

**In the Wake of Hoffman: Psychologist and Public Perceptions of the Role of
Psychologists in National Security Interrogations and Other Non-Traditional
Settings**

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Abstract

In the Wake of Hoffman: Psychologist and Public Perceptions of the Role of Psychologists in National Security Interrogations and Other Non-Traditional Settings

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The purpose of this study was to examine the opinions of the general public and psychologists regarding the roles of psychologists in national security interrogations and other contexts that do not involve the delivery of traditional assessment and treatment services. The discussion following the release of the Hoffman Report has underscored the sharp differences in how the Report's findings are regarded. This survey of psychologists engaged in traditional and non-traditional professional activities, as well as the general public, sheds light on the broader perceptions of the Report's conclusions and implications, and helps determine future directions for the profession of psychology. Results revealed that the general public appears to be more accepting of psychologist involvement in national security settings – the type of activities highlighted in the Report as problematic – than psychologists. In addition, findings demonstrated that the perceptions of traditional and non-traditional psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists across myriad settings do not differ significantly, perhaps indicating that the profession is less divided than initially thought after the Report's release. Implications for research, policy, and practice are discussed.

Introduction

Psychologists have had a long history working with the United States military. A book entitled *Psychology in the Service of National Security* asserts that “the story of psychologists in the armed forces addressing national security challenges is the story of the evolution of the science and practice of psychology itself” (Mangelsdorff, 2006, p. 8), and that “psychologists and the American Psychological Association have been an integral part of the homeland defense efforts” (Mangelsdorff, 2006, p. 5). Psychology and the military have also been described as “symbiotic” and “inextricably linked” (Driskell & Olmstead, 1989, p. 47).

APA’s collaboration with the military has included significant involvement in national security interrogations. APA supported the idea that psychologists should have a role in detainee interrogations. For instance, in a statement submitted to the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, APA asserted the following: “. . . conducting an interrogation is inherently a psychological endeavor Psychology is central to this process because an understanding of an individual’s belief systems, desires, motivations, culture and religion likely will be essential in assessing how best to form a connection and facilitate educating accurate, reliable and actionable intelligence Psychologists have valuable contributions to make toward . . . protecting our nation’s security through interrogation processes” (APA, 2007a).

After the September 11th terrorist attacks, the Bush Administration reinterpreted the law in the U.S. to narrow the definition of torture and authorize “harsh interrogations” (Danner, 2004; Greenberg & Dratel, 2005; Hersh, 2004). As a result, psychologists in the U.S. were faced with difficult decisions regarding the appropriate roles of psychologists

in detainee interrogations at sites such as Abu Ghraib Prison and the Guantanamo Bay Detention Camps (Pope, 2011). The interrogation of detainees at such sites brought up the following questions regarding the appropriate role of psychologists: “Should psychologists help plan and participate in the interrogations? Were traditional ethical values still viable in a post 9-11 world? What should psychologists do if ethical responsibilities conflicted with a law, military order, or regulation? What policies and procedures would successfully meet the challenges of these complex issues?” (Pope, 2011, p. 460).

The Hoffman Report (the Report), an extensive review commissioned by the American Psychological Association (APA) to examine APA’s potential involvement with the “enhanced interrogation” procedures implemented following September 11, was released in July 2015. The Report concluded that top APA officials colluded with the Department of Defense (DoD) to keep APA’s ethics policy within the scope of legal policy permitting enhanced interrogation (Hoffman et al., 2015a). Following the Report’s release, there was much discussion in meetings, listservs, and social media regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security settings. The drafters of the Report considered the comments received and released a revised Report on September 2, 2015 (Hoffman et al., 2015b).

Background

History of Psychologists in the Military and Intelligence Services

One of the earliest examples of cooperation between the military and psychologists occurred in 1917, when APA President Robert Yerkes called a meeting of APA psychologists to discuss how psychology could assist in the World War I effort. As

a result, multiple committees were assembled, including committees on “the psychological examination of recruits,” “psychological problems of incapacity, including those of shell shock,” and “recreation in the army and navy” (Yerkes, 1918, p. 85).

The involvement of psychologists in the military expanded during World War II. Psychologists screened over 13 million potential recruits (Mangelsdorff, 2006) and also provided therapeutic services to soldiers during the war (Sammons, 2006). Further, psychologists’ participation in World War II resulted in changes in the size and structure of APA (Rich, 1950). APA’s membership grew from 4,000 to 14,000 in the decade following the War (Capshew & Hilgard, 1992). Further, in the three decades following the War, the federal government spent upwards of \$1.2 billion supporting research in psychology. A substantial amount of this research was funded through military services (Seligman & Fowler, 2011).

Psychologists also had extensive involvement with the U.S. Military throughout the Cold War. As many soldiers and veterans experienced service-related behavioral and mental health problems, the need for qualified mental health care professionals became apparent. Accordingly, the military incentivized APA to create a program intended to produce high-quality psychological professionals. This program included board certification, accreditation requirements of educational institutions, and state licenses for psychologists (Crawford, 1992). Additionally, psychologists greatly influenced the advancement of U.S. military policy concerning interrogations. For example, the U.S. Army Field Manual (34-52, Intelligence Interrogation), which was used as the armed forces’ guide for interrogations until 2006, incorporates substantial psychological research (Borum, 2006). During the Cold War, psychologists were also involved in

training American soldiers to successfully resist interrogations (Bloche, 2011).

The relationship between psychologists and the military remained strong after the Cold War. As of 2011, the Army and the Navy employed over 700 clinical psychologists (America's Navy, 2015; Law, 2011). The number of psychologists working for the Department of Veteran's Affairs has more than doubled since 2000, with nearly 3,400 employed in 2010 (APA, 2010a). Various branches of the military sponsor educational programs in psychology, and the military also provides significant grants for research in psychology (Department of Defense, 2000). There is also an APA division (Society for Military Psychology, Division 19) focused primarily on research and practice related to military matters.

In 1991, APA passed a resolution banning DoD advertisements in APA publications and mailing lists in response to DoD's refusal to admit bisexual, lesbian or gay individuals into military service (APA, 1991). This resolution caused tension within APA, as APA's Society for Military Psychology lobbied for the ban to be lifted, while APA's Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues argued in support of the ban (APA Division 19, 2003). The two divisions participated in a joint task force to address the issue; ultimately, the ban on advertisements from the DoD was lifted. However, the task force also implemented various agenda items aimed at developing effective educational materials and services to address discrimination based on sexual orientation in the military (APA, 2004b).

Types of Interrogations

The Senate Armed Service Committee (SASC) released a report in 2008 that delineated three categories of interrogation techniques. Category I techniques include

“incentives and ‘mildly adverse’ approaches such as telling a detainee he was going to be at [Guantanamo] forever unless he cooperated.” Category II techniques involve stress positions, detainee isolation, food deprivation, handcuffing, and “placing a hood on a detainee during questioning or movement.” Category III techniques include “the daily use of 20 hour interrogations,” strict isolation “without right to visitation by treating medical professionals,” “food restriction for 24 hours once a week,” “removal of clothing,” and “exposure to cold weather or water until such time as the detainee began to shiver.” Interrogators were to use the different levels of interrogation depending on the suspected quality of a detainee’s knowledge and a detainee’s demonstration of resistance to interrogation techniques (SASC Report, 2008, p. 50).

Enhanced interrogation techniques, which critics have denounced as torture, refer to a program of systematic techniques used against detainees by U.S. government agencies authorized by the Bush Administration during the war on terror following the September 11th terrorist attacks (Halpern, Halpern & Doherty, 2008). These enhanced interrogation techniques consisted of “hooding or blindfolding, exposure to loud music and temperature extremes, slapping, starvation, wall standing and other stress positions and, in some cases, water boarding” (Gross, 2010, p. 128).

Notably, scientific research does not provide good evidence regarding what makes interrogations effective and whether “enhanced” interrogation techniques can be successful. One study concluded that harsh interrogations are ineffective (O’Mara, 2009). Other research, however, asserted that no evidence has shown that torture is less effective than other interrogation methods (Suedfield, 2007). Yet another research study concluded there is a lack of sufficient information to determine what methods result in accurate and

reliable information in detainee interrogations, as “there is little systematic knowledge available to tell use ‘what works’ in interrogations” (Coulam, 2006, p. 8-9).

Psychologist Involvement in Interrogations

The role of psychologists in interrogations differs significantly between foreign and domestic interrogations. Psychologists generally do not directly participate in domestic interrogations of criminal suspects. Rather, “psychologists either offer training workshops on specific topics of value to investigators, or they present the results of linguistic or behavioral analyses of prior interviews” (Olson, Soldz, & Davis, 2008, p. 6). Under this analysis, psychologists who participate in interrogations in the U.S. are no longer in the role of a psychologist, but “are considered *law enforcement officers*, answerable to the chain of command of the police force or agency” (Olson et al., 2008, p. 6).

In contrast, psychologists involved in national security interrogations generally assume a more primary role. For instance, the commander at Guantanamo requested a Behavioral Science Consultation Team (“BSCT”) of “psychologists and other mental health professionals to facilitate interrogations at the detention site” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 130). The BSCT members are present during interrogations and assist interrogators in extracting information from detainees (Mayer, 2009). Morgan Banks, the Chief of the Psychological Applications Directorate in the Army Special Operations Command, asserted that psychologists’ involvement at these detention sites was important to national security, as they could both prevent detainee abuse and increase the effectiveness of interrogations (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 131).

Other noteworthy differences exist when comparing psychologists’ roles in

domestic interrogations with their roles in international interrogations. First, psychologists participating in national security interrogations work with detainees who are denied basic protections generally provided to domestic suspects, such as “the right to an attorney, habeas corpus, and the right against self-incrimination” (Olson, et al., 2008, p. 6). Second, psychologists engaged in national security work at sites outside U.S. jurisdiction have “fewer independent outlets for advice and external support” from fellow psychologists, as they are limited by “legally-binding secrecy, the chain of command, [and] geographical separation” (Olson, et al., 2008, p. 7).

From an ethical standpoint, psychologist involvement in interrogations is complex due to the dual roles psychologists are expected to play: safety officer and effectiveness consultant. First, according to some, psychologists should be present at interrogations as a “safety officer” to ensure the safety of the detainee and prevent any “behavioral drift” on the part of the interrogator. “Behavioral drift” refers to the phenomenon whereby individuals in a position of authority “who use that power to cause discomfort and pain to others. . . tend to drift toward greater and greater use of that power until stopped” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 294). The rationale for entrusting psychologists with this “safety officer” responsibility is that their “training in human behavior makes them uniquely situated to watch for and stop ‘behavioral drift’” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 294).

Second, some assert that psychologists should be involved in and consult on interrogations because they can use their expertise to make interrogations more effective (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 294). In this role, a psychologist is “partner of the interrogator in trying to engage in interrogation techniques that will be effective in getting the

detainee to be cooperative and to tell the truth about what he knows” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 295). Some disagree with the idea that psychologists can play both roles simultaneously. According to Hoffman, a psychologist playing both roles is problematic because he must rely on his “subjective judgment” and likely experiences pressure “not to stop the interrogator from becoming more aggressive” due to the fact “the interrogator and psychologist are working together to make the interrogation effective” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 295).

PENS Report

The APA Board of Directors created a Presidential Task Force on Psychological Ethics and National Security (PENS) to “shape ethical policy in a post 9-11 era” (Pope, 2011, p. 460). The PENS task force members included many psychologists with strong and established connections to military interrogation programs (APA Society for the Study of Peace, 2005). Numerous observers who reportedly had important connections with the military-intelligence organization were also present at task force meetings (Arrigo & Goodman, 2007; APA, 2003, 2004a, 2005; Pinizzotto, Brandon, & Mumford, 2002; Coalition for an Ethical Psychology, 2008). The presence of such observers was consistent with APA’s typical process for developing specialized policy.

Article Three of the Geneva Convention sets forth that detainees shall be “treated humanely” and prohibits “violence to life and person, in particular . . . cruel treatment and torture” and “outrages upon person dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment” (International Committee of the Red Cross, 1949, Article 3). Under the United Nations Convention Against Torture, torture is defined as “any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person” for the

purposes of gaining information or punishment “inflicted by...a public official or other person acting in an official capacity” (UN General Assembly, 1984, p. 85). However, in a set of legal memos drafted by the U.S. Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel in 2002, “torture” was defined more narrowly. According to these memos, harm inflicted only constituted “torture” if it resulted in “serious bodily injury, impairment of bodily function, or death,” or “significant psychological harm” that lasted for months or years. The memos also indicated that an interrogator’s actions could not be considered torture if he or she could demonstrate a lack of intent to “cause severe mental pain” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 3). A majority of the PENS task force members favored the exclusive use of the narrower U.S. definition of torture over the international Geneva Convention standard (Olson et al., 2008).

The PENS report concluded that “it is consistent with the APA Ethics Code for psychologists to serve in consultative roles to interrogation and information-gathering processes for national security-related purposes” (APA, 2005, p. 1). Additionally, the report noted that “psychologists have a critical role in keeping interrogations safe, legal and effective” (Moorehead-Slaughter, 2006, p. 21). Indeed, the authors of the report were clear in their assertion that psychologists should be involved in national security interrogations: “Psychologists have a valuable and ethical role to assist in protecting our nation, other nations, and innocent civilians from harm, which will at times entail gathering information that can be used in our nation’s and other nations’ defense” (APA, 2005, p. 2).

