


## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# From Norm Breach to Cascades: Judicial Responses to Suspect Interviewing Across Legal Cultures and the Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect

Lütfiye Kaya Cicerali 

Psychology Department, Istanbul Galata University, Istanbul, Türkiye

**Correspondence:** Lütfiye Kaya Cicerali ([lutfiye.cicerali@galata.edu.tr](mailto:lutfiye.cicerali@galata.edu.tr))**Received:** 30 December 2025 | **Revised:** 20 May 2026 | **Accepted:** 17 June 2026**Keywords:** cross-norm inhibition effect (CNIE) | investigative interviewing | Méndez principles | Reid technique | suspect interviewing**ABSTRACT**

Suspect interviewing practices shape not only investigative outcomes but also the legitimacy of criminal justice systems. This article introduces the Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect (CNIE) as a theoretical framework explaining how tolerance of a single norm violation during interrogation can trigger cascading erosion of related procedural safeguards. Drawing on social-psychological research on norm inhibition and spillover, the article applies CNIE to suspect interviewing across adversarial, inquisitorial, hybrid, and human-rights-based legal systems. Using a conceptual-illustrative methodology, it analyzes recent high-court decisions across legal cultures to examine how judicial responses may contain, amplify, or reverse CNIE cascades, suggesting that CNIE functions as a conditional risk amplifier rather than a deterministic process. Weak safeguards and confession dominance may increase vulnerability to cascading distortions, whereas transparency, redundancy, and consistent judicial oversight may generate reinforcing compliance dynamics. Accordingly, this article contributes to debates on the implementation of the Méndez Principles and related rights-based interviewing reforms.

**1 | Introduction**

Suspect interviewing practices stand at the intersection of criminal justice, social psychology, and human rights. They shape investigative outcomes and also influence the perceived legitimacy of justice systems. As Zimbardo (2007) observed, once investigators begin to justify even minor departures from ethical safeguards, situational pressures may gradually transform these deviations into broader institutional violations. What initially appears to be a practical investigative shortcut may, under certain institutional conditions, contribute to broader erosion of procedural safeguards.

In several jurisdictions interrogation practices historically developed within confession-oriented frameworks. The Reid Technique, introduced in North America in the mid twentieth

century, is frequently cited as one influential example of this orientation. However, the concerns discussed in this article are not limited to the Reid Technique itself but apply more broadly to interrogation practices that rely on accusatorial, coercive, or confession-driven strategies. Such approaches may involve confrontation, psychological pressure, and strategic presentations of evidence. Empirical research has repeatedly linked these tactics to false confessions and wrongful convictions (Moore and Fitzsimmons 2011; Meissner et al. 2012; Brimbal et al. 2024; “Reid Technique,” 2025). Of the 357 DNA based exonerations reported in the United States since 1989, approximately 29% involved false confessions associated with similar interrogation practices (Innocence Project 2020).

Alongside these approaches, alternative interviewing frameworks have gradually emerged that emphasise information

gathering, rapport building, and procedural safeguards intended to preserve voluntariness and reliability. The Méndez Principles represent one prominent articulation of this rights based orientation. Grounded in science, ethics, and international law, they emphasise dignity, transparency, and safeguards designed to protect individuals during investigative questioning (APT 2021; Méndez Principles Steering Committee of Experts 2021). Comparable reforms can also be observed in investigative interviewing models such as PEACE in the United Kingdom and KREATIV in Norway (APT 2021; Barela 2021).

Despite extensive debate over interrogation practices, an important theoretical question remains insufficiently explored. Why does tolerance of a single procedural breach sometimes lead to broader patterns of rights violations. Conversely, why do some institutional environments contain early deviations while others experience escalating distortions that affect evidentiary reliability and public trust. Addressing this puzzle requires attention not only to legal rules but also to the psychological mechanisms through which norms weaken or remain resilient in practice.

This article introduces the Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect, abbreviated as CNIE, as a conceptual framework for understanding these dynamics. CNIE suggests that tolerance of one norm violation may weaken resistance to subsequent breaches and gradually reduce the perceived binding force of related safeguards (Keizer et al. 2008; Lanfear et al. 2020; Kaya Cicerali 2025). Although this mechanism was originally developed in environmental and behavioural psychology, it has not previously been systematically applied to legal psychology or criminal procedure. A comparative perspective highlights how CNIE may operate differently across legal cultures. In adversarial systems such as the United States and England and Wales, confession driven investigative practices may escalate when early procedural deviations are tolerated. In inquisitorial systems including Germany and Türkiye, breaches may remain more localised but can still weaken institutional trust when judicial oversight fails to intervene effectively. By contrast, rights oriented systems such as Norway often embed overlapping safeguards that reinforce procedural fairness and reliability. To explore these dynamics, the article examines selected high court decisions between 2023 and 2025 that address interrogation practices and their evidentiary consequences. These cases are not treated as representative samples but as analytically informative examples that show how judicial responses may contain, attenuate, or amplify CNIE dynamics across institutional contexts.

The article makes three contributions. First, it conceptualises coercion based interrogation practices as potential triggers of CNIE dynamics by suggesting how seemingly minor procedural deviations may gradually undermine voluntariness, due process, and evidentiary reliability. Second, it suggests that interviewing frameworks emphasising transparency, rapport, and procedural safeguards may function as countervailing mechanisms capable of interrupting such escalation. Third, it develops a conceptual model that integrates comparative case illustrations with insights from psychology, criminology, and human rights scholarship. Although the analysis is theoretical, it builds on extensive empirical research concerning false confessions, coercive interrogation tactics, and procedural legitimacy. By linking these

findings to the CNIE framework, the article clarifies how small interactional deviations during questioning may accumulate into wider institutional consequences.

## 1.1 | Methodological Approach

This article adopts a conceptual-illustrative methodology. Its primary aim is to develop and refine the concept of the CNIE as an explanatory mechanism linking interrogation-stage norm violations to downstream distortions in criminal adjudication and institutional legitimacy. Rather than offering a comprehensive empirical survey, the article draws on select recent judicial decisions (2023–2025) from multiple jurisdictions to illustrate how CNIE operates across different procedural systems. Cases were selected on the basis of their doctrinal clarity, institutional salience, and explicit engagement with interrogation norms, particularly where courts addressed the downstream evidentiary or legitimacy consequences of early procedural breaches. Doctrinal clarity refers to judicial decisions that provide clear legal reasoning about interrogation practices and their implications for admissibility, procedural safeguards, or evidentiary reliability. Institutional salience refers to decisions issued by high courts or appellate courts whose rulings carry broader precedential or interpretive influence within their legal systems. Explicit engagement with interrogation norms refers to cases in which courts directly address interrogation practices such as coercion, deception, voluntariness, or respect for denials and discuss their implications for fairness, reliability, or institutional legitimacy.

