

Interrogation

February 6, 2006

Routes to false confessions

- o Structured
- o Psychological

“Structured” Routes

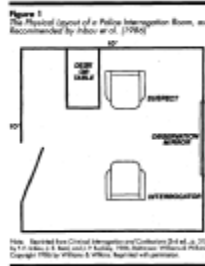
Reminder: Interview

- o Interview v. Interrogation
 - n Interview is neutral in tone, designed for information gathering and eliciting behavioral responses to be judged
 - n **Interrogation** is confrontational and accusatory
 - o Guilt-presumptive
 - o Success = confession

Reid: minimization and maximization

- o Kassin reading details Reid-recommended approach to interrogation
 - n 10 x 10 room with no barrier between suspect and interrogator

Interrogation Room Layout



Reid: minimization and maximization

- o Kassin reading details Reid-recommended approach to interrogation
 - n Max and Min Steps
 - o Unwavering assertion of guilt
 - o Develop themes to excuse the crime
 - o Interrupt denials and defense; overcome all objections
 - o Keep them engaged
 - o Show sympathy and understanding to generate cooperation
 - o Off face-saving alternative
 - o Have Suspect recount details of crime
 - o Convert details into full written statement

Why Max and Min?

- o Uses a “rational actor” model
 - n Increase costs of not confessing and benefits of confessing
 - o Make it “logical” to confess, even if not guilty
 - n Minimize anxiety, get free of situation
 - n Make current pressures seem more important than subsequent outcomes
 - o Better to get out of the room and maybe go to jail than to stay in that place and continue to be berated...

Mindless drones?

- o Surely, in some interrogation, somewhere, sometime, the suspect was truly innocent
- o Are law enforcement personnel acting like mindless drones, plowing through the techniques without consideration for the person’s innocence?
 - n Can they pull back if the person seems innocent?
- o What if innocent suspects don’t come off as innocent?

Social Psychological Routes

Social Psychological Processes

- o Behavioral confirmation
- o Authority

Behavioral Confirmation

- o Recall the Hastorf and Cantrill (1954) study
 - n Princeton-Dartmouth football
 - n Who was more aggressive
- o Social worlds aren't objective, they're *created*
- o What consequences stem from forming impressions of other people?

Roots of behavioral confirmation

- o Snyder, Tanke & Berscheid, 1977
 - o Can Person A's beliefs about Person B *cause* Person B to act as expected?
 - o Does Person C pick up on the behavior?
 - n Methods
 - o Examine cultural stereotype of attractiveness
 - n What is beautiful is good
 - o Male is given picture of attractive or unattractive woman and told that this is the interaction partner. Also a personality description.
 - o Male and female participant communicate via telephone between 2 lab rooms

Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977

- o Methods
 - n Dependent variables
 - o How do men rate the woman *before* they talk? After?
 - o How does 3rd party observer rate the women?
 - n Listen ONLY to female part of the conversation
- o Results
 - n Men expected attractive conversation partner to be significantly more sociable, poised, humorous, and socially adept
 - n After talking with female target, expectations confirmed

Snyder, Tanke & Berscheid 1977

- o So, men have an idea in mind when they start to talk to a woman and their conversations confirm their expectations. Does it translate...?
- o Results continued
 - n 3rd party listeners "hear" women who are significantly more "attractive" (sociable, sexually warm, interesting, comfortable, enjoying themselves more, etc.)
 - n No difference for those traits that didn't differ by attractiveness among male conversation partners

Snyder et al. (1977) summary

- o Interviewer had an impression of female target based on picture
- o “Getting acquainted” conversation confirms males’ expectations
- o Interaction leads to differences in behavior perceptible to 3rd party observer listening ONLY to female part of conversation
 - n Not influenced by way men act/talk

Behavioral confirmation process

- o How do one person’s expectations come to shape another’s behavior?
 - n **What do you talk about?**
- o Snyder & Swann, 1978
 - n Same basic procedure as Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid 1977
 - n Participants talk over telephone between 2 labs
 - n One participant given an expectation
 - o Introvert or extrovert

Snyder & Swann, 1978

- o Procedure
 - n Participant given expectation about other told to find out whether it was true
 - o Given a list of 26 topic area questions from which to choose
 - n 11 tap extraversion, 10 tap introversion, 5 neutral
- o Results
 - n Participants expecting an extravert ask questions designed to find an extravert
 - o “What would you do if you wanted to liven things up at a party?”
 - n Participants expecting an introvert ask questions that pull for introverted response
 - o “What things do you dislike about loud parties?”