After the PENS report was drafted, it was not adopted using standard procedures. Typically, a report is presented to the Council of Representatives (Council), the highest

legislative body of APA consisting of elected members from all 54 APA divisions. The Council has the sole authority to set policy (APA, 2010b). The Council typically reviews a report, analyzes it from multiple perspectives, engages in debate, and decides whether formal adoption would be appropriate. In the case of the PENS report, no such discussion or approval took place. Rather, the PENS task force report was presented to the APA Board of Directors within days of its completion, bypassing review by the Council under bylaws reserved for an emergency. According to Pope, “it is unclear what unforeseen emergency occurred requiring the Board to vote in July rather than allowing the full Council of Representatives to consider, discuss and vote on whether to approve the PENS report as policy at its regularly scheduled meeting less than two months later” (Pope, 2011, p. 462).

In 2008, three years after APA adopted the PENS report, the organization adopted a new policy relevant to psychologists’ work in national security settings. This policy, which was approved by a vote of APA membership, set forth that “psychologists may not work in settings where ‘persons are held outside of, or in violation of, either International Law (e.g., the UN Convention Against Torture and the Geneva Conventions) or the US Constitution (where appropriate), unless they are working directly for the persons being detained or for an independent third party working to protect human rights” (APA, 2008a). However, as this policy was not incorporated into the Ethic Code, it was not enforceable (APA, 2008b).

APA Ethics Code

The most recent version of the APA Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (“Ethics Code”) was published in 2002 and amended in 2010. Created to

protect the individuals and organizations served through the practice of psychology, the Ethics Code applies to psychologists' roles as scientists, educators and professionals (APA, 2002a). The Ethics Code offers guidance through general aspirational principles and specific enforceable standards; it also embodies the spirit of the profession, fosters public trust, and provides for professional socialization (Fisher, 2003).

The first section of the Ethics Code consists of 5 aspirational principles, intended to “guide and inspire psychologists toward the very highest ethical ideals of the profession” (APA, 2014a). Although these principles encourage psychologists to adhere to high ethical standards, they do not delineate specific obligations and may not be used to impose sanctions (Fisher, 2003; Knapp & VandeCreek, 2012). The second part of the Ethics Code comprises specific and enforceable standards that cover a wide range of areas relevant to the practice of psychology, including therapy, assessment, training, research, and publication. A psychologist who fails to comport with these standards may face penalties ranging from reprimand to expulsion from APA (APA, 2002a).

The Report devoted nearly 40 pages to the Ethics Code and its 2002 revision, focusing primarily on the revision of Standard 1.02, which addresses “Conflicts between Ethics and Law.” The revision abandoned the well-established Nuremberg Ethic, which sets forth that psychologists “could not choose to violate their fundamental ethical responsibilities and then avoid accountability by blaming laws, orders, regulations, or authorities” (Pope, 2011, p. 465). Under the previous version of Standard 1.02, if a psychologist was faced with a conflict between an ethical responsibility and the law, he or she was exhorted to “take steps to resolve the conflict in a responsible manner” (APA, 2002b). After the 2002 revision, a psychologist was permitted to follow the law or

“governing authority” should he or she encounter such a conflict. The Report found this distinction significant, noting that the new code “explicitly permitted psychologists to follow the law, [as well as military orders from a superior], instead of their ethical obligations when faced with a conflict between the two” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 55).

Although some speculated otherwise, APA asserted that its decision to depart from the Nuremberg Ethic was not influenced by the September 11th terrorist attacks (Behnke, Gutheil, & Pope, 2008). The U.S. military adopted this new standard into formal policy for psychologists involved with “detention operations, intelligence interrogations, and detainee debriefings” (United States Department of the Army, 2006, p. 152). Although APA promulgated its position against torture in the years following September 11th, such as in the “Resolution Against Torture” (APA, 2006) and the “Reaffirmation of the APA Position Against Torture” (APA, 2007b), the organization never formally addressed torture in its Ethic Code.

APA’s decision to modify Standard 1.02 to repeal the Nuremberg Ethic faced criticism. Some noted that the rejection of this long-held principle “set...professional psychology apart from other helping and health professions who have refused to compromise principle for expediency” (Tolin & Lohr, 2009, p. 9). Others asserted that this change allowed psychologists to “assist in torture and abuse if they can claim that they first tried to resolve the conflict between their ethical responsibility and the law, regulations or government legal authority” (Burton & Kagen, 2007, p. 485). The policy remained in place for eight years. In 2010, APA revised its Ethics Code so that section 1.02 was no longer inconsistent with the Nuremberg Ethic (APA, 2010c). See Appendix B for the specific language changes of each of the three revisions.

“Do no harm” principle. The current five Ethics Code aspirational principles include Beneficence and Non-Maleficence, Fidelity and Responsibility, Integrity, Justice, and Respect for People’s Rights and Dignity. The Report focused almost entirely on one of these principles--Beneficence and Non-Maleficence--which encourages psychologists to strive to benefit those with whom they work and take care to do no harm. The Report emphasized part of this principle (“Do No Harm”) in the context of national security interrogations and the ethics of psychologists’ involvement in them.

The Report emphasized that “Do No Harm” may not apply in all circumstances, stating that “sometimes psychologists engage in legitimate acts that cause anxiety in a patient, or contribute to negative lawful consequences for a criminal defendant or employee if their client is a law enforcement agency or a company” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 70). However, these situations are distinguished from the primary one at issue in the Report as follows: “Our review has involved a very different situation—a psychologist using his or her special skill to intentionally cause psychological (or physical) pain or harm to an individual who is not the psychologist’s client, who is in custody, and who is outside the protection of the criminal justice system” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 70). However, the Report did not explicitly consider how this principle might be balanced with other Ethics Code aspirational principles.

Some have suggested that the “Do No Harm” principle represents an oversimplification of a psychologist’s ethical duties: “at times, psychologists employed by government agencies may feel compelled to limit the freedom or overlook the best interests of one person to promote or safeguard the best interests of a larger group, or even society at large” (Kennedy & Johnson, 2009, p. 27). In a National Public Radio

interview, one of the PENS task force members discussed the complexities of the “do no harm” principle:

[P]sychologists were supposed to be do-gooders. You know, the idea that they would be involved in producing some pain just seems to be, you know, at first blush, something that would be wrong because we do no harm. But the real ethical consideration would say, well, by producing pain or questioning of somebody, if it does the most good for the most people, it’s entirely ethical, and to do otherwise would be unethical (Lefever, 2009).

Lefever’s perspective demonstrates a dilemma faced by many psychologists working in national security settings where departing from the “do no harm” principle to obtain information from certain detainees may advance U.S. national security and public safety interests.

The Hoffman Report

In November 2014, the Board of the American Psychological Association (APA) engaged David Hoffman, an attorney with the law firm Sidley Austin, to conduct an independent review to determine whether APA officials colluded with George W. Bush administration government officials “to promote, support, or facilitate the use of “enhanced” interrogation techniques” (Hoffman et al., 2015a). Hoffman was asked to address the question of whether APA colluded with government officials to support torture. APA also stipulated three sub-questions for Hoffman to consider as part of his investigation: (1) “whether the APA supported the development or implementation of enhanced interrogation techniques,” (2) whether changes to Ethics Code Section 1.02 and/or the formation of the June 2005 report of the PENS Task Force “were the product of collusion with the government to support torture or intended to support torture,” and (3) “whether any APA action related to torture was improperly influenced by

government-related financial considerations,” including grants, contracts, or prescription privileges policy for military psychologists (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 64).

The Report set forth the following conclusions: (1) key APA officials colluded with key Department of Defense (DoD) officials by intentionally implementing “a policy that would allow DoD officials to continue to engage in their existing practices based on the guidelines and procedures they had in place”; (2) although no evidence indicated that APA officials colluded with the DoD with the actual intent of supporting torture, key APA officials had knowledge that enhanced interrogation techniques has likely been used and might continue to be used in the future, and “made an intentional effort not to dig into . . . concerns and allegations” regarding the use of enhanced interrogation techniques in an effort to curry favor with the DoD; (3) changes made to section 1.02 of the Ethics Code were not the product of collusion with the government to support torture, but the PENS Report “reflects a clear intent [on the part of APA officials] to take actions in order to please and curry favor with the DoD,” (4) “the way in which DoD had provided large-scale support to psychology as a profession in . . . prior years . . . played a fundamental role in APA feeling motivated to curry favor with DOD, even though there was no evidence that APA sought something concrete from DoD” (Hoffman et al., 2015a, p. 64-69).

Reactions to the Hoffman report. Upon its release, the Hoffman Report received an immense amount of media attention. News agencies throughout the country and abroad, including the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Economist, and the Guardian covered the Report and its findings, often focusing predominantly on how APA maintained and developed its ethics policy to “curry favor” with the DoD. Headlines

included, “Outside Psychologists Shielded US Torture Program, Report Finds,” “Independent Review Cites Collusion Among APA Individuals and Defense Department in Policy on Interrogation Techniques,” and “How America’s Psychologists Ended Up Endorsing Torture” (“America’s Psychologists Endorsing Torture,” 2015; Miller, 2015; Risen, 2015).

The release of the Report created significant turmoil within APA. According to many both inside and outside of the organization, APA’s reputation as an ethical and trustworthy organization was severely damaged as a result of the Report’s findings (APA, 2015a). However, the discussion following the release of the Report has underscored sharp differences in how many psychologists regard the Report’s findings and conclusions. Some regard the findings as accurate and the conclusions as fully justified. Others see the approach as less than impartial and the conclusions as misleading in certain respects.

Report supporters. On behalf of the organization, the APA Board of Directors accepted the Hoffman Report findings and issued a public apology (Bohannon, 2015). Members of APA Independent Review’s special committee who commissioned the Report expressed much regret over the Report’s findings. Nadine Kaslow, APA Past-President and Chair of the Independent Review’s special committee, issued the following statement: “The actions, policies and the lack of independence from government influence described in the Hoffman report represented a failure to live up to our core values. We profoundly regret, and apologize for, the behavior and the consequences that ensued. Our members, our profession and our organization expected, and deserved, better” (APA, 2015b). Certain high-level APA staff cited in the Report left the

organization. On July 14, APA announced the retirements of Norman Anderson (Chief Executive Officer) and Michael Honaker (Deputy CEO), and the resignation of Rhea Farberman (Executive Director for Member and Public Communications) from the organization. Although APA described these departures as “resignations” or “retirements,” rumors have circulated about whether these individuals were forced to leave (Ackerman, 2015a; APA, 2015e). Ethics Director Steve Behnke also left APA, apparently after being terminated (Ackerman 2015b).

Many of the psychologists who accept the Report’s conclusions have expressed concerns regarding its findings and the impact of its conclusions on APA. According to critics who voiced their concerns regarding the APA Ethics Code for years prior to the Report’s release, the Report’s “revelations have shocked and outraged not just psychologists but also the public at large” (Eidelson & Arrigo, 2015). Another longstanding critic of APA’s stance on national security interrogations asserted that “the future of the APA and the reputation of the psychology profession” are at stake, because without public faith in “psychologists’ prime commitment...to improving human welfare,” public willingness to seek treatment and support research could be impaired and reduced (Soldz, 2015). Soldz further commented that “the entire psychology profession needs to grapple with the enormous scandal enveloping psychological ethics” (Bohannon, 2015).

Following the Report’s release, a committee (the Special Committee for the Independent Review) was formed to develop a plan for APA in light of Hoffman’s conclusions. The Committee focused on repairing the organization’s reputation and developing a strategy for moving forward. Then-President-elect Susan McDaniel, PhD,

and Past-President Nadine Kaslow, PhD, wrote a letter to APA members after the Report's release committing to reestablish APA's reputation as an ethical and trustworthy organization: "Together we can, indeed we must, recommit to psychology's core values and emerge from this crisis as a stronger association of which we can all be proud" (APA, 2015b).

Report critics. Although APA as an organization accepted the Report's findings, a substantial number have spoken out in criticism of the Report. Among the critical comments are that the Report was prosecutorial, biased, and misleading in certain respects. Three of the most prominent critics, L. Morgan Banks, Larry James, and Debra Dunivin, all of whom were mentioned in the Report, disseminated a letter via an APA listserv highlighting their perceptions of flaws within the Report (Bartlett, 2015). In the letter, these psychologists refer to the Report as a "rhetoric-laden prosecutorial brief" that "ignores or distorts key facts," "fails to include contrary analyses," and "imposes its own views and opinions about policy issues" (Banks, Dunivin, James, & Newman, 2015). The authors denied that they drafted interrogation guidelines with an intent to "enable rather than halt abuse," claiming that such an assertion "turns the truth on its head" (Bartlett, 2015; Banks et al., 2015).

In addition to co-authoring this letter, James (a psychologist and former officer in the U.S. Army who served as the chief psychologist for Guantanamo in 2003 and for Abu Ghraib in 2004) wrote a separate letter to the APA Council of Representatives, the legislative body of APA of which he is a member. In that letter, James stated that Hoffman "mischaracterized what actually happened, misrepresented the data, and misinterpreted the intent of [his] colleagues as well as [himself]" (James, 2015, p. 3).