The examples are not intended to be representative samples but analytical anchors used to test the plausibility and scope of the CNIE framework across adversarial, inquisitorial, hybrid, and human-rights-oriented systems. The contribution of the article is therefore theoretical rather than empirical. It seeks to identify recurring causal pathways and institutional vulnerabilities, not to measure prevalence or frequency. All comparative claims are framed as context-sensitive and conditional, consistent with the article's focus on mechanism-building rather than generalisation.

## 2 | Background: Interrogation Paradigms

### 2.1 | Confession Oriented Interrogation Paradigms

Confession-oriented interrogation paradigms developed across several jurisdictions during the twentieth century and are typically structured around an accusatory model of questioning. The Reid Technique, developed by John E. Reid and Fred E. Inbau in the 1950s, is frequently cited as one prominent example of this broader paradigm (Kozinski 2017). Such approaches often involve confrontation, psychological pressure, and strategic presentations of evidence. A large body of empirical research links accusatorial interrogation methods to elevated risks of false confessions, particularly when compared with information-gathering interviewing models (Catlin et al. 2024; Kassir et al. 2010; Galvano 2023). Vulnerable populations, such as minors or individuals with cognitive impairments, are especially susceptible to suggestion and coercion, increasing their likelihood of false confession (Redlich and Goodman 2003). Furthermore, false evidence ploys (claiming nonexistent evidence) profoundly distort the suspect's perception of the situation, pushing them towards

confession rather than autonomous decision-making (Horgan et al. 2012). Institutional data reinforce these findings: Many DNA exonerations in the U.S. involve false confessions gathered using Reid-style methods, underscoring the technique's systemic reliability concerns (Innocence Project 2020). Critics have argued that interrogation approaches prioritising confession over information gathering may conflict with contemporary human-rights standards and procedural fairness (Kassin et al. 2010; Moore and Fitzsimmons 2011). The purpose of this discussion is not to evaluate specific interrogation protocols but to situate suspect interviewing within broader paradigms of confession-driven and information-gathering approaches.

## 2.2 | The Méndez Principles

The Méndez Principles establish an international, rights-based framework for conducting investigative interviews, intended as an alternative to coercive, confession-driven approaches (Bernath 2021; Méndez 2021). Emphasising rapport-building, transparency, procedural safeguards, and open-ended questioning, they seek to elicit accurate and reliable information in a manner consistent with human rights and international law (May et al. 2025). Although widely endorsed by United Nations agencies and reform-oriented scholars (Vredeveldt et al. 2023; United Nations 2024), the Principles are not without critique. Some commentators note that implementation challenges, particularly in jurisdictions with entrenched confession-oriented practices, limit their immediate effectiveness (Garamvölgyi et al. 2021). Others emphasise that the successful adoption of rights-based interviewing requires sustained training, supervision, and organisational change within police institutions (Bull 2018). Still, the bulk of empirical evidence suggests that rapport-based interviewing is both more reliable and less costly in the long term, given that wrongful convictions and human rights violations are far more expensive to correct (Cohen 2021). Thus, criticisms tend to focus not on the normative framework itself, but on the practical and institutional barriers to its adoption at scale.

## 3 | Theoretical Framework: Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect

The Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect refers to a psychological mechanism through which tolerance of one norm violation weakens adherence to other norms. It may operate as a micro-level mechanism that precedes or contributes to cascade phenomena. The concept builds on research in environmental and behavioural psychology demonstrating that visible proenvironmental or public order norm violations can reduce compliance with other rules. In controlled field experiments, exposure to disorder such as graffiti or litter increased the probability of unrelated norm violations (Keizer et al. 2008). Subsequent replications and metaanalytic work have supported the persistence of cross-norm effects, although effect sizes vary depending on contextual cues (Bergquist et al. 2023). These findings have been interpreted through goal framing theory, which suggests that exposure to norm breaches weakens the salience of normative goal frames and increases the influence of gain and hedonic motivations (Keizer et al. 2011; Lindenberg and Steg 2007; Kaya Cicerali 2025).

This logic can be extended to institutional settings. In interrogation contexts, an early departure from a procedural safeguard such as transparency, voluntariness, or respect for denials may incrementally reduce the perceived necessity of maintaining related protections. Rather than implying that every breach produces systemic collapse, it suggests that tolerance of one deviation may recalibrate the psychological threshold for subsequent decisions, particularly in environments characterised by pressure, time constraints, or strong outcome orientation. Empirical research on accusatorial interviewing and false confessions demonstrates how early confrontational tactics can alter suspect behaviour and evidentiary trajectories (Kassin et al. 2010; Meissner et al. 2015), which is consistent with the type of inhibition dynamics proposed here.

The application of CNIE to interrogation practices is theoretical. Although substantial empirical evidence exists on coercive tactics, false confessions, and procedural legitimacy, direct experimental validation of CNIE within suspect interviewing remains to be conducted. The present analysis therefore develops CNIE as a mechanism-based extrapolation that integrates established findings across psychology and law. Its purpose is to clarify potential pathways rather than to assert deterministic causal chains. By situating interrogation practices within a theory of norm inhibition, this framework invites closer examination of how incremental procedural decisions accumulate and how institutional design can either buffer or intensify their effects. It provides a structured vocabulary for understanding why certain systems absorb early irregularities while others experience widening distortions that affect evidentiary reliability and institutional legitimacy.

An investigator who initially employs a seemingly minor tactic, such as exaggerating the strength of evidence, may subsequently become more willing to interrupt denials or increase psychological pressure as the interview progresses. This exemplifies behavioural spillover, which suggests that early actions can shape subsequent decision patterns, making additional similar tactics appear more acceptable. Within the CNIE framework, such an initial deviation may also weaken adherence to other safeguards, including respect for voluntariness, dignity, or the right to silence. If these practices are repeatedly tolerated within investigative institutions or judicial reasoning, they may also contribute to broader cascade dynamics in which coercive or confession-oriented approaches become normalised within organisational practice. In this way, seemingly small interactional departures during interrogation may accumulate into wider institutional patterns that influence investigative conduct and perceptions of procedural legitimacy.

### 3.1 | Defining CNIE in the Context of Suspect Interviewing

In the context of interrogation, coercive strategies rarely occur in isolation; instead, they act as gateway breaches that gradually erode the salience of voluntariness, dignity, and fairness (King and Snook 2009). What begins as a minor deviation from accepted norms often normalises further infractions, setting into motion a cascade of rights violations (Costanzo and Krauss 2021). For instance, deception is a common early-stage tactic in confession-oriented methods such as the Reid Technique.

