# UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.

# The Personality of a Human Intelligence Interrogator

The Relation Between Personality and a Comfortable Interrogator

*Bachelor Thesis*

*B.Sc. Psychology*

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# Abstract

The purpose of this study is to discover if there is a relationship between personality and a comfortable Human Intelligence interrogator. Two specific interrogation methods were used, the most common used one, the Direct approach and a relatively new one, the Scharff approach. 35 participants participated in the within-group design experiment. They have executed two interviews followed by standardized protocols, one with the Scharff method and one with the Direct method. Afterwards they filled out five questionnaires. The first two questionnaires were measuring the dependent variable the comfort feelings of the participants with each approach. The three other questionnaires were measuring the independent variable, personality of the participants by using the Hexaco model, adaptability scale and uncertainty avoidance scale. Correlational analysis was used to discover if there were any relations between the personality and the comfort feelings with each approach. The results shows that someone who is easy in adapting to different situations is more comfortable in using the Scharff tactics. Moreover a relation was found between conscientiousness and a comfortable Scharff interrogator. Lastly this study shows that there is a negative relationship between honesty-humility and the comfort feelings with the direct approach. There would be suggested for future research to use these results and study as basis to further discover the relationship between the interrogators personality and preferences in interrogation method.


*Keywords:* Scharff technique, direct approach, human intelligence, interrogation methods, personality

# Samenvatting

Het doel van de studie was om te achterhalen of er een relatie bestaat tussen de persoonlijkheid van een verhoorder en de verhoormethodes waarmee hij zich comfortabel voelt. Hiervoor is er een experiment uitgevoerd op basis van een within-group design. 35 participanten hebben deelgenomen aan het experiment waarin zij allen 2 interviews uitvoerde, 1 met de Scharff verhoormethode en 1 met de directe verhoormethode. Vervolgens vulde zij 5 vragenlijsten in. Als eerste twee vragenlijsten over hoe comfortabel de deelnemers waren met elke verhoor methode, dit gevoel van comfort werd gebruikt als onafhankelijke variabelen. De andere drie vragenlijsten werden gebruikt om de afhankelijke variabelen de persoonlijkheid van de participanten te meten. Hiervoor werd gebruik gemaakt van het Hexaco model, de uncertainty avoidance schaal en de adaptability schaal. Door middel van correlaties werd gekeken of er een relatie bestond tussen de verschillende persoonlijkheid domeinen en hoe comfortabel de deelnemer was met de verhoormethode. In het algemeen laten de resultaten zien dat er wel degelijk een relatie kan zijn tussen persoonlijkheid en hoe comfortabel iemand was met de verhoormethode. Meer specifiek wordt er gevonden dat iemand die comfortabel is met de Scharff methode een hogere score heeft op de adaptability schaal. Verder blijkt dat het domein eerlijkheid uit het hexaco model een negatieve relatie heeft met de Direct methoden. Als laatste is er een negatief verband gevonden tussen hoe consciëntieus een deelnemer was en hoe comfortabel met de Scharff methode. Er wordt geadviseerd om naar deze relaties verder onderzoek te doen.

# The Personality of a Comfortable Human Intelligence Interrogator

Terrorism has increased in many aspects since the 9/11 attack in the USA (de Graaf, 2017). There is not only an increasing trend in number of attacks but also the impact of the attacks are considerably greater than before. An attack nowadays causes more victims and receives more media attention, which results in a more worried and frightened society. Furthermore, they have expanded from a local level to an international and worldwide level. That is, the terrorist groups are spreading to different countries and are not located in specific countries anymore (Lee, 2006; Bakker, de Graaf, van der Heide, de Hoog & van der Varst, 2012). Consequently, the role of anti-terrorism organizations is growing steadily. A critical task for these organizations is to gather intelligence, which refers to collecting information from different sources about the past, present, or future to improve national security and/or further national interests (Evans, Meissner, Brandon, Russano & Kleinman, 2010).

A specific form of collecting intelligence is human intelligence (HUMINT) gathering. HUMINT refers to the process of collecting information during interactions between two or more individuals (Granhag, Oleszkiewicz, Kleinman, & Strömwall, 2015; Evans et al., 2010). Interrogations could be used to gather such intelligence. Interrogations could be defined as a conversations were systematic questioning is used. The interrogator is asking question to a source who is perceived to be noncooperative. The purpose of an interrogation is to gather reliable intelligence also another purpose of the interrogator could be to move the source from noncooperative to cooperative (Evans et al., 2010). Therefore, during these interrogations, the relationship between the source and the interrogator plays a central role (Evans et al., 2010; Alison & Alison, 2017; Abe & Brandon, 2014). Building relationships during interrogations could increase the cooperation of the source by reducing the source's unwelcome, stressful and threatened feelings. This relationship between the source and interrogator should be built on reciprocal empathy, acceptance, adaptation, understanding, communication, respect and trust (Alison & Alison, 2017; Alison, Giles, McGuire, 2015). Interrogators are suggested to use these principles for building a relationship during the HUMINT interaction. There are two important interrogation methods which will be discussed in this study.

The first HUMINT interrogation method discussed in this thesis is the direct approach. *The direct approach* is described in the U.S. Army Field Manual (2006) as the most used approach to get a maximum amount of information in a minimum amount of time (Chapter 3, p 3-14). During the direct method, the interrogator should approach the source by asking direct and open-ended explicit questions. The direct method is used in a business-like manner and involves careful

preparation. The interrogators will consider on forehand what questions they should ask and how (Granhag et al., 2015). Moreover, during the direct method it is important that the interrogator is building rapport with the source. Hereby the interrogators are using the rapport building strategies by creating a positive interrogative atmosphere (Alison & Alison, 2017). After a relationship has been built the interrogator starts asking direct questions that are related to the information the interrogator needs. (U.S. marshal guideline chapter 3, p 3-14, 2006). When the interrogator notices that the source is avoiding answering the questions or is untruthful, the interrogator may change to another interview approach or the interrogator releases some pressure (Granhag et al., 2015).

The second HUMINT interrogation method discussed in this study, was originated by Hanns Scharff during the second World War. Scharff's technique has recently been theoretically conceptualized and empirically evaluated, and now goes under the name the *Scharff Technique* (Granhag, Kleinman, & Oleszkiewicz, 2016). The Scharff technique is strongly based on perspective taking, which refers to the capacity to consider the world from another's viewpoint. Hence, this approach should feel more like a conversation between the source and interrogator, instead of asking questions and using pressure. Central to this technique is that the interrogator is sharing intelligence to create the illusion of knowing more than he or she does.

The Scharff Technique is based on five tactics. First of all, Scharff used a *friendly approach*, which resulted in a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere for the source. (Alison & Alison 2017; Oleszkiewicz, Granhag & Kleinman, 2014; Granhag et al., 2015). The second tactic is *not pressing for information*. Instead of using direct questions, the source gets the opportunity to add or confirm with information the interrogator already stated. The third tactic is *the illusion of knowing it all*. The purpose of this tactic is to make clear that the interrogator is well informed about the circumstances of a specific case or situation. The interrogator would state that it is unlikely that the source could reveal new information beyond what he or she already knew. Subsequently, the interrogator reveals a specific amount of detailed information about the situation to prove that his or her claim of being very knowledgeable was actually true. The fourth tactic is the *confirmation and disconfirmation* of claims presented by the interrogator. Instead of asking specific questions the interrogator presents a proposition that the source could confirm or disconfirm. Granhag et al. (2015) states that confirming or disconfirming a claim is taking less effort and therefore easier to react on compared to a question. As for the fifth tactic, the interrogator has to *ignore any new information* that is brought up or mentioned by the source. When the source reveals important information, the interrogator should behave as if it was already known or irrelevant. The assumption behind this tactic is to influence the source to remain unaware of the importance of the information they have provided, so that they might more willing to reveal even more (Oleszkiewicz et al., 2014).

**Previous studies**

There is a lot of interest in researching the effectiveness of HUMINT interrogations. For example, there are studies about comparing law enforcement interrogations to HUMINT interrogations (Evans, Meissner, Ross, Houston, Russano & Horgan, 2013), the relationship between the interrogator and the source (Alison & Alison, 2017), and the efficacy of the interrogation technique on the source to influence the information yield (US Army Field Manual, 2006; Granhag, Montecinos & Oleszkiewicz, 2015). Hence, the effectiveness of Scharff method and direct method has already been demonstrated in a number of studies (e.g., Granhag, Kleinman & Oleszkiewicz 2016). These studies show that in comparison with the direct method, the source interviewed with the Scharff technique reveals more information that is new to the interrogator (Granhag et al., 2015).

All of the existing research on interrogation methods are of major relevance for gathering intelligence. However, all these studies have examined interrogation methods by focusing on the source. No studies, to the best of my knowledge, have considered the interrogator's characteristics in using different techniques. This is remarkable because in the end an interrogation is a reciprocal process between all three components; the source, the method and the interrogator (Wachi, Watanabe, Yokota, Otsuka & Lamb, 2016). Besides, how well someone is functioning on a task is related to how comfortable one is in performing on that task (Cerie-Booms, Oerlemans & Ceruseu 2017). Furthermore, research on personality states that an individual's behaviour can be influenced by his or her traits, hence the personality could influence the execution of the interrogation method (Wachi et al., 2016). Therefore, instead of looking to the effectiveness of standardized interrogation methods, the aim of this study is to focus on 'who' the interrogator is; is there a relationship in comfort feeling in using different HUMINT interrogation methods and the personality of the interrogator? Might it be that some persons fit better with certain techniques? So that the right person for the right technique which in the end might improve the effectiveness of the interrogation. This study approaches this question by examining peoples comfort feeling when using the Scharff technique and the Direct approach. To discover this relation first one need to focus on personality and consider the previous studies.

