The Role of Respect for Rapport in Investigative Interviews

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Abstract

Police investigations often rely on the success of investigative interviews. Up until now, rapport is widely used as an important psychological mechanism through which investigative interviews can be effective. However, it is not entirely understood how rapport in investigative interviews develops and how rapport affects interview outcomes. There are some indications that suspects who feel respected by the investigative interviewer tend to cooperate more. Based on existing literature, the feeling of being respected might be a foundation for the development of rapport because feeling respected encourages one to open up and cooperate. This study investigates the relationship of rapport and respect and the role of rapport and respect for the effectiveness of investigative interviews. A sample of mostly university students ($N = 48$) participated in an online experimental study for which they had to read a vignette in which they steal an iPhone. Subsequently, they were questioned in an investigative interview about the iPhone theft. In the investigative interview, the interviewer behaved aligned with either an information gathering interview approach or with an accusatory interview approach. Participants questioned by an information gathering interviewer reported significantly higher rapport in the investigative interview and that they felt more respected by the interviewer. The effect of interview style on rapport was found to be mediated through respect. Special attention should be given in future studies to the question if rapport building could benefit from giving special attention to the interviewee feeling respected.

Keywords: respect, rapport, investigative interviews

The Role of Respect for Rapport in Investigative Interviews

Investigative interviews are an important element of a functioning justice system that respects human rights. In 1977, Banscherus found out in a study by the German police that revealing the facts of a case is mainly achieved through testimonies. A more recent study commissioned by the New Zealand police mirrors the results (Schollum, 2005). In law enforcement, rapport is viewed as very important for revealing details in investigative interviews (Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015). Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) defined rapport as the experience that it "clicked" in a communicative effort. Vrij, Meissner, Fisher, Kassin, Morgan III and Kleinman (2017) found that rapport in an investigative interview can be associated with the retrieval of more reliable information. Following this idea/finding, an investigative interview can stimulate the retrieval of crime details through the level of rapport.

However, the exact manner through which rapport develops or can be developed intentionally by an investigative interviewer is still not completely understood (Abbe & Brandon, 2013). Holmberg and Christianson (2002) found indications that rapport in investigative interviews can be associated with the criminal suspects feeling respected. They conclude that feeling respected gives mental space to the suspects, builds rapport and encourages them to admit criminal behaviour. Rapport can be manipulated through the interview technique used by the investigative interviewer (Alison, Alison, Noone, Elntib, & Christiansen, 2013). In the present study, two popular interview approaches, the accusatory and the information gathering approach are compared (A) in regard to their presumed effect on the amount of details provided by the interviewees, (B) if this presumed effect on the amount of retrieved details is mediated by rapport, (C) if the presumed effect of the interview approach on rapport is mediated by the interviewee feeling respected. Because research question A and B replicate previous research (e.g. Abbe & Brandon, 2013; Alison et al.,

2013), the main focus of this study is research question C as it explores a previously neglected research area.

The Accusatory Interview Style

Accusatory interview styles are characterised by the use of methods similar to and including the Reid technique (Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2001) such as minimisation (minimising the seriousness of the offense, i.e., *'Everyone would have done it, it is understandable'*) and maximisation (exaggerating the evidence and seriousness of the offense, i.e., *'I know you killed him'*). The Reid technique is extensively used in the US as a training manual for police officers (Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015). In accusatory interviews, subjects are interviewed with an underlying assumption of guilt and interrogators make use of "trickery and deceit" (Gudjonsson, 2003, p.10). An interrogators goal in the accusatory approach is to obtain a confession and the suspect's version of events is not of interest unless it supports the interviewer's pre-supposed narrative (for an extensive summary of the Reid Technique see Gudjonsson, 2003, p.10-21).

The Information Gathering Interview Style

In contrast to accusatory approaches, information gathering approaches are similar to the PEACE model that followed the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) of 1984 which was established in England in response to multiple high-profile miscarriages of justice where cases were built around false confessions[1] (Gudjonsson, 2003). Williamson (1994) describes the PEACE-model as non-coercive interviewing which does not assume guilt and focuses on information gathering rather than obtaining a confession like the REID technique. Confession is explicitly not an aim in an information gathering approach and giving (sceptical) space for the victim to explain their version of events is of high importance

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[1] For an explanation of how false confessions trigger a vicious biased process against innocent subjects see Scherr, Redlich and Kassin (2020).

(Meissner, Redlich, Michael, Evans, Camilletti, Bhatt, & Brandon, 2014). Gudjonsson (2003) describes the information gathering style as more ethical than accusatory ones and with lower likelihood of false confessions. Information gathering approaches were found to be more effective in eliciting reliable information than accusatory interviews (Alison et al., 2013; Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015). Vallano and Schreiber Compo (2015) found that rapport may cause this effectiveness.

Rapport in Investigative Interviewing

A widely used definition of rapport is "a relationship that provides participants with a warm feeling" (Vanderhallen, Vervaeke, & Holmberg, 2011 as cited in Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015, p. 86). Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) put rapport into measurable terms by conceptualised as consisting of three components: positivity, attention, and coordination. If a high degree of rapport is present, then the communicators attend to each other (= attention). This attentiveness goes along with a general friendliness (= positivity) in the communicative effort. Additionally, the communication is experienced as smooth (= coordinated). In such a state, "a guilty suspect's likelihood to talk [may be enhanced]" (Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015, p.93), thus increasing the amount of reliable information that is being shared by the interviewee Rapport seems to be crucial for eliciting details of a crime in investigative interviewing. However, the exact nature of building rapport is still not fully understood (Vallano & Schreiber Compo, 2015).