Investigators may present fabricated evidence or exaggerate the strength of their case. While seemingly small, this departure from truth-telling undermines trust and opens the door to additional manipulations. Similarly, minimisation strategies, in which the seriousness of the offence is downplayed, blur the line between reassurance and coercion, subtly pressuring suspects to confess by reframing their actions as excusable (Leo 2020). Once these strategies are normalised, further breaches may become easier to justify.

At this point, more intrusive tactics often emerge (Tekin et al. 2015). One of them is the use of exculpatory scenarios, where investigators offer sympathetic narratives ('you lost control, but you are not a bad person') that effectively script the confession for the suspect. Another is the certainty-of-guilt framing, which communicates that the investigator has already decided the suspect's culpability, delegitimising denials and shifting the process away from truth-seeking towards compliance (Hartwig et al. 2006). The good cop-bad cop routine similarly manipulates psychological stress and relief, creating artificial interpersonal dynamics that erode the suspect's dignity and sense of agency. Suppressing denials, by instructing suspects that protestations are futile, further undermines the principle of voluntariness and effectively negates the right to silence. As the normative threshold lowers, escalation into more coercive domains becomes increasingly likely (Pozzulo et al. 2018). Promises of leniency, such as suggesting that a confession will secure a lighter sentence, contaminate voluntariness by turning admission of guilt into a bargaining tool rather than a reliable statement of fact. Conversely, threats of harsher reprisals, whether extended detention, harsher charges, or isolation, leverage fear rather than evidence to elicit compliance. At the extreme end of this continuum lies torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, practices universally prohibited under international law but still documented in some jurisdictions. Torture represents the collapse of all protective safeguards, the final stage of a CNIE cascade triggered by earlier breaches that gradually weakened the resistance to more severe violations.

The Reid Technique provides a clear illustration of how these stages may be structurally connected rather than incidental. What begins with deception and psychological pressure may, under certain conditions, develop into a broader pattern in which voluntariness, fairness, and dignity are progressively weakened. Experimental and field research on accusatorial interviewing demonstrates increased risks of false admissions and psychological contamination (Kassin et al. 2010; Meissner et al. 2015), suggesting that initial deviations from voluntariness may increase the probability of broader procedural distortions. In this sense, CNIE helps explain how micro-level deviations in interactional norms may escalate into broader rights violations, potentially affecting not only the fairness of individual proceedings but also the perceived legitimacy of the justice system.

### 3.2 | Linking CNIE to Norm Cascade Theory, Psychological Spillovers, and Institutional Trust

To situate CNIE within the broader literature, this section connects the concept to three related lines of research: Norm cascade theory, behavioural spillover, and institutional trust. Each highlights a distinct mechanism through which CNIE dynamics

emerge and multiply, clarifying why interrogation practices hold such significant systemic consequences. First, norm cascade theory, originating in constructivist international relations, provides a macro-level account of how norms gain or lose legitimacy across social systems. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) describe how norms evolve through stages of emergence, cascade, and internalisation, with each stage shaping collective expectations about appropriate behaviour. In the interrogation context, accusatorial, confession-oriented approaches might illustrate a *negative cascade*. When deception or denial-suppression is tolerated in everyday police practice, such deviations from voluntariness gradually become normalised at the institutional level. Over time, this erosion of one safeguard such as honesty or dignity spills into broader acceptance of rights violations within the justice system. In CNIE terms, the breach of a single suspect interviewing norm acts as a trigger that weakens the salience of related procedural protections, allowing systemic deviations to spread.

Second, behavioural spillover research has developed across social psychology, behavioural economics, and environmental psychology and provides a useful micro-level perspective for understanding CNIE dynamics. Spillover refers to the phenomenon whereby engaging in, or being exposed to, one behaviour increases or decreases the likelihood of subsequent behaviours, sometimes across seemingly unrelated domains. Importantly, spillover effects can be either positive or negative. Truelove et al. (2014) show that norm compliance in one domain often strengthens compliance in others, whereas norm violation can inhibit subsequent adherence. Maki et al. (2019), in a meta-analysis, further demonstrate that spillover effects are robust across behavioural contexts. Keizer et al.'s (2008) Science field experiment provides striking evidence of cross-norm inhibition through negative spillover, showing that visible violations of public order (e.g., graffiti or littering) increase the likelihood of disregarding unrelated rules such as prohibition signs. Goal-framing theory provides one explanation for this pattern. When the normative goal of acting lawfully or fairly becomes less salient, attention can shift towards hedonic or gain-oriented motivations, making additional violations more likely (Lindenberg and Steg 2007). Applied to interrogation, this suggests that once investigators justify a seemingly small breach such as using deception they may become more willing to disregard additional protections, such as respecting dignity, avoiding coercion, or honouring the right to silence, often rationalised in terms of saving time, gaining dominance, or pursuing investigative success. CNIE thus integrates these psychological insights, showing how micro-level breaches escalate into systemic failures.

Finally, institutional trust research highlights the societal consequences of CNIE. Tyler (2006) and Sunshine and Tyler (2003) demonstrate that public perceptions of fairness in legal procedures are central to sustaining legitimacy. When individuals perceive the justice system as procedurally just, they are more likely to comply voluntarily with the law, even in adverse outcomes. Conversely, when practices such as coercive interrogations normalise rights violations, the damage extends beyond individual cases: It undermines collective trust in the justice system as a whole. Each coerced confession or excluded statement therefore contributes to a broader legitimacy crisis.

Marien and Hooghe (2011) demonstrated that diminished trust in institutions such as the judiciary, legal system, and political actors reduces willingness to comply with the law and weakens democratic engagement. More recently, Estadieu et al. (2025) argued that institutional trust itself is fragile and difficult to measure consistently, particularly during crises, yet declines in trust reliably correlate with disengagement from democratic norms. In CNIE terms, the violation of fairness norms in the interrogation room cascades outward, eroding compliance, cooperation, and belief in the rule of law.

Taken together, these three lines of literature demonstrate that CNIE is not merely a metaphor but a theoretically grounded, empirically supported mechanism. Norm cascade theory explains how violations spread across institutional settings, behavioural spillover research clarifies the psychological processes that connect discrete actions, and institutional trust studies illuminate the long-term societal consequences. Applied to interrogation, CNIE might provide a powerful explanatory framework for why coercive practices do not remain isolated but instead destabilise both evidentiary reliability and systemic legitimacy.

