Interviewing Approach: Evaluating and Comparing the Reid and the P.E.A.C.E Model in Investigative Interviews

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ABSTRACT This paper aims to evaluate and compare the Reid Technique and the P.E.A.C.E. Model as investigative interviewing approaches, utilizing a secondary source of data. The analysis is qualitative and descriptive, based on the content and documentary relevance of existing literature. The Reid Technique, originating in the US, is a widely used method that emphasizes confrontation and guilt presumption, but has faced criticism for potentially eliciting false confessions through psychological manipulation, as understood through Psychological Manipulation Theory. In contrast, the P.E.A.C.E. model, developed in the UK, offers a non-confrontational, information-gathering approach, grounded in principles of effective communication and empathy, which aligns with concepts from Social Influence Theory regarding rapport-building and ethical persuasion. This study explores the historical development and philosophical underpinnings of both models, highlighting their strengths and limitations in eliciting accurate information and confessions. Ultimately, the comparison seeks to inform best practices in investigative settings, aiming to improve the reliability of evidence obtained through interviews.
Keywords: Investigative Interviews, Reid Technique, P.E.A.C.E Model.

1 INTRODUCTION
The REID technique originated from the collaborative work of John Reid and Fred Inbau, culminating in their 1962 publication, "Criminal Interrogations and Confessions". Reid's background as a polygraph examiner with the Chicago Police Department and his private practice experience informed the development of the Behavioral Analysis Interviews (BAI). Inbau's legal expertise complemented Reid's knowledge, resulting in a comprehensive interview method. Their combined experience shaped the REID technique, which is still promoted today by John E. Reid and Associates, a firm founded by Reid in 1971, and widely used in North American law enforcement training, as noted by Holmgren (2017). The REID interview method has faced criticism in Canada, with academics and the justice system deeming it oppressive. In response, some argue for its replacement with the PEACE model, a non-coercive approach commonly used in the UK. However, others counter that REID shares similarities with PEACE, suggesting that replacement may not be necessary (Arafat, 2020).

The development of the PEACE interview model is attributed to the expertise of a UK-based forensic psychologist who leveraged his diverse background in psychology, law, and academia. Initially, this expert created a conversation management approach in 1985, a non-confrontational method for gathering information through open-ended dialogue (Holmgren, 2017; Forensic Solutions, 2018). Later, in response to the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE Act), which mandated recorded interviews and a shift away from interrogation, the expert was commissioned to develop a standardized interview model. This led to the creation of the PEACE model, which emphasizes conversation management and has become the preferred method for law enforcement and intelligence agencies in the UK (Holmgren, 2017; Forensic Solutions, 2018; Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). The expert's work culminated in a published book, now in its second edition, detailing the conversation management approach (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013).

2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
In the pursuit of justice, a defendant's confession is often viewed as the ultimate proof of guilt. However, the admissibility of such confessions in court can be problematic, particularly when obtained through methods deemed coercive. The Reid Technique, a widely used interrogation method, has faced criticism for its potential to elicit false confessions and has been blamed for numerous cases of inadmissible evidence (Gallini, 2010; Garrett, 2010; Hritz, 2017; Poveda, 2001). Critics argue that the technique's confrontational approach can be seen as bullying, leading to coerced confessions that may not hold up in court (Cassell, 1998).

The issue of admissibility is often tied to concerns about a defendant's Fifth Amendment rights, which protect against self-incrimination. When a confession is obtained and presented as evidence, it can create a situation where the defendant is essentially testifying against themselves (The Yale Law Journal Company, Inc., 1993). While some argue for alternative methods, such as the cognitive technique, which focuses on cognitive load and storytelling, others note that even these approaches still involve manipulation and persuasion (Duke et al., 2018; Dando et al., 2008).

Interrogation techniques have evolved over time, from the "third degree" methods of the 1950s, which involved physical coercion, to the Reid Technique, which relies on psychological manipulation (Gallini, 2010). Critics argue that the Reid Technique's guilt-presumptive approach can be coercive and that it's time for new generations of interrogation methods that prioritize a more

collaborative approach (Jenkins, 2016). Researchers are exploring alternative techniques that focus on cognitive load and may be more effective in eliciting accurate information from suspects.