**Personality**

Personality broadly refers to how individuals think, act and feel (Yu, Lim & Gamble, 2016). Compared to learned behaviour, personality is more stable and is coming back in many daily life aspects, for example preferences in hobbies, sports and career (Costa, McCrae & Kay, 1995). Considering that personality is seen as a daily life aspect and differs for every individual, many

researchers tried to understand how personality influence other life aspects. For example couple of studies were done about how personality could influence performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Rothmann & Coetzer, 2003). The performances in situations are mostly based on how comfortable individuals are with the situation (Cerie-Booms et al., 2017). What could be seen as a comfortable for one may be uncomfortable for another, this is based on individuals preferences and personality (Che, Nigg & Koning, 1994). Interrogations or police work, could be seen as a specific performance too. Therefore, the interrogator's personality might influence the comfortable feelings with an interrogation method. There are multiple models to describe someone's personality and how this could influence ones behaviour. This study uses the Hexaco model.

*Hexaco*

The Hexaco model consists of six domains, the big five personality domain plus an extra one; honesty-humility, emotionality, extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and openness to experience. Every domain consists of his own four facets which are represented in table 1 (Ashton & Lee, 2007).

Table 1

*The Hexaco domains including the four facets on each domain*

| Domain | Facets |
| --- | --- |
| Honesty-humility | Sincerity, Fairness, Greed-Avoidance, Modesty |
| Openness to Experience | Aesthetic appreciation, Inquisitiveness, Creativity, Unconventionality |
| Agreeableness | Forgiveness, Gentleness, Flexibility, Patience |
| Extraversion | Expressive, Social Boldness, Sociability, Liveliness |
| Conscientiousness | Organization, Diligence, Perfectionism, Prudence |
| Emotionality | Fearfulness, Anxiety, Dependence, Sentimentality |

The first domain, *Honesty- Humility,* represents the capacity to be fair and genuine in dealing with others even when one might exploit them without suffering retaliation. Individuals with a high score on honesty-humility avoid manipulating others for personal gain. They are not using others for personal benefit and are easy going in group cooperation. Low scorers are feeling a strong sense of self-importance and do less mind in using others for personal benefit (Lee & Ashton, 2008). Secondly, *Openness to experience* refers to the individual's willingness to accept different ideas, values, attitudes and experiences (Yu et al., 2017). High scorers are more open individuals and are likely to

have a wide range of interests in many different aspects. Furthermore, they have a big imagination capacity and they are open to all values and ideas of others, for example culture and religion (Costa, et al., 1995). In contrast, low scorers are more likely to have a lower imagination capacity, avoiding creative pursuits and have little attraction towards idea that are different of their own ideas (Ashton & Lee, 2001).

Third, *Agreeableness* refers to the capacity to be forgiving and tolerant to others and are willing to cooperate and compromise with others. Agreeableness is focusing on the underlying behaviour during interpersonal interactions, such as sympathy, trust and cooperation (DeNeve & Cooper, 1998). Individuals high on agreeableness are not fond of placing labels on others, willing to compromise and cooperate and have a good control on their temper (Ashton & Lee, 2008). Controversially, low scorers are associated with having hard feelings to those who have harmed them, are critical to others, determined with their own opinion and feel anger to injustice. The fourth domain, *Extraversion* refers to an individual's ability to deal with positive emotions, enthusiasm, stimulation and sociability (Yu et al., 2017; DeNeve & Cooper, 1998) and associated with all social activities such as socializing, leading or entertaining (Ashton & Lee, 2008). Extravert individuals are feeling more confident and are most interested in sociable tasks and interactions. They are feeling comfortable in groups and comfortable in talking towards strangers. Contractionary, introvert individuals are less interested in tasks including social interactions (Costa et al., 1995). The fifth domain *Conscientiousness* can be defined as the control the individual has in executing his behaviour carefully and precisely and is associated with achievements such as planning, working and organization tasks (Yu et al., 2017). Individuals high on conscientious are hardworking and achievement striving in their performance, they are disciplined and goal orientated (McCrea et al., 1995; Ashton & Lee, 2008). Low scorers on this domain tend to be nonchalant with their tasks, don't like schedules, are avoiding difficult or challenging goals (Ashton & Lee, 2007). They are comfortable with an unorganized work manner (Ashton & Lee, 2009). Lastly, *Emotionality,* refers to altruism including not only empathic concern and emotional attachment but also the harm-avoidant and help-seeking behaviour. Individuals with a high score on emotionality need more emotional support of others because they experience more fear and anxiety in response to life's stresses. They have strong feelings of empathy and sentimental attachment with others. Low scorers have limited need to share their concerns and are feeling emotionally separated from others. Moreover, low scorers feel little worried during stressful and difficult situations.

Were high scores in emotionality are not resistant to stressful situations, low scorers are. An interrogation could feel as a stressful situation since it could be seen as a uncertain situation

were the interrogator should deal with. It is often involving a highly ambiguous event, with many ambiguous factors (Alison, Kebbel & Leung, 2008). Two scales which are measuring dealing with ambiguous or uncertain events are the uncertainty avoidance (UA) and the adaptability scale (Häkkänen, Ask, Kebbel, Alison & Granhag, 2009). Individuals with a high score on uncertainty avoidance feels stressed and anxious when the outcome is unknown and the individual cannot predict the consequences. Hence, individuals with a high scores on UA, are avoiding risk taking situations (Martin, Nejad, Colmar & Liem, 2012). Closely related to uncertainty avoidance is adaptability. Adaptability refers to an individual's capacity to react and regulate new behaviour, changing situations and uncertain circumstances. Someone high on adaptability could easily adapt into new situations, were someone low on adaptability has difficulties in changing behaviour to new situations (Martin et al., 2012).

There is just a handful of studies concerning these personality traits and police officers or interrogators. There are at least two previous studies found which have focused on the personality of police interrogators in relation to their preference in interrogation strategy or investigation performance (Wachi et al., 2016; Ono, Sachau, Deal, Englert & Taylor, 2011). Wachi, Watanabe, Yokota, Otsuka & Lamb (2016), showed that there certainly is a connection between the personality characteristics of the interrogators and the method they prefer. This study was based on the big five personality factors and found that officers high on agreeableness may have had a more cooperative relationship with the suspects because they were less suspicious towards the suspect. Another study of Ono, Sachau, Deal, Englert, and Taylor (2011) also shows a connection between police officers individual traits and their job performance, including interview skills. They stated that emotional intelligence (EQ), the ability to understand others emotions is an important aspect of the interrogation. They found that neuroticism was negatively related towards EQ. Moreover, these studies established a positive relationship between conscientiousness and overall performance. These studies show that there certainly could be a relationship between the personality of interrogators and the interrogation method.

**Some reflections on the interrogator and the approach**

In order to understand what kind of personality traits would make interrogators more comfortable in using the Scharff technique or more comfortable in using the direct approach, one first need to consider what the main characteristics and differences between the Scharff technique and the direct approach are.

*The direct approach* as described above consists of rapport building, on forehand carefully prepared and formulated direct and specific questions on certain subjects and is performed in a business-like manner. The *Scharff techniques* consists of the five tactics already described above. Summarizing the basic principles of the Scharff Technique: (a) using a friendly approach, (b) taking perspective of the source, (c) building a good relationship with the source, (d) creating an informal conversation, (e) masking the intention of the interrogation, (f) to evoke information rather than demanding it and (g) presenting the information that the interrogator already has to give the impression that the interrogator already knows everything of relevance to the situation.

Both the direct approach and the Scharff technique are using rapport building as basis of the interrogation. Furthermore, both interrogations have the purpose to gather information. However, there are at least three differences between the direct method and the Scharff method. First of all, the two approaches are different in how the interrogators plays on the source's perception of how much relevant information the interrogator already holds. Where the direct method attempts to give the impression that the interrogator knows less than he or she actually does, the Scharff technique attempts to give the impression that the interrogator knows more than he or she actually does. In the Scharff approach this was maintained by demonstrating the amount of information they already have. Whereas for the direct approach this was done by only asking questions. This perception of the interrogators knowledge is related to masking the true intention of the interview, which is the second difference. The direct approach interrogator is showing their true intention by asking direct and specific questions. That is, the question asked indicates what information the interrogator is searching for and what information he or she already has. This is in contrast to the Scharff technique, where the interrogator aims to mask intentions and thus avoids asking specific questions. The Scharff interrogator instead uses story-telling approach to demonstrate that he or she already knows a fair amount of information about an event (Meissner, Surmon Böhr, Oleszkiewicz, & Alison, 2017). The third difference is that the Scharff interrogator stays friendly all the time as where the direct interrogator could release or add pressure, for example, when the source does not respond in a desirable manner. Table 2 gives a schematic representation of these three main differences.

Table 2

*The three main differences between the Scharff and Direct approach*

| Differences | Scharff approach | Direct approach |
|---|---|---|
| 1 How the interrogator plays on the source's perception | Try to create the impression the interrogator knows more than he/she actually does | Try to gives the impression the interrogator knows less than he/she actually does |
| 2 Masking the true intention | Hides true intentions by telling a story that he or she already knows fair amount | Shows the true intention by asking questions, which are showing the direction |
| 3 Friendliness | Scharff interrogator stays friendly all the time | Direct interrogator could use pressure when he thinks the source is avoiding answering. |

These three differences and characteristics were used to motivate the idea that people with a preference for using the Scharff approach might be different from people with a preference for using the direct approach, and examine what kind of personality might suit which approach.

**Present study**

The previous research outcomes of Wachi et al. (2016) and Ono et al. (2011) have showed that there could be a relationship between personality and law enforcement interrogation methods. However, to the best of my knowledge no research was done regarding the personality of a human intelligence interrogations.

The leading research question in this study therefore is of exploratory nature; is there a relationship between the personality of an interrogator and the comfortableness with the Human intelligence interrogations, in specific with the Direct approach and the Scharff approach? Combining previous literature and theory above about personality and the characteristics of the two methods, predictions were made.

First prediction could be made based on the previous study of Watchi (2016) which showed that agreeableness was related to interview techniques, the theory that interrogations should be built on reciprocal empathy, acceptance, adaptation, understanding, communication, respect and trust. Furthermore the theory shows that agreeableness is based on trust and cooperation. Therefore, one can assume that there could be a relation between agreeableness and the Direct approach but also between agreeableness and the Scharff approach.

