Master Thesis

The use of suspect influencing behaviours in mock police interviews depending on guilt and interviewing style

Aimée van Schaik

Supervisors:

Dr. S.J. Watson

Dr. Ir. P.W. De Vries

MSc. I. Van Sintemaartensdijk

University of Twente

Abstract

Suspect influencing behaviours are behaviours that are used by suspects in police interviews to influence the beliefs the interviewer has about them or the crime. This research looks into the suspect influencing behaviours identified by Watson et al. (2018). The goal is to see if the same behaviours can be found in an experimental setting, and how those displayed behaviours are connected to the independent variables; suspect guilt and interviewing style. Seventy-nine participants received a scenario in which they either did or did not commit a mock crime, after which they were interviewed in either an accusatory or information gathering style (2x2 between subject design). The transcripts were coded by using Watson et al.'s (2018) taxonomy and these codes were analysed in a qualitative manner by using a deductive content analysis. The code 'information seeking' was added by inductive coding, and it represents instances in which suspects ask for information about the evidence to be able to decide their best course of action. It was found that suspects used a wide diversity of behaviours, but that they mostly used instrumental behaviours that deal with evidence or the wish to be seen as innocent. They use relational behaviours, behaviours used to bias interviewer perceptions of people and evidence, to a far lesser extent. The most common behaviours were 'rational persuasion' (45% of all observed influencing behaviours) and 'admissions' (18.7%). When comparing this to the results found by Watson et al. (2018) it was visible that the profile of the used influencing behaviours differed greatly. We found that non-guilty suspects would mostly use 'rational persuasion' to convince the interviewer about their innocence, and that guilty suspects would mostly confess to stealing the wallet.

Introduction

There has been great interest in interviewer behaviour in police interviews and the influence this has on suspect cooperation. This information has been interesting for researchers and police interviewers to develop the best possible manner of interviewing a suspect in order to get as much information from the suspect as possible.

Fewer studies, on the other hand, have focussed on the behaviours of suspects, despite the fact that they also seek to influence the beliefs of the interviewer. This is useful information as well, because it gives insight into the goals that suspects might have during the interview. On top of that, understanding suspect influencing behaviour, gives interviewers the opportunity to stay ahead of the suspect.

In the current research we will therefore look into a set of suspect influencing behaviours as developed by Watson, Luther, Jackson, Taylor, and Alison (2018), and how these behaviours occur in different interviewing styles, namely the information gathering style and the accusatory style. On top of that the current study compares the behaviours of guilty and non-guilty suspects, and hopes to give insight into how guilt influence the displayed behaviours. Those findings can be useful for future research into this topic, and to generally create more insight into those counter interrogation techniques.

Effect of Interview Style on Suspect Cooperation

Finding out what happened in the case of a crime can be a difficult task. Evidence is often scarce and investigators have to rely merely on the testimony of victims, witnesses and suspects for their information. In those cases, additional information provided by the suspect can make a huge difference. Therefore, research has been done about which styles of police interviewing would best lead to cooperation between the suspect and the interviewer, and therefore would give the most useful information that would lead to the conviction of the perpetrator.

Most interviewing styles can be traced back to two basic interviewing styles, either the accusatory style or the information-gathering style (Moston & Engelberg, 1993). In the accusatory style the interviewer confronts the suspect with an accusation of guilt. The suspect is put under pressure and the goal is mostly to get the suspect to confess. In the information gathering style, on the other hand, the interviewer does not accuse the suspect, but rather asks open questions allowing the suspect to describe their actions in their own words (Vrij, Mann, & Fisher, 2006). The accusatory style is more used in the United States and Canada, and the information-gathering style is more used in the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Western-Europe. This might be related to the different legal frameworks that exist in different countries (Vrij, et al., 2006, Meissner, Redlich, Bhatt, & Brandon, 2012). It was found that the information gathering approach seems to be more effective in collecting new information from the suspect than the accusatory style. The first argument for this is that the information gathering style encourages suspects to talk, and therefore provides the investigators with more information about the alleged event (Vrij, et al., 2006). The second argument is that this style does not accuse the suspect of anything, and therefore lowers the chance of a false confession (Vrij, et al., 2006). False confessions sometimes occur when an innocent suspect experiences so much psychological pressure from those accusations, that they actually confess to a crime they did not commit. This pressure is more often experienced in accusatory interviewing styles (Garret, 2009). In addition, it was found by Meissner et al. (2006) that when the two styles are compared, the information gathering approach generates more true and less false confessions than the accusatory style. This most likely has to do with the idea that the information-gathering approach is seen as more ethical because the approach is open-minded and there is less pressure put on the suspect (Vrij, et al., 2006, Roberts., 2012). However, it should be noted that the goal of the information gathering style is rather to get new information than to maximise the chances of getting a confession.

Suspect Behaviours in Police Interviews

In contrast to the relatively high amount of research about the influence of police behaviour on the suspect, so far not much research has been done about the behaviours that suspects use to influence the interviewer. Even though, as stated by Granhag, Hartwig, Giolla and Clemens (2014), the best approach to an interrogation is to understand the counter-interrogation techniques as practiced by suspects. It was found that most suspects that felt the need to hide something from the interviewer would come up with a strategy to do so beforehand (Hartwig, Granhag, & Strömwall, 2007). Those strategies were dominated by information management concerns, such as providing a simple story, and avoiding or denying incriminating details (Hartwig, Granhag, Strömwall, & Doering, 2010).

There is research that identifies some more specific behaviours that suspects use to steer the interview. However, the amount of research is limited and one of the main issues is that it focusses on how people lie, which is an oversimplification of that suspect aims within interviews actually are. It was found that suspect would for example also intent to maintain social norms or influence interviewer attributions (Watson, Luther, Jackson, Taylor and Alison, 2018). In their research, Watson at al. (2018) built a taxonomy of suspect influencing behaviours based on the available literature and a qualitative analysis of suspect interviews. They believe that understanding when specific behaviours occur in police interviews will help to discern the aim behind those behaviours and will in the future help to develop strategies to resist those influencing attempts. Their initial framework was based on a literature review that, due to the scarcity of literature exploring suspect behaviours in interviews, also considered literature about persuading other parties, such as crisis negotiation (Giebels & Taylor, 2010), trust (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995), and impression management (Bolino & Turnley, 1999). In addition to this literature review, Watson et al. (2018) tested the initial framework against the actual behaviour of suspects to refine the final taxonomy by using a

positivist thematic analysis to analyse 29 police interviews with 25 different suspects accused of controlling or coercive behaviour in an intimate relationship. They tried to identify instances of specific attempts by the suspect to influence the interviewer with the goal of providing a rich description of behavioural types. They identified 18 specific behaviours divided into nine behaviour categories. Because these 18 influencing behaviours form the basis of the current study, it is important to elaborate on them.

Suspect Influencing Behaviours as Identified by Watson et al. (2018)

      Rational persuasion. 'Rational persuasion', originates from Giebels' & Taylor's (2010) research into the influencing techniques that are used in crisis negotiation. It refers to attempts to use persuasive arguments and logic. In the case of Watson et al.'s (2018) research, it refers attempts to explain evidence against the suspect. 'Rational persuasion' was the most used influencing behaviour in the study of Watson et al. (2018) and it represented 25.7% of all the displayed influencing behaviours.

      Denials. 'Denials' consists of four specific behaviours that derived from research by Pearse and Gudjonsson (2003), whose research also coded the behaviours of suspects in genuine police interviews. 'Complete denials' are used when the suspect claims that the accusation is completely false or to entirely refute a specific piece of evidence against the suspect. 'Partial denials' occur when the suspect concedes part of an accusation, bur largely dismisses the proposed claim. 'Memory lapses' occur when the suspect claims to be, or genuinely is, unable to recall information regarding the accusation or the evidence. And lastly, 'claimed ignorance' occurs when the suspect claims to have no memory or knowledge regarding information pertinent to an accusation or evidence. The aim of the denial strategy is to straightforwardly distance themselves from the responsibility for the thing that they are being accused of. In the research of Watson et al. (2018), 'denials' represented 14.1% of all displayed influencing behaviours.

Deflections. The behavioural category 'deflections' consists of two specific behaviours. The first specific behaviour is 'blaming third parties' which occurs when a suspect blames a third party besides themselves or the suspect, or when the suspect implies that an accusation came from someone other than the victim and is therefore unreliable. 'Shifting topics' occurs when the suspect answers a different question than the one posed, or when the suspect meanders from the point in attempt to avoid answering specific questions. 'Deflections' also finds its origins in the research by Pearse & Gudjonsson (2003). In the research of Watson et al. (2018) this behavioural category represented 2.2% of all used influencing behaviours.

Justifications. The category 'justifications' is based on the theory of 'techniques of neutralization' that explains the cognitive processes by which people justify their negative actions to themselves (Sykes & Matza, 1957). The theory states that people are always aware of their moral obligation to obey the law, and that they have the same internal moral obligation to avoid illegitimate acts. Sykes and Matza (1957) reasoned that when someone committed an illegitimate act anyway, they must have used some sort of mechanism to silence the urge to follow these moral obligations. Watson et al. (2018) found that the same behaviours are used to justify negative actions to others, and thus minimize the impact or change the perception of the interviewer towards other pertinent details or people. The function of such behaviours is to shift the interviewer's perceptions of the suspect from violent person to victim of circumstance (Watson, et al., 2018).

The first specific behaviour in this category is 'denial of the victim', where the suspect implies that the victim deserved or directly caused the suspect's negative behaviour through their own actions or character. By claiming that the victim deserved the consequences of the suspects' actions, the suspect is indirectly claiming that they did nothing wrong because it was the victim's own fault. 'Denial of injury' occurs when the suspect claims that their actions

were exaggerated, were not as harmful as implied, or caused no harm at all. Suspects use this influencing behaviour to indicate that they could not have done something too badly since there were no (severe) consequences for the victim. There is also 'denial of responsibility', which happens when the suspect claims that forces beyond their control caused their negative behaviour. By using this suspects indicate that they do not deserve any consequences, because they were not responsible for their actions. Last in this category is 'condemnation of the condemner', where the suspect questions the motive behind the accusation by shifting the focus from the negative behaviour of the suspect to the questionable motives of those that disapprove of the offenders conduct. The behaviours in the 'justifications' category made up 33.6% of all the used influencing behaviours in the research by Watson et al. (2018).

Trustworthy displays. The goals of the behaviours in the category 'trustworthy displays' are to portray the suspect in a favourable light to make other used influencing behaviours appear more credible or else to make the accusers appear less credible, and to shift the interviewer's attributions of the cause of the negative behaviour away from the suspect. 'Trustworthy displays' never refer directly to evidence or the case, but are about portraying the suspect in a positive light in general so as to change the way investigators interpret evidence against them. The first way to do this is 'benevolence'. With this specific behaviour the suspect indicates that they are a nice person and normally would never engage in the behaviours that they are being accused of. The second specific behaviour is 'integrity', and occurs when the suspect makes a statement that implies that the suspect is honest and would never lie to the interviewer. The bases of this behavioural category lies in the research of Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995). They believed that trust consists of three factors; the trustee's ability, benevolence, and integrity. If someone displays all three factors it is most likely that they will be seen as trustworthy. However, it is not needed for the trustee to display all factors in all situations. In those situations the willingness of the other to take a risk by

trusting the other party is important. In the context of a police interview ability can be considered the extent to which the suspect shows themselves capable of providing an accurate testimony. However, in the research by Watson et al. (2018) the behaviour was not shown often enough to make the final cut. In total the behavioural category 'trustworthy displays' makes up 4.9% of all the displayed influencing behaviours.

  Dominance. 'Dominance' consists of two specific behaviours. The first is 'intimidation'; the suspects provides aggressive or belligerent responses. Suspects may question the interviewer's expertise, or scoff at the process or nature of the crimes they are accused of committing. This behaviour comes from Giebels' and Taylor's Table of Ten (2010) in which intimidation is used by a crisis negotiator to show that they have the power to impose punishments if the request or demand is not met. In the current context it is used by the suspect to show the power they hold over the interview and the ultimate control they have over what information is released. The second behaviour, 'impose restrictions', is also derived from the Table of Ten (Giebels & Taylor, 2010). It occurs when a suspect deliberately provides minimal information to frustrate a line of questioning, or when the suspects threatens to, or actually refuses to cooperate by threatening to 'no comment' or threatening that they will request a solicitor. According to the Table of Ten (Giebels & Taylor, 2010) this behaviour is based on the scarcity principle where people perceive possibilities as more valuable when they are difficult to obtain. In this case the suspect asserts authority by taking control over the information given. In the study of Watson et al. (2018) 'dominance' made up 2.9% of all displayed influencing behaviours.

  Emotional influence. The first specific behaviour in the category 'emotional influence' is 'supplication'. 'Supplication' happens when the suspect tries to appear weak and in need of pity, or else as claimed they were actually the victim of the accusers. The goal of this behaviour is to try to change the way the interviewer approaches the suspect from

someone that should be punished to someone that needs help (Anderson & Umberson, 2001).

The second behaviour is 'contrition' and it occurs when suspects directly apologise for their

actions, either because they have genuine regrets or because they believe apologising will lead

to a more favourable treatment. Just as with 'supplication', 'contrition' is aimed at reframing

the interviewer's perception of the suspect, in this case from being a bad person to being a

good person that made a bad decision and regrets it. The behavioural category 'emotional

influence' represented 10.1% of all used influencing behaviours.