The impact of inadmissible confessions can be significant, affecting the outcome of cases and the cost of prosecution (Kassin & Sukel, 1997). The Miranda Rights, introduced to protect a suspect's constitutional rights, have also led to new legal challenges and debates about the standards for interrogation techniques (Slobogin, 2017). Ultimately, the question remains whether the Reid Technique and other methods are effective and fair in today's interrogation rooms.

This topic aims to evaluate and compare the Reid Technique and the P.E.A.C.E Model, two distinct interviewing approaches used in investigative interviews, to assess their effectiveness in eliciting accurate information and confessions, highlighting their strengths, limitations, and potential applications in investigative settings. The motivation for choosing this topic likely stems from the importance of effective interviewing techniques in investigative settings, where the quality of information gathered can significantly impact the outcome of cases. Comparing the Reid Technique and the P.E.A.C.E Model allows for an examination of their respective strengths and limitations, potentially informing best practices and improving the reliability of evidence obtained through interviews.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS
3.1 Psychological Manipulation Theory
Psychological manipulation theory involves using tactics to influence someone's thoughts, feelings, or behaviors, often in a way that's subtle or deceptive (Simon, 1996). In investigative interviews, investigators might use these tactics to get information or confessions from suspects, like building rapport or playing on emotions (Gudjonsson, 2003). However, this approach raises red flags, especially when it comes to coercion or false confessions. Research shows that psychological manipulation can be effective, but it's a double-edged sword - it also carries significant risks (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004). For instance, manipulative tactics can lead to false confessions, particularly among vulnerable individuals like juveniles or those with intellectual disabilities (Gudjonsson, 2003). This can undermine the integrity of the investigation and even lead to miscarriages of justice. Investigators need to weigh the pros and cons of using psychological manipulation carefully.

The psychological dynamics of interrogation involve more than just the investigator and suspect. The complexities of human nature and the potential for deception highlight the need for a nuanced approach (Garrett, 2010). Investigators must consider the unique characteristics of each suspect, including vulnerabilities that may impact the interrogation process. The concept of the "vulnerable suspect" recognizes that individuals with specific needs, such as juveniles, those with mental impairments, or those unfamiliar with the law, require special consideration. Using coercive or manipulative tactics on these individuals can lead to unreliable confessions and raises significant ethical concerns. As a result, investigators must adapt their approach to ensure fairness and respect for the suspect's rights and dignity (Coolidge, 2020).

The Reid Technique, a popular interrogation method, uses psychological manipulation tactics like confrontation and theme development (Inbau et al., 2013). While some argue it's effective in getting confessions, others say it can lead to false confessions and coercive tactics (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004). As research continues to uncover the complexities of interrogation and confession, investigators need to stay up-to-date on best practices and approach interrogation with a nuanced understanding of the psychological and social factors at play.

When comparing the Reid and P.E.A.C.E models, the application of Psychological Manipulation Theory highlights significant differences. The Reid Technique's use of psychological manipulation can lead to coercive tactics and false confessions (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004). In contrast, the P.E.A.C.E model's focus on rapport-building, active listening, and empathy reduces the risk of psychological manipulation and promotes a more collaborative approach (Bull & Soukara, 2010). By evaluating these models through the lens of Psychological Manipulation Theory, it's clear that the P.E.A.C.E model's approach is more aligned with best practices in investigative interviewing.

3.2 Social Influence Theory
Herbert Kelman (1953) developed Social Influence Theory to explain how social influence can lead to changes in attitudes or behaviors. This theory emerged during a time of significant social and political change, marked by movements like civil rights and anti-war protests. Kelman was interested in understanding why people conform to social norms, even if they don't believe in them. Previous research had identified predictors of conformity (Kelman, 1953; Sherif, 1935), but the underlying processes of collective