James also wrote that the Report painted an unfair picture of military psychologists, noting that “no military psychologist...had his or her license suspended” (James, 2015, p. 6) during the global war on terrorism and that “no military psychologist has been found guilty of anything related to the mistreatment of detainees” (James, 2015, p. 1).

Stephen Behnke, the former APA ethics director, issued a statement through his lawyer, Louis J. Freeh, disputing the conclusions of the Report. Freeh referred to the Report’s findings “as a gross mischaracterization of [Behnke’s] intentions, goals and actions” (Ackerman, 2015a). Two former APA presidents, Ronald F. Levant and Gerald P. Koocher (presidents in 2005 and 2006, respectively) commented on the Report, rejecting many of its findings and defending the values and ethical stance upheld during their leadership tenure: “We reject any interpretations of events that suggest our personal efforts ever wavered from enhancing the ethical practice of psychology and ethical conduct of psychological research” (Koocher & Levant, 2015).

Another critic of the Report is Kathy Platoni, a clinical psychologist and retired Army Psychology Consultant for the Army Reserve who served in Guantanamo on the Joint Task Force mission in support of Operation Enduring Freedom in the Global War on Terrorism. In a dear-colleague letter, Platoni wrote that, in reading to the Report, she could not help but “respond with shock, horror, and tremendous disappointment.” Platoni denied that any collusion had taken place between APA officials and the DoD, and referred to the Report as “grossly inaccurate and overflowing with sensationalism and bloodletting” (Ackerman, S., 2015c; K. Platoni, 2015).

Others have also spoken out against APA’s strategy for handling the Report. In a letter to APA officials, the president of APA Division 19 Society for Military

Psychology, Tom Williams, expressed concern regarding APA's reaction to the Report. Williams wrote that he was "deeply saddened and very concerned by what ... appears a politically motivated, anti-government and anti-military stance that does not advance the mission of APA as much as it seems to appease the most vocal critics of the APA and Division 19" (Ackerman, 2015c; Williams, 2015). James also criticized APA's response to the Report's findings, specifically the decision of the APA Council in August 2015 to adopt a motion to prohibit military psychologists from serving in national security interrogations (APA, 2015a). James referred to the adoption of this motion as a political move, rather than an ethical one, on the part of the APA Council (James, 2015).

Non-Practitioner Roles of Psychologists

Research has suggested that the general public tends to consider psychologists primarily as clinicians and counselors, typically associating the profession with mental health and therapy interventions (Breckler, 2012). Even though psychology includes many different sub-specialties, the general public's belief is likely underscored by the fact that clinical psychology is the largest and most common specialty in the field (Psychologist-License.com, 2015). This perception may also be shaped by television and film portrayals of psychologists (e.g. *The Sopranos*, *Goodwill Hunting*, *In Treatment*), as most are shown engaging in talk therapy with voluntary clients. Further, on its website's help center, APA defines practicing psychologists as those with "the professional training and clinical skills to help people cope more effectively with life issues and mental health problems" (APA, 2015c).

Despite this focus on talk therapy with voluntary clients, psychologists engage in a wide range of activities outside of clinical treatment. Indeed, many psychologists do not

engage in therapeutic treatment of voluntary clients. Developmental psychologists study human functioning through the lifespan. Forensic psychologists apply psychological research to the legal system, providing evaluation and treatment in legal contexts. Industrial-organizational psychologists employ their expertise in the workplace, using research to improve productivity, management, and employee morale. School psychologists address student learning, manage behavioral problems, and evaluate student capacities and needs. Social psychologists analyze individual and group interactions to draw conclusions about the impact of social influence (United States Department of Labor, 2014). The wide range of disciplines within the psychology field is underscored by the existence of 54 APA Divisions, each of which represents a particular interest area within the field. These divisions include the Society for Military Psychology, the Society for Environmental, Population, and Conservation Society, and the Exercise and Sport Society, among numerous others (APA, 2015d).

Current Study

Purpose

The purpose of the current study was to measure the opinions of the general public and psychologists regarding the appropriate roles of psychologists in national security interrogations, and in other contexts that do not involve the delivery of traditional assessment and therapy services. The Report conclusions were shocking to many both inside and outside APA, and caused much unrest within the organization. Since the release of the Report, there has been extensive discussion regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security settings. This discussion may have been curtailed when APA Council passed a 2015 resolution prohibiting psychologists

from participating in national security interrogations in settings that are not governed by domestic law.

The Report focused on one circumstance (national security interrogations) in which psychologists might not be guided primarily by the Beneficence and Nonmaleficence Principle (Principle A in the Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct), which exhorts psychologists to strive to benefit those with whom they work and take care to do no harm (APA, 2002a). However, there are other instances when psychologists might not be guided primarily by this principle.

Traditional psychological services, for the purpose of this study, were defined as the delivery of psychological assessment and treatment services to voluntary clients. Non-traditional services, by contrast, encompass those delivered to clients who are not voluntary (e.g., involuntarily civilly committed), to those who are not the primary client (e.g., court-ordered or attorney-referred forensic evaluations, fitness for duty evaluations requested by a company, threat assessments requested by a school), or for non-health related reasons (e.g., research, education, training, consultation). Psychologists have an extensive history of providing both traditional and non-traditional services.

The discussion following the release of the Report has underscored the sharp differences in how many psychologists regard the Report's findings and conclusions. It is important, therefore, that psychology consider the process and conclusions of the Report carefully, and weigh its options for responding in light of relevant empirical data as well as respect and fairness for all involved. However, drawing conclusions about the perceptions of psychologists, and the views of the broader public, is difficult without guidance from empirical research. Surveying psychologists engaged in traditional or non-

traditional psychological activities, as well as the general public, helps answer questions regarding broader perceptions of the process, findings, and conclusions of the Report and helps determine future directions for the psychology profession in the wake of the Report's release.

Hypotheses

For the purposes of this study, traditional psychologists were defined as those who primarily provide services as noted in the previous paragraph (the delivery of psychological assessment and treatment services to voluntary clients). Non-traditional psychologists were defined as those who primarily provide services delivered to involuntary clients, services delivered to individuals who are not the primary client, or services delivered for non-health related reasons. This exploratory study examined (1) the perceptions of the general public, traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security interrogations, (2) the perceptions of these groups regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in non-traditional settings, and (3) the perceptions of these groups regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved.

As no specific basis existed for proposing directional hypotheses regarding the differences in perceptions of psychologists and the general public, non-directional hypotheses were proposed to analyze differences between these two groups. Based on the observation that much of the support for the Report appears to come from traditional psychologists, while much of the criticism seems to come from non-traditional

psychologists, directional hypotheses were used to analyze differences between traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists:

Hypothesis 1 – Role of Psychologists in National Security Interrogations

- Hypothesis 1(a): There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security interrogations.
- Hypothesis 1(b): In comparing the perceptions of traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security interrogations, non-traditional psychologists will support the use of psychologists in national security interrogations significantly more than traditional psychologists.

Hypothesis 2 – Role of Psychologists in Non-Traditional Settings

- Hypothesis 2(a): There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should serve in non-traditional roles.
- Hypothesis 2(b): In comparing the perceptions of traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should serve in non-traditional roles, non-traditional psychologists will support the use of psychologists in non-traditional roles significantly more than traditional psychologists.

Hypothesis 3 – Role of Psychologists in Settings that May Cause Harm

- Hypothesis 3(a): There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved.
- Hypothesis 3(b): In comparing the perceptions of traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved, non-traditional psychologists will support the engagement of psychologists in activities that may cause harm to those involved significantly more than traditional psychologists.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study included members of the general public, traditional psychologists, and non-traditional psychologists. General public participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online web-based platform for recruiting and paying subjects to perform tasks. Psychologists were recruited through an email invitation sent to those with publicly available email addresses. A survey question was used to identify whether psychologist participants should be considered traditional or non-traditional.

A power analysis using a medium effect size (.50) and an alpha level of .05 indicated that, for an analysis involving the comparison non-traditional and traditional psychologists, 264 participants (132 per group) were needed to obtain adequate statistical power. For an analysis involving the comparison of the general public and psychologists, a power analysis using a medium effect size (.50) and an alpha level of .05 indicated that

264 participants (132 per group) were needed to obtain adequate statistical power.

However, considering the potential importance of these data, a larger sampling (1,500 participants) was recruited to enhance robustness and generalizability of findings.

Eligible participants from the general public were required to meet the following inclusion criteria: U.S. citizen, fluent in English, and at least 26 years of age. In addition to meeting the inclusion criteria required for general public participants, psychologist participants were required to hold a doctoral degree in psychology (Ph.D., Ed.D., or Psy.D). The purpose of the age criterion for the general public was to obtain samples with comparable age ranges (psychologist participants are likely to be older because they must hold doctoral degrees). Data for this study were collected between February 4, 2016 and May 18, 2016.

Procedure

This study employed independent-samples *t*-tests to determine whether a significant difference existed between the perceptions of the general public and professional psychologists regarding (1) the appropriate role of psychologists in national security settings, (2) the appropriate role of psychologists in non-traditional settings, and (3) the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved. Independent samples *t*-tests were also be used to determine whether (1) non-traditional psychologists support the use of psychologists in national security interrogations significantly more than traditional psychologists, (2) non-traditional psychologists support the use of psychologists in non-traditional roles significantly more than traditional psychologists, and (3) non-traditional psychologists

support the engagement of psychologists in activities that may cause harm to those involved significantly more than traditional psychologists.

The survey utilized in this study was developed and administered using Qualtrics, a reputable and secure online survey tool. To obtain psychologist participants, invitations to complete the survey were emailed to doctoral level psychologists with publicly available email addresses. This email invitation included information about the research study, consent procedures, and a link to the electronic survey (see Appendices C and D). The invitation also informed participants that they would receive no compensation for participation. Additionally, the invitation included eligibility criteria to ensure that psychologists did not unnecessarily participate in the survey. A second email was sent two weeks after the invitation to remind potential participants, and a final request was sent one month after the first invitation.

To obtain general public participants, an MTurk account was established and funded. A “job listing” was then posted on the MTurk web interface describing the survey to be completed, the consent procedures, and the compensation. Each participant received \$0.50 in compensation. If an individual elected to participate in the study, he or she was directed to the electronic survey on Qualtrics.

Materials

Survey part I (Appendix C). Once participants elected to participate in the study, they were directed to Part I of the survey (Appendix C), which contained four types of questions: (1) questions related to the participant’s attitudes regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security settings, (2) questions aimed at identifying the participant’s perceptions regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in

non-traditional settings, (3) questions related to the participant's attitudes regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved, and (4) a question aimed at identifying the participant's knowledge of the Hoffman Report by asking the participant to specify his or her familiarity with the Report. The questions were presented in random order.

Survey part II (Appendices D and E). After completing Part I of the survey, participants were directed to Part II, which differed for general public participants and psychologist participants. For general public participants, Part II consisted of a basic demographic survey (see Appendix D). Participants were asked to identify their age, gender, race, and ethnicity. Additionally, participants were asked about their religious affiliation, marital status, employment, political views and association with the U.S. Military. To determine whether participants met inclusion criteria, they were also asked if they were a U.S. citizen and fluent in English. Participants who were not U.S. citizens or not fluent in English were excluded from final analyses.

For psychologist participants, in addition to a demographic survey similar to the one described above, Part II consisted of questions related to the participant's career as a psychologist (see Appendix E). Participants were asked to identify their level of education, training and licensure. Additional questions obtained information about a participant's identity, professional work setting, and APA division(s) membership.

Statistical Analyses

Descriptive statistics for each question are reported for each group of participants that responded to the survey. Preliminary baseline between-group analyses were conducted to identify any significant differences in the following demographic

characteristics: age, gender, race, ethnicity and political affiliation. In comparing traditional and non-traditional psychologists, an independent samples *t*-test comparing groups on age and a series of chi-square analyses comparing groups on categorical variables yielded no statistically significant findings. Thus, the two psychologist groups were considered equivalent on these demographic variables, and no covariates were entered in later analyses.

In comparing psychologists and the general public, significant differences were identified for the following demographic variables: age, $t(1111.38) = 21.23, p < .001$; race, $\chi^2(5, N = 1660) = 75.40, p < .001$; ethnicity, $\chi^2(2, N = 1485) = 8.87, p = .003$; and political affiliation $\chi^2(4, N = 1481) = 66.72, p < .001$. The proposal for this study set forth that any such significant baseline differences between groups would be controlled for using covariates. However, upon further consideration, we determined that, for purposes of this study, it would be contraindicated to control for demographic differences between psychologists and the general public. These differences are part of what makes these two groups distinct, and to control for such differences would reduce those distinguishing characteristics. This study aims to measure differences in opinion between the general public and psychologists as these groups exist in society, and to make these groups equivalent through the use of statistical covariates would not permit a fair test of the hypotheses. As such, the demographic differences between these two groups will be considered, but additional analyses will not be conducted to control for such differences.