> **Admissions.** When an admission occurs, the suspect admits to part or all of an

accusation. The biggest difference between 'admissions' and a confession is that an admission

is much narrower and can be about very specific things such as admitting to being at a certain

location, or knowing a certain person. A confession is always about admitting that the suspect

committed the crime. 'Admissions' also differ from confessions in the way that admissions

are strategically used as a reaction to presented evidence in order to minimize the damage that

evidence can do to the suspect's argument (Pearse & Gudjonsson, 2003). In the study of

Watson et al. (2018) 'admissions' were used in 6.1% of all the shown influencing behaviours.

> **Neutral.** The nineth and final behavioural category is 'neutral', in which the suspect

does not attempt to influence the interviewer. Examples are basic information provision or

asking for clarification. 'Neutral' made up 34.9% of the total speech that was analysed by

Watson et al. (2018).

Dimensions of Power and Interpersonal Framing

> In addition to these behaviours Watson et al. (2018) specified two dimensions that

reflect the extent to which behaviours: (1) relate directly to evidence or else seek to shift

attributions made by interviewers (interpersonal framing), and (2) are deployed when suspects

are seeking to establish dominance over or else respond to pressure from the interviewer

(power). In the case of interpersonal framing a distinction can be made between instrumental

and relational behaviours. Instrumental behaviours deal with tangible themes such as evidence, and most often deal with tangible desires such as the wish to be seen as innocent (Taylor, 2002). An example of such a behaviour is rational persuasion, because the goal of a suspect that displays this behaviour is to explain the evidence by using persuasive arguments and logic. Relational behaviours, on the other hand, aim to influence the interviewer's perception of the suspect or the evidence. They do not seek to explain evidence, but instead seek to persuade the interviewer that the suspect's account is believable, or that the victim and witness statements are less credible than their own (Watson et al., 2018). 'Justifications' is an example of a category of influence behaviours in which the suspect attempts to minimize the negative attributions made about the suspect based on their negative behaviour. This is done by justifying their negative actions and shifting the interviewer's perception to them being the victim of the circumstances (Auburn, Drake & Willig, 1995). When it comes to the power dimension, a difference can be made between high and low power behaviours. High power behaviours are behaviours that are displayed when the suspect tries to take control over the interview's direction and content. For example, when a suspect uses intimidating behaviours such as belittling the line of questioning or directly asserting that they are unintimidated by the police (Watson et al., 2018). Low power behaviours are influencing behaviours that seek to alleviate pressure. 'Contrition' is one of those behaviours that is used by the suspect to try to reframe the interviewer's perception of their behaviour. By apologising they hope to gain sympathy from the interviewer. All of the earlier identified specific behaviours by Watson et al. (2018) are to some extent instrumental or relational and low or high in power, and can be placed on the map in Figure 1. The figure roughly shows where the behaviours belong in terms of the power dimension and the interpersonal framing dimension. However, it should be kept in mind that this figure was based on a qualitative analysis and therefore the location of behaviours is intended to be illustrative rather than precise.
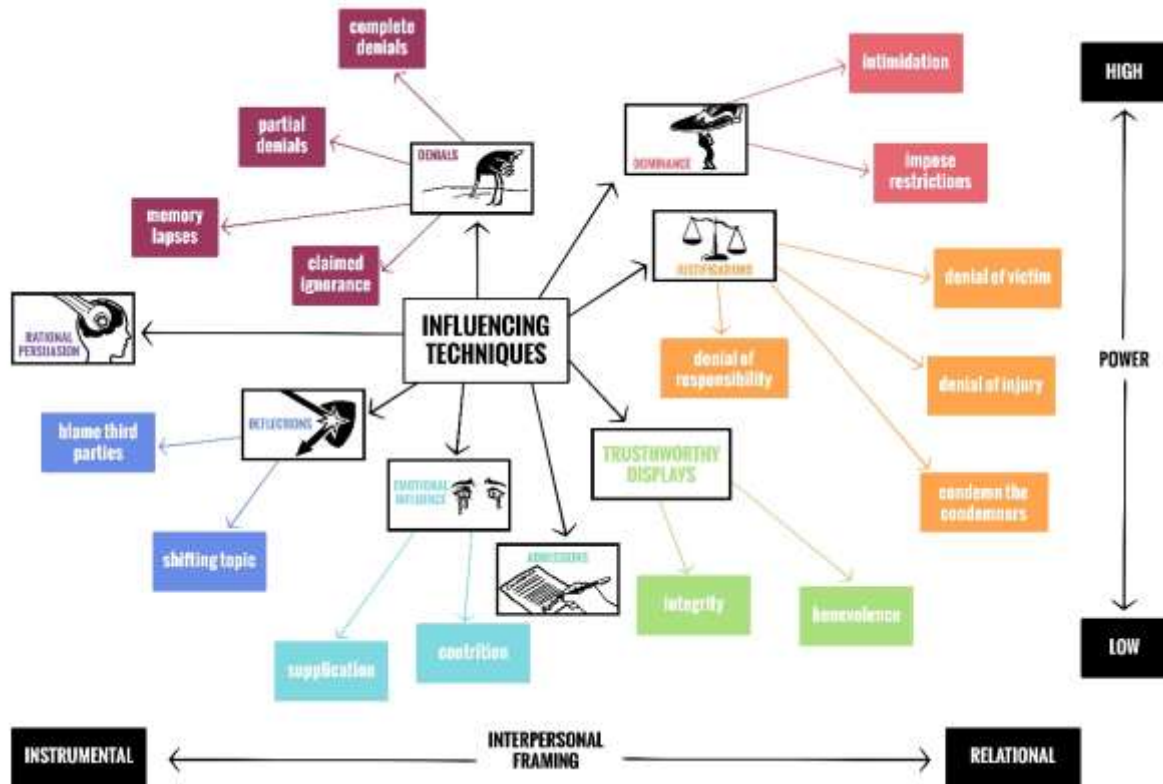
Figure 1. Illustrative map of influencing techniques alongside dimensions of power and interpersonal framing. (Watson et al. 2018). Figure originally illustrated by Rebecca Stevens (Lancaster University).

The Current Study

In the current exploratory study the focus will lay on the taxonomy of suspect influencing behaviours as developed by Watson et al. (2018). In their research it was established that suspects of domestic violence in police interviews engage in the earlier explained influencing behaviours in the specific context of domestic violence. This information gives valuable insights into suspect behaviour, which could help interviewers gathering evidence around control or coercion, and in the future help to develop strategies to resist influencing attempts. However, it is not clear if the found influencing behaviours also generate to other crimes and if the developed taxonomy would have the same expected beneficial influence on different crimes. Therefore, the first aim of the current study is to find

out if the same suspect influencing behaviours as found by Watson et al. (2018) can be elicited in an experimental setting with a different kind of crime, namely the theft of a wallet.

The second aim of this study is to find out if the use of different interviewing styles has an influence on the influencing behaviours that suspects use. To do this, suspects will be interviewed in either the accusatory or the information gathering style. By manipulating the interview style we will be able to see if different interviewer behaviour might provoke different suspect behaviour. This is something that cannot be tested in a field study because there are never multiple of the same situations in which only the interviewing style is different. In this experiment we have the opportunity to keep the crime and question types the same and only change the overall interviewing style. In addition we can consider whether displayed behaviours change before or after the point that the evidence is introduced in the interview and if the way in which this information is presented plays a role in this.

The third aim of the current study is to find out if the suspect being guilty or innocent has an influence on the influencing behaviours that suspects use. To do this we will manipulate guilt by interviewing suspects about a scenario in which they are either guilty or non-guilty of a mock crime. It is not possible in a field study to find out if guilty or non-guilty suspects use different strategies, because it is never completely sure if the suspect is guilty or innocent, and since there is no ground truth it is never sure what the actual truth is and what happened. Because in this study we do actually have a ground truth, we will not only be able to tell which strategies guilty and non-guilty people use, but also if they are giving us honest information. This is something that is hard to determine based on actual police interviews, since there is hardly ever the same amount of evidence that is comparable to each other.

In short, if the current study shows that the influencing behaviours in Watson et al.'s (2018) study can be elicited in an experimental setting with a different kind of crime, we are able to examine things that cannot be examined by using actual police interviews. By

interviewing a substantial amount of people in pre-set conditions, we are able to get insight into which influencing behaviours suspects use and whether this changes based on guilt or interviewing style, and where those behaviours are placed in the dimensions of interpersonal framing and power. Gaining more insight into those themes is beneficial for the awareness about the manners in which police interviewers are being manipulated by suspects and eventually the development of counter police interviewing techniques.

Methods

Design and Procedure

This study used an exploratory, 2x2 between subject design with the following variables; a guilty scenario, a non-guilty scenario, an accusatory interviewing style, and an information gathering interviewing style. Participants therefore ended up in one of the four following conditions; guilty x accusatory style, guilty x information gathering style, non-guilty x accusatory style, and non-guilty x information gathering style. In this study a qualitative approach will be used to analyse whether these factors influence the usage of suspect influencing behaviours. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions.

The experiment was executed by two researchers. To be able to participate, participants needed a laptop or computer with a working microphone and preferably a working camera (four participants participated without camera). Participants needed to sign up at least 24 hours before the interview, so that there was enough time for the participants to read and prepare to being interviewed using that scenario. They also received a link to a Skype meeting that they could join at the time of the meeting.

During the meeting itself, there were two roles that needed to be divided among the two researchers. The first person would take the role of researcher and the second person would take the role of interviewer. Participants would first join the call with the researcher.

The researcher would send the participants the pre-questionnaire via a Qualtrics link and would explain the participants' rights and what was expected during the interview. Once informed consent was given by the participant, the researcher would notify the interviewer and the interviewer would join the call. The moment the interviewer joined the call, the researcher would leave and the interview would begin. The interviewer would, depending on the condition the participant was in, interview the participant according to the information gathering style script or the accusatory style script. The interview was recorded via Skype and took 5.40 minutes on average ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.67$), with a minimum of 2.22 minutes and a maximum of 10.00 minutes. As soon as the interview was over, the researcher would be notified and when the researcher joined the call, the interviewer would leave. The researcher would then send a Qualtrics link to the post-questionnaire. Participants were asked to notify the researcher when they reached the debriefing part of the questionnaire. The researcher would explain the purpose of the study and participants had the chance to ask questions. Participants were informed that their questionnaires could not be removed anymore due to anonymity, but that they still had the opportunity to request their video to be deleted at a later moment. Finally, participants could give their final consent and the meeting would end.

Participants

A total of 79 people participated in this study, 37 (46.8%) of them were male and 42 (53.2%) were female. Participants varied in age between 18 and 61, with the mean age being 24.8 years ($SD = 8.14$). The majority of the participants had a Dutch (52 participants, 65.8%) or German (21 participants, 26.6%) nationality. Participants could sign up via Sona Systems, the participant recruitment platform from the BMS faculty of the University of Twente, or by directly contacting the researchers via social media or email to arrange a timeslot. Participants recruited via Sona were rewarded with one Sona-point after completing the study. Sona-points

are points that are given out as a rewards to students for participating in a study, and students need a minimum amount of those points to be able to pass on to the next year.

Materials

Scenario. Participants received a scenario where they were asked to imagine themselves in the situation of wanting to buy a wallet, but not having enough money because they broke their phone shortly before. Half of the participants received a guilty scenario (Appendix A), in which they went into a store, looked at a wallet, put the wallet in their jacket and left the store. The other half of the participants received a non-guilty scenario (Appendix B), in which they went into a store, picked up a wallet, put the wallet back on a different place in the store than where they picked it up, and then left the store. In either case participants were told they were arrested for theft and their task was to convince the interviewer that they deserved little to no punishment. Both scenarios are the same, except for the part where the wallet is taken or not, making it difficult for the interviewers to distinguish which scenario the participant received, and therefore if they were guilty or not. In this experiment, the interviewers were not blind for the study design or the research aims, so therefore it was important that the scenarios were difficult to distinguish. This prevented the interviewers from having too much information and therefore being biased.

Interviews. Participants were interviewed about their scenario according to an interview script. This script was either in the accusatory style (Appendix C) or in the information gathering style (Appendix D). This was based on the approach as used by Weiher (2020). The biggest difference between the two interview scripts can be seen in the opening of the interview. In the accusatory interview the suspect barely gets any information and is right away accused of stealing the wallet, after which the questioning begins right away. The goal of the accusatory style was to pressure participants into confessing. This was done by following the principles of the maximization technique, namely using harsher techniques that

are confrontational in nature and are designed to emphasize the seriousness of the situation. The aim of this is to scare the suspect into confessing by giving them the idea that confessing would giving them a better treatment (Horgan, Russano, Meissner & Evans, 2012). This was displayed by expressing the certainty of the suspect's guilt, giving the suspect little information, and asking demanding and accusing questions. For example: "Tell me in as much detail as possible what you did today" or "You are on camera picking up the wallet, so we know you stole it. This is your chance to do right by the victim and tell us the truth".

The information gathering style, on the other hand, was focussed on gaining as much information as possible from the suspect. Suspects were in the introduction extensively informed about the procedures and goal of the interview, and they were asked multiple times if they understood what was going on and if they have any questions for the interviewer. This aligns with the engage and explain phase in the PEACE model. In this phase of an interview it is important to build rapport with the interviewee as well as explaining the purpose and proposed outline of the interview (Walsh & Milne, 2008). The questions in the information gathering style were asked in an open and encouraging manner. For example: "Can you tell me about what you did today, in as much detail as you can?" or "If you do not have the wallet, where do you think it could be now?'.