persuasion   and   attitude   change   were   not   well   understood.
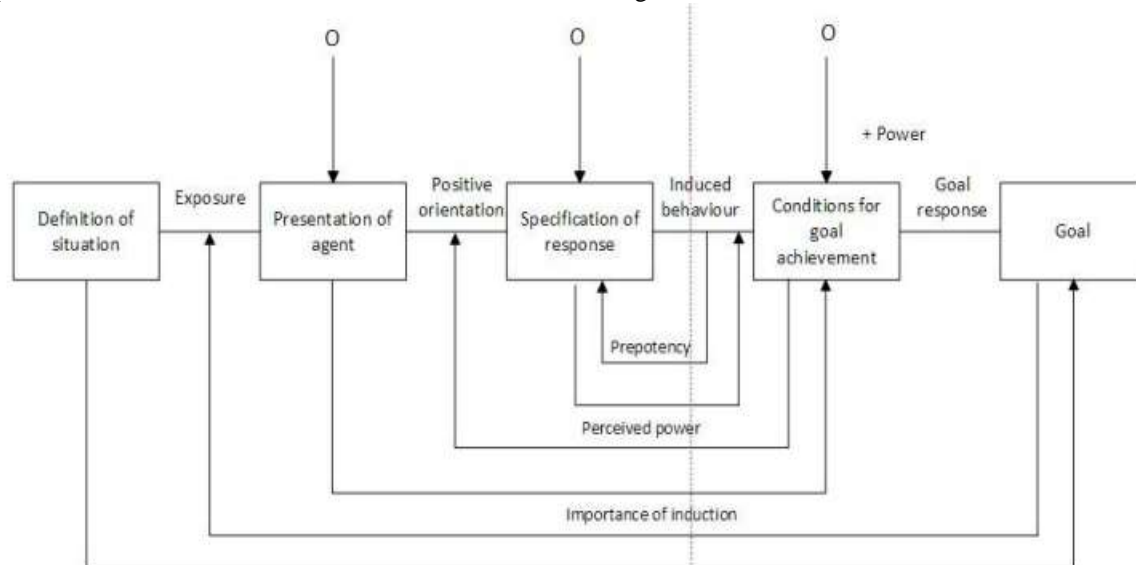
Figure 1: The structure of social influence situations
Source: Kelman (1974).

Kelman's theory was influenced by three key areas of research: conformity and social dynamics (Asch, 1961; Sherif, 1935), cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1954; 1962), and functional theories of attitude (Katz, 1960; Smith, Bruner & White, 1956). He built on these foundations to analyze different types of influence situations and responses. According to Kelman, attitude change is a complex process that involves the interplay of social conventions, personal predispositions, and the characteristics of the influencing agent (Kelman, 1974).

Kelman's theory also drew on cognitive dissonance research, which suggests that people experience discomfort when their attitudes and behaviors don't align (Festinger, 1954). To reduce this discomfort, individuals may resist or change their existing beliefs and values. Additionally, Kelman was influenced by functionalist views, which emphasize that attitude change is motivated by the individual's goals, values, and self-evaluation (Katz, 1960; Smith, Bruner & White, 1956).

4 CONCEPTUAL REVIEW
4.1 The Concept of Investigative Interviewing
An investigative interview is a structured conversation aimed at gathering precise and detailed information about a specific event or situation, ultimately informing investigative decisions (Meissner, 2021; Powell et al., 2005; St-Yves, 2014). This process involves systematic questioning of individuals, including victims, witnesses, suspects, and sources, across various contexts such as law enforcement, intelligence, and corporate investigations. According to Meissner et al. (2021), the dynamics of investigative interviews are influenced by psychological factors, including social perception, motivation, and biases, which can impact the quality and accuracy of the information obtained. Effective investigative interviewing requires an understanding of these factors and the ability to develop rapport, elicit accurate information, and assess credibility.

Forensic Interview Solution defines (2022) states that "Investigative interviewing is the questioning of victims, witnesses, and suspects (interviewee) to obtain complete, accurate and reliable information to discover the truth about the matter under investigation" (p. 2).