An alpha level of .05 was used to analyze all hypotheses. As conducting multiple analyses increases the likelihood of committing a Type I error, a Bonferroni correction was considered. Given the exploratory nature of the present study, such a correction

across all analyses would be too conservative. As such, it was determined that analyses would be done with and without Bonferroni corrections to control for the inflation of experiment-wise alpha and simultaneously protect against making a Type II error. Independent-samples *t*-tests were used to investigate all hypotheses. Prior to conducting each *t*-test, the following assumptions were evaluated: normal distribution, random sampling, independence of observations, and homogeneity of variance. For each *t*-test, an effect size indicating the standardized difference between two means was calculated using Cohen's *d*. To interpret the effect size, the following standards were used: small effect = 0.2, medium effect = 0.5, large effect = 0.8 (Cohen, 1988). The individual hypotheses were evaluated as follows:

- Hypothesis 1(a): There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security interrogations.
 - This hypothesis was evaluated using independent-samples *t*-tests to analyze responses to individual survey items. In the survey, participants ranked how appropriate they believe it is for psychologists to perform a variety of tasks in national security settings on a 1 through 5 Likert scale. The data obtained from the 5-point Likert scale were treated as continuous. For each item on the survey relevant to this hypothesis, means were calculated for each group and reported descriptively. Independent samples *t*-tests were then used to evaluate the following sub-hypotheses:
 - (1) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate

it is for psychologists to be involved in the interrogation of criminal suspects under the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts.

- (2) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to be involved in the interrogation of terrorist suspects when the interrogation is conducted within U.S. boundaries.
- (3) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to be involved in the interrogation of terrorist suspects that take place outside of U.S. jurisdiction (such as Abu Ghraib or Guantanamo).
- (4) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to be *indirectly* involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security by providing consultation *but not being present*.
- (5) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to be *directly* involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security by conducting interrogations or advising *while present* at interrogations.

- (6) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists who are directly involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security to use their expertise to monitor the interrogator and prevent any “behavioral drift” from professionally and ethically acceptable behavior on the part of the interrogator.
- (7) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists who are directly involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security to use their expertise to help interrogators make interrogations effective by using whatever social science is relevant.
- (8) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists who are directly involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security to use their expertise to help interrogators make interrogations effective by using clinical judgment to elicit as much information as possible.
- (9) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to facilitate the use of interrogation techniques where severe pain and suffering, either mental or

physical, is intentionally inflicted for the purpose of gathering information or punishment.

- (10) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to facilitate the use of interrogation techniques where aversive stimuli (such as stress positions, isolation, and food deprivation) are inflicted for the purpose of gathering information, but no severe mental or physical pain and suffering results.
- (11) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding how appropriate it is for psychologists to facilitate the use of interrogation techniques where incentives and mildly adverse stimuli (such as the threat of keeping a suspect detained indefinitely if he does not cooperate) are used for the purpose of gathering information, but where no severe mental or physical pain and suffering results.
- (12) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether the American Psychological Association Council of Representatives made the right choice by passing a resolution in 2015 banning psychologists from all future national security interrogations conducted outside the jurisdiction of U.S. courts.

- Hypothesis 1(b): In comparing the perceptions of traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security interrogations, non-traditional psychologists will support the use of psychologists in national security interrogations significantly more than non-traditional psychologists.
 - This hypothesis was evaluated using independent-samples *t*-tests to analyze responses to individual survey items. In the survey, participants ranked how appropriate they believe it is for psychologists to perform a variety of tasks in national security settings on a 1 through 5 Likert scale. The data obtained from the 5-point Likert scale were treated as continuous. For each item on the survey relevant to this hypothesis, means were calculated for each group and reported descriptively. Independent samples *t*-tests were then be used to evaluate the following sub-hypotheses:
 - (1) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in the interrogation of criminal suspects under the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts significantly more than traditional psychologists.
 - (2) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in the interrogation of terrorist suspects when the interrogation is conducted within U.S. boundaries significantly more than traditional psychologists.

- (3) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in the interrogation of terrorist suspects that take place outside of U.S. jurisdiction (such as Abu Ghraib or Guantanamo) significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (4) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologist *indirect* involvement in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security by providing consultation *but not being present* significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (5) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologist *direct* involvement in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security by conducting interrogations or advising *while present* at interrogations significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (6) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists use of expertise to monitor the interrogator and prevent any “behavioral drift” on the part of the interrogator significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (7) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to use their expertise to help interrogators make interrogations effective by using whatever social science is relevant.

- (8) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to use their expertise to help interrogators make interrogations effective by using clinical judgment to elicit as much information as possible.
- (9) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists facilitating the use of interrogation techniques where severe pain and suffering, either mental or physical, is intentionally inflicted for the purpose of gathering information or punishment significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (10) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists facilitating the use of interrogation techniques where aversive stimuli are inflicted for the purpose of gathering information, but no severe mental or physical pain and suffering results, significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (11) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists facilitating the use of interrogation techniques where incentives and mildly adverse stimuli are used for the purpose of gathering information, but where no severe mental or physical pain and suffering results, significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (12) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of the decision of the American Psychological Association Council of Representatives to ban psychologists from all future national

security interrogations conducted outside the jurisdiction of U.S. courts significantly more than traditional psychologists.

- Hypothesis 2(a): There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should serve in non-traditional roles.
 - This hypothesis was evaluated using independent-samples *t*-tests to analyze responses to individual survey items. In the survey, participants ranked how appropriate they believe it is for psychologists to perform a variety of tasks in non-traditional settings on a 1 through 5 Likert scale. The data obtained from the 5-point Likert scale were treated as continuous. For each item on the survey relevant to this hypothesis, means were calculated for each group and reported descriptively. Independent samples *t*-tests were then used to evaluate the following sub-hypotheses:
 - (1) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to provide consultation to individuals or organizations.
 - (2) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to assist organizations in personnel selection.
 - (3) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is

appropriate for psychologists to provide teaching that includes evaluating students on performance.

- (4) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to assess whether individuals pose a risk of harm to others in a school or work context.
 - (5) There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to provide assessment and treatment to individuals who have been involuntarily civilly committed.
- Hypothesis 2(b): In comparing the perceptions of traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should serve in non-traditional roles, non-traditional psychologists will support the use of psychologists in non-traditional significantly more than non-traditional psychologists.
 - This hypothesis was evaluated using independent-samples *t*-tests to analyze responses to individual survey items. In the survey, participants ranked how appropriate they believe it is for psychologists to perform a variety of tasks in non-traditional settings on a 1 through 5 Likert scale. The data obtained from the 5-point Likert scale were treated as continuous. For each item on the survey relevant to this hypothesis, means were calculated for each group and reported descriptively. Independent samples *t*-tests were then used to evaluate the following sub-hypotheses:

- (1) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to provide consultation to individuals or organizations significantly more than traditional psychologists.
 - (2) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to assist organizations in personnel selection significantly more than traditional psychologists.
 - (3) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to provide teaching that includes evaluating students on performance significantly more than traditional psychologists.
 - (4) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to assess whether individuals pose a risk of harm to others in a school or work context significantly more than traditional psychologists.
 - (5) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to provide assessment and treatment to individuals who have been involuntarily civilly committed significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- Hypothesis 3(a): There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the psychologists and the general public regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved.

- This hypothesis was evaluated using independent-samples *t*-tests to analyze responses to individual survey items. In the survey, participants ranked how appropriate they believe it is for psychologists to engage in a variety of professional activities that may cause harm to those involved on a 1 through 5 Likert scale. The data obtained from the 5-point Likert scale were treated as continuous. For each item on the survey relevant to this hypothesis, means were calculated for each group and reported descriptively. Independent samples *t*-tests were then used to evaluate the following sub-hypotheses:
 - There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to conduct research that requires deception of study participants where such research may result in any harm to the person(s) involved.
 - There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to *indirectly* assist with interrogations where such assistance may result in any harm to the person(s) involved.
 - There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to *directly* assist with interrogations

where such assistance may result in any harm to the person(s) involved.

- There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to evaluate criminal defendants when one consequence of such an evaluation may be an enhanced criminal sentence.
- There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to evaluate civil litigants when one consequence of such an evaluation may be a less favorable monetary award.
- There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to assist organizations in personnel selection where one consequence of such assistance may be loss of employment.
- There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to assist companies in developing effective advertising campaigns where the products advertised may cause harm to buyers (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol).

- There will be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and psychologists regarding whether it is appropriate for psychologists to conduct evaluations of defendants at the request of the prosecution, when one possible consequence of the evaluation would be a sentence of death.
- Hypothesis 3(b): In comparing the perceptions of traditional psychologists and non-traditional psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved, non-traditional psychologists will support the engagement of psychologists in activities that may cause harm to those involved significantly more than traditional psychologists.
 - This hypothesis was evaluated using independent-samples *t*-tests to analyze responses to individual survey items. In the survey, participants ranked how appropriate they believe it is for psychologists to engage in a variety of professional activities that may cause harm to those involved on a 1 through 5 Likert scale. The data obtained from the 5-point Likert scale were treated as continuous. For each item on the survey relevant to this hypothesis, means were calculated for each group and reported descriptively. Independent samples *t*-tests were then be used to evaluate the following sub-hypotheses:
 - (1) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to conduct research that requires deception of study participants where such research may result in any harm to

the person(s) involved significantly more than traditional psychologists.

- (2) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to *indirectly* assist with interrogations to ensure national security where such assistance may result in any harm to the person(s) involved significantly more than traditional psychologists
- (3) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to *directly* assist with interrogations to ensure national security where such assistance may result in any harm to the person(s) involved significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (4) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to evaluate criminal defendants when one consequence of such an evaluation may be an enhanced criminal sentence significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (5) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to evaluate civil litigants when one consequence of such an evaluation may be a less favorable monetary award significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (6) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to assist organizations in personnel selection

where one consequence of such assistance may be loss of employment significantly more than traditional psychologists.

- (7) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to assist companies in developing effective advertising campaigns where the products advertised may cause harm to buyers (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol) significantly more than traditional psychologists.
- (8) Non-traditional psychologists will support the appropriateness of psychologists to conduct evaluations of defendants at the request of the prosecution, when one possible consequence of the evaluation would be a sentence of death.

Results

Psychologist participants were 1,146 psychologists (40% female, 47.5% male, .10% other, 12.5% did not report) from largely white racial backgrounds (82.4% white, 1.1% black, 1% Asian American, 2.1% other, 13.4% did not report) ranging in age from 26 to 93 years ($M=55.30$, $SD=13.92$). Psychologist participants were recruited from various sub-disciplines (34.9% clinical psychology, 6.3% social psychology, 5.2% health psychology, 4.5% developmental psychology, 4.5% industrial/organizational psychology, 4.2% neuropsychology, 4.1% cognitive psychology, 4.1% experimental psychology, 2.6% forensic psychology, and 29.6% other). One-hundred and sixty-eight psychologist participants were excluded because they did not provide informed consent.

The psychologist group was further subdivided to test the hypothesis comparing traditional and non-traditional psychologists. Traditional psychologist were 487

psychologists (45.8% female, 53.8% male, .1% other, .2% did not report) from relatively homogenous backgrounds (92.8% white, 1.4% black, 1.2% Asian American, 3.2% other, 1.4% did not report) ranging in age from 29 to 89 years ($M=53.96$, $SD=13.18$). Non-traditional psychologists were 659 psychologists (45.5% female, 54.5% male) from relatively homogenous backgrounds (74.7% white, .9% black, .8% Asian American, 1.4% other, 22.2% did not report) ranging in age from 26 to 93 years ($M=56.51$, $SD=14.47$).

The general public sample consisted of 522 participants (50.8% female, 43.3% male, .20% other, 5.7% did not report) from more diverse racial backgrounds (80.1% white, 6.1% black, 4.4% Asian American, 3.7% other, 5.7% did not report) ranging in age from 26 to 83 years ($M=40.29$, $SD=112.16$). Although 526 participants were originally recruited, data from 74 participants were excluded because they did not meet inclusion criteria (e.g., 26 years of age or older).

Comparison of General Public and Psychologist Participants

The disparity between the viewpoints of the general public and psychologists regarding psychologists' involvement in various activities should be considered with some caution in terms of survey items that yielded small effect sizes. Due to the large samples obtained for this study, significant results are likely and thus effect sizes are important to determine whether the differences between the groups could have occurred by chance. As such, the survey items that yielded a significant effect but a small effect size should be considered the caution.

Perceptions of general public and psychologist participants regarding appropriate role of psychologists in national security settings. The hypothesis that

there would be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and professional psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in national security settings would be significantly different was fully supported. This hypothesis was examined using twelve separate *t*-tests to evaluate the relevant sub-hypotheses noted above. Each *t*-test yielded statistically significant results, and eleven of the twelve *t*-tests yielded statistically significant results at the Bonferroni-adjusted level. Six of the twelve *t*-tests generated a medium or large effect size (see Table 1).

General public participants expressed few objections to psychologist involvement in national security interrogations, condoning involvement in a variety of interrogation settings (criminal suspects in the U.S., terrorist suspects in the U.S., terrorist suspects outside of U.S.), levels (advising while not present, conducting/advising while present), and types (preventing behavioral drift, using clinical judgment, using social science expertise). Psychologist participants, on the other hand, expressed disagreement with psychologist involvement in interrogations of terrorist suspects outside of the U.S. (medium effect size) and in conducting or advising while present at interrogations (medium effect size). Psychologist participants also expressed mixed feelings about psychologists using social science expertise to make interrogations more effective (medium effect size). Both groups expressed the most disagreement with psychologist involvement in interrogations that may cause harm. Responding psychologists do not think psychologists should be involved in any type of interrogation where harm is inflicted, and strongly disagree with psychologist involvement in interrogations where severe pain and suffering is inflicted. General public participants, on the other hand, supported psychologist involvement in interrogations where only mildly aversive stimuli

are used (medium effect size), and only somewhat disagreed with psychologist involvement with interrogations that that involve aversive stimuli or severe pain and suffering (medium effect size) (see Figure 1).