### 3.3 | Moral Licencing Risks in Investigative Interviewing

A further psychological process relevant to CNIE dynamics is moral licencing. Moral licencing occurs when individuals perceive an initial prosocial act as granting them ‘moral credits’, thereby justifying subsequent behaviours that may contradict the original norm (Merritt et al. 2010). For example, people who engage in one act of fairness or generosity often feel ‘off the hook’ to act less ethically in later situations. This mechanism is highly relevant to suspect interviewing. Many coercive interrogation methods begin with a friendly or rapport-based phase, in which the interviewer seeks to establish trust before gradually shifting towards confrontation (Inbau et al. 2013). If rapport building is treated as a *preliminary tactic* rather than a sustained commitment, interviewers may feel licenced to abandon respectful engagement once resistance emerges. In practice, this means that early gestures of dignity (‘I started out friendly’) can rationalise later coercive tactics (‘so now I can be tougher’). Such dynamics represent a classic CNIE pattern: the apparent compliance with one safeguard becomes the very rationale for violating others. By contrast, rights-based interviewing models such as the Méndez Principles, and their operational counterparts like PEACE and KREATIV, explicitly embed rapport as a continuous, non-negotiable practice (Walsh and Bull 2011; Alison et al. 2014). This prevents rapport from being reduced to a box-checking gesture that enables moral licencing. Instead, rapport functions as a normative anchor, generating *positive spillover* into fairness, voluntariness, and procedural legitimacy. Thus, the same psychological mechanism—rapport—can either enable norm erosion or reinforce norm compliance, depending on whether it is embedded as principle or strategy.

A real-world illustration of moral licencing in interrogation practices can be observed in the Guantánamo Bay cases described by Mayer (2005). FBI agents initially relied on rapport-based and humane interviewing methods. They treated detainees respectfully, attended to medical needs, and engaged them through

conversation. These approaches produced actionable intelligence relatively quickly. However, when rapport appeared to stall, military contractors and CIA operatives subsequently introduced coercive techniques derived from SERE training, which stands for Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape. These practices included prolonged stress positions, sleep deprivation, and forms of psychological manipulation. The shift was justified on the grounds that the initial respectful treatment had already satisfied ethical obligations. In this way, earlier humane conduct was interpreted as providing moral permission to escalate interrogation tactics.

The consequences were paradoxical. Coercive practices did not improve intelligence gathering and instead undermined detainee cooperation. Eventually rapport-based interviewing methods were reinstated, after which intelligence collection again improved. This sequence illustrates how moral licencing can operate as a CNIE mechanism. Initial adherence to norms of dignity and respect generated what might be understood as moral credits. These credits were then used to rationalise later violations of voluntariness and humane treatment. As a result, one deviation from normative safeguards encouraged further departures from established standards. From a CNIE perspective, the Guantánamo case shows how partial compliance with ethical norms, when interpreted as sufficient, may inadvertently accelerate broader patterns of institutional norm erosion rather than prevent them.

### 3.4 | The Reversal Effect in Interrogation Practices

Another psychological mechanism that amplifies CNIE dynamics is the reversal effect of prohibition signs. Keizer et al. (2011) showed that rules or prohibitions intended to strengthen compliance can paradoxically increase norm violations. When individuals encounter a prohibition (e.g., ‘Do not litter’), it can signal that the prohibited behaviour is common, thereby weakening the perceived force of the norm. Instead of reinforcing compliance, the prohibition backfires by making violation appear normal or permissible.

In the context of suspect interrogation, similar reversal dynamics may arise when legal safeguards are not credibly upheld. For example, when suspects are informed of their Miranda rights but quickly encounter aggressive questioning or suppression of denials, the warning may paradoxically signal that protections are fragile rather than meaningful. Research on procedural justice suggests that perceived inconsistency between formal rules and actual practice can weaken legitimacy and compliance with authority (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Tyler 2006; Trinkner et al. 2016). Institutional prohibitions on coercion may likewise backfire if investigators or suspects interpret them as evidence that such practices are common but formally discouraged. Although the reversal effect has been demonstrated primarily in environmental norm contexts, its logic provides a plausible analogy for understanding how weakened safeguards may contribute to cross-norm inhibition in interrogation settings.

This dynamic illustrates how CNIE may operate in interrogation settings. Rights warnings or formal prohibitions, when

undermined in practice, may contribute to cascades of norm erosion. A suspect who perceives that their silence will not be respected may also infer that dignity, voluntariness, and fairness will not be respected, eroding trust in the entire legal process. Similarly, officers who routinely observe prohibitions being ignored may come to treat all safeguards as negotiable. Thus, the reversal effect offers a micro-level mechanism suggesting how interrogation practices may contribute to cross-norm inhibition, since rules that lack credible enforcement may weaken rather than stabilise normative expectations.

### 3.5 | CNIE as a Function of Suspect Agency, Case Severity, and Cultural Context

The dynamics of CNIE in suspect interviewing are unlikely to be uniform and may be moderated by both the characteristics of the suspect and the severity of the alleged crime. In this article, suspect agency refers to the extent to which suspects actively manage impressions, resist questioning, or strategically influence the interaction. This conceptualisation draws on Bandura's (2001) theory of human agency, which emphasises individuals' capacity to act intentionally and regulate their behaviour within social interactions. Within suspect interviewing, this concept captures the extent to which individuals retain meaningful control over their decisions to speak, remain silent, or resist pressure during questioning. Research demonstrates that some suspects adopt deliberate impression-management strategies such as silence, one-word responses, partial admissions, selective omissions, or counteraccusations in order to influence investigators' perceptions (Hartwig et al. 2006; Vrij et al. 2010). When investigators interpret such behaviour as intentional deception, they may rationalise the escalation of interrogation tactics as justified responses. These rationalisations can lower inhibitions against coercion and may accelerate cascades of norm erosion in which pressure during interviews expands into broader violations of voluntariness, fairness, and dignity.

Case severity exerts powerful psychological and institutional pressure on investigators. Grisly or emotionally charged crimes, such as homicides, sexual assaults, or terrorist attacks, heighten public and political demands for swift results, often invoking 'ends-justify-the-means' reasoning that can erode procedural safeguards (Gudjonsson 2003, 2018). In such contexts, the Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect (CNIE) intensifies: Once one coercive tactic is tolerated, further breaches (e.g., threats, intimidation, or deception) become progressively easier to rationalise. This pattern is culturally variable. In authority-oriented or collectivist contexts, harsh tactics are often viewed as legitimate when applied to serious crimes, reflecting a social acceptance of coercion in the name of security (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012; Leo 2008). For example, empirical studies in Türkiye show that a significant portion of the public tolerates police coercion as an acceptable trade-off for maintaining order and combating terrorism (Karakus 2017). A randomised trial in Turkey further found that the introduction of body-worn cameras reduced public complaints and increased perceptions of police legitimacy, suggesting that transparency can mitigate coercion-related trust erosion (Demir et al. 2018).