*H1a: A high score on Agreeableness is positive related to a comfortable Direct interrogator*

*H1b: A high score on Agreeableness is positive related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator.*

Moreover, as the reflection on both approaches showed that the Scharff interrogator should play with his information he has, where the direct interrogator asks formatted open-ended and specific questions. One could therefore assume that the comfortable Scharff interrogator should have a higher imagination, be creative, believable and easy in his storytelling. Theory showed that high scorers on openness to experience are considered to have a higher imagination and be more creative. Therefore, a positive relation between the comfortable Scharff interrogator and openness to experience is expected.

*H2: A high score on Openness to experience is positively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator*

The third prediction is made about Honesty-Humility. Police officers are considered to be honest in general an integrity is a central key element in the police organization. Furthermore, the Scharff method is using a friendly approach. Nevertheless, interrogations could be seen as a manipulating strategy sometime to gather reliable information. For example, the Scharff interrogator is masking his truth intentions. This could be seen as a manipulating tactic, trying to let the source believe the interrogator already knows everything and hiding the true intentions so the source maybe reveals more information. Theory shows that low scorers on Honesty-Humility have less trouble in using manipulating strategies for personal benefit. Therefore, there is expected that Honesty-Humility should be negatively related to a Scharff interrogator where an individual should feel comfortable in using these tactics.

*H3: A high score on Honesty-Humility is negatively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator*

Next, the reflections showed that the Scharff interrogator has to come up with a story, where the direct interrogator has listed questions. Having listed questions could feel as a more organized working manner, while telling a story could feel less organized. Moreover, the feeling of being more structured could be higher during the Direct method due to the fact that the interrogator is asking specific questions in specific order. Previous theory shows that people high in conscientiousness are preferring a more planned and structure working manner. Therefore one could assume that individuals comfortable with the direct method are positively related to conscientiousness, where individuals comfortable with the Scharff technique are more negatively related to conscientiousness.

*H4a: A high score on Conscientiousness is positively related to a comfortable Direct interrogator*

*H4b: A high score on Conscientiousness is negatively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator*

Furthermore, as interrogations are all about communication, the interrogators should feel comfortable in talking with others in various situations. Moreover, the theory shows that extraversion is about sociability and communication. Hence, all interrogators should be extravert in a considerable way. Therefore, one could expect that extraversion could be positively related to comfortable interrogator with both approaches.

*H5a: A high score on Extraversion is positively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator*

*H5b: A high score on Extraversion is positively related to a comfortable Direct interrogator*

Due to the fact that interrogation could be seen as highly ambiguous and uncertain situation. The uncertainty avoidance scale and ambiguous scale were used. The Scharff interrogator has not has listed questions and should play with his information. Furthermore, because there were no direct questions the Scharff interrogator never knows how and when the source is going to react. This could feel as an uncertain situation which the interrogator should deal and adapt with. Adapting in situations refers to the capacity of individuals in dealing with new and different situations. The Scharff interrogator should not avoid the uncertain situations and should be easy in changing his behaviour during the interrogation, due to the fact that the interrogator never knows when and how the source is going to react. Therefore the Scharff interrogator should have a high adaptability capacity's for dealing with the uncertainties. Hence, there is expected that the comfort of the Scharff interrogator is negatively related with uncertainty avoidance but positively with adaptability.

*H6: A high score on Uncertainty avoidance is negatively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator*

*H7: A high score on Adaptability is positively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator.*

# Method

**Design**

     This experimental study employed a within-subject design, where each participant took part in both experimental interview conditions, the Scharff approach and the Direct approach. With the dependent variable *comfortableness* which consists of two different scales; how comfortable one was with the direct approach (DA) and how comfortable one was with the Scharff method. The independent variable personality of the interrogator consist of three different variables, HEXACO personality inventory, uncertainty avoidance and adaptability.

**Participants**

     A sample of 35 participants with an average age of 24 years ($SD = 7.5$; Range = 19-56 years) participated in a study on 'research on interview strategies'. 9 participants were males and 26 females. The participants requirements involved a good understanding of English and a minimum age of 18 years old. The participants were recruited by the Sona system of the University of Twente, adds on Facebook and via the author's own social network. The participants who signed in from the Sona system could earn one Sona credit. These credits are necessary to graduate your study. The participants who were participating without needing Sona credits or having a Sona account were participating on volunteering basis. This study was approved by the Ethical commission of the University of Twente.

**Procedure**

     The experiment started with a short briefing and an informed consent form wherein participants were informed with the purpose and duration of the study. They were told that they were going to be the interrogator using two different interview methods and afterwards fill out a questionnaire about these interviews. That both interviews were based on a fictitious scenario concerning an attack planned by a terrorist group during a national holiday. Furthermore, it was explained that the scenarios for each interviews were different in key details of the attack (e.g., names, time, location, day and group size). At the end of the instruction the researcher stated to the participants that they could prevent the attack through gathering the right intelligence and should take it very seriously.

     After giving their consent, the participants received identical instructions outlined in two different protocol (one for each interview technique). Protocol 1 contained instructions about 'the direct interview approach' and protocol 2 contained instructions about the Scharff approach, which was referred to for the participants as 'story telling' interview approach. The order in whether participants started with the direct approach or the Scharff approach was semi-randomized, in

order to examine possible order effects. In the end 18 participants started with Direct approach and 17 participants started with Scharff approach. After the participant had read the first protocol (which was either the Scharff protocol or the Direct Approach protocol depending on the randomization), the researcher asked if the participant had understood everything of the first protocol. If so, the researcher brought the source into the room of the participants and the first interview started. After the first interview was finished, the source was leaving the room and the participant then received the second protocol. The participant was asked again to read this protocol carefully. Next, the researcher asked if the participant understood the second protocol, and afterwards the source was escorted into the room again and the second interview started in the same manner as in the first round.

*The interview*

After the participant was fully instructed and said they understood the protocol they were introduced to the source. The interrogators were instructed to invite the source to sit down on the other side of the table. The interrogator then starts by reading out the introduction of the interview protocol word-by-word. Both protocols used the same introduction were the interrogator explains to the source that he or she understands that the source is in a difficult position, but that they cannot allow bombing like this and therefore need information and some answers. Subsequently, the interrogator went on with either direct approach in asking questions see Appendix A for the background information and Appendix B for the standardized conversation or the Scharff approach in telling the story see Appendix C with the background information and Appendix D with the conversation protocol.

*Direct approach protocol*, includes a short case scenario about what the interrogator already knows about the upcoming attack. The protocol also contained instructions on how to execute the specific interview method correctly. Briefly, the protocol states that the participant should ask direct questions and try to gather intelligence about the planned attack. These questions are already standardized and containing the 7 key questions (who, where, which, what, why, when, how) for example, where is the attack, when does the attack take place and who are involved? Moreover, the protocol includes instructions in using pressure statements for example '' *We know you don't want to get in trouble, but we cannot allow this bomb attacks to happen, so we need more information''.* or ''*If you are not helping, there are maybe people dying''.* The protocol describes how and when the participant could use these pressure statements during the interview namely, if the source is ignoring the question or does not cooperate. Importantly, the questions that the interrogator could ask were standardized and the participants could only differ in how they use the pressure statements.

*Scharff approach protocol* , was introduced towards the participants as ''the story telling'' approach. The basis of this protocol was containing an explanation about the five interview tactics. The protocol describes each tactic which the participant should implement during the interview. The protocol states that the interrogator should create a friendly atmosphere, create the impression of knowing it all, ignore new information, does not ask direct questions but rather using claims and should not press for information. Moreover, there were given examples in how to behave and use each tactics during the interview. For example the tactic of '*knowing it all* and *ignore information'*, the participants were instructed that if the source is not responding or is giving new information, they should react like it is not of interest for them. That this illusion could be created by continuing in presenting their own information or by ignoring the answers of the source and just go on with the interview. Moreover, the participants were told that they have to present the claims at the end. The protocol explains that instead of asking for information they have to present the information as claims and notice if the source is confirming or disconfirming the claim. The participants were instructed that they already have information about two possible locations, two possible numbers of the amount of people who are working on the attack and two different delivery times for the bomb. The protocol gives for every option the most reliable one. The participant should choose whether to present the most reliable intelligence or the less reliable intelligence and wait on the reaction of the source.

After the explanation of the tactics and presenting the claims, the participant reads the standardized text which is based on storytelling a couple of times. This story consists all the information the interrogator already has. The interrogator is instructed to read this protocol word by word towards the source and leave waiting pauses for the source to react between every paragraph. At the end of the story the interrogator is implementing the last tactic '*confirmation disconfirmation'* in presenting his own made claims.

Both interviews end by thanking the source and letting the source know that if he or she has more information they want to reveal, they could always call. After this the source is leaving the room.

*Source*

The participants were interviewing a source. The source participated as research assistant for the role play. These assistants were recruited in the social network of the researcher with the requirements of good understanding in English. In the end 5 different sources where used.

The source received a scenario in which they were asked to imagine that they have a negative attitude towards the police. That the source has committed a crime for which he could be convicted. The source was told that he or she held inside information of the planned terroristic attack and therefore wants to talk to the police in exchange to freely leave the country. The purpose

was to induce a semi-cooperative mind-set for the source instead of being overly friendly with the interrogator. See Appendix E for the scenario and background information of the Direct approach for the source, and see Appendix G for the background information of the Scharff protocol.

Afterwards, the source received a standardized protocol with standardized answers and instructed time frames for when to react to ensure that there would be no differences between the different sources see Appendix F for the Direct conversation protocol and Appendix H for the Scharff conversation protocol. The standardized protocol also ensured that the source in both interviews reveals a similar amount of information to the interrogator see *table 1,* Appendix I for the revealed amount of information in both interviews. In addition to the protocol, the sources received verbal instructions from the author and practiced the interviews once with the author as the interrogator.