Perceptions of general public and psychologist participants regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in non-traditional settings. The hypothesis that there would be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and professional psychologists regarding the appropriate role of psychologists in non-traditional settings was fully supported. This hypothesis was examined using five separate *t*-tests to evaluate the relevant sub-hypotheses noted above and each *t*-test yielded statistically significant results at the Bonferroni-adjusted level. Four of the five *t*-tests generated a medium, large, or very large effect size (see Table 2).

The significant differences in these sub-hypotheses ran in the opposite direction from those of the first set of hypotheses: whereas general public participants supported psychologist involvement in national security interrogations significantly more than psychologist participants, psychologists supported psychologist involvement in non-traditional settings significantly more than the general public. Both groups agreed that psychologist involvement in non-traditional settings (consulting, teaching/evaluating students, assessing for risk of harm, assessing involuntary civilly committed individuals, helping select personnel) was appropriate. However, psychologist participants were more accepting than the general public of psychologist involvement in such settings (consulting = medium to large effect size, teaching/evaluating students = very large effect size, assessing for risk of harm = small to medium effect size, assessing involuntary

civily committed individuals = medium effect size, helping select personnel = very large effect size) (see Figure 2).

Perceptions of general public and psychologist participants regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved. The hypothesis that there would be a significant difference between the perceptions of the general public and professional psychologists regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm to those involved was fully supported. This hypothesis was examined using eight separate *t*-tests to evaluate the relevant sub-hypotheses noted above. Each *t*-test yielded statistically significant results and seven out of eight *t*-tests yielded statistically significant results at the Bonferroni-adjusted level. Four of the eight *t*-tests generated a medium or large effect size (see Table 3).

Unlike the results of the first two sets of hypotheses, no clear directional trends emerged regarding the extent to which psychologists should engage in professional activities that may cause harm. The general public supported psychologist involvement in certain activities significantly more than psychologists, but for other activities, psychologists supported psychologist involvement significantly more than the general public.

In terms of harm in national security settings, psychologists *disagreed* with psychologist involvement across the board, while the general public *somewhat disagreed* with involvement where a psychologist was *present* at the interrogation (medium to large effect size), but somewhat *agreed* with involvement if a psychologist was *not present* (medium effect size). Both groups agreed with psychologist involvement in legal settings

and personnel selection where harm may result, although there were significant differences in the level of support. Psychologist participants supported psychologist involvement in evaluating civil litigants (medium to large effect size) and criminal defendants (small to medium effect size) and assisting organizations with personnel selection (small effect size) significantly more than the general public (although both groups supported such activities). Both groups supported psychologist involvement in conducting evaluation of capital (death penalty) defendants, although the general public supported this activity significantly more than psychologists (small effect size). Neither group supported psychologists conducting research that may cause harm to participants or assisting in the development of advertising campaigns for products that may cause harm, although psychologists disagreed significantly more (small effect size) (see Figure 3).

Comparison of Traditional and Non-traditional Psychologist Participants

Results from this study yielded findings that did not fully support the hypothesis that non-traditional psychologists would support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in national security interrogations and other non-traditional settings. The results demonstrate that the perceptions of traditional and non-traditional psychologists across a myriad of non-traditional settings, including national security settings, do not differ significantly.

Perceptions of traditional and non-traditional psychologist participants regarding the use of psychologists in national security interrogations. The hypothesis that non-traditional psychologists would support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in national security interrogations significantly more than traditional

psychologists was partially supported. This hypothesis was examined using twelve separate *t*-tests to evaluate the relevant sub-hypotheses noted above. Three of the twelve *t*-tests yielded significant results, and two of the twelve *t*-tests generated significant results at the Bonferroni-adjusted level. None of the *t*-tests generated a medium or large effect size (see Table 4).

Results showed that both groups of psychologist participants expressed modest agreement with psychologist involvement in the following national security interrogation activities: interrogation of criminal and terrorist suspects in the U.S., providing consultation while *not present* at an interrogation, using expertise to prevent behavioral drift, and using clinical judgement to elicit information. However, non-traditional psychologists agreed more strongly with psychologist interrogation of criminal suspects in the U.S. (small effect size), use of expertise to prevent behavioral drift (small effect size), and use clinical judgment to elicit information (small effect size). Both groups expressed mixed feelings about psychologists' use of social science expertise to help interrogators make interrogations effective. Finally, both groups objected to psychologist involvement in national security interrogations outside the U.S. (somewhat disagree) and in interrogations that inflict severe pain and suffering (strongly disagree), involve the use of aversive stimuli (disagree), or involve the use of mildly aversive stimuli (somewhat disagree) (see Figure 4).

Perceptions of traditional and non-traditional psychologist participants regarding the use of psychologists in non-traditional roles. The hypothesis that non-traditional psychologists would support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in non-traditional settings significantly more than traditional psychologists was not

supported. This hypothesis was examined using five separate *t*-tests to evaluate the relevant sub-hypotheses noted above. Two of the five *t*-tests yielded significant results, but in the opposite direction of what was predicted. None of the *t*-tests generated a medium or large effect size or statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level (see Table 5).

The results demonstrated that both traditional and non-traditional psychologists support psychologist involvement in a variety of non-traditional settings (consulting, teaching/evaluating students, assessing for risk of harm, assessing involuntary civilly committed individuals, helping select personnel), but also demonstrated that the traditional psychologist group was significantly more accepting than the non-traditional psychologist group in some of these settings (assessing involuntary civilly committed individuals = small effect size, consulting = small effect size) (see Figure 5).

Perceptions of traditional and non-traditional psychologist participants regarding the engagement of psychologists in activities that may cause harm to those involved. The hypothesis that non-traditional psychologists would support the appropriateness of psychologist involvement in activities that may cause harm to those involved significantly more than traditional psychologists was not supported. This hypothesis was examined using eight separate *t*-tests to evaluate the relevant sub-hypotheses noted above. Three of the eight *t*-tests yielded significant results, but in the opposite direction of what was predicted. None of the *t*-tests generated a medium or large effect size or statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level (see Table 6).

The results regarding psychologist involvement in activities that may cause harm were mixed. Both groups supported psychologist involvement in personnel selection and

legal settings (evaluating civil litigants, criminal defendants, and capital defendants) where harm could result. However, traditional psychologists supported psychologist evaluation of criminal defendants (small effect size) and civil litigants (small effect) and psychologist assistance with personnel selection (small effect size) significantly more than non-traditional psychologists. Neither group supported psychologist involvement in conducting research that could result in harm to participants (disagree) or assisting in the development of an advertising campaign of a potentially harmful product (somewhat disagree). Finally, both traditional and non-traditional psychologists objected to psychologist involvement in national security interrogations that may result in harm (see Figure 6).

Discussion

The general public appears to be more accepting of psychologist involvement in national security settings – the type of activities highlighted in the Report as problematic – than psychologists. This finding has several potential important implications. First, with respect to involvement in national security interrogations, it appears that the general public may put more trust in psychologists (or at least exhibit more flexibility in agreeing to their involvement in such activities) than psychologists themselves do. As such, there seems to be a disparity between how the profession views itself and how it is viewed by the populations it serves. Second, the results could reflect a broader trust that the public places in professionals. Perhaps the general public sees psychologists as capable professionals with educational training and specialized knowledge and therefore trusts them to act in their best interest in any setting. Finally, it is important to note that the finding of broad public support for psychologist involvement in national security

interrogations may reflect a tendency of the general public to support activities conducted for the purposes of national security, rather than particular support of *psychologists'* involvement in such activities. As noted above, the general public and psychologists are demographically distinct groups. For instance, psychologists have significantly more education (100% of psychologist participants hold doctoral degrees, while only 9.8% of the general public participants hold doctoral degrees, and psychologists tend to be significantly more liberal (of psychologist participants, 60.9% identified as Democrat and 7.2% identified as Republican; of the general public participants, 42.7% identified as Democrat and 18.9% identified as Republican. As such, the two groups may have differing viewpoints about national security generally that influenced their answers, rather than differing viewpoints about psychologists' roles in such settings.

It is also worth considering why psychologists were less supportive than the general public of psychologist involvement in national security settings. Perhaps psychologists' tempered support reflects a direct reaction to the Report findings. As noted above, many in the field were deeply upset by the Report's conclusion that APA had colluded with the DoD and engaged in arguably unethical behavior in national security settings. Many psychologists were also aware that APA's reputation as an ethical and trustworthy organization has been severely damaged by the Report. As such, psychologists may have felt hesitant about the ability of psychologists to be involved in national security interrogations without engaging in unethical behavior or damaging the reputation of APA. Perhaps psychologists would have been more supportive of psychologist involvement in such settings had they been asked these questions prior to the Report's release.

While both the general public and psychologists supported psychologist involvement in non-traditional activities (consulting, teaching/evaluating students, assessing for risk of harm, assessing involuntary civilly committed individuals, helping select personnel), psychologists expressed stronger support. This finding also has several implications. First, it could suggest that the general public does not have the broad trust in psychologists as professionals that was suggested by the public's views in this study regarding national security activities. However, this tempered support could also reflect a lack of awareness of psychologists' involvement in such activities. This "lack of awareness" hypothesis is supported by research that suggests that the general public tends to consider psychologists primarily as clinicians and counselors (Breckler, 2012). Second, this finding suggests that, although psychologists have some reservations about psychologist involvement in national security interrogations, those reservations do not extend to psychologist involvement in non-traditional activities. Rather, psychologists strongly support psychologist involvement in consulting, teaching/evaluating students, assessing for risk of harm, assessing involuntary civilly committed individuals, and helping organizations with personnel selection. This disparity could suggest one of two things. First, it could indicate that, even prior to the Report's release, psychologists felt that psychologist involvement in national security interrogations was distinct from psychologist involvement in other non-traditional settings – and that psychologists should have a limited role in such activities. Second, it could indicate that the Report and its aftermath impacted psychologists' views of psychologist involvement in national security settings and tempered their support for such activities.

The disparity between the general public and psychologist perceptions regarding psychologist involvement in national security interrogations extended to involvement that could result in harm, which may indicate that psychologists tend to take the “do no harm” principle seriously and believe that adherence to this principle is important. Although the Report emphasized that “Do No Harm” may not apply in all circumstances, this finding suggests that psychologists perhaps believe that professionals in the field should adhere to the principle consistently when it comes to working in national security settings. The general public, on the other hand, expressed mixed feelings regarding psychologist involvement in national security settings that may result in harm, perhaps indicating a belief that it may be appropriate at times for psychologists to engage in activities that cause harm for national security and public safety purposes. This finding highlights a discrepancy between psychologists’ views of their own moral and ethical duties and the views of the populations they serve.

Interestingly, both groups disapprove of psychologists engaging in research that could result in harm, and providing consultation to an advertising company developing a product that may cause harm, but approve of psychologists’ engagement in legal evaluations that could result in harm (including an evaluation of a capital defendant when a possible consequence could be a death sentence). Perhaps this finding indicates that both groups perceive that defendants and litigants often experience some type of harm through the legal system and thus believe that psychologist involvement in such spaces is not inappropriate. Further, both groups may assume that criminal defendants must have done something wrong to find themselves in court, and that therefore a psychological evaluation that may cause harm is justified. Indeed, both groups’ disapproval of

psychologist involvement in research or advertising that may cause harm supports the possibility that respondents feel that “culpable” individuals do not deserve to be protected from harm, while “innocent” individuals do. Unlike criminal defendants, consumers of products and research participants have not been accused of any wrongdoing and thus may be considered “innocent.”

The finding that the perceptions of traditional and non-traditional psychologists across a myriad of non-traditional settings, including national security settings, do not differ significantly has several important implications. As noted above, the Report caused major tensions within the psychology profession and seemed to create schisms among psychologists. These tensions and schisms were reflected in public disagreements regarding the Report’s allegations and APA’s reaction to the Report. The results from this study, however, suggest that the various psychology sub-disciplines do not disagree, but rather share similar opinions about the appropriate role of psychologists. This finding may be encouraging to psychologists and APA members who observed strong disagreements within the profession following the release of the Report. Perhaps the profession is less divided than the highly-publicized disagreements would suggest.

Neither the general public nor psychologists expressed full support for APA’s decision to ban psychologists from future national security interrogations conducted outside of U.S. jurisdiction. The general public expressed mixed feelings and psychologists only somewhat agreed with APA’s decision. This finding should be considered in light of criticisms of APA’s reaction to the Report and should be taken into account when developing further policy in this area. As noted above, several critics spoke out against APA’s strategy for handling the Report and argued that the decision to ban

psychologists from participating in national security interrogations was a reactionary, political move (James, 2015). Many organizations have a system whereby decision-makers engage in several discussions, follow specific steps, and solicit and incorporate public comment prior to making a policy decision. If APA had taken such steps, the organization might have discovered that its sweeping policy change was not fully supported by the psychology community or the populations served by APA. A more thorough inquiry and consideration period would have allowed APA to craft a policy that better reflected the opinions of its membership and society as a whole. In addition, by engaging in a more thorough decision-making process, APA could likely protect itself against critics claiming an ulterior motive for certain decisions. APA should perhaps consider following a more thorough decision-making protocol in the future to avoid making policy that is not supported (or only somewhat supported) by its membership and the general public.

