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Accusatorial and information-gathering interview and interrogation methods: a multi-country comparison

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ABSTRACT

Suspect interviewing and interrogation practices have been studied in many different countries, including those in North America, Europe, Asia, and Australia. These studies have produced useful and interesting findings, while also leaving an opening for future inquiry. Specifically, previous research has noted that we might expect interrogation and interviewing practices to vary among different countries or regions, due to distinct approaches to suspect questioning. However, to our knowledge, few previous studies have examined the comparative use of tactics, techniques, and procedures employed to elicit confessions and information from criminal suspects across multiple countries. In the present study, using a consistent survey, we contrasted the interviewing and interrogation practices of 185 practitioners from America, Canada, and Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. In large part, we found that American and Canadian interrogators were similar to one another, and conformed to an accusatorial approach (in both deception detection and questioning techniques). In contrast, interviewers from Europe, Australia, and New Zealand conformed more to an information-gathering approach.

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For almost three decades, interrogation practices have been the focus of a great deal of research within the fields of psychology, criminal justice, and legal studies. Growing concern about 'enhanced' interrogation methods (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2014) and false confessions (Drizin & Leo, 2004; Kassin, Drizin, et al., 2010) spurred this field to the forefront. In response to these concerns, research has focused on developing realistic views of common practices in interrogations (e.g. Feld, 2013; Kelly, Redlich, & Miller, 2015; King & Snook, 2009; Leo, 1996), exploring interrogators' perceptions of different techniques and approaches (Kassin et al., 2007; Redlich, Kelly, & Miller, 2014), and identifying factors that increase or decrease the likelihood of false confessions (Leo, 2009; Meissner et al., 2014).

Scholars have studied these phenomena in various countries, including the United States (Cassell & Hayman, 1996; Feld, 2006; Kostelnik & Reppucci, 2009; Russano, Narchet, Kleinman, & Meissner, 2014), Canada (Deslauriers-Varin, Lussier, & St-Yves,

2011; King & Snook, 2009), the United Kingdom (Baldwin, 1993; Bull & Soukara, 2010; Pearse & Gudjonsson, 1997; Walsh & Milne, 2008), Australia (Dixon, 2007), Japan (Wachi et al., 2014), Hong Kong (Alison, Kebbell, & Leung, 2008), and elsewhere (Areh, Walsh, & Bull, 2016; Goodman-Delahunty, 2015; Hakkanen, Ask, Kebbell, Alison, & Granhag, 2009; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002). These studies have produced useful and interesting findings, while also leaving an opening for future inquiry. Specifically, previous research has noted that we might expect interrogation and interviewing practices to vary among different countries or regions, due to distinct approaches to suspect questioning (Kelly et al., 2015; Wachi et al., 2014); however, to our knowledge, few studies have directly taken a comparative approach (e.g. see Goodman-Delahunty, O'Brien, & Gumbert-Jourjon, 2014). As such, the purpose of the present research is to empirically evaluate the degree to which self-reported, contemporary interrogation and interviewing practices vary among practitioners from countries with divergent approaches to questioning suspects. Specifically, we compare the deception detection and interviewing practices across the United States, Canada, several European countries, Australia, and New Zealand. Using a consistent survey instrument with practitioners from the nations represented, we directly compare and contrast the perceptions and approaches of investigators reported to employ different questioning styles.

Macro-level interrogation models

Kelly and colleagues developed a taxonomy of interrogation methods, which included macro-, meso-, and micro-levels (Kelly, Miller, Redlich, & Kleinman, 2013). The macro-level represents broad-based dichotomized methods of interrogation; the accusatorial and information-gathering approaches are quintessential examples of the macro-level. Typically, the interrogation styles of countries are described at this macro-level. For example, the accusatorial approach is considered the prevailing style in U.S. interrogations, whereas the information-gathering approach epitomizes the United Kingdom's approach (see Meissner et al., 2014).

The **accusatorial model of interrogation** is described as a guilt-presumptive model, which uses confrontational strategies and psychological manipulation to elicit confessions (Kassin, Appleby, & Perillo, 2010; Meissner et al., 2014). The Reid Technique (Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2013) typifies this accusatorial approach and is regarded as one of the, if not *the*, most widely known interrogation methods in America (Kostelnik & Reppucci, 2009). In fact, John E. Reid and Associates, Inc. (2014) estimate that more than 500,000 law enforcement officers have been trained in this method over the past 40 years. Other commonly cited interrogation training methods in the U.S. include the Kinesic Interview (Walters, 2003) and the Behavior Analysis Training Institute (www.liedetector.com) (Kelly & Meissner, 2016). These methods are similar to the Reid technique and are also considered as 'accusatorial' or 'confrontational' (Redlich & Meissner, 2009).

The Reid technique divides questioning into two distinct phases: the interview and the interrogation (Inbau et al., 2013). To a large degree, this initial interview phase focuses on detecting deception (Inbau et al., 2013; Walters, 2003). For example, in the 'Behavior Symptom Analysis' of the Reid Technique (Inbau et al., 2013), the interrogator is instructed to use this non-confrontational phase to ask benign questions, and observe the suspect's

responses and non-verbal behaviors for signs of anxiety and dishonesty (Vrji, Mann, & Fisher, 2006). This process primarily relies on behavioral cues to detect deceit from suspects (Inbau et al., 2013). These cues include subtle actions like changes in posture, gaze aversion, facial expressions, and hand gestures – cues which generally have not been found effective in detecting deception in empirical research (see DePaulo et al., 2003 and Vrij, 2008 for detailed summaries of the research). Nonetheless, many of these behavioral cues are stereotypically and universally believed to be indications of lying. The Global Deception Research Team (2006) found that across participants from 63 countries, 71.5% believe that liars avert their eyes, 65.2% believe liars shift their posture, and 62.25% believe liars' stories are lengthier than truth-tellers'.

If the interview phase concludes with the interrogator determining that the interviewee has shown signs of deception, then the interrogation phase will begin (Inbau et al., 2013). The Reid Technique interrogation phase includes nine steps, which are guilt-presumptive and confrontational. These steps include directly confronting the suspect with evidence of his or her guilt, offering justifications for the offense (themes), and disallowing denials. These accusatorial processes use psychologically manipulative tactics with the primary goal being a confession (Meissner et al., 2014). Perhaps because of the use of psychologically oriented techniques, the electronic recording of interrogations has sometimes been obstructed by law enforcement. Indeed, an often-raised issue by opponents to this practice is that jurors and other triers of fact would be overly offended by the techniques (Sullivan, 2010). However, states and individual law enforcement agencies are increasingly adopting requirements to record interrogations in their entirety (Norris, Bonventre, Redlich, Acker, & Lowe, 2017).

Though the accusatorial approach is most often discussed in terms of American interrogations, Canada's style has also been considered accusatorial in nature. Like in the U.S., many Canadian interrogators are trained in the Reid Technique (King & Snook, 2009; Snook, Eastwood, Stinson, Tedeschi, & House, 2010). And, one of Canada's most controversial interrogation techniques, 'Mr. Big', can be viewed as accusatorial/confrontational. In brief, the 'Mr. Big' technique involves an undercover police officer befriending suspects in order to gain confessions (Smith, Stinson, & Patry, 2009). These undercover operations are quite elaborate, expensive, and could last for months or even years (Snook, Luther, & Barron, 2016). And, because the Mr. Big technique is considered to be a 'non-custodial' situation, suspects need not be informed of their rights to silence and legal counsel (Snook et al., 2016).