The Role of Feeling Respected for the Development of Rapport

There are indications that feeling respected might play a key role in rapport development. Holmberg and Christianson (2002) conclude that *if* interviewees feel respected, it gives them the feeling that they can share information without being condemned as individuals. Rapport could be established through (the interviewer) conveying respect, which creates a positive atmosphere which in turn invites the suspect to confide with the

investigative interviewer (Hartwig, Anders Granhag, & Vrij, 2005). The role of respect for

rapport building could be that respect creates the foundation for the development of rapport

(Abbe and Brandon, 2013).

The Structure of the Current Study

Aligned with the aforementioned aims of this study, (A) interviewees questioned by

an information gathering interviewer are expected to share more information with the

interviewer than when questioned by an accusatory interviewer and this effect is expected to

be mediated by rapport. (B) The information gathering interview style is expected to lead to

higher rapport than the accusatory style. (C) The interviewees feeling of being respected

should be immediately influenced by the used interview style and should in turn increase the

rapport in the interview. So, the effect of interview style on rapport is expected to be

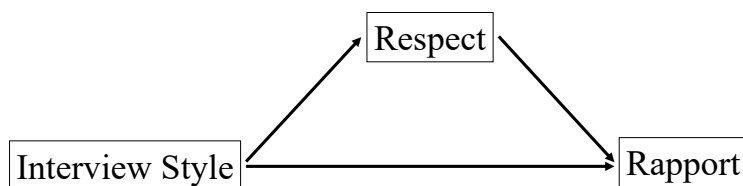mediated by respect (See Figure A).

Figure A. Visual representation of the assumed simple mediation model. Interview Style is
expected to affect rapport, but this effect will be mediated through the interviewees feelings
of being respected.

Methods

Participants

A convenience sample was recruited from the research teams' social environment

based on their availability and the condition that they speak fluent English. Two participants

were excluded because in two cases the interviewer and the participant were acquainted. Due

to technical difficulties, two audio recordings had to be excluded. Thus, statistical tests

involving the variables for which recording was necessary (interview length and the amount

of details retrieved) are conducted with a sample size of $N = 46$. All other statistical tests

were conducted with a sample size of $N = 48$. The final sample included 23 male and 25

female participants. Thirty-nine participants were German, four Dutch, and the remaining five

participants were from other European countries. The age ranged from 19 to 54 years, with

only two participants being older than 25 ($Mdn = 21$, $SD = 6.54$).

Materials

A vignette, Skype and electronic devices such as laptops for the Skype calls, two

different interview schemes (one for information gathering interviews and one for accusatory

interviews), two surveys and a debrief form were used. The vignette describes a story in

which the narrator sits down in a café and looks around, observing different objects and

customers, before stealing an iPhone (see Appendix A).

The interview schemes. The interview schemes were taken from Weiher, Watson,

Luther and Taylor (2018). The interview schemes for the accusatory and the information

gathering interview style consist of exactly the same questions which is in line with the

recommendation of Vallano und Schreiber Compo (2015) who state that it is problematic that

experiments which compare information gathering and accusatory approaches inherently

distort the results of this comparison due to other techniques that are implied by the

respective approach (e.g., the use of open-ended questions in the information gathering

interview style). Vallano and Schreiber Compo (2015) recommend that future studies should

try to isolate the effects of the approaches, which is tried by standardising the questions. A

difference between the both interview styles in this experiment is only the introduction in the

respective interview scheme and the use of minimal encouragement in the information

gathering condition. The information gathering introduction is in line with PEACE

(Williamson, 1994). The cooperative nature of the interview, role responsibilities and the

procedures and rules for engagement are clearly explained. It is explicitly stated that the aim

of the interview is to get the suspects version of events. The accusatory introduction makes

use of aspects of the Reid-Technique, for instance assumption of guilt as well as making

direct accusations ('*I am certain that you stole that phone!*') and using minimisation ('*A lot of

people probably would have done the same thing*') and maximisation ('*It cost the owner a lot

of money and has a lot of her sentimental/ private photos on it, and some data she won't be

able to get back.*'). In the information gathering condition, minimal encouragement such as

"Hmm" was used, and the interviewers tried to act more inviting through smiling.

      The Questionnaires. Regarding the two surveys, the first survey contained

demographic questions and questions on the participants personality (see Appendix B) – the

participants' personality is not included in the statistical tests of this report, but in the report

of a fellow researcher. The second survey contained items concerned with the participants

perception/feeling of the interview and included the RS3i (Rapport Scales for Investigative

Interviews and Interrogations) by Duke, Wood, Bollin, Scullin and LaBianca (2018) to

measure rapport (see Appendix C) and a newly developed respect questionnaire.

      The RS3i. Duke et al. (2018) reported that the RS3i demonstrated adequate or higher

internal reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha > .70$) for all scales. Regarding the RS3i's validity, two

subscales (*expertise* and *commitment to communication*) "should be interpreted with caution"

(p.72) while all other subscales (*Cultural Similarity, Attentiveness, Connected Flow,*

Trust/Respect) demonstrated satisfactory validity (Duke et al., 2018). For the calculation of the rapport scores in this study, the whole RS3i is used (including the subscales *expertise* and *commitment to communication*).

