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Police Deception: A Survey of EKU Students

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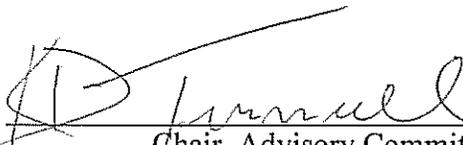
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Police Deception
A Survey of ECU Students

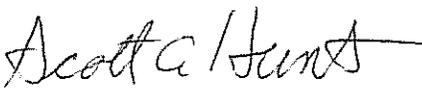
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Police Deception
A Survey of ECU Students

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Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
Eastern Kentucky University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents
Jerry and Rita Nicholson
for their unwavering support.

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I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Ken Tunnell, for his guidance and patience. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Dr. Irina Soderstrom and Dr. Scott Hunt, for their comments and assistance.

Abstract

Police deception has been both good and bad for society. Deceptive interrogation is an effective method of gaining confessions and convictions. It is also dangerous in that it raises the potential for false confessions, damages police-citizen relationships, damages case strength, and encourages lying in other aspects of policing. The purpose of the study was to gauge the opinions of students regarding deceptive interrogation by police. A survey was administered to a purposive sample of undergraduates at Eastern Kentucky University. The survey asked questions regarding the students' level of approval toward different scenarios of police deception. It also asked some general questions regarding the police and lying. The sample's average responses indicated negative to neutral feelings of police use of deception. In no circumstance did the sample's average responses approve of deception by police.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Some believe deception and lying by police officers is unpleasant but a necessary and effective method of enforcing the law (Alpert & Noble, 2009). The reasonable deception doctrine says police may lie to suspects during interrogations so long as an innocent person would not be affected. For example, interrogators could say they had discovered a bloody fingerprint when there was none. The innocent person would be certain the officer had not found any evidence, but the guilty could not be certain. It is an effective strategy and one of the prime reasons for the right to a defense attorney (Leo, 1998). The circumstances offer plenty of opportunities for deception in the criminal investigation process. The courts allow police to use trickery and deception in certain circumstances. Young officers are trained to lie by superior officers. It is true that the police are authoritatively led into lying (Alpert & Noble, 2009).

A lie is a statement intended to deceive. Police officers, like many other people, lie every once in a while, and some police come to work knowing that they will lie today, the next day, and the next. Police tell placebo lies to assure or soothe troubled citizens. They tell lies about their level of authority, and they lie to suspects in trying to gain evidence of crime. They also commit perjury, to bring down the guilty, free the guilty, or frame the innocent. Some of these lies are justifiable. Some lies are condemned immediately. Lying under oath is perjury. Lying required to save one from death may not only be allowed but is generally celebrated (even when the lie was under oath) (Alpert & Noble, 2009).

Most types of police lies are not clearly as distinguishable as moral or immoral, however. Specifically, there are disagreements over permitting lying to suspects as a way of finding evidence and eliciting confessions. If the police are trying to unravel a mystery, search property, or gain a confession, should they be allowed to lie to do so?

Types of Lies

The lying techniques used by police include: (1) Displaying false sympathy for the suspect or trying to reduce his shame by befriending him (e.g., by falsely telling a rape suspect that the interrogator himself had once attempted violence with a girl in trying to have sex with her); (2) Lying about the accusation in trying to encourage the suspect into telling his story or in hopes of gaining a denial of which will indirectly reveal guilt of the suspect (e.g., accusing the suspect of stealing \$40,000, the suspect will claim it was only \$20,000); (3) lying that suggests a confession would be best for the suspect (e.g., statements that evidence has already been found when it has not); (4) turning one accomplice against another (e.g., leading one to believe the other has confessed when he has not); (5) evidence fabrication; and (6) lie detector manipulation. Many other deceptive techniques exist when it comes to Mirandizing suspects. For example, police might tell the suspect that "whatever you say may be used for or against you in a court of law," even though police will rarely if ever testify for the defense in a prosecution. They might also misinform the suspect that only written statements are allowed or that the right to an attorney will be given only once the suspect is in court. Manipulation of lie detector machines to force the truth out of a participant or observer is also well-known.

Lying in a general sense is immoral, but essentially no one is willing to condemn it entirely. A typical argument made to a stubborn anti-liar is a murderer pursuing a

potential victim, whose location is known by a third-party. Should the third party tell the truth about the location of the potential innocent victim? Most believe that lying is the right thing to do in that situation. Many people adhere to a utilitarian standard when it comes to deception. It is the same when it comes to police interrogation methods.

Deceptive interrogation is a complicated issue with little agreement among those who support and condemn its use. We must reach a balance that takes into account our love for honesty and certain justice and our strong desire for public security and retribution. Our most valued principles play a role in shaping society. What is more important between convicting criminals and limiting police power?

One of the best examples of the courts addressing deception is the case of Florida v. Cayward where a teenage male was accused of raping and murdering his five-year-old niece. He was the prime suspect of the crime, but the police realized they had limited evidence to use against him. They decided to take advantage of an opportunity to interrogate a young and naïve suspect. Early in the interview Cayward stuck to his story of innocence. Then the police fabricated evidence in the form of DNA testing reports with permission from the state's attorney. The reports appeared very scientific and official bearing seals and letterheads of the Florida Department of Criminal Law Enforcement and of Life Codes, Inc., both forensic examiners. The fabricated documents insisted that they had found certain DNA evidence on the victim that would prove Cayward guilty. After seeing the false reports Cayward confessed.

Should this lie be as accepted as lying to a murderer about a would-be victim? Or should police deception, such as evidence ploys, be in another category? We are far from reaching any ethical certainty or agreement about such cases. Some might believe that

lying is a great thing if it puts away someone guilty of a horrendous crime. Still others would not want the guardians of a society, who have so much power, to lie about evidence.

People who side with crime control more than due process do not condone lying as a good thing in itself. They see deception as sometimes the only way to gain a conviction; they consider the weight of deception against the potential injustice for victims and the future danger to the other community members. Law enforcement tolerates deceptive interrogation not because lying itself is acceptable, but because they accept the notion that it works for the greater good of society.