By contrast, Nordic countries such as Norway and Finland demonstrate much higher baseline trust in law enforcement,

supported by strong oversight and a deeply internalised culture of transparency. Kääriäinen (2007, 2008) already documented exceptional levels of police trust and procedural fairness in the Nordic region, findings that remain consistent in recent OECD and Eurofound surveys showing over 75% of Norwegians and Finns expressing confidence in their police and judicial institutions (OECD 2024; Eurofound 2022). In such environments, individual breaches rarely cascade into systemic crises because institutional safeguards and civic expectations operate as buffers. Importantly, rights-based interviewing frameworks demonstrate that manipulative suspects and grisly crimes can be addressed without coercion. Evidence from the PEACE model in England and Wales, and the KREATIV model in Norway indicates that structured rapport-building, strategic evidence disclosure, and open-ended questioning can effectively expose inconsistencies without violating rights (Walsh and Bull 2015; Chin et al. 2022). Empirical studies also show that information-gathering approaches increase true confessions and reduce false confessions, even in high-stakes or serious cases (Meissner et al. 2015; Catlin et al. 2024). Safeguards such as videotaping, access to counsel, and judicial oversight serve as buffers against pressures to secure rapid outcomes, producing 'positive cascades' in which fairness, accuracy, and legitimacy reinforce one another (Vredeveldt et al. 2023). The cross-cultural lesson is clear: While CNIE risks are magnified when suspects are manipulative or crimes are grave, properly embedded safeguards can invert the cascade, creating systemic reinforcement of rights rather than their erosion. Table 1 synthesises the relationships between legal systems, dominant interviewing paradigms, and associated CNIE risk profiles discussed above.

## 4 | Cross-Cultural Variations in the Operation of CNIE

The Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect (CNIE) is a universal psychological process, but its consequences vary depending on the justice system in which interrogation takes place. Three legal traditions (i.e., adversarial, inquisitorial, and human-rights-based) illustrate how a single rights violation during an interview can cascade differently across cultural and institutional contexts. In adversarial systems such as the United States, England and Wales, Canada, and Australia, the courtroom is structured as a contest between prosecution and defence, and confession evidence carries extraordinary weight. This makes such systems highly vulnerable to CNIE cascades: Once the voluntariness of a confession is compromised, the fairness of the trial process is systematically placed at risk. For example, in the U.S. case *Sanders* (2023), a confession was excluded after police ignored repeated denials, with the court acknowledging that the violation had tainted the reliability of the entire proceeding. Similarly, in *Dirie & Omar* (England 2023), the contamination of one suspect interview spread to co-defendants, illustrating how quickly a single breach can destabilise adversarial proceedings.

Inquisitorial systems, found in Germany, Austria, Türkiye, Mexico, and Sweden, operate under a judge-led model in which courts actively investigate and evaluate evidence. Formal written safeguards against coercion and deception are designed to buffer against violations. Yet when breaches do occur, they often damage trust not at the police level but at the judicial level. For instance, the Turkish Constitutional Court in *AYM*

**TABLE 1** | Comparative systems, interviewing paradigms, and CNIE risk profiles.

Analytical level	Model type	Core safeguards/Operating logic	Typical CNIE vulnerability (mechanism-focused)
Procedural system	Adversarial (U.S.; England & Wales)	Formal rights warnings (Miranda/PACE), right to counsel, exclusionary rule, audiovisual recording; adversarial testing at trial	Early confession overweighting; psychological pressure routinised within formal compliance boundaries; error amplification through trial-stage evidentiary cascades
Procedural system	Inquisitorial (Germany, Austria, France)	Judicial supervision of investigation, formal cautions ( <i>Belehrung</i> ), dossier-based case construction, post-hoc judicial remedies	Early hypothesis lock-in and norm inhibition embedded in dossiers; delayed correction due to reliance on cumulative written records
Procedural system	Nordic hybrid (Sweden, Norway)	<i>Objektivitetsprincipen</i> (duty of objectivity), prosecutorial obligation to seek exculpatory evidence, holistic <i>bevisvärdering</i> , systematic recording, strong appellate guidance	Subtle confession dominance via cognitive bias (anchoring, coherence effects) rather than overt rights violations
Interviewing paradigm	Accusatorial interviewing	Confrontation, strategic pressure, deception, guilt-presumptive questioning; minimal intrinsic safeguards beyond external legal limits	High CNIE risk through false or contaminated confessions, evidentiary anchoring, and downstream confirmation bias
Interviewing paradigm	Rapport-based/Ethical interviewing (PEACE, KREATIV, Méndez principles)	Voluntariness, transparency, information-gathering goals, limited custody, cumulative procedural and cognitive safeguards	Residual CNIE risk via implementation variance: Institutional resistance, uneven training uptake, chronic under-utilisation rather than acute error cascades

2024/188 (2025) ruled that a confession taken without legal counsel violated both voluntariness and due process, mandating exclusion. While this remedy corrected the individual case, it also raised public concern about whether courts consistently enforce procedural rights. In Germany, recent Federal Court of Justice decisions (Bundesgerichtshof 2025) have similarly highlighted the fragility of safeguards when confessions are mishandled. In these systems, CNIE cascades operate less through wrongful convictions than through legitimacy crises in judicial oversight.

Human-rights-based models, as seen in Norway's KREATIV approach, the PEACE model in England and Wales, and reforms in Latin America guided by the Méndez Principles, represent a third pathway. These models treat rapport and voluntariness not as tactics but as guiding principles, allowing CNIE to operate in reverse: Respect for one safeguard strengthens others, creating reinforcing compliance dynamics. Norway provides a particularly strong example. Since the adoption of KREATIV, evaluations have shown that suspects are more willing to provide information and that courts treat interview records as more reliable. In Mexico, the Supreme Court (SCJN 2029150/51 2024) categorically excluded confessions obtained under torture, reinforcing a rights-based shift and demonstrating how compliance cascades can strengthen institutional legitimacy. Crucially, CNIE is content-neutral, meaning it amplifies whatever normative direction dominates the system, whether coercive or rights-protective. In this sense,

CNIE is bidirectional. When one harmful norm is inhibited, related coercive practices are also suppressed, producing reinforcing cascades of compliance.

In sum, CNIE operates universally, but its trajectory is conditioned by culture. In adversarial systems, small violations spread quickly through confession-centred trials; in inquisitorial systems, breaches undermine judicial credibility; and in human-rights based systems, respect for one norm reinforces others. These differences show that CNIE is not only a psychological process but also a culturally embedded dynamic shaped by national justice traditions. However, it should also be noted that rights-based investigative interviewing approaches are not confined to inquisitorial systems. Rapport-based models such as PEACE and practices consistent with the Méndez Principles have also been adopted in several accusatorial jurisdictions, including Canada and Australia.