4.2 The Concept of P.E.A.C.E
The P.E.A.C.E model is a structured investigative interviewing framework widely adopted by law enforcement agencies, particularly in the United Kingdom (Clarke & Milne, 2001). The acronym P.E.A.C.E represents the five phases of the model: Planning and Preparation, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure, and Evaluation. This approach emphasizes a conversational and non-confrontational style of interviewing, focusing on gathering accurate and reliable information from suspects, witnesses, and victims (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013).

The P.E.A.C.E model is grounded in psychological principles and aims to enhance the quality of investigative interviews by promoting effective communication, active listening, and empathy (Bull & Soukara, 2010). By adopting this framework, investigators can build rapport with interviewees, facilitate detailed accounts, and assess credibility more effectively. Research has

shown that the P.E.A.C.E model can lead to improved interview outcomes, including increased accuracy and reliability of information obtained (Walsh & Milne, 2008). The model's emphasis on preparation, engagement, and evaluation also helps investigators to identify potential vulnerabilities in witnesses or suspects and adapt their approach accordingly.
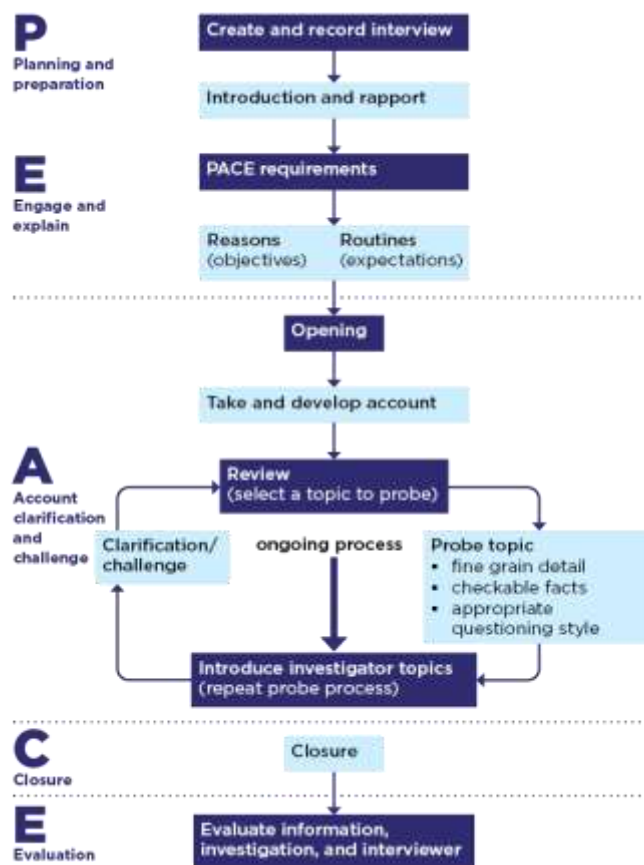
Figure 2. Flowchart of the Reid P.E.A.C.E. Method of Investigative Interviewing
Source: College of Policing (2015)

The P.E.A.C.E model is a widely recognized framework for investigative interviewing that prioritizes a structured and empathetic approach. Developed in the United Kingdom, this model has been adopted by various law enforcement agencies globally (Griffiths & Milne, 2006). The model's effectiveness lies in its emphasis on building rapport, active listening, and creating a non-confrontational environment, which helps to elicit accurate and reliable information from interviewees (Oxburgh et al., 2010). By following the P.E.A.C.E framework, investigators can enhance the quality of their interviews and gather more detailed accounts.

The P.E.A.C.E model's phased approach allows investigators to tailor their questioning techniques to the specific needs of each case, taking into account the interviewee's cognitive abilities, emotional state, and potential vulnerabilities (Kebbell & Wagstaff, 2013). Research has demonstrated that the P.E.A.C.E model can lead to improved interview outcomes, including increased accuracy and reliability of information obtained (Gabbert et al., 2015). Furthermore, the model's focus on evaluation and closure enables investigators to assess the credibility of the information gathered and make informed decisions about the investigation.