Harms of Deception

What are the harmful results of police deception? Does the deception take away from public trust and cause public opinions of law enforcement as being made up of people just as bad as the criminals, even if the deception is legal and publicly aware? Some find it strange that the police can lie to us but if we lie to them it is a crime. Even more disturbing is deception leading to false confessions and convictions of the innocent. Commentators have sought to show that deception causes many false confessions and, thus, the wrongful convictions of innocent people. Their efforts have captured the attention not only of the academic community, but also of the media.

Interrogators regularly draw out confessions with deceptive tactics. But a society that agreeably recognizes lying as unethical, such skillful lying from police officers causes dilemmas and disagreements. Deception can damage not just a wrongfully accused suspect but also the interrogator, the prosecutor's case, and the image of the entire criminal justice system. To fully appreciate the argument against deceptive

interrogation, it is important to look into the harms related to the use of deceptive techniques, including false confession and wrongful conviction, the unintentional weakening of case strength, the growing popularity and dependence on lying, and the harmful effects on the police community relationship.

The greatest danger from deceptive interrogation is potential for false confessions from the suspect. Scholars have identified two types of false confessions resulting from the stress and psychological harm from deceptive interrogation. Coerced-compliant confessions (Gudjonsson, 1991) occur when a suspect willingly offers a false confession because he thinks it will be for his own good. They could just be aiming to end the stressful interview. A suspect may feel he will never prove his innocence; this feeling of inevitable conviction causes one to give a false confession believing that he will receive an easier punishment if he does not contradict the interrogator. The other type, coerced-internalized false confessions (Kassin, 1999) result when deceptive techniques affect a suspect's psychological condition so negatively that the innocent suspect accepts the guilt that the officers are throwing at him. In their stressful psychological disorganization, the suspect loses track of the line between the truth and the lies that the attempted deceiver gives. These two types of false confessions are caused by deceptive interrogation methods and can cause life changing consequences for the wrongfully accused. Deception can even affect the confessions of the guilty, altering the true story to go along with the lies of the interrogator. Even if guilty confessions are correct, they will question a suspect's if police input altered the suspect's beliefs.

How often do false confessions lead to miscarriages of justice? A study by Lloyd-Bostock (1989) shows that in Great Britain, only mistaken identifications are the cause of

more wrongful conviction among cases referred to the Court of Appeal. How often false confessions end with wrongful convictions we cannot be exactly sure but several researchers (Leo, 1998; Leo & Ofshe, 1998; Wrightsman & Kassir, 1993; Wrightsman et al., 1994; Zimbardo, 1967) believe that enough instances have been proven to raise concern over such a risk. Leo (1998) suggests three reasons why it is impossible to research the number of false confessions: (1) police interrogations are always behind closed doors without any audio or visual record keeping, (2) police do not keep official records on the number of interrogations conducted, and (3) it is difficult to know what is the actual cause of the confession, especially if the suspect is convicted.

False confessions are a major failure for the American criminal justice system. In recent years, numerous suspects have claimed that questionable interrogation methods have caused them to wrongfully confess. Studies have shed light on cases of wrongful convictions due to false confessions (Leo & Ofshe, 1998). Scholars have uncovered that false confessions are frequent enough to demand attention. Empirical data show that confessions gained through skillful interrogation techniques are often untrustworthy and that these techniques are the root of several false confessions (Leo & Ofshe, 1998). To attempt a deceptive tactic the police must assume guilt beforehand, taking away from the innocent until proven guilty mindset. Some are deceived without the police having any reasonable suspicion of their involvement in a crime; this raises the likelihood of a false confession.

The suffering resulting from false confessions is extreme. Interrogator induced false confessions result in the wrongful prosecution and imprisonment of the innocent. Confessions are absolute; they take away any reason for the investigation to continue.

Police judges and jurors will value a confession over any other evidence that may prove innocence (Forest & Woody, 1999). A confession is also valuable to the plea bargaining process. Having already confessed the suspect may believe it is impossible to prove his innocence and may then work towards securing the lightest sentence.

The use of deception could also damage the strength of any case and the likelihood of gaining a conviction against the truly guilty. The use of deception by the police puts an aura of suspicion around any confession, no matter what else may prove it true; it is more likely excluded from a trial. Even though it may seem unlikely for innocent suspects to confess to a crime, no matter the interrogation method, the use of deceptive interrogation techniques causes one to question the validity of any confession. Due to the fact that some courts may not welcome coerced confessions, confessions free from the cloud of deception are more valuable than those from deception. A police officer could lose valuable confession evidence against the defendant for using deceptive tactics.

Other than causing the court to question confession evidence, deceptive techniques can also cause discouragement of cooperation from suspects who may withhold vital evidence. People commonly believe it is a bad idea to ever talk to police about anything (Leo, 1998). Officers may believe they may have nothing to lose from attempting deceptive interrogation. But, attempting deception on the innocent could jeopardize the positive image that is necessary for a healthy police-community relationship. When innocent people detect deception, they can become discouraged to cooperate with the investigation when often their participation is valuable. A case may

depend on suspects testifying as witnesses and such blatant dishonesty and insensitivity could undermine a strong case against the guilty.

Another danger associated with allowing deceptive interrogation is its resulting popularity, if not dependence, and its potential extension into other areas of policing (Barker, 2006). It is true that police regularly depend on deceptive tactics; deception is preferred over other methods of investigation. Lying is taught at the academy and superior officers pressure cadets into lying. Trickery is certainly more preferable than physical violence and intimidation in bringing out confessions. The most important method of gaining a conviction throughout a criminal investigation is the collection of evidence and testimony against the accused. Perhaps dangerously, deception has become the preferred means of securing a confession and conviction. This puts the most important methods in a secondary position.

Treating deceptive interrogation positively light may encourage lying in other settings. The justification for lying is the belief that deception is necessary to support the greater good of society. Deception comes out of a desire for a safer society. But, this logic in one person's mind could justify several behaviors; there are many opportunities for police to lie other than in interrogation. For instance, an officer may apply the same reasoning to lying on an affidavit for a search warrant, keeping false records, or to perjury in a courtroom. The courts allow deception in some police activities but strictly deny the opportunity in other activities such as falsifying police reports and lying to avoid departmental discipline or criminal liability (Barker, 2006). This communicates differing ideologies about the core values of the criminal justice system and the moral standards officers are held to.