      The Respect Questionnaire. To the knowledge of the author there is no questionnaire in circulation which measures how respected by an investigative interviewer an interviewee felt during an investigative interview. Thus, to develop a novel respect subscale, parts of Clucas' and St. Claire's (2010) article "The effect of feeling respected and the patient role on patient outcomes" in which they summarise important aspects of respectful behaviour were used as a main foundation. Contents of their article were reformulated into eight items which could be answered on a five-point Likert scale (strongly agree – strongly disagree). The items range from "The interviewer recognised my worth" (item 1) over "the interviewer respected me" (item 7) to "I was treated as a human being" (item 8). For the whole scale, see Appendix D.

      The Amount Of Details Provided. For the variable "details" which represents the amount of details retrieved from the interviewees, the interviews were transcribed. I coded the interviews based on the PLAT(OC) (people/ personal description (p), location (l), action (a), temporal (t), object (o), conversation (c)) coding scheme from Weiher (in preparation), in which all of the aforementioned details are coded once on their first mention. The total number of coded details per interview represents the amount of details provided, so 50 coded details are a score of 50 in the variable "details", 60 are a score of 60 etc...

Procedure

      Participants were contacted by the researchers and a date was agreed upon. On the day prior to the interview meeting, the participant received a mail that included the instructions to read the vignette and fill out the first survey. Attached to the mail were the vignette and the link to the first survey which also included the informed consent. Then, on

the agreed date and time, participants were called via Skype by one of the researchers (mostly the researcher who contacted them in the first place, so a friend or relative). The participant was then given additional time to read through the vignette again. Afterwards, the participant was instructed to convince the interviewer (another researcher who acted as a law enforcement officer) of their innocence. The interviewer did not know the participant given the recruitment method because the researcher *not* conducting the interview recruited the participant. The roles of the interviewer and researcher were switched everyday so that all three researchers had a similar number of interviews and that each researcher did an equal number of accusatory and information gathering interviews. Then, the researcher added the interviewer to the skype call and left the call. The interviewer followed the interview scheme which took approximately five to ten minutes. Then the interviewer added the other researcher to the call again and left the call. The researcher sent the link to the second survey to the participant. After finishing the second survey, the researcher sent the debrief sheet to the participant (which debriefed that the researchers were interested in the amount of details they shared while they were trying to convince the interviewer of their innocence. Then, after going through the debrief sheet, the participant was asked about their experience. Subsequently, the Skype call was ended.

Data Analysis

Data was analysed through SPSS Statistics Version 25. The internal reliability Cronbach's α of the RS3i and the respect subscales were computed. A Person's correlation was computed for respect and rapport to check if the scores correlate in order to have an additional indication how rapport and respect relate to each other. If they correlate perfectly (1.0) it could mean they are identical, if they correlate strongly (~.7) it can mean that they are related but not identical, and if they do not correlate at all .0 it could mean that they are not related to each other.

Independent samples t-tests were calculated for both respect and rapport to check if respect and rapport are as expected higher in the information gathering interview. As a main interest of this study is to explore if the effect of interview style on rapport occurs because interview style affects how respected the suspect feels, a mediation model with interview style as the independent variable, rapport as the dependent variable and respect as mediator variable was run. Then, an independent samples t-test was computed for "details" to check if there are significant differences in the amount of details shared between the interview styles. Additionally, a mediation model was run with interview style as independent variable and the amount of details retrieved as dependent variable, with rapport as mediator variable to see if rapport mediates the effect of interview style on the amount of details elicited as expected from literature that claims that rapport building causes greater detail retrieval. The same model with respect as mediator was also run to see whether one is a better fit for the data. The simple mediation analyses were carried out using PROCESS 3.4.1 (Hayes, 2012) with 5000 bootstrap samples for the percentile bootstrap confidence intervals. The duration of the interviews was measured from the first word spoken by the participant until the last word spoken by the participant. This ensured conformity of the recordings, because some recordings started after or during the information gathering/accusatory introduction was read and/or cut out after the participant's answer to the last question of the interview scheme. Also, measuring duration like this allowed to control for the difference of the introductions, with the information gathering introduction taking approximately twice as long as the accusatory introduction.

Results

Difference in Rapport and Respect Scores Across the Two Interview Styles

Significantly higher rapport scores were reported by the 25 participants who were interviewed by an information gathering interviewer ($M = 6.24$, $SD = 0.33$) compared to the 23 participants interviewed by an accusatory interviewer ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 0.43$), $t(48) = 2.23$, $p = .031$. This difference was strong, Cohen's d = 0.72. A similar effect was found for feeling respected: Participants who were questioned by an information gathering interviewer ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 0.47$) compared to participants interviewed by an accusatory interviewer ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 0.64$) reported significantly higher respect scores, $t(48) = 2.48$, $p = .017$. The difference was similarly strong with Cohen's d = 0.72. Both scales demonstrated high internal reliability: The respect scale had a Cronbach's α of .84 and the RS3i had a Cronbach's α of .82.

The Effect of Interview Style on Rapport Through Respect

Respect was found to fully mediate the relationship of interview style on rapport: The indirect effect of interview style on rapport through respect was significant with $b = 0.20$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.35] while there was no significant direct effect of interview style on rapport. The proposed model explained 57% of the variance in rapport scores, $R^2 = .57$, $F(1, 48) = 29.19$, $p < .001$.

