# **P** QUICK REFERENCE: FALSE CONFESSIONS

Committee for Public Counsel Services Innocence Program

alse confessions — when innocent people admit to crimes they did not commit — occur in 1 of every 5 DNA exoneration cases. Learning why they happen and how they shape a case helps litigators challenge voluntariness and reliability of any confession evidence.

### False confessions happen.

More than 350 people have been exonerated with DNA testing nationwide. **Over 68 of them falsely confessed.**<sup>1</sup> "[T]here is mounting empirical evidence that [] pressures can induce a frighteningly high percentage of people to confess to crimes they never committed." *Corley v. US.*<sup>2</sup> They plead guilty, too; 15% of exonerees pled.<sup>3</sup>

#### Confessions are powerful evidence.

Confessions are some of the most persuasive evidence, second only to being caught in the act.<sup>4</sup> **Jurors** assume no one would confess to a crime they did not commit. In at least 8 wrongful convictions, the jury had exculpatory DNA at trial, but convicted — because of a confession.<sup>5</sup> Awareness of a confession also subconsciously increases **judges'** willingness to convict, even after they deem the confession inadmissible.<sup>6</sup>

### **EFFECT ON INVESTIGATIONS**

Police and witnesses are influenced by a suspect's confession. In 2007, **Amanda Knox** confessed to murdering her roommate in Italy. The confession was inadmissible, but the damage was already done: A suspect changed his story to accuse Knox, analysts tied Knox's DNA to a knife, and eyewitnesses came forward "remembering" seeing Knox. She was exonerated after 4 years in prison.

#### Investigators develop tunnel vision.

Once there is a confession, police stop looking for alternate suspects, creating an "investigative echo chamber." If evidence does not implicate the confessor, police assume he must have had an accomplice.

#### Confessions corrupt other evidence.

In studies, fingerprint examiners declared a

match 17% more often, and eyewitnesses changed their identification 61% of the time, when told that a suspect confessed. <sup>10</sup> Then, **corroboration inflation** occurs: the evidence, tainted by the confession, is now used as proof that the confession was correct.

# **RED FLAGS: POLICE TACTICS**

Police investigators use the **Reid Technique** to procure confessions when they suspect guilt.<sup>11</sup> Police lie-detection is based in "junk science"<sup>12</sup> and exhibits a "lie bias."<sup>13</sup>

Video clips from the 2008 interrogation of 16-year-old **Nga Truong** show how police in Worcester, Massachusetts applied the Reid Technique to produce a false confession. 

The technique risks producing a false, involuntary, or unreliable confession when:

## Police isolate the suspect for a long time.

Typical interrogations last 1.6 hours; false confessions often last 3 or more — **16 hours on average**. 15 "I wanted to get it over with, get home, and get some sleep." 16

#### Police lie to the suspect about the evidence.

Police invent inculpatory evidence and insist that denials are futile. See Commonwealth v. DiGiambattista;<sup>17</sup> cf. Commonwealth v. Scoggins.<sup>18</sup> As a result, some suspects will even come to believe in their own guilt.<sup>19,20</sup>

# Police promise leniency for confessions.

First, police **maximize** fear of punishment. See Commonwealth v. Ortiz.<sup>21</sup> Then, they express sympathy, suggest excuses for the crime, and **minimize** the consequences of confessing, implying benefits. See DiGiambattista; Commonwealth v. Truong.<sup>22</sup>

#### Police contaminate confessions.

95% of false confessions contain "special knowledge:" non-public details about the crime.<sup>23</sup> During questioning, police may teach the suspect about the crime through their questions. In some cases, police use "formatting:" tweaking the confession until it fits the facts. See Commonwealth v. Rosario;<sup>24</sup> Commonwealth v. Phinney.<sup>25</sup>

## **RED FLAGS: CLIENTS AT RISK**

The caselaw recognizes that flawed interrogation tactics are more concerning when used against vulnerable clients.

**Youth:** Juveniles defer to authority and seek short-term gratification.<sup>26</sup> Children are 2-3 times more likely to give in and confess.<sup>27</sup>

Mental Disability: People with mental disabilities misunderstand the purpose of interrogation, rely on cues from the police, and are more vulnerable to coercion.<sup>28</sup>

**Innocence**: The innocent are more likely to talk to police and waive Miranda (81%) than the guilty (36%).<sup>29</sup> They believe they cannot be convicted, so they are more willing to tell police what they want to hear just to make the interrogation stop.