That said, however, some of Canada's law enforcement agencies have recently begun to transition to an information-gathering approach (Quan, 2015). Within the past five years, concerted efforts have been made to introduce elements of the information-gathering (PEACE; see below) model of interviewing into Canadian practice. However, change has been slow, and as characterized by Snook et al. (2016), 'there has been an anticipated resistance to change' (p. 229), but '[i]t is only a matter of time before the psychologically manipulative practices that dominate current suspect interviews [in Canada] become extinct' (p. 237).

Contrasting the accusatorial approach is the **information-gathering approach** (Meissner et al., 2014). Over the past 20 years or so, several European countries made macro-level changes to their questioning of suspects, changing from an approach akin to the accusatorial one to an approach where the ultimate goal is to learn the truth (see Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Gudjonsson, 2003; Walsh, Oxburgh, Redlich, & Myklebust, 2016). Australia and New

Zealand have similarly adopted interrogation reforms, beginning about 15 years ago with both countries utilizing variants of the information-gathering method (Cain, Westera, & Kebbell, 2016).

The information-gathering approach is based on scientific principles, establishing rapport between the interviewer and suspect, and eliciting information rather than obtaining confessions (see generally, Walsh et al., 2016). The interviewer is trained to use an open-ended questioning approach to obtain information from the suspect; psychological manipulation is anathema to the goals of the interview. In addition, videotaping police-suspect interactions is very often recommended or mandated (Schollum, 2005).

The PEACE method is now the standard interviewing method of suspects in England and Wales, with all law enforcement officers trained in it. Using empirically founded skills borrowed from Conversation Management and the Cognitive Interview, the interviewer may employ a variety of tactics; in an observational study, Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner, and Cherryman (2009) noted such tactics as evidence disclosure, and open, leading, and repetitive questioning, but did not observe any disallowed tactics (including minimization, intimidation, and situational futility).

In the years since the United Kingdom developed and implemented the PEACE model, other countries have followed suit. For instance, the Netherlands created the Professional Training in Interviewing (PTI) curriculum for police officers that introduces the purpose of the interview to suspects, builds rapport and elicits an account, and closes with informing the suspect of the next steps of the investigation (van Beek & Hoekendijk, 2016), all reminiscent of PEACE. Similarly, in Norway, the KREATIV program was developed to remove psychological manipulations from suspect interviews and its creation was directly influenced by the PEACE model (Fahsing, Jakobsen, & Jakobsson Öhrn, 2016). Finally, as mentioned above, PEACE-like models of interviewing were adopted and implemented in New Zealand and in Australia about 15 years ago (Cain et al., 2016). Regardless of the influence PEACE had in these countries' decisions to adopt a new paradigm of interviewing, each model demonstrates a move away from the accusatorial model and toward one of information-gathering.

In summary, when examining interrogation and interviewing approaches on a continuum, the US-based accusatorial and the UK-based information-gathering approaches could be viewed as being at the opposite ends. With Canadian approaches in flux, this country's style could be expected to fall in between those of the United States and the United Kingdom. Further, although the interviewing and interrogation styles of whole nations are often described at the macro-level of the interrogation taxonomy (e.g. accusatorial vs. information-gathering), it is important to examine whether the individual-level (micro) techniques employed by interrogators across different countries actually adhere to these broad-based characterizations.

Meso- and micro-level interrogation methods

In addition to the macro-level interrogation styles identified by Kelly et al. (2013), the interrogation taxonomy includes meso- and micro-levels. The micro-level of the taxonomy are the interrogation tactics themselves; Kelly et al. (2013) identified more than 65 such tactics. The meso-level is six interrogation domains, each containing numerous (micro-level) individual techniques. We note here that when developing the taxonomy, all known models of interviewing and interrogation were examined and thus, the taxonomy

(and the six domains) does not represent the accusatorial or the PEACE method, for example, but rather was intended to incorporate such seemingly disparate models.

The meso-level was developed by grouping conceptually similar techniques resulting in six domains: (1) *rapport and relationship building*, (2) *context manipulation*, (3) *emotion provocation*, (4) *confrontation/competition*, (5) *collaboration*, and (6) *presentation of evidence* (Kelly et al., 2013). *Rapport and relationship building*, defined as a working relationship between the interrogator and the suspect, includes techniques like finding common ground with the suspect, building a bond, and employing active listening skills. *Context manipulation* includes techniques that alter the physical space of the interrogation site, like conducting the interrogation in a small room, considering the time of day of the questioning, and considering the neutrality or formality of the setting. *Emotion provocation* contains techniques designed to target the suspect's raw emotions and reactions, such as appealing to the suspect's self-interest, offering moral rationalizations, and encouraging the suspect to take responsibility for the offense. The *confrontation/competition* domain captures the zero-sum game between interrogator and suspect, wherein the interrogator is meant to be the winner. These techniques often involve the interrogator making the suspect an adversary, by emphasizing authority, directly accusing the suspect, and asking rapid fire questions. The *collaboration* domain seeks to make the interrogator and the suspect equal partners, working to achieve some mutually beneficial outcome. Examples of these techniques are offering tangible or intangible rewards for cooperation and allowing the suspect to regain some level of control. The final domain is *presentation of evidence*, which primarily uses information that the police may or may not know to induce cooperation or gather more information about the incident. This includes techniques like presenting actual or false evidence, identifying contradictions in the suspect's story, and using visual aids to describe the incident.

Although these six domains offer a more parsimonious way than the macro- and micro-level approaches to describe the interrogation techniques and methods used by interrogators, most survey studies of police interrogation practices have focused on selected micro-level techniques (Alison et al., 2008; Kassin et al., 2007; Kostelnik & Reppucci, 2009). These surveys of law enforcement personnel have been particularly useful for exploring police and human intelligence interrogators' self-reported deception detection and interrogation practices. First, in regard to deception detection, studies of American and Canadian interrogators have shown that respondents tend to overestimate the accuracy of their deception detection abilities. Whereas they have estimated that they accurately detect deception upwards of 76% of the time (Kassin et al., 2007), research typically shows that they are accurate only about 54% of the time, similar to flipping a coin (Bond & DePaulo, 2006; Vrij, 2008). Second, in terms of the interrogation techniques themselves, Kassin et al. (2007) revealed that American and Canadian interrogators in their sample reported using techniques like identifying contradictions in the suspect's story, cooperating with the suspect, and presenting incriminating evidence (see also, Culhane, Hosch, & Heck, 2008 for similar results). Finally, in regard to recording interrogations, Kassin et al. (2007) found that only 36% audiotaped and 9% videotaped full interrogations, though when asked if interrogations *should be* recorded, 81% agreed they should.

Several of the trends noted in U.S. and Canadian surveys have also been found in European ones. For example, Areh et al. (2016) found that Slovenian criminal investigators reported accurately detecting deception about 69% of the time, and reported using

techniques like confronting the suspect with incriminating evidence, identifying contradictions in the suspect's story, and conducting the interrogation in a small, private setting most often, results which are similar to the Kassin et al. (2007) study. Finnish police officers in Hakkanen et al.'s (2009) survey regarded humane techniques – those expressing cooperation, friendliness, or sensitivity – as most important in interrogations. In Asia, some of the most frequently used techniques of Japanese and Hong Kong police officers involved respecting the humanity of the suspect, appealing to the conscience, and listening closely to the suspect's background and account of the crime (Alison et al., 2008; Wachi et al., 2014). Thus, though countries may be recognized as following an accusatorial or information-gathering approach at the macro-level, use of individual, micro-level, techniques may or may not conform to the broader country approach.