#### 4.1 | When CNIE Is Contained: Institutional Firewalls and Cultural Buffers

Although the CNIE typically describes how one norm violation cascades into others, this dynamic is not universal or inevitable. In certain legal and cultural contexts, violations may be contained rather than propagated. Three mechanisms help explain why CNIE may be limited: (1) institutional firewalls, (2) cultural compartmentalisation, and (3) overlapping safeguards.

Institutional firewalls are a hallmark of many inquisitorial and hybrid systems. Courts in Germany, Austria, and Sweden play an active role in supervising investigations and excluding tainted confessions, thereby isolating early violations from later adjudicative stages. A landmark illustration is the European Court of Human Rights' decision in *Gäfgen v. Germany* (2010). In that case, police threatened the suspect during interrogation, violating Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Nevertheless, the Court held that the overall trial remained fair because the coerced confession was excluded and the conviction rested on independent, admissible evidence. The judgement demonstrates that a single violation can be judicially contained—rather than allowed to cascade—when evidentiary exclusion and judicial oversight function as effective institutional firewalls (European Court of Human Rights [EctHR], 2010).

CNIE may also be limited through cultural compartmentalisation, whereby public trust in different justice institutions is not uniformly affected by misconduct at one level. In Türkiye, for example, survey research indicates that over two-thirds of the population report confidence in the police—levels comparable to those in democratic societies—even amid concerns about misconduct (Cao and Burton 2006). In Mexico, by contrast, trust in police institutions is markedly lower, with only 18% expressing high confidence in local police (Mexico Peace Index 2017). Yet research on public expectations suggests that citizens may prioritise explanation, apology, or accountability over purely punitive outcomes when misconduct occurs, implying more nuanced and compartmentalised expectations of institutional responsibility (Perea 2016). These patterns suggest that misconduct at the interrogation stage does not necessarily trigger a system-wide legitimacy crisis when courts are perceived as credible corrective actors.

A stronger form of containment occurs not through institutional differentiation but through normative acceptance of authority itself. In many collectivist, high power-distance societies, the police are viewed as guardians of order whose authority remains largely unquestioned, even in the presence of misconduct. In such contexts, norm violations such as coercive interrogations or even ill-treatment may be interpreted as regrettable but justified exercises of authority, rather than as legitimacy-destroying breaches. In Tankebe (2009) demonstrates that public confidence in police can persist when citizens believe officers act in the interest of community security, despite concerns about conduct. Similarly, research in Pakistan shows that perceptions of police effectiveness can sustain legitimacy even where misconduct is acknowledged or tolerated (Jackson et al. 2012). These findings indicate that in some societies, norm breaches by police do not readily cascade into broader institutional mistrust because citizens balance concerns about legality against values such as order, security, or effectiveness.

A third buffer against CNIE is norm redundancy, whereby overlapping safeguards prevent the erosion of one protection from undermining others. In systems that embed multiple, mutually reinforcing guarantees—such as the right to silence, access to counsel, mandatory recording of interviews, and judicial review—the breach of a single safeguard need not destabilise the entire framework. Evidence from Norway's KREATIV model

illustrates this resilience. Investigators are trained to communicate rights clearly, ensure comprehension (including for non-native speakers), and conduct audio- or video-recorded interviews with access to legal counsel. These overlapping measures form a procedural 'safety net' in which isolated lapses can be absorbed without systemic failure (Urbanik and Pavlenko 2021; Svennevig et al. 2023). This logic is echoed in the United Nations Manual on Investigative Interviewing, which emphasises that safeguards are cumulative and mutually reinforcing: freedom from coercion, transparency, access to counsel, and prompt judicial oversight operate together to sustain dignity, voluntariness, and fairness (United Nations 2024). In jurisdictions adopting the Méndez Principles, this redundancy is made explicit—strengthening one safeguard reinforces others, thereby arresting norm cascades before they spread.

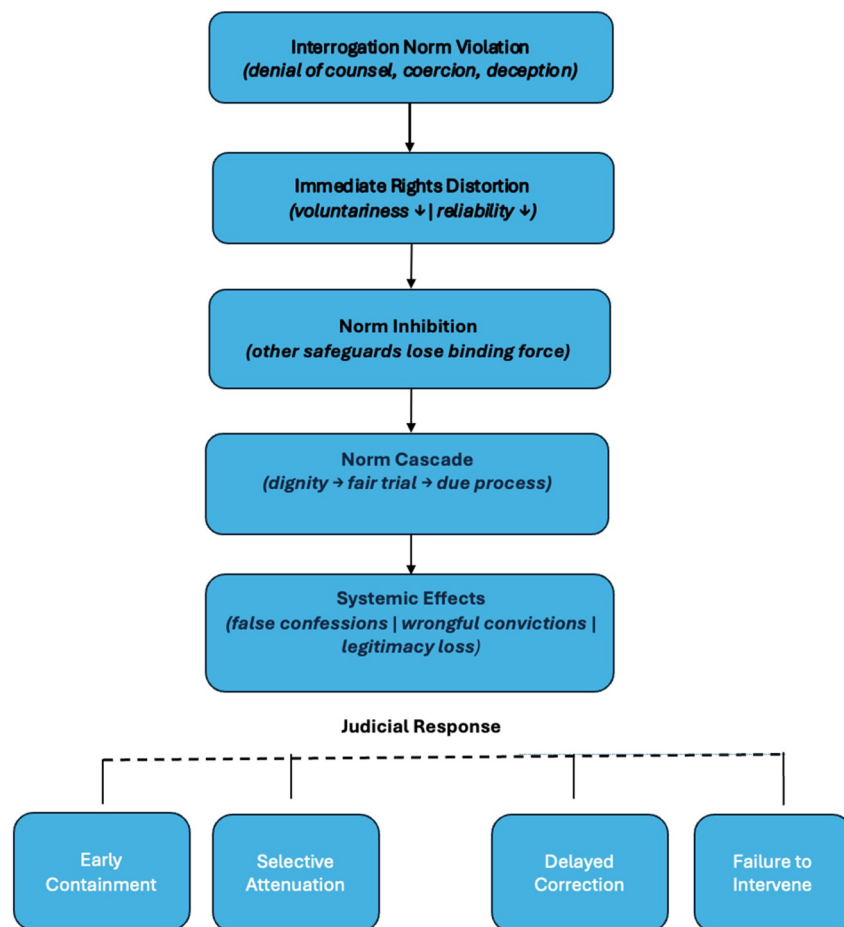
Finally, insights from outside the legal field suggest that the strength of norm-erosion dynamics is culturally contingent. Research on moral licencing effects shows that the tendency for one norm-consistent action to justify subsequent norm violations varies significantly across cultural contexts. Simbrunner and Schlegelmilch (2017) demonstrate that cultural values moderate moral licencing tendencies, suggesting that CNIE—conceptually analogous in its sequential logic—is likewise sensitive to cultural configuration. Taken together, these examples show that CNIE is not deterministic. It is a psychological and institutional tendency whose strength depends on the presence of judicial firewalls, cultural buffers, and overlapping safeguards. Importantly, containment may occur at different levels (i.e., legal, sociological, or psychological) and containment at one level does not necessarily imply containment at others. Nor are these buffers fail-safe: When violations become repetitive, visible, or symbolically salient, even robust firewalls and cultural defences may erode. Nonetheless, this analysis demonstrates that CNIE's spread is contingent rather than automatic, and that human-rights-based, redundancy-rich systems are structurally better equipped to absorb norm violations without systemic collapse.