Last but certainly not least the damage done to the friendly community oriented image of police is significant. This could cause people to not like the police. The use of deception by police is against many people's moral values, but also the main principles of justice, and the proper treatment of those accused. The wide use of deceptive interrogation makes one believe the opposite of innocent until proven guilty. The police want those in their custody guilty; they get excited at the idea of conviction. A victory for the criminal justice system is to render true justice. However, efforts to gain convictions through deception calls into question the morality of the criminal justice system itself. Such practiced and intentional dishonesty jeopardizes the integrity and public opinion of the police system; the lies also negatively effect both sides of the interrogation. Several studies show the negative psychological effects officers deal with resulting from their lying. Police officers have confessed their disapproval at being encouraged to lie by their higher ranking officials. As time goes by officers can come to accept even the most insensitive of police practices, but their original disapproval shows that deceptive techniques are in opposition to societal norms and moral values (Marx, 1998).

The purpose of this study is to collect and analyze quantitative data about students' opinions regarding the use of police lying and deception in eliciting confessions through an administered survey. Do people feel that lying is justified in that it is an effective tool that can bring offenders to justice or is it considered too dangerous because of its potentially devastating side effects such as false confessions, public disagreement, case harm, and extension into other areas of policing?

In the current study the first research question asked for a descriptive analysis of the demographics of the study subjects. The second research question asked for a

descriptive analysis of survey responses for all study subjects for the Likert response survey questions regarding opinions about police deception. The third research question pertained to age, and its relationship to the survey responses. This relationship was analyzed using bivariate correlations. The final research question asked if any demographic group differences occurred with respect to responses to the questions about police deception.

I hypothesize that on average the sample will show general disapproval of police deception. The public expects the police to be of high moral and ethical standards. The public places so much trust in the police and often has a lack of transparency in their operations few things can erode trust more than lying. The dangers associated with police deception (false confession, over use, evidence harm,) may result in people calling for the termination of its use.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Panzarallea and Funk (1987) theorized that courts have accepted deceptive practices in the belief that (1) deception is a better alternative to violent coercion and (2) deception can be restricted to the investigation stage without taking place in the courtroom part of a case. They also conducted a survey of both American and British police, police superiors and civilians asking about the acceptance of deception tactics. Only small differences were found between these different groups in their acceptability of deception tactics. All groups showed generally positive approval of the tactic. But there were disagreements about the situations where deception passed as acceptable. The consistent finding was that there was higher acceptability of a deception tactic if the tactic was in common use. However, extensive use of deception tactics seems to have negatively affected credibility of police testimony in court cases. They believe that police agencies should make specific guidelines about the use of deception tactics.

Wasioleski, Whately, and Murphy (2009) conducted a study of undergraduates about police deception. The study had two main purposes: first, to gauge opinions of college students to deception used by police during the Tankleff interrogation; and second, to look into whether the hindsight bias would affect the participants' ratings of the police's use of deception. During the Tankleff interrogation the police used a deceptive tactic to gain a confession from Marty Tankleft for the murder of his parents in 1988. Specifically they told him his father reawakened and named him as the attacker. Marty withdrew his confession after talking to his lawyer but was still convicted and sentenced to fifty years in prison. The hindsight bias is the tendency of people to approve

of actions solely based on their outcomes. For instance, an unwarranted search of a vehicle by police would be seen as right if the police found illegal items, but inappropriate if their search came up empty. Participants read a short story of a case involving deceptive interrogation with the results of the trial manipulated (not guilty or guilty). Participants then answered questions meant to assess legal attitudes, crime control attitudes, legal authoritarianism, and their views on confessions.

The researchers asked seven questions assessing participants' attitudes toward suspect confessions, police practices, and disposition of the Marty Tankleff case in particular. Participants gave their level of agreement with the following statements (1) "No one would ever confess to a crime s/he did not commit." (2) "The police should be permitted to use any means necessary to get a suspect to confess." (3) "Some suspects may be too stressed to offer a reliable confession." (4) "Police should not be allowed to lie to a suspect to get a confession." (5) "Once a suspect confesses to committing a crime, no other evidence needs to be considered." (6) "A suspect might confess to a crime just to end the police interrogation." (7) "I believe Marty Tankleff murdered his parents"(Wasioleski et al., 2009).” (7). Participants responded to each question on a six point scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (6) Strongly Agree

The study shows disapproval of police deception in eliciting confessions. The lack of the predicted one-sidedness of the hindsight bias may show strong disapproval of deceptive tactics by police that, this time at least, the end did not justify the means. However, the overall results do not point to absolute condemnation of all forms of deception; thus, the ineffectiveness of a hindsight bias is because of some other issue,

such as uncertainty about Marty Tankleff's real guilt regardless of the findings of a trial (Wasioleski et al., 2009).

Gary T. Marx (1998) tells of the relationship between undercover work (deceptive by its nature) and its negative effects on health and work. Interviews of police officers have shed light on how the police feel about lying. One officer confessed "I don't like deceiving people, especially friends, and contrary to what others think, I feel very badly about it. But than decent soldiers feel badly about the necessity of killing in wartime" (Marx, 1998, p. 25). Another officer said "You know what I compare it (narcotics sweeps) to? The Department of Sanitation picks up our garbage every day. They know there's going to be more garbage tomorrow. Now, what would happen if they didn't? The city would be in chaos. It's the same thing with narcotics. We have to do these things" (Marx, 1998, p. 26). Marx has also documented a connection between deceptive officers and substance abuse, stress and emotional disorders, and difficulties in having positive social relations.

Similar studies document the negative psychological consequences on the officer. In his study of 271 federal undercover agents, Michael Girodo (1991) discovered that the longer time the undercover operation continued levels of self-reported alcohol and drug use also rose. After finishing an in-depth undercover operation, Girodo noted officers were emotionally distraught with anger, bitterness and resentful if they saw their efforts did not lead to convictions or a safer society. Drug use is more common among police who use undercover deceptive techniques. Today's opinions of police corruption relate drug use either to character weaknesses or to the corrupting criminal atmosphere where investigations take place. High levels of drug and alcohol abuse and disciplinary

problems were positively correlated to the level of undercover work. For most officers, drug corruption came from impulsivity, neuroticism, or experimenting with methods of escape and coping. Agents believed to have a Disciplined Self-image showed a lower likelihood for drug use while also having risk taking and motivational elements demanded of meaningful undercover operations (Girodo, 1991).