The current study builds upon existing survey research. Almost all previous studies surveyed interrogators from only one country. One exception is the Kassin et al. (2007) study, which included interrogators from both the U.S. and Canada. Kassin and colleagues analyzed these two groups jointly, potentially because Canadians made up only 9% of the sample and because of the perceived similarities in their suspect questioning methods. In contrast, this study compares practices between these two groups. So, while the previously noted studies have been fairly geographically expansive, to our knowledge, none has directly contrasted practices and perceptions among those from different countries. Because exploring the general stylistic differences between interrogators and countries is particularly important to this study, given its comparative nature, we also inquire about respondents' perceptions of their own and their countries' approaches (i.e. information-gathering or accusatorial).

Methods

Participants

The sample for the current analyses included 185 practitioners, all of whom were active interrogators and interviewers in the criminal arena. The majority of the current sample was male (87.32%) with an average age of about 46 years old, and an average time on the job of 20 years. The sample was comprised of practitioners from nine countries; for comparison purposes, we analyzed interrogators from the United States ($n = 62$; 33.5%), Canada ($n = 83$; 44.9%), and a third group representing seven countries ($n = 40$; 21.6%). This third group included interviewers from five European countries (i.e. Finland, Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Norway), and Australia and New Zealand. As described above, these seven countries have all adopted PEACE or similar information-gathering methods. For the sake of simplicity, this third group will be referred to as 'EANZ'. The three groups do not differ significantly on any demographic or experiential characteristics.

The American interrogators in this sample (i.e. $n = 62$) comprise a subset of the sample analyzed by Redlich et al. (2014) (i.e. total $n = 152$; 40.8%). Whereas that study included both retired and active American interrogators, along with those who were employed in both law enforcement and military arenas, we restricted the American sample in the current study to respondents who were actively employed in the field of criminal law enforcement, in order to make this sample comparable to the Canadian and EANZ samples (which did not include retired individuals or those in the military).

Survey procedures & recruitment

Though the procedures were consistent, recruitment for this study occurred in two distinct phases. In the first phase, recruitment was restricted to American interrogators. As described in Redlich et al. (2014), we first made use of the contacts of the members of the FBI and High-Value Detainee Interrogation Group (HIG) research team. This included reaching out to interrogators at the HUMINT Training – Joint Center of Excellence (HT-JCOE), the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC), and the FBI training facility at Quantico. Second, we solicited participation through fraternal groups of current and former agents, such as the FBI Agents' Association, the Marine Corps Interrogator Translator Teams Association, and the FBI National Academies Association.

For the second phase of the study, which began just over five months after the end of phase one, we expanded recruitment beyond the United States. To access this sample, we used some of the same methods noted in the previous phase. First, we made use of the international practitioner and academic contacts of members of the HIG research team, HT-JCOE, and FLETC. We also distributed a recruitment letter from the Director of the HIG to the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group (IIRG), along with other professional organizations who agreed to cooperate, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Irish Garda.

Both samples were invited to participate in the survey via email. The email provided a link to the survey's secure website, along with a username and password for access. Those who were interested provided informed consent and proceeded to the survey material. All recruitment and survey materials were written in English.

Survey instrument

Survey participants completed an online survey. First, we asked respondents about their recording and debriefing practices. The next section concerned deception detection, asking respondents to estimate the percentage of the time they and other interrogators are able to detect detainee deception accurately. This section also included a list of 10 deception detection techniques (e.g. interpreting non-verbal behaviors, repeating questions for consistency; see Table 1), for which respondents reported their frequency of use (1 = never to 5 = always). Next, respondents reported on the frequency with which they used each of 65 individual interrogation techniques, grouped into the six domains, (1 = never, 5 = always), and on demographic, career, and interrogation experience questions. Finally, there were two questions that were not included in the initial phase of data collection with American interrogators which we analyzed and compared between the EANZ and Canadian samples. Specifically, those respondents were asked to rate 1) their own and 2) their country's general interrogation/interviewing approaches on a scale from one (information-gathering) to 10 (accusatorial).

Analytic plan

Sample sizes varied across the three groups. As noted, the EANZ sample consisted of 40 respondents, whereas the American and Canadian groups consisted of 62 and 83 respondents, respectively. These relatively small and varying sample sizes introduced a potential analytical challenge. First, small sample sizes can pose problems with non-normal

distributions. For comparative studies like this one, this mainly becomes problematic in performing parametric comparison tests like *t*-tests and ANOVAs, when the variances significantly differ between the groups. To handle this issue, we evaluated whether variances for each variable were different, and used non-parametric tests, like Kruskal-Wallis and Wilcoxon Rank-Sum tests, to compare mean values, when appropriate.

We used the respondents' reported use of the 65 interrogation techniques to calculate the mean rate of usage for each interrogation domain. To do this, we summed the frequency responses of the techniques and then divided by the number of techniques within each domain. We then compared the mean domain usage rates among the three groups, before comparing the reported use of individual techniques within the domains.

Regarding the interrogation approach scale, which was defined by two major labels (1 = information-gathering; 10 = accusatorial), we conducted a K-means cluster analysis on this category of variables. Given how highly correlated participants' ratings of their own and their countries' interrogation approaches were [$r(96) = .70, p < .001$], we conducted this cluster analysis based on both variables. A non-hierarchical cluster analysis uses an algorithm to determine the centroids of each cluster, based partially on the range of responses. After that, respondents are assigned to clusters, based on their proximity to the centroid of each cluster. This way, respondents within a cluster are more similar to one another than they are to respondents from a different cluster (Makles, 2012). Using these clusters, we examined whether respondents' interrogation approaches were associated with their reported technique use.

Results

Practices & perceptions among American, Canadian, and EANZ interviewers

In this first set of comparisons, we focus on examining similarities and differences among the three regional groups on their reported recording practices, estimated use of deception detection techniques and capabilities, use of the six interrogation domains, and use of the individual interrogation techniques.

Recording interrogations

American interrogators reported recording interrogations 47.46% of the time, on average, while the Canadian and EANZ interrogators reported recording interrogations 94.38% and 84.07% of the time, respectively. A Kruskal-Wallis omnibus test and Dunn's multiple comparison test with a Bonferroni correction confirmed that the American interrogators' reported rate of recording was significantly lower than the Canadian and EANZ (whom did not significantly differ from one another) reported rates, $\chi^2(2, N = 128) = 41.63, p < .001$. Among the full sample, video recording was more than twice as common as audio recording; however, the EANZ group was equally likely to record using audio and video.

Frequency of deception detection techniques

On average, each group reported using all deception detection techniques at least some of the time ($\bar{x}s \geq 3$) (see Table 1). However, Kruskal-Wallis omnibus tests showed that the groups' reported use of several techniques significantly differed. Specifically, Dunn's

Table 1. Mean frequencies of deception detection techniques and (SDs) by region and cluster (1 = never, 5 = always).