Finally, since the Report's release there has been much discussion within the profession of psychology regarding the appropriate role of psychologists. While these discussions are undoubtedly important, there is a risk they can become somewhat insular. This study supports the notion that it is important for psychologists to look outside the profession to understand other perspectives, particularly the perspectives of those populations psychologists serve in their work. APA should consider public opinion as a means of gaining a broader perspective of the potential impact of various policy decisions on different societal groups. While public opinion need not be dispositive, it should absolutely be evaluated and considered by APA when creating policy, particularly when policy decisions will impact members of the public directly served by APA

psychologists. As psychology is a self-regulating profession, considering data on public opinion is important when considering policies that restrict or define the appropriate roles of psychologist in various areas.

Limitations

This study failed to include survey items that would parse out whether participants' opinions reflected attitudes toward *psychologist involvement* in national security setting or just national security issues in general. This study would have been stronger had there been additional survey items related to national security in general.

This study may have been impacted by participant response bias. Respondent's may have felt pressure to answer questions in a way that was "socially acceptable." Such response bias may have been particularly present in this study, which centered around some prominent, divisive issues. In addition, even though the survey questions were randomized, participants' answers were likely somewhat influenced by previous questions.

Another potential limitation in this study takes the form of external validity. The response rate among psychologist participants was relatively low (approximately 10%). It is possible, therefore, that those psychologists who volunteered to participate in this study may have done so based on certain opinions they held. For instance, perhaps the strongest critics of the Report chose not to participate, and thus the results obtained were biased toward those who supported the Report and APA's reaction to it. As such bias was possible, some caution should be exercised when generalizing the results of this study.

Future Directions

Future research could be conducted based on the findings of this study. First, the disparity between how the psychology profession views itself and how it is viewed by the populations it serves warrants further consideration, particularly with regard to national security interrogations. Why does this disparity exist? What is driving these differences in opinions? Specifically, future iterations of this research would benefit from the inclusion of more questions regarding national security generally to determine whether respondent's opinions reflect general views about national security, rather than specific opinions about psychologist's roles in national security settings. Second, further research could be conducted to evaluate psychologist and general public opinions about other policy decisions made by APA. Has APA exhibited a pattern of making decisions that do not fully reflect the interests of the psychologist community or the populations served by psychologists? Or was APA's decision to ban psychologists from national security interrogations unique in its lack of strong support? Third, further research could determine the general public's awareness of psychologist participation in non-traditional activities – perhaps their tempered support reflects unawareness, rather than a lack of trust in psychologists. Finally, further research could continue to explore the impact of the Report and APA's response to it. Data for this study were collected shortly after the Report's release, when emotions were running high and the issues surrounding the Report were still prevalent in the media. It would be worthwhile to evaluate opinions several years after the Report's release and determine whether they have changed over time. Such research could inform how to make well-informed policy, help determine how

policy decisions stand the test of time, and help the field identify what was done right and what could be improved in the future.

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APPENDIX A. Tables and Figures

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 1,146 Psychologist and 522 General Public Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in National Security Interrogations

Variable	General Public		Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Interrogation of criminal suspects in U.S.	2.24	1.04	2.53	1.31	4.67	1216.67	<.001**	.17	.40	.245 small-medium
Interrogation of terrorist suspects in U.S.	2.33	1.11	2.82	1.42	7.44	1238.47	<.001**	.36	.62	.38 small-medium
Interrogation of terrorist suspects outside U.S.	2.70	1.23	3.33	1.48	8.94	1173.64	<.001**	.49	.77	.46 medium
Providing consultation but not present at interrogations	2.46	1.07	2.89	1.34	6.94	1220.36	<.001**	.31	.56	.35 small-medium
Conducting interrogations or advising while present	2.55	1.15	3.11	1.44	8.44	1220.06	<.001**	.44	.70	.43 medium
Using expertise to prevent "behavioral drift" of interrogator	2.06	.94	2.18	1.27	2.05	1293.13	.041*	.01	.23	.12 small
Using clinical judgment to help interrogators elicit information	2.37	1.10	2.86	1.42	7.54	1256.40	<.001**	.38	.64	.39 small-medium

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 1 (cont.). Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 1,146 Psychologist and 522 General Public Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in National Security Interrogations

Variable	General Public		Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Using social science expertise to make interrogations more effective	2.49	1.12	3.00	1.42	7.73	1220.74	<.001**	.36	.62	.40 medium
Facilitating interrogation techniques involving incentives and mildly adverse stimuli	2.38	1.21	3.34	1.35	7.66	1080.28	<.001**	.57	.81	.41 medium
Facilitating interrogation techniques involving aversive stimuli	3.34	1.25	4.01	1.21	10.33	977.97	<.001**	.54	.81	.54 medium
Facilitating interrogation techniques involving intentional infliction of severe pain and suffering	3.87	1.21	4.55	.92	11.23	783.18	<.001**	.57	.81	.63 medium

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 1 (cont.). *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 1,146 Psychologist and 522 General Public Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in National Security Interrogations*

Variable	General Public		Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
APA made the right decision by banning psychologists from national security interrogations conducted outside U.S. jurisdiction	2.82	1.15	2.44	1.50	-5.55	783.421	<.001**	.51	-.25	.28 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 1,146 Psychologists and 522 General Public Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Non-Traditional Settings

Variable	General Public		Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Providing assessment/treatment to involuntarily civilly committed individuals	1.82	.87	1.47	.70	7.86	825.88	<.001**	-.51	-.37	.44 medium
Assessing whether individual poses a risk of harm	1.72	.82	1.46	.69	6.24	853.19	<.001**	-.94	-.76	.34 small-medium
Providing consultation to individuals/organizations	1.67	.75	1.24	.52	11.65	748.39	<.001**	-.95	-.75	.67 medium-large
Teaching and evaluating students	2.00	.95	1.22	.50	17.37	643.52	<.001**	-.34	-.18	1.03 very large
Assessing organizations in personnel selection	2.38	.99	1.53	.74	17.24	783.42	<.001**	-.43	-.26	.98 very large

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 3. *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 1,146 Psychologist and 522 General Public Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Activities That May Cause Harm*

Variable	General Public		Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Providing consultation (but not present) at national security interrogations where assistance may result in harm	2.93	1.18	3.63	1.34	19.60	1115.98	<.001**	.57	.83	.59 medium
Conducting or advising while present at national security interrogations where such assistance may result in harm	3.21	1.27	4.06	1.21	12.87	1584	<.001**	.72	.98	.69 medium-large
Evaluating criminal defendants when consequences may be enhanced criminal sentence	2.17	.91	1.87	.87	-6.83	1579	<.001**	-.40	-.21	.34 small-medium
Evaluating civil litigants when one consequences may be a less favorable monetary award	2.50	.98	1.85	.90	12.71	927.09	<.001**	-.75	-.55	.69 medium-large

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 3 (cont.). Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 1,146 Psychologist and 522 General Public Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Activities That May Cause Harm

Variable	General Public		Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Conducting evaluations of defendants when one possible consequence could be a death sentence	2.33	1.11	2.49	1.30	2.48	1153.48	.013*	.03	.28	.12 small
Conducting research that requires deception where such research may result in harm	3.81	1.15	4.05	1.07	3.91	913.761	<.001**	.12	.36	.22 small
Assisting companies in developing advertising campaigns where the products may cause harm to buyers	3.47	1.27	3.72	1.23	3.79	1557	<.001**	.12	.39	.20 small
Assisting organizations in personnel selection where one consequence may be loss of employment	2.60	1.06	1.97	.92	13.2 2	874.92	<.001**	-.83	-.62	.73 large

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 4. *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in National Security Interrogations*

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Interrogation of criminal suspects in U.S.	2.60	1.37	2.47	1.25	1.67	996.12	.046*	-.02	.29	.09 small
Interrogation of terrorist suspects in U.S.	2.89	1.48	2.77	1.38	1.33	1006.48	.09	-.6	.29	.10 small
Interrogation of terrorist suspects outside U.S.	3.32	1.51	3.34	1.45	-.28	1073	.39	-.2	.15	.01 small
Providing consultation but not present at interrogations	2.90	1.38	2.88	1.3	.212	1008.52	.42	-.15	.18	.16 small
Conducting interrogations or advising while present	3.17	1.46	3.07	1.14	1.13	1074	.26	-.07	.27	.07 small
Using expertise to prevent "behavioral drift" of interrogator	2.35	1.25	2.03	1.81	4.11	975.66	<.001**	.17	.47	.25 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 4 (cont.). *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in National Security Interrogations*

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Using clinical judgment to help interrogators elicit information	2.37	1.10	2.86	1.42	7.54	1256.40	<.001**	-.21	.13	.39 small-medium
Using social science expertise to make interrogations more effective	2.82	1.46	2.89	1.40	-.60	1017.86	.273	-.22	.12	.04 small
Facilitating interrogation techniques involving incentives and mildly adverse stimuli	3.37	1.37	3.31	1.32	.69	1101.66	.243	-.15	.07	.04 small
Facilitating interrogation techniques involving aversive stimuli	4.04	1.23	3.99	1.27	.275	1066	.275	-.10	.20	.04 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 4 (cont.). *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in National Security Interrogations*

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Facilitating interrogation techniques involving intentional infliction of severe pain and suffering	4.52	.91	4.57	.92	-.71	1073	.241	-.11	.22	.04 small
APA made the right decision by banning psychologists from national security interrogations conducted outside U.S. jurisdiction	2.46	1.53	2.43	1.47	.31	1019.55	.379	-.15	.21	.02 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 5. *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Non-Traditional Settings*

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Providing assessment/treatment to involuntarily civilly committed individuals	1.40	.63	1.55	.74	-3.33	1066.72	<.01*	-.22	-.06	.21 (small)
Assessing whether individuals pose a risk of harm	1.42	.67	1.49	.71	-1.75	1057.87	.08	-.16	.01	.10 (small)
Providing consultation to individuals/organizations	1.19	.50	1.28	.54	-2.83	1058.76	<.01*	-.15	-.03	.17 (small)
Teaching and evaluating students	1.20	.47	1.23	.53	-.931	1069	.35	-.09	0.32	.06 (small)
Assessing organizations in personnel selection	1.49	.72	1.56	.76	-1.46	783.42	.15	-.16	.02	.09 (small)

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Activities That May Cause Harm

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Providing consultation (but not present) at national security interrogations where assistance may result in harm	3.63	1.37	3.63	1.32	.01	1066	.49	-.16	.16	< .05 small
Conducting or advising while present at national security interrogations where such assistance may result in harm	4.07	1.18	4.04	1.23	.35	1077	.36	-.12	.17	.02 small
Evaluating criminal defendants when consequences may be enhanced criminal sentence	1.79	.84	1.92	.88	-2.45	1073	<.05*	-.23	-.03	.15 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 6 (cont.). *Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Activities That May Cause Harm*

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Evaluating civil litigants when one consequence may be a less favorable monetary award	1.75	.80	1.93	.97	3.46	1069.99	<.01*	-.29	-.08	.20 small
Conducting evaluations of defendants when one possible consequence could be a death sentences	2.43	1.32	2.54	1.29	1.40	1071	.08	-.27	.05	.12 small
Conducting research that requires deception where such research may result in harm	4.10	1.05	4.01	1.08	1.37	1071	.09	-.04	.22	.08 small
Assisting companies in developing advertising campaigns where the products may cause harm to buyers	3.71	1.25	3.73	1.21	.375	1069	.35	-.18	.12	.02 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

Table 6 (cont.). Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparisons of 487 Traditional and 659 Non-Traditional Psychologist Participants Regarding Psychologist Involvement in Activities That May Cause Harm

Variable	Traditional Psych.		Non-Traditional Psych.		Mean Comparisons			95% Confidence Interval of Mean Difference		Effect Size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	L	U	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Assisting organizations in personnel selection where one consequence may be loss of employment	1.89	.86	2.03	.96	2.50	1072	<.05*	-.25	-.03	.15 small

Note. * indicates statistical significance ($p > .05$) and ** indicates statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted level ($p > .002$).