$b = 0.40, p = .017$ Respect $b = 0.49 , p < .001$

Interview Style   Rapport

Direct effect, $b = 0.49$, $p = .557$
Indirect effect, $b = 0.20$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.35]
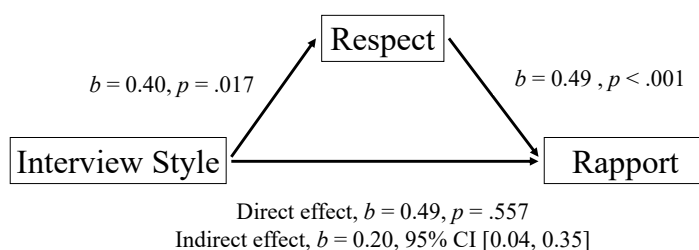
Figure B. Visual representation of how respect mediates the effect of interview style on rapport

The Effect of Interview Style on Details Provided Through Rapport

Participants who were exposed to an information gathering interviewer ($M = 64.08$, $SD = 20.46$) compared to participants interviewed by an accusatory interviewer ($M = 51.59$, $SD = 15.33$) gave away more details, $t(48) = 2.33$, $p = .025$. The effect size was strong, Cohen's d = 0.82). Accusatory interviews ($N = 22$) took $M = 5:03$ minutes ($SD = 1:37$ minutes) while humanistic interviews ($N = 24$) took significantly longer with $M = 6:26$ minutes ($SD = 2:08$ minutes), $t(46) = 2.43$, $p = .019$. The difference was strong with a Cohen's d of 0.73). In the mediation model, the direct effect of interview style on the amount of details was not significant. The indirect effect of interview style on the amount of details through rapport was non-significant with b = 1.60, 95% CI [-1.58, 5.41] (it is non-significant because the confidence intervals include zero). This means that rapport did not significantly mediate the relationship of interview style on the amount of details. The model explained 13% of the variance of details, $R^2 = .13$, $F(1, 46) = 3.21$, $p = .050$.

Diagram: Interview Style → Rapport ($b = 0.22$, $p = .055$); Rapport → Details ($b = 7.15$, $p = .322$); Interview Style → Details. Direct effect, $b = 10.89$, $p = .059$. Indirect effect, $b = 1.60$, CI [-1.47, 5.51]
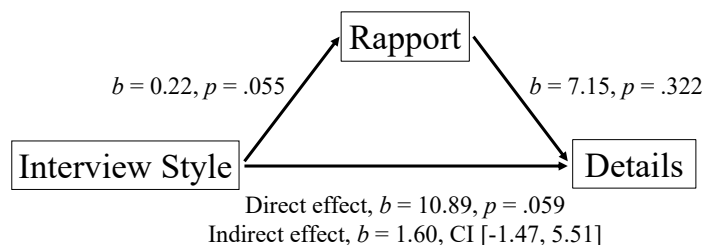
Figure C. Visual representation of the mediation model in which rapport is assumed to mediate the interview style's effect on details

The Effect of Interview Style on Details Provided Through Respect

Because rapport did not mediate the effect of interview style on details, an exploratory simple mediation model with respect as mediator was run to determine if the model with respect as mediator is a better fit for the data. Quite possibly, interview style influences details immediately through respect because respect creates the climate for sharing details. However, similar to the model with rapport, respect did not significantly mediate the effect of

interview style on details. The direct effect of interview style on details was significant ($b =$

13.06, $p = .028$) while the indirect effect of interview style on details through respect was

non-significant with $b = 0.57$, 95% CI [- 4.72, 2.65]. The model did not significantly predict
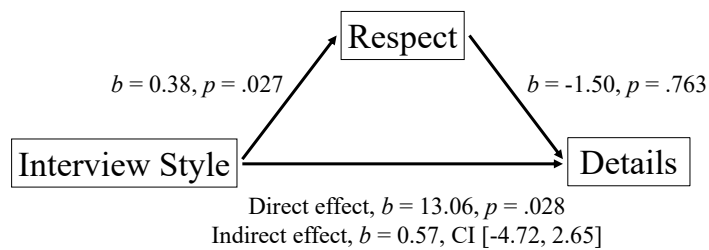
Figure D. Visual representation of the mediation model in which, instead of rapport,
respect is tested as a mediator of the effect of interview style on details

variance of the details scores, $R^2 = .11$, $F(1, 46) = 2.70$, $p = .079$.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to contribute to the body of research on the different effects of information gathering and accusatory interview approaches in regard to rapport building and the role of rapport for information elicitation in investigative interviews. Specifically, I wanted to explore if the interviewee feeling respected acts as a foundation for rapport development in order to contribute to the understanding of rapport building.

First of all, participants reported significantly higher rapport and that they felt more respected when interviewed by an information gathering interviewer in contrast to an accusatory interviewer. Since the same questions were used in both experimental conditions, this difference in respect and rapport scores can likely be attributed to the differences in the introduction and/or the use of minimal encouragement in the information gathering approach. The clearly explained cooperative nature of the interview and the explicitly stated aim that the interviewer wants to get the suspects version of events in the information gathering approach could have let to better cooperation and thus higher rapport through rational decision making as described in Lindley (1985). Maybe interviewees rationally decided to cooperate more (and thus increase rapport) because they were asked to by the interviewer. The interviewer's request to cooperate could also influence the interviewee through social compliance. Cialdini (2009) describes that people tend to socially comply with persons of authority (e.g. police officers) to avoid negative consequences. Furthermore, the researchers tried to use minimal encouragements such as "hmm" and "ok" in the information gathering approach (in contrast to the accusatory approach). Such minimal encouragements can help to maintain the flow of a conversation, which can contribute to rapport (Knight, Gibson, & Cartwright, 2018). Participants were also being called by name in the information gathering approach, which was also found to contribute to rapport building (Abbe and Brandon, 2014). Future studies could further narrow down if rational decision making, social compliance,

minimal encouragements and/or personalising the conversation through calling the participant by their name increases rapport and/or feeling respected.