Val Van Brocklin (2010) has noted training department's use of the following tale as an exercise on ethics and law enforcement's use of deception. It wasn't in the too distant past that Xerox machines were a new and futuristic invention; two officers were interrogating a suspect who determinately communicated lack of involvement in a crime. Being of above average intelligence, the two officers formed a plan. They told the undereducated and naive suspect that the station's Xerox machine was actually a lie detector. One of the officers placed a metal colander on the suspect's head and attached it to the copy machine. Unknowingly to the suspect, the other officer previously placed a sheet of paper in the copier that read, "HE'S LYING!" Whenever the suspect gave an answer the officers viewed as incredible, the machine released, "HE'S LYING!" Overwhelmed by such sophisticated equipment and scientific evidence, the suspect confessed.

Those running the training academy would ask the students, by a show of hands if that was good investigative strategy or illegal use of police deception - that is, will a court uphold it? Next question, was that a good interrogatory technique or unethical use of police deception - that is, are you okay with the tactic? The audience's responses were never one-sided; they were divided. Some believe it was an effective investigative technique the court would give credibility to. Others approved of the strategy but

believed the court would label the confession involuntary and suppress it. Still some did not agree with the technique and begin questioning the circumstances: What was the length of time for the interrogation? What was the suspect's IQ? What were the tones and demeanor of the officers (Van Brocklin, 2010)?

The academy then asks the audience if they think their community agrees with the deceptive technique. Do they think their community's comfort level might vary based on whether the deception was used on a guilty person or a suspect that was eventually proven innocent? The last question referred to whether the ends justify the means. Most participants in training academies believe the public's opinion to police deception heavily depends on whether it successfully brings down a criminal or harms an innocent victim (i.e., someone that citizens can imagine being the victim of the deception). Opinions of police and other professionals in the criminal justice system about deception have been well documented but rarely are the views of the people they serve.

Irina Kashin (2009) compared English and American interrogation laws surrounding deceptive techniques. In Europe, police officers have equal desire to gain a confession but use different techniques. Today's guidelines for police interrogations in England are laid out in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984 (PACE). PACE controls police action by demanding they gain confessions through the use of fair police practices. Rather than having the courts consider the situation and events surrounding every confession, English law lays down a universal set of rules for the police to follow when interrogating suspects. When determining the admission of confession evidence, the English courts gauge the extent to which police officers have adhered to PACE guidelines.

While PACE tolerates some forms of police lying, English courts uphold the belief that fabricating false evidence is unfair and violates police authority. Because this type of police deception takes away from the accuracy of a suspect's statements, English judges do not allow confessions gained through deception. The PACE act guards against wrongful interrogation by requiring the police to electronically document every interview. Failure to record the interrogation can result in the exclusion of confessions from trial.

The American legal system fails to realize the negative effects associated with police deception (Kashin, 2009). Deceptive police practices raise the potential for wrongful convictions by eliciting false confessions. Confessions obtained through deception are untrustworthy. English law prevents the opportunity for deception by creating law and the power to enforce it. PACE has contributed to the reliable medium between crime control efforts and protective safeguards against the accused. English law serves as a good example for the future of police practices in America.

Forest and Woody (1999) examined deception's effect on jurors' perceptions of confession evidence. First, they researched whether jurors have weaker trust in confession evidence due to the use of false-evidence ploys in the interrogation. They expected jurors to recognize interrogations as deceptive and coercive when false-evidence ploys were used, and be more hesitant to give guilty verdicts, and more likely to give lesser sentences. Second, they expected the defense's use of an expert witness on deception would better help jurors understand the stress of interrogation as well as the very real potential for false confessions; thus, they expected the testimony of an expert witness to raise negative opinions on deception and coercion and to cut both convictions

and sentences. Third, they looked into the level of deception and coercion of varying false-evidence strategies. They hypothesized jurors would believe scientific and testimonial evidence as more deceptive and coercive than demeanor related strategies. Finally, they studied how much jurors believe they, themselves, or others would falsely confess and then determined whether these beliefs predict verdicts and sentencing.

All participants (N = 387) read a trial summary which established the following conditions: First, the murdered victim had been an associate of the defendant. Second, although police did not have any real scientific, testimonial, or demeanor evidence against the defendant, the police initiated the interrogation. Third, the defendant confessed. They randomly assigned participants to one of two false-evidence ploy conditions (present or absent) and one of two expert conditions (present or absent). Participants in the ploy-present condition read an interrogation transcript that depicted a demeanor, testimonial, or scientific false-evidence ploy. Participants then rendered verdicts with those participants convicting the defendant also recommending sentences. Jurors' instructions about the definition of the crime, the presumption of innocence, the definition of reasonable doubt, and sentencing guidelines conformed to Colorado law. All participants answered a series of post test questions about the degrees of deception and coercion involved in the interrogation techniques.

Sadly, due to the minimal impact of false-evidence ploys on verdicts, even informed jurors are not a safeguard against the negative effects of false-evidence ploys such as false confessions and mistaken convictions. Despite the heightened possibility for false confessions from the use of false-evidence ploys, jurors were only slightly less likely to convict a defendant who confessed from seeing false-evidence. This study

suggests that jurors cannot be trusted as effective watch people who expect confessions from false-evidence ploys to lead to possible mistaken convictions.