Figure 1 illustrates the Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect as a staged cascade, tracing how interrogation-stage norm violations can propagate through evidentiary reasoning and institutional responses, depending on the nature and timing of judicial intervention.

The figure illustrates how an initial violation of interrogation norms can inhibit related safeguards, triggering a cascading erosion of procedural fairness and institutional legitimacy. The final stage highlights that judicial responses are variable—ranging from early containment to delayed correction or non-intervention—thereby functioning either as firewalls or accelerators of CNIE dynamics.

## 4.2 | Judicial Inconsistencies as Accelerators of CNIE

The risks of the CNIE are not confined to police practice; they also manifest in judicial reasoning. A striking illustration emerges from two landmark European Court of Human Rights (EctHR) judgements decided within 4 years of each other: *Jalloh v. Germany* (2006) and *Gäfgen v. Germany* (2010). In



**FIGURE 1** | The Cross-Norm Inhibition Effect cascade in suspect interviewing.

*Jalloh v. Germany* (Application No. 54810/00, European Court of Human Rights, 2006), the applicant was forcibly administered emetics to retrieve a swallowed packet of drugs. The Court found violations of both Article 3 (prohibition of inhuman and degrading treatment) and Article 6 (right to a fair trial). Crucially, the Court adopted a stringent exclusionary approach, holding that where evidence is obtained through serious ill-treatment that directly shapes the prosecution's case, its use irreparably undermines trial fairness. The judgement thus reinforced the principle that violations of core norms at the investigative stage can taint the integrity of the entire proceeding. By contrast, in *Gäfgen v. Germany* (Application No. 22978/05, European Court of Human Rights [Grand Chamber], 2010), the Court likewise found a violation of Article 3 after police threatened the applicant with torture to obtain information about a kidnapped child's whereabouts. However, the Court concluded that Article 6 had not been violated, reasoning that the conviction rested not on the coerced statement itself but on subsequent evidence and a later confession deemed voluntary. In doing so, the Court emphasised a causal distinction between directly tainted evidence and derivative material obtained after coercion had ceased.

From a CNIE perspective, the tension between *Jalloh* and *Gäfgen* illustrates the risks inherent in selective attenuation at the judicial level. Whereas *Jalloh* underscored the systemic consequences of early norm violations, *Gäfgen* introduced a fissure by

permitting derivative evidence once the Court deemed the causal link sufficiently attenuated. While formally consistent with evidentiary doctrine, this distinction carries normative consequences: exceptions crafted for extreme cases risk weakening the practical force of absolute prohibitions by normalising tolerance for rights-infringing conduct at earlier stages. The dissenting judges in *Gäfgen* warned of precisely this danger, cautioning that allowing derivative use of evidence following inhuman treatment threatens the coherence and credibility of Article 3's absolute character. Read together, these cases highlight a core CNIE insight: norms are only as strong as their enforcement. The authority of absolute prohibitions depends not merely on formal articulation but on consistent judicial application. When courts themselves introduce exceptions—even for compelling humanitarian reasons—they risk initiating broader patterns of normative erosion across institutions.

While *Jalloh* and *Gäfgen* illustrate how judicial attenuation at the supranational level can accelerate CNIE dynamics, similar risks emerge within domestic appellate practice, where courts confront the downstream consequences of interrogation and disclosure norms. In *R v Dirie and Omar* [2023] EWCA Crim 341 (Court of Appeal (Criminal Division), England and Wales), the court examined challenges relating to the handling, documentation, and disclosure of police interview material, assessed primarily under Sections 76–78 of the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984* and the *Criminal Justice Act 2003*. Although the Court of

Appeal concluded that no coercion rendered the interviews inadmissible, it acknowledged imperfections in disclosure timing and record management that gave rise to fairness concerns. While the convictions were upheld, the judgement emphasised the judiciary's responsibility to scrutinise the reliability and procedural integrity of confession-related material, particularly where such material may shape co-accused narratives. From a CNIE perspective, the case illustrates a process-driven cascade risk: weaknesses in administrative and communicative norms surrounding police interviews—rather than overt coercion—can threaten confidence in the probative coherence of the prosecution case. In adversarial systems, where perceived fairness underpins institutional legitimacy, even limited procedural lapses at the interview or disclosure stage may carry broader systemic implications.

Where disclosure failures threaten fairness indirectly, more acute CNIE cascades arise when interrogation-stage safeguards governing voluntariness are themselves weakened. In *R v Campbell* [2024] EWCA Crim 1036, the appellant was convicted of robbery and assault occasioning grievous bodily harm following the admission of a custodial confession obtained in contested circumstances. On appeal, the Court of Appeal quashed the conviction, concluding that the confession was unreliable and should not have been treated as decisive evidence. The judgement emphasised the structural safeguards embedded in the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984*, particularly Code C, governing access to legal advice, the conduct and recording of interviews, and the assessment of voluntariness. The Court held that the requirements of Section 76(2)(b) concerning improperly obtained confessions had not been adequately respected and that the resulting conviction was therefore unsafe. From a CNIE perspective, the case illustrates how a procedural failure at the interrogation stage can distort the evidentiary balance of the entire trial, producing confession dominance until appellate recalibration restores proportionality.

In some systems, judicial engagement with interrogation-stage norm inhibition occurs only after prolonged institutional failure, allowing CNIE dynamics to expand beyond evidentiary distortion into systemic legitimacy loss. This dynamic is illustrated by the Wallace case in Mexico. In *González Lomeli* (Wallace case), suspects were arrested amid intense media exposure, subjected to prolonged *arraigo* detention, and confronted with confessions later alleged to have been obtained through torture and coercion. When the *Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación* revisited the case in June 2025, it held the confession and derivative evidence unconstitutional and ordered the immediate and unconditional release of Juana Hilda González Lomeli. From a CNIE perspective, the judgement illustrates both the destructive and restorative dimensions of norm cascades: early norm inhibition metastasised into systemic legitimacy loss, while belated judicial correction could not fully undo the social and epistemic distortions already produced.