Questionnaires. Before and after the interview participants were given a questionnaire. The pre-questionnaire consisted of some demographic questions, such as: age, gender, and nationality (Appendix E), and the informed consent (Appendix F). The post-questionnaire consisted of three open questions (Appendix G; about the strategies participants came up with beforehand, if they changed that during the interview, and if they felt the strategy was useful), four questionnaires (Appendix H; State Trait Anxiety Inventory, Perceived Performance Scale, Perceived Risk Scale, and Rapport Scale), and a debriefing

(Appendix I). Since the questionnaires are not relevant for the current study, they will not be explained in further detail.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The video recordings were saved and stored in the secured cloud environment of the University of Twente. The videos were transcribed and the transcripts were saved in this cloud as well.

To code the transcripts, a deductive content analysis was used. This decision was made because deductive content analysis is used when the structure of analysis is operationalized on the basis of previous knowledge and the purpose of the study is theory testing. This approach is based on an earlier theory or model and therefore the coding moves from the general to the specific (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). The aim of this content analysis was to test if the behaviours defined by Watson et al. (2018) would still occur in simulated interviews instead of actual police interviews, and in situations other than situations of domestic violence. The goal was to find out if there is a difference in the used influencing behaviours between the guilty and the non-guilty participants, and between the information gathering and the accusatory style. This was done by considering which behaviours were used in the different experimental conditions and whether they did or did not differ according to experimental condition.

The basis for this analysis was the coding scheme as developed by Watson et al. (2018) containing the suspect influencing behaviours described in the introduction. This initial coding scheme can be found in Appendix J. The data was coded by one researcher. Although the coding was mostly deductive, there was room for inductive coding, making the final coding process a combination of deductive and inductive coding. The inductive approach moves from the specific to the general, so that particular instances are observed and then combined into a larger whole or general statement (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). In this case that

means that newly discovered reoccurring influencing behaviours would be added to the coding scheme. As a consequence one new code was added, which will be described in the result section.

Results

Coding Development

The inductive coding process lead to the addition of one new code since 27 suspects showed a specific behaviour that did not fit into the existing coding scheme. The code 'information seeking' was added to identify the behaviours that suspects showed when they were looking to gain information that the interviewers had about them or the case. Pearse and Gudjonsson (2003) already found a form of information seeking in their research, although they described it as asking questions to clarify an issue, asking to repeat a question or asking questions related to a possible release of the suspect. In the current research, 'information seeking' was found to be broader than the suspect just seeking information from the interviewer. Although the information seeking codes were mostly asking for more information, it could be seen that the suspects adapted the information that they gave afterwards depending on the information the interviewer did or did not give. The suspects used 'information seeking' to increase information control. Information control refers to the sense of control achieved when one obtains information about a forthcoming aversive event, in this case the interview, and aims at reducing threat by trying to predict what will happen during the interview (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). This newly gained information helps the suspect to determine what course of action is best for them, and therefore helps the suspect gain decision control, which aims at reducing threat by deciding how to act during the interview (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008).

An example of information seeking can be seen below. In this example it can clearly be seen that the suspects wants to know why the interviewer believes that they stole the

wallet. The suspect wants to have this information so that they can estimate which evidence they must refute. In this example the suspect clearly does not get the information that they want, so the suspect switches their tactic to 'impose restrictions'. The goal is to still get the information that they want to know, before they would even consider giving any information at all. In this example it stands out that 'information seeking' is used as a high power behaviour, especially because it is used in combination with 'intimidation'. However, this was a fairly unique paring of influencing behaviours and in general 'information seeking' is used in combination with both high and low power behaviours. Therefore it is not possible to give the behaviour a clear place on the power dimension.

SUSPECT:	*Why do you presume I stole the wallet?*
INTERVIEWER:	We already have all the evidence we need to convict you, so I'll ask my questions.
SUSPECT:	*Which evidence please?*
INTERVIEWER:	I will get to that later.
SUSPECT:	Because you're.. I, I, I, well, pff.. Why wouldn't we end this discussion? If you are so, uhh, presumed about my theft.. But you can't prove anything. *You have the video recording?*
INTERVIEWER:	I will get to that later, I would first like to..
SUSPECT:	Please answer my question. You, you accuse me of something I didn't do and you're very presuming. So, please answer my question. *Do you have proof that I stole the wallet?*

Apart from the addition of 'information seeking', no other changes to the coding scheme from Watson et al. (2018) were necessary.

Behaviour Frequency

Except for 'denial of the victim', all of the influencing behaviours as proposed by Watson et al., (2018) were displayed at least once. Three behaviours stood out because they were used more than the others. The first one to stand out was 'neutral', which was used a total of 554 times. This tells us that a lot of suspect behaviours are actually not meant to influence the interviewer, but are just basic information provision. The second to stand out was 'rational persuasion', which was displayed a total of 424 times. And lastly, 'admissions' was used 176 times.

In the 79 conducted interviews, a total of 1496 behaviours were coded. When excluding the behaviours that were coded as 'neutral', 942 influencing behaviours were counted. The median number of used unique behaviours (including 'neutral') per participant was 6 (minimum 2, maximum 10) and the median number of used unique influencing behaviours (excluding 'neutral') per participant was 5 (minimum 2, maximum 9). This shows that suspects tend to use a wide diversity of behaviours. Figure 2 presents the frequency of technique usage alongside the number of participants that employed the behaviour at least once. Table 1 lists the number of total occurrences for each influencing behaviour, along with the number of participants that used the technique at least once.

When comparing these findings to the findings of Watson et al. (2018), a couple of things stood out. The first thing is that in both studies there are a small number of behaviours that are used a lot by most participants. This swiftly drops off with people tending to use other behaviours much less frequently. It can even bee seen that the median use of all but two behaviours is zero. Only 'rational persuasion' has a median of five and 'admissions' has a median of two. However when comparing the two studies, it can be seen that except for 'rational persuasion' the profiles of the used behaviours is very different. In the current study there are far fewer behaviours that are commonly used by the suspects. The common

behaviours that are used by suspects in the current study are more instrumental than relational, which differs from the findings by Watson et al. (2018). In addition to that, it can be seen that 'justifications' are hardly used in the current study, while they are extremely common in the study of Watson et al. (2018).
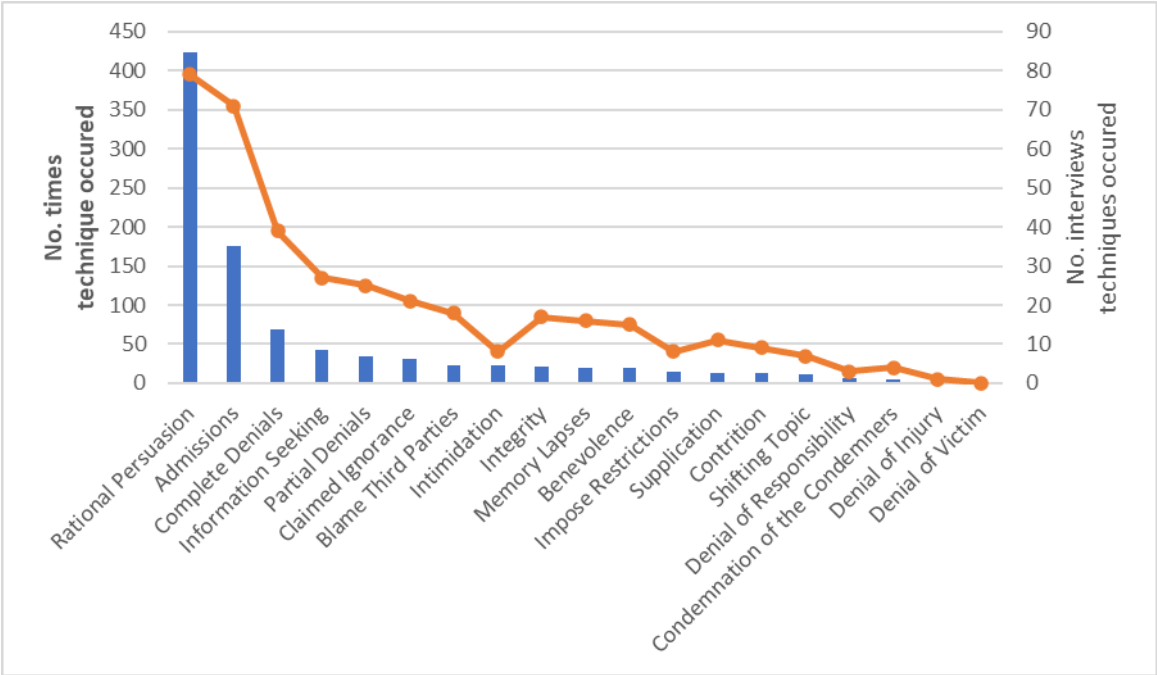

Figure 2: The frequency of all coded influence behaviours.

Table 1: Occurrences of influence behaviors across all 79 suspects

Influencing behaviour	No. suspects using technique	Total number of occurrences of technique (% total speech/% influence technique)	Median use of technique per suspect	Lower quartile	Upper quartile	Number of occurrences of technique in Guilty x Information Gathering	Number of occurrences of technique in Guilty x Accusatory	Number of occurrences of technique in Non-Guilty x Information Gathering	Number of occurrences of technique in Non-Guilty x Accusatory
Neutral	79 (100%)	554 (37%/NA)				169 (43.7%/NA)	97 (26.4%/NA)	189 (49.6%/NA)	99 (27.4%/NA)
Rational Persuasion	79 (100%)	424 (28.3%/45%)	5	4	6	103 (26.6%/47.2%)	103 (28.1%/38.1%)	109 (28.6%/56.8%)	109 (30.2%/41.6%)
Denials									
Complete denials	39 (49.4%)	68 (4.6%/7.2%)	0	0	1	3 (0.8%/1.4%)	12 (3.3%/4.4%)	8 (2.1%/4.2%)	45 (12.5%/17.2%)
Partial denials	25 (31.7%)	34 (2.3%/3.6%	0	0	1	5 (1.3%/2.3%)	17 (4.6%/6.3%)	4 (1%/2.1%)	8 (2.2%/3.1%)
Memory lapses	16 (20.3%)	20 (1.3%/2.1%)	0	0	0	1 (0.3%/0.5%)	10 (2.7%/3.7%)	6 (1.6%/3.1%)	3 (0.8%/1.1%)
Claimed ignorance	21 (26.6%)	31 (2.1%/3.3%)	0	0	1	8 (2.1%/3.7%)	8 (2.2%/3%)	10 (2.6%/5.2%)	5 (1.4%/1.9%)
Deflections									
Blame third parties	18 (22.8%)	22 (1.5%/2.3%)	0	0	0	3 (0.8%/1.4%)	5 (1.4%/1.9%)	12 (3.1%/6.3%)	2 (0.6%/0.8%)
Shifting topic	7 (8.9%)	12 (0.8%/1.3%)	0	0	0	8 (2.1%/3.7%)	3 (0.8%/1.1%)	0 (0%/0%)	1 (0.3%/0.4%)
Justifications									
Denial of victim	0 (0%)	0 (0%/0%)	0	0	0	0 (0%/0%)	0 (0%/0%)	0 (0%/0%)	0 (0%/0%)
Denial of injury	1 (1.3%)	1 (0.1%/0.1%)	0	0	0	0 (0%/0%)	1 (0.3%/0.4%)	0 (0%/0%)	0 (0%/0%)

Denial of responsibility	3 (3.8%)	6 (0.4%/0.6%)	0	0	0	3 (0.8%/1.4%)	3 (0.8%/1.1%)	0 (0%/0%)	0 (0%/0%)
Condemnation of the condemners	4 (5.1%)	4 (0.3%/0.4%)	0	0	0	0 (0%/0%)	1 (0.3%/0.4%)	1 (0.3%/0.5%)	2 (0.6%/0.8%)
Trustworthy Displays									
Benevolence	15 (19%)	19 (1.3%/2%)	0	0	0	7 (1.8%/3.2%)	11 (3%/4.1%)	1 (0.3%/0.5%)	0 (0%/0%)
Integrity	17 (21.5%)	21 (1.4%/2.2%)	0	0	0	1 (0.3%/0.5%)	6 (1.6%/2.2%)	0 (0%/0%)	14 (3.9%/5.3%)
Dominance									
Intimidation	8 (10.1%)	22 (1.5%/2.3%)	0	0	0	0 (0%/0%)	6 (1.6%/2.2%)	0 (0%/0%)	16 (4.4%/6.1%)
Impose restrictions	8 (10.1%)	14 (0.9%/1.5%)	0	0	0	1 (0.3%/0.5%)	4 (1.1%/1.5%)	5 (1.3%/2.6%)	4 (1.1%/1.5%)
Emotional									
Supplication	11 (13.9%)	13 (0.9%/1.4%)	0	0	0	0 (0%/0%)	6 (1.6%/2.2%)	2 (0.5%/1%)	5 (1.4%/1.9%)
Contrition	9 (11.4%)	13 (0.9%/1.4%)	0	0	0	5 (1.3%/2.3%)	7 (1.9%/2.6%)	1 (0.3%/0.5%)	0 (0%/0%)
Admissions	71 (89.9%)	176 (11.8%/18.7%)	2	1	3	60 (15.5%/27.5%)	58 (15.8%/21.5%)	29 (7.6%/15.1%)	29 (8%/11.1%)
Information seeking	27 (34.2%)	42 (2.81%/4.46%)	0	0	1	10 (2.6%/4.6%)	9 (2.5%/3.3%)	4 (1%/2.1%)	19 (5.3%/7.3%)

Use of Influencing Behaviours

    Admissions.

    Confessions. Although it did not happen in the sample of Watson et al. (2018), we found that in the current study suspects would not only use admission, but that they would also confess to committing the crime as a whole. There was no separate code created for confessions and they were coded as admissions according to the definition in the taxonomy of Watson et al. (2018). However, since the amount of suspects that confessed and the moment that they decided to do so is relevant for the explanation of other influencing behaviours, confessions is discussed separately. This is also the reason that this is the first finding to be explained.