The effect of the interview style on rapport was found to be fully mediated by the interviewees feeling of being respected. In the literature so far, rapport building in investigative interviews is at times defined completely without respect, e.g. Abbe & Brandon (2014) who explain rapport building without pointing out the importance of respect. Following from the results of the current research, feeling respected plays a non-negligible role in rapport building. Holmberg and Christianson found indications for the importance of feeling respected for the success of investigative interviews in 2002. However, feeling respected is apparently not of central interest in current research. This study highlights the importance of respect for rapport building. Vallano and Schreiber Compo (2015) concluded that more information on rapport building is needed and based on our results, the role of conveying respect to the interviewee could be a field of interest. It could be very valuable for future research to explore this further.

In the present study, the effect of interview style on the amount of details provided was not mediated through rapport. This is in opposition to other research (e.g. Alison et al., 2013). Although literature often supports the idea that rapport leads to the suspect sharing more information (e.g. Madsen and Santtila, 2018), different explanations are also available. Milne and Bull (2002) found that the technique of asking participants to report everything even if it is incomplete (which was asked in the information gathering condition) increased the amount of details provided. Leins, Fisher, Pludwinski, Rivard and Robertson (2014) also found that the act of instructing participants to describe their story in as much detail as possible increased detail elicitation. Participants could have simply rationally followed the instructions given to them as described by Lindley (1985), or also due to social pressure to comply to the police officer's appeal to cooperate (Cialdini, 2009). The use of minimal

encouragements also could have increased the amount of details retrieved, as described by

Knight, Gibson, & Cartwright (2018) who state that minimal encouragement can facilitate the

exploration of topics (and thus retrieved details).

Additionally, in an explorative model, it was checked if respected mediates interview

style's effect on the amount of details provided because Holmberg and Christianson (2002)

indicate that feeling respected might itself directly influence how much details the

participants share (because feeling respected encourages the suspects to open up). However,

respect also did not mediate the effect of interview style on the amount of details.

Concludingly, the exact role of rapport and respect for the retrieval of details in investigative

interviews might be helped by further empirical exploration.

Limitations

An important limitation is in that the sample and the group of interest differ a lot – our

sample is very different from the majority of criminal suspects. The sample was chosen

because the exploration of underlying psychological mechanisms of successful investigative

interviewing was the central aim of this study – internal validity was maximised while

damaging external validity. Internal validity in this case refers to the robustness of the

researched psychological mechanisms, while external validity refers to the generalisability of

the findings. The sample was biased for instance because the participants tended to have

higher education simply due to the requirement of speaking fluent English. Another

difference is that there were more women than men in the sample, although men commit

more crimes than women (Carrabine, Cox, South, Lee, Plummer & Turton, 2009). Because

women were found to require (for instance) more trust feelings than men to discuss their

offense (Van Voorhis, Salisbury, Bauman, Holsinger, & Wright, 2007), one can argue that

the different gender proportions affect the generalisability to the criminal population that will

be interviewed in an investigative interview. One has to be careful in generalising the

findings to the "real" criminal group.

Another limitation is that only one person coded the interviews, so there is no

reliability measure of the coding, although it is an academic standard (McHugh, 2012). Since

there was no inter-rater reliability, it cannot be confirmed that the coding of the amount of

retrieved details was reliable. The weak link between rapport (and respect) and the amount of

details retrieved may be caused by nonreliable coding.

An additional limitation is that data collection was completely online due to the

Covid-19 pandemic. Conducting the interview online significantly differs from real

investigative interviews where interviewees are in a completely different environment.

Gudjonsson (2003) describes that the physical interrogation environment can cause fear and

anxiety, which then influences the suspects behaviour. In our study, participants were video

called while being in their own familiar environment. There are thus big differences between

the environment in real investigations and in this study.

The use of a vignette can also be criticised, because there is too little knowledge about

the differences between the responses to vignettes and real life to generalise from findings of

a vignette to real life (Hughes, 1998). Nonetheless, vignettes are a valuable tool to

compliment other research (Hughes, 1998). However, the vignette had to be used because of

the Covid-19 pandemic – initially, a mock crime was intended. Future studies could study

real investigative interviews and try to replicate e.g. the finding that feeling respect is of

central importance for rapport building.

Conclusion

This study found new indications that the interviewees feeling of being respected

could be of central importance for how information gathering interviews raise rapport levels

in investigative interviews. Future studies should explore the role of respect for investigative

interviews further. It could be very valuable to see if our findings can be replicated in real investigative interviews. Additionally, exploring the exact reasons why information gathering approaches are found to be more effective in eliciting data can be of value since rapport was not found to be important in this study. Future studies could try to further isolate causes for the effect of information gathering approaches on rapport and the interviewee feeling respected.

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Appendix

Appendix A: The vignette sent to all participants.

UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.