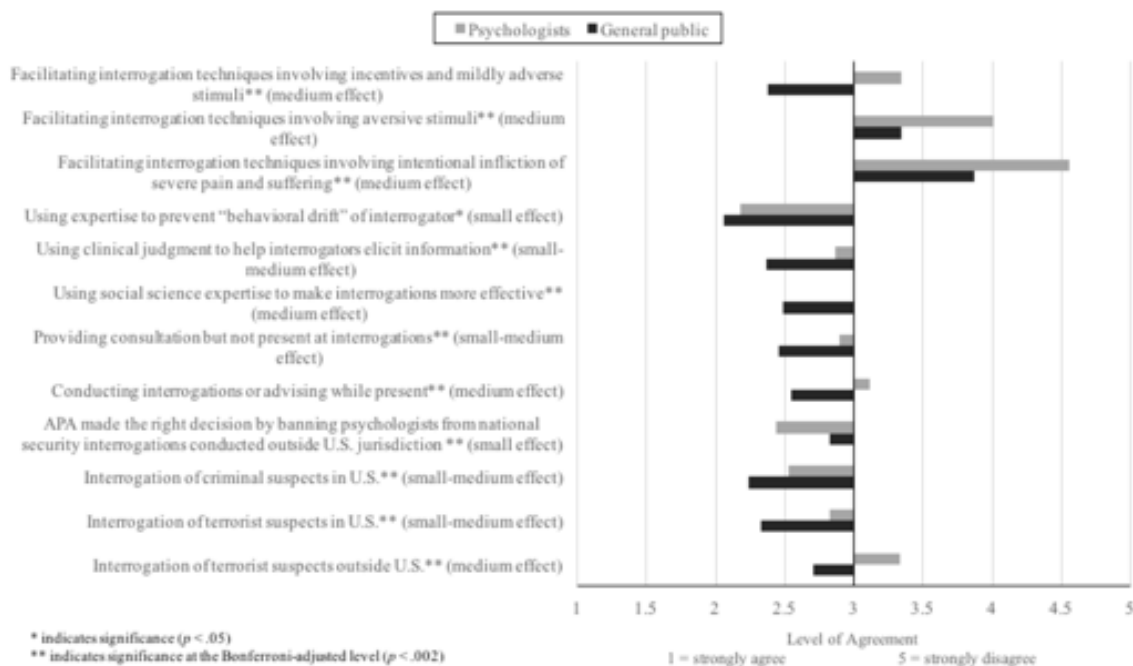


Figure 1. Perceptions of 1,146 psychologist and 522 general public participants regarding psychologist involvement in national security interrogations

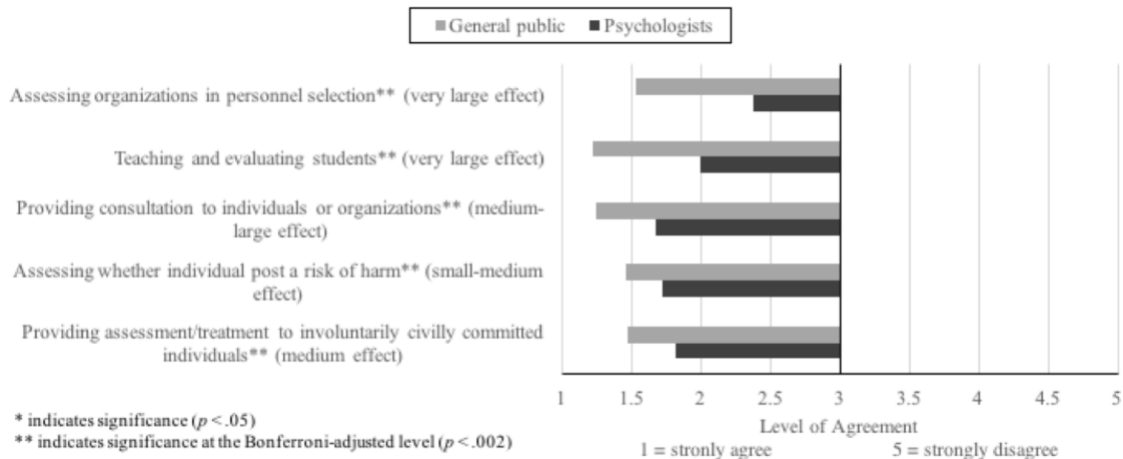


Figure 2. Perceptions of 1,146 psychologist and 522 general public participants regarding psychologist involvement in non-clinical settings

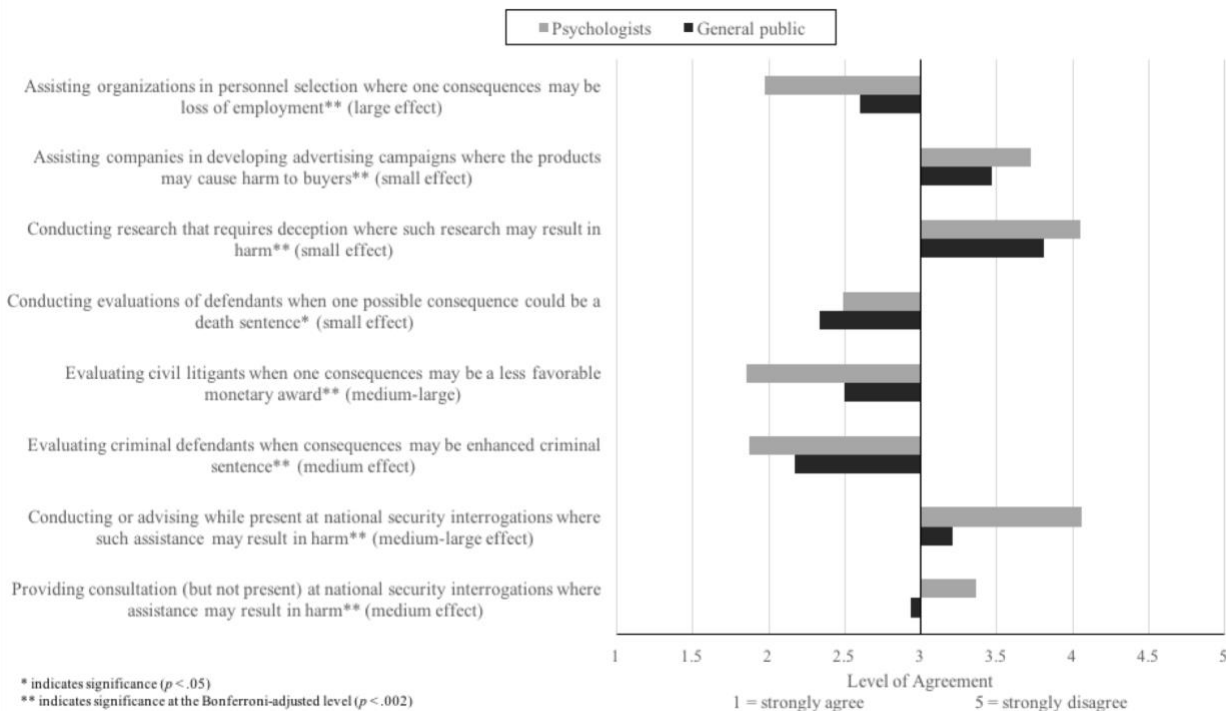


Figure 3. Perceptions of 1,146 psychologist and 522 general public participants regarding psychologist involvement in activities that may cause harm

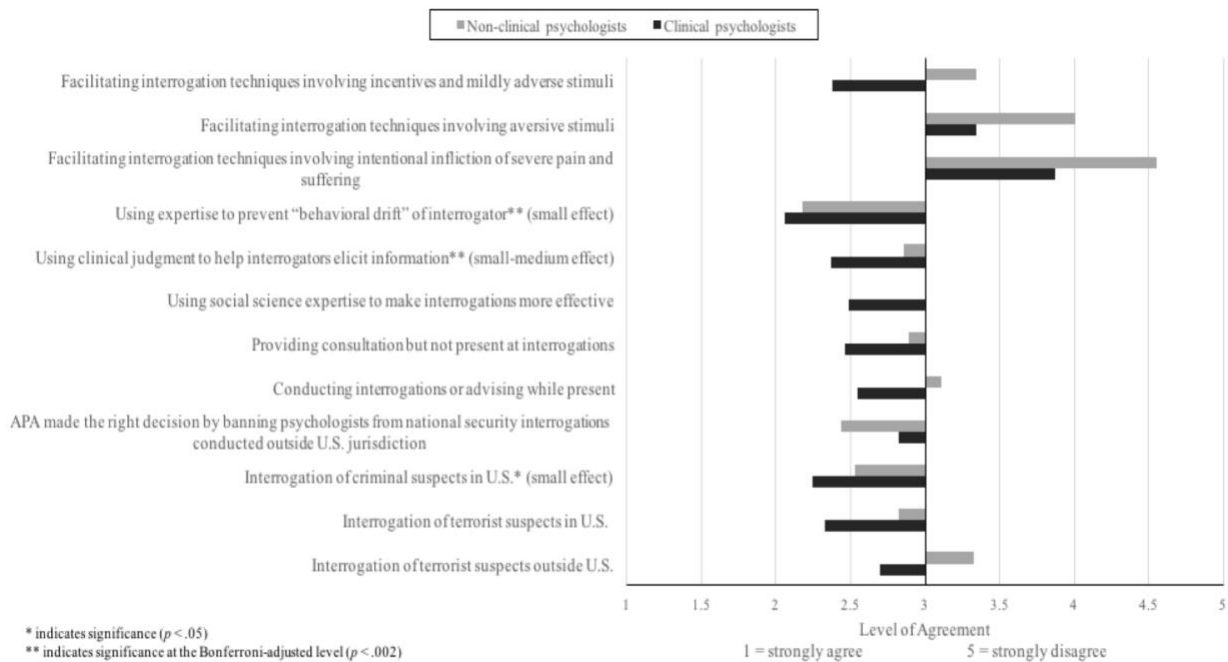


Figure 4. Perceptions of 487 clinical psychologist and 659 non-clinical psychologist participants regarding psychologist involvement in national security interrogations

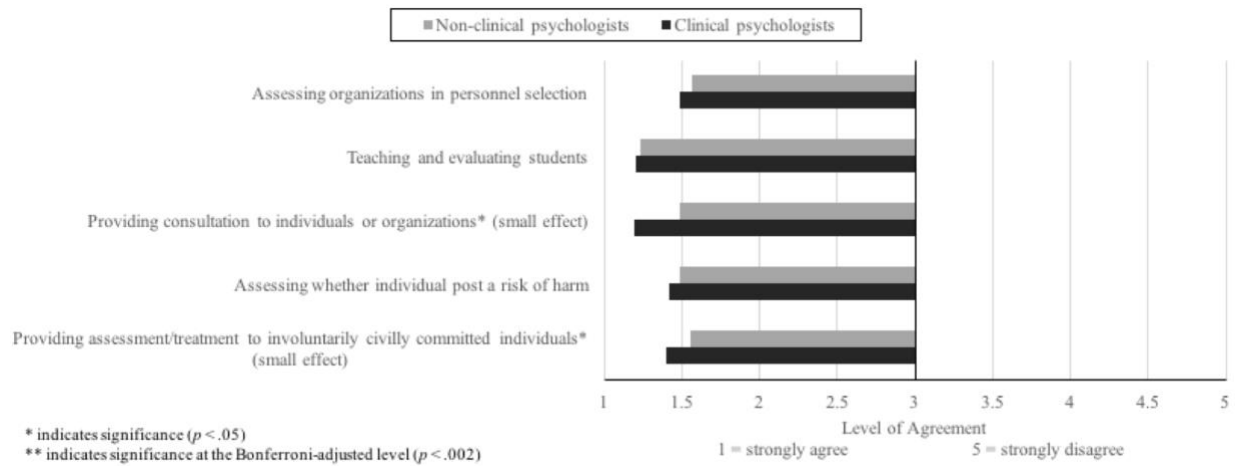


Figure 5. Perceptions of 487 clinical psychologist and 659 non-clinical psychologist participants regarding psychologist involvement in non-clinical settings

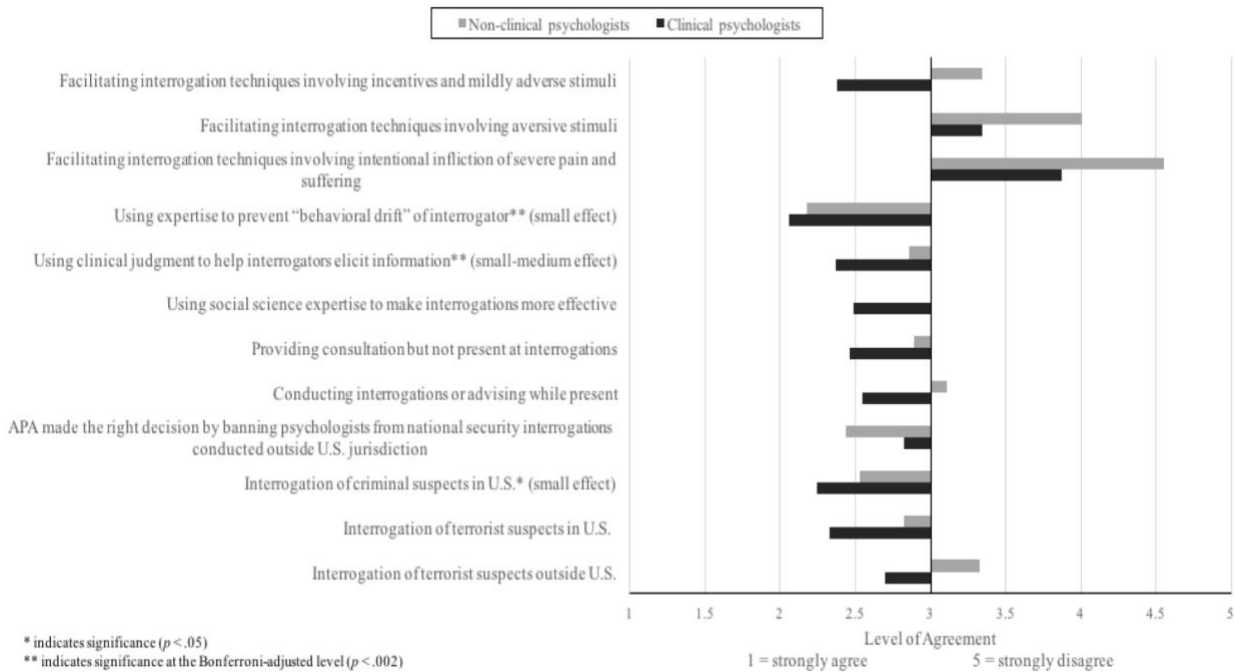


Figure 6. Perceptions of 487 clinical psychologist and 659 non-clinical psychologist participants regarding psychologist involvement in activities that may cause harm

APPENDIX B: APA Ethics Code Revisions

ETHICS CODE (1992)

1.02 Relationship of Ethics and Law

If psychologists' ethical responsibilities conflict with law, psychologists make known their commitment to the Ethics Code and take steps to resolve the conflict in a responsible manner.