    It was found that guilty suspects would often admit to stealing the wallet and throwing it away later. In total 27 out of the 39 guilty suspects admitted to leaving the store with the wallet and therefore confessed to stealing the wallet. No false confessions were made. Of the suspects that confessed, 15 were in the accusatory condition and 12 were in the information gathering condition. All the participants that confessed in the information gathering approach confessed immediately after the first question was asked ("Can you tell me about what you did today in as much detail as you can?"). Suspects would tell in detail what they did and then confess to stealing the wallet. Out of the suspects in the accusatory condition, 11 would as well confess after the first question. The other four confessed at another specific moment in the interview, which was after the interviewer asked the question: "You are on camera picking up the wallet, so we know you stole it. This is your chance to do right by the victim and tell us the truth". It can be seen that suspects were presented with the strongest piece of evidence (the camera footage) followed by an accusation. The equivalent question in the information gathering interview was "We have security footage that showed us you picked up the wallet. Can you tell me more about that?". This question did not lead to any confessions. Therefore

an important finding concerning confessions is that only the accusatory interviewing style persuaded someone to confess that had not already decided to do so before the interview started.

  Admissions. 'Admissions' was one of the most used influencing behaviours. It occurs when suspects admit to part or all of an accusation. 'Admissions' was used a total of 176 times, out of which 118 times by guilty suspects and 85 times by non-guilty suspects. The difference in admission between guilty and non-guilty suspects can be explained by the fact that guilty suspects had more to admit to. Non-guilty suspects would often use 'admissions' to admit that they felt nervous while they were in the shop or to admit that they picked up the wallet, which are things that are presented by the interviewer as pieces of evidence. This is in line with the 'belief in a just world', which refers to the believe that people get what they deserve and deserve what they get (Jones & Brimbal, 2016). In interviews this means that non-guilty suspects believe that if they just tell the truth, they will not be punished. Therefore non-guilty suspects in the current study easily admit to the things mentioned above. An example of 'admissions' can be seen below.

INTERVIEWER:	"All right. Did you pick anything up while you were in the store?"
SUSPECT:	"*As I said, yes. I picked up this one wallet* to see if.. As well as looking as good in the pictures I saw online, it felt good in the hand. Uhh and I had it in my hand until I went to the counter, and then put it back and left the store"

'Admissions' was often used in combination with either 'complete denials' or 'rational persuasion'. The combination of 'admissions' and 'complete denials' would most often happen at a specific question in the interview. The interviewer would state that the suspect is on camera picking up the wallet, to which the suspects would often admit that they picked up

the wallet. However, they would also right away deny that they stole it. This can also be seen in the example below. Another thing that this example represents well is that the combination of 'admissions' and 'complete denials' often cooccurred with 'rational persuasion' because suspects would feel the need to explain why it is that they picked up the wallet.

INTERVIEWER: "You are on camera picking up the wallet, so we know you stole it. This is your chance to do right by the victim and tell us the truth."

SUSPECT: "Ehm, well, I did not steal the wallet. *I picked it up*, eh, I went to the counter because there was a stain and.. I was like maybe I can mention it, but I don't want to get in some kind of trouble. And then I also thought; well, maybe the stain was not that bad. Maybe I can get a discount. Eh, so I was yeah.. I kept it a little bit close to my body but I didn't take the wallet and I laid it back."

However, the combination of 'admissions' and 'rational persuasion' would also often appear without 'complete denials'. Suspects would then admit to picking up the wallet and would continue by explaining why they did so. This combination was used by both non-guilty an guilty suspects, but mostly by non-guilty suspects. It was also found that 10 out of the 12 guilty suspects that did not admit to stealing the wallet, did admit that they picked up the wallet. This would be followed by the use of 'rational persuasion' to give an excuse for why they picked it up.

INTERVIEWER: "Okay, uhm, well, we do have confirmation that you picked up the wallet. Can you tell me more about that?"

SUSPECT: "Uhm, yeah, I did pick up the wallet. But as I said, I was looking

at it and then I walked to the counter because I wasn't.. there

was a smutch on it and I was going to tell the shop assistant, or

whoever was working there, that it was damaged. Because I

thought, maybe I could get a discount on it or something. But

nobody was there."

Rational persuasion. The most used influencing behaviour was 'Rational persuasion'.

'Rational persuasion' occurs when a suspect uses logical arguments to explain the evidence.

This behaviour was used a total of 424 times and was displayed by every suspect at least one

time. As can be seen in Table 1, there were no clear differences in how many times the

behaviour was used according to experimental condition. Rational persuasion was used

throughout the entire interview, but especially in the free recall phase when the suspects were

asked to tell the interviewer what they did that day. The use of 'rational persuasion' by almost

all suspects in the free recall phase might be due to the principle of information control, which

assumes that suspects will predict what kind of incriminating information the interviewer

might have about them (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). This principle would explain why both

guilty and non-guilty suspects already explain the evidence that they think the interviewer has

against them, such as them being in the shop and them picking up the wallet, even though

they were not actually aware yet of the evidence the interviewer had against them. When

suspects used 'rational persuasion' later in the interview, after (part of) the evidence was

disclosed, it was to answer specific questions and explain away contradictions in the

evidence. The difference in the two types of responses might be explained by the fact that

after the disclosure of the evidence the suspect did not have to predict the possible evidence

anymore, and therefore the use of information control was no longer necessary. Below an

example of how 'rational persuasion' (highlighted in italics) was used in the free recall phase

to explain away possible evidence by giving a plausible alternative account. The suspect was asked to tell the interviewer what they did that day in chronological order.

SUSPECT: "Eh, eh, I went into the shop, eh, I saw a client at the desk with the shop owner. *I looked around in the shop for, for a nice wallet. I found a nice wallet. I picked up the wallet to, to see how the wallet is, eh, with different, eh.. If I can use the wallet. I saw the ugly mark. I wanted to bring the wallet with the ugly mark to the counter. But I didn't saw the shop owner, or the shop assistant. I put the wallet back.* Eh, I wanted to exit the shop. Before exiting the shop the second client in the shop bumped on me. Eh, so I thought, why did, why did she do that? I went out of the shop, eh, just walking and then I was arrested by you guys."

The next quote shows how 'rational persuasion' is used in response to a specific question about the evidence.

INTERVIEWER: "Hmm hmm. You are on camera picking up the wallet, so we know you stole it. This is your chance to do right by the victim and tell us the truth."

SUSPECT: "*Yeah, like I said, I picked up the wallet and put it back. Maybe not in the exact same position, that could be the case of course. I don't have it on me now, I don't.. I didn't take it out of the store, so.. I don't know if there is anything.* I can't confess to anything. I didn't do it, so.."

In short, 'rational persuasion' was used by suspects to explain the evidence against them, regardless of whether those statements were true or how the questions were put to them.

Denials.

Complete denials. 'Complete denials' occur when the suspect provides an unqualified denial in which the accusation or the evidence is claimed to be entirely false. In total this influencing behaviour was used 68 times. Suspects would use 'complete denials' to deny that they stole the wallet, picked up the wallet at all, or to deny that they behaved nervously while they were in the shop.

When comparing how often 'complete denials' were used per interview style, it was found that there was a big difference. Suspects would use a lot of denials in the accusatory interviewing style, especially when innocent, whereas the number is much lower in the information gathering interviews. The difference in the usage of this behaviour between the accusatory and information gathering style can be explained by the fact that in the accusatory style more accusing questions are asked such as "we already know that you stole the wallet", which will trigger the suspect to instinctively deny that they did the thing that they are being accused of. This is not the case in the information gathering style where the question is formulated as follows 'We have security footage that showed us you picked up the wallet. Can you tell me more about that?". The way in which this question is asked is less provoking of a denial, and invites the suspect to tell the interviewer more about why they picked up the wallet.

'Complete denials' was used 15 times by guilty suspects and 53 times by non-guilty suspects. This difference can be explained by the fact that most guilty suspects decided to confess and therefore automatically used less denials. While on the other hand the non-guilty suspects obviously did not steal the wallet and therefore had more to deny.

Partial denials. 'Partial denials' was used by suspects to admit to part of an accusation, but at the same time dismiss the claim. A typical example can be seen below. In this the suspect admits to feeling out of the ordinary, but dismisses the claim made by the interviewer that the suspect was behaving nervously.

INTERVIEWER: "The witness told us you were behaving nervously, so we are sure you were not behaving normally. Can you explain that?"

SUSPECT: "Well, I didn't.. I think, from my point of view, I was just browsing around, I was just looking. Uhm.. I felt a little out of place because, uhm, it was kind of a posh shop. I was wearing my jeans and my T-shirt, I got up pretty quickly this morning. And the other lady that was wearing quite fancy clothes, jewellery. *So I felt kind of out place, perhaps, but not nervous."*

Another remarkable use of 'partial denials' was when suspects would admit to taking the wallet, but they would still deny stealing the wallet. They would often debate in which cases taking something would be considered stealing. An example can be seen below.

INTERVIEWER: "Okay, well, you are on camera picking up the wallet, and you already told us you stole it, can you.."

SUSPECT: "No, I didn't steal it."

INTERVIEWER: "Okay, well, can you.."

SUSPECT: "I accidentally put it in my pocket and went outside of the shop. And then I thought; oh my god. Uhm.. but there were already two police men. So I didn't steal it. I didn't purposely take it."

'Partial denials' was displayed a total of 34 times. The behaviour occurred most often in the condition with guilty suspects in the accusatory interview, namely 17 times.

Comparable to 'complete denials', an explanation for this could be that in the accusatory style more claims about the suspect were made, while in the information gathering style more open ended questions were asked.

*Memory lapses***.** Suspects used 'Memory lapses' to indicate that they could not remember information about an accusation or a piece of evidence. This influencing behaviour occurred a total of 20 times. Most memory lapses occurred after specific questions about the evidence, when the suspects tried to explain why or how exactly they took the wallet, or when the suspects would try to remember where they picked up or left the wallet. There was no clear pattern visible in the usage of this behaviour across the different conditions.

Claimed ignorance. The behaviour 'claimed ignorance' contains of the suspect claiming to have no knowledge or memory about information connected to an accusation or evidence. This behaviour was shown 31 times and there were no clear differences in how many times the behaviour was used per condition. Often suspects would use 'claimed ignorance' after the interviewer asked where the wallet is now. Suspects would then respond that they don't know where the wallet is. 'Claimed ignorance' was also used multiple times as an answer to the question about the eye-witness claiming that the suspect was nervous, as can be seen in the example below. An explanation for the use of 'claimed ignorance' in response to this question might be that in the information gathering interviews, the question was asked in such a way that saying "I don't know" would be a very intuitive response. Suspects were namely asked to speculate on what somebody else believes, to which they might justifiably say that they cannot do that.

> INTERVIEWER: "We have an eye-witness that says you were behaving
>
>   nervously. Why do you think the eye-witness said that?"
>
> SUSPECT: "*Oeh, I have no clue.* I have.. No, this is not my.. Well, yeah..
>
>   You should check with the eye-witness, uhh.. I cannot speak for

that person. So, it is the perception of the eye-witness and I don't recognise myself in that perception."

Although this question, and therefore the interviewing style, would often trigger 'claimed ignorance', there was no clear difference in the number of usage between the interviewing styles. Thus, meaning that there were also different triggers for the usage of 'claimed ignorance' in both interviewing styles. However, no clear pattern was found.

Deflections.

Blame third parties. 'Blame third parties' occurs when a suspect blames someone else for causing an event, or when the suspect claims that the accusation comes from someone else than the victim and is therefore unreliable. This behaviour was used a total of 22 times, out of which 54.4% in the non-guilty x information gathering condition. The influencing behaviour would mostly occur in the same moment in the interview, namely after asking where the wallet is or could be now.

INTERVIEWER:	"Okay, and if you do not have the wallet, where do you think it could be now?"
SUSPECT:	"Ehm, I don't know 'cause I just left it around the corner. *Ehm, so maybe the other witness picked it up, or maybe the store clerk put it back.*"

The example comes from an interview in the information gathering style and it can be seen that the way in which the question is asked, invites the suspect to come up with an alternative explanation for where the wallet is. In the accusatory interview the equivalent question is asked in a different way, namely: "Where is the wallet now?". This question is less inviting of speculating because it does not encourages the suspect to think along. Suspects would either know where the wallet is or not, but they would less often try to think along.

On top of that it was found that most guilty suspects confessed to stealing the wallet and therefore didn't feel the need to find an alternative explanation. They would mostly just admit to throwing the wallet away, which was in line with the script. This would explain why the behaviour occurred the most in the non-guilty x information gathering condition. However, since both guilty and non-guilty suspects would use this opportunity to point at someone else, it is hard to differentiate between a suspect genuinely trying to help or a suspect trying to make themselves less suspicious.

Shift topic. 'Shifting topic' can be recognised by the suspect answering different questions to the ones asked or by the suspect meandering from the point to avoid answering a certain question. 'Shift topic' was used 12 times. Remarkably, 11 out of the 12 times that the behaviour was used, it was done by a guilty suspect. It should be noted that the behaviour was used four times by the same suspect. Still, it was found that suspects would use this behaviour as a tactic to avoid answering certain questions, either by playing dumb or by answering a slightly different question to the one asked.

INTERVIEWER:	"We have security footage that showed us you picked up the wallet. Can you tell me more about that?"
SUSPECT:	*"About the wallet?"*
INTERVIEWER:	"Yes."
SUSPECT:	*"I mean, I, yeah, I.. I.. I hate to be so specific, but which wallet? You know I.. I.. While I was looking for wallets, I have taken a look at many wallets."*
INTERVIEWER:	"Well, there is a wallet that was stolen, and we have security footage that showed us you picked up that specific wallet."
SUSPECT:	*"All right. And you are asking me about that wallet?"*
INTERVIEWER:	"Yes, yes."