Faculty of Behavioural Management and Social Science

Vignette - iPhone stealing

At 10:00 you arrive at a local cafe and are looking forward to meeting a friend at 10:30.

Since you still have 30 minutes to kill, you are sitting at a corner table and playing candy crush on your phone. While looking around you see an open red handbag on a black table close to the toilets, with a **brand new iPhone** half lying out of it. You thought about getting that exact phone a while ago and started staring at the new iPhone in the bag.

You remember standing in the Apple store the other day, weighing if you could afford the shiny, white phone with this new amazing camera. You still feel angry when you think about how you were staring at the price tag and realizing that you could not afford it. Your eyes go down to your own phone which has had a really bad broken screen for a few months now which you've never been able to get repaired.

You start looking around to see if someone is around who owns the handbag.

At the far end of the café you see a family of two parents and two small children eating together, but they seem entirely occupied with each other and their food. There is also a workman in dirty clothes leaning against the serving counter slowly drinking coffee and chatting to the server. They also seem quite engrossed with each other.

Since you are almost alone in the cafe and all the other people seem occupied by their breakfast and conversations, **you decide to stand up and walk towards the expensive red handbag**.

The black table is only about 5 meters away, but it feels much further due to the nerves. You still try not to bring any attention towards yourself and you constantly check if someone is looking at you.

BUMP A woman with big brown glasses suddenly bumps into you. You startle and you feel your heartbeat going *THUMP THUMP THUMP* bumping out of your chest. The woman apologizes, smiles at you, then continues her walk. You have no idea how you managed to miss her when you were looking around. You take a deep breath and reach the table.

[NEXT PAGE]

As you are standing in front of the table, you take a last look around to check if anyone is looking at you. The workman is walking straight towards the toilet which is right next to where you are standing, so you wait a few seconds until he passes. Up close he is a tall blond man, with an unshaven face but not a full beard. He is wearing high visibility clothing with a logo on the left chest, but you can't see what it looks like.

Once he enters the bathroom **you quickly grab the iPhone out of the handbag and put it into the left pocket of your trousers**. Your heart goes *BOOM BOOM BOOM*. You quickly walk back to your corner table and sit down with shaking hands. You wait another five minutes until your friend, Peter, finally arrives and simply hope that this will make you less suspicious.

During the whole meeting you cannot think of anything else as the phone in your pocket and you put your hands in your pocket just to touch it several times. It's got a cold touch to it. Your friend seems to notice that your mind is somewhere else and asks several times, if something was up. "*Is everything alright?*" You nod.

Suddenly, *the owner of the handback returns*. A middle aged woman with black hair, in an expensive black jacket, and designer jeans. She picks up her bag, pays at the counter and walks away.
A minute or two later and you see her heading back toward the café through the window. You decide to tell Peter that you do not feel well and to leave. Both of you get up and hug goodbye. When leaving the cafe you feel suddenly relieved *Puh* and take a deep breath of fresh air.

You decide to head straight home to work out how to access the phone and see two policemen heading towards you. You walk the other way and quickly dispose of the phone in a bin.

"You! You are under arrest for stealing a phone"

is the last thing you can hear them say, before they take you to the police station. You're shocked. You decide that you will not confess to the crime and immediately start thinking of ways to explain what happened so that you do not get in trouble.

[END]

Appendix B: The interview script for both experimental conditions.

1.1 Introduction: Information-gathering approach

Hello, my name is NAME and I'll be conducting your interview today.

Can I ask how you would like me to refer to you during this interview? _____

OK, well please feel free to call me NAME.

Now [*participant's name*], before we start talking about the events in question, I just want to go over some ground rules and guidelines for the interview today, alright?

I want to let you know that this interview is being audio and video recorded. That is just for your protection and for mine, so that we get an exact record of what is said today, OK? Because we will need to transcribe these videos and also just for common courtesy, we're going to do our best to not interrupt each other. So, when you're talking I'm not going to interrupt you and I hope you can do the same for me.

However, if throughout the interview you have any questions at all, please feel free to ask me. Also, if I ask you to repeat something, or ask some similar questions, it's because want to make sure I am as thorough as possible and get all the correct information.

OK, just so we are on the same page, I will be interviewing you about the events in the café where a woman has had her phone stolen.

The primary purpose of this interview is to obtain as much information as possible. So during this interview, it is important that you tell me everything without editing anything out and giving as much detail as possible. This is important because I wasn't there, so I don't know what happened, and I want you to have the chance to give your side of the story.

OK, so we'll begin the interview now.

1.1.1 Interview questions

- Please tell me in as much details as possible about everything that happened in the cafe?

- Is there anything else you can tell me about what happened in the café from your point of view?

- Please describe to me in as much detail as possible what you saw in the cafe?

- Tell me how you felt during your time in the cafe.

Now I will ask you some more specific questions. You may have already answered them, but if that is the case, please answer them again.

- Can you explain why you turned to walk away from my two colleagues that arrested you?

- We have an eyewitness who says that they saw you standing around where the phone was. Can you tell me what you were doing there?

- We have a second eyewitness who says he saw you acting strangely when talking to your friend. Can you explain why this man may have considered your behavior suspicious?

- Is there anything else you can tell us that might help us to understand what happened at the café?

[After questioning]. Thank you very much. I have all the information we need for now. You can please stay on the call the researcher will rejoin the conversation.