4.3 The Concept of Reid Technique

The Reid Technique is a widely used interrogation method that emphasizes confrontation and guilt presumption, developed by John E. Reid and Fred E. Inbau (Inbau et al., 2013). This approach involves a structured nine-step process, including direct confrontation, theme development, and handling denials, with the goal of eliciting confessions from suspects. The technique is based on the assumption that the investigator can accurately assess the suspect's guilt or innocence and uses psychological tactics to create an

environment conducive to confession. However, critics argue that the Reid Technique's accusatorial nature can lead to false confessions and coercive tactics, potentially compromising the integrity of the investigation (Gudjonsson, 2003).

The effectiveness and reliability of the Reid Technique have been questioned by researchers, particularly regarding its potential to elicit false confessions (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004). Studies have shown that the technique's confrontational approach can lead to increased stress and anxiety in suspects, potentially impairing their cognitive functioning and increasing the likelihood of false admissions. Furthermore, the technique's reliance on investigator judgment and intuition can lead to biases and errors, compromising the accuracy of the information obtained (Meissner & Kassin, 2002). As a result, many experts recommend a more cautious and evidence-based approach to interrogation, one that prioritizes gathering accurate information over eliciting confessions.

Despite these criticisms, the Reid Technique remains widely used in law enforcement and other investigative contexts, with proponents arguing that it can be effective in eliciting confessions and solving crimes (Inbau et al., 2013). However, ongoing debates highlight the need for careful consideration of the technique's limitations and potential risks, particularly in cases involving vulnerable suspects or high-pressure interrogation situations. As research continues to shed light on the complexities of interrogation and confession, it is essential for investigators to stay informed about best practices and to approach interrogation with a nuanced understanding of the psychological and social factors at play.

The Reid Technique is a key component in the evaluation and comparison of interviewing approaches in investigative interviews. When compared to the P.E.A.C.E model, the Reid Technique's accusatorial approach stands in contrast to the P.E.A.C.E model's emphasis on rapport-building and non-confrontational techniques (Bull & Soukara, 2010). Research suggests that the Reid Technique's confrontational nature can lead to false confessions and coercive tactics, whereas the P.E.A.C.E model's more empathetic approach can lead to more accurate and reliable information (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004).

Studies have shown that the P.E.A.C.E model's focus on building rapport and trust can lead to increased cooperation and more detailed accounts from interviewees (Walsh & Milne, 2008). In contrast, the Reid Technique's emphasis on confrontation and guilt presumption can lead to increased resistance and decreased cooperation (Inbau et al., 2013). Evaluating the effectiveness of both approaches is crucial in determining the most appropriate interviewing strategy for investigative interviews.

5 REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

5.1 The Meaning of P.E.A.C.E Model in Investigative Interviews
The P.E.A.C.E model offers a nuanced approach to investigative interviewing, prioritizing rapport-building and empathy to gather reliable information (Clarke & Milne, 2001). By treating interviewees with respect and providing opportunities for them to share their stories, investigators can increase the likelihood of obtaining dependable confessions while minimizing the risk of false confessions. Research has shown that this approach leads to improved interview outcomes, although ongoing training and development are necessary to ensure investigators possess the necessary skills (Meissner et al., 2021).

The P.E.A.C.E model's effectiveness is further enhanced by recognizing the unique needs of vulnerable individuals, such as juveniles or those with mental impairments (Griffiths & Milne, 2006). By adapting their approach to accommodate these needs, investigators can create a supportive environment that fosters open communication and promotes effective information gathering. Ongoing developments in investigative interviewing, including enhanced training initiatives, aim to further improve the effectiveness of the P.E.A.C.E model (Meissner et al., 2021).

4.1.1 Planning and Preparation
The "P" in the P.E.A.C.E model stands for Planning and Preparation, a vital part of the investigative interview process. During this phase, investigators do their homework, gathering relevant information about the case and reviewing case files to identify key issues to discuss (Clarke & Milne, 2001). By being well-prepared, investigators can tailor their approach to the specific needs of the case and the interviewee, increasing the chances of getting accurate and reliable information (Bull & Soukara, 2010).

Before conducting an interview, investigators should develop a comprehensive strategy that outlines the interview's purpose, the interviewee's background, and relevant legal considerations. This plan should also identify key objectives, such as facts to be established or disproven, and anticipate potential scenarios that may arise during the interview. Additionally, investigators should prepare a clear structure for the interview, including an opening question and subsequent questions based on existing evidence. Effective planning enables investigators to adapt to unexpected responses and ensures a productive conversation (Meissner et al., 2021).