In summary a review of the literature shows disagreement between various survey samples on approval of police deception, points out juror's trust in confession evidence elicited by deception, and makes a comparison between American and English law surrounding deceptive practices. It also cites the psychological harm deception can have on the officer.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Subjects

The intended subjects of the study were a representative sample of undergraduate students from the university attended by the principle investigator. Yet due to the difficulty involved in acquiring a random sample of undergraduate students at this mid-sized university, it was decided that a purposive sampling of 400 undergraduate students would be obtained by the researcher selecting undergraduate general education courses known to be comprised of large numbers of students from all academic areas of the university. To accurately represent the university population, estimated between 12000 to 15000 students, we can be 95% confident that a sample size of 400 is accurate within less than 5 percentage points when employing a probability sampling technique (Clark, 1976). However purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique. Therefore it is expected that sampling bias is present in this sample, meaning that the selected sample may not be representative of the study population.

Data collection

Instrumentation.

Each participant was surveyed on their age, gender, major, political, and religious affiliation, and general opinion of police (see appendix A for a copy of the survey and consent form). Additionally the survey included four types of deceptive interrogation scenarios (lie detector manipulation, evidence fabrication, accomplice pinning, and misrepresentation of culpability) that students were to read before answering questions that gauged the degree to which subjects agree (or disagree) with various types of interrogation deception using a five point Likert-type scale. The four scenarios represent

common deceptive interrogation tactics used by police that have been the subject of much debate and disagreement due to their questionable ethics. Furthermore subjects were asked some general questions including if honesty is preferred from police, what their beliefs are regarding potentially deceiving the innocent, and how much of a role an “ends justifies the means” philosophy factors into their opinions.

Survey Administration.

The survey proposal and instrument were submitted for approval to the university’s Institutional Review Board (IRB). The process resulted in this research project being given an “exempt” status regarding full IRB review. Thus this study was approved to commence.

Next, instructors of classes identified for survey inclusion were emailed a request to administer surveys to students in their classes. Once permission was obtained from instructors the principle investigator arrived at the classes on the scheduled dates, explained the purpose of the study (using the IRB approved introduction), had students read and sign the information and consent form, and administered the self-report survey.

Because participation in the survey was voluntary, many of the 400 intended subjects from the study opted out of participation. Also, some targeted subjects were unavailable for participation due to being absent from class on the date of survey administration. Ultimately, a 55% (220 out of 400) response rate was obtained. While this response rate was not ideal, it does exceed the minimally required standard of 50% for analysis and reporting (Maxfield and Babbie, 2012).

Data Analysis.

The first research question asked for a descriptive analysis of the demographics of the study subjects. This question was addressed by generating frequency distributions and averages of demographic questions of the survey. The second research question asked for a descriptive analysis of survey responses for all study subjects for the Likert response survey questions regarding opinions about police deception. Frequencies percentages and averages were generated to answer this research question. The third research question pertained to age, and its relationship to the survey responses. This relationship was analyzed using bivariate correlations.

The final research question asked if any demographic group differences occurred with respect to responses to the questions about police deception. Although the survey response scales for all police deception questions are truly ordinal scales, it is common in the social sciences to treat these as interval data. This practice was used in this study, allowing for tests of mean differences to be used. Thus tests of mean differences (on police deception questions) between demographic groups were analyzed using t-tests (for gender and the two group variable coded as criminal justice vs. non-criminal justice majors). When the demographic grouping variable involved more than two groups (religious affiliation, political affiliation, and non-recorded major variable), one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to analyze demographics differences on average responses to the police deception survey items.

Chapter 4

Findings

Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample

Descriptive frequencies from the completed surveys revealed an average age of 20.57, (SD=4.47, med=26) (See table 1). Twenty one and older made up the largest single group (31.3%).

Table 1: Percentages, Frequencies and Average for Age of Respondents (N=220)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Percent (Frequency)</i>
18	23.2 (51)
19	29.1 (64)
20	16.4 (36)
21 and older	31.3 (69)
Mean (SD) = 20.57 (4.47)	
Median = 26	

Subjects were asked about their religious affiliation. Originally Jewish was its own category but due to low response for that particular religion, subjects who responded that they were Jewish were recoded into the “other” category. With respect to the recoded religious affiliation variable, the majority (See table 2) fell into the “other” category (40.9%), followed by Catholics (23.2%) and Protestants (20%); those indicating that they had no religious affiliation were the least represented (15.9%).

Table 2: Percentages and Frequencies for Religious Affiliation of Respondents (N=220)

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Percent (Frequency)</i>
Catholic	23.2 (51)
Protestant	20.0 (44)
Other	40.9 (90)
None	15.9 (35)

Subjects were asked about their major. An important research question required majors to be recoded into criminal justice and non-criminal justice students. The variable major was also recoded into the five colleges of the study University (Arts and Sciences, Business and Technology, Education, Health Sciences, Justice and Safety) in order to study responses across colleges. Only ten percent of the sample indicated that they were criminal justice majors (See table 3). Furthermore, every college was represented in the sample but the College of Arts and Sciences occurred most frequently (31.4%).

Table 3: Percentages and Frequencies for Re-Coded Major and College Affiliation of Respondents (N=220)

<i>Major</i>	<i>Percent (Frequency)</i>
Criminal Justice	10.0 (22)
Non-Criminal Justice	90.0 (198)
<i>College</i>	
Arts and Sciences	31.4 (69)
Business and Technology	17.7 (39)
Education	6.4 (14)
Health Sciences	11.8 (26)
Justice and Safety	16.4 (36)

Survey respondents were asked about their political affiliation. Republican (39.5%) was the political affiliation most often cited by respondents (See table 4), followed by “other” (30.9%) and Democrat (29.5%). Originally “Independent” was its own category but due to the low response for that particular political affiliation respondents in that category were recoded into the “other” category.

Table 4: Percentages and Frequencies for Political Affiliation of Respondents (N=220)

<i>Political Affiliation</i>	<i>Percent (Frequency)</i>
Democrat	29.5 (65)
Republican	39.5 (87)
Other	30.9 (68)

In summary, the typical student of the sample was 20 years old, indicated “other” as their religious affiliation, republican, and was a non-criminal justice major with the majority of majors coming from the college of Arts and Sciences.