1.2

1.3   Introduction: Accusatory-interrogation method

I need to talk with you about the theft of a phone at the cafe. I am certain that you stole that phone. This is a problem because it cost the owner a lot of money and has a lot of her ==sentimental/ private== photos on it, and some data she won't be able to get back. Now, I am sure you didn't mean any harm when you took her phone. I'm sure we would all be tempted to take a phone if it was just left lying out in the open like that. A lot of people probably would have done the same thing. But I hope you can see why this is a problem.

1.3.1   Interview questions

- Please tell me in as much details as possible about everything that happened in the cafe?
- Is there anything else you can tell me about what happened in the café from your point of view?
- Please describe to me in as much detail as possible what you saw in the cafe?
- Tell me how you felt during your time in the cafe.

Now I will ask you some more specific questions. You may have already answered them, but if that is the case, please answer them again.

- Can you explain why you turned to walk away from my two colleagues that arrested you?
- We have an eyewitness who says that they saw you standing around where the phone was. Can you tell me what you were doing there?
- We have a second eyewitness who says he saw you acting strangely when talking to your friend. Can you explain why this man may have considered your behavior suspicious?

- Is there anything else you can tell us that might help us to understand what happened at the café?

[After questioning]. Thank you very much. I have all the information we need for now. You can please stay on the call the researcher will rejoin the conversation.

Appendix C: The pre-interview survey.

Informed Consent and Personality.

✱

Information Sheet   This research will investigate how people perceive the experience of being interviewed about crimes in the role of the suspect.

  The study itself will be conducted in four steps (with the first step involving about 5 minutes of reading by yourself and the other three steps taking 20-25 minutes in an online call):

1. You will receive a description of a crime together with a short survey. You will need to read the description of the crime while imagining yourself as the offender. Take your time to understand and imagine the situation and to think about how you will approach the interview so that you will be able to explain away any evidence that might suggest you are guilty. 2. We will arrange a time to call you via Skype and a researcher will explain to you the procedure in greater detail. If you need to install Skype or assistance in making the call let the researchers know and we will be glad to assist. 3. After the researcher has explained what will happen, another researcher will conduct the investigative interview with you via Skype. You will be interviewed about the crime that you have read about beforehand. You will be asked to respond as the role of the suspect. It will be your task during this interview to convince the interviewer of your innocence by answering the questions and explaining the evidence that they have against you.4. After the Interview, the researcher that interviewed you leaves the call and the first researcher takes over. He will send you a link to a questionnaire, that you then can complete. Feel free to ask the researcher any questions during this time, though they will not be able to explain the purpose of the study to you until

you have finished completing the questionnaire. After completing this questionnaire, the researcher will answer any questions you have about the study and the use of the data. Students of the University of Twente will then receive their SONA credits.

Participating in this study does not put you at any risk and the study was previously reviewed and has been approved by the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente. We will record the Skype call so that we can analyse your responses. However, these recordings will only ever be stored on secure university servers, can only be accessed by the research team, and will never be made public without your consent.

   You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time without giving any reasons for withdrawal. You can simply hang up the Skype call, the researcher will not call you back. However, if you lose connection accidentally the researcher will remain available to call back for 5 minutes.

   All questionnaire and demographic data will be anonymised so that you cannot be personally identified and will be used for completing three BSc Bachelor theses but may also be presented in an academic article or at an academic conference. Questionnaire data, but not video recordings, will also be made available to the scientific community via the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/). However, we would like to reiterate data is only available in a completely anonymous form and you will not be personally identifiable, and we will not make the recordings available to others.   For further questions or any complaints, you can contact the researchers or the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente:

 BMS ethics committee: ethicscommitee-bms@utwente.nl   For question concerning the study or the handling of the data please contact one of the researchers:

s.e.a.rieken@student.utwente.nl m.gencsoy@student.utwente.nl

j.k.e.rass@student.utwente.nl   Or you can contact the study's supervisor Dr Steven Watson:

s.j.watson@utwente.nl   - I voluntarily agree to take part in the Interview and to answer the

questionnaire and understand that have the right to withdraw from this study at any point and

that your data will be removed if you leave before completing the questionnaire   - I am over

the age of 18

- I have read the information sheet above and fully understand the purpose of the research

- I understand that if I complete the study my data will be kept confidentially and

anonymously

☐   Having read the statements above, I consent to taking part in this study

☐   (Optional) I permit the use of the recordings for presentations of this research

End of Block: Default Question Block

Start of Block: Participant number

Please enter your participant number that was sent to you via mail.

Examples: *A1403* or *H2344*

Since you will need the participant number throughout this research, **we suggest you write it**

down or keep the mail readily available.

_____

End of Block: Participant number

Start of Block: Demographics

What is your gender?

○ Male

○ Female

○ other

- -

What is your age?

_____

- -

$X→$

Where are you from?

▼ Afghanistan ... Zimbabwe

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Personality

How well do the following statements describe your personality?

I would describe myself as someone who…

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
… is reserved	○	○	○	○	○
… is generally trusting	○	○	○	○	○
… tends to be lazy	○	○	○	○	○
…. is relaxed and handles stress well	○	○	○	○	○
… has few artistic interests	○	○	○	○	○
… is outgoing/sociable	○	○	○	○	○
… tends to find fault with others	○	○	○	○	○
… does a thorough job	○	○	○	○	○
… gets nervous easily	○	○	○	○	○
… has an active imagination	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Personality

Start of Block: Transition to Interview

Thank you for your answers.