By contrast, other jurisdictions seek to arrest CNIE dynamics before they crystallise into systemic failure through appellate recalibration of evidentiary reasoning. In Sweden, the *Högsta*

*domstolen's* reasoning in *NJA 2024 s. 386* illustrates how cascade dynamics may arise not from overt rights violations but from subtler forms of norm inhibition within evidentiary reasoning itself. The Court emphasised that partial admissions must never become the evidentiary centre of gravity and require corroboration and contextual assessment consistent with the *objektivitetsprincipen* and Article 6 of the *European Convention on Human Rights*. In CNIE terms, the judgement represents a corrective cascade: an appellate intervention designed to restore procedural equilibrium before judicial reasoning itself becomes an accelerator of norm erosion.

A similar preventive–corrective logic appears in Austrian jurisprudence, articulated through interrogation warning duties and post-conviction remedies. In *Oberster Gerichtshof 15 Os 1/24x* (2024), the Court clarified that incomplete *Rechtsbelehrung* under Section 50 of the *Strafprozessordnung* may undermine voluntariness assessments. In *Oberster Gerichtshof 13 Os 105/24a* (2025), it reaffirmed that serious interrogation-stage violations may justify reopening proceedings under Sections 363a ff of the *Strafprozessordnung*, illustrating a backward-acting corrective cascade.

Comparable CNIE trajectories arise in adversarial systems beyond Europe. In *Undalghumen v. The State of Western Australia*, the exclusion of a custodial interview obtained despite the suspect's refusal to participate compelled abandonment of a murder charge and recalibration of prosecutorial strategy. From a CNIE perspective, an initial interrogation-stage norm inhibition produced an immediate evidentiary rupture that cascaded into charge reduction and legitimacy concerns.

At the outer edge of CNIE dynamics lie cases in which early interrogation violations are neither contained nor promptly corrected but instead become structurally embedded within the justice system. In *Hakamada v. State of Japan*, prolonged coercive interrogation without effective safeguards produced a confession that sustained a wrongful conviction and nearly 5 decades on death row. The eventual acquittal in 2024 represents a belated systemic reckoning, illustrating how unchecked micro-level abuses can metastasise into macro-level institutional legitimacy crises. Table 2 synthesises how interrogation-stage norm violations generate cascading evidentiary and legitimacy effects across jurisdictions.

## 5 | Conclusion

This article has argued that the CNIE provides a powerful theoretical lens for understanding the broader consequences of interrogation paradigms. Accusatorial and deception-based interrogation models, long influential in North America, exemplify how the inhibition of one norm, such as honesty, can cascade into violations of voluntariness, fairness, and ultimately human rights. Such normative erosion not only increases the risk of false confessions but also undermines systemic trust in the justice process. By contrast, the Méndez Principles embody a rights-based approach that strengthens, rather than weakens, the normative fabric of suspect interviewing. By foregrounding dignity, voluntariness, and transparency, these principles foster

**TABLE 2** | CNIE matrix—interrogation norm violations and cascading effects.

Violation of interrogation norm	Immediate effect	Cascade mechanism (CNIE)	Empirical illustration
Denial of right to counsel	Suspect left unprotected during questioning	Weakens confidence in legal safeguards → undermines trust in trial fairness	Türkiye—AYM 2014 (Sami Özbil, B. No 2012/543): Statements taken without counsel cannot be decisive for conviction; fair-trial violation
Use of coercion/torture	Confession extracted under duress	Contaminates all subsequent proceedings → systemic collapse of legitimacy	Mexico—SCJN 2025 (Juana Hilda González Lomelí, 'Caso Wallace'): Torture-tainted confessions and derivative evidence categorically excluded
Prolonged/inhumane interrogation	Reliability of statement compromised	Spills into jury/court decision-making → wrongful convictions	United States—State v. Maharg (2025): 13-h interrogation during alcohol withdrawal; statements suppressed
Deceptive tactics (false-evidence ploys)	Creates false belief in futility of denial	Normalises deception → broader erosion of institutional credibility	United States—Leo and Drizin (2004): Empirical research on false confessions and systemic bias
Suppression of denials/ implied leniency	Court/jury hears only partial narrative	Breaks balance principle → adversarial fairness diminished	United States—People v. Sanders (2023 CO 62): Implied promises tainted confession; State's proof strategy collapsed
Overreliance on confession evidence	Confession dominates case despite flaws	'Norm cascade' — one flawed norm spreads to others	United Kingdom—R v. Campbell (2024): Conviction overturned due to unreliable confession under PACE
Failure to ensure transparent interview practices	Reduced visibility of evidence formation	Weakens accountability → opens space for abuse and mistrust	Sweden—NJA 2024 s 386 (HD): Supreme court stressed holistic <i>bevisvärdering</i> and cautioned against confession dominance

a reinforcing cycle of norm compliance. This form of normative resilience is evident in jurisdictions such as Norway and, in more limited and uneven ways, the UK, where investigative interviewing reforms have reduced reliance on coercion and improved evidentiary reliability.

The theoretical contribution of this analysis is to situate interrogation practices within a broader framework of normative interdependence. Interrogation is not merely about information extraction, but about the preservation or erosion of legal and social norms. Applying CNIE as a diagnostic tool allows policymakers, practitioners, and oversight bodies to identify interrogation practices that risk triggering cascades of rights violations and to promote alternatives that reinforce institutional trust. Crucially, the analysis demonstrates that judicial responses (whether immediate, delayed, or attenuated) play a decisive role in determining whether interrogation-stage norm violations are contained or amplified into system-wide cascades.

A key policy implication is that jurisdictions retaining Reid-style or similarly coercive tactics may remain more vulnerable to structural risks in justice and human-rights compliance. By contrast, adopting the Méndez Principles represents not only a practical reform but also a normative commitment to democratic governance and the rule of law. In sum, CNIE highlights why interrogation is a critical crossroads of human rights and criminal justice: where norm violations cascade, injustice spreads; where

norms are reinforced, justice prevails. Future research should continue to explore how CNIE dynamics operate across legal cultures, and how rights-based interviewing can serve as a globally relevant model of normative resilience.

#### Author Contributions

Lütfiye Kaya Ciceralli conceptualised the study, conducted the theoretical analysis, performed the literature review, and wrote the manuscript.

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The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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