	U.S.	Canada	EANZ	Info. Gath.	Accus.
Go through a timeline	3.96 (0.68)	3.77 (0.93)	3.80 (1.11)	3.86 (1.03)	3.56 (1.03)
Cognitive awareness	3.29 (0.87)	3.05 (1.02)	3.25 (1.29)	3.04 (1.18)	3.17 (0.95)
Non-verbal behaviors	4.48 _a (0.77)	4.05 (1.05)	3.90 _b (1.37)	3.96 (1.18)	4.22 (0.92)
Confront with facts	3.75 _a (0.76)	3.99 _a (0.84)	4.56 _b (0.64)	4.14 (0.80)	4.04 (0.89)
Have detainee go into detail	4.17 (0.78)	4.05 _a (0.81)	4.50 _b (0.60)	4.35 _a (0.75)	3.98 _b (0.86)
Watch for eagerness to please	4.19 (0.82)	3.84 (0.96)	3.95 (1.17)	3.92 (1.07)	4.02 (0.83)
Linguistic cues	4.25 (0.96)	3.91 (1.00)	3.75 (1.25)	3.84 (1.15)	4.15 (0.79)
Paralinguistic cues	4.21 _a (1.07)	3.79 _b (1.03)	3.59 _b (1.29)	3.84 (1.10)	3.98 (0.93)
Ask certain questions	3.69 (0.90)	3.93 _a (1.02)	3.08 _b (1.38)	3.65 (1.15)	3.98 (0.98)
Repeat questions	4.15 _a (0.68)	3.63 _b (0.89)	3.39 _b (1.13)	3.55 (0.98)	3.65 (0.87)

Note. Row items with different subscripts denote significant group differences at $p < .05$. US, Canada, and EANZ groups were compared in one set of tests and information-gathering and accusatorial groups were compared to one another in a separate set of tests.

multiple comparison tests showed that the American group reported interpreting non-verbal behaviors of the detainee at a significantly higher rate than the Canadian group, $\chi^2(2, N = 171) = 5.99, p = .03; \varphi = .19$, but not the EANZ group ($p = .09$). The American sample also reported interpreting paralinguistic cues (e.g. hesitancy in speech, an unusually high voice pitch, etc.) and repeating questions to check for consistency at higher rates than the Canadian and EANZ samples, $\chi^2s(2, Ns \geq 169) \geq 7.97, ps \leq .02; \varphi s \geq .22$. Moreover, the EANZ sample reported confronting the interviewee with the facts of the case at a higher rate than the American and Canadian samples, $\chi^2(2, N = 169) = 24.46, p < .001; \varphi = .38$. The EANZ sample also reported having the interviewee go into detail about different topics at a higher rate, but interpreting the answers to certain questions (e.g. about the purpose of the questioning) at a lower rate than the Canadian sample, $\chi^2s(2, Ns \geq 169) \geq 8.64, ps \leq .01; \varphi s \geq .23$.

In estimating the accuracy of deception detection, Wilcoxon Signed Ranks tests indicated that interrogators in all three groups reported themselves as being significantly more skilled at detecting deception (69.3%) than other interrogators (63.7%), $zs \geq 1.94, ps \leq .05$. In estimating the respondents' own accuracy, the American sample reported detecting deception at a significantly higher rate (74.5%) than the EANZ sample (61.6%), $\chi^2(2, N = 164) = 8.93, p = .01; \varphi = .23$. The Canadian sample estimated their own deception detection accuracy at 69.8%, a rate which did not differ significantly from the American or the EANZ samples. In estimating others' accuracy, both the American (66.9%) and Canadian (65.4%) samples estimated that others were more skilled at detecting deception than was reported in the EANZ sample (54.8%), $\chi^2(2, N = 149) = 8.06, p = .02; \varphi = .23$.

Frequency of interrogation domains and individual techniques

We used the previously described domain scales to compare the rates of use of each domain among the three groups. These means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2. We also used Kruskal-Wallis tests to compare the regional groups by individual technique use. By and large, the reported use patterns of the micro-level techniques mirrored the findings from comparing the frequency of use for the domains. However, there were some exceptions which we note within this section.

Table 2. Mean frequency of interrogation domains and individual techniques (1 = never, 5 = always).