SUSPECT: *"Yeah, eh, I don't know really much what to say to, eh.. A wallet, you know. Nothing special to it. I think it was blue, it was nice.* Yeah, eh, I don't know which wallet was stolen."

In this example it can be seen that it costs the interviewer a lot of effort to get the suspect to answer the question. Although when reading this example, the 'shift topic' behaviours could also be interpreted as searching for extra information (either 'information seeking' or 'neutral'), when listening to the entire interview it became clear that the suspect was very clearly trying to take the flow out of the interview and give as little information as possible. Therefore it was decided that the context of the behaviours in the interviews were more important than what was said specifically, and the behaviours were codes as 'shift topic'.

Justifications.

Denial of injury. 'Denial of the injury' occurs when the suspect claims that their actions were exaggerated or did/will not cause harm. The behaviour occurred only one time in all of the interviews. The suspect that used this influencing behaviour was guilty and was interviewed in the accusatory style. The suspect said that they thought that if they would just lose the wallet somewhere, there would be no harm done.

Denial of responsibility. 'Denial of responsibility' occurs when suspects claim that forces beyond their control compelled their behaviour. 'Denial of responsibility' was used a total of six times, all of which by guilty suspects. The behaviour was shown three times in the information gathering style and three times in the accusatory style. In total only three participants used this influencing behaviour and therefore not much should be inferred about how and when it was used. Two out of those three used 'denial of responsibility' to mitigate likely punishment for stealing the wallet. The other suspect used the behaviour to deny their responsibility for acting nervous in the store. The suspects blamed either some sort of higher

powers, mental health problems or the current chaos in the world (corona crisis) for their actions.

   Condemnation of the condemners. This influencing behaviour occurs when suspects question the motive behind the accusation. In total, 'condemnation of the condemners' was used four times, and in contrast to the other justification behaviours, guilt was not the only determent of usage. The behaviour was used one time in the guilty x accusatory and the non-guilty x information gathering condition, and two times in the non-guilty x accusatory condition. In all cases, the behaviour appeared after the interviewer introduced the statement from the eyewitness about the suspect behaving nervously. In three cases the suspect claimed that the witness was lying or had a prejudice against them, as can be seen in the example, and in one case the suspect questions the assumption that is made by the interviewer. By displaying this behaviour the suspects tried to make any accusations less credible so that their story became more believable.

| INTERVIEWER: | "The witness told us you were behaving nervously, so we are sure you were not behaving normally. Can you explain that?" |
| SUSPECT: | "Uhh, well, I wasn't acting weird, I think. Uhm, I just didn't.. Uhm, I don't know. I wasn't acting weird. I was just looking at the wallet and putting it back. *So I don't know if the woman just presumed I was a thief and just.. just saw what she wanted to see*, but I didn't steal it." |

Trustworthy displays.

   Benevolence. 'Benevolence' occurs when suspects make statements about being a nice person that would not, or would not normally, engage in the behaviours that they are being accuse of. It was counted 18 times across guilty suspects and one time across non-guilty suspects. Out of the guilty suspects the behaviour was used seven times in the information

gathering approach and 11 times in the accusatory approach. 'Benevolence' was most often used by guilty people that confessed, to indicate that they are usually a kind person that does not engage in any criminal behaviours. A good example of this behaviour can be seen below. In this case the suspect stresses that they don't exactly know why they did what they did, but that they usually wouldn't steal something. This way the suspect tries to chance the image that the interviewer has of them from being a thief to someone that just accidentally stole something but is usually a nice person.

SUSPECT: "Yeah, I can't. I have a really hard time explaining. I just had this really weird feeling and I did it without really thinking about it, like I had some kind of black out and just did it. And I don't really.. *It's really out of character for me, I think. And I really normally wouldn't do it.* I just.. I don't know. I can't really explain why I did it."

Integrity. 'Integrity' refers to statements that suspects make to imply that they are honest and would never lie to the interviewer. 'Integrity' was used 21 times in total. This behaviour occurred 20 times in the accusatory style and only one time in the information gathering style. 'Integrity' was mostly used by suspects to emphasize that they were telling the truth or to show their willingness to cooperate with the interviewer. It stood out that 'integrity' was often used after one specific question in the accusatory interview. An example can be seen below.

INTERVIEWER: "Hmm hmm. Well, you are on camera picking up the wallet, so we know you stole. This is your chance to do right by the victim and tell us the truth."

SUSPECT: "*Well, I have been telling the truth.* I picked up the wallet and took it to the store clerk."

It looks like the way in which this specific question is asked, namely stating that the suspect should tell the truth, provokes a response in which suspects say that they already are telling the truth. This response was given twice as often by non-guilty suspects as by guilty suspects. In addition to the argument above, this specific question that provoked 'integrity' was more often asked to people that did not confess to anything yet. In the cases that the suspect already admitted to stealing the wallet, the question would be skipped or asked in a different way, more along the lines of "You are on camera picking up the wallet, and we already know that you stole it. Can you tell me more about that?". Since the question was asked differently, the suspects did not feel the need to put the emphasis on 'integrity', which makes the argument that the response is provoked by the question stronger. In the cases the question was asked to the guilty suspects they would either respond with an admission or with 'integrity'. Therefore it does not necessarily mean that someone that states that they are telling the truth is actually telling the truth.

Dominance.

Intimidation. This influencing behaviour refers to the suspect providing aggressive or belligerent responses. This might be done by questioning the interviewer's expertise, or scoffing at the process or the nature of the crimes that they are being accused of. It was found that 'intimidation' was only used by suspects in the accusatory setting, namely 22 times. Guilty suspects were responsible for six of those instances and non-guilty suspects for 16 instances. However, one non-guilty participant used this influencing behaviour 13 of those 16 times. This means that despite the seemingly high frequency, the behaviour was actually quite rare. In total 'intimidation' was displayed by eight suspects and mostly with the goal of belittling the interviewer or making it look like the interviewing process is ridiculous. Below

an example of one of the more extreme intimidating behaviours can be seen. This example comes from the interview with the suspect that used 'intimidation' 13 times. In this interview it became clear that the suspect thought that the interviewing process was ridiculous and therefore they wanted the interviewer to become aware of this as well. The suspect eventually talked the interviewer down so much that the interviewer had to quit the interview because it turned out to be impossible to follow the interview script.

SUSPECT: "Pff.. I, I can't imagine the way you act now. It's incredible. You say that I stole the wallet and when I ask you to prove it, you say: later. But come on, be honest. What's the proof? Prove to me that I stole the wallet. When I say I didn't, and you say I did, you have to prove it! Not me. I don't have to prove I didn't, you have to prove I did it. Reversed accusations, come on.. Tell me how I stole the wallet."

One of the other suspects that displayed 'intimidation' was threatening the interviewer that their actions might not be legal since there was no lawyer present. In the other cases the behaviour was displayed in a less extreme way and suspects would all point out in a scoffing way that the interviewer would easily jump to conclusions and accuse the suspect without having a good reason to do so.

Impose restrictions. The influencing behaviour 'impose restrictions' refers to suspects deliberately providing minimal information to frustrate a line of questioning, or threatened or actual refusal to cooperate. It was used a total of 14 times by 8 suspects. There was not really a clear pattern visible in the usage of this behaviour. Suspects would mostly provide short answers to avoid giving too much information, but it also occurred that suspects would say that they did not want to share a certain piece of information. This would happen at any moment in the interview. In all cases it was mostly the general flow of the interview that

made an answer to be coded as 'impose restrictions', so context was needed to determine if an answer was just short or a deliberate attempt to close down questioning.

In the study of Watson et al. (2018) 'impose restrictions' was found to be a high power behaviour in which suspects would not cooperate unless their requests were met or where suspects would straight up refuse to cooperate at all. The use of 'impose restrictions' as a high power behaviour in the current research was only clearly found in two suspects. Both of the suspects displayed the behaviour four times. For the other suspects it was harder to tell if the behaviours were high in power. This was due to the nature of the behaviour. Suspects simply did not give us enough information to make inferences.

Emotional influence.

Supplication. 'Supplication' occurs when suspects try to appear weak and in need of pity, or else as though they were actually the victim of their abusers. It was used a total of 13 times. This behaviour was found only two times in the information gathering approach and 11 times in the accusatory interviewing style, guilt did not seem to matter since it occurred six times within the guilty suspects and seven times within the non-guilty suspects. Suspects used this behaviour to gain pity from the interviewer about the situation that they found themselves in. Suspects would tell what happened in such a way that they would appear the victim, either of the interviewer or of the circumstances. They would do this by stating that there must have been some kind of misunderstanding, and that they must have arrested the wrong person. The context of the behaviour would show that the person was feeling distressed. However, there was no clear difference visible in this behaviour between guilty and non-guilty suspects. In the example below it can be seen that participants would express their discomfort.

> SUSPECT: "Hmm hmm. But can you imagine that you are accusing me of
> something I said I didn't do… I have to convince you that I didn't steal
> the wallet."

The fact that this behaviour was found more in the accusatory style might be because suspects would use this influencing behaviour as a way of gaining a more humane treatment than the accusatory style they were interviewed in. This can for example be seen in the interview of the quote above. The suspect would use 'supplication' on top of pointing out multiple times that the interviewing style was ridiculous and that they would not cooperate when the interviewer acts like that.

Contrition. 'Contrition' occurs when suspects directly apologise for their actions and the behaviour was used a total of 13 times. It stood out that out of this the behaviour was used 12 times by guilty suspects and only one time by a non-guilty suspect. Not surprisingly, the thing that was mostly apologised for was stealing the wallet, so this behaviour occurred often together with 'admissions'. However, 'contrition' was not always used directly after an admission, the suspects would express their guilt at different moment. Suspects would also apologise in different ways, either by directly saying sorry for what they did or by saying that they feel guilty or ashamed about taking the wallet and stating that they would never steal again. An example of this can be seen below.

SUSPECT: "… But there was no one and I don't know what happened, but my brain was so empty and like that I just grabbed the wallet and ran, I guess. *And now I feel so guilty and I promise I would never do this again.*"

Neutral. 'Neutral' was the most counted behaviour, namely 554 times. There was a large difference in the amount of neutral codes between the information gathering approach (358 times) and the accusatory interviewing style (196 times). All the behaviours that did not contain an attempt to influence the interviewer in some way were codes as 'neutral'. Most of the time this code was used for coding information that the suspect would give about things that weren't directly related to the evidence. Suspects would for example mention that they

visited multiple shops during the day, or that there was another lady in the leatherwear shop.

The difference in the amount of neutral codes between the two interviewing techniques can be explained by the different build-ups of the interviews. In the information gathering approach there was a long introduction that required the suspect to confirm that they understood the interviewer multiple times. All these affirmations were coded as neutral.

Discussion

So far, most research on police interviews has focused on the behaviour of the interviewer and how this affects the interviewing process. In their research, Watson et al. (2018) sought to explore suspect behaviours in the context of control or coercion interviews to help to develop an understanding of how suspects seek to influence interviewers. They found 18 different behaviours that suspects employed to influence the interviewer. Their research was the basis for our current research, in which we examined if the same behaviours can be elicited in an experimental setting and with a different kind of crime. This experimental setting allowed us to get insight into the difference in suspect behaviour between guilty and non-guilty suspects and the influence of interviewing style on the influencing behaviours that were displayed by the suspects.

It was found that all behaviours, except for 'denial of the victim', occurred at least once. Therefore it can be concluded that it is possible to reproduce the same behaviours in an experimental setting, though in most cases to a far lesser extent. On top of that, the influencing behaviour 'information seeking' was added. The most used influencing behaviours were 'rational persuasion', 'admissions', and 'complete denials'. In general, suspects stayed more on the instrumental side of the interpersonal framing dimension, and they tended to use a bit more high power behaviours than low power behaviours. Although, the difference in usage between high and low power behaviours was less clear than the differences on the interpersonal framing dimension. When comparing the found data to the

data found by Watson et al. (2018) it stood out that in the current research suspects used very few justifications and emotional appeals. Other than this the used influencing behaviours looked fairly similar.

Theory Behind the Occurrences of the Influencing Behaviours

      Information seeking. A couple of results stood out from the rest and are worth elaborating on. The behaviour 'information seeking' was added to the coding scheme to be able to identify this behaviour better, and it became clear that 'information seeking' actually occurred at a relatively high frequency. As mentioned in the result section, we were not the first to identify such a behaviour (Pearse & Gudjonsson, 2003). However, our conceptualisation differs from theirs. Pearse and Gudjonsson (2003) saw every form of asking for information or clarification, such as asking about an early release or asking to repeat the question as 'information seeking', while the current study identified something as 'information seeking' when the suspect would ask for information to get insight into the information the interviewer had about them or the crime. 'Information seeking' was not included in the taxonomy of Watson et al. (2018). Suspects use of information seeking maps onto expectations of suspect behaviour based upon self-regulation theory. In their research about deception detection Granhag and Hartwig (2008) described that both guilty and non-guilty suspects would see the upcoming interview as threatening. In order to reduce that threat, suspects would use information control to gain some sense of control back. Information control refers to the sense of control that is achieved when someone obtains information about the forthcoming aversive event (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). Suspects would do this by trying to predict what information the interviewer had about them. When connecting this information to the current study, it might be that suspects felt threatened and out of control as well, and that they would try to figure out what kind of evidence the interviewer had, so that they could make better behavioural decisions because they have

increased confidence about what the interviewer already knows. This is in line with what was observed during the interviews. Suspects would namely use 'information seeking' as a way of finding out what the interviewer knew about them, so that they could next give the information that would make them look less guilty. The influencing behaviours that suspects would use for this differed per interview. In some cases this was rational persuasion, but it could also be a complete denial or an admission. This would depend on the information that the suspect already gave beforehand and the suspects assessment of what would make their story credible at that point in the interview.

