the phenomena of false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Despite these methodological challenges faced by researchers, there was identifiable strength associated with literature on miscarriages of justice including: diversity of research perspectives, findings that supported past research and, findings that extended and/or unified past research on the role of police interrogation in false confessions.

The strengths of the body of research on the examination of the problem of false confessions, and wrongful convictions were rooted in the breadth, and multiplicity of disciplines seeking understanding, and solutions. Over the last 100 years, researchers, and practitioners from many fields including but not limited to psychology, social psychology, law, linguistic, criminology, and criminal justice pursued research to address inequities in the criminal justice system that stem from coercive and abusive police interrogation practices. Notably, there was an under-representation of HRD research in the extant literature on police, police performance and miscarriages of justice. However, within the extant literature from other fields of study, there was evidence of strong and healthy discourse between researchers.

Researchers consistently found evidence that the ability of police to detect deception was only slightly better than average, even when police were trained to detect deception and; research to the contrary were challenged on the merits of their methods. With regards to researchers who proclaimed miscarriages of justice, in the form of false confessions, and wrongful convictions, were widespread were challenged by others, to demonstrate that the problem exceeded a nominal or reasonable margin of error based on the overall volume of criminal cases. Researchers explored the concept of a reasonable or tolerable margin of error in miscarriages of justice. Among participants surveyed, over half indicated that the only acceptable error rate was 0%; the remaining half of participants was willing to accept a margin of area between one half to one percent. Researchers responded, and demonstrated that a margin of error of 5% would still generate several thousand wrongful convictions. In addition, researchers argued that the

problems of missing, limited, and erroneous data on false confessions, and wrongful convictions were indicators of the existence of even more miscarriages of justice than those identified. Ultimately, researchers argued that missing, and flawed data hamper the ability of researchers to quantify the problem. Yet, others asserted that quantification of the problem was unnecessary because inaccuracies, and inequities within the criminal justice system were sufficient to demonstrate a cause for concern, and redress.

Although significant progress made by researchers in the identification of the most commonly used interrogation practices, research on interrogation training remained stagnant. The lack of new insights on interrogation training was due in part to a continued focus on the Reid technique, ignoring both the prospect, and growing evidence that police organizations use other interrogation training methods. In the absence of research on non-Reid interrogation training, little remained known about what is actually taught, or how the most commonly used practices, and less common practice align with the training police receive. Furthermore, few studies examined the decision making process used by investigators in the selection of interrogation practices. Thus little is known about the factors that influence police investigators in their selection, and use of coercive, and non-coercive interrogation practices including race.

Although there was a breadth of research on police interrogation practices, there was a lack of depth that qualitative research can provide. Most notably missing from the extant research was the thick and rich descriptions, details, insights, and perspectives that are elicited from participants through the use of qualitative methods. The relative absence of qualitative data on the subject, and particularly from the perspective of the

police who conduct interrogations, left a gap between what researchers believed was occurring, and what police investigators would report on the matter. Researcher reliance on mock simulations and the use of non-police participants perpetuated the exclusion of the voices, and perspective of actual police investigators/interrogators. Ground breaking studies that incorporated police perspectives did so through the use of surveys instead of narratives. The weakness of the survey method is both in the truncation option effect, and the truncation of intensity effect. That was the potential that participant's answers were limited by the survey choices provided by the researchers. The presentation of any list, and especially those that only include the most commonly used interrogation practices, limits the option participants have to choose, to the choices made by researchers, instead of the actual choices that exist. The broad categorization of interrogation practices served researchers well in that they offered a means to order to the complexity of interrogation practices, but the categories of interrogations provided may not be fully representative of actual police interrogation practices. Additionally, the police perspectives included in the literature rarely include the voices of minority, and/or female police. In order to fully examine false confessions, and wrongful convictions in the social, and organizational contexts in which they occur the first logical step is to include the voice, and perspectives of the actors themselves, and in their own words.

Conclusions

The purpose of this section was to examine the extant literature on police training, police performance, and specialized police subunit (investigative, and interrogator) practices, and performance, and the relevance of each to research on police

interrogations, false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Significant findings from this section included references to the prominence of the Reid technique in the literature on police interrogation training, with only limited data on actual interrogation training, and associated practices. A review of the research on police performance revealed significant challenges to identifying relevant performance measures for police professionals. In addition information from the extant literature suggested that police in specialized units may pursue performance goals associated with peer-based and informal evaluations instead of formal and organizational goals.

Finally, there remained no consensus, among researchers, on what constitutes coercive interrogation practices. Instead, researchers developed lists of practices most commonly used by investigators, and often categorized these practices based. However, the lists of common interrogation practices differed from confession typologies in that they were based primarily on characteristics but lacked information on the influential and persuasive natures of each on suspects or the relationships between practices. The issue of false confessions was often examined through the context of police interrogation training, and practices associated with training. Despite an abundance of research on the phenomena of false confessions there are still gaps in the literature particularly from the field of HRD on police performance and police interrogations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research project grew out of my personal experience as a Raleigh Police Sergeant, and former Detective in the late 1990's, and early 2000. During my years with the organization, I was assigned to numerous specialized units within, and outside the investigative division. As a detective I interrogated numerous persons for a variety of offenses including drugs, rapes, robberies, sexual assault and attempted murder. Reflecting on those experiences, I recalled the rush of adrenaline, and the pressure to secure a confession. Later when I worked for the Public Defender's office in San Bernardino County in California, I began to reflect on the countless numbers of people who all claimed innocence, and wondered if any were in fact innocent. As a doctoral student in a Human Resource Development (HRD) program, I explored the literature on training, and adult education simultaneously examining literature on false confessions, and wrongful convictions. I was particularly surprised to find that few studies on interrogations involved actual police detectives. Until Kassin et al. (2007) there were few studies on the self-reported interrogation practices of police detectives. While this groundbreaking study added significant value to the study of police interrogations, I noted the absence of police detectives' perspectives in their own words. Though many studies on police interrogations included anecdotal comments from police, there were few that sought the perspectives of detectives on how they selected which interrogation practices to use.

Leo (2005) argued that "the overemphasis on identification of factors as causes of wrongful convictions led researchers down an overly simplified path that impeded our theoretical understanding, and development of the deeper psychological, sociological, and institutional causes of wrongful convictions (p. 213)." I concurred with Leo (2005) that the study of miscarriages of justice should be a study of human behavior in social and organizational context, and should focus on root causes rather than legal causes of wrongful convictions. As such I examined the narratives of female police detectives to explore, and examine the social and organizational context in which interrogations are conducted. Additionally, I was interested in identifying the influencing forces (formal and informal) that shaped, dictated, and prescribed police detectives' selection, and use of interrogation practices. Based on my personal experiences as a police detective, and sergeant, I was particularly interested in exploring, and identifying the existence of goal, and reward systems (informal, and formal) within police organizations that supported, condoned, and perpetuated the behaviors, and actions of police detectives in interrogations.

Relevance of Study

The extant literature on police interrogations, false confessions, and wrongful convictions contributed to a broad and general understanding of which factors were associated with false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Yet, despite a century of research on wrongful convictions, the problem persisted (Gould & Leo, 2010) and the role of training, decision making, and organizational culture, and subculture, in police organizations remained unclear. Researchers made sweeping, and disparaging comments

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regarding police interrogators without a full examination or understanding of detectives themselves or the context in which interrogations occur (Huff, 2002; Ofshe & Leo, 1998; White, 2000). Although these comments were veiled as attacks on police interrogation practices, the act cannot be separated from the actors. It is doubtful that interrogation practices are pernicious (White, 2000), and targeted at innocent people (Kassin et al., 2007) without the intent or, at least, collusion of police interrogators themselves. Researchers who accused police of being overzealous, eager to convict, and insensitive to the rights of suspects (Huff, 2002; Moffa & Plantania,2007;Ofshe & Leo, 1996), often attributed the problem to a few rogue cops, and added that most police have good intentions**.** Armacost (2003) stated that this approach blames individual officers instead of acknowledging the existence of social structures within, and outside the organization that contribute to the problem.

According to Lersch, and Mieczkowski (1996) the use of the "bad apples" theory serves to absolve the police department of responsibility, and blame, focusing attention on a few unsuitable individuals who somehow 'slipped through the cracks', and were able to become sworn law enforcement personnel (p. 24). By focusing on the observed and reported actions of individual police interrogators, researchers overlooked the collective (organizational and cultural) motives, and goals that influence, bind, and govern the actors themselves. According to Bolton (2010) "we are what we do, rather than what we say we are (p.4)." In other words, the personal, and ethical values espoused by police interrogators, and police organizations may in fact differ from the ethical values expressed as performance behaviors during interrogations.

Due to the reportedly closed culture of police departments access was described as difficult (Armacost, 2003; Paulsen, 1954), and led to researchers' reliance on mock simulations (Dando, Wilcock & Milne, 2009; Kassin, Goldstein & Savitsky, 2003; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; Memon, Bull & Smith, 1995; Vrij, 2008). The uses of mock simulations were aimed at recreating police interrogation, and findings from these studies were generalized to actual police interrogations (Hartwig, Anders, Granhag, Strömwall, & Kronkvist, 2006; Simcoe 2006). However, mock simulations were critiqued for their low ecological validity a point not missed by researchers who conducted them (Hasel & Kassin, 2009; Meissner & Kassin, 2002). According to Breau, and Brook (2007) ecological validity asks whether a simulation was conducted under conditions that are similar to those in the real world such that the results from the simulation are generalizable. Inarguably mock simulated interrogation cannot recreate the unique dynamics of the interaction between a police interrogator, and a suspect during an interrogation. Just as no jury simulation, can replicate the obvious condition of the "the consequentiality of the task" (Breau & Brook, 2007, p. 80). Mock simulations of interrogations are incapable of reproducing the severity of the crime, the duration of the interrogation, and the real life consequences defendants, and police face. Additionally, mock simulations were void of police context, and offered little insight into the perspectives of police interrogators within their own settings. As such, little was known about how police investigators, rationalized, and articulated their choices in interrogation practices or the internal and organizational factors that influenced their decisions to select police interrogation practices.

What remained to be examined by researchers on false confessions, and wrongful convictions were the actors, or police detectives themselves. Although extensive research was conducted to examine the attributes of the defendants in interrogations, little attention was paid to the attributes of the interrogators. Specifically, researchers examined the roles of: race, age, sex, religion, education level, and criminal history associated with the defendant in interrogations. However, research on police interrogators themselves has been limited to age, education level, and years of experience, often with the exclusion of race, and gender or limited to only White male study samples. Specifically, the perspectives of women and minority police investigators were absent in the research in general, and may provide unique perspectives that will contribute to a broader understanding of the phenomena. Research from the perspective of police interrogators was needed to explore the goals, and motives that influenced police in their selection of interrogation practices. Finally, there was a need for qualitative research that contributes to a rich, and deeper exploration, and understanding of police interrogations that is underrepresented in the current literature.

Methodology

The choice to use qualitative methods was based on several reasons. Notably, there was the need to address a dearth of qualitative research on police interrogations, false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Equally important was my desire to use qualitative methods to examine this phenomena from the perspective of actual police detectives, and females who were largely absent in the literature. Research to date, provided only an etic (outsider) glimpse of interrogations. Such outsider perspectives of

interrogations lacked the authenticity that emic (insider) perspectives could provide. Guba and Lincoln (1994) argued that research inquiry void of relevant context may have little or meaning to individuals or groups studied (p. 106). Without the voices of police detectives, research on interrogations was simply an account of the values, and meanings researchers applied to the data collected. One goal I had for this research was to present findings from this study that resonated with participants' accounts of their lived experiences as detectives, and interrogators. According to Hatch (2002) qualitative research seeks to understand the world from the perspectives of those living in it and; qualitative studies attempt to capture the perceptions, and perspectives of the actors themselves in the context that influences, and in which they perform (p**. 7).** In capturing the voices, perspectives of the actors themselves in their natural setting or context, researchers can link existing research to practice, validate, and ground theories associated with false confessions, and wrongful convictions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Selection of Emergent Design

For the purpose of this dissertation, I chose qualitative interpretative methods to examine the reflective narratives of female police detectives regarding their experiences in interrogation of suspects for serious crimes. Reflective narratives are not just the stories we tell others but the stories we tell ourselves, and often the two differ. Narratives are an interactional event in which people enact, reenact or construct interaction, and can reveal underlying ideologies (McElhinny. 2003). According to researchers, narratives are more than simple confessions they describe acts, and experiences over time, and represent a version of reality for the creator (Bruner 1991).

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Narratives contribute to our understanding, and allow us to make meaning of events, and to vicariously examine events through participants. Examination of the narratives of others allow researchers to both identify how participants constructed narratives, and identify underlying themes, ideologies, and emotions that shaped their narratives.

The emergent design was used in this research. Emergent design, in qualitative research, refers to a process that is not predetermined (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This approach allowed for the evolution of a design that emerged during the data collection process. The purpose of the emergent design is to accommodate context specific data collection strategies that contribute to the relevance of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The decision to utilize an emergent design, in this dissertation, was partly based on the lack of existing data, particularly qualitative data from the perspective of police interrogators themselves. The lack of existing research studies utilizing police interrogator narratives inhibited opportunities to replicate previous studies. Other considerations that led to the use of an emergent design were that research designs may produce unnecessary constraints on the researcher, and overly inhibit the opportunities for participant voices to emerge. In contrast, qualitative research provided opportunities for the voices, and perspectives of study participants to achieve prominence in research conducted on matters relevant to them (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In keeping with the emergent design process, data collection was not restricted or bound by predetermined categories or notions of what constitutes data or how it should be collected. Instead, the emergent design evolved during the data collection process, and was modified, and

revised to maximize opportunities to obtain meaningful answers to interview questions, and the discovery of new sub-questions (Creswell, 2012 p.144).

Researcher as Instrument

Consistent with Naturalistic Inquiry, the researcher served as the primary instrument for data collection, and data analysis for this dissertation (Hatch, 2002; Cannella & Lincoln, 2007). According to Lincoln, and Guba (1985) the qualitative researcher serves as the collection tool, and generator of data through the documentation, and analysis of data using human intelligence (p.7). As a former police detective I anticipated that my participation in this research as the primary instrument would yield insightful, authentic, and thick descriptions of police interrogations practices. As a former insider within the population to be studied, my experiences uniquely qualified me to recognize much of the tacit knowledge police detectives possess but is often difficult to express to researchers. Acting as the data collection instrument, my unique positionality as a female and former police detective afforded me a level of familiarity with the profession, the terminology used by members, and the work demands. The depth of perception and discernment I possess differs from other researchers in that I have lived many of the experiences I sought to examine. Operating from a Constructivist paradigm, the aim of this inquiry was to collect, and analyze the narratives of police detectives to identify how they constructed their understanding about the processes they used to select interrogation practices to contribute to a greater understanding of police interrogation practices.

Despite my prior experiences, I did not, naively, assume that access, and rapport would be automatic. Nor did I enter this research study without an acute awareness of the threats my assumptions, biases, values, and experiences posed to the authenticity of data analysis, and reporting. In keeping with the paradigm analysis, and framework presented by Guba and Lincoln (1994), I offered a brief explanation of my ontological, epistemological, and methodological stances. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994) Ontology refers to the form, and nature of reality according to the participant as well as the researcher (p. 108). My belief was that despite my shared experiences with the participants of this study, I recognized that every context is different. The personal experiences of participants would vary, and might mitigate or aggravate the experiences both researcher, and participants had within, and outside their respective police organizations. However, the intent of this research was to identify those aspects of police interrogation selection that the participants don't know they know. That is, I wanted to explore, and collect information on their tacit knowledge about their selection process that have yet to be verbalized. I also recognized that my reflection of my experiences in a police detective division is myopic, and yet subjected to an honest, and critical reflexive exercise. As such this research offers an opportunity for me to broaden, and share my understanding of what I thought I knew about my experience, and what I came to know about my experience.

This study was conducted in a manner that allowed for the co-creation, and collaboration of meaning making between the participants, and the researcher. As such, three rounds of interviews were conducted using semi-structured questions. An

additional participant, Kendall, was randomly selected to serve as a member checker. Kendall met the criteria for participation in this study. Kendall's age, and years of law enforcement experience were within the median range for the remaining participants.

Data Collection

Constant comparative analysis was utilized to gather, and organize data based on similarities, and differences (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Themes or patterns were derived from the data, and used to construct a coded category or concept. Themes evolve as threads of ideas, and run throughout the interview(s) (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 188). The results of data analysis from each round of interviews were used to formulate interview questions, and protocol for subsequent rounds of interviews. The purpose of this approach was to allow for the emergence of a study design, and to allow the interaction between researcher, and participant; to yield data that attempted to enlighten, and transform the experiences of both, to new levels of knowing, and understanding. Findings were presented in a manner that allowed for the emergence of multiple voices with acknowledgements of instances of participants' consensus.

Participants and Sample Selection

The organizational climate within law enforcement agencies was considered by most to be "closed" to outsiders (Jermier & Berkes, 1979; Silvestri, 2007). The common reference to the 'thin blue line' or 'blue curtain' separating police from society was a testament to the belief by police officers that they were isolated, different, and a distinct subculture from everyday society (Reiss,1992). Researchers cited the use of know contacts within police organizations to gain access to agencies for the purpose of

conducting research (Kassin et al., 2007, p. 386). As such, it was assumed that a similar approach using a snowball sample would be necessary to overcome the issue of access to police organizations.

A recruitment flyer was disseminated to personal contacts of the researcher, within three police organizations, and two police professional organizations within the South Eastern region of the United States. Personal and professional contacts were asked to disseminate the flyer to potential participants of their choosing. Initially, a purposeful sample of six former and retired female detectives who met the selection criteria was selected. However, three of the initial six women selected, for this study, were serving as police trainers in Afghanistan. The challenges posed by international telephone communication, time zone differences, and security issues were insurmountable, and therefore, the original sample was excluded. Consequently, the recruitment flyer was modified to expand the criteria from former, and retired to also include currently employed female detective's, with 10 or more years of law enforcement experience, and experience investigating UCR 1 crimes. Professional, and personal contacts were enlisted to disseminate recruitment flyers across law enforcement agencies in the United States of America. Using a random, and snowball sampling method, six participants was selected from a pool of 9 potential participants. Two participants were excluded because they did not meet the basic criteria for inclusion in the study. The seventh participant was enlisted to serve in the capacity of member checker. Selected participants were given an opportunity to participate in a random drawing for one of (2) $250.00 gift cards as an incentive for their commitment to

prolonged engagement with the researcher over the course of three rounds of interviews. Participants seemed less motivated by the financial incentive, and instead appeared more committed to assisting in a research study on a topic relevant to their professional experiences.

Female Police Detectives as Participants

A reflective narrative account, by former police investigators, about the interrogation process, and the interrogation practices they employed provided a "thick description" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) that offered insight into the many factors that influenced their decisions, the interpersonal dynamics that aided, and hindered, the process, the moral, and ethical dilemmas that arise during, and following interrogations, insight into how detectives mitigate or yield to competing demands for various outcomes, and a glimpse into the physical, and emotional costs of interrogations on the detectives themselves. Participant selection was restricted to female because of their near absence in the literature on police interrogations, false confessions, and wrongful convictions. Additional efforts to protect participants included limiting research questions to observed and past participants' performances. This measure was incorporated in the research design because there were potential legal ramifications for participants' revelations regarding their professional performance. Additionally, the use of research questions about past criminal cases, and interrogations was an effort to allow participants to reflect on the totality of their interrogation experiences.