Descriptive Statistics Results for Responses to Survey Questions on Police Deception

In general, the sample indicated on average having “negative” to “neutral” feelings regarding police deception. In the case of lie detector manipulation, on average, subjects responded with “disagree” (M=2.53, SD=1.17) when asked if the tactic was morally OK (See table 5), and “disagree” was the response given most often (29.5%). When asked if they would be willing to do the same act of deception, the sample’s average response was “disagree” (M=2.56, SD=1.23) with “strongly disagree” making up the highest percentage of responses (26.4%). The sample’s average response was “neutral” when asked if they disapprove of the officers’ actions (M=3.32, SD=1.21), and “neutral” was the response given most often (28.2%).

Table 5: Percentages, Frequencies and Averages for Responses to Questions Pertaining to Lie Detector Manipulation (N=220)

<i>Scenario 1: Lie Detector Manipulation</i>			
	Q1: Officer's Actions were Morally OK?	Q2: I Would be Willing to do the Same?	Q3: I Disapprove of the Officer's Actions?
	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)
Strongly Disagree (1)	23.2 (51)	26.4 (58)	6.8 (15)
Disagree (2)	29.5 (65)	23.2 (51)	20.5 (45)
Neutral (3)	22.3 (49)	23.2 (51)	28.2 (62)
Agree (4)	21.4 (47)	22.7 (50)	23.2 (51)
Strongly Agree (5)	3.6 (8)	4.5 (10)	21.4 (47)
Mean Rating	2.53	2.56	3.32
St. Dev.	1.17	1.23	1.21

Responses to the questions of evidence fabrication revealed the sample's average response to be "disagree" when asked if the officers' actions were morally OK (M=2.48, SD=1.22), and "disagree" was the response given most often (29.5%) (See table 6). The sample's average response was also "disagree" when asked if they would do the same act of deception (M=2.48, SD=1.25). The sample's average response was "neutral" when asked if they disapprove of the officers' actions (M=3.49, SD=1.22), however, the highest percentage of people indicated that they "disagree" with the officers' actions (20.5%).

Table 6: Percentages, Frequencies and Averages for Responses to Questions Pertaining to Evidence Fabrication (N=220)

<i>Scenario 2: EvidenceFabrication</i>			
	Q1: Officer's Actions were Morally OK?	Q2: I Would be Willing to do the Same?	Q3: I Disapprove of the Officer's Actions?
	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)
Strongly Disagree (1)	23.2 (51)	26.4 (58)	6.8 (15)
Disagree (2)	29.5 (65)	23.2 (51)	20.5 (45)
Neutral (3)	20.9 (46)	18.6 (41)	21.4 (47)
Agree (4)	21.4 (47)	25.9 (57)	28.2 (62)
Strongly Agree (5)	4.1 (9)	2.7 (6)	25.5 (56)
Mean Rating	2.48	2.48	3.49
St. Dev.	1.22	1.25	1.22

When it came to the obtaining false statements from accomplice(s) scenario, the sample's average response was "neutral" regarding whether the officer's action were morally OK (M=3.03, SD=1.25), yet "agree" had the highest percentage of responses (38.2%) (See table 7). The samples average response was practically "neutral" when asked if they would do the same (M=2.99, SD= 1.23), but responses of "agree" occurred most often (35.9%). When asked if they disapprove of the officers' actions, the sample's average response was again practically "neutral" (M=2.99, SD=1.23), however "disagree" was the response given most often (32.3%).

Table 7: Percentages, Frequencies and Averages for Responses to Questions Pertaining to the Use of False Statements from Accomplices (N=220)

<i>Scenario 3: False Statements From Accomplices</i>			
	Q1: Officer's Actions were Morally OK?	Q2: I Would be Willing to do the Same?	Q3: I Disapprove of the Officer's Actions?
	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)
Strongly Disagree (1)	17.3 (38)	18.6 (41)	9.1 (20)
Disagree (2)	16.8 (37)	15 (33)	32.3 (71)
Neutral (3)	19.5 (43)	22.7 (50)	25.9 (57)
Agree (4)	38.2 (84)	35.9 (79)	16.4 (36)
Strongly Agree (5)	8.2 (18)	7.7 (17)	16.4 (36)
Mean Rating	3.03	2.99	2.99
St. Dev.	1.25	1.23	1.23

With regard to the questions about misrepresentation about culpability, the sample's average response was "disagree" (See table 8) when asked if the officer's actions were morally OK ($M=2.35$, $SD=1.07$), and correspondingly "disagree" was the most common answer (33.2%) provided. The sample's average response was "disagree" when asked if they would be willing to do the same ($M=2.43$, $SD=1.15$), and again, "Disagree" was the most common response (28.2%). The sample's average response was in the high range of "neutral" when asked if they disapprove of the officer's actions ($M=3.59$, $SD=1.10$), however "agree" was the most common response (29.5%).

Table 8: Percentages, Frequencies and Averages for Responses to Questions Pertaining to Misrepresentation about Culpability (N=220)

<i>Scenario 4: Misrepresentation about Culpability</i>			
	Q1: Officer's Actions were Morally OK?	Q2: I Would be Willing to do the Same?	Q3: I Disapprove of the Officer's Actions?
	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)
Strongly Disagree (1)	25 (55)	26.4 (58)	2.7 (6)
Disagree (2)	33.2 (73)	28.2 (62)	15 (33)
Neutral (3)	25 (55)	24.1 (53)	27.7 (61)
Agree (4)	15 (33)	18.6 (41)	29.5 (65)
Strongly Agree (5)	1.8 (4)	2.7 (6)	25 (55)
Mean Rating	2.35	2.43	3.59
St. Dev.	1.07	1.15	1.10

When it came to the general questions that were asked about police deception (See table 9), the sample's average response was in the high "neutral" range regarding whether honesty is always the best policy ($M=3.88$, $SD=.88$), yet "agree" had the highest percentage of responses (40.5%). The sample's average response was also in the high "neutral" range when asked if we should not risk deceiving the innocent into giving a false confession ($M=3.92$, $SD=.90$), however the highest percentage of responses fell into the "agree" category (37.7%). The sample's average response was "neutral" regarding whether deception should be used only for serious crimes ($M=3.34$ $SD=.99$) with "neutral" being the most common response (36.8%). The sample's average response was "neutral" about how much of a role ends justifying the means factored into their opinions

about police deception (M=3.07, SD=.92), with “neutral” being the most common response (41.8%).