**Post interview questionnaires**

Directly after the interviews the participants were asked to fill out 5 short online questionnaires in Qualtrics on the laptop of the researcher. The first two questionnaires were about how comfortable they felt with each interview approach. This scale was developed to measure the comfort feelings of the participants with each interview approach. As described above, literature states that feeling comfort with a task has a positive influence on the performance of the task. Therefore the comfort feelings of the participants with each approach was used as dependent variable, 'Comfort feeling DA' and 'Comfort feeling Scharff'. Both feelings were measured with two separated scales Comfort feeling DA existing of 9 items and Comfort feeling Scharff existing of 13 items. Both questionnaires started with the same 7 items to measure how comfortable the participants felt during the interview in general. The remaining items on each scale were specifically related to the tactics the participants needed to conduct in each interview approach. For the reason that in the end the participants feelings of comfort with the interview may only rely on the specific differences in tactics on each approach, there was decided to divide the scale in two separated variables. A general comfort feeling variable, including the 7 items and a tactic related comfort feeling variable existing of the remaining items.

The variable 'Comfort feeling DA' was divided in: 1a General comfort DA consisting of 7 items and 1b Comfort tactics DA was containing 2 items. 'Comfort feeling Scharff', was separated in 2a General comfort Scharff, consisting of the same 7 items and 2b Comfort tactics Scharff containing 6 items. Table 3 gives a schematic representation of all the items of the scale and what items belong to which scale and their reliability. Although the differences in comfort feeling of the participants may rely more on the tactics and therefore this variable is used as main factor, one

should bear in mind, that in the end all items together are related to the overall comfort feeling on each approach.

Table 3

*Representation of the separated comfort scale.*

| Factor Comfort scale | Reliability α (N=35) | Items |
|---|---|---|
| General comfort DA | .82 | 1: Interviewing was comfortable for me |
| | | 2. I felt relaxed during the interview |
| | | 3: I felt confident during the interview |
| | | 4. I felt stressed during the interview |
| | | 6. I felt anxious during the interview |
| | | 7. Using this specific interview style made me nervous |
| | | 8. I was feeling comfortable using this approach |
| Comfort tactics DA | .62 | 5: It was easy for me to use the pressure statements |
| | | 9. Using direct questions felt natural to me |
| General comfort Scharff | .92 | 1: Interviewing was comfortable for me |
| | | 2: I felt relaxed during the interview |
| | | 3: I felt confident during the interview |
| | | 4. I felt stressed during the interview |
| | | 6. I felt anxious during the interview |
| | | 7. Using this specific interview style made me nervous |
| | | 8. I was feeling comfortable using this approach |
| Comfort tactics Scharff | .77 | 5: It was easy for me to come up with the claims |
| | | 9. It was easy for me to present the claims at the end |
| | | 10. It was easy for me to be friendly during the interview |
| | | 11. Not pressing for information, felt natural to me |
| | | 12. It felt natural to give the impression of knowing it all |
| | | 13. It was easy for me to ignore the new incoming information |

**The independent variable**

The personality of the interrogator was measured through four different questionnaires, the BHI HEXACO personality inventory, the uncertainty avoidance scale, interpersonal reactivity scale and the adaptation scale.

*HEXACO*

Due to the time duration of the whole experiment, it was chosen to use a shortened version of the Hexaco inventory, the Brief Hexaco Inventory (BHI). The BHI version is a reversed version of the HEXACO PI- R. This version is existing of 24 items with 4 items on each domain. The BHI its test–retest stability, self-other agreement, and convergent correlations with full-length scales are relatively high. It has an overall convergent correlation of 0.78 with the commonly used HEXACO-PI-R (de Vries, 2013).

*Adaptability scale*

The adaptability scale was used for measuring the ability to adjust behaviour in changing situations (Martin, Nejad, Colmar & Liem, 2012). This questionnaire consists of 9 items that aims to measure individuals' tendencies to regulate cognitions, behaviour and emotions to new, changing or uncertain situations. For example the question '' *I am able to revise the way I think about a new situation to help me through it.*'' The 9 items comprised four key elements: (1) a response to novelty, change, variability and/or uncertainty, (2) cognitive, behavioural, or affective functions, (3) regulation, adjustment, revision and/or a new form of access to these three functions, and (4) a constructive purpose or outcome. Items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). The scale has an overall reliability of $\alpha$ = .90 (Martin et al., 2012).

*Uncertainty avoidance*

The final personality measure used was the uncertainty avoidance scale (Jung & Kellaris, 2004). This scale measures how individuals deal with ambiguous situations. Individuals with a higher score on this scale avoid ambiguous situations more than individuals with a lower score. The scale consists of 8 items (e.g., *I prefer specific instructions to broad guidelines*) rated on seven-point rating scales (1= fully disagree; 7= fully agree). The scale has a reliability of alpha = 0.75 (Jung & Kellaris, 2004)

**Additional qualitative Analysis**

Due to the explorative function of this study two open ended questions, one for each approach, were added at the end of the comfort questionnaires. In these questions the participants could represent their own personal opinion related to their own personality and whether the participant liked or disliked the different methods. In the end, the answers of 33 participants were coded because 2 participants did not fully understand the question where they answered it as a multiple

choice question. These two participants were excluded from the qualitative analysis. The question was framed as below:

*" Below we would like you to describe how the " Scharff/Direct' approach fitted you personally. Please address if there was anything in particular that you:*

      **a)** *liked about the " Scharff/Direct" approach;*

      **b)** *disliked about the " Scharff/Direct" approach;*

*In addition, if you can think of any changes that would have made the "Scharff/Direct " approach fit your character better, please describe that too."*

The answers on these questions were used to consider if the participants themselves feel a relationship between their personality and their comfort feeling with the Scharff or Direct approach and to figure out what this was based on. The answers were coded based on the grounded theory with an open coding of Glaser and Strauss (1967) to discover similarities and differences between coded fragments and the relative importance of categories. The purpose of the coding is to examine if there are any concepts for which participants felt comfortable with each approach. The coding scheme and process were reported for the Direct approach in table 2. Appendix J and the Scharff approach in table 3 Appendix K.

## Results

      The Shapiro Wilk test showed that all variables were normally distributed. No missing values were detected. Evaluating the descriptive, couple of extreme value was discovered in the Uncertainty Avoidance scale (*M*=30, *SD*=6.0) with a relatively low score of 16. Another extreme value was discovered in the 1b comfort Scharff tactics (*M*=20, *SD*=4.4) one participant felt extremely comfortable with the Scharff tactics with a score of 30. These data points were considered as acceptable thus not excluded from further analysis. Additionally, there was examined if an order effect occurred due to the with-in group design. An independent sample *t*-test showed no differences between the start Direct Approach (*M*= 30.2, *SD*=7.9) and start Scharff approach (*M*= 29.5, *SD*= 6.7) on their comfort feeling on the Direct approach, *t*(33) = 0,28 *p* = .78. Moreover, no difference in comfort feeling with the Scharff approach between the start with Scharff approach (*M*= 44.7, *SD*=10.7) and start Direct approach (*M*=46, *SD*=10.8) where found, *t*(33) = .35, *p* = .73. In other words, the order whether the participants started with the Direct approach or the Scharff approach did not have any influence on their comfort feelings with each approach.

To examine the hypothesis, correlational analysis were conducted between each independent and dependent variable. Independent variables: Hexaco inventory, adaptability and uncertainty avoidance. Dependent variables; 1a General comfort DA, 1b Comfort DA tactic, 2a General comfort Scharff and 2b Comfort Scharff tactics see method table 2.

### *Hexaco*

All interferential statistics of the Pearson correlations and p-values between the Hexaco personality domains and interrogation methods are represented in table 4.

To examine hypothesis 1a if agreeableness was positively related with the Comfort DA tactics a correlation was used. The Pearson correlation showed no relationship between agreeableness and Comfort DA tactics. Hence, no support was found for H1a.

To examine hypothesis 1b if agreeableness was positively related with a Comfort Scharff tactics a correlation was used. The Pearson correlation showed no relationship between agreeableness and Comfort Scharff tactics. Hence, no support was found for H1b.

Hypothesis 2 states openness to experience is positively related to the Scharff interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed no significant results. Therefore H2 could be rejected.

Hypothesis 3 stated that Honesty-Humility is negatively related with a comfortable Scharff interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed no significant results between honesty-humility and Comfort Scharff tactics. Therefore, H3 should be rejected. However the Pearson correlation did show an unexpected significant negative correlation between honesty-humility and Comfort DA tactics. In other words, someone low on honesty-humility feels more comfortable in using the pressure tactics.

Hypothesis 4a stated that conscientiousness is positively related to the direct interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed no significant relation between conscientiousness and Comfort DA tactics. Therefore, no support was found for H4a. Hypothesis 4b stated that conscientiousness was negatively related to the Scharff interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed no significant results between conscientiousness and Comfort Scharff tactics. Therefore, H4b should be rejected. However, the Pearson showed a considerably strong significant negative relation between conscientiousness and the General comfort Scharff. Which means that someone with a low score on conscientiousness feels more comfortable in using the Scharff method.

Hypothesis 5a argued that there was a positive relation between Extraversion and a comfortable Scharff interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed no significant results between Extraversion and Comfort Scharff tactics. Therefore H5a should be rejected. Hypothesis 5b stated that Extraversion was positively related to the Direct interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed

no significant relation between the Comfort DA tactics and Extraversion. Hence, no support was found for H5b.