By delaying interviews with detainees until witnesses and victims have been interviewed and evidence has been collected, investigators can gather crucial information and build a stronger case. This approach allows for a more informed and effective interview process.

5.1.2 Engage and Explain

The "E" in the P.E.A.C.E model is all about Engage and Explain. This is where investigators build rapport with the interviewee, creating a comfortable and non-confrontational atmosphere (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). By actively listening and showing empathy, investigators can put the interviewee at ease, making it more likely they'll get honest and detailed information. When interviewees feel comfortable and supported, they're more likely to open up and share what they know (Walsh & Milne, 2008).

The initial stage of the interview involves engaging the interviewee in conversation and setting clear expectations. To build rapport, interviewers personalize the interaction, disclose information about them, and maintain a professional and considerate demeanor (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Collins et al., 2002; Collins & Miller, 1994). This helps establish a working relationship and fosters a conducive atmosphere for the interview. Interviewers also ensure the interviewee understands the purpose, process, and their legal rights, and outline the interview's structure and expectations (Eastwood & Snook, 2012; Giles & Ogay, 2007).

5.1.3 Account

The "A" in the P.E.A.C.E model represents Account, where investigators gather information and explore the interviewee's story (Clarke & Milne, 2001). Using open-ended questions and active listening, investigators can get a detailed and accurate picture of what happened. This phase is crucial in building a comprehensive understanding of the case and identifying potential leads or suspects (Bull & Soukara, 2010).

Investigators assess the interviewee's account for consistency with prior statements or evidence, and address any discrepancies in a non-confrontational manner (Hartwig et al., 2006; Sorochinski, 2013). This approach allows the interviewee to clarify or explain inconsistencies, promoting a more nuanced understanding of the information. Effective investigators also recognize and manage resistance, such as evasive responses, without escalating the situation (Shepherd, 2007).

5.1.4 Closure

The "C" in the P.E.A.C.E model stands for Closure, where investigators wrap up the interview and ensure the interviewee understands what's next (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). This phase is all about summarizing the key points discussed and providing clarity on any next steps. By bringing the interview to a close in a structured and empathetic way, investigators can leave a positive impression and ensure the interview process is conducted professionally (Walsh & Milne, 2008). When concluding an interview, investigators ensure they've addressed all key topics and objectives. They recap the main points discussed, invite the interviewee to provide additional context or corrections, and outline the next steps in a professional and respectful manner. Investigators also assess how new information impacts the investigation and its alignment with existing evidence. Furthermore, they engage in self-reflection to evaluate their performance and receive constructive feedback from supervisors, promoting continuous improvement and effective interviewing skills (Barron, 2017).

5.1.5 Evaluation

The final "E" in the P.E.A.C.E model represents Evaluation, where investigators assess the information gathered and identify any further lines of inquiry (Clarke & Milne, 2001). This phase is critical in determining the next steps in the investigation and ensuring that the information gathered is used effectively (Bull & Soukara, 2010). By evaluating the information gathered during the interview, investigators can identify potential inconsistencies or discrepancies and develop a plan for further investigation.

5.2 Principles of Investigative Interviewing

Effective investigations rely heavily on the art of interviewing, which involves gathering crucial information from victims, witnesses, and suspects (Home Office Circular 22/92). A set of guiding principles has been developed to ensure that interviews are conducted in an ethical and responsible manner. These principles, first introduced in UK policing in 1992 and revised in 2007, provide a framework for investigators to assess their own attitudes and behaviors (National Investigative Interviewing Strategy, 2009). By embracing these principles, investigators can enhance the integrity and effectiveness of their interviews, and organizations can adapt them to suit their specific needs (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009).

5.2.1 Accurate and Reliable Information

The primary goal of investigative interviewing is to gather accurate and reliable information from victims, witnesses, or suspects to uncover the truth (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009). Accurate information is comprehensive and free from distortion, while reliable information is given truthfully and can withstand scrutiny.