Table 9: Percentages, Frequencies and Averages for Responses to Questions Pertaining to General Questions (N=220)

<i>General Questions</i>				
	Q1: Honesty is Always the Best Policy?	Q2: We Should Not Risk Potentially Deceiving the Innocent into a False Confession?	Q3: Deception Should Only Be Used when Interrogating the Most Serious Crimes?	Q4: Most Important to my Opinion is the Means Justifying the Ends (Lying is OK if it Convicts Guilty)?
	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)	Percent (Frequency)
SD (1)	.5 (1)	.9 (2)	4.1 (9)	5.9 (13)
D (2)	5 (11)	4.1 (9)	14.1 (31)	18.2 (40)
N (3)	27.4 (60)	27.3 (60)	36.8 (81)	41.8 (92)
A (4)	40.5 (89)	37.7 (83)	33.6 (74)	30.9 (68)
SA (5)	26.8 (59)	30 (66)	11.4 (25)	3.2 (7)
Mean Rating	3.88	3.92	3.34	3.07
St. Dev.	.88	.90	.99	.92

There was a final question on the survey about police deception that used a different response scale than all of the other survey questions. Respondents were asked about their general opinion of the police, and the response rating scale was: 1=Very Negative, 2=Negative, 3=Neutral, 4=Positive, and 5=Very Positive. The average response from the sample was “neutral” when it came to their general opinion of police (M=3.48, SD=.87), with “positive” being the most common response given (40.9%) (not presented in tabular form).

Results for Statistical Tests between Demographic Variables and Police Deception Survey Items

Relationships between age and survey responses.

There were two statistically significant correlations between age and survey questions (not presented in tabular form). A higher age of the respondent positively correlated with the belief that deception is OK if it convicts the guilty (basically, the ends justify the means philosophy) ($r=-.162, p=.016$). Also, a positive correlation was observed between age and the respondents' general opinion of police ($r=.156, p=.021$). In other words, the older the respondent, the more agreement a respondent felt towards the use of an "ends justify the means" philosophy in obtaining a conviction, and the more positive the respondent's general opinion of the police. While statistically significant, these correlations were rather weak, which could be due in part to small sample size. Age was not found to be statistically related to any of the other police deception questions on the survey.

Tests of significant group differences on survey responses.

Independent samples t-tests were run for all survey questions between criminal justice and non-criminal justice majors. No statistically significant findings were detected at the $\alpha=.05$ level (not presented in tabular form).

There were statistically significantly mean differences between gender groups and 3 of the police deception survey questions using independent samples t-tests (see table 10). The tests compared the 118 males and 102 females comprising the study respondents in order to determine if differences in mean survey responses could be detected between the two gender groups. With scenario 4 question 1 the male sample indicated more disagreement towards the morality of the officers' actions than did females ($t=-2.15$,

p=.033). With scenario 4 question 3 the male sample showed greater disapproval of the officers' actions than did females ($t=2.39$, $p=.018$). The honesty best policy general question revealed that the female sample agreed more than the males did with this statement ($t=-2.18$, $p=.03$).

Table 10: Statistically Significant Mean Differences Between Gender Groups Using Independent Samples T-Tests (N=220)

<i>S4Q1: It is Morally OK to Misrepresent Culpability</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
	<i>Male</i>	118	2.21	1.09	-2.15	218	.03
	<i>Female</i>	102	2.52	1.02			
<i>S4Q3: I Disapprove of Officer's Actions to Misrepresent Culpability</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
	<i>Male</i>	118	3.75	1.08	2.39	213	.02
	<i>Female</i>	102	3.40	1.09			
<i>GQ: Honesty is Always the Best Policy</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>
	<i>Male</i>	118	3.76	0.87	-2.18	218	.03
	<i>Female</i>	102	4.02	0.87			

A One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was performed to test for mean differences across the four categories (catholic, protestant, other, and none) of the religious affiliation variable. Only two statistically significant findings were detected (see table 11). For these two statistically significant overall main effect findings, post hoc probing was conducted using the Tukey HSD test in order to discover the location of the specific pairwise mean comparisons that were statistically significant.

The first statistically significant One-Way ANOVA resulted in an overall main effect finding that at least two of the religious affiliation groups were significantly different in their average responses to the question S3Q2 ($F=3.97$, $p<.01$), which asked if

respondents would do the same as the officer in using false statements from accomplices (See table 11). Specifically, the results indicated that respondents of an “other” religious affiliation agreed more with this practice than did “Catholics.” No other statistically significant differences were detected between the groups defined by religious affiliation.

Table 11: Statistically Significant Mean Differences between Religious Affiliation Groups on Question S3Q2 (If I were an Officer I would do same as Officer in Using False Statements from Accomplices) Using One-Way Analysis Of Variance (N=220)

<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Location of Significant Differences</i>
Catholic	51	2.53	1.29	Catholic vs. Other
Protestant	44	3.02	1.90	
Other	90	3.27	1.15	
None	35	2.91	1.38	
F _{3,216} = 3.97				
p=.009				

The second statistically significant One-Way ANOVA resulted in an overall main effect finding that at least two of the religious affiliation groups were significantly different in their average responses to the first general question about police (F=4.54, p<.01), which asked the degree to which respondents agreed with the statement “honesty is the best policy” (See table 12). Specifically, the post hoc probing located two statistically significant pairwise comparisons. The results indicated that respondents of an “other” religious affiliation agreed more with this statement than did “Protestants.” Similarly, the results indicated that respondents of an “other” religious affiliation agreed more with this statement than did respondents who responded “none” to the religious affiliation survey question. No other statistically significant differences were detected between the groups defined by religious affiliation.