Denials. The second result that will be discussed is that suspects used a lot more complete and partial denials in the accusatory interview than in the information gathering style. This most likely had to do with the accusatory way of interviewing. According to Kassin (2005) the presumption of guilt as seen in the accusatory interviews puts more pressure on the suspect and would cause them to be more anxious and defensive. Since suspects were constantly being accused of something in terms of their behaviour or their actions, they were more prompted to use denials to convince the interviewer of their innocence. In addition it was seen that complete denials were used more by non-guilty suspects, and that partial denials were used more by guilty suspects. This contradicts the Reid manual, on which the accusatory interview is roughly based, that states that a suspect who objects and denies commission of the crime makes themselves look suspicious and is therefore probably guilty (Merryman, 2010., Moore & Fitzsimmons, 2011). In practice this would mean that the Reid manual might give investigative interviewers an entirely wrong idea about who is guilty and who is not.

Admissions and confessions. Another behaviour that is worth discussing is 'admissions'. This behaviour was used a lot, especially by guilty suspects. As found by Watson et al. (2018), an admission would not always mean that a suspect would confess to

stealing the wallet. Suspects would mostly admit to smaller pieces of evidence that were presented to them, such as being in the store, being nervous while being in the store or picking up the wallet. Apart from admitting pieces of the evidence, most of the guilty suspects would also admit to stealing the wallet and therefore confess to committing the crime. A possible explanation for this can be found in the theory of Hilgendorf and Irving (1981), who argued that a suspect, when deciding to confess or not, becomes engaged in a taxing decision making process consisting of three phases. In the first phase suspects consider their options and possible courses of actions, as well as weighing the likely consequences attached to those options. In the second phase, the suspect assesses the likelihood of the various consequences attached to the courses of action by estimating their subjective probabilities, or what the suspect believes will happen. In the last phase, the suspect evaluates the utility values or gains attached to the various courses of action. Practically this means that each decision follows from the suspect's perceptions of the available courses of action, of the probabilities of the relative short-term and long-term consequences, and the values attached to these consequences. In the current research, suspects most likely realised that they were not actually in a police interview and that the crime that they were being accused of was pretty minor. This might have caused the suspects to believe that confessing is a sensible way to get a fairly decent expected utility, namely receiving a low punishment or no punishment at all, with a decent subjective probability that that outcome will actually occur.

Slightly more suspects in the accusatory interview confessed to committing the crime than suspects in the information gathering style, namely 15 versus 12. Although this is not a big difference, it is still interesting to touch upon. The fact that more suspects confessed in the accusatory style is namely in line with the goal of the accusatory style; getting a confession from the suspect (Vrij et al., 2006). However, according to Meissner et al. (2006), suspects would provide more true and less false confessions in the information gathering style than in

the accusatory style. Both findings were not replicated in this research, since no false confessions were made and suspects confessed an almost equal amount in both interview styles. The fact that no false confessions occurred might have to do with the relatively low pressure the participants experienced, since they were only being interviewed for a short time in an online setting. One of the things that causes a lot of false confessions in accusatory interviews, and especially with the Reid technique, is namely the isolation that the suspects experience and the pressure that is put on the suspect for a long time (Spierer, 2017). In the current research the interviews took no longer than ten minutes and questions were rarely repeated, which put less pressure on the suspect than in an actual accusatory interview which could take hours. Lastly, participants received the instruction that they should try their best to avoid punishment or get the lowest possible punishment. Confessing to a crime, especially if they did not commit it, would not fit to that instruction.

Another remarkable finding related to the found confessions was the moment on which suspects decided to confess. This was for both the information gathering style and the accusatory style mostly in the free-recall phase. This is in line with the findings in actual police interviews, where most suspects that confessed also confessed at the near beginning of the interview (Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner, & Cherryman, 2009). An explanation for this could be that when suspects confess because they believe that it is the right course of action for them or because they want to feel less guilty, they already have an internal pressure to confess. Because of this they need less or no outside pressure to actually make the confession (Gudjonsson & Petursson, 1991). It could be that the internal pressure in combination with the pressure participants experienced from generally being in a police interview, was already enough pressure for them to make the confession. However, the fact that participants confessed mostly early on in the interview can also be related back to the earlier described theory of Hilgendorf and Irving (1981), because if suspects already decided that confessing

would be the best course of action for them it would not make sense for them to wait to make that confession and risk lowering their chances of a good outcome.

Rational persuasion. Another result that is worth discussing is 'rational persuasion', which was the most used influencing behaviour in all four experimental conditions. Although 'rational persuasion' was used just as much by guilty suspects and non-guilty suspects, it could be seen that this was the favourite strategy for non-guilty suspects to convince the interviewer of their innocence. Almost all non-guilty suspects would right away give the interviewer a lot of information, including details that could possibly be incriminating, such as being in the store or walking around with the wallet. They would use 'rational persuasion' to logically explain the evidence against them. There are two principles that could possibly explain this. The first one is 'belief in a just world', which refers to the finding that people generally believe that one gets what one deserves. In the case of an innocent suspect this would mean that they expect to be believed, since being incorrectly judged as a liar would clash with their belief in a just world (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). The second principle that could explain this behaviour is the so-called 'illusion of transparency', which causes innocent suspects to believe that their inner feelings and states will manifest on the outside, and thus that the interviewer is able to see their innocence based on the true story they told (Granhag & Hartwig, 2008). Both theories explain that non-guilty suspects see no harm in sharing incriminating information against themselves because they do not consider the option that the interviewer will not understand their good intentions and appreciate their willingness to cooperate with the interviewer.

Guilty suspects used 'rational persuasion' in two different manners. It mostly occurred that the suspect already confessed and would provide logical arguments to explain why they stole the wallet, or why they got rid of the evidence. This is in line with the arguments as given for the innocent suspects. The guilty suspects as well hope that when they are telling the

truth they will be believed by the interviewer, and eventually get a better treatment or a lower punishment. Lying guilty suspects also use 'rational persuasion' for coming up with a logical story that could explain the evidence, but they would use it to tell a believable lie. This is practically the same behaviour as one of the most often used strategies by liars in police interviews, namely 'close to truth' (Strömwall & Willén, 2011). This means that lying suspects stay very close to the truth and only omit a few details that contain self-incriminating information, just as can be seen in the usage of 'rational persuasion' by the lying suspects in the current study. Since those lies are easily mistaken for truths, it means that in actual police interview, where no ground truth is known, it would be hard for the interviewer to discriminate if this behaviour is displayed by someone genuine or someone that wants to deceive the interviewer. In this case this means that although the taxonomy by Watson et al. (2018) helps to identify the different influencing behaviours that are used to influence the interviewer, it does not mean that the taxonomy can help the interviewer getting insight into what the goal of the used influencing behaviour is. There are still other methods needed to help distinguish between honest and non-truthful accounts.

Provoking questions. Something that was a reoccurring result, was that the way in which a question was asked seemed to provoke a certain response . This happened in the case of the accusatory interview, where the question "we already know that you stole the wallet" seemed to trigger a complete denial, and the sentence "this is your chance to do right by the victim and tell us the truth" was often followed by 'integrity'. In the information gathering style the question "we have an eyewitness that says you were behaving nervously, why do you think the eyewitness said that" would often trigger 'claimed ignorance', and the question 'where do you think the wallet could be now" triggered the blaming of third parties. This shows that not only the general setting (information gathering vs accusatory) influenced the answers that people gave, but also the specific ways in which those questions were asked.

Most of the earlier mentioned questions would invite the suspect to speculate or could be classified as a leading question. Leading questions are questions that, either by its form or content, suggests to the suspect what answer is desired, or leads them to the desired answer (Loftus & Palmer, 1974). This means that the answer of the suspect is only a response to the way that the question is asked, and has little to do anymore with the answer that the suspect might have given if the question was asked in a different manner. This could mean that an interviewer could unknowingly make finding out the truth more complicated for themselves by triggering a certain response, because they might direct the suspect towards a lie or an obvious excuse for their behaviour. Especially since the responses did not differ much between guilty and non-guilty suspects.

Low frequency of influencing behaviours. The last result to be discussed is the relatively low frequency in which most influencing behaviours occurred and how the used influencing behaviours in the current study differed from those in the study of Watson et al. (2018). Outstanding was the low frequency in which the behaviours in the 'justifications' category occurred, especially compared to the findings by Watson et al. (2018). 'Denial of victim' was even not used at all, which is a high contrast to the fact that all suspects in the sample of Watson et al. (2018) used this behaviour. This might be due to the nature of the crime. The interviews that were analysed by Watson et al. (2018) all were conducted after the suspicion of control or coercion, a crime that by definition requires a longstanding relationship between the victim and the offender. Compared to that, stealing a wallet is a straightforward, minor, economic crime and the nature of the crime might have provoked the use of instrumental over relational behaviours in general, explaining the lack of behaviours such as those in the 'justifications' category. In addition, it is often the case that there is little evidence for the domestic violence taking place. Therefore it is harder for suspects to use instrumental influencing behaviours, since there is not much evidence to refer back to. In the

current study it was more the other way around, there was not really a relationship to refer back to, but plenty of evidence.

Another possible reason for why suspects relied more heavily on instrumental behaviours in contrast to the relational behaviours that were often seen in the study by Watson et al. (2018), can again be found in the nature of the crime. Since a suspicion of domestic violence almost automatically makes the suspect seem like a bad and violent person, it is important for the suspect to convince the interviewer that they in fact are not a bad person or that the violence was perfectly explainable. Therefore it is important for the suspect to come across as likeable, or for their accusers to come across as the opposite of that, which would make the accusers' testimony look less credible. In the current study, the suspects are not really suspects, but rather participants just playing a role. Therefore there is no threat to the 'suspects' from the interviewer making inferences about their character, since they are defending something they haven't actually done.

Strengths and limitations

In general we have the idea that this study was quite successful. We had the opportunity to interview a large sample of participants in pre-set conditions. This allowed us to look into the influence of guilt and interviewing style on the used suspect influencing behaviours, which is something that cannot be done in actual police interviews. We were able to generate some interesting results that gave us new insights into suspect influencing behaviours and when they occurred, that are definitely worth studying further.

However, there are some limitations this study as well. The first and most important one is that our study does not come close to the reality of an actual police interview. Although we used two different interview approaches based on actual interviewing styles, there are quite significant deviations. The information gathering style was based on the PEACE interview and the accusatory style was based on the Reid technique. In the case of the

information gathering style, for example, not all steps of the PEACE model were used. There was no closure in which the interview was summarised and there was no evaluation afterwards. In the case of the accusatory style, there were a lot of steps that we did not take compared to the Reid technique. For example, we did not try to shift the blame away from the suspect towards someone else or we also did not pose an alternative question to get the suspect to confess. Because of these differences we cannot claim that we have shown the exact effects of the accusatory versus the information gathering interview in general. On top of that we looked into the influence that guilt or innocence had on the used influencing behaviours, although nobody had actually committed a crime. Therefore we cannot confidently say that the participants represent actual guilty suspects in terms of their behaviour. However, since this was only an exploratory research, the results gave us some good indications of what to look for in actual police interviews.

Another limitation was that the behaviours in this study were coded by only one researcher. Therefore we do not have evidence about how reliable the coding in the current research was. It would have been more desirable to have two coders to be more secure about the results, since now it is only one researchers' interpretation of the codes. However, this was not possible in the current research due to a lack of time and resources. Having two coders is especially desirable when quantitative differences are described. This way it increases comprehensibility and intersubjectivity and therefore avoids substantial bias in the resulting data (Burla, Knierim, Barth, Liewald, Duetz & Abel, 2008).

For future research it would be advised to look deeper into the influencing behaviours. The current study, and the study by Watson et al. (2018), showed that the taxonomy is usable and that suspects indeed show behaviours that can be categorised according to this taxonomy. However, for now it is mostly inferring about why these behaviours occurred. For example it is not exactly clear yet to what extent the type of the crime, or the wording of the questions

provoked certain influencing behaviours. In addition, it would be interesting to look into what the found results imply for actual police interviews. It would be interesting to know if being able to identify specific influencing behaviours also makes it easier for interviewers to counter those techniques, or to decide based on the used influencing behaviours if someone is more likely to be guilty or not.

Conclusion

The current research established that suspects in an experimental setting displayed similar behaviours to actual suspects, and therefore that the taxonomy of Watson et al. (2018) seems to be usable for other crimes than just coercion and control. However, we should be careful with drawing any conclusions from this, since the current research differed in a lot ways from the reality of actual police interviews. Although the current study only showed a very simplistic version of the two types of police interviews, it did give us a lot of useful input and directions for what to search for in actual police interviews.

It was found that suspects would generally prefer instrumental behaviours over relational behaviours, and they would especially use rational persuasion. It was also found that although all behaviours from the taxonomy, except for 'denial of the victim', were displayed by the suspects, a lot of behaviours were only used a couple of times or were used a relatively high amount of times by a low amount of suspects.

On top of that, the experimental setting of the study allowed us to look into the influence of guilt and interviewing style on the behaviours that the suspects displayed. It was found that actually both non-guilty and guilty suspects would keep their stories close to the truth. Practically all non-guilty suspects would use rational persuasion to explain the evidence against them and to convince the interviewer of their innocence. On top of that they would use a lot of denials to make it clear that they did nothing wrong. Guilty suspects heavily relied on the use of admissions and they would often confess to the crime in the free recall phase. In

addition, guilty suspects would use rational persuasion to explain to the interviewer why they did what they did.