Table 4

*Representation of the Pearson's r and their (non) significant level p between comfort feeling on each approach and the subscales of the Hexaco model*

| Personality | 1a General comfort DA | | 1b Comfort DA tactics | | 2a General comfort Scharff | | 2b Comfort Scharff tactics | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $r$ (34) | $p$ | $r$ (34) | $p$ | $r$ (34) | $p$ | $r$ (34) | $p$ |
| Honesty -humility | -.176 | .311 | -.349 | .040* | -.019 | .914 | -.150 | .389 |
| Emotionality | .079 | .652 | .038 | .828 | .061 | .728 | .087 | .618 |
| Extraversion | -.080 | .650 | -.050 | .773 | .179 | .303 | .099 | .571 |
| Agreeableness | -.004 | .984 | -.247 | .153 | .197 | .257 | .045 | .796 |
| Conscientiousness | -.100 | .567 | .030 | .0864 | -.366 | .031* | -.305 | .075 |
| Openness to experience | .019 | .913 | .078 | .657 | -.168 | .336 | -.057 | .744 |

*Significant correlation were $p < .05$

**Uncertainty avoidance**

Hypothesis 6 stated that uncertainty avoidance (UA) was negatively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed no significant relation between UA and Comfort Scharff tactics $r(35) = -.016, p = .92$ Therefore hypothesis 6 could be rejected.

**Adaptability**

Hypothesis 7 stated that adaptability was positively related to a comfortable Scharff interrogator. The Pearson correlation showed a statistically significant positive relatively strong relation between Adaptability and Comfort Scharff tactics $r(35) = .42, p = .01$. Therefore, hypothesis 4 could be accepted. In other words, someone who has a higher score on the adaptability scale, feels more comfortable in using the Scharff tactics.

**Additional qualitative analysis**

In these results a distinction is made between the Direct approach and the Scharff approach. In each approach is tried to discover why participants liked or disliked the particular approach and how it fits their personality. Furthermore if the participants were seeing a connection between their role as interrogator, their personality and there comfort feelings. The open coding makes clear that whether the participants liked or disliked he method was based on two main concepts. First of all, personality and secondly atmosphere; see Figure 1 for how many participants refer to which concept and what kind of answers were categorized as that concept.

**Personality**

The first concept personality was referring to how participants describe themselves fitting in the technique.

*The Direct approach*: In the direct approach 7 participants (21.1%) refer to their own personality. 2 participants just described in general that they think it doesn't fit their personality. Furthermore, 5 other participants were stating that the approach fits their personality because they were direct or less direct in daily life. Participants who describe themselves as a direct person in daily life, stated they liked the direct approach better; *'I am often really direct and therefore I liked the straightforward questions'*. Participants who describe themselves as less direct in normal life argued that the direct approach doesn't fit their characters and therefore they more disliked the direct approach;*' I usually try to avoid confrontations, and therefore I didn't like the direct method'*.

*The Scharff approach:* Also in the Scharff approach 4 participants (12.1%) refer to their personality and how it fitted their daily personality. One participant referred that is felt more natural and wrote *'Not having to pressure the person made it feel more natural to me.'*. 2 other participants were stating that they found it easy to talk in daily life and therefore liked the Scharff approach better *'' I am normally happy and easy to talk to so this was easy for me.''*. Another participant referred to his ability to adapt in the situation because of the story; *'' I could easily adapt in the situation because I had a whole story to build on''*.

**Atmosphere**

The second concept atmosphere was divided in positive atmosphere and negative atmosphere. First one remarkable point, is that in the answers of the Direct approach participants only refer to atmosphere as negative, were in the Scharff approach participants only refer to atmosphere as positive. In the end it seems to be that the participants argued that they were feeling more comfortable when there was a positive atmosphere and more disliked the approach when there was a negative atmosphere.

*Direct approach*: In the answers of the direct approach 8 participants (24.2%) refer to

atmosphere as negative. The participant stated that they had the feeling that the direct questions were influencing the atmosphere in a negative way. One participant stated that it was difficult to connect with the source, due to the direct questions and pressure.

*Scharff approach* : In the Scharff approach 8 participant (24.2%) argued that the 'story telling approach' was followed by a more friendly and relaxed atmosphere. Someone wrote *'I particularly liked the story-telling approach because it didn't feel like an interrogation. It felt more like an conversation where the informant could speak freely.'* Another participant stated that it felt like the source was feeling more comfortable, and maybe was more willing to talk.

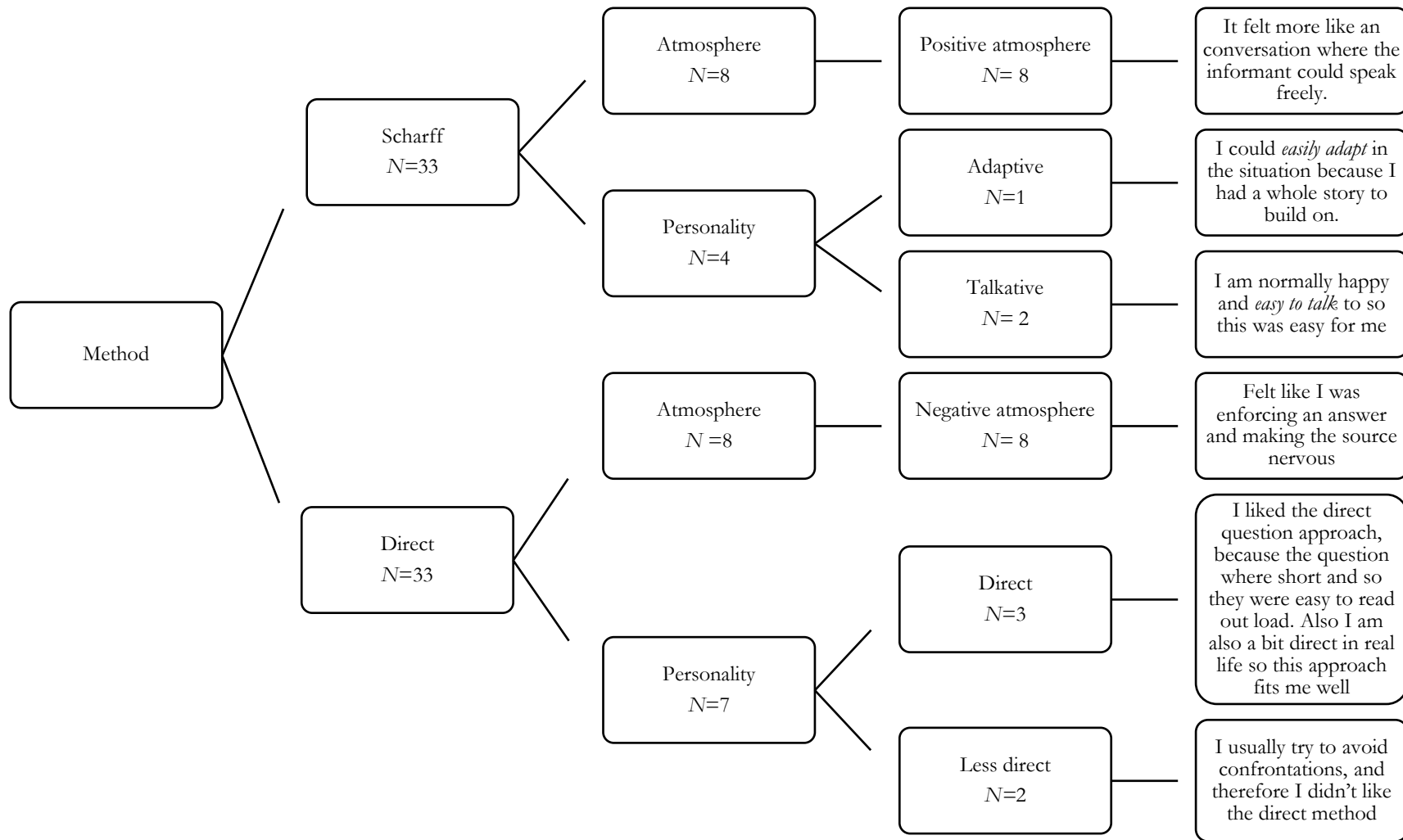The relationship between personality and a comfortable HUMINT interrogator



*Figure 1*. A schematic representation in how many participant refer to which specific concept with an explanation. Separated per interrogation approach and the main concepts personality and atmosphere.

# Discussion

This study aimed to examine relationships between personality and the comfort feeling with using two different HUMINT interrogation methods; the Scharff approach and the Direct approach. This crucial relation between the method and interrogator has been neglected in the past research. There were some interesting findings considering this relationship.

With respect to adaptability, it was predicted and found that the better people were at adapting in various situations the more comfortable they felt using the Scharff tactics. According to the literature, adaptability refers to being skilled with implementing new behaviour and adjusting to changing situations (Martin, Nejad, Colmar, Arief & Liem, 2012). Hence, it makes sense to argue that a reason for this finding could be the number of tactics included in the Scharff approach. That is, these tactics could be seen as new behaviour which the participants should implement really quickly during the interrogation. Another outcome related to adaptability was that no relationship was found between adaptability and the general comfort feeling with the Scharff approach. An explanation for this could be that although the tactics could have been seen as "new" for the participants, the interview interaction might not. Moreover, the execution of an interview could already be expected due to the fact that the participants have signed in to an interview study. Hence, the executing of an interview could already be expected whereas the specific tactics were not. Therefore, the participants were likely prepared and maybe didn't felt the need to adapt executing the Scharff interview. For this reason it could be that there was no relation found between the general Scharff comfort feeling and adaptability.

Another finding, which was not predicted, was the negative relationship between comfort with the Direct approach tactics and the personality trait of honesty-humility. Suggesting that someone who is comfortable with using pressure statements and releasing pressure has a lower score on honesty-humility. In other words, someone who is perceived to have less trouble with manipulating others feels more comfortable with applying pressure tactics. This finding might be explained through the use of pressure statements and pressure incorporated in the direct approach. Literature shows that low scores on this scale could be seen as more comfortable with manipulating others and breaking rules for personal benefit (Lee & Ashton, 2008). The U.S. Army Field Manual (2006) states that pressure could be used if the source isn't willing to help or the strategy doesn't work. Therefore, the pressure tactics could be seen as coercive tactics for getting what the interrogator wants, information. This could be an explanation why a lower score on honesty-humility is related to a higher comfort feeling with the Direct pressure tactics.