Specifically, this approach allowed participants to examine or consider the entirety of their interrogation experiences, and make generalizations about which

practices were more effective, and which were less effective; which, if any, gave them reason to regret their decision. Allowing participants to reflect on previous interrogations afforded them an opportunity that cannot be captured in real time, to doubt, consider, weigh, and demonstrate remorse for their use of interrogation practices on current or active cases. Simultaneously, reflective narratives provided an opportunity to gain insight into their decision making under previous circumstances, and within other contexts.

Though law enforcement remains a White, and Male-dominated profession where only one of eight officers is female (Jollevet, 2008; Poulos & Doerner, 1996; USDOJ, (2001-2010), these numbers do not adequately illustrate the prominence of females in detective or investigative units. Current data collected by the (USBJS) on female, and minority police was last collected for the period between 1997, and 2003, or over eleven years old. However, data from the 2013 *Household Annual Averages* from the Bureau of Labor statistics revealed 20.1% of police detectives, and 15.3% of first-line supervisors of police detectives are female. If these numbers are an accurate reflection of female representation in police detective units, this represents a significant clustering within a specialized subunit thus adding additional support for the sampling of this population.

The researcher was presented with an opportunity for unprecedented access to female police detective as a sample population The decision to access this unique population stems from both a personal, and professional (academic, and police) desire to give a voice to an often marginalized group within the police profession.

Major Crimes Detectives as Participants

Selected respondents were restricted to law enforcement personnel who were primarily responsible for the investigation, and interrogation of serious or major crimes. Participants were selected based on their current or prior assignments which included the investigation of Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Index Part I offenses, which are considered more serious than other crimes, and occur more frequently across the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, 2012). According to Lynch and Jarvis (2008) FBI Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program was a major source of data on crime, and police response to crime since. The list of UCR Part 1 offenses includes criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2012. However, for the purpose of this dissertation only those UCR 1 crimes that likely involve violence perpetrated against persons were included. That is, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson investigations were excluded. The rationale for restricting the types of offenses is based on the assumption that investigation of serious crimes against person is a stressful and significant experience for police detectives.

Limiting pending analyses to veteran police officers with more 10 years of law enforcement experience is relevant in light of previous research on police interrogation practices that found significant differences in the types of interrogation practices employed by officers based on law enforcement experience. Specifically, Kassin et al. (2007) surveyed 631 police investigators with an average age of 41 years, and 17 years of law enforcement experience, and found evidence that respondents with greater

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experience in law enforcement were more likely to advocate the use of "threatening the suspect" (p. 391) which included threats of punishment, frustration, and anger, and physical intimidation, all of which are considered coercive interrogation practices.

Analytical Techniques

This study included three (3) one-hour individual interviews per participant. Each interview was approximately one to one, and one-half hour. Due to the wide geographic disbursement of participants, all interviews were conducted by phone. The interviews were conducted in a manner that allowed for brief, 5-10 interaction periods between participants and the researcher. The allotted time was used to allow participants an opportunity to ask the researcher questions prior to the recording of the interviews. All participants consented to being audio recorded. In addition to audio recording each interview, the researcher took copious notes. On more than one occasion the researcher encountered technical failures with recording equipment. The notes from interviews were marked with a unique pseudonym selected by each participant. All audio, and all field notes were secured in a locked file cabinet to which only the researcher had access. Data shared with the member checker was examined for anonymity prior to sharing.

Content analysis was used to examine, and code the data collected from the first of three rounds of interviews. Content analysis refers to the systematic examination of text for the purpose of classifying large amounts of information into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1278). The goal of content analysis is to "accurately represent a body of messages," (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 151). The categories selected by the reviewer can represent both

explicit and implied communication (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Consistent with the

Emergent design the categories were not be pre-determined or selected but instead

emerged from the data. Content analysis of the transcribed interviews focused on the

frequency of key words, and the contextual use of those words to convey similar ideas.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) data analysis must begin with the very first data

collection, in order to facilitate the emergent design, grounding of theory, and emergent

structure of later data collection phases. Therefore, data collected, and analyzed from

each round was used to frame the interview, and guide subsequent interviews to allow

for elaboration, and clarification of previously collected data.

Criteria Used to Insure Rigor

The goal of this research was to capture, and interpret the constructed narratives

of female police detectives, to produce, and credible, and truthful interpretation of how

they select police interrogation practices. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) the

criteria of rigor for naturalistic inquiry includes credibility, transferability, dependability,

and confirmability. According to Tracy (2010), credibilit*y* refers to "the trustworthiness,

verisimilitude, and plausibility of the research findings" (p.842). Additionally, she

added that findings from research should resonate with participants. According to

Lincoln (1989) logical links should exist between the data collected, and the researcher's

interpretation of the findings. The criterion of credibility requires that the categories

used to code data be both original but also insightful. Transferability refers to how well

the findings fit the setting (Guba, 1981). Others referred to this measure of fitness or

transferability as applicability (Krefting, 1991) or how well the findings can be applied

to other contexts, settings, and groups. Dependability according to Guba (1981) describes the range of participant experiences represented from the typical to the atypical. More importantly, the dependability criterion challenges the researcher to insure that the findings appeal, and inform a larger audience as well as the participants. Finally, confirmability according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) refers to the degree to which other researchers can follow the process used by the researcher to conduct future research, and yield similar but context specific results. This is accomplished by detailed accounts of each step of the research process including how data was collected, raw data, field notes, and coding, and analysis protocol, and manuals.

Lincoln (1989) also proposed an authenticity criteria based on an ethical system that includes: fairness, ontological, educative, and catalytic. Fairness demands that the researcher consider balance in the construction reproduced through the participant researcher interaction, and asks of the stakeholders are represented in manner that is non-biased. Ontological considerations refer to the likelihood that participants' narratives will reveal tacit knowledge that exists in participants that may not have been previously verbalized. These revelations should be reported, and treated in a manner that respects, and maintains the integrity of the participant. The criterion of Educative involves the sharing of knowledge, from the study, to improve the condition, and situation for all. The value in sharing is that all parties involved can make better decision in the future. Finally, the authenticity criterion catalytic is defined as the extent to which the interaction between participant, and researcher allows for all to appreciate the new insights, and perspectives. According to Lincoln (1989) this criterion is critical if Fourth

Generation Evaluation is to be achieved, and requires that action must be prompted by participants to improve conditions for all (p. 249).

In the pursuit of both sets of criteria, rigor, and authenticity, data collection, analytical, and data reporting tools, and techniques used included: (a) purposive sampling of female police detectives/investigators with more than ten years of law enforcement experience (b) reflexive journaling, and the use of field notes (c) pursuit of thick description (c) use of a peer debriefer and, (d) member checking, and participant corroboration to triangulate the data. Finally, an external rater was used to provide an analysis for the purpose of triangulation of data, and an assessment of credibility. The external rater's assessment offered an external voice to assess the credibility, and relevance of the data from participants, to the current police context. The external rater was a current law enforcement officer who met the same criteria as the participants but was not a participant in this study. Furthermore, the results of the study were shared with the participants to obtain additional feedback on the research study, the findings, and the accuracy of the researcher's depiction or portrayal of their experiences. The intent of the this research was to increase the authenticity of the data collected, and make certain that the multi-vocality of the participants were represented in a manner that resonated with their actual lived experiences, an important measure of goodness, and rigor in qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985;Tracy, 2010) .

Researchers' Assumptions and Biases

There were five primary assumptions made by the researcher during this study: (1) data collected, and transcribed would be accurately recorded; (2) participant

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responses would be reasonably honest accounts of their experiences during interrogations, and within their organizations; (3) participants would recognize, and embrace the researcher as an "insider" based on her years of police, and investigative experience, and (4) recognition of the researcher as an "insider" might increase the use of police jargon, and colloquialism. In accordance with the principles of qualitative research, this research is context, and participant specific. The focus of this research is to provide insight into the unique perspective of experienced police investigators of the interrogation process, and the interrogation practices used. The results of these finding are not intended as generalizable to a larger population, a hallmark of quantitative inquiry. Instead, this study was conducted with the intent of allowing for transferability to similar context, and participants by offering clear instructions to allow future researchers to replicate the study.

Undoubtedly, the researcher's fifteen plus years of law experience influenced the insider/outsider relationship between the participants, and the researcher. Merriam et al., (2001) discussed the duality of insider, and outsider positionality in research, and the role of power in all research. Specifically, my experience as a former police detective likely, but not absolutely, assisted in my access to participants, and the establishment of rapport with them. Additionally, I acknowledged that my understanding of police culture both helped, and hindered the interview process as participants assumed I understood statements without elaboration, and spoke more freely about sensitive topics. I was aware of the potential for my voice to intermingle with the voices of participants; therefore, every effort was made to insure that the voices of participants were

represented. I also had ethical concerns that I might bring negative attention to a profession, which I've devoted the majority of my working career to, and to members of marginalized groups that could least afford negative additional scrutiny. Therefore steps were taken to insure the anonymity of participants, and their former police organizations. Specifically, participants were assigned a unique pseudonym, and details, and specifics that threaten their anonymity were modified to support their confidentiality. Finally, I recognized that my position as a researcher, and a former, not current, police officer could act as barrier between me, and participants. However, I hoped that the lived police experiences of the researcher as a former investigator would create a unique lens to analyze the data. The exploration of selected police interrogators' experience of police interrogations by analyzing their constructed narratives about how they select, and use interrogation practices could possibly stimulate dialogue among police professionals. In turn, this dialogue could generate solutions for reducing the incidence of false confessions without jeopardizing the ability of police to elicit truthful confessions.

CHAPTER IV

STUDY FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to examine the constructed narratives of female

police detectives to: (1) explore selected police interrogators' experiences of police

interrogations through their constructed narratives regarding the selection, and use of

interrogation practices, (2) describe selected police interrogators' justifications for their

use of coercive interrogation practices; and, (3) perceived role of training, and

organizational culture and climate in affecting police investigators' decision, and

selection of interrogation practices. Three rounds of one-on-one interviews were

conducted. These interactions generated three major themes—each with multiple sub-

themes. See Major study findings outlined below in Table 1.

Table 1 Emergent Themes and Sub-Themes

Themes	Sub Theme	Major Findings
Theme 1 Training-	Sub-Theme #1-PoliceFormal Training Sub-Theme #2-Police Informal Training	• Apprenticeship-OJT • Non-Reid Training for detectives • Need for formal training improvements
Theme 2 Evaluation	Sub-Theme #1-tri-phase investigative and interrogation processes	• Procedural Internalization of latent Investigative, and Interrogation processes
Theme 3 Competencies	Sub-Theme #2-Decision Influence Factors-	• Exhibition of competencies in temperament shifting • Interrogation styles • Identification of Decision influence model

Specifically, this chapter presents findings from data collected and analyzed, through a discussion of themes, and sub-themes. An overview of: 1) participants' 2) organizational contexts, 3) organizational locations, and 4) organizational culture were provided as background information. Additional, details about the characteristics, structure, and cultures of the participants' organizations was included to provide contextual insight into the professional environment in which participants perform. Due to the sensitive nature of information disclosed by participants about their organizations, and to protect their anonymity, unique personal details, and potentially revealing quotes about individual organizations were presented in a general or anonymous manner.

The process of conducting research interviews presented certain challenges associated with: the unique experiences of the researcher as a former police detective, and interrogator; the current rank, and assignments of participants, the proximal distance between the researcher, and the impetus for participants' participation in the study. As a former detective with similar work experiences as study participants, I experienced the privilege of being both an insider, and an outsider. Many aspects of participants' narratives resonated with my lived experiences as a detective. This unique opportunity afforded me an opportunity to consider findings from the perspective of both a researcher, and a member checker. Throughout the research study, I was acutely aware that my status as a female detective insider, and investigative expertise suffered from the chronological distance between my service years, and the currentness of their service. As such, there were occasions during the interviews in which participants were resistant in disclosing sensitive information. When this occurred, I reverted to my interrogation

competencies and expertise, and developed strategies to combat their resistance. Specifically, I reorganized the order of questions to regain, support, and maintain rapport before introducing more probing questions. As a result of my interactions with participants the resulting data analysis and written discussion provided in this chapter carries a tone of impassiveness and may at times seem sterile with fact based documentation of statements about participants, their organizations, and their responses to questions. In reflecting on this aspect of my study I observed that the remainder of chapter IV often reads like a police case or investigative report. Additional reflections on my experiences during this study are provided in the attached Appendix.

Participants

A total of six study participants were selected and seventh participant served as a member checker. The study participants consisted of three African-American, three Caucasian, and one Latina women, who averaged 19 years of progressive law enforcement experience. The participants had a combined average of 19 years of law enforcement experiences. Participants by rank included 2 detectives, 2 sergeants, 1 lieutenant, and 1 captain.

Each of the six participants chose a pseudonym from a list of names provided by the researcher. The following pseudonyms selected were: 1) Amber, 2) Kayla, 3) Sarah, 4) Sydney, 5) Monica, 6) Esther, and 7) Kendall. My study participants had distinguishing personal backgrounds, served in distinctive law enforcement agencies, and worked to achieve multiple levels of ranks within their organizations.

1. Amber was born and raised, in a large urban area with two-parents, and several siblings. She served her agency for nearly 20 years. She completed her associate's degree in Criminal Justice. During the interviews she was direct, and assertive. Her responses to interview questions were thorough, grounded in the legal and procedural guidelines that governed her work. During the interviews, Amber sought and provided clarification to questions and her responses. Through my interactions with Amber, it was apparent that she had a sincere desire to understand, and be understood, by others.

2. Sarah had over 20 years of police experience including assignments as a detective investigating aggravated assaults, sexual assaults, and child abuse cases. During interviews, Sarah gave careful consideration to each question before responding. Her demeanor, throughout the study always was lighthearted and easy going. Sarah shared that she is married to another law enforcement officer. Her educational background included a Bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice and a Master's degree in Public Administration.

3. Kayla expressed a great deal of pride in her work and her organization. She is an experienced detective with over 15 years of law enforcement experience. Kayla worked in a variety of assignments including burglary, and felony larceny cases. Throughout the interview process, Kayla was friendly, engaging, and rarely at a loss for words.

4. Sydney had investigated a wide variety of crimes including felony crimes against persons as well as felony property crimes. She completed her

Master's degree in Public Administration, and also is married to a police officer. Sydney presented herself as even tempered and candid during the interview process. Sydney had over 20 years of law enforcement experience. She described herself as a life-long learner who is open to new ideas.

5. Monica had over 15 years of law enforcement experience with her current agency. In addition, she also served in a previously in another law enforcement agency for five years. Monica's responses to interview questions were steeped in knowledge that she attributed to her formal investigative training. During my interactions with Monica, she was open and willing to share information.

6. Esther was gregarious; and, her responses were very detailed. She completed her bachelor's degree, and immediately joined her first police organization. Esther had over 25 years of law enforcement experiences that spanned across two police agencies. She is the oldest of four siblings, and described her family as "close knit". Esther described herself as having a strong religious background that played a significant role in her personal and professional lives.

7. Kendall, the member checker, was confident, assertive, and considerate in her responses to questions. She had over 20 years of law enforcement experience in a variety of specialized units within her organization. Kendall is a divorced, single mother of two small children. Kendall earned her

bachelor's degree, and working to complete a master's degree in public

administration.

Additional personal information about participants was excluded to protect their

confidentiality. For example, specific details about notable accomplishments, such as

their being the first to reach a particular rank within their organizations, were not listed.

Consequently the section that follows was also presented in a generalized fashion to

protect the confidentiality of the participants, and their employing agencies. Therefore, a

random number was assigned to each participant organization, and was not correlated

with the numbering of participants. For example, participant #1 is not employed by

organization #1.

Participants' Organizational Contexts

Organization Types

Participants in this study served in five different organizations across the United

States of America. Two of the organizations represented by the participants were police

departments; and the remaining organizations were sheriff's departments. The structures

of both types of organizations represented in this study were "para-military" with an

apparent clear chain of command headed by a police chief or sheriff. The police chiefs

were civil service employee or appointed by a municipal designee who served at the

pleasure of a Mayor or City Manager. The Sheriffs were elected official with designated

term limits. While all organizations represented were responsible for 911-emergency

call response, requests for service, and criminal investigations, the scope of their

professional responsibilities varied. For example, the police organizations represented in

this study also investigated motor vehicle accidents; the sheriff's departments deferred the same responsibilities, to State Highway patrols. Conversely, the sheriff's department primary responsibilities also criminal process services: detention facilities: and, the management of gun permits, concealed weapons permits, sex offenders' registrations. Four of the five organizations were accredited by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies CALEA).

Attributes and Locale of Participants' Organizations

Three of the organizations included in this study were situated along bordering state(s) lines. The sizes of the organizations varied significantly. For example, two of the five organizations employed approximately 1,500 sworn officers each. In contrast, two other organizations employed less than 200 sworn officers each. The populations served by the organizations represented, ranged from approximately 20,000 citizens to nearly one million. Three of the five organizations were located in urban cities while the remaining two were in towns with rural and unincorporated areas. The urban organizations were located in relatively diverse racial and ethnic communities with approximately 40-50% Caucasian, 30-40% African-American, 5% and 5% Latino, represented. Table 2 provides an illustrated comparison of the five different law enforcement organizations represented in this study.
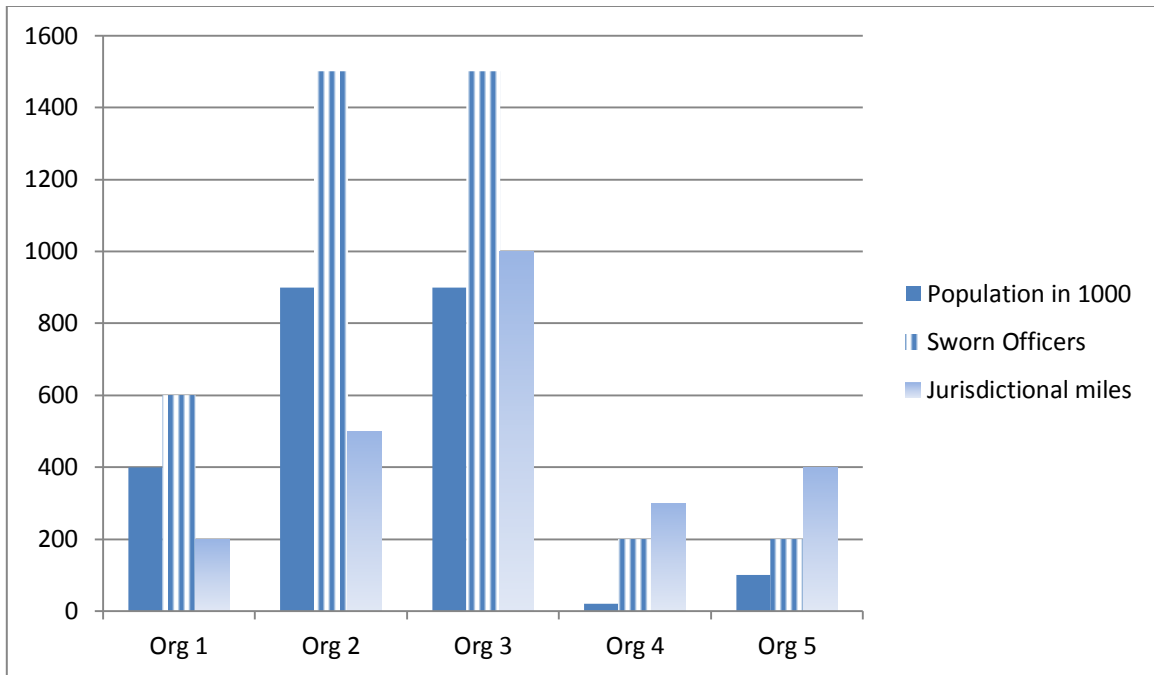
Figure 1 Participant Organization Comparison

Organizational Culture

According to Egan, Yang, and Bartlett (2004), "The culture, and environment of an organization can influence the types, and numbers of learning-related events, and employee job satisfaction as well as employee motivation to transmit newly acquired knowledge to the workplace context" (p.280). Therefore, data was collected, and analyzed to gain an understanding of the context within which participants worked that potentially shaped and influenced their work performances and professional experiences. Specifically, participants were asked to describe their organization's culture in terms of the structure of their work environment, organizational demographic composition, levels of diversity, and assessments of organizational climate. Participant responses provided

insight into hierarchical structures and levels of investigator supervision. In addition, participant responses offered insight into the organizational climates in terms of perceived support for detectives and transfer of training, and peer relations. The inclusion of data on participants' organizational cultures was included to provide insights into the roles that culture plays in influencing participants learning experiences; their motivation to transfer training to performance; and, their personal and professional introspection on organization assessments. Again, due to the sensitive nature of information disclosed by participants about their organizations, and themselves, quotes in the organizational culture section of this chapter were not attributed to specific participants to protect multiple forms of anonymity.