	U.S.	Canada	EANZ	IG	ACCUS
Rapport and relationship building	3.71_a (0.49)	4.08_b (0.40)	3.80_a (0.49)	3.97 (0.46)	4.05 (0.42)
1. Common Ground	3.87 _a (0.80)	4.45 _b (0.70)	3.77 _a (1.10)	4.26 (0.85)	4.39 (0.83)
2. Show kindness	4.13 _a (0.81)	4.69 _b (0.49)	4.67 _b (0.47)	4.68 (0.47)	4.71 (0.54)
3. Meet basic needs	4.40 _a (0.83)	4.72 _b (0.55)	4.95 _c (0.22)	4.80 (0.49)	4.76 (0.56)
4. Be patient	3.98 _a (0.75)	4.55 _b (0.55)	4.75 _b (0.44)	4.67 (0.47)	4.43 (0.62)
5. Act as student	3.09 _a (0.91)	3.12 _a (0.92)	2.05 _b (1.13)	2.69 (1.08)	3.04 (0.89)
6. Confront with insulting	3.91 _a (0.72)	4.28 _b (0.72)	4.25 _b (0.93)	4.31 (0.77)	4.20 (0.83)
7. Build a bond	4.11 _a (0.81)	4.52 _b (0.61)	4.35 _b (1.17)	4.49 (0.84)	4.52 (0.66)
8. Touch in friendly manner	2.67 _a (1.02)	2.75 _a (1.08)	1.90 _b (0.94)	2.26 _a (1.05)	2.85 _b (0.99)
9. Find identities in common	3.47 _{ab} (0.75)	3.60 _b (0.97)	3.00 _a (1.13)	3.47 (1.04)	3.59 (0.98)
Emotion provocation	3.19_a (0.33)	3.15_a (0.43)	2.39_b (0.63)	2.81_a (0.59)	3.17_b (0.45)
1. Appeal to self-interest	3.89 _a (0.70)	3.76 _a (0.66)	3.40 _b (0.98)	3.66 (0.82)	3.74 (0.71)
2. Appeal to conscience	3.69 _a (0.69)	3.89 _a (0.66)	3.15 _b (1.10)	3.64 (0.90)	3.77 (0.74)
3. Appeal to religion	3.00 _a (0.66)	2.67 _a (0.88)	2.05 _b (1.06)	2.16 _a (0.93)	2.85 _b (0.84)
4. Maximize seriousness	3.00 _a (0.78)	2.66 _a (1.09)	1.97 _b (1.03)	2.04 _a (0.99)	2.91 _b (0.98)
5. Minimize seriousness	3.36 _a (0.79)	3.65 _a (0.90)	1.67 _b (0.86)	2.76 _a (1.39)	3.54 _b (0.94)
6. Interrogate at time of high stress	3.45 _a (0.65)	3.21 _a (0.80)	2.65 _b (1.17)	3.08 (1.05)	3.13 (0.92)
7. Moral rationalizations	3.70 _a (0.66)	3.86 _a (0.87)	2.27 _b (1.20)	3.30 (1.25)	3.65 (1.02)
8. Become a lifeline	3.52 _a (0.89)	3.31 _a (1.01)	1.97 _b (1.00)	2.84 (1.22)	3.13 (1.00)
9. Capitalize on capture shock	3.36 _a (1.03)	3.10 _a (0.91)	2.45 _b (1.15)	2.82 (1.10)	2.98 (0.93)
10. Offer genuine concern	3.78 (0.79)	4.00 (0.77)	3.67 (1.12)	3.94 (0.96)	3.89 (0.77)
11. Appeal to negative feelings for others	3.23 _a (0.70)	3.28 _a (0.87)	2.65 _b (0.97)	3.06 (0.84)	3.27 (0.99)
12. Exaggerate fear	2.91 _a (0.80)	2.40 _b (0.83)	1.77 _c (0.92)	2.06 (0.89)	2.41 (0.88)
13. Reduce fear	3.30 (0.59)	3.51 (0.74)	3.54 (1.05)	3.59 (0.86)	3.61 (0.68)
14. Flatter	2.91 _a (0.72)	3.33 _b (0.83)	2.55 _a (1.06)	2.92 (1.03)	3.16 (0.85)
15. Insult	2.04 _a (0.75)	1.48 _b (0.59)	1.16 _c (0.44)	1.14 _a (0.35)	1.60 _b (0.69)
16. Instill hopelessness	2.36 _a (0.82)	1.95 _b (0.90)	1.44 _c (0.64)	1.60 _a (0.76)	2.00 _b (0.69)
17. Allow detainee to regain authority	3.31 _a (0.66)	3.30 _a (0.86)	2.37 _b (1.13)	2.98 (1.15)	3.20 (0.91)
Context manipulation	2.86_a (0.38)	2.88_a (0.47)	2.27_b (0.49)	2.60 (0.52)	2.78 (0.55)
1. Interview in a small room.	3.57 _a (0.77)	3.61 _a (0.97)	2.90 _b (1.37)	3.41 (1.15)	3.30 (1.11)
2. Move from formal to neutral setting	2.79 _a (0.81)	2.49 _a (1.14)	1.60 _b (0.87)	1.88 _a (1.04)	2.37 _b (1.18)
3. Move from neutral to formal setting	2.76 _a (0.81)	2.54 _a (1.19)	1.70 _b (1.02)	2.02 (1.17)	2.41 (1.22)
4. Isolate	2.72 _a (0.99)	3.23 _b (0.93)	2.13 _c (1.20)	2.72 (1.26)	2.96 (1.07)
5. Position in specific part of the room	3.91 (0.86)	4.19 (1.02)	4.03 (1.39)	4.20 (1.14)	4.09 (1.01)
6. Manipulate the physical space	3.17 _a (1.01)	2.90 _a (1.36)	2.00 _b (1.26)	2.76 (1.41)	2.71 (1.32)
7. Consider the time of day	3.26 (1.04)	3.72 (1.14)	3.45 (1.48)	3.60 (1.41)	3.74 (1.18)
8. Allow suspect to view other suspects	1.76 (0.84)	1.68 (1.07)	1.50 (1.15)	1.48 (0.99)	1.69 (1.02)
9. Allow suspect to hear other suspects	1.85 _a (0.81)	1.62 _a (0.79)	1.15 _b (0.49)	1.30 _a (0.61)	1.77 _b (0.86)
Confrontation/ competition	2.62_a (0.50)	2.24_b (0.55)	1.63_c (0.45)	1.89_a (0.50)	2.31_b (0.60)
1. Emphasize authority	3.04 (0.72)	2.83 (0.93)	2.74 (1.02)	2.8 (0.97)	2.76 (0.90)
2. Challenge values	2.47 (0.83)	2.26 (0.89)	2.27 (1.04)	2.24 (1.00)	2.30 (0.87)
3. Disparage info	2.59 _a (0.68)	2.51 _a (0.80)	1.87 _b (0.82)	2.14 _a (0.83)	2.52 _b (0.84)
4. Threaten	2.26 _a (1.13)	1.32 _b (0.65)	1.30 _b (0.76)	1.22 _a (0.68)	1.50 _b (0.81)
5. Express frustration	2.53 _a (0.88)	1.73 _b (0.83)	1.38 _b (0.63)	1.44 _a (0.67)	1.91 _b (0.86)
6. Appear similar	2.79 _a (0.91)	3.28 _b (0.80)	2.18 _c (1.05)	2.92 (1.04)	3.20 (0.88)
7. Use deception	3.13 _a (0.68)	2.89 _a (1.02)	1.17 _b (0.45)	2.02 _a (1.22)	2.96 _b (1.01)
8. Obscure fate	3.26 _a (0.85)	2.17 _b (1.03)	1.45 _c (0.85)	1.98 (1.20)	2.22 (1.09)
9. Ask same questions	2.89 _a (0.86)	2.55 _b (0.83)	1.87 _c (0.82)	2.12 _a (0.82)	2.56 _b (0.89)
10. Ask series of questions quickly	2.02 _a (0.91)	1.61 _b (0.80)	1.37 _b (0.63)	1.34 _a (0.59)	1.78 _b (0.92)
11. Misconstrue words	2.45 _a (0.90)	2.05 _b (1.06)	1.57 _c (0.96)	1.67 _a (1.01)	2.20 _b (1.13)
12. Disallow denials	2.94 _a (0.87)	2.84 _a (1.27)	1.33 _b (0.73)	2.08 _a (1.32)	2.98 _b (1.18)
13. Do not speak	2.10 _a (0.93)	2.08 _a (1.01)	1.45 _b (0.78)	1.72 _a (1.01)	2.13 _b (1.00)
Collaboration	2.98_a (0.48)	2.60_b (0.56)	2.28_c (0.49)	2.43_a (0.46)	2.68_b (0.55)
1. Offer basic rewards	2.36 _a (1.22)	1.60 _b (1.13)	1.42 _b (1.08)	1.40 _a (1.00)	1.76 _b (1.20)
2. Offer special rewards	2.59 _a (1.04)	1.53 _b (0.94)	1.24 _b (0.63)	1.26 _a (0.64)	1.67 _b (0.98)
3. Offer intangible rewards	3.76 _a (0.81)	3.56 _a (1.09)	3.05 _b (1.21)	3.40 (1.15)	3.62 (1.07)
4. Show concern	3.87 (0.72)	4.15 (0.83)	3.95 (0.90)	4.23 (0.78)	4.09 (0.87)
5. Bargain	2.32 _a (0.91)	1.46 _b (0.71)	1.42 _b (0.68)	1.29 (0.54)	1.58 (0.75)
6. Appeal to sense of cooperation	3.45 (0.77)	3.51 (0.88)	3.26 (0.98)	3.52 (0.92)	3.47 (0.79)
7. Employ good cop/bad cop	2.32 _a (0.84)	2.11 _{ab} (0.85)	1.81 _b (0.81)	1.85 _a (0.74)	2.20 _b (0.84)
8. Cultivate appearance of special relationship	3.04 _a (0.71)	2.85 _a (1.06)	2.11 _b (0.89)	2.48 _a (1.03)	3.00 _b (1.01)

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

	U.S.	Canada	EANZ	IG	ACCUS
Presentation of evidence	2.99_a (0.49)	3.03_a (0.44)	2.51_b (0.39)	2.73_a (0.46)	3.11_b (0.47)
1. Confront with actual evidence	3.67 _a (0.71)	3.99 _b (0.65)	4.53 _c (0.68)	4.36 _a (0.69)	4.07 _b (0.65)
2. Confront with false evidence	2.67 _a (0.87)	1.92 _b (1.04)	1.03 _c (0.16)	1.40 _a (0.83)	1.89 _b (1.02)
3. Bluff about evidence	2.91 _a (0.81)	2.65 _a (1.01)	1.15 _b (0.43)	1.82 _a (1.00)	2.72 _b (1.07)
4. Identify contradictions	3.91 _a (0.72)	4.02 _a (0.70)	4.57 _b (0.59)	4.34 (0.66)	4.15 (0.73)
5. Directly accuse suspect of involvement	3.33 _a (0.82)	3.84 _b (0.78)	2.97 _a (1.46)	3.40 _a (1.20)	4.00 _b (0.93)
6. Reveal evidence	2.65 (0.87)	2.74 (1.07)	2.64 (1.22)	2.56 (1.20)	3.00 (1.13)
7. Accuse suspect of being someone he is not	2.30 _a (0.84)	2.07 _a (0.95)	1.33 _b (0.66)	1.67 _a (0.96)	2.16 _b (0.90)
8. Use polygraph	2.54 _a (0.96)	2.77 _a (0.92)	1.13 _b (0.47)	1.82 _a (1.09)	2.67 _b (1.01)
9. Show photos or statements from witnesses	2.81 _a (0.87)	3.16 _{a,b} (0.89)	3.33 _b (1.02)	3.18 (1.04)	3.15 (0.92)

Notes. The bold rows show domain-level means and SDs. Row items with different subscripts denote differences at $p < .05$. The items without subscripts confirmed the null hypothesis in the omnibus tests, and thus were not subjected to pairwise comparisons. US, Canada, and EANZ groups were compared in one set of tests and information-gathering and accusatorial groups were compared to one another in a separate set of tests.