The study further showed a predicted negative relationship between conscientiousness and the overall comfort feeling with the Scharff approach. In other words, someone with a lower score

on conscientiousness, who is less organized and structured (Lee & Ashton, 2009) is feeling more comfortable using the Scharff interview, but not per definition in using the Scharff tactics. One explanation for this could be that the Scharff approach has a less overall structured working manner, there are no set questions and the interrogator should come with a story. Furthermore creating the illusion of knowing it all by ignoring the incoming information and playing with the amount of information, could also feel as less structured and organized for the interrogator. Therefore, the participants who are preferring control and structure maybe felt less comfortable with the Scharff approach. However learning and using new tactics could be seen as something that needs structure in when and how to implement them. It might be that for that reason there was no relation found between conscientiousness and the Scharff tactics.

Another finding worth to mention is that few participants referred to "interview atmosphere" and "personality characteristics" as important factors for why they felt comfortable. This finding fits neatly with the findings of Alison and Alison (2017) and further suggest that not only is it important that the source feels a good atmosphere, but that the atmosphere also influences the interrogator. Moreover, the feeling of a relaxed atmosphere was highest in the Scharff interview. It should also be noted that some participants stated that the Scharff interview felt more like a conversation instead of an interrogation. This is worthwhile mentioning because this is, in fact, the purpose of the Scharff interrogation. It is thus interesting that some participant have truly felt it this way. Moreover, this is also a confirmation that the protocols and instructions were developed successfully as they captured one to the true goals of the Scharff technique.

Finally, no relationships were found between uncertainty avoidance scale and four of the Hexaco domains (i.e., extraversion, openness to experience, emotionality and agreeableness) in relation to interrogative comfort. This might suggest that there are no relationships between those characteristics and being comfortable with the investigated interrogation methods. However, this might also be explained by the limitations of the study.

**Limitations**

A strength of this study is that it is one of the first studies focusing on the interviewer. However, conducting novel research also comes with a number of limitations. Nevertheless, the explorative function provides good insight for further research on the personality of interrogator. Below there were listed three main limitations to keep in mind for conducting future research.

The first and most important limitation is the sample of participants. It was really difficult to recruit the participants for such a big and long experiment in such a short time. Therefore the sample is really small, but considering the short period of time it could be seen as a considerable sample size. This small sample is followed by the fact that the reliability of this study is lower.

Furthermore, the small sample also means that there are less different personalities in the sample which could influence the results in a negative way.

Moreover, due to the difficulties in finding participants, the author was forced to recruit from her own social network. It is thus important to note that research has shown that there are similarities in personality characteristics between people and their friends (Vigil, 2007). That is, a person is more related to their social group than other groups (Jenkins, Reysen & Katzarska-Millers, 2012). Hence, the participants might not have been that different from each other, which might explain why relatively few relationships were found in the study. Another limitation, caused by the social network, was the relation between the source and the participants. The sources were recruited in the author's own social network, where sometimes the participants were also recruited in the researchers socials network. Therefore, is some cases, the source and the participants knew each other. This could result in that the overall comfort feeling, of those participants who already knew the source, could already be higher compared to those participants who does not know the source. However, the participants still needed to use two different interrogation methods. Hence in the end, the relation between the sources and participants still may not have affected the differences between both conditions, the Scharff and the Direct method and for that not the comfort feelings.

A second limitation to bring up relates to the experimental set up. Specifically, this study was based on standardized interview methods. This could be seen as a limitation due to the reason that the interview protocol was already written down, word-by-word, for the participants. For this reason, they did not have to make up their own story or questions, which could have influenced their comfort feelings. The only thing they needed to implement were the tactics. This might explain why there were only few significant results with respect to the general comfort feeling, because the participants were only reading the scripts. Importantly, the standardized protocols were chosen to achieve control of the participants behaviour. The participants needed to experience the same interview, so in the end a clear distinction could be made to what participant felt comfortable with. The standardized protocol ensures that the participants were acting and saying the same and thus experience the same. Therefore, one can assume that the comfort feelings of the participant were relying on implementing the tactics instead of other circumstances. In contrast, if there was not chosen to use standardized protocols the interviews could have influenced different characters in different ways. Since each participant might have done the interview their own way. For example, if there was no control, the comfort feeling could be based on making up the story or rely on the answers of the source whether they received a huge amount of information or not. Therefore there was chosen to standardize the whole script of the source too, to ensure that they reveal the same

amount of information at the same time during each interview. Due to all standardized protocols, now one can assume that the comfort feelings of the participants were mostly based on implementing the tactics and the different interview approaches.

Another limitation concerning the experimental design, which could have influenced the comfort feelings could be found in the complexity of the protocols. The Scharff protocol for example could be perceived as more complex since it contains more different tactics the participants needed to understand and implement. Complexity therefore could be seen as a potential confounded variable. In other words, instead of that only the independent variable, the personality of the participants, has effected the dependent variable comfort feelings. The variable the complexity of the protocols might have influenced the variable comfort feelings as well. Moreover, this could affect the experiment in a negative way. Since it might be difficult to really examine were the comfort feelings are coming from. Despite that the standardized protocols are a strong point of this experiment and take into account the most external factors, one should bear in mind this potential confounded variable.

The last limitations could be found in the measurements. For this study the shorten version of the Hexaco model was used, this could be seen as a limitation. Although, the test–retest stability, self-other agreement and convergent correlations with full-length scale are relatively high with an overall convergent correlation of 0.78 with the commonly used HEXACO-PI-R. Still the alpha reliability is relatively low (de Vries, 2013). Furthermore, due to the short version, no predictions could be made based on the sub facets of each domain. However, the sub facets could be more predictive for an individual than the overall domain.

**Future research**

A recommendation is to further focus on the personality of interrogators and to examine the relationship between their personality and interrogation methods. In here it is recommended to use the full Hexaco inventory model, so there could be made predictions based on the facets of each domain. These facets are more distinctive between individuals. Furthermore, a broader study should be done towards the adaptability characteristics and interrogation methods. Correlational analysis is showing that there is a relation but, future studies could focus more specifically on what kind of a relationship. To create a right sample of participants, it is recommended to generate a bigger sample and to not select participants of their social network. Furthermore, one could select the participants based on their personality. Let the participants first fill out the personality questionnaires in advance and try to create a sample were all personality domains were covered. This might improves the study where the researcher could maybe distinguish more between personalities and the interrogation preferences.

A last recommendation can be made based on the limitation of the standardized protocols. Future research could remove these standardized protocols and only try to control the theoretical framework. Meaning that the participants can choose how to do the interview but must follow the general rules. In the end it is interesting to notice how personality plays a role considering the comfort feeling with the whole approach, thus also in coming up with the story or questions and not only the tactics.

**Conclusion**

This exploratory study suggest that there are relationships between personality and comfortableness with interrogation methods. The findings reveal that people who are more adaptable feel more comfortable using the Scharff tactics, and people who are less organized feel more comfortable with the Scharff approach. For the direct approach, people who are having less trouble in using manipulating tactics towards others feel more comfortable using pressure tactics. Due to the results it is reasonable to assume that not every interrogator fits into every interrogation method and since interrogations are daily and important task of the police which should be done correctly to contribute to the investigation, further research is needed. Future studies might profit from using this study and results as basis for further examining the specific relationship between personality and interrogation methods. More research is needed and maybe someday, as already is done in other job functions, personality could be also used as recruitment strategy related to specific interrogation methods. Which in the end might improve the effectiveness of the interrogation because the right person would be assigned to the right technique.

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**Appendix**

**Appendix A**: *Background information Direct approach*

During this interview, you are going to read a standardized interview protocol, with the goal to gather intelligence about a possible future attack. This protocol consist open ended questions which are directly related to the attack. It will start with the basic questions, who, what, where, when, why and how. This questions are formulated in a way that they require a narrative answer instead of a yes or a no. The source isn't always helpful, therefore below there are presented some tactic to release some pressure towards the source. Although, you are required to read the questions from the protocol word-by-word, you have to supplement the tactic listed below. You can this tactic before you are asking the next question. Read the instructions how to perform and use each tactic carefully. Try to follow the instructions of the protocol with as much involvement as you can.

1. When the source isn't willing to help, sometime pressure is used during an interview. There are some statements you can use to increase this pressure towards the source. There are 3 pressure statements you might could use during the interview. In general these statements are focusing on the answer of the source. Another way to increase the willingness is to mention the possible consequences. Some examples presented below.
   a. *I understand you do not want to get in trouble but we still need some answers to prevent that innocent people get hurt.*
   b. *If we don't prevent this attack there will be people dying. So do you know*
   c. *Are you sure you don't know anything about ….*

   You can use the statement before you are asking the next question or when you are feeling the source is not helping.

**Background information scenario**

You've been contacted by a source that says s/he has information of interest to you. You know this source has been involved with some criminal networks, so s/he usually holds good information. However, a source may not always be completely truthful and may try to avoid saying everything. The source has now approached you with some information about a planned bombing by a group named GMD. The source has inside information because a friend of him, is part of the GMD. The police already knows the group a bit. They are from Rotterdam consisting of 15 people. They have planned an attack before which failed because of a conflict inside the group. This conflict resulted in that Jesse, the founder of the group has left. Furthermore, the police now knows they are planning an attack in Enschede, which should occur the 27th of April during Kingsday. It is important that you gather more information on this attack. The source could maybe help you.

The questions are fixed but you can use the tactics above to present the question or release some pressure. Read the protocol below as many times as you want before starting the interview, feel free to take notes. You are bringing the protocol with you so you don't have to memorize the questions. You can read is word- by – word towards the source.

## Appendix B.

### Conversation protocol Direct approach

Hello and welcome. My name is _____. Good that you have signed in. Well, there's an important reason for you contacting me, but first just let me say that I understand the difficult situation you're in. At the same time you must understand that we can't just allow bombings like this to take place. That's why I have to make sure that the information you have really can help us. Therefore, I want to ask you some question about the attack and hopefully you can tell us more details about the attack.

**_Interviewer:_** Why is GMD planning an attack, what is their motive?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** Who is participating in this attack?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** What is the exact location and time of the attack?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** When is the bomb going to be delivered on the location?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** Is the bomb already manufactured?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** How is the bomb going to be delivered?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** So we have talked about ……. (*summarize the interview in your own words*)…..