Participants described their organizations' diversity in terms of demographic representation of minorities and numbers of females employed. Four of the six participants described their organization as fairly diverse with females with minority representation lower than the national averages of 23.6% minorities (USBJS, 2003). According to the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics website, data collection periods for the 'Census of State, and Local Law Enforcement Agencies' occurred every four years since 1992. However, the most recent publication was in 2008 (www.OJP.USDOJ.Gov, 2014). One participant organization actually employed a greater percentage of females, and minorities than national averages. Concurrently, females within that organization held positions in the top echelons of the agency. Across participating organizations, four of six participants served under the leadership of a female chief, commissioner or sheriff. The two remaining participants served in

organizations led by a male in which one or more females held rank position(s) as the second or third highest administrator in the organizational structure.

Participants described their organizational culture in terms of demographic composition and included their sentiments about past minority treatment and the relative absence of minorities within their organization. For example, Monica described her organization as "lacking diversity" with few women employed, and even fewer minorities employed. She added:

> "In the past we'd count the detention officers, and court officers to bolster
>
> our demographics but we were chastised by the accreditation committee.
>
> Since then we've really been trying to recruit more minorities, and
>
> females but we are really behind in hiring, and promoting minorities."
>
> (Monica)

Monica also disclosed that minorities were treated less favorably than whites, and females within her organization. In addition, she adds, minorities within the organization only were promoted after they filed complaints, grievances, and lawsuits against the organization for discriminating practices.

Organizational Structure

All five organizations represented in this study contained a designated investigative unit-or division or bureau-separate from general patrol divisions. Despite this division of labor, participants from two of the organizations were assigned to investigate a wide variety of serious crimes. The remaining four participants served in organizations which assigned detectives to specialized investigative units such as crimes

against persons, crimes against property, homicide, burglary, robbery, vice, or narcotics. Participants, within each of their respective investigative divisions or bureaus, generally were assigned to work cases independently but within a team setting. However, all participants reported that contextual factors and evidentiary factors of each case dictated whether or not they worked independently or with a partner on particular cases.

Supervision and Evaluation of Detective Performance

Within their respective organizations, participants reported that supervision, and evaluation of their performance was conducted by a person at or above the rank of sergeant. Three of the five organizations utilized formal annual performance reviews and ratings to assess detectives. Participants described the formal performance assessment tools used in their organizations as generalized narrative accounts of their performances which included references to notable cases in which their performance was exceptional. However, two participants had not received a formal performance evaluation within the last two or more years. Participants made minimal references to the inclusion of negative information in their annual performance evaluations. Instead, they collectively referred to a level of autonomy afforded to detectives where superior performance is expected.

Esther's organization used a self-rated annual performance tool that was reviewed by her sergeant. Esther not only preferred this form of evaluation but believed it to be more accurate than formal appraisal by supervisor stating:

> I know what areas I need to work on, I also know the details of my cases
> where I did work that my supervisor might not be aware of that I feel

should be in my evaluation. I believe this type of evaluation is more

accurate than my supervisor filling out the form. (Esther)

In addition to formal performance evaluations, participants received informal

assessments from peers, members of the community, and other criminal justice

professionals. These informal performance assessments included face-to-face personal

acknowledgements, recognition from criminal justice content experts, and minor

acknowledgements in internal communications. When asked if they were praised or

rewarded openly for obtaining confessions or convictions, each participant interjected a

resounding, "No, it's my job!"

Organizational Climate

Similar to organizational culture, organizational climate in this study was

examined with a desire to understand the structure, levels of support, and levels of risk

within each participant's organizations. However, Denison's (1996) comparative

discussion between organizational climate, and organizational culture distinguished the

two phenomena. Organizational culture focuses primarily on the roles of structure,

control, and security. While organizational climate focuses on the supporting role of

structure and serving the multiple needs of employees. Subsequently, Denison's

distinctions between organizational culture and organizational climate, guide this

analysis and findings. The information gleaned from participant narratives shed light on

the multiple values espoused by organizations (i.e. organizational culture) such as hiring

to promote employee diversity versus the administrative dismantling of systems (i.e.

organizational climate) that undermine efforts to support increased levels of diversity and specifically minority, and female employees.

Participants' Assessment of Race and Gender Relations

Importantly, most participants described their organizations as fairly diverse in terms of minority and female representation. Simultaneously, participants also described the lingering presence of the "good old boy" system, and rooted in inconspicuous and conspicuous practices of discrimination, racism, and sexism. Participants indicated that while the "good old boy" system was less prominent, compared to when they first were hired; "good old boys" are still prominent among "the old guard." According to participants, "the old guard "was a reference to older, usually white, male officers who were resistant to changes, reluctant to embrace technology, and opposed to the presence of women and minorities within the law enforcement profession. All participants expressed hope that as the "old guard" retires, opportunities will be renewed for progress in diversifying their organizations.

Participant Attitudes about Organizational Climate

Notably, higher ranking participants made more optimistic, more hopeful statements, and more comments regarding an improvement in their organizational climates. The specific use of the word 'hope' was more prevalent in the narratives of higher ranking participants. For example two participants stated:

We're gonna (sic) see a generation of detectives or officers who are

gonna (sic) struggle because they don't have that skill of talking to

people, that one-on-one contact with someone. Hopefully that won't be

the case with us." (Sarah)

"Our community is diverse, and hopefully we can match that diversity,

we are really trying. (Sydney)

Additionally, participants who served in organizations headed by females were less critical of their organization, more flattering in their descriptions of the organizational culture and climate, and used more 'we' statements.

It's gonna (sic) be interesting down the road, especially again with this

generation. , and I know everybody says that, and it makes me sound old,

but you know, how are we gonna (sic) deal with that when we have a

generation of texters, who that's how they communicate. (Sarah)

"We are very diverse with more white males of course but we have

females across the board at every rank." (Kayla)

In contrast, the remaining participants in organizations led by male Chiefs or Sheriff's, used more "they statements"

It's more political –they have a tendency to want to hire people that live

in the county, instead of branching out, and getting probably better

candidates for the department. (Monica)

Higher ranking participants also expressed a great interest in, and concern about, how law enforcement agencies can accommodate the needs of younger officers while maintaining the command and control necessary to reach organizational goals effectively.

One size no longer fits all, and younger officers demand a greater respect for

their off time, and personal, and social lives. (Sarah)

They [young officers] don't have that skill of talking to people, that one-

on-one contact with someone. , and I mean we see it now with some of

our officers just, you know, out of the academy, who are in a car and, you

know, you have to encourage them, you need to get out of the car, you

need to talk to people, you can't just send a text, you can't email them,

you have to talk to them. (Sydney)

Participants' Perceptions of Support and Mentoring

Study participants described their organization in terms of supportive and/or

mentoring relationships, and availability of resources. All the six participants felt

supported in their organization. Sarah noted that support for females by other females

improved over the decades:

I think what I have seen is, you do have the female support of one

another, which is a very good thing to see, because I don't think it's

always been that way. (Sarah)

When asked to consider their experiences as females entering law enforcement, and

more specifically the investigative division, all but one participant recalled that they

were mentored positively or "taken under the wing" by an older white male detective.

Five of the six participants indicated that their personal style of investigation and

interrogation developed primarily as a result of training experiences with their male

detective mentor not a transfer of formal training. More specifically, participants simply

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did not adopt their mentor's style but instead crafted their selections (and exclusions) of aspects of their emerging interrogation style based on the positive or negative influences of their mentor.

The remaining participant, Amber, indicated that she was mentored by a female detective; however, she also specified that her investigative and interrogation style was influenced by Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and the fictional television detective, Perry Mason. She was inspired by Marshall's revere for the law and rights of people; and, Perry Mason's methodical-yet simple-approaches to investigations. All six participants reported that their current on-the-job experiences with investigations and interrogations continue to refine and reform their ongoing approaches to their work.

While only one participant reported having a female mentor in the past, five of the six participants indicated explicitly that they make overt efforts to support and guide subordinate female officers. Examples of these overt actions used by participants to support female colleagues include: 1) making recommendations for openings in specialized assignments; 2) providing private words of encouragement to inspire them; and, 3) making recommendations and referrals for training to better position them for future assignments. One participant stated:

> I know I try if there's a female officer coming up to encourage them, to let them
>
> know if they've done a good job, to recognize, if you will, for a job well done.
>
> (Kayla)

Of the female officers who take these extra measures to support other females within the organization, Officers Kayla and Monica each indicated that their efforts often were

rejected or ignored. Instead of feeling dejected or disappointed, each detective made comments acknowledging their respect for each individual's approach to investigation. For example, Officer Monica reflects,

> I told my replacement (another female detective) to take that approach to improve her technique. She did it a little but stuck with her own style. I didn't take it personally; I guess she wants to find her own way. (Monica)

Collectively, participants indicated that they felt supported by their co-workers, subordinates, and superiors. Each woman indicated that resources were at her disposable for criminal investigations and interrogations. Additionally, each participant stated that they felt comfortable seeking professional advice from one or more individuals within her organization. In the next section, results from this study were presented through the identification and description of emergent themes, and sub-themes from this study.is provided below.

Emergent Themes and Sub-Themes

Theme 1 Training

Categorically, police training can be classified as either formal or informal training with each encompassing subcategories of associated training based on the context in which the training occurs. Formal training is purposeful, organizationally sanctioned, and often is prescribed training for participants. Informal training includes the unplanned learning experiences where police receive informal instructions, and guidance on how to complete work related tasks. Training as emergent theme included

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three sub-themes: 1) formal training, 2) informal training, and 3) development of expertise.

Training emerged as a prominent theme, described as both formal and informal training that contributed to the development of participants' knowledge skills, and abilities (KSA) across the span of their police careers. The culmination of knowledge gained during the participants' specialized assignments in investigations contributed to their pursuit, and attainment of content expertise. Furthermore, the development of professional expertise was a culmination of their learning experiences across the span of their police service. A discussion of expertise was provided within the context of informal training.

Sub-Theme #1 Police Formal Training

According to the participants'; formal training was any type of training by the organization offered, provided or assigned for them to receive. For participants, formal police training included police academy training, field training, in-service training, and additional specialized training.

Academy Training

Academy training represented the initial form of formal training the vast majority of police officers received across the nation including study participants. According to Twersky-Glasner (2005) academy training creates, and then reinforces, the working personality (or cultural shield) that unifies police in solidarity (p. 65). Academy training represents the primary indoctrination period in which police officer candidates learn the types of behaviors that are expected of them. Among the participants interviewed, all

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received formal training through a police or sheriff organization. Three of the six participant organizations utilized internal personnel to provide an "in-house" academy. The remaining organizations used an outside agency to provide curriculum instruction and facilities for academy training. Again, among participant organizations, academy training ranged between approximately 20-30 weeks. Among participant organizations, three of the five had no required academy training or an abbreviated academy (1-10 weeks in duration) for officer's who lateral transferred to their departments. Upon completion of academy training participants were assigned to field training that involved OJT within a formal field training program.

Field Training

Formal field training programs were present in all five participant organizations. According to participants, field-training was a post-academy process in which they were assigned to a training officer who observed and rated their patrol performance against a prescribed set of criteria. Examples of the criteria used to evaluate participant performances included officer safety, legal knowledge, and knowledge of their specific assigned area. Variations in participants' field-training programs existed only in accommodations for lateral transfer officers. For example, two study participants served as law enforcement officers in other agencies. For those two women, their field training was comparatively short in duration, and focused on acclimating them to an assigned geographical area.

In-service Training

Following police academy and officer field-training, participants received ongoing in-service training as well as specialized training throughout their career. Participants described on-going or in-service training, mostly as compliance based concerning topics such as: 1) case law, 2) hazardous materials, 3) handgun proficiency, and 4) diversity. Participants frequently referenced ongoing legal, procedural or case-law update trainings. For example: We have regular investigator (case law) classes that tell us what you can, and cannot do. Amber.

Not surprising, participants' perceptions about the role of formal training revolved around compliance, and deterrence. On participant put it, "training tells us what we can, and can't do." Despite their seemingly negative perceptions of formal training, the participants acknowledged that they still respected and appreciated the formal training they received. Participants also described each of their organization as one that valued training and offered multiple opportunities for applying new training to practice.

Specialized Training for Investigators

Across participant organizations, a combination of internal and external facilitators provided specialized training to all police personnel. Four of the five participant organizations operated basic and advanced investigator schools at their facilities using internal police personnel as trainers; those same organizations also utilized outside resources for specialized interrogation training for their detectives. Across all participants, all four of the five mentioned the Reid Method of Interview and

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Interrogation training by name. One study participant, Monica, attended a Reid sponsored interview and interrogation training. The remaining participants described their interrogation training as "Reid like" interrogation training through 2nd or 3rd hand exposure. That is, detectives who attended actual Reid interview and interrogation schools returned to their organizations and shared information with other participants through formal and informal training.

Sub-Theme #2 Police Informal On-The-Job Training (OJT)

In discussing aspects of formal training, the participants also provided thick descriptions of their informal training experiences. Informal, or on-the-job, training occurred during daily professional interactions and performance of their duties. According to the participants, informal training served as opportunities for both experimental uses of new practices and implementations of practices prescribed by formal training programs. Resoundingly participants identified informal training as the most significant and relevant types of training with respect to their interrogations. For each of them, informal training consisted of variations of on-the-job training and quasi-apprenticeship as well as self-initiated and self-directed learning experiences. These self-initiated and often self-directed, learning experiences typically were categorized, by participants, as observational and experiential learning.

Observational Learning

Observational learning involved watching and learning from the others on how to perform as well as what actions were acceptable and effective.

I don't think what's taught to basic students are enough. I've never had any "formal" training on how to actually do the job (case investigation and interrogation), it's just been all on the job. I've watched other detectives who were very good with interrogation, I watched what they did. I've watched some very bad interrogations (laugh), and so I was able to really develop my skills by watching others, and watching this particular model called the Reid technique, and that matches more of my personality. (Sydney)

Participants explained how their observation of others, and solicitation of advice from more experienced interrogators, provided internal and external feedback (both positive and negative) on their individual interrogation performances.

I would say sitting in probably on the interview with my sergeant, chief, or .another detective, and seeing how certain things might've been done that I liked the way that they did it. , and kind of like going, and reevaluating, telling him what I did, and asking what could've been done differently, and asking my chief to critique me. Esther

The participants also sought out observational learning opportunities in a variety of venues. For example one participant described how she watched court proceedings: I would go to court to sit in on cases, not my own, just to see what types of challenges were made, what evidence was admissible, and how judges ruled on cases. Amber

Experiential Learning

Participants also developed their knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSA) through the performance of their duties. Additionally, participants' narratives revealed insight

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into their personal and professional attitudes; therefore, references to (KSA) in the remaining text will include an acknowledgement and notation of the participants' attitudes reflected through the use of (KSAA) in the remaining text.

> Learning for me came from probably some of the mistakes that I made in
>
> interviews, and how to probably word things differently in the future.
>
> (Esther)

For participants, work related experiences provided additional internal feedback that participants used to modify their future work behaviors.

> When I was a detective, we didn't have the luxury of video oversight.
>
> We could've used a tape-recorder, but personally found it better to have
>
> someone else in the room, so that if we had to take a break, you got that
>
> immediate feedback from that other detective that could say "hey, you
>
> might wanna (sic) touch on this, go back, and revisit this," if I missed
>
> something. (Sarah)

Informal Learning and the Development of Expertise(s)

Through the development of KSAA over time, participants described the gradual accruement of multiple levels of –and-dimensions of professional expertise. Professional expertise emerged from participants' references to "seasoned" and "subject-matter/content experts" in response to questions posed about how their investigative performance is perceived by others. Most participants considered themselves investigative subject matter or content experts and reference their status in terms of how

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others seek and interact with-them on matters related to their specialization. For example:

> I think people saw me as a content expert, especially with juvenile law, and sex offenses. People called me when they had a question, even when I was off, if it was 3:00 in the morning, I got those phone calls, "hey, what do you think about this," or "what should we do about that?" So I think at that point in my career, I was held, at least for that particular area, in very high esteem. (Sarah)

Initial interpretations of statements about "seasoned detectives", and "subject matter experts" seemed to imply that the two terms were interchangeable. However, upon closer examinations subtle and nuanced differences between the two were revealed. Specifically, terms, "seasoned", and "subject matter/content expert," represented an accumulation of knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes (KSAA), over time. However, "subject matter/content expert" referred to knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes associated with a specialized assignment or a specific job. On the other hand, subject matter expertise was supported by ongoing specialized training and experiences in particular job assignments. Sarah's quote above alluded to characteristics of two subtleties associated with content expertise that delineate but duality and 'currentness'. The duality of the term "content expert" is that it represents both a commodity as well as a status. In other words, as a commodity, content expertise is comprised of knowledge skills, abilities, and attitudes (KSAA) that persists throughout the duration of the detective's professional career. Although content expertise also was

described in terms of professional standing or status that was time bound, and assessed based on how current the content expert's knowledge, experiences, skills, and abilities are in light of ever changing learning opportunities including: 1) technological advancements, 2) changes in case law, 3) new research and, 4) training.

The term "seasoned" as gleaned from participants' narratives, described a person's longevity, and varied experiences over an extended period of time that pertained to both general and specialized skills. The experiences of seasoned officers represented years of learning from both positive and negative encounters that shaped their performances. In essence, "seasoned" referred to a person's ability to examine new challenges from a variety of perspectives based on their accumulated and expansive (general and specific) knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes (KSAA) developed over time. Additionally, participant statements implied an informal assignment of the term "seasoned" in varying levels of "seasonedness" through the use of terms like "more seasoned", and "well-seasoned" detectives. Using this criterion also referred to a person with greater knowledge, skills, abilities, and case expertise than you. Unlike the term "content expert or subject-matter expert", the term "seasoned" is a commodity of experiences with an associated status, that once attained, does not diminish.