When looking at the influence of interviewing style on the used influencing behaviours, it was found that the accusatory style triggered a couple of specific influencing behaviours. Suspects in the accusatory style would use more denial responses, more information seeking, more integrity and more intimidation than suspects in the information gathering style. However, it is likely that the specific manner in which the questions are asked specifically triggered those responses, rather than the general interviewing style.

In general it can be said that the current research gave us some useful insights into the use of suspect influencing behaviours and the role that guilt and interviewing style played in this. This information can be used for further research about why and how those influencing behaviours occur, but also for research about how those behaviours occur in real police interviews.

References

Alison, L., Alison, E., Noone, G., Elntib, S., Waring, S., & Christiansen, P. (2014). Whatever you say, say nothing: Individual differences in counter interrogation tactics amongst a field of sample of right wing, AQ inspired and paramilitary terrorists. *Personality and individual differences, 68,* 170-175. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2014.04.031

Anderson, K. I., & Umberson, D. (2001). Gendering violence: Masculinity and power in men's accounts of domestic violence. *Gender & Society, 15*(3), 358-380. doi:10.1177/089124301015003003

Auburn, T., Drake, S., & Willig, C. (1995) 'You punched him, didn't you?': Versions of violence in accusatory interviews. *Gender & Society, 15*(3), 358-380. doi:10.1177/089124301015003003

Bolino, M. C., & Turnley, W. H. (1999, April 1, 1999). Measuring impression management in organizations: A scale development based on the Jones and Pittman taxonomy. *Organizational Research Methods, 2*(2), 187-206. doi: 10.1177/109442819922005

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2007). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 62*(1), 107-115. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x

Garret, B. L. (2009). The substance of false confessions. *Stanford Law Review, 62*, 1051-1118. Retrieved from: https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle= hein.journals/stflr62&div=29&id=&page=

Giebels, E., & Taylor, P. J. (2010). Communication predictors and social influence in crisis negotiations. In R. G. Rogan & F. Lancely (Eds.), *Contemporary theory, research, and practice of crisis/hostage negotiations.* Praeger.

Granhag, P. A., & Hartwig, M. (2008). A new theoretical perspective on deception detection: On the psychology of instrumental mind-reading. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, *14*(3), 189-200.

Granhag, P. A., Hartwig, M., Giolla, E. M., & Clemens, F. (2014). Suspects' Counter-
Interrogation Strategies. *Detecting Deception, 293-313.* doi:
10.1002/9781118510001.ch13

Hartwig, M., Granhag, P. A., & Strömwall, L. A. (2007). Guilty and innocent suspects'
strategies during police interrogations. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 13*, 213–227.
doi:10.1080/1068316060075026

Hartwig, M., Granhag, P. A., Strömwall, L. A., & Doering, N. (2010). Impression and
information management: On the strategic self-regulation of innocent and guilty
suspects. *Open Criminology Journal, 3*, 10–16. doi:10.2174/1874917801003020010

Hilgendorf, E.L., & Irving, B. (1981). A decision-making model of confessions. *Psychology
in Legal Contexts,* 67-84. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Horgan, A.J., Russano, M.B., Meissner, C.A., & Evans, J.R. (2012). Minimization and
maximization techniques: assessing the perceived consequences of confessing and
confession diagnosticity. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 18*(1), 65-78. doi:
10.1080/1068316x.2011.561801

Jones, A.M., & Brimbal, L. (2016). Lay perceptions of interrogation techniques: Identifying
the role of Belief in a Just World and Right Wing Authoritarianism. *Journal of
Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 14*(3), 260-280. doi:
10.1002/jip.1476

Jordan, S., Hartwig, M., Wallace, B., Dawson, E., & Xhihani, A. (2012). Early versus late
disclosure of evidence: effects on verbal cues to deception, confessions, and lie
catchers' accuracy. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 9,*
1-12. doi: 10.1002/jip.1350

Kassin, S. M. (2005). On the psychology of confessions: Does innocence put innocents at
risk? *American Psychologist, 60*(3), 215-228. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.60.3.215

Loftus. E.F., & Palmer, J,C. (1974). Reconstruction of Automobile Destruction: An Example of the Interaction Between Language and Memory. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour, 13,* 585-589. doi: 10.1016/S0022-5371(74)80011-3

May, L., Granhag, P. A., & Tekin, S. (2017). Interviewing suspects in denial: On how different evidence disclosure modes affect the elicitation of new critical information. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8.* doi: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01154

Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. D. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust [Article]. *Academy of Management Review, 20*(3), 709-734. doi: 0.5465/AMR.1995.9508080335

Meissner, C. A., Redlich, A., Bhatt, S., & Brandon, S. (2012). Interview and interrogation methods and their effects on true and false confessions. *Campbell Systematic Reviews, 2012:13.* doi: 10.4073/csr.2012.13

Merryman, B. B. (2010). Arguments against use of the Reid Technique for juvenile interrogations. *Communication Law Review, 10:2,* 16-24.

Moston, S., & Engelberg, T. (1993). Police questioning techniques in tape recorded interviews with criminal suspects. *Policing and Society, 3:3*, 223-237, doi: 10.1080/10439463.1993.9964670

Moore, T. E., & Fitzsimmons, C. L. (2011). Justice imperiled: False confessions and the Reid technique. *Criminal Law Quarterly, 57:4,* 509-542.

Pearse, J., & Gudjonsson, G. H. (2003). The Identification and Measurement of 'Oppressive' Police Interviewing Tactics in Britain. In G. H. Gudjonsson (Ed.), *The Psychology of Interrogations and Confessions* (pp. 75-114). doi:10.1002/9780470713297.ch4

Reik, T. (1959). Reik, T. (1959). *The compulsion to confess: On the psychoanalysis of crime and punishment*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy

Roberts, K. (2012). Police interviewing of criminal suspects: A historical perspective. *Internet Journal of Criminology, 5.*

Soukara, S., Bull, R., Vrij, A., Turner, M., & Cherryman, J. (2009). What really happens in police interviews of suspects? Tactics and confessions. *Psychology, crime & Law, 15*(6), 493-506. doi: 10.1080/10683160802201827

Spierer, A. (2017). The right to remain a child: The impermissibility of the Reid technique in juvenile interrogations. *NYU Law Review, 92,* 1719-1750. Retrieved from: https://www.nyulawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/NYULawReview-92-5-Spierer.pdf

Strömwall, L. A., & Willén, R. M. (2011). Inside criminal minds: offenders' strategies when lying. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 8,* 271-281. doi: 10.1002/jip.148

Sykes, G. M., & Matza, D. (1957). Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency. *American Sociological Review, 22*(6), 664-670. doi:10.2307/2089195

Taylor, P. J. (2002). A cylindrical model of communication behavior in crisis negotiations. *Human Communication Research, 28*(1), 7-48. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2002.tb00797.x

Vrij, A., Mann, S., & Fisher, R. P. (2006). Information-gathering vs accusatory interview style: Individual differences in respondents' experiences. *Personality and Individual Differences, 41,* 589-599, doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2006.02.014

Walsh, D.W., & Milne, R. (2008). Keeping the PEACE? A study of investigative interviewing practices in the public sector. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 13,* 39-57. doi:10.1348/135532506X157179

Watson, S. J., Luther, K., Jackson, J., Taylor, P. J., & Alison, L. (2018). Controlling the

    interview: The influencing of techniques of suspects of control and

    coercion. *International Investigative Interviewing Research Group 11th Annual*

    Conference. Porto, Portugal.

Weiher, L. (2020). *The impact of interview style on the development, maintenance, and*

    transfer of rapport (PhD thesis, Lancaster University). Retrieved from

    https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/149132/

Guilty scenario

Scenario

You have been looking for a new wallet for some time now. After a few months of hard work you think you have saved up enough money to start looking for a nice, high quality wallet that will last you for a long time. You look up stores online before you go out shopping to save time. After searching for a while, your eye is caught by a tiny shop that sells only very expensive handbags and wallets. You think it would be worth looking around in there to try to find a new wallet.

Today, however, you dropped your phone and cracked the screen badly enough for it not to be useable anymore. Sadly this means that you have to use a lot of your saved money to get it repaired. You drive to the city and drop your phone off at an electronics shop. When you walk back to your car you notice the small leatherware shop that you saw online. You decide to take a look inside to see if they might have something you like.

As the store is so small, you notice there is only one other customer in the store. You notice that the woman is looking very elegant. She is wearing an obviously expensive blue blouse combined with a pencil skirt and silver jewellery. It makes you feel a little bit uncomfortable, since you are just wearing an old shirt and faded jeans.

You browse the store for a while, and pick up a wallet that you like. It seems to have everything you want. Very soft red leather, enough room to store some money and cards, as well as a little space to put in pictures behind see-through plastic. Sadly the wallet is too expensive to buy right now due to your phone repair and you figure that you probably need to save for another month. When you want to put the wallet away you notice that there is a small stripe-shaped stain on the outside of the wallet, almost as if someone drew on it with a permanent marker. Instead of putting the wallet back you decide to take it to the counter to notify the shop assistant about the damage. While walking there you notice that there is no one behind the counter and that there is also no shop assistant in sight. You look around you and see that the wealthy looking woman is occupied with a purse somewhere in the corner of the store. When the sound of the lady bumping into something makes your heart skip a beat,

you quickly put the wallet behind your jacket and without thinking about it anymore you walk out of the store.

A couple of streets away from the leatherware shop you see two police officers. You try to hide how scared you are and you turn your head the other way. While you try to keep walking as normally as possible you can feel your heart beating in your chest. When you see a bin you quickly dispose the wallet there. When you notice that the officers are moving towards you, you freeze. You hear them say "*You are under arrest for stealing a wallet*".

You are taken to the police station to be interviewed by the police for suspicion of theft. You immediately start thinking of ways to explain what happened so you do not get in trouble.

Non-guilty scenario

Scenario

You have been looking for a new wallet for some time now. After a few months of hard work you think you have saved up enough money to start looking for a nice, high quality wallet that will last you for a long time. You look up stores online before you go out shopping to save time. After searching for a while, your eye is caught by a tiny shop that sells only very expensive handbags and wallets. You think it would be worth looking around in there to try to find a new wallet.

Today, however, you dropped your phone and cracked the screen badly enough for it not to be useable anymore. Sadly this means that you have to use a lot of your saved money to get it repaired. You drive to the city and drop your phone off at an electronics shop. When you walk back to your car you notice the small leatherware shop that you saw online. You decide to take a look inside to see if they might have something you like.

As the store is so small, you notice there is only one other customer in the store. You notice that the woman is looking very elegant. She is wearing an obviously expensive blue blouse combined with a pencil skirt and silver jewellery. It makes you feel a little bit uncomfortable, since you are just wearing an old shirt and faded jeans.

You browse the store for a while, and pick up a wallet that you like. It seems to have everything you want. Very soft red leather, enough room to store some money and cards, as well as a little space to put in pictures behind see-through plastic. Sadly the wallet is too expensive to buy right now due to your phone repair and you figure that you probably need to save for another month. When you want to put the wallet away you notice that there is a small stripe-shaped stain on the outside of the wallet, almost as if someone drew on it with a permanent marker. Instead of putting the wallet back you decide to take it to the counter to notify the shop assistant about the damage. While walking there you notice that there is no one behind the counter and that there is also no shop assistant in sight. You look around and see that wealthy looking woman is occupied with a purse somewhere in the corner of the store. As you are not sure where you picked the wallet up at first, you just put the wallet in the

shelves somewhere close by. Afterwards, you immediately leave the store. On your way out you hear the woman bumping into something.

A couple of streets away from the leatherware shop you see two police officers. At first, you don't pay attention to it and look the other way. They couldn't possibly be looking for you. But when they come closer, you notice that they are looking at you and walking straight towards you. You freeze, and your heart starts to thump in your chest. You hear them say: '*You are under arrest for stealing a wallet!'*.

You are taken to the police station to be interviewed by the police for suspicion of theft. Since you did not commit the crime you immediately start thinking of ways to explain what happened so you do not get in trouble.

Accusatory style script

Introduction accusatory approach

I am here to talk to you about the wallet that was stolen. I am sure that you stole that wallet.

Thefts like this can cause small shop owners a lot of harm. Now, this is a problem as you can

probably see. So I hope that you will do the right thing by cooperating and telling me about

how you stole the wallet.

Interview questions accusatory approach

- Tell me in as much detail as you can what you did today.

- Tell me in chronological order what happened from your point of view while you were in

the shop.

Now I will ask you some more specific questions

- Do you remember picking anything up?

- We have confirmation that you picked up the wallet. Explain that to me.

- You are on camera picking up the wallet so we know you stole it. This is your chance to

do the right thing by the victim and tell us the truth.

- The witness told us you were behaving nervously, so we are sure you were not behaving

normally. Can you explain that?

- Where is the wallet now?

Close

This is the end of the interview. I would like to ask you to please stay on call until the

researcher joins us.

Investigative interviewing script

Introduction

Hello, my name is [*NAME*]. I will be conducting your interview today. May I ask how I can refer to you during this interview?

Okay, you can call me [*NAME*].

Now, to start of this interview, let me inform you of the procedure and rules, okay?