5.2.2 Fairness in Interviewing

Investigators must conduct interviews in a fair and unbiased manner, complying with the Equality Act 2010 and the Human Rights Act 1998 (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009). This means approaching interviews without prejudice and assessing the accuracy of information based on evidence rather than personal beliefs.

5.2.3 Investigative Mindset
Investigative interviewing requires a mindset that tests accounts against existing knowledge and seeks to establish facts (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009). Effective planning and objective-setting are crucial to furthering the investigation and corroborating information.

5.2.4 Flexibility in Questioning
Investigators have the freedom to ask a wide range of questions to gather relevant information, but must do so in a manner that is fair and compliant with relevant laws and codes of practice (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009).

5.2.5 Benefits of Early Admission
Early admissions can have a positive impact on the criminal justice system, benefiting victims, courts, defendants, and agencies (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009). This can lead to more efficient use of resources and improved outcomes.

5.2.6 Persistence in Questioning
Investigators are not bound to accept the first answer given and may be persistent in their questioning to obtain accurate and reliable information (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009). Persistence is acceptable as long as it is not unfair or oppressive.

5.2.7 Right to Silence
Even when a suspect exercises their right to silence, investigators have a responsibility to put questions to them to establish the truth (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009). This principle recognizes the importance of gathering information while respecting the suspect's rights.

CONCLUSION
The Reid Technique and the P.E.A.C.E. model are two dominant methodologies in investigative interviewing, each with distinct historical developments and philosophical underpinnings. The Reid Technique, developed by John Reid and Fred Inbau, is widely used in North America but has faced criticism for its potentially oppressive nature and risk of eliciting false confessions (Inbau et al., 2013; Gallini, 2010). In contrast, the P.E.A.C.E. model, originating in the UK, emphasizes a non-confrontational approach, focusing on building rapport and gathering accurate information (Clarke & Milne, 2001).

The P.E.A.C.E. model consists of five stages: Planning and Preparation, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure, and Evaluation, providing investigators a roadmap to build rapport, facilitate detailed accounts, and assess credibility (Shepherd & Griffiths, 2013). Research suggests that the P.E.A.C.E. model leads to improved interview outcomes, including enhanced accuracy and reduced false confessions (Walsh & Milne, 2008). Effective interviewing is guided by principles ensuring ethical and responsible information gathering, emphasizing accuracy, fairness, and respect for the right to silence (Forensic Interview Solution, 2009).

Empirical evidence supports the P.E.A.C.E. model's effectiveness in prioritizing rapport and empathy to gather reliable information while minimizing false confessions (Meissner et al., 2021; Clarke & Milne, 2001). Ongoing training is vital to ensure investigators are equipped to conduct effective and ethical interviews. As the field continues to evolve, researchers are exploring new techniques, such as cognitive load-based approaches, to improve the accuracy of information retrieval. The P.E.A.C.E. model offers a promising framework for investigative interviewing, grounded in psychological principles promoting effective communication and empathy.

RECOMMENDATIONS
Based on the comparison of the Reid Technique and the P.E.A.C.E model, the following recommendations aim to enhance the effectiveness and integrity of investigative interviewing practices, promoting a more ethical and evidence-based approach that prioritizes rapport-building, active listening, and respect for suspects' rights, ultimately leading to improved interview outcomes and justice.

   i.   Law enforcement agencies should adopt the P.E.A.C.E model as a primary framework for investigative interviewing due to its emphasis on rapport-building, active listening, and empathy.

   ii.   Investigators should receive comprehensive training on the P.E.A.C.E model, focusing on effective communication, psychological principles, and ethical considerations.

iii. Agencies should prioritize ongoing training and development for investigators to ensure they possess the necessary skills to conduct effective and ethical interviews.

iv. Investigative interviewing protocols should be developed with consideration for vulnerable individuals, such as juveniles or those with mental impairments, to ensure their rights and dignity are respected.

v. Agencies should regularly evaluate and assess the effectiveness of their investigative interviewing practices, using empirical evidence to inform policy and procedure development.

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