According to participants, the informal categorization of detectives as content experts or "seasoned" detectives, within, and outside the organization, influenced both how others perceived them, and how others treated them. Participants who identified as content experts served in multiple capacities outside their organization, including guest speaking, and consultants to health, and mental health professionals associated with their

cases. Within their organizations, participant described how newer detectives, who lack "content expertise, and are not yet "seasoned" are usually assigned to investigate less serious crimes while they gain knowledge, and experiences gradually with increasing challenges over time. For example:

> Typically they try to start them in just a general investigations unit. I'd
> never send an inexperienced detective in there on a child sex abuse case;
> they mess up a case trying to go beyond their experience, and skill level.
> (Sarah)

Findings from Kendall's, the member checker, narrative provided support for data collected, and analyzed for the six participants. However, the member checker, Kendall, revealed an additional aspect of expertise development, professional expertise, which had not been stated explicitly by participants. Kendall honed in on the emphasis the researcher, and participants placed on case expertise, and content expertise. However, she specifically noted that the discussion on "seasonedness", and veteran officer status was actually an acknowledgement of the existence of a level of professional expertise that is developed through the accumulative layered learning, and acquisition of knowledge, for participants, was continuous, and collectively contributed to their overall professional expertise. Professional expertise referred to an overall level of professional development representative of multiple years of learning, and experiences across a wide variety of assignments.

Theme 2 Evaluation

Theme 2, evaluation referred to the behaviors and processes participants engaged in during the performance of the duties as police investigators. Additionally, evaluation as a theme included insight into how participants internalized aspects of the process.

Three distinct processes emerged from participants' narratives about how they conducted criminal investigations, and suspect interrogations, and included: 1) interrogation processes, and 2) decision influence factors. The details and examples participants shared about each of the three processes provided insight into their personal and professional competencies. Finally, the theme highlights the need for improved means to examine, assess, and evaluate police detective performances.

Procedural Internalization

Procedural Internalization described participants' adherence to a latent systematic processes for both case investigation, and interrogations. Participants' frequent, and high levels of engagement in the systematic investigative process were internalized as a result they were less aware of their existence. During the first two rounds of interviews participants were asked questions about how they conducted their work as investigators, and interrogators. When asked to describe the steps they took to conduct a criminal investigation or interrogation participants categorically denied following a standard way or process. In fact, participants denied the existence of a fixed or formal approach to investigations, and interrogation. Instead, they reiterated the significance of the context, and the uniqueness of each case. For example:

Amanda, I'm gonna (sic) stop you there, because there's no set way –

each interview/interrogation is different. (Amber)

I don't think there's any protocol that is necessarily written down. It's

going to depend on the type of case. (Sydney)

Sub-Theme #1 Tri-Phase Investigative and Interrogation Process

This tri-phase process included ongoing performance assessments that provided

feedback necessary to continue the processes until the goal was reached. The process of

case investigation involved the collection, and analysis of information related to each

individually assigned criminal case. The degree to which each participant engaged in

the process of case investigation offered insight into their personalities, professionalism,

and motivations. The desired outcome of case investigation, according to the

participants, is to develop case expertise. Case expertise is discussed later in the context

of case investigations. The second process, interrogation strategy development, included

a description of initial planning, selection, and choices participants in preparation for

actual interrogations. The decisions and strategies were developed primarily based on

the outcome of the case investigation process. The third process, interrogation, describes

the dynamic exchange between participants, and suspects during interrogations.

Together, the systems are represented within a larger tri-phase investigative process.

The Table 3 below (Table 3) was offered as a visual depiction of the tri-phase

investigative process in which the arrows indicate the flow of information, and feedback

between each phase and; the thickening of figures were used to illustrate the layered

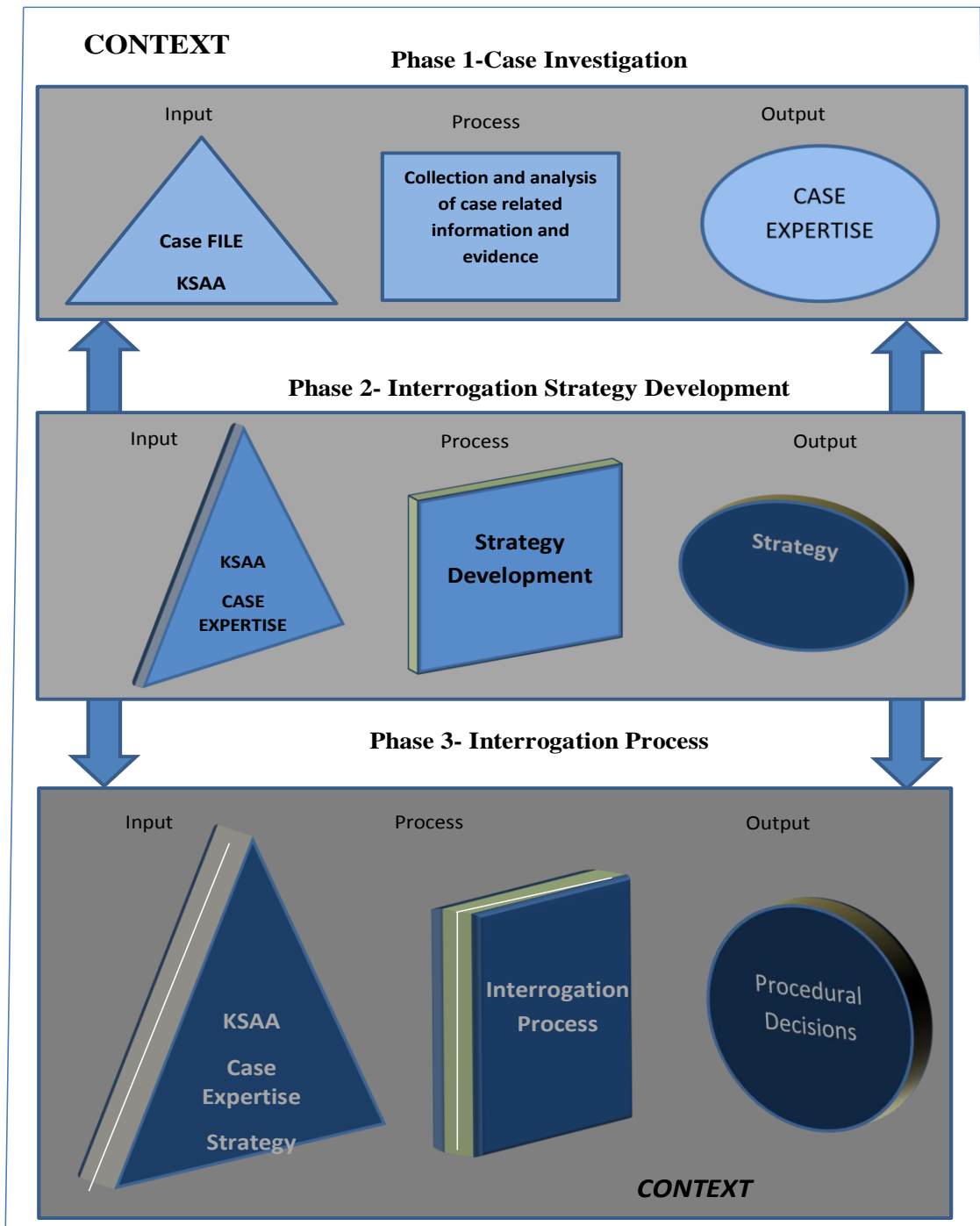accumulation of KSAA's through the course of the process.

Figure 2 Tri-Phase Investigative and Interrogation Process

Case Investigation

The first phase, case investigation, included the detective's exhaustive collection, and in-depth analysis of information about the criminal case to achieve a level of knowledge, and familiarity necessary to engage in future activities concerning the case. During case investigation, the participants conducted a preliminary assessment of the strength of the case. One example of this preliminary assessment was offered by Sydney as follows.

> I want to go in knowing as much as I can about the case, and then also think to myself, what are the other alternatives, what else could've happened that maybe everything that we've done so far – yes, it's leading towards this individual, but is there something we missed? What else could I add to confirm that this person is responsible?

The next step in the process of case investigation is a thorough examination, and analysis of all available information in the case. Participants were particularly descriptive in the types of information they sought during this phase.

> I go to the scene, and look at everything myself. If I can't be on the scene, then I look at the latent prints, the blood, the DNA, the pawn records. I talk with the deputies who responded to the scene, and took the report. I do an analysis of the scene, the crime; I do an analysis of the suspect. I consider the length of the person's criminal history. (Kayla)
> I see if they have a history (criminal), if they've been interrogated before, what kind of background (of the suspect) am I looking at. I would never

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interrogate someone unless I had a full working knowledge of the case. I

mean if an officer brought someone in, and we were gonna (sic) talk to

them right then, I'd still wanted to know what was going on. (Sarah)

The participants' descriptions about evidence collection represent more than "just good

police work." In actuality, it is not simply the quantity of information the detective seek

that is significant but instead the intensity, and personal connection they have to the

process. Most of the participants described themselves as a perfectionist. But there

seemed to be more to their approach to this process. An analysis of participant

narratives indicated that there was a sense of commitment to quality, and to the victim

that compelled them to engage in this process. One participant's statement exemplifies

this point:

It was always there's something else I can do (case investigation), if I just

had 50 hours in a day, only instead of 24. I mean I would bring stuff

home, and never get paid for it, never get comp time for it, I would work

3-4 hours in the evening time on my cases., just to stay current, and

provide that quality work – not just to the department, but to the poor

citizen that didn't ask to be a victim. I felt as if I owed my best to them.

(Sydney)

Development of Case Expertise

The desired outcome of case investigation is the development of case expertise.

However, participants referred to the achievement or development as case

internalization. Because findings of this study included process internalization as a sub-

theme, the term case expertise was used for consistency and clarity across themes. Participant narratives provided support for the proposed following definition of case expertise: Case expertise is the internalization of general, and specific details associated with a case to such a degree that subsequent investigative action, and decisions, made by the detective, regarding the case, appear almost instinctual. The detectives' constant engagement in the case investigation and their thorough examination of evidence collection, and analysis results in the internalization of case specifics. Internalization is the goal of the case investigation for these participants, and not just a byproduct of their action. The pursuit of internalization was expressed by the participants in the following example:

> You need to know the accused inside, and out. You've got to breathe the case. When you walk in that interrogation room, you bring the victim, the jury, the judge, and the attorney's with you. (Amber)

Case expertise exists when the detective is able to identify, and perform new investigative actions, answer questions pertaining to the case or respond to new developments in the case without the necessity of the actual case file in hand. The development of case expertise is described by participants as an essential first step in preparing for an interrogation. For example:

> You must learn everything about the case before talking to the suspect. You have to be prepared. You have to know the evidence of the case. (Kayla)

You have to do your homework, find out all you can about the case, and

the person before you talk to them. (Amber)

The achievement of case expertise is foundational to the second process, interrogation strategy development. Additionally, case expertise is continuously refined with self-assessments throughout the case investigation, and interrogation processes. Feedback gleaned during subsequent steps, including strategy development, and interrogation refuels the participants' of new knowledge about the case.

Interrogation Strategy Development

The second phase of the tri-phase process is the development of an interrogation strategy. When the participants were asked if they developed a strategy prior to an interrogation, their responses were lackluster. In fact, most participants referred again to the significance of context, and the uniqueness of each case in their development of strategies. However, their narratives revealed numerous actions they took prior to, and during the interrogations that are indicative of strategic development. For example

I would then ask the opinion of one or two detectives I respected about an

approach or angle I had in mind. Sometimes they would say yeah that

will work or no try this or if that doesn't work then try this angle. I

always think two heads are better than one. (Monica)

So I would, as I was talking to them, plan or try to plan a few steps ahead,

if you will, (decide) what my strategy was gonna (sic) be based on their

answers, and the way they were presenting themselves in the

interrogation. (Sarah)

Notably, participants did not refer to their actions as interrogation practices. However, their narratives revealed their intentional selections of behaviors for the purpose of optimizing their performance during the interrogation process; in other words, their described actions are interrogation practices.

Use of Gender

Across participants, there were frequent references to the use of gender in interrogations. An examination of participants' narratives revealed two areas where gender played a role in participant performance behaviors. The first use of gender was the strategic selection, and use of a detective to interrogate a suspect based primarily on the gender of the suspect and/or the gender of the detective. Amber described how knowledge about the suspect's past could influence your selection of a detective:

> If you know that person was raised in a male-dominant home, you might
>
> use a male detective. (Amber)

On the other hand, Sarah's statement below offered insight into the role that gender usage plays on the suspect's decision to cooperate as well as his/her comfort in confessing to a particular detective based on their gender.

> My partner (male detective), and I, we would really come up with a game
>
> plan as to who we thought would be better at doing that particular
>
> interrogation. Because as I'm sure you're aware, some cases, especially
>
> some of the more severe child sex abuse cases, for whatever reason,
>
> sometimes he (male detective) could get a confession quicker than a
>
> female could. (Sarah)

The second description of gender usage, by detectives, was evident in their usage or restraint of stereotypical gender roles. Their usage of gender in this sense was described more as a tool in their arsenal of interrogation practices:

I can go into a mother like role where I'm softer if needed. (Kayla)

I found that the people that I interrogated, especially my child cases, the more nurturing, and mothering you can be in an interview or an interrogation, no matter how hard that was, I always found that to be a better tactic. (Sarah)

One of our male detectives can cry on queue. He was interviewing a child molester, and you know they know what they did was wrong so they don't want to admit it. Well he cried, and told the suspect that his father had done that to his sister, and the guy confessed. It's really effective for him, and he's used it frequently. But I'm not sure it would work for me. They would see a woman crying as a weakness but a man crying creates an entirely different thing, I guess it's the gender thing. (Monica)

Based on participant's statements, it is evident that their use of gender during interrogations was strategic, purposeful, and intentional. Furthermore, all participants described the use of gender as highly effective during interrogations.

Interrogation as a Process

Once the detectives has developed case expertise, and crafted a preliminary strategy, they began the actual interrogation process. The interrogation process represents the third phase of the investigative process. The actual interrogation process

is the impetus for all previous steps including: case investigation and, the associated development of case expertise; the development of an interrogation strategy, and, the establishment of rapport. Police interrogations are the dynamic interaction between the detective, and the suspect. According to participants, the goal of an interrogation was to elicit incriminating information, and confessions from the suspect. An examination of participant narratives revealed an interrogation process in which the detective engages in a variety of activities primarily aimed at: 1) creating an environment in which the suspect would feel comfortable confessing; 2) managing, and controlling the direction, pace, and intensity of the conversation with the suspect;, and 3) eliciting incriminating statements from the suspect about his/her culpability in a crime. Other desired outcomes of an interrogation, according to the participants, are the incrimination of accomplices, and the corroboration of existing information, and to fill in gaps of knowledge about how, where, when, and why the suspect committed the crime. Only one participant, Monica, indicated that the goal of an interrogation was to reveal the truth. She parsed her response by indicating that her formal training changed her opinion about the purpose of an interrogation from getting a confession to getting to the truth of the case. The inclusion of this information is not to imply that other participants were less interested in seeking truth but instead to illuminate the significance which training had on Monica's messaging about the goal of an interrogation.

According to participants, a preliminary assessment of the suspect, and the development of rapport are precursors to interrogation. Like previous steps and processes described before, rapport requires ongoing assessment, management, and

maintenance of the connection through a variety of actions by the detective. How participants framed the process of rapport implied an understanding of the tension that exists between the detective, and suspect.

> And so I don't call it an interrogation—I'm gonna (sic) go in here, and "share" with this person, that's still a process of the whole building rapport. (Amber)
>
> Well, a lot of times I will initiate or initially tell them a little bit about myself, just find something that's similar that's alike between us or a family member. , and after introducing myself (sic), and telling a little bit about me, I say tell me something about you, just too kinda (sic) get that tension out. , and when you start seeing that rapport that you're breaking through.. (Esther)
>
> I had a case of strangulation, attempted murder, and the suspect just happened to develop, even though it was my case--my lead, better rapport with the other detective, so I let him take him lead. (Sydney)

Summary of the Tri-Phase Interrogation Process

During the tri-phase investigative process depicted in Figure 2, participants described how they used their knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities (KSAA) to engage in case investigation until they reached a level of case expertise. In turn, the information, garnered during the case investigation process, was used to develop an interrogation strategy, which was subsequently used to facilitate, and manage the interrogation process. During the interrogation process, participants indicated that they

continuously make procedural decisions regarding whether to arrest, or release, or continue to interrogate the suspect based on the continuous feedback loop created during their interaction with the suspect. When the decision is made to continue the interrogation, feedback gathered from participant responses, and behaviors add to the detective's case expertise which then stimulates new or modified interrogation strategies which are then used during the interrogation. It is within this dynamic context that participants are exposed to continuous learning opportunities with immediate opportunities to apply an array of interrogation practices narrowed only by the detective's ingenuity.

Theme 3 Competencies

Theme 3, competencies, describes the aptitudes participants possess which assist, and enhance their ability to conduct case investigations, and interrogations. Participants' competencies were evident in their descriptions of nuanced behaviors they used to leverage influence, and control. Collectively these influential behaviors were an outward demonstration of their KSAA's in a process of temperament shifting.

Temperament Shifting

Utilizing data from participants' descriptions of how they "go into" or present themselves to suspects during interrogations, the researcher proposed a label for this behavior called temperament shifting. Temperament shifting is the means by which participants apply their KSAA's to willfully adapt, transform or shift their individual temperament to an alternative persona they deem optimal to the existent contextual conditions during an interrogation. For example, a naturally introverted and soft spoken

detective may transform, and shift her temperament to present a boisterous, and domineering outward persona if she determined this would be more effective in eliciting information from a particular suspect. Shifting from one temperament, or persona, to another requires adjustments to, suppression of, and governance of particular aspects of one's true temperament or disposition. The ability to suppress personal feelings or initial reactions during an interrogation was described by Sarah:

> Some say I could never investigate sex abuse cases; I'd be angry or
>
> couldn't hide my anger. But you have to develop a hard shell to hear the
>
> crude word, and descriptions. You learn within yourself to not get angry.
>
> (Sarah)

Other participants described their ability to assess the emotional and mental state of a suspect, and remain flexible. The purpose of remaining flexible or adaptable is to facilitate the suspect's transition from their current state, which might be denial to a point or state determined by the detective, which is admission or confession.

> You have to meet that person wherever they are, and then bend, and be
>
> flexible until you get what you need. (Sarah)
>
> You need to know how they got to the point where they are. Your goal is
>
> to ultimately get them to a place where they can tell the truth. (Amber)

The transitioning of suspects from one point or place in their thinking, to another, is accomplished through temperament shifting, and involved the use of multiple interrogation practices. A person's temperament, in the context described by participants, includes aspects of their personality that influenced their behaviors even in

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opposition to their preferred behaviors. For example, few people would sympathize with a pedophile; however, participant narratives' indicated that demonstrating empathy for the suspect may be necessary to elicit a confession from him/her.

Participant narratives offered additional insight into how their knowledge skills, and abilities (KSA), worked in in conjunction with their value system to support their pursuit of investigative goals within the constraints of police, state, and federal laws. These influences emerged as a sub-theme of investigator competencies, and were categorized and proposed as a Decision Influence Model.