All three groups reported using *rapport and relationship building* more frequently than the other domains. Nonetheless, Kruskal-Wallis tests indicated that the Canadian sample reported using this domain at a significantly higher rate than either of the other groups, $\chi^2(2, N = 162) = 19.64, p < .001; \varphi = .35$. In addition, although the U.S. and EANZ samples did not differ significantly at the domain level, they did significantly differ on their rate of use of many of the techniques within the domain. For example, the EANZ sample reported showing suspects kindness and being patient with the suspect more often than the U.S. sample, $\chi^2(2, N \geq 167) \geq 20.32, p < .001; \varphi \geq .35$ (see Table 2). On the other hand, U.S. interrogators reported touching suspects in a friendly manner at a higher rate than those from the EANZ group, $\chi^2(2, N = 168) = 17.54, p < .01; \varphi = .32$. Touching the suspect in a friendly manner was also one of the few *rapport* techniques that the „Canadians and Americans in the sample used at similar frequencies, $\chi^2(2, N = 168) = 17.54, p < .99$.

At the domain level, the EANZ group reported using the *emotion provocation, context manipulation, and presentation of evidence* domains at lower rates than the American and Canadian samples, $\chi^2s(2, Ns \geq 148) \geq 29.80, ps < .001; \varphi s \geq .45$. However, the U.S. and Canadian samples emphasized different *emotion provocation* techniques. American interrogators reported exaggerating suspects' fear, insulting suspects, and instilling hopelessness at higher rates than the Canadian interrogators, $\chi^2(2, N \geq 168) \geq 24.63, p < .01; \varphi \geq .38$ (Table 2). However, Canadian interrogators reported flattering the suspect at a higher rate than the Americans in the sample, $\chi^2(2, N = 167) = 20.71, p < .01; \varphi = .35$.

Conversely, while the American and Canadian interrogators manipulated the context more often than the EANZ sample, all three groups reported positioning the suspect in a specific part of the room and considering the time of day for the interrogation at similar frequencies, $\chi^2(2, N \geq 169) \geq 4.71, p < .10; \varphi = .17$. And as noted, U.S. interrogators reported using the *presentation of evidence* domain at a similar rate as the Canadian interrogators. Yet, interrogators practicing in the United States reported presenting false evidence and directly accusing the suspect of being involved at significantly higher rates than those from Canada, $\chi^2(2, N \geq 168) \geq 15.32, p < .001; \varphi \geq .30$. On the other hand, Canadians reported presenting actual evidence at a higher rate than the Americans, $\chi^2(2, N = 168) = 31.00, p < .001; \varphi = .43$.

Finally, all three pairs' reported usage significantly differed for the *confrontation/competition* and *collaboration* domains, $\chi^2(2, N = 159) = 54.47, p < .001; \varphi = .59$ (Table 2). For these two domains, the American sample reported the highest rate of use, followed by the Canadian sample, and finally the EANZ sample. But there were times at the individual technique level in which the groups did not differ. Within the *confrontation/competition* domain, all three groups reported emphasizing their authority and expertise over the suspect and challenging the values held by the suspect at similar rates, $\chi^2(2, N = 169) \leq 2.70, p > .26; \varphi \leq .13$. Also, for the *collaboration* domain, all three groups reportedly show concern and appeal to a suspect's sense of cooperation at similar rates, $\chi^2(2, N \geq 166) \geq 2.76, p > .08; \varphi \leq .17$.

Approaches of Canadian and EANZ interviewers

General approaches

Canadian and EANZ interrogators and interviewers differed significantly on their perceptions of their countries' and their own approaches. That said, it is important to note that both groups' means were toward the lower (information-gathering) end of that 10-point scale (see Figure 1). Wilcoxon Rank-Sum tests revealed that EANZ interviewers reported that they use more of an information-gathering approach than Canadians in our sample; $z(n_1 = 29, n_2 = 63) = -5.07, p < .001$. Likewise, EANZ interviewers in the sample reported their own approaches as being more focused on information-gathering than Canadian interrogators, $z(n_1 = 29, n_2 = 63) = -3.45, p < .001$.

Interrogation approaches & frequency of interrogation domains and techniques

The cluster analysis that was performed on the information-gathering – accusatorial scales revealed two clusters, based on the nature of the scales and the range of the responses. In

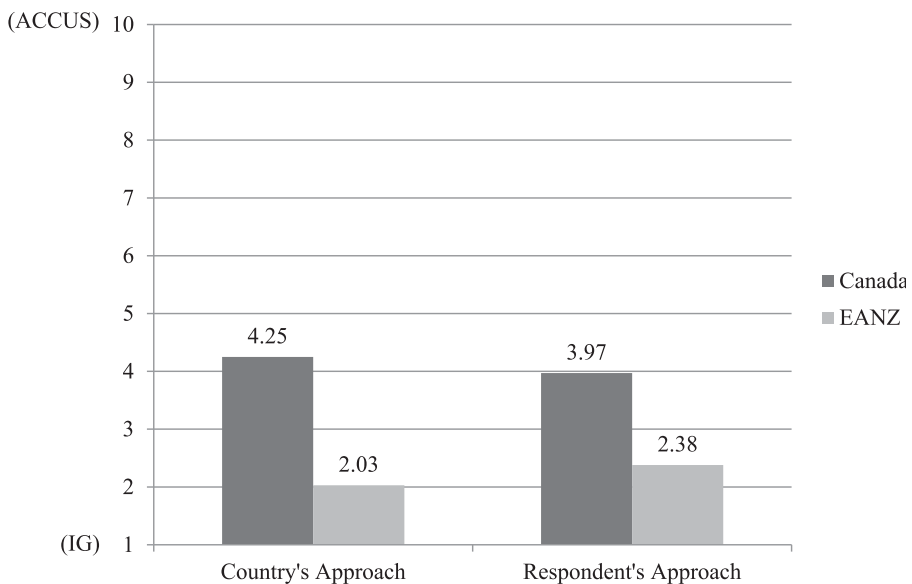


Figure 1. Mean perceptions of interrogation approaches (1 = info. gathering, 10 = accusatorial).

terms of demographics, the clusters were similar. They were comparable in their gender and age, along with years of experience. Whereas the first cluster was split between Canadian and EANZ interrogators (50% each), the second cluster was mostly made up of Canadian interrogators (83%). The first cluster ($n = 50$) had a low mean score on both their own and their countries' information-gathering – accusatorial scale ($\bar{x} \leq 2.10$) (where 1 = information-gathering, 10 = accusatorial), whereas the second cluster ($n = 46$) had a much higher mean score ($\bar{x} \geq 5.10$). Given these scores and the labeling of the scale, we called the first cluster 'information-gathering' and the second cluster 'accusatorial'.