This interview is being recorded for both video and audio. This is just to ensure that we can get an exact record of what is being said. We will need to transcribe these records as well. So to help with that process afterwards, it would be a great help if we do not interrupt each other. When you speak I will try not to interrupt you, and I hope you will do the same for me. Despite this, please feel free to ask any questions that may arise, okay? And don't worry if I ask two similar questions, or if I ask you to repeat something. I just want to make sure we get as much information as possible and I want to understand everything that you say here today as best I can. Now, the reason I'm interviewing you today is to talk about the events that happened regarding a wallet that is missing from a store. It is important that you tell me everything that you know, no matter how insignificant you think it might be. Please use as much detail as you can and do not edit anything out. I was not there, so I am not aware of everything that has happened. That is why I want to give you a chance to tell me your side of the story. Do you have any questions so far? We will begin the interview now.

Interview questions information gathering approach

- Can you tell me about what you did today, in as much detail as you can?

- When you were in the shop, can you tell me in chronological order what happened from your point of view?

Now I will ask you some more specific questions. It is possible that you have already provided relevant details when answering our earlier questions. If that is the case, please repeat the information you can so we can be sure we collect as much information as possible.

- We have an eye witness that says you were behaving nervously. Why do you think this eyewitness said that?

- Did you pick up anything while in the store?

- We have evidence suggesting that you picked up a wallet. Can you explain that to me?

- We have security footage that showed us you picked up the wallet. Can you tell me more about that?

- If you do not have the wallet, where do you think it could be now?

Close

Thank you very much. We have all the information we need. I would like to ask you to please stay on call until the researcher joins us.

Pre-questionnaire

1. What is your age?

    _____

2. What is your gender?

    o   Male

    o   Female

    o   Other; _____

3. What is the highest education that you have completed?

    o   High school

    o   MBO or non-Dutch equivalent

    o   HBO or non-Dutch equivalent

    o   University Bachelor

    o   University Master

    o   Ph.D. or higher

4. What is your nationality?

    _____

Informed consent

Purpose of the research

The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of the interaction between police interviewers and suspects and how this affects the outcome of interviews. If you take part you will be asked to play the role of a suspect accused of a crime.

Procedures

If you decide to participate in this study, your involvement will last for up to 30 minutes. As a participant in this study, you will be given a scenario to read and you will be asked to imagine yourself in the given situation. After reading the information you will engage in a short online interview, followed by an online questionnaire. Briefly you are accused of committing a crime, and we ask you to imagine how you would respond were you genuinely being interviewed as a suspect of the crime.

The online interview will be conducted via Skype. Therefore in order to take part you will need access to a computer with a webcam and microphone.

You will be video recorded during the interview. This video is only used for research purposes and will not be shared beyond the research team. The videos will not be linked to any personal information and the files will be stored in a secure cloud storage system.

When the questionnaire is completed, the study is over and an experimenter will give a debrief to answer any questions you may have about the study

Risks or Discomforts

There is minimal risk involved in participating in this study. However, some participants might feel stressed. If you are worried about how this might affect you, we ask you to consult the research team before deciding to participate. There will be no danger to your physical well-being or safety, and you can end the interview at any time without having to provide an explanation.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente.

Participant rights

Your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to take part in the study or to stop participating at any time, for any reason, without any consequences. 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 accidently the researcher will remain available to call back for 5 minutes.

Upon your request we will immediately delete the video of you. To ensure confidentiality, your questionnaire responses will be anonymous (i.e., personal identifying information cannot be matched with your answers in the questionnaire). This means we will not be able to remove your data after you take part because we will not be able to identify your data.

If you are student from the University of Twente participating for SONA credits, these are granted after you complete the questionnaire after the interview.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, wish to obtain information, or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the Secretary of the Ethics Committee, ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl

For further information about this study, contact the study supervisor Dr. Steven Watson, at s.j.watson@utwente.nl

Consent and Authorization Provisions for "Studying employee behavior"

Your signature indicates that:

- I understand that I will be asked to participate in a recorded online interview.

- I understand that my questionnaire data will be stored anonymously and therefore I will be unable to withdraw my data after I have taken part.

- I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, academic articles, publications or presentations by the researcher/s, but that my personal data will not be identifiable.

- I am at least 18 years old.

- I agree to take part in the study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to provide a reason.

	Please specify if you agree with the mentioned statements.	
I consent to participate in the explained study.	Yes	No
I consent to be video recorded during the interview.	Yes	No

Appendix G

Post-questionnaire questions

1. Before the interview, did you come up with a strategy to stay out of trouble? If so, what was your strategy?
2. Did you change your strategy during the interview? If so, to what and why?
3. Did you feel like your strategy was useful? Why or why not?

Post-questionnaire

State Trait Anxiety Inventory

Read each statement and select the appropriate response to indicate how you feel right now, that is, at this very moment. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement but give the answer which seems to describe your present feelings best.

1	**2**	**3**	**4**
Not at all	**A little**	**Somewhat**	**Very Much So**

1.	I feel calm	1	2	3	4
2.	I feel secure	1	2	3	4
3.	I feel tense	1	2	3	4
4.	I feel strained	1	2	3	4
5.	I feel at ease	1	2	3	4
6.	I feel upset	1	2	3	4
7.	I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes	1	2	3	4
8.	I feel satisfied	1	2	3	4
9.	I feel frightened	1	2	3	4
10.	I feel uncomfortable	1	2	3	4
11.	I feel self confident	1	2	3	4
12.	I feel nervous	1	2	3	4
13.	I feel jittery	1	2	3	4
14.	I feel indecisive	1	2	3	4
15.	I am relaxed	1	2	3	4
16.	I feel content	1	2	3	4
17.	I am worried	1	2	3	4
18.	I feel confused	1	2	3	4
19.	I feel steady	1	2	3	4
20.	I feel pleasant	1	2	3	4

Perceived performance

This questionnaire consists of 4 questions about how well you think you performed during the interview. The answers range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Please fill in the questionnaire using the first answer that comes to mind. There is no right or wrong answer, simply answer what you feel.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. I feel confident about my performance during the interview	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
2. I feel that my performance was convincing	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
3. I think that I came across as believable	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
4. I think that the interviewer thought I was likeable during the interview	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Perceived Risk Scale

This questionnaire consists of 14 questions. It measures the extent to which your answers during the interview would be likely to directly affect you were you genuinely suspected of the crime. The answers range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Please fill in the questionnaire using the first answer that comes to mind. There is no right or wrong answer, simply answer what you feel.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1. I think that I was able to persuade the interviewer that I am not worth continuing to investigate in relation to this crime	O	O	O	O	O
2. I think that I was able to convince the interviewer that I was not involved in this crime	O	O	O	O	O

3. I think that it is likely that the interviewer would like to interview me again	O	O	O	O	O
4. I think the interviewer most likely thinks that I did not commit the crime	O	O	O	O	O
5. I think that the interviewer thinks I am guilty of the crime	O	O	O	O	O
6. I think that the interviewer is still suspicious of my guilt	O	O	O	O	O
7. I think that the police would be unlikely to keep investigating me as a suspect after the interview	O	O	O	O	O
8. I think that the police investigation of this crime is likely to continue to impact my day-to-day life after this interview	O	O	O	O	O
9. I think that, if the interviewer thinks that I am guilty, the consequences for me will be severe	O	O	O	O	O
10. I think that, if the interviewer thinks I am guilty, I will not be punished strongly	O	O	O	O	O
11. I am worried about how people I care about will judge me if the police continue to investigate me	O	O	O	O	O
12. I think that my reputation will not be harmed if the police continue to investigate me	O	O	O	O	O
13. I think that a continued police investigation could have a negative effect on my future job prospects	O	O	O	O	O
14. I think the police investigation will have a negative effect on my social life	O	O	O	O	O

Rapport scale

This questionnaire consists of 21 questions. It measures the connection you felt with the interviewer. The answers range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Please fill in the questionnaire using the first answer that comes to mind. There is no right or wrong answer, simply answer what you feel.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1. I think the Interviewer is generally honest with me.	O	O	O	O	O
2. The Interviewer did his/her job with skill during the interview.	O	O	O	O	O
3. The Interviewer respects my knowledge.	O	O	O	O	O
4. The Interviewer and I have our culture in common.	O	O	O	O	O
5. The Interviewer performed expertly during the interview.	O	O	O	O	O
6. I think that the Interviewer can generally be trusted to keep his/her word.	O	O	O	O	O
7. The Interviewer and I probably share the same ethnicity.	O	O	O	O	O
8. The Interviewer really listened to what I had to say.	O	O	O	O	O
9. I was motivated to perform well during the interview.	O	O	O	O	O
10. I feel I can trust the Interviewer to keep his/her word to me.	O	O	O	O	O
11. The Interviewer made an effort to do a good job.	O	O	O	O	O
12. The Interviewer acted like a professional.	O	O	O	O	O
13. The Interviewer paid careful attention to my opinion.	O	O	O	O	O

14. The Interviewer and I got along well during the interview.	O	O	O	O	O
15. The Interviewer and I worked well together as a team.	O	O	O	O	O
16. The Interviewer probably shares my culture.	O	O	O	O	O
17. I wanted to do a good job during the interview.	O	O	O	O	O
18. The Interviewer was attentive to me.	O	O	O	O	O
19. Communication went smoothly between the Interviewer and me.	O	O	O	O	O
20. The Interviewer was interested in my point of view.	O	O	O	O	O
21. I felt committed to accomplishing the goals of the interview.	O	O	O	O	O

Debriefing

Prior to your participation in this study, you were only provided with the information necessary for participation in this study. In this debrief, you can find the more in-depth goals and information about the study. Furthermore, the purpose of the study and how your data will be used will also be explained. If you have any further questions, feel free to discuss them with the researchers.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of different interview styles and suspect guilt on 1) the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, and 2) the ways suspects try to present their case to the interviewer by making use of different suspect strategies.

For the first purpose of this study, different interview styles were used with different participants. You were not informed of the different interview styles so that your knowledge of other types of interview would not change the way you responded during your own interview. The interview styles were either an accusatory style or a humanistic style. The accusatory style involves the interviewer believing that you are guilty and trying to get a confession that you are guilty of the crime. The humanistic style involves the interviewer trying to obtain as much information as possible without any judgement on your guilt or innocence.

After the interview, the researcher that you interacted with tried to determine your guilt or innocence to see if either style leads to more accurate judgments of guilt, as well as whether you, the interviewee perceived the interviewer differently depending on the type of interview you experienced.

For the second purpose of the study, the strategies employed to avoid or minimize punishment from authorities by both innocent and guilty suspects will be investigated. We are also interested to know whether the ways people present their arguments differs depending on interview style. Lastly, the interviewer tried to determine if you were guilty or innocent with the goal of analyzing if the used suspect strategies had any influence on this judgement.

Final consent

As stated previously, it is not possible anymore to delete your data after completing the questionnaire, due to its anonymous nature (The participant numbers are purely to link the two questionnaires. We do not store which participant had which number). However, now that you know the goals of this study we want to give you the opportunity to withdraw your data and/or video. If you wish for your data to be removed, please notify the researcher now as it will not be possible anymore after the meeting is over. You can still contact the researchers via one of the mail addresses below if you wish for your video to be removed at a later moment in time.

If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact us at one of the following e-mail addresses:

Supervisor:
s.j.watson@utwente.nl

Researchers:
m.l.j.versteegh@student.utwente.nl
j.f.a.vanschaik@student.utwente.nl

Final remark

Did you enjoy participating in this experiment? Please consider recommending participation in this experiment to other people. Please withhold any information about the goals of this research explained in this debrief from possible future participants. If the information is discussed with anyone that may participate, the integrity of the experiment will be compromised. If you know anyone who be interested, please have them email the researchers.

Behaviour category	Specific behaviour	Behaviour description
Rational persuasion		Using logical arguments to explain evidence. E.g. why the suspect was in the store or picked up the wallet.
Denials	Complete denials	The suspect provides an unqualified denial. The accusation or evidence is claimed to be entirely false.
	Partial denials	The suspect concedes part of an accusation, but largely dismisses the proposed claim.
	Memory lapses	The suspect claims to be, or genuinely is, unable to recall information pertinent to an accusation or piece of evidence.
	Claimed ignorance	The suspect claims to have no knowledge or memory of information pertinent to an accusation or evidence.
Deflections	Blame third parties	Imply that an accusation stemmed from someone other than the victim and is therefore unreliable, or else blame a third party besides the victim or suspect for causing an event.
	Shift topic	Answer different questions to the ones posed, or else meander from the point in an attempt to avoid answering specific questions.
Justifications	Denial of the victim	The suspect implies the victim deserved or else directly caused the suspect's negative behavior through their own actions or flawed character.
	Denial of injury	The suspect claims their actions were exaggerated, were not as harmful as implied, will not cause future harm, or else caused no harm at all.
	Denial responsibility	The suspect claims that forces beyond their control compelled their negative behavior.
	Condemnation of the condemners	Suspects question the motive behind the accusation. E.g. They may claim that the accusations the result of spite or ulterior motives.
Trustworthy displays	Benevolence	Statements that indicate that the suspect is a nice person that would not, or would not normally, engage in the behaviors that they are accused of doing.
	Integrity	Statements that imply that the suspect is honest and would not lie to the interviewer.

Dominance	Intimidation	The suspect provides aggressive or belligerent responses. Suspects may question the interviewer's expertise, or scoff at the process or the nature of the crimes they are accused of committing.
	Impose restrictions	Deliberately providing minimal information to frustrate a line of questioning, or actual or threatened refusal to cooperate.
Emotional influence	Supplication	Suspects try to appear weak and in need of pity or else as though they were actually the victim of their accusers.
	Contrition	Suspects directly apologize for their actions, either because they have genuine regrets or because they believe expressing regret will lead to more favorable treatment.
Admissions		Suspects admit to part or all of an accusation.
Neutral		Utterances where no attempt to influence was clear. E.g. basic information provision or asking for clarification.