Sub-Theme #1-Decision Influence Model

The proposed Decision Influence Model includes four influence factors: motivators, facilitators, moderators, and regulators. The factors that influenced participant's decisions are depicted in my proposed Decision Influence Model. See Figure 3.
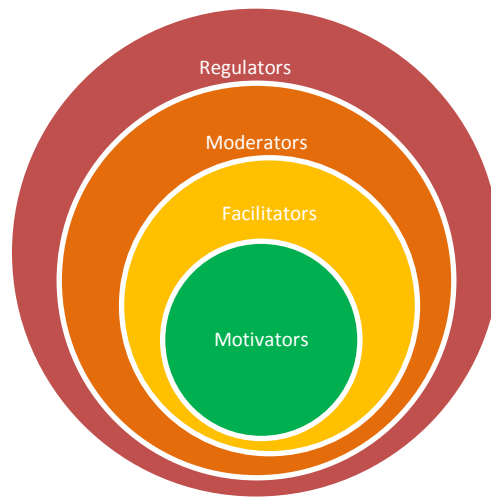
Figure 3 Decision Influence Model

The use of concentric circles or rings was used to represent the shared and inclusive factors that work collectively to influence participants' overall interrogation performance; whereby motivators are central to all other factors. Facilitators support participants' performances through the use of cultural competence, and communication management. Their actions are moderated or governed by their internal value systems and self-efficacy and; regulators act as overarching parameters limiting detective performances to the boundaries set forth by the law.

Motivators

Motivators refer to factors that stimulate, drive, and compelled participants to select, and engage in behaviors, even in direct opposition to their personality traits, opinions or preferences. Motivators influenced which interrogation practices participants selected, and used in their pursuit of their goals for interrogations. An

examination of participants' narratives revealed a hierarchy of commitments that influenced their behaviors during the interrogation process including: 1) commitment to a greater cause 2) commitment to self, and 3) commitment to the occupation or profession.

Commitment to a Greater Cause

Participants described how their pursuit of justice, and closure for the victim served as motivation during interrogations.

My goal was to work for that child, to know that I was there doing the very best job I could do so that there would be some sort of justice down the road for that child. (Sarah)

I'm motivated by Thurgood Marshall's willingness to fight for equality, and against injustice. When people say that you can't, yes you can. You can use the law to defend rather than offend. (Amber)

Motivators associated with a greater cause was evidenced in participants' selection, and use of interrogation practices such as minimization of the severity of the crime, blaming the victim, and implying empathy for the suspect. While these interrogation practices are considered offensive, distasteful, and even coercive (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kassin & Mcnall, 1991), the detectives' commitments to the greater good or cause was a driving force behind their selection, and adoption of such interrogation practices. Furthermore, participants referenced their commitment to the victim, and justice as their justification for the use of such interrogation practices. While considered by some as coercive, participants did not deem minimization as a coercive interrogation practice.

According to Russano et al., (2005) minimization encompasses strategies such as minimizing the seriousness of the offense and the perceived consequences of confession, and gaining the suspect's trust by offering sympathy, understanding, and face-saving excuses"(p.482).

Participant's use of minimization, and blaming the victim was based on their intent to establish, and maintain rapport while soliciting incriminating information from the suspect rather than based on a desire to trick or coerce the suspect.

> You were down, and out; you didn't have any money, and your kids
>
> needed food, so you broke into the convenience store. I understand that,
>
> you know, I live paycheck to paycheck myself. (Sydney)
>
> I would minimize the severity of the crime, if a person stole money from
>
> a business, and wasn't using it for drugs I would say well it's not like you
>
> were stealing for drugs; I know you were just trying to feed your family.
>
> (Monica)

Participants also described how they incorporated aspects of their personal life to foster a better connection with the suspect. For instance, Esther shared how she used her religious beliefs, and background during an interrogation:

> He walked out of the bathroom, and dropped to his knees, and asked me
>
> to pray for him. I prayed with him, and when it was all over, he sent a
>
> message to me through someone else thanking me for praying for him.
>
> (Esther)

In addition to supporting, and maintaining rapport, the sharing of personal information, even if the details shared are untrue, lends credibility to the detective during the interaction with the suspect. Alternate temperaments were also used to construct or fabricate environments more conducive to interrogation. Specifically, participants highlighted the need to create an emotional environment where the suspect felt safe and free from judgments in order to elicit a confession from them.

> You must give them an environment where they feel comfortable sharing. (Amber)

> And you had to be patient, and you had to be -what's another word – patience was a big one, not judgmental, to get them to get to a point to where they trusted you enough to talk about whatever it was you had them in there to talk about. (Sarah)

> People think you relate to them, and they feel more comfortable admitting things. (Monica)

> *Commitment to Self*

Participants described a commitment to themselves in terms of their personal standards of performance, pride, reputation, integrity, and ownership of their work products. Monica, for example, was both confident, and proud of her professional reputation, and performance.

> I don't want to sound like I'm bragging but (pause). If I'm going to do something I make sure I do it well. I'm well respected for my work. (Monica)

On the other hand, Kayla exhibited a sense of ownership about her work, how that translated to the performance of others in her zone, and the impact their efforts had on criminals.

> My zone officers (assigned to her area) are vested so I make myself
>
> available to them. When they catch a person, and I interrogate them, I tell
>
> them this is my area. I prepare a clear case against them, and they learn
>
> not to commit crimes in my area. (Kayla)

Also represented in the narratives was evidence that participants held themselves to a higher standard of behavior.

> So anything that illegal, Amber doesn't do, so I'm not a part of. (Amber)

And while they did not imply they were superior to suspects, they did indicate that their professional behaviors should be superior to that of the suspects.

> I think the use of abusive threatening or violent actions with suspects
>
> would put the detective on the level of the person that's on trial. (Sarah)

Finally, Amber, and Kayla stated that they don't like to go to court or lose a case. While this revelation initially seemed to imply competitiveness it was also evidence of their disdain for negative court experiences that could potentially impact their professional reputations.

Commitment to the Occupation or Profession

Participant narratives were devoid of direct statements that demonstrated a commitment to the organization itself. Instead, participants expressed a commitment to their work, and select people, and groups of people associated with their work. For one

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participant, Kayla, there was recognition that her commitment to a cause, and adherence to a high standard of performance could foster similar commitments by others within her organization. She shared how her work performance was inspirational to others in her organization.

> I'm vested in my work, and the deputies in my area take a certain amount
>
> of pride in their work. One female deputy had fingerprints lifted from a
>
> pool stick because she was vested in the case, and knew that I would
>
> appreciate her work. (Kayla)

While motivators provide the impetus for detective performance in case investigations, and interrogations, other factors enable them to carry out their duties. Facilitators are one example of these factors that assist participants in their performance of investigative, and interrogation performances.

Facilitators

In addition to motivating factors, participants described the use of a variety of tools used to enable their dialogue with the suspect. For example, participants stressed the importance of being flexible and open minded in your approach, and expectations of the interrogation process. Amber stated, "You never know what you're gonna (sic) get until you walk in that room. You have to follow the drip (information, and evidence), regardless of where it leads or your assumptions." (Amber)

Participants reported two techniques they used to facilitate the interrogation process. The first was categorized as communication management, and the second was cross-cultural competence. Communication management as described by participants

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was the ability to maintain a fluid, and conversation like dialogue with the suspect while steering, directing, and controlling the pace, and direction of the conversation.

> I try to keep the interrogation more like a conversation. You have to get them talking. If they are talking really loud or upset I'm calmer, and I speak softer. They have to stop talking to hear me. (Kayla)

Next participants explained how they use the interrogation practice, confronting the suspect, to challenge inconsistencies in the suspect's statements during the interrogation.

> I wanted to get their side of the story, get them locked into a story, or you know, whatever they were gonna (sic) tell me. Then I would pick apart their story or inconsistencies in their story. You just keep bringing them back to that. (Sarah)

Cross Cultural Competency

Cross cultural competence was illustrated in participant narratives in their acute awareness of the socio economic and experiential context from which the suspect came. The use of slang, jargon or colloquialisms, familiar to the suspect, was used to imply an understanding, support or even sympathy for the suspect's illegal actions. However, participant' narratives indicated that an awareness of a suspect's culture was important but not sufficient to be effective. According to participants, cross-cultural competence was dependent upon the detective's comfort level in incorporating aspects of the desired culture into their interaction with the suspect. Furthermore, the detective must be able to change or shift her temperament to one that is more conducive to the suspect's cultural

context. For instance, Amber described her interaction with a suspect accused of raping a relative:

> I said your wife is incapable of performing; you got a little horny, and
> thought you'd go in there, and 'slide up in there "and see what happens.
> You didn't realize she would accuse you of rape. I understand…Then
> you see his head drop, and he starts to mumble. That's when I put the
> pad down, and said "I hear you but that's B.S. So then I had to change up
> from being the 'uh-huh, uh-huh' to let's go a little deeper, and let me
> begin to start speaking like he speaks. So I had to go straight in for what I
> call the 'looka -here', did you or did you not 'hit it'? (Amber)

While the above scenario illustrates Amber's use of the interrogation practice, minimization of the severity of the crime, it is also indicative of Amber's comfort in displaying a culturally appropriate temperament that makes her words believable and authentic to the suspect.

With motivators serving participants as the catalyst for their subsequent performance behaviors during case investigations, and interrogations, facilitators aided, and supported those efforts. The next category of factors that influenced their performance behaviors were moderators.

Moderators

Moderators refer to the internal self-regulating mechanisms within the detectives that limit their interrogation behaviors. Unlike the motivators that were mostly intrinsic

driving forces that influenced detective performance behaviors, moderators are intrinsic forces that curtail or limit detective performance behaviors.

Self-efficacy

Moderators, as evidenced in participant narratives were based on their self-efficacy, and their value systems. Self-efficacy, as a moderator of temperament shifting, refers to the participants' belief in their ability to shift to a particular temperament, and maintain a level of authenticity of believability with the suspect. Sydney offered a self-assessment, and identified the factors she believed would limit her ability to present herself in a certain way.

> I don't have the stature, I don't have the voice, and it's not
>
> comfortable for me to do that. I'm not going in like a blaze of
>
> fire, screaming, and yelling, banging fist on the desk. I personally
>
> don't think that works – it certainly does not work for me because
>
> I couldn't maintain that level of intensity for too long in an
>
> interrogation – I'm much more relaxed. (Sydney)

Sydney's comment also demonstrated an acute awareness that the presentation of an alternative persona or temperament must be something sustainable over a given period of time. On the other hand, Sarah's self-awareness of the limits of her capacity to present certain temperaments was apparent in her statement:

> If you go in there, and try to present yourself as someone you're
>
> not, or to use language you don't understand, you're never gonna
>
> be successful, and I mean I know that, so I could never, go into an

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interrogation, and interview with a gang member just couldn't.

You have to know your limitations. (Sarah)

Personal Values

In addition to self-efficacy, participants' narratives shared light on their value systems, and how they limit, govern, and regulate their behaviors during interrogations. Value systems refers to a person's perspective, outlook or stance on what is right or wrong, and how people should treat one another. Across participants, there were shared perspectives regarding how people should be treated in general. First, participants indicated that they accepted each person as an individual, and refrained from judging them or their actions.

You have to accept each person individually from day one. (Amber)

Realizing that everybody comes to where they are in life from different

backgrounds. , and who am I to judge? It's not my job to judge. (Sydney)

Next, participants expressed a belief that we are all human, and deserving of a standard of care or treatment regardless of their actions.

You have the rights of the victim, but you as the investigator, you still

have the rights of the suspect, you know, that person or that perpetrator,

doesn't matter whether or not you like what they did, you still have to

honor their rights, they got rights too. So you gotta be mindful of that,

you gotta respect their rights. (Amber)

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Finally, participants conveyed their belief that people have inherent needs that should be met. These needs included: 1) a need to be understood, 2) a need to feel safe and, 3) a need to know what is going to happen to them.

> Everybody is looking for "do you feel what I'm saying. You want them
> to confess so they can relieve the victim or the victim's family of the lies,
> and themselves, and then they can go through the process of being
> charged or going to court, and move on to the next steps in their life as
> well. (Amber)
> I don't treat them like dirt bags. If they are denying it you don't degrade them, if
> you're respectful you are more successful. (Kayla)
> Because a lot of times, they're coming in, they're fearful of the unknown, not
> knowing whether they are gonna (sic) be arrested or will be free to leave.
> (Esther)

Motivators drive detective performance behaviors, facilitators aid in their performances, and moderators limit performance behaviors. Finally, regulators serve as overarching factors that provide external limitations on detective's interrogation behavior. Like motivators, regulating factors are primarily extrinsic in nature.

Regulators

The Regulators included external controls that represented legal or procedural directives, such as Federal, and State Laws such as new, and ever changing case law that provide limiting parameters in which detectives can legally perform. The intended purpose of regulators is to limit or restrain police behaviors. For study participants,

regulators were effective constrains. However, regulators were not the most influential

factor in constraining their behaviors. Instead participants' narratives provided

indications that moderators represented the most constraining factors on their behaviors.

Conclusions

To date, there have been minimal qualitative studies on police investigations, and

interrogations, and even fewer with female detective participants. This study was

conducted to provide insight into how police detectives select, and use interrogation

practices, and to examine the relationship between training, and investigative

performances including interrogations. A primary focus of this study was to provide a

voice to female police detectives who have been largely neglected in the literature.

Three rounds of semi-structured interviews produced rich, and thick descriptions of the

contexts in which detectives learn, and conduct case investigations, and interrogations.

The findings presented offered new insight into the factors that influence detectives in

their selection of police interrogation practice as well as the procedural process they

follow. Findings from this study were presented in the context of the identified

emergent themes which included: 1) training, 2) evaluation, and 3) competencies.

Additional attention was given to identified sub-themes which included: 1) formal and

informal training, 2) tri-phase investigative and interrogation processes, and 3) decision

influence factors,

Study findings associated with theme 1, learning, included insight on

participants' perceptions of the significance of, and need for, formal training that is

timely. In other words, participants' narratives indicated their desire to receive formal

training prior to or immediately before promotion to a new assignment. Participants also stressed the need for relevant investigative and interrogation training that mirrors actual detective performance. Acknowledging the challenges to developing training in the context of actual police performance, particpants were unwavering in their assertions that the best and most effectivve form of training for police investigations and interrogations involves observational and experiential learning. With regard to informal training, findings from this study highlighted the influence and perceived effectiveness of quasi-apprenticeship OJT on participants' development of an interrogation style including their selection and use of interrogation practices. Participants descriptions of their apprenticeship experiences provided insight into the associated mutliple and varied learning opportunities those informal OJT experiences entailed. Furthermore, findings from this study revealed that across participating organizations, there were indicators of supportive learning environments conducive to the transfer of training which included: organizational support for training, opportunities to apply training to practice and the existence of autonomy for detective performance subunits.

Findings from this study identified through Theme 2,evaluation, emphasized the need for HRD and police practitioners to examine performance by first conducting tasks analysis to identify latent work processes that may represent significant portions of employee performance, within organizations. The reported ongoing challenges from police organizations in measuring police performance are indicators of the existence of latent and/or internalized processes (by both police officers and police organizations) that are not represented in typical appraisal and evaluation measurements.

Findings from Theme 3, Competencies, provided insight into participants' development of knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes over-time that contribute to their development of multiple levels of expertise. In turn, participants' expertises support their ongoing detective performance. Within the context of police interrogations, findings from this study identified and illustrated the effects of intrinsic and extrinsic factors in police decision making processes associated with criminal investigations and interrogations. Other insights and observations gleaned from participant narratives included their strategic us of gender in preparation for and interrogation performance and their tactical use of gender to support, promote, and foster positive work relationships.

Perhaps, however, the most informative findings from this study were associated with holistic indications of a discrepancy between research based and police participants' definitions and classifications of interrogation practices. Findings from this study provided support for my assertion that participants' definitions of coercive interrogation practices were based on their application of a legal standard that asks "is it legal?" However, with regard to participants' selection and use of interrogation practices, participants' applied an interrogation style framework that included three styles of interrogation (persuasive, aggressive, and abusive/coercive); the application of an interrogation style framework asks "is it abusive, aggressive or just persuasive?"

Findings from this study indicated that the greatest influence on participants' adoption of a given interrogation style was their operating philosophy. Participant's operating philosophies were outward expressions of their values and beliefs about the

treatment of suspects during police interrogations. Participants' shift from assessing interrogation practices from a definition based to classification based criteria resulted in a subsuming effect for coercive interrogation practices in which coercion was subsumed within the aggressive style of interrogation.

The identification of a standard used by participants' for the classification of interrogation practices sheds insight into explanations as to why my participants reportedly refrained from the use of 'coercive interrogation practices'; it raised additional questions regarding the standards and interrogation classification frameworks that other police detectives apply that could offer insight as to why they refrain or use 'coercive interrogation practices.' Additionally, this finding raises new questions about the role of disparate definitions of coercive interrogation practices between researchers and police practitioners in perpetuating or at least failing to curtail police use of interrogation practices associated with false confessions.

Chapter V will include a discussion of study findings as they relate to the extant literature on police investigations, and interrogations, police training, and HRD. Additionally, findings were interpreted and presented in terms of their potential contributions, and implications to theory, research, policy, and practice. Finally, recommendations for researchers, practitioners and policy makers were provided.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND

CONCLUSIONS

The revelation that many men and women were wrongfully convicted of crimes led to intense research on wrongful convictions and exonerations (Blackerby,2003; Findly, 2002; Huff, 2004; Gould & Leo,2010; Martin, 2001; Poveda,2001; Ramsey & Frank,2007; Risinger, 2007; Smith & Hattery,2001). Researchers pointed to the dangers miscarriages of justice posed to law enforcement officers including civil liability, and threats to police legitimacy (Hawdon, 2008; Magid 2001; Seron, Pereira, & Kovath, 2004). In response, researchers (e.g., Kassin et al.; Simcoe, 2006) examined police interrogation training in efforts to identify coercive interrogation practices believed to be contributing factors in false confessions, and associated with wrongful convictions. However, past research (e.g., Dwyer, Neufeld, & Scheck,2000;Leo, 2005;Simcoe, 2006) on miscarriages of justice were shaped by the pursuit of causal facts, and assumptions about the existence of absolute relationships exists between police training, interrogation practices, false confessions, and wrongful convictions Yet, questions remained about the role of training in police interrogation practice selection. In addition, little remained known about the context in which police learn, and perform police interrogations, and the factors that influence performance behaviors. Finally, presumptions persisted about the perceived malicious and willful intent of police investigators to coerce suspects, even the innocent, to confess to crimes.

Findings from this study addressed each of these areas, and provided new insight into the cultural context in which female police detectives learn, and perform. The

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remainder of this chapter was organized, and presented as interpretations, implications and recommendations based on findings from this study in the context of the extant literature and the guiding research questions proposed at the onset of this study:

1) What do female police detectives with 10+ years of law enforcement experience, perceive about the role of training in their selection of interrogation practices?

2) What important roles do the participants perceive that the organizational culture, and their unit subculture, plays in influencing or discouraging their choices in the selection of interrogation practices?

3) Do the participants perceive external influences such as community, and media that influenced their decision making in the selection of interrogation practices?

4) Do the participants perceive personal influences, such as religion, family, and personal values that impacted their decision making in the selection of interrogation practices?

Study Findings and Interpretations

Study findings addressed each of these questions within one or more of the emergent themes and sub-themes outlined. The three emergent themes were: 1) training, 2) evaluation, and 3) competencies. Sub-themes from this study included formal training, informal training, tri-phase investigative and interrogation process, and decision influence factors.