Other: Suggestible personalities, grief/shock, drua/alcohol use, or language/culture barriers.<sup>30</sup> See Rosario.

### LITIGATING A NEW TRIAL

- 1. Argue: Counsel was ineffective for:
- **a.** failing to adequately **investigate**. Cf. Commonwealth v. Alcide.31 Counsel should investigate the client's risk factors, visit the interrogation room, research the officers, and reconstruct how the police investigation changed after the confession.
- **b.** failing to **suppress** the statement. Either the statement was not voluntary, Commonwealth v. Monroe, 32 not recorded, DiGiambattista, or Miranda was not waived, Commonwealth v. A Juvenile (No. 1).33
- c. failing to consult a false confession expert. Cf. Commonwealth v. Hoose.34
- 2. Argue: False confession science is **newly** available evidence. Cf. Hoose.
- 3. Argue: The totality of the circumstances indicates that justice may not have been done. Mass. R. Crim. P. 30(b); see Rosario.

### **SOURCES CITED**

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- <sup>2</sup> 129 S. Ct. 1558 (2009).
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- <sup>4</sup> The Problem of False Confessions in the Post-DNA World, 82 N.C. L. Rev. 891, 961 (2004).
- <sup>5</sup> False Confessions, Hon. Peter Agnes, PIC MA-CLE 5-1 (2012).
- <sup>6</sup> Why Confessions Trump Innocence, Saul Kassin, American Psychologist (2012).
- <sup>7</sup> <u>Daubert/Kumho Implications of Observer Effects</u> in Forensic Science, 90 Calif. L. Rev. 1 (2002).
- <sup>8</sup> The Multiple Dimensions of Tunnel Vision in Criminal Cases, 2006 Wis. L. Rev. 291.
- <sup>9</sup> See, e.g. <u>False Confessions</u> ("The Norfolk Four").
- <sup>10</sup> Why Confessions Trump Innocence.
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- <sup>12</sup> Detecting Lies and Deceit, Aldert Vrij (2008).
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- <sup>15</sup> Contaminated Confessions Revisited, 101 Va. L. Rev. 395 (2015).
- <sup>16</sup> False Confessions (quoting Frank Sterling).
- <sup>17</sup> 442 Mass. 423, 433 (2004) (trickery used).
- <sup>18</sup> 439 Mass. 571, 576–77 (2003) (no trickery used).
- 19 The West Memphis Three, Keith Payne, Psychology Today (2011).
- <sup>20</sup> The Social Psychology of False Confessions, Saul Kassin & Katherine Kiechel, Psychological Science (1996).
- <sup>21</sup> 84 Mass. App. Ct. 258, 269 (2013) ("capital").
- <sup>22</sup> No. CV20090385, 2011 WL 1886500, at \*10 (Mass. Super. Feb. 25, 2011) (unpublished).
- <sup>23</sup> Convicting the Innocent, Brandon Garrett
- (2012).
- <sup>24</sup> 477 Mass. 69, 80 (2017) (granting new trial).
- <sup>25</sup> 446 Mass. 155, 167 (2006) (granting new trial).
- Underage Suspects, Justin Peters, Slate (2013).
   The Truth About Juvenile False Confessions, American Bar Association (2016).
- <sup>28</sup> <u>"You Think He Got Shot?"</u>, 13 Rich. J.L. & Pub. Int. 143, 153 (2009).
- <sup>29</sup> Miranda at 50, Laura Smalarz, Current Directions in Psychological Science (2016).
- <sup>30</sup> See., e.g. Convictions of Innocent Persons in Massachusetts, 12 B.U. Pub. Int. L.J. 1, 22 (2002) (Santos Rodriquez; Spanish language barrier).
- <sup>31</sup> 472 Mass. 150 (2015) (not a confession case).
- <sup>32</sup> 472 Mass. 461 (2015) (totality of circumstances).
- <sup>33</sup> 389 Mass. 128, 133 (1983) (no Miranda waiver).
- <sup>34</sup> 467 Mass. 395, 419–20 (2014) ("growing area").