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** Do, you have anything else you'd like to add before we end this conversation?

*Await response*

**_Interviewer:_** Okay than thank you for sharing your information with me. It is very helpful, if there suddenly come up some more details about the attack you wanted to share with us, you can always contact us. Thank you.

**Appendix C**

**Background information Scharff approach**

During this interview, you are going to read a standardized interview protocol. This protocol consists of the story you are going to present to the source (to demonstrate your knowledge of the case). Try to follow the instructions of the protocol with as much involvement as you can. Importantly, although you are required to read the protocol word-by-word, you have to supplement this by adhering to the five tactics listed below. Read the instructions and how to perform of each tactic carefully, and use them as best as you can during the interview. The full purpose of each tactic will be explained after the study is over.

1.  It is important that you create a <u>positive atmosphere</u> for the source. Be friendly, open and kind, and try to make the source feel comfortable and relaxed. The more relaxed you can make the source feel, the more he or she is likely to talk.

2.  Try to <u>give the impression that you already know everything about the attack</u>. One way to give such an impression is to present the information you already have (by reading the protocol). You can then supplement your story by saying things such as: "I already have most of the information", "it's unlikely that you can contribute with much information" and so on. This impression could result in that the source feels less pressure to reveal information that advances your knowledge, to give you new information.

3.  <u>You cannot demand any information</u> (as this would work against that you already know a lot). Instead, you will need to evoke information from the source (i.e., draw out bits and pieces). During the storytelling (i.e., reading your protocol) you can try to influence the source to add details to your story. This could be done by being silent for a few seconds, or giving some space in your story, so the source gets the opportunity to react or fill out some details. While you are leaving space you can try to use encouraging techniques such as nodding and leaning forward.

4.  Although you cannot ask direct questions, <u>you will have the opportunity to present claims</u>. However, you need to follow two simple rules described on the next page. Also, after presenting a claim, you have to leave some space so the source can react. If the source reacts, then treat this information as already known and continue reading the protocol. If the source doesn't react, wait for 4 seconds and then simply continue, behaving as nothing happened.

5. When the source reveals an important piece of information you should ignore it. That is, behave as if it was already known, irrelevant or uninteresting. You can be creative when applying this tactic: Maintain a silent stone face, quickly switch the topic, or act as the information is common knowledge (but remember the rules of point 1: Positive atmosphere).

## Summary of tactics

1. Be friendly
2. Create the illusion of knowing it all
3. Never pressure (don't ask questions)
4. Present uncertain information so that it can be confirmed/disconfirmed
5. Ignore new information revealed

## Rules for presenting claims

*After the response of the source try to create some claims as the tactic describes above. Below there are three topics in which you have gather intel before. There pointing in two directions. Choose how you wanted to present the claim, the most reliable one or are you choosing the less reliable one. Than note if the source is confirming or disconfirming this information.*

1) if there is intelligence pointing in two different directions (e.g., the attack will happen at either "location A" or "location B"), you can pick one alternative and present it as a claim (e.g., "we already have information that the attack will happen at location A").

2) if there are likelihoods attached to the alternatives (e.g., Location B is more likely than Location A), you can choose if you want to claim something that might be confirmed by the source ("That's correct, it will happen at location B") or might be disconfirmed by the source ("I don't know where it is, but it's not location A").

On the next page you will find the protocol with the information you are going to present and read word-by-word towards the source. At the end of the protocol you will find some information with which you can make the three claims you are going to present. If you want to, you can write down the claims you are wanted to claim in advance, so you don't have to hesitate or choose during the interview. You are expected to present the claims at the end of the interview, after you've read through the protocol.

Now go through the protocol as many times you need. You will bring this protocol with you during the interview (you don't have to memorize it), but the better you know the details the easier it will be for you. Feel free to take notes.

If you have any questions, please ask the experimenter.

## Appendix D

### *Conversation protocol Scharff approach*

Hello and welcome. My name is _____. Good that you have signed in.

Well, there's an important reason for you contacting me, but first just let me say that I understand the difficult situation you're in. At the same time you must understand that we can't just allow bombings like this to take place. That's why I have to make sure that the information you have really can help us. So, to make this conversation a bit more effective, let me start with sharing some of the information that we already know.

*Await response*

We know that you and Peter are good friends, and that you have known each other for quite some time. We also know that it was Peter who founded MDA together with Willem. They were both moving around in radical groups, long before they got to know each other about 10 years ago. But now the times have changed, and you know as well as we do that Willem is no longer a part of the group after everything that happened in The Hague.

*Await response*

Fortunately for the group, and in contrast with the ideas of Willem, the other members don't have any problems with the Germans. Well, of what we understand, it was Peter who got to know the Germans and brought them into the group. Which actually explains why Willem got so angry at him. Because, he had a completely different philosophy than the Germans when it comes to blowing stuff up.

*Await response*

Okay, let me get a bit more specific. In addition to all this, we know that MDA is a left-wing extremist group which was formed during the political riots in Rotterdam in 2015. When it comes to the current situation, we know they consist of approximately 10 members and that Willem is out of the picture. We also know that not everyone in the group will be involved in the actual execution of the attack. We understand the purpose of carrying out an attack at a central shopping mall is to

create headlines for the cause, something that will be greatly increased since this is planned to take place around a holiday. And although we don't have to tell you that we take this very seriously and that we must prevent the attack at all costs. Because, even if MDA doesn't aim to hurt innocent people, the time of the attack is very critical given the number of people that will be around during the 5th of May.

*Await response*

Well, that was a bit of an overview of what I know, I hope you didn't mind that I took the initiative like that. Once again, I'd just like to point out that I understand the difficult situation you find yourself in, I get that you're probably feeling overwhelmed. But I want you to understand that I have no intentions of selling you out. And since you know what I know, you should understand that we're already in possession of some useful information … but of course, you're more than welcome to tell us what you know….

*Await response*

**Information for claims**

This is the information you can use as claim.

**1) Involved members:** There intelligence suggest that not everyone is working on this attack. There is intel pointing out that there are **5** or **7** people involved in this attack. The most reliable intel suggest that 5 people are participating in the currently planned attack.

**2) The shopping mall**: You know that the attack is taking place in a shopping mall in Enschede. Intelligence points out in two different shopping malls. First **the Miro** shopping mall and second **the Klanderij** shopping mall. The most reliable intelligence refers to the Klanderij because it is more in the centre, but we are not sure yet.

**3) The delivery time**: About the delivering of the bomb: Existing intelligence suggest the bomb will be placed just **after opening time** of the shops, but it might also be placed just **before closing time**. The more reliable intelligence points to before closing time.

*End the interview:* Okay than thank you for sharing your information with me. It is very helpful, if there suddenly come up some more details about the attack you wanted to share with us, you can always contact us. Thank you.

## Appendix E

### *Background information Source Direct Approach*

Thank you for helping out with this experiment. The experiment is about gathering intelligence during an interrogation. You will take the role of the source who will be interviewed by an interviewer. Below you will find the instructions for how to behave during the interview.

### Background information

Imagine that economic problems, not caused by yourself, made you participate in the robbery of an armored car carrying cash in the fall of 2016. The actual robbery went fine, but three months ago the other three who were involved in the act got arrested. The only one who is still free is you, but you feel that this is only a matter of time. You know where most of the cash (approximately €5 million) is kept. You understand that your time is scarce, and you immediately need to get the cash and move yourself and your money out of the EU.

Some time ago you got an idea of how this could be accomplished, and briefly your plan is as follows: Through a close friend, you have received information that a radical political group has plans to perform a terrorist attack in Enschede. Your plan is to reveal information about this planned attack to the police, and in favor of providing information receive free transport out of the EU.

Nevertheless, you don't like the police at all, you contacted the AIVD ten days ago and carefully asked if there was any interest in talking further about this matter. The officer said they were very interested in talking more closely with you, and that the free transport would be granted if you would provide "satisfactory" information. The officer also firmly explained that the free transport will not be discussed during the upcoming conversation, as the AIVD is not officially allowed to offer such exchanges (and your conversation has to be recorded for the record). You recognized that you had no choice but to agree to these terms.

Remember you have contacted the police because you had not choice, not because you like them, hence you don't like them at all. You have a negative attitude and are not sitting here for your own pleasure.

**What you know about the planning of the upcoming attack is as follows:**

**General**

You know that the group planning the attack is called GMD, it consists of approximately 15 members and is located in Rotterdam. You also know that the group has existed since 2015 as result of the political riots that year. You know that the group, who were in cooperation with three France guys, had planned a bomb attack in 2017 in Rotterdam. However that operation was cancelled and failed due to internal conflicts in the GMD. This conflict resulted in one of the leading figures of the group, Jesse Janssen, leaving GMD.

**Your Relationship to GMD**

Wouter Klemans, who is your close friend, and Jesse Janssen who has founded GMD. You know the background of the internal conflict. In brief, Jesse Janssen wanted to increase the effect of the attack with human casualties, something the France members refused to go along with. Since the other members sided with the France, this dispute forced Jesse to leave GMD. Jesse and Wouter are currently bitter enemies, as it was Wouter who introduced the France to GMD.

**Specific Details about the Upcoming Attack**

You know that 10 persons are working more specifically with the planning of the attack. Among these 10 there are the three France (a two males and a female) who are both experts on explosives. You also know that these three France people are bomb experts participated in the planning of the bomb attack that would have been performed in Rotterdam, which was cancelled. You know that the public squares was subjected for the planned attack is the Oude Markt in Enschede, and you know that the attack will take place during a public holiday, namely Kingsday the 27th of April. You also know that the plan is to plant the bomb during daytime, and that the bomb will be detonated at 10PM via an advanced remote detonator. The bomb will be placed in a bag, which will be brought to the square around 5.00PM. That is, one hour before closing time of all the shops. You do not know what kind of bomb it is or where the bomb is located at the moment (or if it is manufactured yet).