The Role of Training in Police Interrogation Practice Selection

Training as an emergent theme, in this study, represented the learning environment, as well as the learning experiences that influenced participant

performances. Study findings associated with this theme addressed my research question about the role of training in police interrogation practice selection. Participants' narratives revealed that a combination of formal and informal (OJT) training contributed to the participants' achievement of multiple levels of expertise. Findings from this study provide support for the identification of three levels of expertise in police investigations: 1) case expertise, 2) content expertise and, 3) professional expertise. Each level of expertise is attributed to detective's development of knowledge skills, abilities, and attitudes (KSAA) across the span of their police careers. The layering of new knowledge contributed to an accumulation, and modification of participants' existing KSAA. The development of the listed expertise for participants occurred during their formal and informal (OJT) training. Consistent with what was documented in current literature (Clark et al., 2000; Heslop, 2012; Sun, 2002), formal training for participants in this study included academy training, field training for police, regular ongoing in-service training, and specialized training for detectives.

Formal training as a sub-theme of training emerged from participants' responses about the timing and types of formal investigative and interrogation training they received. Previous studies reported that formal specialized training was primarily reserved for officers promoted or assigned to detective divisions or assignments (Kassin et al., 2007; Kostelnick & Reppucci, 2009). However, few studies examined when detectives received specialized training. Participants in this study reported that they each received some form of specialized training, and specifically interrogation training, however, the majority reported that they received training sometime after their

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promotion to the detective position. In fact, most participants were assigned cases for investigation prior to receiving any specialized investigative or interrogation training.

With regard to the types of specialized investigative and interrogation training, studies continued to perpetuate the popularity of the Reid Method of Interview, and Interrogation (Kassin 2006; Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kassin et al., 2007; Kostelnick & Reppucci, 2009; Redlich & Meissner, 2009), despite recent findings that indicated the Reid Method was less common than what people believed (Kassin et al., 2007; Kostelnick and Reppucci (2009). Participants from this study were familiar with the Reid Method, but they also received formal training in methods other than the Reid method. Regardless of the types of specialized training participants received, they overwhelmingly reported that their on-the job training and experiences had the most significant influence in shaping their individual investigative and interrogation styles.

Informal training as a sub-theme of training offered new insights into the On-the-job training participants' received that prepared, supported, and influenced their performance as detectives. Study participants described their informal OJT training experiences in a manner that was akin to apprenticeships. Participants indicated that following their promotion to detective, they were assigned to a senior detective for training in an apprentice like role. The exchange of knowledge between the journey level, and newly assigned detectives, unlike general on-the job training, discussed in research (Becker, 1962; Van der Klink & Streumer, 2002), was deliberate, involved gradual increases in responsibilities with opportunities for observations, and experiential learning through passive, and active participation in interrogations. Clearly, the on-the-

job training learning experiences participants received during their apprenticeships represented a significant investment in human capital at the organizational, and sub-unit levels. However, the apprenticeship experiences described by participants lacked formality with no definitive length of training time, no set criterion to measure detective performance, and no benchmarks or indications of what constituted acceptable or unacceptable performance. In addition, the OJT training detectives or journey levels, received no pecuniary compensation or change in their job classification for their time and efforts. While OJT described by participants was consistent with Black, Noel and Wang's (1999) finding that on-the job training meets a significant organizational need by providing ongoing training to employees without the overt expense associated with formal training. Yet, the lack of recognition, and more importantly, compensation for investigative training officers (ITO) who perform duties similar to those of field training officers' raises ethical and potentially legal concerns about disparities between how each type of training officers are treated. Additionally, the lack of formalization makes it difficult to replicate the apprenticeship, and therefore each experience is unique, and may not reproduce desired behaviors. Not surprising, there was a dearth of research on investigative training officer (ITO) programs like the apprenticeships participants described in the scant research on field training officer programs (FTO) (Chappell, 2007; Moore & Womack, 1975) provided little information for comparison. This represents a significant gap in the literature on OJT for police and particularly, training for police detectives.

The Context in Which Police Learn and Perform Police Interrogation

Absent in the extant literature, on police interrogations, was insight into the context in which police detectives learn and perform interrogations. The police investigative subunit is a context rich for examination by HRD professionals. The examination of police interrogation performance through the lens of actual police detectives provided insight into the organizational culture, and subunit culture in which they perform. There was a great deal of research on police organizational culture and particularly, the identification of behaviors indicative of a collective and orthodox view or culture marked by cynicism, strict adherence to norms, exaggerated commitment to role or mission, concerns with inherent danger of job, and resistance to outside intervention, distrust of citizens and a male ethos (Loftus, 2010; Micucci & Gomme, 2005; Paoline, 2003),

An analysis of participant narratives offered no indication of support for these conventional assumptions that police shared a collective view marked by cynicism, strict adherence to norms, concerns with inherent danger of job, or distrust of citizens. Instead, participants' accounts included words of optimism for their profession, and for the future of their organizations. In addition, participants' descriptions of their performances were devoid of evidence that they strictly adhered to norms. Though participants reported observing other styles of interrogation that suggested more aggressive and potentially coercive approaches, they also indicated they did not adhere to these styles; and instead, they chose approaches that were aligned with their personalities, and values.

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Furthermore, the participants noted that they felt confident, and supported in their ability to make their own decisions about how they conducted both their criminal investigations, and interrogations. In addition, participants made no references to concerns about the inherent danger of their job. Instead, they expressed more concern about making certain that they provided closure to victims of crime, and having justice served.

On the other hand, findings from this study were consistent with previous research findings on the existence of an exaggerated commitment to role or mission among police officers (Waddington, 1999). Accordingly, participants' narratives included thick descriptions of their pursuit of perfection in performance to fulfill their commitment to a greater cause or good. These greater causes included commitments to their profession, justice, and the victim(s) of crimes. Interestingly, their expressed commitment was to a cause but not necessarily their organizations. It was also unclear if their commitment translated to a commitment to their profession.

Finally, no collective acceptance of a male-ethos was observed among participants. In contrast, an additional significant finding from this study illuminated the use of gender including demonstrations of stereotypical female behaviors such as: nurturing, motherly, matronly, female dominance, softer, kinder, and quieter approaches. Specific findings associated with gender clustered around the strategic use of gender in work performance processes, and the exhibition of stereotypical gender behaviors in the broader context of the organization. Participant narratives contained frequent references to the use of gender in the development of interrogation strategies, and interrogation

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performance. Examples of the use of gender included the strategic selection, and use of a detective, based on their gender, to interrogate a suspect. Participants indicated that the use of gender in this context was highly effective in establishing rapport with a suspect, and creating an environment comfortable, and conducive for the suspect to confess.

A second example of gender usage was evident in participants' descriptions of their presentation of stereotypical female gender behaviors such as being softer, gentler, and more motherly, towards suspects, particularly those accused of crimes against children. Notably, participants refrained from the use of gender stereotypical behaviors that could be perceived as weak, such as crying. Participants explicitly stated that the use of interrogation practices such as crying would be ineffectual if used by a female detective but potentially effective if used by males. Notably, the uses of gender as interrogation practices are neglected in the literature. One plausible explanation for the dearth of research on gender as an interrogation practice is that female detectives are also absent in the literature on police interrogations. Therefore, the exclusion of female detectives, by researchers in the extant literature on interrogations created additional gaps in the literature associated with the miscarriage of justice phenomena.

Other subtle indications of gender usage transcended work performance behaviors, and were evident in participants' descriptions of daily interactions with their co-workers. For example, one participant shared that she keeps a candy jar on her desk to be shared with her colleagues (mostly male). She commented that her male counterparts give her cash to fill the candy jar but will not buy the candy themselves

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because they say it "tastes better when it comes from you." Other participants described making meals for their squads, colleagues, and subordinates during inclement weather or lengthy assignments. Another participant regularly bakes cupcakes for office parties, and birthdays. Participant descriptions of these encounters, and peer interactions in which they embraced a traditionally feminine role, were relayed in manners that evoked a sense of fondness, and a family like work environment.

These examples of gender usage in participating police organizations refuted previous findings that police employees adopted a male ethos across the organization; and instead may be an indication of adaptive behaviors, by participants, to the presence of male ethos within their organizations. These findings indicated that participants were acutely aware of how, when, and where to present either a male or female ethos, and that the selection of either was their deliberate choice, rather than one imposed upon them by organizational culture or norms.

Factors that Influence Police Performance

In addition to training and organizational culture there were other factors that influenced participant performance behaviors including attitudinal differences. Early research on the role of police culture and performance indicated that police organizational culture and subcultures had a strong influence on negative police behaviors such as excessive force (Micucci & Gomme, 2005; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). However, Loftus (2010) questioned previously held assumptions about police culture, and contended that earlier findings failed to account for factors such as social and political influences on police behaviors. Participant narratives from this study

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highlighted the significant role individual attitudinal factors (e.g., personalities, personal values, and beliefs, and self-efficacy) play in affecting police behaviors. This finding provides support for Paoline, Myers, and Worden's (2006) conclusions that that the role of culture on officers is weaker than previously asserted by researchers and that that there are a multitude of factors, and intrinsic, and extrinsic influences that affect police behaviors. Terrill, Paoline, and Manning (2003) found that attitudinal differences between police officers with regard to traditional roles of police, and police culture led to different practice of using coercion against suspects. When considered in the context of the Loftus (2010) study, and the Terrill, Paoline, and Manning (2003) study, it seems logical my study participants rejected the use of coercion against suspects during interrogations, and expressed disapproval for such actions based on the attitudinal factors listed above.

Influential Attitudinal Factors

The attitudinal factors that most influenced participants' selection and use of interrogation practices were evident in theme3-competencies and depicted in the proposed Decision Influence Model. Competencies, as a theme in this study, described the aptitudes (KSAA) participant possess that influenced, assisted, and enhanced their ability to conduct case investigations, and interrogations. The competency most prevalent in participant narratives was flexibility. Flexibility was described, by participants, in terms of their ability to suppress their inclinations, initial assessments, and intuitive reactions to knowledge gained during the performance of their duties. This competency allowed the detective's in this study to consider new information more

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objectively, and to pursue alternative interrogation strategies throughout the

investigative, and interrogation processes. Participant narratives also included a

description of flexibility in terms of participants' abilities to adapt to multiple, and

changing contexts. A demonstration of participants' flexibility was evident in their

descriptions about temperament shifting. Utilizing details from participants' narratives,

I determined that temperament shifting is the means by which participants apply their

KSAA's to willfully adapt, transform or shift their individual temperament to an

alternative persona they deem optimal to the existent contextual conditions during an

interrogation. The skills demonstrated during this activity are the result of the

culmination of personal, professional, and learning experiences including observations

of the suspect though not a prescribed or demonstrated skill in their formal training. The

process of temperament shifting generates opportunities for instantaneous feedback for

the detective who in turn modified their temperament accordingly. This critical

competency is neglected in the literature on police interrogation practices. The act of

shifting temperaments as a competency, including factors identified, and categorized as:

motivators, facilitators, moderators, and regulators. Many of the attitudinal factors that

influenced participants' performance were clustered within each of these categories and

included their attitudes towards commitment, their personal values, and beliefs that were

depicted in my proposed decision influence model See Model 3.

Motivators identified in participant narratives included multiple factors that

stimulated, drove, and compelled them to select, and engage in behaviors, even in direct

opposition to their personality traits, opinions or preferences in the pursuit of case

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specific objectives. The examination of participants' narratives revealed a hierarchy of commitments that influenced their behaviors during the interrogation process including: 1) Commitment to a Greater Cause 2) Commitment to Self, and 3) Commitment to the Occupation or Profession. Collectively, these commitments support the concept of the "noble cause" noted by other researchers (Calderon & Crank, 2010; Crank, 2007; Crank, Flaherty& Giacomazzi, 2007) as a historically negative connotation as a justification for controversial or illegal behaviors. However, when taken as a commitment to achieve a broader good within the constraints of laws, and policies, it can be used to cover a wide range of police behaviors. According to the authors the treatment of the noble cause as a variable and the recognition of the significance of context in interpreting moral dispositions provide insight into the context or situations that influenced noble cause sentiments (Crank et al., 2007).

Findings from this study support the broader definition of noble cause. Participants described their persistent pursuit of justice, and closure for the victim. With regard to the influence of context on participant commitment to the noble cause, participant narratives offered no indications that changing situations would influence them to deviate from their moral dispositions. In fact, participants cited examples where they observed other detectives using questionable practices to secure an arrest or confession. Yet participants reported that resorting to such practices would threaten their professional reputations. Thus, these findings imply that participants' moral dispositions seemed to have a greater influence on their behavior than contextual influences.

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Although facilitators as competencies did not represent participants' attitudes, beliefs or values, they were identified as the tools participants used to enable or assist participants in their dialogue with suspects. These facilitating factors were consistent with what was outlined in Boyatzis, Goleman, and Rhee's (2000), emotional intelligence inventory competency (EIC): self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy, and social skills (Boyatzis, Goleman, and, Rhee, 2000). In addition, participants demonstrated aspects of cultural competency, and communication management skills that aided them in their interrogation dialogues with suspects.

On the other hand, Moderators were representative of participant's attitudes, beliefs and values that influenced their work performance. In this study, Moderators were identified as factors that governed or limited participant performance behaviors during interrogations. Overall, moderators could be clustered around aspects of participants, i.e., internal value, and belief systems. While I previously used the term moral disposition to describe participants' commitment to the noble cause; in the context of moderating factors, Boyatzis, Murphy & Wheeler's (2000) term, 'operating philosophy,' more accurately describes the observed behaviors and expressions of participant's values and beliefs.

According to researchers, there are three primary operating philosophies that affect people's perceptions and behavior: *Pragmatism, Intellectualism, and Humanism*" (Boyatzis et al., 2000; Steinheider et al., 2012, p.358). According to Steinheider et al., "all three operating philosophies are present however; one of the three is likely to have the most consistent influence on perceptions, decision-making, and behavior (p.358)".

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Pragmatism emphasizes the relationship between the costs of doing something, the benefits derived from that activity, and the practicality of the activity (Steinheider et al., 2012). Intellectualism is grounded in reason and logic which a person uses to develop a consistent picture of the world (Steinheider et al., 2012). The remaining operating philosophy is Humanism. According to Steinheider et al., (2012) Humanism "expresses faith in relationships and collectivism" over utility; and meaning is found in personal relationships (p.358)

My study participants' narratives included descriptions of each of these operating philosophies. For example, participants' responses that were consistent with a pragmatic operating philosophy included descriptions of their informal assessments of the effectiveness, practicality and potential benefits of using aggressive or abusive interrogation practices. Ultimately, participants surmised that the use of aggressive or abusive interrogation practices was something they were unwilling to do. Participants' exhibition of behaviors consistent with an intellectual operating philosophy included their reliance on a tri-phase process of investigation and interrogation that was developed based on their OJT and informal training experiences. While the processes were not prescribed to them through formal training, participants' expressed the need for consistency and thoroughness in case investigation in preparation for interrogations. Despite their reports of behaviors consistent with pragmatism and intellectualism, humanism was clearly the more prominent operating philosophy among my study participants. This assertion is supported by the thick descriptions found in participant narratives regarding the significance they placed on treating all suspects with respect.

While a pragmatic operating philosophy informed participants of the futility of abusive and coercive interrogation practices, it was their ascribed commitment to humanism that ultimately restrained them from engaging in such practices; and Sarah's statement illustrates this point:

> I think the use of abusive threatening or violent actions with suspects for
>
> me personally, I just never liked that. But I guess because of who I am,
>
> and the way I think we should treat people, even some of the worst people
>
> in society, I don't agree with that abusive type of interrogation. (Sarah)

Participants' values and beliefs about the treatment of others were expressed in terms associated with their religious beliefs, their support of the 'golden rule', and their upbringing. My participants' narratives provide support for my assertion that their operating philosophies, namely, humanism, had the greatest moderating impact on the types of performance behaviors they were willing to engage in, and more importantly, they types of behaviors they refused to use.

In addition to moderating factors including operating philosophies, study findings provided evidence of regulatory factors (e.g. laws and policies) that also influenced participants' behaviors. In this dissertation I labeled these factors as Regulators. Participant's descriptions of regulators led me to define them as extrinsic factors that limited the types of behaviors participants engaged in. Examples of Regulators included laws, policies, and procedures that prescribe which behaviors are acceptable, and which are not. Regulators were often discussed in the extant literature in terms of the impact of case decision on police interrogation practices. For example,

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researchers exhaustively examined the impact of *Miranda v Arizon*a on police interrogation practices (Leo, 2001; Thomas & Leo, 2002; White, 2001). Despite participant's reported strict adherence to laws and policies, details from their narratives indicated that their operating philosophy or values most influenced their selection and use of interrogation practices.

Discussion

While findings from this study addressed the research questions I proposed at the onset of this study, a lingering question remained "why would any police detective who vows to protect and serve, uphold the law and serve justice, use coercive interrogation practices that contribute to false confessions and wrongful convictions? In order to determine if my dissertation provided insight into this matter I first analyzed my study findings individually by themes. My concern was not that I 'got it right' about how police detectives investigate cases and conduct interrogations. Instead I was concerned that my interpretation of their narratives and my identification of emergent themes resonated with their lived experiences. Based on participants' feedback, member checker feedback and confirmation from an inter-rater, I was reasonably comfortable that I had presented study findings elucidated new insights about how participants' perform their investigative duties in a manner that gave voice to their experiences. Yet the question remained: "why would any police detective use coercive interrogation practices?"

To answer this question I examined my findings collectively to reorient myself with the phenomena I chose to study. I reexamined the extant and recently published

literature on police interrogations and miscarriages of justice. I considered the current

events in the media related to law enforcement, particularly: threats to public support for

police, perceptions of police and police performance, and police legitimacy. I concluded

that the greatest threat to police today is the discrepancy between those who are

informed and those who are opinionated. The privacy in which interrogations occur

perpetuates an ongoing mistrust of police, and hinders the ability of researchers, policy

makers, and practitioners to examine actual police performance. However, the ax of

mistrust swings both ways. The continued examination of police performance through

simulations and mock studies perpetuates a distrust of research findings and allows

police and police research practitioners to dismiss new insights and blame false

confessions and wrongful convictions on a few rogue officers. In order to gain a better

understanding of why police detectives use coercive interrogation practice an

examination and comparison of the language researchers and police use to describe

interrogation practices is necessary. Holistically, findings indicate that police

assessments and classifications of interrogation practices differ from those proposed by

researchers.

Participants expressed a clear understanding of what constituted abusive and

non-abusive or aggressive and non-aggressive interrogation practices. However, their

narratives when compared to the extant literature illuminated a distinct dissonance

between participant's perceptions of what constitutes a coercive practice versus what

researchers identified as coercive interrogation practices. Evidence of this discrepancy

in perspectives existed in participants' expressed disapproval for interrogation practices

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that were illegal and clearly abusive (i.e. physically assault on suspects); yet they also reported the use of 'minimization' an interrogation practice deemed coercive in the literature on false confessions and wrongful convictions (Kassin & McNall, 1991; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; White, 2003).

Participants' definitions of coercive interrogation practices were primarily, if not solely, based on legal standards. In contrast, research based definitions of coercive practices were grounded in legal standards (Gohara, 2005) as well as psychological influences on suspects and the likelihood the practice would produce or contribute to a false confession (Leo & Ofshe, 1998). These added stipulations to the legal standards of what constitutes coercive interrogation practices have not translated well to the larger police audience, nor does it appear to have trickled down to the detectives who conduct police interrogation who continue to use research defined 'coercive practices.'