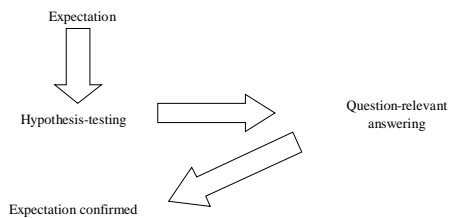
Snyder & Swann 1978 – Study II

- Questioners rely differentially on extraverted v. introverted questions. Consequences for target's behavior?
- Participants actually ask questions (Study I they just selected them)
 - Target told they'd be interviewed and asked to answer honestly and be open and candid
- 3rd party listeners evaluate tape of responses

Snyder & Swann 1978 – Study II

- Results
 - As before, Interviewers looking for extraversion ask more extraverted questions, vice versa
 - 3rd party observers evaluate Targets thought to be extraverted (by Interviewer) as more **extraverted, confident, poised, and energetic** than those who's Interviewer thought they'd be introverted

Behavioral Confirmation process



Endurance of b.c.

- o So, how long can this influence last?
 - n The studies we've looked at so far involve only 1 conversation.
 - n 3rd party rates it, but how often does that happen?
- o Snyder & Swann (1978b)
 - n Labeling perceiver, target, naïve perceiver
 - n Labeling perceiver and target compete in reaction time task in separate lab rooms
 - o Can blast each other with noise to distract opponent
 - n one person has ability per series of trials

Snyder & Swann: b.c. perseverance

- o Labeling Perceiver given opponent's personality profile
 - n Manipulated to be aggressive or not
- o Participants told that aggressive use of noise was either a function of one's personality or was a reaction to opponent's use of noise
- o Labeling Perceiver gets to use noise blasts first

Snyder & Swann: b.c. perseverance

- o Naïve Perceiver takes Labeling Perceiver's place
- o Process repeats itself, but Target gets noise blaster first
- o Questions & Results:
 - n Did "labeling perceivers" use noise differently if they learned the person was aggressive v. not?
 - o Yes: 61.1% averaged blasts of top half of intensity
 - n 27.7% did so when Target thought to be non-aggressive

So expectations led to differential behavior (like different questions asked)

B.C. Perseverance

- n Does Labeling Perceiver's action lead to expectancy-confirming behavior?
 - o Yes! Targets thought to be aggressive were significantly more aggressive themselves than were those not thought to be aggressive

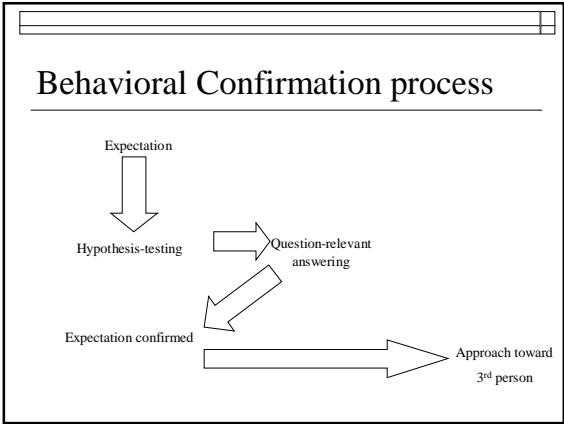
	Mean Intensity (1-6)
Target thought agg	4.02
Target not thought agg	3.10

B. C. Perseverance

- n Does Target's behavior last into a 2nd interaction?
 - o Remember, Target blasts first here
 - n Not a reaction to Naive Perceiver's actions
 - o Yes, sort of
 - n When Target is told that their actions are reflective of their personality, then yes (range 1-6)
 - o Aggressive mean blast 4.3
 - o Non-aggressive mean blast 2.70
 - n When Target has been told that their behavior should be viewed as a reaction to opponent's behavior, no difference
 - o 3.35 v. 3.77

Behavioral Confirmation Summary

- o Person A's expectations influence the questions and behaviors directed at Person B
- o Person B reacts predictably to the questions and behavior directed at them
- o Person A takes those answers as confirmation of expectation
- o Person B can adopt a mindset based on process; it can last across interactions



- ### Behavioral Confirmation during Interrogation
- o Questions
 - n Does expectation of guilt lead to hypothesis-testing questions and behavior?
 - n Do those being interrogated respond differentially based on interrogator's expectations?
 - n Do interrogators take these answers as confirmation of initial expectation?

- ### B.C. & Interrogation: Kassin et al., 2003
- o Students act as interrogator or suspect
 - n Interrogator led to believe most suspects are guilty or innocent
 - n Suspect was either guilty or innocent of staged crime
 - n Suspects told to deny, deny, deny

Kassin et al. (2003)

Does interrogator's expectation influence how they question the suspect?

Kassin et al. (2003)

- o Yes!
 - n Interrogators with guilty expectation choose more guilt-presumptive questions from list
 - o Like in Snyder & Swann 1978 introvert/extravert
 - n Interrogators with guilty expectation used more interrogation techniques at the beginning of interrogation
 - o Before interviewee had a chance to speak
 - o Options provided via a list, like questions were

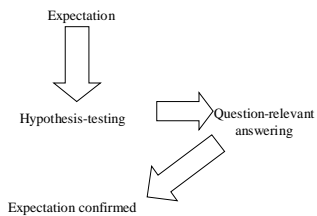
Behavioral Confirmation process

Do suspects act in accordance with interrogator expectations?