Now please click on finish and inform the researcher that you are finished with the survey.

We look forward to see you on the Interview tomorrow

○ Finish and continue to the next part

End of Block: Transition to Interview

Appendix D: The post-interview survey.

Second Survey.

Please enter your participant number that was sent to you via mail.

This is the last time you will need it.

_____

Imagine the interview that you just had was real. To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am concerned about the punishment I might receive for stealing the iPhone	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I think that I would face a harsh punishment if I were found guilty of stealing the iPhone	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A lot of people who	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

commit theft are caught and punished.							
I think it is likely that I would be found guilty of stealing the iPhone	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I think it is unlikely that I would be punished for stealing the iPhone	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I think that cooperating in an investigative interview leads to a weaker punishment.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Providing more information to the interviewer makes it more likely to get caught.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Cooperating makes it less likely that I get caught.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Cooperating leads to a harsher punishment.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

End of Block: Risk Perception

Start of Block: Rapport

To what extent to you agree/disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
I think the Interviewer is generally honest with me.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer did his/her job with skill during the interview.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer respects my knowledge	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer and I have our culture in common.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer performed expertly during the interview.	○	○	○	○	○
I think that the Interviewer can generally be trusted to keep his/her word.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer and I probably share the same ethnicity.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer really listened	○	○	○	○	○

to what I had to say.					
I was motivated to perform well during the interview.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel I can trust the Interviewer to keep his/her word to me.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer made an effort to do a good job.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer acted like a professional.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer paid careful attention to my opinion.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer and I got along well during the interview.	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer and I worked well together as a team.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer probably shares my culture.	○	○	○	○	○
I wanted to do a good job during the interview.	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer	○	○	○	○	○

was attentive to me.					
Communication went smoothly between the Interviewer and me	○	○	○	○	○
The Interviewer was interested in my point of view.	○	○	○	○	○
I felt committed to accomplishing the goals of the interview	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Rapport

Start of Block: Trustworthiness

To what extent to you agree/disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
The interviewer seemed very capable of performing their job	○	○	○	○	○
I get the impression the interviewer would be successful at the things they try to do	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed to	○	○	○	○	○

have much knowledge about how things should be done					
I feel very confident about the interviewer's skills	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed to have specialized capabilities	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed to be well qualified	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed very concerned about my welfare	○	○	○	○	○
My needs and desires seemed very important to the interviewer	○	○	○	○	○
I got the impression the interviewer would not knowingly do anything to hurt me	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed to really look out for what is important to me	○	○	○	○	○

I got the impression the interviewer would go out of their way to help me	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed to have a strong sense of justice	○	○	○	○	○
I didn't have to wonder whether the interviewer would stick to their word	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer seemed to try hard to be fair in dealings with others	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer's actions and behaviours were not very consistent	○	○	○	○	○
I like the interviewer's values	○	○	○	○	○
Sound principles seemed to guide the interviewer's behaviour	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Trustworthiness

To what extent to you agree/disagree with the following statements?

	Definitely true	Probably true	Neither true nor false	Probably false	Definitely false
The interviewer recognised my worth.	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer treated me as a rational human being.	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer treated me with sensitivity to my well being.	○	○	○	○	○
I was somewhat equal with the interviewer.	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer took me seriously.	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer gave me information that helped me to understand the interview process.	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer respected me.	○	○	○	○	○
I was treated as a human being.	○	○	○	○	○

Start of Block: Affect

Please indicate in how far you agree with the following statements regarding the interviewer.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
I liked the interviewer	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer was friendly	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer was kind	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer was pleasant	○	○	○	○	○
The interviewer was nice	○	○	○	○	○

Please indicate in how far you agree with the following statements regarding the interview.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
I liked the interview	○	○	○	○	○
The interview was pleasant	○	○	○	○	○
The interview was nice	○	○	○	○	○
I disliked the interview	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Affect

Appendix E: The email debrief.

<u>Email after interview:</u>

Thank you for participating in this research concerning your perception of an investigative interview. This research aimed to find out how different interview styles impacts on suspect behaviour in investigative interviews. The two different interview approaches that were used were an accusatory approach (rather harsh) versus an information-gathering (friendly) approach. The variables of investigation are in how far interviewed subjects trusted and respected the interviewer. These will be tested in connection to risk perception. Another variable that is to be tested is the participant's personality, which will be tested in connection to the rapport that was built. We will acquire knowledge on how respect and trust affect risk perception and how personality affects rapport. While there is a lot of research about what style of interview is most effective in police interviews, there is much less that explains why different styles of interview lead to different levels of cooperativeness from suspects. The results can help to improve investigative interviews, increase the amount of information provided by suspects and thereby lead to more successful convictions and decrease wrongful convictions.

If you have friends who will also conduct this study we'd like to ask you to not discuss the research with them until they participated as such discussions can alter the results, although if you enjoyed taking part please do feel free to ask them to contact the researchers to take part.

Feel free to contact the researchers with feedback or questions:

Melissa Gencsoy: m.gencsoy@student.utwente.nl
Sophia Rieken: s.e.a.rieken@student.utwente.nl
Jordan Rass: j.k.e.rass@student.utwente.nl

Or to make any complaints feel free to contact the study supervisor:
Dr Steven Watson: s.j.watson@utwente.nl

For further questions or any complaints, you can contact the researchers or the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente:

BMS ethics committee, ethicscommitee-bms@utwente.nl