Table 12: Statistically Significant Mean Differences between Religious Affiliation Groups on General Question 1 (Honesty is Best Policy) Using One-Way Analysis Of Variance (N=220)

<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Location of Significant Differences</i>
Catholic	51	3.76	0.95	Protestant vs. Other; None vs. Other
Protestant	44	3.70	0.77	
Other	90	4.13	0.82	
None	35	3.63	0.91	
F _{3,216} = 4.54				
p=.004				

Summary of findings

In summary the research findings were consistent with the hypothesis that the sample generally disagreed with the use of deceptive tactics by police. The findings revealed mostly negative feelings towards police deception, yet a positive opinion of police in general. Age was positively correlated with the “ends justifies the means” philosophy and the general opinion of police. There were no statistically significant findings between criminal justice and non-criminal justice majors. There were statistically significant mean differences between gender groups with misrepresentation about culpability questions of the officers’ actions were morally OK (Q1), I disapprove of the officers’ actions (Q3) and the statement “honesty is the always the best policy” (GQ1). A one way ANOVA showed two statistically significant findings in “accomplice question 2” (catholic vs. other) and “honesty best policy question” (protestant vs. other and none vs. other).

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

Police deception has been both good and bad for society. Deceptive interrogation is an effective method of gaining confessions and convictions. It is also dangerous in that it raises the potential for false confessions, damages police-citizen relationships, damages case strength, and encourages lying in other aspects of policing. The purpose of the study was to gauge the opinions of students regarding deceptive interrogation by police. Did the sample view police deception as moral or immoral? Would they be willing to deceive if they were police officers? Did they approve or disapprove of police deception? It also asked some general questions regarding the police and lying.

The findings were consistent with the hypothesis in that the sample on average indicated negative to neutral feelings regarding deception. The sample's average responses never approved of the use of deception or believed it to be of good moral standards. One interesting finding was the lack of significant differences between criminal justice and non-criminal justice majors. One would think criminal justice majors would agree with police using any legal method to gain convictions and believe that police power should not be limited but that was not the case with this sample. Age was positively correlated with the "ends justifies the means" philosophy and the general opinion of police. There were no statistically significant findings between criminal justice and non-criminal justice majors. There were statistically significant mean differences between gender groups with misrepresentation about culpability questions of the officers' actions were morally OK (Q1), I disapprove of the officers' actions (Q3) and the statement "honesty is the always the best policy" (GQ1). A one way ANOVA showed

two statistically significant findings in “accomplice question 2” (catholic vs. other) and “honesty best policy question” (protestant vs. other and none vs. other). Directions for future research would involve collecting data on whether certain crimes warrant the use of deception more than others.

On average the sample would agree with England’s PACE act and its policy implications of strictly regulating deception and demanding police rely on fair and ethical methods of gaining confessions. Instead of relying on jurors to judge the fairness and reliability of a confession, as exists in England, we too should have a universal set of rules for the police to follow when interrogating suspects. Our judges should not allow confessions gained through deception. We also should guard against unfair interrogation by requiring the police to electronically document every interview. Failure to record the interrogation should result in the exclusion of confessions from trial.

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APPENDIX A:
Deceptive Interrogation Survey

Dear Respondent,

I am an ECU master's student conducting a survey on deceptive interrogation by police. Following this letter is a brief questionnaire that asks a variety of questions about your attitudes toward police deceptive practices. I am asking you to read the questions and, if you choose to do so, complete the questionnaire.

The purpose of this research project is to gain knowledge into your opinion of a morally questionable police practice. Through your participation we hope to better understand the people's demands regarding police practices.

Please answer the questions honestly. Your responses will not be identified with you personally, nothing you say on the questionnaire will be harmful to you in any way, and you will not be penalized in any way for lack of participation.

I hope you will take a few minutes to complete this questionnaire. Without the help of people like you, research on police practices could not be conducted.

If you would like to participate sign and date below:

Signature _____ Date _____

You can direct any questions to jason_nicholson41@eku.edu

Age _____

Gender - Male / Female

Major _____

Religious Affiliation

Catholic _____

Protestant _____

Jewish _____

Other _____

None _____

Political affiliation Democrat _____

Republican _____

Independent _____

GreenParty _____

Other _____

Lie detector manipulation

It wasn't in the too distant past that Xerox machines were a new and futuristic invention; two officers were interrogating a suspect who strongly confirmed his lack of involvement in a crime. Being of above average intelligence, the two officers formed a plan. They told the undereducated and naive suspect that the station's Xerox machine was actually a lie detector. One of the officers placed a metal colander on the suspect's head and attached it to the copy machine. Unknowingly to the suspect, the other officer previously placed a sheet of paper in the copier that read, "HE'S LYING!" Whenever the suspect gave an answer the officers viewed as incredible, the machine released, "HE'S LYING!" Overwhelmed by the sophistication of the equipment and scientific evidence, the suspect confessed.

Q1. The officers' actions were morally OK.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q2. If I were an officer I would be willing to do the same as the officer in the story.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q3 I disapprove of the officers' actions.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Evidence fabrication

A man accused of rape repeatedly denies his involvement in the crime during officer interrogation. The officers then fabricate documents that are meant to look like the result of DNA testing that prove the suspect guilty. The false documents appear very official and communicate that the officers have enough evidence to convict the suspect guilty. Soon after reading the documents the suspect confesses.

Q1. The officers' actions were morally OK.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q2. If I were an officer I would be willing to do the same as the officer in the story.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q3 I disapprove of the officers' actions.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

False statements from accomplice

Two people have successfully robbed a bank, but the police only have one suspect in custody. The officers lie and insist that the suspects' partner is also in custody and has confessed to both of their actions. The lone suspect then confesses to the bank robbery.

Q1. The officers' actions were morally OK.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q2. If I were an officer I would be willing to do the same as the officer in the story.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q3 I disapprove of the officers' actions.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Misrepresentation about culpability

A man accused of a violent crime is under interrogation. The officers insist there is no shame in having anger management or impulsivity problems. The officers insist there is never punishment for people with behavioral disorders; only treatment for their mental illness. The suspect confesses but is then treated as a culpable criminal.

Q1. The officers' actions were morally OK.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q2. If I were an officer I would be willing to do the same as the officer in the story.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q3. I disapprove of the officers' actions.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

General questions

Q1. Honesty is always the best policy.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q2. We should not risk potentially deceiving the innocent into a false confession.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q3. Deception should only be used when interrogating the most serious crimes (murder, kidnapping, rape, etc.).

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q4. Most important to my opinion is the idea of means justifying the ends (lying is OK if it convicts the guilty).

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Q5. What is your general opinion of Police?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	very Positive