You have now been (a) informed of the reason you will talk with the police and (b) received information about an upcoming terrorist attack. Also remember: *You are not a member of the terrorist group and you are not involved in their planning, but you are a close friend to one of the members and you feel some sympathy for the group's opinions.* So you have a bit of a dilemma because you want to help yourself by

giving the police information in trade for the deal, but also you don't want to be a big traitor towards the group.

Try to behave as similarly as possible with all interviewers.

## Appendix F

### *Conversation protocol source Direct approach*

Use your experimental alias throughout the study. You alias is **WOLF**. You only need to respond with your standardized responses. The script is standardized and you will also see what the interviewer is saying an what you should react as response. Let the interviewer initiate the conversation. After every question you have the opportunity to say something. The reactions are standardized below.

**Source**: I don't know. I only know that Jesse has left the group

**Source:** Not everyone is participating.. Jesse wanted to increase the effect of the bomb but the new France members refused to go along with that, therefore Jesse was forces to leave the group. Of the 15 people 10 people of the group are helping on this attack.

**Source:** I am not sure, but I though one of the public squares in Enschede, the oude markt. It is planned around 17:00

**Source:** On the 27th of April, on Kingsday.

**Source:** Don't react just ignore the question

**Source:** I don't know, I only know that the three France people are experts on explosives.

**Source:** Uhuh

**Source:** not really … The only thing is that I am only afraid to get in trouble with the group.

**Appendix G**

***Background source Scharff approach***

Thank you for helping out with this experiment. The study is about gathering information during an interview. You will take the role of the source who will be interviewed by an interviewer. Below you will find the some background information and instructions for how to behave during the interview.

**Background information**

Imagine that economic problems, not caused by yourself, made you participate in the robbery of an armored car carrying cash in the fall of 2017. The actual robbery went fine, but three months ago the other three who were involved in the act got arrested. The only one who is still free is you, but you feel that this is only a matter of time. You know where most of the cash (approximately €5 million) is kept. You understand that your time is scarce, and you immediately need to get the cash and move yourself and your money out of the EU.

Some time ago you got an idea of how this could be accomplished, and briefly your plan is as follows: Through a close friend, you have received information that a radical political group has plans to perform a terrorist attack in Enschede. Your plan is to reveal information about this planned attack to the police, and in favour of providing information receive free transport out of the EU.

You contacted the AIVD ten days ago and carefully asked if there was any interest in talking further about this matter. The officer said they were very interested in talking more closely with you, and that the free transport would be granted if you would provide "satisfactory" information. The officer also firmly explained that the free transport will not be discussed during the upcoming conversation, as the AIVD is not officially allowed to offer such exchanges (and your conversation has to be recorded for the record). You recognized that you had no choice but to agree to these terms.

Remember that you contacted the police because you had no other choice, not because you like them. That is, you have a negative attitude towards the police in general and your aim is to help yourself, not the police (although you realize you have to show some good will if to receive the help you need)

**What you know about the planning of the upcoming attack is as follows:**

**General**

You know that the group planning the attack is called MDA, it consists of **approximately 10 members and is located in Rotterdam**. You also know that the group has existed since 2015 as result of the political riots that year. You know that the group, who were in cooperation with two German guys, had planned a bomb attack in 2017 on the conference centre in The Hague where at that moment a political top meeting was held. However that operation was cancelled and failed due to internal conflicts in the MDA. This conflict resulted in one of the leading figures of the group, Willem Verhoek, leaving MDA.

**Your Relationship to MDA**

Peter Janssen, who is your close friend, and Willem Verhoek who has founded MDA. You know the background of the internal conflict. In brief, Willem Verhoek wanted to increase the effect of the attack with human casualties, something the Germans refused to go along with. Since the other members sided with the Germans, this dispute forced Willem to leave MDA. Willem and Peter are currently bitter enemies, as it was Peter who introduced the Germans to MDA.

**Specific Details about the Upcoming Attack**

You know **that five persons are working more specifically with the planning** of the attack. Among these five there are the two Germans (a male and a female) who are both experts on explosives. **You also know that these two German bomb experts participated** in the planning of the bomb attack that would have been performed in The Hague (2017), which was cancelled. You know that the shopping mall subjected for the planned attack is De Klanderij in Enschede, and you know that the attack will take place during a public holiday, **namely Liberation Day (2018).** You also know that the plan is to plant the bomb during daytime, and that the bomb will be detonated at 11PM via an advanced remote detonator. The bomb will be placed in a TV, which will be returned as "defect" at 5.55PM. That is, **five minutes before closing time.** The store, Mediamarkt, where the TV will be returned is centrally located in the mall. You do not know what kind of bomb it is or where the bomb is located at the moment (or if it is manufactured yet).

You have now been (a) informed of the reason you will talk with the police and (b) received information about an upcoming terrorist attack. Also remember: *You are not a member of the terrorist group and you are not involved in their planning, but you are a close friend to one of the members and you feel some sympathy for the group's opinions.*

Although you will respond in accordance with a standardized script, please do your best to behave as similarly as possible with all interviewers (consider your dilemma of not revealing too much or too little information).

## Appendix H

*Conversation protocol source Scharff approach*

**What you are going to reveal about the attack**

Use your experimental alias throughout the study. You alias is **WOLF**. You only need to respond with your standardized responses.

If the interviewer is talking, listen carefully. Sometimes the interviewer leaves some spaces or silence in their speaking. If you have the chance to say something say the following stated below:

*Opportunities would be seen as the interviewer leaves silence, the interviewer encouraging you to say something or holes in the talking of the interviewer.*

Let the officer initiate the conversation.

**First opportunity**

Okay

**Second chance to say anything say this information:**

That's right

**Next opportunity:**

Uh-huh, the MDA doesn't want to hurt anyone.. but Willem wanted to increase the effect of the attack with human casualties, the Germans refused to go along with that. That's why Willem was forced to get out of the group.

**Next opportunity:**

Don't react

**Next opportunity**

I don't know everything, what I know is a bit the same as you already stated. The group is working on attacking a shopping mall at the 5$^{th}$ of May, and that not every one of the group is participating

in the attack… that group who is participating has two people, the German ones, who are experts on explosives. I don't know what kind of bomb it is or where the bomb located now.

**Next opportunities**

*Now the interviewer is going to present three claims.*

*First claim:* React by truth, so confirm or disconfirm the given information.

*Second claim:* Ignore this statemen, don't react at all.

*Third claim:* React by truth, so confirm or disconfirm the given information.

## Appendix I

Table 1.

*Revealed information in each approach.*

| Approach 1 Direct Method | Approach 2 Scharff Method |
| --- | --- |
| Jesse wanted to increase the effect with human causalities which the France refused to go along with that. That's why Jesse was forces to left. | Willem wanted to increase the effect of the attack with human casualties, the German refused to go along with that. That's why Willem left |
| Group involves 3 France people | The group involves 2 German people |
| The day of the attack 27$^{th}$ of April | The day of the attack 5$^{th}$ of may |
| The group existing of 15 persons | The group who are planning the attack are existing of two people who are experts on explosives |
| The attack takes place at one of the public squares in Enschede | The attack takes place in a mall. |
| Group existing of 10 people who are working on this attack | Group 5 people are working on the attack |
| Delivery time around 05:00 pm | Delivery time around closing time. |

**Appendix J**

**Table 2. Coding scheme answers Scharff approach**

| Category | Code | Terms | Explanation | Examples text fragments Scharff |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferences | Liked or disliked Scharff or Direct | Easy, good, difficult, liked, disliked. | What did they like about the Scharff or Direct approach? | I could easily adapt in the situation because I had a whole story to build on. |
| | | | What did they not like about the Scharff or Direct approach? | It was difficult to ignore the person completely but still pretend if you already know everything. |
| | | | | I disliked that you may not ask a question |
| Personality | | Talkative, adapt | How the participants see themselves fitting their personality in the technique? | It is *easy for me to talk* |
| | | | | I am normally happy and *easy to talk* to so this was easy for me |
| | | | | I could *easily adapt* in the situation because I had a whole story to build on. |
| Atmosphere | Positive atmosphere | Friendly, conversation, comfortable, relaxed, space, open | How the technique influenced the atmosphere of the interview. | It felt more *friendly* towards the source. |
| | | | | It felt more like an conversation where the informant could *speak freely* |
| | | | | It felt good to give some *space* towards the source. |
| | | | | This approach better because there was a more *relaxed vibe* during the interview. |

Feels like you are not making the source *nervous,* making him/her feeling more comfortable

Making him/her feeling *more comfortable*

By pretending to know it all, you make yourself seem less dependent on the person you're interview, and more in a position of power.

The *positive atmosphere* and the *friendliness* towards the source felt more comfortable. It was more like a *conversation* instead of an interview

It is more *relaxing and easier* to get some information out of the informant

**Appendix K**

**Table 3. Coding scheme answers Direct approach**

| Category | Code | Terms | Explanation | Examples text fragment Direct |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferences | Liked or disliked Scharff or Direct | Easy, good, difficult, liked, disliked. | What did they like about the Scharff or Direct approach? | Didn't had to think about what question hey wanted to ask<br>Liked the freedom of using pressure statements |
| | | | What did they not like about the Scharff or Direct approach? | Less variety in your interview |
| Personality | Being direct | Direct, strong, goal orientated (conscientiousness), | How do the participants see themselves in the technique? | I liked the direct question approach, because the question where short and so they were easy to read out load. Also I am also a bit direct in real life so this approach fits me well |
| | | | | I have a direct personality and therefore liked the direct approach more. |
| | | | | Persons who are stating they are less direct argue that the approach are less applicable to them. |
| | | | | I usually try to avoid confrontations, and therefore I didn't like the direct method |
| Atmosphere | Negative atmosphere | Pressure, direct, nervous | | Felt like I was enforcing an answer and making the source nervous |
| | | | | It releases a more negative atmosphere. |

A feeling of leadership during the interview was conducted by asking direct questions.

Releasing the pressure felt uncomfortable

Felt like I was enforcing an answer and making the source nervous.

Feels like the source doesn't appreciate it.

Could feel towards the source as a cross interview instead of a conversation.