ETHICS CODE (2002)

1.02 Conflicts Between Ethics and Law, Regulations, or Other Governing Legal Authority.

If psychologists' ethical responsibilities conflict with law, regulations, or other governing legal authority, psychologists make known their commitment to the Ethics Code and take steps to resolve the conflict. If the conflict is unresolvable via such means, psychologists may adhere to the requirements of the law, regulations, or other governing legal authority.

ETHICS CODE (2010)

1.02 Conflicts Between Ethics and Law, Regulations, or Other Governing Legal Authority

If psychologists' ethical responsibilities conflict with law, regulations or other governing legal authority, psychologists clarify the nature of the conflict, make known their commitment to the Ethics Code and take reasonable steps to resolve the conflict consistent with the General Principles and Ethical Standards of the Ethics Code. Under no circumstances may this standard be used to justify or defend violating human rights.

APPENDIX C: Survey

Please respond to each statement by checking your opinion.

1. It is appropriate for psychologists to work in the U.S. military.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

2. It is appropriate for psychologists to be involved in the interrogation
(questioning of detained individuals for the purpose of gathering information)
of criminal suspects under the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

3. It is appropriate for psychologists to be involved in the interrogation of
terrorist suspects when the interrogation is conducted within U.S. boundaries.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

4. It is appropriate for psychologists to be involved in the interrogation of
terrorist suspects that take place outside of U.S. jurisdiction (such as Abu
Ghraib or Guantanamo).

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

5. It is appropriate for psychologists to be *indirectly* involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security by providing consultation *but not being present*.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

6. It is appropriate for psychologists to be *directly* involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security by conducting interrogations or advising *while present* at interrogations.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

-
7. It is appropriate for psychologists who are directly involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security to use their expertise to monitor the interrogator and prevent any “behavioral drift” from professionally and ethically acceptable behavior on the part of the interrogator.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

8. It is appropriate for psychologists who are directly involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security to use their expertise to

help interrogators make interrogations effective by using whatever social science is relevant.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

9. It is appropriate for psychologists who are directly involved in interrogations of individuals regarding matters of national security to use their expertise to help interrogators make interrogations effective by using clinical judgment to elicit as much information as possible.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

10. It is appropriate for psychologists to facilitate the use of interrogation techniques where severe pain and suffering, either mental or physical, is intentionally inflicted for the purpose of gathering information or punishment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

11. It is appropriate for psychologists to facilitate the use of interrogation techniques where aversive stimuli (such as stress positions, isolation, and food deprivation) are inflicted for the purpose of gathering information, but no severe mental or physical pain and suffering results.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

12. It is appropriate for psychologists to facilitate the use of interrogation techniques where incentives and mildly adverse stimuli (such as the threat of keeping a suspect detained indefinitely if he does not cooperate) are used for the purpose of gathering information, but where no severe mental or physical pain and suffering results.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

13. The American Psychological Association Council of Representatives made the right choice by passing a resolution in 2015 banning psychologists from all future national security interrogations conducted outside the jurisdiction of U.S. courts.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

14. There is a meaningful distinction between “enhanced interrogation” and “torture.”

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

15. It is appropriate for psychologists to provide consultation to individuals or organizations.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

16. It is appropriate for psychologists to treat individuals with severe substance use problems who elect to have therapy in conjunction with drug treatment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

17. It is appropriate for psychologists to treat individuals with eating disorders who seek treatment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

18. It is appropriate for psychologists to treat individuals with depressive symptoms who seek treatment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

19. It is appropriate for psychologists to treat individuals who have experienced trauma and seek treatment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly
Disagree

20. It is appropriate for psychologists to treat individuals who suffer from anxiety
and seek treatment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly
Disagree

21. It is appropriate for psychologists to conduct psychological evaluations with
voluntary clients.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly
Disagree

22. It is appropriate for psychologists to assist organizations in personnel
selection.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly
Disagree

23. It is appropriate for psychologists to provide teaching that includes evaluating
students on performance.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly
Disagree

24. It is appropriate for psychologists to assess whether individuals pose a risk of harm to others in a school or work context.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

25. It is appropriate for psychologists to provide assessment and treatment to individuals who have been involuntarily civilly committed.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

26. It is appropriate for psychologists to provide therapy to voluntary clients.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

27. It is appropriate for psychologists to conduct research that requires deception of study participants where such research may result in any harm to the person(s) involved.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

28. It is appropriate for psychologists to *indirectly* assist with interrogations to ensure national security by providing consultation but *not being present* at

interrogations where such assistance may result in any harm to the person(s) involved.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

29. It is appropriate for psychologists to *directly* assist with interrogations to ensure national security by conducting or advising *while present* at interrogations where such assistance may result in any harm to the person(s) involved.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

30. It is appropriate for psychologists to evaluate criminal defendants when one consequence of such an evaluation may be an enhanced criminal sentence.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

31. It is appropriate for psychologists to evaluate civil litigants when one consequence of such an evaluation may be a less favorable monetary award.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly

Disagree

32. It is appropriate for psychologists to assist organizations in personnel selection where one consequence of such assistance may be loss of employment.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly Disagree

33. It is appropriate for psychologists to assist companies in developing effective advertising campaigns where the products advertised may cause harm to buyers (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol).

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly Disagree

34. It is appropriate for psychologists to conduct evaluations of defendants at the request of the prosecution, when one possible consequence of the evaluation would be a sentence of death.

Strongly Agree Agree Mixed Disagree Strongly Disagree

35. Please check all that apply regarding your familiarity with the Hoffman

Report:

- Not at all familiar
- I have read listserv comments
- I have read the executive summary
- I have read the entire report

I have read the position of various divisions and individuals that have been posted

Other (please specify):

APPENDIX D: Demographic Questionnaire for General Public

1. What is your age?

_____ years

2. What is your gender?

Male

Female

Other (please specify): _____

3. What is your race? (Select all that apply)

American Indian or Alaska Native

Asian American

Black or African American

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

White or Caucasian

4. What is your ethnicity

Hispanic or Latino

Not Hispanic or Latino

5. What is your religious affiliation?

Jewish

Orthodox (such as Greek or Russian Orthodox)

Muslim

Protestant

Mormon

- Roman Catholic
- Christian Scientist
- Atheist
- Other (please specify): _____

6. How would you describe your political views?

- Very conservative, evangelical
- Very conservative, secular
- Conservative
- Moderate
- Liberal
- Very liberal

7. What is your political party affiliation?

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other (please specify): _____

8. Are you or have you ever been a member of the U.S. Military?

- Yes (please specify branch): _____
- No

9. Is any member of your immediate family (parents, siblings, significant other, children) a current or previous member of the U.S. Military?

Yes (please specify family member and branch): _____

No

10. Are you a citizen of the U.S.?

Yes

No

11. Are you fluent in the English language?

Yes

No

12. Education: What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? *If currently enrolled, highest degree received.*

Some high school, no diploma

High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)

Some college credit, no degree

Trade/technical/vocational training

Associate degree

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree

Doctoral degree

13. What is your employment status?

Employed full time

- Employed part time
- Not employed
- Student
- Retired

14. What best describes the type of organization that you work for?

- Non-profit
- Student
- Construction
- Finance and Insurance
- Hospitality
- Legal services
- Publishing
- Government
- Health Care
- Military
- Education
- Unemployed
- Other (please specify): _____

APPENDIX E: Demographic Questionnaire for Psychologists

1. What is your age?
 - a. _____ years

2. What is your gender?
 - Male

 - Female

 - Other (please specify): _____

3. What is your race? (Select all that apply)
 - American Indian or Alaska Native

 - Asian American

 - Black or African American

 - Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

 - White or Caucasian

4. What is your ethnicity?
 - Hispanic or Latino

 - Not Hispanic or Latino

5. What is your religious affiliation?
 - Jewish

 - Orthodox (such as Greek or Russian Orthodox)

 - Muslim

 - Protestant

 - Mormon

- Roman Catholic
- Christian Scientist
- Atheist
- Other (please specify): _____

6. How would you describe your political views?

- Very conservative, evangelical
- Very conservative, secular
- Conservative
- Moderate
- Liberal
- Very liberal

7. What is your political party affiliation?

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other (please specify): _____

8. Are you or have you ever been a member of the U.S. States Military?

- Yes (please specify branch): _____
- No

9. Is any member of your immediate family (parents, siblings, significant other, children) a current or previous member of the U.S. States Military?

Yes (please specify family member and

branch): _____

No

10. Are you a citizen of the U.S. States?

Yes

No

11. Are you fluent in the English language?

Yes

No

12. How would you define yourself professionally? (if multiple apply, please pick option that most primarily defines your professional work)

Clinical psychologist

Cognitive/perceptual psychologist

Community psychologist

Developmental psychologist

Educational psychologist

Engineering psychologist

Environmental psychologist

Evolutionary psychologists

Experimental psychologist

Forensic psychologist

- Health psychologist
- Industrial/organizational psychologists
- Neuropsychologist
- Quantitative and measurement psychologist
- Rehabilitation psychologist
- School psychologist
- Social psychologist
- Sport psychologist

13. In what professional setting do you work as a psychologist?

- University/4-year college
- Medical school
- School/Educational institution
- Independent Practice
- Hospital/other health service
- Government/VA medical center
- Business/non-profit
- Other (please specify): _____

14. Please indicate the APA division(s) of which you are a member.

- Division 1: Society for General Psychology.
- Division 2: Society for the Teaching of Psychology.
- Division 3: Society for Experimental Psychology

- Division 5: Quantitative and Qualitative Methods
- Division 6: Society Behavioral Neuroscience and Comparative Psychology
- Division 7: Developmental Psychology
- Division 8: Society for Personality and Social Psychology
- Division 9: Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI)
- Division 10: Society for the Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity and the Arts
- Division 12: Society of Clinical Psychology.
- Division 13: Society of Consulting Psychology
- Division 14: Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology
- Division 15: Educational Psychology
- Division 16: School Psychology
- Division 17: Society of Counseling Psychology
- Division 18: Psychologists in Public Service
- Division 19: Society for Military Psychology
- Division 20: Adult Development and Aging
- Division 21: Applied Experimental and Engineering Psychology
- Division 22: Rehabilitation Psychology
- Division 23: Society for Consumer Psychology
- Division 24: Society for Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology
- Division 25: Behavior Analysis
- Division 26: Society for the History of Psychology

- Division 27: Society for Community Research and Action: Division of Community Psychology
- Division 28: Psychopharmacology and Substance Abuse
- Division 29: Society for the Advancement of Psychotherapy
- Division 30: Society of Psychological Hypnosis
- Division 31: State, Provincial and Territorial Psychological Association Affairs
- Division 32: Society for Humanistic Psychology
- Division 33: Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities/Autism Spectrum Disorders
- Division 34: Society for Environmental, Population and Conservation Psychology
- Division 35: Society for the Psychology of Women
- Division 36: Society for the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality
- Division 37: Society for Child and Family Policy and Practice
- Division 38: Health Psychology
- Division 39: Psychoanalysis
- Division 40: Society for Clinical Neuropsychology
- Division 41: American Psychology-Law Society
- Division 42: Psychologists in Independent Practice
- Division 43: Society for Couple and Family Psychology

- Division 44: Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Issues
- Division 45: Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity and Race
- Division 46: Society for Media Psychology and Technology
- Division 47: Exercise and Sport Psychology
- Division 48: Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology Division
- Division 49: Society of Group Psychology and Group Psychotherapy
- Division 50: Society of Addiction Psychology
- Division 51: Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity
- Division 52: International Psychology
- Division 53: Society of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology
- Division 54: Society of Pediatric Psychology
- Division 55: American Society for the Advancement of Pharmacotherapy
- Division 56: Trauma Psychology

15. Are you licensed to practice psychology in any state in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No

16. What is your training in psychology?

- PhD in Psychology

- Clinical
- Clinical Child
- Clinical Health
- Clinical Neuropsychology
- Community
- Cognitive
- Counseling
- Developmental
- Experimental
- Organizational/Consulting
- Personality
- School
- Social

- PsyD
- Other (please specify): _____

17. In your professional work, what percentage of your time is devoted to providing assessment and treatment services to voluntary clients for health-related reasons, including psychotherapy? (This DOES INCLUDE activities such as charting, billing, scoring and the like that are necessary aspects of assessment and treatment. This DOES NOT include activities such as research, teaching, non-clinical consulting, forensic assessment, and the like.) _____