Furthermore, many of the interrogation practices deemed coercive by researchers are legal. White (2001) emphasized that interrogation practices deemed legal may still be considered unethical or morally wrong by others. The crucial point is that the legal standard of coercive practices is insufficient to restrain police use of coercive interrogation practices. Based on my study findings, a moral and ethical standard may offer additional restraints for the use of coercive practices, but may be limited to those detectives who hold an operating philosophy, like humanism, that values morality, and commitments to others.

Participants described many uses of gender (e.g. mothering, dominant matriarch, nurturing), during interrogations and indicated they were highly effective and influential

interrogation practice. The absence of gender in the list of coercive practices common among studies on miscarriages of justice and exoneration cases may be a function of its latency within the context of police interrogations. Participants' from my study described the use of gender and its impact with great detail, however there was no indication they considered their use of gender in the many capacities described, as an interrogation practice. Additional uses of gender such as flirting are also absent in the extant literature but practices I have both used and witnessed during my tenure as a police detective. The point is not to look at researchers typologies of interrogation practices but instead to recognize that there an array of interrogation practices that are limited only to the imagination and ingenuity of police detectives. According to findings from this study, each interrogation practice was selected based on the unique context of the case and suspect, as well as the operating philosophy of the participant. The use of the selected practice was contingent upon the competencies, each participant possessed. The selection of interrogation practices were intricately woven decision making processes that participants' weighed against their style of interrogation.

This point was explicit in my study participants' collective disapproval of yelling, pounding of fists, and slamming objects, all of which are legal interrogation practices. Participants' informal typology of interrogation practices were expressed in terms of an associated style of interrogation.

Participants' Typology of Interrogation Styles

The three interrogation styles indirectly referenced in their narratives included: persuasive, aggressive, and abusive/coercive. Table 2 highlights the types of practices

described by my participants within the context of each of the proposed interrogation styles.

Table 2 Detective Interrogation Styles

Interrogation Style	Legal	Perceived Effectiveness	Examples of Practices
Persuasive	Yes	Yes	Use of gender, self-presentation (temperament shifting), blaming the victim, identifying inconsistencies in statements, presentation of evidence, minimization
Aggressive	Yes	No	Yelling, screaming, pointing fingers, slapping table, cursing
Abusive/Coercive	No	No	Physical abuse, threats, promises and any practices deemed illegal in case law

The disparate typology of interrogation practices by my study participants compared to researcher proposed typologies (citations) is a source of confusion for and complicates understandings between researchers and practitioners about the problem of miscarriages of justice. Police engage in behaviors prescribed by training (formal and informal), sanctioned (or not penalized) by the judicial system, and that are seemingly innocuous in nature yet labeled coercive by researchers. In turn the discord between how each group defines coercive versus non-coercive make it increasingly difficult for researchers to garner support from social, political, and law enforcement communities to

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curtail the use of certain interrogation practices. Regardless of their association with miscarriages of justices, if the measurement used by police to determine what constitutes coercive practices is a legal standard, then only changes to law will curtail the use of coercive practices. Historically, changing the law to curtail police interrogation practices was laborious and has produced mixed results. While some researchers argued that case rulings like Miranda did little to restrain police interrogation practices (White, 2005);Others argued changes in law reduced the effectuality of police (Magid, 2001) Therefore, new directions in research are needed to align research with police practice to first identify and resolve discrepancies in how each classifies interrogation practices. Alignment of research and practice offers opportunities for dialogue between police and researchers to identify best practices to minimize the likelihood that false confessions will occur.

Implications and Recommendations

Findings from the present study have practical, and research implications to multiple stakeholders including researchers, policy makers, police, and HRD practitioners. In the section that follows I provided a discussion of the implications of findings from this study for practice, policy and research. The selected order for presentation of implications and recommendations was intended to present recommendations in a manner that reflected the most specific to the broadest implications and recommendations for practitioners, policy makers and researchers.

Implications for Police and HRD Practitioners

Findings from this study had implications for police and HRD practitioners related to Theme 1 Training, from this study. According to study participants, the formal specialized training for detectives did not occur in a timely manner. That is, their formal training occurred after their promotion to detective, and for some, up to a year after their promotion. The timing of specialized training is significant in that the introduction of formal training should precede informal OJT for detectives, if the intent of police leaders is to prescribe desired performance behaviors. In the absence of formal specialized training, detectives relied on the OJT they received in apprentice like relationships with more senior detectives. While OJT represents a continued investment in human capital, by organizations; the lack of formalization in the apprenticeship, participants described, carried a potential to perpetuate undesired performance behaviors. The lack of formal criteria to measure new detective or journey level performances within the apprenticeships, threatens the sustainability of the OJT itself, and diminishes the capacity of the organization to examine, and evaluate police performance within detective units. Furthermore, the lack of formalized training methods across apprenticeships makes it difficult to model and replicate the OJT for future detectives within and outside the organization.

Implicit Cultural Norm

Most significantly, the manner in which participants reportedly learned to conduct police case investigations and interrogations was from informal on-the-job training (OJT). In fact, the manner in which participants learned and internalized

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investigative and interrogation processes transcended agency types (police/sheriff),

geographic locale of participants' organizations, participant demographics, and formal

training experiences of participants. This finding is significant in that it is an indication

of an implicit cultural norm at both the organizational as well as the profession level

represents implicit cultural norms.

According to Eraut (2000) implicit learning that occurs during informal training

contributes to tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge represented in my participants'

narratives expressed knowledge they likely had not verbalized or previously reflected

on. In other words, they simply categorized their investigative and interrogation

processes as examples of routine or "good police work." According to Eraut (2000)

> "Knowledge of contexts and organizations is often acquired through a process of socialization through observation, induction and increasing participation rather than formal inquiry. Thus norms, local discourse and other aspects of an organisational or occupational culture are acquired over a significant period of time by processes which implicitly add meaning to what are explicitly interpreted as routine activities." P. 122

Additionally, findings from this study highlighted the need for a better

understanding of police culture and performance through an examination of detective

subculture. Specifically, the un-paralleled autonomy afforded to detectives in

performing their duties is near absent in lower ranks or even middle management in

police organizations. To clarify, autonomy afforded to detectives differs from the

discretionary powers observed in other ranks within police organizations. The

demonstrated uses of discretionary powers are still subject to scrutiny by police

supervisors to determine if they comply with organizational procedural policies. In

contrast, organizations included in this study provided limited performance oversight by supervisors, fewer formalized policies, and procedures regarding case investigation, and interrogation procedures. That is not to say that detectives are exempt from organizational review, and policy compliance, instead it simply suggest that there were fewer operational guidelines for their specialized performance behaviors. One possible explanation for the degree of autonomy enjoyed by detectives is supervisors' recognition of, and respect for the varying levels of expertise within the detective divisions, and specifically among detectives. Compared to detectives, police supervisors, regardless of their rank, assignment or acquired expertise(s), will always be deficient in at least one level of expertise, case expertise, and potentially content expertise. Therefore, it appears the supervisors may simply defer to detectives' expertise, and allow them to operate as they see fit.

Findings from this study also indicated challenges associated with the measurement of detective performance. Primarily, the performance evaluations reportedly used in participants' organizations do not fully capture the entirety of the performance behaviors they engaged in, particularly the case investigation and interrogation processes. According to Baehr (1988), the complexity of police work including police investigations and interrogations makes it difficult to evaluate police performance. Emphasis on tangible police performance (such as arrest) ignores the importance of the intangibles such as equity, fairness, justice, and thoroughness (Mastrofski, 1999, 2012). The significance of these intangibles to study participants was evident in their narratives. While participants were uncertain if their organization

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tracked or recorded confessions, convictions or exonerations; the participants conducted informal assessments, and evaluations of their own performances in terms of their ability to provide closure to the victims, and to secure, and serve justice.

The criteria used to by the participants to assess their performance were strikingly similar to those outlined in recent research (Kochel, Parks & Mastrofski, 2013; Mastrofski, 1999). Mastrofski (1999) offered a model that presented six markers to assess the quality of police-citizen interactions, and police effectiveness including: attentiveness, reliability, responsive client-centered service, competence, proper manners, and fairness. These six markers are consistent with the types of self-assessments my study participants reportedly used to evaluate their own performance. For example, participants' responses indicated that each was concerned with their contact and availability to the victim, the thoroughness of their case investigation, and their ability to serve as an instrument of justice. Kochel, Parks and Mastrofski (2013) proposed a concept of procedural justice. Procedural justice refers to measures of fairness in how police perform or carryout their duties (Kochel, Parks & Mastrofski, 2013).

In the absence of clear measurements of police detective performance, participants were uncertain about how success was measured within their organizations. According to Darroch, and Mazerolle (2013) it is imperative that organizations and their members are clear about the mission, and goals of the organizations. Performance-driven (HRD) focuses on the means by which the goals and strategies of organizations are realized (Swanson & Arnold, 1996). With no clear best way to evaluate police

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detective performance participants' pursued individual, and group goals, and not necessarily organizational goals.

Recommendation for police practitioners regarding police detective, and organizational performance evaluations should begin with the documentation of work processes through job task analysis. Individual detective performance evaluations should include ongoing as well as annual opportunities for detectives to engage in critical self-reflection on their practice, and associated decision making processes. Through this type of self-reflection, and self-examination, it is hoped that police interrogators will gain a deeper understanding of their performance, and become reflective practitioners. Opportunities for self-reflection on performance may disrupt the cultural norms that perpetuate the production of negative behaviors, and make detectives cognizant of their behaviors and the consequences of their actions.

It is also recommended that practitioners examine, and document informal OJT like the apprenticeship described by participants, to determine how best to structure such training to incorporate a standard or criteria by which detective proficiency can be documented, and measured. Formalization of detective OJT would allow for the recognition, and compensation of journeyman/journey levels that are responsible for the training of new detectives. One means by which practitioners can formalize detective OJT apprenticeships is to examine existing field training programs (FTO) for patrol officers to identify best practices. Practitioners should apply best practices from FTO programs to develop comparable Investigator Training Officer (ITO) programs which are absent in the extant literature on police training.

Other study findings have implications for the improvement or development of career development programs, within police organizations. Police organizations should invest in career development programs that consider both the needs of the organization as well as the professional aspirations, and preferences of their employees. This recommendation has particular relevance to female police, and detectives who may be assigned or retained in assignments primarily based on the needs of the organization.

In addition, police practitioners should also examine ways to maintain detective subunit, and individual content expertise that is otherwise loss or reduced when a detective is promoted or resigns. One method for maintaining content expertise is the incorporation of a rotational cross training program that involves the assignment of former detectives back to the specialized unit they attained content expertise in to address the currentness issue to prevent loss of this status, therefore they remain as an intradepartmental resource-training, case consultation, succession planning as well as an inter-agency resource-community, judicial system, researchers, other law enforcement commanders.

Study participants possessed a variety of knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes (KSAA) prior to their assignments to investigative or detective units. The formal and informal, on-the-job training they received in an apprenticeship setting, supported their development of new KSAAs. Through training, and the sharing of information between participants, and their respective mentors and journey levels, these women developed competencies necessary to perform new tasks in their subunits. Overall, participants' development of competencies over time and across their

experiences contributed to the collective competencies of the organization in which they serve, in the form of expertise. The expertise participants' possess, particularly, content and professional expertises represent enduring commodities of KSAA's that remain across the span of their careers. Unfortunately participant organizations provided few opportunities for the documentation and examination of expertise individual detectives possess. Therefore, organizations are poorly positioned to assess their collective competencies and expertise.

The promotion of knowledge management strategies is imperative to police organizations who wish to remain at the forefront of criminal expertise, and practice. With increasing flexibility in hiring practices (i.e. lateral transfers), there are real potentials for the loss of intellectual capital when detectives resign and transfer from one organization to another. Evidence of this potential threat to organizational knowledge management was present in findings from my study. Two of the seven participants from my study were previously employed by other law enforcement agencies transferred to their current police organization.

The loss of a detectives 'expertise represents a loss of the organization's investment in the recruitment, and training of that particular detective. The loss of a detective who resigns also represents the loss of an on-the job trainer or "journeyman/journey level" who is uniquely qualified to train newly assigned detectives. Additionally, the loss of detective due to their resignation represents a loss of their multiple competencies and expertises. Because expertise is developed cumulatively over time, the loss of a detective through their resignation represents a substantial loss that

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cannot be easily replaced. Community, and departmentally based social capital, associated with that detective, who leaves is also loss.

Therefore, it is imperative that police practitioners invest in retention strategies and programs to incentivize the role of detectives. For all participants of this study, their assignment to a detective division or bureau represented a promotion in rank. Although, the promotion to detective includes a pay increase, findings from this study indicated that detectives engage in many performance behaviors for which they are neither recognized nor compensated. In particular, detectives who serve as informal OJT trainers are not compensated for their additional efforts. The formalization of the detective OJT apprenticeship provides an opportunity for police organizations to formally recognize and compensate detectives for their additional work efforts.

Implications for Policy Makers

Findings from this study, as discussed in emergent themes and sub-themes highlight the need for police practitioners to document and evaluate detective performances. The documentation and evaluation of performance is necessary to identify latent work processes, and performance behaviors such as interrogation practices. Furthermore, documentation of detective performances could serve as useful tools for police training; and detective performance evaluations. Additionally, documentation of detective performances would provide opportunities for critique and critical feedback to improve performance. In addition to police practitioners, documentation and evaluation of detective performance could support researchers who wish to examine police, police detectives and police organizations.

Therefore, recommendations for police policy makers include the mandatory video-taping of all interrogations for the following purposes: documentation of work performance, case evidence, protection against criminal and civil liability and, informal, and formal training. Policy makers are encouraged to share selected videotaped interrogations with members of the criminal justice system, for review in their formal training programs, including in-service. The purpose of sharing videotaped interrogations in training settings is to demystify the process of interrogations for non-police personnel which threatens opportunities for thoughtful critique. This process would also provide needed insight, for reviewers, into the dynamic nature of the interaction between detectives, and suspects, during interrogations which they could then use in their related work performances. Sharing of videotaped interrogations for training offers an opportunity for trainees to provide feedback about the videotapes reviewed which provide an outside perspective for detectives to consider in their self-evaluation of their individual and collective interrogation performances.

Implications for Research

Findings from this study challenged conventional belief that the Reid method was the most prevalent training method provided to police investigators. Though most participants in my study were uncertain of the exact name or category of interview, and interrogation training they received, or the type their which their agency currently uses, they were certain it was not the Reid method. There is growing research based evidence that the Reid method is no longer the most prevalent interview and interrogation training for police (Kassin et al., 2007; Kostelnick and Reppucci (2009). Therefore, the

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perpetuation of the Reid method of Interview, and Interrogation's prevalence appears to be researcher driven, and not based on actual usage by police organizations. Furthermore, continued examination of interrogation practices based on assumptions about the types of training police receive; detract from research opportunities to examine actual training as well as transfer of training to practice for detectives.

To identify the police interview and interrogation training programs police organizations currently use, researchers should collect and compile this data from police training and standards sources (e.g. local police directors, state justice academies and Police Officer Standards and Training POST divisions). Additionally, research on police performance and police interrogation practices should include data collection on police training as reported by police and detectives.

Findings from this study also highlighted the significance of operating philosophy in participant's selection and use of interrogation practices. Furthermore, the operating philosophies of participants exerted more moderating, and regulatory influence on their performance behaviors than the organizational, and subunit culture in which they perform. The role of operating philosophies on police performance is not new (Steinheider et al., 2012), however; the specific relationship between operating philosophies on police interrogation practices is absent in the extant literature. Therefore, additional studies are needed to explore the relationship between police detectives' operating philosophies and their selection of any interrogation practices. With regard to coercive interrogation practices researchers must identify and compare police detectives' typologies of interrogation practices against their own, to resolve

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discrepancies in terminology and selection criteria. Within the extant literature on police interrogations, and miscarriages of justice, the term coercive is highly subjective with no clear distinction between practices that are persuasive, coercive or abusive. Within the context of false confessions, most if not all of, interrogation practices are within the realm of organizational norms, and do not violate any laws. Though participants witnessed others, mostly male detectives, who used more aggressive interrogation practices, they refrained from the use of such tactics primarily because these tactics did not match their personalities, values or beliefs.

Until there is a common agreement, besides the legal standard, of what constitutes coercive interrogation practices between police and researches, the use of 'coercive interrogation practices will continue. Rather than identifying a list of coercive interrogation practices, researchers should consider examining styles of interrogation with inclusion and exclusion rules for interrogation practices. In doing so, researchers can move, and assist police in moving, from labeling individual interrogation practices as coercive towards the development, adoption, and implementation of a standard of care for the treatment of all suspects during interrogations. This shift from individual action to an organizational operating philosophy is necessary to curtail the continued use of interrogation practices that contribute to false confessions and other miscarriages of justice.

Findings from this study have research implications for research sampling and methods for the examination of police interrogations and miscarriages of justice. Findings from this study offered insight into the role female police detectives' play in

police organizations and police interrogations. An examination of participants' narratives revealed that they were often called upon, by co-workers and supervisors, for assistance based on their gender. Examples offered by participants included continued requests by their colleagues to assist with interviews of female, child and sexual assault victims. Though participants indicated their comfort and success serving in these capacities, it was unclear what impact gender based assignments had on their careers.

My examination of the extant literature identified a significant gap in research on female police interrogation practices. In fact, female detectives were noticeably absent in sampling populations in the extant literature on police interrogation practices. Nationally, police organizations are comprised of approximately 10-13% female police (USBJS, 2008). However, approximately 20% of police detectives, nationally, are female (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Household Annual Averages*, (2013) retrieved 2/24/14 http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11). The implication is that female officers may be concentrated within various sub-divisions of police organizations including detective divisions. Female detectives represent a largely untapped source of information for research on police detectives, and specifically, police investigation, and interrogation performances.

Future research should include female, and police detectives' perspectives through the intentional recruitment of female detective study participants. Additional research on women in police is necessary to examine how female police are distributed within police organizations to determine if there is evidence of the clustering of women in certain specialized units, based on the needs of the organization, and not the choices

of the women. Such a clustering could be indications of systemic funneling of females into certain assignments that could impact their opportunities for upward mobility. Care should be given to conduct research in a manner that respects the career development choices of female police while raising their awareness of the long term implications of their continued placement in specialized units, may have on the career advancement, and earnings.

Previous research relied on mock simulations, use of non-police participants, and quantitative methods to examine police interrogation practices. Though self-critiqued, by researchers themselves, for low ecological validity (Hartwig, Anders, Granhag, Strömwall, & Kronkvist,2006; Meissner & Kassin, 2002; Meyer, J. R., & Reppucci, N. D. 2007; Simcoe 2006 Hasel & Kassin, 2009), this trend in research methods continued. Until recently (Kassin et al., 2007; Meyer & Repucci, 2007) researchers neglected to ask police detectives themselves about the interrogation practices they used, and more importantly, their perceptions about their use of various interrogation practices. However, researcher's reliance on quantitative methods did little to illuminate the breadth of interrogation practices detectives incorporate in their interrogation performance.

To better understand the decisions police make as regarding which interrogation practices they are likely, willing, and/or refuse to use, researcher must go beyond yes and no answers on surveys. The truncating effect of survey responses perpetuates the omission of latent interrogation practices such as the use of gender that was neglected in the extant literature on police interrogation practices. The incorporation of qualitative

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studies offer new approaches for the examination of police interrogation practices. For example, case studies would present opportunities for researchers to examine interrogation practices at the police organizational level. Participatory action research would allow researchers to partner with and engage police detectives in an examination of interrogation practices to analyze the role of interrogation practices in exoneration cases in a manner that leads to action by police to reduce false confessions and wrongful convictions. Ethnographic studies of police detective units could address gaps in research on the cultural context in which police detectives perform interrogations just as they have for police in general.