To determine if reported deception detection techniques and domain usage differed by cluster association, we conducted Wilcoxon rank-sum tests. Regarding deception detection technique usage, for the most part, the two clusters reported using the deception detection techniques at similar rates, $z_s(n_1s \geq 48, n_2s = 46) \leq 0.37$; $ps \geq .142$ (Table 1). In fact, the only difference between the two groups was that the information-gathering group reported having the suspect go into detail in order to detect deception more often than the accusatorial group, $z(n_1 = 49, n_2 = 45) = 2.18$; $p = .030$.

Regarding domain usage, while respondents in the accusatorial and information-gathering clusters reported using the *rapport and relationship building* and *context manipulation* domains at similar rates, their rates of use differed for the other four domains (Table 2). Notably, those in the accusatorial cluster reported using the *emotion provocation*, *confrontation/competition*, *collaboration*, and *presentation of evidence* domains at higher rates than those in the information-gathering cluster, $z_s(n_1s \geq 44, n_2s \geq 39) \leq -2.48$; $ps \leq .013$.

Next, we examined differences between the two clusters on their reported use of the individual techniques within these domains. These results showed that these domain-level differences were driven by large differences in the reported use of several individual techniques. For example, those in the accusatorial cluster reported using *emotion provocation* techniques, such as insulting the suspect, maximizing the seriousness of the offense, and instilling hopelessness in the suspect, more often than those in the information-gathering cluster, $z_s(n_1s \geq 49, n_2s \geq 45) \leq -2.24$; $ps \leq .025$. Similarly, the accusatorial cluster reported threatening the suspect, using deception, and disallowing denials at significantly higher rates than interrogators in the information-gathering cluster, $z_s(n_1s = 50, n_2s = 46) \leq -2.20$; $ps \leq .028$. Within the *collaboration* domain, interrogators in the information-gathering cluster reported offering basic or special rewards in exchange for cooperation less often than those in the accusatorial cluster, $z_s(n_1s \geq 47, n_2s \geq 45) \leq -2.08$; $ps \leq .038$. A closer look at the techniques within the *presentation of evidence* domain revealed that while those in the information-gathering cluster reported confronting suspects with actual evidence more often than those in the accusatorial cluster ($z(n_1 = 50, n_2 = 45) = 2.20$; $p = .028$), the opposite was true for presenting fabricated evidence and bluffing about evidence, $z_s(n_1s = 50, n_2s = 46) \leq -2.82$; $ps \leq .005$.

Discussion

The foregoing analyses were among the first to systematically compare interrogation and interviewing practices of police investigators of multiple countries. Although the differences between accusatorial-style methods popularized by the Reid Technique (Inbau et al., 2013) and those of the information-gathering approach associated with the

PEACE model (Clarke & Milne, 2016) are well known (Evans et al., 2013; Meissner et al., 2014), there has been little empirical work examining the comparative use of tactics, techniques, and procedures employed to elicit confessions and information from criminal suspects across multiple countries. Using an online platform to distribute the survey instrument and collect information, we surveyed investigators across three regions who reported on their use of a variety of methods, including how they detect deceit, and other practices related to interrogation and interviewing. Whether we divided respondents by region or perceived interrogation approach, we saw important distinctions among their reported practices.

Comparing approaches across samples

Our primary purpose in conducting this study was to examine self-reported interviewing and interrogation practices across countries who adopted divergent methods of questioning suspects. For analytic purposes, we compared such practices of the United States, Canada, and a third group consisting of several European countries, plus Australia and New Zealand (i.e. EANZ), who practice the information-gathering approach. At the macro-level, the United States and Canada have both been described as utilizing the accusatorial approach (see Kassin et al., 2007; Meissner et al., 2014). However, there are also indications that Canadian interviewing approaches are in flux, and that there is movement towards an information-gathering approach (Snook et al., 2016). In the following sections, we first focus on the differences found between American and Canadian interrogators. Then, because more often than not, American and Canadian interrogators were in concert, we collapse them and discuss the comparative results between North American and the EANZ samples.

American vs. Canadian interrogators

On many aspects, American and Canadian interrogators were found to be quite similar. However, in this section, we focus on the significant differences between these two North American countries' interviewing approaches. When differences arose, results largely indicated that American interrogators reported using and favoring accusatorial techniques more so than Canadian ones. First, Canadian interrogators reported using *rappport and relationship-building* techniques significantly more often than American interrogators, a pattern which was found at both the macro- and micro-levels. Of the nine techniques within this domain, Canadians reported higher use on seven of them; the two exceptions, in which Americans and Canadians did not differ significantly, were 'act as a student' and 'touch in a friendly manner'. Second, interrogators from the United States reported using techniques from the *confrontation/competition* domain significantly more often than those from Canada. But, interrogators from both countries reported using confrontational techniques like emphasizing their authority over a suspect, using deception, and disallowing denials at similar rates.

Third, the *presentation of evidence* domain presents an interesting case, wherein examining the micro-level techniques adds great value to the meso-level results. These results are also consistent with the notion that the U.S. interrogators favor accusatorial techniques more heavily than their Canadian counterparts. While U.S. and Canadian interrogators present evidence at similar rates, they appear to present evidence in different ways –

both in terms of the type of evidence and the method in which it is presented. For instance, Canadian interrogators reported presenting actual evidence more often than those from the U.S. Conversely, U.S. interrogators reported presenting false evidence at a higher rate than Canadians. Moreover, U.S. interrogators reported directly accusing the suspect of being involved with the crime more often than the Canadian interrogators.

In regard to deception detection, American and Canadian interrogators tended to be the same in their approach; of 10 techniques listed, a significant difference emerged on only two. Again, Americans tended more toward the accusatorial approach. More specifically, in comparison to Canadian interrogators, Americans were significantly more likely to report repeating questions and relying on paralinguistic cues as deception detection methods. The latter of these methods is part of the 'anxiety-based' model of detecting deception which typifies the accusatorial approach (Meissner et al., 2014).

Finally, regarding recording of interview and interrogation practices, we discovered that whereas less than half of the American sample (48%) recorded their sessions, nearly all of the Canadian respondents reported doing so (94%). One reason for this finding is that Canada has much more uniform case law regarding the recording of interrogation sessions than America. Whereas in the United States the recording practices of agencies across different states or even counties varies widely (Norris et al., 2017), Canada has shown a more consistent pattern, in which the voluntariness of suspects' statements are called into question when police fail to record an interrogation where recording equipment was present (R. v. Moore-McFarlane, 2001). Indeed, Canadian and EANZ interviewers were equally likely to report recording their interviews. A common mandate of information-gathering approaches, such as PEACE, is electronic recordings (e.g. Schollum, 2005; Walsh et al., 2016).

North American interrogators vs. European, Australian, and New Zealander (EANZ) interviewers

Despite the differences detected between the American and Canadian survey participants, interrogators from these countries were more similar to one another than either was to interviewers from the various European nations, Australia, and New Zealand. With one exception,¹ Americans and Canadians reported significantly higher usage across the domains than EANZ interviewers. For all domains except *rappport and relationship building*, this pattern of findings persisted at the micro-level (individual techniques) as well (see Table 2).