Kassin et al. (2003)

- o Yes!
 - n Suspects questioned by Interrogator who thought most suspects were guilty acted significantly more defensive than those that thought most suspects were innocent
 - o Didn't matter whether the suspect was *actually* innocent or guilty

Behavioral Confirmation process



Does the process affect Interrogator and 3rd party observers' judgments of guilt?

Kassin et al. (2003)

- o Yes!
 - n Suspects in guilty-expectation group more likely to ultimately be judged guilty by **interrogators** (42%) than those in innocent-expectation group (19%).
 - n Suspects presumed guilty by interrogators were significantly more likely to be judged to be guilty by **neutral 3rd party observers**
- o **The Kicker:** Interrogators tried harder when interrogating innocent suspects
 - n No innocent feedback, only signs of guilt

B.C. and Interrogation: Creating Suspects

- o We talked about interrogation as a guilt-presumptive process
- o But what if you come across an open-minded interrogator who isn't sure whether you're guilty?
- o Unfortunately, interrogators may provide evidence of guilt to kick-start the process

Creating Suspects: Akehurst & Vrij

- o How do guilty people act?
 - n Observers (students and pros) think that deception is associated with increased movement
 - o Think fidgety
 - n But give Reid and associates credit...
 - n Actual deception is associated with decreased movement
 - o Either too little resources to lie AND move, or
 - o Liars are trying to control behavior to not give anything away

Interactional Synchrony

- o Ever catch yourself sitting like the person you're talking with?
- o What if you're talking with a cop?
 - n Participant is either in possession of headphones or not
 - o Interviewed once in each condition
 - o Interviewed by lively or calm interviewer (between-subjects)
 - n Lively interviewer fidgeted with his pen
 - o Interrogation videotaped

Creating Suspects

- o Results
 - n Interviewees made more nonfunctional movements (hand, arm, rocking, etc.) with lively interviewer
 - o Remember, just playing with pen
 - n 32 police officers view videotapes
 - o Police officers see interviewee as less credible in lively interviews

Lively interviewer → Greater interviewee movement → Viewed as less credible

Additional Pressures

- o Behavioral confirmation helps railroad people towards being perceived as guilty and, potentially, confessing to a crime they didn't commit.
- o What pressures exist that might stop innocent suspects from really fighting back and getting through to detectives?

Influence and Interrogation

Authority in the Interrogation room

- o Titles
 - n Higher status confers greater perception of height, not un-useful in an interrogation situation
 - n Lower-status titles lead to less favorable treatment
 - o "Suspect" is not terribly flattering
- o Clothing
 - n If investigator wears uniform, they will be regarded as more authoritative
 - n Reid & Associates recommend shirt and tie
 - o Authoritative but not smug
- o Trappings
 - n Flash that badge; interrogation in police house brings authority to mind
- o Think about false evidence
 - n How often do you stop and question what a recognized, legitimate authority says?

Reciprocity and Interrogation

- o Reciprocity and liking: Regan Coke/raffle tickets
 - n Didn't matter whether you like the person, if you owe, you owe
 - o What if you're offered a beverage or some food before or during the interrogation? More likely to comply with interrogator's requests or be more forthcoming?
- o Reciprocity kicks in even if we didn't ask for the favor
 - n "Why don't we go into this interrogation room, it's less drafty so you'll be more comfortable."
 - o Interrogator is on your side AND you owe him

Reciprocity and Interrogation

- o Reciprocity need not be equal in magnitude
 - n Think about what each participant in an interrogation can offer the other member
 - o Social roles and physical limitations dictate what we have to offer
 - n Coke for a confession?
- o Reciprocal concessions
 - n Think about minimization
 - o "So maybe you didn't mean to kill her. But you were mad at her, right?"

Reciprocity and innocence

- o Cialdini's discussion of reciprocity presumes that we feel disease at violating social norms
- o Who is more likely to feel uncomfortable not "paying back" a kindly interrogator?
 - n Career criminal
 - n Upstanding and wrongly accused suspect
- o People tend to feel more satisfied with the end-state if it comes from concession
 - n Feel like they "dictated" the terms of the agreement
 - n Feel like it was the outcome they actually desired

This is just what an innocent suspect *doesn't* need

What to do?

Videotaping interrogation

- o Sullivan, 2004
 - n Center on Wrongful Convictions at Northwestern University School of Law
 - n Contacted 238 law enforcement agencies who video- or audio-tape confessions (38 states)
 - n Asked how the officers like using the technology
 - o Most if not all said they liked it
 - n Asked about perceive benefits...

Benefits of videotaping

- Prevent disputes about conduct and treatment
- Focus on suspect, not on note-taking
- Doesn't limit confessions or cooperation
- For the defense: know EXACTLY what was said
 - If you point out behavioral confirmation, does it lessen its effect on juror decision-making?
 - Jurors as 3rd party observers in Snyder and Kassin studies

Costs of videotaping

- What are you filming?
 - Raised by Kassin 1997, we'll return to it
- How long do you film
 - Confession only?
- Can we expect the jury to watch a full 6 hour interrogation?
- Does the jury know what to look for?