Recommendations for Future Studies

Future studies on miscarriages of justice, and the role of training, and police performance in affecting sustainable change to reduce false confessions, and wrongful convictions should:

1) Examine, and reframe how coercive interrogation practices are defined based on levels of influence, context specific, and associated interrogation styles.

2) Examine, and compare the operating philosophies of female, and male detectives using value, and belief assessment tools to their preferred interrogation styles based on the proposed three styles (persuasive, aggressive, and abusive/coercive).

3) Examine the role of the researcher's philosophy, including assumptions, and biases in their selection of a research design, research methods, and the presentation of findings on studies of police performance, and miscarriages of justice.

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4) Findings from this study, and the recommended future studies generated a new round of questions for researchers including:

5) Should miscarriages of justice be examined as a failure of individual, organizational or system performance, and how my research examine the issue of miscarriage of justice in a manner likely to identify areas for improvement at the level I believe this is occurring?

6) While there are certainly individual detectives who conduct interrogations with a malicious and willful intent to convict suspects regardless of their innocence; there are also detectives who perform their duties with a high degree of competency, and a careful consideration of the ethical treatment of suspects. Miscarriages of justice may not be an outcome of human error at all but instead a result of a misalignment between individual performance goals, and organizational goals. Future research should explore the possibility that miscarriages of justice area unintended outcomes of desired, and sanctioned detective performance behaviors?

Study Conclusions

Leo (2005) a prominent, and prolific scholar of miscarriages of justice, called for researchers to re-conceptualize the study of miscarriages of justice as about the study of human behavior, and human error in social, and organizational contexts to seek root causes not legal causes of wrongful convictions (p.213). This dissertation responded to that call, and examined police interrogation performance in the organizational context in which detectives select, and use interrogation practices. Through this study, new insights were gleaned into the role of organizational culture, and detective subculture in

detective learning, and performance of case investigations, and interrogations. Through the examination of female police detectives' narratives', this research gave voices to those absent in the extant literature on police interrogations.

The use of an emergent research design, and qualitative methods addressed both the dearth of qualitative research in the study of miscarriages of justice as well as the need to examine the problem from an interpretive rather than causative perspective. The use of qualitative methods provided reflective opportunities for both participants, and the researcher, and contributed to a deeper and nuanced understanding of study findings. The emergence of three themes: 1) training, 2) evaluation and, 3) competencies, provided a framework for which future studies can be conducted. The proposed tri-phase investigative and interrogation process as a conceptual model offered an illustration of latent, performance processes detectives engage in. These internalized processes are viable leverage points for the introduction of HRD strategies including training, and development at the individual, and organizational levels to address behaviors that may contribute to miscarriages of justice. The proposed decision influence model is a useful tool for the examination, and organization of the factors that motivate, shape, and regulate police detective performances including: the adoption, and adaptation of an investigative, and interrogation style. Finally, the proposed model of interrogation styles offers a framework that focuses on interrogation practices collectively, for which researchers can consider, classify, and examine them in the operational philosophical context in which they are used.

Collectively, findings from this study highlight the need for researchers to reframe how we think about, and interpret findings from research on police performance with regards to miscarriages of justice. Additionally, there is a need to address linguistic inconsistencies in how coercion and specifically, coercive interrogation practices are defined. Current definitions perpetuate the belief, by some, that only illegal and abusive practices are coercive. The exploitation of identified weaknesses, and use of contextual leverage points specific to a particular suspect may be legal but also represent the most influential, and coercive aspect of interrogations depending upon which definition of coercive is chosen. Therefore, researchers must determine if they are asking police detectives to refrain from interrogation practices that are coercive as well as those that are persuasive. If so, findings from this study indicate that this desired limitation on practices was not adequately conveyed to police detectives. Attempts to assign degrees of influence of interrogation practices would only continue circulatory efforts to identify what is meant by coercive while ignoring the influence of contextual factors that make one practice more influential for one suspect, and less so to another.

Finally, rather than operating with assumptions about police intent, human error, and points of blame, for miscarriages of justice, researchers must reflect on the assumptions they hold about the phenomena of miscarriages of justice, and how those assumptions influence, and potentially limit their research design, and interpretation of study findings. According to Ruona and Lynham (2004), the beliefs we as researchers bring to our work affect how we think about, evaluate, and interpret findings (p.152). Findings from this study provide support for the assertion that operating philosophies

influence police performance, it seems logical to assume that operating philosophies likely influence researcher performance.

While the call for the reconceptualization of the study of miscarriages of justice was needed; the proposed focus on the study of human behavior, and human error to seek root causes also lends itself to a set of assumptions that may limit research perspectives, and perpetuate the accusatory and defensive stances that dominated the extant literature.

The pursuit of solutions to address the problem of miscarriages of justice demand that research on the issue seeks more than causes for, but also an understanding of, the influence decision making, and performance processes that police detectives and suspects engage in that effect their behaviors. Qualitative studies based on the pursuit of interpretive not causative research goals offer a new direction for future research on police, and miscarriages of justice.

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APPENDIX 1

RESEARCHER REFLECTIONS

The pursuit of this research topic for my dissertation provided me with an opportunity to both examine a topic of interest, and significance while contributing to research efforts to reduce miscarriages of justice. In conducting this study I found that many of the challenges I anticipated during the research design selection were valid. Specifically, I was concerned that the use of a theoretical framework would pose a threat to my desire to collect, and interpret the narratives of my participants. By using an emergent research design, the process of data collection, and analysis was an opportunity to freely explore a wide variety of ways to organize data thematically, and report findings without immediate concerns of alignment with a particular theory.

I was most surprised by two aspects of this research. The first was the revelation of internalized, latent processes associated with case investigation, and interrogation was both affirming, and surprising. Despite more than 10 years since I served as a detective, the presences of the tri-phase process of investigation, and interrogation was so internalized by the researcher that only during the second round of interviews, and analysis did it become apparent to me. While there was always, and internal belief or instinctive assumption that detective's followed some process for conducting case investigations, and interrogations I did not anticipate that it would be consistent across participants, and my experiences. The informal, undocumented OJT apprenticeships participants described was also consistent with my prior training experiences as a detective. However, prior to the completion of this study, I had not reflected on what

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style of interrogation I prescribed to, what operating philosophy I prescribed to or how the impact my service as an OJT journey level had on the performance of detectives I trained.

The second and most surprising aspect of my research experience emerged during my examination of participant's narratives collectively. In the process of examining participant narratives, I was intrigued by the statements participants made. I was also interested in how they chose to convey information to me through their statements. My curiosity led me to openly question what messages were hidden within the context of how they chose to answer my interview questions. Furthermore, my thoughts turned to concerns about the types of information participants withheld from me during this research study. It was at this moment that I realized that a culmination of my education, formal and informal training and experiences as a detective were reengaged! The questions that troubled me were the very same questions I had during interrogations I previously conducted: 1) Is this statement honest/truthful?; 2) What information can I compare this statement to in order to validate or refute its' veracity?; 3) What information is this person withholding from me, and why?; 4) What additional information do I need to achieve a clear understanding of what has occurred? , and 5) what action should I take next? It was then that I realized that there is truth in the adage 'once a cop always a cop.'

APPENDIX 2

DATA ANALYSIS SAMPLE (EXCERPTS FROM METHODOLOGY JOURNAL)

Although I was confident and assured that I would have access to multiple female, Black detectives I discovered that many had taken new jobs in and out of law-enforcement. The greatest challenge to my sample population was a result of several potential participants taking police security positions oversees training foreign police officers. As a result of their overseas assignments in high risk regions, I realized that I could not be confident that our phone interviews would be confidential and not accessed or recorded by a third party. As a result of this new challenge, I modified my sample population to include non-retirees, former or current female detectives both Black and non-Black.

9/30/13 I also noted that several contacts referred me to female officers who were higher ranked (Lt up to Chief) and assumed they would be eligible to participate.

10/7/13 many of my contacts had access to higher ranked female police personnel. Those women then contacted other females in their agencies and asked that my contact and I use their name to garner support from potential participants. This raises some concern about the power dynamics associated with their participation and will be explored more in depth during the informed consent process to make certain their participation is voluntary and not informally coerced.

My responsiveness, flexibility and willingness to communicate in multiple ways (email, phone, and text, day and night) seemed to work for participants as many were in specialized training schools, working, working weekends and negotiating

private/personal obligations. Lulls in communication were not treated aggressively instead I documented the time between communications and allowed 3 days before contacting them again which seemed helpful as many explained they had gotten really busy.

Thoughts, impressions initial findings from Round 1 data collection and analysis
DESCRIBE PARTICIPANTS

Vested interest in their work and their subunit

Organizational citizenship behaviors

Functional v. working knowledge "breathing the case"

There are ideal situations for interrogation

Use of gender within org, teams and interrogations (feminism, stereotypical roles, machismo, nurturing, soft, hard, aggressive, passive)

Strategic deployment of questions/tactics

Moral obligation, higher calling, commitment to a cause

My thoughts on my current codes and data analysis after round 2 interviews and analysis

Temperament differs from personality-explain It may be innate but it's also disciplined control over the impatience they claim they claim is necessary but they say they don't have. Within the code I have org citizenship behaviors which are a manifestation of behaviors associated, motivated and regulated by the temperament the participants have and display with regard to their assignment. This persist beyond their commitment to their organization, their job or their coworkers and actually transcends to a greater cause

generated internally y their own motivation, ambition and determination but also by an external factor that is beyond the immediacy of their task and actually a calling or greater cause or good of the world. Justice Etc... But should this be included in the performance section where it is still a manifestation of behavior or performance but NO this is over and beyond the subthemes or categories associated with performance code investigations, interrogation practices and interrogation process. It influences how they conduct each but goes beyond that and influences their interaction with peers outside their group , unit and on unrelated tasks.

APPENDIX 3

IRB STUDY APPROVAL

DIVISION OF RESEARCH

Office of Research Compliance

APPROVAL DATE:	08/19/2013
MEMORANDUM	
TO:	Jim Scheurich
	TAMU - Texas A&M University - Educational Administration
FROM:	Dr. James Fluckey
	Chair
	Institutional Review Board
SUBJECT:	Initial Review Submission Form Approval

Protocol Number:	IRB2013-0553
Title:	Copy of 'Ask Them- They'll Tell You!' _Eliciting Police Perspectives to Improve Interrogation Practices: The African-American Female Police Detective Perspective
Review Type:	Expedite
Approved:	**08/19/2013**
Continuing Review Due:	07/15/2014
Expiration Date:	08/15/2014
Documents Reviewed and Approved:	Attachment 1_recruitment flyer Rolle study revised 1.1, Attachment 3_information study sheet Rolle study revised 1.2, Amanda Rolle proposal for IRB, Attachment 6 round 1, Attachment 5_interview protocol Rolle study, Attachment 2_email and or telephone script Rolle study
Document of Consent:	Written consent in accordance with 45 CF 46.116/ 21 CFR 50.27
Waiver of Consent:	
Provisions:	
Comments:	Please submit additional rounds of interview questions to IRB for review as they are developed.

This research project has been approved. As principal investigator, you assume the following responsibilities

1. **Continuing Review:** The protocol must be renewed by the expiration date in order to continue with the research project. A Continuing Review application along with required documents must be submitted by the continuing review deadline. Failure to do so may result in processing delays, study termination, and/or loss of funding.
2. **Completion Report:** Upon completion of the research project (including data analysis and final written papers), a Completion Report must be submitted to the IRB.
3. **Unanticipated Problems and Adverse Events:** Unanticipated problems and adverse events must be reported to the IRB immediately.
4. **Reports of Potential Non-compliance:** Potential non-compliance, including deviations from protocol and violations, must be reported to the IRB office immediately.
5. **Amendments:** Changes to the protocol must be requested by submitting an Amendment to the IRB for

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1186 TAMU
College Station, TX 77843-1186

Tel. 979.458.1467 Fax. 979.862.3176
http://rcb.tamu.edu

review. The Amendment must be approved by the IRB before being implemented.

6. **Consent Forms:** When using a consent form or information sheet, you must use the IRB stamped approved version. Please log into iRIS to download your stamped approved version of the consenting instruments. If you are unable to locate the stamped version in iRIS, please contact the office.

7. **Audit:** Your protocol may be subject to audit by the Human Subjects Post Approval Monitor. During the life of the study please review and document study progress using the PI self-assessment found on the RCB website as a method of preparation for the potential audit. Investigators are responsible for maintaining complete and accurate study records and making them available for inspection. Investigators are encouraged to request a pre-initiation site visit with the Post Approval Monitor. These visits are designed to help ensure that all necessary documents are approved and in order prior to initiating the study and to help investigators maintain compliance.

8. **Recruitment:** All approved recruitment materials will be stamped electronically by the HSPP staff and available for download from iRIS. These IRB-stamped approved documents from iRIS must be used for recruitment. For materials that are distributed to potential participants electronically and for which you can only feasibly use the approved text rather than the stamped document, the study's IRB Protocol number, approval date, and expiration dates must be included in the following format: TAMU IRB#20XX-XXXX Approved: XX/XX/XXXX Expiration Date: XX/XX/XXXX.

The Office of Research Compliance and Biosafety is conducting a brief survey for the purpose of programmatic enhancements. Click here to take survey or copy and paste in a browser
https://tamu.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_1CgOkLNU45QebvT

This electronic document provides notification of the review results by the Institutional Review Board.

TEXAS A&M
U N I V E R S I T Y

DATE: August 01, 2014

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jia Wang
TAMU - College Of Education - Educational Adm & Human Resource Develop

FROM: Dr. James Fluckey
Chair
Institutional Review Board

SUBJECT: Full Board Approval

Study Number:	IRB2013-0553F
Title:	Copy of 'Ask Them- They'll Tell You!' _Eliciting Police Perspectives to Improve Interrogation Practices
Approval Date:	08/19/2013
Continuing Review Due:	06/15/2015
Expiration Date:	07/15/2015

Documents Reviewed and Approved:

Document of Consent: Written consent in accordance with 45 CF 46.116/ 21 CFR 50.27
Waiver of Consent:

Provisions:

Comments: Enrollment closed to new subjects but current subjects are still undergoing study procedure or being entered into extensions and/or sub-studies. 7 of 8 enrolled.

This research project has been approved. As principal investigator, you assume the following responsibilities:
1. **Continuing Review:** The protocol must be renewed by the expiration date in order to continue with the research project. A Continuing Review application along with required documents must be submitted by the continuing review deadline. Failure to do so may result in processing delays, study termination, and/or loss of funding.
2. **Completion Report:** Upon completion of the research project (including data analysis and final written papers), a Completion Report must be submitted to the IRB.
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6. **Consent Forms:** When using a consent form or information sheet, you must use the IRB stamped approved version. Please log into iRIS to download your stamped approved version of the consenting instruments. If you are unable to locate the stamped version in iRIS, please contact the office.
7. **Audit:** Your protocol may be subject to audit by the Human Subjects Post Approval Monitor. During the life of the study please review and document study progress using the PI self-assessment found on the RCB website as a method of preparation for the potential audit. Investigators are responsible for maintaining complete and accurate study records and making them available for inspection. Investigators are encouraged to request a pre-initiation site visit with the Post Approval Monitor. These visits are designed to help ensure that all necessary documents are approved and in order prior to initiating the study and to help investigators maintain compliance.
8. **Recruitment**: All approved recruitment materials will be stamped electronically by the HSPP staff and available for download from iRIS. These IRB-stamped approved documents from iRIS must be used for recruitment. For materials that are distributed to potential participants electronically and for which you can only feasibly use the approved text rather than the stamped document, the study's IRB Protocol number, approval date, and expiration dates must be included in the following format: TAMU IRB#20XX-XXXX Approved: XX/XX/XXXX Expiration Date: XX/XX/XXXX.
9. **FERPA and PPRA:** Investigators conducting research with students must have appropriate approvals from the FERPA administrator at the institution where the research will be conducted in accordance with the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). The Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA) protects the rights of parents in students ensuring that written parental consent is required for participation in surveys, analysis, or evaluation that ask questions falling into categories of protected information.
10. **Food:** Any use of food in the conduct of human subjects research must follow Texas A&M University Standard Administrative Procedure 24.01.01.M4.02.
11. **Payments:** Any use of payments to human subjects must follow Texas A&M University Standard Administrative Procedure 21.01.99.M0.03.

This electronic document provides notification of the review results by the Institutional Review Board.

APPENDIX 4

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Attachment 4 (informed consent form)

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I agree to be in this study and know that I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. The procedures, risks, and benefits have been explained to me, and my questions have been answered. I know that new information about this research study will be provided to me as it becomes available. I can also ask more questions if I want. **A copy of this entire consent form will be given to me.**

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____

Printed Name   Date

INVESTIGATOR'S AFFIDAVIT:

Either I have or my agent has carefully explained to the participant the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who signed this consent form was informed of the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation.

_____   _____

Signature of Presenter   Date

_____   _____

Printed Name   Date

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APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Attachment 5 (interview protocol)

Research questions
1) How do current, retired or former female police detectives construct personal narratives on their selection and usage of interrogation practices?
2) How do current, retired or former female police detectives categorize or classify police interrogation practices?3)
3) How do current, retired or former female police detectives distinguish coercive from non-coercive interrogation practices?
4) What intrinsic and extrinsic factors influenced current, retired or former female police detectives' selection of police interrogation practices?
5) According to current, retired or former female police detectives, how ought the role of training and organizational culture in affecting police investigator's decision and selection of interrogation practices to be improved?

STEP 1
Interview #1 introductory script.

"Hello, my name is Amanda Rolle and I am a doctoral candidate at Texas A&M University working on my dissertation study. I am contacting you as you have volunteered to be a participant in my study and meet the criteria for participation. My study focuses on the process that one uses to select interrogation practices and the factors that influence ones' decisions. Your participation in this study is voluntary and anything said in the interviews will be held in confidence. No specific comments will be attributed to you and all of your responses will be coded in order to ensure their confidentiality. No names will be included in the study. I will provide you with an informed consent form and an outline describing the interview processes in detail should you agree to participate. In addition, the interviews will be audio recorded. Only I and my dissertation committee will have access to the recordings, and the recording will be kept in a locked box in the home of the researcher and destroyed after three years."

STEP 2
HAVE PARTICIPANT READ AND SIGN THE CONSENT FORM

STEP 3
Describe the purpose of the study:
My study focuses on the process that detectives use to select interrogation practices and the factors that influence their decisions. Thinking back on my experiences as a female detective I know that there were many factors that likely influenced my decisions regarding interrogation practices. I'm interested in learning more about your experiences. Therefore, I'd like to start with a few questions to learn more about you (see attachment 6) for - proposed interview questions Round 1 of 3 interviews

Step 4
Using Interview Questions (see attachment 6) and conduct interview

STEP5
Ending Interview Protocol-
At the end of the interview, I will thank the participant for her time and ask them if they prefer to meet face-to-face or by telephone for the next interview. I will give them my email and phone number and encourage them to contact me if they have additional questions. Finally, I will tell the participant that I will call them the following week to set up the next interview.

Step 6
After data analysis is completed for the first round of interviews I will submit additional research questions for subsequent interviews to IRB for approval.