Furthermore, both American and Canadian interrogators were more likely to report higher usage of problematic deception detection techniques (e.g. reliance on paralinguistic cues, ask certain questions), whereas the EANZ interviewers were significantly more likely to report use of confronting the suspect with facts. For the most part, research has demonstrated that anxiety-based cues to detection (such as those used in the accusatorial method) are unreliable indicators of deception (Bond & DePaulo, 2006). In contrast, cognitive-based deception detection techniques have shown more promise in their ability to accurately sort between truth-tellers and liars (see Meissner et al., 2014; Vrij, 2008). Nonetheless, American interrogators, who reported using more anxiety-based techniques, estimated that they successfully detected deception (74.5% accurate) at a significantly higher rate than their EANZ counterparts (61.6% accurate), who tend to use more cognitive-based techniques. The now decade-old survey of North American law enforcement by

Kassin et al. (2007) found a self-reported 77% level of accuracy, indicating that perceptions concerning ability to accurately detect deception have remained stable. The accusatorial model emphasizes accurately detecting deception at a very high rate, in contrast to the information-gathering approach. For example, the Reid Technique has claimed that its training equips interrogators to detect lies at a rate upwards of 85% (www.reid.com/services/r_behavior.html). This finding is also consistent with past research showing that American law enforcement officers are not more accurate in their ability to detect lies, but are more confident (in comparison to students) (Kassin, Meissner, & Norwick, 2005). More specifically, because research (Vrij, 2008) has demonstrated that anxiety-based methods of deception detection hover around 50% accuracy levels (akin to flipping a coin), rates of 75–85% are overly confident. Following this same vein, American, as well as Canadian, interrogators also estimated that their colleagues were better at detecting lies than the EANZ interviewers.

Using just the Canadian and EANZ subsamples, the differences along the accusatorial and information-gathering continuum were supported in the cluster analysis. In that subset of results, the majority of those in the accusatorial cluster were Canadian interrogators, whereas the information-gathering cluster was equally divided among EANZ and Canadian survey participants. These two clusters were also associated with the reported frequency of technique use. For example, those in the accusatorial cluster were more likely to employ the *confrontation/competition* domain, particularly the techniques of using deception, threatening suspects, and disallowing denials. In line with prior research demonstrating a perhaps counterintuitive effect of the domain (Kelly, Miller, & Redlich, 2016; Kelly et al., 2015), interrogators in the accusatorial cluster also selected *presentation of evidence* domain techniques more often than those in the information-gathering cluster. However, a closer look revealed that this difference was driven by certain techniques: bluffing about supposed evidence and presenting fabricated evidence – techniques that arguably are more in line with accusatorial than information-gathering methods. Further, those in the information-gathering cluster reported presenting actual evidence significantly more frequently than those in the accusatorial cluster. Similar patterns were found for the *emotion provocation* domain and techniques as well.

Interestingly, our analyses of deception detection by cluster generally did not reveal differences. Of the 10 deception detection techniques examined, a significant difference emerged for only one. Specifically, interviewers in the information-gathering cluster relied more on having suspects into detail than those in the accusatorial cluster. Whereas we did find several significant differences between Canadian and EANZ interviewers on deception detection techniques, these same differences did not emerge when examined by cluster. Thus, at least for deception detection, adherence to a macro-level method – either information-gathering or accusatorial – may be more telling than identification with a country/region. Overall, to our knowledge, no previous research has investigated how the usage of techniques differs along this accusatorial-information-gathering continuum. Although the results may seem intuitive, we think there is much more to be done along these lines.

Despite the general distinction between the approaches and especially the overwhelming rejection by EANZ interviewers of the accusatorial *emotion provocation* and *confrontation/competition* domains (Meissner, Kelly, & Woestehoff, 2015) relative to the North American interrogators, it is important to note that the latter group was at least as likely

or significantly more likely to favor the *rapport and relationship building* and *collaboration* domains. Our sense is that American and Canadian interrogators have greater latitude in the techniques they can employ, and we recognize that that they do not necessarily disfavor the non-coercive methods of these domains. The overall pattern of results, however, conforms to existing research (Meissner et al., 2014) that North American interrogators, particularly from the United States, can and do employ a harsher or more coercive style of questioning suspects than other police investigators in the United Kingdom, mainland Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. In the last two decades, the latter group of countries has purposefully moved away from accusatorial interrogation (Walsh, Milne, & Bull, 2015), and the implementation of a new model of investigative interviewing is clear in these results. Further, although there were certainly notable exceptions, on the whole, the differences we found by region at the meso-level (domains) emerged at the micro-level as well (the techniques within the domains).

Limitations and conclusions

Recruiting an internationally diverse, representative sample of individuals, regardless of who they are or how they meet the study's inclusion criteria, is a difficult task. As such, we did not set out to recruit a random sample of individuals across a random selection of countries, and this choice limits the force of our results and conclusions. At the same time that we acknowledge this limitation, we must point out that this was the first attempt at such a broad-based sample of the population of investigators, and the distinctive findings of the accusatorial methods of North American interrogators and the information-gathering ones of EANZ interviewers suggest that survey participants were at least somewhat representative of the population. Per the questions regarding the interrogation approaches, it is certainly a limitation that these questionnaire items were not included in the earlier, American phase of participant recruitment. Nonetheless, based on the differences found here, it would not be a difficult argument to make that had they been, American interrogators would have been concentrated in the accusatorial cluster.

There were three related sample limitations worthy of brief acknowledgements. First, we combined interviewers from seven different countries into a single group for analysis. We did so based on the movement of these countries toward the PEACE model of investigative interviewing, but without greater numbers of participants from each, a country-level analysis was not possible. Indeed, the sample sizes of the three regions were relatively small overall, and although we took methodological precautions for this, results should be interpreted with this limitation in mind. Further, the countries in our sample are decidedly of a 'Western', Eurocentric origin. This was a result of the convenience sampling, and we are unable to make any conclusions about interview and interrogation practices from any other region of the world (see Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2014, for an examination of interviewing in Asian-Pacific countries). Second, there may have been unintended cultural and linguistic misunderstandings of the techniques included in the survey. A condition of participation in the survey was a proficiency in English; we do not know how many interrogators were unable to complete the survey because of this eligibility criterion. Of the seven countries in the EANZ group, English is not the primary language for three – i.e. Norway, the Netherlands, and Finland. According to Smith (2017), however, 90% of Norwegians and the Dutch, and 70% of the Finnish speak English.

To conclude, this study was made possible by employing a wide-ranging questionnaire based on a thorough review of interrogation methods (Kelly et al., 2013) that captured many techniques, tactics, and procedures that could be employed by investigators. Meissner et al. (2015) recently argued that the six domains of Kelly et al.'s taxonomy could be viewed as accusatorial or information-gathering in nature, or both depending on how they were employed. Specifically, the *confrontation/competition* and *emotion provocation* domains are more accusatorial in nature, whereas the *rappport and relationship-building* and *collaboration* domains are aligned more with the information-gathering approach, and the other two – *context manipulation* and *presentation of evidence* – could be either approach depending on how they were employed (see also Goodman-Delahunty, Martschuk, and Dhami (2014) and Kelly et al. (2015) for similar discussions). This interpretation of the domain framework informs the results of the current survey comparing interrogation and interviewing approaches across a multinational sample by providing a uniform language to describe largely disparate practices. In large part, our findings map onto this framework providing empirical support for differences at the macro- and micro-levels of the interrogation taxonomy by country.

Note

1. The one exception was a non-significant difference between American and EANZ interviewers on general use of *rappport and relationship building*. Both groups differed significantly from Canadian interviewers (Table 2).

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